

FATHERS
OF
LOCKHART
OF
CARNWATH

1698-1732

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Letters
of George Lockhart of
Carnwath

Letters of George Lockhart of Carnwath

1698–1732

edited by Daniel Szechi, D.PHIL



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PREFACE

The collection of letters below is the surviving personal and official correspondence of George Lockhart of Carnwath. Legal statements, estate management papers and all the numerous works intended for publication have been excluded for the sake of brevity, with the partial exception of an open letter which was circulated anonymously in manuscript around Edinburgh in 1713. Many legal and estate papers survive; these are held by the National Library of Scotland in Acc.7124 and 4322 (Lockharts of Lee and Carnwath), and others may be found in the records of the House of Lords. The bulk of material either published or intended for publication, as well as Lockhart's extensive autobiographical writings, can be found in Anthony Aufrere's excellent edition of *The Lockhart Papers* (2 vols, 1817). Thus far I have been unable to discover the eventual fate of the manuscripts from which Aufrere compiled *The Lockhart Papers*. Nevertheless, my own research has many times confirmed both the authenticity of what is contained therein and Aufrere's reputation for painstaking scholarship. It should be emphasised that the collected letters that follow constitute the complete corpus of Lockhart's correspondence known to me at the present time. It is perfectly possible that other letters may survive in archives not accessible at the time my research was being conducted, most notably the archive of the Dukes of Argyll at Inveraray.

I must at this point acknowledge my debt to Her Majesty the Queen for permission to publish letters from the Stuart Papers microfilm at Cambridge University Library, without which this collection would not have been worth bringing together. I must also thank: the Duke of Hamilton for letting me see the family papers held at Lennoxlove and the Scottish Record Office; the Earl of Dalhousie for permission to use the Dalhousie Papers; Sir John Clerk for the use of the Clerk of Penicuik MSS held at the S.R.O.; the Keeper of the Records of Scotland for his permission to use the Breadalbane and Montrose Papers; and Mr S. Macdonald Lockhart for permission to reproduce George Lockhart's portrait.

In addition, I am grateful for the courteous help and assistance I have received in the course of my research from the staff of the National Library of Scotland, the Edinburgh University Library, the Cambridge University Library, the Public Record Office at Chancery Lane and the Huntington Library in California. Above all, I owe a special debt of gratitude to the staff at the Scottish Record Office, who (with the kind permission of the Keeper) helped me identify the inevitable handful of individuals who cropped up in the letters below whom I could not pin down. It is also appropriate here to thank the Twenty Seven Foundation and its trustees for the generous grant that allowed me to make one of my research trips to Edinburgh, and the British Academy for the funds that allowed me to complete the project without the collapse of my domestic economy.

Finally, I must thank Clyve Jones of the Institute of Historical Research and Dr David Hayton of the History of Parliament Trust for their help and the interest they took in this project; without them I would have missed much important material. Mrs Joy Muir, an enthusiastic amateur historian, who lives alongside the only part of Lockhart's seat at Dryden not demolished by Edinburgh University in the 1950s - a wall - proved a tonic for a jaded researcher and was unstintingly generous in passing on all she could find out about the Dryden estate. Dr T.I. Rae, my general editor, also well deserves to be mentioned here, and especially for his patience in putting up with such a bad correspondent.

DANIEL SZECHI

Oxford

August, 1988

CONTENTS

Preface v

Table of Abbreviations xi

Introduction xiii

LETTERS OF LOCKHART OF CARNWATH

I. Towards Union: 1698-1707 1

II. Opposition and Alienation: 1708-1714 38

III. Jacobite Connections: 1715-1720 117

IV. Keeping the Faith: 1721-1724 156

V. Active Conspiracy: 1725-1726 220

VI. Exile and Retirement: 1726-1732 304

INDEX 349

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George Lockhart of Carnwath

By Sir John Medina

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London
29/-	Portland Loan
CUL	Cambridge University Library
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports
Laing	Laing MSS
Portland	Portland Papers
Stuart	Stuart Papers
LO	Huntington Library, San Marino, California, Loudoun Papers
Lennoxlove	Hamilton muniments held at Lennoxlove
LP	<i>The Lockhart Papers</i> , ed. A. Aufrere (2 vols, 1817)
NLS	National Library of Scotland
Acc. 4322	Lockhart of Lee and Carnwath Estate Papers
Acc. 7124	Lockhart of Lee and Carnwath Estate Papers
Acc. 7228	Newhailes Papers
PRO	Public Record Office, Chancery Lane
SPDom.	State Papers Domestic
SRO	Scottish Record Office
GD 18	Clerk of Penicuik Muniments
GD 45	Dalhousie Papers
GD 124	Mar and Kellie Muniments
GD 220	Montrose Muniments
GD 406	Correspondence of the Dukes of Hamilton
Stuart	Stuart Papers microfilm at Cambridge University Library

INTRODUCTION

GEORGE LOCKHART of Carnwath (1681 – 1732), the man and his career, embodies a series of challenges to conventional assumptions about the kind of man who became a Jacobite. Our stereotypical Jacobite is a declining landowner, burdened with inherited debts left over from the civil wars of the mid-seventeenth century, jealous of his social position, suspicious of the local (prospering) bourgeoisie, hostile to innovation of any kind, agricultural, technological, or religious, and with social connections only to other families of the same ilk.¹ Basically a relic of an old order marked for destruction by the industrial revolution, Lockhart was a very wealthy, agriculturally improving laird who took a great interest in exploiting the coal reserves on his land, elegantly modernised and emparked his favourite country seat in the latest fashionable style, and was closely (and fondly) connected with one of the most powerful Whig families in post-Revolution Britain.² If nothing else, George Lockhart is an object lesson in the dangers of crude economic and social determinism. How did such a man become a zealous Jacobite?

This collected edition of Lockhart's letters cannot directly answer that question. What it can do is supply its parameters. Somewhere in the confluence between the mind of the man revealed in these letters, his autobiographical writings and the events and circumstances of his life and times it may be possible to discern how this Jacobite was made.

The letters that follow have been drawn together from many different sources: Lockhart's neighbours, his friends, his kinsmen and his fellow Jacobites. Their very diversity allows us to see the man in a series of different guises. The polite politician, the dissembling intriguer, the oppressive landowner, and the outraged patriarch are just a few of the personae that appear with

¹ For examples of which, see: J.H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England 1675-1725* (1967), pp.168-9; G.P. Insh, *The Scottish Jacobite Movement* (1952), pp.118, 123-4, 128

² S. Macdonald-Lockhart, *Seven Centuries: a history of the Lockharts of Lee and Carnwath* (Carnwath, 1976), pp.85-86, 88-89, 92

startling clarity from his complex but lucid prose. Through him, we can catch a glimpse of the gentry and nobility of early eighteenth-century Scotland at work and play. More seriously, Lockhart's correspondence allows us a direct insight into the Jacobite underworld of Scottish politics, its activities, rivalries, dreams and obsessions. Simply as a source of information about Jacobite machinations 1707-28, Lockhart has a value second only to the surviving archives of the exiled Court. More importantly, this collection vividly illuminates the complexities and passions of the Jacobite mind.

★ ★ ★

George Lockhart was born in 1681, the eldest son of Sir George Lockhart of Carnwath, second son of Sir James Lockhart of Lee, and Philadelphia Wharton, youngest daughter of Philip, 4th Lord Wharton.³ Sir George was a highly successful lawyer from a well-established legal dynasty that fell from favour for some time after 1660. The Lockharts of Lee, like the Whartons, had been rather too zealous Covenanters/Parliamentarians during the civil wars and interregnum to enjoy much royal favour until well after the Restoration.⁴ Sir George accordingly made his name and fortune defending the Crown's opponents in Scotland when they came to trial – not necessarily with any great success (the Crown was unlikely to lose such contests anywhere in seventeenth-century Britain), but with surpassing eloquence. The profits of his success were invested in land in the early 1680s, when Sir George bought the Carnwath estate from the debt-ridden Earl of that name.⁵ From the late 1670s he became steadily more involved with legal work for the Crown, for which he was duly rewarded in 1685 by appointment to the Lord Presidency of the Court of Session in succession to Sir David Falconar. He was reputedly

³ The *DNB* states Lockhart was born in 1673 (xxxiv. 45), which was six years before his parents were married. As well, in a submission to the House of Lords in an appeal against a decision by the Commission for Forfeited Estates (BL, Add. MS.36147, f.312), Lockhart notes that he was eight years old at the time of his father's death, which would make his date of birth 1681.

⁴ Macdonald-Lockhart, *Seven Centuries*, pp.38-48; G.F.T. Jones, *Saw-Pit Wharton* (1967), pp.166-251.

⁵ Macdonald-Lockhart, *Seven Centuries*, p.63.

opposed to James VII and II's religious policies in Scotland, but nonetheless stayed in office and acquiesced in their enforcement. Nor, after James fled into exile in December 1688, did he show any sign of abandoning his former master or distancing himself from the policies he had enforced. Whether or not such an apparent opportunist as Sir George would in time have been drawn over to the new order cannot be known however, because on 31 March 1689 he was murdered in broad daylight on Edinburgh High Street by the unbalanced John Chiesley of Dalry in revenge for a judgement Sir George had given against him and in favour of Chiesley's wife.⁶

Sir George's sudden death left the family estates and property in considerable confusion. Thirty years later George Lockhart was still involved in litigation over half-finished land purchases and debts outstanding since 1689.⁷ Nonetheless he inherited a very rich estate by contemporary standards. By the 1720s it was yielding about £3,750 a year, which made Lockhart one of the wealthiest landowners in Midlothian.⁸ His first guardian was appointed by the Court of Session, and was his uncle, Sir John Lockhart, Lord Castlehill of the Court of Session. Sir John appears to have been a supporter of the Revolution settlement in Scotland, and it was under his tutelage that Lockhart, his brother Philip and his sister Barbara were all exposed to a thorough-going attempt to bring them up in the best Presbyterian cum Revolution interest tradition. Lockhart's Episcopalian tutor was dismissed and replaced by a reliable Presbyterian and the Earl of Argyll's children were given to him as playmates.⁹ Sir John died in 1694, after which Lockhart secured two curators more to his taste: the Episcopalian Sir James Scougall, Lord Whitehill of the Court of Session, and William Montgomery of Macbiehill. By 1697-8 Lockhart effectively seems to have been running his own estates, with his curators taking only a supervisory role, though he maintained all the correct legal formalities until he came of age in 1702.¹⁰

⁶ LP, i, 30-31

⁷ GD 18/5671: Lockhart to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 15 Dec. 1722

⁸ BL, Add. MS. 22,229, f.7: 'The State of Mr Lockhart's Affairs'

⁹ LP, i, 394, 571, 573

¹⁰ Acc. 7124: Lockhart to [Lord Whitehill], Feb. 1698

In 1697 Lockhart married Euphemia Montgomery, daughter of the ninth Earl of Eglinton, a wealthy Episcopalian peer who was nevertheless a staunch government supporter. The marriage was an important one for the family as it signalled the next stage of social 'arrival' for the Lockharts of Carnwath. Sir George's match with Philadelphia Wharton had undoubtedly boosted the family's social prestige, but that was more by luck than judgement. When the marriage was contracted in the late 1670s the Whartons were a very minor noble family, long out of favour and deliberately keeping a low profile because of their firm adherence to religious Nonconformity. After the Revolution of 1688, in which Thomas Wharton and his brothers played a notable part (doubtless with their father's approval), the family rapidly became one of the most important Whig dynasties in England, but such a turn-about could not have seemed even remotely likely when Sir George married Philadelphia.¹¹ Hence Lockhart's marriage to Euphemia signified that the Lockharts of Carnwath were socially acceptable enough to marry into the oldest families in the Scottish nobility, and in due course two of Lockhart's fifteen children by Euphemia did so. Euphemia junior married the Earl of Wigton and Grace the Earl of Aboyne and then the Earl of Moray. Had Lockhart's political principles been acceptable to the governments of early eighteenth-century Scotland, the social prestige of the Lockharts of Carnwath and the elevation of their social connections was such that he could reasonably have hoped for a knighthood or even a baronetcy at some point in his career.

As it was, the only offices he was ever to hold were those of Privy Counsellor 1703-4, Justice of the Peace 1709-14, Commissioner for the Union 1706-7 and Commissioner of Accounts 1711-14, only the first two of which owed anything to his family's prestige and his social connections. Nevertheless his strong (and very cordial) bonds of friendship and family with the Whig establishment did serve Lockhart well in another way: they almost certainly saved him from the retribution his Jacobite plotting would otherwise have earned him. In Hanoverian Scotland it was very useful for someone like Lockhart to be a

¹¹ J. Carswell, *The Old Cause* (1954), pp. 52-117

childhood friend of the Duke of Argyll and the Earl of Ilay, a close friend of Duncan Forbes of Culloden and a kinsman of the likes of 'Honest Tom' Wharton and Sir Robert Pollock of Renfrew.¹²

What precluded the final consolidation of the Lockharts of Carnwath as a lairdly dynasty by an appropriate title or a middling government office was George Lockhart's growing estrangement from the mainstream of political alignment for the rest of his kinsfolk. Eglinton was a consistent supporter of the government in Scotland, whatever its political complexion, throughout most of the 1690s.¹³ However he was strongly Episcopalian in religion, and it was in this period that Episcopalianism was evolving into the mainstay of Scottish Jacobitism. Lockhart's marriage into Eglinton's family thus represented a small but significant break with the 'Revolution interest' commitment displayed by the Lockharts of Lee and the Whartons, whose general bent can be seen from the marrying-off of his sister Barbara to Daniel Carmichael of Maudsley, a younger son of the staunchly Presbyterian and Revolution interest Earl of Hyndford.¹⁴ In the same vein, by 1697 Lockhart's uncle Thomas Wharton, by then 5th Lord Wharton, was well established as one of the five member Whig 'Junto' that were to dominate the English Whig party for the next twenty years.

This break with the family's political consensus was exacerbated by Lockhart's attachment to the 4th Duke of Hamilton and the Country party in Scottish politics after he was returned as M.P. for Midlothian in 1703. Hamilton's politics undoubtedly had a strongly factional element, but *faute de mieux* he usually ended up on the Opposition side on most issues throughout the period 1703-7.¹⁵ Lockhart's connection with him therefore necessarily tended to take him into opposition to Scotland's governors. Involvement with the Country party through his friendship with Hamilton further increased Lockhart's alienation

¹² LP, i, 294-5, 394, 463; ii, 396

¹³ P. W. J. Riley, *King William and the Scottish Politicians* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 166

¹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 55-56, 129, 166; P. Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 325; B. Lenman, 'The Scottish Episcopal Clergy and the Ideology of Jacobitism', in, E. Cruickshanks (ed.), *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism 1689-1759* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 36-48

¹⁵ P. W. J. Riley, *The Union of England and Scotland* (Manchester, 1978), *passim*

from his kinsfolk's politics by bringing him into contact with men like Andrew Fletcher of Salton and the Earl of Home. Both in their separate ways were men who drew others to them, the one by his ostentatiously ferocious patriotic virtue, the other by his charm and a reputation for political acumen.¹⁶ By 1704-5 Lockhart was firmly aligned along two political axes: his friendship with Hamilton and his attachment to the 'Cavalier' (Jacobite) wing of the Scottish Opposition. These were to be the guiding lights of his political career. Whatever his occasional misgivings about the 4th Duke of Hamilton's commitment to the Jacobite cause, or his concern about the 5th Duke's lifestyle, Lockhart remained a loyal partisan until 1726 when the 5th Duke went over to the government.¹⁷ Likewise he remained a zealous Country orientated Jacobite until at least 1728, when the price of his return from exile was that he eschew any further political activity.



Lockhart's emergence as a leading backbencher in the Scottish Parliament began with his nomination as a Commissioner for the negotiation of terms for a Union in 1706. His uncle, Thomas Wharton (by then Earl of Wharton) arranged for him to be named as one of the Queen's choice of Commissioners, without apparently ever having consulted his nephew.¹⁸ Lockhart took up the appointment, after some persuasion by Hamilton and Fletcher of Salton, only in order to act as a spy for the Scottish Opposition – a function he carried out energetically.¹⁹ Being a former Commissioner also gave his opposition to the Union bill more weight when it was introduced into the Scottish Parliament and hence naturally brought him forward in the debates on the various clauses of the bill. Lockhart's own attitude to the bill brought in in the autumn of 1706 was unequivocally hostile, but,

¹⁶ LP, i, 75-77, 158

¹⁷ LP, i, 200, 203, 213-14; Lennoxlove, C3, 2247: Lockhart to [Lord Milton?], 18 July 1723; Stuart 88/80 and 97/131: Lockhart to James Francis Edward Stuart, the Old Pretender, 18 Dec. 1725 and 2 Oct. 1726

¹⁹ GD 45/14/336/29-32: Lockhart to Harry Maule of Kellie, 25 Apr., 9 May, [mid-May] and 26 May 1706

at least initially, he may have been willing to contemplate some form of federal union between the two kingdoms.²⁰ What triggered the impassioned opposition he offered to the Union in late 1706 was his conviction that Scotland had been effectively sold out during the treaty negotiations by a secret deal between the Scottish 'Revolution interest' and the English Whigs.²¹

The depth of his outrage can be gauged from the way his name appears on almost all the protests lodged against the clauses of the act of Union as they were passed by the Scottish Parliament.²² Lockhart was also an ardent proponent of taking the Opposition's campaign 'out of doors' by appealing to the Scottish people, which, given the massive popular hostility to the Union, was tantamount to incitement to revolt. He was accordingly one of the sponsors of an incendiary petitioning campaign against the Union, and in the last resort wanted the Opposition to secede from Parliament – a move sure to lead to an uprising.²³ These schemes depended however, on the Opposition having an eminent nobleman to lead them. Hamilton was really the only suitable candidate and he was distinctly unhappy about getting involved in something as irretrievable as a rebellion. Consequently these extra-Parliamentary initiatives all foundered on Hamilton's pusillanimity, and after the Union bill had passed there were considerable recriminations among the Scottish Opposition about his role throughout the affair. As a well-known friend and adherent of Hamilton's, Lockhart was tarred with the same brush. Hence neither Lockhart nor Hamilton were directly involved in the conspiracy hatched over the previous year that underpinned the abortive Jacobite invasion attempt of 1708.²⁴

Nonetheless Hamilton and a number of other Scottish noblemen were arrested after the failure of the expedition and transported up to London for interrogation and trial. Lockhart avoided arrest (probably due to Wharton's intercession) on this occasion, and, nothing discouraged, secured his own return for Midlothian in the 1708 general election despite a general trend

²⁰ GD 406/1/5322: Lockhart to Hamilton, 1 Jan. 1706

²¹ LP, i, 146–7

²² For examples of which, see: LP, i, 181–2, 186, 189–90

²³ LP, i, 203–4, 206–13

²⁴ LP, i, 200, 203, 213–14, 229, 231–2

towards the return of Whig candidates.²⁵ Since his anti-Unionism was well known by this time and friends like Argyll and Hamilton had little influence in the county, it seems safe to assume that a majority of the hundred or so electors of Midlothian favoured his political position. They certainly cannot have been voting for him out of hope of reward. Lockhart was not rich enough to bribe his way into Parliament (even if the heritors of Midlothian had been poor enough to countenance such a venal approach), and returning a notorious anti-Unionist Tory when a Whig dominated government was in power at Westminster was not an act likely to endear them with the controllers of official patronage. The fact that Lockhart won against the general trend in such an unpromising election as that of 1708 indicates that by this time Midlothian was fairly securely his for as long as he chose to stand. This does not mean that he did not have to nurse his constituency, but that by this date only outside forces were going to displace him there.

Only five anti-Unionist M.P.s were returned from Scotland in 1708, and as their natural allies at Westminster, the English Tories, had done relatively badly too, Lockhart was destined to spend the next Parliament in the political wilderness.²⁶ Nevertheless, he was as active as ever. He bitterly opposed the 1709 Treason act, which extended England's draconian treason laws to Scotland, and firmly aligned himself with the English Tories in their general campaign of opposition to the Whig ministry headed by the (once Court Tory) Earl of Godolphin.²⁷ The Tories had two main platforms: opposition to the seemingly never-ending War of Spanish Succession and the defence of the Church of England against Whig attempts to intimidate the fierier High Church (and Tory) clergymen, most notably by the impeachment of the intemperate Dr Henry Sacheverell in 1709-10.

Lockhart had been opposed to continuing the war for some time, and so found no problem slotting in with that part of the Tory programme.²⁸ Likewise, as an Episcopalian, he found

²⁵ LP, i, 294-5

²⁶ LP, i, 301

²⁷ LP, i, 506-7, 531-3

²⁸ GD 45/14/336/29 and 32: Lockhart to Maule, 25 April and 26 May 1706

himself naturally in tune with Tory attempts to defend the Church of England, and may even have been instrumental in persuading Hamilton (who had been elected as a Representative Peer in 1708) to vote against the impeachment of Sacheverell instead of voting for it, as he originally intended.²⁹ When the Tories followed up their moral victory over Sacheverell's impeachment by a campaign of loyal addresses designed to bolster the Queen's refusal to allow the government to purge her bedchamber of her Tory friend Abigail Masham, Lockhart was active in securing an appropriate address from Midlothian.³⁰ All this public endeavour on the Tories' part paid off in August when Anne dismissed her Whig ministry and an election rapidly became inevitable. Lockhart was soon vigorously seconding Hamilton's efforts to arrange meetings between Cavalier-Country party veterans (whom we may accurately describe henceforth as the Scottish Tories) to thrash out a common position and an agreed slate of candidates for the forthcoming elections.³¹ His zeal did not go unnoticed, and he was duly denounced by the Presbyteries of Edinburgh and Dalkeith, who instructed their flocks to do their best to defeat him.³² Nonetheless Lockhart secured his own election and the Tories generally did well throughout Scotland, taking about a third of the Commons' seats and five of the Representative Peers places.³³

The Parliament that met in November 1710 was the zenith of Lockhart's career in conventional politics. Like most Tories he went up to Westminster full of hope, expectation and a burning desire for revenge on the Whigs. Like them too, he was correspondingly disappointed and angered by the new Tory ministry's determined moderation. By the end of December 1710 a backbench movement hostile to the ministry and determined to 'call the old [Whig] ministry to account, and get off five or six heads', had begun to emerge, which by February 1711 crystall-

²⁹ LP, i, 313-14

³⁰ LP, i, 317

³¹ SRO, GD 112/40/7/6/23 (Breadalbane Papers): Lockhart to the Earl of Breadalbane, 7 Sept. 1710

³² Christ Church, Oxford, Wake MSS., xvii, 262: Richard Dongworth to the Bishop of Lincoln, 10 Aug. 1710

³³ D. Szechi, *Jacobitism and Tory Politics, 1710-14* (Edinburgh, 1984), pp.62-67

ized into the October Club.³⁴ The Scottish Tories meanwhile had established their own secret steering committee of five, of whom Lockhart was one, and resolved 'to shake off that servile dependance which the Scots peers expected and had too much enjoy'd from the Commons, wherby they renderd themselves more significant to the Court and promoted their own designs, which for the most part were prejudiciall to the interest of the countrey'.³⁵ Both associations had a lot in common and quickly fell into alliance with each other. Accordingly when the October Club decided to create a Commission of Accounts to search for evidence sufficient to impeach the former ministry, it was agreed that one of the Commissioners should be a Scot. John Houston of Houston declined to serve, so Lockhart was put forward instead.³⁶

Lockhart was effectively in charge of all the Commission's Scottish business, and, going by the results, seems to have done his work well. It was his investigations which exposed Robert Walpole's corruption over the award of contracts to supply forage to troops stationed in Scotland during 1708 while Walpole was Secretary at War. Lockhart presented their findings to the Commons in January 1712 and Walpole was duly expelled from the house and sent to the Tower.³⁷ Lockhart was also given the honour of presenting the first report of the Commission's findings on its investigation of the Duke of Marlborough's victualling contracts for the army in Flanders. Marlborough escaped prosecution but was effectively driven into exile by the threat of further revelations.³⁸ Lockhart also uncovered the notorious £20,000 paid by the government at Westminster to the Duke of Queensberry for 'arrears' and other necessary payments

³⁴ H. Williams, *Jonathan Swift: Journal to Stella* (2 vols, Oxford, 1948), i, p.195; History of Parliament Trust transcripts, Gurdon MSS.: Richard Berney to Thornhagh Gurdon, 3 Jan. 1711. For an account of the October Club, see: H.T. Dickinson, 'The October Club', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, xxxiii (1969-70), pp.155-74, and Szechi, *Jacobitism*, pp.75-84, 94-98, 104-5, 107-10, 112-14, 121-4, 157

³⁵ LP, i, 338

³⁶ LP, i, 325

³⁷ Acc.7124: Lockhart to the Commission of Accounts, 5 and 19 July and 16 Aug. 1711; LP, i, 362; *Journals of the House of Commons*, xvii. 28-30: 17 Jan. 1712

³⁸ *Commons Journals*, xvii. 15-18: 21 Dec. 1711; Szechi, *Jacobitism*, pp.107-8; E. Gregg, 'Marlborough in Exile, 1712-14', *Historical Journal*, xv (1972), p.594

on the eve of the introduction of the Union bill into the Scottish Parliament in 1706.³⁹ Altogether, it was an impressive record. In retrospect Lockhart took rather a jaundiced view of the Commission's work and its eventual results, but at the time he worked hard and to good effect.⁴⁰ The Commissionership implicitly recognised Lockhart's status as a leading, influential backbencher; his zeal in carrying out the Commission's allotted task confirmed and enhanced that authority.

Lockhart's larger role as a backbench leader and organiser first emerged clearly during the early months of 1711, when, with Lord Balmerino and the Earl of Eglinton, he organised the lobbying of the Lords over the Greenshields appeal. James Greenshields was an Episcopalian clergyman who had had his meeting-house closed down and been imprisoned by the magistrates of Edinburgh for using the English book of common prayer in his services. Their sentence had been upheld by the Court of Session and, mightily backed by the Episcopalian hierarchy and their lay supporters for whom Greenshields – that rare creature: a non-Jacobite Episcopalian clergyman – was a useful front, Greenshields had appealed against the decision to the House of Lords. By painstaking lobbying and careful presentation the Scottish Tories managed to win over the majority of the Tory lay peers and even the normally Whiggish bench of Bishops, thereby securing a resounding victory.⁴¹ Lockhart again featured as a leader and organiser during the campaign of opposition waged by the Scottish representatives against the amendments made to the 1711 Scottish linen bill by Anglo-Irish M.P.s and peers determined to protect the Irish industry's privileged status. Lockhart and the Whig George Baillie of Jerviswood coordinated a harassing campaign against the measure that delayed its implementation for a year.⁴² Not as great a success as the Greenshields appeal perhaps, but nonetheless confirmation of Lockhart's role as a mover and shaker amongst the Scottish M.P.s.

³⁹ LP, i, 262–72. For a discussion of the significance of these payments, see: W. Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England: a survey to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1977), pp.247–52, and cf. Riley, *Union*, pp.256–9.

⁴⁰ LP, i, 349–50, 352.

⁴¹ Szechi, *Jacobitism*, pp.86–87; LP, i, 346–8.

⁴² LP, i, 326–32.

In 1711 Lockhart, Balmerino and Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo, Lord Lyon king-at-arms, were only prevented from following up the success of the Greenshields' appeal with the introduction of a bill enacting a legal toleration for Episcopalianism in Scotland by the personal intervention of the Queen. Anne asked them to wait for a year due to the uproar the Greenshields appeal had created in Scotland, and further promised them government support if they did so.⁴³ The trio reluctantly agreed, and in the 1711-12 session duly demanded the fulfillment of this promise. Because he had entered into a political pact with the October Club in December, so as to rescue his shaken ministry from a Whig onslaught over the Peace Preliminaries he was negotiating with France, Harley (by then Earl of Oxford) had no choice but reluctantly to back a measure which the Octobermen, due to careful preparation by the Episcopalian lobby, by then held dear. Lockhart and the others were accordingly able to bulldoze not only Episcopalian toleration through both houses (despite its blatant breach of the Union), but also an act restoring Church patronages to the lay holders from whom the Kirk had confiscated them.⁴⁴ The final shape of the Episcopalian toleration act was not, however, entirely satisfactory from Lockhart's point of view: an oath abjuring James Francis Edward Stuart, the Old Pretender, which would preclude most Episcopalians taking it, and hence obtaining the protection of the law, was stitched into the bill by Whig peers at a late stage. Lockhart countered this by arranging for the Commons to reword the abjuration (which was to be taken by all Scottish clergymen) so as to make it unacceptable to Presbyterians as well, thus creating a jurant/non-jurant schism in the Kirk which deterred Presbyterian magistrates from prosecuting nonjurant Episcopalian clergymen by the threat of Episcopalian retaliation against nonjurant Presbyterian clergymen.⁴⁵

By the summer of 1712 Lockhart had been grappling with ministerial tardiness and prevarication for two years. Despite the

⁴³ Szechi, *Jacobitism*, p.87; LP, i, 340

⁴⁴ D. Szechi, 'The Politics of "Persecution": Scots Episcopalian Toleration and the Harley Ministry 1710-12', in, W.J. Sheils (ed.), *Toleration and Persecution, Studies in Church History*, xxi (1984), pp. 282-5

⁴⁵ NLS, Wodrow Letters, Quarto VI, no.65; Szechi, 'Politics of "Persecution"', p.285

legislative achievements to which he had contributed, he, like many others within the Tory party, was frustrated and exasperated by the Oxford ministry's persistent foot-dragging. Lockhart's response to this continued irritation was characteristically decisive: he tried to gather a group of committed Jacobites together with the specific aim of repealing the act of succession that named the house of Hanover as heirs to the throne, so as to leave the Queen the right to nominate her successor. Lockhart reasoned that such a proposal would force the ministry to reveal its true colours on the succession question, enabling the Jacobites to take their measures accordingly.⁴⁶ The Jacobite court, which was under the illusion that it was negotiating (or about to) with Oxford for a peaceful restoration of the exiled Stuarts after Queen Anne's death, was horrified by the scheme and summarily ordered Lockhart to desist, which he reluctantly agreed to do. In fact there was no chance of a peaceful restoration being worked out with Oxford, who was always pro-Hanoverian before 1715 – an attitude which would have been exposed had Lockhart's initiative come to fruition.⁴⁷

In 1713 Lockhart's pent-up resentment was finally able to vent itself over the malt tax crisis. The crisis arose over the imposition of a malt tax of equal value on both England and Scotland. Scottish malt was of more importance to the weaker Scottish economy and generally of poorer quality than that of England, as well as still technically falling within a protective clause written into the Union. Hence the overwhelming majority of the Scottish representation felt the imposition was a grievous injustice.⁴⁸ Lockhart was the initial mover and organiser of the united Scottish Parliamentary opposition to the tax and the attempt to dissolve the Union that followed from it. Argyll and Ilay, who unbeknownst to Lockhart were pursuing their own factional ends, took over from him once the campaign was under way, but Lockhart retained control of a close group of Jacobite friends and colleagues.⁴⁹ When the rest of the Scottish Tory M.P.s and peers,

⁴⁶ Szechi, *Jacobitism*, pp.102-3; LP, i, 368-9

⁴⁷ Szechi, *Jacobitism*, pp.182-91

⁴⁸ G. Holmes and C. Jones, 'Trade, the Scots and the Parliamentary Crisis of 1713', *Parliamentary History*, i (1982), p.52

⁴⁹ Huntington, LO 9110 (Loudoun Papers): Lockhart to the Earl of Loudoun, 7 Apr. 1713; LP, i, 418-19; Szechi, *Jacobitism*, pp.131-3

disappointed by their initial failure to force through the dissolution of the Union, balked at Argyll's proposal of a sustained harassing campaign in both Lords and Commons, Lockhart and his friends broke with them to embark on a short series of obstructive Parliamentary raids in alliance with Scottish Whig M.P.s. Only another specific request to desist from St Germain brought this opposition to a close.⁵⁰

The election of 1713 was a setback for the Tories in Scotland. The ministry secured the return of its 'list' of 16 relatively reliable Representative Peers, but in the Commons' elections ministerial and Tory candidates lost heavily. Lockhart was fortunate enough to be returned unopposed (eventually) for Midlothian, but the defeat generally suffered by the Tories meant that he carried with him back to Westminster not only the accumulated grievances of the previous Parliament, but also a distinct sense of anger at the way the ministry's pusillanimity (as he saw it) had cost the Scottish Tories dear.⁵¹ His first move was to advocate an immediate, independent initiative by the Scottish steering committee on the succession, and when his colleagues proved reluctant Lockhart and Lord Lyon seceded.⁵² Even by this stage Lockhart had some trouble persuading other Jacobites that it was time to be so indiscreet as to force the issue of the succession on to centre stage and thereby force the ministry to reveal its intentions, hence his plans hung fire for the first half of the session.

In the meantime, while the ministry lapsed into a bout of destructive internecine warfare between Oxford and his ambitious rival, Viscount Bolingbroke, Lockhart busied himself introducing a bill for the resumption by the crown of former episcopal property then held by the Kirk in Scotland.⁵³ The renewed uproar this created in Scotland obliged the ministry to pull itself together sufficiently to threaten to have the Queen veto the bill if Lockhart persisted. He reluctantly gave way and dropped the measure.⁵⁴ As well, Lockhart stood out against the otherwise unanimous support the Scottish Tories gave to the Earl

⁵⁰ Holmes and Jones, 'Parliamentary Crisis of 1713', p. 65; LP, i, 437

⁵¹ 29/204 and 29/150/3: Lockhart to Oxford, 30 July and 24 Oct. 1713

⁵² GD 45/14/336/19: Lockhart to Maule, 7 Mar. [1714]; LP, i, 443-4

⁵³ Szechi, *Jacobitism*, pp. 161-70; LP, i, 445-50

⁵⁴ GD 45/14/336/13: Lockhart to Maule, 25 May [1714]; LP, i, 450-1

of Mar's Scottish militia bill, which was generally seen as a means of disarming the Scottish Whigs. He did so partly out of friendship for the Duke of Argyll, whose hereditary powers were going to be abolished by the measure, and partly out of a shrewd appreciation that a disarming act usable against the Whigs under a Tory administration would prove equally effective against the Tories in other circumstances. He was also triumphantly re-elected to the Commission of Accounts despite the united efforts of the Whigs and the anti-Jacobite 'Hanoverian' Tories to unseat him.⁵⁵

By the end of June 1714, the Tory party had split into Hanoverian Tories, Bolingbroke supporters, Harleyites and a large undecided mass wooed by all the others but by then inclined towards Bolingbroke. In a bid for Hanoverian Tory support Bolingbroke prevailed on the Queen to issue a proclamation offering £5,000 for the apprehension of the Old Pretender, should he come to Britain. The delighted Hanoverian Tories promptly led their more moderate fellows in adding £100,000 to this by vote of the house of Commons, to the ineffable chagrin of the Jacobites secreted in their midst.⁵⁶ Lockhart and Sir John Pakington promptly seized on the Jacobites' outrage (Bolingbroke had led them to believe he favoured a Jacobite restoration) to draw together a band of forty or so Jacobite Tories who began systematically to obstruct the passage of government supply bills. Within a week Bolingbroke, putative head of the ministry now that Oxford was clearly on the way out, asked to see Lockhart and Pakington, swore (doubtless mendaciously) he would satisfy all their demands and begged them to stop the campaign of harassment so that he could wind up the session. Lockhart and Pakington officiously agreed to consult their colleagues, and the short-lived Jacobite campaign was ended.⁵⁷

At the same time as Lockhart was engaged in this struggle for the future of the Tory party he found himself in a dire personal predicament. For about a year previously he had been involved in the writing of a Jacobite/nationalist account of the passage of the

⁵⁵ GD 45/14/336/10, 12: Lockhart to Maule, 8 and 19 June 1714; LP, i, 455-7

⁵⁶ Szechi, *Jacobitism*, pp.167-8

⁵⁷ GD 45/14/336/8: Lockhart to Maule, 26 June [1714]; LP, i, 472-8

Union by the Scottish Parliament. This included a series of savage, well-informed, character assassinations of some of the principal advocates of Union, as well as of a few of their opponents (such as the Duke of Hamilton) whose zeal to oppose the Union had not been as great as the authors might have liked.⁵⁸ Lockhart always denied being the author of the *Memoirs* in public, and there was sufficient stylistic variation in the text to lend some truth to his denials, in the technical sense that he was not their sole author. By the same token however, Lockhart clearly was the principal writer and editor, as he admitted in private. Consequently, when his friend and fellow-lodger John Houston of Houston junior, made the mistake of sending the manuscript of the *Memoirs* to a professional copyist who took an additional copy which he gave to Lockhart's Whig enemy Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, Dalrymple had no problem in identifying the author. Lockhart's prominence over the previous three years, and particularly during the 1714 session, also ensured that the Whigs seized on the opportunity to drive him out of politics. Though he was never prosecuted for *scandalum magnatum* or seditious libel (both distinct possibilities) because there were no witnesses to his having admitted authorship or indeed anything more than having the manuscript in his possession, he found himself in deep trouble with those named in the text who were still alive and their families where they were not.⁵⁹ Any further political career would have been very difficult with the animosity of such powerful men and/or their families clinging to him.

Lockhart was then probably on his way out of Parliamentary politics in any case by the end of the 1714 session. The death of Queen Anne on 1 August only confirmed a decision he was already well on the way to taking. Lockhart never re-entered conventional politics again; henceforth he was to devote almost all his political energies to Jacobite conspiracy.



⁵⁸ GD 45/14/336/5: Lockhart to Maule, 3 July 1714. For examples of Lockhart's character assassinations, see: LP, i, 72-74 (the Duke of Atholl), 44-45 (the Duke of Queensberry), 91-92 (the Earl of Glasgow)

⁵⁹ LP, i, 3-7; GD 220/5/418: deposition of William Brown (the copyist), 2 Nov. 1714; GD 45/14/336/3: Lockhart to Maule [end of July, 1714]; Lennoxlove, C3, 35: Atholl to Lockhart, 13 Oct. 1714

The general election held in January 1715 was a disastrous one for the Scottish Tories. All the most influential offices in the government's gift had been carefully purged of Tories and restocked with Whigs before the election came on, and the king explicitly encouraged the electorate to vote for Whig candidates. The result was a foregone conclusion: the Tories were virtually eliminated from Scotland's representation in both Lords and Commons.⁶⁰ Lockhart seems to have spent most of the months leading up to the election in retirement while the outcry over the *Memoirs* died down, though he played a minor, background role in support of the Tories' efforts by writing pamphlets urging a dissolution of the Union now that the Hanoverian succession had been safely accomplished, as well as quietly bolstering up the Tory interest in Lanarkshire.⁶¹ His efforts to hide his light under a bushel were unavailing however; he was one of the first to be arrested in July 1715 when the Scottish administration responded to revelations of Jacobite plotting by the Duke of Ormonde in England by rounding-up the usual suspects in Scotland.

While a prisoner in Edinburgh castle Lockhart was instrumental in preparing the way for the unsuccessful attempt to seize it by a *coup de main*. The actual attempt, on 8 September, involved a night attack by some Edinburgh Jacobites, who tried to use ladders (which proved too short) to scale the outer walls. Poor security, always a chronic problem for the Jacobites, resulted in the plot being betrayed to the authorities, who belatedly surprised the conspirators in the act and captured four of them, including two members of the garrison who had been suborned. Lockhart had been doing his best to bring over part of the garrison, and wanted the attack to take place on one of the gates, where a gatekeeper he had bribed was to admit the conspirators. He was fortunate that neither of the soldiers captured (and subsequently executed) implicated him.⁶² Lockhart however, had not been involved in the half-baked conspiracy hatched in England by the leaders of the Tory party and in Scotland by the Earl of Mar, and

⁶⁰ W.A. Speck, *Stability and Strife: England 1714-60* (1977), pp.174-8

⁶¹ LP, i, 574-88; GD 220/5/518: James Lockhart of Lee to the Duke of Montrose, Feb. 1715

⁶² A. and H. Tayler, *1715: the story of the rising* (1936), pp.55-59; Stuart 88/82: Lockhart to John Hay of Cromlix, 18 Dec. 1725

soon managed to persuade his old friend Argyll (by this time Commander-in-Chief of the army in Scotland) to arrange for his release on bail.⁶³

As soon as he was free Lockhart threw himself into conspiring for an uprising in Midlothian and Lanarkshire. Mar was in open rebellion by this time and Argyll's control of Scotland beyond towns garrisoned by his troops and bastions of Whiggery like Glasgow and the southwest was very tenuous. Lockhart was accordingly able to organise and equip a troop of horse at Carnwath with apparent impunity. He also managed to settle a plan with his gentry Jacobite neighbours for a general rising in Midlothian in the event of Mar's forces crossing the Firth of Forth or otherwise approaching Edinburgh. Some hint of what he was up to seems to have leaked back to Argyll however, and Lockhart was ordered to move back from Carnwath to Dryden, his house outside Edinburgh (and his usual residence). Lockhart fell in with this command in the belief that it would leave him admirably well placed to galvanise his insurgent network in Midlothian when the right moment came.⁶⁴ A breakdown in Jacobite communications however, due for once to overmuch secrecy, left him ignorant of Brigadier William Mackintosh of Borlum's crossing of the Forth with 1,500 men on 13 October. Before the news reached Lockhart he was seized by a party of Argyll's soldiers and imprisoned in Edinburgh castle. His removal seems to have paralysed the Midlothian insurgent network, and as a consequence Borlum's troops were only joined by Viscount Kenmuir's small Lanarkshire-based force.⁶⁵ Amongst these was Lockhart's brother Philip – technically still a half-pay officer in the army – who led the Carnwath troop off to join Kenmuir at Moffat on the very day that Borlum crossed the Forth. From there Philip Lockhart accompanied Kenmuir's little army all the way to its nemesis at Preston, where he was court-martialed and shot in very short order immediately after the Jacobites' surrender. Lockhart was deeply embittered by the treatment his brother had received, and

⁶³ F. McLynn, *The Jacobites* (1985), p.96; SPDom. 54/7/55: Lockhart to Argyll, 18 Aug. 1715; LP, i, 484

⁶⁴ LP, i, 487-92

⁶⁵ LP, i, 494-5

two years later still wrote of his desire for revenge in terms chillingly reminiscent of the ancient Scottish tradition of the blood-feud.⁶⁶ His next (thirteenth) child was christened Philip, almost certainly in memory of his brother.

Lockhart himself was so badly mistreated by the governor of Edinburgh castle, presumably with regard to accommodation and food, that he became seriously ill. Nonetheless his sufferings were obviously minor compared to those of Jacobites languishing in Newgate or dying courageously at Tyburn, and the comparison seems to have weighed heavily on Lockhart's mind.⁶⁷ His account of his conduct throughout the '15 and the special zeal (even for Lockhart) that he henceforth showed in his commitment to the Jacobite cause are redolent of a lingering sense of guilt that he was safe while others, particularly his brother, were doing and dying. The authorities tried to build up a case against Lockhart by interrogating those who had served in his Carnwath troop and been captured at Preston, but either through their failure to garner sufficient evidence or further intercession by his Whig friends, Lockhart was still uncharged, although in custody, by the time the act of indemnity came into force in 1717.⁶⁸ As soon as he was released and had recovered his health Lockhart embarked on the career of conspiracy that was to dominate the next ten years of his life.

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Despite Lockhart's zeal, wealth and social standing, he did not immediately spring to prominence among the Jacobites in the years after his release. Most Scottish Jacobites were determined to keep a low profile after the failure of the '15, and consequently there was little for the more active among them to do except bide their time. In any case, Lockhart was sufficiently important to be among those consulted when directions requiring general Jacobite activity in Scotland arrived from the exiled court, such as that requesting that 5-6,000 bolls of meal be sent to Sweden in 1717, or the call to arms issued on the eve of the ill-fated Spanish

⁶⁶ Stuart 22/40: Lockhart to Major Simon Fraser, 20 July 1717

⁶⁷ *idem*; LP, i, 495-6, 498

⁶⁸ LP, i, 496; HMC, *Various Collections*, I, p.21

expedition of 1719, but he had no special status or authority among his peers. Nor indeed, did he actively dissent from the general reluctance to act manifested by the Scottish Jacobites in such a manner as might have brought him to the notice of the Jacobite court.⁶⁹

By 1720 however, the Scottish Jacobites were beginning to regain some of their confidence, doubtless encouraged by such contemporaneous difficulties for the Whig regime as the internecine squabbling between the Argathelians and the Squadrone and the collapse of the South Sea Bubble.⁷⁰ Yet the failure of their conspiracies before, during and after the '15 had shown up the chronic lack of direction and coordination among the Scottish Jacobites, and the crying need for a strong, native, centralised organisation. The old reliance on kinship and friendship networks would no longer do. Moved by the Bishop of Edinburgh, Lockhart used the opportunity vouchsafed by his son George's sojourn in Rome while on the grand tour and the transient ascendancy of his old friend James Murray at the Jacobite court to gain direct access to the Old Pretender. George then passed on his father's suggestion that a board of trustees be established in Scotland to oversee James's affairs there.⁷¹ The Old Pretender agreed to the suggestion and duly nominated a suitable list of trustees, which at the outset did not include Lockhart. George junior then dropped a couple of pointed hints about his father's lack of resentment at being, 'deprived of the honour of serving your Majesty', and his undying zeal to serve him in any appropriate capacity, and James promptly added him to the trustees already named. In February 1720 James had specifically requested that Lockhart write to him privately with news of what was going on in Scotland and among the Jacobites, which, in conjunction with Lockhart's appointment as a trustee, seems to have made him *de facto* secretary to the trustees and hence the most active among them.⁷²

⁶⁹ LP, ii, 6-7, 17-23

⁷⁰ D. Szechi and D. Hayton, 'John Bull's Other Kingdoms: the English Government of Scotland and Ireland', in C. Jones (ed.), *Britain in the First Age of Party, 1680-1750: Essays Presented to Geoffrey Holmes* (1987), pp. 254-5, 256-7; Speck, *Stability and Strife*, pp. 196-201

⁷¹ LP, ii, 25-27

⁷² LP, ii, 28, 29-31; Stuart 47/65: Lockhart junior to James, 9 June 1720 ns

Much of Lockhart's time over the next eight years was spent reporting on the internal politics of Scottish Jacobitism rather than preparing for uprisings or undermining the authority of the Whig regime, though he was intermittently involved in such activities.⁷³ He was briefly engaged in surreptitious negotiations with Argyll in 1721-2, with a view to setting up an electoral pact between the Argathelians and the Scottish Tories so as to dish the Squadrone, but these came to nothing.⁷⁴ Lockhart also helped to foster the popular hostility created by the regime's enforcement of the renewed malt tax in 1725-6 and made tentative plans for an uprising over the same period, but such episodes were incidental to the much more difficult task of trying to keep the Scottish Jacobites united and restrain the wilder excesses of faction among them.⁷⁵ The factions all basically revolved around the rise and fall of the various Jacobite Secretaries of State: the Earl of Mar, James Murray (titular Earl of Dunbar) and John Hay of Cromlix (titular Earl of Inverness). Each Secretary had supporters in Scotland who sought to bolster their man when he was in office by running down potential opponents, and to revenge themselves on his successor when he fell by undermining the new Secretary's authority in Scotland, usually by accusations of inefficiency or treachery. In addition, the Episcopalian Church was increasingly rent by a furious controversy over the so-called 'Usages'. These were apparently Catholicising changes in the Church's practices, such as prayers for the dead, chrism, the mixture of communion, and so on, introduced by disciples of the English Nonjuring theologian Jeremy Collier and bitterly opposed by most of the Episcopalian clergy.⁷⁶ Lockhart was obliged to take a central role in dealing with all these disputes because he was secretary to the trustees, and after the death of Captain Harry Straton, James's principal agent in Lowland Scotland.

Dealing with these internal feuds was necessarily a wearisome,

⁷³ Stuart 51/69, 78/25, 82/55 and 90/54: Lockhart to Murray, 20 Jan. 1721, 28 Nov. 1724, 24 May 1725 and 31 Jan. 1726; LP, ii, 77-80, 103-12

⁷⁴ LP, ii, 79-80; Stuart 59/49: Lockhart to James, 23 Apr. 1722

⁷⁵ Stuart 84/110 and 88/80: Lockhart to James, 25 July 1725 and 18 Dec. 1725; SPDom. 54/16/105: circular letters draughted by Lockhart, Nov. and 4 Dec. 1725

⁷⁶ LP, ii, 93-97, 99-101

never-ending task, and Lockhart eventually began to feel the strain. By the winter of 1725-6 he was thinking about retiring from all active involvement in Jacobite (and indeed, any other) politics.⁷⁷ The immediate cause of Lockhart's disenchantment and fatigue was the destructively public row between James and his wife, Clementina Sobieska, over the continuance in office of the Jacobite Earl of Inverness. Inverness was under attack from Mar's supporters from the moment he took up the Secretaryship, and was further resented as an upstart on his own account. These feuds were dramatically publicised in late 1725 when Clementina ostentatiously fled from the court to a convent and refused to come out until James dismissed Inverness. James indignantly refused, and a 'Queen's party' of all those opposed to Inverness swiftly coalesced around her and began engaging in a pamphleteering war with the 'King's party'. Both sides appealed to various European potentates for support and tried to win the backing of the Jacobite community in Britain.⁷⁸ It was all distressingly public and manifestly ridiculous. Lockhart was convinced it was doing irreparable damage to the Jacobite cause, and felt that James's failure to assert his authority was the root cause of the whole affair. It clearly demoralised Lockhart.⁷⁹

What finally forced Lockhart to flee into exile though, was his imminent exposure as James's main agent in Lowland Scotland. This occurred because of the part he was playing in the Usager controversy within the Episcopalian Church. By early 1727 this had reached such a pass that when Lockhart intervened in James's name, to uphold his authority and support existing doctrines, he was publicly denounced in taverns all over Edinburgh by the Usagers.⁸⁰ The authorities naturally got wind of this, and, possibly helped by a tip-off from a double-agent, searched a ship just arrived from Rotterdam at Leith and found several letters intended for Lockhart via two intermediary agents. One intermediary, Hew Strachan, was arrested, but he did not know enough to implicate Lockhart directly. Only when the second,

⁷⁷ Stuart 89/108: Lockhart to Allen Cameron [c. 18 Jan. 1726]

⁷⁸ M. Haile, *James Francis Edward: the Old Chevalier* (1907), pp. 311-24

⁷⁹ Stuart 89/109, 90/54 and 95/121: Lockhart to James, 18 and 31 Jan. and 23 July 1726

⁸⁰ Stuart 106/129: Lockhart to James, 20 May 1727 ns

and more important, intermediary, John Corsar, who was in hiding in Angus, carelessly allowed himself to be caught was Lockhart in imminent danger.⁸¹ Forewarned however by news of Corsar's arrest, which Lockhart was convinced was allowed to reach him by Ilay, Lockhart fled via Durham and Scarborough to Rotterdam.⁸²

* * *

As soon as Lockhart reached the safety of the Continent he bent all his efforts to securing permission to return home. His friends, Argyll, Ilay and the Lord Advocate, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, all lobbied vigorously on his behalf, and when their combined prestige and authority are taken into account it was probably always on the cards that he would be allowed to come back.⁸³ The minimum *quid pro quo* he could expect to get away with however, was that he should sever all links with the Jacobite cause and live quietly in retirement. Given Lockhart's transparent weariness he probably did not consider that too onerous a condition.⁸⁴ Nor by then was he really a significant loss to the Jacobites: he no longer believed they could win, and without that faith a Jacobite was lost. This clearly emerged during James's dash to Lorraine in August 1727, so as to be close at hand in case there was a rebellion on the news of George I's death in Hanover. Lockhart was horrified at the prospect of another rebellion without foreign support and vehemently urged James (whom he never met, even on this occasion) to give up the whole idea and return to Italy.⁸⁵

Despite his growing alienation from the Jacobite cause, Lockhart filled in the time before he was allowed to go home by conscientiously arranging for his own replacement as secretary to the trustees, and organising a new courier service across the North Sea to replace the one uncovered by the government.⁸⁶ He

⁸¹ LP, ii, 331; SPDom. 54/18/12: John Drummond (Lord Provost of Edinburgh) to Viscount Townshend, 14, 16 and 18 Mar. 1727

⁸² LP, ii, 332; Stuart 106/129: Lockhart to James, 20 May 1727 ns

⁸³ LP, ii, 393, 396

⁸⁴ LP, ii, 355

⁸⁵ Stuart 109/22: Lockhart to James, 4 Aug. 1727 ns; LP, ii, 364, 405

⁸⁶ Stuart 106/29: Lockhart to James, 20 May 1727 ns; LP, ii, 394-5

also passed on secret advice he had had from friends in Britain, warning of how deep government penetration of Jacobite codes and communications was.⁸⁷ Almost his last act for the Stuart cause was to write a heartfelt and very bitter attack on James's conduct of affairs over the preceding twelve years. In a swingeing, percipient analysis he traced all the Jacobite underground's organisational and political problems back to their root cause: James was the only real source of authority in the movement and his authority was solely moral. Therefore he could not delegate power (as he tried to do all his life) without generating faction; the fissiparousness of the Jacobites was his responsibility as it could only be contained by his direct involvement in running the Jacobites' networks.⁸⁸

Lockhart was finally given leave to return in May 1728 and evidently did so with relief. Even his old, personal hostility to the Hanoverians (stemming from his brother Philip's execution) was ebbing, though he still likened an audience he was obliged to have with George II to 'bowing the knee to Baal now that I was in the house of Rim'.⁸⁹ Thereafter Lockhart lived quietly on his estates, busying himself with family affairs and leaving little evidence of his thoughts and ideas during the closing years of his life apart from a couple of draughts of letters to the *Edinburgh Echo* lamenting contemporary Scottish mores.⁹⁰ The obscurity of his final years is nowhere better illustrated than by the manner of his death. Lockhart died as a result of wounds he received in a duel fought some time in January 1732. Who it was with and what it was about have proved impossible to discover.



The original spelling and layout of the letters has been preserved wherever possible, with alterations made only to clarify the text. Punctuation has been modernised where it elucidates the sense of the letter. Contractions have been expanded without any note in the text; other alterations are indicated in square brackets, as are

⁸⁷ Stuart 111/32, 47: Lockhart to the Bishop of Rochester and James, 4 and 7 Oct. 1727 ns

⁸⁸ LP, ii, 380-8

⁸⁹ LP, ii, 397

⁹⁰ NLS, MS.16543, ff.141-2: Lockhart to Lord Milton, 2 Nov. 1730; LP, i, 604-12

some explanatory comments. Illegible text in the manuscripts has been denoted by three dots, viz: ... ; other faults in the text are explained in square brackets. Lockhart's use of an underlined space to denote a name or word he did not wish to spell out has been indicated in the text by a dash. His signature has not been noted in the case of holograph letters but has in all other instances. Footnotes have been limited to the identification (wherever possible) of those persons mentioned in the text who are not otherwise identified, and the elucidation of key references made by Lockhart.

All dates on letters have been preserved, with any inaccuracies noted. Undated letters have been assigned dates as accurately as possible. Square brackets round the date in question indicate that this has occurred. Note: until the mid-eighteenth century Britain still used the Julian calendar which left it eleven days behind the rest of Europe and with the year starting on 26 March, except in Scotland where the year had begun on 1 January since 1600. European or 'new style' dates will be denoted by 'ns' after the date in question. Where necessary, old and new style dates will both be given, separated by a slash: 10/21 August. Where possible the author of endorsements on the letters has been identified. In the case of all letters emanating from the Stuart Papers, all endorsements were written by James Edgar, the Old Pretender's secretary, unless otherwise stated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LOCKHART'S WORKS

Lockhart was an active amateur propagandist for the causes he believed in. As well as the *Memoirs*, which he played the major part in writing, he wrote two long, exculpatory continuations and a considerable number of pamphlets. Those so far traced include:

Letter to an English Lord (1702), an attack on the abortive Union negotiations then taking place.

A Letter to a Lord of the Session (1710), a disingenuous denial that the Episcopalian Tories were Jacobite in sympathy or intended to infringe the Kirk's privileges.

A Letter From a Scots Gentleman in London to his Friend at Edinburgh (1711), about the Greenshields appeal.

A Letter From a Scots Gentleman Residing in England to his Friend at Edinburgh (1711), attacking the Union.

A Letter From a Gentleman in Edinburgh to his Friend in London, Giving an Account of the Present Proceedings Against the Episcopall Clergy in Scotland, for Using the English Liturgy Ther (1711), preparing the ground for the Episcopalian toleration bill of 1712.

[Untitled open letter giving an account of the malt tax affair, 1713] This was apparently circulated in manuscript copy all over Edinburgh (Portland 29/283).

A Letter From a Presbyterian Minister to his Friend at Edinburgh (1714), exhorting the Presbyterian clergy to lobby against the Union.

A Letter to a Minister in the Country, in Answer to a Circular Letter Sent to the Clergy Perswading them to be Against the Dissolution of the Union (1714), on the same theme as the previous pamphlet.

A Letter to Mr George Crawford, Concerning his Book Intituled, The Peerage of Scotland (1719), an attack on a sycophantic history of various Whig noble families.

A Letter Concerning the Bishop of Salisbury's History of his Own Time (1724), attacking Burnet's *History*.

TOWARDS UNION: 1698 – 1707

To [Sir James Scougall of Whitehill]

Acc.4322; Macdonald-Lockhart,
Seven Centuries, pp.86-87

Edinburgh, February 1698

My Lord,¹ My tenants have sent me an address representing their sad condition, caused by a particular blasting and mildew which has wasted their crop as well as their neighbours. Besides this the crop of 1696 was generally bad throughout the kingdom. They have had this address attested by many of the ministers of the Lanark and Biggar Presbyteries, and they crave an abatement of that year's rent, as has been granted by other masters to their tenants who did not suffer as much. As evidence of this they also brought to me a declaration by several of my Lord Carmichael's and Westshiell's tenants², declaring that they have been granted an abatement of half their rent for the year 1696 by their respective masters.

I realise the truth of their complaint and that the state of my tenants is such that without an abatement most of them will not be able to continue their holdings, and so will embezzle everything they can lay hands on which should go towards the payment of their rent, for they will be without any hope of ever getting it all paid off. Whereby I shall be a far greater loser than I would be if I gave them sufficient abatement to encourage them to set to work again with some hope that they'll be able to live under me on their holdings. Besides, it may be that the law would allow them more than I propose to give them. Therefore I desire the consent of your Lordship and of Mr Montgomery³ to grant to my tenants an abatement of half their rent for the year 1696, as others have done before me, seeing it's against all equity that when the

¹ One of Lockhart's two guardians

² John Carmichael, 2nd Lord Carmichael (1638-1710), created Earl of Hyndford in 1701, and William Denholm of Westshiels

³ William Montgomery of Macbiehill, Lockhart's other guardian

ground fails to produce its increase some consideration should not be given to those who work it. When they have got this abatement they will still be losers, but all their losses can be made up.

My Lord, I believe that in granting this you can be in no danger from anybody, and for my part I should be very unworthy if I quarrelled with so just an abatement, and for which you are so much importuned by, My Lord, Your Lordship's humble servant.

To Sir John Clerk of Penicuik⁴

GD 18/5244/1

Dryden, 23rd December 1701

Sir, I do with all my heart condole [with] the loss you and your family has sustain'd by the death of my Lady Margratt⁵, and woud not have been absent att her buriall had not my wife falln within these 3 or 4 days so ill that I cannot by any means leave her in this condition. I give my service to your son & am Sir, Your most humble servant.

Endorsed by Sir John Clerk: 'Apologie from Carnwath for his absence from L.M.S. funerals, December 1701'.

To Sir John Clerk

GD 18/3125

Dryden, 28 September [1702]

Sir, I was this morning to wait upon you, but had the misfortune to miss you. I intended to have beg'd your vote to me as a Comissioner in this shire.⁶ I have no designe but to serve my Country and if you can comply with my request it will be a favor never to be forgotten. I hope you'l excuse me if I cannot wait upon you 'twixt [now] and the elections, the time is so short and I have so much to do, that I fear I shan't have time. I must again entreat your kindness in this particular, and you may be sure of allways commanding, Sir, Your most humble servant.

⁴ Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 1st Bart (d. 1722)

⁵ Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of the third Earl of Galloway and wife of Sir John Clerk's eldest son

⁶ i.e. M.P. for Midlothian in the Parliament of Scotland

Draught reply: 'Sir, I heard you were chosen in Clidsdale as a Commissioner for Parliament, but whither this be a truth or not, being preingadged in honour and conscience to vote for others as to this shire, I am resolvd as a good neighbour and as an honest man to keep my word precisely. But if you shall be pleasd to employ me timeously in any thing wherein I can either please or oblige you, I will studie to serve accordingly in so far as lyes in my power. I am your. [ends]

The Earl of G[alloway's?] letter came also too late.'

To Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5244/2

Dryden, the 3 of May 1703

Sir, Being obliged this summer to theick the Melne of Roseline, I've made a bargain with a man to do it, but he tells me he knows not how to get heather unless you will allow him to pull it in your ground. Sir, if it be any ways inconvenient or prejudiciall unto you, I shall not ask it, but if not, I hope you won't refuse me this favour, & if you'll lett me know how or wherin I can serve you, I shall gladly return the obligation, & be att all times Sir, your most humble servant.

Endorsed by Sir John Clerk: 'I granted this on the 11 May 1703'.

To the Marquess of Montrose⁷

GD 220/5/1870/1

Edinburgh, 14 June 1704

My Dear Lord, I received your Lordship's and shall be very ready to serve you on this as well as all other occasions. The horse your Lordship saw is the only horse I can part with since the other seven are matched to one another, and I can assure your Lordship that to the best of my knowledge I do not know any fault in him. I shoud obey your Lordship in sending him with your Lordship's servant, but since he is just now att Dryden and that my coach will be att Glasgow on Friday nixt, in order to my wife's return, I thought he might come as soon and more safe to your Lordship's hands. As for his price, that shall easily be adjusted, and I am in hast, My Lord, Your Lordship's most humble servant.

[P.S.] This night ane express came, the Commissioner, Chance-

⁷ James Graham, 4th Marquess and first Duke of Montrose (1682-1742)

leur and Advocate⁸ has had a meeting upon it but the contents are as yet a secret. Mr Harry Maul⁹, Killbuck¹⁰, and I drink your Lordship's health.

To Mungo Graham of Gorthie

GD 220/5/1570/2

Dryden, 13 September 1704

Sir, Some time ago my Lord Montrose, being inform'd that I had a mind to part with one of my coach horses, wrote to me to send him west to his Lordship, which I did without putting any rate upon him. His first price, exchange and expences of bringing down to Scotland stood me within 3 or 4 shillings of thirty guineas. I ordered my coachman when he took him west to tell Major Graeme so much, and that now after I had kept him 5 months in Scotland, I thought him 5 guineas better than att first buying.

I woud be very loath to impose upon any man, particularly my Lord Montrose, but I realy think the horse worth 35 guineas. Twixt brother and brother, however, if my Lord think it too much wee shall easily agree it. If you designe to pay the mony tomorrow, leave notice att McClurg's Coffee House wher you'll be found about ten a-clock and I shall send a servant to wait upon you. I beg you'd give my most humble service to my Lord Montrose and belive that I am, Sir, Your most humble servant.

To Graham

GD 220/5/1570/3

Dryden, 14 September 1704

Sir, As I wrot to you yesterday, I have sent the bearer to receive the price of the horse. I have orderd him to ask no more than what he cost me, which as I told you was within 3 or 4 shillings of 30 guineas. I am Sir, Your humble servant.

⁸ John Hay, 2nd Marquess of Tweeddale (1645-1713); James Ogilvy, 1st Earl of Seafield (1663-1730); Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees

⁹ Henry Maule of Kellie, a die-hard Jacobite and subsequently titular Earl of Panmure

¹⁰ Probably William Dickson of Kilbucho

To Graham

GD 220/5/1570/4

Dryden, 15 September 1704

Sir, I never did designe to drive a trade by selling of horses, and accordingly when my Lord Montrose did enform me he had use for my horse I freely sent him to his Lordship, without setting any rate upon him, and resolving to ask no more than really he had cost me. I had an impression, that my coach-horses were as well bought as other people's, but if my Lord Montrose think otherwise, wherby the mony he stood me and what I demand for him, be above his value, I shall be so far imposing upon his Lordship, that I am very willing to take him back again whenever he will send him to me, and allwayes think myself very fortunate to have anything att my disposall, that may be serviceable to his Lordship. I don't know if I shall be in Edinburgh while my Lordship may be there, and therfore I must desire you'd enform his Lordship of my designe in this affair. I am, Sir, Your most humble servant.

To Graham

GD 220/5/1570/5

[Dryden? September 1704?]

Sir, I received yours with the price of the [horse] bought from me by Lord Montrose, for which I have herewith enclosed a receipt and am Sir, Your most humble servant.

To the Duke of Hamilton¹¹

GD 406/1/5188

Dryden, December 14 1704

May it please your Grace, I am very glad your Grace did conclude your journey so well, and I wish with all my heart your Grace may have as good a journey homewards, so soon as your Grace thinks it proper to visit this Country again. I have not been in Edinburgh since our great men came there, but I'me informed they had but a litle small retinue attending them in their parade.

¹¹ James Hamilton, 4th Duke of Hamilton (1658-1712)

The Teusday after their arrivall, the new Commission of Councill was read.

Least your Grace has not got ane account, wherein it differs from the former, I shall inform your Grace on it. The new councillours that are added are, Rothess, Montrose, Roxburgh, Glencairn, Haddington, Selkirk, Balcallras, Rugline, Yester, Belhaven, Jervisewood, Whitelaw, Arniston, Sir John Hume, Brodie, and Ormiston younger.¹² Those that are turnd out, are, Queensberry, Athole, Eglington, Glasgow, March, Bute, Duppline, Garnock, Primrose, Inverrury, Polwarth, McCleod, Rae, Philiphaugh, Prestonhall, Rankeilor, Tillicoutrie, Collington, Sir Robert Sinclair, Cavers, Prestongrange and my self.¹³ So there is 16 added and 22 turnd out. I could never yet get ane account by what rule this change is made, for they've left still, some that are Torys and some that are the Duke of Queensberry's freinds, which will be evident when your Grace knows that Erroll, Marr, Morton, Strathmore, Galloway, Northesk, Stairs, Roseberry, Haddo, and Phesdo¹⁴, are still kept in, which I think shoud be thought enuff to defile all the rest.

¹² John Leslie, 9th Earl of Rothes (1679-1722); John Ker, 5th Earl and subsequently 1st Duke of Roxburghe (c.1680-1741); John Cunningham, 11th Earl of Glencairn (d. 14 Dec. 1703); Thomas Hamilton, 6th Earl of Haddington (1680-1735); Charles Hamilton Douglas, 2nd Earl of Selkirk (1662-1739); Colin Lindsay, 3rd Earl of Balcarres (1652-1722/3); John Hamilton, 1st Earl of Ruglen (1665-1744); Charles Hay, Lord Yester, later 3rd Marquess of Tweeddale (1667-1715); John Hamilton, 3rd Lord Belhaven (1656-1708); George Baillie of Jerviswood; Sir William Hamilton of Whitelaw; Robert Dundas of Arniston; Sir John Home of Blackadder; James Brodie of Brodie; John Cockburn of Ormiston

¹³ James Douglas, 1st Duke of Queensberry (1662-1711); John Murray, 1st Duke of Atholl (1660-1724); David Boyle, 1st Earl of Glasgow (1666-1733); William Douglas, 4th Earl of March (c.1665-1705); James Stewart, 1st Earl of Bute (c.1689-1710); Thomas Hay, 1st Viscount Dupplin and subsequently 1st Earl of Kinnoull (c.1660-1719); John Crawford, 1st Viscount Garnock (1669-1708); James Primrose, 1st Viscount Primrose (1680-1706); Daniel Campbell of Inveraray; Patrick Hume, Lord Polwarth, oldest son of the Earl of Marchmont; Captain Daniel Macleod; George Mackay, 3rd Lord Reay (1678-1748); Sir James Murray of Philiphaugh; Sir Roderick Mackenzie, Lord Prestonhall of the Court of Session; Thomas Hope of Rankeillour; Robert Stewart of Tillicoultry; Sir James Foulis of Colinton; Archibald Douglas of Cavers; William Morison of Prestongrange

¹⁴ Charles Hay, 13th Earl of Erroll (c.1680-1717); John Erskine, 6th Earl of Mar (1675-1732); James Douglas, 11th Earl of Morton (c.1652-1715); John Lyon, 2nd Earl of Strathmore (1663-1712); James Stewart, 5th Earl of Galloway (d.1746); David Carnegie, 4th Earl of Northesk (d.1729); John Dalrymple, 1st Earl of Stair (c.1648-1706); Archibald Primrose, 1st Earl of Rosebery (1664-1723); William Gordon, Lord Haddo, later 2nd Earl of Aberdeen (1679-1745); James Falconer, Lord Phesdo of the Court of Session

The report of our having a new Parliament is revived again and much more possitively asserted since our statesmen came down, than before. If it be true, as I pray it may, I'me convinced it's their last and I think a desperate, effort. Upon the first certainty of it, I shall not fail, instantly to dispatch ane express to your Grace, for in that case your Grace's presence woud be absolutely necessary here. I'me assured from good hands that our 2 Secretarys¹⁵ are on such ill terms that they don't so much as salute or speak to one another, and how things will turn, time only must discover, but I like it the worse that the Commons have not tackd the conformity bill to the mony bill.¹⁶

Wee'r very busy in the upper part of Clidsdale reveiwing our fensible men and on Wedensday I'me to have out mine. This is all I know that the land of cakes affoords att present worth your Grace's knowledge. All I shall add is that in a litle time, I fear wee shall have nothing left but cakes, for mony is a great rarity and the Abby Close is as throng[ed] just now with brokn lairds and tradesmen as if her Majestie's commissioner were there with his court.

Lee¹⁷ was 'tother day here making me a visit and I took occasion to discourse him concerning the ensuing election in Clidesdale. He told me for his own part he was very indifferent whither he was the man, or not himself, for he knew litle to be got by it unless a man playd a roguish part, which was not his project, but he thinks he was slighted in being no manner of way takn notice of, since his family used (till of late that they did not qualifye themselves) constantly almost, to be entrusted in that office by the shire, and that by the concent and approbation of [your] Grace's family, and he did not know wherin ever he had done any thing to disoblidge your Grace or encline you not [to] esteem him as much a well-wisher to your Grace and family as any of his predecessours, excepting the last elections which was

¹⁵ Roxburghe and Seafeld

¹⁶ An attempt by diehard English Tories to 'tack' the third Occasional Conformity Bill (designed to exclude Dissenters from all public offices) to a money bill, thus ensuring its passage through the Whig-dominated English House of Lords, had been defeated in the Commons in the previous November

¹⁷ John Lockhart of Lee, Lockhart's cousin

much the same as what he complained of now. I told him I did not believe your Grace had any such thoughts, and that I had often heard your Grace speak with a great deal [of affection?] both of himself and his family.

To this he said he did not know whither it proceeded from your Grace or my Lady Dutchess your mother, but he was sure he had not mett with any signes of it, and particularly complained that he was informed that in a process which he had about a month ago, before the Shirriff against one of his own vassalls, the Dutchess ordered the Shirriff to sitt on his girds, and show as much favour to his adversary as justice woud possibly allow. I told him I was very positive your Grace knew nothing of that matter, and that I belived it was but seldome your Grace medled in the affairs of Clidsdale. And then I told him the case was much altered now, from what it was att the time of the last elections, and that that was intirely to be forgott on all sides. That I supposed the true reason why your Grace was not very much for his being chosen, was ane apprehension that he woud not go the way your Grace did, to which he replied it was hard for your Grace to take up such ane opinion of him without ever asking him the question or [at] the least knowing his mind. But he declared that had your Grace pitched upon him he woud have been as willing and thought it as much his interest to have been a freind to your Grace's concerns as ever any of his family had been.

This is much of what passd twixt him and me on this subject, and when I askd him who he woud be for, he said he woud not medle, and he had time enuff to consider on whom he'd bestow his own vote. He told me (since your Grace left Scotland) severall people (I suppose by my Lord Hindford's¹⁸ direction) had made him ane offer of their service, but that he declind to stand candidate and that now he was told they had pitched upon Castlemilk.¹⁹ I shall not pretend to say any thing of this affair to your Grace (for I believe your Grace knows you can carry any body you please in that shire) but after the declarations and asseverations of what he woud do, were he in the Parliament, I dare go very farr in affirming he'l be as honest and as much your

¹⁸ John Carmichael, 1st Earl of Hyndford (1638-1710)

¹⁹ Sir William Stewart of Castlemilk

Grace's servant as any you'll bring out of Clidesdale. I am your Grace's most obedient humble servant.

[P.S.] My wife and I beg liberty to offer our humble service to my Lady Dutchess.

Endorsed: 'Answerd'.

To Hamilton

GD 406/1/5329

Edinburgh, 16 January 1704/5

May it please your Grace, Your Grace's of the 30th last month came safe last week to my hands. I have not been in Edinburgh these 3 weeks till yesterday, and mony is so scarce that Edinburgh is extreamly thin of company, so I can say very litle to your Grace of the particular sentiments of many people, but in generall I can assure your Grace wee look upon the treatment giv'n us by England as it deserves, and in all companies I chance to happ'n in, I find a great deal of honesty, whither reall or counterfeit time must determine.

I doubt not but your Grace has accounts of whats a doing better than I can inform you, but here (and I have reason to belive it true) evry body concludes there will be a change, and our ministry instead of being a motly one, as Heversham²⁰ calls it, is like to turn a monthly one, whither for our better or worse I cannot tell. But still I hope dissapointments and degrading will make many look about them and be glad to return to the flock.

The new scheme as wee have it is as follows, Queensberry and Leven²¹ Secretarys, and Annandale²² Chancelour. For the other inferior places, I suppose they won't be known so soon, nor can I think this alteration will take effect until the English Parliament rise. Roxbrugh's freinds own he's ill pleasd and give out he designes to demitt. It may be, but I belive the true reason is he has no interest. As for Seafeild they say he's going to part too. 'Tis certain that both the Secretarys joind their interest to advance Forglan in Whitelaw's place²³, but in vain, for the Queen said

²⁰ The English Lord Haversham, renowned (or notorious) for long, boring speeches with occasional *bon-mots*

²¹ David Leslie, 5th Earl of Leven (1660-1728)

²² William Johnston, 1st Marquess of Annandale (1664-1721)

²³ Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Forglan; Sir William Hamilton, Lord Whitelaw of the Court of Session, Lord Justice Clerk, had died on 14 Dec. 1704

she had passd her word to the Princess Sophia to give the first vacancy to Ormiston, and was assured by Marlborough he was the most deserving man in our nation.²⁴

About a fortnight ago the Earl of Erroll dyed, and his son was likewise very ill, but now is perfectly recovered. They say that they designe to make Tweedale President of the Councill. He has no manner of interest here, Annandale hectors him out of evry thing in both Councell and treasury, and never was ther such a scandalous, barefaced seducing of members of Parliament as in the late roup of the Customs. Killmy²⁵ and sevrall other honest men were in compartnery, but they have fitt them to the Commissions of the Army att a lower rate than was offered, with this express clause, that all the members of Parliament that were Collectors, etc, shoud be continued, except Sutherland of Kinnauld and Pardwan²⁶, to whom Rolle of Woodsyde²⁷ is to succeed in Boristeness [i.e. Bo'ness], and to secure his being chosen Parliament man for the Queensferry, the ruling bayliff of that town is to be his conjunct. I hear Mr John Montgomery is conserved in this tack of the Customs. I know not what effect it may have on him nixt Parliament, but I suppose had Barngour²⁸ known last summer that Whitelaw woud have left evry great [sic] he has to my lady, he woud have engaged freelier to have done right things.

'Tis said, but I don't belive it, that our Parliament will sitt in March. The shire of Perth have contributed mony and agreed with a merchant to furnish them 12,000 stand of arms, and many more shires are going to follow their example. I drink your Grace's health evry day with Hume and Stormont²⁹, and I'me not affraid your Grace will want a backing sufficient to demolish your adversarys. As any thing occurs I shall advertise your Grace, but I am in hast just now, it being late and the port gun just going off. I am your Grace's most obedient [ends].

²⁴ Electress Sophia of Hanover, heir apparent to Queen Anne until her death on 28 May 1714, two months before the Queen; John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722)

²⁵ Probably William Cochran of Kilmaronock M.P.

²⁶ William Sutherland of Kinnauld and Walter Stewart of Pardovan

²⁷ Robert Rollo of Powhouse

²⁸ John Hamilton of Bangour

²⁹ Charles Home, 6th Earl of Home (c.1660-1706); David Murray, 5th Viscount Stormont (c.1660-1731)

[P.S.] I had occasion to see my Lord Sinclair. He tells me another Lord in Fife looks upon himself as layd aside, and swears more stoutly than ever of being right, and that men out these dayes will turn to their old station.

To Hamilton

GD 406/1/5328

Edinburgh, 25 January 1704/5

May it please your Grace, I writt to your Grace about ten dayes ago ane account of evry thing that has occurrd of late here that was worth your Grace's knowledge and since that time litle has has [*sic*] fall'n out, save the express that came here on Sunday last, of which my Lord Home told me had giv'n your Grace ane account. When he wrott it was, and still is, keep't as a great mystery and secrett, for very few of her Majestie's Privy Councillors do, to this day, know its contents. However, murder will out, we're told it contains a letter from the Queen to the Chancelor³⁰, shewing that she's assuredly informd, Sir Alexander McClean³¹ is come from France to try the pulses of the Highlanders and brought severall letters with him to Scotsmen, and likewise a French Commissar (to take up quarters no doubt for the French army) and that the Prince of Wales is to come afterwards with 6,000 men.

I think our country-men grow dayly worse and worse in plotting, for this plott jingles yet worse than the last one, but I suppose this is to pave the way for the Parliament, which evry body says will sit down in the end of March or beginning of Apryle att most. There's a story to day that the Chancelour has writt to the Duke of Athole to come to town, but I coud not learn the certainty of it. Ormiston took his place on Teusday as Lord of the Session and Justice Clerk, and has this day own'd that his commission as her Majestie's representative to the nixt General Assembly is past the Queen's hands. 'Tis certain none of our Secretarys knew of it when it was done and many affirm that they'r ignorant of it still. There's a story that Seafeild in a discourse with Marlbourough concerning Ormiston's being

³⁰ Tweeddale was Chancellor at this time

³¹ Actually Sir John Maclean had been intercepted and arrested

made Justice Clerk without the knowledge of the Secretarys did (by the assistance of the grace of God) resent it so far that they came to high words and that he put his hand to his sword, but for sevrall reasons I don't belive it.

All honest men are very anxious to have your Grace att home, and I heartily wish your Grace woud think of it seriously and not venture to stay till our Parliament approaches, for evry body must fear the worst from these who stand att nothing to compass their own ends. Roxburgh is the greatest cypher, they say, that ever was in that station, and heartily weary of it, and the Master of Belhaven³² told me yesterday, he had a letter from him lately that he designed to be here in a few weeks. Annandale, Leven and Marchmont are sorely disapointed, for they stood candidates to be the Assembly's Commisioner. I am just now in hast, Your Grace's most obedient servant.

To Hamilton

GD 406/1/9745

Dryden, 10 February 1705

May it please your Grace, Since my last (which was sent with L. away [to] Carlile) nothing has occurd, save that the 2 last posts do assure us the Parliament will sitt down, without fail, about the beginning of Aprile. On Thursday last my Lord Annandale told the Lords of Session that now and not till now he coud positively assure them that it was true, and besides that it woud not sitt above 8 days, for the Queen designd that nothing shoud be done this ensuing session, but only to agree to a treaty of Union with England and some mony granted, which his Lordship said he was sure no Scots man woud refuse. But by his Lordship's leave, I think no right Scotsman but will refuse to go into a treaty, since, unles wee impower the Queen to nominate our Commissioners, it can have no effect; because wee'r told, the English Parliament has impowered their Commissioners, to meet with such Scots Commissioners as the Queen shall appoint after our Parliament has impowerd her therto, so that if wee don't grant this to the Queen, their Commission falls. But to return again to the point. Now that it is affirm'd by evry body, even Yester himself, I am

³² John Hamilton, later 4th Lord Belhaven

orderd by all those here that are wellwishers to your Grace and this nation, earnestly to beg your Grace woud make what hast possible to be here; if this opportunity be lost, perhaps wee shall never have another, and I can assure your Grace much depends upon your being here a considerable time before it sitt[s] down, because wee'r told by many north country people, such as Prestonhall, Sir George Sinclair and others, that sevrall of the north country members are insinuating that they will not be present, not out of any ill designe, but realy mony is so scarce that men of good estates say they won't be able to raise as much as will allow them to attend.

By this I'me sure your Grace will see how necessar it is for your being here, and I heartily wish your Grace woud seriously think upon it, and be soon amongst us. There's a report that the Earl of Erroll will not take the oaths. I have no news so I shall conclude with subscribing my self your Grace's most faithfull and obedient servant.

To Hamilton

GD 406/1/9723

[Before 26 March] 1705

May it please your Grace, After I received your Grace's of the 14 of February I doubled my diligence in endeavouring to understand something (less or more) of the inclinations of all people in generall, but particularly I did cast my self in Glenegues³³, etc, their way, and I soon understood, by their cant, the truth of the Duke of Argyle's coming in the play, [for] the particulars of which I refer your Grace to the Viscount.³⁴ Tis many months ago since I was affraid that these late rumblings in our Government woud end in making up a very dangerous party against the interest of the country, and upon that account I gave litle credit to the reports of some of the Duke of Queensberry's freinds, as if he had no hand in the Duke of Argyle's promotion and was resolv'd to stand neutrall, and time has now evidenced that my jealousies were not groundless, since its not now denyed but that his Grace is to come doun and sitt in the nixt Parliament

³³ John Haldane of Gleneagles, i.e. the Squadrone

³⁴ Probably Viscount Stormont

and use all his interest to induce his freinds to go into the Court measures.

I cannot pretend to give your Grace an assured and certain account of the inclinations of the members of Parliament. There are few of them in town, but in so far as I have occasion to converse with them, and as I can understand by the Marishall, Boin, and Sir Thomas Burnett's letters³⁵, your Grace will find the honest men you left to remain *in statu quo prius*. As for the Duke of Queensberry's freinds, I can say no more but that Tillicutrie and Dugall Stuart³⁶ profess against the present measures and pretend to answer for the Earl of Bute. And I had a letter last week from my Lord Eglington (who was lately, about 3 weeks ago, in Edinburgh and was very right) wherein he tells me that my Lord Galloway was att his house and had such a just opinion of the treatment wee had this winter receivd from England that he did not doubt, but he and all his freinds woud enter into all measures to show their resentments of the same. Att the time that your Grace's packett came here, those of us who had the honour of letters from your Grace soon found out one another, and wee resolvd diligently to make it our busines to converse with all parties and endeavour to draw from thence the inclinations of the people.

In generall I may venture to say that I belive the plurality of the nation by far, whither you consider number or interest, do resent the maletreatment wee have received from England, and I have found it the unanimous opinion of all your Grace's freinds here, that, the making the least advance towards any treaty with England, untill they'r late late [*sic*] Act in relation to us³⁷, be repeald, is alltogether inconsistent with the honour of this nation, but the measures how to obviat the same cannot be concluded and agreed upon untill your Grace comes to this Country. And therfore I must earnestly beg that, as your Grace woud have

³⁵ William Keith, 8th Earl Marischal (c.1664-1712), James Ogilvy of Boyne and Sir Thomas Burnett of Leys

³⁶ Robert Stewart of Tillicoultry M.P. and Dougal Stewart M.P.

³⁷ The Aliens Act, a measure aimed at crippling Scottish trade with England, was passed by the English Parliament in retaliation for the Scottish Parliament's passage of the Act of Security which laid down a separate succession for Scotland on the death of Queen Anne

things go right, you'd make all imaginable hast in being here, in such cases of necessity as att this time exists, nothing I hope will prevaill with your Grace to delay your journey. The Chancelour and Roxbrugh will be down very soon and 'tis absolutely necessar they shoud meet with a counterlangue, and without flattery, I know none fitt or cappable to give them that reception but your Grace alone.

There's a report here that the Duke of Argyle possitively demands the laying assyde of Selkirk, Johnston³⁸, Belhaven and Jerviswood. In that case I understand wee shall have a debate whither Jerviswood having never officiat[ed] in Parliament as an officer of state, can be still admitted as a barron. The generality of the lawyers I've conversed with assert the negative, however I suppose it will be a very considerable (if not trying) vote. There is one thing that all your Grace's freinds were unanimous in, and requird me to show so much to your Grace and that is they thought it absolutely necessary for promoting the interest of Patrick Steil's club, that your Grace and Salton³⁹ were again in good understanding. No body will pretend to justifie all his actions and manner of proceedings, but yet he is so usefull a member of a party (take him all [to] gather) that your Grace cannot but perceive, how great a disadvantage it woud be, not to have him in concert att this time. The means and ways how to bring this reconciliation about, must be left, on your Grace's part, to your self, but that it were effected is the hearty wish of all your Grace's freinds, and I have reason to belive Salton is very far from being averss to it, but on the contrary very desirous of it.

As for the publick news, that wee have here I shall not trouble your Grace with it [*sic*] since the Viscount can give you a more particular account, than the limitts of a letter will allow. And so without troubling your Grace any furder, I wish my Lady Dutchess a safe delivery and your Grace soon amongst us, and I shall for ever remain your Grace's most humble and obedient servant.

³⁸ James Johnston, the former Secretary, at this time Lord Clerk Register

³⁹ 'Patrick Steil's club' refers to Steele's tavern in Edinburgh, where the Country party usually met; 'Salton' was Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, the renowned (and irascible) patriot

To Hamilton

GD 406/1/9725

Dryden, 26 March 1705

May it please your Grace, I wrot as fully as possible to your Grace with the Viscount⁴⁰, who went this day from my house to wait upon your Grace. I do not think it strange that your Grace being att a distance and hearing of this conjunction twixt Roxburgh and Queensberry, shoud be apprehensive of the danger this nation is in, but were your Grace here you'd soon perceive all is not lost thats in hazard, for I dare go very farr to assure your Grace our young ministry are so sharp sighted as to forsee what will be their fortune if the present Court measures succeed.

The Viscount will give your Grace a particular account of the reasons that induces many others besydes me to be of this opinion, and therfore I need not trouble your Grace any more on this subject. Only least the Viscount (having a clog bag full of commissions to your Grace) shoud forgett, I must acquaint you, that yesterday discourseing with Salton on this subject, he told me he had just before he mett me seen a letter which came last post from my Lord Roxburgh wherein he had these words: that if the Duke of Hamilton manadged his business right, he might advance his party and do a signall service to his country. Whither this be cunning, in hopes to fish into our designes, or whither it proceeds from a designe of returning again amongst us, I shall [not] pretend to determine, but I think to save the boat wee ought to make use of all seamen, whither formerly pyrates or fair dealing traders. And this with the difficulty there wil be in persuading the members to be well and soon conveend does render it absolutely necessary that your Grace shoud make all hast in coming here. I have desyrd the Viscount to send off ane express to me and I'll meet your Grace upon the road, and communicate what I can pick up in the mean time. And so without trouble[ing] your Grace any further I shall say no more att present but wish my Lady Dutchess may be well and soon brought to bed, and for ever remain your Grace's most humble and obedient servant.
[P.S.] I designe this or nixt week to write to our freinds in the [country?] to make ready.

⁴⁰ Probably Viscount Stormont

To Hamilton

GD 406/1/9726

Dryden, 12 April 1705

May it please your Grace, I did not send a return to your Grace's which came to me by Baily Menzies, because I knew of no occasion to write but by the post, and I was in hopes ere it could, that way, come to your Grace's hands, you'd have begun your journey hither.

I have been these 10 or 12 days by past over the water in Angus, wher I saw sevrall of your Grace's freinds and drank your health. I came home but yesternight, so that I can say litle as to the politicks, and I doubt not but some of your Grace's freinds have givn your Grace ane account of the letters which passd to and again twixt the Councell and Commissioner, and how yesterday the rable tost the Chancelour.⁴¹ I don't much care for rables, but I fancy this may make his Lordship more upon the reserve and not so forwards than perhaps he'd have been otherwise, for they desird him to remember and bless God he had escaped their fury long ago about the Caledonian affair⁴², and not to belive and expect that if he continued to ruin and betray his Country that he should be made ane example.

Before I went over the water I had access to my Lord Chancelor and conversed above 2 hours with him alone. Att first I found him very much upon his high horse, asserting that wee designed plainly one of 2 things, either to establish a commonwealth or a popish successour, against both [of] which he'd venture his life and fortune. I fell a-laughing and told him that now I was realy convinced that he and the Duke of Queensberry had patchd up their breaches, since his Lordship was pleasd to lay hold on his arguments, to which he answered, by no means, he was not in that freindship with the Duke that I supposed, and for his part he expected if this Court prevaild he woud not long remain in his post. He told me positively that unless wee'd settle the successour wee need not expect to obtain any laws for regulating our constitution, and if wee'd not give mony they'd govern us without ane army, and the great argument he insists on for

⁴¹ Seafield was reinstalled as Chancellor on 9 March 1705

⁴² A reference to Seafield's unpopularity at the time of the Darien fiasco

leaving the nomination of the treaters to the Queen, is that this country is divided by it, therefore she'l make a better choise than wee can do. In short my Lord, all I coud make of or do with him was to see that he remaind the old man, ready to stand with the upmost and argue in behalf of evry thing that's projected, and I threaten'd him with being entirely demolished and run down nixt Parliament.

I had occasion to converse with Rothés when I was over the water, and I find a mighty change on him, in short I have been assured from more than one or two, and some of them (as I supposed) was sent a-purpose to let me understand, that the late apostatising parts woud gladly return to their primative faith, and for that end long'd extreamly for your Grace being come home, and insinuated your Grace might make what terms you pleasd. This and the difficultys that will be found, in perswading the members to give attendance att least in such time as the main point be not over, are, I think, strong arguments to induce your Grace to make all possible speed homewards. Besides, your Grace must not trust to the Parliament's being adjourned, for it's givn out that if it be adjourned it won't be for above 8 days, which is but a short time.

I heartily wish your Grace joy of your young son, and my Lady Dutchess a happy recovery, both for her own sake and that your Grace may have liberty to begin your journey homewards to the land of cakes. I cannot see how the Court can propose to themselves to be able to carry throw their point, and 'tis without doubt that if wee manadge our affairs right wee shall do our busines bravly.

The Chancelour told me that they had not concluded what measures to take. I told him I suposed before the Duke of Argyle accepted his office that the Queen and he had concluded upon the conditions that was to be required of him, so that they coud not but know, and evry body pretended to know what it was they had engadged to do to the Queen and [the] English ministry. 'Yes', says he, 'thats true, but wee don't yet [know] what methods to take to [make it] effectual.' 'As for that, my Lord', says I, '[I] hope all of you shall be ignorant, and neither ever come to a resolution nor be capable to put it in practice.' And realy what he said to me I

belive to be true, for I do not hear that either himself or his agents are going about as they used, and I suppose they found they'r engaged to loose so ravelld a knot that they know not att which end to begin, and will do nothing till his high and mighty Grace⁴³ come down, who, as far as I can understand, knows nor proposes no way to loose such Gordian knots, but like Alexander the Great to cutt them with his sword. If your Grace will send off one from Podeen or therby, I will endeavour to meet your Grace by the way, and so hoping to see your Grace very soon I shall end with assuring your Grace that I am your most faithfull humble servant.

To Hamilton

GD 406/1/9727

Dryden, 18 April 1705

May it please your Grace, Yesterday I receivd your Grace's by the Viscount. I cannot add any thing of news to what I wrot with your Grace's footman, all projects being kept secret. Yesterday the Chancelour swore to me that he was very uneasie in his post, for he was in the Government with a sett of people that were att cutting of throats with, and mistrusted one another and how to behave he knew not, and that he was absolutely ignorant what was to be done this Parliament and assurd me as yett, to his knowledge, the measures to takn were not concerted, which in my opinion is in English, that they've not yett falln upon a way how to engadge Tweedale, etc, to go alongst with them, and without which they need not expect to do their busines.

Nairn's⁴⁴ being made conjunct undersecretary has highly exasperated Roxburgh, yet he has with difficulty prevaild with Wedderburn⁴⁵ not to dimitt till the Parliament be over. Its now clear by Phillyshaugh's being made Register⁴⁶, wher the Duke of Queensberry has been this winter, and I suppose one of the reasons that the Parliament is adjourn'd to the 24 of May is, that he may be present att it. Our Commissioner⁴⁷ is to be in Edinburgh

⁴³ John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll (1680-1743), was renowned for his pride and quick temper

⁴⁴ Sir David Nairn, an understrapper of Queensberry's faction

⁴⁵ Alexander Wedderburn, the Earl of Cromarty's Squadrone-nominated undersecretary

⁴⁶ Sir James Murray of Philiphaugh was reinstalled as Lord Clerk Register on 7 April 1705

⁴⁷ The Duke of Argyll

on Saturday and then you may be sure attacks will be made on Tweeddale, but I hope to no purpose. The Viscount is of opinion that this adjournment will induce your Grace not to be here against the time your Grace did appoint, but I cannot forbear begging you woud not delay it, for I can assure your Grace you'll have litle enuff time. Come as soon as you can, considering the difficulty will be in conveening sevrall members and how proper it is to be near Tweeddale, etc, when the attacks are made upon them. These and many other reasons that will easily occur to your Grace will, I hope, prevail with your Grace not to take the sheaf from the mare. I shall be in Clidsdale this fortnight or 3 weeks, so if your Grace will send me notice of your arryvall I shall soon wait upon you. I'll be found att Covington, which is about 3 miles from Biggar and one from Carmichell. I'm not sure if this will reach your Grace till you be on the way, however, I thought it not much amiss to give your Grace this trouble, being your Grace's most faithfull. [ends]

To Hamilton

GD 406/1/9728

Dryden, 3rd June 1705

May it please your Grace, If I had not been so much indisposd, these 2 dayes by past, that I find it necessar for me to take a vomitt or 2, I had certainly waited upon your Grace tomorrow. I'm hopefull and I belive 'twill be thought proper, that your Grace be in Edinburgh sometime this week, if the Parliament sitt down the nixt, I shoud be glad to know the time, that I may be readie to attend. I was assurd by one who came yesterday from Edinburgh, that the Earl of Murray⁴⁸ had stood his ground and reseeded the proposalls made to him by my Lord Commissioner. I was in such hast when I writt my last I forgot to acquaint your Grace that a reconciliation being made by the powerfull mediation of Stairs, 'twixt Argyle and Seafeld, upon his Lordship engadging to go into great measures shoud be proponed unto him, he was continued till furder orders in his office, and that the same overture was made to Jerviswood, who took a certain time to consider on it and give his answer, which in my opinion smells too much of ane inclination to comply.

⁴⁸ Charles Stewart, 21st Earl of Moray (c.1660-1735)

I was assured t'other day by one that came from Glasgow that Castlemilk and his agents were very busy in endeavouring to make a party for him, at our nixt election in Clidsdale, but your Grace must know the truth of it as well as any other. I shall not not [*sic*] fail to go west and I'me hopefull [I will] be able to perswade Lee to come to reason. I am your Grace's most obedient servant.

[P.S.] I hope your Grace has confirmd some late converts in your last progress.

To Hamilton

GD 406/1/5425

Dryden, 8 June 1705

May it please your Grace, I was yesterday in Edinburgh, but I coud learn no news of great moment, and ev'n what is talkd is so often contradicted, that one knows not what or how [much to] belive. I was assur'd by some (and twas deny'd by others) that the new commissions came down with the last express, and particularly that Forfar⁴⁹ and Ross⁵⁰ were put upon the Treasury. For my part I'me resolved to lay my mony against the Court now, for I'me sure these Lords are so much dead weight. I hear Stairs has prevail'd with the Commissioner to lay asyde all thoughts of setling the succession, and in its place, to push the leaving the nomination of the treaters to the Queen, on the other hand that Tweedale, etc, positively require what his Grace is for declaring, and that they splitt upon that account, but for my own part I cannot comprehend how they can divide on that head. I'me assured that Annandale is very much picqued that the Chancelour is continued. 'Tis affirm'd by all parties, that the Parliament will sitt on the 28[th]

Stonywood⁵¹ goes north nixt week and will be with your Grace on Saturday. 'Twill be found absolutely necessar for your Grace to write circular letters to your freinds in the north, that they may attend the precise day of Parliament, for I'me affraid our Court woud be glad to catch us tardy. I designe to wait upon your Grace nixt week, and then satisfye you why I delayd printing the book

⁴⁹ Archibald Douglas, 1st Earl of Forfar (1653-1712)

⁵⁰ William Ross, 12th Lord Ross (1656-1738)

⁵¹ James Moir of Stonywood, M.P.

your Grace sent me. My intelligence still informs me that Castlemilk does stand to be elected in Clidesdale, and that I might be the more sure, yesterday I made it my busines to find out Walkinshaw⁵² (who was come some few days before from Glasgow) and he assured me it was so, to his particular knowledge, viz his hearing Castlemilk own it, and accounts from others, that they were solicited by him for that end. Tis odd indeed after Castlemilk's engadging to the contrary, but there's a certain sort of people stands not to violate either divine or human laws to obtain their own ends.

I cannot hear that [the] Duke [of] Queensberry's come off. On the contrary I'me told that his head is so prodigiously big, that he was necessitate to give his word of honour not to leave London untill that tumour was asswaged, so that his staying or coming depends upon his obtaining a remedy hence, and one woud think this notion was the most unfitt of any in the universe, for prescribing and furnishing medecines. Again, I knew from one that was tother day receiving some mony from Alves⁵³ in his Grace's name, that he had a considerable sume which he was remitting to London for his Grace's use. I designe to go west and have trysted Lee on the 23rd att Carnwath. I am your Grace's most obedient .

To Gavin Mason⁵⁴

GD 406/1/5321

Edinburgh, 1st January 1705/6

Sir, Since I came here, I've often bewaild the condition of my good freinds in London, that are oblidged to pull away, with most Antichristian liquour, and by drinking of good wine to their healths I have much corrected my blood, and am as clear as a new start here. Were my good freind Mason in this country, he'd find no need of turning Sunday to a day of purification.

Now as for news I have litle to say from this place. I hear our high and mighty Whigs are not very fond of ane Union (I mean ane incorporating one) least their beloved Kirk shoud be impaired

⁵² John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield (father of Clementina Walkinshaw)

⁵³ William Alves, M.P. for Sanquhar

⁵⁴ An agent of Hamilton's resident in London

of its native strength, but wee'r willing to enter into a federal Union (which long ago was call'd a Covenant) with our dear brethren, and wee won't be very nice as to the terms, provided wee be assured that there's hopes of rooting out superstition, willworship, and white popery.⁵⁵ For you know the Saints have learned to preferr Christ's interest, to their own. I long to have a particular account how things have gone since I saw you, and particularly how it came to pass, that Mr Caesar was sent to the Tower⁵⁶, for by all that I can understand of the matter he was not singular, and that sevrall as reflecting speeches had been made, ere I came away, on the same subject, and none troubled for it. I was mighty sorry I did not see you the night before I came away. The obligations you put upon me were so great I shall never be in a capacity to shew what a gratefull sense I retain of them, and I long for nothing more, than ane occasion to convince you, your favours were bestowed upon one that will allwayes own himself your most humble and affectionate servant.

[P.S.] I must beg you'd offer all my freinds and particularly honest Mr Manly⁵⁷, my most faithfull service, and make my excuse to him for putting this in his cover, since my designe is to save you the postage, and carry my letter the more securely.

Pull away brave boy.

When you are so good as to lett me hear from you, direct for me to be left att Mr Monson's house in the Writer's Court, Edenburgh.

To Hamilton

GD 406/1/5322

Dryden, 1st January 1705/6

May it please your Grace, The best excuse I can make for my neglect in [not] writing oftner to your Grace whilst I was att

⁵⁵ Lockhart is sarcastically using epithets more usually deployed by Presbyterian zealots attacking the Church of England

⁵⁶ Charles Caesar, M.P. for Hertford and a violent High Tory cum Jacobite, was sent to the Tower in December 1705 for insinuating in the Commons that Lord Treasurer Godolphin had been in touch with the exiled Stuart court at St Germain's, and then refusing to substantiate the allegation

⁵⁷ John Manley, M.P. for Bossiney and a prominent High Tory, possibly with Jacobite sympathies

London, and forfaulting my promise of waiting upon you att Preston, as I came down, is to tell the reall truth. As to the first then, the divertions were so many that, with one thing or another, I was disturbed sevrall times, after I had gone home for that very purpose, and after I had ommitted too long I resolvd to make this excuse for all, and as to the last, I realy designed it and was about the buying of horses to have performed it, but was prevented, by some busines which oblidged me to come home post as fast as I could.

This place affoords very litle news. The Duke of Queensberry has often appointed days to begin his journey, but still resides amongst us, tho he talks of departing very soon, and one woud think it strange, his Grace shoud procrastinate it so long, since the accomodating of all differences betwixt 2 powerful nations depended upon and was delayed till he was att London. I've been but one day in Edinburgh since I came to Scotland and had then the opportunity of seing very few of my acquaintance, so I can say litle of the sentiments of people here in relation to the present designes on foot, besides your Grace knows wee'l be of 20 different minds ere the Parliament meet. But, by what I could pick up in England, as I look upon the fare pretences the English make of doing us right, to be only a plaisture to skinn over the wound which the approaching division is likely to make, so I forsee twill be manadged according to our laudable use and wont, by making it a party busines, since I do verily belive few will be named on the commission of treaty that have not their goings to perfection. They pretend indeed otherwise, but their design is evident, since the Torys or Country party they spoke of to be included, were meer nonentitys.

If my intelligence be good, your Grace will not have the honour to be included, and tho I have reason to belive I shall be named one, yet I do not look upon it as a favour, since I cannot comprehend what shoud tempt me to accept of ane employment where all I can expect is to spend my mony to serve a set of _____ and be oblidged to sitt as a cypher. By this your Grace may guess att my designe if I shoud be named, which was told me both by our English and Scots rulers. But my positively refusing to stay or promise to return to London on such ane account, unless they'd

first lett me see the list that was to be my companions that therby I might be able [to] determine whither I coud do my country any service, will I hope prevail with them not to put me on that black list.

I have often wondered (tho I must say I was to blame) att the Chancelour in protesting and endeavouring to perswade me that the English were serious and that good terms woud be obtained from them to the land of cakes. But, honest man, he's the best defender of passive obedience that ere I saw, and tis happy for the nation he exists in so happy and mild a reigne. But, nevertheless, he has but small hopes of its taking effect in Scotland, for he's affraid the Torys there will oppose it, and told me he had letters from some leading men of a party (which by his discourse I took to be the high flown Whigs), wherein they declared themselves alltogether against ane incorporating Union and, says he, the English have not the least notion of the nature of federall Union. To this I replied that I thought his Lordship mistaken for I belived there was a considerable number of people in England that understood and approved a solemn league and covenant (which I took to be one kind of a federall Union) as well as their progenitors did in the year 49. If this treaty be concluded so as to tend to the good of our nation I shall be glad of it, but if it prove a sham, I cannot see otherwise, but it must light heavy on some people.

A litle time will discover much, for one woud think matters were allmost come to such a crisis, that they stand long as they do now. If I have neglected formerly to write formerly [*sic*] this I'me sure will [be] a sort of amends, but I'me affraid I've incroached too much on your patience, and therefore shall conclude with owning my selfe your Grace's most obedient servant.

[P.S.] I wish your Grace a good new year. I'de allmost forgot to tell your Grace the laird of Braco⁵⁸ has departed this life.

To Hamilton

GD 406/1/5323

Edinburgh, 25 January 1705/6

[No salutation] I am sure I was more dissappointed than your Grace when I was oblided to alter my resolution of waiting upon your Grace as I came from London, and nothing but a very

⁵⁸ Alexander Duff of Braco, M.P. for Inverness

pressing necessity prevaild with me to do it. I do not take it ill your Grace banters your freinds, but I'me perswaded I'me not so much in favour as to have the honour to be a treater, but besides 2 English journeys in one year will be heavy to one [of] the subjects of the antient kingdome, tho indeed my Lord Ross was clear the Queen shoud give £1,000 to each treater out of her privy purse, in which case twere the more desirable to be employed.

As for news realy I know none, wee've nothing here but imperfect accounts, so that wee know not what to belive. There are different accounts of the treaty; some say twill go well on, others that no commission will be expedie [*sic*] but 3 of [the] English Parliament men attend and offer our Parliament some proposalls, and that the Duke of Marlborough and the Treasurer⁵⁹ are not very forward for advancing the treaty att this time, but wee must have a litle patience, and I suppose if once [the] Duke of Queensberry were arrived att London they'l soon come to some conclusion or other. By what I can see all the honoured members of the venerable Squadrone are no great freinds to it, but ere our Parliament meets, they'l have time to change their minds 20 times. Leven is certainly Commander in Cheif, Lothian⁶⁰ has got the Foot Guards, and Lord Archibald Campble⁶¹ his regiment of Dragoons, which very much shagreens Marchmont on his son's account. I hear Sir Francis Grant⁶² will succeed Braco and that Arbruchell⁶³ is to be dignified with the title of ane Earl. Your Grace's servant is in hast, so till I have something of more moment I will trouble your Grace no more, but that I am your most obedient humble servant.

To the Earl of Loudoun⁶⁴

LO 9114

Dryden, 9th March 1706

My Lord, Yesterday I received your Lordship's of the 2nd instant, and shall allwayes acknowledge the honour the Queen has done

⁵⁹ Sidney Godolphin, 1st Earl of Godolphin (1645-1712), Queen Anne's first Lord Treasurer

⁶⁰ William Kerr, 2nd Marquess of Lothian (1661-1722)

⁶¹ Brother of the Duke of Argyll, later Earl of Ilay and third Duke of Argyll (1682-1761)

⁶² Later Lord Cullen of the Court of Session

⁶³ Sir Colin Campbell of Aberuchill, a Lord of Session. The rumour was untrue

⁶⁴ Hugh Campbell, 3rd Earl of Loudoun (c. 1667-1731), one of the Scottish Secretaries of State (with the Earl of Mar) from 5 June 1705

me, by including me amongst those she's been pleas'd to appoint to meet and treat with the Commissioners of England⁶⁵, and if my health and affairs will allow I shall do the best I can to shew my readiness to serve her Majestie and my Countrie. But I've been of late and am att present so indisposed, and my attendance last summer on the Parliament, and absence from home part of this winter att London, renders my presence in Clidsdale (wher I have not been now near these 2 years bypast) so necessary, that I cannot determine my self, nor acquaint your Lordship against what time I can expect to be att London, especially so soon as your Lordship proposes. I have all imaginable inclination to do ev'ry thing, in my litle power, that may any-wayes tend for her Majestie's or my Countrie's service, so that if my affairs here necessarily impede my journey, I'me hopeful it won't be misconstrued, and I'me sure it can be a prejudice to neither, because I know my self most incapable to do any service in this affair.

Your Lordship oblidges me very much, in not doubting my being willing to serve my freinds, amongst which number I have so many reasons to include your Lordship, that I look upon my self as bound, by the striktest tyes, to lay hold on all occasions to testifye the gratitude of, My Lord, Your Lordship's most faithful humble servant.

Endorsed; '23rd, Carnwath, 9 March'.

To the Earl of Mar

GD 124/15/341/6

Dryden, March 9th 1706

My Lord, Yesterday I received your Lordship's of the 2nd instant, with an account of the honour the Queen has been pleas'd to conferr on me, by naming me one of the Commissioners for treating with those of England. I have all the inclination in the world to serve her Majestie and my Countrie, on this or any occasion, but my health has been so uncertain of late, and I'me att present so indisposed, and my presence sometime this spring in Clidsdale so absolutely necessar, that it is impossible for me to tell what will be the precise time I can be att London, and if upon these accounts, I be retarded and my attendance not so exact as that of

⁶⁵ Commissioners for the negotiation of the treaty of Union

others, I must beg your Lordship woud not misconstrue the same, by imputing it to any backwardness to obey her Majestie's commands and serve my Country, since I very venture to say, there is nobody wisheth more happiness and prosperity to both, than my self, which my actings, to the best of my knowledge, shall constantly evidence. I'me very sensible of my own incapacity to do any service in this affair, but shall do all in my powr to demonstrate my willingnes and good inclinations to it, and never slip any occasion to convince your Lordship tis part of my ambition to be lookd upon as, My Lord, your most humble and obedient servant.

Endorsed; 'Mr Lockhart of Carnwath, March 9th 1706'.

To Hamilton

GD 406/1/5346

Dryden, 16 March 1706

May it please your Grace, I designd to have writt to your Grace by this days post, but getting notice, by chance, that your Grace had a servant to go from Kennall on Monday, I choosed to send this thither to be thence transmitted to your Grace.

I'me confident your Grace was surprizd att the honour was done me by placing me on the treaty. For my own part I protest before God that I did not in the least ask or expect it, for when I was att London and the Chancelour att a distance lett fall some words as if they designed me for one of them, I allwayes told him that unless I knew who were to be my consents, tho the Queen shoud name me, yet I coud not say I woud accept. Since I came home till 'tother day that the Chancellor and 2 Secretarys gave me an account of my promotion, I had not the least correspondenc with any one of them, which made me conclude my slighting the employment had induced them to lay me aside, and how it has come about I can't imagine. I cannot attribute it to my uncle⁶⁶, for I think he woud have writt to me, but I have not heard one word from him since I came home, so that the only notion I can have of it, is they've pitched upon me as the properest person of our freinds to be their tool and sitt there as a cypher.

⁶⁶ Thomas Wharton, 5th Lord (later Earl and ultimately Marquis of) Wharton (1648-1715), one of the English Whig junto

However, since they have putt me upon this lock, I'de gladly do what now lyes in my power to serve my Country and freinds. And therupon the question is whether I shoud go up or not. I returned the Chancellor and Secretarys such ambiguous answers that they'l scarcely know whether to expect me or not, and to tell the truth I do not know, as yet, what to do. When I consider I'me placed solely all alone amongst a sett of people with whom your Grace knows that hitherto I never had the least correspondence, to manage ane affair of very great consiquence, I cannot but forsee innumerable difficulties and hazards, for if I dissent from them, which is more than probable I will, how shall I behave? If I tautly pass over and be only silent, yea, tho I shoud reason and vote against sevrall points that will be cognosed (such as the succession, incorporating Union, etc), if I do not protest against them or att least desire my dissent may be marked in the minutes, how shall it be known but that I concurrd and went alongst with them, and therby I shall run the hazard of obtaining the same character with the rest, and if I shoud protest I draw the odium of the whole party upon my back, and it will soon render me incapable to do any service to my freinds by getting into their secrets, which is the reason Mr Fletcher⁶⁷ makes use of to perswade me to go up. These objections has no weight with him (for he's still the old man), and even laying them aside, I'me sure they have no reason to belive that I'le ever go allongst with them. And therefore, let my conduct be never so prudent and circumspect, twill be impossible for me to expect to learn or know any more from them then what is designed to be made publick, so that I can see no good I can do by going.

This is what appears to me in this matter, however, I'me resolved not to be unimature in the matter, and will do what ever my freinds advises me to either to serve them or my Country and Queen. I've writ to Hume, Maryhall, Strathmore, Erroll, Killmie, etc, to know their sentiments. Theirs no body on whose opinion I rely so much as your Grace, and therefore I earnestly beg you'd be so kind as [to] give me your advice in this matter (by the very first post or other occasion), both as my freind in relation to the hazard I expose myself to, and whether you think the service I

⁶⁷ Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun

may do (which indeed I cannot see) to my Country or freinds will overbalance the other. If it be judged necessary I should go, I shall certainly see your Grace first, either coming your way or (least that should be taken notice of) slipping privately from hence and meeting your Grace; which [ever] of the 2 you'll appoint. I shall have time enuff to resolve after I hear from your Grace, so till then I shall give you no furdur trouble but that I am and will ever continue your Grace's faithfull humble servant.

To Harry Maule of Kellie

GD 45/14/336/32

London, 25 April 1706

Dear Sir, I'me just now in hast, so all I can say to you is that I'me told the treaters have agreed so farr, the Scots to be incorporated with England, and the English to grant the Scots freedome of trade, under such terms and regulations as be hereafter treated of, and judged for the good of both kingdoms. What these reservations will prove is the question. I'me told the Scots faintly proposed a federall Union, but upon the English declaring they'r aversion to it they let it drop. Tho I'me told they think they have therby prepared a defence to their own Parliament, I'me assured and do belive they'l agree here.

Wee've thundring news, tho no body belives the ridiculous story of Toulouse⁶⁸, his being defeat and takn, nor doubts of Barcelona's being takn, but now that the Duke of Berwick's⁶⁹ defeat wee designe [the] Earl of Galloway⁷⁰ shall march to Madrid and Philip⁷¹ quitt Catalonia to follow him. A gentleman told me he saw [the] Earl of Galloway's letter to his agent here, wherin he says he had taken Allcantara and [a] good number of prisoners, but never a word of the Duke of Berwick's defeat and death, so that wee here belive that according to our late laudable custom 5 parte of 6 of this successfull news are false.

I can say no more to you att present but shall give you a furdur account ere long. When you communicate this to Kilmie, Salton,

⁶⁸ The Comte de Toulouse, Louis XIV's second son by Madame de Montespan

⁶⁹ James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick (1670-1734), an illegitimate son of James VII and II; by 1706 a naturalised Frenchman and Marshal of France

⁷⁰ Henri de Massue, 1st Earl of Galway (1648-1720), commander of the Allied army in Spain

⁷¹ Philip V of Spain, formerly the Duc d'Anjou

or any of our freinds, pray remember me to them. And direct for [mail for] me to be left att Mr John Campbell's, Goldsmith, att the 3 Crowns in the Strand. I am for ever most sincerely yours.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/31

[London] May 9th 1706

Dear Sir, Yesterday I received yours. And I fancy by this time, S[altoun?] has shown you one from me to him. I allwayes was of opinion that a scheme of Union was concerted and woud be agreed to here, and yet I know not what to think, now that I see the English so positively insist upon equality of taxes, altho they have agreed that neither nation shall be affected with t'other's debts, and near £20,000 is appropriated for the payment of debts and to last 95 years. Tis true indeed they say they'l give ane equivalent; viz, a summ of mony correspondent to the burden Scotland shall bear of these taxes which are appropriated for debts (which wee find will amount for 3 or 4 years to £80,000 yearly and thereafter to about £30,000 yearly) but to me it is imposible so to distribute it amongst the poor people as they shall therby be enabled to bear these heavy burdens.

The President⁷² is very stif as to the point. For my own part, I think I have fair occasion to dissent from my bretheren if they agree to it, and I've got so well in with Pittmedden⁷³ that he'l com with me. The English cannot but see, and have been told, this is impractible, and that wee cannot bear these taxes, but if wee condeshend to it here, they are (as I take the plott) [at] the last indiffrent whither it pass in the Parliament or not, for I'me convinced they designe no Union, but to lodge the first refusall on the Scots Parliament, which the Whigs will make a handle of against honest men, but I'me hopefull they may come to catch a tartar. And I think it absolutely necessar that I dissent both in the particular of the taxes, the small representation they'l allow us in the House of Commons, and the depriving our nobility of their birthright by reducing their number in the House of Lords to a certain quota to be ['payed' erased] elected by the whole, that it

⁷² Sir Hugh Dalrymple of North Berwick, Lord President of the Court of Session

⁷³ William Seton of Pitmedden jr, M.P.

may not be said, the Scots Parliament rejects a scheme unanimously agreed to.

This day's news makes us all look downwards; wee've lost hopes of Barcelona. For private letters assure us, the town's incessantly battered and bombarded, and all in a flame when the news came off, and could not resist above 5 or 6 days. I was this day told, by a person of note, that if the affairs of the warr went on at this rate, it would create such a confusion in a few months in England, as has not happened in our times. For people were already beginning to be very apprehensive of the credit and security of paper credit, and if demands of payment be made old England's gone. And I know that the great men are plaguey uneasy about it. I'm now in hast, so adieu.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/30

[London, mid-May 1706]

[No salutation] I wrote to you last post. On Friday there was a general meeting of the Commissioners of both kingdoms, where the English gave a return to the Scots' proposal (of bearing an equality of customs, as I told you at large in my last), that they observed the Scots Commissioners omitted to give any answer to the equality of all excises, without which there could not be an intimate Union, of which they were so desirous that they'd give an equivalent for what the Scots should be burdened by the English debts. Therefore they desire a full answer to all the points of taxes. The Scots met this day amongst themselves upon it. I was once resolved to have protested against it, but on 2nd thoughts I thought it better to see how far they drive. It would have been too bare-faced to have acquiesced at once to all, and therefore they drew up an answer to be presented on Monday in these terms; that they agreed to an equality of excise upon ale and beer provided the 2 penny ale instead was valued as small beer in England. But in regard the Scots were not in a condition to bear the other taxes, they proposed that they should be exempted from all other taxes whatsoever for such a period of time as should hereafter be condeshended on. That they desired they'd explain the equivalent they proposed for the Scots bearing [the] burden of the English

debts. This is the substance when they explain the equivalent, which I hear's a good summ of mony (a clear bribe), then I think twill be a proper time to show that tis imposible to give any equivalent unless they'l appoint such a summ of mony to be putt in evry man's breaches, as these exorbitant taxes will amount to.

Wee'r in the mist with yesterday's news about Barcelona. Wee've no manner of certainty for its being releived, the Court say that the Duke of Marlborough has assured them that ther is such letters in the Hague, but they'r so litle confident of the truth of it that there's been no manner of rejoicings. I saw a Gentleman who came over with the last pacquett boat who says not one soul belived it in the Hague, that indeed there was one there had got such a letter and printed it, but it was not received as a truth. You shall hear more from me next post. So adieu.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/29

London, 26 May 1706

Sir, I have writt 3 or 4 times to you without having any answer except one, about 8 or ten dayes ago, wherin you told me you were to meet with S[altoun?] in a day or 2, and woud by the next post write more fully to me, so that I'me affraid our letters goes not safe, and I dare not write my mind so fully till once I hear from you again. However, I must tell you the Scots treaters have this day agreed to be lyable to all the taxes of England, only craving a furdur time from the commencement of some of them (such as the dutys on paper, windows and salt) than the English at first condeshended to; which was 3 years. I did speak my mind and shewd my opinion against our resiting from our demand of being exempted from all taxes imposd for and appropriated for payment of debts, but I was overuled and no body was of my mind but Pittmedden, and I did think it needless to protest, especially since you know that I was advised when I saw you and S[altoun?] last, not to take that way.

I see wee'r not all of a peice here, for the Justice Clerk⁷⁴ has fanned pritty warmly of late, and I hear has a mind to slip off, and to tell you the truth, I'de gladly be away my self, for I've no

⁷⁴ Sir James Murray of Philiphaugh

manner of satisfaction here on this occasion. And I think if once wee were past the quota for our representation in Parliament, I have litle to do here and will return home by way of Lancashire.

Affairs have takn a strange turn of late. Never was so fortunate a man in the world as the Duke of Marlborough. I saw his letter to the Queen, and tis certain they'r masters of all Brabant. I hear the loss of the batle⁷⁵ is attributed to the French's valour, for having beat the first line, without stoping or waiting to put themselves again in order, they attacked the 2nd line, which occasiond their rout. Wee want a perfect account of the slain, but I'me told the loss on our side is very great. The Queen was this day att the treaty and made a short speech, pressing them to finish the good work in their hands. Wee know not yett certainly what's become of Barcelona. Remark me to all our freinds. Adeiu.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/28

London, June 4 1706

Dear Sir, I had yours of the 28 of June [May?] yesterday. Ever since I came here I was of your opinion, that no Union was designd, but the whole project consisted in these 2 particulars; first, my Lord Treasurer, and the Court party, proposed by this appearance of a good understanding twixt the 2 nations to save his bones from the assaults and difficulties he'd meet with, from having advised the royall assent to the act of security, which still hangs over his head and is what he dreaded woud be cited against him some time or other, as soon as a fitt occasion offered; 2ndly, the Whigs proposed to unite the Whigs in both kingdomes by this into a near and close allayance, and to wheedle us over to the succession. And if this be the case, according to the old maxim (now, as Sir Thomas says, I speak latine) *sublata causa tolliture effectus*, wee have less reason to belive there is any designe of bringing this Union to be put in execution, because, as to the first, the Treasurer, etc, have no reason now after these prodigious successes to be in the least apprehension there's e'er a man in the Parliament will dare to call his management into question, and as to the 2nd, you may be sure they are so much elevated, that they'r

⁷⁵ The battle of Ramillies, 23 May 1706

no ways affraid but they'l have our succession settled according to their minds.

I told you before that trade and laws were almost over; wee'r now proceeding to settle what the equivalent will amount to, which wee are to demand in respect of the proportion of the debts of England which will be paid by Scotland's entering into an equality of the taxes in England and appropriated for paying of debts. Dr Gregory and Paterson⁷⁶ have drawn a scheme of it. I have seen it, but cannot, until I be master of it, inform you what it annually amounts to, for they vary because several of the funds expire sooner than others, and the debts to which they are appropriated are then sunk. So that according to these periods the quota payable to us grows less and less. But it amounts to in the whole to near one million sterling.

This callcull is made by the proportion which the English Customs and Excise presently bear to the Scots as they'r at present farmed, but its evident if the dutys on goods were established in Scotland as the book of rates in England, and the Excise uplifted as in England, they'd amount to a much greater summ, and therefore the equivalent must be greater, besides wee formerly demanded, and it was agreed to, that to whatever greater summ the Customs and Excise in Scotland should amount to in [the] process [of] time as wee grow richer, an equivalent should be likewise allowed for it. But this day, at a conference twixt the 2 Committees, the English insisted there should be no doors left open for counting and reckning after the commencement of the Union, and that they could not state the equivalent at such an uncertain state, as that the Customs and Excise would amount and in such cases, and therefore proposed that the Scots, would agree amongst themselves what they computed their equivalent at, and make such a demand as they required, and then they'd acquaint them, if it were such a summ as they could pay. Now this I take to be downright buying and selling. Wee'r to meet upon it ourselves tomorrow and you shall hear from me.

Our people I find would be satisfied with 50 commoners and 20 peers, and the English at first seemed not to think it much out of the way, but now indeed they are of another mind, and say the

⁷⁶ Dr David Gregory of Aberdeen and William Paterson, projector of the Darien scheme

half's too much. Whither our people will comply with them in it or not, I cannot tell, but all the answer they give is that it won't take with the Scots Parliament, otherwise they woud be loath to contradict them, being, as farr as concerns themselves and as far as their power goes they're obsequious servants. I thought to have left this place this week, but I see I can't get away so soon, for I must stay till I see what they'r like to do concerning the representation, and till I gett coppys of the debts of England, and the sevrall schems by which this equivalent is computed, without which I cannot be able to let you all understand the matter so as to be able to encounter our foes. Tis with difficultie I can gett them, for they turn very jealous of me. I wrott to Killmie a letter which was inclosed to Harry Lohead, and I directed him to give it to you in case Killmie was out of toun. What is containd therin is certainly true. I realy have not time to write to Erroll and Marischall, and therfore I must beg you'd give my service to them, and communicate to them what I from time to time have wrote to you. I have no publick news but what you'l know as well as I do. The descent goes on apace, and I hear Robin Murray⁷⁷ has certainly got the Scots Guards, to Sutherland's great disappointment. Pray remember me to all freinds and belive me most sincerely yours.

To Hamilton

GD 406/1/5313

Mitchell's board, first of August 1706
May it please your Grace, Since I came home I was not in Edinburgh till this day. The whole nation appears against the Union, the ministers roaring and denouncing judgements on those that [are] for it. I've been this day with some of your freinds, and wee all think it necessary that your Grace woud hast here, for till then no resolution can be formd, and many things are thought necessary to be done previous to the Parliament, which cannot be executed till your Grace come down, 'gainst which time most part of your freinds will meet you att Edinburgh.

Poor Home's death is mightily lamented here by evry body, and likewise Sir George Sinclair. Wee expect the Parliament will

⁷⁷ Probably Lieutenant-General Robert Murray

sitt [now] twixt and the tenth of September, and wee hear our great men are hasting down. In hopes to see your Grace soon here, and wishing your Grace and the Dutchess a good journey, I am your Grace's most humble and obedient servant.

[P.S.] Stormont, the Master of Balmerinoe⁷⁸ and I drink your Grace's and the Dutches's health.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/27

[Edinburgh] Saturday night [late December 1706]

Dear Sir, This night att a meeting at [the] Duke of Hamilton's your freinds had under consideration how to behave in relation to the Barrons proceeding to wait upon his Grace my Lord Commissioner⁷⁹, now that the Parliament had committed the proclamation which passd yesterday in the House, and finding there was not so great a number as could have been wished and expected, it was agreed immediatly to proceed to a national address to her Majestie against ane incorporating Union, and that with all diligence and dispatch imaginable and for that end you, Killmie, Erroll, Belhaven, Balmerino and Sir David Cunningham⁸⁰, shoud meet tomorrow morning att my lodgings before ten a-clock, in order to draw up the scheme of the address to be presented to a greater number att five a-clock, that so it may be prepared, and ready to be signd by Monday. It was recomended to me to give you this advertisement and I hope and beg in the name of your freinds you will not be absent, and I am, Your most obedient.

[P.S.] I've writt to my Lord Balmerinoe to the same purpose.

⁷⁸ Hugh Elphinstone, Master of Balmerino

⁷⁹ The Duke of Queensberry

⁸⁰ Sir David Cunningham, M.P. for Lauder

OPPOSITION AND ALIENATION: 1708-1714

To the Duchess of Hamilton¹

GD 406/1/8415

Dryden, 26 April 1708

May it please your Grace, I had the honour of your Grace's and am very readie to agree to the contents therof. Since my last to your Grace my election here looks a great deall better, so that I'me hopefull I shall have no need to give your Grace any trouble on my account, for I resolve to be as diligent as my enemys are malicious.

In obedience to your Grace's commands I have already writt to Cultermains and Leghorn and Sir William Lockhart², and I designe, God willing, to make a step to those parts about the latter end of this week, and shall do all I can, to secure all I can have interest with, for my Lord Archibald.³ I am altogether a stranger to the Netherward, but I'me pritty well acquainted with all in the upperward, and I have enclosed a list of the voters, with an account as I think they'll vote, by which your Grace will see there's near an equality, besides those that are either absent or I suspect won't qualifie. I think your Grace woud do well to write to those that I reckon for my Lord Archibald and those that I reckon will be absent, which I hope will confirm them in either siding with your Grace or at least staying away. And the sooner this be done the better, for I can assure your Grace my Lord Hindford leaves no stone unturn'd to make a partie for his son Mauldsley⁴, and particularly makes strong applications to the ministers to bring over the Bishops' vassalls⁵ in the netherward to his son's interest, and I'me told they speak high things and appear very confident of succeeding. If my Lord Archibald could possibly be here, sometime before the election, it woud be much for his advantage.

¹ Probably Anne Hamilton, 3rd Duchess of Hamilton in her own right

² Lockhart appears to be referring here to his relations: Sir William Lockhart the advocate and James Lockhart of Leghorn. I have been unable to trace 'Cultermains'

³ Lord Archibald Hamilton, a younger brother of the then imprisoned 4th Duke of Hamilton

⁴ Daniel Carmichael of Maudsley, the husband of Lockhart's sister Barbara

⁵ Tenants of former episcopal property

I am much honoured by the esteem your Grace is pleas'd to ha[ve] of me, and I shall make it my business to meritt the continuation of your Grace's favour, by being to the outmost of my small power, May it please your Grace, Your Grace's most faithfull and obedient servant.

To the Earl of Marchmont

SRO, GD 158/1171/343
(Hume of Marchmont MSS.)

Dryden, 24 August 1708

My Lord, Before I received your Lordship's I had writ and sent away a letter to young Arniston, however tis no great matter, for if he waits upon your Lordship today you may tell him you've alterd your mind. But pray insinuate to him as if twas by the Duke of Hamilton's orders I had troubled him. I am Your Lordship's most humble servant.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/26

Dryden, June 1st 1709

Sir, After I left you yesterday some of the gentlemen of the shire of Edinburgh spoke to me of recommending Mr John Meinzie's of Cambo to be Shirrif-Deputt. Accordingly I mett with [the] Earl of Dalhousie⁶, but he's a man that gives so litle heed to's affairs, I coud hardly get as much time as to say all I had to say, and therfore I give you, his freind, this trouble. My Lord if he were any ways att pains with the heretors would lead us all, but that he ommitts altogether. Now I find they woud take it kindly if he'd name one of themselves to be Shirrif-Deputt and I dare answer for it that [John Menzie's of] Cambo shall be faithfull to my Lord's interest. I doubt not but my Lord will advise with you and I realy think twere service done him, to perswade him to name Cambo or any other person that has ane interest in the shire. When I was first spoke of on this subject, I answerd that I supposd that my Lord Dalhousie expected a present, and since I supposed Cambo coud make as much of it as any other, I thought he shoud frankly offer att a word what length he'l go, which was agreed to. I leave it to

⁶ William Ramsay, 5th Earl of Dalhousie (d.1710)

your self whither you'l speake to my Lord or not, but I thought it not amiss to give you [a] hint, which you'l excuse from, dear Sir, your most affectionate and faithfull humble servant.

To James Erskine, Lord Justice Clerk⁷ GD 124/15/987/1

Dryden, 2nd August 1710

My Lord, I designd to've waited upon your Lordship yesterday, especially after Mr Bruce⁸ told me what your Lordship had said about Sir Patrick Nisbet⁹, but I hapned to be named Preces att the quarterly meeting of the Justices of [the] Peace, which satt till past six, therafter I was oblided to attend some of my constituents and att last come out here, having some people to meet with this morning. However, as soon as I can get into toun I shall be sure [to] return your Lordship my acknowledgements for your freindship, and in the interim I beg the continuation of it, for many and powerfull are my adversarys, tho I'me in no great fear of them. I find Mr James Smith of Whitehill very well inclind for me, but I know that a word from my Lord Marr or your Lordship to him woud fix him intyrelly in my interest. I beg pardon for this trouble and am, Your Lordship's most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'Lockhart of Carnwath. 2 August 1710. Midlothian election'.

To the Earl of Breadalbane¹⁰ SRO, GD 112/40/7/6/23
(Breadalbane Papers)

Dryden, 7th September 1710

My Lord, By yesterday's post I had a letter from the Duke of Hamilton, desiring me to write to your Lordship in his name, that as soon as you hear of Parliament's dissolution, you'd make what hast you can to come to Edinburgh, it being necessar not only for honest men to stand firm to one another, but likewise, that they meet, concert and prosecute joint measures.

⁷ Lord Grange of the Court of Session and brother of the Earl of Mar

⁸ Thomas Bruce, son of the Earl of Kincardine

⁹ Sir Patrick Nisbet of Dean

¹⁰ John Campbell, 1st Earl of Breadalbane (c.1635-1717)

A certain freind of your Lordship¹¹, who went lately to London, appears mighty uppish there, pretending he has securd a majority of each different opposite partie in this Countrie, so that he can carry the elections of the peers as he pleases. I take this to be ane air and am possitive, he counts before the beast, for tis as plain as 2 and 3 makes 5, that if a certain sett stand together they can cast the ballance. Notwithstanding, att Court the language is that not one of those whom they call Cavaliers¹², must be admitted in the list of the 16 Scots peers. Its not fitt at present to enter furdur into particulars, only that so extraordinary and unaccountable is the present situation of affairs that perhaps your Lordship in your long trail of experience has not mett with the like. Tho I have not the honour to be of your Lordship's acquaintance, yet I'me of the number of such as are with the greatest respect, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant[s].

[P.S.] My Lord Duke says the Parliament will be dissolv'd about the middle of this month.

Endorsed by Breadalbane: 'The laird of Carnwath annent Duke Hamilton and the desolution of the Parliament, 7th September 1710'.

To Robert Harley¹³

29/371

Edinburgh, 9th September 1710

Sir, Tho I have not troubled you with a congratulatory letter, yet I assure you, thers no body better pleas'd with evry thing that tends to your satisfaction than I am. And as the civiltys I constantly received from you, ever since I first had the honour of your acquaintance, have left a deep impression upon my mind, so they encourage me to presume a litle furdur in recommending my freind Thomas Lockhart, Surveyor of her Majestie's customs att Leith, to your protection. The enclosed memorial [not present] contains a true account of his character and present circumstances

¹¹ Probably the Duke of Argyll

¹² i.e. Jacobites

¹³ Robert Harley M.P., the future Earl of Oxford, Lord Treasurer and Queen Anne's premier minister. At this time the most prominent Tory leader and first Lord of the Treasury Commission

and I may therefore venture to say that his greatest ennemys can't accuse him of any thing that's dishonest or ungentlemanly, and must own he understands the Customs as well as most men.

I made all the application I coud to my Lord Godolphin, in his favours, but I could never, during that administration, prevail to have any thing done for him, and I'me affraid he fard the worse, that I ownd him as my freind. Sometime ago, a new scheme of the management of the Scots customs was approv'd by my Lord Godolphin, and I'me told the Commissioners here are to put it soon into execution, by which my freind has a conjunct added to him, and instead of ane augmentation, as was promis'd, ten pound a year deducted from him. Which is ane hardship and indignity to one who has rather deserved greater encouragement than he has yet mett with. I shall not presume to say any thing of this new scheme, nor pretend to break a measure on my freind's account, but I beg you'd take him under your protection and I make it my earnest request that you'd be pleas'd to recommend him to a post which I hear is to be dispos'd of, and that is Auditor to the Commissioners. If I did not know his capacity and honestie, I woud not have ventured to've giv'n you this trouble in his behalf, and if I can be so happie as to prevail with you, I shall look upon it as a very great favour, and slip no occasion to convince you, that you oblige one who will never prove ungratefull and will constantly give you all the proofs in his small power, of the respect and sincerity wherwith he is, Sir, Your faithfull humble servant.

Endorsed by Harley: 'Mr Lockart September 9 1710, reply September 20'.

To the Lord Justice Clerk

GD 124/15/987/2

Dryden, 19 September 1710

My Lord, My adversary, Sir James Stewart¹⁴, and his coadjutor, my Lord Advocate¹⁵, finding that Sir James can't get a majority of the gentlemen of this shire to ingadge for him, make it their cheif

¹⁴ Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees

¹⁵ Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes

effort to prevaill with as many as possible of such as they suspect inclind towards me to stay away and not be present att our election. And I was assured by a tolerable good hand, that the Advocat had undertaken to speak to Mr James Smith. I do not belive he'l prevaill, but I know Mr Smith has such a regard for all my Lord Mar's family, that I'me confident the least hint from your Lordship woud confirm him in his resolution of appearing and voting for me, and therfor I make it my earnest request, that your Lórdship woud signifeye your inclinations to him in my favours. Your Lordship having been so kind as to befreind me hitherto, makes me presume to ask this furdur favour, the granting of which will be a very singular obligation. I am your Lordship's most oblidged humble servant.

Endorsed: 'Mr Lockhart of Carnwath, 19 September 1710'.

To Harley

29/150/3

London, 6th January 1710/11

Sir, Your time being employd in matters of the greatest consequence, rather than trouble you with a visit from me, I presume by this to intreat your favour in behalf of Mr James Oliphant, brother to Dr Oliphant¹⁶ (who I believe has the honour to be known to you), a very honest gentleman and my particular freind. The humble suit I make to you in his behalf is, that you'd be pleasd to name him to be clerk to the mint in Scotland, vacant lately by the death of him who enjoyd it. This post is not above the yearlie value of £50, tho it requires ane ingenious man to officiat in it, and I'me sure thers none can supply it better than this Gentleman. What makes me the more earnest in his behalf is, that I've been much beholden to him att my election in the Countie of Edinburgh, wher he's a freeholder and his circumstances, by some misfortunes, are not so good as he deserves, so that both in gratitude and compassion to his numerous family, I make this petition to you and your granting it will be a very singular obligation.

Having said so much in relation to my freind, I'me affraid you'l

¹⁶ James Oliphant of Langton, brother of Charles Oliphant, Argathelian M.P. for Ayr burghs

think me out of all bounds, when I mention any thing as to my own particular, but finding that a great many posts are already disposed off and abundance, I suppose, of pretenders to such as may be disposed off afterwards. If I delay any longer, I may probably come too late and the civilities I've at all times received at your hands, since I first had the honour to be known to you, encourages me to hope you'll recommend me to receive some mark of her Majesty's favour. I can't indeed pretend that my merits are great, however, I have this to say, that I have all along stood firm to the party and principles that happily now prevail, and thereby disoblinded some of my nearest friends, who both could and would have done for me, would I have entered into their measures. This is the first solicitation I ever made of this kind, and as my inclinations lead me rather to be indebted to you than any other, so I do assure you I shall never be ungrateful for the obligations you lay upon me, but be ready on all occasions to convince you that I am with the greatest respect and sincerity, Sir, Your most faithful humble servant.

Endorsed by Harley: 'Mr Lockhart January 6 1710/11'.

To Harley

29/197, f.25

[London] 19 January 1710/11

Sir, I presume to return you a great many thanks for the favour you've bestowed upon Major Douglas¹⁷, since 'tis chiefly under your protection, that he hopes the Queen will be pleased to appoint him Governour of the Leeward Islands. And without being anyways partial upon the account of his being my kinsman and neighbour in the country, I may venture to assure you he's a gentleman of a great deal of merit, and I dare be bound for him, that he will never prove ungrateful for the favours you've honoured him with, nor be guilty of any thing, that you his patron, shall be displeased with. Allow me to be amongst the number of, Sir, Your most faithful humble servants.

Endorsed by Harley: 'Mr Lockhart January 19 1710/11, Major Douglas'.

¹⁷ Major Walter Douglas (of Baiods?)

To the Commission of Accounts

Acc.7124

Edinburgh, 5 July 1711

Gentlemen, Yesterday I received yours of the 30th of June, and therewith precepts to the Commissioners of the Equivalent and Customs and to Mr Seaton¹⁸, the Synod of Argyle, Sir Alexander Douglass¹⁹, Mr Bernard McKenzie²⁰ and Mr Stirling²¹, Collectors of the Bishops' rents. I perceive you've thought fit to alter the style of these precepts from that of the letters you formerly delivered to me at London, for in these you directed the patents and other papers you then required to be exhibited to me at Edinburgh. Whereas in these precepts you require the accounts, etc, to be exhibited to you at your office, and yet by your letter to me it would appear that it is your intention they should be delivered to me after the same manner as prescribed in your first letters, for your words in that letter are: 'As to the severall persons attesting them before us upon oath, wee leave that entirely to your discretion. And perhaps you'll think it more reasonable to permitt them to do it before your Lord Cheif Baron', which I take likewise to import a tacite allowance for them to exhibite and me to receive the severall accounts at Edinburgh without putting so many people to the trouble and expense of going to London.

If this be your design I believe it will be proper that by the first post after this comes to your hands you'd transmitt to me letters to the severall persons to whome your precepts are directed, acquainting them that notwithstanding they are required by your precept to exhibit their accounts, etc, in London, yet you do allow them to deliver them to me at Edinburgh, ffor the Commissioners of Customs and others are affraid of incurring your displeasure and do not think the a[ttest?]ment clause in your letter to me a sufficient warrand for them to exhibite their accounts to me since your precepts expresly bear that they be deliverd to you at your office. In the mean time I shall deliver your precepts as they now stand, and if you don't think fit to comply with what I propose, the persons to whom the precepts are directed will think

¹⁸ William Seton of Pitmedden jr, the pro-Union propagandist

¹⁹ Sir Alexander Douglas of Egilshay

²⁰ Bernard Mackenzie (of Cullicudden?)

²¹ John Stirling, Principal of Glasgow College

themselves obleidged to attend you at London, tho they look upon the same as a hardship and great trouble.

I suppose you'll think it proper to send down a precept to the Commissioners of the Excise to exhibite a state of that revenue.

I am informed there is a very scandalous abuse in the management of the tax imposed upon apprentices in this country, and therefor it would be proper to send a precept to Mr Johnstoun and Mr Watt²², collectors and managers of that duty to exhibite a coppie of their patent and Commission with an account of the produce thereof and what sallarys are allowd to them or any others employd under them.

I can think upon nothing else to trouble you with at present, allow me only to beg that you would signifie your pleasure on these heads by the first post and be assured that I am with the greatest respect and sincerity, Gentlemen, Your most humble servant.

[Holograph P.S.] Upon 2nd thoughts after I had writt the former part of this letter I am resolved to make coppys of those points of your precepts which mention the accounts you require to be exhibited, and these I will instantly send to the sevrall persons, that in the meantime they may be preparing their accounts, but not deliver the precepts themselves till I have your further orders to do it, or if you think proper, new precepts with this alteration, in place of exhibiting the accounts at your office in London, to be exhibited to me att the Justice of the Peace court-room in Edinburgh, and in that case the 14 of August will be a long enuff day. Besides the trouble to the persons to make so long a journey, 'twoud be very usefull for me to have all these accounts 8 or 10 dayes in my hands ere I leave this place, because I shall get information of sevrall things, which I'de compare here with the accounts exhibited.

To the Lord Provost of Edinburgh²³

EUL, Laing
MSS, II, 287

Edinburgh, 17 July 1711

My Lord, The Commissioners of Accounts, for the ease and conveniencie of this part of the kingdome, dispatched me to this place to receive such papers and informations as they by ther

²² Thomas Johnson and (Alexander?) Watt

²³ Sir Patrick Johnston, M.P. for Edinburgh

precepts shoud require. In which it was necessary to appoint and determine the place wher the sevrall persons were to come, and therfore the Commissioners did fix upon the Low Councell house wher the Justice of [the] Peace court sitts. I am therefore My Lord, to ask the favour of your Lordship in the name of the Commissioners, that you'd give orders that I have access to that room tomorrow and from time [to time] as I receive directions from the board, to whom this will be a singular favour as it will likewise particularly oblige Your Lordship's most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'Ltr, July 1711, L[aird of]. Carnwath to the Lord Provost'.

To the Commission of Accounts

Acc.7124

Edinburgh, 19 July 1711

Gentlemen, Yesterday I attended at the Justice of the Peace Court Room in this place, and I received the severall patents and Commissions which you required by your letters to be delivered to me. The late farmers of the Customs delivered me a copy of their tack or lease of the Customs and a stated account, charge and discharge of all payments made conforming to the said lease.

As to that part of your precept which required them to exhibite an account of what quantitys of tobacco, wine and brandy was imported into Scotland yearly and every year within the three years immediatly preceeding the Union, they inform'd [me] that their lease commenced only two years and a half preceeding the Union, and that they were willing to comply by giving in an account during that time, but that the Society being dissolved, their books dispersed and their servants dismissed, 'twas impossible for them to do it in so short a time as you prescribed, and therefor desired me to represent the same to you, hoping that you would be pleased to give them such a time as that they may be capable to answer your demands.

If my private opinion in this affair can be of any use to you 'tis plainly this, that this representation and desire of theirs is only to gain time, for I'm assured from very good hands, that they have taken advice of Lawyers and been by them advised not to exhibit

their accounts. And in the process now depending against them in the Court of Exchequer they do plead that they are not obleidged to exhibite their books which are their private rights, and therefor tho they pretend at present a readieness to comply with your demands, yet I'm affraid when it comes to the push they'l shift it, especially if they can get any incouragement of protection from some considerable persons, who have heretofor upon some particular reasons, supported them. However, if you please, I think it were not much out of the way if you allowd them to the fourteenth of August, that they may have no objections of being straitned in time, and at the same time it were proper to acquaint them that you will not allow them a further prolongation and do expect your demands will be punctually comply'd with.

They further represent that they had no deductions allowd them for drawbacks, incident sallarys or management, but that they are willing to exhibit to me a state of their expenses and of the seals officers imployd under them collecting and managing the Customs during their lease.

This particular is not in your precept to them but it will be usefull to have it to compare with the state of the present management. And therefor it will not be amiss if you indulge the ffarmers by allowing them a further time, you likewise require them to exhibite this account, least they change their minds and don't perform their promise.

I must acquaint you that my Lord Cheif Baron Smith²⁴ will leave this country in a little time, so that it will be impossible for the person to whom your letters are directed to make the affidavits before his Lordship as your letters expresly requires, but I take it for granted that you will allow me to acquaint the seals' persons that if they make their affidavits before any of the Barons of the Exchequer it will satisfie you.

I wrote to you on the 3rd of July to desire a precept on the Barons of the Exchequer to deliver to me an account of the present state of the revenues of the Bishops in Scotland, with some other particulars concerning these two branches of the Revenue mentioned more fully in that letter. These are not yet come to my hands, and if you think it proper I could wish you

²⁴ John Smith, Lord Chief Baron of the Scottish Exchequer

would dispatch them as soon as possible, that I may not be detained here. I received all the other papers you thought fit from time to time to send me. Mr Crookshanks²⁵, the Controller of the Customs, desired me to send the enclosed memorial to you. I have discoursed with him and he has shown me his books and method of stating his accounts, which appear to be very well digested and in admirable order, so that I believe it will be for your own service that you allow him to exhibit them as they'r already stated clearly.

As soon as I have received the seall papers you have appointed to be delivered to me I shall leave this place to wait upon you at London, for I have nothing of my private affairs to detain me and your good company is very agreeable to [ends].

To the Commission of Accounts

Acc.7124

Dryden, 16 August 1711

Gentlemen, On Teusday last the severall persons to whom your precepts were directed delivered unto me the accounts you required. Excepting Mr Bernard McKenzie, Collector of the revenues of the Bishophrick of Ross, and the late Farmers of the Customs. I cannot imagine what has occasioned Mr McKenzie's not compliance with your order, for when I sent the precept to him he writt a letter to me, acknowledging his having received your precepts and promising to perform what was required of him. But as to the Farmers, I must say they have neither treated you nor me well; for notwithstanding that you concented to indulge them so farr as to allow me to prolong the time for their answering your precept to the 14 of August, and that I acquainted them of my having this powr, provided they'd apply for it, yet I never heard one word less or more from them (except that by chance meeting one or 2 of them, they told me the time was very short), and I waited in the Justice of the Peace court-room on Teusday till it was very late, expecting they'd att least have made some apology or other.

It woud appear they designe to treat you after the same manner they've done the present Commissioners of the Customs (who

²⁵ John Crookshanks, Comptroller-General of the Scottish Customs

received the late Lord Treasurer's orders to enquire into the state of those offices) and the Barons of [the] Exchequer in refusing to exhibite their accounts. Whither you'l proceed any further with them att this time, or delay till you represent their obstinacy and contempt to the House of Commons, you can best determine. I shall now be readie to leave this place in ten or 12 days att most and shall give you no further trouble than to desire you'd do me the justice to believe I am with the utmost respect and sincerity, Your most humble servant.

[P.S.] I must likewise acquaint you that Sir Alexander Douglas, Collector of the Bishophric of Orkney, not being as yet come down from London, and the Synod of Argyle, Collectors of the Bishophrics of Argyle and the Isles, not as yet assembled, I could not deliver your precepts unto them.

Since the writing of what is above I received yours of the [11 August?], and (my Lord Chief [Baron] being gone to England) immediatly sent your precept and letter to one of the Barrons of Exchequer. The next day after I receive what you require from them I shall begin my journey to London.

Fragment on back of letter: 'Dryden, August 16 1711, Gentlemen, On Teusday last I received all the papers and accounts delivered by the severall persons'.

To Montrose

GD 220/5/1886/2

Dryden, the 17th August 1711

My Lord, The Justices of the Peace of the shyre of Edinburgh takeing into consideration the great loss this pairt of the kingdom doth sustain by the importation of horses, cattle and grain from Ireland contrary to law, did att their last quarter session sign a petition to the Queen (a copy of which I herewith send your Grace) earnestly intreating her Majestie would be pleased to give orders for putting the lawes against such illegall importation strictlie and vigourously in execution, and this address I am ordered to present to the Queen, and shall begin my journey to London in a few dayes.

The Justices considering that this affair is the concern of all and every shyre of this pairt of the kingdom doe hope that the like

method will be universally taken and thus the complaint and application being generall the redress may be the more effectuall and speedy. And therfor they did direct me to wryte to some one or other of each shyre acquainting them of the measurs taken in this shyre of Edinburgh, and knowing none so proper to communicate the same unto as your Grace, I hope you'll excuse this trouble from, My Lord, Your Grace's most humble servant, Geo. Lockhart.

To the Earl of Oxford²⁶

29/150/3

London, 24 September 1711

My Lord, I came within these two or three dayes, from Scotland, and was infinitely surprizd, to understand, that it had been publicly reported, that some people had industriouslie misrepresented me to your Lordship, of late, particularly alledging, that I talked odly and had been att much pains in endeavouring to perswade my Countriemen, that your Lordship was a proffessed and inveterate enemy to the interest of Scotland.²⁷

I thought my station in the world, was such, as not to've created me enimys, but since few or none, how mean soever, are altogether without them, I must submitt and bear my share. However, I'me very happy that in this particular instance of their malice, I can give the defyance to them and all the world, to condeshend upon any one particular, wherin I did not, ever since I had the honour to be first known to your Lordship, mention you with all imaginable respect and honour. Nay, so far was I from ever advancing such ridiculous doctrines as are alledged against me, that were it worth your Lordship's pains, and your time not too precious to thrown away on such triffls, I coud prove by undenyable testimonys, that I did on all occasions and particularly when I was last in Scotland lay my self out to expose those, of all factions, who pretended to accuse the present administration.

I acknowledge what ever I can say or do, is of very small

²⁶ Robert Harley was created Earl of Oxford and Mortimer on 23 May 1711

²⁷ Lockhart refers here to a notorious exchange between himself and Harley in the Commons in spring 1711, for which see LP, i, 327. He was also being not a little disingenuous here with regard to the origin of popular reports of the exchange between the two of them: LP, i, 529-48 esp. 534

moment to your Lordship, but I hope your Lordship will excuse my earnestness, to vindicate my self of being guilty of so much folly, impertinence and ingratitude to your Lordship, from whom I have received all manner of civilitys, without having ever mett with any cause of disgust, and I beg your Lordship woud not entertain so bad an impression of me. And when any occasion offers, my actions will testifie for themselves and I hope convince your Lordship that I am, so farr as my small capacity reaches, with the greatest of respect, My Lord, Your Lordship's most faithfull and obedient humble servant.

Endorsed by Oxford: 'Mr Lockhart September 24 1711, reply September 27'.

To Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5244/3

London, 1st November 1711

Sir, This being the best season to take out and send down trees, I have sent some to Scotland, and amongst others some of those dwarfs struck in Paradise stocks I spoke of to you when you did not signifye your inclinations to me that I shoud provide some of these for you, as you said you woud. Yet if you've a mind for a tryall, please signifye so much to Mr Morison²⁸, whom I've directed to let you have 8 of the 28 I've sent down. In any thing else wherin I can serve you here, you may frelie command, Sir, Your most humble servant.

[P.S.] Pray give my service to the Barron.²⁹

Draught reply by Sir John Clerk: 'Sir, I render you very many thanks for those eight curious dwarf aples struck in paradise stocks which I receivd by your advice from Mr Morison, whom I have entreated to show me the account of the whole parcel you sent from London, that having cleared my part therein of [it] with him, I may with all possible tenderness and respect use the greater freedom afterwards with you. An opportunity of serving you here will be most acceptable to me. I am Sir' [ends].

²⁸ George Morison of Megeckland [Meggetland?]

²⁹ John Clerk, Baron of the Scottish Exchequer and Sir John Clerk of Penicuik's oldest son and heir

To Baron John Clerk

GD 18/5244/5

Essex House, 6 December 1711

Sir, Yesterday I had the honour of yours, but I can't conceive who my freind was or by what authority he said to you that the Commissioners of Accounts desird the determination of the Tacksmen's officer might be left to them, for I don't remember that ever I, or do I belive, any, of my bretheren did make such ane insinuation as if wee'd interfere with the Barrons of the Exchequer – we've too good ane opinion of them to imagine they stand in need, or will value any directions from us. However, this day Baron Scroop³⁰ and I discoursd on this affair att full length, which I suppose he'll advise you of.

As for the apple trees, I can't exactly tell you the price of the dwarf sett in Paradise stock. They are twixt 12 or 18 pence per pine [*sic*]. The other appletrees I sent down are of the following kinds, viz: Margaritt, Non Pareil, Holland Pippen, Spencer Pippens, Partridge, Aps, Gros Chatagne, Golden Kennett and Golden Pippen, and they cost me 8 pence the pine. These are of the best kinds and a great pennyworth, as the Lyon³¹, who's a skillfull man, tells me. I'me affraid you're too late for the ships will be all saild ere you can write up again here and have the trees on board, and you'll have no other occasion till the spring, which is too late to transplant and carry the trees so far down. If it can do you any service, I belive I can spare you 40 or 50, for I bought them because they were so cheap, tho my grounds are not readie and I shan't have use for them for a year or 2.

I must beg the favour of you to return my wife's and my humble service to my Lord and Lady Ormiston³² and assure them that both of us retain so great [a] sense of their many favours bestowd upon me and my family that there's nothing in our powr that they can require for their service, but wee'l readily obey. My wife and Lady Margaritt returns you and your Lady their humble services and I am in great hast, Sir, Your most humble servant. Endorsed: 'L[etter] f[rom] Carnwath'.

³⁰ John Scroop (or Scrope), Baron of the Scottish Exchequer from 1708, a professional civil servant

³¹ Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo, Lord Lyon King at Arms and Jacobite M.P. for Fifeshire

³² Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, by this time a Lord of Session

To Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5244/4

London, 15 December 1711

Sir, Yesterday I had the honour of yours and I'm very glad that the dwarfs or any thing else belonging to me are agreeable to you. The dwarfs are of so small a value, I'm almost ashamed to make you so pitifull a compliment. However, I hope you'll accept of them and in any other thing wherein I can serve you here, lay your commands upon me, which shall be readily obeyd by, Sir, Your most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'From Carnwath bearing his complement of 8 dwarf imps and not charging them to my account. 15 December 1711. To be answered and 1717 [*sic*]'.
 1717

To Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun

NLS, MS.16746, ff.109-10

Christmas day [25 December 1711]

Sir, Yesterday I received yours and am far from being surprizd that you express your self with some warmth and concern on a subject wherin you think your reputation is concerned. But give me leave to say, that I hope both I and all my bretheren in the Commission, are above being led by malice (if we had any) or the influence of any powr on earth, against you or any other whatsoever. Wee have each of us our particular enimys as weel, as you've yours, besides some who want an opportunity to attack our proceedings, and therefore wee'r oblidge to hear all complaints, tho often groundless, and report all matters to the Parliament who's the only judge of the facts.

This being the case, twas impossible to prevent our mentioning you in the report, nay you see the House not satisfyd therewith, did call for the very originall affidavitts. But this I can assure you; when wee went upon this affair of the Scots Forage³³ ther was not the least suspicion far less designe against you, but your name being mentiond, it was not in our powr to prevent reporting it to the House, which is done in such terms, that I flatter myself you'll be easily convinced, the Commissioners did not go in to litle by

³³ The 'affair of the Scots Forage' concerned the taking of bribes for awarding government contracts to supply forage for mounted troops stationed in Scotland in 1708. Robert Walpole was expelled from the Commons and sent to the Tower for his part in this episode

hitts of malice (as you term it) and when I have the good fortune to see you, I can make this matter very plain and satisfye you that wee've been far from acting as if wee bore any grudge to or had any designe against you. The report agrees so well with the account you give me, and in my opinion the fact so litle to be objected against, that I make no doubt but you'l be acquitted without suffering [in] any manner of way, and yet I cannot say, but I belive twere your interest to be present yourself, least their be those, I don't say ther are, but suppose ther may be some who'd drive matters as far as possible against you, and you know how uncertain the Yeas or the Noes of our house is.

I must own you're ill used in one thing, and that is that your name should be mentiond in Saturday's votes. The rules and orders of the house are you know very misterious (if I may use that expression) or uncertain, and generally unknown, especially to us Scotsmen, so I don't know by what rule they'l make up the votes. But it woud appear the rule in this case is not fixed, for in the article which mentions the first affidavitt made by Sir Solomon de Medina³⁴, the names of onlie two persons are mentiond, and in Mr Montgomerie's³⁵ article yours is brought in after Mr Walpole's.³⁶ Tho thers more names than two in Sir Solomon's, and some in Mr Montgomerie's affidavitt of a higher rank and station than you, and who I'me affraid can't say so much for themselves as you can. This indeed surprizd me very much, but you'l easilie belive, I cannot assign the reasons for it. Whither it proceeded from designe or inadvertencie time probably may discover. The report, you'l observe, is not to be takn into consideration till the 16th of January, and I fancy the House will be takn up with the pursuit of nobler game (to use a hunter's expression) than what relates to you. Besides, if they shoud resolve to proceed upon you it can't, I think, be refused, to allow you a competent time to make so long a journey, in so bad a season and appear in the place to defend yourself. But how far you think that necessary or proper, you'r the best judge, and I shan't take upon me to determine.

³⁴ An eminent Jewish financier and government contractor

³⁵ John Montgomery esq

³⁶ Robert Walpole, Whig M.P. for King's Lynn (the future prime minister) was Secretary at War in the Whig administration of 1708-10, with responsibility for supplying forage for the troops stationed in Scotland

I shall endeavour in all the stations of my life to act with that honestie and impartiality towards every one, that becomes a Gentleman, and I may venture to say in [the] name of my bretheren that thers none of them has any other veiw in this Commission. But wee'r under the misfortune of having many masters to please and some who envy us, tho God knows thers neither pleasure nor profit in the employment wee'r entrusted with, and therfore wee must endeavour to act so as to put us beyond the malice of our enemyes, and I hope that such Gentlemen as wee'r oblidged to make publick mention of, will impute it to the nature of our office and not to any particular designe against them. Which I assure you is the true state as it relates to you.

The kind assurances of your freindship, I take as a very great honour, and shoud be vain therof, if I coud anywayes deserve it, by convincing you that I am, Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant.

[P.S.] I wish you a merry Christmas. If you've a mind to see the report I sent it down last post to Mr John Corsar.³⁷

Scottish Steering Committee to Sir Edward Northey³⁸

29/222; HMC Portland, x, 464

[London], January 19th 1711/12

Sir, Understanding that you have now under your consideration the Staple Contract and the method thereby settled for regulating the exportation and sale of goods of the native produce and manufacture of Scotland in the United Provinces, Wee thought it our duty to represent to you of what universal concern this matter is to the subjects of that part of Great Britain.

Wee take it [to] be very much for [the] interest of the people of Scotland, that as those of England are, so they should be allowed the liberty of importing their goods into what parts of the United Provinces they think proper and to sell them where they can to the best advantage, which seems to be the intention of those articles of the Union by which it is provided that trade in the United

³⁷ John Corsar was Lockhart's agent in Edinburgh

³⁸ Sir Edward Northey, Attorney-General and M.P. for Tiverton

Kingdom and all the parts thereof should be upon an equal footing and under the same regulation, restrictions and limitations and that the rights, privileges and advantages which the subjects of either nation enjoyed should be mutually communicated.

But how far it is consistent with the abovementioned articles of Union that [the] people of Scotland should be restricted to a particular port when those of England are not, is humbly submitted to Your judgment by, Sir, Your most obedient humble Servants

William Livingston³⁹

James Murray⁴¹

Alexander Areskine⁴²

Thomas Smith⁴⁴

James Murray⁴⁰

George Lockhart

John Carnegie⁴³

Endorsed: 'Representation to Sir Edward Northey 1711/12, Reply from Mr Pringle⁴⁵ February 28 1711/12'.

To Lawrence Crawford of Jordanhill

NLS, Adv.MS.31.1.8, ff.86-87

London, 17 April 1712

Sir, T'other day I received yours, in answer to which all I can say is, that you may be assur'd of all the assistance I can give you in obtaining what you propose, but how far that will go I can't say, for wee'r yet to learn when and in what manner a staunch Tory's to be regarded.⁴⁶

³⁹ M.P. for Aberdeen Burghs 1710-13, and probably a Jacobite

⁴⁰ Lord James Murray, Jacobite M.P. for Perthshire and brother of the Duke of Atholl

⁴¹ The Hon. James Murray, M.P. for Dumfriesshire, son of Viscount Stormont and future Secretary of State to the Old Pretender

⁴² Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo, Lord Lyon King at Arms

⁴³ John Carnegie of Boysack, M.P. for Forfarshire. 'Out' in the '15

⁴⁴ M.P. for Glasgow Burghs and the only stalwart Whig amongst these signatories

⁴⁵ John Pringle of Haining, M.P. for Selkirkshire, Commissioner of the Equivalent and Keeper of the Signet. A professional civil servant

⁴⁶ Lockhart refers here to the government's failure to purge Scotland's administration of Whigs and redistribute their offices among the Scottish Tories. His note of discontent was general among the Scottish Tories by this time

I don't well know what to think of and what answer to give to your postscript, I ever scorn'd to act a malicious part as being what was unbecoming a Christian and Gentleman, but if a just resentment of uncivilitys and indignitys received, without any provocation or reason why, be reckoned malice in your countrie, I must own I value their opinions in that matter as litle as in most other points ether civill or ecclesiastick, morall or devine. And let them and all the world think and say what they will, when tis in my power I will remember both good and bad usage.

This then is my case with your freind Mr Cochran⁴⁷, I shall not take up ether your or my own time to recapitulate the many instances of his hearty good will to have ruind me, both before and after I came from London last year. Tis enuff to tell you, that at last his freinds convinced him of his error (to give it no worse term) and brought him and me togather last week, where he acknowledged the same. I don't care much for praising my self, but give me leave to say, I shewd abundance of good nature in so easily passing by such treatment, and tis that Ime sure your sower countenance woud nere have complyd with. So much for our private quarell.

But that perhaps some people stick upon is the report of our Commission relating to Mr Cochran's taking of what is here called a bribe. As for that matter, I do assure you that when wee first enquired into the disposall of the mony given for paying the debentures on salt and fish, twas only in the course of our busines of looking into the disposall of all publick mony. And tho wee heard a surmise that bribes had been given, wee did not in the least expect or know anything of Mr Cochran. But since he was accused, wee coud not help reporting it to the House. For my part Ime very easie in the matter – if he come off I shall be very glad. Ime to leave this place next week being obligd to hast home by McBiehill's death.⁴⁸ I am Your affectionate humble servant.

[P.S.] Last maills bring that the young Dolphin [i.e. the Dauphin] is past all hopes of recovery and that King Philip is sent for to

⁴⁷ William Cochran of Kilmarnock, the opponent of the Union, now M.P. for Wigton Burghs and probably Jacobite in sympathy

⁴⁸ William Montgomery of Macbiehill, Lockhart's former guardian

France from Spain.⁴⁹ They bring likewise the certainty of the Princess Louisa's death.⁵⁰ What effects these may have I know not, but tis to be thought that matters are concerted upon the event of the first's death (which has been long expected) and so the peace not be retarded. What wee are to expect from the other I can't say, but the Duke of Savoy is now a step nearer.⁵¹

To [Oxford]

29/313/13

London, 10th May 1712

My Lord, Not having had the good fortune to find your Lordship at home, when I did my self the honour of waiting upon you and being obliged to go to Scotland on Monday morning, I presume to acquaint your Lordship by this, that the Gentlemen of the Countie of Edenburgh being very desirous of a new Commission of the Peace, I have prepared a list of such persons as I know will be agreeable to them and are well qualifed for discharging the duty of a Justice of the Peace. Which list the bearer hereof, Mr Mason⁵², will present to your Lordship.

In it are containd sevrall Gentlemen, who were left out in the former Commissions, since the Union, for no other reason, than their being of sound principles both as to church and state, and I have left out some, who were named for no other reason (att least that the world knows off) than their being of a quite different stamp. Of which Mr Mason has a list, and I humblie submitt it to your Lordship how far such people shoud be encouraged and entrusted, since experience has taught us, I'me sure in this countie, that those people's cheif business is to foment divisions. Att the desire of the principall Gentlemen of the Countie I have likewise left out all such persons containd in the former Commission as have no estates nor interest in the Countie, and they are very hopefull that your Lordship will not think it

⁴⁹ This refers to the future Louis XV, great-grandson of Louis XIV, at this time critically ill with the smallpox that had already carried off his parents and grandfather. Philip V of Spain, formerly Duc d'Anjou, was next in line of succession in the event of the infant's death.

⁵⁰ Daughter of Mary of Modena and James VII and II, born in exile in 1692.

⁵¹ At this time the Duke of Savoy was the next direct descendant of the main Stuart line in the event of the deaths of the Old Pretender and his sister Louise.

⁵² Possibly Gavin Mason, the Duke of Hamilton's agent in London.

reasonable that such should be in the Commission.

My only concern in this matter, is to advance the publick good and answer the trust reposed in me, by the Gentlemen I have the honour to represent in Parliament, and I shall give your Lordship no furdur trouble, than to intreat you'd belive that I am with the greatest respect and sincerity, My Lord, Your Lordship's most faithfull humble servant.

To Hamilton

GD 406/1/5839

Dryden, 23rd October 1712

My Lord, I had a visit this day from my cusen Mr Douglass of Ethrington and I'me bound to join with him in thanking your Grace for giving your countenance to his brother, whose falln into the misfortune of killing a Gentleman in America. As the story's represented to me, his case seems pritty favourable, and therefore I presume to beg your Grace woud continue your good offices for him.

I have not had and shall not I belive have time to go to Clidsdale ere I return to London, but I hear that the bretheren⁵³ there and in most places of the western shires are much perplexed, for they'r unwilling to run the hazard of losing their benefices and yet dare not take the abjuration⁵⁴, for fear of dissobliging the people, who can't hear of that oath with patience. Nay they'r so mad that last Sunday when I sent a young man to preach att Carnwath in order to his being setled as helper to the present incumbent, who's become valetudinary, the people ran out of the Church upon his praying for the illustrious House [of Hanover], and sent me notice they'd never hear him again. I have no other news in this place that can divert your Grace and therefore I'll give you no furdur trouble but to subscribe my self what in truth I am, My Lord, Your Grace's most humble and obedient servant.

[P.S.] I hope to wait on your Grace in 3 weeks.

Endorsed: 'Carnwath, 23rd: 8ber: 1712'.

⁵³ i.e. the ministers of the Kirk

⁵⁴ An abjuration oath to be taken by all Scottish clergymen, but carefully couched in terms unacceptable to many (if not most) Presbyterians, formed part of the Episcopalian Toleration Act passed in March 1712

To Oxford

29/200; HMC Portland, v, 252

London, 23rd December 1712

My Lord, I have sevrall times presumd to speak to your Lordship concerning the Commissions of the peace in Scotland, but not having an opportunity to give your Lordship so full an account of the matter, as I find needfull, since all the applications that have been made to my Lord Keeper⁵⁵ have had no effect, your Lordship I hope will allow me to acquaint you, that after the dissolution of the last Scots Parliament in March 1707 and before the commencement of the Union in the succeeding month of May [*sic*], the Privy Councill did appoint new Commissions of the peace in evry shire. In the framing of which this rule was laid down and followd, that no person whatsoever should be employd, who had in Parliament voted, or out of Parliament addressd against the Union, by which means the most considerable of the nobility and gentry were left out and the powr lodgd in the hands of rigid presbitarians, the creatures of the Squadrone and the inferiour sort of the gentry, nay in some shires, to make up a number, mean people such as litle countrie lawyers, and noblemen's stewards and even valet de chambres were named.

After the abolishing of the Privy Councill and the passing of the Act of Parliament giving and extending all the powrs of the justices in England to those in Scotland, the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain did appoint new Commissions of the Peace for evry shire, consisting of the same persons who were named by the Privy Councill, and these have been continued to this time, without any alteration, excepting, that by my Lord Wharton's mediation, about 4 years ago, I got my self and half a score more added to the shire of Edinburgh. Upon the late happy turn of affairs, such of us as were candidates att the elections of this Parliament, did promise, and it was then expected, wee might have long ere now had so much interest as to have got this grivance redressd, which took and prevaild with a great many to join and assist us. After the Parliament met sevrall of the members did apply jointly and separately to my Lord Keeper and gave his Lordship lists of such persons as they humblice presumd were

⁵⁵ Simon Harcourt, 1st Lord (later Viscount) Harcourt (1661?-1727)

proper to be ommitted and such as were proper to be added, in hopes that his Lordship woud have issued out new Commissions, but to this day wee have not found so much favour as to obtain them.

From this short but true account of this affair, your Lordship can't but belive that the people in Scotland are in very bad hands, and I can further assure your Lordship from my own experience and the just complaints of others, that the persons who'r vested with the powr do not use it in vain. Neglecting no occasion to advance ther and ther freinds designs, it being very well known that no person who has att elections or [in] any other way appeard for the interest of the court can obtain common justice, all such being oppressd and harrassd to a very great degree. Which will certainly have a considerable influence att the next elections, since such as have been thus baulked and oppressd will scarcely think it worth ther pains, to expose themselves to the malice of a revengefull partie, when in return therto they can't expect to be in the least supported or protected, far less rewarded.

The Tories in Scotland were in hopes to've been otherwise dealt with and tho ther zeall carryd them on att the last elections to interest themselves and carry a representation in both houses, which, I think, hath serv'd the Queen very faithfully, the same won't continue, nay I'me affraid will be found to be very much coold alreadie, by reason of the many dissappointments and litle encouragement they've met with. For, if I be not much mistaken in the accounts I had and observations I made when I was lately in Scotland, their will be more difficultie than is imagined or perhaps represented to your Lordship in making of right returns of either peers or commoners to the next Parliament, it being generally complaind of, that those persons who did and continue still to oppose the Queen's measures are continued in offices of powr and profitt, that any few alterations that have been made are in favours of those who joind heartily with or at best but trimd during the last ministry, and such as did stand it out then and have served the Queen since have not interest to obtain the smallest favour either to themselves or their freinds.

Your Lordship I hope will do me the justice to belive I have no particular veiw in urging these matters so far. Tis true I must bear

a share with others in the loss wee'l sustain by being dissappointed of the protection and encouragement wee expected to ourselves and our freinds, but when wee represent to such that wee used our endeavours, tis to be hoped that they'l excuse us. My only concern is for the public good, and I may venture to assure your Lordship thers nothing woud be more for her Majestie's service than a rectification of the Commissions of the Peace, and I woud fain think that if your Lordship woud be pleasd to interest yourself a litle in it, my Lord Keeper woud not delay it any longer. I have heard it observed that King Charles the second's way and manner of refusing was more obliging than a certain other Prince's granting of a favour⁵⁶, and now that the dissolution of this Parliament approacheth and that interest is alreadie making against the next elections, the sooner this or what else may be thought proper and designd for the encouragement and support of such as have and will appear for her Majestie's service, is done, tis certainly so much the better.

What remains is that I make ane apology for this tedious, I'me affraid your Lordship will think, officious trouble, but as it proceeds from no bad designe I hope your Lordship won't take it amiss, nor doubt of my being with all the sincerety and respect imaginable.

I had almost forgot to acquaint your Lordship that in some shires there's no acting justices att all and in others so few that there's not a sufficient number to execute the laws concerning the excise, which, as the Commissioners told me, hath much prejudiced the produce of that revenue. My Lord, Your most faithfull and obliged humble servant.

Endorsed by Oxford: 'Mr Lockhart, Reply December 23 1712'.

To Oxford

29/150/3

London, 27 December 1712

My Lord, Some few dayes ago I did myself the honour of writing to your Lordship concerning the state of affairs in Scotland and I hope what I then represented will be found so just and necessary to be lookd after, that your Lordship will be pleasd to take your

⁵⁶ The prince alluded to was James VII and II

humble servants in that country into your protection.

The occasion of my giving your Lordship this trouble is to acquaint you, that by the last post I got an account of my wife's being in a very bad state of health and a very earnest and pressing desire that I'de go down to Scotland, and I accordingly designe to set out earlie to morrow morning, and I hope, God willing, to be ther sevrall dayes before the election of the peer.⁵⁷ I shall make as short a stay as possible, but I thought it proper to acquaint your Lordship of my design, that if you've any commands for me to that Countrie I may have the honour of receiving them. I am with great truth and respect, My Lord, Your Lordship's most faithfull and obliged humble servant.

To Oxford

29/150/3

Edenburgh, 27 January 1712/13

My Lord, It is with the greatest reluctancy imaginable, that I presume to trouble your Lordship any more concerning the Commissions of the Peace, but their being continued on the footing they have been for some years by past, is realie attended with such bad consequences, that I thought it proper to give your Lordship a true account of the matter.

Before the Union, the Privy Councill of Scotland had the naming and appointing of the Justices of the Peace and after the Union was approvd of by the Parliaments of both kingdoms and before its commencement in May 1707, new Commissions were givn out for evry countie in Scotland, in framing wherof this rule was agreed to and observed, that no person shoud be named, who had in Parliament voted, or out of Parliament addressed against the Union. By which means a great number of the nobility and allmost all the considerable gentlemen were ommitted and the powr lodged solely in the hands of rigid presbiterians, bitter Republicans and the meanest of the gentry, and in some counties to make up a number, litle countrie lawyers and noblemen's stewards, nay even ther domestick servants were named, and in this state have they continued ever since, save that by my Lord

⁵⁷ The by-election for the Scottish Representative Peer's vacancy created by the death of the Duke of Hamilton in a ferocious duel with Lord Mohun

Wharton's interest with my Lord Cowpar⁵⁸, I got my self and a few more added, about 3 years ago, to the Countie of Edinburgh.

I perswade my self it will be no hard task to convince your Lordship, that the people of Scotland are in very bad hands, when under the management of such people, and I can assure your Lordship from my own experience, they oppress evry man who hath att elections or any other occasion appeard for the interest of the Church or the Crown. And as this very much strengthens and encourages the Whigs, it lessens the powr and coolls the zeall of the Church partie, the truth of which, I'me affraid, will be too apparent att the elections of both peers and commoners to the next Parliament.

The want of new Commissions of the Peace being a generall loss, it were improper to mention anything particularly prejudicial to my own interest, as ane argument to induce your Lordship to give them, and yet I cannot altogether pass over in silence, that Sir David Dalrymple's agents in the Countie of Edenburgh, urge as a reason for choosing of him and laying me aside att the next elections that I have not been able to get one Justice of the Peace named since the change of the ministry. What ever be my fate in the Elections is of very litle consequence, but I mention this as an instance of the Whigs continuing to lay hold on all occurancies to advance their interest. I do indeed belive that your Lordship giving a new Commission of the Peace to the countie of Edenburgh, woud go a great way in making my election secure, and if your Lordship will be pleasd to approve of the lists I humblie presented long ago, I'de esteem it as a very great favour and it woud much advance my interest, especially if it were done, without the loss of time, now that the dissolution of the present Parliament approacheth. I'me ashamd to have troubled your Lordship so often on this subject, but as this shall be the last, I presume to entreat your Lordship woud, after what manner you think most proper, let me know what I'me to expect, for if those who have on all occasions laid themselves out, exposed themselves to the malice of a revengefull partie and spared nether ther pains nor mony in her Majestie's service, can't be gratified in

⁵⁸ William Cowper, 1st Lord (later Earl) Cowper (c.1665-1723), Lord Chancellor in the previous (Whig) administration

this matter, it is but reasonable I shoud justifie my self to those Gentlemen who directed me to sollicite the same and lodged their mony, near 2 years ago, in my hands for paying the dues to the Clerk of the Crown, by acquainting them that I had done what was in my power, but could not prevail.

Thers but one thing more to [be] mentiond with this, that in many Counties thers so few acting justices (and in some none att all) that the laws relating to the Excise and other parts of the revenue cannot be executed, which, as the Commissioners of the Excise have often told me, hath much prejudiced that revenue. I hope to have the honour of waiting upon your Lordship in a very litle time, and shall trouble you no furdur than to assure your Lordship that I am with very great truth and respect, My Lord, your Lordship's most faithfull humble servant.

To Lord Keeper Harcourt

29/45lii/19

[London] March 21 1712-13

My Lord, The great affairs which constantlie take up your Lordship's time and my being att present tyed down to a close attendance at Essex house⁵⁹, renders it very difficult for me to get ane opportunity of making my application to your Lordship. And therfore I presume to acquaint you by this that every post brings me accounts of Sir David Dalrymple's diligence to make ane interest to turn me out att the next elections in the shire of Edenburgh and I'me informed by one who saw his letters, that he was put upon this measure, by the heads of the faction⁶⁰ here, who think it woud be of some moment to them, if they could carry the first and most considerable shire in Scotland, for so trustie a freind as Sir David. This and my readiness, att least, on all occasions to serve her Majestie, makes me hope for the support and protection of the ministry, and tho I'me very confident I shall be able to stand my ground against Sir David, yet considering how united and malicious a partie I have to deal with, and that many of the freeholders are lawyers and depend upon the session,

⁵⁹ This was where the Commission of Accounts met

⁶⁰ i.e. the Opposition at Westminster

of which his brother's president⁶¹ and as I'me informed solicites with threats and promises against me, I cannot reckon my self secure and will need all the assistance I can any wayes procure.

Ther are two gentlemen, Mr Brand⁶² and Mr Oliphant, who'r very well affected to her Majestie and having a very great interest in that shire could be very serviceable to me, and could I so prevaill with your Lordship to obtain a small mark of your favour to them, it woud in all probability do my business effectually. And what I humblie propose is, that your Lordship woud bestow the office of her Majestie's Under Falconer upon the first, and that of Underkeeper of her Majestie's Wardrobe upon the other. They are places of no great value, the first being but £50 and the other but £40 per annum and enjoyd att present by persons of no great rank or merrit, the one a servant to the late Duke of Queensberry⁶³ and the other a servant to the present Earl of Hindford.⁶⁴ This being the first favour I have asked⁶⁵ and so necessary to support me against the attempts of a partie, whose cheif quarrel with me proceeds from my zeall for her Majestie's service, I presume to beg and press it with more earnestness, than I woud, were I not stated [situated?] as I have represented to your Lordship.

Next to the granting of my request the greatest obligation will be to let me know what I'me to expect, for if this shall be thought too great a favour, I must cut my coat according to my cloath and take the best measures I can think on. I do assure your Lordship I never had any designe in being a member of Parliament but to serve the Queen and my countrie and so far as my small power reacheth, I never yet faild in any of them, and this encourages me to hope, I shall, with your Lordship's conveniencie, have a favourable return to my request, which will prove a means to enable me to serve your Lordship and oblige me to continue with the greatest respect. My Lord, Your Lordship's most faithfull and obedient humble servant.

Endorsed by Oxford: 'Mr Lockhart March 21 1712/13, reply March 22'.

⁶¹ Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Lord North Berwick of the Court of Session

⁶² Alexander Brand of Castlebrand

⁶³ James Nasmith

⁶⁴ Alexander Lesslie and James Carmichael, 2nd Earl of Hyndford (c.1670-1737)

⁶⁵ Not strictly true. See pp.41-42, 43-44

To [unknown]

Acc.7228/1

London, 24 March 1713

Sir, I had yours of the 17th for which I thank you and for the good accounts you gave me in it. I had likewise a letter from Middleton⁶⁶ wherein he tells me that having an assiduous enemy I had need to be very diligent, and he assures me that none of the Gallawater folks⁶⁷ have engaged against me, but are resolved to be determined by the majority amongst themselves. This I think cannot end in my prejudice and it did not look as if he designd me much harm. As for Preston⁶⁸, after his positive and solemn engaging before my Lord Eglington and Captain Farrier, I cannot think it possible he'll be against me. However, I have wrote to my wife to send for him and if you can have an opportunity of speaking to him I think you may tell him that by my recommendation Borthwickhall⁶⁹ and Halltree⁷⁰ were provided for in the Customs and that you'll undertake in my name I shall use the outmost of my endeavours to get him provided [for] if he'll stand firm for me. I'm told that Sir James Dick⁷¹ is to qualify and vote against me, but he told me positively that he'd vote for me and he's an honest man than to break his word. I'm likewise told that Sir David pretends to have got assurance from Burncastle.⁷² I wrote to him before I came away and I cannot imagine that there's the least ground for the report, for he's one of our own in all respects. If Robert Boyd's⁷³ in town he can tell you what truth's in't.

I had a letter yesterday from James Malcolm⁷⁴ wherein he says that since Sir David Dalrymple is my competitor he's affraid Sir J. Sharp⁷⁵ will turn scrupleous and not take the oaths because Sir David has been very friendly to his family, but as Sir J. is named

⁶⁶ John Mitcheson of Middleton

⁶⁷ A district of Midlothian

⁶⁸ Captain William Preston of Gortoun

⁶⁹ William Borthwick of Borthwickhall

⁷⁰ John Pringle of Haltree

⁷¹ Sir James Dick of Prestonfield

⁷² George Logan of Burncastle

⁷³ Possibly the Hon. Robert Boyd, son of the Earl of Kilmarnock

⁷⁴ James Malcolm of Grange

⁷⁵ Sir James Sharp of Stonyhill

one of the justices in the new Commission of the Peace which will be sent down in a very few days, it will look very odd and appear with an ill grace before the Queen and her Ministry if he do not accept and qualify himself. And since my enemys give out (and I hope they are not mistaken in't) that their all is now at the stake, I should expect one of Sir James's principles would not be backward in putting to his helping hand. My Lord Marr and the Lyon will write earnestly to him on this subject, and if you know any person who has weight and interest with him and his mother, that you would get them to represent this ho[m?]e to them, for by the list on the other page you'll see that I'll have need of all my friends. I long to know what success our epistle to the clergy has; much depends upon it.⁷⁶

Wee have no news. The Parliament will be adjourn'd for a fourteenight longer and God knows when it will sitt since wee are so senceless as to wait for the Dutch, tho' wee hope M. Villars⁷⁷ in a little time will have some weight with them. I don't know how to apologize for the frequent trouble I give you and yet I hope you'll forgive me. Remember me to all [our?] friends. K. McKenzie⁷⁸ will take care of the inclosed – letters I desired my Lord Clermont⁷⁹ to hasten his return to Harry [*sic*].⁸⁰ I am: Yours.

Votes which Mr L[ockhart] expects

Sir David Forbes [of Newhall]
[William] Preston [of Gortoun]
[James Deans of] Woodhouslie
Sir J[ohn] Ramsay [of Prestoun]
[Patrick Murray of] Deuchar
[John Borthwick of] Hartside
[Sir Roderick Mackenzie of] Prestonhall
[James Baird of] Chesterhall
Mr [William] Maitland [of Cranstoun]

Sure Votes for Sir David

John Inglis [of Auchindinnie]
[Robert Dundas] Lord Arniston
[Sir William Dalrymple of] Killoch
[James Dalrymple of] Killoch jnr
[Robert Pringle of] Symington
[William Turnbull of] Currie
[Sir James McClurg of] Vogrie
[William Biggar of] Wolmet
[Sir William Baird of] Newbyth

⁷⁶ An appeal (ultimately successful) made by the Scottish Episcopalian Tory M.P.s to the Episcopalian clergy in Scotland to take the oaths stipulated by the Episcopalian Toleration Act. See: GD 45/362/1-3

⁷⁷ Maréchal Claude Hector, Duc de Villars, commander of the French Army in the Netherlands and victor of the battle of Denain (1712) against the Dutch and Allied army commanded by Prince Eugene of Savoy

⁷⁸ Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Prestonhall

⁷⁹ John Middleton, Lord Clermont, heir apparent to the attainted Jacobite Earl of Middleton, and a prisoner of war since 1708

⁸⁰ Possibly Henry Maule of Kellie

Votes which Mr L[ockhart] expects

Mr J[ames], Smith [of Whitehill]
 [John Lauder jr, of] Fountainhall
 [John Trotter of] Mortonhall
 [Alexander Home of] Meerehouse
 [Thomas Rig of] Mortoun
 [George Logan of] Burncastle
 [William Dick of] Grange
 [Sir James Mackenzie of] Royston
 [Henry Nisbett of] Dean
 [George Lind of] Gorgie
 [Robert Porteous of] Craiglockhart
 Sir James Baird [of Saughtounhall]
 [James Watson of] Saughton
 [Alexander Brand of] Castlebrand
 [William Foulis of] Woodhall 20
 [Thomas Scott of] Malleny
 [James Oliphant of] Lungton
 Marjoribanks [of that ilk]
 [Hew Wallace of] Inglistoun
 [Hew Wallace, jnr, of] Inglistoun
 [Alexander Foulis of] Ratho
 [John Menzies of] Cambo
 [John Fairholme of] Baberton
 [Robert Craig of] Ricarton
 [Walter Porterfield of] Mayfield
 [Andrew Kerr of] Moreston
 [Jasper Wood of] Wariston
 [Sir James Sharpe of] Stony hill
 Mr [Ewan] McGregor [of Sherrifbrae]
 Sir Patrick Nisbet [of Dean]
 [Alexander Bothwell of] Glencorse
 [John Hoppringle of] Forsonce
 [John Mitcheson of] Middleton 12
 [John Pringle of] Halltree
 [William Borthwick of] Borthwickhall

44

*In case they be present will
probably vote for Sir David*

[George] Warrender [of Burntfield]
 [Sir Hough Cunninghame of] Bonnington
 Sir John Inglis [of Cramond]
 Ronald Campbell [of Ballerno]

4

Sure Votes for Sir David

[John Baird of] Newbyth younger
 [Sir Alexander Gilmour of]
 Craigmillar
 [Litle of] Liberton
 [Martine of] Harwood
 [John Mitchell of] Alderston
 Baron [John] Clerk [of Penicuik]
 Sir John Clerk [of Penicuik]
 Lord Charles Kerr
 Sir James Stewart [of Goodtrees]
 [Sir James Rothead of] Innerleith
 [Sir William Morison of]
 Prestongrange

20

Doubtful

[Thomas Inglis of] Mannerhead
 Sir James Justice of Easter
 Creighton
 Sir A[ndrew]. Morton [of Gogar]
 [William Borthwick of] Salahill
 [Alexander Honison of] Braehead
 [Robert Rutherford of] Bowland
 James Deuar
 [Archibald Burnet of] Carlops
 [Patrick Pitcairne of] Dreghorn
 [Stodhart of] Sudhouse
 [Borthwick of] Cruickston
 Mr McConnochy

32

Nonjurors

Sir James Dick [of Prestonfield]
 [Loch of] Dryly
 [Marjoribanks of] Halyeards
 [Wauchope of] Edimsstoun
 [Sir Alexander] Dalmahoy [of
 that ilk]
 [Sir William Drummond of]
 Kathomdale
 [Borthwick of] Stow
 [George Morison of] Meggekland

36

*The following persons will be for Mr
L[ockhart] if present but its feard
will be absent*

[James Dundas jnr of] Arniston

[John Strachan of] Graycruich

[Patrick Falconer of] Monton

Sir William Menzies [of Wrighthouse]

[Binning of] Walifoord

Reckoning the worst for Mr Lockhart, Sir David can not make above 36. But Mr Lockhart has reason to believe some of those marked doubtfull will at least be absent, all of them having given him some inclinations of their being for him, and he's assured the 4 marked absent will either vote for him or at least be absent. Consider if there's reason to doubt any of the 44 marked for Mr Lockhart. Let none but particular friends and such as can keep a secret see this list and query they'r opinion of it. I want to know what Morton will do.

Endorsed: 'From Carnwath, holograph in the conclusion'.

To Baron John Clerk

GD 18/3149

London, 31st March 1713

Sir, Hearing that Sir David Dalrymple is very bussie att making of ane interest to be chosen to represent the shire of Edinburgh to the next Parliament, I presume to make my application to you for your vote and favour to myself. I have had the honour to serve the shire these sevrall years, and I have as faithfully and zealouslie as I could laid my self out to promote the interest of my Countrie. Sir David I confess woud have a great advantage over me in being without all doubt very capable to serve his Countrie, but since he's sure of being chosen for the touns he just now represents, I hope I may have more to say for my self and greater reason to expect the favour and assistance of my freinds and neighbours, of which there's none I woud be vainer of than yours, if I could be so happy as to obtain it, and I woud reckon my self under the greatest obligation to lay hold on evry occasion to testifie my

gratitude and to convince you that I am with great truth, Sir,
Your most humble and affectionate servant.

Endorsed: 'Baron Clerk. Carnwath, 31 March 1713'.

To the Earl of Loudoun

LO 9110

London, 7th April 1713

My Lord, The Gentlemen who serve in Parliament for Scotland having mett together to consider of some matters of the utmost consequence⁸¹ to that Countrey delayed coming to any resolution till they should have an opportunity to conferr with your Lordship and others of the House of Lords. They have appointed to meet again to morrow at twelve a clock at the Duke of Bedford's Head tavern in South-hampton street, Covent Garden, and have commanded me in their name to intreat the honour of your Lordship's company. I am with great respect, My Lord, Your Lordship's Most faithfull humble servant,

Geo. Lockhart

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/23

[London] April 29 [1713]

Dear Sir, By this daye's post I have sent you a letter enclosed to I.B., which call for. I found a mistake in the index's I left with H[arry]. S[traton]. and of which I suppose you've a copy. Table signifyes both Elector of Hanover and Ambassador. Pray correct it thus, as I have my copy, viz, in both the index's opposite to Ambassador make it table bed.

This day came on the elections of the touns in Fife, which was but a scrub cause on the Lyon's side, and indeed his freinds were much out in the debate, for he concealld the weakest parts of it from them, so that they were surprized and knew not what to say. As for example, he assured us the Shirriffs precept was given to the eldest Bailly in Pittenweem at that time in toun, and wee did not doubt but wee might make good his powr of calling the councell. But alas, it appeard that only the 2nd Bailly was out of toun and the eldest was actually in toun tho indisposed. However,

⁸¹ Proposals mooted among the English Tories to extend English levels of malt tax to Scotland

bad as the cause was wee might have carried it, had not the Tories run away to their dinners and the Whigs attended to a man. Now these deserters did not go away because of the badnes of the cause, but ane English Tory woud not overroost his beef to save the nation from ruin, and so Sir John Anstruther⁸² carried it by 9 votes. This and the conduct of the ministry is fine encouragement for Scots Tories.

I am carrying thro a bill four our highwayes, the dues of which will come to near, if not above, £150, of which you may acquaint my Lord Wigton, to whom I offer my most humble service. Mr Fletcher has been very ill of a fever and is not out of danger yet. Adeiu. You may lay your account with the malt tax.

Scottish Steering Committee to Oxford

29/221; misdated: HMC Portland, x. 427

London, Thursday 21 [May], 10 att night [1713]⁸³

My Lord, We presume to acquaint your Lordship that to day some resolutions passed in the Committee of Ways and Means which are undoubtedly of very bad consequence to our Country.⁸⁴

All the gentlemen who serve for Scotland mett together this evening and have deputed us to represent this matter to your Lordship. And since it cannot admitt of any delay, the Report being ordered to be received tomorrow morning, We humbly desire that your Lordship will be pleased to allow us ane opportunity of waiting upon you some time before the House meets tomorrow. We are with all imaginable respect, My Lord, Your Lordships most obedient humble servants

James Murray

George Lockhart

John Carnege

To Loudoun

LO 9115

[London] Saturday 23rd [May 1713]

My Lord, The gentlemen who serve in the House of Commons

⁸² Sir John Anstruther of Anstruther, M.P. for Anstruther Easter Burghs until April 1712, and Erskine's chief Whig rival for the county seat of Fife

⁸³ I have redated this letter to Thursday 21 May on the basis of internal evidence.

⁸⁴ The passage of a motion to tax Scottish malt at the full rate of 6d a bushel

for Scotland having met this day did lay their commands upon me to desire in their name that your Lordship would do them the honour to meet on Teusday nixt at ten of the cloak at the Blew Posts in the Hay Market in order to take proper measures of the greatest importance at this juncture. I am, My Lord, Your Lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Geo. Lockhart

Endorsed: 'Mr Lockhart of Carnwath, May 23rd 1713'.

To [Maule?]

29/283; HMC, Laing MSS, ii, 167-171
(unattributed and corrupt)

London, 26 May 1713

[No salutation] On Saturday I had not time to tell you how the Scots were used on Fryday last butt now I will give you an account, and it is worth being known over all Scotland. When the ingrossed malt bill was read Mr Seckerly [Shakerley?]⁸⁵ said he was against making any difference of the duties in Scotland and England. But at the same time he was sensible this duty was hard on Scotland and therefore he hoped it would never be imposed in Britain again and he was likewise sensible the Scots had reason to expect an exemption because the war was not concluded with Spain and because part of this duty was for the service of the first few months of the year, during which time the war existed with France and therefore he moved the duty should not commence in Scotland till Christmas.

This question was seconded, but the leading Whigs and some of the Tories opposed it, saying by the rules of the House no amendment could be made to an engrossed bill, which prevailed with the House, whereupon Mr Smith⁸⁶ said he observed a very great blunder in the bill, for whereas it had been alleged (against the Scots) that the tax must be equal, yet this bill, taxing the Scots more than the English, because it provided no malt should go from Scotland to England but what was entered at Carlisle or Berwick and there pay six pence per bushel over and above the duty at home, whereas there was no such thing as to the English

⁸⁵ Peter Shakerley, M.P. for Chester and a leading Country Tory

⁸⁶ Thomas Smith, Whig M.P. for Glasgow Burghs

malt carried into Scotland. The Scots knew of this inequality but resolved to let it pass to render the bill more gross and to be a handle for the Lords to insist against it. But being started they were obliged to take notice of it (though they were in hopes they would not have altered it), and therefore they said it was unequal, and a violation of the communication of trade, the English moved to leave out that part of the bill. The Scots asked by what rules they could make an alteration now since they were told five minutes before that it could not be done, and demanded that if an alteration could be made, the motion as to the commencement in Scotland should be first voted but they laughed at them and would not do that though they altered the other. In short, never was such treatment in the world.

Next day the Commons met, where Mr Lockhart proposed that it was necessary they should show their resentment of such usage, and endeavour to get free of the Union, and for that purpose that they should move for leave to bring in a bill to dissolve it and added that though he did not think it could carry at this time yet it would leave on record their sense of the usage they had received and show to those that succeeded their next Parliament what their sense of matters were [*sic*] and it was to be hoped they would begin where they left off, and join with any party that would come into any measures for their relief. All the Scots members seemed very keen and therefore they wrote down their names and the following resolution, viz. that a meeting of the peers should be desired on Tuesday when they should acquaint them that it was the opinion of the Commons there present that these measures should be prosecute, and their lordships' concurrence desired.

This very much alarmed the ministry and yesterday morning Mr Carnegie, Mr Lockhart, Mr James Murray and Sir Alexander Cumming⁸⁷ were sent for to a great man, where they got many fair words and promises of a right regulation of affairs in Scotland for the future and kindness shown to themselves and that ways and means should be fallen on, to make the Scots easy in the uplifting this tax, but they answered they had no private views in the matter and that nothing they could give them could

⁸⁷ Sir Alexander Cumming of Culter, Episcopalian Tory M.P. for Aberdeenshire

recompense the ruin of their country. That beside the present injustice and hardship the contempt and scurrilous way of carrying on the affair showed plainly they were to expect nothing that was fair or just and that they had no game but sooner or later to shake off the chains. That they knew no ministry durst undertake to ease them of uplifting the tax, besides they could not trust to that. It was answered they could not expect to carry the motion for dissolving the Union and the moving it might force the ministry to use the Scots with more severity than otherwise they inclined to; they replied they expected no succour from the ministry, and although they did not prevail now yet they would lay a foundation for obtaining it one way or other afterwards.

Mr Lockhart being appointed by the Commoners to write to the Lords to meet with them this day there was accordingly a very full meeting of both Lords and Commoners. After the opinion of the Commoners was read, the Duke of Argyll said he very heartily agreed to the measure and he thought a dissolution of the Union absolutely necessary. The Earl of Mar said the same and so did several more of the peers. Then Mr Baillie said he had nothing to say against the motion in general, but he thought it was advancing too far until they knew the minds of their constituents. Mr Lockhart said the minds of their constituents were not asked in making the Union, and there was no need of asking it to dissolve it. All the world knew all the kingdom was almost against it at first and he was sure the treatment the Scots had received had not made any proselytes; that to wait that they should write to and hear from their constituents was to lose time and the opportunity of this session. The Earl of Islay insisted very violently upon the necessity of prosecuting the dissolution be the consequences what they will, and most of the Lords and Commoners showed the same sense and zeal. In short, there appeared more of Scots spirit than in any assembly has met this many years.

At length they came to consider what was to be done after the motion was made. General Ross⁸⁸ and Colonel Douglas⁸⁹ and

⁸⁸ General Charles Ross of Balnagown, Jacobite Tory (at this time) M.P. for Ross-shire

⁸⁹ Colonel George Douglas of St Ola, future 13th Earl of Morton, at this time Jacobite Tory M.P. for Linlithgow Burghs

others proposed that if the motion was rejected they should leave the Parliament and go all to Scotland and acquaint their constituents how they had been used, that they were to expect and that it was the opinion of the Scots members in both Houses that neither Lords nor Commons should elect any to the next Parliament.

Mr Lockhart said that all they had or could resolve on was to no purpose unless they likewise resolved to stand firm to one another and prosecute the measure of dissolving the Union in all events whatsoever and to oppose every measure and party that could and would not relieve them, and therefore in the first place he would take the liberty to move that if any of this number should alter or take a different course that it might be understood as a gross and open violation of his faith and he looked upon as infamous and scandalous; that this being agreed to and made the foundation of their actings, he was against leaving the Parliament, because if once the Parliament was deserted no Scotsman could think of returning there and yet if the Union was not dissolved writs may be issued for electing in Scotland and the sheriffs would be obliged to execute them and he did not question but nine parts of ten of the freeholders would come into the project of not electing and returning members, yet he was afraid in each county there might be some few false gentlemen who might out of personal view get themselves elected and go to the Parliament; and further, if the Scots members engaged and stood firm they could do more service in Parliament than by leaving it. These arguments prevailed, and thereupon all their names were writ down and this resolution taken, viz. that it is their unanimous opinion that a motion be made in Parliament for a dissolution of the Union of the two kingdoms; that they are steadfastly to pursue this measure and that no consideration of whatever nature divert them from employing their whole strength in Parliament for effectuating it; that the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Mar, Mr Lockhart and Mr Cockburn do in all humility acquaint Her Majesty with this resolution as the only true measure for the support of her government and prerogative, and for the happiness and quiet of her subjects.

Accordingly they went and told Her Majesty that the necessity

of their circumstances obliged them to enter into this measure which they conceived after 6 years' experience was necessary for the honour of Her Majesty's person and government, and the particular advantage of England as well as Scotland and for the benefit of the whole island. Her Majesty answered that she was sorry they had cause to complain but she hoped it was not to be imputed to the Union but to some accidental cause; that they knew best what was fit for them to do for their own interest, but she thought this resolution was very rash. She knew not if it was legal, and she wished they might not repent it when too late. The Scots Lords and Commons replied they had but too many and solid reasons to induce them to take this measure which they entered into very deliberately and were resolved now to adhere to, be the consequences what they will; that nevertheless they could assure Her Majesty that whether under an united or separate state they would still continue faithful subjects to her.

You cannot imagine what noise this makes. The ministry is alarmed at it, though they in some cases pretend to ridicule the project and in others to threaten the Tower to any that shall make the motion.⁹⁰ But that will not frighten the Scots from doing their duty, for they all appear to be very firm and resolute and though it is a very doubtful case, nay, would appear to be attended with no success at this time, yet still there are a great deal of hopes it may even succeed now and at least afterwards, which God of his infinite goodness grant.

You shall hear again when the motion is made which I think will be next Thursday. A great many of the Whigs have declared they'll take the Scots at their word, others ask a little time to consider, and it's hoped they will all join them and in that case it will carry in the House of Lords and with the help of 20 Tories in the House of Commons too, and it is certain there is more of that number who think the Union destructive to both kingdoms. In short, whether the Scots succeed or not, they expect this method will be approved of in their own country and spirit up every Scotsman to act as such. *Jacta est alea*. Also they design to make a dog or a hog of it.

⁹⁰ Specifically Lockhart. See: LP, i, 428

The [Duke of Atholl and the] Earls of Orkney and Kinnoull⁹¹ were out of town and eleven or twelve Scots Commoners at home. Admiral Byng⁹² as he was passing the Blue Posts while the Scots Members were sitting there, pushed Colonel Stuart's⁹³ footman into the kennel (not without reason I believe) and afterwards drew his sword and run the fellow through the side, upon which he arose and with some of his companions and other mob run after the Admiral and knocked him down to the ground, so that he was forced to be carried home in a chair.

As for news the House of Commons are but to allow 8,000 for guards and garrisons, so that all the Scots garrisons, and the Grants and Campbells' independent companies are disbanded, and the office of Commander-in-Chief, Adjutant and Quarter-master-General, etc, are sunk in Scotland. Nay, some are of opinion that it will be thought that a third regiment of foot and a fourth troop of Horse Guards are unnecessary and its talk't that Preston's⁹⁴ and Britain's⁹⁵ regiments will be broke.

The Master of Sinclair's⁹⁶ remission is passing the seals.

To [unknown]

Acc.7228/1

[London] 28 May [1713]

[No salutation] I received yours and am surprizd att the account you give me of Sir David's quitting in favours of Kilock [the] younger⁹⁷, I can't guess att the cause or project in it, and Ime confident he'l make less of it than Sir David woud have done. Tell Dr Abercrombie⁹⁸ I received his last post, but can't write just now. Desire him to thank the gentlemen who was so readie to befreind me, but that I'le delay coming to a resolution till I be att home and see whether I'le need what wee projected.

As for news they'r pritty dismall, for yesterday morning att a

⁹¹ George Hamilton, 8th Earl of Orkney (1666-1737), brother of the 4th Duke of Hamilton, and the Earl of Kinnoull, whose heir, Lord Dupplin, had married Oxford's daughter in 1710

⁹² Admiral George Byng, later Viscount Torrington, at this time Whig M.P. for Plymouth

⁹³ Brigadier John Stewart of Sorbie, Argathelian Whig M.P. for Wigtownshire

⁹⁴ Colonel George Preston of the 26th Regiment of Foot (Cameronians)

⁹⁵ Colonel William Breton's Regiment of Foot

⁹⁶ John Sinclair, Master of Sinclair, fled to Prussia in 1708 after shooting a fellow officer

⁹⁷ Sir James Dalrymple of Kelloch

⁹⁸ Probably Dr Patrick Abercrombie, the anti-Union propagandist

meeting of the Scots I coud plainly see some people's zeall coold. I am for my part resolved to belive evry man will act honestly and stedfastlie in the dissolution of the Union, and yet some things woud allmost perswade a man to change his thoughts. The first thing discoursed on was in which of the 2 Houses to make the motion first. The Lords shuffled, but the Comons told they'd be very glad of doing it, but they had been so rebuted and such warm reflections had past twixt the Scots and English about the malt tax, they coud not expect to succeed in ther House. In short, with much ado, they prevaild with the Lords to move first.

Afterwards it was proposed to lay down rules for our measures and conduct after this. Argyle, Ilay, Eglinton, Balmerinoe and all the Comons I think that spoke, except Baily and Pringle, were for begining instantly to let the Court see they coud and dared to oppose them, because the Court were the persons who keepd the Scots under the Union and woud do so till the end of the world whilst they gaird by it, and therefore it was fitt to let them see what wee durst do. Mar, Seafield and Loudon were possitively against that measure, pretending that they belivd the Whigs woud be as much against us as the Court. To this it was replyd that it was not proposed that wee shoud join the Whigs or any partie, but that wee shoud resolve to oppose the ministry because they coud and woud not relieve us. In short, after a long debate, and free enuff by some Gentlemen, wee parted without coming to any resolution. It was likewise proposed that wee shoud resolve to go alwayes togather one way, but Mr Baily declared he coud not give up his conscience.

Ime told ther was another meeting of the peers alone, where Kilsyth and Lithgow⁹⁹ declared against opposing the Court. Argyle and Ilay roar and exclaim bloodily against the Union, and seem very positive that the Whig Lords woud join to dissolve if our peers woud help in the mean time to stop the ministry. There are [those] here who say the 2 brothers, finding that their Court [i.e. interest] decays, are making this noise and opposition to force the ministry into their ways. If it be so I shall be sorry for it, but as yet I can't but think they propose what seems the most

⁹⁹ William Livingston, 3rd Viscount Kilsyth (1650-1733) and James Livingston, 5th Earl of Linlithgow (d. 1723). Both were Jacobites

effectuall way. There's others who say Lord Mar is taken off by the Treasurer and he only makes ane outward shew to keep his interest in Scotland. But that I hope and belive is ane aspersion.¹⁰⁰ A litle time will clear much, and of a Scotsman he deserves no mercy that plays bootie in this matter.

With great difficultie wee prevaild with the Lords to begin and accordingly this day Findlater¹⁰¹ movd in the House of Lords for a day to take the state of the nation into consideration, and Monday's appointed. Wee the Commons are resolved if possible to be unanimous in evry vote and accordingly this day wee, all but Mr Pringle, voted against the Court and carried 2 votes by our being against them. The Court was confounded to see it and fell a-flattering us, concerting that the like encouragement be given to navall stores coming from Scotland as from America, and proposing to take the fisherie into consideration, but wee told them wee saw what they meant and woud not be bubbled. In short, I am fully perswaded that if the Scots in both Houses woud stand their ground and act as they shoud, the Union might be dissolved ere the session ended. Shew this only to trustie freinds because there are people's names mentiond and I don't care for being the author of it. Adieu

Endorsed: 'Letter from Carnwath' and, in a different hand, 'holograph'.

To the Earl of Findlater SRO, GD 248/566/23 (Seafield MSS.)

[London] Thursday evning [May 1713]

My Lord, I send your Lordship a computation of what may be thought the produce of the malt tax will amount to in Scotland, which I'me affraid is too well founded. I'me affraid if the English knew this they'l scarcely let us off with a month's cess. And yet on the other hand the consumption will be diminishd and the exportation increasd, which will lessen the revenues of the Excise and Customs and even of this computation too, and on all events the Heretors will be undone and the Countrie soon exhausted. God help us all and forgive . I hope your Lordship has been so

¹⁰⁰ It was in fact true. See: *The Diary of Sir David Hamilton, 1709-14*, ed. P. Roberts (1975), p.55

¹⁰¹ The Earl of Seafield inherited the title of Earl of Findlater (which he used thereafter) in 1711

kind as to writ to my Lord Fergland¹⁰² to speak in my behalf to Graycruik and Mr Patrick Falconer. I am, my Lord, Your Lordship's most obliged humble servant.

To Oxford

29/150/3

Edinburgh, 7 July 1713

My Lord, The commissions which her Majestie was pleased to bestow upon my 2 freinds Mr Oliphant and Brand, having been presented to the Barrons of the Exchequer in order to their being put upon the civill list for payment of their salarys, the Barons have reffused to do it because they have no warrand from your Lordship for that purpose. I make it therfore my earnest request that your Lordship woud be pleased to give the necessary orders for it, so as the same may come to the Barrons during this term, which ends att the latter end of this month, and without which the whole affair will be att a stand and the gentlemen be deprived of their salarys.

I have been but this day in town since I came to Scotland and seen so litle company I can give your Lordship no account of the state of affairs, only in generall what your Lordship proposes for easing this countrie of the malt tax is very acceptable and that most of all our leading people are extremly exasparated att the loss of the Bill of Commerce.¹⁰³ When any thing of moment occurs I shall not fail to acquaint you of it and I am with the greatest truth, My Lord, Your Lordship's most oblided humble servant.

Endorsed by Oxford: 'Edenburgh, Mr Lockhart July 7. Reply July 14 1713, Falconer's salary etc, commerce'.

To Oxford

29/204 and 29/36/5; HMC Portland, v, 478
(misdated and incomplete)

Dryden, 30th July 1713

My Lord, Having received your Lordship's commands to inform

¹⁰² Sir Alexander Ogilvy, Lord Forglen of the Court of Session

¹⁰³ The 'Bill of Commerce' was a measure translating the provisions of the Commercial Treaty with France (negotiated in parallel with the Peace of Utrecht) into British law. On 18 June the bill was defeated in Committee by a revolt among the Tory backbenchers, some for fear of what closer relations with France portended for the succession, others because they feared the bill would be unpopular during an election year, still others to spite the ministry

you how matters were like to go in this Countrie, I have tryd all the wayes I coud think of, to render me capable to give your Lordship some satisfaction.

When I came here I found the people very much out of temper on account of the malt tax and pains had been taken to make them belive it was owing chiefly to the ministry, which was improvnd with a veiw to the elections. This story was soon run down, by the hopes wee had of being eased by the proposalls your Lordship was pleasd to make to the Scots members, but finding they took no effect, the same efforts are renewd, tho I hope with litle success, except with the presbiterian ministers and the leaders of the Whig party, who lay hold on this and evry handle to give the people a bad impression of the Queen, your Lordship and all the other minjsters of state, and are in their ordinary course of exact and unwearied diligence, to advance the interest of ther freinds att the ensuing elections. However, I may venture to assure your Lordship that, notwithstanding the powerfull assistance they pretend to be assured of from some certain great men¹⁰⁴, they may be easily dissappointed, for the Tory partie in this countrie wants nothing but a litle encouragement and good management to excite and enable them to rout the other to all intents and purposes, but the truth on't is they've been so long kept under hatches that they've begun to despond, and some things must be done to provoke or perswade them to exert themselves, otherwise ther adversaries active and revenge[full] spirits will have the better, and tho a minority and even a scandalous one amongst the nobility and gentry, prevaill over the majority.

In managing the elections the whigs have recourse to ther old topicks of popery and the pretender, and the security of the Kirk, but these being bugbears, they insist very much on the fatall consequences of the peace, the designd bad effects of the bill for the Commerce and the necessity of having the Union dissolved. And tho they themselves were the tools of bringing it about they'l not allow that any sett of men besides themselves are for dissolving of it. Ther has no care been wanting to give a right turn to all these matters, the behaviour of their freinds the English Whigs in the malt tax has been laid open, the private veiws and

¹⁰⁴ Argyll and Ilay were in the process of defecting from the government to the Opposition

cheif aim of some in the matter of the Union has been represented and some of our merchants have publishd some very good papers with relation to the state of our trade, and by these means the designd mischeif hath not the expected success, but the Whigs have this advantage, that they'r ane united partie, act by concert and are supported by the best advice and the greatest encouragement of their Great ones, wheras the Torys are without a head, and evry one does that which is right in his own eyes and have not that weight which they might justly claim, by reason that so many who enjoy offices under her Majestie still appear against them.

This being the state of affairs in this Countrie I am perswaded your Lordship will as you certainly can give them another turn. I know I have taken all the pains I coud to have it belived that your Lordship's time has been so necessarily employd in the matter of the peace and other great affairs, that it was impracticable for you to settle the affairs of this Countrie, but now that these more weightie points are adjusted and that so much depends upon the next Parliament, I'me perswaded and evry body's in full expectation, that what is so necessary for her Majestie's service, the common interest of the Island and your Lordship's own security will not be longer delayd, and I dare venture to assure your Lordship this Countrie will do more than meet you half way.

Having said so much in generall, allow me to desscend a litle into particulars, and first of all represent the necessity of giving directions to be as easie or rather as negligent as possible in collecting of the malt tax, for, as litle or nothing will [be] raisd by it (the people in most places having made as much malt as will serve for near a year), so the uplifting of it will irritate them against those who have hitherto appeard to favour and wish well to the ministry. Besides, the people have resolved to refuse access to the officers and the execution of the law will certainly occasion some mischeif or ane another [*sic*]. I'me told tis very necessary to change the Shirrifs in severall of the counties, especially in the northern counties, for in Scotland, besides the returning of the members to Parliament, the Shirriffs have very great powers, which gives them great interest in the elections. I belive Mr

George Mackenzie hath taken care to give my Lord Mar full information as to this point. The Earl of Glasgow is att present Bayliff of her Majestie's Regality of Glasgow, by which he has a considerable interest in the Countie of Lanark and employs the same with all his power against the Dutchess of Hamilton and her freind Sir James Hamilton (who's a very honest gentleman and has alwayes behaved well in Parliament).¹⁰⁵ And unless that power be lodged in some other hand [it] will go, att least, very near to turn Sir James out of the Countie, and do prejudice to the interest of severall other honest gentlemen in other Counties and Burrows.

Some litle time ago I gave your Lordship an account that the commissions which her Majestie was pleasd to bestow on Masters, Oliphant and Brand, 2 honest gentlemen in my neighbourhood of good interest in this Countie and my very good freinds, were stopd in the Exchequer on a pretence that they could not be put upon the civill list of this countrie, unless your Lordship had signed the commissions or given a warrand for it. As the bestowing these 2 offices on these gentlemen was gratefull to the honest part of the Countie and did much advance my interest in the same, the undoing or even delaying to perfect what was so far advanced (which my enimyes publickly assert here to be obtained at London) will have the quite contrary effects, and in particular be such a lash upon me, that it had been much more my interest to have been refused the favours altogather. And therfore I once more make it my earnest request, that your Lordship woud be pleasd, with as litle loss of time as your convenience will allow, to give the proper orders for Mr Brand's being added to the civill list as her Majestie's Falconer and Mr Oliphant as Underkeeper of her Wardrope, instead of those whom, by her Majestie's commission, they'r appointed to succeed. This being done, will I hope secure my election even tho my adversarys should trump up some other body to oppose me, now that Sir David Dalrymple is dropd, and I will ever be ready to employ any litle interest I can make for her Majestie's service and to evince my gratefull sense of your Lordship's favours.

¹⁰⁵ George Mackenzie of Inchculter, M.P. for Inverness Burghs 1710-13, and Sir James Hamilton of Rosehall, M.P. for Lanarkshire. Both were Jacobite in sympathy at this time

What I have said is, I'me affraid, of so litle value, that notwithstanding of your Lordship's commands, I have need of your pardon for so long and tedious a letter, and therfore I will give your Lordship no furdre trouble than to assure you that I am with the greatest truth and respect, My Lord, Your Lordship's most faithfull and obliged humble servant.

[P.S.] I forgot to acquaint your Lordship that wee are desirous to know about what time the *teste* of the writs for the new Parliament will bear date [*sic*], for in the Countie of Edinburgh wee design to have the elections as soon as possible and by a Loyall Address give a good example to others.

Endorsed by Oxford: 'Scotland, Mr Lockhart July 30 1713. Reply August 15'.

To the Earl of Mar (Secretary of State for Scotland)

SPDom. 54/5/43

[September/October 1713]

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Marr, One of her
Majestys Principal Secretaries of State

That Mr Lockhart represented to My Lord High Treasurer he was likely to meet with opposition in his election for the Shyre of Edinburgh and that the bestowing some mark of her Majesty's favour on Mr Brand of Castle Brand and Mr Oliphant of Langton (gentlemen of good principles and interest in the shyre) would much advance his interest.

That her Majesty in June 1713 was graciously pleased by her Royal Commissions to appoint Mr Brand to be her Under Falconer and Mr Oliphant to be Under Keeper of her Wardrobe in Scotland, and to enjoy the usuall sallarys of the said offices. Vizt: to the first £50 and to the other £40 per annum.

That when these commissions were presented to the Court of Exchequer the Barons did refuse to place these Gentlemen on the Civil List for payment of their sallaries unless the Lord High Treasurer did countersign the commissions (as well as the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke¹⁰⁶ through whose office they passed), or a

¹⁰⁶ Secretary of State Henry St John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751), briefly Secretary of State to the Old Pretender during the 1715 rebellion; thereafter famous as a political philosopher and *eminence grise* of the 'Patriot' opposition to Walpole in the 1730s and early 1740s

warrant was produced from the Lord High Treasurer ordaining them to be added to the Civil List and their salaries to be payed.

Mr Lockhart therefor begs My Lord Marr would represent to My Lord High Treasurer that it will be a very great prejudice to him if an affair which has been brought such a length be not perfected, and prevail with his Lordship to countersign the said commissions or issue his warrant for Mr Brand's and Mr Oliphant's being put upon the Civil List and payed their salaries from the date of their commissions. [no signature]

To Oxford

29/150/3

Edenburgh, 24 October 1713

My Lord, When I represented to your Lordship, that I served in Parliament for a Countie wher I was to expect the outmost opposition and that it woud very much strengthen my interest, if Alexander Brand of Castlebrand and James Oliphant of Langton were made her Majestie's Deputy Falconer and Deputy Keeper of the wardrobe in Scotland, you was pleasd to honour me with your friendship in it and afterwards, some time, I think, in June last, obtain her Majestie's con[sent] therto. The commissions having past in my Lord Bolingbroke's office were countersignd by his Lordship and I immediatly sent them down to Scotland. But when the gentlemen presented them to the court of Exchequer and craved to have them recorded and ther names inserted in the civill list, the Barons refused to do it unless the commissions were countersignd by your Lordship or that you issued particular warrands for paying of the salaries.

In the month of August I gave your Lordship ane account therof in a letter from hence, but nothing being as yet done I presume to trouble your Lordship once more, in renewing my request and I am hopefull that the same reasons that prevaild with your Lordship to favour my pretensions in the beginning will move you now to give it the finishing stroke to this affair [*sic*]. I don't pretend to have been at any time capable to do her Majestie or your Lordship much service, but my most zealous inclinations have at no time been wanting, which has created me abundance of enemys both in Scotland and England, some whereof are my

nearest relations, and on that account I may, I hope, lay claim to be gratified in a matter of this kind, and the more that I have not been very troublesome in asking of favours, this being the first either for myself or my freinds¹⁰⁷, and not of a very great extent, the salary of the Falconer being but £50 and that of the Wardrobe but £40 per annum. Had it been thought expedient to reject my request at first, or had I myself been only concerned in the matter I woud not have troubled your Lordship so often about it, but after the 2 commissions past the Queen's hand and that I pretended to some meritt amongst the honest gentlemen of the Countie, I am out of countenance that the salarys of the offices shoud not be allowed. But now that I have fully laid the matter before your Lordship, I flatter my self that you will think it reasonable to grant my earnest desire of issuing warrands for paying of the salarys, which I will alwayes gratefully acknowledge as a singular obligation laid upon me and I am with very great truth and respect, My Lord, Your Lordship's most faithfull humble servant.

Endorsed by Oxford: 'Edenburgh, Mr Lockhart October 24 1713, reply November 10'.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/22

Dryden, 13 December 1713

Dear Sir, Since you've been so kind as to accept being arbiter betwixt Baron Dalrymple¹⁰⁸ and me, I must beg you'd meet with the other arbiter, Sir Andrew Hume¹⁰⁹, for he's to go out of toun in a few dayes and I woud not have him have ane excuse for not ending before the expiration of the submission. I don't know whither they've a mind to treat with me as gentlemen or on the nice point of law, but I think I'me safe ether way, for I sold a sound horse, and if I said so I was not saying amiss, for, notwithstanding the bad usage he met with, Keneth McKenzie who bought him from the Shirriff's sold him for 35 guineas to Sir

¹⁰⁷ This was incorrect. See: pp.41-44

¹⁰⁸ George Dalrymple of Dalmahoy

¹⁰⁹ Sir Andrew Hume of Kimmerghame

John Rutherford¹¹⁰ with whom he proved and continued a good sound horse. I cannot tell how soon I can be able to come to toun, for I have been very unwell, but I have directed all the papers to [be] brought unto you. I am yours most affectionatly.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/21

Ferrybridge, 17 February 1713/14

Dear Sir, I have had a pritty good journey so far, tho the roads are very bad and snow deep in Yorkshire. I can scarcely get time on the road to transcribe the key by which you and I agreed to write to one another, but I left a copy of it with Henry Straton, and if you'l ask for it he'l give it you to copy, and lose no time in it because I'll write to you so soon as I come to London. The night before I left Edinburgh I waited on the Bishop of Edinburgh¹¹¹, wher he read me his letter to [the King? i.e. the Old Pretender], but he seemd doubtfull whither to rather to [*sic*] write directly or to send his opinion by a 3rd hand. He promised to let me know ere I came from home, which of the wayes he'd take, that I might write accordingly. For if he write directlie, I woud in mine agree with [what] I understood he had writ and assert it was the opinion of our freinds [and] wellwishers. Pray lose no time in letting me know what course the Bishop takes. Be so kind as to remember me to all freinds and belive that I am yours most affectionatlie.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/20

[London] February 25 [1714]

Dear Sir, I have by this post writ to you very fully and put your letter under cover to Mr Corsar. You must make use of the key which I writ of by the road to you and which I left with Henry Straton, to understand it. I was last night with Charles Kinnaird.¹¹² He's terribly spleenatick and swears he'l go home to Drimmie in 2 or 3 weeks, and live retiredly all the days of [his] life. I am yours.

¹¹⁰ Possibly Sir John Rutherford of Rutherford

¹¹¹ Alexander Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh and head of the Episcopalian Church in Scotland

¹¹² The Hon. Charles Kinnaird, son of Lord Kinnaird

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/19

[London] March 7th [1714]

Dear Sir, In my last I gave you a pritty full account of matters, since which severall pritty odd things have occurd. The night before Water [Parliament] met, about 40 of his freinds [M.P.s] were together at Cherry's [Speaker Bromley's?¹¹³] desire, wher wee had under consideration what return to make to the Frog's [Queen Anne's] harrangue which was then shewd us, and which you have since seen. Remus [Sir Thomas Hanmer?¹¹⁴] opposed it as intimating Frog's being uneasie at the Table's [the Elector of Hanover's] prosperity, and insinuated ane approbation of sending for the Chamberpot [the Electress Sophia] or at least the Chimney [Duke of Cambridge¹¹⁵]. Cherry behaved very well and spoke plain and Remus had none to stand by him, so Tiberius [Whigs] did not venture nixt day to make opposition.

People were perswaded this woud enlarge the breach twixt Ash [the Court] and the misguided Glovers [Hanoverian Tories] and force Haddock [Oxford] to strike heartily in with the Beagles [Country Tories?] and Hounds [Jacobites], which with Ash's aid woud run down every herd of game, being a large and true runing pack of Dogs [party?], if well managed. Since that matters, tis said, have takn another turn, by the Haddock compromising matters with Burnet [Ralph Freman?¹¹⁶] and Remus, viz, that nothing shall be moved or done to the prejudice of Peter [the religious settlement?] or Baker [Hanoverian succession], but they remain on their present footing. I can't say that this is certain, but tis confidently reported, belived and highlie resented by many, and considering what has past tis but too too [*sic*] probable, and if it be true it must have fatall consequences. On the other hand some people assert other quite different things, which are more to

¹¹³ Secretary of State William Bromley, Tory M.P. for Oxford University, a leading backbencher and Speaker in the previous Parliament. N.B. all the identifications of cant names given below for the first half of 1714 are based on internal evidence and cannot be taken as certain

¹¹⁴ Sir Thomas Hanmer, Country Tory M.P. for Suffolk, soon to be elected Speaker of the Commons and the Hanoverian Tories' leader there during the 1714 session

¹¹⁵ The future George II

¹¹⁶ Ralph Freman, Country Tory M.P. for Hertfordshire and a close ally of Sir Thomas Hanmer

be desired than expected, but I think a litle time must unfold many misteries.

The Spider [Lockhart] was and is of opinion that the Shoemaker [Jacobites] shoud and might be uneasie to Haddock till he mended his manners, but those few intimate freinds the Spider formerlie used to consult and concert with, have intyrelly abandond him, being absolute slaves to Ash, some on account of what they've got latly and others from what they'r asking, so that he can't spur them up to do as he and all their freinds woud expect at their hands. But tis said Mercury [October Club?] is shortly to have a meeting, wher tis hoped those may be forced to do what they shoud do or expose themselves to the world. Tis with a great deall of concern I discovered and mention this to you, but I did not think fit to pass it over, tho you must let none know of it except Oatmeall [Henry Straton?].

I understand Alcibiades [the Old Pretender] is much blamed and censured for what he writ to his freinds with Cockle [in England¹¹⁷], ther being severall things therin asserted without any ground, particularly what relates to the no correspondence twixt Lemmonton [the Jacobite Court] and Frog's family, for tho it was not fit perhaps to say there was, it was as unfitt as false to say there was none. I wish Rose woud beware of Walnut, for tho he may be a good Purves [Tory] I know he bables out all he knows and often more.

Yours of the 4th (which I immediatly shewd to Gustavus [John Menzies¹¹⁸]) I got yesterday, and wee coud not enuff admire the imprudence of Apple [Eglinton?], and wee think it absolutely necessary to acquaint some of Jingle's freinds that its altogether unfit for him to medle at this time especially, and I woud have Gustavus or Oatmeall get Orandate's [the Old Pretender's] directions for it. No doubt Josephus [Lord Drummond?¹¹⁹] is a capable person and woud be acceptable to all concerned, to visit Lemonton, but after all I don't see the great necessity of such visits

¹¹⁷ The Old Pretender had just issued a manifesto in which he stated his absolute refusal to convert to Protestantism

¹¹⁸ One of the Jacobite Court's London agents, and the usual recipient of its communications for Jacobite M.P.s at Westminster

¹¹⁹ James Drummond, Lord Drummond, heir apparent to the Jacobite Duke of Perth. An active, Roman Catholic, Jacobite

almost at any time, especially at this juncture, unless the Bread [reason] was very materiall and pressing and usefull. But what Gustavus desires me to subjoin as a postscript, will perhaps stop the mouths of Aple, Jingler, etc.

As for news, all I can say to you is that the House of Commons are as yet but picktering and the Lords have been playing away some of their idle hours about a scandalous book reflecting on the Scots peers. The Whigs were zealous for the Scots peers' honour, because the book reflects on themselves and they hope to irritate the Scots against the ministry, who have protected the author, at least prevented his being discovered, tho all the world knows tis Dr Swift and that the ministry continue him their favourite, tho he has treated their good freinds the Scots peers very infamously, which I think they shoud resent more than the book itself, but _____.

Pray let none know of what I have writ about Alcibiades, at least of his name in the matter. I hear subjoin Gustavus's advice. [ends]

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/18

London, 6 April 1714

Sir, It has been of late easie to forsee that matters were drawing near to a crisis, and what hapned yesterday in the House of Lords has put it beyond all peradventure. My Lord Wharton opened the debate, that, that the House having takn into consideration the state of the poor Catalans¹²⁰, the nixt thing that offerd in the Queen's speech was the security of the Protestant succession. And for his part he must own he thought it in eminent danger from the great divisions at home, the many who appeard enimys to it, and particularly the ministry. The disgust of our old and trustie allies, and the bad state of affairs at home and abroad by reason of the late peace, for our allies were enraged at us, their, as well as our, forces were disbanded, wheras our enemy's was in a better and more powerfull condition than ever, had powerfull armys, ane inclination to break his treaties and to support the Pretender, by

¹²⁰ Britain had abandoned its Catalan rebel allies (amongst others) in 1712, in order to make a separate peace with France. By 1714 Barcelona, the rebel Catalan capital, was under close siege and the rebels' resistance was at its last gasp

these and a great many other arguments he provd that that [*sic*] the Protestant succession was in danger. [The] Earl of Nottingham¹²¹ spoke to the same purpose and but lashd and reflected bitterly on the ministry.

Then Earl Ferrers¹²² said he perceived those Lords had launchd out against the ministry and asserted many things that he did not belive one word of, and therefore he woud move a question, viz, that the Protestant succession was not in danger. This occasiond a long and violent debate wherein the ministry was odly used and Bolingbroke¹²³ spoke like ane angell, but at length the Treasurer yeilded the question shoud be dropd, but Lord North and Grey insisted that the House was possessd of the question and he insisted on it. The Archbishop of York¹²⁴ said he could not say but it was in danger whilst the Pretender was alive and had freinds, but if the question was meand that it was not in danger under the Queen's administration, he woud vote as he had done in the former address. Whereupon Mar moved that the words, 'under the Queen's administration' might be added and 2nded Lord North and Grey¹²⁵ for the question. So after a long debate it was put and carried by 14 votes.

The Tories were deserted by [the] Earls [of] Abington and Anglesea¹²⁶, Lords Carteret and Ashburnham¹²⁷, and the worthless Bishop of York notwithstanding of his speech. Anglesea spoke with the greatest violence and virulencie imaginable, insisted on the bad state wee were reduced to by the peace and deserting our allies, and that this motion was to skreen the ministry, he said. From these and many other reasons he

¹²¹ Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham (1647-1730), a Hanoverian Tory who first joined the Whigs in opposition to the government in December 1711

¹²² Robert Shirley, 1st Earl Ferrers (1650-1717), a High Tory with Jacobite sympathies

¹²³ Bolingbroke was renowned for his eloquence

¹²⁴ Sir William Dawes, a pro-Hanoverian High Churchman

¹²⁵ William North, 6th Lord North and Grey (1678-1734), a zealous Jacobite Tory

¹²⁶ Montagu Venables-Bertie, 2nd Earl of Abington (c.1673-1743) a Hanoverian Tory and Arthur Annesley, 7th Earl of Anglesey (c.1678-1737), the Hanoverian Tory leader in the Lords

¹²⁷ John Carteret, 2nd Lord Carteret and subsequently Earl Granville (1690-1763), at this time a Hanoverian Tory, but already *en route* to becoming a Whig after the Hanoverian succession, when in the 1740s he rose to become George II's *eminence grise*, and John Ashburnham, 3rd Lord Ashburnham (1687-1737), a Whig who had previously associated himself with the government while under the influence of his late wife (d.1713)

belivd it in danger, but if this question carried it was undone, for such Lords as voted and carried this question could not but be sensible it was so much in the face of the House of Hanover that they could expect no safety but by bringing home the Pretender.

When this was over the Duke of Bolton¹²⁸ took out a peice of paper and hammerd over a speech and moved that ane address should be presented to the Queen that she'd issue a proclamation promising a reward to such as should apprehend the Pretender dead or alive if he came to Britain or Ireland. This the ministry (according to their wonted management) went into, [or] at least did not oppose it, tho its belivd every man who voted with them before would have voted against this, and above 30 or more of them calld out to adjourn, which would certainly have carried had the ministry the courage to've held to it. Our Whigs are very uppish that they've run the ministry so near and gaine so many considerable Tories to their side. And indeed tis no wonder, for as the ministry have brought themselves to this low pass by their dilatory, negligent, disobliging, lethargick proceedings, if they don't alter their ways (of which I see no great appearance), and that very soon, I look on them as undone and everything that's good lost. Tis thought the Queen will not comply with the desire of the Lord's address, and we expect the Whigs will in a few dayes move for bringing over the Elector of Hannover. I forgot to tell you the Duke of Bolton said he would rather have made his motion for ane act of Parliament than ane address, but he was affraid it would not pass another House. I have been pritty full on this because tis a matter of the greatest consequence and that you may judge of the uncertain, ticklish state of affairs here.

And now I must tell you a passage of Broadalbine. It seems he was lately in conversation with Notingham, who told him he was a Jacobite, to which Broadalbine replyd, that he was what he ever was and would be, and that his Lordship once was too and wonderd he was not so still. The like conversation he had also with [the] Bishop of Sarum¹²⁹, only he added that he had given him over 39 years ago. Notingham and the Bishop run about and spread that Breadalbine had ownd he was and would be for the

¹²⁸ Charles Paulet, 2nd Duke of Bolton (1661-1722), a Whig

¹²⁹ Gilbert Burnet, Whig Bishop of Salisbury and a former confidante of William III

Pretender, and they once designd to've attackd him on it, but I hear they've laid that design aside. Argyle insisted that the succession was in danger from the mony given to the Highland clans, and the designe of paying [the] Queen Mother's jointure¹³⁰, for, said his Grace, £2,000 is more than she can spend in a cloyster and the rest must be for the Pretender. I don't desire to have my name and intelligence tossd about, so pray let none but those few you can confide in know of my writing this to you. Give my service to Harry Straton and all freinds. Houston's election's¹³¹ put off till Thursday. Adeiu.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/17

London, 8 April [1714]

[No salutation] In my last I gave you ane account that the Lords had resolved on ane adress, 'that the Queen shoud immediatly emit a proclamasion for a reward to any who shoud apprehend the Pretender dead or alive'. This day they met and the address was brought in from the committee, where these considerable alterations were made, instead of the word 'immediatly', these words: 'when the Queen shoud think fit', and instead of 'dead or alive', these words: 'bring him to justice'. I have time to say no more, but that I thought fit to let you know this as being, I hope, a forerunner of the ministry's doing good. I [have] been fasting all this day, when wee carried Mr Houston's election. Tis now late and I'me almost faint. So Adeiu.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/16

London, 13 April 1714

Sir, In my 2 last I gave you a full account of the proceedings of the Lords. I come now to tell you that yesterday they presented the Queen with their address (coold and dressed up as I told you in my last, and which dampd the Whigs extremly), but it was observed that not one English Tory, and none of the Scots peers

¹³⁰ Queen Mary of Modena, widow of James VII and II

¹³¹ John Houston of Houston jr, the Jacobite M.P. for Linlithgowshire, was at this time engaged in a disputed election case

but the Earl of Loudon accompanied the same. The Queen's answer was to this effect, 'that she did not think their was any occasion for such a proclamation at this time; when she thought it proper she'd emitt it. That the less they medled in the other matters of their address (viz, her pressing to have the Pretender removed), she belived it was so much the better for the Protestant succession, and woud tend to crush these factious reports which had been so industriouslie reported'.

The Chancellor¹³² having this day reported this answer to the House, my Lord Wharton said he was sorry to see such an answer from the throne to the House of peers, which was fitter to be given to a litle bussie medling fellow or a newsmonger, but he could not look on it as hers, tho she read and spoke it. It was the ministry's and they were to give account for it. Other Whig Lords spoke to the same purpose, and they moved for a remonstrance representing the grounds they had gone upon in their adress and craving a direct answer. This was rejected, but afterwards [the] Earl of Abingdon moved an address of thanks and to assure her Majesty they'd support her Government and endeavour to secure the Protestant succession, which was the best way to crush these reports, which had been universally reported, of its being in danger. The Whigs moved this amendment, viz, 'universally reported with good reason', and my Lord Duke of Leeds¹³³ moved in place of these words that it should run, 'thus universally and industriouslie reported'. This occasioned a very hot and long debate. Sometimes both the amendments were dropped, then insisted on again, but at length the Whigs yeilded theirs and only opposed the Duke of Leeds's amendment, which being put to the vote, was carried but by 2 votes.

Their were present 124 Lords which were equally divided 62 for each, but the Court had 2 proxies supernumerary. The Bishops of London, Chester and Bristol¹³⁴ (all new ones) went over to the Whigs. Tis true the matter in debate was of litle consequence, but it portends no good, that the Whigs can on any

¹³² Lord Harcourt

¹³³ Peregrine Osborne, 2nd Duke of Leeds (1659-1729), a zealous Jacobite with a reputation for insane rashness

¹³⁴ John Robinson, Francis Gastrell and George Smalridge, all Churchmen of a moderate Tory disposition

occasion run the Court so near, and tis to be feared this small majority won't last long, tho tis belived in matters of more consequence they'l not be so skrimped, but in the mean time tis discouraging to many and blows the Whigs up with great expectations of success. Thus you see how the ministry by their unaccountable doings have ruind themselves and their freinds, and as they've brought this on themselves in the House of Lords, you can't expect they'l manage better in the other House, for as yet I don't hear that they'r at any pains or upon any concert how matters shall be managed there on Thursday when wee'r to be on the state of the nation.

I was told this day by one who heard [the] Duke of Argyle yesterday say that ere 2 months went about this ministry woud bepish themselves, and if they knew what was in a litle time coming on them they'd beshit themselves, and indeed it seems he makes his word with a warrant, for now I'me to tell you a peice of news will surprize you to some purpose. Yesterday Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian Envoy, went to the Chancellor and demanded a writ to be issued for the Duke of Cambridge to come to Parliament. The Chancellor answered that by the laws of the realm he could not issue a writ to any peer that was out of the kingdom, but that he woud acquaint the Queen of it. The Envoy demanded an answer by this night, that he might send an account to his master. The Cabinet Councill sat on it last night many hours, but I can't learn the certainty of what resolution they came to. The Whigs aver it was granted, the Torys deny it, but my Lord Eglinton is gone to the drawing room this evening, and when he returns you shall have a postscript with the certain account. However, as tis plain what the Whigs aim at by this measure, if he came to England the writ must be sent and he'l take his place in Parliament, and there are not a few who averr that he's actually in Holland in his way hither. I need not make any reflections on the state of affairs as I've represented them. The consequences are plain and obvious. And so I bid you Adeiu, with my service to Henry Straton and the Bishop of Edinburgh.

[P.S.] My Lord Eglinton's returnd from court but can get [no] notice of the answer, which is kept still a secret.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/15/1

[London] April 17 [1714]

Sir, I gave you in my last ane account of the demand made by the Hanoverian Envoy, which being granted (and which could not by the law be refused) tis matter of speculation to this day whither wee'r to expect him here or not. Some think he won't come least he therby disoblige the Queen, but others think that as he's put on this measure by his freinds the Whigs (who swear they'l desert him if he don't come) he'l accept of their offer. What the consequences will be, I cannot pretend to guess, but sure twill have some extraordinary turn or other.

On Thursday the House of Commons after 9 hours debate came to a resolution that the Protestant succession was in no danger under her Majestie's Government. Wee had some rare speeches from Sir David Dalrymple, etc, concerning the great encrease of popery and the powr of the Highland clans, but they were well payd off in replys, and had as good have held their peace. Matters are like to turn very high in both Houses; the ministry by their stupidity have in all appearance ruind themselves and their freinds, for they carried the enclosed address (which was this day sent to the Commons for their concurrence and is to be considered on Thursday) but by 16 votes (to so small a majority are they now reduced) and wee carried the vote about the succession but by 48. The Speaker and a great many Torys (under Anglesea's influence having declared against the Court in this and all other things) [against]. So that, in the main, I look on this ministry's dayes to be few and evill.

If any thing can save them it must be a speedy, vigorous resolution, and I can see nor hear of no tendencie towards it except in one particular: that on Wednesday when Baron Shutz came to the Treasurer's levee, the Treasurer calld out aloud, 'have you got your paper for your young master?', the Envoy replied 'No'. 'Then', sayes the Treasurer, 'You have not calld for it from the Chancellor'. 'I did', sayd the Envoy, 'but he was from home'. 'Sir' (said the Treasurer) 'this is like the rest of your behaviour, for I suppose you've calld when you know he was not at home. But there's a time for ane after-reckoning.' About ane hour or 2 after,

the Treasurer met Lords Halifax¹³⁵ and Cowper and told them they had mistaken their measures, for this had done their freind no service, by advising their freind to require his writ before they acquainted the Queen of it. The Lords said they hopd her Majestie did not take it ill. The Treasurer replied, yes, she did, and knew when she was ill used and woud resent it and they shoud find it. That it was now betwixt Hanover and the Queen and she had 19 of 20 in the kingdom, which they shoud soon see. This was something brisk, but what this is to be, or when, God knows.

In the mean time the Whigs thrash [about] as strongly and a litle time will clear a great deall. Wee'r assured that without loss of time many more alterations will be made in the armie and state. Accounts of all that has lately past here is sent to Lemanton [the Jacobite Court] – what resolutions Orondates [the Old Pretender] may take on them, I can't tell as yet. Adeiu.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/14

[London] April 29 [1714]

Sir, My former letters have been pritty full with respect to Water [Parliament] and the defection of Remus [Sir Thomas Hanmer?] and some of the Glovers [Tories]. However, the Weavers [Tories] are still superior and strong enuff if under good leaders. Wee'r in a perfect stand what to belive or expect concerning Chimney [the Duke of Cambridge]. By the best accounts I can learn, the proposall made by his ['Table' erased] servant was not by orders of Chimney's father, who is on bad terms with Chimney and Chamberpot [the Electress Sophia], which 2 join together in the measure, but this is plain, that this proposall was with the knowledge and by the direction of Tiberius [the Whigs], who strike at all or nothing and therefore tis more than probable Chimney will follow this rule. The consequence of which affords many speculation. Tis obvious that many will resort thither on future hopes and veiws. On the other hand tis hardly credible but Chimney must be uneasie to, if not altogether demolish, Frog [Queen Anne], who, one shoud think, must

¹³⁵ Charles Montague, 1st Lord (later Earl of) Halifax (1661-1715), one of the five-man 'Junto' of Whig party leaders

forsee this and apply the proper remedys. Nay, wee'r told, and tis not improbable, that tis designd to skip over Baker [the Hanoverian succession?] and give a glass of mum to Chimney, which will certainly increase the disorders of Fidler [England]. In the nixt place Salmond [France?] must see (if not hardned and cursd with blindness) that Chimney's Tiberius's tool and will undoe Abell [Peace of Utrecht?]. These are speculations which woud tend to give some faint hopes in all events. And yet after what wee have seen, what good can wee expect from some men?

I'me told tis expected with you that Orandates [the Old Pretender] will hasten to Tantalus [Scotland?]. In my opinion he shoud wait and see how Frog and Chimney clear matters first, and I know that he has that advise from hence. And yet Gustavus [John Menzies] had within these few dayes directions to instruct himself from Cato Spider [Lockhart?] and [learn] what was to be expected from Mercury [the October Club], and speedily to send ane exact and distinct account therof to Lemonton [the Jacobite Court], and Gustavus sayes tho his letter was not full yet it was in such a strain as if some designe was in hand. Aple is quite off the project he was on when you saw him. There's a story in toun repeated by all and belived by many, that Orandates is to be married to Mopsy's [Emperor Charles VI's] neice, and that she's to command Florus [the Austrian Netherlands?], nay, some say to get Florus to her self. How far the latter part of the story's true I can't say, but I find from Gustavus there's some ground to belive the former. If it be true one may inferr that this must arise from a concert between Mopsy and Araxes [Louis XIV], but on the other hand it cuts off all hopes of Orandates's being inclinable towards Falcon [the Church of England], and I know not if this alliance will equall the loss he'l sustain by the fears of those who may be apprehensive of Falcon's danger under these circumstances. As it appears to me it may be attended ether with good or bad consequences. God knows which, but I alreadie perceive some moderate people allarumed as if it was to be the foundation of Ratsbane [Popery?] concerning Door [Britain?], in which case Eagle [the Tory party?] woud pass her time but indifferently considering the low state of Charron [the ministry?] and the divisions of Eagle. My service to Rose and Oatmeal [Henry Straton?]. Yours.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/13

[London] May 25 [1714]

Sir, In my former I acquainted you what steps wee were taking with respect to the Bishops' rents¹³⁶ and I was very confident of succeeding, for the ministry and the Tories of all kinds were keen for it, but now matters have taken another turn. Some body has represented to the Queen that it will infalibly raise a rebellion and she's terribly allarumd, and the Treasurer and Chancellor seem to be against us. Wee can carry it in the House of Commons whither they will or not, but the session is now so near a close, and so many ways will be taken to delay us in both Houses, particularly by petitions from those concern'd to be heard by their councill against the bill and by the courts, shifting to lay before the House coppys of the grants, that I see wee'l not have time to finish it this year. Mr Bromely this day sent for the Lyon, Mr Murray, Carnagy, Sir Alexander Cumming and myself and represented these matters. Wee told him wee woud not indeed say but there might be insurrections in Scotland, but the same woud not be a bit forwarded by this bill when a proper occasion offerd. That whoever said to the Queen that there was danger more than ordinary from this bill misrepresented matters, that if it was thought proper wee woud yeild that the Queen shoud have a powr to allot £1,000 *per annum* to the Universitys and to continue the augmentations of stipends to ministers, but wee cou'd yeild no more.

The Secretary seemd to be of our side, but desird wee shoud delay presenting the bill this day till we talkd with the Treasurer, which wee agreed to. But then I told him plainly wee had been ill used, that some of us had askd nothing to our selves and such as had had not been the better for it, that wee had spent our time and mony and creatd ourselves many enimys in serving and supporting the ministry, in return therto our enimys were encouraged, wee were laught at, and what wee proposed either for our particular or generall interest despised, neglectd or

¹³⁶ A scheme projected by the more extreme Scottish Episcopalian Tory M.P.s for the resumption by the crown of all revenues accruing from former episcopal property in Scotland, which since 1689 had been devoted to the needs of the Kirk and certain private individuals

opposed. That wee had been too long thus used and saw no way left but to be evens with those who thus used us, [and] wee coud without acting contrary to our principles, or to go home and leave them to rule as they pleasd and in the meantime to lay the saddle on the right horse and let the world know how wee were used. The Secretary said he was sorry, but it not [*sic*] was none of his fault wee had reason to complain.

Now the question is how wee shall behave. If wee push the bill wee'l be bafled and exposed and become a jest, if wee yeild and drop it, wee'l be contemptible. Tis proposed wee shoud have a Commission this year to enquire into the nature and value of all these grants to be reported to nixt session of Parliament in order to a resumption then. This is the handsomest way of coming off, but tis a very precarious and uncertain one. For my part, I am for speaking plainly to the ministry and telling them if they do not stand by us, wee'l do our duty and let the world see what kind of people they are. Wee will meet and come to some resolution this evening or tomorrow, of which I'll acquaint you. In the mean time wee'r used like dogs. All honest men and designs have ane inestimable loss in the death of the poor Duke of Beaufort.¹³⁷ Adeiu.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/12

[London] June 8 1714

Sir, Yours I got by the last post. In return to which, I wish I could give you agreeable news, but yesterday gave us a fresh instance of old England's mercy and justice to our unhappy Countrie. In the Committee of the Whole House on wayes and means to raise the furdur necessary supplys Mr Lownds¹³⁸ proposed sevrall additionall dutys on severall objects high enuff taxed alreadie, and amongst others on soap. But for the encouragement of the staple commodity of England, that of the woolen manufacture, a clause was added allowing a drawback of the duty of such soap as shoud be employd in working up woolen manufacture. The Scots proposed the like allowance for their staple commodity, the

¹³⁷ Henry Somerset, 2nd Duke of Beaufort (1684-1714), a High Tory probably inclined towards Jacobitism

¹³⁸ Secretary to the Treasury William Lowndes, M.P. for St Mawes. A professional civil servant

linnen-cloath, but was refused it by a vote. By this means the Irish must and will undersell us and our linnen become a meer drug.

Leave is given for a bill to appoint Commissioners to enquire into the value of the Bishops' rents and all grants of them, and I belive the Lyon, Sir James Hamilton and I will be named, in which case I hope to see you in a month. The great affair just now under our consideration is the militia bill, which is conceived in terms extending the militia bill in England to Scotland. I am clear for raising the militia and having them in readiness whatever occasion may offer, but I must confess I am much puzzled about the powr granted to the Lord Liuetennants of searching all such houses and seizing all arms from such as they suspect. In the first place it gives the peers a great powr over the gentry and whither they'll exerceise it to good or bad purposes is a question. In the nixt place, wee'r not sure of right Lord Liutennants even just now, but supposing they prove such as wee desire, wee'r not sure of their continuance and if ever the Whigs came in powr they'll improve this project with a witnes. But what weighs most with me is, that as the ministry of England names these Liuetennants, fatall experience has learnd us that they'll get a sufficient number of our Great men readie to ruin their Countrie, and thus I expect these Liuetennants cheif business may be to put Scotland out of a condition [to] do herself justice when ane opportunity offers, for tho the pretence just now is to disarm the Whigs (tho by the by I dare swear few will be disarmed), yet I fear the ministry's designs in process of time to disarm all Scotsmen.

These and suchlike reasons induce me to be against the bill, at least the part of it which relates to the powr of dissarming. I see many bad consequences may attend it, and if care be takn to arm the rest of the Countrie I cannot think the Whigs can be much dreaded. I must confess that of all the Scots Tory members I am single of this opinion. Whither their opinions are founded from reason of their own or of the Court's I shan't say, but they seem to be much displeased that I presume to differ from them, and yet I realie think I am in the right. I hear my Lord Mar's going to marry Lady Frances Pierpoint, daughter to the Marquis of Dorchester, by which he'll get a buxom vigourous young woman and £8,000 of portion. I am yours.

[P.S.] The differences twixt the Treasurer and Bulingbroke rather encrease than diminish, so as I take it one of them, and perhaps both, will fall.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/11

[London, mid-June 1714]

Dear Sir, In answer to your last all I can say [is] that I belive the only reason of my Lord Mar and Mr Kinnaird's writing to you on the subject you mentioned in yours was, that those politicks which people sometimes commit on certain occasions do no manner of good and sometimes harm, that particularly at this time the Whigs make a handle and bustle of everything to frighten and creat jealousies amongst weak bretheren.¹³⁹ This I fancy was their meaning in writing. At least it was mine.

The divisions amongst our courtiers increase daylie, so that very soon you'l see great alterations. The Whigs and the Speaker's partie¹⁴⁰ have joind against us, the old Commissioners of Accounts, so that they carried to ballot and not name us in the bill as was done evry time but the first time wee were named, on which 4 of my bretheren have declind standing candidates; [the] other 2 and my self do stand, but I question much if wee'l carry it. And in truth I'me very indifferent, for I am heartily wearied of this kind of life since I can do no service to my self, freinds, Countrie and interest I like, and that there's nothing here but cheat, trick and doubledealing, so that my heart is set on living at home with my family and amongst the few honest men that are my freinds, so that in all probability I shall see you very soon. And in the mean time, Adeiu.

[P.S.] In answer to your question about Lord Mar's marriage, I belive I told you once before that she's the Marquis of Dorchester's daughter (who's a notorious Whig; I mean the father) and tis said he gets £8,000 portion and is to add £12,000 to the childeren of the marriage and setles £1,000 jointure. She's a black jolly lass.

¹³⁹ Lockhart may be referring here to current rumours that the Old Pretender was on his way to Scotland incognito to lead a Jacobite rebellion there

¹⁴⁰ The Hanoverian or 'Whimsicall' Tories

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/10

[London] June 19 1714

Dear Sir, You'll see by the votes I am re-elected a Commissioner of Accounts. 4 of the old ones woud not stand a ballot when the [Commons] required to ballot again for them and refused to fill up the bill with the old Commissioners' names as they did the last 2 times the Commission was renewd. But wee've carried 4 very honest men in their places to the great mortification of the Whigs and the Speaker with his Whimsicalls, who joind together in a list, and yet were distanced. I do assure you this is a noble House of Commons – if they had good leaders I know not what they could not do. But _____.

Yesterday a motion was made for a bill to reduce the interest of all mony, except that secured on the publick funds, to 4 pèrcent, which I belive will pass. The project is therby to oblige such as have right to the publick funds to accept of 5 instead of six percent, or to borrow at 5 and pay the others off their principall, by which means £600,000 *per annum*, which now goes to pay interest will be saved and applyed for paying off the publick debts and taking off the heavie taxes wee and our posterity are clogged with. This will certainly raise the price of land very much. Wee've no news, so Adeiu.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/9

[London] 24 June [1714]

Sir, What I have of a long time expected is at last evidently made out I think to the conviction of any one that can tell his fingers, viz, that Ash [the ministry] has been betraying us these many years bypast. You've heard no doubt of Meuse [a proclamation] promising 5,000 pilchards [pounds] for the person that woud catch Orandates [the Old Pretender]. Tis said this came from Haddock [Oxford] with a design to catch Orange [Bolingbroke] in a snare. But whither Orange was aware of it or was sincere in it I know not, but this day when it was proposed to compliment Frog [Queen Anne] for this Meuse, and to offer 100,000 pilchards for this service, all sides went into it and a good deal of time was spent in railing at Orandates.

There are not wanting several, and some of these our

Countriemen who do pretend to justifie or palliate this with excuses, but for my part tis driving the jest very far and cannot fail to give Piper [the people?] strange impressions of Orandates. And let others flatter themselves with what great unwarrantable, imaginary veiws they please, I take it for granted that Ash of all kinds has nothing at heart but their own interest and for that purpose to deceive others in order to their assistance, and if so I can see no odds twixt Tiberius [the Whigs] and Weaver [the Tories], excepting that as the latter has acted a villanous false part and that both drive at the same thing as to the main matter, revenge woud tempt ane honest man to join Tiberius and punish the other, for how can one think of such proceedings without indignation. I am realie so much in the vineager of my wrath, and at the same time so deeplie affected with the miserable state of my Countrie, that I know not well what to say, for not only is all that is valueable in all appearance reduced to the last extremity, but Tantalus [Scotland?] and Mercury [October Club] treated in so ignominious a manner, that nothing of the spirit of amease [*sic*] can bear it, tho so far I must complain that in some measure tis owing to some of our Countriemen who'r so full of their own parts and so sneakingly over head and ears in with Ash, that no affront, no hardships can prevail with them to shew the least resentment.

When I have the good fortune to see you I'll explain my self at large. I have now no hopes for Orandates and Tantalus, but the confusion that is in all appearance likely to end with mischeif in Fidler [England], tho these hopes are much depressd when I reflect on the divisions in Mercury, for notwithstanding all that has hapned Goldfinch, Tarquin, etc, still declare in favours of Narsassus [Bolingbroke?].

I must acquaint you [with] a matter which relates to Scotland, and tis fitt it be no secret, tho at the same time let it not be known I was the author. A bill was brought in to discharge the Commissioners of the Equivalent of so much of the Equivalent mony as they had disbursed, Sir David Dalrymple, Sir Gilbert Eliot¹⁴¹, Sir William Johnston¹⁴², Mr Baily and I met together

¹⁴¹ Sir Gilbert Eliott of Stobs, Squadron Whig M.P. for Roxburghshire

¹⁴² Sir William Johnstone of Westerhall, M.P. for Dumfries Burghs, at this time probably a Court Tory

some dayes ago about it, wher wee resolved to add a clause to the bill obliging the Commissioners to be accomptable for the £14,000 appropriated for the wool with interest for it at 4 percent, or that they shoud consign it in the toun of Edinburgh's hands, there to remain till the application was agreed on. Accordingly a clause was prepared and offered this day to the report of the Committee to whom the bill was referd. It was stronglie opposed by the Commissioners of [the] Equivalent. Mr Abercrombie¹⁴³ said the Commissioners could not pay in the £14,000 for the wool because part of the Africa mony was not yet paid and that being preferd to the wool in so far as the cash remaining in their hands came short of the same unpaid to the Commissioners of the Affrica Company and the sum due for the wool, it was to be taken off the latter, by which [he] meant it will be reduced betwixt 1 or £2,000.

The answer we made therto was, that the mony appropriated to the wool was a national concern and ought not to have been subjected to defray the expences of the office of Equivalent, the charge wherof occasions this deficiency. Secondly, that the Parliament of Scotland condeshended expreslie on the sum due on account of the wool, wheras the other clauses were to [be] made up by subsequent certificates on the seall claims. Thirdly, if the Affrica claim was to be preferd to the wool, then the wool was to be preferd to the civill and military classes and the deductions for the charges of the office shoud have been taken from thence and made up out of the first of the growing Equivalent. Sir John Erskine¹⁴⁴ was very ingenious, saying if this mony was [not] paid in, the Commission must cease for there was no other fund to support it. However, after some debate wee adjusted the clause, but when the question of agreeing to it was put, Mr Abercrombie divided the House on it and it was rejected. Not that the House did not think it reasonable, but by the rules those who are for approving a clause are on the division to go out of the House and indeed the English gentlemen did not think it worth their pains to rise off their arses to do Scotland justice, so that, except the Scots, wee had not 20 votes. What surprized me not a litle was that Mr

¹⁴³ Alexander Abercromby of Glasshaugh, Court Tory M.P. for Banffshire

¹⁴⁴ Sir John Erskine of Alva, M.P. for Clackmannanshire; a loyal client of the Earl of Mar and hence a Court Tory at this time

Baily and Sir David Dalrymple, tho they helped to concert and approved the measure, voted against us. To sum up all, I take it now for granted that this £14,000 will be squandered away amongst the Commissioners, and the wool masters may bid adeiu to it.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/8

[London] 26 June [1714]

Sir, In my last I gave you some accounts of Meuse [the proclamation], which in some respects is still a mistery, tho in others it rather unfolds a mistery and shews us wee can expect no good from Ash [the ministry] of any kind that either was the author of or concented to such a thing. However so far is [it] still misterious that wee can't learn how it came about. This is certain, that Frog [Queen Anne] first mentioned it at councell, and that Frog was put on it by Rabbit [the Duke of Shrewsbury?¹⁴⁵]. Now whither Rabit favours Orange [Bolingbroke] or Haddock [Oxford] time will show. But I belive my information is good, that Purves of Tyger [the Earl of Anglesey?] (who was once reckoned a Hound [Jacobite] and is one of the cheif pillars of Goosberry [the Opposition?]) came to Orange and told him he was Goosberry's darling and Goosberry woud stand by him and enable him to get the better [of] Haddock if Goosberry were convincd he was not a Hound but a freind to Baker [the Hanoverian Succession], and that Orange to give satisfaction enterd in to this measure. If this be fact, then tis plain Orange is as great a blockhead and knave as Haddock, and that wee'r to expect he'l follow the same deceitfull way.

I can assure you this measure has allarumed a great many people, and the Ox [Sir John Pakington?¹⁴⁶] and some of us are upon considerations how to behave and have some thoughts that Ox and Spider [Lockhart] shoud propose to Water [Parliament] that Table [the Elector of Hanover] be desired to come to Fidler [England]. They think such a step and seconded by a certain set of

¹⁴⁵ Charles Talbot, 1st Duke of Shrewsbury (1660-1718), a leading Whig in the 1690s, by 1714 had become pre-eminently a courtier with mildly Whiggish inclinations

¹⁴⁶ Sir John Pakington, Country Tory M.P. for Worcestershire, at this time committed to the Jacobite cause

men, will let Frog and Orange see they resent such odd proceedings, and 2ndly that if the proposall be agreed to, it will bring matters to some clear light or another, which they think better to be alwise thus in the mist and ruind and betrayd by degrees. However, this is a matter of great moment and must be duely considered. I am told those here entrusted by Araxes [Louis XIV] very much resent the Meuse, which they say is [a] possitive breach of faith after the assurances given him by Frog, etc, on his prevailing with Orandates [the Old Pretender] to dispose of the liverent of his estate to Frog, by a formall deed lodged in Araxes's hand by mutuall concent. And indeed Ash's proceedings are as foolish as misterious, for how must it look in the eyes of all mankind that in the begining of the week they shoud send a Table-bed [Ambassador] with a huffy message to Table and in 2 or 3 dayes trukle so meanly to him and do him such a signall peice of service.

No body now doubts but Haddock will soon fall and Orange succeed him, and tis certain Haddock has made his peace with Tiberius [the Whigs], but on conditions that were but such as our Countrieman Kersland¹⁴⁷ woud have submitted to. In short, they say he has told several things. As for Apple [Eglinton], I found him as he went from this [place], as you did, when he came to you, dry and submissive and patient. I know what to think of him if it had its rise from the favours he received here, for be assured that he got 600 Pilchards [pounds] in hand and a settlement of £1,200 yearlie and that coud not be done for nothing. I am yours.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/7

[London] 29 June 1714

Sir, By the Queen's zeall in making so seasonable a proclamation, the addresses of the 2 Houses of Parliament, and her Majestie's gracious answers therto, tis more than evident that they've been most injurious to the Queen, her ministry and Parliament, that reported or belived they any concern or designd any good for the Pretender. Wee expect addresses from all corners of the land

¹⁴⁷ John Ker of Kersland, a well known government spy notorious for his venality and lack of principle

thanking the Queen for what she has done, and wee'r told that the city of London are to make offer, by ane act of the toun councill, of £50,000 as a furdur reward for seizing the Pretender. The consequences of these proceedings both abroad and at home are very obvious. But I must tell you that tho tis evident that the ministry had no bad intentions towards the House of Hannover, yet, if they had cast out amongst themselves in all appearance wee had not had such flashes of zeall at this time, and at present to some people each of them pretends to the merit of the advice and to others they lay it off themselves upon another, so that all is bambousle.

Ane accident has hapned which gives me more vexation than I can well express. Mr Houston and I have lodged and lived togather since wee came here. About 2 months ago I lent him the memoirs I showed you, only to peruse, but without ever asking my concent or acquainting me of it (tho I had charged him with secresie and coud have confided in him) he gave them to one who had been a writer lad in Edinburgh and is half a kind of schoolmaster here to copy, and this spark has taken a copy of it which I understand is just now in Sir David Dalrymple's hands. You can easily foresee the inconveniencies that will attend this discovery at this time. There are several matters of fact which ought to've been kept secret, and the charactars given of some people must creat me many enimyys. I know not in the world what to do. I know Mr Houston did it out of simplicity and he's like to hang himself for it, but it won't help what's past. I am yours, adeiu.

[P.S.] As matters stand and are like to go I think it scarce worth my pains to accept being a Commissioner of Accounts. And indeed I have it under consideration to come home and leave all publick concerns for the future.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/6

[London] 29 June 1714

Sir, In the morning I wrot you ane account of the unluckie accident by which the memoirs were discovered. I have had all hands at work to seek to recover the copy, which is this evening

actually lodged in Sir David Dalrymple's hands. I cannot deny but that I knew there was a designe of such a work and that I afforded some materials towards it, but that I knew not how it was dressd up till I got it a few dayes before I left Edinburgh, it having been jiggled and compiled by several hands. If the story come abroad my freinds I hope will give the like account of it, tho I'me hopefull the wisest course these gentlemen can take woud be to surpress it. I cannot say but I am extremly vexed, forseeing innumerable inconveniencies attending the discovery at this time, for the charactars will expose me to the malice and revenge of many people since they'r pleased to fancy me the author, and it discovers the truth how a certain person's affairs have been managed and some people named whose names shoud have been concealed.

I never was so uneasie and concernd at any accident [that] befell me, and must look on it as a very great misfortune, brought on me and others, and yet I cannot charge myself with rashness or negligence, for who coud expect or imagine my freind woud have committed such a blunder. You had best put Henry Straton on his guard, tho I think they can make nothing out of it to anybody's prejudice, only that they'l know what wee've been doing all this while. I am yours.

[P.S.] The Whigs in the city counsell moved ane address of thanks this day to the Queen for emmitting the proclamation, which nobody opposed, but the Torys moved and carried ane addition of thanks likewise for the bill against schism, which the Whigs opposed and woud have dropped the whole rather than have that addition, but the Torys insisted and both was voted, which will be a leading card to all England, and I doubt not but you'l have addresses from Scotland likewise.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/5

[London] July 3rd 1714

Dear Sir, I told you before of the unluckie accident by which the memoirs became publick; never anything vexed me so much, since people without any ground or reason lay it on me as the

author, tho others say that Mr Gullin or Dr Abercrombie¹⁴⁸ are the authors, and some that my Lord Blairhall¹⁴⁹ begun some memoirs and left them in the hands of people who have since his death cookd and dressd them up into the form they'r now in. I do for my part possitively dissown it, as I belive will also Mr Gulen and the Doctor, and I beg that you and my other freinds woud contradict it as to me. I shall not say that my Lord Blairhall was the author, but I belive you may well say that you've heard often and long ago such a work was in hand and adoin by a set of people who joind in it, tho it was kept as a secret who they were.

When this is reported it will take the weight in some measure off me, for I find there are some who out of malice woud gladly fix it on me without any ground or reason. The reasons they give are these: 1st, that in the preface it sayes that the author was a young man and to make up his want of experience took notes and made collections of papers, etc. Now this can no wayes fix it on me, for their were young men in the Parliament besides me. Secondly, that there are some passages in the book relates to myself and which coud not [have] been known unless I divulged them. To that I say some of them are mistakes in part and others in whole, and such of them as may be true might very well [be] supposed to have been the subject of conversation with some of my particular freinds, and by them handed to those who'r the authors of this book. Lastly, the appendix which gives an account of the £20,000 sent to Scotland at the time of the Union shows that I had a hand in it. To this I reply, that this story was mentiond in the report of the Commissioners of Accounts and so became publick, and the particular distribution of that mony and the remarks thereon has been handed about and seen by sevrall people these severall [years] by-past.

The account I give of it is this, that a few dayes before I came last from Scotland, a gentleman under strict secrecie gave them to Mr Houston and me to peruse. That being hastned with busines, wee coud not get time to read them in Scotland, and so brought them with us and read them by the way. That after wee came here

¹⁴⁸ Possibly John Gillane, the future Scottish Episcopalian bishop, and Dr Patrick Abercromby, the antiquarian historian and anti-Union propagandist

¹⁴⁹ Dougal Stewart, Lord Blairhall of the Court of Session

Mr Houston (without my knowledge) out of curiosity gave them to one he confided in to copy, who copyd one also to himself. That after this I sent them back to Scotland, condemning them and earnestly desiring they should be suppressd, which would have been done had not this villain that betrayed Mr Houston given coppers to Sir David Dalrymple and others. This is the account I give you of it, and which I hope you and my friends will disperse. I have given Charles Cochran¹⁵⁰ a full account (which you may call for) as a proper person to disperse it. And pray write to Dr Abercrombie to be on his guard and [you] do the like. I am very much vexed, but always yours.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/4

London, July 20 [1714]

Dear Sir, I hear that the subject matter of my last makes a great noise with you, but I hope in time it will blow over, a wonder, as tis said, lasting but nine dayes. I expect to leave this place about the end of the week, being heartily wearied of it. I believe the Treasurer and Bolingbroke have patched up matters, I can't tell you the terms, but tis said that the former is to manage according to the latter's thorough Tory maxims and measures, the truth of which time must determine, but unity would seem needful when they're attacked by foreign as well as domestick enemies. What I mean is, that in all appearance the faction aim at something that's desperate. For there's too good reason to believe that the King of Prussia's journey to Holland, and the march of his troops, was designed to be embarked aboard the Dutch fleet and carried into Britain, for the security of his father-in-law's succession. The King of France discovered the project and calling the Dutch Ambassador, bid him acquaint his masters they should take care how they engaged Europe in a new war, for he would defend and assist his dear ally and sister the Queen of Britain. On Friday an account of this discovery came from the French king to the Queen and tis said the project is laid aside because discovered too soon. Yet the Dutch are still equipping a strong fleet. The French king's intelligence was so particular, that it named Scotland for the place where the Prussians were to land, as being most dissaffected.

¹⁵⁰ Possibly Charles Cochrane of Ochiltree and Culross

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/3

Saturday night [end of July 1714]

[No salutation] This afternoon, just as I was coming out of town, I met with Mr James Dundas.¹⁵¹ Wee soon fell into a discourse of the memoirs, [and] he told me his father and brother were intimate with the Dalrymples and the Squadrone, and from them he understood that a prosecution against me was certainly intended. I said I did not see how they could prosecute me and I askd if Mr Houston was to be prosecuted too? He said no, they were to use him as a witness against me, to prove my having the book, and that they hoped by him Mr Gulen and one just now in London who's name he had forgot, but who I take to be George Montgomery, who was examined there already and said nothing to prove that I once had and shewd the manuscript, and that they also designd for that purpose to examine all my comrades here, so you may easily guess who they will be.

I said I was sure no living soul could say any thing to my charge of that nature, but supposing for argument's sake it should be proven that I had shown such a book, it did not prove it to be the same as the printed book, for no man could say it was the same, and if it differed then it was not this book. He said that was true, but they'd examen into particular parts of it and if it was proven that these parts or parts of that nature were in the manuscripts I shewd, they pretended to infer that it was the same with the whole, or at least woud make me culpable in so far as these passages were criminall. I askd him, what was the crime and what it inferd? He said, that they pretended that by the Union the Scots peers had all the priviledges of the peers of Great Britain, and to reflect on them was *scandalum magnatum*, the penaltie of which was £400 for each peer, and each scandall, and by this means they computed the fine woud come to £30,000. I said I could not see that, for then there should be so many different actions as peers, and neither did I think 2 different reflections in one book on the same peer could be doubly punished, but be reckond as one scandall, etc, so the sum woud be much less, tho they reckond every peer.

This is the sum of what past, and tho perhaps he may be

¹⁵¹ Son of Robert Dundas, Lord Arniston of the Court of Session

misinformed or mistaken, yet tis possible, or rather probable, I may be attackd in this manner, and therefore I have given you this account of it, that you may give me your opinion or at least have your thoughts on it till Monday's night that I see you. I have drawn up a few queries which I think takes in the case, and if you thought it convenient to discourse Mr Alexander McCleod on them, he will meet with you, I having by your advice consulted him on this subject alreadie. At [that] meeting I shall acquaint you of the reason why the 4th and 5th queries are stated. If you hear any thing materiall by this post I shall be glad to know them. I am yours.

[P.S.] Pray take care that this nor the enclosed fall not by you [sic].

Duke of Atholl to Lockhart

Lennoxlove C3, 35

London, October 13th 1714

[No salutation] I desired my brother Edward¹⁵² to enquire at you [sic] what you knew concerning that most vilanouse and scurrilous pamphlet, called the Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland, but haveing had no answer from him, this is earnestly to desire, I may have ane account from your self how you came by it, for I have it from a persone of honour that assures me he see [sic] a letter under your own hand in which you own you had it in manuscript and lent it to Young Houston, I desire also you'll do me the justice to lett me know, what alterations there is betwixt the manuscript as you had it, and the printed copie. This matter concerns my honour and reputatione so nearly and perhaps also my life and fortoun, that I expect a plain and positive answer from you which will oblige, etc.

Endorsed: 'Hay'.

To Atholl

Lennoxlove, C3, 35; further copy
in: GD 220/5/418/4

Dryden, November 3rd 1714

My Lord, I have been of late so much in the country that I had not the honour to receive your Grace's of the 13th of October till yesterday that I met with my Lord Edward Murray in Edinburgh

¹⁵² Lord Edward Murray

which is the reason that your Grace heard not from me sooner. As to the first part of your Grace's demands, I must beg your excuse, that I can say nothing on that subject, since my enimys (and who are not I believe much your Grace's friends) without any reason or ground then the pure effects of there malice, have thought fitt to make me pass for the Author of these Memoirs, with a designe to do me I suppose all the prejudice in there power. As to your Grace's question demand, it is not in my power to give you the least satisfaction, for I do assure your Grace that I have no copie but the printed one, nor do I know where to find a manuscript copie, unless it be amongst some of those who thought fitt to publish them, and who these are is no secret. Its impossible for me to prevent the reports my enimys have with so much industry and no less malice spread concerning me. But as I allwayes met with great civilitys from and profess'd a particular respect for your Grace I neither have nor ever will be guilty of or accessory to any thing that is not consistent with the character of being very sincerely My Lord, Your Grace's most faithfull and oblidge humble servant.

JACOBITE CONNECTIONS: 1715-1720

To Lady Mary Hamilton¹

Lennoxlove, C3, 41

Edinburgh, 13 January 1714/15

Madam, I have been so much accustomed to the malicious and false aspersions, of a certain set of men in this world, that I am not in the least surprizd, at ther attempts to misrepresent me to her Grace the Dutches of Hamilton and I do assure your Ladyship that to the best of my knowledge, I never expressd my self, in the manner or to the effect mentiond in your Ladyship's letter, which I received on teusday last, and sure I am I never had any such resolution: Besides the very many particular obligations, I ly under to her Grace and the late Duke of Hamilton, it is pritty naturall for me to wish well to that family, and I shall be very glad to find the heads therof, set up on that bottom, which has been so glorious to them hitherto and in which I dare say all the true freinds therof will heartily concur and be assistant to the out most of ther power.

As for the election, which is now approaching, if the Gentleman her Grace recommends², were of such principles as both your Ladyship and I approve of, he woud not need so powerfull a recommendation as her Grace's, alwayes was and will be to me, for I am bound by many tyes to do him and his family all the service I can, and it is very agreeable to me that her Grace is in a good understanding with him. But in the present situation of affairs, I cannot possitively determine my self in that matter, though your Ladyship may be assured her Grace's inclinations and the regard I have for her will have very great weight with me. I am not so vain as to imagine, any actions of mine, can deserve such kind returns as her Grace is pleased to express, but I will ever esteem it the interest and honour of my family, to serve her Grace and her family to the outmost of our power, and though tis very litle I can pretend to, yet sure I am, it is with as much sincerity as

¹ Daughter of Anne, Duchess of Hamilton in her own right and sister of the 4th Duke

² Lockhart's cousin James Lockhart of Lee, subsequently Whig M.P. for Lanarkshire

those who may of late make manifold professions, of what was never apparent from ther proceedings in former times.

Wee have very litle news, only if [it is true] Mr McCartney³ were once pardoned and promoted in England, and Mr Frazer of Beaufort⁴, declared Lord Lovitt, now that he's come to Scotland, wee may guess at what is to follow. But nothing is so surprizing as to see that the unhappy circumstances of this poor countrie has not yet awakened people from that lethargick distemper which has seizd upon and deceived them these severall years and that, though every body finds the bad consequences of the Union, such numbers shoud be prevaild on with shamms and stories to neglect this oppertunity, of applying for and perhaps obtaining a dissolution of it. The addresses⁵ take and go well on, in many places, and I hope the Dutchess will promote one in Clidesdale. The ministers may perhaps call her a papist, but ther are those of more heartie, though less profession, that will be proud of seing and concurring with the young Duke's earlie appearance, in so good a work and following the glorious steps of his great and never enuff lamented father. And if the gentleman her Grace recommends, to be our representative be chosen, I hope he will not be the first, as at the last election, to declare in favour of the Union and protest against ane address for dissolving it. I beg libertie to offer my very humble service to her Grace and I am with the greatest respect, Madam, Your most obliged humble servant.

[P.S.] My wife returns her humble service to your Ladyship.

To Argyll

SPDom. 54/7/55

Edinburgh Castle, 18 August 1715

My Lord, Having qualified my self sevrall months ago, by taking the oaths to the King and his Government, and having lived very peaceably and quietly, without giving the least reason from my words or actions to doubt or suspect me, I was surprised to find

³ General George Maccartney, the fugitive killer of the 4th Duke of Hamilton

⁴ Simon Fraser of Beaufort, 12th Lord Lovat (?1667-1747), an inveterate intriguer who at this time was ingratiating himself with the Whig regime so as to be allowed home from exile

⁵ Calling for the dissolution of the Union now that its cardinal point, the Hanoverian succession, had been peacefully achieved

this morning a party of souldiers with a warrand to apprehend me, who accordingly brought me in prisoner to this place, from my own country house, wher I have constantly resided and which your Grace knows is situated very near this place. And consequentlie my living at home, could not be with any other designe, than to follow my countrie amusements and give the Government no reason to suspect me during the allarms wee have had of late.

As my innocence perswades me, that my confinement proceeds from the malice of some personall enimys and not from any accusation against me, I must make my applications to your Grace that you'd be pleas'd to represent my case to his Majestie, as I have laid it before your Grace, the truth of which will upon enquiry, be found to hold good in every particular of it, and makes it the more strange that I should be the first that was apprehended, tho, as I said before, I have not given the least reason for it. I am hopefull [that] when this my case is represented to the King, his majestie will be pleased to order my releasement, and I am willing to find sufficient bail for my good behaviour and to present my self wher and when required. If his Majestie does not think fit to grant this, I must submit, till time and another opportunity clear my innocence and vindicate me from the aspersions that may perhaps be laid upon me.

I ask your Grace's pardon for this trouble and I depend very much on the character your Grace I hope will give of me to the King, and I dare appeal to your Grace and my Lord Ilay that it consists with your knowledge, that I do not deserve the character some of my enimys are pleas'd to give me. Whatever be my fate I shall still be proud of being reckond, My Lord, Your Grace's most faithfull humble servant.

Endorsed: 'Mr Lockhart's letter to the Duke of Argyle'.

Major Simon Fraser⁶ to Mar

Stuart, 18/112

Verdun near Toulouse, Aprile 10th 1717

May it please your Greace, Tho I had had bussieness of my own I should have been scrouplous to trouble you at this distance, but

⁶ A half-pay officer recruited by Lockhart to command the troop of rebel horse he secretly organised at Carnwath in 1715, who managed to escape from Preston before the surrender of the rebels there

having latly receaved a letter from Mr Lockhart of Carnwath, who I perceave is under the greatest concern on an information of his being missepresented to your Greace, I thought I could not well answer the duty I ow you nor friendshipp for him, iff I did not acquaint you with it. And I judgd the best method I could take of letting your Greace know what hee sayes and excusing myself for using this freedom was to send you a short abstract of his letter which is as followes and which by a litle reflection you'l soon understand.

Since your last from Hambourgh I have been informed that some have been endeavouring to do me disservice, with my old worthy correspondent John Gallway [the Earl of Mar]. I cannot imagine how any durst presume to say I ever had any difference with him. Itt might per chance fall out, that in the course of bussieness hee and I might differ in our opinions, but never with any personal resentment on my pairt. And I dare say the lyke for him, since I knew him not subject to have any without very just ground. You know how pleasd I was when hee accepted Mr Vanderfelt's [the Old Pretender's] service, affirming him to be a man of great sufficiency, and that as hee was capable I did belive hee'd dissharge his trust with great exactness and fidelity, so as in all appearance to retriue the affairs of that worthy family which had suffered so much by the ignorance or knavery of others, this touches mee very sensibly, and since I have not the oppertunity of doing what might be proper for my vindication I earnestly beseech you to supply it in as farr as you cann. In assuring Mr Gallway in my name that I have never changd my mind with respect to him, nor in the least detracted from the profound respect you have ever heard me profess for him. I should still be easier under these missfortunes iff hee and others concerned knew how litle conscious I am of having ommitted or committed any thing that was or was not to be expected from mee, a good deal of which you are no stranger to, but if I had a proper opportunity I could still informe you of some things that woud sufficiently enable you to satisfie Mr Gallway till I had the honour of seeing him.

I am much pleas'd with the concurring testimony you give of Mr Vanderfelt's great merit. I have been often well assur'd thereof and I am persuaded that all who trust to, and deal with him will in the event be gainers, and have much satisfaction. And tho' trade be brought to a very low ebb in this place, yet Mr Vanderfelt's integrity and authority, seconded and assisted by Mr Gallway's extraordinary skill and appliance will still encourage many and mee in particular to deal with him, as my father did to his great honour and advantage.

I have had very satisfactory accounts of my cusen [the Duke of Wharton] since hee came home from many of his and my friends, and as his conduct and present management gives me infinite pleasure, I shall not be wanting in as farr as [it's] in my power to encourage him in well doing.

May it please your Grace, you see what this gentleman pray'd mee to communicate to you, by which I hope you'll see how desirous hee is to be restord to the honour of your good opinion if hee has had the missfortune to lose it. And as I woud be very carefull not to trouble your Grace with anything of this nature without my correspondent's speciall desire I shall not take upon mee to add anything of my own to what hee has sayd heer in the best hands hee can fall into, in which hee is very happie, and as I have a way of wryting to him and hearing from him, iff your Grace will think fitt to give me any instructions anent him, itt will be a great honour done him, and mee. I belive hee woud gladly know if he cou'd well pay you his humble respects in a more immediate manner. As to my particular, I am what I ever was, with the outmost respect and submission. May it please your Grace, Your Grace's most obedient, most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'Major Fraser to Lord Mar, Aprile 10th 1717. Reply at St Me 27th'.

To Major Simon Fraser

Stuart, 22/40; HMC Stuart, iv, 556-9 (imperfect and incomplete)

[Edinburgh?] 20 July 1717

Dear Sir, Yesterday I received yours of the 30 of June, but before I say anything to it, I must own my fault in not answering one

which I received long before from you. The truth on't is, I was at the time harried with business and forgot so long that I resolved to wait till I heard again from you. Besides, yours did not need any immediat return, there being litle in it more than a particular account of the way by which you were so kind as to do some things in my behalf, which I will ever reckon a singular favour and of which your last gives me a furdur confirmation.

I was indeed much chagareend that some people (particularly a certain knight [Sir James Hamilton of Rosehall] and some of his freinds) whom you and your 2 deceast freinds [Major Nairn and Captain Philip Lockhart⁷] visited at his country house on the way from Glasgow to your freind's house, to excuse their own inactivity endeavoured to lay the blame on your freind, that he had not keptt tryst and had faild to call upon them. And he was affraid this report had gone to some people and given them a bad impression of him. Wheras you know that the terms he concerted with that gentleman and others in this neighbourhood (and which was all the length he coud bring them) was that your freind shoud send to them how soon he understood Mr Vanderselt [the Old Pretender] was come from Holland or Mr Galleway [the Earl of Mar] came to this neighbourhood, and none of these having occurrd, when you began your voyage, your freind told the merchants he met with in toun some dayes before, of this his difficultie, viz, that he coud not call for his correspondents but on the terms he was directed by them and therefore proposed that he shoud send his cargo of goods, but delay going aboard himself and try to perswade these others to follow after with him in a sloop, least if he (who alone had corresponded with them severally) had left them altogather, they shoud want one entrusted as he was to call on them and so be deprived of their joint stocks. This motion was approvd of by such of the merchants as he communicated it to, and particularly by Captain Straton, but the misfortune your freind soon after fell into (and which he had no reason to fear the then state of his health, a relapse not being ordinary in his case) broke his design and confind him to his room.

Tis true indeed the aforesaid Captain might have prevented it,

⁷ Another half-pay officer recruited by Lockhart, and Lockhart's younger brother Philip

for the evening that your freind left toun (which was the day after you saild and the day before he relapsed) he waited on him and if he had thought fit to have communicated that Gallowey's factor was to come nixt day ashoar with bills of credit, he might, and woud in that case, have sent to his correspondents (that being the same or much of a peice with Galloway's presence and been reckond such, as he has reason to belive from them) and besides he woud have taken more care of his health and in all probability not have relapsed, but so it is that your freind affirms by all that's good and sacred he never heard one sylable of the factor's coming ashoar or that there was such a design till some hours after he fell ill. Secresie I confess was necessary, but how far the Captain might have ventured to enlarge a litle, when he knew your freind's strait and design and what he designd expedient of the factor woud have removed it. I leave it to you to judge. But this is not the only instance of the Captain's reservedness to him, he had observed it long before, and you may remember complaind of it when wee were togather and at a loss what measures to take. What occasiond it I can't tell, for I have not seen nor heard from the Captain since that time, but I will call on him in a day or 2 to see what he will say with respect to what Mr Galloway refers to him in his letter to you.

This short account will, I hope, justifie your freind, but what vexes me most when I think on it is, that I assuredly know this way of managing did much harm, more perhaps than becomes me to mention. Only this I may say, that it prevented a great many substantiall merchants in the west, in this neighbourhood and in the neighbourhood of the Lawyer's country house where you and your decest freind lodged some dayes (and particularly a young merchant of great credit there [the Earl of March⁸]) from signing to carry on the trade and considerably augmenting the stock. But there's too many melancholy occurances in what is past to think further on them, than to avoid them on another occasion, and for my own part, as it was ever my desire and only design I shall ever be readie to promote trade as far as my litle stock will reach, and I think myself very happy that your correspondent does not listen to idle, false reports, for I can and

⁸ William Douglas, 5th Earl of March (c.1696-1731)

do averr most solemnly, that as I never had any reason, I never bore him the least disrespect or grudge, and whoever did or may insinuate otherwise are unjust to me. And you may tell him if ane occasion can be found, as he desires, he shall have a letter from David Coupar [Lockhart].

As to what Mr Galloway writes of raising a stock to retriive and follow out the bush fishing, your freind will not be wanting, when there's a scheme laid down or he knows whom to treat with. Or if there's anything wherin your freind can be serviceable to your correspondent in any part of this island, he will cheerfully undertake and at least faithfully execute it. Or if on any future emergencie he shall incline to converse with your freind on trade, he will come to him, be wher it will, when he requires it, and this he can now do on 20 severall pretences without any loss to his employment. But whilst I'me on the subject of trade I must tell you that tho wee merchants have no opportunity at present of following a fair open trade at large, yet belive me there are daylie so many strong calls and invitations to a private smugling, but at the same time necessary, trade, that our stocks are sufficiently employd, of which your correspondent, even at the distance he is situated, may be sensible.

I did designe to have gone this summer to the waters, and on that veiwe keep my young freind [George Lockhart junior] at home with me, but am prevented by a very troublesom lawsuit of great importance, and I must attend it, having nothing but the justice of my cause to depend on. But I will certainly execute my design nixt spring, if matters take not another turn, which I indeed much wish, for besides my opinion of matters and that you can't imagine how uneasie it is for one of my employment to get his bread here, where wee'r insulted by every litle coxcomb of a mechanick, I cannot say I am so good a Christian as not to long for a fair occasion to revenge what my and your good freind did meet with, which I cannot nor never will think of but with warm blood. And come of me what will, I hope I shall leave those behind me full of the same resentment and readie to embrace every occasion to prosecute it.

I lately saw my 2 freinds which your correspondent mentions in his letter and I dare say they are and will be what he expects.

And I can assure you they have been very freindly of late to those who wanted their assistance, of which there's too too many. I shall see them both in a litle time and deliver his commission to you. As for my young cusen [the Duke of Wharton], on what you formerlie suggested to me, I wrot a very civill letter to him in March last, congratulating his safe return home, thanking him for the civillitys he shewd you and insinuating other matters and my great desire to correspond and live in freindship with him, but I have had no return as yet. Which is no great sign of his sense of manners, and I'me affraid I may add, his intentions, in other matters. By the accounts I have from my mother, he minds nothing but the pleasures of the place he at present resides in, of which he takes a full swing. There are other strange, contradictory storys related of him; what to credit I know not, but I dread the worst. Sudden and vehement changes are seldom durable.

When you've ane occasion, pray give my most humble service to your correspondent and withall convey this or the contents thereof to him, which I hope if he sees occasion he will employ for my justification to Mr Vanderselt, for whom I have such respect and so great ane attachment I shoud be sory to think he judged me guilty even of ommissions. As for commissions, I defye the divill and all his works to accuse me. Your freind the litle quack [Dr David? Montgomery] has been with my father-in-law these 2 months and hopes soon to pay his debt and be in a condition to appear. I see not, nor hear of, any change in him or any other to the worse, being still the self same men [as when] you knew them. Some time ago I had severall comical heroical letters from your Cornet [Mr Charles], sevral of your freinds that were his companions are returnd and live unnoticed. As is also John [Todd?—one of Lockhart's tenants] from Antegea. I long to know what is become of poor Fl[emin]g [a servant of Lockhart's]. Pray let me hear often from you, for your wellfare will be acceptable news to, Your reall humble servant.

[P.S.] Let me know that you have received this letter. By letters lately from Mesgines wee hear poor James Somervill was unfortunately drownd in a canoe. Being in hazard to lose this next post, I write this in such hast I doubt you'l read it.

Endorsed in Fraser's hand:

1. 'A certain knight': Sir James Hamilton of Rosehall.
2. 'Two decest freinds': Major Nairn and Captain Lockhart.
3. 'That lawyer': Montgomery of Maglyhill.⁹
4. 'A young merchant', etc: the Earl of March.
5. His young friend is his son, who was going abroad some tyme ago.
6. 'My young cusen': Wharton.
7. 'The litle quack': Dr Montgomery.
8. 'Your Cornet': Mr Charles.
9. 'John Td': a farmer of his own who rode in the troop.
10. [Alexander] 'Fl[emin]g': a servant of his in the same service. Taken care of. Paris.
11. 'James Somerville': a gentleman's son who lykewayes rode in the troop.

To the Old Pretender ('Mr Knox') Stuart, 29/117; LP, ii, 9

[Dryden?] March 26 old style, 1718

Sir, I cannot but esteem it the highest honour, that you entertain so favourable an opinion of me, as you are pleas'd to express in yours of the first of January, which came lately to my hands. I am not so vain as to imagin I ever was or can be of any great use to you in your affairs, yet I have the satisfaction of being conscious to my self that as your interest [^]was hitherto the cheif object of all my desires and veiws, since I first applyd myself to trade, I at no time knowingly and willingly ommitted anything which I conceived might in the least contribute therto, and I do assure you that for the future I will as readily embrace every occasion to do you all the services within my power, and which indeed is no more than what I think myself bound to, by many particular as well as generall obligations, and what my inclinations and personal regard for you prompts me to. It being unnecessary to repeat what I have mentiond to Mr Montague [the Earl of Mar], I will trouble you no further but to beg leave to subscribe myself with

⁹ Possibly William Montgomery of Macbiehill, advocate, eldest son of Lockhart's tutor

the greatest respect and truth, Sir, Your most faithfull and devoted humble servant.

Endorsed: 'Mr Lamb [Lockhart] to the King, March 26th 1718, received at Urbino June 11th'.

To the Earl of Mar ('Mr Russell') Stuart, 29/128; HMC Stuart, vi, 272-8 (an incomplete variant)

[Dryden?] March 28th 1718 old style
[No salutation] Two or 3 dayes ago I had the satisfaction to receive yours of the 4th [January? with an?] account of the proceedings of the company [the Jacobite Court]. As its prosperity hath [always been my?] cheif aim, I shall allwayes endeavour to merit as far as I am capable the favourable opinion you are pleased to entertain of me, and faithfully discharge the trust you repose in me.

Before I received yours I had a letter from my freind [the Old Pretender?] acquainting me he was at libertie to take my young cusen [the Duke of Wharton] under his care, and I am therefore in the first place [*sic*] to return my acknowledgements for so great a favour. Tho my cusen hath been from his childhood pritty well founded in arithmetick and other study fit for his station and is I think very bent to follow out the employment he was bred to, yet I inclind to have him live with a merchant that woud take care of him and keep him in the practice of these usefull accomplishments, it falling too too often out, that young men, by idle company and diversions neglect and forget what hath cost abundance of pains in attaining. These and other reasons make me very desirous to have him in good hands and as I am perwaded the method I have takn will prove to his benifit, I am hopefull no inconveniencie will arise to Mr Knox [the Old Pretender] since his freind will at any time be readie in a call, and I doubt not bring his apprentice [George Lockhart junior?] allongst with him, when there's anything to be done wherin he can take a part. And as he's now become a swinging young fellow he may even take his hazard of a long voyage when a fair occasion offers, and the sooner it be I shall be the more pleased. However it will be fit that as few as possible know anything of my cusen's being bound to

your freind, because of some inconveniencies which may happen here from it.

I am extremly glad your cusen Knox hath taken the resolution you mention. Tis high time for him on many considerations to think of setling himself, and I make no question but it will alter some people's judgement of him and his affairs, who have hitherto fed themselves with the hopes that he'd ramble away his time forever, wheras this step must convince them that their will be no end of his just claim. Nixt day after I got yours I went and met with Mr Brewer [the Bishop of Edinburgh] and Mr Simpson [Henry Straton], who I doubt not will give you a more perfect and distinct account of the company's affairs than I can pretend to. What I shall trouble you with at present is, that wee all agreed the state of trade, at least the projects and veiws of our merchants [politicians?] of all kinds, are much the same as you left them. For tho it is evident that Stanhope's [Scotland's] circumstances and schemes are very deplorable and despicable, and that they never can be better whilst he relyes on and concerts measures with Uberton [England] (who as all the other Custom House officers, promise fair in order to seduce and then betray), yet I cannot see either Powell [Presbyterian Lords], Porter [Presbyterian Commons], or Wisheart [Whigs] are a bitt convinced that the smuggling trade [Whig politics] they follow is pernicious. If Powell and Porter can preserve Jack Kerby [the Kirk], and Wisheart gain a penny to himself, they seem to have no regard at all to the general ballance of trade.

Tho this may seem a paradox to strangers, yet you know them too well to be surprized that men who have been so long and so much accustomed to do evill, shoud not learn to do well. Its true there are designs and animosities amongst the smugglers [Whigs] greater by far then ever I knew amongst such interests, yet I am of opinion they proceed only from their several particular veiws interfeering with one another (as the subject of trade is not extensive enuff to satisfye them all) and that they have no notions that trade can never be on a right footing till regulated by a joint company, establishd and supported by a legal authority. What may, at the long run, be the effects of their losses and crosses time must determine, and the best is to be hoped for, but at present I

cannot see any tendencie to what I wish. How the merchants stand affected elsewhere I know not, and the truth on't is Mr Edgar [the English] is so frantick and infatuated a spark, I have litle regard to his rantings and ravings, unless he is takn when he's in the humour and a litle roused with a bottle of good October [beer], but if he get time to cool and setle, you know how the wind and weather are not more variable.

However, to return to the trade of this place, tho it is now carried on in a very irregular manner, I am perswaded the fair trader [Jacobites?] need be in no great apprehension of the smugglers, for if right and sensible projects be laid down, they will easily undersell and get the better of the smugglers, who have no great stocks [support?] and who (tho they'l venture boldly enuff in running of goods and defrauding the Customs) have not courage, and as litle ability, to push a fair open trade. But on the other hand, the fair traders have been so often dissapointed and sustained such great losses (which by the bye hath much reduced their number, as many have become bankrupt and been rendered incapable, tho still willing, to follow after trade) that I take it for granted they will expect and desire to see the Company's measures well adjusted before they pay up the remaining quota of the subscriptions.

I thought it not amiss to be somewhat plain on this subject, because by some hints in yours to me and for other reasons, I suspect there are [those] who entertain themselves and others with notions that are more the effects of their wishes than founded on solid grounds, and tho merchants are certainly to be encouraged and trade represented in as fair a light as possible, yet I could never see any reason why the cheif managers of the company should not know the true state of affairs. If other accounts are given I wish they be well founded, but till I am perswaded therof, I think it my duty to represent them as I have done, which I dare say will hold good for these 8 or 9 months by past that I have been in such circumstances as I could ride about thro the Country [where] I have had occasion and been at some pains to find the merchants' pulses and from thence gathered the observations I have represented. Tis true indeed here and there you'll find one of these smugglers (having more than ordinary

sense) not well pleased with the management of trade, and who seems to be much dissatisfied in his expectations. And there are also very many extremely out of humour, but as the first are few in number, there is little to be expected from the others till we see what effects some late regulations of trade [purges?] which will inevitably fall heavy on them without distinction may produce, and which in my opinion can be questioned by no argument so proper as unfolding the folly of trusting to Mr Uberton, of which I design care shall be taken if I continue in this place of the world.

But the truth on't is, I find such difficulties to maintain my family and live at any tolerable ease, I am almost positively determined to push my fortune next summer somewhere else, in which case 'tis more than probable I may see you, wherever you are. The secrecy which you recommend of the company's affairs, is indeed absolutely necessary, and yet [the strictness?] I have often complained of many years ago [gives as?] great, if not more ground for the complaint now than ever, but the difficulty is how to help it, for as the company's servants are very numerous and prattiest here, they keep a correspondence with their brethren elsewhere, and all of them communicate to one another what they hear or wish as certain truths, and these again disperse them amongst their comrades, so that in a little time they become publick and the subject of mixed general conversation, and tho' indeed these intelligences are frequently ridiculous and too often false, yet they do much harm as they frighten cautious wary traffickers and give the smugglers grounds to undertake and justify some measures which would otherwise prove more difficult, and therefore if it was possible and practicable a restraint on all the company's servants wherever they are, from writing any thing of the company's affairs to any person whatsoever, would be attended with good consequences, but I am afraid it will be no easy matter to accomplish this, tho' of that you are a better judge than I am.

What observations you make of the conduct and prospect of my 2 friends Arbuthnot and Johnston [the Duke of Argyll and the Earl of Ilay], are certainly true and what I dare say all the world but themselves perceive, and I wish with all my soul a way could be fallen on to induce them to be sensible thereof likewise, as I am

perswaded the result therof woud be a great benifit to the company as well as to themselves, for whom I cannot but have a great personall freindship, as it commenced from our infancys, and that I lye under the greatest personall obligations to them (particularly at the end of the late storm [rebellion] when but for them I had well-nigh perishd), tho at the same time I ever did and will know how to distinguish betwixt what I owe to them and others of a more immediat concern.

Some years ago I was very bent to discover what was to be expected from them, and I think I was not mistaken when I did firmly belive on more than probable grounds that it was then far from being impracticable to bring them into right measures, of which I did then acquaint one of the company's factors at Leicester [London] and proposed some things to be done which others of Kirkton's [the Old Pretender's] freinds besides myself did belive woud have had good effects, and I know that this factor did communicate the same to a certain person [the Earl of Middleton¹⁰] who had then the inspection of affairs with and under Mrs Knox [Queen Mary of Modena], but he (I dare say without concerting with his mistress who had more sense than to return such an answer as was sent) did dissaprove of the measure and so it came to nothing. However, I did still entertain some hopes and did therupon take some steps when I was in Squire Patrick's family [Parliament], which I remember well, were ill takn and appeard odd to some to whom I did not then think it convenient to communicate the reasons which influenced me.

But tis to no purpose to insist on these matters, and what I did then and do still belive was part of the reasons which prevaild with these 2 to tack about and act a quite different part. Wee'r now to look forwards, and here I'me affraid there's less reason than ever to expect anything from them. What hath occurrd since may in other opinions render an agreement unpracticable and tis too probable they'l give litle credit to the assurances of a good disposition towards it on the other side. Besides I reckon they are so far dipt with another person [the Prince of Wales] they'l think themselves bound in honour to adhere to him and no doubt have

¹⁰ Charles Middleton, 2nd Earl of Middleton (c.1650-1719), principal Jacobite Secretary of State from the mid-1690s to 1713

formed mightie matters to themselves, if ever that person come to be in better circumstances. And you know it is loudly talkd, that the person to whom they'r cheiflie [engaged?] offerd to leave them in the lurch in order to obtain what he now endeavours after [and with] enuff care, I say, there's a door opend to expect something from resentment and [I am?] sure that a new scheme must be laid down or they can have no hope or prospect of persuing and attaining what their ambition may lead them to and tis well known they aim at. And the truth on't is, in such circumstances I can see but one course they have to steer. In short, if I can find any the least probable or tollerable prospect of a fair opportunity, you may [be] assured I will venture to lay matters fairlie before them. Tis reported they will both be soon in this place (which, by the bye, affoords matter of speculation), and I have some private affair to setle with a meanspirited despicable kinsman of mine in Mr Leicester's family, which tis probable may oblige me to go thither in 2 or 3 months time. In either of which cases I will see my 2 freinds and treat with them as I find the coast's clear, and of which I shall let you know.

What you say with respect to Squire Patrick is quite out of [true?] for there's no reason to think his life in any hazard, and I dare say unless some accident intervenes he'l be the oldest man of any that has hapned in his family for these many years by past. Having mentioned Patrick and my 2 freinds I will relate a passage [which] tho of no great importance may yet be worth your knowing and what you'l hereafter excuse that I fancy tis ane amusement to you to know even litle things of your acquaintances here. Some 7 or 8 months ago a namesake of Mr Manly [the Earl of Middleton, i.e. John Middleton of Seaton M.P.] returning from Leicester sent to desire I woud come and spend a day with him in t[own and?] after a good deal of chat over a botle by our selves, he told me that my 2 freinds Arbuthnot and Johnston were perswaded old Squire Patrick woud [die?] nixt winter of the distemper he at that time was afflicted with, and it was their earnest request I woud concent to serve in the young Squire's family [new Parliament] in the same station I had done formerlie, to which they'd give me ample recommendations.

I answered [that?] I was wearie of the service before I left it, had

betakn myself to a quite different kind of life, and woud not engage my self any more after that manner. At length, on his insisting very pressingly, I told him that he knew that the only reason which induced me formerlie was on a veiw and with ane intention to serve the interest of Mr Knox and Mrs Stanhope, but as matters now went and were like to go, I did not see how I could do them any service. Besides, if I was admitted into that family my 2 freinds woud expect ane immediat dependence on them, as they'd been instrumentall in bringing me into it, and I shoud therby be [open?] to the dilemma of exposing myself to be taxed with ingratitude towards them and at the same time forfeit their freindship, or obliged to regulate my conduct in a manner I had not been accustomed to and contrary to my former avowed professions, and that he might remember he had often himself some few years ago, regrated to me that he and a certain other gentleman were under that necessity, and obliged to act the part, which I could not approve, and woud never on any account perform. Some 3 or [4?] weeks after this I had a letter from this gentleman intimating that he had sent my 2 freinds a faithfull account of what past at our last conversation, and was again directed by them to insist on what he had proposed to me and withall to assure me that no such thing was or should be expected from me as I imagined. And that I shoud have as much libertie to think and act as I pleased without any breach in the freindship which was amongst us and he also added that perhaps wee were not at so great a distance from being of one mind as I belived, and that my compliance might perhaps be a means to affoord ane oppertunity for bringing that about which he knew I did [wish], and he assured me he himself did heartily wish for.

I returnd that I woud probably see my freinds before there was need to determine myself and if I found any reason to expect what he suggested woud come to pass, nothing on my part shoud be wanting. Not long after this old Squire Patrick's health took a turn and I heard no more of the matter. Now I leave it to you to judge whither this passage does affoord any grounds of hope on a fair occasion. On the one hand I cannot see what use or benefit woud accrue to my freinds by my compliance on these terms, and sure I am they could not propose any allurement to myself,

unless it had been with some such vei w as the gentleman insinuated, and on the other hand, tho he mentiond that particular as from himself, as he coud not have [a] vei w therin, I perswade myself he woud not have ventured on it without their allowance.

I have sent yours to Mr Elphingston [the Earl of Eglinton], [and] if his answer come in time, it shall be sent with this. If not, with my young cusen who'l set out in 3 weeks to meet your freind at Mr Freemans [France]. I can assure you no man hath the interest of trade more at heart than Mr Elphingston, the bad state wherof and circumstances of his freinds therby, hath reallie made ane impression on his health, so that he is become melancholy and chagareend in his temper. However, your factor Simpson [Henry Straton] gave you lately ane instance of his frankness, which he tells me he belives was not come to your hands at the time of your writing last to him. I cannot say so much of his brother-in-law, my cusen¹¹ (of whom you made mention to me about 8 or 9 months ago and wherof I acquainted him). I doubt not but he's sound at the bottom, but I fear he has too much of his cheif's blood in his veins and litle is to be expected from him any manner of way. Lately when he was in toun I did all I coud to get ane oppertunity to talk with him, but as I fancy he suspected I was to propose a muslin [money] project, he carefully avoided and effectually prevented it.

It is now high time to put ane end to this long letter and yet there's one thing more which seems proper that you be apprized of, with relation to Mr Simpson. You know he hath of a long time been very valitudinary and it increases fast on him, so that he is but just now beginning to recover of a chirurgicall operation made upon him, and tho I hope he is out of immediat hazard, there is reason to fear the occasion of it may recurr, and one of his years and in so bad a habite of body cannot well be absolutely depended on. His death woud be a very great loss to the company, as he's in all respects upright and diligent and hath been much conversant for a long tract of years in all the company's affairs here, but especially because it will be found very difficult to find out one as capable and equally as acceptable to others, to supply his place, and yet such, if possible, I presume you'l think absolutely

¹¹ Probably Sir John Kennedy of Culzean

necessary to be got. I was t'other day in company with some merchants who, knowing in generall that he was much trusted by the directors of the company, regrated what I have represented to you, and talking of a fit person to succeed him, agreed that no man was more capable or woud be more acceptable than the gentleman to whose sister Mr Symons [Lord St Clair¹²] was married.¹³ I mention this because when wee here on the place found so litle choise, tis probable it will be more difficult for you at such a distance and not perfectlie apprised of the circumstances of some who perhaps you might think fit to employ in this affair. If you are not personally acquainted with the gentleman, yet no doubt you have heard of his charactar, and for my own part I do firmly belive he's the very quintessense of honour and honestie.

But I do fear I have gone too far beyond my sphere in this point and will only beg leave to suggest 2 things, of which you can easily make a judgement. The first is: how far it may be convenient to appoint some person to be privy to Mr Simpson's negotiations, that in case he shoud dye such as succeeds him may know how and with whom to proceed, and this perhaps may be more convenient as hitherto he hath been very closs and reserved. The nixt is that least he shoud dye sooner than is to be desidrd and when you are not expecting it, all the company's bills for the future be directed to some other person besides him, who in such ane exigency may take care of the company's affairs till one is particularly appointed for that effect. Tho I earnestlie wish there may be no occasion for these precautions, I thought it not improper to drop somewhat of them to you. I hope you'l excuse this tedious epistle, which I woud not have venturd on, but that the remoteness of the port and station that I live at, gives me seldom ane occasion of writing to you. I am with the greatest truth and sincerity, Sir, Your most faithfull humble servant.

[P.S.] Mrs Lamb [Euphemia Lockhart] returns her humble service to you and bids me tell you, that as she belives she'l never laugh heartily till she sees you she's sure on that occasion she'l be as joviall as once with you in her home at Leicester.

[P.P.S.] I wrot this 3 or 4 dayes ago, since which I had a visit from

¹² Henry St Clair, 10th Lord Sinclair (1660-1723)

¹³ George Wilson, an Edinburgh merchant

Mr Cornhill [the Earl of Carnwath¹⁴] who came from Leicester lately to Edmiston [Edinburgh]. Amongst other things he tells me that it was generally belived Mr Arbuthnot woud be left in the lurch, I was likewise to see Mr Edmiston wher I met with some of Mr Arbuthnot's freinds who assured me he is soon to be here. But what surprizd me much, and is fitting you know, they told me that Mr Blackwell [the Earl of Breadalbane¹⁵] designed to sell his estate in Stanhope in order to purchase another in Eden [England], and that Mr Johnston's brother [Argyll] had 2 meetings with him in order to be his purchaser. What effects this transaction may have with the Harper [Highlands] I can't tell. I find tis given out by Arbuthnot's freinds that this and some other private affairs brings him here, and some who were a litle freer with me said he was a stranger to all his freinds and designd to pass a litle of his time in making a freindship with Mr Hutchison [Highlanders]. But I imagine that he has traded so high that his credit is failing and he thinks it fit to retire before his bills are protested. Just as I was sealing this up the express which I sent returnd with the enclosed from Mr Elphingston.

Endorsed: 'Mr Lockhart to Lord Mar, March 28th 1718 old style, received at Urbino June 11th'.

To the Old Pretender; apparently a transcript Stuart, 32/82;
for a slightly different version see,
HMC Stuart, vi, 535-8

[Dryden?] 5th June 1718

Sir, In my last, not very long agoe, I referred you to a letter I had then writt to Mr Montague [the Earl of Mar] in which I gave him as full and true an account as possibly I coud of your affairs. Since that I have made it my cheif bussiness to discover if there were any hopes of bringing about a correspondence betwixt you and Mr Johnston [the Earl of Ilay] and Mr Arbuthnot [the Duke of Argyll], being fully persuaded that great profit would arise to you from a copartnership with merchants [politicians] of so great

¹⁴ Robert Dalzell, 5th Earl of Carnwath (c.1687-1737), reprieved but forfeited for his part in the 1715 rebellion

¹⁵ John Campbell, 2nd Earl of Breadalbane (1662-1752)

credit and such knowledge in trade. Twas easy to forsee many difficulties in accomplishing of it, in regard they are very nice and cautious and hitherto bended all their thoughts towards the prosecution of that branch of trade [politics] in which they were educated [Whiggism], and yet I did not think the task insuperable insofar as it consisted with my certain knowledge they were once on a day tolerably well disposed towards it, and that the losses they have lately sustained and the bad prospect of trade befor them might prevail with them to change their measures. And some things having since my last occurred which renders the project more feasible, I thought it proper to communicate the same to you, expecting your further commands and directions in it.

I'm therefore to acquaint you that not many days agoe I conversed very freely with a gentleman of Manly's [the Earl of Middleton's] surname [John Middleton of Seaton M.P.] who is a particular freind of these 2 merchants, at the bottom bears no ill will towards you and came lately from Mrs Lister [London?]. I told him I was sorry to find his and my two freinds had been so ill used by the Custom House officers [the ministry?], for if trade was to stand on the present foundation I wisht them a share rather than others because I expected to find some benefitt to myself if I stood in need of their freindship. But as matters went I did not see that they could ever expect to retrieve that branch of trade they had hitherto followed. My freind answered that I judged right, and they were determined to quitt trade entirely and to live privatly on the estates they had made and come what occasion of trade after this they would come in themselves no manner of way in it, but leave it entirely to others, for they had been barbarouslie ill used by old Mrs Gunter [George I?], who was guided by a pack of worthless fellows, and her son [the Prince of Wales?] who was so worthless a coxcomb that they were resolved to answer her bills no longer and seldom saw him.

I replied I did not see how it was possible, nor could I imagine, how men so accustomed to bussiness and of such importance could think of secluding themselves from being concerned in trade, that it would not answer their design, for Mrs Gunter would highly resent it and be sure to prosecute them for the

ballance due on the company's books, and altho Mr Kirkton [the Old Pretender] should gett judgement against Gunter, they had no fund to answer his demands upon them, and therfore I was of opinion they should still appear on the Exchange [Parliament?] and since they never could nor would have dealings with their present copartnery [ministry?], nothing remained but that they should join stocks with Mr Knox [the Old Pretender]. He answered that he was much of my mind, and wisht they were so too, 'but', added he, 'their schemes have been hitherto so opposite, it would be difficult, tho perhaps not impossible, to bring it about', and he foresaw that they would think they could never manadge trade to advantage whilst Mr Knox employed Mr Montague as his cheif factor, 'who', said he, I knew 'was their great enemy'.

I told him I did indeed know that Montague and they had formerly interests which interfeired, but those I took to be the result of following different schemes of trade [principles] and not personall prejudices, and I had often known merchants more at variance than they ever were, perfectly reconciled and joined stocks. That he knew I myself in my small course of bussiness had some differences with Montague and partly on Arbuthnot's account, which were so far from being lasting and inveterated that there was no trader whatsoever on whose credit I could more rely, and I was fully persuaded he would answer my bills very cheerfully, and since Montague was certainly a great encourager of trade he would be glad to join with men experienced in, and of stocks sufficient to prosecute, trade, and if the costs were clear otherwise I made no doubt but expedients might be found to remove all the objections he had started with respect to Montague and till that were done why might not a correspondence be sett on foot directly with Knox himself without the interposition of any other? I added that I durst answer for it, he would deal fairly and on the square with them and punctually perform what he engaged by shewing a regard for them both now and afterwards.

My freind answered that he did truly beleive if such an affair was to be accomplished it would be by this method and wisht I would think on a way how to bring it about in case a fair

opportunity offered. After a good deal of more chat upon this subject he concluded that he would come some time this summer to Edmiston [Edinburgh] while Johnston was there and talk with me more fully on this subject. Besides what past in this conversation I am fully satisfied from others, Arbuthnot's friends and copartners, that all of them in company with him are so discouraged by the many seizures of their goods that they will not trade any more on the present footing, and in this I was confirmed by a conversation I had this day with a gentleman of Arbuthnot's surname and whose sister was married to Mr Sharp's [the Earl of Southesk's] lately deceased uncle.¹⁶

This gentleman Mr Montague doth know is a very hearty friend of Mr Kirkton's, has been long in Mr Lister's family, and but lately come to Edmiston, and as he has great interest and is much in favour with his cousin Arbuthnot and is a person of great veracity, the accounts he gives me may be relied upon. And he not only confirmed what my other friend had told me with respect to trade, but assured me he had given his opinion and advice very frankly and fully upon this subject, and that he found them both much better disposed than he had expected, and that he was very hopeful if right measures were taken they would give all encouragement to a reasonable project of trade. He said that Arbuthnot was more cautious than Johnston, who I might freely speak to on this subject when I saw him, and that I would find no need of any precautions or preliminaries to introduce it. He added that tho' at present they seemd resolved not to trade any more in their own name, and were fully determined not to answer Gunter's bills tho' protested, it consisted with his knowledge they had directed their factors to accept Mr Kirkton's bills if he should happen to draw, tho' they would not be seen in it themselves. And he concluded that when Johnston came here he and I should put the question fairly to him and if it were but once begun he had no fears of the event.

From all this you will be pleased to consider how far there is any encouragement to hope for the best of these two gentlemen, and how far it may be proper for Mr Knox to write a letter under his own hand to such a person as he can trust and will be acceptable to

¹⁶ Captain Dougall Campbell

the other side, empowering him to invite them to join in company with him and to assure them of his good intentions towards them, and withall that none but the person entrusted with the commission knows anything of it, and that if they incline to enter into a copartnership it should be presented in a manner agreeable to them. This as I take it will be the most probable way of introducing it. If matters cast up as I hope they shall, and I get any further light into them, I shall advise you from time to time thereof as occasions offer, and wherein I can be usefull nothing shall be wanting. I have imparted the contents hereof to Mr Brewer [the Bishop of Edinburgh] and Simpson [Henry Straton] and to no others, and it being an affair which must be managed with the greatest dexterity and outmost secresy, as the least surmise thereof would infallibly ruine it, I judged it fitt to communicate this directly to yourself as being most capable to determine what use was to be made of it and to whom imparted, and the sooner you signifie your pleasure therein so much the better. I have nothing to add but that the bargain betwixt Arbuthnot and Blackwell [the Earl of Breadalbane] – of which I acquainted Mr Montague in my last, is entirely blown up. I salute you, your spouse, son and daughters and am, Your most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'Mr Lamb to the King, June 5th old style 1718. Received at Urbino August 6th'.

To the Earl Marischal¹⁷

LP, ii, 20-21

[Dryden? April 1719]

[No salutation] The King's friends are far from being diminished on the south side of [the] Forth, and are abundantly willing to venture all in his service. But they have been kept so much at under these three or four years by past, and so little expected what has of late occur'd, that most of them want horses and arms, and it will be noe easie matter to procure them. And as they are surrounded with spys and enemies, and cannot propose to make such a body as can resist the force that will be sent against them if

¹⁷ George Keith, 10th Earl Marischal (1693-1778), subsequently a General in the Prussian army

they take to the feilds, it is not to be desired or expected they should rise in arms untill there be such a number of forces near them, as can make a stand, and to which they may resort. Tho the King does not want some friends in the western shires, yet the gross of the people, both gentry and commons, are either prysbyterians favourably disposed towards the present Government, or pritty indifferent as to all Governments whatsoever. But as the far greatest part of both have an heartie aversion to the Union, if once they were thoroughly convinced that the King's prosperity would terminate in the dissolution therof, there is reason to beleive a great many of the first would be converted, at least so far as to be neutrall, and most of the others declare for him.

And therfor it is thought proper that the Earl Marishall should publish a manifesto, in which, after having enumerated the many greivances attending the Union, such as the decay of trade, and the violation of the Scots' libertys and civil rights, etc, he should declare that it is the King's intention to restore his Scots subjects to their ancient rights and independent state. And that he himself and those with him appear in arms as well to redeem the nation as restore the King, and that he does therby invite all his fellow subjects to contribute towards so just, honourable, and necessary an undertaking. And in this manifesto, assurance should be given that a Scots Parliament will be invited to meet as soon as the posture of affairs will allow the same to assemble, that such laws may be therin made and past as shall be judged necessary for settling the peace and tranquillity of the nation and securing the liberties and religion of the same. And lastly, recommend to the several electors in shyres and burrows to have their thoughts on persons fitt to be appointed their representatives, when matters of such universal consequence are to be determin'd.

At present there is none on the south of [the] Forth to whom the King's friends can repare for intelligence, or to have instructions and directions as to their conduct and measures; and thence it is that there is no correspondence nor concert amongst them, which in the event may occasion many inconveniencies. It is therfor proposed that the Earl Marishall would impower, or at least recommend to a small number of persons, to be by him named, to

meet and concert such measures as to them seems most conducive to the King's service, and that with them he would correspond and give them such directions as from time to time he shall judge proper. This being done and the King's friends apprised of it, their intelligence and measures will be more uniform and regular than can be expected in their present uncertain state and condition. And because the Earl Marishall cannot in his present state and circumstances so well know what persons are in a condition to execute such a trust, it will not be amiss to mention the Earls of Eglington and Wigton, the Lord Balmerino, the Bishop of Edinburgh and Mr John Paterson¹⁸, as persons that will be faithfull to the King and agreeable to his friends. [ends]

To Baron John Clerk

GD 18/5244/6

Dryden, 10 August 1719

Sir, Having occasion lately to see your father's servant James Johnston, he spoke of, or rather started somethings, which, after having considered them more fully, appeared to me very reasonable. Whereupon I drew the enclosed memoriall¹⁹, which I send you that you may have your thoughts upon it. If the project appear as feasible and advantagious to you, as it does to me, and that you incline to put it in execution, I'll either come to your house or meet you wher and when you'll appoint, that wee may more fully understand one another, and adjust every thing so as it may come in a good light before Sir John. And the sooner you signifye your mind to me twill be the better, because I must soon take my measures in working my coall, and be directed therin, as this project takes or is set aside. I am with great respect Sir, Your faithfull humble servant.

To Baron Clerk

GD 18/5244/7

Dryden, 16 September 1719

Sir, Saturday nixt being the day appointed for the meeting of the heretors of the parish of Laswade, as the cheif matter before them

¹⁸ John Paterson of Prestonhall

¹⁹ Not found

is to settle Sir John Clerk's and my demands, and as these again may much depend on what wee conclude betwixt ourselves, I humblie conceive it will be proper that wee meet and if possible adjust these matters previous to the meeting. And as I take it for granted you will give yourself the trouble of being present, to assist with your good offices, I wish you'd let me know wher and when I may wait upon you on Saturday. If you'r to be at Newbiggen on Friday night and you will call on me here nixt morning, wee may talk together before wee go to Laswade, or if you are not to come from your house till Saturday's morning, if you'l be so kind as to come straight to this place. I will write to beg the like favour of Sir John. So be pleased to signifie your inclinations, that I may accordingly attend you. As you desired I sent to Mr Inglis for the decret of valuation of the Barrony of Roslin, and made up a state of the teinds thereof, as you'l see by the enclosed paper, which you'l have under your consideration untill wee meet. I am with very great respect Sir, Your most humble servant.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/24

[Carnwath?] Friday [late November/early December 1719]

Dear Sir, I got yours this morning, but can't possibly come to toun till I return from Clidsdale. As for the scheme containd in the enclosed, one, in my humble opinion, might guess it proceeded from such ane amphibious creature as the noble Lord said to be the projector. For my own part I can't pretend to judge, but in my opinion tis a dangerous motion, for besides that I can't see how the peers can address strenouslie against the late scheme²⁰, if they yeild that materiall point of not adhering to the strickt letter of the Union with respect to the right of election and representation, so on the other hand, giving up the point leaves the feild open for the Court to make the new settlement as they please and so deceive the Scots peers in their new scheme. Again, if to please 5 or 6 Dukes at present the proposed regulation is to be made, may it not be supposed that the remaining set of peers who'r to be Parliamentary peers during life will have the same ambition as the

²⁰ The first Peerage Bill (1718)

hereditary ones, and by being during life, have more interest and weight to bring about a new furdur regulation in their own favours, than tis well to be supposed the greatest Duke of them all at present can pretend to. In short I look on this scheme as design'd to steel the peers off their feet and draw them in by degrees to be in the self same despicable footing proposed by the first scheme, and therefore were I a peer I woud equally oppose it. But I submit to better judgements.

The Bearer will show you the copy of a letter I got tother day from the King. Within it was [one] enclosed for the Duke of Hamilton and one for Lord Kincardine²¹, both which I shall cause [to be] deliver[ed] speedily and safely. I hope you got my letter from Newcastle. Adeiu dear Sir.

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 32-33

[Dryden? March/April 1720]

Sir, Being, at the time of receiving your letter and writing of this, at some miles distant from Straiton, with whom it is necessary I talk, befor I can say any thing distinctly on the contents of yours, I would not however delay making my very humble acknowledgements for the honour you doe me in reposing any the least trust in me, and in a particular manner for the regard you have been pleas'd to show my son; that he may truely merit the continuation of your favourable opinion, is my utmost desire, and I hope his highest ambition. I dare confidently affirm I never entered into any measure nor gave any advice that did not, according to the best of my judgement, appear for your interest and service. That of late, with respect to the Commission²², was the joynt and concurring opinion of several very sufficient well designing persons, and I make no question, if duly and discreetly executed, but it will turn to good account; one thing I am sure of, that many inconveniencies arose on many occasions for the want of it.

²¹ James Hamilton, 5th Duke of Hamilton (1703-43) and Alexander Bruce, 6th Earl of Kincardine (1662-1721)

²² A Commission of Jacobite Trustees for the management of the Old Pretender's affairs in Scotland, which had recently been proposed to him by Lockhart through Lockhart's son, then residing at Rome

The other matter, relating to Argyle, did come indeed only from my self, the nature of the affair being such as required that no other person whatsoever should be privy to it. But as what I proposed proceeded altogether from a good intention, I submitted all and every part of the scheme to you, with whom I readily agree, that before the attempt is made, it is highly expedient to sound the other's pulse, and be assured of its success; and for no other reason did I propose the letter's being sent, but that no time might be lost in striking the iron when it is duly heated. But since another course is, by a much more sufficient judge in such matters, thought reasonable, I very readily succumb thereto, and will not fail to use my utmost endeavours; with what success, its impossible just now to tell or so much as guess; yet notwithstanding all that has of late occur'd, I am far from thinking the game irretrievable, 'tho not so probable, as some few years agoe when I proposed it. The result of my endeavours in this affair shall be communicate to you, not doubting of that profound secrecy on which the success so absolutely depends. I have nothing more to trouble you with at present, but to beg you'll doe me the justice to beleive there is nothing I so much covet, as to deserve and obtain the character of being, Yours, etc.

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 36-38

[Dryden?] 25 April 1720

Sir, Since my last to you I have seen almost all those people mention'd in your last letter to me, and to those few I did not see, I writt an account of your sentiments and resolutions. All of them highly approve the measure, and will cheirfully perform what is required of them; but in regard there is not an immediate occasion for them to act, they think it proper to conceal the measure untill the propaleing of it may be of use, least in the interim some people being inform'd therof, and finding themselves not included, might perhaps be somewhat disgusted and doe a world of mischeif. This they desire me to communicate to you; but the cheif reason of my troubling you at this time is the state of the Church.

You are not a stranger to the great honour and reputation the

Scots episcopall clergy have justly gained by their unshaken constancy and uninterrupted unity, from the commencement of their misfortunes to this time, and that the same may be in a great measure imputed to the prudent conduct of the late Bishop of Edinburgh. Now that he is dead, and no other of the old bishops alive, the care of the Church does naturally fall to those who of late years have, for the preserving of the succession, been consecrated bishops, of which there are six now extant, and of these, Mr Fullerton²³ is the senior bishop; and consequently it seems reasonable that he should have the preference and be appointed to act the part of the late Bishop of Edinburgh to whom all the other bishops and clergy, after the death of the Archbishop of St Andrews²⁴, gave due obedience. And indeed it is very lucky that matters stand thus, for it is a question if any of the other bishops are so well qualifyd to discharge that trust; but as he has not the advantage (as had the late Bishop of Edinburgh, by being *virtute officii* vicar general during the vacancie of the sea of St Andrews) of any tittle to support his authority, it is thought this defect may be supplyd by a letter from you (to be communicated with all prudence and discretion to the clergy) intimating that as their unity and the regard they shewed to the late Bishop of Edinburgh did prove much for their honour and interest, you recommend to them the like conduct for the future, and particularly seeing Mr Fullerton is the senior bishop and a person of known abilities and merit, that they would have regard to his opinion in all matters relating to the Church.

This is the opinion of the Lord Balmerino, Lord Dun²⁵, and several others that look after your affairs, and it is by their express direction that I lay this proposal befor you, that if it is approved by you, you'l be pleased to transmit such a letter to me as soon as possible, least difficulties arise and inconveniencies happen; especially seeing wee hear that Mr Archibald Campbell²⁶ (who, 'tho adorn'd with none of these qualifications requisite in a

²³ John Fullarton, Bishop of Edinburgh

²⁴ Arthur Rose (d.1704)

²⁵ David Erskine, Lord Dun of the Court of Session

²⁶ Archibald Campbell, a well known and extreme Nonjuring theologian, subsequently elected Bishop of Aberdeen and ultimately the originator of a major doctrinal schism in the Scottish Episcopalian church

bishop, and remarkable for some things inconsistent with the character of a gentleman, was most imprudently consecrated some years agoe) is coming here from London, with a view of forming a party and propagating those doctrines which were at least unseasonably broached some few years agoe in England.²⁷ As both clergy and laytie have a great regard for Bishop Fullerton and contempt of the other, it is probable he will make few proselyts; however it is still fitt to provyde against the worst, and leave nothing undone to prevent a breach which would be attended with bad consequences with respect to both Crown and Mitre.

If you approve of what is here proposed, give me leave to suggest that it will be proper you signify your inclination that he should be added to the number of those you have appointed to inspect your affairs; and, for certain reasons, I could wish the Earl of Dalhousie²⁸ was likewise added; he is a person of great honour and integrity, and the fittest perhaps in this part of the country to be at the head of an army, having been bred a souldier from his infancy, and a man of undoubted courage and resolution. Bishop Fullerton is come to town, and wee think it will be necessary that hence forwards he reside constantly there; but as it is unreasonable he should be at so great a charge in serving the publick, 'tho he has a handsome little estate of his own, a certain number of people have resolved to contribute annually such a sum as will sufficiently enable him to support his character, and make up the odds of his living retiredly at home and publickly at Edinburgh. I am, Yours, etc.

To the Hon. James Murray

LP, ii, 42-45

[Dryden?] 2 August 1720

Sir, Yours came safe to my hands some days agoe; as I need not tell you with what satisfaction I heard of my old friend's being well, neither need I insist on the pleasure that the King's freinds received from peruseing his letter to them, seeing it not only

²⁷ Lockhart is referring here to the schism created in the English Nonjuring community by the doctrinal innovations championed by Jeremy Collier

²⁸ William Ramsay, 6th Earl of Dalhousie (c.1660-1739)

contain'd a good account of himself and his family, but likewise some reasons to hope his affairs were on the mending hand, which in truth is as much wanted as earnestly desired. The troubles and crosses he meets with, are what he hath been too much accustomed to, and the natural consequences of having to deal with a set of men whom no rules of honour or bonds of society can bind. However, as I will never doubt but sooner or latter, Providence will favour him, in all events my poor endeavours shall never be wanting to doe him all the service I am capable of, and I know nothing can contribute more towards redressing his injuries, than a good understanding amongst all who are on his interest; and I never will be persuaded that he who's directed by the smallest selfish view in the present state of affairs, can have the least title to be reputed an honest or loyall man, and therfor I must own that the accounts he gave of the harmony amongst his servants was extreemly agreeable to me, and gives great encouragement to all his friends, and the continuing therof should be recommended as the *unum necessarium*.

The King's affairs here at present afford very little for the subject of an epistle, matters being at a stand, and people waiting to see what arises from the present state of Europe. As for Britain, tis plain there must be some very extraordinary turn, for, as I take it, the Constitution is wholly subverted, the whole power being now lodged in the hands of the South-Sea Company²⁹, which is now become absolute masters of all the money, and have established such an interest, that King, Lords and Commons joyntly or separatly are meer names. Many (and those for the most part little scrub fellows) are said to have made vast estates; but for my part I cannot see thro it; tis like a meditation on eternity, that appears the more incomprehensible the more narrowly it is canvass'd. One thing is plain, the Company has no fund to pay at the rate of half a crown interest on the 100 pounds, as the stock is now sold at, nor is there, I beleive, as much species in Europe as what the stock is now screw'd up to; so that how these new rich men will draw their effects, is more than I can see through, unless, as is talked and too probable, an act pass next

²⁹ The South Sea Bubble was at this time climbing towards its height and subsequent crash

parliament obliging the South Sea bills to pass as specie; and what confusion this in the event will occasion is very obvious. So that I doe conclude this stupenduous structure will terminate in some very extraordinary event, which at present noe man can foretell, only in so far that it may come to have a quite contrary effect from what is design'd by it.

Wee've now reason to think that the ensuing will be the last session of this Parliament, and all hands are already at work against the elections; but I dont hear of any of the King's friends that resolve to concern themselves in the matter, so that the squable in Scotland will lye betwixt the Squadrone and Argyle. I had the honour of a visit the other day from the latter, and a long conversation with him, which may probably pave the way to talk more freely on other subjects ere long.

Those to whom the King has committed the inspection of his affairs, are extreemly glad he approves the method they take, and which they are resolved to follow out till an alteration will be of use in his affairs. Ther's one thing however I am directed to represent to you by some of them on whose judgement and experience in bussiness, as well as affection and zeal to the King ther's sufficient ground to rely, which is with respect to the present Duke of Perth.³⁰ The concern which the King expresses for the loss of his worthy father, gives them reason to hope he will more readily hearken to what is so necessary for the preservation of his family.

To proceed then to the matter; I suppose you know that about the very instant that the news of the father's death reach'd this [shore], the mother³¹ went off in a ship with her son, without communicating her design to any of his relations, and is now with him in France, and this step is like to prove very prejudiciall both to the King and to that family. To the first, as it gives a handle to the Whigs to make a terrible outcry, that here is the heir of a noble family carryd off from his friends, and what may they not expect and dread from the Papists, were the King on the throne, when they presume to act after such a manner in the present situation of their affairs. As to the family, it will in all probability prove its

³⁰ James Drummond, 3rd (titular) Duke of Perth (1713-46)

³¹ Jean Gordon, daughter of the 1st Duke of Gordon

utter ruin, for whilst matters stand thus, the valuable Logie³² will not take on him to act as tutor in law; and ther's ground to beleive the Exchequer will putt it into the hands of a parcell of relations (such as Roxburrow, etc) who having other both particular and general views, will act in a manner that must have fatal consequences with respect to the heir and the clan. Besides, tis but too certain that they'r already beginning to whisper of Lundie's³³ title as next Protestant heir, and in all probability will, in due time, take the advantage of the law relative therto. The relations therfor of the family, and several of the King's trustees are, on these accounts humbly of opinion, that the King could not doe a more popular action than to interest himself in this matter, and, by his interposition, prevail with those of the child's relations as are at Paris to send him back to Logie; and tis beleived they will not dare oppose or counteract the King's inclinations in the matter.

At first view it may seem hard to desire and unreasonable to expect the King should act such a part, seeing, no doubt, religion will be the pretence to justify what has been done. But, with submission, it may be putt on another bottom; for here is a child (the custody of whom, by the present laws, belongs to another, who alone, by his acting, is capable to preserve the family) taken or rather stolen away by his mother, who, without respect to religion, has no right or claim to the disposing of his person; so that the restoreing him to his tutor is no more than what is agreeable to the municipal laws of the land with respect to his civill interest. And as he is young, he has time enough to think of choicing or at least declareing his religion; wheras if he continue where he is, all the advantages that can possibly arise to his unnatural relations will be taken, and perhaps a sequestration follow, which, were he at home, could not be demanded and obtain'd till he be 15 years old; and what may happen betwixt this and then, he's wiser than I that can tell. A great deal more than I have urged will occur to you on considering the natural consequences of such an affair, and therfor 'tis recommended to you to lay it befor His Majestie. One thing I may affirm, that as

³² Thomas Drummond of Logiealmond

³³ John Lundin/Drummond, second cousin to the titular Duke of Perth

the favour shewn to his Protestant subjects, at Mr Packington's³⁴ interment, was very agreeable to all his friends, and did him good service with the Church party in England, his interposing and obtaining a just redress in this matter would be duely improven, and tend much to his advantage.

I have little more to add, but that wee long impatiently to hear of the Queen's delivery. Your frequently remember'd when your friends can meet together. Bishop Fullerton is not yet come to reside in toun, but I expect him in a few weeks, and then I'll put into his hands the King's letter, which can't fail to have the design'd good effects. I have no more to say to my good old friend but that I am entirely his. [ends]

To Murray

Stuart, 50/120

[Dryden?] December 22 1720

Dear Sir, I pretend to no manner of excuse for delaying so long my returning ane answer to yours of the 20th of September, but that sometimes I was so very busie and at other times so very idle and so much takn up with company since Mr Lisle [George Lockhart junior] came here, that by some one or other of these my neglect was occasiond, and if you've goodness to forgive me, twill be ane additionall proof of your favour towards me.

Since my receiving that letter I saw one from Mr Knox [the Old Pretender] to Mr Suctie [Henry Straton] and another from Mrs Marjory [Murray], both which confirm the alterations you mentiond in yours. How, even when accounts these and the like happen, wee at this distance are totally in the dark, and for my own part, as is incumbent on me, I am not curious to dip into them, tis enuff, for such as I, to know and submit, tho at the same time I cannot but much admire, and heartily regrate they shoud be occasioned by the discord of those, who, of all men living, for their own as well as others' sake, shoud live in good terms and be mutually assistant to one another. And tho, as you observe, the like hath hapned in dayes of yore and probably will continue, tis far from being a justification of those that are accessory thereto.

³⁴ Sir John Pakington's son Thomas died at Rome in 1724 according to the *DNB*. This aside casts doubt on that dating

For my own part I'me censuring and judging blindfold, for I know not who are guilty or innocent, but be they who they will, without respect of persons, I cannot but think them highly to blame. You know so much of my bypast life, that I may affirm I allwayes lookd more to things than persons, and as I ever did, I ever will give my poor assistance to any that shall prosecute the measures I think just and on the other hand have no communication with those who, in my opinion act otherwise, tho at the same time my best wishes allwayes did and will attend my good old freinds, in which number I have the pleasure to reckon you principally. Tho I cannot see that much gain or loss will attend any of the parties personally concernd, yet such inconstant measures gives great jealousies and uneasiness to many, and therefore I wish with all my soul that a right choise be made and adhered to by the person mostly concernd and submitted to by all his freinds and relations.

I communicated the contents of yours with respect to Palms [the Duke of Perth] to such of his freinds as were most concernd, and as I cannot but own that Mr Kikles's [the Old Pretender's] reasons were unanswerable, I belive it may be proper that you acquaint Mr Kidd [the Old Pretender] that the freinds are entirely satisfyed and reckon themselves highly indebted to him for the marks of his favour towards their deceased cusen and his issue. And that I am hopefull Mr Lock [Lady Drummond] will no longer decline what his duty, seconded by Mr Kebles [the Old Pretender's] pleasure, requires of him.

I very exactly follow the advice you give me as to my living well with Mr Sucty [Straton], but at the same time tis impossible to avoid giving him jealousie seing he woud not be well pleased, if he imagined Mr Lilly [Lockhart] and Marjory had any correspondence but thro him, such is the usuall temper of old folks to which others as much as possible must submitt. I think it fitt to tell you that I find a favour latly designd for Fingland's [Robert Freebairn's] father³⁵ is not approved of by Christopher [Episcopal Church of Scotland], both with respect to the person, who, they say (for my own part I am not in the least acquainted with him)

³⁵ Robert Freebairn's father, David Freebairn, was an Episcopalian clergyman who had been reduced to working as a bookseller after the Revolution

tho he is a very honest good man, is not so well versed in accounts as to render him fit to be a barkeeper [Bishop], and that there are many others who have at least as good pretentions that cannot but think themselves slighted. And also with regard to the way and manner, beliving it were expedient (were it for no more than to avoid solicitations that may not be granted) for Mr Knowles [the Old Pretender] to advice with his cusers the Bewlies [Bishops], both as to proper persons and reasons, before such finall resolutions were taken. I leave it to you how far it may be proper to drop something of this to Mr Kebles, which I mention chiefly out of regard to him, and even with some concern for you, to whom this measure is generally chiefly ascribed.

Mr Lisle gives his humble service to you and retains a gratefull sense of your favours, as do all concern'd in him. I cannot but own I'me very well pleased with him, as I think he has not mispent his time during his apprenticeship and hope he will at least prove an honest trader [politician, i.e. Jacobite]. This place affoords no news, nor no speculations but what relate to the dreadfull consequences of the South Sea. In my last I belive I was somewhat prophetic in what has since occurrd, tho at that season he was reckond more than [a] simpleton and worse than ane infidell that talkd and belived after that manner, but for my own part, as I had once in my life, ane occasion to look a litle into the foundation of such matters, what has hapned seemd to me all alongst unavoidable, and therefore I keptt myself free. The truth is the consequences (to use ane assembly phrase) are grivious and circivasmnous [*sic*] with respect to many private familys and particularly all Mr Skelton's [the Squadrone's] (many thereof are not however, by some much regrated) are intirely ruind, and likewise to the island in generall seing wee'r therby almost totally draind of current species, and you may easily imagine to what a pitifull case this province is reduced, when tis computed, too justly, that 9 of ten parts of the readie has in specie been exported, and I fear left in the French, English and Dutch stocks. And how that or near that sum will be brought back he's wiser than I that can tell.

Our affliction is not a litle increased by the insults wee meet with from the Jacobites, who do not stick to tell us, that as wee

used to reckon the goodness of our cause from its success, the tables are now turnd, seing, as they say, more estates are lost and familys ruind, by contributing towards the funds and measures calculated to support our Government, than hath been in asserting the right of their Prince. However, wee've reason to be thankfull there's no designs in veiw against us, for considering the povertie wee'r under, the clamours and animositys that abound, even towards our higher powers and that by people who once in a day had other thoughts, wee might easily become a prey to any that attackd us, and tis good for us that what hapned in 1715 is past and away, for the half of such ane attempt now, woud in all appearance have fatall consequences. But these are only speculations. How the wisdom of the nation will settle matters I can't say, but in my opinion, the more they attempt it, the more they'll involve us into inextricable labyrinths, and what the event of all will prove, God only knows and time must inform us.

I had almost forgot to tell you that a certain gentleman of Lacan's [the Duke of Leeds's] surname³⁶, who was once an officer and with whom you was well acquainted in Livonia [London], came here about 8 or ten weeks ago. He has plenty of mony (which was not his case) and staves here, tho at first he pretended his coming was meerlie accidentall and that he was to depart in a few dayes, and cannot well tell what brought or keeps him here. In the mean time, he appears to retain his old sentiments of matters and keeps company with none but Jardin's family (tho these indeed of the lowest stamp because others shun him) to whom he gives himself terrible airs, as if he all alongst was and is still much in the favour and confidence with Mrs Jameson [English Jacobites] and Mr Ogle [the Duke of Ormonde³⁷], in whose names he gives assurance that Marcellus's [money's] aid, if so be Dr Swift [Scotland] will once more become ane author [rebel?].

As Bob [Thomas Bruce] and Lilly were of old his acquaintance, they've been at pains conjunctly and sevrally to fish something out of him (and cautiond others to beware of him) tho they cannot

³⁶ Anthony Osborne, a suspected government spy

³⁷ James Butler, 2nd Duke of Ormonde (1665-1745), the most well known and widely revered Protestant Jacobite in exile

tell what to make of him, for it appears incredible to them that what he gives out should be true, and on the other hand, when they knew his circumstances, they cannot comprehend what his true errand may be and from whence he's so largely supplied. These and the like considerations gives some jealousie of his intentions, tho at the same [time] little apprehension of the consequences. However, I thought it not amiss to apprize you hereof. I need make no apology for disiring you'd remember me to all freinds, after which I take my leave of you by bidding, You heartily Adeiu.

Endorsed: 'Lockhart of Carnwath to Mr Murray, December 22 1720'.

To Murray

Stuart, 51/69

[Dryden?] 20 January 1721

Dear Marjory [Murray], Tho it is not long since I wrot to you, I thought it proper to acquaint you that a few dayes ago I was informed by unquestionable authority here of a facte that woud seem proper to be communicated to you, viz, that Slaughter [Earl of Seaforth¹], Tamerlane [Mr Galbraith] and Popham [Earl of Panmure] were much displeased and had accused Martin [Earl of Mar] of being accessory to Crassus's [a Commission's] appointing some people to inspect Kid's [the Old Pretender's] affairs, without their being acquainted and advised with in concerting the same. To whom Martin replied, that he had no hand in it, being done whilst he was in the Vicountess of Garnock's service [at Genoa], and having its origine from Lilly [Lockhart], was prosecuted by Lisle [George Lockhart junior] whilst he was with Ronald [at Rome], supported by Mrs Marjory.

I got my informer to write to his correspondent in order to his communicating the same to Slaughter, etc, that what Martin said of himself was very true, and that for myself, I woud not deny, as I had no reason to repent the part I acted in it. That the proposall came first from the late Bridget [Bishop of Edinburgh] to Bob [Thomas Bruce] and Lilly, and that after having advised with and received the approbation of severall judicious and honest freinds, I was desired to direct Lisle to represent the same to Knowl's [the Old Pretender], because wee did not then well know to what particular person it was fit to apply in order therto. And if Mrs Marjory approving thereof did contribute therto, I reckond she coud justifie her so doing. That as this was the origine and method of carrying on this affair, I was humblie of the opinion it coud be maintaind as reasonable and expedient, both from a reason of the inconveniencies which had often occurrd, by the want of such means to unite people's minds and actions and from

¹ William Mackenzie, 5th Earl of Seaforth (d.1740)

aforesight that the same woud again occur on the like occasions. On these, I said, and many other grounds, I thought the measure might be justified, even tho Kettle [the Old Pretender] had not determind any doubt therof by his approving of it. That here wee belived ourselves bound to inform Knowls [the Old Pretender] of everything that wee judged might advance his service, and to succumb to his pleasure, without enquiring whose advice he took, being very litle concernd who were the instruments, provided he was well served and therefore coud not but regrate that more regard was frequentlie had to the persons employd, than the cause itself, for whilst people embarked in one and the same interest were that jealous of and acted cross to one another, their own particular as well as the common interest sufferd. That since the situation of affairs woud not allow that measures should be communicated to all (who might perhaps nevertheless be safely enuff trusted) wee belived Knowls the only proper person to pitch on such as he thought fitting, and to repine therat seemd a litle too selfish and did much prejudice, as it opend a door for divisions and counterprojects. That as the measure taken coud not with any shadow of reason be condemned, it woud appear the grand objection was against all or some of those employd, and if the same was on true and solid grounds it was their duty to acquaint Knowls thereof, that in time he might prevent any bad consequences attending such being confided in by him.

It was by the advice and at the desire of some of our freinds, that I causd communicate these our sentiments on this matter to Mr Slaughter, etc, that they might perceive their behaving after such a manner woud do their reputations more harm than they at first perhaps imagined. How far you'l think it fit to communicate all or any of this to Kettle is to your discretion remitted. But after having talked with Darius [Lord Dun], Brewer [Lord Balmerino] and Piso [John Paterson of Prestonhall] on this subject, I was by them directed to notifiye to you, that tho they and their copartners were much honoured by the confidence Kettle hath placed in them, as therin they have not and truly cannot propose any veiw but his service, they shoud be very sory if he sustaind any prejudice by their being imployd, and do therfore beg you'd assure Kid that they will most chearfully give way to such other

persons as are ambitious of, and Kelly [the Old Pretender] thinks fit to employ in their stead, and by their absolute submission to the others' directions evidence to Kettle and the world that they have not the honour which may access to themselves so much at heart, as the prosperity of his affairs in whatsoever hands he thinks fit to lodge them. Tho at the same time if he thinks fit to continue his confidence in them, no discouragement will seduce them from endeavouring to do all in their power to serve him.

You'll easily I believe, credit me when I tell you that the late accounts of Quince's [Clementina Sobieska's] behaviour gave Crofts [the Jacobites] infinite pleasure², and I really believe there was more wine drunk tother night by Epidelay [the city of Edinburgh] than has hapned at one time since the restoration. Our friend Otho [Lord Ormiston³] (after shewing a damned surly countenance and grin) was pleas'd to signifye his satisfaction likewise, seing, said he, it woud keep Henry [Hanover] in awe, and prevent his being too much elated. I'm told Gathery [William Gordon] does no longer receive and dispatch Kid's letters with Purves [Davis⁴ - *sic*], for which reason, as I woud have you continue to address to me as I directed you and send your letters to Cheisley's care, I wish you'd let me know by what name I shall address to you and to whose care. Mr Lisle gives his humble service to you and I remain Yours entirely.

Endorsed: 'Mr Lockhart to Mr Murray the 20th January 1721'.

To Maule

GD 45/14/336/1

Thursday [Carnwath? February-April 1721]

Dear Sir, You may remember that when you told me of the accounts you had of Seaforth, etc, being angry at a certain affair, I told you I woud write on that subject to James Murray, which I accordingly did on the 20th of January. And yesterday I received a letter from the King himself, dated 15 March, new style, wherein he tells me that he got that letter I had directed to Mr Murray; that he's surprized any should presume to judge of and condemn a

² i.e. her giving birth to the Young Pretender, Charles Edward Stuart

³ Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, Lord Justice Clerk of the Court of Session

⁴ John Davis, a Jacobite agent

measure which was grounded on good reasons, and which he woud adhere to; and the persons therein concerned. That he approves much letting him know what such people's sentiments and way of talking are, that he may take his measures accordingly with them.

There's nothing particular or of moment in the letter, having as he sayes, wrot fully to me about 8 dayes before, but that letter is not yet come to my hands, and therefore I wish you'd do the favour to tell Dr Montgomerie to ask if it has come thro Captain Straton's canall. One thing from this letter to me I observe, that it woud appear the King has as yet no person with whom he trusts his affairs, seing he himself writes a letter which contains nothing of great moment. And it woud appear he is not to have one soon, seeing he directs me to write directlie to himself according to a new address he sends me. He sayes that he and all his family are in good health. Adeu.

To Maule

GD 45/14/390/28

Cumbernald, 12 April at night [1721]

Dear Sir, Wee got here last night, tho with much difficultie by the badness of the ways and weather, and about ane hour ago my Lord Eglinton came here to see my Lord Wigton and at the same time show me a letter which by the last post he received from the Duke of Argyle, wherein he makes ane offer of his utmost service and assistance towards his Lordship being chosen to succeed Annandale⁵, and presses him earnestlie to accept of it and set about it. I think tis very plain that this proceeds from ane apprehension that the Squadrone will join for Aberdeen rather than any of his Grace's creatures be the man, and he woud therefore rather join for my Lord Eglinton with those peers that set up against the peerage bill, than that Aberdeen should be chosen with the Squadrone's assistance.

My Lord Eglinton desires me to aquaint you of this, and that you'd advise how to make the best of the present state of affairs,

⁵ The Marquess of Annandale was a Scottish Representative Peer when he died on 14 January, thus creating the necessity of a by-election to replace him. This was won by William Gordon, 2nd Earl of Aberdeen (1679-1745), a Tory

so as to carry a man that will be against the peerage bill and at the same time let the world see that this is the cause of it. And there being some insinuations in his Grace's letter not for the peerage bill, if means be right taken, I fancy a preliminary may be established for opposing that bill. Wee fancy that this is no secret by this time in Edinburgh, and my Lord desires you'd apprize your freinds to take no umbrage at it, for my Lord will continue to act in concert with his old freinds and desires their advice that he may act so as may be best for the service of the common cause. Wee'l expect that you'l write fully on this subject by tomorrow's post, that it may come here on Friday, before my Lord goes home. My Lord is so tyred he could not write himself, which he hopes you'l excuse. He and my Lord Wigton give their service to you, and I am, Dear Sir, yours most affectionatly.

To Maule

GD 45/14/390/32

Carnwath, 17 May 1721

Dear Sir, I am, as you are, a litle surprised at the story you sent me ane account of containd in Lord Kinnoul's letter concerning Lord Aberdeen, and the more that on Thursday I got a letter from Lord Carnwath, complaining much of my Lord Eglinton's setting up, and signifying that the Torys at London are much displeased at it, and as I know he is very intimate with Lord Bathurst⁶, tis [odd?] he should know nothing of his change with respect to Aberdeen. The only thing that jumbles me about him is his getting £1,000 sterling, for as his claim was some what obsolete, [and] I belive our statesmen have reason to be good managers of the publick mony and woud not give away such a sum without a sufficiently onerous cause, if that be the case, no doubt on't, Aberdeen is much to be suspected. But on the other hand, perhaps he has given Cavers⁷ a valuable consideration, to state it in his accounts as actually paid on my Lord Oxford's warrant, and in that case they could not but allow the article to Cavers, and the other owes

⁶ Allen Bathurst, 1st Lord, later Earl, Bathurst (1684-1775), one of the leaders of the English Tories

⁷ Archibald Douglas of Cavers, Scottish Paymaster and Receiver-General of Land Rents and Casualties

them no favour and may be free of all dealings underhand with them.

However, I perfectlie agree with you, he should be stricktly posed on these heads in order to his being either convicted or condemned. And I do likewise concurr with you that ane address should be signd. In which I woud mention that the peer now to be chosen is to receive instructions and engage to oppose the peerage bill with all his might. This you need not doubt but both Eglinton and Aberdeen will subscribe, but as the opposition may be faint and only outward, if so be the person chosen expects to be one of the hereditary peers himself, I woud therefore it woud be a great additionall security [*sic*] for his zealous endeavour, if he was also solemnly bound not to accept being one of the hereditary peers, for himself or his heirs, if so be the bill take effect and such ane offer be made him. I will endeavour to see you nixt week about the begining, and am Dear Sir, intyrelly yours.

[P.S.] Wee've a fair here today where there's plenty of catle and sellers, and a good many buyers, but no mony.

To the 5th Duke of Hamilton

Lennoxlove, C3, 91

Dryden, 19 May 1721

My Lord, About ane hour before I had the honour to receive your Grace's letter this Evning, I came here from Clidesdale and till then did not know of your Grace's being come to Edinburgh, otherwise I had not failld in being amongst the first in congratulating your Grace on your safe return to your native country.

I am under ane absolute necessity of staying here tomorow, to attend a freind of mine who's to be with me about ane affair of importance, but I will do my best to wait upon your Grace in the Evening, though it shoud [might] be somewhat later. If I fail therin I shall do my self that honour on sunday morning, and in the mean time I beg to be allowd to subscribe as I in truth am, My Lord, Your Grace's most faithfull and obedient humble servant.

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 59-64

[Dryden?] 15 June 1721

Sir, I received yours of the 15th of March and in a few days therafter another bearing date the 4th of the same. What

commands you laid on me I have executed; and I can assure you all your friends are extreemly well satisfyd with your conduct, and think themselves very happy and highly indebted to you, that you are pleased to take the affairs of Scotland under your immediate care.

I send this as you order to Mr Dundass, and if you please to address your letters to Mrs Ann Mitchel, under cover to Mr James Cumming, they'l be convy'd to me. I am master of Straiton's numericall cypher, and will make some use therof in this as well as the alphabeticall one by which our correspondence has been of late.

As your curiosity leads you to know what is a doing here, I beleive it will not be disagreeable to inform you of an affair that has made some noise. After Annandale's death, great pains were taken to spirit up the peers, from a necessity of shewing a resentment against the Peerage Bill and other obvious causes. The Tories did resolve to set up Aberdeen, as one in whom they could confide. Argyle finding he could not carry one of his own dependants, because the Squadrone would rather favour Aberdeen than any friend of his, thought the best way he could take was to divide the Tories, and for that end made choice of Eglinton, and he ('tho in the main a very honest man, and without designing to follow Argyle in Parliament) was unluckily prevaild with to accept of the invitation, by which means the Tories were divided, and made not near so good a figure as they would otherwyse have done and may alwyse doe, being more than able to cast the ballance betwixt Argyle and the Squadrone, and therby oblige some one of them to joyn in their measures at an election. However, so many did stick together as to doe the bussiness and carry Aberdeen.

The consequences to be dreaded of such a division were of more moment than the thing it self; but it soon took a quite different turn, for next day after it was over, a particular friend of Argyle's came to me and told me he was much surprized to find the Tories, and particularly my self, did preferr one for whom the Squadrone votted, to one recommended by Argyle. I answer'd that I alwyse preferr'd the general interest to private views, and I was sure no service was done to the Squadrone, seeing Aberdeen

would heartiely oppose them and was perhaps in Scotland the fittest man for it, 'But', added I, 'if any thing wrong is done it is Argyle's fault: Why did he not offer terms to the Tories?' He replyd that was an omission, but he wanted to know if the Tories would yet accept of them. I answer'd I could not tell positively, but I thought they should and beleived they would; and then he told me he was directed to ask the question at me, and desire I would negotiate it. This I readily undertook, and have made such advances therin, that I beleive if there be a new Parliament the Tories will have at least the half of the 16 peers, and Argyle's assistance where Torie Commoners set up to be elected, seeing so far wee'r near agreed, being what Argyle, as matters stand, must come into, or succumb to the Squadrone. I also insisted that matters should be made easie to those who were persecuted for the King's sake, and that Argyle should oppose the Peerage Bill, both which are expressly agreed to. If matters can be adjusted thus, it cannot, I think, fail to have good consequences, especially seeing it paves the way to make a further progress with Argyle in higher matters, which I must own I have much at heart on many accounts.

In order to bring this scheme to answer, and to avoid all future mistakes and divisions, a good number of the peers have solemnly engaged to stand by one another and in all matters submitt to the opinion of the majority. These peers are all much in your interest, and it is more than probable they'l soon prove a formidable body, and be able to rouse up a spirit towards accomplishing matters of the greatest moment, in time; and I was particularly directed to acquaint you of this step, which its hoped you will approve of. If the treaty with Argyle goes on, I believe I shall be desired to goe soon to London to conclude it, which I will not decline, and shall not fail to let you know the result.

The Duke of Hamilton is lately come home, and I think resolved to stay, especially if there is any prospect of the Parliament's being dissolved, in which case he may be of great use; for the truth on't is, since his father's death, your friends have sustain'd a very great prejudice, by the want of one in an eminent station to appear at their head and keep them togather, and for my part I can see none so fitt for that work as his Grace. Tis true he's

young and void of experience, but I am much mistaken if he is not entirely honest and a zealous friend to your interest, and it is obvious he wants neither spirit nor capacity. Some of his father's old friends have spoke very freely to him, and given him their best advice; and as he promises, and I hope will follow the same, I am fully persuaded he will make a great figure. But after all 'tis necessary I acquaint you that wee find great difficultys in reconciling the different humours of some persons with respect both to the necessary concert, and giving the encouragement that is proper to Hamilton, which I presume proceeds from envy and old family picques, 'tho these I hope will be removed in time, and give way to the publick interest.

However, in order therto some of your friends are of opinion it would be of great service to the common cause, if you writ a letter recommending unanimity amongst the Tories (which might take its rise from your being inform'd of the late division in the matter of the election) and at the same time another letter to the Duke to encourage him in your service, in which case it is submitted to you, how far you would think it proper to add him to the number of your trustees which I know he'll be fond of. If you approve of this, you'll be pleased to signify your orders therin to me in a letter by it self (because all the papers relating therto are in my custody) which I shall communicate to the Duke, and likwyse deliver the letter to him, if you send it by my canal. And here give me leave to add, that some are likwyse of opinion you should signify in a letter to your trustees, or in one to me to be communicated to them, that as you are well satisfy'd of the Duke's good intentions, you desire that they would give him all due encouragement, and support him in his endeavours to advance your service. This, wee think, would give him a right to interpose with more authority, where differences arise, and at the same time give no just ground for others to think he assumes too much. I have taken the liberty to express the terms in which such a message should be sent, because their's hazard in saying too much or too little.

And now, whilst I am on this subject, allow me to mention Tom Bruce, who lately, by his brother's death, is become Earl of Kincardine, whom in justice to your service and his merit I cannot pass by. This gentleman's zeal and sufferings for your interest is

well known, and as I have been intimately acquainted and corresponded with him these many years, I can bear testimonie in a particular manner to his indefatigable zeal, this last year, in forming that unanimity which is so necessary for your service; and as he is very well versed in the affairs and constitution of both England and Scotland, and has a talent superior to most people in drawing of papers, I know of no man so fitt to be employd in your affairs; so that his being added to the number of your trustees will be of great use and agreeable to the rest; but this I mention with all submission.

I had almost forgott to tell you that, by the direction of your friends here, I have writt to an old honest friend of mine at London, proposing that the English Tories should appoint one of their number to correspond with the Scots Tories, that so they may understand one another's minds, and act in concert, and I hope in a little time to have an agreeable return. I find a great many very hopefull that wee'l have a new Parliament, and that the Torie interest will prevail, and in order therto have some thoughts of applying to you that you would use your interest with all your friends to take the oaths and vote at elections, and some proceeded so far as to desire me to write to you in these terms, which I told them I could not take upon me to doe. However I thought fitt to let you know so much, and you'l consider how far it will be convenient to signify your pleasure therin, that according therto, the measure may be either advanced or suppresst.

Upon the 10th of this month a parcell of boys, with more zeal than prudence, gott together, having whyte roses in their hats, near to the Netherbow in the High Street of Edinburgh; a file of musketeers was therupon sent for from the Cannongate guard, who, firing up the streets, killd a man and a woman accidentally passing by, and indeed it was a wonder that many more were not killd, the streets being pritty full of people at that time. 'Tho this was done without any provocation and contrary to all law, wee are not to expect any redress.

I have nothing more to trouble you with at present, but to communicate the great joy of your friends in hearing of the prospect of your family's increasing, seeing it cannot fail to be

much to your satisfaction, and will in all probability turn to a good account. I conclud with the most unfeignd assurance of being to the utmost of my capacity, Your, etc.

To Baron John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, Teusday 10 a-clock [June? 1721]

Sir, I had a message this morning acquainting me that you designd to be at the place wher my water ginn is erected and desired me to meet you there about 3 a-clock this day. I'me sory you shoud give yourself so much trouble and that I cannot attend you there, having been these 10 or 12 dayes indisposed and under a course of phisicks, so that I cannot yet go abroad. But if after you have veiwd the favour I am asking of Sir John Clerk, you'l be so kind as to make a step to this place twill be ane additionall obligation upon, Sir, Your most humble servant.

To Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, 4th July 1721

Sir, In a process depending against me at Mr Nicholson of Trabrown's⁸ instance, I have reason to belive there may some things appear for my behoof against his pretences, in the rights which I made over to you of my debts on Sir William Nicholson's estate. You know I have access to apply to the Lords for ane order on you for exhibition, but as I am at present somewhat in the dark and cannot be at a certainty till I see these papers and am at the same time unwilling to put you to the trouble of producing these papers in the process unless I find it absolutely necessary. I woud therefore humblie propose that your woud allow my lawyers a sight of them in order to see whither they will answer my expectations. You can sustain no prejudice therin and it may be of very great use to me. And you shall have what security you please for their being safelie returnd to you on your demand. If you'l grant me this favour, I'le reckon my self much obliged to you, and it must be done quicklie, because the process is so far advanced as not to admitt of a delay, and therefore I beg to have

⁸ James Nicolson of Trabroun, a merchant and former Dean of Guild in Edinburgh

your pleasure therin with the bearer and by so doing oblige, Sir,
Your most humble servant.

Draught reply by Sir John Clerk: 'Sir, I shall deliver these papers which you desire to my son John, who will be at Edinburgh on the 5 instant to deliver them to you upon your receipt. I heartily wish they may answer your expectations and will be ready to serve you cheerfully according to my weak capacity. The favour you desired formerly [as to your water – erased] from me was to have been granted immediately if [you] stood in need thereof. I [ends]

And on 7 July 1721 I gave my son John: 1. Baron Nicolson's consent preferring Sir George Lockhart's debts on Laswad to his own, date 24 June 1687. ...

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 68-74

[Dryden?] 5 December 1721

[No salutation] I had the honour about five or six weeks agoe to receive yours of the 4th of August, and lost no time in delivering the letters therin containd. As I had occasion I communicated the contents of your letter to your friends, and I doubt not but what you design'd and expected from thence will follow, all of them having a very just regard for your sentiments and inclinations. As it is agreeable to your commands and my duty to acquaint you of every thing that I think for your service, either by way of information to your self, or in order to the having of your advice and directions, several things since my last have occur'd, which in the opinion of Kincardine and Mr Maul are judged very necessary to be laid befor you.

About the end of August Captain Urquart⁹ came to Edinburgh from London, and being very earnest to have a conference with Kincardine, Mr Maul and my self, there were accordingly several meetings, where the present state and future views of publick affairs, particularly in so far as they might contribute to your service, were the main subject of the conversation, and Urquart seem'd very desirous that your friends would enter into

⁹ Alexander Urquhart of Newhall, M.P. for Ross-shire and friend-cum-messenger for the Earl of Sunderland

measures with Sunderland, particularly with a view to the elections of a new Parliament, insinuating that his Lordship would give them good terms, and that such a measure would be agreeable to you. As these gentlemen were infidels with respect to any good intentions from that Lord, at least much affraid of the danger of being imposed on, especially seeing they had no knowledge of your sentiments, they gave small attention to this overture, wherupon Urquart, in confirmation of what he affirm'd, and to gain more credit to his scheme, produced some papers under your own hand, wherin you take nottice of proposals being made by that Lord and approved of by you, remitting entirely to him the ways and means of bringing the same to bear. The perusal of these papers putt these gentlemen to a stand; they were unwilling without knowing more, to enter into this measure, and at the same time desirous to keep the game open, in case it should be thought expedient to follow it out, and therfor they replyd that they could not but require time to consider very seriously, befor they either agreed to or rejected proposals of such consequence, but withall they told him there were two things they insisted on as a necessary preliminary, without which, they were sure, none of your friends would ever have any dealings with that Lord, viz. that the present Parliament be dissolved, and that the Peerage Bill be not reassumed.

This he promised to report and make a right use of, and now wee are told that a new Parliament will be call'd, and that the Peerage Bill is altogether laid asside; but how far what these gentlemen thus represented and insisted on hath had any influence on that Lord with regard to these matters, is what I can't presume to say. These gentlemen reflecting seriously on what had past in their conversation with Urquart, and being very desirous to know more, in order to the better regulating your friends' conduct, put on me to make a journey to England to meet and converse with Mr Shippen¹⁰; I the more readily undertook it, in regard he was come to Newcastle, and had intimated to me, that in consequence of the measure I had proposed (wherof I acquainted you in my last) of settling a correspondence 'twixt

¹⁰ William Shippen, Jacobite M.P. for Newton and the leader of the Jacobite Tories in the Commons

your Scots and English friends, these had approved of and directed him to correspond with me in [the] name of the others, and he was therfor desireous wee should meet and adjust matters in order therto. And that being done, I took occasion to tell him that there had been advances made to your Scots friends by Argyle, and that wee did not doubt but the like would be done by Sunderland, but as wee resolved to advise with and act in concert with your English friends, wee desired to know, with which of the two sides wee should take up, seeing wee might have terms from either, and would have the ballance in our own hands. And withall I suggested that I had heard a surmise that Sunderland had made advances to the English Tories.

Mr Shippen replyd it was very true that Sunderland had done so, and particularly with great earnestness not long agoe; but your friends beleiving this proceeded only from a view to support himself against Walpole, and fearing that he might afterwards betray them, and at the same time considering that the Tories were now pritty strong and like to encrease, that they were very popular and seem'd very staunch, and to have true notions as to the only means of releif, they did not think it expedient to venture their reputation and interest in the hands of one in whom they had so little confidence, and besides did not know how far some of their number might be taken off the right scent, in case, as the consequence of such a conjunction, they found the sweet of power and preferments; for which and the like reasons they had utterly rejected the proposall, resolving to enter into no concert with any of the two contending powers at Court, but to stick together and wait till it pleased God some event might occur, that would give them occasion to doe you and the country service. And therfor Mr Shippen was of opinion, your Scots friends need be under no difficulty with which of the partys to joyn in matters of elections, but to determine themselves by closeing with the highest bidder.

From what thus past betwixt Mr Shippen and me, I could not gather that your friends in England had or were like to have any dealing with Sunderland. Whither the fact is in truth really so, or that he, in case it is otherwyse, was not apprized therof, or so ty'd up that he could not communicate the same to me, I cannot

determine; but as it was probable that one of his figure would know something of the measure (tho perhaps not the primary rise) and that he, in that case, would have thought it at least expedient to drop some expression in favours of Sunderland in a matter of such moment as the elections, when I return'd to Scotland and reported what past to the gentlemen that sent me, wee did not know how to reconcile the same with what wee had learn'd from Urquart. But they were still more at a stand on the receipt of my last letter from you, where, taking notice of the advances I had acquainted you was made by Argyle, you seem to approve of your friends entering into measures with him and his party, on their giving reasonable terms, hoping at the same time such a transaction may pave the way for leading that Duke peice mail into measures of greater weight and importance.

Now as 'tis no secret that his interest (especially when in conjunction with Walpole) is incompatible with that of Sunderland, from a review of Urquart's credentialls, Mr Shippen's account of matters and this paragraph of your letter, these gentlemen are at a loss what to think, or how to act, without runing the hazard of committing some blunder that may be prejudiciall to your service. For if so it be that you have dealings with and hopes of Sunderland, it would seem expedient that he be supported; and on these and many such other obvious considerations, I was desired by these gentlemen to lay this matter fully befor you, in order to your giving such light and directions therin, as to you shall seem proper, and that with all the expedition possible, for till then no measures can be laid down, and time is now precious.

They are far from presuming to desire or expect you should communicate to them the particulars of this or any such transaction, being sensible that it must be handled with the greatest nicety, attended probably with the greatest secrecy, but at the same time they thought it their duty to acquaint you of this matter, in case you should judge it proper to give any orders therin. And on that supposition they directed me with all submission to represent, that it would be managed in the most delicate manner, and that in their humble opinion, if so be you incline your Scots friends should favour Sunderland's interest at

the ensuing elections, that without loss of time, you'd signify so much in a letter to the Duke of Hamilton, but withall that you drop nothing to him of any advice or information you have by this (for as Urquart's story was imparted on promise of secrecy only to these three gentlemen for any thing they know, it is not fitt that any besides your self should be apprized therof, and his Grace might perhaps take it amiss that a matter of this nature, and the resolution of communicating the same to you should be kept from him) and that you require him to let none know that he receives this direction from you, but that 'tis a measure altogether of his own, unless he finds an absolute and indispensable necessity to communicate your orders to some select persons (who perhaps would not otherwyse comply) on whose prudence and assurance of secrecy he can absolutly depend.

You'l be pleased to consider how far you think it proper to give the gentlemen, at whose instance I write this, directions how to move, in case Urquart renews his application to them; for seeing they were the only persons to whom he open'd his pack, and that tis probable the same was by the knowledge and allowance of Sunderland, tis presumeable, if he intends to proceed further, he may putt it in the same canal, and as matters stand now befor them, they will not know how to regulate themselves. But this is with all due deference to your better judgement, and only mention'd in case you think they can be serviceable to you in such a negotiation, being fully apprized that an affair of this nature requires the greatest prudence, and to be entrusted to no more than what absolute necessity requires, till the scheme opens and the nail's to be struck at once to the head.

Your having mention'd my negotiation with Argyle, it will be proper to give you some account how that matter stands. You may remember I told you from the begining that secrecy was absolutly necessary, in regard I knew assuredly he would never treat with any body on that affair but your self; yet in a few days after I gott your instructions in that matter, I was inform'd by good authority that Mr Murray and his sister Mrs Hay¹¹ had been babling of it at Rome, and not long after that gave some hints

¹¹ Marjory Hay, wife of John Hay, Earl of Inverness in the Jacobite peerage and subsequently Jacobite Secretary of State

therof to a certain person at Edinburgh, who from old picques or some other cause, could never be brought to beleive, or even, by what I could see, desire such a measure accomplished. This alarm'd and surprized me exceedingly, and as I durst not venture to medle any further in it, untill I knew that the surmize therof was husht, I was even obliged to be at some pains to cause inform that gentleman, that being now convinced it was a chymericall project, I had dropt it altogether; but by this time Argyle had entered into new measures and made up matters with the Ministry, and I did not think it convenient to make any steps therin till I saw further about me. However, I am still hopeful it is not impossible to bring it about, for I know he is far from being well pleased or thinking his present a sure footing, and you may be assur'd I will lay hold on a proper occasion, if such ever again happen, beleiving it is the best service I can doe both partys in their several stations.

If the persons by whose direction I have writt this, from a zeal for your interest or a misapprehension of their duty have ventured to treat on affairs beyond their sphere, and which is not fitt to be communicated in whole or in part to them, they nevertheless hope the sincerity of their intentions will interpose and mediate their pardon, assuring you at the same time in the most solemn manner that nothing herein contain'd, or what they may be further apprized of in that matter shall goe further than their own breasts, or according to the instructions they receive from you, having in all their views nothing so much at heart as to evidence with how much truth and sincerity they are devoted to your service. [ends]

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 77-80

[Dryden?] 12 March 1722

[No salutation] I did my self the honour to write to you about three months agoe, and as your return, if no accident has happen'd, may come about this time, the same is as impatiently expected as it is very much wanted at this juncture. I am afraid I overdoe in what you was pleased to command, by writing and troubling you so frequently, but when you are immediatly

concern'd in the subject, I have the satisfaction of beleiving you'l easily forgive me.

Some considerable time agoe you was pleased to name three persons to be bishops, and sent directions for their consecration.¹² The College of Bishops in obedience therto mett frequently, but were always prevented from executing your orders for reasons that to them seem'd unanswerable; but one of the three, not being satisfy'd with the delay, and pressing to be consecrated with the greatest earnestness and anxiety imaginable, the College was again lately conven'd in order to putt some end or other to that matter; where taking into their consideration, that from the present state of the times it was a matter of no small importance and that a great deal of caution and prudence was requisite in a matter of that nature, and reflecting withall that the interests of Church and State are so blended together as to become reciprocally, they thought fitt to ask the advice of such of your trustees to whom they could have access, befor they took any positive resolutions.

And having accordingly layd the affair fully befor the Duke of Hamilton, the Lords Wigtoun, Kincardine, Balmerino and Dun, Mr Maul and Master Paterson¹³, they all with one consent and assent agreed, and gave it as their opinion and advice, that the consecration of any more bishops in the present state and circumstances of affairs (especially seeing the number in being was sufficient in all respects for the bussiness committed to them) would be prejudiciall to your service and the interest of the Church, and probably occasion much trouble and many difficultys, and that therfor a delay should be made therin, untill either you signifyd your express commands to the contrary, or the death of any of the present Bishops, or a happy scheme and turn of affairs gave them reason to think and act with other views. And as they are all very well assured that your sole intention in the forsaid nomination was to promote the true and solid interest of your people, they hope you will not misconstruct their

¹² Andrew Cant and David Freebairn were eventually consecrated Bishops by the College. 'Mr Lammie' (either John Lammie, deprived minister of Ecclesgreig, or David Lammie, deprived minister of Carrington) refused the office

¹³ Probably John Paterson of Prestonhall

proceedings, form'd by the best advice, on grounds to them convincingly apparent to be suitable to your and the Church's interest and service at this criticall juncture. This in general I was desired to represent, and withall beg you would according to your wonted goodness admitt of no interpretation that may give you the least disgust at what is done with a sincere intention for your service, and the interest you have so much at heart.

Captain Urquart came lately to Edinburgh from London; as he does not deny there is a closs correspondence betwixt him and Sunderland, he still insinuates that the latter is favourable disposed towards you, and wee hear his Lordship tryd to compromize the election of the Scots peers, having persuaded the Argyle and Squadrone partys to consent that four or five of the Tory Lords should be chosen, but that Tounsens¹⁴ and Walpole opposed it violently, and prevaild with their master¹⁵ to interpose and discharge it. In the mean time, methods are taken to superceed all final resolutions as long as possible, expecting to have some directions from you in return to what I did communicate to you in my last; yet nevertheless it was thought necessary to lay the foundation of an opposition to the two partys united, and in order therto, the Duke of Hamilton wrote circular letters, and accordingly twenty seven peers did lately meet together at Edinburgh, where all but Tweedale sign'd a paper obliging themselves, under the strictest tyes of honour and conscience, not to vote at the insuing election, for any peer who does not previously give the like assurance and security that he will to the utmost of his power oppose the Peerage Bill; and it is expected a great many more peers will come into this concert, which its hopt may be the foundation of entering further into other measures and defeating the Court list; and wee are setting the like measure on foot amongst the shires and burrows with success, which wee hope will turn to good account. Aberdeen has acted a part all this last session, and particularly on this occasion, highly to his honour; for 'tho both partys offer'd and prest him to accept of being in their list, he told them that he was chosen by a

¹⁴ Charles Townshend, 2nd Viscount Townshend (1675-1738), Walpole's chief political partner

¹⁵ George I

sett of honest men his freinds, without whom he would enter into no measures, being resolved to stand and fall with them.

I have no more to trouble you with but that I am in the most respectfull manner your, etc.

P.S. After writing the above letter, as I was just sending it off, yours of the 31st of January came to my hands; I therupon stopt this some days, that I might acquaint you that it came very oportunly (because the certainty of the Parliament being to be dissolved very soon, would admitt of no delay in thinking of measures to be prosecuted with respect to the election of a new one) and that I immediatly did communicate the contents therof to the Duke of Hamilton and your other friends, who are now much more capable to determine themselves, and will improve all for the good of the cause. Next day after receiving yours a message came to Kincardine, Mr Maul and my self from General Ross, acquainting us that he would be at Edinburgh from London next day, and earnestly desiring wee would meet and spend that evening with him; which being done he assured us that all sides were alarmed at the unanimity and concert of so many peers, and that both partys would break off from the concerted Court list, if the Tories would joyn with any one to kick out the other, and he made some remote insinuations in favour of Argyle; but in regard of the directions contain'd in your letter, wee kept aloof untill wee heard more, and from all quarters.

Next day a particular friend of Argyle's came to me, asking if my friends would hear of terms from him. I answer'd that matter was well advanced several months agoe, just after Aberdeen's election (wherof I then acquainted you) but that Argyle had since slighted them, and had even agreed with the Squadrone in a list of peers to be chosen, but that the Tories would look to themselves and find friends else where. He reply'd, that might well be, but nevertheless begd I woud endeavour to keep the door open for some time, and sound my freinds' inclinations on that point. I return'd that I should try to doe the first, but for the other I would not attempt it in the least unless I knew the terms, and thought they were such as would be acceptable. So this gentleman left me with an assurance I should hear soon from him, and he hoped to my satisfaction.

At the same time the Squadrone is in a way of trying the same course, as Mr Maul and I could gather from the Lord Advocate's¹⁶ insinuations; and you may depend upon it your friends will make as much as possible they can [*sic*] of the present posture of affairs for the benefit of the common cause. Yesterday the Duke of Hamilton received a letter sign'd by nine of the most considerable English Torry Lords pressing all endeavours to bring about a right election of the peers, being very hopefull of doing something to good purpose and very agreeable next Parliament. I shall not fail to give you a full account how these transactions terminate, and what is the result of them.

To Maule

GD 45/14/390/31

Carnwath, Sunday morning [April (before the 23rd) 1722]
Dear Sir, I have heard nothing this last week since I came here, and woud be much obligd to you if, by the bearer, you'd let me know how the peerage election goes on. And particularly what part the Squadrone is to act, for much I belive will depend on them. If you've heard any thing memorable from abroad I should be glad to partake with you. I have no mind to be in Edinburgh till the scuffle's over, for I can do litle or no service to any of the parties, and may come to get some more Ladys on my top, so I'll keep out of harms way. I am, Yours most sincerelie.

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 59/49. See LP, ii, 86-90 for a truncated draught of this letter

[Carnwath?] 23rd Aprile 1722

Sir, In my last, bearing date the 12th of March, I promised you a further account of the elections in this Countrie. From a reflection on the tempers of the sevrall partys and some particular circumstances at the time I wrot, there was reason to imagine some one of the two opposite Court parties woud in opposition to the other have struck in with the Tories, but it seems the commands of their superiours were so peremptory, that tho each had all the inclination imaginable to undermine the other, they

¹⁶ Robert Dundas of Arniston

were compell'd in this single matter of the election of the peers to unite and keep together.

The Tors however, were not discourag'd. They resolv'd to make a stand and show that they wou'd not silentlie give up their rights. In order to which, twentie-one were present in person or by proxies at the election and voted against the Court list, and each of them enterd a protest against such as shoud be chosen assuming the libertie of disposing of their constituents' rights or against making any alteration of the representation. Cuming [the Court] I belive did not expect that a broken, dispersd, harrassd party cou'd or wou'd have dared to make such an opposition, and they were much allarumd till they understood that eleven of Thomas Parsons [the Tory Scots peers] wou'd not qualifiy, for had these come in and joind with the other Thomas Parsons, there were as many more of those who for private reasons voted with Cuming, that wou'd gladly have come off and supported Thomas [the Tories] when by this conjunction it appeard certain that they'd be sufficiently able to throw out both Ashdale's [the Duke of Argyll's] and Skelton's [the Squadrone's] party and so choose the sixteen of a quite different stamp. But when these saw that so great a number as eleven lay off, and that without them they cou'd not make a majority, they thought it needless to show their teeth when they cou'd not bite and when the consequences wou'd have been detrimental to them. The nonjuror Parsons [peers] were Sackville [Viscount Stormont], Blasus [Lord Blantyre], Kyntore, Strathmore, Colvie, Strathallan, Rollo, Sinclair, Wolf [Weems], Arbuthnot, and Pitsligo.¹⁷ Parsons that wou'd have come over from Cuming were Grizell [the Earl of Glencairn], Beaumont [Breadalbane], Daws [Dunmore], Paton [Portmore] and several others in the like situation.¹⁸ Twas a pity anything shoud have impeded such a generall conjunction of persons thinking and

¹⁷ Robert Stuart, 7th Lord Blantyre (d.1743); John Keith, 3rd Earl of Kintore (1699-1758); Charles Lyon, 4th Earl of Strathmore (1699-1728); John Colville, 6th Lord Colville (1690-1741); William Drummond, 4th Viscount Strathallan (d.1746); Robert Rollo, 4th Lord Rollo (1679-1758); Henry Sinclair, 10th Lord Sinclair (1660-1723); James Wemyss, 5th Earl of Wemyss (1699-1756); John Arbuthnot, 5th Viscount Arbuthnot (d.1756); Alexander Forbes, 4th Lord Forbes of Pitsligo (1678-1762)

¹⁸ William Cunningham, 12th Earl of Glencairn (d.1734); John Murray, 2nd Earl of Dunmore (1685-1752); David Colyear, 1st Earl of Portmore (c.1656-1730)

wishing after the same way, especially when there's ground to believe the taking of the sixteen Parsons from Cumings and adding them to Thomas would have given the latter a majority with Holms [the House of Lords] and put him in a condition of doing great things.

The great reputation Abraham [the Earl of Aberdeen] gained by his good behaviour with Holms, and his refusing to be in the Court list obtained him so many dropping votes from a great many who voted for the rest of the Court list that he was elected one of the sixteen, to the great joy of all honest men. For beside that he has acted a right part with respect to publick matters, he's of singular use in crubbing Joab [the Earl of Ilay] who formerly took on him to cut and carve in all Scots appeals as the sole oracle and dictator of the Scots law with Mr Holms, whereas Abraham kept him last sessions of Polibius [Parliament] within bounds, and was the protector of Mr Turner [the Scots Tories] when he had any bussiness, and did him great service.

But now to return to the matter of elections, the Court partie was not only displeased at the opposition they met with in the election of the peers, but also at the spirit which appeared against them throughout all the Countrie. 'Tis true indeed few of the Torys are chosen, because they did not set up for it, but had they stood timorouslie candidates, they'd have made a good enuff appearance, tho at the rate the Shirriffs have behaved few or none could have expected to be returned, for the Shirriffs generally speaking without regard to numbers or justice have returned for both shires and burghs such persons as the ministry directed. However, in most places addresses to the House of Commons against the peerage bill were signed at the meetings for elections and the persons elected obliged publickly to promise to oppose it and endeavour to restore the trienniall elections. This measure was first set afoot in the shire of Edinburgh, as it was the first shire that elected and the cheif shire in the kingdom, and tho it met with all the opposition the ministry could make it was carried by a great majority and indeed there appeared such a spirit amongst the barons and freeholders of that shire against the present measures and maxims that it had been ane easie matter to have laid aside both the Argathelian and Squadrone candidates, in order to

which, I am told, that Mr Lockhart was pressd earnestlie the very morning of the election to offer his service, with assurance that he should be elected, but that was what he did not incline to accept of, being as its said resolved not [to] be concernd in publick matters during the present administration.

Besides, about two years ago when Joseph [the Commission for Forfeited Estates] was rampant, Lilly [Lockhart] made somewhat of a promise to Arbuthnot [the Lord Advocate¹⁹], that if he woud preserve Hilson's [Basil Hamilton's²⁰] and some other honest men's estates from being forfeited, he woud take care so to manage matters that Arbuthnot should be elected for that shire in opposition to one that was a depender on Steventon [the Earl of Stair]²¹, and as Arbuthnot from thenceforwards acted a friendly part to them and that to this in a great [extent] the preservation of these familys is owing, Lilly thought himself bound in honour and justice to favour Arbuthnot. Sevrall of Lilly's freinds (it being by no means fit to impart his private reasons to them) blame his conduct because Arbuthnot is so very capable to make a figure with Mr Hobbs [House of Commons], but he hopes Kelly [the Old Pretender] will approve his conduct when it proceeded from so good a design and had produced such good effects.

I have had sevrall opportunitys of late to talk with Ashdale [the Duke of Argyll], and found him in a temper very different from what I ever knew him. He seems to be very peevish and full of resentment against Turner for adhering last year to Abraham when he was elected. He pretends Turner is ungratefull to him who stood up for them when others were severe. I told him that charity began at home and he could not blame Turner for looking to himself, that I knew Turner liked him much better than the Sheep [Squadron], and he knew that against these he woud willingly have joined with him but that he (Ashdale) slighted him and despised his assistance, nay joind with Skelton in a Court list of Parsons. That I was surprized at this his conduct, seing as I had often told him he woud never be trusted by Warts's [the English Whigs'] ministry unless he sold his estate with Swift [Scotland]

¹⁹ Robert Dundas of Arniston

²⁰ Basil Hamilton of Baldoon, subsequently M.P. for Kirkcudbright Stewartry 1741-2

²¹ John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair (1673-1747)

and gave up his interest with Scrimger [Scotsmen]. And tho he and Warrington [Walpole] were now very well together, it was only out of hatred to another and that so soon as Warrington got the better of Stonehouse [the Earl of Sunderland], he'd retain Skelton, well knowing he woud serve and trukle under him or the devil himself for wages, wheras Ashdale liked to be at the head of affaires, which Warrington woud alwayes prevent. But if he woud put himself at the head of Turner, or enter into private concerts with him, he woud be effectually supported, and I durst venture to assure him he might make his own terms, and so much I signified not only out of regard to Turner, but being Ashdale's freind I wished him personally well and woud gladly have him do well.

Tho he knew well enuff what I meant he made as if he did not understand me and kept off on generalls, and as I coud perceive he was buoyd up with the hopes of Warrington and he woud get the better of Stonehouse and the Sheep, I did not think it convenient to explain myself further, till I saw him better prepared to receive what I had urged, which indeed I fear will not be so long as he can see another way to satisfye his ambition from another quarter. But on the other hand, as I think there's litle reason to doubt of his being dissappointed in his expectations of trust from any of Warts's ministry, I shall still be readie to improve every opportunity.

Now that the elections are over Kid's [the Old Pretender's] friends here have scarce any field to work in for his service whilst affairs are in the present situation, how they'l cast up and what relief God in his good providence will send time will determine and must with patience be expected. If in the interim any thing worth your knowing occurs I shall not fail to give you notice, and your commands will alwayes be acceptable to all your relations and in a particular manner to, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant.
Endorsed: 'George Lockhart of Carnwath to the King, Apryl 23 1722'.

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 93-97

[Dryden?] 7 December 1722

Sir, I had the honour about a fortnight agoe to receive yours of the 16th of August, and I am hopfull that the reasons you are pleased

to assign for your silence of late will likewyse plead my excuse in not making a return ere now to another bearing date 9th May which I gott some three months or therby agoe. The truth on't is that as all intercourse was stopt, people of my complection have been obliged to act very cautiously, for fear of falling into the snares were laid for us; and having nothing of importance to communicate to you, I thought it proper to suspend our correspondence for some time.²²

Besides, as I could discern you was not perfectly well pleased with the steps our Bishops did take with respect to the consecration of those you had named, I was unwilling to write untill I could say something to your satisfaction in that particular, and in order therto, as soon as I gott yours in summer last, I went and showed the paragraph therin, concerning that affair, to Bishops Fullerton, Miller, and Irvin²³, and prest them to loss no more time in performing what you expected from them. These I found all along very frank, but another of the College, Bishop Falconer²⁴ (a man of great piety, learning and loyalty) was so affraid of the rights of the Church that he scrupled at your recommending Mr Freebairn. I represented to him that this was a very improper time for him to enter into such disputes, and that he had no reason to imagine you design'd to claim any other power than the laws of the land had expressly declared did belong to you, and which your Royall progenitors had exercised; and to convince him that even that power would be tenderly used, and in such a manner as no reall prejudice could arise from thence, I laid befor the Bishops a part of a copy of a letter I received from you a good time agoe, wherein you commanded me to acquaint them it was your intention for the future not to name any to be consecrated untill you had the opinion and advice of the Bishops with regard to the qualifications and characters of the persons. This gave them all infinite satisfaction, and they desired me very lately to acquaint you, that if any person hath represented that they delay'd this affair out of disrespect to your pleasure a very

²² Jacobite activities in Britain had had to be suspended during the security clampdown following Walpole's discovery of the Atterbury plot and arrest of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, on 24 August

²³ Bishop Arthur Miller and Bishop William Irwine

²⁴ Bishop John Falconar

great injury was done them, and that such representations must either proceed from gross ignorance or a malicious design to give you a bad impression of them: that as they have hitherto given evident prooffs of their loyalty, they are determined in all their actions to behave as becomes good and obedient subjects, and that they have, to the satisfaction of the inferiour clergy, consecrated Cant and Freebairn, and were sorry they could not prevail with Lammie to accept, as he was a person on many respects more capable than perhaps any other to have been usefull in that station to your and the Church's interest.

Tho this affair is now adjusted, ther's another in the field, that if not very prudently and cautiously managed will be attended with very fatal consequences. You have heard no doubt of some contests of late years amongst the nonjuring English clergy, concerning some alterations that some of the number desired in the Liturgy and forms of worship, which were driven so far as to occasion a great breach amongst them, to the no small prejudice and discredit of the whole party. Of those who sett up for alterations, two of our Scots Bishops, Campbell and Gatherer²⁵, made a considerable figure at London where they have resided these many years; and Falconer favoured them in Scotland, in the northern parts wherof some of the layity began lately to think after the same manner; and as the clergy, of all mankind, are most zealous to propagate and establish their own schemes, Gatherer, on an invitation from some people of notte, is lately come to Edinburgh in order to his going north and heading that party.

There have been several meetings of the Bishops, and all, but Falconer and Gedderer [*sic*], are against all alterations or innovations untill the Church and State are so happily restored and settled that such matters can be duely considered and legally determined. They think what is desired not so essential as to be laid in the ballance with the misconstructions their enemies will putt upon them, that they are now, at least but latly revived in this Church, and not much approven of by a great majority of layity of their communion, and any thing that may occasion a difference of opinion and practice, cannot fail of very bad effects with regard

²⁵ Bishop Archibald Campbell (of Aberdeen) and James Gadderar, his Vicar-General and successor

to that harmony which is so necessary both for your and the Church's interest, and hath been hitherto so inviolably maintained, and seeing the body of the College of Bishops can by no means approve of what the other two advance and design to practise without any legall authority, as they therby shake off the obedience which they owe, they can in no sense excuse themselves of schism, and must answer for all the bad effects that such proceedings will have in the affairs of Church and State.

Fullerton and those of his sentiments taking this affair much to heart, desired the advice of such of your trustees as could be gott conveniently together at Edinburgh, and by these I was t'other day directed to attend a full meeting of the College. Both partys endeavoured, by the practice of the Fathers and the first ages of the Church, to justify themselves: but I stopt them short and told them it was none of my province to judge of such points, that I was directed to wait upon them, and in your name to recommend unity and harmony and to avoid every thing that might give your and their enemies a handle to calumniate them, and in order therto that they singly would give that obedience to the College of Bishops which they expected from the laicks, and which indeed they could not contradict, without at the same time oppugning your authority, as the College of Bishops derived their present power of governing this Church from you; that as I was sure they were all convinced of your good intentions towards them, I left them to judge what sense you must and would putt on any measure that had the least tendency to divide such of your subjects who had adhered to your interest, and what opinion the world would have of those who were the cheif instruments therof.

After having said a great deal to show the bad effects of divisions at this juncture, Falconer and Gadderer professt a great deal of loyalty and zeal for you, and hoped that you would not misconstrue their endeavours to accomplish what had no manner of concern with the State, or even the external government of the Church. I replyd that as the consequences of what they aim'd at would affect both Church and State, you had an immediate concern to interpose, and which I, as authorized by those you trusted with the management of your affairs, did accordingly doe: and I required them, as they would be answerable to you for all

the bad effects that would follow, to move no further untill at least your pleasure was known to them. At these words I saw they were moved, and seem'd very desirous that no account should be sent to you. I told them I could give them no satisfaction in that matter, for that depended on your trustees, and they, I beleived would regulate that matter as they saw the Bishops behaved. Mr Fullerton next day told me that what I had represented had made an impression on them, 'tho he was affraid it would be hard to bring them to reason.

I beg pardon for troubling you with this long story, but as it is a matter which your friends here beleive is of great moment to your affairs, and that I am affraid there will be a necessity of laying the affair befor you, more fully and from better authority than from private hands such as mine, I reckon'd you'd be pleased to have some previous hints of it. As nothing is omitted to keep these people within reason, I am hopefull they'l at last succumb, but should it be otherwyse, I doe verily beleive the least intimation from you, that you doe not approve of these steps at this season, will at least have such influence with the laity that few converts will be made, and therby discourage the undertaking. But how far this will be necessary and expedient, a little time and your own judgement after further information must determine.

I have nothing else of any value to communicate to you. Your friends live pritty easiely here just now, but how long it may be so, God knows, being, by the repeall of the *Habeas Corpus*²⁶, at the mercy of their enemies. Wee have been pritty much in the dark as to all designs of late, and the truth is ther's no need nor great curiosity to have secrets communicated to this part of the island, where wee want nothing but a heartie concurrence of those in the South, to bring matters soon about to our mutuall benefit. And when ever that happy circumstance can be obtain'd, I dare venture to say your interest in this part will appear to have rather gain'd than lost ground. In the mean time wee must exercise our patience and live in hopes that sometime or other God Almighty will releive us from our state of bondage, by redressing your injuries, towards accomplishing wherof, the ties of self interest as

²⁶ The *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended in October in the wake of the discovery of the Atterbury plot

well as those stronger motives of duty and inclination towards you cannot fail to stir up the utmost endeavours of all your faithfull subjects, in which number allow me to assure you no man is with more sincerity than, Yours, etc.

To Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, 15th December 1722

Sir, Amongst the various claims with which Mr Nicolson of Trabrown did plague me for some years by past, one is that Sir William Nicholson being inhibited, his posterior disposition to my father, of a part of the Broughlie brae, cannot be good to the prejudice of these debts for which these inhibitions were led. I have very good reason to believe that I may find in the decret of sale of the lands of Laswade, what will free me of this claim, and therefore I presume to beg you'd be so kind as to allow me a sight of it, and you shall have what security you please for its being safely and speedily restored to you, and the sooner you oblige me in this twill [be] the better, in regard this affair is submitted and the arbiters press to put ane end of it.

You'l allow me, I hope, to put you in mind of the braeface you was pleased to concent I shoud have from you, for compleating my parkwall; the terms and conditions I refer absolutely to your self, and I woud not have mentiond it, but that I propose to build the wall next summer. I am with all imaginable truth and respect Sir, your most faithfull humble servant.

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, 18 February 1722/3

Sir, If you think fit to sign the within petition and get it presented at the nixt quarter-sessions and supported by your interest, I doubt not but the desire will be granted, as it is highlie reasonable, for indeed if the highwayes be not repaird you and I need expect few carts next winter at our coall hills. If you come to the country and let me know the time I will wait on you to adjust the examining of the ground for your and my convenience, and I coud wish it were this or the beginning of nixt week, because

about the latter end thereof I go to stay some time in Clidsdale. I am Sir, with very great respect, Your most faithfull humble servant.

[P.S.] I fancy Achindinny²⁷ will sign and concur in the petition.

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, 8 March 1723

Sir, When I returnd home last evening from the Fire Engine, I found the enclosed lying unfolded at the foot of the chair wher you sat in my room, and looking to see what it was, the first thing I cast my eye on was the paragraph concerning my son, which being of a pritty extraordinary strain and knowing the hand from whence it came, tempted me, you may easily imagine, to see the conclusion of it. I am sorry his Lordship of Galloway²⁸ was not more particular in the many inconveniencies which he pretends to regrate my son falls into and from whence he makes so bad retreats, for there's no particular replys can be given to general calumnies and aspersions, but as to the story his Lordship points at, I am very well assured that the nicest impartiall judges are of opinion that he behaved in all points according to the strickest rules of honour, which I'me sure his Lordship's informers (and who these are is no hard matter to guess at) cannot pretend to, after acting so base a part as to defame a young gentelman behind his back, on whose honour or conduct they woud not dare venture to cast the least reflection to his face. I belive his Lordship made a bad choise of you to give him such further information as it's plain he's fishing after. What his design may be therin I as litle understand as I value. The relation betwixt his and my family²⁹ made me alwayes hitherto very readie to serve him and his when ever it lay in my power, and I'me very glad that by this accident I have ane occasion to let his Lordship know I am no stranger to the kind returns he makes to me and mine.

The only thing that moves me is the concern least you think I

²⁷ John Inglis of Auchindinnie

²⁸ James Stewart, 5th Earl of Galloway (d.1746)

²⁹ Galloway was Lockhart's brother-in-law, having married one of Euphemia Lockhart's sisters

was guilty of bad manners in reading a letter addressd to you, but as I said before, I do again solemnly declare, I knew not in the least to whom or what it was till I read that part reflecting on my son, having often a heap of papers lying under the cushion of the chair you sat on. I ask your pardon for giving you so much trouble on this subject, which I doubt not you'll excuse, when you reflect on the resentment any father must needs have of a son that he values being so unworthily used, even by his very near relations. I am dear Sir, with all imaginable ... respect and esteem.

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, 13 March 1723

Dear Sir, When yours of yesterday's date came here I was in town, otherwise I shoud have returnd ane answer sooner. Your own just way of thinking naturally leads you to put the best construction on that last paragraph of my Lord Galloway's letter, and I shoud be much better pleased not to perceive, according to my conception of the words and strain, a certain pleasure arising from his Lordship's curiosity and even his regrate. How justifiable that is with respect to any [but] the most remote person you are a very good judge, and whence it arises in the present case, he's wiser than I that can tell. In all the affair I shoud be most concerned, if my expostulating a litle with his Lordship on this subject shoud be misconstruted by you, for whom I do assure you I have the highest respect, and woud by no means willingly dissoblige. My peeping into the letter did not proceed from any other curiosity than to see what the paper was I found lying in my room and which I had no reason to imagine appertained to any other, and as that point was what I first saw, I own, and I hope a very pardonable curiosity to see how far the jest was driven. And as I could never imagine my Lord could blame you for what so very accidentally hapned, I thought it incumbent on me either to let my son know how his freinds used him, or rather, to prevent greater resentments and heart burnings, conceall it from him and take it on my self to do him justice. However, since I perceive this method is not approved of by you, I wish I had postponed writing to his Lordship till I had seen you, tho I said nothing therin

inconsistent with good manners. Indeed, as to his informers, I took the libertie with them which I think they richlie deserve. And after a full reveiw of the whole, I hope you'l not far condemn me, at least not entertain any notion of my designing to act any part that was disrespectfull towards you.

I was yesterday on the jury striking the Fears, and I'me affraid wee shall get litle thanks. I must say twas the oddest affair ever I saw. Wee had a list of those that were desired to be cited in as witnesses, but all the depositions were takn to our hands by Mr Beechess and these consisted of a small part of the list, being only a few buyers in and about Edinburgh. The quantitys deponed in were but small, the times of the bargain and the places wher the grain grew for the most part not named. Your brother Dalrymple³⁰ and I were clear for breaking up and making no progress in the matter, since wee conceived there was no need of a jury to state a medium of the prices from the depositions, the Clerk was pleased to call out and lay before us, and when wee saw the prices were so exceedingly low, that if wee followd the directions of the powers lodged in us, which was to determine, according to these depositions the price in this shire woud be lower than in the adjacent shires. Other Gentlemen overuled us and resolved to proceed and at the same time draw up and annex to our verdict a memoriall setting furth the unformalities taken in preparing matters and the impossibility to do justice to the heretors unless some particulars were rectified, and for the future put on a different footing. This method they preferd to a delay, fearing that woud be very inconvenient to many who wanted the price of their victuall. When wee came to expiscate the prices and state a medium, the highest wee coud bring the barley to was £6 12s. However, as wee were directed to proceed according to our proper knowledge as well as the depositions, wee took on us to add 6 pence so as to make the first price of barley £6 18s 0 and the rest I belive are equall enuff. I give you the trouble of this narration that you may do us justice if you hear us censured. And that you may contribute to have matters so regulated henceforwards that the shire may not be scandalouslie imposed upon and be made the propertie of some particular persons. I'me told the

³⁰ George Dalrymple of Dalmahoy, like Clerk a Baron of the Scottish Exchequer

town of Edinburgh's gift is much clogd with additionall burdens and method of management even by the House of Commons, and that the opposers have great hopes of its being rejected by the House of Lords.³¹ And there's a report that by the new scheme, the English Court of Exchequer is to free your Court of the trouble of determining such debates as hapen in Scotland relative to the Customs. So our merchants will have a fine time of it. I am Sir very sincerelie, Your most faithfull humble servant.

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, 30th March 1723

Sir, I find Mr Morison (who had the oversight of my collurie during my absence at London) left about 25 or 30 fathom of coalswall standing intire, nixt adjacent to Bilston burn (which is the march betwixt you and me) of the 2 seams I am now working. My oversman was proposing lately that I shoud work that peice of coall, but after having considered it, I find the expences necessary for getting at it will render it scarce worth the pains, unless I had the prospect of your granting to me, the coal of that peice of ground which you've concerted I shoud have to compleat my park. In which case it were worth my pains to make a communication into my fire-engine pit, and work the coall yet remaining on my side of the burn and what may be left on your side. I was the easier induced to beg you'd let me know whither you'l give a right to the coal alongst with that peice of ground, because I remember you, of your self, was pleased to speak of parting with the right you retain to the coal of the peice of ground my father got from Sir William Nicolson, observing that the Dyke which crosses the seams renders the coall within the ground enclosed by my father, of litle value to you. And I belive the same observation will hold with respect to the coall within that peice of ground I am to get from you, especially seeing your father cropt it and no more coall can be got by you without sinking deeper and drawing your water or peircing the Dyke, neither of which I

³¹ Possibly a sarcastic reference to the Commons' decision of 24 January to review the yield of the malt tax in Scotland over the previous seven years, with a view to legislating for its enforcement there

presume will be worth your pains wher the feild of coall is so very litle as twixt that Dyke and the burn.

Be pleased therefore to take this matter into your thoughts. I am far from proposing any thing to you that may be inconvenient, but if you can allow me to have the coall with the ground, I will reckon my self very much obliged to you and will refer to yourself what I shall pay you for it. And I wish to know your resolution as soon as possible, because I will according thereto take my measures, which I cannot convenientlie delay much longer. I wish you'd likewise let me know when you incline wee shoud apply to have a meeting of the Committee appointed to make the Excambion. If it is not done before my Lord Polton³² enters upon his circuit, I know not if wee'l get him till the summer session's up. I am dear Sir, with all imaginable respect, Your most faithfull humble servant.

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Monday night [Dryden, c. early April 1723]

Sir, I commissiond over from Holland 10,000 allars, and by a mistake there's 19,000 come. Tis but 7 dayes since they were takn out of the ground, [they] have good roots and are in good order. If you have any use for such kind of trees let me know and you shall have what number you please. I got notice this evening of their being come and tomorrow I bring them here. I am, Sir, your most humble servant.

[P.S.] Turn over.

Teusday afternoon

Sir, I was just going to send the other part of this letter to you when I receaved yours, in answer to which, seing you form so many objections against my working the coal on that part of the brae opposite to my Engine, and that indeed the profit arising to me can never be a temptation to wish the accomplishing it at any loss to so good a neighbour, I have no more to say on it. As for the coall within the other parts of my enclosures: I will be so free as to own I shoud be very willing to purchase it from you, not so much

³² Sir William Calderwood, Lord Polton of the Court of Session

on account of the value of the coal itself, as the convenience of running of mines from the seall seams, which I can do more convenientlie if both sides of the burn were mine, and as the keeping a strong barrier of coall wall twixt you and me is what you seem to think so very necessary for the security of your coall works in future ages, I shall be content to be tyed down not to work within as many fathoms as you judge necessary of the park wall which is our march above ground. Tho give me leave to suggest that if you and I agree as to your communicating the new levell and I have the prospect of using the same, I will not be at the expense of removing my engine to any of the seams, so that there will be [no] occasion for you to dread wast water from me. As to the proposall you make of communicating the benefite of the levell, I am willing to treat with you on the terms you propose. I shall apply to my Lord Polton and Mr Baird³³ to see if they'll appoint some day next week for the excambion, and any day you please to send me notice I shall meet you to measure the 2 peices of ground previouslie. I am yours.

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, 13 May 1723

Sir, I spoke to you some time ago of Elspet Bronwin, a coalbearer of mine, that by your servants in Lonehead is detain'd from me. She's the daughter of one of my coaliers, she began first to work with me and continued about a year, but being young and weak, I allow'd her to keep one of the coalier's childeren and after that to go to your work, which was not so severe as mine. After she was grown stronger and I wanted her, I sent for her but your servants laugh'd at my messages and I cannot get her. I alwayes reckon'd it much about one whither my coaliers were at home or with you, not beliving any advantage woud be takn of it, but as I'm sure my title to the girl is unquestionable³⁴ and that I understand your servants propose to take the benifite of her being a year and [a] day in your service (which happens in 2 or 3 dayes) I hope and expect

³³ John Baird of Newbyth

³⁴ Scottish coal-mine workers were at this time effectively enserfed by being bound to serve the colliery owners on whose lands they were born

you'll do me the justice to send me ane order for her being restored, and if I don't satisfye you, that I and no other have a right to her, I will return her to you. I am with all respect and sincerity, Your most affectionate humble servant.

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 99-100

[Dryden?] 21 May 1723

Sir, I have not heard from you since my last of the 7th of December; whither your silence proceeds from a regard to the ticklishness of the times, or that my letter or your return has miscarried I cannot tell, but least mine has not reached your hands, it will be necessary on this occasion that I recapitulate a little what I mention'd in my last ... [Lockhart notes he is leaving out this section of his letter as its contents were mostly the same as that of 7 Dec. 1722]. Since my last, Gadderer having gone to the North, and boldly contemn'd both the advices and orders of the College and your trustees, by openly advanceing his opinions, and practiseing his usages, and having gain'd several of both clergy and laity over to his way of thinking, is in a fair way of creating a terrible schism, which cannot fail in having dismall effects, by dividing those that have hitherto lived cordially, and been ready to joyn hand in hand, for the service of the Church and State.

The College of Bishops are inclin'd to delay, as long as possible, their proceeding to suspend Gadderer and such of the clergy as follow him, because they would gladly shun propaleing this unhappy division to the world, having at the same time too much reason to apprehend their authority, as matters stand, will not meet with the regard that is due to it. A good number of your trustees thought it incumbent on them to lay this matter befor you, and withall directed me to offer their humble opinion that a letter from you to the College (or the Bishop of Edinburgh to be communicated to them) approving of their opposition to all novelties at this juncture, and recommending to each of them singly, and to all the inferiour clergy to shew a regard and give due obedience to the authority and directions of the College, and to continue their utmost endeavours by the most prudent methods

to discourage and crush all practices tending to the contrary, as being pernicious to the interest of the Church and your service; and that another letter to any of your trustees you please, to be communicated to the rest intimating your disapproving such practices, and desiring them to acquaint your faithfull subjects, that you look upon such steps as most detrimentall to your service: your trustees, I say, are of opinion that two letters to this purpose would have very good effects even with many of the clergy, and tend very much to turn all the laity against those measures and the promotters of them, wherby in process of time they may be laid asside, and your friends live in that harmony and good understanding which hath been hitherto so much their honour, as is indeed indispensably necessary both for you and them. This their opinion I am charged to lay befor you with all submission, and what directions you are pleased to give them will be punctually followed. I am your, etc.

To Lord [Milton?]

Lennoxlove, C3, 2247

Dryden, 18 July 1723

My Dear Lord, Before I receive yours I had heard of the Duke of Hamilton's design in favours of another to be the Collector of the Cess. I only mentioned Sandilands³⁵ because I knew him to be a most deserving young man and I belived the Duke woud himself be of opinion that as many favours as possible shoud be conferd on such kind of people; but since the Duke is engaged for another I have no more say on this head; and if you have not writ already I woud not have you mention it to him. All your Lordship's advices will be, you [may] be sure, received with great deference and authority by me: but I coud almost scold with you for imagining ther was any need to caution me against joining with the other people. Ive been too long in one way of thinking and acting to chop about, and however matters stand privately and personally betwixt his Grace and my family³⁶, I will be as readie,

³⁵ I have been unable to identify 'Sandilands'

³⁶ Lockhart's relations with the ducal family had not been of the best since the publication of his observations on the 4th Duke's character and pusillanimity in 1714. This may too, have been the origin of an abortive duel Lockhart and the 5th Duke were supposed to have been going to fight in January 1725

as ever I was with his father, to join with him and indeed with every body, in promoting a good measure and I should be sory his interest was run down in that shire, as I am fully perswaded he's truly ane honest man and designs right things and is capable to promote and for ought I know in due time accomplish them, woud he but seriouslie apply himself that way.

I make no doubt but as he grows older he'll fall more closely to work, but I'me affraid he loses the fit occasion to put himself in a condition to make the appearance that woud be profitable to the King and Countrie and himself. This I stedfastlie belive, notwithstanding the idle or rather malicious villanous story wee heard of t'other day, which I wish people of our stamp woud treat, if furdre reported, with the indignity, I'me perswaded it deserves. I'me not in the least surprizd at stories being invented and propagated: our adversariys have too good reason to know, that the Tories leep greedily at anything to blacken the Character of ther freinds and in no way have ['the Tories' – erased] since I knew the world done themselves more harm than by cherishing jealousies and propagating lyes of one another. And tis a strange [*sic*] that fatall experience will not open ther eyes to see the traps laid by ther adversariys to catch them.

But now to return to the subject in veiw, you may depend upon it I will have no dealings less or more with the party that sets up for that man I mentioned to your Lordship.³⁷ I was very strongly solicited yesterday in his favour and twas used as ane argument with me that he had a strong partie and woud probably succeed. I told them I had not been at any of these meetings since 1714 and nothing woud move me to be present but a beleife that ther party was as strong as they said, for to deall plainly with them, I woud be sory to see them so strong as to carry thorow any thing in that shire. I'me heartily sory the Duke did not come to town last week, a meeting and concert is certainly necessary at this juncture and tis as fit his Grace be at the head of it, to give it a reputation; both with freinds and foes. Sure I am your Lordship who's so well with his Grace coud not do the common good cause and himself so good service as freely to remonstrate to him the bad effects that must follow his not applying himself towards rendering himself

³⁷ Possibly Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees

capable to perform the part, that sooner or later I'me perswaded he'll aim at. When things come to a crisis it will be too late for establishing the Character of a man of business and gaining freinds, and without these, matters will go ill on. Notwithstanding all thats past I wish him well for his worthy father's sake, but chieflie because I think him the only person fit to appear at the head of our affairs, which at the same time is only [*sic*] the footing he can shine on. And what a pity it is to see he will not be at the pains to lay hold on the oppurtunity providence seems to have reserved for him. He has too much good sense not to be sensible of these things if he'd but allow himself time to reflect and I must say of you as can have access to lay matters before him, are to blame in neglecting it.

I perceive some of the Government Folk are at pains to soften the registering of it³⁸, by representing it will either be repeald next sessions or not executed, which I conceive is to lull us asleep and prevent any measure of swearing. Now, as it is certain some of the ministry were against the act, from a veiwl that it woud put more of ther enimys in a condition to oppose them, I humblie conceive a joint measure and concert is necessary and that it be given out that we're all to qualifye, were it for no more but that perhaps it may frighten them and make them in good earnest repeall the bill. But whatever course be taken and whatever be the consequences, sure I am a measure shoud be concerted and as unanimouslie as possibly followd, that is wee shoud either all swear or all stand out to the last extremity. For a division and doing things by halves lessen the credit and strength of the partie, some value themselves in making stretches and going lengths to advance the work and some in standing out and suffering, these become [a] certain kind of rivalls and never enter closely into measures. These were the consequences of such steps, you may well remember, in days of yore, and will continue so till the end of the chapter, if so be some method beent takn [*sic*] to bring and keep people together in one way of thinking and acting, and I need not mention who's the proper person to set about so usefull a work.

³⁸ An Act requiring registration of the names and estates of all nonjurants (Protestant and Catholic alike) received the royal assent on 19 March 1723

I go on saturday to Cumbernauld, wher I'll be till Teusday and after that for some litle time in Clidesdale; if you'r not in town when I come back, I'll make a trip over the water to see you. In the mean time if you've any commands to me James Ogston³⁹ will know how to forward them to, My Dear Lordship, Your most faithfull Humble Servant.

Endorsed: 'a letter from George Lockhart of Carnwath July 18th 1723'.

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 103-12

[Dryden?] 10 September 1723

Sir, Some few days after I dispatched my letters of the 21st of May, I had the honour of yours of the 5th of April, and after having shewed it to such of your trustees as I could meet with, I was by them directed to lodge a copy of that paragraph, which related to the Church, in one of the Bishop's hands, and Lord Wigtoun made a tour thro Perth shyre and the adjacent countrys, and communicated the same to Lord Nairn⁴⁰, Drummond of Logie and several other honest gentlemen, with whom it had such good effects, that wee have reason to hope your pleasure and sentiments more fully expresst on that subject, as was humbly proposed in my last, will effectually answer the end, and the more that Bishop Falconer is dead. For 'tho he outwardly pretended submission to the College, yet secretly he favoured and promoted the seeds of division, and there was too much reason to apprehend that he and Gadderer design'd very soon, without asking yours or the other Bishops' approbation, to have consecrated several other Bishops, with a view of strenthening and encreasing their party; haveing in order therto drawn up a paper which was privatly dispersed, wherin they remonstrated against the declaration which the College required of all in holy orders promising to give obedience to their present superiours and not to propagate any innovations; and in this paper was advanced severall odd maxims, particularly that the present Bishops of Scotland were all Bishops at large, and owed no subjection to any other, or even to them all

³⁹ A Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh

⁴⁰ William Murray, 2nd Lord Nairn (1664-1726)

acting in a collegiate body, so that each was at liberty to exercise his spirituall jurisdiction where and after what manner he pleased without being controulable by or accountable to any other power.

As Falconer was much respected or rather revered on account of learning and piety, his opinion in these matters moved many to a favourable opinion of them, but now that he is dead, wee hope there will be less difficulty to keep them within due bounds. If Campbell come down, I beleive the College will quickly suspend him having sufficient grounds to warrand such a step, besides his promotting this schism. As his character is no ways suited to the station he was advanced to in the Church, since Falconer's death the College think it expedient to make a further promotion of Bishops to be settled in those countrys, such as Fyfe, Angus and the Mairns over which he preceeded, and in such other places as Aberdeen shyre, etc, where Gedderer applys himself to propagate his schism; at least, seeing most of the present Bishops are men of great age, they think it very necessary to have your allowance and direction to consecrate at such times as they shall see cause and think it expedient, a certain number of other persons.

This they desired me to lay befor you, and withall presume to recommend Mr Norry minister at Dundee, Mr Duncan minister at Kilbirnie, Mr Ross minister at Cowpar, and Mr Gordon minister at Elgin, as persons in all respects qualifd for the trust, hoping you'll be pleased to authorize the consecration of all or such of them as they think convenient, and at such times as they judge proper. Some few days after I received this instruction, I was again call'd upon by two of the Bishops, who told me that the College had appointed them to acquaint me, that on further consideration of the state of affairs, and fresh account of Gedderer's practices, they had resolved to cite him to appear befor them and answer for his presuming to assume the charge and exercise the office of Bishop of the Diocess of Aberdeen, without your or the College having approved and autoriz'd the same, and to introduce any alteration in the worship and ceremonies of the Church, not authorized by the canons, without, nay contrary, to the express orders of the College; and as they

expected he would not appear, they, in that case, would suspend him.

At the same time they foresaw insuperable difficultys and inconveniencies that would attend the delay if cloathed with authority to counteract Gadderer and inspect the affairs of the Church in the northern countrys, untill an answer to what is above represented could come from you, and that none of the present Bishops could undertake it, being either very infirm or altogether unacquainted with tempers and characters of the people both clergy and laity in those places; that therfor they thought it absolutly necessary to loss no time in consecrating a person and sending him to reside in those places; but as they had a most profound respect for you, and a just regard for your authority, they would make no steps therin that might be any ways displeasing to you, which they hope might be prevented, if they represented the case to your trustees, and obtaind their allowance to proceed immediatly, in regard the present situation of affairs could not admitt of so long a delay as to know your pleasure; and this they desired me to lay befor your trustees, and report their opinion and directions in the matter.

I met accordingly with a good number of them, who from a conviction of the necessity of speedily performing what the College proposed, and in regard they had showd all due deference to your authority, did take upon them to approve the design, and directed me to acquaint the College therof, and that I should likewyse give you an account of what they had done, being hopefull you will not disapprove of it, seeing it was really a case of necessity, and the application made to your trustees preserves your prerogative unviolated. If you are pleased to authorize the College to make the promotions they humbly propose, and to approve of what is done with respect to Mr Norry (the person design'd to be consecrated immediatly) it will I believe be expedient that you write two letters to the College, one authorizing them to make the promotions in the manner desired, the other approving of what they had done with respect to Norry, therin taking nottice of the application made to your trustees, and of his consecration being hasten'd without waiting for your previous direction, because of the inconveniencies attending a

delay, and that therfor you approved of what was done, and of his taking upon him the government of the Church in the diocess of Aberdeen and such other places as the College should think fitt to appoint. This authority from you will raise his credit and make him more regarded in those countrys where every thing that comes from you hath its due weight.

I took a proper occasion likewise to acquaint Bishop Fullerton that tho I did not question his own and his brethren's regard for the royall authority, yet the step they were to make with respect to Norry, might perhaps be adduced many years after this as a precedent against it, seeing nothing would appear to show the method that was taken and the true cause of it, for which reason I proposed the College should write a letter to me, disclaiming any design of encroaching upon your prerogative, and shewing the reason of their proceeding so hastily in that matter. He desired me to draw such a letter, which having done, he laid it befor his brethren, and return'd it to me sign'd with some few additions of their zeal and loyalty to you. This letter I shall keep for your service, least in any time coming men of unruly tempers make a bad use of what was truly done with no bad views and meerly from necessity.

It will not perhaps be displeasing that I subjoyn a copy of this letter:

'Edinburgh, 24 August 1723. Sir, The representation which the College of Bishops made to the King's trustees, as it convinced them of the necessity to loss no time in consecrating speedily some proper person to repare to the North, to oppose and counteract Bishop Gedderer's unaccountable proceedings there, it will likwyse stand as a clear evidence of our profound respect for his Majestie's royall prerogative, for tho wee were well assured of many irrepareable disadvantages attending a direct application to the King, and having his pleasure therin transmitted to us, yet wee unanimously resolved to advance no steps therin unless, upon a representation of the matter, wee obtain'd his trustees' consent and approbation, in regard to the present case of indispensible necessity. This wee hope will so much

convince his Majestie that wee are far from having any views of lessening his royall authority, that he will be graciously pleased to approve of what wee have done with respect to the consecration of Mr Norry, who is a person well affected to his Majestie's person and government, and as you are fully apprized of what steps we made in this affair, wee beg and expect you will transmitt to his Majestie a just and full account therof, with an assurance of our heartie zeal for his service, and unalterable resolution to behave and demean our selves with that dutifull regard towards him which is suitable to the principles and doctrine of the loyal orthodox Church of Scotland, and which we have hitherto maintain'd in the worst of times. This by the direction and in [the] name of my colleagues the other Bishops of our Church is subscribed by me who sincerely am, Sir, Your, etc.
Sic sub. Jo. Bishop of Edinburgh.'

The late act of Parliament obligeing all persons to take the oaths to this government, or register the value of their real estates, is like to have very dismall effects; for how far the penalty or mulct to be imposed on such as doe not comply will extend, no man can say; but, as wee have reason to expect, matters will be driven as far as a furious set of men can devise. Some of your trustees have had several consultations on this subject, and so far they have concluded, that as general measures as possible be taken and followed out, which they are endeavouring to propagate, and are at pains to know what are people's sentiments and resolutions that so a general measure may be laid down if possible. There are some who will expose themselves and their familys to the greatest hardships rather than qualify, but by what wee can gather, the greatest part incline to venture themselves in the hand of God rather than of such men as wee have to doe with, 'tho at the same time they will stave it off to the last moment. Some of good consideration are very desirous to have your advice and directions; I told them that was a subject I could not venture to write on to you, that I did not think they could expect you would explain yourself on that head, and the utmost they could desire from you was an intimation that what they might doe at this

juncture and in this strait to preserve themselves and their families from ruin, would not induce you to suspect their loyalty and sincere attachment to your interest, when any opportunity offered for your service.

Tho I would not accept of any direct commission to write to you on this subject, I thought it incumbent on me to let you know the state we were in, and how I found people were inclin'd. One thing is plain; if people act at random and without a rule and measure, many will comply and many stand out, and these too probably as formerly will value and reckon themselves more upright than the others, who on the other hand, as it is a certain truth universally known, that their compliance will proceed altogether from a view of eviting the effects of persecution, and that they still will retain their zeal for your service, will think they are not to be less esteem'd and trusted. These different ways of reasoning, according to the different passions and views of men, as they may occasion heats and divisions, ought by all means to be avoided and prevented. Having thus represented the present state, and what consequences may follow, you can best judge how far it is proper and convenient for you to interpose and give any directions or even signify your sentiments on so nice and critical a point.

As I have your commands to inform you of every thing wherein I judge your service may be concern'd, it is my duty to obey, especially seeing some of your friends thought it absolutely proper to let you know that they are inform'd by good hands of there being shrewd suspicions at London that Frazer of Bewfort hath of late regain'd the favour of the German ministry (from which not long agoe he was almost totally secluded) by furnishing them with intelligence of most matters that pass at your Court or else where abroad relative to you and yours, and that this he procures by and thro the means of his friend Mr Campbell of Glendarule.⁴¹ How far this last gentleman is justly or unjustly accused, no body here can tell; the suspision is in few hands, and the intimation comes from persons who at the bottome are not enemies to you, and probably with an intention you should be apprized of it, and you know best what use to make therof.

⁴¹ Colin Campbell of Glendaruel

I am also directed to inform you that some of your friends, nay even of your trustees, are at a loss what to think and how far to confide and correspond with the Duke of Mar.⁴² That one in his circumstances should have both personal friends and enemies, is no strange thing in this world. Those who act with an impartiall view for your service, doe what they can to suppress storys and jealousies of your friends, and especially of one of so great a figure as that noble Lord. At the same time they have had no intimations of your sentiments concerning him since his confinement at Geneva⁴³, on which account many passages with respect to his conduct and your not confiding in him have since that time been asserted by people both at home and abroad, pretending to good authority for what they advanced. But what puzzells us most is that part of the report of the committee of Parliament concerning the conspiracy, which positively affirms that he received a pension from the Government, on the assurance of his being out of your service, and being usefull to the other. It is pritty odd that a committee of Parliament should take upon them in so publick a manner and in such express terms to assert such a fact, if not true, and it is as odd that he has never yet been at the pains either by himself or his friends to wipe off the aspersion. And under these circumstances, some of your best and most significant friends are at a loss what to think, or how to behave towards him and those that depend upon him in this country; and therfor it is thought that it would be much to your friends' satisfaction and your own service that you would be pleased (as you did formerly) to signify to them how far you still continue to entertain a good opinion of him.

Such an intimation in his favours (if he deserves it) would remove the suspicions of some, and enable others to contradict and silence the storys and clamours of those who, from personal piques and party views, grasp at all occasions to asperse him. I earnestly beg and humbly hope you will believe what I have mention'd of these two persons can and does proceed from no

⁴² Mar's role as a double agent, working for the British government, during the Atterbury plot was by now becoming public knowledge

⁴³ Mar was arrested by the authorities in Geneva in July 1720 at the instigation of the British government

other motive but the obligation I think incumbent on me, from your commands and the trust reposed in me, impartially to acquaint you of what I or your friends conceive for your service to know. How far the suspicions of one or both of these persons are well or ill founded, no body here can tell, but it may be perhaps of use for you to know what is reported here on these and the like subjects, for regulating your own measures and removing ill grounded and unwarrantable jealousies amongst those that are well affected to you and your good cause.

From what I have observ'd in the Bishop of Rochester's tryall, it is not expedient for you to sign your letters with the same surname I direct mine to you. And therfor intstead of _____ be pleased to use _____ in signing your letters to me for the future.

I am sorry to tell you that I think Captain Straiton very much faild of late, and that I am affraid he cannot last long.

I wish what answers you return to this may be convey'd by sure and safe hands, for a discovery would have bad consequences. It is now high time to putt an end to this tedious letter by assuring you that I am with all imaginable truth and respect, Sir, Your, etc.

P.S. The day befor I was to send this off I received a letter from Bishop Fullerton acquainting me that Gedderer having made some show of submission, the College did resolve to delay the consecration of Mr Norry untill they knew your pleasure therin, and desired that instead of Mr Gordon, I should insert Mr Ochterlonie, minister at Aberlemno, in the list of the persons they recommend. I have not time to transcribe this, and leave out what relates to Norrys being immediatly consecrated, so I beg you'd forgive this being writt by way of postscript and what errors I may have committed in reduceing this letter into cyphers by being much straitned in time.

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, 28 October 1723

Sir, Being resolved to live in a perfect good understanding with you, and fully assured of your freindlie intentions towards me, to avoid any interruption thereof, I chuse rather to make my complaint to you, than apply for justice elsewhere. On this day

sennight, I found 5 nolt belonging to John Hunter within my plated enclosures, which I seized. Nixt day I returnd 4 of them and keept the 5th for the fine imposed by law. I put this ox into my park with my other catle wher he remaind till sometime twixt 6 a-clock last night and earlie this morning, a slap was taken down in the dike and the ox takn away to John Hunter's other beasts on his ground. After having had time to reflect or being acquainted with the danger of such ane action, he thought fit to bring back the ox this day about 12, denying he or any belonging to him had any hand in it and affirming he was willing to swear for himself and all his family. How far he and others will swear I shan't say, but tis pritty odd that the dike shoud be taken down and the ox carried to the rest of his catle, so far and so cross a way as from near the place wher I met you this day sennight and yet that he nor none belonging [to] him shoud be accessory thereto. This and the pulling off the locks of my gates, even where there never was either horse or foot road, makes it necessary that I be at some pains to put a stop to such doings.

I have seen so much prevaricating amongst countrie people on the like occasions, that I doubt not but John Hunter has taken such precautions, that he will venture to swear, depending upon some Jesuiticall equivocation or another, but as it's certain some body or other is guilty, by examining the nighbourhead perhaps the sadle may be laid on the right horse. And in order therto I propose to summon all the men in Lonehead and Broughlie, as also in Roslins and my part of Roslin and oblige them to depone if they or any by their directions or councill were concernd in pulling down the said dike and taking out the ox. [I] Suppose I shoud not [i.e. will not] find out the truth, yet such a proceeding will probably scare others from such future practices. If you please to give your Baily orders to take this method, let him acquaint me of the day he's to hold his Court, that I may prepare and find him the queries to interrogate them, in order as far as is possible to prevent their equivocations, and I hope the examination will be very generall in order to find out the truth and deter others. If you come into this measure, twill be easier than bringing the people before the Justices of [the] Peace and I will apply to Roslin to do the like. I'me sory to be obligd to trouble you with such a matter,

but I know your inclinations to suppress such practices, will obtain your excuse to, Sir, your most faithfull humble servant.
[P.S.] I suspect John Hunter's wife more than himself to have directed what was done.

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, 24 March 1724

Dear Sir, When I design'd, some litle time ago, to have had the pleasure of spending a night with you at Newbiggen, I was unexpectedly call'd for into Edinburgh to join with the other Commissioners in making opposition to my Lord of Ruglen's exorbitant claim on the estate of Linlithgow, and before I got free of it, I heard of my Lady's being brought to bed and did not think it proper to trouble you with a visite till I heard she was fully recovered. I had this day the enclosed letter from my Lord Advocat, which I send because it refers to one he had writ to you. I had likewise a visit this morning from Castlebrand and Riccarton⁴⁴, which last gave up his pretensions in favours of his nephew (referring to me what compliment he shall get in case the other succeeds) and for apprising you and his other freinds therof, put the enclosed letter into my hands, which I wish you'd return, because the Gentleman is sometimes a litle fickle: and in that case it will be of use. This difficultie being removed, I hope and beg you'd use your interest with Sir Jo: Inglis⁴⁵, Achindinnie, and whom else you think proper in favours of Mr Brand, who's reallie a most deserving young man. I have within these few dayes had something like to an ague, but so soon as I can venture out I will see you. I am very sincerlie, your most affectionate humble servant.

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, 28 March 1724

Sir, I sent Riccarton notice that as you had once appeard for him, you woud not take on you to advise him to yeild to another, and

⁴⁴ Robert Craig of Riccarton and (Alexander?) Brand of Castlebrand

⁴⁵ Sir John Inglis of Cramond

therefore it woud be necessary that he express himself more clearlie and possitively in favours of his nephew, wherupon he writ me the enclosed letter (which pray keep safe) to be communicate to you cheiflie, and his other freinds. I am Sir, Your most humble servant.

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, 27 June 1724

Sir, My son being so takn up in dancing that he cannot write to you himself, has put it on me to acquaint you that his fellow traveller and good freind my Lord Craven⁴⁶, hath sent his Falconer to Scotland and writ to my son to see if he possibly can get him a cast of hawks, especially falcons, and therefore if you are not preingaged he begs, as the greatest favour, you'd procure him a cast of the King's hawks to make a present of to his freind, and that with your convenience you'd let him know how far you can comply with his request. I am with very great respect Sir, Your most humble servant.

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Teusday [28 June 1724]

Sir, It seems the letter I wrot to you yesterday, by ane accident came not to your hands, which is no great matter seing my concent to your using my quarrie with all manner of freedome, was what I'me sure you woud doubt, as I shall alwayes be fond of any occasion to increase and confirm a good neighbourlie correspondence betwixt our familys; what help I can afford towards making the wayes more passable, you have no more to do but acquaint me of it and it shall be done. I took the libertie to beg you'd get me a cast of the King's hawks, if so be I came not too late, by your being preingaged to others and that with your conveniencie you'd let me know if I might trust to you in it. I am, Sir, your most faithfull humble servant.

⁴⁶ William Craven, 3rd Lord Craven (1700-39)

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 117-23

[Dryden?] 18 August 1724

Sir, In a few dayes after my dispatching my last of the 10th of September, I received yours of the 20th of August, and about six dayes agoe I received at the same time two other letters from you of very different dates, viz, the 24th of November and 18th of March last.

I have been so long silent, because in truth I had little or nothing of any moment to communicate to you, and I was unwilling to trouble you untill I could say something of the effects of your severall letters, exhorting the clergy to peace and unity amongst themselves. And I have now the satisfaction to tell you that I hope these matters are so adjusted, that you shall have no further trouble from that quarter on that score. The Bishops have acted very prudently, for as they were resolved to maintain their authority, they at the same time shewed a readiness to adjust differences upon reasonable terms, which with your letters, forced Gedderer to submitt, 'tho at the same time he and his bretheren would never have adjusted matters, had not some of your trustees been present at their meetings, and by virtue of your authority interposed betwixt them. And I cannot but reckon it a peice of service done you, in regard the common enemie seem'd mightily pleased at the prospect of a division amongst those who were reckond to have an attachment to you, and propagated a world of false storys, with an intent to blow the coal, and weaken the interest of the common cause. But now I hope they'r disappointed in this particular.

Whilst I am on this subject, I can not but observe and regrate how unaccountable it is for men that are at, and in a state of persecution, to be so factious and divided amongst themselves, and yet this hath been and I beleive will be the case till the end of the world, especially amongst clergymen, whom it is not easie, under any circumstances, to keep in due bounds. Amongst the small number of our Scots Bishops, there's abundance of private views and self interest, which in a great measure is kept lurking by the prudence and authority of their *primus* Mr Fullerton; but on the event of his death (which, as he is of a great age and not very

healthy, may happen too soon) it is easie to foresee, it will break out and have very bad consequences, particularly on the occasion of acting as *primus* during the interval of acquainting you of his death and receiving your commands as to the person you design to succeed him.

Of the whole number, Mr Irvine seems to be the most proper person. He's a gentleman of good sense and experience in bussiness, and by his joyning my Lord Dundee and Lord Kenmure⁴⁷, on which first account he was obliged to retire for several years to France, and lay long in prison after the unhappy action at Preston, his loyalty and zeal for your service are unexceptionable. The Viscount of Kylsyth and most of those now with you know him well, and will confirm what I say of him. Tho this person is certainly the fittest to succeed Mr Fullerton, it would not be proper that you should nominate him or any other till the event happen. But it is the humble opinion of several of your trustees that it would tend much for preserving that peace and unity which you so much and on such good grounds doe recommend, if you would send a letter, directed to the Bishops, signifying that wheras you are at a great distance at present and cannot give such speedy directions on several matters, as the importance of the subject often requires, and being sensible that many inconveniencies may arise to the Church of Scotland, if Mr Fullerton the present *primus* should happen to dye, for want of one of the College duely authorized to supply the vacancie untill you have time and opportunity to name one to succeed him, that therfor you have sent previously this letter to be ready and delivered to the College of Bishops, on the event forsaid, and that you doe therby direct Bishop Irvine to reside at Edinburgh and preside in the College of Bishops, untill you name another to act and officiat as *primus*.

Tis proposed that this letter should be keep so very secret, that none of the clergy, nor any other but those by whose directions I write this, should know of it, till the time of its being delivered, and its thought an expedient, nay the only one, that will prevent the heats and divisions which will otherwyse infallibly happen, to the no small prejudice of your interest here; for as the Episcopal

⁴⁷ i.e. Irwine had joined Dundee's rebellion in 1689 and Viscount Kenmuir's rising in 1715

party, which dayly becomes more numerous, are all entirely devoted to you, and that in some measure you are in the actual exercise of your regall power, in so far as they willingly follow your directions in what you require of them, it is certainly for your service to keep them entire and at one, in all matters civil or ecclesiastick; and whilst they are in this good temper, I am fond of every occasion that casts up for you to exercise your royall authority over so great a number of loyall subjects willing to receive your commands, least an interruption therof should make them, when they may and should appear for you, forgett their duty to you; it being a certain maxim that a remisness or backwardness therein often proceeds from being unaccustomed to it, and that an authority claimd and exercised, 'tho but in a small degree, is easier maintain'd and even enlarged to its proper extent, than where it has never existed, nor been in the least own'd and submitted to.

I was pritty much puzzled how to behave from that part of yours dated 18 of March, which directed all letters of bussiness to the other side of the sea to be address'd to your self, in regard it seem'd to be applyd to that part of mine dated 10th September concerning the Duke of Mar, and that when I communicated it to those few who knew of my writing to you on that subject, they had some apprehensions of it, and concluded that you did not approve Mar's conduct and that he was no longer trusted by you. Nay the few that knew nothing of what I had writt, and to whom I told your directions in general terms (such as the Duke of Hamilton, Henry Straiton, and Mr Gordon of Glenbucket⁴⁸, because I did not know but they might write, and address these letters after another manner than you directed), these, I say, did putt the same construction on it. To the first I replyd that your words did not expressly carry that sense, and 'tho it should be true in fact, the method which you took in signifying your sentiments, besides many other obvious reasons, did show how unfitt it was that any suspicions of that person were publick, in regard his falling off would be a prejudice to the reputation of your affairs; and if the suspicion was groundless, the propaleing of it would be an horrid act of injustice to him. They all agreed with me, and

⁴⁸ John Gordon of Glenbucket, a zealous Jacobite 'out' in both 1715 and 1745

resolved to take no manner of nottice of having any such jealousy. To the others I answer'd that I knew nothing of the matter, that I had received your orders and apprised them therof, and it was none of our bussiness to draw inferences, especially when they were not founded upon good authority, and were prejudiciall to the common cause. In fine I resolved to communicate your orders even in general terms to very few, and those only such as I imagine may keep a correspondence abroad.

I have several times of late years inform'd you of Straiton's being very infirm and valetudinary, and the truth on't is, these seven years bypast, I would not have bought his life at as many months purchase, and it is more uncertain now than ever, having within these six months been cutt sixteen times of a fistula, the root wherof I hear is nevertheless still remaining, by which he is reduced to a mere skeleton, and confined altogether to his bed, so that there is no humane probability of his lasting long. Some of your trustees mett lately to consider of a fitt person to recommend to you to succeed him in what bussiness you committ to him here, and they unanimously agreeing upon John Corsar, directed me to signify so much to you. His zeal, integrity and capacity are known to all your friends with you and here, and Glenbucket concurr'd in approving of him, as one that would be acceptable to himself and the Highlanders; and what makes him appear more fitt for that trust, he resides closs at Edinburgh, and hath been of late years much employ'd by Straiton to decypher his letters and convey his dispatches, and is therby in a great measure acquainted with his correspondents and the canal of conveying and receiving his intelligence. If you pitch upon this person or any other, tis submitted how far you think it expedient to advertise Straiton therof, and desire him to give that person such insight in your affairs, that in the event of his death or sickness, there may be no loss of time, or mistakes committed in the managing them. I believe such an advertisement would come best from your self to the good old man.

Your friends in all corners long impatiently for good news, being heartily tyred of the present situation of affairs. I am with the utmost respect and deference, Your, etc.

P.S. Since writing of this letter Bishop Irvin was sent to me by a

good number of his bretheren, to acquaint me that notwithstanding what they had done for establishing peace and unity, they were informed some gentlemen in Angus were going about asking subscriptions to an address to the College, desiring they would consecrate Mr Ratray of Craighall to be their Bishop; that as this gentleman (one indeed of a good family and estate, of great piety and learning and lately ordaind a priest) was the main supporter of Gedderer and his party, they understood that the cheif promotors of this address were of the same stamp, and had the advancing of his schemes in view, by this promotion, for which reason these Bishops were of opinion that he was most unfitt to be made a Bishop, least the peace and unity of the Church be further disturbed, and they resolved to answer the address after the following manner; that as there is at present a sett of Bishops sufficient for the service of the Church, the encreasing of the number would rather doe harm than good; and that besides they neither can nor will proceed to consecrate him or any other person, but by your direction and under your authority. And having reason to apprehend that these addressers design'd to apply to you, they desired me to acquaint you, they were humbly of opinion there was not the least occasion for adding any more to their number, and were it otherwyse, this gentleman is by no means a fitt person to be promotted, in regard it could not fail to introduce divisions and discord, to which they know you doe not incline to give the least encouragement and may easiely on this occasion avoid, by letting them know that in such matters you act by the advice of the College of Bishops.

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 78/25 (78/24 deciphered);
see LP, ii, 132-4, for a very
abbreviated version of this letter

[Dryden?] November 28th 1724

Sir, After having own'd the receipt of yours of the 31 August, before I say anything particularly therto, give me leave to acquaint you of a passage which may perhaps be agreable and useful to you. Some 5 or 6 weeks ago I received a letter and after that a message by a friend sent a purpose from [the] Duke of

Wharton⁴⁹ with compliments in the kindest manner, signifying his intentions of having visited me had he not been oblig'd to return soon back from the borders where he was, to Yorkshyre, and earnestly desiring an interview with me. I was the more pleased and surprized at these messages in regard (by [the] Duke of Mar's direction) I had endeavoured to enter into a state of friendship with him when he returnd home from his travels but could not then get any answers to my letters, so that all correspondence ceas'd betwixt us. As his behaviour at [the] Bishop of Rochester's tryal was truly great, and that I knew his professions and all his actions tended ever since towards you, I thought it might perhaps be for your service to lay hold on this occasion of entering into a strict friendship with him, and with that view I went and stayd two weeks with him in Yorkshyre.

We were not long together till he told me that as I was the nearest relation he had, and that he knew my attachment to you, and your being pleased to put some confidence in me, he long'd of all things to be in a close friendship with me, towards promoting your service. Then he gave me a long detail of his views and conduct since he appeard in the world, protesting that his heart was ever fix'd to you, and that what he had done was with a view to render him more capable to serve you effectually, and for confirmation thereof appealed to a worthy honest acquaintance of mine, Sir John Bland⁵⁰, his neighbour, that he had acquainted him and a few more that he could trust of his design, with an assurance of pulling off the mask and appearing against the Government whenever they desired him, and accordingly did so at the late tryals (all which Sir John afterwards confirm'd to me in all points). And then he proceeded to assert his inviolable fidelity to the King [i.e. the Old Pretender] with oaths and imprecations.

I told him I rejoiced exceedingly to find these sentiments in him both on your and his account, that I was far from imagining he would retract from maxims and principles that he was led into by the force of reason and the intrest of his Country. That I thought the cheif matter incumbent on me and all his friends was to beg he would behave himself with temper and caution and not

⁴⁹ He was created Duke of Wharton in the British peerage in 1718

⁵⁰ Sir John Bland, M.P. for Lancashire

expose himself so much as he did to the fury and malice of his enemies, who both dreaded and hated him and would snap at any occasion to destroy him, and I durst take the liberty to say in your name that such a prudent cautious behaviour would be most acceptable to the King.

I would fain think by this time he has sown most if not all his wild oats, and would be at some pains to procure the character of prudence equal to that of his capacity. He'd truly make a great figure, and if he keep to the solemn promise he has made me, I please myself with the hope of his being the instrument of doing the King great service sometime or other, for as he has wonderful parts. I am really perswaded he is the King's sincerely, and has it much in his heart to be in a capacity to do something remarkable for your service, and in order to this he has gain'd a great point by the prodigious interest he has with the citizens of London, greater I dare say than any one has had these many years. He enterd into a long detail of his conduct and views in that matter, the sum of which was that being in strict friendship with some of the chief men, he had concerted matters so that they knew their strength perfectly, had erected clubs in most of the wards which met frequently and in numbers, and betwixt the leading men whereof there was an understanding, so that [not] only did they concert and act joynly in all the city affairs, but having a good stock of arms and ammunition, it was in their power on two hours warning to march and drive the beasts of prey out of St James's and seize the English bank.

I represented to him that this was certainly a noble project, but must be managed with great caution, in regard of the great numbers concerned in such schemes, to prevent discoverys and fatal consequences, and altho it was of the highest moment to have it in the power of the King's adherents to execute it, yet the attempt, tho successful, was not to be made singly, for tho the prey should be thus caught, nay cut off, unless the stroke was to be effectually supported and seconded the English ministry by the help of the English army would subsist and new successors would be found out and established on the present footing to the utter ruin of the Jacobits. And therefor I was of opinion that tho it was a matter of the utmost moment to have and keep so formidable an

interest ready and willing to appear for the King, yet no attempt should be made without being notified to you and having your directions, and that in the interim they should behave in such a prudent manner as to give the Government no handle to crush such schemes and disable the chief instruments thereof.

He lamented that there was no correspondence and concert amongst the leaders of your side in England, who acted all seprately and without having joint councils or any authority. I told him on what foot you had set your affairs in Scotland and the good effects it had, and would have, and I imagined if such a proposition was made from the English to the King he would come into it most readily, and authorize such persons as were recommended to be fit and proper to overlook and direct your affairs and the common interest. He was mightily pleased with what I told him and said he would communicat it to Lord Scarsdale, Lord Strafford, Craven⁵¹, and a few more, and then he'd write to you on that subject, but was at a loss how to write, having neither cypher nor direction. I replyd I had the honour to carry on the correspondence betwixt you and your trustees in Scotland, and I durst venture to let him have the use of my cypher. But that he would by no means accept of, saying it was not fitt it should be in any man's hands but whom you appointed, and said he would fall on a way to get a letter conveyd beyond sea to you, and if the King thought fit to entrust him with a cypher he would use it in his future correspondence with the King. In the mean time he and I concerted a method of writing to one another and if there is anything you think fit to have said to him I can do it securely enough.

He has it much in his head to make you a visit next summer, having privatly engaged Mr Lockhart junior to be his companion, and if he does go I shall not be against it, because I think he'll have some influence to prevent his doing what may be rash and improper (which I am affrayd of for want of thinking he all too often falls into), but at the same time I humbly conceive it is neither for your nor his interest that he execute that design in the present situation of affairs, and as he will certainly inform you of

⁵¹ Nicholas Leke, 4th Earl of Scarsdale (c.1682-1736); Thomas Wentworth, 3rd Lord Raby, cr. Earl of Strafford (1672-1739)

it ere he undertakes it, if the King disapproves, he will lay the journey aside. To enumerat all that passed in my conversation with him would be tedious to you and I am affrayd I have already incurred that censure, from an imagination that it might be of some use to know a little, particularly of one that is certainly most capable, and I realy beleive most willing and desirous to serve the King, with which view I will not neglect to maintain the confidence he seems to have in me.

You have I hope long ere now received mine which was in answer to yours of the 18th March. The contents of that [I] lately got shall as you direct, be communicated only to such as you intend it for and with all imaginable caution. It is some time ago that your friends here were in some doubts as to [the] Duke of Mar, and thence it was that I mentioned him in the way and manner containd in my two last letters, it being a matter of no small moment to know in whom we might confide thoroughly and of whom beware, especially when one of his figure was the object. It is not for us to pry secrets, but tho I never had any particular attatchment to him, I should on your account be very sorry if he has done anything that's inconsistent with honour or loyalty. This step with regard to him is no secret and people put various interpretations on it, as they are narrowly affected. As your friends have the utmost deference for your judgement, and Mr Hay no doubt will be very acceptable in the station the King has thought fit to place him in, I wish his lady an happy deliverance (for I am told tis designd to carry the law to the utmost length against her) and that his brother, Lord Kinnoul, had not by deserting his old friends and accepting of a scrub pension, given himself up to the directions of the Government contrary to what one might reasonably have expected from a gentleman of his birth, estate, sense and bypast professions and actions. I am told they are apprehensive that Bathurst is on the same way, at least that he is prevailed upon to retire and ly by.

The account you gave me of your affairs abroad must needs be joyfully received by all who wish you well and are sensible of their Country's state, which I think cannot long subsyst under its present hardships. Tho the effects of these your foreign negotiations may be remote, yet anything that appears like the

dawning of more happy days gives great pleasure and supports our spirits. Were foreign princes but once sensible that your prosperity will suit with their own particular interests, I think it very easy to convince them to a demonstration that it is practicable without any great charge or hazard. For no very great power would be sufficient to give such life to the King's affairs in Brittain as would soon terminat in the overthrow of your enemies. We were terribly alarm'd with some late reports of the Queen's indisposition, but now our fears are abated. I pray God preserve your sacred person, bless and multiply your family, and wish success crown all your endeavours to redress your own injuries and relieve your oppressed people. I am Sir, Your most humble servant.

[P.S.] It is positively affirmd to me by some people of credit that they lately saw and spoke with Mr James Murray in the north of England as he was entering Scotland, but [he] keeps so close that I cannot hear that any of his comrads know of him.

[Endorsed: 'Write on a little piece of paper apart']

[The] Duke of Mar's disgrace is now no secret in Brittain, and there are lately letters from London to Edinburgh giving strange and horrible accounts of the causes thereof. How far they are true we cannot tell.

Since writing this letter and a review of your last a difficulty has occurrd to me which I presume to lay before you, because you alone can solve it. You are pleased to intimate that your confidence is withdrawn from [the] Duke of Mar and all who may be influenced by him. There are in the number of your trustees here two persons who tho I belive very honest gentlemen, may be influenced by him, at least they have a great attatchment to him. Now I want to know your pleasure whether or not we are to continue to act in concert with them. I have mentiond nothing of your last to them, and till I have your directions I can manage matters well enough without giving them just grounds of exception, for as there are but three or four of us that meet together (of which number they are not) and that I go betwixt them and your other trustees separatly, I can easily keep fair with them, and at the same time keep them in the dark till I have your directions. The persons I mean are Lord Dun and Sir John

Erskine. As tis your will and my duty to acquaint the King every thing and every person's conduct that may be useful to you, I cannot pass by what I had last post from [the] Duke of Wharton: that Lord Kinnoul⁵² seemd to act the part of a true convert, for he had not only deliverd to the Secretary of State the letters he had lately from abroad, particularly those from Mr Hay's lady, but also discoverd that Mr Weems the apothecary used to receive and convey his correspondence with his friends abroad.⁵³ [The] Duke of Athole is dead and so his son Lord James is obliged to take the tittle or lose all by Tullibardine's forfeiture.⁵⁴ William Erskine (a worthy honest man) is also dead very lately.

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 78/65 (78/64 deciphered);
LP, ii, 128-30 gives
a slightly different version

[Dryden?] December 8th 1724

Sir, Since my writing a letter a few days ago, which I believe will come at the same time with this to your hands, I received directions from your trustees to acquaint you that the College of Bishops having in virtue of the power you gave them, immediatly proceeded to consecrat Mr Norrie and Duncan to be Bishops at large, and some little time thereafter appoint the last to inspect and have the charge of the diocese of Glasgow and proposed to settle the other over the shyre of Angus and Mearnes. But in this they were much divided and ran into the utmost heats of party rage, in which they were severally supported by the noblemen and gentlemen of these shyres. However, the majority of the bishops being for Norrie, he is appointed to that charge with several protests on both sides of both clergy and chief laity, so that not only are the bishops broke in peices, but such heats and misunderstandings amongst the others as I fear will not be easily or soon accomodated to the loss of the common cause in these loyal shyres.

⁵² George Hay, 8th Earl of Kinnoull (d.1758)

⁵³ I have been unable to identify 'Mr Weems'

⁵⁴ During the '15 Atholl's eldest son, the Marquess of Tullibardine, was chosen by the tacksmen to lead the clan's levies off to join Mar rather than Argyll, against the wishes of his father. When the rebellion collapsed Tullibardine forfeited his estates and rights of inheritance, which therefore fell to his younger brother Lord James Murray

Your trustees, in order to prevent the like disputes for the future, humbly offer their advice that you would be pleased to write to the Bishop of Edinburgh that tho you had for preserving the order allow'd them to consecrate a certain number of bishops, yet you required the College not to settle any to the charge and inspection of any particular diocese or province, until they had previously acquainted your trustees of the person's name that they may inquire how far he will be acceptable to your good subjects, and may in other respects be fit for that part of the Country. And after making a report to you, you signify your pleasure and give directions therein. Your trustees conceive this method will prevent such heats and divisions as have arisen on this late occasion. And at the same time maintain and support the power lodged in and exercised by the crown in the nomination and appointment of bishops, and withall be mighty agreeable to your subjects when they see your care and concern for them. This I am directed to lay before the King as what may prove for your as well as the Church and the Country's service. I wrote so fully in my last that I have nothing more now to add, besides I am in hazard of losing the ships design'd for Holland. I am, Sir, Your most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'Mr Lockhart to the King. November 28th and December 8th 1724. ... 14th February 1725 received ...'

To Baron Sir John Clerk?

GD 18/5671

[1724?]

Sir, There hath been of late great havock made of my wood at the Lee, and it woud appear there's a combination about it, for every day wee find large trees cut down and carried off in the night-time and yet can't trace them. I'me at great pains to discover the rogues, and just now I've got clear proof against John Brunton in ... (a most notorious villain) that he was a few nights ago seen carrying timber thro the Hewen braes towards your ground. As tis absolutely necessary to make examples of such fellows I intend to prosecute him before the Justices of [the] Peace at Edinburgh, and because he'l probably go off on his being summond, I hope you'l send me (upon this my application) a warrand to the

constables to seize and imprison him untill he find caution to appear before the Justices of [the] Peace and stand a tryall at my instance for cutting and carrying off my timber. And pray speak of this to nobody least it be known and come to his ears and so escape. I am Sir, Your most humble servant.

To Baron Sir John Clerk?

GD 18/5671

Dryden, Teusday [1724?]

Sir, My daughter Aboyne⁵⁵ had, with the rest of my family, been to take her leave of yours this day or tomorrow, but what with the plaggy bad roads going to and from Hamilton, I have lamed so many of my coach-horses I cannot get them transported. And as this is the only reason that prevents our having the satisfaction of waiting upon you as was intended, and that my daughter begins her journey homewards on Thursday, wee hope you'll excuse us, and belive that I am very much, Sir, Your most humble servant.

⁵⁵ Grace Lockhart

ACTIVE CONSPIRACY: 1725-1726

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/3201

Dryden, 14 January 1724/5

Sir, I have just now the honour of yours and I reckon my self extremelie happy that any part of my behaviour is approvd of by you, whose capacity and integrity in judging are universally acknowledged. What I did in the late affair¹ was of very litle consequence, at the same time as I am conscious it proceeded altogether from a sincere attachment to my Country. I despised the whispers of a set of narrow thinking wretches, insinuating as if I had others things in my veiw than the averting the present impending stroke, and that therefore what I proposed should be thorowlie sifted. This was indeed to make me a more pragmatical person than I ever pretended to, and forced me to appear less in pushing on measures, least I by intermedling had done a prejudice to the good cause. Tis a melancholy reflection to observe that in no case, even when wee run the most eminent hazard, people will lay asyde their litle partie, selfish ways of thinking and acting, but I'me hopefull the effects which I hear our applications are like to have above, will convince us of the great advantages attending ane unanimity amongst Scotsmen. At the last meeting some Gentlemen opposed the instructions out of respect, as they pretended to the Advocat, but I took the libertie to say that the same motive made me more earnest for them, for as I made no question of his acting a right Scots part, even tho he had no instructions, yet as he was in ane eminent station, these I judged necessary to stand as his vindication to the ministry and might prevent resentments which I was sure none of us but woud regrave, if it was occasiond from his appearance in behalf of his Country. I perfectlie agree with you, that the shire ought to show some publick sign of their approbation of his conduct when he returns and I shall willingly come into any proposall you think

¹ Lockhart had been involved in draughting a set of instructions for the shire's M.P., requiring him to oppose the enforcement of a renewed malt tax on Scotland

reasonable in that particular. I am with all respect and truth Sir,
Your most humble and obedient servant.

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 145-8

[Dryden?] 8 April 1725

[No salutation] Last week I received at the same time one from you bearing date the 27th of October last, and one from Mr Hay dated February 10th. Having no method of addressing to him, and withall your orders to correspond directly with your self, I shall mention in this what I have to say to both these letters. By this time I hope you have got a former letter of mine, which had it come sooner would have prevented your ordering a copy of yours of the 31st of August being sent to me, seeing I therein told you I had communicated the contents of that letter with the caution and in the manner you directed.

I gave you not long agoe an account of unparallel'd crimes and weakness's laid to Mar's charge by various and sundry letters from France, England and Holland. I was within these few days inform'd, that Lord Dun had received a letter lately from him, wherein he positively denys one and all the articles laid to his charge, affirming they are all the produce of the Bishop of Rochester's malice, and that his innocence in due time will fully appear, as will ever his fidelity to you. He says the Bishop has sent over one Major Walkenshaw to Scotland, and given him two hundred pound to defray his expences, and that his bussiness is to asperse his character and gain credit with the King's freinds to the malicious lyes the Bishop has invented, but he hopes he will not be regarded. I did not see this letter, but Lord Eglington brought me an account of it from Dun; neither have I as yet seen the Major nor any that has conversed with him, so that I cannot tell whither or not he acts the part Mar affirms was his design of coming here. Whatever may be in Mar's conduct, I wish your friends abroad had writt less on that subject, for the blazing of such reports true or false is by no means a service to your interest.

I am now to beg your pardon that I omitted to sett down the names of those, in concert with whom I mention'd what you have thought fitt to doe with respect to Bishop Irvin. The truth on't is,

as it is a subject necessary to be kept very secret, least the divulging it should occasion that flame suddenly which it was design'd to prevent afterwards, I did not mention it to any but Wigton and Kincardine by whose advice I wrote of it to you, and to whom only I will communicate your letter, till the event happen for using it, and then others may be acquainted therof, and the measure executed or not as they see proper and most for your service.

I mentioned in a former letter the division that hath arisen in Angus and other neighbouring shires with respect to Bishop Norrie; his opposers have not the confidence to lay any thing to his charge, yet they obstinately refuse to submit to him, and to such a height is the enmity come, that I am very much affraid some mischeif will happen, for when any of the two parties meet they seldom fail to quarrell, and on all occasions manifest the utmost malice to one another. But as the Lords Strathmore and Gray, and Fotheringham of Pourie² have a fixed interest in that country, and are justfyd and supported by all impartial men of sense in the kingdom, I hope in time matters may be settled, and peace and unity be reestablished, 'tho I cannot but in the interim regrave that I see these mutineers supported and encouraged by some who think thereby to ingratiate themselves with them, with a view, I imagine, of being popular and leaders of that party, and to lessen the interest of the Lords above mentioned; and its remarkable that the ring-leaders in this fray are some of the very persons whose factious humours appeared so conspicuous at Perth. And indeed what thus dayly happens, shews the reasonableness or rather the necessity of the Bishops being settled in their several districts, and most other matters being determined by your direction and authority; seeing some and not a few there are who will not submit to any subordinate power in many cases. Of this, by the direction of almost all your trustees, I wrote to you some time agoe, and they with the Bishops long for your return therto, being what is so necessary for the peace of the country and the interest of the common cause, which ever did and will suffer by such unseasonable divisions.

I have little or nothing to add of this country to what was

² Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie

contain'd in a letter I did my self the honour to write to you not long agoe. I must sincerely congratulate you upon the prospect of the encrease of your family. As this news is joyfull to some, it is a visible mortification to others. I have some thoughts in a little time of going to London about some private affairs, and I shall be instructed by your trustees here to see if it is possible to settle a correspondence with your friends there, that on fitt occasions they may understand one another and act joyntly for your service.

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, 12 April 1725

Dear Sir, The day before I heard last from you I fell so ill of rheumatick pains (which have not yet left me) that I was not able to write to you much less to meet you as you proposed and I woud willingly have done. I hope you was both well diverted and edified, the benefite wherof you'l communicate to your freinds when they need it. Mr Brand was with me yesterday and will soon wait on you. The Advocat takes him now by the hand and has undertaken to be heartie and zealous in bespeaking his freinds to attend and vote for his being made Collector of the Cess in this shire. So that now all hands are at work, and with your concurrence and assistance he hopes to make it good. As you was favourably inclined towards him last year, wee all hope and entreat you'l continue in the same good disposition, and lose no time in bespeaking your freinds, particularly the Laird of Liberton, Captain Preston, Achindinnie, Vogrie elder and younger, Braehead and Glencorse.³ Tis thought you have much to say with most of those and I am sure you will not grudge doing service to a young Gentleman of merite, by which you'l at the same time exceedingly oblige, Sir, Your most faithfull humble servant.

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 82/29

[Dryden?] May 8 1725

Sir, I have only time, by this post, to tell you that this morning your cusen Harry Straton dyed. You need be in no anxiety about

³ Little of Over Liberton; Captain William Preston of Gorton; Sir James McLurg of Vogrie; Alexander Honison of Braehead; Alexander Bothwell of Glencorse

his effects, for care is taken to secure them, so that they will all be preserved and applyd for paying his creditors and what remains to his childeren. Tho I apprehend they'l be pritty difficult to unravell, in regard he was a very closs man and let nobody into the secret of his affairs, till of late that he was perswaded to trust one of his freinds, but that however, hath as yet had litle effect, in so short a time. What advice you think fit to give as to the disposall of his affairs woud be done forthwith. You'l be pleased to direct Mr Dundass how to dispose of the bills you may draw upon Mr Calwald [John Corsar] that they may be duely honoured.

There's litle publick news here. The Generall Assembly sat down on Thursday, what bussiness is to come before them I know not. Wee've a very fine spring and great appearance of a plentiful crop of grass, but corns of all kinds are so very cheap you need not expect much mony from your farms, which wee can hardly get disposd of. They talk of great changes at Court, that the Squadrone's to be demolished and Argile to rule all, and great preparations are making to disarm the Highlanders. You know I'me no great news monger, so that you must depend on others, your correspondents, to be satisfyed in that particular. I saw your Aunt yesterday, her eldest son's very sickly, but all the rest of the family are well and desired me to give your their service when I write to you. I had a letter lately from Mr Henry [John Hay⁴], but I have no way of addressing to him. Give my service to all freinds with you. I am, Sir, Your most obliged humble servant.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. May 8th 1725. Received 6 June P W D'.

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 82/55 (82/54 deciphered);
LP, ii, 152-6

[Dryden?] May 24 1725

Sir, This is in the first place to own the receipt of yours of the 21st March, as also one from Lord Inverness dated the 10th of March, to whom I can make no particular return as I have no address to him. What is recommended shall be punctually executed, and I

⁴ Colonel John Hay of Cromlix, subsequently Earl of Inverness in the Jacobite peerage

may venture to assure you that as your friends have the same way of thinking with you concerning the present state of affairs, and the necessity of both prudence and vigour on all proper occasions towards improving the good cause, they don't faill in doing all thats possible for them, and not always without success. I heartily wish what you have in view may take effect both for your and many unhappy people's sake. When I read your letter to [the] Earl of Wigton, he told me he could positively assure me that some years ago when [the] Earl of Kinnoul resided at Duplin and made great court to the Jacobits in Perthshyre, he used to read copys of what he called your letters to him, thereby to appear a man [of] consequence and give credit with them, in which he came good speed, being then as much esteemd as he is now hated by them.

What I mentiond formerly concerning a letter from [the] Duke of Mar to Lord Dun was a mistake, it was to Lord Balmirrinoh and not signed, but by the contents (whereof I gave you an account) it appears to come from a wellwisher of his, who seems likeways to be privy to his affairs, and therefor presumable to be write by his direction. Since that [the] Earl of Eglinton has been with Major Walkinshaw, who came over at that Lord's desire, because his estate which he held of him having fallen to him as superior by the forfeiture act, he took possession thereof for his behalf, and would not dispose of it for paying his debts without his consent and warrand, so that as he truely had an errand, which those in France did not know of, it occasioned I suppose the suspicion of what was contained in that letter to be his business. Lord Eglinton tells me he had talkd fully with the Major, and is very confident he had no such commission, nor any business but his own. I presume some of [the] Duke of Mar's friends were disappointed when they found out this, for they were at great pains to find out the nature of the commission, in hopes it would appear not to be authorized nor in terms agreeable to you, of which you was to have had a formal complaint.

I met lately with Lord Dun, who told me he was sorry to hear his cheif was under your displeasure, but that he hoped in time his innocence would appear, otherways he should be as far from defending him as any man, and in the mean time he thought the less noise was made of it the better. He asked if I had heard lately

from you? I told him I had and then I mentiond the orders you had given to the bishops and some such general points, endeavoring to give him as little reason as possible to think I was more cautious than formerly with him, which I take to be suitable to your instructions towards regulating our conduct with such as he.

It will take some time to know what is truly designd against the Highlanders. There is a formidable appearance making against them, with what intent, God knows. I understand they have resolved to give up a quantity of old arms, but at all hazard will keep as many as will be needful on a proper occasion.

A few days ago I acquainted you of Hary Straton's death. My letter went by the post to Mr Dundass because I had no occasion of a ship going from Leith, and did not incline to lose time in acquainting you of it. However, it was so write as to be of no consequence tho intercepted. In it I told you that all his papers were secured, but am now to inform you that last week by the advice of Lord Balmirrinoh, his wife burnt all that had any relation to your own or your friends' affairs. I am affrayd this was too precipitant a step, for besides that some letters may come that none can explain, it will take a considerable time before you can adjust the method of corresponding with those that went through Hary Straton's hands. But insofar as I can supply that defect in the interim, your orders shall be very welcome and exactly obeyd by me, in case you have orders to transmit, and I can be of use in executing them.

In my last I mentiond your directing your letters for the future to John Corsar instead of Hary Straton, and giveing orders to Dundass to forward them to him, but since that several of your trustees met, and thought it more adviseable that your orders should continue as formerly, because the canal by which your letters came was well layd, and Mrs Straton is directed and has undertaken to receive your dispatches, and give them to Dundass, and as she is a worthy metled woman, she will perform it very exactly and with great caution, and John Corsar has write to Dundass. These trustees had also under consideration that tho John Corsar is a very proper person to receive and convey your letters, yet they did not think he had such experience and address in business as was necessary in your immediat correspondent here

for negotiating affairs perhaps of intricacy, which perhaps you may have occasion of committing to him, and for that reason they turned their thoughts to find out one they could recommend to you as capable to discharge the trust, and whose circumstances would allow him to do it because at this distance you could not but from hence be apprized of these particulars, and at last they all agree on Mr Fraser. If you have forgot the name, you'll probably remember him, when you're acquainted that having made his escape, after being prisoner at Preston, he came after that to France, and remaind till you allowd him to attend young Mr Lockhart in his travels, and was with him at Rome.

He is a gentleman of an established charecter, of good sense and learning, has seen much of the world, and is capable to manage affairs of the greatest importance, and as he is a Highlander by birth, and speaks that language, its probable he'll be agreeable to those of the Highlands. We have got him into a little business that will afford a comfortable subsistence till times turn better, and his residence will be closs at Edinburgh, so that he will always be at hand to receive your orders. I have write of this to Glenbucket, who is now in the north of Scotland, and as soon as I get his return and see [the] Duke of Hamilton and some of your trustees, I shall acquaint you of their opinions with their names, and then you'll be able to judge and determine as you think proper. I spoke of it to Mr Fraser, he seemd out of modesty to decline it, but withall declared that he looked upon it as his duty to obey you in all things, that he was conscious of his own incapacity to do the service you might probably expect and which he would perform were it in his power; I know of an occasion in a short time, and by it I shall inform you of what I may be further directed to lay before you for your service, and at this time I have only to add that with the most profound respects and greatest sincerity I am, Sir, Your most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. Decypherd. May 24th 1725.'

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 171-5 (incomplete)

[Dryden?] 13 July 1725

Sir, About the middle of last month a large packet was brought by the master of a ship from France to Leith, directed and delivered

to Lord Balmerinloch: it containd a narrative of the grounds of difference betwixt the Duke of Mar and the Bishop of Rochester and Mr Hay, in which is a large vindication of the Duke's conduct; and thereto are annexed coppys of severall letters to and from him (as vouchers for what is asserted in the narrative) and likewise of the scheme laid before the Regent of France by the said Duke, and his letter accompanying it. In this packet ther was also a letter unsignd directed to the Lord Balmerinloch, signifying that this narrative was sent for the Duke's vindication and therfore desiring him to shew it to such persons as he thought proper, but withall expresslie restraining him from giving any coppys therof.

His Lordship having shown it to Lords Panmure⁵ and Kincardine and myself, wee thought it very proper to transmit ane account therof to you, that you might judge how far the facts he affirms are true, the vouchers he produces genuin, and the constructions he puts on them candid. The said narrative, etc, being a few hours in our hands, wee perused them very seriouslie, took such notes, and made such observations as enabled us to make ane abstract therof containing the sum and substance of what was most materiall therin, which I was directed to send to you in a seperate packet; when it comes to your hands you will find it signd with the name of Butterflye.

I am directed to let you know that some of your freinds have a jealousy that a sum of mony raised here (about £2,000 I belive) and remitted to France, *anno* 1722 or therby, has not been communicated to you or was not applyed as you intended. The ground of their jealousy arises from the extraordinary method takn in managing the collection here; for Captain Straton, who received the instructions about it from abroad, did not acquaint any of your trustees here of the matter (except Eglinton who contributed £500 sterling) which not only prevented their own contributions, but also what they might have collected from others. In short, Straton keept the affair a mighty secret from all such as he imagined woud be inquisitive to know how or to whom it was to be remitted or had no particular attachment to Mar, to whom he himself seemd to be very much wedded, even in these latter dayes, notwithstanding your letters about him. In

⁵ Henry Maule of Kellie, titular (due to forfeiture) 5th Earl of Panmure (c.1659-1734)

the next place, tho it was afterwards said this fund was to be imployd in buying arms, etc, in Holland, yet it seems neither Mr Dundass, who did provide some there about that time (as is reported here), nor Thomas Sinclair⁶, who laid out his litle stock that way and has a fitted account signd by Mar, have either of them got a farthing, the want of which has intirely broke the credite of the first, at least prevented his re-establishing it, and the other, with his numerous family, is reduced to great wants. This your freinds thought fit to lay before you, seing the least jealousy of misapplications of such subjects is a great discouragement to those who can and are willing to serve you on proper occasions.

As I was so far advanced yesterday in this letter I received yours of the 23d of June, and what I, before that, was designing to write to you will in some measure suffice for ane answer to it. What in my former letters I told you woud probably be the event of the malt tax has come to pass [Lockhart elides a section here on the grounds that he has already described recent events concerning the malt tax]. I can't express the generall discontent; this western affair⁷ must tend to good, for if the Goverment pass it over, twill encourage others to do the like or more, and if they resent it and take any lives, that, with the blood alreadie spilt, will leave a sting behind, and I look on Argyle's interest in that, his favourite toun, and the west, to be sunk, as he and his partie are blamed for being too instrumentall in imposing this odious tax, which has alreadie so soured and altered people's minds, that I do verily belive, were the affairs of Europe in such a situation as it were proper to make the experiment, twoud be a very easie matter at this juncture to drive our oppressors out of the country and regain our liberties. I can appeal to you that I do not use to exagperate matters, and therefore I may be the more credited, when I say so much, which I mention in hopes it may be a further incitement to secure and hasten the assistance you seem so hopefull speedily to obtain.

This western affair will I hope have another good effect, which I'me sure will be exceeding pleasing to you, viz., that it will save the Highlanders for this time; for the sending 3 regiments to

⁶ A Jacobite agent and uncle of Sinclair of Roslin (Lockhart's neighbour)

⁷ The malt tax riots in Glasgow

Glasgow and the Generall's⁸ being detain'd will so retard his expedition, and the weather withall is so rainie, that in all probability the season will pass before any thing to purpose can be done against these poor people. It is indeed probable that the Government's designs were very pernicious, tho I can't tell but the whole cheiflie may be a contrivance to make a money job of it to some favourites, for this expedition is to cost the Government a good round sum to very litle purpose I hope. Tho the preparations are formidable, as if they knew of ane enemy to meet them in the feilds, yet I know very well that Wade is taking all the pains he can to accomodate matters, having for that purpose sent for most of those about Edinburgh that had any interest with the Highlanders, particularly the McKenzies, and represented to them, that if their freinds woud submit to the Government they should be used with the greatest tenderness, and in due time all their cheifs be pardond and restored, having a sign'd manuall from King George to that effect.

These gentlemen having therupon sent such ane advice to the Highlanders, they refused to comply, particularly the McKenzies, who answered theyd receive orders from none but the Marquis of Seaforth⁹; but within these few dayes tis confidently reported that matters are adjusted with His Lordship, and, what makes it the more probable, a servant of his came lately from France with the Government's pass, keptt private, and was with the new Lord Advocat (Duncan Forbes) at Edinburgh, and from thence went north; of this you may be assured; but that ther's any treatie of accomodation or what may be the articles I can't pretend to tell; tho I imagine they'l consist of a promise, that the rents of the forfeited estates shall be paid henceforwards to the Government and their arms be delivered, which will be only such as are old and useless and will nevertheless be takn of their hands as a proof of their obedience to the law. What conditions Seaforth gets to himself time must show; and indeed wee must wait a litle for the unriddling and confirmation of these and many other things. In the mean time, the situation of affairs in this countrie are just as you'd

⁸ Major-General George Wade, M.P. for Bath and Commander-in-Chief in Scotland

⁹ William Mackenzie, 5th Earl of Seaforth, cr. Marquess of Seaforth in the Jacobite peerage (d.1740)

wish them, if you can bring matters so to bear that an attempt will in little time be made to restore you and relieve your poor people from bondage.

I forgot to say that I am assured by my honest old friend Sir James Sinclair¹⁰ (who's come lately from the furthest northern parts and is trusted by several of the chieftains) that the clans were never so united, have made and laid up provisions, and resolved to stand it out to the last, if so be the accommodation spoke of prove not true.

I omitted to tell you, that we made a few remarks on the margin of the narrative.

I will keep this unsealed till the ship's just ready to sail, that if any thing happens I may add it, and you shall be sure to have accounts as matters cast up. I am with great deference, etc.

To the Old Pretender Stuart, 84/110 (84/109 deciphered);
LP, ii, 186-92 (incomplete)

[Edinburgh?] July 25th 1725

Sir, When I received yours of 23rd June I could not possibly write fully and directly in answer to it. The ship sailed next day, and I had not time to meet and talk with your friends on the important subject contained in it. However, I went immediately to Edinburgh, where I got no more of your trustees (saving some I did not care to treat with on that subject because of your directions relating to [the] Duke of Mar) but [the] Duke [of] Hamilton and Thomas Bruce. To these I showed your letter, and having talked (without particularly communicating what you had wrote) with some persons of good sense and great integrity, I thought it my duty to lay before you their sentiments. They are humbly of opinion that if the Highlanders pretended to stand it out against the Government, it would be a rash and fatal attempt. That it is not to be imagined they can even by resistance get better terms, unless they're able to defeat the Government, and if they failed in that, the utter extirpation of their race would be the certain consequence, and therefore your friends here are unanimously of opinion that as the Highlanders are a body of men

¹⁰ Probably Sir James Sinclair of Mey

of such valuable consideration both to your and the Country's interest, it is by no means reasonable to hazard them at an uncertainty, for tho they should give up their arms (which will not be the case) it will be easier to provide them therein afterwards, than to repair the want of their persons, when your service calls for assistance.

And here give me leave to add that the near prospect you have of foreign assistance (which I take to be such as is not sufficient to conquer, but to assist and enable your English friends to make good their intentions to serve the King within England) is an argument rather against than for the Highlanders breaking out singly by themselves. For I have often and long observed both from publick transactions and private conversations that the bulk of the English, nay even such of them as are most in the King's interest, have a national antipathy to Scotsmen, and [are] particularly jealous of their having the honour of being too active and instrumental in your restoration. Any measure for that end which has its rise from Scotland will not I fear be well seconded, as if undertaken by the English. In the next place, tho over a bottle or even in their most serious consultations, they are enough sensible of their unhappy state, and seem willing to enter into measures for their deliverance, yet many of them are to so intoxicated with the love of ease and plenty that they are backward to enter into action, and would willingly cast the brunt of the first attempt on Scotsmen, and wait to declare and take a part, till they see how matters are like to go, and that betwixt the different views of these two sets of men, the game has been and may again be lost, and therefor it would appear absolutely necessary that the English should know that they have no staff to lean to but their own. If they once engage to be heartily dipt, they know Scotland will soon follow after, and consequently their not opening the scene is no cause of discouraging it, and should not retard them from doing what their duty and interest calls for from them.

This doctrine is, in my opinion but with deference to yours, so essentially necessary to be advanced in the laying down a scheme for the King's being effectually supported by England, that the reverse I am affrayd would have dismal effects. But setting aside

this manner of reasoning, your friends are of opinion that as the Highlanders are situated and exposed to the hatred of the Government it is by no means adviseable to hazard them on the prospect which you may have and mention of speedy assistance from foreign powers. These undertakings are lyable to so many dangers, that the best formd designs often prove abortive, in which case a previous declaration for you would terminate in the utter ruin of your friends and party. If such foreign powers as can and are willing to aid you, are at the pains to enquire into the true state of affairs and characters of persons, they cannot doubt of your Scots subjects' readiness to declare for the King whenever a probable attempt is made, which will contribute as much to the desired issue of it as if they began sooner, whilst at the same time it secures your friends and interest in the Country, in case of unlucky accidents and disappointments which may fall in the way.

As these are the sentiments of your friends in this place (which they lay before the King with all submission) so likewise do they seem to be the opinions and resolutions of the Highlanders at home and abroad. That the first are so inclined and resolved I know for certain, and I have reason to believe the same of the others, for I saw lately a letter from one of the Highland chiefs from Paris, giving an account of several conferences they had with the Bishop of Rochester, and of their being so much against resisting the Government at this juncture, that they refused his directions of going to terms, tho supported by a signed manual from the King to that effect. These being the sentiments of your friends here, and the intentions of the Highlanders, Thomas Bruce and I turned our thoughts how we could best answer your designs and orders under this situation of affairs, and having been informed that a person of distinction was just come incognito to Edinburgh, sent by the Highland clans to get intelligence and advice. Mr Bruce went to him, and being informed that the Highlanders were determined to submit, insofar as to pretend a great readiness to comply, and give up their arms (but withal to keep and secure the best, and even to secure so many as would be almost sufficient), Mr Bruce told him that he could not advise to the contrary. But since he had good reason to believe that an

attempt for your restoration by forreign assistance was designd, and that so speedily, that he did not know how soon he might hear of it, he could not but think it adviseable that they should spin out the time as long as possible to see if that relief would come in time. And since the method prescribed by the Government according to the disarming lawes would take up at least four or five weeks before the forms therein directed could be executed, he wished they would delay giving up their arms to the very last.

The gentleman was in a rapture at this suggestion, took the hint, and assured it should be followed, and went away next morning to acquaint his friends and constituents of the measure. We took the same method to influence the McKenzies (who act as a body by themselves) so that I am pretty positive the surrendry (such as it will be) will be put off for some time. And if the views the King has be executed in the time your letter insinuates, all things here I hope will be as you would have them with respect to the Highlanders, but I can't say so much of other parts of the Countrey, for tho people of all ranks are enraged extremely, and that this certainly is as proper a season as ever was to make an attempt for you, yet many inconveniencies will arise that cannot suddenly be evited. There's no directions given by the King, no person cloathd with an authority to act and direct, no concert amongst your friends, no designs layd down, no preparations made, and as we know not how, where, or when the attempt, which is perfectly new to us, is to be made, it is not possible to lay down the proper and necessary measures quickly. And tho these obstades might be overcome in time, yet that I am [sure] will be very much prevented by the Government seizing on such of your friends as are most capable to serve you at such a juncture, and how they'll evite this confinement is more than I can see, for the Government's troopes are numbrous, and betwixt them and the Highlands and I can propose no shelter for them but the west of Scotland, which at the same time will be very uncertain, as there are in all shyres some senseless and home [sic] knaves, Justices of the Peace, that will too probably lay hands on them. And if they be made restraints that will do irreparable damage to the cause, as by and through them many projects might be concerted and

executed that without them, I am affrayd, will be intirely ommitted, to the very great loss of both yours and the Countrey's interest.

Since my last I have for the first time seen Mr Walkinshaw, and his explanation of a paragraph in your last, wherein his name is mentiond serves for an answer to what I wrote to you in my last, about a certain sum of mony. I am glad to know from him that Mr Dundass was releived. He told me that [the] Duke of Mar's unwarrantable jealousy of him excited his malice so far, that besides the letter I mentiond formerly to have been sent to Lord Balmirrinoh, he and his creatures, with several other letters by the common post, without being in cypher, wherein his name is mentioned, said that he was sent by the Bishop of Rochester to play his game for him. As this without any stretch may bear the construction of being intended to discover him, the prospect of succeeding might perhaps have given rise to the story you heard of his being actually seized.

In my last I gave you an account of what had happend at Glasgow when the precognition was taken. It appeard that the Magistrats had done their duty and they seemd to be in good enough terms with the General and Lord Advocat, but all of a sudden the day before these were to return to Edinburgh the Provost, two baillies and the Deacon Conveener¹¹ were apprehended by virtue of an order from the Advocat, and next day (with about fifty poor people said to be accessory in the mob) sent under guard of dragoons to Edinburgh tolbooth. They were attended by about seventy of the richest citizens, and treated with great respect by the road and in Edinburgh by all persons, and after being some few days in prison, the Magistrats were released upon bail, and returnd in triumph. This I beleive was contrived with a design to detain them from the next Michelmass election because these Magistrats had resisted Daniel Campbel's¹² creatures, and are a set of discreet men that will not sacrifice the town to either Argyle's or the Squadrone party's projects. But

¹¹ In fact the Provost, Charles Miller, and all three bailies, John Stirling, James Johnson and James Mitchell, as well as the Deacon Convenor, John Armour, had been imprisoned in Edinburgh

¹² Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, M.P. for Glasgow Burghs, whose support for the government despite its enforcement of the malt tax triggered the Glasgow malt tax riots

this step will turn against the authors, for as the bringing away the Magistrats of so considerable a place is unprecedented, especially in so contemptable a manner, so the imprisonment was illegal, the Advocat having no power to commit, and it has opend the eyes of many, who see no regard it had to the laws and justice, and if I am not mistaken we'll make a rare handle of it, by making it a national affair, which with other concurring circumstances can't fail to have good effects.

I have been of late very bussy with the brewers of Edinburgh, and they have come to a positive resolution and mutual engagement, that if they are sued for the dutys on malt, stock in hand (for none they have or will malt since the commencement of the malt tax) they will rather go to prison than pay, and in that case lock up their breweries, by which above two thousand clever sturdy fellows will be set loose, and tis probable the like course will be taken over all the Countrey. We expect to hear of several things happening that will encrease the bad humours, already at a tollerable good height, and make the breach betwixt the Government and Countrey irreparable, by improving these and the like occurrences. We hope much to advance your interest, and for that end Thomas Bruce and I stay at Edinburgh to watch all opportunities, and tis not a small satisfaction to see that several who were shy enough to be so much as seen with us formerly, talk with us now very freely and ask our advice, of which we make all the advantages we can. At the same time we are obliged to be very cautious, the Government suspecting our intentions and keeping a strict eye over us.

Since I began some two or three days ago to write this, I hear the General goes to the north of Scotland in a day or two, and I am certainly informd he does not think of calling in the arms for 5 or 6 weeks, and as he was much against the Advocat's manner of proceeding at Glasgow, I am assured he would fain have matters go smoothly in the Highlands. Whether this proceeds from his natural temper (for he is a good natured man) or his instructions, I can't tell.

I have heard lately from Glenbucket (who has been very active in the Highlands and putting them on right measures as to the concealment of their best arms) and he tells me that Mr Fraser will

be most acceptable to him and his Highland friends, and therefor [the] Duke [of] Hamilton, the Earls of Wigton, Panmure, Eglington, Thomas Bruce, and Lord Balmirrinoh, do all concur in recommending Mr Fraser as (for the reasons I mentioend some time ago) the most proper person in this Countrey to receive and execute your orders, whilst at the same time John Corsar continues to take care of letters to and fro.

Mr Lockhart junior having been lately in the north of Scotland, [there] saw [the] Earl of Findlater who told him that it consisted with his knowledge that [the] Duke of Mar made application there last spring for a pardon, and he did verily beleive the Government would grant it next winter. I did not fail to give you timous notice of Hary Straton's death, but it seems my letter was not come to [your] hands at writing your last. We long to know your sentiments and orders on what I wrote on that subject. I should make an apology for so tedious a letter, but as I imagind you would be curious to know what past here at this juncture, I am hopeful you'll excuse me, and be so good as [to] beleive I can be nothing more than I am, Sir, your most humble servant.

[P.S.] I humbly beg you'd forgive the many errors in this, occasiond by frequent interruptions and not having time, because of the ship's sailing, to transcribe it.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. Decyphered. July 25th 1725.'

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671/1

Dryden, Saturday [August 1725]

Sir, Had I before yesterday, that I accidentally met Mr Hepburn at Woodhall, known of the smallpox having gone throw so many of your childeren, I woud not till now have delayed enquiring after them, and I hope now to hear of their being all out of danger and in a way of recovery.

The Quarter-Session on Teusday last remmitted our petition to a Committee who'r to veiw the ground and report, which must be done on Teusday nixt or wee'l lose this season. Captain Preston has promised to meet on Monday; the rest of the Committee live at a distance, except your self, so that if you do

not meet with him, nothing will be got done. If it suits then with your conveniencie to meet on Monday by ten a-clock, please let me know so much and I'll acquaint Captain Preston and Walter Mowbray.¹³ And if you'll call upon me here I will wait upon you. I am Sir, Your reall humble servant.

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, 16 August 1725

Sir, Not having got any answer from you to mine which was delivered to you on Friday last, I met nevertheless with Captain Preston and Mr Mowbray this day, when wee measured the places needfull to be repaired, as the same is containd in the enclosed report. The forms require that two of the Committee shoud sign the report, so if you please to sign (trusting to our measuring it) I am to be in Edinburgh tomorrow and will get ane order for the mony. Be pleased to return the enclosed either this evening with the bearer, or earlie tomorrow morning, in case he does not find you at home. I am Sir, Your reall humble servant.

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 85/130 (85/131 deciphered);
LP, ii, 193-6

[Edinburgh] September 2nd 1725

Sir, The ship that is to take this being to sail tomorrow morning, I'm obligd to sit up all night that I may have it ready in time, so I hope you'll be so good as to excuse what errors I may commit in transcribing it hastily, and that I cannot write so fully as I would had I more time. Such of your friends as knew the contents of yours of the 23rd of June have ever since been under the greatest impatience and are extremely vexed and surprized that they have heard no further from you, and that nothing of what was insinuated to be expected, nay not so much as the arrival of the Highland cheifs that were on the other side of the water hath happen'd.

Had your measures succeeded, never was this Countrey in such a disposition. [The] Duke [of] Hamilton came yesterday from the

¹³ Possibly the Clerk of the Assize

west of Scotland to Edinburgh, and tells me [he] had several messages from the Magistrates of Glasgow and from leading people in other parts of the west of Scotland, that they were ready to venture all for you and would follow him, and indeed people in all parts are so disposed, so that with a small forreign force, or even without it, your bussiness would soon be effectually done here. If so be you could bring a forreign power against England so as to make a stand till your friends there were by that encouraged and enabled to draw together. The worst thing I find here is the want of men of rank and capacity to manage affairs. Some mind nothing but diversions, and others are unactive and lazy, so that these 8 or 9 months bypast (during which several opportunities to be improved for your service has cast up) the whole burthen has layn on Thomas Bruce and me, which has tyed us down to almost a closs residence in Edinburgh. I can answer for both our zeall and wish to serve you, but the concurrence of people of more weight and capacity is necessary, and the want thereof does much harm.

If my former letter came safe to your hands you'll have full account of all that past here, the sequel thereof you'll find in mine to Lord Inverness, which I write without a cypher, as an account of what is publickly known here, the truth wherof you may rely upon. No doubt the Government will be at pains to magnify and spread abroad their success in disarming the Highlands, but depend upon it it is all a jest. For few or no swords or pistols are or will be deliverd, and only such guns as are of no value, so that a small recruit of good arms will put them in a better state than before. I mention this so expressly that you may contradict any reports to the contrary least they discourage those from whom you expect forreign aid.

I now plainly see that this Highland expedition is at the bottom a money-job. The General has got £40,000 to pass through his hands for it, and his scheme is to be very civil to the Highlanders, under the colour of his having perswaded them to give up their arms (which the trash they give him will enable him to represent) to make himself pass as an useful person, and fit to be continued in Scotland with a good salary. But at the same time I know that some of the Government are heartily vex'd that the Highlanders made no resistance, hoping if they had, in this time of tranquillity,

they might have extirpated them, whereas as matters has been managed, they will remain and be in a capacity to serve the King when a fair occasion offers.

Give me leave to mention to you here, how far it would be proper to establish a correspondence betwixt your trustees here and some fit person in France, in case of emergencies that may happen. If you think it proper, you'd be pleased to appoint the persons that are to be entrusted with it, and how far it should extend. We long to have your directions on the contents of several letters I have write since Hary Straiton's death, and with respect to the packet about [the] Duke [of] Mar. Daniel Murdochson (Lord Seaforth's servant) is come to Edinburgh in his way to France. He has been in quest of me and I of him these 2 days, and mist each other, but in a day or two he is to be at my countrey house, when I will get time to talk fully with him, but I know already from one that saw him, that he took up and secured all the arms of value in Lord Seaforth's lands, which he thought better then to trust them to the care and prudence of the several owners, and the other Highland cheifs have done the same. Your friends think that when you have an attempt in view, it would be much for your service [if] you'd let them timeously know with what number of men it is to be, and at what place, that they may know to steer. I am, Sir, Your most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. Decyphered. September 2nd 1725.'

To Hay

Stuart, 85/132; LP, ii, 196-8 (incomplete)

[Edinburgh] September 2 1725

Sir, By yours of the 7th of July to Mr Caldwell [John Corsar] I perceive Mr Kettle [the Old Pretender] hath acquainted you of the reason why I made no return to the two letters I had the honour to receive from you, but having now a direction to write by the same canall of those to Mr Kelly [the Old Pretender], I take the first opportunity to assure you of my utmost respect. Notwithstanding all that hath hapned since wee last drank a bottle togather, I will never give over hopes of being once again merry with you, and towards bringing matters to such a state shall be as earnestlie my

endeavour as tis my sincere wish. I'me so straitned in time I cannot write so fully as I ought and woud. By my former letters to Mr Kid [the Old Pretender] you'll find that Mr Sucties [Harry Straton's] papers were very rashlie destroyd, wherby there's ane intire stop put to all correspondence by his canal at home and abroad, and it will take a good deall of time and be pritty difficult to reestablish. The want of them is why Mr Caldwald [John Corsar] can't write fully to you, nay he coud not understand yours but as I guessed by remembering some of the names in Suctie's cypher. However, wee made a shift to find out your meaning by your mumping.

You'll be curious, no doubt, to know how matters go in this Country. About 20 of the Glasgow rioters apprehended and brought to Edinburgh are soon to be tryed for felony on a law past within these few years intituled [an] act against tumultuous breaking of meeting-houses, bawdie-houses, and gaming-houses, the penaltie of which is life, goods and chatells. Under which of these denominations Lord Ilay will comprehend Shawfield's¹⁴ house. I know not, except it be the last, as his character is something on the sharpening lay. If the jury consist of so many gentlemen of the shire of Edinburgh (some wherof you know) as tis said the Justiciary Clerk hath prick'd out, there will be need of very clear proof of very ill doings to condemn those people. The brewers of Edinburgh on being summoned to pay the dutys of malt stock in hand, left all off brewing and the whole kingdom was following their example, but after some of them were clapt up in prison, and mony was given largely to others ane agreement was packt up with Lord Ilay (who represents the ministry) that they shoud continue to brew and give bills for the duty provided the same was not demanded till a month after the meeting of nixt session of Parliament. Against which time sevrall schemes, tis said, are preparing. I wish this affair was brought to a happy issue, for tis like to creat ill blood and may if pushd *hinc inde* be attended with fatall consequences.

About the midle of last month there came to Inverness about 150 gentlemen of the McKenzies, headed by Lord Tarbat¹⁵, Sir

¹⁴ Daniel Campbell of Shawfield

¹⁵ George Mackenzie, eldest son and heir to the Earl of Cromarty. 'Out' in 1745, but usually thought to have been so due to bankruptcy

Colen McKenzie of Coul, and Sir Keneth McKenzie of Cromartie. This last made a speech to the Generall (who lay encamped near that place with his army), the purport whereof was, that they were come as representing and in the name of Seaforth's vassalls and tennents, who woud not come in themselves untill they knew how they'd be received. That their rents had been uplifted for sevrall years by that Lord's servant, and they were not in a condition to pay the same again, but if they were discharged thereof, they woud now pay their rents to the Government after this, deliver up their arms and live peacably. The Generall told them he took their visit kindlie and desired them to acquaint their freinds, their demand shoud be granted, and if they perform'd as they promised, he woud endeavour and he belived woud obtain when the nixt session of Parliament met, a pardon to Lord Seaforth and all his freinds. Then they did eat and drink heartily for 2 or 3 dayes. He appointed the McKenzies to deliver up their arms at Castlebrand on the 1st of September, whither he was to go attended by these forsaid gentlemen and a small guard of dragoons.

At the same time came to him the lairds of Glengary and Keppoch¹⁶ and delegates from the McDonalds of Sky and the McKintoshes, etc, who made the like submission. So soon as the McKenzies' arms are received, the Generall is to break up his camp (having made every disposition readie to have marchd into the Highlands if this submission had not prevented it) and with a small body of men goes to Killiwhyman, wher he's to receive the arms of the McDonalds of Glengary and Keppoch and the Camerons. From thence he goes to Inverlochry to receive the arms of the McDonalds of Sky and Glenco and the Stuarts of Appin, after which he returns to Edinburgh, wher he proposes to be by the beginning of next month. The better to secure the peace of the Countrie all General officers are by the new commissions made Justices of the Peace in all shires (this under any other Government woud be thought a military Government, but its absolutely necessary and consequently reasonable) and the Castle of Inverness is to be repaired and further fortified. Thus you have all I can tell you at this time.

¹⁶ John Macdonald of Glengarry, chieftain of the Macdonalds of Glengarry; and Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, chieftain of the Macdonalds of Keppoch

I have only to add that the Squadrone are intirely at under and are daylie pelted with pamphalets representing them as a parcell of sad fellows. They seem to be much out of humour, and say when a fitt time comes they can say more against the others, and indeed tis probable they may be on a pritty equall foot. I had within these few months a night or 2 with our freind Mr Sackville [Lord Stormont]. He seems to be much alterd in his humour, for tis no easie matter to rouse him up as in dayes of yore. Bob [Thomas Bruce] desired me to make his compliments to you. I am in a very sincere manner, Sir, Your most humble servant.

[P.S.] Pray make my compliments to Strickland [Southesk], Nicholson [Nithsdale], Knox [Kilsyth] and Frederick [Charles Fleming]¹⁷, whose healths I'll drink tomorrow with Wrightson [Lord Wigton].

Tam Sinclair is in a starving condition. I wish it were possible to get something done for him and a small thing would do it. Endorsed: 'Mr Lockhart, September 2nd 1725'.

To Allan Cameron

LP, ii, 210-13

[Dryden?] 5 October 1725

Sir, Before I received yours of the 10th of September, I knew of your being come, having been told therof by the Bishop of Edinburgh about 3 or 4 weeks ago, as I was acquainted of your intention and errand by a letter which I got some litle time before that from Lord Inverness. I have a very great inclination to see you, because ther's twentie usefull matters woud fall into a conversation, that cannot occur or be so well handled in a letter: I imagined wee might meet without any inconveniencies at a freind of mine's house about 12 miles to the north of the Carn of Mount, but the bearer of yours to me was affraid you'd find it difficult to reach that place. On the other hand for me to pretend to come directlie towards you woud creat some suspicion in our cheif rulers and move them perhaps to severer measures than they've yet takn, and having thus reasond with the King's trustees here, they were of opinion such a meeting as they earnestly enuff desired, could not be obtaind without danger to you or

¹⁷ James Carnegie, 5th Earl of Southesk (1692-1730); William Maxwell, 5th Earl of Nithsdale (1676-1744); the Hon. Charles Fleming, brother of the Earl of Wigtown

inconveniencies from other peoples' jealousy, and therefore I laid aside all thoughts of it.

You'll be able to give the King a particular account of the state of his affairs in your neighbourhood, and I have sent him of late so full and frequent accounts of them here, that I need not repeat them to you, and the truth on't is I have nothing of moment to add. That he gains ground every day on the affections of his people and that their hatred to his enimys daylie increaseth is a certain truth, but at the same time his freinds have been so harrassed and squeezed of late years, that they'r by no means in a condition to make so good ane appearance as they once did; and as the world goes, tis no easie matter to recruit them in what they want. I mention this that more may not be expected from this part than can be performed and to show the necessity of securing ane interest in other parts, both at home and abroad, before any thing to purpose can be done. Ther is not any thing so essentially necessary for the King's service as a perfect good harmony and close concert amongst his freinds, and tis no small misfortune that the reverse has hapned in distant places. In this corner tis quite otherwise, which I take to be much owing to the prudent conduct of his trustees who'r at no small pains to keep matters right: how his freinds wher you now are stand in this particular I can't tell, for you must know wee here are perfect strangers to what's a doing there, seing ther's no established corrispondence.

I had occasion within these few dayes to talk of these matters with your freind and countrieman Mr John McCleod, and he regrated it extremely and proposed that a corrispondence shoud be establishd for the future betwixt some proper person of credit in the Highlands, to be pitchd on by the principall people there and some one of the King's trustees here, who might communicate to and advise with ther principals as occasions required, and he was pleased to desire I woud take it on me: I told him I woud decline nothing in my powr that woud be of any service to the King's interest, but it woud be praeviouslie known how far your neighbours approvd of the measure in generall, and that it was also necessary that they were pleasd in the choise of the persons both with themselves and here, to be the managers of the corrispondence. I perswade my self you'll easily see a great many good

effects woud follow such a corrispondence, as it woud tend directlie to prevent divisions, various resolutions, and giving credite to false intelligence, and woud promote unanimity in affections and actions. If therfore your neighbours approve of this scheme, the setting it on foot before you go off, will, I humblie conceive, be no small service to the King; and if they'l, by a proper person, signify their inclinations to me, I shall acquaint a few of the principall trustees therof, who no doubt will appoint any of their number your freinds pitch on, to be the manager on their side of the corrispondence, and the sooner this is done the better. You'l acquaint the King of this proposall when you have the happiness to see him, and I'me pritty much assured he'l approve of it heartily.

In this world ther's nothing happens that ought to seem strange, else you'd be surprised and scarce credit me, when I tell you ther's a fair probability of a conjunction in measures betwixt the Highlanders and the Cameronians. These last are a powrfull body, well provided in all necessarys, and in all respects in a capacity to do good service. But as they'r a giddy headed humourous people tis no easie matter to manage them, tho in the main they have good intentions and I'me very hopefull will be brought to do right things. Tis but of late I was let into this secret, and I have not yet so fully adjusted matters as that I have thought it necessary to acquaint the King of it, but I hope in a few months to surprize him with a peice of agreeable news in that particular.

I have nothing more to trouble you with at present but to desire you'd remember me in the kindest manner to all my old acquaintances, particularly to Kilsyth, whose health I drank t'other day with severall of his neighbours in the country. Be so kind likewise as to assure the King of my most dutifull and sincere respect and regard for him and his. I wish you with all my soul well back to the place from whence you came and from thence a speedy and agreeable return and end to all your labours, being with all imaginable sincerity, your, etc.

P.S. Wee've a surmise here of a turn of affairs from whence you came, that the Bishop of Rochester is out of favour, and Jamie Murray and he have had a scolding boot of it, and that the former is gone to Rome to be governour to the Prince and is created Earl

of Strathern.¹⁸ This news was brought by one who came very lately from Boulogne, who had it from the Scots club there; what truth's in it, I can't say, but I thought it not amiss to tell you of it.

To Hay Stuart, 86/146 (86/145 deciphered) plus unciphered
part of 86/145; see LP, ii, 214-16
for a slightly different version

[Dryden?] October 13th 1725

Sir, Last week I received yours of the 1st and 8th September, but most of our friends being in the countrey during this season, I have not had an opportunity of communicating the same to any but Lord Panmure, with whom I perfectly agree that whether [the] Duke of Mar was guilty or innocent in whole or in part, it was his duty and interest to have sat silent, as the world goes, and as the King and his servants abroad have acted the prudent part of endeavouring to make as little noise as possible of such matters, and declined entering upon or communicating particulars, I take it to be a direction to his friends to follow his example, except when it is necessary to contradict facts propagated to his prejudice.

I had a visit t'other day from Alexander Seymour¹⁹ (who has lately been in France). He entred upon that subject and insisted much that the Scots Jacobits should suppress all noise of any difference amongst the King's friends abroad, and particularly the stories about [the] Duke [of] Mar, after which he much condemned the sending the narrative to [the] Bishop of Rochester. I told him I wished as much as he that this last had not been done, but for the other [the] Duke [of] Mar alone was to blame, for if anything more than what was general came to light, it was owing to his own conduct in being the aggressor by a narrative he had sent over. He replyd that was a privat matter for the satisfaction of his friends, and to justify himself in their opinions. I answerd [that the] Duke [of] Mar knew these his friends had a friend they valued much more than him, and that they'd never put his interest in the ballance with the other, to

¹⁸ There was no truth whatsoever in the rumour

¹⁹ Possibly Alexander Symmer, a neighbour of John Stewart of Invernittie

whom they had for that reason sent a full account of that paper. At this he seemd surprized and vexed, adding that [the] Duke of Mar did not imagine such an use would have been made of it. I returnd, [that] if it containd truth, no harm was done him, and if it was false, it was but just that the person so levelled at should know it. This and much more to this purpose I spoke, because I could perceive it would be reported to [the] Duke [of] Mar, and I was willing he should know people's sentiments here. David Nairn came here very lately from Boulogne, and told us that he saw several letters from Paris, giving an account of Lord Dunbar's²⁰ journey and errand, adding that he and [the] Bishop of Rochester had a scolding bout of it, and that the latter was out of the King's favour. This last part of the story (after having just received the King's and your letters, and considered the strain in which that prelate is mentiond) I took on me to contradict the report as being the contrivance of some of the King's secret malicious enemies.

As for news, wee have had a hot tryall in the justiciary court of the Glasgow rioters. The Earl of Ilay and Lord Royston²¹ pressd with the outmost zeal to find the libell relevant to infer the pains of death. The other lords insisted on ane arbitrary punishment (except insofar as the Pannells were found guilty of actually pulling down Campbell's house) and carried it, and they allowd of so many exculpations, that of the first ten that were tryed only a poor man, and ane old zealous woman were sentenced to perpetuall banishment out of the British dominions, and the other 8 were acquit. What will be the fate of the rest now under tryall I can't tell. As Lord Ilay seems to thirst after bloody processes, he's like to get work enuff, for there hath been a great mob at Linlithgow about choosing the magistrates and sevrall are takn up and to be tryd.

In this and most other towns the spite against all inclined towards the present ministry runs high. Even in Edinburgh (wher no pains, threats and bribes were ommitted) the Court magistrates carried it only by the Provost's²² casting vote, and

²⁰ The Hon. James Murray had by this time taken up his title of Earl of Dunbar in the Jacobite peerage

²¹ Sir James Mackenzie, Lord Royston of the Court of Session

²² George Drummond, a client of Ilay's

had not the Deacon of the Surgeons²³ been illegally kept out of the Councill it had not come to an equality, and I hear there's a process raised to reduce the regnant magistracy. God be thanked that whilst wee'r thus divided and in so bad a disposition at home, there's an universall peace and that wee need not be affraid of such commotions. Mrs Marjory [James Murray] by her long silence seems to have forgot her old friends. However, I wish her joy and good success in her late preferment. I hope you'll do me the justice to believe I am very sincerelie, Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart, October 13th 1725.'

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 86/148 (86/147 deciphered);

LP, ii, 213-14

[Dryden?] October 13 1725

Sir, Yours of the 1st September came safe to me about a week ago, all your trustees being in the countrey, but Lord Panmure. I'll not expect them in town for some weeks, and till then I cannot communicat to the person the King directs these points on which you demand their opinions, and I have so little to say just now, that I should not have troubled you with this, but that perhaps I shall not have the occasion of a ship from Leith for some time, and I was affrayd you might think I was remiss in executing what the King requires of me. I shall endeavour to get a full copy of the narrative, but I am affrayd without success, for (as I mentiond formerly if I am not mistaken) the person to whom it was sent was bound up from giving copies of it, and indeed the abstracts I made of it (which I can assure you is pretty full and just) was without his knowledge, at least he did not take notice of it, if he suspected that was his friend's design.

I had a letter and a message by a safe hand from Allan Cameron. I would gladly have seen him and conversed with him, but found he could not come towards me with safety, and I could not go to the Highlands without giving umbrage to the Government, which was to be avoided at this critical juncture. You'll have from him such full and certain accounts of the affairs of the Highlands, I

²³ John Kennedy

will not pretend to entertain the King on that subject, further than that they have gone smoothly enough, as I ventured to assure the King of in my former letter. I made a proposition to Mr Cameron with respect to your service, how it took with his friends I cannot yet tell. But I imagine the King will approve of it when he communicates it to you.

All things here are pretty quiet, yet you may depend upon it, the resentment is only concealed till a fair occasion cast up, and care will be taken this winter to set measures on foot to keep up the spirits of the people, which is all can done till your negotiations elsewhere take effect. The wellfare and prosperity of you and your family is most agreeable news to all your friends, and to none more than, Sir, Your most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. October 13th 1725. Decyphered.'

To [Unknown]

SPDom. 54/16/105

[c. End of November, 1725]

[No salutation] Some of your friends and neighbours of this shire having been together last week had under their consideration severall matters that seemed to them of very great importance at this juncture, but being few in number they would take no resolutions till ther was a greater number met and in order thereto appointed to meet again at Steel's on fryday next att 7 a clock and directed me to acquaint therof in hopes of having your good company. As wee understand ther are not wanting those that would thwart every measure for the good of this Country twas agreed that this ensuing meeting should consist of only a few particular persons that were pitched on, of whose good intentions ther was no doubt and it is expedient that you let nobody know that ther is to be such a meeting least wee find spys and false brethren amongst us. I am [transcription ends here].

Endorsed: 'Copy of Mr Lockhart's circular letters for conveening the Heritors of the County of Edenburg to address against the Malt Tax 1725'.

To Baron Sir John Clerk

GD 18/5671

Dryden, 4 December 1725

Sir, Mr Dundas, Marjoribanks, Sir John Inglis²⁴ and I sup'd together on Thursday and had under consideration severall matters which wee judged proper to be pursued at this juncture. But being unwilling to take any resolutions without the advice and approbation of a greater number of our freinds, wee agreed to meet again on Friday evening and to desire a few more of our neighbours (that wee could be free with) to be with us, and it was particularly recommended to me to notifie the same to you, in hopes to have the pleasure of your assistance and good company. I am, Sir, Your most faithfull humble servant.

[P.S.] Wee'r to meet at Steel's on Friday twixt 6 and 7 at night.

To [Unknown]

SPDom. 54/16/105

6 December 1725

[No salutation] I gave you a few days ago the trouble of a letter [see above] acquainting you that some of your freinds and neighbours were soon thereafter to meet together and desired you'd be with them, but wee had not your good company. However, they directed me to inform you that after having previously discoursed with some gentlemen of other shires they resolved to send up ane address against the Malt Tax (which will also be done from all other shires) and agreed to meet and sign it on fryday at 2 a clock att Jo: Steel's in Edinburgh. Note thereof is sent to most gentlemen in the countrey and its hopd that you and others will attend because ther are not wanting those that would thwart this and everything that hath a tendency to relieve this Countrey from so heavy a burden. If your neighbour is in the Country try to bring him in with you for the [more] numerous wee are, the better. I am [transcription ends here].

Endorsed: 'Copy of Mr Lockhart's circular letters for conveneing the Heritors of the County of Edenburg to address against the Malt Tax 1725'.

²⁴ James Dundas of Arniston and Marjoribanks of Hallyeards

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 88/80 (88/79 deciphered);
see LP, ii, 222-8 for a
slightly different version

[Dryden?] December 18th 1725

Sir, In my former I acquainted you of the reason why I did not give an immediat return to yours of the 1st September, and tho I have by this time seen most of those with whom you'd expect I would talk on that subject, yet some obstacles stand in my way that prevent my giving you the satisfaction you demanded and expected, at least as to the way and manner, for the truth on't is there are several who are reckond your friends to whom I did not think it proper to communicate what the King wrote to me, in which I have the joint concurrence of Lord Kincardin and Mr Fraser. Amongst these is principally [the] Duke [of] Hamilton, for as I know very well that he aims and expects to be at the head of your affairs, it was by no means expedient to mention the choise of a General, untill the King was apprized of some particulars relating to him, and formd a judgement upon them, and as Lord Eglington is absolutely under [the] Duke [of] Hamilton's direction, it was also necessary to keep him in the dark, and likeways Lord Panmure, for a reason to be hereafter subscribed. So that, Lord Wigton and John Paterson being absent, Lord Balmirino, Lord Dun and Sir John Erskine too much I suspect attachd to [the] Duke of Mar, and [the] Bishop of Edinburgh quite dazed, there was none I could truly discourse with on the subject the King mentions, but Lord Kincardin and Mr Fraser, too small a number to offer an advice on a matter of such importance. However, in case our opinions might be of use to the King, we resolved to transmit them with all due deference.

Taking it then for granted that in any attempt you're to make you'll be supported by a forreign force, such as may promise probable hopes of success, tis thought your grand effort will be in England, and the nearer to London the better. In which case all needful or expected from Scotland will be a diversion to the army in Scotland, so as to prevent that army's being called to England, or to embarass them in their march, so as to hinder a conjunction with the other forces. If with that view the army you sent to

Scotland were able to make a stand against the Government forces then sure the best landing place is on the south side of the Firth of Forth, because they may be joined by your friends in the south of Scotland, and a communication will be secured with England, whereas if they land on the north side of the Firth of Forth these will be prevented, whilst your friends in the north of Scotland need no help. But if the army you send are not so numerous, then they should land in the Highlands, so as they may be quickly joined by the Highlanders.

Whichever way you take, arms, ammunition, saddles, money, are all wanting here, and must be supplied elsewhere, and it is very necessary to send a good number of officers, that is, a few of some rank, and as many subalterns and staff officers as possible. I have mentiond these particulars, because your friends are far from being in the same condition they were *anno* 1715. As the aversion to the Union dayly encreases, that is the handle by which Scotsmen will be roused to make a general and zealous appearance. This your enemies are so sensible of that on former occasions all pains were taken to buzz in the peoples' ears that they'd be disappointed in what they expected from the King, for that to please your subjects of England, you was to uphold the Union. Now as I am fully perswaded the better part of the English are far from thinking the Union beneficial to either Countrey, I cannot see but it is expedient for the King to gratify his friends in Scotland, and thereby advance your own intrest, and in order therto that so soon as your army lands a manifesto should be published (as designed formerly) with respect to religion and containing an ample assurance of your design to maintain the two kingdoms in their ancient independent state by dissolving the Union pernicious to both. And it would be of great service if in this manifesto the King recommended to the electors in shyres and burrows to have their thoughts on proper persons to be by them chose to represent them in Parliament, which it is your intention should meet so soon as the state of affairs will allow, to consider and make such laws as may be judged necessary for securing [the] religion, laws and libertys of your ancient kingdom. Were some copies thereof printed and sent over beforehand, so as to be ready to be dispersed immediatly on a

landing, it would answer the design to better purpose, but this must be done with great caution to prevent a discovery and seizure.

These are some of the cheif matters that occurrd to us in general, and to be more particular is not practicable, unless we know the nature and time of your design more particularly. The choise of a general is a matter of great importance, could one have his wish, he'd be native of a good rank and character, and well versed in both civil and military affairs, but one with these enduements is not, I am affrayd, to be got, and therefor it would appear that this defect must be supplyd by branching out these several powers into several hands. That is, that the management of your military be committed to a bred souldier (to which none affected towards the King now in this Countrey can pretend) who should correspond and live in perfect good terms with him or them where the supreme power in other matters is lodged, or perhaps in some degree of subordination thereto, who should be nevertheless particularly intrusted and required to move entirely by the advice and direction of the general in all military affairs.

Could harmony be effectually maintaind, this or some such in the present juncture would be the most probable scheme. And of all others [the] Duke of Hamilton appears to be the most proper person in whom this supreme power should be reposed, as his being the first peer would give no occasion for emulation and grudge in others, and for his family being known all over Europe, his being at the head would give some reputation to the affair. But then he is young and void of experience in bussiness of every kind, nay, notwithstanding all that the King's and his own friends have often said to him, his bypast life has been entirely devoted to diversions, idleness and a bottle amongst persons noways fit companions for one of his rank. By which conduct he has lost and ruind his character, and run himself over head and ears in debt. On these accounts it was that we would not mention this particular to him, till the King was informd of his conduct, whereby you might regulate your resolutions as to him. But at the same time the justice must be done him of owning that he is a young man of excellent sence and capacity, and in all appearance firmly attatched to your interest. And tis to be hoped that if he

were once dipped, and in a course of bussiness, he'd alter his ways, and in that case be the most significant person for the King's services. And if you have any views that way, it would be absolutely necessary that you write or instruct some person to acquaint him, that as it was probable you'd soon have an occasion to employ him in an eminent station you could not but recommend to him to be very careful in cultivating a good correspondence with your friends, and rendering himself capable to answer the trust the King reposed in him, and do you the service the King expected from him. Tis submitted how far it would be expedient that you named a council, by the advice of whom all things were to be transacted. This is the sum of what was judged proper to lay before you on this important subject, without presuming to offer any judgement of our own upon it.

I had almost forgot to tell you that after whatever manner you place the cheif authority in civil or military matters, there would be an officer appointed to have the cheif command of the Highland clans, and we know of none so fit as General Gordon²⁵, tho at the same time we are strangers to his behaviour and ways of thinking for several years bypast, which may indeed give rise for changing measures as to him.

As I have for many years been in a state of intimacy and friendship with Lord Panmure, I was sensible enough of some irregularities in his temper, so that it required some little management to keep well with him, and, as he is a person of good sense and an established character, to succomb and humour him in things not very material. For some 18 or 20 months bypast, I was much surprized at his conduct, for it very evidently appeard that he secretly fomented and supported the malcontents of Angus in the noise and bustle they made and still make in opposition to the College of the Bishops, and I took the liberty not long ago to tell him that he was highly blameable, when by the trust the King reposed in him, he ought rather prevent than occasion breaches amongst the King's friends. We both turnd warm, and he dropt some expressions with regard to your rights and interest that I could not well pass by. However, I reckond it proceeded from too much heat and passion, and I resolved to

²⁵ Major-General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul

overlook it till t'other day when with Lord Kincardine we talked at a distance of the subjects of that letter to which this is a reply. He turn'd all into a jest, falling afterwards into a passion and swearing that it was madness to propose anything to be done for you, and that none but madmen would engage in such an affair. In short, he went on at such a rate, that after leaving him we concluded that tho he is content to be reckon'd a Jacobit in the present situation of affairs, he will not venture further or meddle if anything in earnest come in play, and would therefor have matters stand as they are.

How far this posture is to be depended upon, I shall not positively say, but it would appear too well founded, especially when it is certain that he is absolutly govern'd by his eldest son²⁶, who makes no scruple of owning a great resentment at the loss of the family estate, and the cause that occasion'd it. Nay, when I spoke of this t'other day to [the] Duke [of] Hamilton, he told me that being a young man, he was unwilling to say anything to the prejudice of an established reputation, such as Lord Panmure's, but he had good reasons to beleive, that the son made advances last winter to the Government, and would stand at nothing to get back the estate and honours. It was thought proper to acquaint you of this and you know best what use to make of it, and untill we have your directions, we resolve to act very cautiously in trusting him with particulars of moment, and yet keep as well with him as possible, so as to give him no cause of complaint.

By what is said in this letter you will easily see your trustees are reduced to a small number, and tho formerly on very good reasons you declined making any additions, yet now perhaps you may think it proper, when time has made such alterations in the sentiments and behaviour of so many persons, and in that case [the] Duke of Hamilton and Lord Kincardin beleive Lord Strathmore and Mr James Graham very fitt persons to serve you. One is a man of integrity, and t'other a good lawyer fit to give advice, and both perfectly well affected towards you. The inclosed is from Thomas Sinclair. The contents I don't know, tho I fancy it is with respect to his circumstances, or his negotiating with the Cameronians for which he showd a sign'd manual from

²⁶ James Maule

you. As I know him to be a faithful zealous servant to you, I could not refuse his pressing instances to forward it under my cover.

In mine to Lord Inverness is inclosed to you a letter from Allan Cameron, concerning whom I refer to what I have mentiond in that letter.

We are just now upon settling some measures afoot that will tend to keep up the people's spirit of resentment against the Government. I pray God you may be enabled to lay hold of this and every fair opportunity of doing yourself right and releiving your oppressed peoples. I am, Sir, Your most obliged humble servant.

[P.S.] On second thoughts, finding that Sinclair's letter was not as he tells me writ in cypher, and expecting Mr Cameron soon here, I thought it better to send it by him, than under this cover.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. Decyphered. December 18th 1725. Received by Mr Cameron Aprile 14th 1726.'

To Hay

Stuart, 88/82 (88/81 deciphered); see LP, ii, 228-32 for a slightly different version

[Dryden] December 18th 1725

Sir, In my former letters I acquainted both the King and you why I could not give immediatly a distinct return to some of the particulars mentiond in his and yours of the 1st September, and now again touched in yours of the 27th October, which I had the honour some few days ago to receive; and having now write pretty fully to the King himself, I need not make a repetition here. All I shall say is, we shall do our best to have things right orderd here, when the long lookd for hour comes, and that it may be soon and quickly (being the English of *suum cuique*) is the earnest desire of all possest with a sense of their duty to the King, and of the unhappy state of this Countrey.

Till t'other day that I received a letter from Allan Cameron, I beleived he was gone a good time ago, but it seems he has been detaind in the Highlands longer than he expected and designd, and being obliged to dispatch the ship he had provided, in the north of Scotland, for his return, he writes to me that he'll be in

some time with me, and desires me to look out for a ship to carry him to France or Holland, which I shall take care to do. How long it may be ere I may see him I can't tell, but it would appear it won't be very soon, because he desires me to forward the inclosed to the King, that in case the King has any orders that may reach him ere he goes off, they may be transmitted through my canal. I am well assured that Mr Wade knew of his being in Scotland, being likeways informd that a ship under pretence of fishing hoverd on the coast to carry him back, and as it is probable that Wade has layd traps to catch him, that I fancy is the reason of his resolving of coming to Edinburgh, where, especially in the winter-time with any tollerable degree of caution, he may be safe enough.

As for Walkinshaw, you need be under no apprehension, for his being in Scotland is no secret. He's every night in the tavern at Edinburgh or Glasgow, under the favorit name of Campbel, but as it is known that he came over purposely to settle his own private affairs, and has no personal enemies, no notice is takn of him.

Could what you propose as to the castle of Edinburgh be brought about, no doubt it would be a very great point gaind, but I can form no hopes thereof. When the attempt was made *anno* 1715, the garison was very weak, consisting of a few infirm creatures, and the best of them were well disposed, of the which I was so well assured from the dealings I had with them (being then a prisoner) that when the design was notified to me I pressed that they should rather make the attempt at the very principal gate, and I would engage Charles Stuart the porter to leave it unlockd by my advice. The case is now quite different. The garison has been purged again and again, and there marches every day 40 men from the Canongate guard, and several of the principal officers are English. What you say of Preston²⁷ was true enough, whilst his cusin [the] Duke of Ormond (as he called him) and his patron Lord Mar were in prosperity, then indeed I beleive had the stroke been struck he had acted a part in it, but the moment that the face of affairs turnd, so did he, and from being a well bred gentleman, became the very reverse, which all, especially such of us as had been his best friends before, that were in prison under his

²⁷ General George Preston

command, felt different ways. In short, he is a poor weak bigotted creature, and entirely under the influence of Lord Justice Clerk²⁸, and its in vain to expect anything from him.

Lord Airly²⁹, after having a conference with Wade at Sir Hugh Paterson's³⁰ house, is now incognito in Edinburgh, waiting till the General, who is lately gone to London, send the pardon he has procured for him. Wade made no secret of his being instructed to promise pardon to all (except [the] Duke of Ormond, [the] Duke of Mar, Lord Marischal and the laird of Innernechty³¹) that were attainted and applyd to him, and he has accordingly given assurances to most of the McKenzies, [the] laird of Appin³², and several others that have as we are told applyd to him.

You're certainly in the right to be exceeding cautious in your despatches, for no pains are omitted to make discoveries. The Government here is entirely in the hands of [the] Duke of Argyle, or rather Lord Ilay, and the Campbels are extremely uppish and insolent. Their merit consists in undertaking to carry through the malt tax, as the Squadrone's was formerly in supporting the Commission of Forefaultrie, so that each party raise themselves by alternate hardships on their native Countrey. We were in great hope the Squadrone would have kicked out, but they're a mean-spirited dastardly set, and will come into no measures that may irritate their good masters of England, so as to cut them off from hopes of being taken in again. There is a new scheme soon, as it is expected to take place, viz, the President of the Session³³ is to demit and have a pension of a £1,000 and his second son³⁴ to succeed Lord Grange, who is to be President. This sure promotion seems to have some connexion with the conduct of [the] Duke of Mar, and most people who know nothing of private particulars conclude [the] Duke of Mar must be on no bad terms with the Government, when his brother and confidant is advanced to the post of greatest influence here.

²⁸ Adam Cockburn of Ormiston

²⁹ James Ogilvy, titular 4th Earl of Airlie (d.1731)

³⁰ Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn

³¹ John Stewart of Invernittie

³² Robert Stewart of Appin, chieftain of the Stewarts of Appin

³³ Still Sir Hugh Dalrymple of North Berwick

³⁴ Sir Robert Dalrymple of Castleton

We are just now on a project of settling a correspondence betwixt the cheifs of the clans and the King's trustees which has been hitherto wanted, and maybe of use to keep an union in measures, and prevent the snares layd by some. I find great pains are taken by [the] Duke of Mar's friends to represent [the] Bishop of Rochester as an enemy to Scotsmen, to counter which I made no secret of what the King and you wrote formerly on that subject, and it has had good effects, especially with the Highlanders. Mr Fraser returns his most humble service to you, and desires you would assure the King of his inviolable attatchment to him and his cause. Henceforwards let all letters to me be addressed to Mr Robert Burnet (without any further direction) and advise Mr Dundass to forward them to his friend Mr Strachan in Leith³⁵, who carefully delivers them to me or John Corsar. There is no need of his knowing who Burnet is, for I find he found out Mrs Anne Mitchel³⁶, and in the fewer hands such matters are, so much the better. I have now without any order mentiond whatever occurrd to me to be told you, and I have only to add that I am very respectfully, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant.

P.S. The King has t'other day lost a faithful useful servant, Bishop Irvine, and it will be no easy matter to supply his place, as he was the only present bishop fit to succeed [the] Bishop of Edinburgh, who is quite dazed, and can't last long. Some propose Mr Rattray of Craighal, and would he lay his whimes aside, he is a fit person, as he is a man of sense and learning, and has an estate to support the rank. Others propose your and my old friend Mr John Gillon, who has been in orders for some years, and is in most esteem of all the Episcopal clergy in Edinburgh. You know him to be an excellent man in all respects. You shall hear further from me more fully on this subject when I have collected the sentiments of the King's friends, and something must be done quickly to prevent factions amongst men honestly inclined. I am just going to Edinburgh to drink a bottle and pass an evening with your friend Lord Stormont, and your health (and not a few more) will be rememberd. You may easily beleive [ends].

³⁵ Hew Strachan the Jacobite courier

³⁶ Either the Earl of Moray or the Earl Marischal

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart, December 18th 1725. Received by Mr Cameron Aprile 14th 1726.'

To Allan Cameron

Stuart, 89/108

[Dryden?] Teusday [c.18 January 1726]

Sir, Not expecting you woud set out so soon, as by the letter I had last night from the Earl of Kincardine I perceive you now design, I'me obliged to sit very close to prepare the enclosed packet which I was directed to write to the King and which tis recommended you woud deliver out of your own hand, as is signified to him in it. The letter marked X [note in another hand: 'not subscribed'] is from Thomas Sinclair to the King, of whose hard case and usefulness I spoke to you, and it were to be wished something could be yet done to save him from ruin. Unless your affairs requires hast (of which you can best judge yourself) and that you have no hopes of ane other occasion for a long time, I cannot but think that in a short time some things will come to light that woud enable your freinds to talk and instruct you more fully and that another such occasion may not be got at so criticall a juncture. This I know is also the Duke of Hamilton's opinion and I have writ so to the Earl of Kincardine so you may advise and take your resolutions with your freinds.

It is impossible just now for me to say when I can be in town, something hath occurred that necessarily detains me. But if you go ere I see you the only loss will be my not having the pleasure of verbally wishing you well, and desiring you to remember me in the kindest manner to all my good old freinds, having said all I have to say on other matters. You'l mind what I said to you of my design to go abroad and what our freind will need to direct in that case. Tho I'me pritty much wearied of what is laid on me, nothing will induce me to give it over, if I'me of any use to him, but as I'me sure he can be fully as well served by others, I woud gladly have a litle libertie to dispose of my self, but in that and everything else I'll be directed by him. I have only to add that I am, Yours with the greatest sincerity.

[P.S.] I send you [the] pamphalet I spoke of to you.

Endorsed: 'Mr Lockhart's letter to Mr Cameron covering his letters to the King of 18th January 1726, the cypher and Mr Sinclair's letter.'

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 89/109 (89/110 deciphered);
see LP, ii, 232-4 for a
slightly different version

[Carnwath?] 18th January 1726

Sir, I writ both to you and Lord Inverness on the 18th December last. These letters I know lay a long time at Leith waiting for a ship, and I being at writing of this in the countrey, I can't tell whether they're gone or not. If not, tis probable they come with Mr Cameron. I have conversed so fully with the bearer in your affairs, that I need not mention anything in this that he is to report to you. I cannot however, ommit acquainting you that your freinds here are under the greatest consternation at the stories publickly handed about here concerning you and your family, of which, having no particular authentick accounts, they don't well know what to say, or how to behave, and are even affrayd to correspond, till they be sure that matters are so adjusted and regulated as there may be no hazard therein. Various are the reports of various people's conduct, and the resolutions you have thought fit to take, and what to make or even to think of them, your best friends are at a loss, and will be at a stand till they hear more of them.³⁷ The unanimity the King so earnestly recommended to yours here, is as necessary elsewhere, as all divisions give your enemies fresh hopes and new handles to work on, and mightily discourage those that are most active in your service. Tis an hard case that people suffering in the same cause, and having no prospect of relief but by and through one event coming to pass, should by jarrs or immoderat unseasonable selfish views act diametrically opposite thereto, and if these are the inevitable consequences of ministers of the first rank, it would appear to be your intrest to lay all such aside, and carry on your business by your own directions, through some other, more subaltern,

³⁷ Reports of the quarrel between the Old Pretender and his wife, Clementina Sobieska, and her histrionic flight from him to a convent, were just beginning to reach Britain at this time

canals, that will be more observant of your orders, and not so high minded.

Pardon my using the liberty to mention matters with such freedom. What I say proceeds from a disinterested concern for your prosperity, and is the opinion of all your friends, founded on the reports they have of what hath past lately in your family, the welfare wherof they have much at heart. I should injure both you and myself, if I did not let you know that accounts are sent here of some particulars mentiond in my letters of late to you, which I am sure you did not design, no more than I did expect should have been so particularly and publickly talked of. I have not as yet got so far to the bottom of the story as to discover from whence the intelligence comes, but I am too well convinced that some people about you have acted a part neither fair nor prudent, otherways it is utterly impossible that some here shoud know some particulars which they tell I wrote to you. With what intent such intelligences were sent I can't tell, but this I know: they are in the hands of such as make no good use of them.

Having the convenience of the bearer, I have sent with him a new cypher which is different from, and in some respects better adapted to our correspondence than the last (which hath been long enough in the field) and added thereto a double numerical alphabet, which will make a discovery more difficult. The first time you use this new cypher, mark the upper first page with a X, and hence forwards, let all letters to me be addressed to Mr Robert Burnet, and instruct Mr Dundass or whom you think proper, to forward them to John Corsar. I have only to add that your friends, from what is brewing in Europe, were in full hopes of seeing something cast up for your intrest, but at present [are] in the uttermost concern and almost despair till they hear directly and distinctly from you. I am, Sir, Your most humble servant.
Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. Decyphered. January 18th 1726. Received by Mr Cameron Aprile 14th 1726.'

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 90/19 (90/18 deciphered);

LP, ii, 234

[Carnwath?] January 25 1726

Sir, Since my last a few days ago, a well-wisher of yours put into

my hands the inclosed paper [not found] concerning the state of Brittain as to some particulars of trade, and the prospect of the war that is expected to break out. With what intentions I know not, but I having this good occasion, thought there could be no harm in sending it to you. There seems to be a general expectation that something ere long will be attempted for the King, which gives your friends occasion to think on such measures as may seem expedient for you previously to take, and I was desired to transmit the inclosed two clauses [endorsed: 'of a declaration for Scotland bruiting the dissolution of the Union'.] as to what to them seems proper to be a clause of your manifesto and indemnity, and is by them submitted to your judgement. I am Sir, Your most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. Decyphered. January 25th 1726. Received by Mr Cameron Aprile 14th 1726.'

To Allan Cameron

Stuart, 90/74

[Carnwath?] Monday morning [c.31st January 1726]

Dear Sir, Reflecting upon a conversation I had with the gentleman that was here all night with you on Friday concerning some matters of moment relating to the society he belongs to, I found it necessary to write to our freind on that subject, which I here enclose to your care, so wishing once more all manner of prosperity, I again take my leave of you with a heartie, Adeiu.

Endorsed: 'Mr Lockhart's note to Mr Cameron covering his letter to the King of 31st January 1726.'

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 90/54 (90/53 decyphered), with missing elements taken from LP, ii, 236-9

[Carnwath?] January 31st 1726

Sir, Having since I sealed up and deliverd my last a few days ago an occasion to converse with some of the Scots Episcopal clergy and others well affected to the Church and the King, I judgd it my duty to give you this further trouble, on a subject wherein I humbly conceive your intrest is concernd. I have in some of my former letters mentiond Bishop Fullerton's being very much

decayed, and as he is dayly more and more so, it is very plain he can't subsist long, at least will (if he is not in a great measure already) be incapable of business. I take it to be a matter of very great moment in your service to preserve the face and authority of the Church, and therefor the same reasons that moved you formerly to provide for the event of Bishop Fullerton's death, by your directions in favour of Bishop Irvine, do still subsist, and require your interposing in the same manner, now that Irvine is dead. I do confess it is no easy matter to supply the place of that worthy person, who had nothing at heart but your and the Church's interest, and had courage to go through with what he thought his duty, for amongst the present number of bishops, there is not one fitt to be placed and fixed at the head of the Church, and it will require your most serious consideration to determine yourself in that particular. And in the mean time it appears necessary to take such precautions as may prevent divisions and confusions.

If Bishop Cant³⁸ was not by reason of his old age become very infirm, he's a person in all respects qualified to be at the head of any Church in Christendom, being a man of great learning and integrity. However, he may be able to officiate for some time, till you come to a final resolution. There's another, Bishop Duncan³⁹, tho not of such parts and learning as the other, yet eminently distinguished and esteemd for his great probity and zeall for your and your Churche's interest. I am therfore of opinion that it woud be for your service that with the very first occasion, you write a letter to the Colledge of Bishops signifying that wheras you'r informed Bishop Fullarton is become so infirm that it is not to be expected he can subsist long, at least that it is probable he may be obliged to retire to the countrie for his health, and being desirous in either of these cases to provide for the peace and welfare of the Church, it is your pleasure that either Bishop Cant or Bishop Duncan, as shall appear most convenient, do in either of these events reside at Edinburgh, to preside in the Coledge of Bishops and take care of the affairs of the Church in your capitall of Edinburgh and diocesse therof, untill you

³⁸ Bishop Andrew Cant

³⁹ Bishop Alexander Duncan

determine yourself in the choise of a person duellie qualifed and agreeable to your people to be settled in a post of such consequence with respect to the interest of both Church and State. I have mentioned the alternative of these 2 persons, least sickness, etc, may impede any one of them from answering the end you propose by this letter, and that of the Colledge ther is not another fit for the post. [If] Fullarton dye before your commands in this particular does come, I shall attend the Colledge and let them know what your pleasure was in case Bishop Irvine had been alive, and I doubt not but they will therupon delay all further proceedings till your pleasure is known.

What I here offer is only my own opinion, none of your trustees that I incline to speak to on the subject being in town, but at the same time I am very positive it woud be approved by such of them whose opinion you'd most relye on, otherwayes I woud not have presumed to offer what was only supported by my own private judgement. It will be absolutely necessary that you have your thoughts and come as soon as possible to a resolution in the choise of person to succeed Fullarton and be at the head of the Church, and in truth tis a matter of such moment and ther's so few fit for it to choise upon, that I will not take on me to give you any advice, but I shall as fast as possible know the sentiments of your best freinds and most proper judges, and report faithfully to you. One thing I'me sure of, that (considering the age and infirmitys of the 2 persons I have named for the present job) none of the present Bishops will be thought proper, and that therfore your freinds' endeavour will be to find out some person with endowments suitable to the charge, and at the same time in such a state of health and of such ane age as that ther's some probability he may continue in the office for some time, ther being many inconveniencies that happen from changes, especially at the distance you are and under the present circumstances, which I pray God may be soon altered to the better.

Since sealing up my former packet I unexpectedlie had ane opportunity of talking very fully with Mr Cameron on severall subjects, by which he may explain severall points not clearlie enuff perhaps expressd in what I have wrot, and mention some

things wholly omitted, particularly concerning a correspondence being established betwixt your friends here and those you trust with your affairs at Paris and London, for at present we're under a total state of ignorance. I desired him also to mention to you a certain particular that related only to myself. Whatever may be my motives and inclinations therein, I submit myself entirely to your pleasure, being resolved that no consideration whatsoever shall come into the scales with the duty I owe you and the zeal I have for your interest and service. Tho at the same time I am sure neither can sustain any prejudice from what I am at, there being no want of those who can in all respects perform what has been for some years beyond my province, and who'll undertake it very cheerfully and more agreeably I imagine to some who, I dare say, wish you very well. I have I am afraid overacted my part in the number and length of my letters of late, but at the same time I am sure you have goodness enough to forgive what is done with a good intention by, Your most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. Decyphered. January 31st 1726. Received by Mr Cameron Aprile 14th 1726.'

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 257-9

[Dryden?] 12 March 1726

Sir, I had given you the trouble of so many letters committed to the care of Mr Cameron, and in the enclosed writ so fully to Lord Inverness in return to his of the 17 and 24 of November, that I did not think it necessary to say any thing particularly to yourself at this time, but having, about an hour or two after I had finished the enclosed to Inverness, received the honour of yours and his of the 19 of January, I judge it proper by this to acquaint you thereof. What I have wrote to you and him by Cameron and at this time will I hope answer what you required and expected with respect to those points wherein you demanded the opinions of your friends here, and I pray God you may soon have an occasion to put them in execution.

I am deeply affected with the trouble it is easy to perceive you are under, from what hath happened in your family: by the enclosed you'll see what a turn is given to it, and I cannot but take notice that

these and the like reports gaind credit (during our state of totall ignorance) pritty universally and therby occasiond a good many severe reflections on Inverness and Dunbar. Differences twixt man and wife, even in a private family, is so delicate a point, that a 3d person, without a very particular call and immediat concern, cannot well venture to interpose, and much less woud I presume to say any thing on so nice and tender a subject, were it not attended with consequences wherin so many thousands are affected and doth therby become a publick nationall concern.

Consider, Sir, I beseech you, the many advantages which the enimys of you and your family draw from what has hapned, by inventing and propagating many storys which tend to lessen your charactar in the world, and which, tho ever so false and improbable, are credited by some and at least creat fears and doubts in others, and by blasting the hopes of your leaving a numerous issue behind you. This very article is of the last consequence, for it is a truth naturall to imagine and consists with my particular knowledge, by the opportunitys I had of conversing often and knowing the sentiments of my unkle the late Lord Wharton and his intimates, that the enimys of your family were by nothing more encouraged to drive on and persist in their rebellious schemes, than that in you alone existed the royal race of Stuart, and were in hopes that with you it woud expire; whereas a numerous issue subsisting is one of the most powrfull arguments in behalf of your just cause, as it draws alongst with it a disputable succession, whilst the present settlement continues, the many miserys wherof England has by dear bought experience been taught. I acknowledge ther are many whos right is prior to that of the German, but your enimys know as a certain truth, that the particular regard and attachment to your person and family will produce stronger efforts than in favours of any other person and family, tho equally supported by ane hereditary right to the crown; and on these considerations every thing that retards the hopes and expectations of the encrease of your royall offspring is a plain visible prejudice to your just cause, which, even for the sake of your faithfull subjects, cannot fail to make a due impression on you. A king no doubt has a higher right and title to be absolute master of his own particular family, than a private person; but at

the same time as his personall cannot be separated from his regall capacity on which such numbers depend, prudence calls upon him more strongly to cover, and by all lawfull and honourable means to repair, such breaches as are naturally attended with irreparable bad effects towards himself and his people.

Forgive my entering so far upon this melancholy subject: it proceeds from no other cause whatsoever than the disinterested regard I have for yourself and your family and that I am certain these are the sentiments of all that wish you well, whose earnest prayers and longing desires are to hear that matters are amicably adjusted twixt you and the Queen; and in order therto, Hamilton, Eglinton, Wigtoun and Kincardine have had under consideration how far it woud be expedient, shoud they write a dutifull letter to Her Majestie, exhorting and beseeching her, in the name and for the sake of her faithfull subjects, to think of returning to the duty she ows you and being in such a state as will admitt of the effects of your passion and regard for a lady represented here of so great merit and for whom all your subjects have so great a respect, as being the mother of that offspring, by whom tis hoped wee and ours shall be governd whilst the world does last. If this measure is by them persued, the letter, tis designd, shall be sent directly to you, to be delivered or not as you are pleased to direct.

If what I have advanced on this subject is in the least displeasing to you, I ask your pardon in the most submissive manner, being withall hopefull to obtain it, as you'l have the goodness to belive tis ane error of judgement rather than any motive culpable in,
Yours.

To Hay

Stuart, 91/109 (91/108 deciphered); see LP, ii,
259-65 for a slightly different version

[Dryden?] March 12th 1726

Sir, Some 3 or 4 days after Mr Cameron saild from Leith, yours of the 17th November with a large pacquet and another of the 24th came to my hands. Mr Cameron will tell you how much the King's friends were at a loss in being so long in the dark concerning the unlucky breach betwixt the King and Queen. A thousand stories were reported concerning the cause and way and

manner of it, which the common enemy improved to what they thought beneficial to them, to whom the King's friends and particularly those most trusted by him could make no reply, as they were perfectly ignorant of the story and circumstances attending the same, except insofar as they collected from the publick newspapers, tho some indeed were not wanting who made no bonds of affirming that she had received great provocation, and in a particular manner from you and some few more of our friends, and with this they gained universal credit. Altho others were at pains to suppress such reports as being a reflexion upon the King, to imagine he would suffer it, had the facts been as these gentlemen represented.

Long before I received yours what was therein containd was printed and hawked about the streets of London and Edinburgh, which seems to have been by order of the Government, for the Provost of Edinburgh compelled the Cadys to cry it through the streets, and a scurrilous, senseless introduction was annexed thereto, and as we had no intimation from what hands the memorial and letters came, this conduct of the Government induced many to beleive they were not genuine, so that after I received yours I had little left me to do, but let it be known that what they had before seen in print was the account which the King designed to impart to his subjects of that unhappy affair.

I can't express how much all who have any regard for the King were affected with that breach. They regretted a division in his family and the fatal effects of various kinds attending it with respect to his intrest at home. They were affrayd it might occasion a dryness betwixt the King and the Queen's friends who can, and its hoped in the present conjuncture, will be serviceable to him. But since you say their ministers disapprove of her conduct, we're hopeful their principals will prevail with her to insist no longer in a measure that is so evidently pernicious to that intrest in which she, her children and many thousands more have so near a concern. And on t'other hand, whoever endeavours to prevent a thorough reconciliation on the King's part, has no more pretensions to be reckond amongst the number of his friends than [those] who directly or indirectly contributed or were any manner of way accessory to the breach, whom all judicious

persons that have any regard to the King and his intrest, do and will think his greatest and most dangerous, as being his most malicious enemies.

We here shall never be at ease till we hear this matter is compromised, and are surprized that all this time we have heard of nothing more than what past at the very beginning. Tis a matter of the last consequence to the King, as it highly discourages his friends. This I know assuredly both from those who make an open profession of their zeal for him, and others who appear outwardly with another countenance, but secretly would be glad to pull off the mask in his service, and for these reasons 'tis fit they should be duely apprized how this matter is likely to terminate. I am sure I've been asked the question a thousand times, and being able to give no satisfaction, was a great disappointment. By what I wrote formerly to the King (tho then we were altogether in the dark), if he communicated the contents to you, and by what I have said in this you may see the blame is in a great measure layd on you.

Forgive my using the freedom to tell you plainly so. It is consistent with the rules I have layd down of acquainting the King or his ministers, fairly and without feud or favor, of everything that I think for his service, and I presume after due reflexion you will think it no disservice done yourself, since by knowing what's layd to your charge, you may have an opportunity of vindicating yourself, and at the same time do justice to our common master. I thank God for't, I never was, and I beleive never will be of a party. Whatever person the King thinks fitt to employ at the head of his affairs, him shall I honour, his directions follow, and do him all the services within the narrow compass of my power. And from these principles it is that I write so freely on this subject, which I persuade myself you'll take as well as it is designd, and make a right use of it.

I come now to some other parts of your letter, to which you demand a particular answer, tho what has been represented in some former letters might suffice. If, as you lay down, a sufficient force be sent to England, 'tis a matter of less consequence where the landing place be in Scotland. However, to be somewhat more particular, if the armement for that Countrey consist of one

thousand men, then I conceive some such place for landing must be chosen as will allow of an easy and speedy conjunction with the Highlanders, without whom such a body will not be able to make a stand against the regular forces now here. And in the case of two thousand, it would be so contrived that they might have it in their power to joyn the Highlanders, in case it was found necessary, and with this view I reckon the Firth of Clyde a proper situation, where are the ports of Irvine, Grenock and new port Glasgow, either of which may be chosen, as seems most proper at the time. The countrey thereabout (if right measures with respect to the Union and Scots Parliament as mentiond lately to the King be followd) will I beleive be found favourably inclined, and from Glasgow that number can force their way to the Highlands or wait till the Highland clanns force their way to them, if so be such a speedy conjunction was necessary.

How far a landing in the west of Scotland will correspond with the place of embarkation, we here can't pretend to judge, as we know nothing of that particular, but if there come three thousand, the Firths of Clyde or Forth are equally almost convenient as its an easy march to take possession of the capital and seat of Government, for I reckon such a body of men with those that will quickly joyn, especially if the Highlanders get out at the heels of the troupes quartred in the north of Scotland, if they move to the south of Scotland, will be a force sufficient against any opposition can be dreaded in this Countrey, unless England be entirely abandond, and the English army be sent to Scotland, which I could wish did happen, as it would make the game sure there.

On this subject I must caution you to neglect no means of timously preparing the Highlanders for such an affair, for much depends on them and their early appearance. Mr Cameron will I beleive very justly give a fair representation of their attachment to the King, but as it is natural for all mankind to mention their own Countreymen with some favor, 'tis to be supposed he'll set the affairs of that Countrey in the best light he can, and which perhaps will hold good, but at the same time I think myself bound to tell you that I can on very good grounds assure you those people, tho perfectly well disposed, will act with more caution than formerly. They're a subtile cunning race, and will not move

till they be assured that they'll be supported effectually, and it will require a good deal of prudence and address to satisfy them in this necessary article, so as they may resolve and prepare for it, and not run the hazard of discovery too soon. This I thought proper to mention as being a matter that deserves to be maturely considered and prudently determined and executed. The questions that have of late been put to us about the choise of a General, landing place, etc, gives us great hopes that something for our relief is on the anvil, which is never more wanted, and would never be more joyfully received.

It often happens that the want of ships going from Leith to Holland occasions a delay in transmitting letters from Scotland, which in a great measure might be supplied if Robert Gordon at Bourdaux or some person at Bourdaux was directed to receive, and could safely and conveniently forward letters to you. You can best judge how far this is practicable and accordingly give directions about it. I made no further mention of Mr Fraser to you, because in one of your former letters you mentiond the King's good opinion of him, and that you wanted only a safe canal of conveying a cypher to him.

About a fortnight after Mr Cameron sailed a gentleman (with a good intention I think) came and with concern told me that Mr Cameron had betrayed the King, at least acted a part quite different from what was intended by his journey, having been gaind by [the] Duke of Mar at Paris, and accordingly used his endeavours to support that noble lord's personal intrest in the Highlands, and even tryed (but without success) to procure an address from thence in his favour. I replyed that I did not beleive one word of it, for altho Mr Cameron should be supposed capable of so black an action, I was sure he was not such a fool as to attempt it. However, I was at some pains to trace back the story, and I am much mistaken if it did not rise from a certain person whose privat affairs hath obliged him to retire from Edinburgh to the Highlands, who is strongly attatched to [the] Duke of Mar, and divised this story to sow jealousy amongst those who have no dependance that way.⁴⁰ I mention this particular that you may give no credit to it, if so be you have accounts thereof from other

⁴⁰ Possibly Sir John Erskine of Alva

hands, it being probable it may be whisperd about in other as well as this Countrey. I have sufficient authority to assure you that Lord Seaforth gave no directions last summer to his followers but were consistent with his duty to the King. He ordered them to have no regard to his particular intrest in competition with that of the clanns in general, but withall to preserve their arms, so as to be in a condition to serve the King when required, and I know his people exactly followd the directions sent from hence upon my receiving the King's letter dated the 23rd of June, so that by all I can learn, there's no reason to have any jealousy of Lord Seaforth.

You are much in the right to be very cautious in letting any know with whom you correspond, and I must recommend the same in communicating intelligences [that] are sent, for it is a great discouragement to find what is transmitted should be returnd back here, as has to my great surprize happend of late. Nothing since my last hath happend of moment. I beg leave to return my duty in the most respectful manner to His Majesty, and that you'll beleive I am, Sir, your most humble servant.

[P.S.] Not knowing if Dundass was directed how to dispose of what was addrest to Henly [Hay], I thought it best to put this under a cover to Mr Kelly [the Old Pretender]. Since finishing of this I have received yours of the 19th January, which I think needs no particular return.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart. March 12th 1726. Decypherd.'

To Hamilton

LP, ii, 268-70

[Dryden?] 2 April 1726

Sir, Some time after you went from Scotland I received letters from the King and Lord Inverness. They containd a further justification of themselves with respect to the state of affairs with the Queen (on which subject I had before and did again write fully in the plain honest stile I was directed) and advice was asked as to the proper places for landing in Scotland, on the severall suppositions of 1, 2, or 3,000 men being sent thither and at the same time a sufficient force to England, to which, with the advice and concurrance of Kincardine, I sent distinct answers. A few days ago I received another letter from the King, upon which I

sent you by the last post some necessary instructions [marginal note by Lockhart: 'The copy of a cypher by which I was to write and he read this letter] for reading of this. Before I proceed further be pleased to read the enclosed, which is a copy, word for word, of the last letter from the King.

As the King in this letter reposes a good deall of confidence in you, I doubt nothing of your answering his expectations to a tittle; and this step of his is, I hope, but a preliminary of the trust he'll lodge in you and the honour he'll conferr on you. I have writ to him that you was at London, but that I'de soon fall on a safe way to communicate his pleasure to you. The first thing I humblie conceive to be under your consideration is, whither or not you shoud speak of this subject to Strafford. If I may offer my opinion, I think you shoud not; but at the same time give him an opportunity to speak to you of it, if he pleases, for you'll observe in the King's letter that it is left to that Lord to call on us or not as he thinks proper, and as he's a person of some singularitys in his temper, and that wee know not if the King has acquainted him of his name being mentiond to us, perhaps he'll not be well pleased to find it so, and therefore I do leave his broaching it first to himself.

If he intends to follow out the King's scheme, instead of writing to me I doubt not but he'll speak to you. As for my own part, I shall not decline the journey whensoever I am calld upon, but at the same time I'me under great straits to find out a pretext for it, and tis ten to one but our statesmen may suspect something more than ordinary from it, and set them on the search more earnestly; and therefore since you are (on another account) alreadie upon the spot, can give all the informations and directions necessary, and does not need me to gain greater credite to what you say, I reallie think it will do no good and may do harm if I make the journey, and so much I desire you'd represent to Strafford if so be he enters upon the subject with you. But after all, if either you or he desire I shoud come up, I will on your call perform it at all hazards. I have not nor will not communicate this affair to any soul living, for the caution of secresie recommended is, for the publick as well as our own sakes, essentially necessary. I am Yours.

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 267-8

[Dryden?] 3 April 1726

Sir, Yours of the 2d of February I received yesterday with unexpressable joy as it contains some comfortable hopes of seing what I have so long and so earnestlie wishd for, and I pray God to direct and conduct you and all your freinds, forreign and domestick, in such a manner that their united endeavours to serve you and your just cause may have the desired issue. I never did nor will make the least scruple in undertaking any task for your service, and shall lose no time in performing what you require of me when I am calld upon, and the secrecie you recommend shall be so unviolably observed that no soul living shall know less or more of what is committed to me; for I think I am so fully apprized of the sentiments of your freinds and evry thing thats to be represented with respect either to the inclinations or capacitys of your people in this countrie and the methods to be laid down and prosecuted, that I stand in no need of any fresh or particular instructions from your trustees on this occasion, and consequentlie no reason for imparting the secret to any of them except the Duke of Hamilton who will keep it, I dare say, with the same strictness.

My greatest difficultie will be how to contrive a plausible pretext for the journey, so as to avoid giving suspicion to the Goverment, who I know keep a strict eye over me; and in order therto I have directed some of my freinds to talk publickly that my wife and I design to go to the Bath, under which cloack she and I shall set out as soon as I'me calld for by Lord Strafford. The Duke of Hamilton has been at London some 4 or 5 weeks, attending the issue of the grand affair twixt him and the Earl of Dundonald⁴¹ now depending before the House of Lords, but I know of a sure hand going soon to London, with whom I shall write fully to his Grace.

I hope long ere now what was sent by Cameron will have

⁴¹ Hamilton was engaged in an appeal to the Lords on behalf of his infant son, the Marquess of Clydesdale, against a decision of the Court of Session upholding the 5th Earl of Dundonald's deathbed assignation of the title and entailed estates of the Earldom of Dundonald to Thomas Cochrane of Kilmaronock, despite a settlement bequeathing both to the late Duchess of Hamilton or her heirs imposed on the 5th Earl by his father

reachd your hands, seing what you may collect from thence and from his accounts may be of use to you at this juncture. I have nothing of moment to add to my last of the 12th of March, and I will not trouble you further at this time but to renew my profession, in the most solemn sincere manner, of being with all imaginable fidelity and zeall, Yours.

To Hay

Stuart, 93/49 (93/48 deciphered) plus
unencoded postscript from 93/48; see LP, ii,
270-2 for a slightly different version

[Dryden?] Aprile 30th 1726

Sir, Since my last of the 3rd instant to the King, I have had occasion to converse with Lords Wigton and Kincardin and several of the bishops and others of good sense and zeal for him, concerning the present state of the Church of Scotland, who could not but regret the very many inconveniencies arising dayly from [the] Bishop of Edinburgh's being so much failed that he has lost his memory and judgement to a great degree, and is troubled with a certain infirmity that in all probability will soon [end] his days. But the greatest misfortune of all is from the want of capacity and conduct of the College. It consists of a parcel of honest enought men, but withall of no great rank and split into parties and factions, so that nothing is done or to be expected from them for the real intrest of the cause. And as all of them, especially the best of them, are very old and infirm, they must drop fast off.

It is therefor the opinion of the King's aforesaid friends that he'd have in his thoughts whom he'd support to succeed [the] Bishop of Edinburgh, and that in the mean time he'd immediatly send his directions to the College to consecrate Mr John Gillane Bishop of the Church of Scotland. I have not immediat directions from all his trustees in this matter, but it consists with my knowledge that what is proposed with respect to Gillane will be much approved of by [the] Duke [of] Hamilton, Lord Eglington, Lord Balmerino and John Paterson, as also by several of the bishops, who have talked with me on this subject. I need not with you enter upon his character. You know it as well as I can tell you. All I shall say is his

nomination by the King would without all manner of doubt be much approved of by all who wish well to the Church and State, as he is a person of excellent sense and learning and withall has zeal and resolution to undertake and go through with what he conceives for the good of the cause, and his authority would go far to keep the rest in due bounds, and therefor I cannot but recommend to you with all the earnestness imaginable to lay this matter before the King, being what is really and truly necessary for the peace and welfare of that intrest he has so much at heart. And if he is pleased to approve of it, to dispatch the directions as soon as possible, for every day shows the want of such a person in the College, to direct and influence the rest to act prudently and calmly.

I will not take upon me to propose any particular person to succeed [the] Bishop of Edinburgh, but were I to give my opinion it is positively that amongst the whole Scots Episcopal clergy, bishops or presbyters, there's none near so well qualified for it as Gillane, and I am apt to beleive he will be recommended to the King by all his friends. At first it would seem natural to advance one of the College, but they're a parcel of either weak or hot-headed men, or so very infirm, that not one of them, now that poor Irvine is dead, is any manner of way fit for the post. Besides, as so many aim at it themselves, the best way to prevent envy would be to advance a Loyabter [*sic*] or one such as Gillane (if he is previously consecrated) that is not dipt in their cabals. Being convinced that this is for the King's service, will I know be enough to engage you in it, but allow me to tell you as an additional motive that as much of Gillane's advancement will be ascribed to you as will infallibly tend to give the King's and the Church of Scotland's friends an opinion of your prudence and good intentions in the exercise of the trust His Majesty reposes in you.

We're told here of the great confidence the King has in [the] Duke of Wharton. I hope he shall answer expectations, but at the same time a great deal of caution is necessary, for he is frequently very rash and over zealous, and in his cups too, apt to blab out with what requires the greatest secrecy. We are in hopes of soon having the confirmation of the agreeable news of differences

being made up 'twixt the King and Queen. This morning I received the King's letter of the 8th of December last. Where it has lyen so long by the way when others of a fresher date came long ere this to my hands I can't tell, but it required no answer, and so 'tis the less matter. The King will be pleased to know that Lord Strathmore has made up peace and friendship amongst his nighbours in anger that differd about Bishop Norrie. Some of the clergy still stand out, but they'll now soon submit likeways. I have nothing of consequence more than is containd in my last to the King, so for the present I take my leave of you by assuring you that I am, Sir, Your most humble servant.

[P.S.] The grand affair twixt the Duke of Hamilton and [the] Earl of Dundonald is ended amicably, being submitted to Aberdeen for the first and Orrery for the other, and Argile oversman betwixt them. The decree of the session (by which the old entailed estate, worth about 32,000 merks *per annum* was given to the Earl) stands good, and the arbiters have further determined that all the debts affecting the estate shall be laid on the Duke and Earl proportionably. This being adjusted by the parties, the House of Lords were apprized of it and ratifyed the decree of the session, that so the title to both parties might be good. There's a report that one Cookson, a West India merchant's son (whom I remember to've seen when he was in England about 20 years ago) is dead and left £60,000 to Dundonald. I hope it's true, for he often told me that this family was mighty civill to him whilst he was at Glasgow, to which University his father sent him to be bred, and that having no relations, if he dyed without childeren he'd make that family his heirs. I wish it may prove so, for Dundonald's as pritty a young fellow as any in Britain in all respects.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart. Aprile 30th 1726. Decyphered.'

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 279-80

[Dryden?] 22 May 1726

Sir, As soon as I received yours of the 2d of March I went to toun, wher meeting severall of your freinds I showd them what I had got from you. After thinking seriouslie upon the contents therof they directed me to acquaint you, that their being in all the late

publick news papers possitive accounts that affairs woud soon be made up twixt you and the Queen, they judgd it better to wait a litle for the confirmation of that event, before what was containd in yours shoud be dispersed. That in the nixt place it was not adviseable to make any thing of that kind publick at this time, because some litle time before yours came to me wee had accounts from London and Paris, that such a proposall as you take notice of had been made to you, nay copies of the same, with the author's name affixed therto, were said to be in severall people's hands. Wee at first imagined it was a forged contrivance of the Government, because wee could not comprehend how such a story shoud break out and so many particular circumstances be discovered that required absolute secresie, but what's containd in your last puts the veracity out of the question and increases the admiration how it became publick, seing tis certain neither you nor the author could have any such intention. The author, wee'r told, denys the fact, but were it known that your freinds had intimation that such a proposall had been made, it might open a way to enable the Government to bear hard on the author, since legall proofs are not now adayes absolutely necessary to condemn a person that's under suspicion, and therfore tis thought proper to deal very tenderlie with that point least it do harm.

I was readie on a day's warning to have gone up post to London, having contrived a plausible praetext for the journey. I hope the stop to it proceeds rather from your freinds abroad being convinced that ther's no need of such a nice enquiry into facts that are notorious, than that they've laid aside their intentions to act for you, and I wish wee may soon hear some good news. I have of late writ so fully on most particulars that I have at this time nothing furdre to add but that I am with the greatest respect and devotion, Yours.

To Hay

LP, ii, 281-3

[Dryden?] 9 June 1726

Sir, I have so very litle to say at this time that I shoud scarcely give you the trouble of this were it not to own the receipt of yours with a bill theirin enclosed, the mony wherof I got upon ane

endorsation, and paid as directed to Mr Thomas Sinclair. I belive it came so very seasonably as to prevent his ruin and put him in such a way as he'll support his credit, so as to keep his farm and maintain his family till a general releife come; and I dare venture to say ther is not in this country a man in his station more capable and readie to serve his master, being in all respects fit to execute a commission which requires prudence and resolution. I have takn his receipt for the mony, which I shall keep or transmitt as I'me directed. I have also charged him to let none know of this mark of favour, least it raise envy in some and prompt others to trouble the King in expectation of the like.

I understand Wade's to be again in this country to finish the dissarming of the Highlanders, and is to make a tour thorow the west Highlands and Isles; but these people (privately) make a jest of all he has done or will do in that affair. Wade's powers are pritty much curtaild this year from what they were last year, being expresslie restrained from treating with or giving assurances of pardons to any under sentence; and this, I'me told, has its rise from a representation of Argile's, that as it was expected he should be of use in keeping this countrie in due subjection to the Goverment, he could not pretend to have so much interest and weight if such materiall powrs were vested in another independent of him. Now whither this proceeds from his ambition to grasp at all and to allow as litle as he can to pass thorow other people's hands, or that his hatred to the suffering party prompts him to suppress all designs of easing of them, or that he aims at meriting the thanks of what's done for them and therby make himself more agreeable to them, I can't determine, tho I incline to be of the last opinion, because tis certain he has been extremely favourable, or rather kind, to the Clanronald family and most of the other Highland gentlemen that had any dependence on him.

Your last came from Holland by the post (which I suppose was by particular directions) and I fancy ther may be other letters there waiting for a ship to convey them safe hither, and wee long for them in hopes of good tidings.

I'me glad Cameron's got safe to you; when he tells you how he past his time in old Reekie, you'll think he was a pritty impudent spark that presumed to frequent the most publick taverns; and

indeed all his caution consisted in outsitting all other companys, so that he was safe going home.

William Dundas came here lately from Holland and is soon to return; in the mean time his son takes care of what's directed to his father.

The Duke of Hamilton has been dangerouslie ill of a fever at London, but is now pritty well recovered and will be soon here. After I have conversed with him I'll probably have occasion to write again.

I left Edinburgh yesterday, and I don't hear of any disturbances that hapned, tho it woud appear the Government expected or appeared to fear some disorders, having doubled the guards in Toun and Canongate and given orders to the souldiers in their quarters to be readie on the first beat of the drum. Such ridiculous precautions make them the jest of every body.

Allow me by this to offer my most humble duty to the King, and do me the justice to belive I am very much, Yours.

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 95/63 and 63A (95/62 deciphered); see LP, ii, 290-1 for a very abbreviated version of this letter

[Dryden?] July 7 1726

Sir, I am in the first place to tell you that I write this by the new alphabetical cypher and by the old numerical one.

Yesterday I received yours of the 1st May (in which was inclosed one to the College of Bishops) and one from Lord Inverness. But to my great sorrow and disappointment I could not understand one word of what was writ by the numerical cypher, which did not at all correspond with my copy of the last I sent you, tho it perfectly agreed with the alphabetical one. I wish this may prove no immediat loss to the King's service if you sent me or shall send me any commands that require dispatch, before matters are, by your answer to this, set right. Whether this misfortune proceeds from the amanuensis of these letters having mistaken and used some other of your cyphers, instead of that I last sent to the King, or that I have committed a mistake in the copy I made and kept, I cannot tell, but that you may find out

where the mistake lyes, I herewith send a copy of that which I have, which the King will be pleased to use after this, and by it you'll know by whom the error was committed. I likeways transcribe a few paragraphs in the beginning of yours, which will lead the King to find out the mistake, and I shall be impatient till I have your return.

I have very little to trouble you with at present. General Wade's come to Edinburgh to proceed towards the further execution of the disarming act, which will be of no further consequence than what happend last year. [The] Duke [of] Argyle is likeways come, but he's going in a day or two to the Highlands, and is to return in a few days and go soon back to England. I'll try to have an hour's chat with him, and let you know if anything of moment passes in it. A lawsuit at Lord Aboyne's instance against [the] Duke of Gordon⁴² for above fifteen Pluto's [Scots Papists?] was like to create a feud in that clan. Some mutual friends having represented to me the bad effects such a division would have, in regard they had concerted that on the next occasion of appearing for the King, [the] Duke [of] Gordon should stay at home, and Lord Aboyne or the next person of the family be at the head of the following. I used all the intrest I had with Lord Aboyn to have this affair adjusted amicably, and others having applyed at the same time to the Duke, they both came into the proposal, and have submitted to Lord Aberdeen and Mr Lockhart, and we're both determind to give it a finishing stroke, which will I hope prevent all inconveniencies that might happen from this difference if it subsisted. Lord Seaforth's pardon is passing the seals. This we are told, is in consequence of what was stipulated last year, when his people made their surrendry, such as it was. Your trustees have recommended to the College of Bishops to consecrat Mr Ross⁴³, now that Bishop Irvine is dead, but they'll appoint him no district till they acquaint the King. They have some thoughts of consecrating Mr Ouchtertony likeways, and applying to have your allowance of setting him over the shyres of Ross and

⁴² John Gordon, 3rd Earl of Aboyne (d.1732); Alexander Gordon, 2nd Duke of Gordon (c.1678-1728)

⁴³ James Rose, brother of the late Bishop of Edinburgh. He was consecrated by the College in November

Murray, where the party encreases, and a bishop is much wanted. Poor Plunket is dying I fear.⁴⁴ I have spun out the length of a letter, tho what it contains is of small moment, and will trouble you no further but to assure you I am and ever will be, Sir, Your most humble servant.

[P.S.] Betwixt the time of writing what's above and the ship's sailing, my anxiety to know the contents of your last letters, both to satisfy my own curiosity, and least your service should suffer, set me on poring what I could make of them. I perceived that the old numerical cypher was in the past used, with which and knowing the subject which each paragraph containd, with the help of the alphabetical cypher, I was able to find out the meaning of the numbers, by which I found a way perfectly to read those letters, but it cost me three days hard labor. I resolved however, to alter nothing of the first part of this letter, because it was expedient to find out and rectify the mistake. As soon as I execute your commissions containd in these letters, I shall give the King a full account of my dilligence, which I reckon will be in a very few days. You could not have pitched upon one with more merit than Mr Alexander Hay.⁴⁵ Add his name to the cypher with that of Hotham.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. July 7th 1726. Decypher'd.'

[P.P.S.] Mr Cameron has deliverd to me your letters of December 18th and January 18th, 25th, and 31st, with the papers that accompanyd them. The lights I have received from them and discourse I have had with Mr Cameron [*sic*].

Endorsed: 'Decyphered by his last cypher sent by Mr Cameron.'

To the Old Pretender Stuart, 95/121 (95/120 deciphered);
see LP, ii, 291-6 for a
slightly different version

[Dryden?] July 23rd 1726

Sir, After putting you in mind that I write after the old form, until

⁴⁴ Probably a reference to James Plunket, the self-styled Jacobite agent who played a key role in the Laver conspiracy and was subsequently imprisoned in the Tower. At this time Plunket was very ill with the stone

⁴⁵ Alexander Hay of Armbath

I have a return to mine of the 7th instant, I proceed to tell you that having now seen, conversed with and received instructions from a good number of the King's trustees, I am now to make a direct answer to yours of the 1st May. And to begin with that which is of the greatest moment, I mean what you very justly term the unlucky affair in your family, your trustees can't pretend to add to what has been already represented to the King on that article. But they direct me to renew their earnest entreatys that as you have any value for your personal, your family's and your people's prosperity, you would do what's possible to have that affair accomodated, for tho they're glad to hear from so good authority as yourself (without which they scarce would have given it credit) that it is not likely to produce any bad effects on the King's affairs abroad, it is with the greatest concern that they see the very reverse at home. And are therefor obliged by the duty they owe the King, in the faithful discharge of the trust the King reposes in them, in plain words to tell you that insofar as their observations and intelligence reaches, they apprehend it is the severest stroke the King's affairs have met with these several years, and will be such an impediment to them that they have much reason to think no circumstance of time, no situation of affairs of Europe, can make amends. Which thought affects them the more that they perceive you have expectations that something in your favor will soon cast up, and 'tis a very mortifying reflexion that such an opportunity must be frustrated by so unlucky a malheur.

The trustees do not pretend to prescribe what methods the King is to take in obtaining the desired issue, but they humbly conceive that the King, in your great wisdom, may fall upon some way or other that may prove successful. And the trustees beg leave with the greatest respect and submission to represent that they beleive this matter to be of such consequence to the King, that in good policy and prudence the King should rather pass by some failings in, and make condescensions to the Queen, than not repair a breach, that in all appearance will prove fatal. The trustees have seriously considered how to put such a face upon it, as may be most for your service, and which the King seems to point out by some particulars in your letters of late, but cannot find any expedient so probable as not revive or bring the matter

upon the carpet, for your people here of all kinds have got such an impression of the Queen's great merit, and are so prepossessed with the reports of her being ill used by some about the King, that its in vain to attempt dispossessing them of that notion. Especially considering that the trustees dare not venture to produce an appeal to your authority as a voucher of what they affirm, and therefor unanimously resolved to keep as much as possible on the reserve, and rather endeavour to bury the matter in oblivion, than by reviving it, open a way for the King's enemies to carry on their game with more success against the King. This is the sum of what I am instructed by a set of noblemen and gentlemen who have nothing before their eyes but your honour and welfare and the duty they owe the King and your family to lay before you. And it only remains that I in their name obtest [*sic*] you once more to weigh the dismall effects of this fatal breach, and take such resolutions as the safety, intrest and welfare of your family and faithful people call for, and that God almighty may direct you in this, perhaps the most critical step of your life, is the serious prayers of all your dutyfull disintrested subjects.

It was with concern I read that part of your letter wherein you intimate that you take [the] Duke of Mar to have detached himself from your service and intrest. I am far from pretending to justify his conduct, but the truth on't is I had the charity to belive they proceeded from wrong notions of things, and some imprudent selfish views, and that at the bottom he still remained dutyfully inclined to the King, and I was pleased with this imagination, because it must be ownd that in many respects he was capable, if at the same time willing to serve the King, and I had some reasons to hope he was thus inclined, in regard I had seen some and heard of other letters from him to his friends here, where he professed the greatest loyalty, and recommended submission to the King in all points, and that I observed those his friends, did on all occasions regulate their conduct accordingly. But it would appear that you have made some new discoveries, in that you mention him in a manner more possitive than formerly.

Here it comes to my mind to acquaint you that in a conversation Mr Lockhart had lately with Mr Carnegy of Boysick, he expressed a prodigious concern at being informd, he

was represented to Rome as one that attached himself to [the] Duke of Mar in opposition to the King's present measures, and he protested it was the greatest injustice and injury could be done him, and begd I would represent it so to you. I must do him the justice to say that since he came home⁴⁶, when I spoke to him of your affairs as one that Mr Lockhart knew was very capable to give good advice, I ever found him act such a part as to me seemd right. I the more readily undertook what he desired of me in that I think it is for your service to remove everything that tends to raise doubts of those who are well-affected towards you.

I wish the project for a more regular correspondence, which you so much approve of were once well established. Mr Cameron told Mr Lockhart he had spoke of it to several of his friends, and I think he added that Mr Lockhart would soon hear from some of them about it, but that has not yet happened, and so the affair stands. William Dundass is now in Edinburgh, and I will consider with him how far what the King does propose, of sending letters that does come to his hands from the King to Scotland by way of London, is practicable, and advise you of what we conclude upon. Lords Wigton and Kincardin and Mr Lockhart delivered your commission to Lord Strathmore, Mr James Graham and Mr Alexander Hay. They all three received it as a mark of the greatest honor could be conferrd upon them, and desired me to assure the King that they most chearfully embraced this, as they will do every occasion of doing you all the services in their power, and the truth on't is, each of them is very capable in their several stations.

What Mr Cameron mentiond to you as the particular of Mr Lockhart's letter, July 13th, of which an account was sent here, was very right, and indeed it was so very distinct and jumpd so very well with the times that I had your return, that I could put no other construction upon it, but that it had been brought into conversation at Rome, especially when it was possitively affirmd that it came from thence, and that no mortal here but Lords Wigton and Kincardin (who swore they never mentiond it to any soul living) knew of my having writ to the King of either money or Lord Eglington.

⁴⁶ John Carnegie only returned to Scotland in 1726

I have now gone through the heads of yours to me, and having nothing that's new or of any consequence to impart to you further at this time, it only remains that I express the great sense I have of the favorable construction you are pleased to put on my poor endeavours to serve you, and I should be too much elevated did I not know it was more owing to your goodness than any merit of mine. However, as obedience is better than sacrifice, such as they are, they are entirely at your devotion, and since you are pleased to command my continuing in the tract of business I have for some years followed, Mr Lockhart will not decline it. And if my conduct therein be judged according to the sincerity of my intentions, I shall not, I hope, incur your displeasure. The desire I had of going abroad was not on account of my health (which I thank God has been and is in a perfect good state), but to be free of the vexations that arise daily to me from the deplorable state of my Country, and no prospect of relief. And it was never my intention to be abroad, if I could be in least serviceable to the King or my Country, which I may reckon one and the same under different appellations. And therefore it is with more than ordinary pleasure that in obedience to your commands I lay aside my journey, at least for this season, in hopes that the King may have somewhat in view that will give your friends an opportunity to show their firm attachment to your person and interest.

The account you give of your own, the Prince and Duke's healths is most agreeable to all your faithful subjects, but who at the same time will never think themselves secure, and be satisfied in this article, untill it please God to bless the King with a more numerous extensive offspring, and that every obstacle towards it be removed. This is what your friends in the present juncture long of all things to hear, as it would be matter of great joy to them, and mortification to your enemies, and that God may bring it happily and speedily to pass is the earnest petitions of all who have a due regard for your interest. I am, Sir, your most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. July 23rd 1726.'

To Hay

LP, ii, 296-8

[Dryden?] 24 July 1726

Sir, No task perhaps ever puzzled me so much as how to make a proper return to yours of the 1st of May, which I received some few dayes ago; and were it not that I conceive the publick as well as your private interest calls upon me to say something to you, I woud remain altogether silent. What you affirm with respect to your conduct and behaviour towards the Queen is no more than what one woud expect from a man of honour and prudence, and the truth on't is, I cannot entertain in my breast any other notion of it, especially when tis impossible to imagine the King woud protect you or write so much in your justification, were it otherwise. But at the same time you lye under the very great misfortune, of the far greater part of this and the neighbouring kingdom giving intire credit to what in this particular your enimys charge you with. I took the libertie to mention this to you in a former letter bearing date 12 March, and I'me sory to tell you that the spit continues against you, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the King's trustees to suppress such reports, and that therby the King's interest in this island receives a very considerable shooke. That the repairing the fatall breach in the King's family is a matter of the last consequence to him and his affairs, is a truth not to be contested, and he that can propose a method to accomplish it in a prudent honourable way will merit the greatest of rewards.

As to your part therin, tis no easie matter to give you counsell. But I humblie conceive you shoud leave no stone unturned to be restored to the Queen's favour, in case the pretended disobligations she has received from you be, as tis said and belived here, assignd by her (on good or bad grounds tis all one) as the reason of the separation. I am very sensible that an harder task cannot be laid on a man of honour than making submission when he's conscious of his innocence; but the high dignity of the party on 'tother side of the question and the vast importance of the affair, will admitt of some exceptions from generall rules in the like cases. To enter further into particulars I can't pretend; your conduct must be regulated by your own prudence and discretion;

but as your freind and welwisher I tell you that what I suggest is absolutely necessary for your own as well as the King's service, and the sooner tis done twill be the more usefull to these interests, and the greater disappointment to the common enemy. Tho you have been most unluckie in that the representations against you have gaind so much credite, tis still in your power to regain the good opinion of this country by a hearty application and endeavour to set matters right; and that you may sett about it speedily and with success is the best advice can be given you and the best wish to attend you. I have by direction of a good number of the King's trustees writ to him once more on this subject, and I have also their orders to signifye to you what I have here represented, and they hope you'll hearken to their advice, that therby their esteem of you may be raised and they have it more in their power to do you justice.

Strowan Robertson⁴⁷ came lately to Edinburgh wher he kept incog[nito] and went home a few dayes ago; and I hear Sir Hugh Paterson is likewise come; I understand they have both got assurances of not being troubled, but whither they'r to apply for a pardon I can't tell.

I have nothing more to trouble you with at present, but to desire you to do me the justice to belive that what part I act is with a disinterested veiw to the King's interest and at the same time a particular regard to yourself, as I am very sincerely, Yours.

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 95/138 (95/137 deciphered);
see LP, ii, 298-301 for a
slightly different version

[Dryden?] July 29th 1726

Sir, Since my last of the 23rd instant [the] Duke [of] Hamilton came home, and having immediatly called for Mr Lockhart, he went to town to wait on him, and was overjoyd to hear from him that before he left London it was beleived that the breach in your family would soon be made up. I wish the news may hold, for the accounts he gives of people's sentiments thereof in England, is a confirmation of what has been represented to the King from

⁴⁷ Alexander Robertson of Struan

hence. I did communicate to him the contents of your last to me, as he did of yours to him, and Mr Lockhart used all the arguments he could think of to engage him to make all the necessary several preparations for rendering him capable to answer the trust the King reposes in [the] Duke [of] Hamilton, and execute what the King may in time commit to him, and he gave all the assurances Mr Lockhart could desire, whereof he shall not be suffered to pass unseconded.

At a meeting of several of your trustees, [the] Duke [of] Hamilton was acquainted of what had past during his absence, and he gave a full account of the state of matters in England, and amongst other things that the King's late promotions to the Knighthood of St Andrew was made an handle of to your disservice, being adduced as one argument to prove the King's designing to overturn all grants, honours, etc, conferrd upon privat persons since the Revolution, for as the order was filled up and complete by those here instated, those advanced by the King must supplant the others. It seems to be very essential for the King's service that such as have raised themselves since the Revolution should from a view of securing their acquisitions be discouraged to contribute to the King's restoration, and therefor everything that may have contrary effects is to be avoided. This consideration the King's trustees direct me to lay before the King with all submission.

In establishing a correspondence with the Highlanders, great care must be taken to avoid giving ground for jealousy and offence, by showing too much favor to, or trust in, one of these independent powers, and therefor we think some person that does not belong to the clanns would be the fittest to carry on the intelligence betwixt the Highlands and your trustees at Edinburgh. Murray of Stanhope has (the cause whereof Mr Cameron can inform you) his residence in the Highlands, and the affair he is intent upon (and which I lately heard is like to answer prodigiously) leads him to traverse and trudge through the Highlands without suspicion.⁴⁸ He is a person of great worth and honor, and eminently zealous in your service. These several

⁴⁸ Having made his peace with the government after 1715, Murray devoted himself to improving his estates and locating and exploiting the mineral reserves of the Highlands

considerations incline the trustees to think him a person proper to be employd in that matter, and if you are pleased to approve thereof, it will be necessary that you send a letter desiring Mr Murray of Stanhope to undertake and perform that service, because you think him in the present situation the most proper to be employd in it. And another letter directed to the cheifs of the Highland clanns, showing how necessary it is that such a correspondence be established for their and your service, and that the King had pitched upon Mr Murray as being one that can manage it with more safety and less suspicion than any of themselves, and that they may know the occasion and nature of the correspondence. It will be fit for you [to] let them know that there are a certain number of persons, that (because of the convenience of the place) meet at Edinburgh, whom the King has appointed to look after his affairs, and with whom the King directly corresponds, and to whom the King sends orders, whereby they are capable and entituled to give advice and direction to your friends, for preserving unity in affections and measures, on which the success of your projects depends.

Walkinshaw of Burrowfield tells me his friend Sir Hugh Paterson has no thoughts of obtaining a pardon, and is soon to leave Scotland. Stewart of Invernytty came lately from France, but is obliged to keep very closs, having no assurance of safety, except something like a verbal promise, which [the] Duke [of] Gordon says Robert Walpole gave him last winter. Of which having advertized Invernyttie, he ventured to come over, but he's likely to meet with great opposition from the two brothers, his cusines⁴⁹, that are betwixt him and the estate of Grantully till he is pardond, who are supported by the Argylian faction, out of favour to their friend Lord Royston, who capitulated to vote for hanging Glasgow ryoters on condition Invernyttie was not pardond.

In a Council held not long ago, the granting pardons to Lord Seaforth and Invernyttie was proposed, the first whereof Lord

⁴⁹ Sir John Steuart of Grandtully died in 1720, leaving his estates to John Stewart of Invernittie in the first instance, but to Sir George Steuart of Blair and his brother (and subsequent heir) John Steuart in the event of Invernittie being ineligible to inherit due to forfeiture. John Steuart's first wife was Lord Royston's daughter

Argyle violently opposed, and Lord Ilay the other. Whereupon General Wade was called to give his opinion. He told them that he had nothing to say for Invernyttie, for he had not applyd to him, but the friends of Lord Seaforth had, and came into the surrendry on the faith of his having, according to the powers then vested in him, promised a pardon to Lord Seaforth, and if it was not performd he desired leave to give up his commission, for that he could serve no longer. He told them he thought it was for the service of the Government to restore Lord Seaforth, for the strength and intrest of the Highlands were in the hands of four great men, [the] Duke of Athole, [the] Duke of Argyle, [the] Duke of Gordon and Lord Seaforth. That they were to be equally supported, because the supporting of one or more, and not all, raised the power of those that remaind too high, so as to be dangerous to the Government. What General Wade said had such weight that Lord Seaforth's pardon was orderd. I am not a little pleased they think it necessary to curtail Argyle's power (as it is plain General Wade levelled chiefly at him, and that this is the only way to make him hearken to proposals of another nature) and Lord Kincardine and Mr Lockhart design to get a memorial put into Robert Walpole's hands, setting forth some discoveries we have made of Argyle's secret designs for enlarging his power with the Highlanders, and if we can thereby cast a ball in his way, it will put him mad. I have troubled you too much at once, and so will only add that I am, Sir, your most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. July 29th 1726. Decyphered.'

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 96/30 (96/29 deciphered);
see LP, ii, 301-3 for a
slightly different version

[Dryden?] August 8th 1726

Sir, Mr Strachan tells me the ship with my last is not due to sail from Leith for 2 or 3 days after. And therefor I judged it proper by giving you this further trouble to inform you of what past in a conversation I had two days ago with Mr Murray of Stanhope. Being informd he was just come to town from the Highlands, I

went a purpose to have a private chat with him. I began by asking him a great many questions about the temper and sentiments of particular persons in the Highlands, and of the cheifs of the Highland clanns in general, their intentions to your service when a proper occasion offerd, and of the best methods for keeping them right, and putting them on right ways. Whilst I was thus paving the way for making a closser proposition, he interrupted me by asking with some sort of emotion, if I was drawing him in? I answerd, I did not well understand the import of those words, but if they meand to engage him to serve the King and his Countrey, he had been drawn in, or rather voluntary gone in sooner and further than I had done, and I was persuaded he had acted upon principles of duty and honor, and would continue so.

‘My dear Mr Lockhart, you do me justice in beleiving the little I could ever do was from such motives, but I am now a new man. I like the King and my Countrey as well as ever I did, and I will draw my sword whenever there is to be a general effort for restoring the King and kingdom of Scotland, but in the interim my head and heart are set upon improving the Highlands estate I have purchased, and bringing the mines to perfection (which will be a service done my Countrey) and I will think upon and undertake no other business of any kind. Besids, when I got my life, after the last affair, I enterd into engagements that will not allow me to be active in contriving or carrying on measures against the Government, though when there’s to be a push made, I will venture all with the first.’

From his way of behaving I can easily see he can’t be entrusted in the particular proposed in my last, and where to find another is more than I can tell. Mr Lockhart offers to your consideration how far the main design may be accomplished by the following method: that the King write a letter addresst to the cheifs of the Highland clanns, much in the terms of the proposal in my last, showing the benefit of a correspondence with your trustees at Edinburgh, and desiring them to cultivat it, and have a due regard to the advices and directions they may jointly or seperately receive from the trustees. Had the trustees such a letter, many ways can be got of communicating the contents to the proper persons, and in a little time and by degrees many particulars

relating to the way of corresponding and reaping profit from thence may be adjusted and improved to very good advantage.

Our newspapers relate two peices of news very contradictory, vizt, that [the] Prince of Wales is become Pontius [Protestant] and [the] Duke of Wharton Pastor [Papist]. The first everybody laughs at, the last the King's enemies say it is, and friends fear it may be true, and if so I'll venture to say he has done you more disservice than it ever was or will be in his power to repair. I should be very glad he were truely a Christian of any Church, but if, as most beleive, there's nothing of religion in it, nay suppose it was otherwayes, he has tuned it very ill, for such steps in any about the King, or declaring for the King under the present situation of affairs, does you and your cause no small harm.

General Wade is still at Edinburgh, and does all he can to gain an intrest with the Scots Jacobits. A friend of his and mine (a very honest English gentleman in the army) told me t'other day that General Wade wonderd Mr Lockhart never came to see him, and that tho he knew my charecter very well, yet no body would be wellcomer. Mr Lockhart replyed that as the other did not come to see him when I used to be at London, neither would Mr Lockhart wait on him at Edinburgh. That he had no favors to ask or receive, and would endeavour to preserve that charecter for which it seemd the General did not think the worse of him. When we met occasionally, which had not yet happend, our civilities would no doubt be reciprocal. Some of my friends blame the part I acted, but I can well enough foresee some inconvenience that might happen if I did not keep myself abstract from these people, and I am sure no benefit would access from any dealings I could have with them. 'Tis plain his design is to draw your friends from the King by lulling them asleep with his civilities and expectations of more than common protection from him, and for that reason the allurement should be avoided by all who are not in the circumstances that require a fauning on him. I have only to add that I am with great truth and respect, Sir, Your most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. August 8th 1726.'

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 97/21 (97/20 deciphered);
see LP, ii, 311-15 for a
slightly different version

[Dryden?] 9th September 1726

Sir, Tis but a few days ago that a packet came to my hands containing several letters from the King and Lord Inverness to the bishops and Mr Lockhart, all bearing date the 20th of July. I went immediatly to town, where I found very few of your trustees (most people being during this season in the countrey), yet I met with more than I expected, vizt, Lord Kincardine, Lord Balmirrenoch, Mr James Grahame and Mr Alexander Hay. Having called them together I layd the several papers before them, and after having talkd fully on the several subjects, they desired Mr Lockhart in the first place to return their most dutiful acknowledgements of the gracious reception the King has been pleased to give to what they presumed to lay before him with relation to the unhappy division in your family, and of your extraordinary goodness in condescending to communicate to your trustees the reasons and motives by which the King has directed his measures from first to last in that affair. They have an absolute confidence that the King's conduct will be consistent with what prudence with respect to the King and your people does call for, and they'll be amongst the last of your subjects that will advise or wish the King to take any step, even in this material article, derogatory to your charecter, or contradictory to the honour and intrest of your royal family. And therefor they have nothing more to say on this subject, but to joyn issue with the King in praying that God may dispose the Queen to harken to good advise, and to take such resolutions as may tend to the King's and the Queen's mutuall comfort and advantage.

They were not a little concern'd at the several paragraphs in the King and Lord Inverness's letters in relation to [the] Duke of Mar. They are very much persuaded that none of your trustees has corresponded with him on publick business, since the time that the King intimated his having withdrawn his confidence from him. Some of them have perhaps done it about privat affairs, and others to expostulate with him on his having incurrd the King's

displeasure, being curious as his friends and relations to know what he had to say for himself, and in such dealings with him they had no notion of incurring your displeasure, especially seeing in most of your directions with respect to him and your friends' behaviour towards him and his partners, you seemd to wish as little noise as possible to be made of this affair, and in consequence thereof shun'd entering into the particulars of what he was charged with. However, the aforesaid gentlemen desired me to assure you, that if so be you require and expect a total forbearance of corresponding with him on any subject for the future, they will readily and exactly obey the King's directions thereon, and have no doubt but your other trustees will do the same. I know not if what I mentiond in a former letter concerning Mr Carnegy of Boysick, will clear him in your sight. He's at present in Fife, but I have writ to him to come to me, when I shall communicat to him what your information of him is, and have him to say for himself.

Give me liberty now to acquaint you that Mr Lockhart has fallen likeways into the error you complain of. I call it by that name, because he's conscious of having no bad design, no more than others that may have done the like, and presume to mention the fact at some length because I hope it will at the same time clear the charecter of a gentleman in very great esteem here, who seems by a paragraph in Lord Inverness's letter to be under some suspicion. Some years ago application was made to [the] Duke of Mar (then Prime Minister) by Captain Frazer in favour of one of his name, heir of line to the late Lord Frazer, whose title did extinguish through the default of an heir male. And on [the] Duke of Mar's representing the case and merit of the family, the King was pleased for a new patent to be exped in favour of this person. Captain Frazer having left the Countrey ere this was done, the patent remaind with [the] Duke of Mar, till last winter that Captain Frazer writ for it to be sent over, which being done, did occasion a letter of thanks, and a return thereto. These letters I saw, and they containd nothing but general compliments, except that Lord Mar regretted his having fallen under the King's displeasure, and declared nevertheless his firm adherence to the King's intrest, according to which he desired his friends to judge of him. This I am pretty positive is the utmost length of Captain

Frazer's dealings, and that he knows well enough to distinguish betwixt the duty he owes the King, and any personal regard he may have for any benefactor or intrest on earth. He is now at some distance from hence, and indeed were he present I'd be shy of communicating the contents of Lord Inverness's letter, as I know it would deeply affect the honest man.

In the last of the letters he got, [the] Duke of Mar desires him to make his compliments to his fellow traveller (meaning Mr Lockhart junior), but says he will not trouble him with the like commission to the father, being informd that he expressd himself in the most ill naturd terms concerning him, and professed himself his personal mortal enemy, least it was taken ill of Captain Frazer's hand. As Mr Lockhart did by no means desire to be so represented to any man that had never done him a personal injury, and that he did not think it for your service that he or any whom you trust in your affairs, should be in such terms with any person that was, and for what was known here might be yet, employd in the King's service, I with the advice of some friends writ to him to this effect: that Mr Lockhart was much surprized at a part of a letter to him from Captain Frazer, wherein he was named. That tho it was no new thing for them to be on opposite sides, they had always lived in terms of civility, and without personal grudges and bad offices. That his informer, whosoever he was knew little of his behaviour, for whilst the other was in the King's service Mr Lockhart did strenuously stand up for him against those who even then attacked him, and since the King had layd him aside he had rather endeavord to suppress than propagate the occasion of it. That he should be glad he regained the King's favor by rather vindicating himself of what was the cause of his losing it, or doing such service as might make amends for any wrong steps he had taken, in either of which cases he should find me as much as ever, or any man could be, his faithful friend.

To this he soon gave a return full of compliments on the value he put on my friendship, and withall protesting in the most solemn manner his constant adherence to the King's service, and recommending to the King's friends to endeavor bringing about a happy adjustment of the unlucky division in your family (which he heartily regretted) as the best service could be done you. Tis I

think, two months and more since this letter was received, to which no reply has as yet been made, nor will be till I have your permission in return to this, tho, by the by, if you can venture upon my integrity and address in keeping on this correspondence I know not but I may thereby sometime or other do the King service by it. But it is a point I shall be entirely determind in by your will and pleasure. What I have said will give you, I hope, satisfaction as to the conducts of your trustees, and the particular persons named as to this article, in which if any offence has been given, I am positive it proceeded from ignorance of the King's sentiments and intentions, and no willful design of doing anything disagreeable to you.

Lord Dun and Sir John Erskine are at a good distance, and as what you direct me to signify to them is not a subject so proper for a letter as a conference, it will probably be 2 or 3 months before Mr Lockhart have an opportunity to execute it. In my letter to Lord Inverness that goes alongst with this, I mention what further is to be said of your concerns, and I won't trouble you with a repitition. Allow me only to add a solemn assurance that I am, Sir, your most obliged humble servant.

[Undeciphered P.S.] Young Alanson [Lord Erskine]⁵⁰ has been here some litle time and, behaving with great prudence and discretion, he's very much respected by Johnson [the Jacobites]. He's now at his father's house with Lord Dun and he made a visite to Bessie [Lord Balmerino] and I do not know that any more of Thomson [the King's trustees] have seen him as yet, but they desire to know Jane's [the King's] pleasure, how far they may without giving offence pay him common civilities, as others do, or keep altogether abstractly from him.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. September 9th 1726. Decypher'd.'

To Hay

LP, ii, 315-8

[Dryden?] 10 September 1726

Sir, The packet with severall letters bearing date 20 July I received on the 31 ultimo. Severall of the particulars containd in yours

⁵⁰ Thomas Erskine, only surviving son of the Earl of Mar and subsequently a Whig M.P.

having a near connection to that from the King, my return to him (which I suppose he'll communicate to you) will serve for an answer to you in a great measure as to these points.

The subject of the unhappy division seems to be wholly exhausted, as well as your share in it, by what has been writ to and fro upon them. Allow me only to add, that as there are [those] in this country who pretend to have correspondence with and intelligence from the very best hands at Rome, and who affirm that letters from Mar to the Queen have been intercepted, exciting and encouraging her to stand out against the King (whereof coppys are expected). If, I say, this fact is true, a better service can't be done the King, than to send his trustees a full account thereof, that they may depend upon; for then and thereby they'd be sufficiently enabled to contradict those who set up to vindicate the Queen and credit Mar's solemn protestations of his being nowayes accessory thereto. This at once woud knock him down in the opinion of all mankind, and leave him no credite whatsoever.

When Mr Frazer was so largely recommended, it was from a conviction of his being a perfectly honest loyall subject fit for the business he was proposed to manage, and I apprehend the informers of the charge against him must have too narrow a way of thinking, that reckon it a crime to be perhaps seen walking in the streets with people of all complexions. A man of fixed principle (such as I suppose his and many others may be stiled after the testimonys they have given) may retain a personall regard for a freind, and nowayes concurr with him in disagreeable measures; and the raising jealousies and suspicions of people on matters of no moment and grounds not well founded, is far from being a service to the King, and woud appear to arise more from personall picques and veiws of those who observe and report such trifles than a sincere weldigested design to advance the service of the common cause. One of the good effects proposed by the King's naming a set of trustees was that such tittle-tattlers woud be discouraged, and I am perswaded Lord Inverness has too much good sense and experience of the world to allow such any credit with him.

I thank you heartily for the caution you gave me, in your letter

to John Corsar, concerning my trusting those that by themselves, or at least their corrispondents may entrap me, but on reflection I can't guess whom you point at; I'me none of these stingy folks that are affraid to speak above their breath but in a corner, but I endeavour withall, to have dealings with none but people of charactar, and hitherto with so much caution that I have escaped all inconveniencies, tho perhaps as many traps have been laid for me as most men these 20 years bypast; and I am as much at a loss to know the reason of your particularly recommending my acquainting 2 noble Lords with certain particulars.⁵¹ If any complaints have been made that I either enhanced or took too much on my self, I wish and woud have expected so much from your freindship as that you'd have been more particular in the charge, and I belive I coud very easily justifie myself; but as that matter stands, I need only say I never concealed any advices or directions I received, but I at the same time acquainted the King of my reasons, which he never yet dissapproved of, nor did I ever write as my own opinion but I expresslie stated it as such.

I know well enuff their are some few displeased that I vigorouslie opposed them in some steps that I and others reckoned highlie prejudiciall to the King's service, and also that I was not communicative to them in some matters wherin I was well apprized they were byassed by veiws of ther own, and in this I had likewise the approbation of others, and informed the King; and if any of these gentlemen have insinuated any such things, I hope they don't keep in generalls, and I am not in the least affraid of giving a satisfactory answer to every article they charge me with. I mention this, because I see faction and private designs predomine so much in all interests that I have no reason to hope escaping the malice therof more than other people, and that I can imagine no reason for your warning me more on this than former occasions, unless some such thing had been suggested to you, and I'me sure I answered your intentions in the present matter; for after having communicated all I was entrusted with to such of the

⁵¹ Hay's letter does not survive, however the Old Pretender's letter of the same date indicates that Hay may have requested that Lockhart let two of Mar's friends know that the Old Pretender still trusted in their fidelity to him, but as a token of the same wished them to eschew further contact with Mar

trustees as were in town, I got a meeting of the Bishops, Norrie, Miller, Freebairn and Cant (the rest being all in the country) to whom I delivered the King's letters, which they received with all the dutifull respect imaginable, heartily approved of the scheme the King had laid down, and promised to consecrate Mr Gillane with all due expedition, and to give exact conformity to all the severall particulars the King required of them (which by the bye such of the trustees as I have yet met with much approve of likewise) and I have this day received a letter from these 4 Bishops, desiring me to transmit to His Majesty their great sense of his care and concern for the welfare of the Church and ane assurance of their stedfast loyall adherence to his orders and directions in all matters. This is the substance of a letter too long to be inserted in this, which they hope you will favourably represent to the King.

I'me glad you've falln on a way for letters to go by Burdeaux, but I am equally sorry you've changed Dundas; what Strachan has writ to you on this subject is without peradventure fact, and as wee here will pay the first tune to the piper if matters don't answer expectation, tis but reasonable wee be satisfyed in our security, and therfore wee can't but desire that such letters as come by Holland may be directed to Dundass's care as formerlie; for as he has dealt long in that business and understands it perfectly, wee look on him here as a very honest trustie man. He's soon to return from hence to Roterdam wher he'l reside more closely than of late years, tho in his absence his son performs his part with great care and equall success. For some months after this wee'l have frequent occasions to Burdeaux, and as matters cast up, you shall hear from, Yours.

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 97/41

[Dryden?] 14 September 1726

Sir, In consequence of what I told you in my last, I had write to Mr Cotton [Carnegie]. He came over to me this day, and as he seemd exceeding desirous of ane opportunity to justifie himself to you, I could not refuse furnishing him with such cypher names as he calld for and were necessary to enable him to pen the

inclosed which he wrote by me without knowing more of the cypher. I am, Sir, Your most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King covering letter from Mr Carnegie, September 14th 1726.'

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 97/131 (97/130 deciphered);
see LP, ii, 319-21 for a
slightly different version

[Dryden?] October 2nd 1726

Sir, In the last letter I writ to you after [the] Duke [of] Hamilton returnd this last summer to Scotland, I gave you such an account of him as I beleive was agreeable to the King, and indeed I said nothing there, but what I thought was to be depended upon. But very soon thereafter I saw that I was like to be mistaken, for he followed his old course of life and showd no appearance of the least application to anything that was serious. This your friends regretted, but had no apprehension of his entering into the service or measures of the British Government, which can now scarce be doubted when favors are bestowed on him. He's made one of the Knights of St Andrew, and 'tis said he's to be one of the Bed Chamber, and has assurance of being brought into the House of Peers next winter, and I have unquestionable authority that when he's amongst his comrads, he's free of the hopes of getting a regiment of dragoons, and has a promise of a troop of horse to Lord William, and a commission in the Guards to his other brother Lord Anne.⁵²

I make no question but he'll possitively assure your friends that notwithstanding of all these things he'll remain firm, and be ready to serve the King when the stroke's to be struck, and which I shall be far from insinuating may not accordingly happen, but at the same time 'tis plain and certain that he can be of no use in ... propagating avowedly secret measures that may be necessary for spiriting up the people, and tending in the issue towards the King's service. Which is no small loss, as one of his rank is essentially useful on such occasions, and was what the King's

⁵² Lord William Hamilton, subsequently M.P. for Lanark, and Lord Anne Hamilton, both sons of the 4th Duke

friends expected from [the] Duke [of] Hamilton, and no other that Mr Lockhart can think of fit for it. Under this state your friends will be at the greatest loss how to behave towards him. On the one hand, they cannot but be shy in being communicative with one that did not impart to them anything less or more of these matters, till they were become publick, and on the other hand, they would not give him reason to justifie his abandoning your intrest entirely. If so be, that notwithstanding of this (which indeed ... under the best construction, I cannot but reckon a very false) step, he pretend that he designd to act otherways. In this ticklish dilemma, we know not what to think or do, which can only be regulated by your directions, and till that time Mr Lockhart will do his best to keep out of his way, for I am affrayd the regard he [i.e. Lockhart] has for his father's memory, would get the better of my patience, and hinder my dissembling with one that acts so poor a part.

I have been enquiring pretty narrowly about Mr Andrews's⁵³ charecter, and 'tis such that I can't enough admire who could recommend him to you, as he has not one qualification fit for the affair entrusted to him. In short, the sooner the King withdraws all business out of his hands the better, and in the interim I wish to God no mischeif happen. I have concerted with Mr Dundass (who is the bearer of this to Holland) a probable method of conveying letters by the way of London, when there is no immediat occasion of sending them directly hither, but can't say it is completed till I get a return to a letter sent to a friend in London, that is designd shall have a hand in it. Mr Lockhart has very lately got two letters from Mr Cameron, to whom he can't possibly write by this occasion, but it may be for your satisfaction to know that Mr Cameron was the first and only account I heard of an application to the King from hence against or in favors [of] any employd by the King. That is what I dare say, no person had ever the least thought of here, and it would meet with no reception if proposed. I wish Mr Cameron for the future would write no more by the common post, or he'll certainly bring his friends into trouble. I have only to add that in the sincerest manner I am, Sir, your most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. October 2nd 1726. Decypher'd.'

⁵³ Possibly James Andrew, the Earl of Loudoun's agent in Edinburgh

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 105/121

Antwerp, 6 [May] 1727

Sir, As soon as I arrived, about eight dayes ago, at Roterdam I wrot to my Lord Inverness to acquaint your Majesty therof and that I waited to have the honour of your commands, but hearing since that time that his Lordship was removed to Lucca I thought it not amiss to signifye the same directlie to yourself. I mentiond some things in that letter which I conceived for your Majestie's service, and will not trouble you with a recapitulation therof, because I'me not sure if this goes by so sure a canall as the other and that I hope that Lord's [i.e. Inverness] absence can have no other effects than perhaps retarding my letters being laid before your Majestie for a few dayes. If what I proposed therin is approved of by your Majestie, the sooner tis executed twill I presume be so much for your service, there being at present ane entire stop to all commerce, and were I once possest of what you think fit to send me and your directions, I have a freind with me who I'me sure will execute them to a title, and he shall remain with me on that veiwe till I receive your Majestie's commands. I design to go from this [place] in a few dayes, but my freind at Roterdam will alwayes know wher to find me if you address to his care by the direction which I gave in mine to Lord Inverness, and I shall send Mr Walters notice wher to convey any letters under his cover addressd to Mr Robesson so that they may come by either canall you please.

How matters are gone at home with respect either to generalls or my own particular I can't tell, having heard nothing less or more these 5 weeks that I came away, which I managed so very well, that I belive except my two nearest relations their's none knows whither I'me at home or abroad, and those could not write to me till I acquainted them wher I was to be found, so that I can't expect to hear from them for a fortnight at soonest. I long to know the fate of the 2 gentlemen in custody.¹ If they act as in

¹ Hew Strachan and John Corsar

honour and prudence they ought, they'r safe, but if they'r perplexed or intimidated they may do much harm to themselves and others, and as I had no mind to run that risk, and that I knew I was principally aimd at, I thought even best to myself as much as possible out of my enimy's power. I can scarce imagine their malice will go so far, especially seing I think they'l not have a foundation to demand my being delivered up, and I as ... litle apprehend they woud succeed in it. However, I submitt to your Majestie how far you think it expedient to secure that point at the Court of Brussels, wher I think to remain till I receive your commands, without discovering myself to any but a certain English Lord, my old acquaintance.²

I have made all the enquiry I can into the origine of this unlucky affair and I find some people woud fain give it a party turn, but I am pritty possitive there's no ground for it. There was indeed an ill-advised step takn, but tis less blameworthy as having been constantly practiced before. That there's a good deal of knavery in it I can make out, but by no means from the quarter aledged, as I think I can make it evident to have its rise from another cause, which I cannot explain till I receive a return to my former letter. I found in this place my old worthy freind Colonel Clephane³, and I'me sory to tell you that he's in so bad a state of health that I fear the worst of him. Your Majestie's freinds in this place (who I find are not a few) and all other places will [rejoice?] exceedingly to hear the long wishd for news of the Queen's arrival with you and the happy effects therof in nine months time, and that you may henceforth live attended with all happiness and comfort in each other is the ardent wish of your freinds, and of none more than, Sir, your Majestie's most faithfull and dutifull subject and servant.

[P.S.] Wher I said in this letter that there was ane entir stop to all commerce, I was not ignorant that there was a certain person there (and may be still there for ought I know) furnishd with materialls, but I know at the same time there's few or none of any consequence that has or will have dealings with him, and consequentlie he can do litle or no service.

² Lord North and Grey

³ Colonel William Clephane, Adjutant-General of the Jacobite army in Scotland in 1715

Endorsed (not in Edgar's hand): 'George Lockhart, April 6. Should be May the 6 1727.'

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 106/129

Brussels, 20th May 1727

Sir, Having the first numerical cypher well fixed in my memory, I think it proper to make some use therof in this. I did myself the honour to write to you some few dayes ago, since which, having received accounts I can relye upon from London, I imagine you'l be pleased to have the same transmitted to you. I'me assured that Strachan and Corsar, being separately examined, gave no manner of satisfaction, and as tis not doubted but they'l continue to act that prudent part, tis hoped they will ere long be dismissed. Argyle stands well affected towards me, and even Walpole behaves more moderately than was expected, but how far that proceeds from my being out of his reach, I can't determine. In a litle time I hope this storm will blow over. However, in all events I have no thoughts of returning soon home, and will retire to Aix wher your commands by the canal of Waters⁴ or Dundass will find me.

I was extremely glad that I had the good fortune of a litle chat with Lord North before he set out from hence, but I had not time to say the half of what was necessary. The choice you have made of him will be, I am sure, much approved of by your subjects of both kingdoms, and I wish him good success in his design of serving you, and I hope he shall not meet with those that may from selfish veiws endeavour to thwart his honest intentions. Because tis impossible you can be perfectlie well apprized of all matters and circumstances, give me leave to mention Dundonald as the person in my opinion of all others most capable to serve you in Scotland. He's a clever young fellow and full of zeal. If you think fit to correspond with him, let me know so much, and I will direct the alphabetical and numerical cypher I sent you by Mr Cameron to be lodged with him, and so you may begin a great deall sooner if you have any orders to send.

There's at Durham one Mr Gordon, as faithful a servant as

⁴ George Waters, a banker in Paris

[any] in your dominions, and who hath done great and many services to your freinds. He gave me addresses to a freind at each of the three ports of Stockton, Sunderland and Sheilds, who'l transmitt from thence what's designd for him, and he again will dispatch them by a hand he can depend on, to those for whom they'r designd. He reckoned each journey woud cost him 30 shillings, which I told him I was sure you woud not grudge to cause pay to him, in due time, so as he shoud be no loser in the end. As there's scarce a week in the year that a ship does not sail from Rotterdam to one of these three places, your letters will go with more speed and safety than formerly. If you approve of this scheme let me know and I shall give Dundass these addresses without letting him know any more of the story. And before you make use of this canal twill be expedient I previouslie acquaint Gordon that what he receives is to be forwarded to Dundonald or whom other your pleasure is to appoint.

I'me told they begin here to smoke Lord North's journey, and no doubt accounts therof are sent to London, and I understand there are two gentlemen sent from Rotterdam to attend me, but in a day or two I shall give them the slip, and in the mean time I'me sure they spend their time to no purpose. Your freinds long to hear the confirmation of what they expect is to follow your late measures. I am, Sir, your most humble servant.

[P.S.] Having some more time than I expected before this goes off towards you, I think it proper to give you an account of some other matters. In the last which you received I belive from me whilst I was in Scotland, I acquainted you how dutifully the bishops received Kid's [the Old Pretender's] letter concerning Mr Gillane. But in a few dayes thereafter Bishop Miller (being afraid the other woud eclipse him and perhaps in time be raised above him) pretended a great remorse of conscience, that he had givn up the rights of the Church which was independent of you and all temporal powers. Under this disguise he spirited up about fifteen young hot-headed Episcopal clergy then in Edinburgh, to frame and offer ane address to the College against Gillane's being consecrated in terms so unmannerlie, imprudent, illegal, false and malicious with regard both to you and the bishops, that I'me ashamed to name them.

To this all the valueable and greatest part of the clergy refused to joyn and the bishops rejected it with indignation, but the vile set made such a clamour and tossd the subject so much about that the whole affair was in everybody's mouth and persons and circumstances propaled, nay, I knew a full discovery was made to Lord Ilay, viz, that there were trustees who overlooked your affairs, some whereof they named. That I managed the correspondence and that Strachan and Corsar had a share therin, which gave them the rise and insight towards the late discovery, but how this was accomplished I won't affirm, tho I have more than [a] suspicion, being unwilling to load any man without clear conviction, but in the main let me advise you to beware of Mr Andrews. That Ilay knew those letters were in that ship is certain, and sent orders to search her. When Strachan was first committed he was desired to name me and he shoud be dismissed, and my name was again talked about, but having no ground they delayd acting against me and Corsar till the other was examined at London.

Of all the steps taken first and last I had due intimation from Mr Erskine the Sollicitor⁵ (ane honest man I'me sure) by the means of Lord Erskine and Sir Hugh Paterson, so that being secure against surprizes, I waited till the Messenger came to town and then made the best of my way to Durham, wher by the help of my good freind above named, I got a ship to bring me over. In the course of these transactions I came to discover that Mr Carnegy was the main searcher, adviser and prompter of the factious clergy, and I told him very plainly that the part he acted was inconsistent with his duty to you and the solemn professions he had so lately made of his innocence in what he was charged with, and that I woud be sure to let you know the base part he acted. Panmure behaved also very oddly, for when Dundonald, Kincardine and Wigton proposed he shoud join in raising money to support and encourage Strachan, he refused and in a jesting manner desird me to look to myself. I sent him notice, he was in honour and truth as much involved as I, however neither your service nor my safety depended absolutely on him.

[P.S.] This letter hapning by ane accident to be bloted I designd to

⁵ Charles Erskine of Tinwald, the Scottish Solicitor-General and future Lord of Session

transcribe it, but being straitned in time when I was to remove from hence, I could not possibly get it done, so I ventured to send it as it is, trusting to your goodness to forgive me.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart to the King. May 20th 1727.'

To Sir John Graeme⁶

Stuart, 108/7

Aix, 3rd July 1727

Sir, The unconstance of my residence for some time past was the reason that the Lady to whose care yours was committed did not know how to convey it sooner to my hands than yesterday. I received it with a great deall of pleasure, as it afforded me an occasion to assure you of my respect for you, which in a great measure is naturall, as owing its originall to that inviolable freindship which so long subsisted betwixt our respective fathers and shall, I hope, be handed down by their latest posterity, thinking and acting, according to their laudable example, in the service of their King and Countrie. I design to continue here till towards October, at which time I do not know but I may return home, if matters are like to go on, with respect to what happend to me latly, according to the last accounts I had from tother side of the sea. However, I will take no resolution till I'm perfectly secure and will be sure to give you due previous advertisement therof. In the mean time his Majestie's commands will be dutifully received and the good lady will alwayes know how to further them whilst I'm in this Countrie.

I'm affraid the pacifical tempers of the European Princes will prove an impediment to what was desired and expected by all good men. Time must determine what will be the consequences of a late death.⁷ One thing's sure, his son enters with a bad charactar on the stage, and in time may give handles to work by.

Having nothing of moment to acquaint you of, I'll venture so much on your time as to tell you a story, that is now pritty remarkable. On the 16 of October I was at Aboyn in company

⁶ John Graeme was appointed Jacobite Secretary of State in March 1727 after Colonel Hay resigned in an attempt to end the quarrel between the Old Pretender and Clementina Sobieska

⁷ That of George I

with Glenbucket, Abergeldy, Forbes of Invernighy⁸, etc, and talking on the miserable state of our Country from the malt tax, etc. Forbes, who sat silent 2 hours, started up suddenlie with these words: 'be easie Gentlemen, be easie, for I'll give you leave to cut the lugs out of my head (which, by the by, I woud not willingly part with) if George does not fall shortly from his throne by death or otherwise'. As first wee were all surprized, then I told him, in a sort of jest, wee had been along amused with 'shortly', and wishd he'd be more particular. To which, in a kind of pett, he replyd, 'wait till May is once past'. Talking with him afterwards, he made me mark down in my pocket book the day of the month and his words, assuring me it woud come to pass, for Meg Malloch (a lady well known to Allan Cameron) had lately told it and many other things that woud make us all rejoice. This passage was reported over all Scotland and what has lately hapned, will raise the hopes of those who've a strong faith, as to the rest. However, taking it altogether, there's something pritty remarkable in it. Tis now high time to take my leave of you, by wishing you good success in all your undertakings and assuring you that I am, Sir, Your most faithfull humble servant.

Endorsed (not in Edgar's hand): 'G. Lockhart to Sir John Graeme, July 3rd 1727.'

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 353-5

[Brussels?] 28 July 1727

Sir, I had the honor a few dayes ago to receive yours of the 14 of June, and I lost no time in setting about the execution of what you committed to me, for having the occasion of one going to Scotland, on whom I coud depend, I writ to Kincardine to acquaint Dundonald that you had made choise of the latter to be your corrispondent and desired they woud pitch on some proper person to receive such letters as came from you addressd to Mr Robert Anderson merchant in Dingwall, and give prudent directions to that person about conveying these letters to Dundonald, without letting that person know from or to whom

⁸ Peter Gordon of Abergeldie, son of Charles Gordon, the reluctant rebel of 1715, and William Forbes of Invernettie, a veteran of 1715 in his own right

they were, which might be easily enuff contrived. That this being done, they shoud by a sure hand, send ane unsignd letter to William Dundas, acquainting him of the person's name to whose care he shoud transmit such letters as came to his hands addressd as above. If they manage this matter with the caution they may and shoud, and keep the secret to themselves, the inconveniencies that have hapned may be prevented in case of future mistakes.

I reckon it will be convenient that you direct Dundas to send you notice when he receives that letter and the name and address of the person to whom he's to convey the letters, after which you may either send them by his, or Robert Gordon at Burdeaux or any other canall, as you judge proper at any time; for what you observe as to Dundas, with respect to the suspicion he is under, is too true. I can assuredly depend on the prudence and fidelity of Mr Gordon at Durham; but on 2d thoughts, before any letters pass thorow his canall, I must adjust some things with him as to the charactars of some of the masters of ships that belong to these ports, for I do not think it prudent to act at random in a matter of such weight, and I will write to him very soon on that article. I have sent Mr Waters notice how to address for me whilst I am in these parts, so that your commands will find me wherever I am. [Lockhart notes at this point that he is eliding a section of his letter relating to the seizure of his letters at Leith as he has already related what happened].

I wish to God the designd congress⁹ may terminate as you expect, but I can't help being affraid that the Emperor is too pacifically inclined, or does not think his present allyances sufficient to enable him to make head against the formidable powrs of the Hanover allyes, which are more united and zealous than he at first expected; and yet at the same time tis scarce possible to imagine that the affairs of Europe can stand long in this posture.

You have no doubt accounts how matters go in Britain, in which I can give you no light in my present situation, nor do I know what to make of the Tory Lords applying so soon and so much to the new King.¹⁰ If he receives them, I wish it may not

⁹ The Congress of Soissons

¹⁰ The leaders of the Tory party went as a body to pay their respects to the new king, George II, shortly after his succession, only to be rebuffed

cool their zeal for a better cause. I am certainly informed of 2 facts, viz: that Mar complains to some certain persons, of having lately been barbarouslie ill used (these are his own words, but I can't yet learn the particulars, tho I belive I soon will, and whither he complains particularly of you or of some in your service); and that he has applyed and has hopes of getting liberty to retire home to Alloa, there (as he sayes) to spend the rest of his dayes in privacie. Of these particulars I was well assured before King George dyed.

Tis possitively affirmd by all hands that very soon there will be ane indemnity, and so extensive as to include many hitherto excluded, who probably will take the benefite therof. I reckon it can't fail to comprehend me, and in that case I belive I may return soon home; if I take this resolution I shall timouslie acquaint you therof that you may stop writing further to me, for as I will be narrowlie watchd and the least occasion against me laid hold on, I must act with great caution, tho at the same time nothing shall deterr me from serving you in any station; but I know you will excuse me, especially seing you'll be provided in another correspondant in all respects more capable to serve you than ever was in my powr. I am.

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 109/22; see LP, ii, 360-2
for a slightly different version

[Aix?] August 4th 1727

Sir, Nothing coud have surprised me more than my accidentall meeting with the bearer¹¹, but the account I got from him of you and your late resolutions being what indeed I did not in the least imagine or expect. Not being provided with some materials twas with some difficultie I read yours. However, I made shift to understand the purport, and the same reason will prevent my writing so clearlie as otherwise I woud.

The subject of yours is a matter of the greatest consequence, and tho it was very naturall for you to desire to be in a condition to make benefite from any happy circumstances that might occur, yet I am much affraid nothing of that kind is like to happen at this

¹¹ Allan Cameron

juncture.¹² I have no intelligence from tother side of the water, but by the publick letters tis plain that the people of England are intoxicated at present, having forgot their late ailments by the (ill-grounded) hopes of a better management, and till they find themselves dissapointed, I can form no hopes from them, especially seing you have no prospect of what you and all your advisers judgd essentially necessary, even under the fairest of veiws, for your support and others' encouragement. And as for Scotland, they can't possibly do any thing without being provided in many materiall things they want and ere that can be done much time and many difficulties must be surmounted, during which opposite preparations will be made on all hands.

I readily grant twere an double advantage to give the stroke in the beginning, least affairs at home and abroad grow worse and be rivetted, but then even under this consideration this is not to be attempted without necessary precautions and provisions, for without these, such, or any, attempt woud be too desperate and without miracles from heaven prove the utter ruin of all future hopes. I belive Scotland is much as I left it, that is, very well disposed, but withall so overrun and oppressd that it is impracticable for them to do anything but jointly and in concurrence with their neighbours of England, and I am pritty well assured this notion is so establishd and fixed in their breasts that they will scarce on any event divert from it, so that all depends on the people of England, and for a certain person to venture over without ane assurance of some support may prove pernicious to him and fatall to all that wish him well. I have with the bearer enterd into the particulars on which I found these my sentiments, which he'l narrate and explain more fully than I can write. No man living woud more gladlie see the dawning of a fair day, but when every airth of the compass is black and cloudie, I cannot but dread bad weather, such as can give no encouragement to a traveler, nay cannot well fail to prove his own and his dependents' ruin and destruction. What I have represented is from the very bottom of my heart and soul, which at the same time I submit with the greatest respect to your judgement. [no farewell or signature]

Endorsed (not in Edgar's hand): 'G. Lockhart, August 4 1727.'

¹² The Old Pretender had made a dash from Rome to Lorraine with a view to getting to Britain quickly in the event of a revolt against the new king

To Sir Robert Walpole

CUL, Chol. 1477

Aix la Chapelle, 23rd August 1727 ns.

Sir, The rank and character which you bear in the Government of Great Britain, will plead, I hope, and obtain an excuse for my applying to you. I have the misfortune to be at present under the displeasure of the King and his ministry, which, if possible, I would very gladly have removed. I will not pretend to justify every step of my by past conduct, but if his Majestie will be graciouslie pleased to forgive whats past, I do engage in the most solemn manner, as a Christian and Gentleman that the future part of my life shall in all respects and on all events be dutifull, such as becomes one who humbly asks and obtains his Majestie's protection. Let me therefore beg of you, Sir, to lay this my earnest request before the King and to second it with your good offices in my behalf. I have no arguments to urge towards moving you to favour me in this article, but as it will be exceeding generous in its own nature. My gratefull return is a matter of no great consequence to you but in so far as it is or shall be in my power to make proper acknowledgements I will ever be readie and in the mean time behave myself in such a manner, as you'll have reason to expect from and will be the duty of Your most obedient and obliged humble servant.

Endorsed: 'Mr Lockhart'.

To Sir John Graeme

LP, ii, 364-8

Aix, 11 September 1727 ns

Sir, Yours of the 25 of August was the more agreeable that it confirmed an account I had read in a letter, 3 or 4 dayes before, of the King's being arrived in good health at Avignon. For in truth I was in pain to know what was become of him, having heard nothing that was probable from the time I parted with Cameron at Liege. No doubt many advantages attend his being near his own dominions, and I wish matters may be so adjusted as he may fix wher he is, till he comes nearer and that his family may join him, for I must own that next to the main point (that is his restoration) I know nothing more for the interest of the good

cause than the encrease of the royall issue, which wee have reason to expect, were the royall pair once again together and in a method of using the lawfull means. That and many other considerations render it extremely desirous that they shoud meet as soon as possible; tis what his people long to have ane account of and twill stop the mouths of his enimys. I woud very gladly have waited on His Majestie whilst he was within so near reach of me, but as I had neither his orders nor allowance, I chused rather to cross my own inclinations, than do what perhaps he might not have approved of.

I know not how to undertake sending you notice of the person's name pitchd on to receive the King's letters in Scotland, for at present I have no cyphers nor method of corrisponding there; and as I'me undetermined how or wher I'le dispose of myself nixt winter, I can't establish one for some time. What I writ to the Earls of Kincardine and Dundonald was by a sure hand going from hence (tho by the bye I find he'l continue some litle time longer at London than I expected) and I'me to send the cypher with another that goes from this about a month hence, so that it will be yet a considerable time before this canall of corrispondence can be opened; but if the King has any scruple of being informd by William Dundas of the name of the person appointed to receive the letters he forwards, when once the corrispondence is set afoot, he may demand it from the person he writes to. I must recommend earnestly, the keeping all the persons names any wayes employd in this corrispondence, as secret as possible, which in a great measure depends upon being within the knowlege of very few and that the intermediate persons know not of one another, which, as I have laid down the scheme, may be done, if tis cautiouslie executed, as I belive it will.

As to myself, I see no probability of ane indemnity, it being put off till the new Parliament sits down, and tis probable it may then meet with a new delay. I expect no particular favors (and as litle will I ask them) having been lately informd that my never failing personall freind the Duke of Argile his application was unsuccessfull, being told by the English Ministry that they had clear proofs of a long tract of treason to charge me with. I was at a loss to know how this coud be, for tho I was assured Strahan and

Corsar had loaded me to free themselves, yet I imagined theyd go no further than to say that the packet that was seized was for me, which woud never have amounted to a proof of treason; but by a letter which I lately received from my son, I find Corsar's the greatest rogue of the 2, and that a certain person in the Goverment (to whose freindship I owed the intelligence I got so as to escape in time) told my son, they both deserved to be hanged as fools and knaves, having told what they shoud not and were under no necessity of telling. So that I conclude they have givn an account of a setled corrispondence, and if they have only brought me in and not made discoverys to the prejudice of the cause or of other particular persons, I shall forgive them the sooner. What confirms the suspicion of Corsar is, that he declines letting any of our freinds know what lengths he went, keeping only in generalls and that he was obliged to save himself, since he had not been so wise as I was to keep out of the Goverment's hands. I have writ to my freinds and relations to show no resentment against them, least finding themselves treated as they richlie deserve, they become desperate and common prostitutes, which may have bad effects as Captain Straton keep nothing from them; besides, tis commonly observed that these people do not confine themselves to truth, when once they give themselves up to become informers and evidences.

There has been here for some months a countrieman and neer kinsman of mine, Samuel Forbes of Knapperlie, one of the most execrable villains nature ever framed. He committed some 7 or 8 years ago a most barbarous murder at Angiers on the person of Mr _____¹³ a very worthy young English gentleman, and about 2 years as barbarous a robbery of a Dutch gentleman who had invited and was intertaining him at his house. In short ther's no kind of wickedness he is not capable of; and tho he's excluded the Hanover allyance, by being sure to be hangd if he's catchd within the territorys of the 3 cheif branches of it, that is France, Holland and Britain, yet his zeall is great for the present English Goverment (in hopes I suppose to get the remission which has been hitherto refused) and I lately discovered that he is actually in

¹³ Actually Samuel Forbes of Knapernay. This is the only reference to any wrongdoing that I have been able to discover, which suggests that the 'murder' occurred during a duel

pay, whither to inform, or perform, or both, God knows, but he's a mettle resolute fellow and well qualified for all manner of villainous undertakings. I was mightie uneasie on his sudden setting out from hence about 3 weeks ago and not going to Spa, as he pretended, however he has again cast up here.

If he happens to come wher you are at any time, for God's sake cause secure him. Tis probable some of your company may know him, if not, all the description I can give of him is, that he's a well set, midle seized genteel man, of a ruddy complexion, broad faced and about 30 years old, and speaks French currently, and wears good cloaths. I have talkd with some persons of distinction here of him and they'r of opinion that if either the States General or the French King woud demand him, he'd be given up, as a publick enemy to mankind, by any Prince or States in whose dominions he hapned to be; and I have writ to one in Holland to put the gentleman he robbd upon making the tryall with the States, and I have also writ to Captain Frazer (who's now at Angiers) to acquaint Mr Cotton¹⁴ (cusen to the gentleman that was murdered, who is also there) that in concurrence with the master of the accademie he may apply to the French Court, and if any of these traps catch him, twill be a service to mankind. In short I dread him more than any body, as I'me sure he'l stand at nothing, be it ever so hainous, that the Goverment of England requires of him, and I thought it not amiss to put you on your guard.

I found poor Clephan in a very bad way at Antwerp, so I got him up to Liege where I settled him much better, but he's in so very bad a state of health and reduced so low and weak within these three weeks that a short time must end his days, and as he has nothing to subsist himself and supply his childeren, but what the King allows him, I fear he'l not leave wherewithall to bury him. Tis very obvious how much it is for the King's honor and service that the world know that he takes care of such persons, and I'me of opinion twoud be for his interest, that he orderd Waters to enquire after his condition during his sickness, and to let his son know that his Majestie will continue his pension after

¹⁴ Possibly Rowland Cotton, formerly M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyme and a leader of the Jacobite Tory interest in Staffordshire

his death, so long, as to pay his funeralls. I mention this to you, and you can best judge how far twill be fit to mention this to his Majestie. If any thing is to be done for him, it must be soon, or twill come too late. His son is ane excellent young man and a fine scholar. He has studied medicine 2 years with Boerhaave¹⁵, but as that bussiness is overstockt at home and the lad has no fund to subsist on, God knows what will become of him when his father dyes. If the King had any litle post about himself or the Prince to bestow on the deserving son of one of the worthiest men ever existed, the extending his care to even the offspring of those that sufferd for him woud be a great encouragement to draw in others, particularly officers, to engage in his service on the nixt proper occasion. I also submit how far you judge it proper to mention this particular to his Majestie.

I have now takn notice of all that occurd to me at this time, which having spun this letter to a good length, I will encroach no furdur on your time, than to assure you of the sincerity with which I am, Yours.

P.S. The Duke of Berwick's to be here nixt week; he knows my story well enuff, and if he speaks to me of the King, I'll be at a loss how to behave; however, to be sure I do no harm, I will keep much in generalls.

To Sir John Graeme

LP, ii, 368-9

[Brussels?] 18 September 1727 ns

Sir, Since my last of the 11th I have found a countrieman of ours, who at the bottom is a very honest man and not suspected, and designs to be in Edinburgh in a month or therby; with him I will write to Dundonald, desiring him as soon as he has pitchd on a person under whose cover are to be sent letters addressd to that he write a letter to the King acquainting him of the name and address of that person, and that he send it with the first safe occasion to Robert Gordon at Bourdeaux or William Dundas at Rotterdam, and that the letters he sends under their cover be addressd to Monsieur Le Blan marchand Paris. It will therfore be expedient

¹⁵ Herman Boerhaave, Professor of Medicine at Leyden, and the leading light of his generation in medicine

that you in due time instruct Gordon and Dundas how to forward such letters addressd for Le Blan, as come under their cover.

I have been to wait on the Duke of Berwick. He received me with great civilitys, but as yet I've had no private chat with him. I have nothing more to trouble you with at this time, but to desire you'd tender my duty in the most respectfull manner to his Majesty, and belive that I am, Yours.

To the Bishop of Rochester

Stuart, 111/47

[Aix?] October 4th 1727 ns

My Lord, I should be at no peace with my self if I lost any time in letting you know that yesterday's post brought me advice, that the ministry at London have been, for some time, possesst of coppys of the cyphers by which the King and those entrusted by him write to his freinds in Britain and elsewhere. They keep this a secret amongst a few, but my information comes originally from one who hath access to know such matters, and who reveal'd it to my freind with a kind intention towards me and with a veiw, I imagine, that I woud probably make a further good use of it. It woud be tedious and besides it woud not be prudent to mention in plain English the particulars transmitted to me. Tis enuff that I put your Lordship at this time upon your guard, from ane apprehension the authority of my intelligence is too much to be depended on.

I know indeed that statesmen pretend sometimes to know more of such matters than they reallie do, but this does not come through a canall that will allow me to put such ane interpretation upon it, and of this wee'l soon be able to judge, for if once the King is apprized of some particulars transmitted to me, as pretended to be discovered, by one of these cyphers, from the letters lately seized in Scotland, he'l know how far it is true that these letters containd such particulars and from thence conclude whither he has been betrayd or not. But as it will take me a day or two at least to mention all that's necessary for him to know, in a manner safe to be transmitted to him from hence, I belive it will be expedient that your Lordship lose no time in forwarding this, or at least the substance of it, to him, least bad consequences to

himself and others attend his not knowing this matter very soon. I need not I believe take notice how necessary it is that this affair be kept in as few hands as possible, till the bottom of it is fully ript up, by discovering either the fallacy or the traitors. My freind recommends in the most earnest manner that no time be lost in laying this fact before the King and that he woud change the method of, what he belives, his private correspondence, least discoverys be made that prove fatall to his own and his freinds' interest. I need not, I hope, make any appology for communicating this to your Lordship, since it proceeds from no other motive but a personall respect for yourself, as well as the good of the common cause. Tho I make use of a borrowd subscription, nothing can be more genuine than my profession of being in the most respectfull manner, My Lord, Your Lordship's most faithfull humble servant.

[P.S.] I hope that you'll take care that the accounts you transmit come directlie into the King's own hands.

Mr Waters will give your Lordship an account of me and how to address your commands for me. I drink your health with [erased].

To the Old Pretender

Stuart, 111/32; see LP, ii, 372-5
for a slightly different version

[Aix?] October 7 1727 ns

Sir, Before this reaches you, I suppose a letter from Mr Fenton [the Bishop of Rochester] will be come to your hands acquainting you of the substance of what is containd in this, which I did breifly communicate to him because I could not then write at full length to yourself and judgd it necessary that both you and he should be somewhat apprized of the matter as quicklie as possible. I need not be at much pains to disguise what I have to say, for should this fall into the hands of the British ministry it can produce no bad effects. To proceed then, I received lately information from a particular freind that he was assured the ministry at London were masters of coppys of most if not all the cyphers, by which the King and such as are employd under him correspond with his freinds in Britain or elsewher, and that they had, by one of them,

uncyphered the letter lately seized in Scotland, which amongst other things containd the following particulars. That they own the receipt of 2 letters of certain dates. That they contain directions concerning the Episcopall clergy. That notice is givn of ane invasion designd with directions to make certain preparations for it. That a person was sent to a certain place on purpose to give orders, with whom the person for whom the letters addressd was to correspond, and he was further to act in concert with 2 certain persons, which 3 are to give directions in all matters as they judgd most proper for the good of the cause, from time to time, as circumstances hapned and requird.

My author does not mention the name of the 3 aforesaid persons, nor of the aforesaid place, but from what follows it seems these names, at least of the 2 persons to be advised with, is known. He sayes that these cyphers came from the fountain head abroad, and that the ministry have had them for some time, waiting for ane occasion to use them. That they keep this as a great secret in the hands of very few, but that his informer had access to know such matters and told them to him, as he imagines with good intentions, and that there's scarce any the least reason to doubt the truth of this information. He adds that his freind told him that Strachan and Corsar at their privat examinations had told all they knew (and which they had not the confidence to deny, tho they'd fain have minchd and excusd it, when, since their being discharged they have been questiond upon it) particularly that the King had for a long time kept a closs correspondence in Scotland, which was carryd on by a certain gentleman who received and returnd letters and orders relating therto, and gave severall particular instances.

That this affair was fully debated in a select Councill in [the] presence of the late Elector. That some pressd to proceed against the 2 aforesaid persons (whose names it seems they knew) and endeavour therby to make further discoverys, but that he was possitive against it, saying that since the person principally concernd had escapd and the danger, by the prospect of peace, over, he woud have no more blood nor prosecutions, so that these 2 persons were not to meet with any furdur trouble, unless fresh occasions required it. He adds that after long discourse with his

freind he was possitively assured by him that the ministry were posesst of coppys of every cypher the King has writ by these severall years past, which they had got from one that knew how to procure them. And my author concludes that its absolutely needfull that the King be apprized of this matter as soon as possible, and that if he does not alter his cyphers, but continues to write by his former ones, the consequences may prove fatall to himself, his freinds and the common cause. Thus you have the main articles containd in my letter, and I am very sure the author, in whom I can assuredly confide, woud not have been at such pains in transmitting this account in such hast and expresst such concern, had he not judgd it absolutely necessary. He does not mention the name of his informer, but by some circumstances I guess the man, and if it is so, the authority is but too good.

However, as wee've heard of politicians pretending to know more in such cases as they realie do, with a veiw of creating suspicions and raising jealousies, what is here mentiond will not warrand any persons being thought culpable, tho ther's more than enuff to put the King upon the search and to lay down new measures to prevent the fatall effects that may follow this discovery's being true. Of which I conceive it is in the King's power to make a pritty good judgement, for if he has coppys of the letters seized in February last at Leith and on reveiw therof finds they contain the particulars I have mentiond (which, by the by, are not pretended to be more than the heads and substance of some parts of these letters and not the precise words) then he may reasonably conclude that the information is good, and on the other hand, if these letters contain nothing relative to these subjects, it may as reasonably be concluded that tis a contrivance of his enimys, but such a scrutiny seems to be absolutely necessary to discover either the fallacy or the treason, which may lead the way to find out the traitor. Matters, all of them, of the last consequence.

I take it for granted that on this allarm you will not blame Mr Lockhart for having stopt the Grand [cypher] you directed me to send to Henderson [Scotland], for if this discovery is true and that cypher has ever been used with other persons on former occasions, tis by no means fit to put it in your freinds' hands.

Mr Stirling of Keir¹⁶, who by connivance of the Government has lived retiredly at his countrie house for 8 or ten years past and was so much favoured as to have the purchasing of his estate (which by his attainder was forfeited and sold) for a very trifle, was lately seized at his country house by ane order from General Wade, and is to be soon sent up to London. What's the cause or is designd by this step I have not heard, but it bodes ill for the poor gentleman, who I alwayes heard lived very inoffensively. I'll be impatient to have your sentiments of what is herein containd, and I remain, Sir, your most humble servant.

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 376-8

[Rotterdam] 18 November 1727 ns

Sir, Yours of the 24 of October I had the honor to receive some few dayes ago in this place (Rotterdam) whither I came lately from Aix la Chapple with a design to take up my winter quarters till I see what turn affairs at home will take. I was lately assured that the Goverment had resolved to pass ane act of indemnity, excluding only such as are attainted, and a litle time will now show what truth is in it.

I am extremely glad that you have such reasons to belive the information I had of your being betrayd is not, at least in all its heads, true, which I own is a very naturall consequence to draw from the letters that were seized not containing the particulars I acquainted you were pretended to be discovered in them: but at the same time I cannot rest fully satisfyed when I consider from whence my information came. I will alwayes receive your commands with a dutifull submission, but I hope you will not insist on my mentioning names, after I acquaint you that the account was sent me under strict engagements to the contrary, and because I can't see it will be of any great use, after representing the following particulars. My immediat author is a gentleman whos charactar and profession does not lead him to deall at all in politicks, and he accordingly is reckond one who thinks no furdur of such matters than to submit and live peacably under the prevailing Goverment for the time; but nevertheless I know him

¹⁶ James Stirling of Keir

assuredly to be a very honest man and a sincere well wisher to you and your interest: he happens to be in a state of great intimacie with one who enjoys a considerable post and is much trusted, especially in such matters as concern Scotland, and I can scarcely think any minister woud impose false stories on him, and am very sure he'd scorn to propogate and disperse them on any account or veiw whatsoever. The first of these being my very good freind, and the other no wayes a personall enemy to me, I hapned one day to be the subject of their private conversation, which led the last to mention what my freind could not but credite, when he reflected on the charactar of his author and the way and manner he spoke of it to him, which out of respect first to you and nixt to me he thought himself bound to inform me of, in the manner and under the restrictions I have mentioned in this and my former letter.

This person being my son's intimate acquaintance, I shall put him on trying if he can make further discoverys with regard to the sevrall particulars you want to have cleared and what else may be for your service in this matter: what may be the success I can't say, but I shall be sure faithfully to communicate all I learn, and shoud think myself happy in being instrumentall in removing all doubts, on what ever side of the question truth lyes.

Finding when I came here last week a very safe and proper hand to convey your cypher to [the] Earl of Dundonald, I resolved not to slip so good ane occasion by waiting for your return to my last, so I sent it off with a gentleman who saild yesterday with a fair wind directly for Leith, and I'me in no pain of the trusts being soon and carefully executed.

I'me pleased the affair of your residence is fixed according to your mind, and with all my soul I wish you and the Queen a mirry meeting and much mutuall lasting comfort, as I will alwayes join with others your good subjects in detesting those miscreants that have been any way accessory towards promoting and continuing a misunderstanding so fatal and pernicious to yourself, your family and subjects; and I cannot but offer it as my humble advice that all prudent means be takn to prevent the like for the future, it being impossible to express the prejudice it did and woud do to your service many many wayes.

I have nothing more to trouble you with at present, but to renew my protestation of being in the most respectfull and sincerest manner, Yours.

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 380-8

[Rotterdam?] 6 December 1727 ns
Sir, I received yours of the 16 November with infinite sorrow and concern, as it superseded the hopes I had conceived of the fatal differences of your family having been so far adjusted that nothing materiall remaind to obstruct your and the Queen's living together in a way and manner which did become your mutuall relation to each other, and so necessary with regard to your other temporall concerns.

As to transmitting accounts to your freinds in Scotland of her having refused to come to you, tho so earnestly desired, and of the reasons which you think have moved her therto, I am humbly of opinion it is by no means for your service to make any publick noise about it, till it be seen what may be brought about this winter; for I beg the liberty to say that the memorialls, letters, etc, that were first and last handed about concerning this unhappy breach, did you no litle disservice, were it no more than that they gave rise for your enimys to enquire more officiously into the story and occasiond its being too much the subject of common conversation, wherein your enimys vented their malice against you, and in many articles your freinds did not well know how to answer them, especially those by which the Lord and Lady Inverness were accused. The world at present belives that the breach was so far made up, that the Queen left the convent and proceeded to Bollognia to co-habit with you; that your not meeting then was occasioned by your sudden unexpected journey, and that the uncertainty of your residence prevented her joining you last summer, as the coldness of the season does now: and with great submission I conceive you shoud rather suffer it to rest there than assign any other reasons for some litle tract of time. This present footing on which it stands can give rise to no bad inferences, and tis time enuff to propale the secrets of your family when all hopes of bettering them are intirely blasted.

Having now entered on this subject, indulge me so far as to allow me freele to lay before you my sentiments with regard to the management of your affairs: in doing wherof I may perhaps differ from what on former occasions you have signified to be your own opinion, and I may condemn some parts of your conduct and offer some expedients which at first veiwe may be disagreeable to you, but I hope in none of these will I incur your displeasure, as I have no veiwe whatsoever but your honor and service, and what mistakes I may commit arise wholly from an error of judgement rather than wilfull intention; and in this I have the vanity to expect you'll be pleased to credite me, as I'me sure no part of my behaviour these 25 years bypast, that I entered into publick affairs, will admit the least shadow of reason to think I postponed your or my countrie's service to any veiwe or interest whatsoever, and that I can propose no benefite to my self from what I may represent, as I have not earthly dependance upon any person or cause but you and yours, and as I can't pretend any particular dissobligation from any person that has been or may be concern'd in your affairs.

This being premised, I beg libertie to say that in my humble opinion you have been ill served ever since 1716 that you return'd from Scotland, and that much of this is to be imputed to your lodging too much powr and confiding as it were solely in a single person. Mankind are naturally ambitious of powr, and when they attain to more than that to which they have an inherent title, they think their's no way to secure the possession, but by grasping at more and keeping their fellow creatures at under: and hence it is that favourites are constantly the bane of those princes by whose authority they are raised and supported, seeing this can't be done but by suppressing others, who believe, and very often have, an equall if not a superior claim to their sovereign's confidence and bounty and can't bear the insolence that for the most part attends the dominion of these substitute princes.

While the Duke of Mar was your first minister, how, as it was said, did he lord it over all the rest of your followers, men, some of them, equall to him in dignity, power, knowledge, and all of them, according to their severall stations, in zeall fidelity and sufferings for the royall cause? No person was to be employ'd in

the highest or lowest station, no favors conferrd, in short nothing to be done in any kind of matter but by and thorow him: hence it came to pass that a parcell of his creatures were preferrd to persons of greater rank and merite, which so sowred ther tempers, that ther arose a generall clamor against his administration, and great numbers of your best and most valuable subjects withdrew from your Court, which gave a handle to your enimys to upbraid your freinds for having adhered to a prince who, as they turnd it, valued their sufferings for him at so low a rate. The Duke, being sensible that such woud be the issue of this kind of management, took care to represent those people as factious and humoursome, and I can remember very well that in your letters about that time in praise and justification of him, you seemd to think that under the pretence of being displeased at his administration they levelld at your own authority, being prompted by the secret cunning artifices of your enimys.

No sooner was His Grace of Mar removed, and Lord Inverness established his successor, but, as tis said, he followd the same measures, nay in conjunction with his Lady and her brother the Lord Dunbar, very far out did what was laid to his predecessor's charge, in so far as he brought even the Queen herself on the stage. I know very well you did him the honor to vindicate him in a very publick manner, which, had it been practicable, woud have cleared him of the charge; but so it is, that when people considered that it was not to be imagined but he had the prudence not to do any thing unbecoming him in your presence and woud certainly deny the accusation to you, but that persons of rank and figure, of honor and loyaltie, and attachment to your person who were amongst your attendants and others who hapned to be in the neighbourhead all joind in the tesstimony against him and concurrd in the particular facts and circumstances, which they averrd consisted within your proper knowledge; when these proofs, I say, were duely weighd, they so preposessd the minds of the far greater part of your subjects, as well as strangers, that nothing alledged in his behalf had credit with them, and nothing was or is more frequently heard than that your affairs will not prosper whilst he has any concern in them.

Now, sir, that your family is miserably divided; that great

numbers of those who followd your fortune have withdrawn highly discontented, so that your present retinue is exceedingly reduced with respect both to the number and charactar of those of whom it does consist; that the prudence and capacity (to say no worse) of many you have employd are much calld in question; that your freinds all the world over are highly discouraged, are all truths undeniable; and from what source can they proceed but that which is universallly assigned, viz. the arbitrary proceedings of those who've had the good fortune to gain your good opinion, so far as to be solely trusted by you? Most of these particulars consist of facts that speak for themselves, within the reach of your own observations and knowledge; and for what remains, whoever takes on him to set them in another light, I will be bold to say he is either some litle insignificant creature who knows litle of what's doing in the world, or he's a tool to some designing person interested in the scheme. I know you imput the part which the Queen has acted, to the artifices of certain persons, who aim therby at embroiling your family and embarrassing your affairs: and I think I have seen it under your hand that you did not belive she was apprised of these ther secret veiws and motives, in which I belive every body will concurr; for tis impossible to imagine that a princess of honor and virtue and endowed naturall bowells of affection (altho she had no personall regard for you) woud contenance and support such measures as tend directlie to ruin her childeren; and it is as difficult to conceive that a princess of common sense and discretion could be so much imposed on as in this case must be supposed; for tho these evill councillors might have such wicked designs, how is it possible they coud perswade her that with her eyes and ears she saw and heard these insolencies of which she complains, and which she assigns as the cause of her retirement, if no such had hapned?

To conclude, tis impossible to imagine her immediatly or mediatly guilty of such pernicious measures, without at the same time supposing her the worst or the weakest of womankind, charactars I never yet heard of her and diametrically opposite to what is universallly established. I will not take on me to say that what is thus alledged against one or both these persons that have been at the head of your affairs are all or in part true, because I

have no personall knowledge therof, but certain it is they are generally credited, and I submitt to you if it is not possible that you may be misinformed of the conduct and behaviour and be mistaken in the good opinion you intertaind of both as well as one of these ministers? And if it is not difficult to belive that so many persons, in all respects of unblemishd charactars, shoud act so base a part as to affirm notorious falsehoods in ane affair of such moment? On the supposition then that what is above represented are reall matters of fact, arising from the causes assignd, tis naturall to subsume [*sic*] that what has hapned woud have prevented, had you thought fit to appoint particular provinces to particular persons, confiding and advising with them as they were severally employd, and confining them within there sevrall spheres: by such a distribution of offices of business and posts of honor, without regard to dependance on or attachment to any person but yourself, you'd have found yourself better served, peace and harmony preserved in your family, your Court appeard with greater splendor, and the reputation of your counccills been on a better footing than I apprehend they are at present. I own that in the management of your secret dispatches and negotiations tis absolutely necessary to committ them to very few, nay if possible to only one person; but it does not follow that ther's any necessity for exalting him in powr and dignity above others.

If what I have thus, with great submission, offerd to your consideration appear to you founded on truth and reason, the remedy, in so far as concerns your future oeconomy in appointing by whom and after what manner you'r to be served, is plain and obvious, and I humblie apprehend ther's not much greater difficultie in adjusting matters with the Queen, which I take to be the *unum necessarium* at present; for since she is not accessory or even privy to any bad designs against you or your affairs, and that she assigns no other reason for her retirement, but that she could no longer bear what she reckoned insulting injuries from Lord and Lady Invernes, and that to satisfye her in that article you was graciouslie pleased to remove him from attending you personally, nothing remains but that you condescend one step further, in giving her your royall assurance that you have no design of bringing him ever back to your service; and allow me so far to

plead her cause, that if she had reason to demand his being removed, she has as good reason to expect you will not call him back. For my part I cannot allow myself to think you have any such design, for sure you'l never put the satisfaction of your royall consort, the mother of your childeren, and the peace and tranquillity of your family in the ballance with any subject whatsoever, tho endowed with all the qualitys of the greatest minister that ever served a crownd head; and let people say and think what they will of Lord Inverness, I can't but intertain a better opinion of his sense, honor and integrity, than to imagine he has any such veiws.

You may with good reason think that your removing him to gratifye the Queen is enuff to satisfye her; but since the world hath takn it into their heads that he's still so much in your favor that in some time you'l probably recall him (which imagination I presume has its rise from the publick declarations you emitted in his favors) and that no doubt these reports have reachd the Queen, tis not very strange they shoud allarum one of her sex, who are naturally timorous and credolous; and if her being satisfyd by you on that head will remove all impediments to your living happily together, tis a blessing purchased at too easie a rate to be rejected. I have no immediat authority to say that herein lyes the main obstruction of the Queen's not repairing furthwith to you, but at the same time I have very good reason to belive it, from what I collected last summer from forreigners of note and distinction who wish you very well; and if it is realie so, your further condescension on that head will either have the long wishd for effects or leave her without any sort of excuse, so as the world will assuredly condemn her and justifie you.

I can easily conceive that you will think it hard to have terms, such as these, imposed on you: but be pleased to reflect how many princes seated on their thrones have been constrained to dismiss ministers with whom they were well pleased, on less pressing occasions, and to obtain less valuable ends. Be pleased likewise to call to mind how much Lewis 13th of France was blamed for supporting even the great Cardinal Richleiu when his insolence towards the Queen Mother obliged her to leave first his Court and then his dominions; and sure ther's more to be said in favors

of a royall consort's complaints against any minister whatsoever. And after all, what is ther in this Lord that shoud enduce you to be possitive in this matter? You may dismiss him in a way honorable to yourself and him, since you think he merits so much for his fidelity and services, and you will not want others to supply his place whose capacity and experience in business, whose charactars and reputations, whose powr and interest at home and abroad are at least equall to His Lordship and are consequently equally capable to serve you. If you dread his resentment may turn to revenge and lead him to discover your secrets, that is at once to own he never deserved the confidence you've reposed in him, and the sooner you get rid of him the better, seing in that case ther can be no security of him at any rate: but for my part, I can't allow myself to entertain the least notion that he can possibly be guilty of so much treachery and ungratitude, and I dare say you and all your subjects may be perfectly secure on that head.

To sum up all I have said on this article, if the peace of your family can be obtaind at so easie a rate, tis expected that in justice to yourself, your posterity and your people, you will be pleased to comply with it and therby shew yourself a loving husband, a kind parent and a gracious soveraign, evidencing at the same time a notable instance of your goodness, wisdom and prudence.

Now that I have finishd this tedious epistle, I'me much at a stand whither or not to forward it, least I incurr your displeasure by presuming to express my sentiments on subjects too high for me, and yet I resolve to venture, as I'me conscious of my own honest intentions and certain that your innate goodness is more than enuff to pardon the failings of your subjects.

I have acquainted Mr Clephan of what you design to do for him, and as it is ane act of generosity becoming a great prince, I dare say it will have very good effects, tho whilst he remains in the Dutch service it must be kept very secret. I am, Yours.

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 389-94

[Rotterdam?] 22 January 1728 ns

Sir, I delayd making a return to yours of the 19 December, which I had the honour to receive, till the arrivall of a ship from

Scotland, which I knew was to bring me letters from my freinds and might perhaps afford me matter to write of to you.

I'me sorry you'r obliged to remove your quarters, seing it is what you did not incline to, altho wee at a distance and ignorant of your secret veiws coud not see any great advantage arising from your residing at Avignon, unless it was attended with the concent and further good intentions of the French Court.

All your freinds will rejoice to hear of your meeting with the Queen. Since the fatall breach hapned I have fairlie and honestlie represented what effects it had on the minds of your people, and I will take upon me to say nothing ever hapned that did you so much disservice, nor is there any thing more necessary for you, than by all reasonable means to prevent any misunderstanding for the future. Such unnaturall divisions afford your enemys (of all kinds) ane handle to represent you in the worst light they can devise, and your freinds are not a litle dejected by them. How much then it imports yourself, your family, the good cause and your faithfull subjects, that you henceforth live together in such a manner as is decent and at the same time necessary, is so very obvious, that it is not to be imagined any consideration will come in competition therewith, and this I am sure is the opinion and earnest wish of all who, being free of passion and self-veiws, have a just and dutifull regard for you; and who ever represents otherwayes (if any such ther be) are either ignorant or something worse.

I don't know how it came about, that in a letter not long ago to the Bishop of Rochester, I gave my opinion against the method of transmitting your letters by masters of ships, and preferrd the having one appointed for that business, wherof it seems he gave you information. As that business is now out of my hands, I don't know what may be the opinion of the person now employd therin, but I have the experience of such dangers as well as uncertaintys attending the old tract, that with great submission to your judgement, were it my own case I woud prefer the other way. Ther's no humane device infallible nor no measures absolutely certain, but I think I coud contrive a method less lyable to hazards, than what has been hitherto followed. The almost daylie intercourse of ships from some one port or another in

Scotland and, wher these fail or may be suspected, in Northumberland, the Bishoprick of Durham or Yorkshire to and from Holland, renders it very easie, and by changing of ports, very safe for one to pass and repass often and at all times; and if some person was appointed to make the voyage every 2 months or therby, to receive and deliver letters to and from your corrispondents in Holland and Scotland, you, knowing the time he was to be in Holland, coud easily have them readie to be givn him. The great nay only difficultie in my opinion is to pitch on a right person, who has the fidelity and address necessary in such a work and whose rambling about woud not give suspicion, and I will freeilie own I know of none but Thomas Sinclair. He is I do belive the cliverest fellow in Europe for such expeditions; he knows all the ports in most countries; he has wayes peculiar to himself (of which he gave good proofs at Perth 1715)¹⁷ in going about such errands; he's zealouslie honest and as closs as a stone, and withall has been rambling about all his life, often merchandizing and pursuing projects which led him in a manner to have no fixed residence, and by dealing in some small parcells of goods, he might easily find a fair pretence for jogging on in that course of life.

I mentiond this to him before he returnd to Scotland, when he came over with me, and he was willing to undertake it for £50 a year, which he reckoned enuff to defray his expences and make up his loss of time, proposing no gain in any matter wherin he coud serve you. But after all ther was no need of describing him so minutely, since he's now out of the way, having, as I'me told, gone lately to Spain in prosecution of a large sum of mony to which he has right by the death of his brother in law Captain Wachup¹⁸, and which probably may detain him long in that countrie. Thus in obedience to your commands I have laid my thoughts on this article before you, how far they are reasonable is to you humblie submitted.

I shall soon now have ane occasion from hence to let your journey be known to your freinds in Scotland, tho without that it will be no longer a secret than commenced.

¹⁷ I have been unable to discover the details of Sinclair's exploits in 1715

¹⁸ Lockhart may be referring to William Wauchope, the Colonel of an Irish regiment in Spanish service

I highly applaud your generous intentions in favours of the deserving son of the deserving father Collonell Clephane¹⁹; it will enable him to qualifye him self for serving you some time or other, which is the top of his ambition, and it will be a great encouragement to others of his father's trade when they know the care you take of his family. Tho in this, two points I presume to suggest to you, that he must be ascertain'd of what you design for him, otherways I'me affraid his circumstances won't allow him to continue in his present state, and nixt that it must be kept very secret, for shoud it come to be but suspected it woud undo him.

I delivered your message to General Hamilton²⁰ who received it with a dutifull respect.

By my letters from Scotland I find matters are there *in statu quo*, tho great pains are takn to give the people a good impression of the gentleman newlie step't into the throne. The Episcopall clergy are broke and split into partys and discord, one set, headed by Lord Panmure and Mr Carnagy, seem to have renounced all dependence on both civill and ecclesiastick superiors, so that to all outward appearance they'r in a bad situation, especially since therby the unity, which has hitherto prevaild amongst both clergy and laity of that communion, your freinds, is broke and evanishd.

On what I wrot to my son in relation to what I mentiond in mine of October 7th, and you again in your answer therto, he has been at a good deall of pains to enquire further into that storie, and tho he cannot pretend to say whither the particulars said to be discovered from the seized letters their not agreeing with the originalls, doth proceed from design or mistake, yet he's very possitive that the Government is possest of such papers as I represented to you and that they purchassd them with mony, and he adds that the person from whom the information came did it with a good intention and that the Government are so far from divulging it with ane intention to creat a jealousie amongst your freinds, that they keep it as a mighty secret, and no soul living

¹⁹ The last surviving letter to Lockhart from the Jacobite Court dates from October 1727; that of 19 December, detailing what the Old Pretender proposed to do for Clephane's son, and all subsequent correspondence, has been lost

²⁰ Major-General George Hamilton

hears the least surmise therof, further than I acquainted you. Tis my duty to lay this before you, altho you seem to be very positive that their's nothing in it, and I wish it may be so.

The cypher is come safe to my son, who will deliver it to Dundonald when he comes to Edinburgh in a litle time, so probably you'll hear soon from him. Mr Dundas told me t'other day he had a letter from Sir John Graeme, and tho I guessd it containd some directions about corrispondence, since he keep himself closs to me (which I was glad to find) I took no notice as if I knew any thing of the matter.

Lord Kincardine writes to me that their seems to be ane universall jealousie and dislike at certain persons who for some time past have been cheifly trusted by you about your person, on what grounds he can't pretend further to say, than that universall credite is given to the many facts they'r charged with, that occasiond the Queen's retiring and the removall of sevrall persons of rank and charactar that had long and faithfully served you and your cause at the expence of their all. These matters, he sayes, so confidently and particularly reported, your enemys lay hold on, to the great mortification of your freinds, and he wishes your affairs were under such management as ther may be no grounds for such surmises after this. For my own share I have no attachment to any but yourself, nor no particular picque against any, but I could not satisfye my mind if I faild to acquaint you of what so faithfull a freind so earnestly recommended, and what ever use you make of this and the like informations, I hope you'll keep them to yourself, as I have no mind to incurr the ill will of any person, by being reckond of any party whatsoever but your own.

By a letter I had lately from London I'me assured that tho no body doubts but that nixt session of Parliament will produce a general act of pardon, yet my good personall freind the Duke of Argyle has of himself renewd his application for me and has good hopes of procuring a *noli prosequi* very soon. If either of these happen, I presume you'll not take amiss my reaping the benefite, since I can do you no service on this side of the sea at present, and that my family affairs require my presence at home, if I can do it with safety. In this state of uncertainty it may so fall out that I may

be gone from hence, before I can have a return to this, and therefore it will not be expedient that you write again to me till you hear further from me, for I will be sure to acquaint you of my motions. If I get home you may be sure I must live with the utmost caution, because if any thing is discovered against me and I fall into the Government's hands, I will meet with no quarters; on which account I must be deprived of the honor of corrisponding directly with yourself. Nevertheless the examples of my predecessors and my own well rooted principles will never allow me to be any thing but a faithfull servant to you and your royall family, and I hope in so far as has hitherto past, I have your approbation in every state and circumstance of my life and particularly in the discharge of that trust you committed to me. That being now in the hands of another, who I'me sure will answer your expectations and the valuable charactar he has with all good men, I pray God matters may be carried on with secresie and success, and however privately and unactively I must pretend to live for some time at least, no consideration shall ever byass me to neglect any opportunity of convincing you and demonstrating to the world, that I value no charactar so much nor any honor so high as those of being, Yours.

To the Old Pretender

LP, ii, 294-5

[Rotterdam?] 29 January 1728 ns

Sir, Since my last of the 22 instant I have had ane occasion to see and talk with a good many masters of Scots ships that are now here, and I wish to God you had such a loading to send home with them as they'd with heart and soul take aboard. Amongst them ther's one that is a very sensible prudent person, the son of a Sterlingshire gentleman who was in his duty [in] 1715. He has a good ship and begun a business of running constantly backwards and forwards twixt this place and Leith, so as to be here every 2 months or therby. After advising with William Dundas, wee concluded that if he woud undertake the care of your letters, his frequent returns woud answer your purposes in the present juncture, and this woud be a safe enuff and much cheaper way than what I mentiond in my last; for by knowing of one whos

time was sure and might be depended on, the danger from being obliged to trust people not perfectly well known was avoided and a little gratification would be sufficient. Dundas therefore proposed it to him, and with all imaginable frankness he undertook it, protesting that ship and master were at your devotion, and that he would have no salary for doing what did put him to no charges (except contriving a secret place in case of a search for letters, which would cost but a trifle) and on the other hand was his duty and inclination.

Two conditions he expressly required, viz: that no person, no not yourself, should know of his name as being employed in this affair, and that he should be charged with letters addressed only to one and the same person, to whom he could have easy access. I desired him to be assured that the secret should be kept in the terms he demanded, unless you positively required otherways, and that as to the other point, it was I believed regulate already according to his mind; after which we agreed on the measure, if so be you approved of it. It will therefore be expedient that as soon as you receive this, you signify to Dundas that such a project was communicate to you, and transmitt your opinion and orders to him upon it, that he may know whither or not to follow it out. Since this man will not accept of a fixed pension, I submit to you how far it would be a satisfaction and encouragement to him, if you directed Dundas to tell him how well you took his readiness to serve you, and withall to make him a small present, in your name, of a sword, a ring, or some such thing, to the value of ten guineas. This at once would be a reward to him for all the days of his life, and engage him to serve you on perhaps more material occasions.

He's to sail soon and will be back again by the time you can signify your pleasure to Dundas. I do verily believe this will be a safe and certain way of carrying your dispatches to and fro, which is however humbly submitted to you. I am with the most profound respect, Yours.

To Catherine, Countess of Galloway

LP, ii, 430-3

[1729]

[No salutation] You are descended of a family illustrious on many more valuable accounts than either antiquity or nobility. That

probity, affability and generosity which appeared in all the veiwes and schemes therof, has justly rendered it venerable as well as honourable in the judgement of all good men, and ther are few or none of us in the western shires who will not in the compass of a few years, less or more feel and regrate the loss of your noble father.

As his fatall death is likely to occasion a very notable revolution in the affairs of that family, allow me, madam, from the honor I bear towards his Lordship's memory to accost your Ladyship, the nearest relation come to years of understanding, on a subject that merits your and all the relations most serious thoughts. In doing wherof I will not trust my own private judgement, but will frankly and ingenuously impart what I find is the opinion and discourse of mankind.

First then: tis thought very odd that none of those named tutors, even those nearly tyed to the family by the bonds of blood or allyance, incline to accept and execute the trust which their noble deceased freind assuredly expected from them. The danger arising from ommissions is no relevant excuse. It may indeed affect and terrify a formall, narrow chicken-hearted pedant, but it can never penetrate so deep into the mind of a truly generous, gratefull soul, as to prevent his performing the most essential duty to his deceast freind. He considers that man came not into this world merely for himself, but to act a sociall part, to assist and relieve all mankind as far as he can, and in so far as particular freinds or near relations are concern'd to venture and expose himself to certain degrees of inconvenience and danger in their service, and he is convinced that no subject admitts fairer or more necessary occasions to display these generous qualitys, than in overseeing the education and managing the affairs of ane innocent noble minor. To what millions of hazards are such exposed to in this wicked generation? And what satisfaction must arise from the reflection of having been accessory in training up the heir of a noble family in the paths of virtue and preventing his estate from being a prey to others? On the other hand, how cutting and shoaking must be the reverse contemplation, when it appears probable it was in one's power to have prevented it, and how low ane opinion must the world have of that person, who rather than

run a small hazard will stand by and see his freind's representative and family go to perdition?

As these and the like considerations are more than sufficient to affect any generous mind, such as know the particular regard the late Earl of Eglinton evidenced on all occasions towards your Ladyship personally and the family your matchd with, can't enuff admire how it comes about that my Lord Galloway and his son²¹ shoud behave in a manner which sure their deceased freind woud have least expected from them of all mankind. And as the interest your Ladyship most deservedly has with these is no secret, your not employing it in behalf of your indulgent, affectionat father's memory, cannot well be reconciled with those principles of honor and justice which make a part of your charactar, in other matters. As a good Christian is not affrighted from his duty, by the difficulties that attend it, well knowing that with care and vigilancy they may be surmounted, neither ought a true freind be frightned from acting the part incumbent upon him from the terror of ommissions. The law indeed is strict, arising from the many cheats and tricks of guardians. But the law does not require what is impracticable, and as it is observed that what failings guardians innocently committ, usually proceed from their want of skill and experience in the methods directed by the law, any bad effects of this nature in the present case might easily be prevented by employing a person of knowledge, with and by whose advice every thing shoud be done, so that this obstacle is no just cause in the sight of God or man, to deterr any person from undertaking and executing ane office incumbent on him and to which he is inclinable. And the world does expect that your Ladyship and your freinds will not startle at scarecrows when the all of your father's family is the subject in question.

But supposing that what I have said is not sufficient to dissipate your fears, still methinks your family shoud have showd a disposition to go as far as possible, and at least have come to toun and in conjunction with other freinds have seen what could be done for setling the affairs of the Eglinton family on a right bottom. If they woud not act authoratively, they might at least have offerd good advice to others and endeavoured to obstruct

²¹ James Stewart, 5th Earl of Galloway (d.1746) and Alexander Stewart, Lord Garlies

schemes and proposalls that were unreasonable, extravagant and detrimentall, in which they might and may probably still have plenty of occasions to show their gratefull dispositions. Whereas sitting at home with their arms across and seeing the estate pulld in peices, and measures for ought they know destructive to the heir of the family, concerted and followd out, gives the world too good grounds to censure the part they act, and think their concern for their decest freind was desposited with his corps in [the] Church of of Kilwinning. [ends]

To Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton NLS, MS.16543, ff.141-2

Dryden, 2nd November 1730

My Lord, I received lately from my son a letter acquainting me that Schawfeild wanted only to borrow £500 of my Lord Eglinton's mony, but that Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell woud take the other £500, to which your Lordship agreed and desired my concurrence. I make no question but the mony is well enuff secured since you approve of it, but I remember a maxim in dayes of yore, not to trust a Highland Chiftain nor the Laird of a far northern estate without having one bound with them who might be found usually at the cross of Edinburgh. How far tis convenient to be so circumspect in this particular, I submit to you and am, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant.

Endorsed: 'Mr Lockhart of Carnwath, November 1730'.

Lockhart and Fletcher to [Unknown] NLS, MS.16543, f.143

Edinburgh, 4th November 1730.

Sir, We know that the Lord's act directs you to lend out what money is in your hands of Cropt [*sic*] and year 1728 on sufficient security at the sight of my Lady Eglinton.²² And ere my Lady Eglinton left the Country, a proposall was made for lending the £1,000 sterling in your hand to Daniell Campbell of Shawfield, to which she agreed. Since syne [*sic*], the proposeall is so far altered

²² Susanna Montgomerie, daughter of Sir Archibald Kennedy of Culzean, and the 9th Earl's third wife

that Shawfeild, Sir Duncan Campbell and Mr McMillan, writer to the signet, are to bind for £500 of the summ, and Sir Duncan and Mr McMillan only for the other £500. We are pritty well assured that the security is good, and since my Lady in her letter to you, recommended you to our advice in her absence, its our opinion that you are safe to take these Gentlemen's bonds in the terms now proposed upon the narrative of the Lord's Act, which we have directed Neil McVicar to draw out, and no doubt you'll send in the money to him that he may receive the security and send it to you, is all from, Sir, Your humble servants,

Andrew Fletcher, George Lockhart.

To Fletcher

NLS, MS.16546, ff.143-4

Dryden, 15 May 1731.

My Lord, I intended to've waited on your Lordship this day, being yesterday pritty well recovered of a swelling and pain on the left side of my head and throat, that has been very uneasie to me these 8 or 10 dayes by past. But this day, on going out a litle into the air, I find it returning and I dare not venture abroad for fear of a relapse. I find my [Lady] Eglinton very desirous of our being soon with her, and tho I'me in some hazard of being obliged to put myself into surgeons hands on some signs of a fistula, I'll rather delay it till I return than dissappoint her. So that, God willing, I shall wait on her sometime the latter end of next week, but till I again see Mr Congall the surgeon I can't fix the precise day. Mr McVicar told me t'other day your Lordship had some thoughts of seing my Lady Milton to her goat milk quarters and from thence to go strait to Eglinton. If tis so, I shoud be glad to know your dyet and I shall do whats possible to keep it, but if it shoud happen that I'me a day later, 2 is a quorum and my absence need be no impediment to your entering on business. On the other hand, if your Lordship does not make this trip to the Highlands you shall be most heartily welcome to a seat in my chariot, [I] not daring to venture on such a journey on horseback, and against Teusday I shall be able to let your Lordship know what day I'll set out. I hope to know your intentions in answer to this, and I shall do my outmost to make my measures jump with

yours; being very respectfully, My Lord, Your Lordship's most humble obedient servant.

[P.S.] Allow me to offer my humble service to Lady Milton.

Endorsed: 'G. Lockhart, May 1731, Eglintoune'.

To Fletcher

NLS, MS.16546, ff.145-6

Dryden, Teusday night [May 1731].

My Lord, This day I had a letter from Mr McVicar acquainting me that your Lordship woud be readie to set out on Thursday and woud either call on me here or meet me at Edinburgh. If you'r to be all night at Niddrie twill be less out of your way to come by this than to go by Edinburgh, but if your Lordship woud do me the honor to take quarters here to morrow night, wee might start so earlie nixt morning as to get well on in our journey by night and so as to dine at Eglinton on Friday. I send to know your Lordship's motions, which will regulate those of, My Lord, Your most humble servant.

Endorsed: 'Mr Lockhart, May 1731'.

To Fletcher

NLS, MS.16546, ff.147-8

Dryden, 3rd September 1731.

My Lord, When I had the honor to attend you to Eglinton, I mentiond William Borthwick²³, one for whom I have a particular concern, and you was so kind as to say you'd recommend him to the Commissioners of Excise. He's been in the service these severall years in the station only of a Gauger, and having behaved well, is known to some of the Board, particularly Major Cochran²⁴, as a diligent officer. I'me informed that their are severall posts to be shortly vacant and disposed of, and as a long and faithfull service in a low station, gives him a sort of title to preferment, when seconded with your Lordship's good offices, I'me hopefull twill take effect.

In granting me this favor, I shall reckon my self under a very singular obligation and slip no occasion to evince the gratitude

²³ Possibly William Borthwick of Borthwickhall

²⁴ Major Thomas Cochrane, subsequently Earl of Dundonald

with which I am, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant.

Endorsed: 'George Lockhart. 8 reprimands'.

UNDATED LETTERS

To Murray of Stanhope NLS, Adv.MS.29.1.1(iii), f.84

Dryden, Wednesday 2 a clock

Dear Sir, My son is not come at writing of this, but when he went from hence he said he'd be back yesterday or this day at furdest and I do assuredlie expect him this evening from Carnwath (where I reckon he was last night). Especially seing he knows of some business of mine that will require his being in Edinburgh tomorrow. You may accordingly take your measures and at all times be very welcome to, Yours most sincerelie.

To Murray of Stanhope NLS, Adv.MS.29.1.1(iii), f.86

Carnwath, Friday morning

Dear Sir, I give you this trouble, to let you know, that I have got all things in such order, as I may pretend to entertain you, if you'r so good as to honour me tomorrow with the visit you promised. And so I bid you Adieu.

To Maule GD 45/14/336/25

[Edinburgh] Friday morning [1710/1711?]

Dear Sir, By a letter from my Lord Wigtoune I find my sister's desired to the mariage and my father and mother are satisfied she have that honour, and wee will all be very glad of Mrs Maul's good company. Wee propose to go out of toun on Tuesday and from Dryden either on Wednesday afternoon or Thursday morning, so pray let me have your sentiments as to Mrs Maul's going with us and if she'll be ready on Tuesday.

As this will keep me some time in the country I beg you'll

please send Laminton and me this week, by which you'll singularly oblige, Dear Sir, Your most obedient and most humble servant.

To Maule

GD 45/14/390/29

Linlithgow, Saturday 12 a-clock [1720-27?]

Dear Sir, I'me advanced so far in my way from Cumbernald, and at my Lords Eglinton and Wigton's earnest desire I'me to come to Edinburgh to converse first with you and Tam Bruce (to whom I having sent off ane express, I expect him in toun this night or earlie tomorrow) and afterwards enter into measures with others as shall be judged most expedient. I hope to find you in the Coffee house about seven a-clock, and if you can see such a thing as ane honest man in your Capitall, bespeak him to sup with us. I am, Dear Sir, yours most truelie.

To George Lockhart junior

LP, ii, 424-30

[Between 1721 and 1726]

Dear George, Some few years ago, when you went abroad, I wrot a letter to you, containing my best advices and the reasons on which the same were founded with regard to your character as a Christian and a gentelman. You may mispend your time more than in revising them, now you're come to riper years; for if they still stand the test, they will, at least shoud, make a deeper impression and be more regarded by you.

One thing which I then ommitted and affects me very much I must now represent to you in this letter, which I leave behind me as the last favour I, your affectionat father, have to ask of you, my dear child. Which is this, that you'd supply my place, by acting a kind and fatherly part to all my younger childeren, your own sisters and brothers.

The duty is implyd in the priviledges and benefites annexed by law and custom to the primogeniture. For as, after my decease, you become the head of the family and on that account a respect and regard is, in a more conspicuous degree, due to you from all my younger childeren, than any one of them can claim of another,

so you are bound to employ the advantages and priviledges you enjoy, for ther support and protection, in so far as they need and merite the same. For the superiority annexed to the primogeniture is not because the eldest son is one whit better than the younger, but because, if the estate and dignitys of a family were branched out and parcelld amongst the severall childeren, they would not have such weight and be so conducive to the grandeur and support of the family, which, in this light, is to be reckond a litle society linked and connected together by particular tyes and interests. And therefore as the younger childeren owe a deference and regard more than ordinary to the head of this society, so he again is bound by reciprocall obligations to perform all the offices of their naturall father, whom he represents. And this you may observe hath been the constant unanimous sentiments of all nations, in all ages, as appears from the sacred accounts of the patriarchall age and all prophane historys antient and modern.

That tis your interest will appear equally evident to you; for the power and grandeur of a family does not altogether consist in the enjoyment of ane estate, tho ever so great, but in having freinds and dependents able and willing to stand by and support it. And from whom can that be expected, in such a measure of zeall and sincerity, as from those blood relations descended from the same originall and partakers of the benefites once enjoyd and handed down by their common progenitors, for the comfort and welfare of the society thus united and tyed together by the strongest obligations to mutuall love, freindship and good offices? When the head of a family acts a kind part, all the branches therof, near or far related, takes pleasure in his prosperity, well knowing they shall in time reap a proportionable benefite from it. Whence, but from such motives as I represent, doth the respect, or rather submission, paid by our Highland clans their respective cheiftains owe its originall? How many antient, oppressd, decayd familys have been supported and releived by collaterall branches? And how often have flourishing familys been brought low by intestine feuds and divisions? What ane encouragement is it to a rivall or enemy to set up against a family that is brokn and divided, or wher ther appears no disposition to mutuall good offices and assistance? On the other hand, what a great figure doth that family make

wher the severall members of it are united in love and interest and are readie to stand and fall with one another? Such a disposition seldom or never fails to beget both fear and respect.

On a reveiw of your own times, you cannot faill to find particular instances to verifie all I have affirmd on this head. In short, familys are petty states and have the same fate, and are subject to the same rules and guided by the same maxims as the most powerfull extensive kingdoms. A family that is divided can no more subsist than a kingdom. Subjects may be compelld by laws and a superior force, but never heartily and chearfully obey and support their prince that does not cherish and protect them, and they often desert him when he's at a pinch. Just so, the nearest blood relations expect mutuall good offices, especially from those that claim a superiority, and when these faill, ther attachment in a short time evanisheth.

To reduce what I have said to practice, be courteous, kind and obliging to all your brothers and sisters, willing to assist them on all occasions. Let your house be as ane assembly for them to meet frequently and be merry, and ane asylum in case of distress. And wher it happens by misfortunes and not from causes criminall or blameable in them, do not stand upon what patrimony I have alloted them and you perhaps have paid, but generouslie and like a true freind enable them to set out again in the world. Charity requires such kind of aid, in some measure, to all fellow Christians, and much more to such near relations whose low and mean circumstances dart back a reflection on you and the family you represent, and who by being assisted may recover so as to repay what you advance, and return your freindship with interest. Set yourself as a good example before them, and by your authority and advice restrain all vicious and encourage all virtuous habits in them.

To be a litle more particular. Your brother Sandie and your two married sisters are off your hands, except in so far as love and services are ever to be encreasing wher occasions offer to shew the same to them or theirs. Your sister Sussie must be settled in such a manner as is suitable to her unluckie circumstances. No hopes can be formed of her ever being in a condition to appear in the world, but I wish she may be put in a way of living privately and

comfortably. Jeany and Mary, after their mother's death, can be no wher so decentlie as with you, if you're married, and you shoud recommend to your wife to use them well and take care of them as if they were her own. Jamie hath been ane undutifull child, and shows no inclinations to do well, but he's young and not to be dispaired of, and he must be cherishd or discouraged according to his good or bad behaviour. Willy is a goodnatured boy: he's designd for the army, and you'd take care he be educated and instructed in such a manner as is fit for one of that employment, who designs and expects to rise by it, and when he's of an age fit to enter into the service, endeavour to place him in some corps where he may have a freind to advise and inspect him. Philip is a child I love tenderlie, because he evidences a spirit capable of great things. If he's well educated, in all appearance he'l prove ane honour to the family, and therfore in the most earnest manner I recommend it to you. If Sandy dyes soon, or comes in a few years to be advanced, then I incline Philip shoud be bred a Scots lawyer, but if matters goes otherwise with Sandy, in that case I woud have Philip bred to the English law, or rather a clergyman (but this must be left to the advice of freinds, as matters cast up) in which case his education must be in England when he grows a litle elder, and I desire some prudent man may be kept with him, to overlook his manners, health and studys.²⁵

I think I have said enuff on these subjects, to make ane impression on any person that hath bowells of love and compassion, and right notions of his interest and duty. I will only add that when you see or think of your brothers and sisters, reckon them as committed in a particular manner to your care by your deceased father, who makes it his earnest and last request, and leaves you his blessing as you act a kind part to them. And remember, if the dead know and are affected with the actions of the living, his future peace will in so far depend upon your answering his expectations, as will his prayers be heard in heaven, and the blessing of Almighty God descend upon you and your

²⁵ Lockhart had fifteen children by Euphemia Montgomery: Margaret (b.1698); George (1700-61); Alexander (1701-82); Euphemia (b.1703); Thomas (b.1705); Kate (b.1706); Grace (b.1706); James (1707-49); William (b.1708); Susan (b.1709); Francis (b.1710); Jean (b.1713); Philip (b.1716); a still-born twin sister to Philip; and Mary (1718-1805)

own offspring; which is earnestly desired by your most loving and affectionate father.

[P.S. – possibly written shortly before Lockhart's death in January 1732, as A. Aufrere notes it is, 'in a feeble hand'] – Jamie, since writing this letter, having altered his way and behaved to my satisfaction, I have intirely forgot all offences in his younger years.

INDEX

- ABERCROMBIE, Dr Patrick, 79, 112-13
 Abercromby, Alexander, of
 Glasshaugh, 107
 Aberdeenshire, 197, 199
 Aboyn, 309
 Act of Security, 34
 Aix-la-Chapelle, 306, 309, 312, 314,
 319, 320, 323
 Aliens Act, 14
 Alloa, 312
 Alves, William, M.P. (S) for
 Sanquhar, 22
 Anderson, Robert, merchant in
 Dingwall, 310
 Andrew, James, the Earl of
 Loudoun's agent, 303, 308
 Angiers, 316, 317
 Angus, xxxiv, 17, 197, 211, 222, 254,
 278
 Anne, Queen of England and
 Scotland, xviii, xxi, xxv, xxvi,
 xxvii, xxviii, 9-10, 11, 12, 18,
 21, 26-28, 34, 77-78, 83, 90,
 92, 94, 96, 99, 100, 101, 105,
 108-9, 113
 Annesley, Arthur, 7th Earl of
 Anglesey, 93, 98, 108
 Anstruther, Sir John, of Anstruther,
 73
 Antigua, 125
 Antwerp, 304, 317
 Apple trees, 52, 53
 Arbuthnot, John, 5th Viscount
 Arbuthnot, 177
 Argyll, Synod of, 45, 50
 Army, demobilisation of, 79
 Armour, John, Deacon Convenor of
 Glasgow, 235
 Arniston, *see* Dundas, Robert
 Ashburnham, John, 3rd Lord
 Ashburnham, 93
 Atterbury, Francis, Bishop of
 Rochester, 203, 212, 221, 228,
 233, 235, 245, 246, 247, 259,
 319-20, 332; Atterbury plot,
 180-1, 184, 202
 Aufrere, Anthony, v, 348
 Avignon, 314, 332

 BAILLIE, George, of Jerviswood, xxiii,
 6, 15, 20, 76, 80, 106-8
 Baird, James, of Chesterhall, 69
 Baird, Sir James, of Saughtonhall, 70
 Baird, John, of Newbyth (junior), 70,
 191
 Baird, Sir William, of Newbyth, 69
 Barcelona, 30, 32, 33, 34, 92
 Bath, 275
 Bathurst, Allen, 1st Lord (later Earl)
 Bathurst, 160, 215
 'Mr Beechess', 188
 Bertie, Montagu Venables, 2nd Earl
 of Abingdon, 93, 96
 Biggar, 20; presbytery, 1
 Biggar, William, of Wolmet, 69
 Binning, of Walifoord, 71
 Bland, Sir John, M.P. for Lancashire,
 212
 'The Blew Posts' (a London tavern),
 74, 79
 Boerhaave, Herman, Professor of
 Medicine at Leyden, 318
 Bologna, 325
 Bordeaux, 272, 301
 Borthwick, of Cruickston, 70
 Borthwick, of Stow, 70
 Borthwick, John, of Hartside, 69
 Borthwick, William, of
 Borthwickhall, 68, 70, 342
 Borthwick, William, of Salahill, 70
 Bothwell, Alexander, of Glencorse,
 70, 223
 Boulogne, 247; Boulogne Scots Club,
 246
 Bourbon, Louis Alexandre de, Comte
 de Toulouse, 30
 Boyd, Hon. Robert, 68
 Boyle, David, 1st Earl of Glasgow,
 xxviii, 6, 85
 Brabant, 34

- Brand, Alexander, of Castlebrand,
67, 70, 82, 85, 86, 87, 205, 223
- Brodie, James, of Brodie, 6
- Bromley, William, Speaker and
Secretary of State, 90, 101
- Bronwin, Elspet, a serf collier, 191-2
- Bruce, Alexander, 6th Earl of
Kincardine, 144, 164
- Bruce, Thomas, 7th Earl of
Kincardine, 40, 154, 156,
164-5, 167, 173-4, 175, 222,
228, 231, 233, 236, 237, 239,
243, 251, 260, 268, 273, 286,
292, 295, 308, 310, 315, 335,
344
- Brunton, John, a tenant of
Lockhart's, 218-19
- Bruxelles, 306, 310, 318; Court of,
305
- Burnet, Archibald, of Carlops, 70
- Burnet, Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury,
94
- Burnet, Sir Thomas, of Leys, 14
- Butler, James, 2nd Duke of
Ormonde, xxix, 154, 257, 258
- Byng, Admiral George, 79
- CAESAR, Charles, M.P. for Hertford,
23
- Calderwood, Sir William, Lord
Polton of the Court of Session,
190, 191
- Cameron, Allan, a Jacobite agent,
243-6, 248-9, 256-7, 260-1,
262, 263, 265-6, 268, 271-2,
280-1, 283, 286, 290, 303, 310,
312, 314
- Cameronians, 245, 255-6
- Camerons (clan), 242
- Campbell, Archibald, 10th Earl of
Argyll, xv
- Campbell, Archibald, 1st Earl of Ilay
(later 3rd Duke of Argyll),
xvii, xxv, xxxv, 26, 76, 80,
83, 119, 130-4, 136-40, 178,
241, 247, 258, 292, 308
- Campbell, Bishop Archibald, of
Aberdeen, 146-7, 182
- Campbell, Sir Colin, Lord Aberuchill
of the Court of Session, 26
- Campbell, Colin, of Glendaruel, 201
- Campbell, Daniel, of Inverary, 6
- Campbell, Daniel, of Shawfield,
235-6, 241, 340-1
- Campbell, Captain Dougal, 139
- Campbell, Sir Duncan, of Lochnell,
340, 341
- Campbell, Hugh, 3rd Earl of
Loudoun, 26, 28-29, 72, 73-74,
80, 96
- Campbell, John, a goldsmith, 31
- Campbell, John, 2nd Duke of Argyll,
xvii, xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxx,
xxxii, xxxiii, xxxv, 13, 18,
19-20, 21, 76-77, 80, 83, 95,
97, 118-19, 130-4, 136-40, 145,
149, 159-60, 162-3, 169, 170,
171-2, 174-5, 177-80, 224, 229,
235-6, 258, 280, 282, 291-2,
306, 315, 335
- Campbell, John, 1st Earl of
Breadalbane, 40-41, 94
- Campbell, John, 2nd Earl of
Breadalbane, 136, 140, 177
- Campbell, Ronald, of Ballerno, 70
- Campbells (clan), 258
- Cant, Bishop Andrew, 173, 182,
264-5, 301
- Carmichael, 20
- Carmichael, Daniel, of Maudsley,
xvii, 38
- Carmichael, James, 2nd Earl of
Hyndford, 67
- Carmichael, John, 1st Earl of
Hyndford, xvii, 1, 8, 38
- Carnegie, David, 4th Earl of
Northesk, 6
- Carnegie, James, 5th Earl of
Southesk, 243
- Carnegy, John, of Boysack, 57, 73,

- 75-76, 101, 285-6, 296, 301-2, 308, 334
- Carnwath, xiv, xxx, xxxi, 22, 27, 60, 119, 143, 158, 160, 176, 261, 262, 263, 343
- Carteret, John, 2nd Lord Carteret (later Earl Granville), 93
- Catalonia, 30; Catalan rebels, 92
- 'Cavaliers' (Jacobite wing of the Scottish Opposition), xviii, xxi, 41
- Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor, 100, 311
- 'Mr Charles', 125, 126
- 'Cheisley', 158
- Chiesley, John, of Dalry, xv
- Church of England, xx, xxi
- Churchill, John, 1st Duke of Marlborough, xxii, 10, 11-12, 26, 33, 34
- Civil wars of mid-seventeenth century, xiv, 23, 25
- Clanranald, 280
- 'Mr Clephane' (junior), 318, 331, 334
- Clephane, Colonel William, Jacobite Adjutant-General in Scotland in 1715, 305, 317-18
- Clerk, Sir John, of Penicuik, 2, 3, 52, 54, 70, 142-3, 166-7, 185
- Clerk, Baron Sir John, of Penicuik, 52-53, 70, 71-72, 142-3, 166-7, 185-92, 203-6, 218-19, 220-1, 223, 237-8, 250
- Clerk, Margaret, née Stewart (daughter of the Earl of Galloway), 2
- Clydesdale, 3, 7, 8-9, 20, 21, 22, 26, 118, 143, 161, 186, 196
- Coal-mining, 142, 166, 185-6, 189-92
- Cochran, William, of Kilmarnock, 10, 29, 30, 36, 37, 58
- Cochrane, Charles, of Ochiltree and Culross, 113
- Cochrane, Thomas, 6th Earl of Dundonald, 275, 278, 306, 307, 308, 310, 315, 318, 324, 335
- Cochrane, Major Thomas (later 8th Earl of Dundonald), 342
- Cockburn, Adam, Lord Ormiston of the Court of Session, 53, 77, 158, 258
- Cockburn, John, of Ormiston, 6, 10, 11
- Codes, 72, 210, 224, 226, 262, 274, 281-2, 283, 301, 319-20, 320-2, 324; government code-breaking, 319-20, 320-2, 334-5
- Collier, Jeremy, Nonjuring theologian and schismatic, xxxiii, 147, 182
- Colville, John, 6th Lord Colville, 177
- Colyear, David, 1st Earl of Portmore, 177
- Commission for Forfeited Estates, xiv, 179, 258
- Commission of Accounts, xvi, xxii, xxiii, xxvii, 45-46, 47-49, 53, 54-56, 58, 66, 104, 105, 110, 112
- Commission of the Peace, xvi, 40, 59-60, 61-66, 69
- 'Mr Congall', a surgeon, 341
- Congress of Soissons, 311
- 'Cookson', a West India merchant's son, 278
- Corruption, 39, 241; of M.P.s, 10
- Corsar, John, Jacobite agent, xxxv, 56, 89, 210, 224, 226, 237, 241, 259, 262, 300, 304-5, 306, 308, 316, 321
- Cotton, Rowland, former M.P. for Newcastle under Lyme, 317
- Country Party (Scottish), xvii, xxii, 15, 18, 24
- Court of Session, xiv, 12, 66-67
- Covenanters, xiv, 23, 25
- Covington, 20
- Cowper, William, 1st Lord (later Earl) Cowper, 65, 69

- Crawford, John, 1st Viscount
Garnock, 6
- Craig, Robert, of Riccarton, 70,
205-6
- Craven, William, 3rd Lord Craven,
206, 214
- Crookshanks, John, Comptroller-
General of Scottish Customs,
49
- Crop failure, 1-2
- Crawford, Lawrence, of Jordanhill,
57-59
- Cumbernauld, 15, 196, 344
- 'Cultermains', 38
- Cumming, Sir Alexander, of Culter,
75-76, 101
- Cumming, James, Jacobite agent, 162
- Cunningham, Sir David, M.P. (S) for
Lauder, 37
- Cunningham, John, 11th Earl of
Glencairn, 6
- Cunningham, William, 12th Earl of
Glencairn, 177
- Cunninghame, Sir Hough, of
Bonnington, 70
- Customs and Excise (Scottish), 10,
35, 42, 45-46, 47-48, 63, 66,
68, 81, 84, 189, 342
- DALKEITH, xxi
- Dalmahoy, Sir Alexander, of that ilk,
70
- Dalrymple, Sir David, of Hailes,
xxviii, 42, 65, 66, 68-71, 79,
85, 98, 106-8, 110-11, 114
- Dalrymple, George, of Dalmahoy,
88, 188
- Dalrymple, Sir Hugh, Lord President
of the Court of Session, 31,
66-67, 258
- Dalrymple, James, of Killoch, 69, 79
- Dalrymple, John, 1st Earl of Stair, 6,
20, 21
- Dalrymple, John, 2nd Earl of Stair,
179
- Dalrymple, Sir Robert, of Castleton,
258
- Dalrymple, Sir William, of Killoch,
69
- Dalzell, Robert, 5th Earl of
Carnwath, 136, 160
- Darien affair, 17
- Dauphin, the, 58-59
- Davis, John, a Jacobite agent, 158
- Dawes, Sir William, Archbishop of
York, 93
- Deans, James, of Woodhouslie, 69
- De Medina, Sir Solomon, a financier
and army contractor, 55
- Denholm, William, of Westshiels, 1
- Deuar, James, 70
- Dick, Sir James, of Prestonfield, 68,
70
- Dick, William, of Grange, 70
- Dickson, William, of Kilbucho, 4
- Disarming of the Highland clans,
226, 230, 233-4, 239-40, 242,
280, 282
- Douglas, Sir Alexander, of Egilshay,
45, 50
- Douglas, Archibald, of Cavers, 6, 160
- Douglas, Archibald, 1st Earl of
Forfar, 21
- Douglas, Charles Hamilton, 2nd Earl
of Selkirk, 6, 15
- Douglas, Colonel George, of St Ola,
76-77
- Douglas, James, 11th Earl of Morton,
6
- Douglas, James, 1st Duke of
Queensberry, xxii, 6, 9, 13,
16, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26, 37, 67
- Douglas, Major Walter, later
Governor of the Leeward
Islands, 44
- Douglas, William, 4th Earl of March,
6
- Douglas, William, 5th Earl of March,
123, 126
- 'Douglass of Ethrington', 60

- 'Drimmie', 89
- Drummond, George, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 247-8
- Drummond, James, 3rd (titular) Duke of Perth, 149-51, 152
- Drummond, Jean, née Gordon, dowager Duchess of Perth, 149-50, 152
- Drummond, John, Lord Drummond (later 2nd, titular, Duke of Perth), 91, 149
- Drummond/Lundin, John, Protestant heir to the Drummond estates, 150
- Drummond, Thomas, of Logiealmond, 150
- Drummond, Sir William, of Kathomdale, 70
- Drummond, William, 4th Viscount Strathallan, 177
- Dryden, vi, xiii, xxx, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 38, 39, 42, 49, 53, 60, 82, 88, 115, 126, 127, 136, 140, 142, 144, 145, 147, 151, 156, 161, 166, 167, 172, 180, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 196, 203, 205, 207, 211, 217, 219, 220, 221, 223, 224, 227, 237, 238, 243, 246, 250, 251, 256, 266, 268, 273, 275, 276, 279, 281, 283, 288, 289, 292, 295, 301, 302, 340, 341, 342, 343
- Duff, Alexander, Lord Braco of the Court of Session, 25
- 'Duke of Bedford's Head' (a London tavern), 72
- Duncan, Alexander, Bishop of Glasgow, 197, 217, 264-5
- Dundas, James, of Arniston, 71, 114-15, 250
- Dundas, Robert, Lord Arniston of the Court of Session, 6, 39, 69, 176, 179, 205, 220-1, 223
- Dundas, William, Jacobite agent, 162, 224, 226, 229, 259, 262, 273, 281, 286, 301, 303, 306-7, 311, 315, 318-19, 335, 336-7
- Durham, xxxv, 306, 308, 333
- EDINBURGH, xv, xxi, xxiii, xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxiv, 1, 3, 5, 9, 11, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 36, 38, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47, 56, 64, 82, 107, 111, 115, 117, 118, 121, 136, 139, 147, 158, 160, 161, 165, 167, 172, 174, 175, 176, 183, 188, 189, 199, 205, 210, 216, 227, 230, 231, 233, 235, 236, 238, 239, 240, 241, 247-8, 257, 258, 259, 264, 269, 272, 280, 281, 282, 286, 289, 290, 291, 293, 294, 307, 318, 335, 340, 342, 343, 344; Edinburgh castle, 118, 131, 257-8
- The *Edinburgh Echo*, xxxvi
- Elections, xvii, xix, xx, xxi, xxvi, xxix, xxxiii, 2, 7-8, 10, 22, 40, 41, 42-43, 62-63, 65-66, 68-72, 77, 79, 83-85, 86, 117-18, 132-4, 141, 149, 162-3, 165, 168-71, 174-6, 176-80, 194-5
- Elliott, Sir Gilbert, of Stobs, 106-8
- Elphinstone, Hugh, Master of Balmerino, 37
- Elphinstone, John, 4th Lord Balmerino, xxiii, xxiv, 37, 80, 142, 146, 157, 173-4, 225, 226, 228, 235, 237, 251, 276, 295, 298
- England, *passim*
- Episcopal Church, xv, xvi, xvii, xx, xxiii, xxiv, xxxiii, 145-7, 152-3, 173-4, 181-4, 192-3, 208-9, 276; clergy, xxiii, xxxiii, 69, 152-3, 173, 181-2, 192, 196-200, 207-9, 210-11, 217-18, 221-2, 259, 263-5, 276-7, 307-8, 321, 334

- Episcopal rents resumption bill, xxvi, 48, 49, 50, 101-2, 103
- The Equivalent, 31, 33, 35, 36, 106-7
- Erskine, Sir Alexander, Lord Lyon King at Arms, xxiv, xxvi, 53, 57, 69, 72-3, 101, 103
- Erskine, David, Lord Dun of the Court of Session, 146, 157, 173, 216, 221, 225-6, 251, 298
- Erskine, George, of Tinwald, 308, 316
- Erskine, James, Lord Justice Clerk, 40, 42-43, 258
- Erskine, Sir John, of Alva, 107, 216-17, 251, 272, 298
- Erskine, John, 6th Earl of Mar, xxvi, xxix-xxxi, xxxiii, xxxiv, 6, 27, 28-29, 40, 69, 76-77, 80, 81, 85, 86-87, 93, 103, 104, 119-21, 122, 124, 126, 127-36, 138, 139, 140, 156, 202-3, 209, 212, 215, 216-17, 221, 225-6, 228-9, 231, 235, 237, 240, 246-7, 257, 258-9, 272, 285-6, 295-8, 299, 312, 326-7
- Erskine, Thomas, later 7th (titular) Earl of Mar, 298, 308
- Erskine, William, a well-known Jacobite, 217
- Exchequer, 53, 82, 85, 86, 87-88, 150, 189
- FAIRHOLM, John, of Baberton, 70
- Falconar, Sir David, of Newton, Lord President of the Court of Session, xiv
- Falconar, Bishop John, 181, 182-4, 196-7
- Falconer, James, Lord Phesdo of the Court of Session, 6
- Falconer, Patrick, of Monton, 71
- Ferrybridge, 89
- Fife, 11, 72, 73, 197, 296
- Finch, Daniel, 2nd Earl of Nottingham, 93, 94
- Fitzjames, James, 1st Duke of Berwick, 30, 73, 318, 319
- Fleming, Alexander, a servant of Lockhart's, 125, 126
- Fleming, Hon. Charles, brother of the Earl of Wigton, 243
- Fleming, John, 9th Earl of Wigton, xvi, 73, 142, 159-60, 173-4, 225, 237, 243, 251, 268, 286, 308, 343, 344
- Fletcher, Andrew, of Salton, xviii, 15, 16, 29, 30, 31, 33, 54-56, 73
- Fletcher, Andrew, Lord Milton of the Court of Session, 340-1, 341-2, 342-3
- Forbes, Alexander, 4th Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, 177
- Forbes, Sir David, of Newhall, 69
- Forbes, Duncan, of Culloden, xvii, xxxv, 230, 235-6
- Forbes, Samuel, of Knapernay, 316-17
- Forbes, William, of Invernettie, 310
- Fotheringham, Thomas, of Powrie, 222
- Foulis, Alexander, of Ratho, 70
- Foulis, Sir James, of Colinton, 6
- Foulis, William, of Woodhall, 70
- France, 11, 100, 208, 221, 227, 240, 246, 257, 316; France, regent of (Duke of Orleans), 228; French Commercial Treaty, 82, 83; French government, 332
- Fraser, Charles, 4th Lord Fraser, 296
- Fraser, Charles, of Inverallochy, Jacobite Lord Fraser of Muchalls, 296
- Fraser, Major Simon, 119-26, 227, 236-7, 251, 259, 272, 296-7, 299, 317
- Fraser, Simon, of Beaufort (later Lord Lovat), 118, 121-6, 201
- Frederick-William I, King of Prussia, 113

- Freebairn, Bishop David, 152-3, 173, 182, 301
- Freebairn, Robert, Jacobite printer, 152
- Freman, Ralph, M.P. for Hertfordshire, 90
- Fullarton, Bishop John, of Edinburgh, 146, 147, 151, 181-4, 192-3, 199, 200, 203, 207-8, 218, 243, 251, 259, 263-4, 265, 276-7
- GADDERAR, James, Vicar-General and subsequently Bishop of Aberdeen, 182-4, 192-3, 196-9, 203, 207, 211
- 'Mr Galbraith', a prominent Jacobite, 156
- Galawater, 68
- Gastrell, Francis, Bishop of Chester, 96
- Geneva, 202
- Genoa, 156
- George I (Elect of Hanover to 1714), xxxv, 72, 90, 94, 108-9, 118-19, 137, 138, 139, 174, 267, 309, 312, 321
- George II (Duke of Cambridge to 1714; Prince of Wales 1714-27), xxxvi, 90, 97, 98, 99, 100, 131, 137, 309, 311-12, 314
- Gillane, Bishop John, 112, 114, 259, 276-7, 301, 307
- Gilmour, Sir Alexander of Craigmillar, 70
- Glasgow, 3, 21, 22, 85, 229, 230, 235-6, 239, 241, 247, 257, 271, 278, 291
- Godolphin, Sidney, 1st Earl of Godolphin, xx, 23, 26, 34, 42
- 'Mr Gordon', Episcopalian minister of Elgin, 197, 203
- 'Mr Gordon', of Durham, 306-7, 311
- Gordon, Major-General Alexander, of Auchintoul, 254
- Gordon, Alexander, 2nd Duke of Gordon, 282, 291, 292
- Gordon, John, 3rd Earl of Aboyne, xvi, 282
- Gordon, John, of Glenbucket, 209-10, 227, 236-7, 310
- Gordon, John, 16th Earl of Sutherland, 36
- Gordon, Peter, of Abergeldie, 310
- Gordon, Robert, Jacobite agent at Bordeaux, 272, 311, 318-19
- Gordon, William, former Jacobite agent, 158
- Gordon, William, Lord Haddo of the Court of Session (later 2nd Earl of Aberdeen), 6, 159, 160, 161, 162, 174-5, 178, 278, 282
- Gordon, William, 6th Viscount Kenmuir, xxx, 208
- Government spies, 154-5, 201, 202, 303
- Graeme, 'Major', 4
- Graeme, Sir John, Jacobite Secretary of State, 309-10, 314-18, 318-19, 335
- Graham, James, a member of the Jacobite Board of Trustees, 255, 286, 295
- Graham, James, 4th Marquess (later 1st Duke) of Montrose, 3-4
- Graham, John, 1st Viscount Dundee, 208
- Graham, Mungo, of Gorthie, 4-5
- Grain prices, 188, 224
- Grandtully estate, 291
- Grant, Sir Francis, Lord Cullen of the Court of Session, 26
- Gray, John, 10th Lord Gray, 222
- Greenock, 271
- Greenshields, James, Episcopalian minister, xxiii, xxiv
- Gregory, Dr David, of Aberdeen, 35
- HADDINGTON BURGHS, 71
- The Hague, 33

- Haldane, John, of Gleneagles, 13
 Hamburg, 120
 Hamilton, 219
 Hamilton, Anne, 3rd Duchess of
 Hamilton in her own right, 8,
 38-39
 Hamilton, Lord Anne, 302
 Hamilton, Lord Archibald, 38
 Hamilton, Basil, of Baldoon, 179
 Hamilton, Elizabeth, née Gerard,
 wife of the 4th Duke, dowager
 Duchess of Hamilton, 15, 16,
 18, 37, 85, 117-18
 Hamilton, Major-General George,
 334
 Hamilton, James, 4th Duke of
 Hamilton, xvii, xviii, xix, xx,
 xxi, xxviii, 5-9, 9-11, 11-12,
 12-13, 13-15, 16, 17-19, 19-20,
 20-21, 21-22, 23-25, 25-26,
 28-30, 36-37, 39, 40, 41, 60,
 118, 195, 303
 Hamilton, James, 5th Duke of
 Hamilton, xviii, 118, 144, 161,
 163-4, 173-4, 174-6, 193-5,
 209-10, 227, 231, 237, 238-9,
 251-5, 260, 268, 273-4, 275,
 276, 278, 281, 289-90, 302-3
 Hamilton, Sir James, of Rosehall, 85,
 103, 122, 126
 Hamilton, John, of Bangour, 10
 Hamilton, John, 3rd Lord Belhaven,
 6, 15, 37
 Hamilton, John, 4th Lord Belhaven,
 12
 Hamilton, John, 1st Earl of Ruglen,
 6, 205
 Hamilton, Lady Mary, 117-18
 Hamilton, Thomas, 6th Earl of
 Haddington, 6
 Hamilton, Lord William, 302
 Hamilton, Sir William, Lord
 Whitelaw of the Court of
 Session, 6, 9, 10
 Hanmer, Sir Thomas, M.P. for
 Suffolk, 90, 98, 99, 104-5
 Hanoverians, xxv, 60, 158;
 Hanoverian (Protestant)
 succession, 90, 92, 93, 94, 96,
 98, 100, 108
 Harcourt, Simon, 1st Lord (later
 Viscount) Harcourt, 61, 66-68,
 96, 97, 98, 101
 Harley, Robert, 1st Earl of Oxford
 and Mortimer, xxiv, xxv,
 xxvi-xxvii, 41-42, 43-44,
 51-52, 59-60, 61-66, 67, 73,
 75, 81, 82-86, 87-88, 90, 91,
 93, 98, 101, 104, 105, 108-9,
 113, 160
 Hay, Alexander, of Arnboth, 283,
 286, 295
 Hay, Charles, 13th Earl of Erroll, 6,
 10, 13, 29, 36, 37
 Hay, Charles, Lord Yester (later 3rd
 Marquess of Tweeddale), 6, 12
 Hay, George, 8th Earl of Kinnoull,
 160, 215, 217, 225
 Hay, John, of Cromlix, 1st (titular)
 Earl of Inverness, xxxiii,
 xxxiv, 215, 221, 224, 240-3,
 246-8, 256-60, 261, 266, 267,
 268-73, 276-8, 279-81, 288-9,
 295, 296, 297, 298-301, 304,
 327, 329
 Hay, John, 12th Earl of Erroll, 10
 Hay, John, 2nd Marquess of
 Tweeddale, 3-4, 10, 15, 19, 20,
 21
 Hay, John, 4th Marquess of
 Tweeddale, 174
 Hay, Marjory, née Murray, later
 (titular) Countess of Inverness,
 171-2, 215, 217, 327, 329
 Hay, Thomas, 1st Viscount Dupplin
 (later 7th Earl of Kinnoull), 6,
 79
 Hector, Claude, Duc de Villars, 69
 'Mr Hepburn', a neighbour of
 Lockhart's, 237

- Highlanders, 95, 98, 136, 210, 224,
226, 227, 229-30, 231-4, 238,
259, 271-2, 280, 290-1, 293-4,
345
- Highways Bill, 73
- Home, Alexander, of Meerehouse, 70
- Home, Charles, 6th Earl of Home,
xviii, 10, 11, 29, 36
- Home, Sir John, of Blackadder, 6
- Honison, Alexander, of Braehead, 70,
223
- Hope, Thomas, of Rankeillour, 6
- Hoppringle, John, of Forsonce, 70
- Houston, John, of Houston, xxii
- Houston, John, of Houston (junior),
xxviii, 95, 110, 112-15
- Hume, Sir Andrew, of
Kimmerghame, 88
- Hume, Patrick, 1st Earl of
Marchmont, 12, 26, 39
- Hume, Patrick, Lord Polwarth (eldest
son of the Earl of
Marchmont), 6, 26
- Hunter, John, a tenant of Lockhart's,
204-5
- INGLIS, John, of Auchindinnie, 69,
143, 186, 205, 223
- Inglis, Sir John, of Cramond, 70, 205,
250
- Inglis, Thomas, of Mannerhead, 70
- Insh, G.P., xiii
- Interest rates, 105
- Inverness, 241
- Ireland: illegal cattle and grain
imports from, 50-51; linen
industry, 103
- Irvine, 271
- Irvine, Bishop William, 181, 208,
210-11, 221-2, 259, 264, 265,
282
- JACOBITE ATTEMPT of 1708, xix
- Jacobite Court (St Germain; Bar-le-
Duc; Avignon; Bologna;
Rome), xxv, xxvi, xxxii, 91,
99, 127, 201; factiousness, 120,
122-4, 147-8, 151-2, 156,
171-2, 202-3, 235, 244, 246-7,
251, 259, 262, 272-3, 286,
300-1, 303, 326-7, 335
- Jacobite rebellions: of 1715, xxix-
xxxi, 122-4, 154, 222, 252,
257, 333, 336; of 1719, xxxi,
140-2
- Jacobites, xxv, xxvi, xxviii, xxxi,
xxxiv, xxxvi, 90, 91, 129, 158,
214, 221; Board of Trustees,
xxxii-xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, 144,
145, 149-50, 152, 156-8, 158-9,
164-5, 183, 196, 198, 199, 200,
207-8, 211, 216-17, 218, 222-3,
226-7, 227, 240, 243, 244-5,
251, 255, 259, 279, 284-5,
289-91, 293-4, 295-6, 298, 299,
301, 321; conspiracy, 213-14,
215-16, 224-5, 228-9, 230-1,
231-4, 236, 238-9, 249, 251-4,
256, 263, 270-2, 273-4, 275,
279, 282, 284, 292, 309, 321;
national rivalries, 232, 313;
Scottish, xxxii, xxxiii, 104,
129-30, 140-1, 149, 153-4,
200-1, 217-18, 225, 239, 294,
336; unpreparedness, 234-5,
244, 313
- James II and VII, xv, 63
- Johnson, James, Baillie of Glasgow,
235
- Johnson, Thomas, Collector of the
Apprentice Tax, 46
- Johnston, James, former Secretary of
State, 15
- Johnston, James, Sir John Clerk's
servant, 142
- Johnston, Sir Patrick, Lord Provost
of Edinburgh, 46-47
- Johnston, William, 1st Marquess of
Annandale, 9, 10, 12, 21, 159,
162

- Johnston, Sir William, of Westerhall, 106-8
- Justice, Sir James, of Easter Creighton, 70
- KEITH, George, 10th Earl Marischal, 140-2, 258, 259
- Keith, John, 3rd Earl of Kintore, 177
- Keith, William, 8th Earl Marischal, 14, 36
- Kennedy, John, Deacon of the Surgeons in Edinburgh, 248
- Kennedy, Sir John, of Culzean, 134
- Ker, John, 5th Earl (later 1st Duke) of Roxburghe, 6, 7, 9, 12, 15, 16, 19, 150
- Ker, John, of Kersland, 109
- Kerr, Andrew, of Moriston, 70
- Kerr, Lord Charles, 70
- Kerr, William, 2nd Marquess of Lothian, 26
- Killiwhyman, 242
- Kilwinning, 340
- Kinnaird, Hon. Charles, 89, 104
- Kirk, xxiv, xxvi, 22-23, 36, 83, 118, 128; Presbyterians, xv, xvii, xxi, xxiv, 128, 141; abjuration and, 60; General Assembly of, 11, 12, 224
- Knights of St Andrew, 290, 302
- 'LAMINTON', 344
- Lammie, either David of Carrington or John of Ecclesgrieg, 173, 182
- Lanarkshire, xxix, xxx, 85; presbytery, 1
- Lancashire, 34
- Lasswade, parish of, 142-3, 167, 185
- Lauder, John, of Fountainhall (junior), 70
- Leeward Islands, 44
- Leith, xxxiv, 226, 227, 248, 261, 268, 272, 292, 322, 324, 336
- Leke, Nicholas, 4th Earl of Scarsdale, 214
- Leslie, Alexander, a servant of the Earl of Hyndford, 67
- Leslie, David, 5th Earl of Leven, 9, 12, 26
- Leslie, John, 9th Earl of Rothes, 6, 18
- Liège, 314, 317
- Lind, George, of Gorgie, 70
- Lindsay, Colin, 3rd Earl of Balcarres, 6
- Linlithgow, 247, 344
- 'Litle', of Liberton, 70, 223
- Livingston, James, 5th Earl of Linlithgow, 80, 205
- Livingston, William, M.P. for Aberdeen Burghs, 57
- Livingston, William, 3rd Viscount Kilsyth, 80, 208, 243, 245
- Loanhead, 191, 204
- 'Loch', of Dryly, 70
- Lochead, Harry, 36
- Lockhart, Alexander, George's 2nd son, 346, 347
- Lockhart, Barbara, George's sister, xv, xvii
- Lockhart, Euphemia, née Montgomery, George's wife, xvi, 2, 3, 53, 64, 68, 118, 135, 275
- Lockhart, Euphemia (junior), George's 2nd daughter, xvi, 346
- Lockhart, George, of Carnwath, *passim*, but see especially: beliefs, 67, 153, 194, 207, 220, 258, 261-2, 268, 270, 287, 310, 326, 330, 338, 340, 345-6; as Commissioner for the Union, xvi, xviii, 24, 26-28, 28-30, 30-31, 31-32, 32-33, 33-34, 34-36; fatigue, 104, 110, 266, 287; Jacobitism, xiv, xvii, 133, 141, 148, 152, 157, 213, 216, 256, 280, 297; 'Memoirs', xxvii-xxix, 110-16, 117; organisation (Jacobite) critique

- of, 326-31, 332-3; vengeance, xxxi, 102, 106, 124
- Lockhart, George (junior), George's 1st son, xxxii, 124, 126, 127, 144, 151, 153, 156, 158, 186-8, 206, 214-15, 227, 237, 297, 316, 324, 334, 344-8
- Lockhart, Sir George, of Carnwath, George's father, xiv, xv, xvi, 121, 167, 189, 309
- Lockhart, Grace, George's 4th daughter, xvi, 219, 346
- Lockhart, James, George's 4th son, 347, 348
- Lockhart, Sir James, of Lee, xiv
- Lockhart, James, of Lee, 117
- Lockhart, James, of Leghorn, 38
- Lockhart, Jean, George's 7th daughter, 347
- Lockhart, Sir John, Lord Castlehill of the Court of Session, xv
- Lockhart, John, of Lee, 7-8, 21, 22
- Lockhart, Mary, George's 9th daughter, 347
- Lockhart, Philadelphia, née Wharton, George's mother, xiv, xvi, 125
- Lockhart, Philip, George's brother, xv, xxx-xxxii, xxxvi, 122, 126
- Lockhart, Philip, George's 6th son, xxxi, 347
- Lockhart, S. Macdonald, xiii, xiv
- Lockhart, Susan, George's 5th daughter, 346-7
- Lockhart, Thomas, Surveyor of Customs at Leith, 41
- Lockhart, William, George's 5th son, 347
- Lockhart, Sir William, the advocate, 38
- Logan, George, of Burncastle, 68, 70
- London, 22, 24, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 41, 43, 44, 45, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 66, 68, 71, 72, 73, 79, 81, 89, 90, 92, 95, 98, 99, 102, 104, 105, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 131, 132, 135, 136, 137, 147, 154, 163, 167, 174, 175, 189, 201, 213-14, 216, 223, 266, 269, 274, 275, 281, 286, 289, 294, 303, 308, 320, 323, 335; Tower of, xxii, 23, 78
- Lorraine, xxxv
- Louis XIV, 100, 109, 113
- Louis XV, 59, 317
- Lowndes, William, Secretary to the Treasury, 102
- Lucca, 304
- Lyon, Charles, 4th Earl of Strathmore, 177, 222, 255, 278, 286
- Lyon, John, 2nd Earl of Strathmore, 6, 29
- MACCARTNEY, General George, 118
- 'Mr MacConnochy', 70
- Macdonalds: of Glengarry, Skye, Keppoch and Glencoe, 242
- 'MacClurg's Coffee House', Edinburgh, 4
- MacClurg, Sir James, of Vogrie, 69, 223
- Macgregor, Ewan, of Sherrifbrae, 70
- Mackay, George, 3rd Lord Reay, 6
- Mackenzie, Bernard, of Culicudden(?), 45, 49
- Mackenzie, Colin, of Coul, 242
- Mackenzie, George, 1st Earl of Cromarty, 19
- Mackenzie, George, of Inchculter, 85
- Mackenzie, George, Lord Tarbat (later 2nd Earl of Cromarty), 241-2
- Mackenzie, Sir James, Lord Royston of the Court of Session, 70, 247, 291
- Mackenzie, Kenneth, a neighbour of Lockhart's, 88
- Mackenzie, Sir Kenneth, of Cromarty, 242

- Mackenzie, Sir Kenneth, of
Prestonhall, 69
- Mackenzie, Sir Roderick, Lord
Prestonhall of the Court of
Session, 6, 13, 69
- Mackenzie, William, 5th Earl of
Seaforth, 156-7, 230-1, 240,
242, 273, 282, 291-2
- Mackenzies (clan), 230, 234, 241-2,
258, 273
- Mackintosh, Brigadier William, of
Borlum, xxx, 123
- Mackintoshes (clan), 242
- Maclea, Sir John, of Duart, 11
- Macleod, Alexander, an Edinburgh
lawyer, 115
- Macleod, Captain Daniel, 6
- Macleod, John, a prominent Jacobite
Highlander, 244-5
- 'Mr MacMillan', WS, 341
- Macvicar, Neil, an agent of Lord
Milton's, 341, 342
- Maitland, William, of Cranstoun, 69
- Malcolm, James, of Grange, 68
- Malloch, Meg, a prophetess, 310
- Malt tax, xxv, xxxiii, 72, 73, 82, 83,
189, 220-1, 229, 235-6, 238-9,
241, 247-8, 249-50, 291; crisis,
xxv-xxvi, 72, 73-81
- Manley, John, M.P. for Bossiney, 23
- 'Lady Margaritt', 53
- 'Marjoribanks', of that ilk, 70
- 'Marjoribanks', of Halyeards, 70, 250
- 'Martine', of Harwood, 70
- Mary of Modena, widow of James II
and VII, 95, 131
- 'Maryhall', 29
- Masham, Abigail, favourite of Queen
Anne, xxi
- Mason, Gavin, London agent of the
4th Duke of Hamilton, 22-23,
59
- Maule, Henry, of Kellie, 5th (titular)
Earl of Panmure, 4, 30-31,
31-32, 32-33, 33-34, 34-36, 37,
88-115, 143-4, 158-61, 167,
173-4, 175-6, 237, 246, 248,
251, 254-5, 308, 334, 343-4
- Maule, James, son of Henry Maule,
255
- Maule, James, 4th Earl of Panmure,
156
- Maxwell, William, 5th Earl of
Nithsdale, 243
- The Mearns, 197
- Menzies, 'Baily', 17
- Menzies, John, of Cambo, 39, 70
- Menzies, John, Jacobite agent at
Westminster, 91, 92, 100, 131
- Menzies, Sir William, of
Wrighthouse, 71
- Middleton, Charles, 2nd Earl of
Middleton, Jacobite Secretary
of State, 131
- Middleton, John, of Seaton, 132-3,
137-9
- Midlothian, xv, xvii, xix-xx, xxvi,
xxx, 2, 39, 40, 43, 50-51, 59,
61, 65, 66-68, 71, 86, 87, 178,
220, 223, 249, 250
- Militia, 7, 10; Militia Bill (Scottish),
xxvii, 103, 131
- Miller, Bishop Arthur, 181, 301, 307
- Miller, Charles, Provost of Glasgow,
235
- Mitchell, John, of Alderston, 70
- Mitchell, John, Baillie of Glasgow,
235
- Mitchesson, John, of Middleton, 68,
70
- Mobs and other popular collective
actions, 17, 79, 165, 204,
218-19, 247
- Moir, James, of Stonywood, 21
- 'Mr Monson', WS, 23
- Montague, Charles, 1st Lord (later
Earl) Halifax, 99
- Montgomery, Alexander, 9th Earl of
Eglinton, Lockhart's father-in-
law, xvi, xvii, xxiii, 6, 14, 68,

- 80, 91, 97, 100, 109, 125, 134,
142, 159-60, 161, 162, 225,
228, 237, 251, 268, 276, 286,
338, 344
- Montgomery, Alexander, 10th Earl
of Eglinton, 338-9
- Montgomery, Dr David, 125, 126,
159
- Montgomery, George, a printer, 114
- Montgomery, John, a witness for the
Commission of Accounts, 55
- Montgomery, Susanna, née Kennedy,
widowed Countess of
Eglinton, 340, 341
- Montgomery, William, of
Macbiehill, xv, 1, 58
- Montgomery, William, of Macbiehill
(junior), 123, 126
- Morayshire, 282-3
- Morison, George, of Meggeckland,
52, 70, 189
- Morison, William, of Prestongrange,
6, 70
- Morton, Sir Andrew, of Gogar, 70, 71
- Mowbray, Walter, 238
- Murdochson, Daniel, agent of the 5th
Earl of Seaforth, 240
- Murray, Alexander, of Stanhope,
290-1, 292-3, 343
- Murray, David, 5th Viscount
Stormont, 10, 13, 15, 16, 20,
37, 177, 243, 259
- Murray, Lord Edward, 115-16
- Murray, Hon. James, 1st (titular) Earl
of Dunbar and Jacobite
Secretary of State, xxxii,
xxxiii, 57, 73, 75, 101, 147-51,
151-5, 156-8, 171-2, 216,
245-6, 247, 248, 267, 327
- Murray, Lord James, the 1st Duke of
Atholl's brother, 57
- Murray, Lord James, later 2nd Duke
of Atholl, 217, 292
- Murray, Sir James, of Philiphaugh, 6,
19, 33
- Murray, John, 1st Duke of Atholl,
xxviii, 6, 11, 79, 115-16, 217
- Murray, John, 2nd Earl of Dunmore,
177
- Murray, Patrick, of Deuchar, 69
- Murray, Lieutenant-General Robert,
36
- Murray, William, Marquess of
Tullibardine, 217
- Murray, William, 2nd Lord Nairn,
196
- 'NAIRN', Major, 122, 126
- Nairn, David, Jacobite courier, 247
- Nairn, Sir David, Scottish
Undersecretary of State, 19
- Nasmith, James, a servant of the 2nd
Duke of Queensberry, 67
- Newbiggen, 143, 205
- Nicholson, Sir William, owner of
Lasswade, 166, 185, 189
- 'Baron Nicolson', 167
- Nicolson, James, of Trabroun, 166,
185
- Niddrie, 342
- Nisbet, Henry, of Dean, 70
- Nisbet, Sir Patrick, of Dean, 40, 70
- Nonjurors, xxiv, xxxiii, 68, 165, 177,
182-3, 195-6; Registration Act,
195-6, 200-1
- Norrie, Bishop Robert, of Angus,
197, 198, 200, 203, 217, 222,
278, 301
- North, William, 6th Lord North and
Grey, 93, 305, 306-7
- Northey, Sir Edward, Attorney-
General, 56-57
- Northumberland, 333
- OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY BILL of 1704,
7
- Ochterlonie, John, minister of
Aberlemno (later Bishop of
Brechin), 203, 282-3

- October Club, xxii, xxiv, 91, 106
 Ogilvy, Sir Alexander, Lord Forglen
 of the Court of Session, 9, 82
 Ogilvy, James, 4th (titular) Earl of
 Airlie, 258
 Ogilvy, James, of Boyne, 14
 Ogilvy, James, 1st Earl of Seafield
 (later Earl of Findlater), 3-4, 7,
 9, 11, 17-18, 19, 20, 25, 28-29,
 80, 81-82, 237
 Ogston, James, WS, 196
 Oliphant, Dr Charles, M.P. for Ayr
 Burghs, 43
 Oliphant, James, of Langton, 43, 67,
 70, 82, 85, 86, 87
 Osborne, Anthony, government spy,
 154-5
 Osborne, Peregrine, 2nd Duke of
 Leeds, 96
 PACKINGTON, Sir John, M.P. for
 Worcestershire, xxvii, 108
 Packington, Thomas, son of Sir John,
 151
 Paris, 150, 266, 272
 Parliament: Westminster, xx, xxi,
 xxvi, 9, 12, 34, 40, 54, 69, 73,
 90, 108, 168, 302, 315, 335; of
 Scotland, xviii, xix, xxviii, 10,
 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20,
 21, 31-32, 36-37, 61, 141, 252
 Paterson, Sir Hugh, of Bannockburn,
 258, 289, 291, 308
 Paterson, John, of Prestonhall, 142,
 157, 173-4, 251, 276
 Paterson, William, projector of the
 Darien scheme, 35
 Patronage, 41-42, 43-44, 67, 68-69,
 82, 85, 86-88, 101-2, 205, 223,
 280, 305, 318, 342-3
 Paulet, Charles, 2nd Duke of Bolton, 94
 Peace of Utrecht: 74, 100; peace
 preliminaries, xxiv
 Peerage Bill, 143-4, 159-61, 162-3,
 168, 174, 178
 Perthshire, 10, 196, 225
 Philip V of Spain, 30, 58-59
 Pierrepont, Evelyn, 1st Marquess of
 Dorchester, 104
 Pierrepont, Lady Francis (later
 Countess of Mar), 103, 104
 Pitcairne, Patrick, of Dreghorn, 70
 Pittenweem, 72-73
 Plumb, Sir John H., xiii
 Plunket, James, Jacobite agent, 283
 Pollock, Sir Robert, of Renfrew, xvii
 Porteous, Robert, of Craiglockhart, 70
 Porterfield, Walter, of Mayfield, 70
 Preston, 24; battle of, xxx, xxxi, 119,
 208, 227
 Preston, Colonel George, 79, 257-8
 Preston, Captain William, of
 Gortoun, 68, 69, 223, 237-8
 Primrose, Archibald, 1st Earl of
 Rosebery, 6
 Primrose, James, 1st Viscount
 Primrose, 6
 Pringle, John, of Haining, 57, 80, 81
 Pringle, John, of Haltree, 68, 70
 Pringle, Robert, of Symington, 69
 Privy Council, xvi, 6, 11, 17, 61, 64
 RAMILLIES, Battle of, 34
 Ramsay, Sir John, of Prestoun, 69
 Ramsay, William, 5th Earl of
 Dalhousie, 39-40
 Ramsay, William, 6th Earl of
 Dalhousie, 147
 Rattray, Thomas, of Craighall (later
 Bishop of Dunkeld), 211, 259
 Rig, Thomas, of Mortoun, 70
 Robertson, Alexander, of Struan, 289
 Robinson, John, Bishop of London, 96
 Rothead, Sir James, of Innerleith, 70
 Rollo, Robert, of Powhouse, 10
 Rollo, Robert, 4th Lord Rollo, 177
 Rome, 151, 156, 171, 227
 Rose, Alexander, Bishop of
 Edinburgh, xxxii, 89, 91, 97,
 100, 128, 140, 142, 156
 Rose, Arthur, Archbishop of St
 Andrews, 146

- Rose, Bishop James, brother of the
Bishop of Edinburgh, 282
- Roslin, 3, 143, 204
- 'Mr Ross', minister of Cowper, 197
- Ross, General Charles, of
Balnagown, 76-77, 175
- Ross, William, 12th Lord Ross, 21, 26
- Ross-shire, 282-3
- Rotterdam, xxxiv, 301, 304, 307,
318, 323, 325, 331, 336
- Rutherford, Sir John, of Rutherford,
88-89
- Rutherford, Robert, of Bowland, 70
- Ruvigny, Henri Massue de, 1st Earl
of Galway, 30
- SACHEVERELL, Dr Henry, impeached
Anglican clergyman, xx-xxi
- St John, Henry, 1st Viscount
Bolingbroke, xxvi-xxvii, 86,
87, 93, 104, 105, 106, 108-9,
113
- 'Sandilands', 193
- Scarborough, xxxv
- Schism Act, 111
- Schutz, Baron Georg von,
Hanoverian Envoy, 97, 98
- 'Scotch Plot' of 1704, 11
- Scotland, *passim*; but see especially:
opinion in, 14, 17, 24, 36, 154,
178, 229, 236, 238-9, 244, 249,
252, 270, 271, 288; linen
industry, 102-3; linen industry
bill, xxii; M.P.s Steering
Committee, 56-57, 73;
Opposition in, xviii, xix
- Scots Forage Affair, 54-56
- Scott, Thomas, of Malleny, 70
- Scougall, Sir James, Lord Whitehill of
the Court of Session, xv, 1
- Scroop, John, Baron of the
Exchequer, 53
- Seton, William, of Pitmedden
(junior), 31, 33, 45
- Seymour, Alexander, a neighbour of
John Stewart of Invernittie, 246
- Shakerley, Peter, M.P. for Chester, 74
- Sharp, Sir James, of Stonyhill, 68-69,
70
- Shields, 307
- Shippen, William, M.P. for Newton,
168-70
- Shirley, Robert, 1st Earl Ferrers, 93
- Shortage of specie, 7, 9, 13, 153, 161
- Sinclair, Sir George, 13, 36
- Sinclair, Henry, 10th Lord Sinclair,
11, 135, 177
- Sinclair, Sir James, of Mey, 231
- Sinclair, John, Master of Sinclair, 70
- Sinclair, Thomas, Jacobite
adventurer, 229, 243, 255-6,
260, 279-80, 333
- Smalridge, George, Bishop of
Bristol, 96
- Smith, James, of Whitehill, 40, 43, 70
- Smith, John, Lord Chief Baron of the
Scottish Exchequer, 48-49, 50
- Smith, Thomas, M.P. for Glasgow
Burghs, 57, 74-75
- Soap tax, 102-3
- Sobieska, Clementina, wife of the
Old Pretender, xxxiv, 151,
158, 216, 223, 314-15; quarrel
with the Old Pretender, 261-2,
266-8, 268-70, 277-8, 279,
284-5, 288-9, 295, 297-8, 299,
305, 324, 325, 328-31, 332, 335
- Somerset, Henry, 2nd Duke of
Beaufort, 102
- Somervill, James, a Jacobite neighbour
of Lockhart's, 125, 126
- Sophia, Princess, of Hanover, 10, 90,
99
- South Sea Bubble, xxxii, 148-9, 153
- Spa, 317
- Spain, 333
- Spencer, Charles, 2nd Earl of
Sunderland, 168-71, 174, 180
- Squadron Volante*, xxxii, xxxiii, 13,
20, 22-23, 25, 26, 61, 83, 114,
149, 153, 159-60, 162-3, 174-6,
177-80, 224, 235, 243, 258

- Staple Contract, 56-57
 'Steele's Tavern', Edinburgh, 15, 249, 250
 Steuart, Sir George, of Blair, 291
 Steuart, John, of Blair, 291
 Stewart, Alexander, 3rd Earl of Galloway, 2
 Stewart, Alexander, Lord Garlies (later 6th Earl of Galloway), 339
 Stewart, Catherine, née Montgomery, Countess of Galloway, 337-40
 Stewart, Charles, 21st Earl of Moray, xvi, 20, 259
 Stewart, Dougal, Lord Blairhall of the Court of Session, 112
 Stewart, Dougal, M.P. (S) for Rothesay, 14
 Stewart, James, 1st Earl of Bute, 6, 14
 Stewart, James, 5th Earl of Galloway, 6, 14, 186, 187, 339
 Stewart, Sir James, of Goodtrees, 4, 42, 70, 194
 Stewart, John, of Invernittie, 258, 291-2
 Stewart, Colonel John, of Sorbie, 79
 Stewart, Robert, of Appin, 258
 Stewart, Robert, of Tillicoultry, 6, 14
 Stewart, Walter, of Pardovan, 10
 Stewart, Sir William, of Castlemilk, 8, 21, 22
 Stirling, James, of Keir, 323
 Stirling, John, Baillie of Glasgow, 45, 235
 Stockton, 307
 'Stodhart', of Sudhouse, 70
 Strachan, Hew, Jacobite courier, xxxiv, 259, 292, 301, 304-5, 306, 308, 315-16, 321
 Strachan, John, of Graycruich, 71
 Straton, Captain Henry, the Old Pretender's principal agent in Scotland, xxxiii, 72, 91, 95, 97, 100, 111, 122-3, 128, 134-5, 140, 144, 151, 152, 159, 162, 203, 209-10, 223-4, 226, 228-9, 237, 240, 241, 316
 Straton, Mrs, wife of Henry, 226
 Stuart, Charles, porter at Edinburgh castle, 257
 Stuart, Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, 158, 287, 294
 Stuart, Henry Benedict, Jacobite Duke of York, 287
 Stuart, James Francis Edward, the Old Pretender, xxiv, xxvii, xxxii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, 11, 83, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 105, 109-10, 120-1, 122, 125, 126-7, 128, 133, 136-40, 144-7, 147-8, 150-1, 152-3, 157-8, 161-6, 167-72, 172-6, 176-80, 180-5, 192-3, 196-203, 207-11, 211-17, 217-18, 221-3, 223-4, 224-7, 227-31, 231-7, 238-40, 241, 245, 247, 248-9, 251-6, 261-2, 263-6, 266-8, 269-70, 273, 274, 275-6, 277-8, 278-9; 281-3, 283-7, 288-9, 289-92, 292-4, 295-8, 299, 300, 301-2, 302-3, 304-6, 306-9, 310-12, 312-13, 314-15, 320-3, 323-5, 325-31, 331-6, 336-7
 Stuart, Princess Louise, daughter of James II and VII and Mary of Modena, 59
 Stuart, Robert, 7th Lord Blantyre, 177
 Stuarts, of Appin, 242
 Sunderland, 307
 Sutherland, William, of Kinnauld, 10
 Sweden, xxxi
 TALBOT, Charles, 1st Duke of Shrewsbury, 108
 Thompson, John, 1st Lord Haversham, 9

- Todd, John, a tenant of Lockhart's, 125, 126
- Tories, xx, xxi, xxiii, xxvii, xxix, 57, 72-73, 74, 78, 90, 94, 97, 99, 101, 106, 111, 151, 160, 165, 176, 194, 311; Hanoverian, xxvii, 90, 93-94, 98, 99, 104; Jacobite, xxv, xxvii; Scottish, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxv, xxvi, xxix, xxxiii, 24, 62-63, 65-66, 72-73, 83, 84, 103, 162-5, 175, 177-80
- Townshend, Charles, 2nd Viscount Townshend, 174
- Treason Act, xx
- Trotter, John, of Mortonhall, 70
- Turnbull, William, of Currie, 69
- UNION of England and Scotland, xviii, xix, xxiii, xxv, xxviii, xxix, 9, 12, 14, 18, 21, 22, 24-25, 36, 37, 47, 56-57, 61, 64, 83-84, 107, 112, 114, 141, 143, 252-3, 263, 271; attempts to dissolve, 76-77, 80-81, 81-82, 118; negotiation of, 30-36
- United Provinces, 56, 69, 190, 218, 221, 229, 257, 272, 280, 281, 301, 303, 316, 317; States-General of, 317
- Urquhart, Alexander, of Newhall, 167-71, 174
- Usager controversy, xxxiii, xxxiv, 182, 192-3, 196-200, 211, 254
- VERDUN, near Toulouse, 119
- Victor-Amadeus II, Duke of Savoy, 59
- WADE, Major-General George, 230, 235, 236, 239-40, 241-2, 257, 258, 280, 282, 292, 294, 323
- Walkinshaw, John, of Barrowfield, 22, 221, 225, 235, 257, 291
- Wallace, Hew, of Inglistoun, 70
- Wallace, Hew, of Inglistoun (junior), 70
- Walpole, Sir Robert, premier minister, xxii, 54, 55, 169-70, 174, 180, 291, 292, 306, 314
- War of the Spanish Succession, xx
- Warrender, George, of Burntfield, 70
- Waters, George, a banker in Paris, 304, 306, 311, 317-18, 320
- Watson, James, of Saughton, 70
- Watt, Alexander(?), Collector of the Apprentice Tax, 46
- 'Wauchop', of Edimsstoun, 70
- Wauchope, Colonel William, 333
- Wedderburn, Alexander, Scottish Undersecretary of State, 19
- 'Mr Weems', apothecary, 217
- Wemyss, James, 5th Earl of Wemyss, 177
- Wentworth, Thomas, 3rd Lord Raby (later Earl of Strafford), 214, 274, 275
- Wharton, family, xiv, xvi
- Wharton, Philip, 4th Lord Wharton, Lockhart's grandfather, xiv, xvi
- Wharton, Philip, 1st Duke of Wharton, Lockhart's cousin, 121, 125, 126, 127, 211-15, 217, 277-8, 294
- Wharton, Thomas, 5th Lord Wharton (later Earl then Marquis), Lockhart's uncle, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, 28, 61, 64-65, 92-93, 96, 267
- Whigs, xix, xx, xxi, xxiv, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxix, 31, 34, 65-66, 74, 78, 80, 83-84, 91, 92-93, 94, 95-99, 103, 104, 105, 106, 109, 111, 128, 267; junto, xvii, 66, 99; invasion plot of 1714, 113
- Wilson, George, an Edinburgh merchant, 135
- Wood, Jasper, of Moreston, 70
- YORKSHIRE, 212, 333

SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

THE EXECUTIVE

1988-1989

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SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

REPORT

of the 102nd Annual Meeting

The 102nd Annual Meeting of the Scottish History Society was held in the rooms of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, on Saturday 10 December, 1988, at 11.15 a.m. Professor T. Christopher Smout, President of the Society, was in the chair.

The Report of Council was as follows:

The first volume of the new Fifth Series, *Government and Social conditions in Scotland, 1845-1919*, edited by Dr Ian Levitt, has recently been issued to members. It is too soon to have received a response from the recipients, but Council hopes that members will appreciate not only the interesting contents of the volume but also its new style and appearance. The new system of printing devised by the Publication Secretary in conjunction with the printers, Pillans and Wilson, has operated relatively smoothly at its first major attempt and already has resulted in substantial financial savings to the Society.

The volume for next year, *Letters of George Lockhart of Carnwath, 1698-1732*, edited by Dr Daniel Szechi, is on schedule and in an advanced stage of preparation; it is hoped to distribute it to members in early summer to fulfil Council's intention of bringing forward publication of volumes to an earlier part of the Society's year. The following year should see publication of Professor Robin Adam's edition of the *Calendar of Fearn*, and for the year after that Council is planning a *Miscellany* volume. This is expected to include: a series of seventeenth-century building contracts edited by John G. Dunbar; an edition of the letters of Claverhouse edited by Andrew M. Scott; a Plea Roll of Edward I's army in Scotland, 1296, edited by Cynthia Neville; and 'Life at Millburn Tower, Edinburgh, 1804-1830' (from the Liston Papers), edited by Clare Taylor.

In financial terms the Society has overcome past difficulties which were only allayed by a number of fortuitous donations and legacies. Such windfalls cannot, however, be relied upon in the future and with this in mind Council has decided to create a reserve fund which could be called upon in times of emergency. This capital sum will be augmented from time to time through the promotion of the sale of past publications which cannot, as in the past, be stored indefinitely. An interest-earning fund will thus gradually replace a stock of volumes, which in the main only gathered dust, as one of the mainstays of the Society. It is equally important, however, that current volumes of the Society are, as far as possible, self-funding. In order to achieve this and despite the savings in publication costs, Council, with some reluctance, has decided to raise the annual subscription to £15.00 (£18.00 for joint members) as from 1 November 1989. It will then be five years since the last rise in subscription and it is hoped the new rate will remain equally stable. With comparable volumes retailing at £20-25, Council believes that members are still receiving excellent value for their annual subscriptions.

Professor Smout's term of office as President of the Society is now coming to an end, and he will give the last of his presidential addresses at the Annual General Meeting on 10 December. Council would like to thank Professor Smout for his wide-ranging and entertaining addresses over the last four years, and for his forceful advocacy of the Society during an unexpectedly fraught centenary period. Council is pleased to put to the Annual General Meeting its nomination of Professor Donald Watt to serve as President for 1989-1992.

The three members of Council who now retire by rotation are Mrs Joan Auld, Dr Michael Lynch, and Mr Lewis Robertson. To replace them Council nominates the following for election by the Annual Meeting: Mrs Virginia Wills, Mr Iain Maciver, and Dr Charles Munn.

During the past year two members of the Society have died, six have resigned and seventeen have been removed for non-payment of subscription. Fifteen new members have joined. The total membership, including twenty joint members and 200 libraries, is now 745 compared with 755 in 1987.

In presenting the Annual Report, the Chairman of Council, Mr Stuart Maxwell, surveyed the year's work and commented on the future programme, thanking his colleagues on Council for their advice and cooperation during the year. The Publication Secretary, Dr T.I. Rae, briefly outlined in a non-technical manner the new publication system, indicating the savings in production costs which may be anticipated.

The Treasurer presented his accounts, emphasising the healthy incoming revenue from subscriptions (despite the decreasing membership), the sale of past publications and the continuation of the grant from the Carnegie Trust. Expenditure had been kept to a minimum along with the savings in production costs. The finances, after a traumatic period, were now healthy. He then surveyed the plans for a reserve fund, putting it in the context of the increased subscription.

On the motion of Professor G.W.S Barrow, seconded by Mr D.J. Withrington, the Report and Accounts were approved. The President thanked the members of Council and the office-bearers during his term of office; he then moved the election to Council of Mr Maciver, Dr Munn and Mrs Wills, and of his successor as President, Professor D.E.R. Watt, which were carried unanimously.

The President then delivered an address entitled 'Seamen's Fraternity Records: a neglected source for seventeenth-century commercial history', after which Mr Davey proposed a vote of thanks.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF CHARGE AND DISCHARGE OF THE
INTROMISSIONS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

from

1 October, 1987 to 30 September, 1988

I. GENERAL ACCOUNT

CHARGE

i. Cash in Bank at 1 October, 1987:		
1. Sum at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland		£18,500·00
2. Sum at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland		702·49
		<hr/> £19,202·49
ii. Subscriptions received		8,842·47
iii. Past Publications sold		1,815·70
iv. Royalties on reprints		75·52
v. Interest on Savings Accounts with Bank of Scotland		753·08
vi. Income Tax Refund, 1986-87		589·96
vii. Refund		65·00
viii. Grant from Carnegie Trust		600·00
ix. Sums drawn from Bank Current Account	£29,936·56	
x. Sums drawn from Bank Savings Account	£17,500·00	
		<hr/> £31,941·22

DISCHARGE

i. Cost of publication during year <i>Acts of the Lords of the Isles</i> <i>Texts and Calendars, and</i> <i>Government and Social Conditions</i>	£17,933·98	
Cost of printing Annual Reports, Notices and Postage etc.	275·00	
		£18,208·98
ii. Insurance		64·43
iii. Refunds		84·85
iv. Bank Charges		227·71
v. Miscellaneous Payments		303·67
vi. Sums lodged in Bank Current Account	£30,188·14	
vii. Sums lodged in Bank Savings Account	£30,300·00	
viii. Funds at close of this Account:		
1. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland	£12,800·00	
2. Balance at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland	£251·58	
		13,051·58
		£31,941·22

GLASGOW, 25 October, 1988. I have examined the General Account of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the year from 1 October, 1987 to 30 September, 1988, and I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched.

JOHN A SMITH
Auditor

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- ADAMSON, Duncan, 39 Roberts Crescent, Dumfries CD4 27RS.
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- BLACK, Miss Ethel Balfour, 40 Duncraig Street, Inverness IV3 5DG.
- BORTHWICK, Alan R., BA., 9 Corrennie Drive, Edinburgh EH10 6EQ.
- BORTHWICK, Charles Stuart, Ryndale, Penston, By Tranent, East Lothian EH33 2AJ.
- BOWIE, J.C., MB., 219 Ferry Road, Edinburgh EH6 4NN.
- BOYACK, James E., DIP.T.P., 20 Holyrood Crescent, Glasgow G20 6HJ.
- BOYLE, Rev. Hugh N., STL., PHL., St. Andrew's Cathedral House, 190 Clyde Street, Glasgow G1 4JY.
- BRASH, J.I., MA., Department of History, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, WA., 6009.
- BROADIE, Alexander, MA., Ph.D., Department of Philosophy, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ.
- BROOM, Andrew M., MA., LL.B., Scottish Record Office, H.M. Register House, Edinburgh EH1 3YY.
- BROWN, Miss P. Margaret, B.Sc., Ph.D., 27 Woodend Drive, Aberdeen AB2 6YJ.
- BROWN, Robert, 34 Mayfield Avenue, Stranraer, Wigtownshire.
- BRUCE, Fraser F., MA., LL.B., 1 Hazel Drive Dundee DD2 1QQ.
- BRUCE, Iain, 2a Charles Street, Oxford OX4 3AS.
- BRYCE, Arthur, FIA, FSA.Scot., 17 Pinedale Terrace, Scone, Perth PH2 6PH.
- BUCHANAN, Professor W. Watson, MD., FRCP, Medical Centre, McMaster University, 1200 Main Street W., Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.
- BULLIVANT, Mrs. Margaret S.,

- BURNS, Right Rev. Monsignor Charles, Archivio Segreto, Citta del Vaticano, Italy.
- BURNS, David M., MA., WS., 5 Great Stuart Street, Edinburgh EH3 6AP.
- BURNS, Professor J.H., MA., Ph.D., and Mrs Yvonne M.Z., 6 Chiltern House, Hillcrest Road, London W5 1HL.
- BURNS, Murray A.A., LL.B., 50 Ann Street, Edinburgh EH4 1PJ.
- BURNS, R.J., BA., LL.B., 4 Spylaw Avenue, Edinburgh EH13 0LR.
- BURRELL, Professor Sydney A., AB., Ph.D., Department of History, Boston University, Bay State Road, Boston, Mass., 02215, USA.
- BUTE, The Rt.Hon. The Marquess of, Mount Stuart, Rothesay, Isle of Bute PA20 0OL.
- BYRNE, Mrs. Maureen A.J., c/o Garrison Post Office, Garrison, via Inniskillen, Co.Fermanagh, N. Ireland.
- CADELL, Patrick M., BA., 11a Tipperlinn Road, Edinburgh EH10 5ET.
- CAIRD, Professor J.B., D.de l'Univ., Department of Geography, The University, Dundee DD1 4HN.
- CAIRNS, John, LL.B., Ph.D., Department of Scots Law, University of Edinburgh, Old College, South Bridge, Edinburgh EH8 9YL.
- CALDER, Dr. Angus, The Open University in Scotland, 60 Melville Street, Edinburgh EH3 7HF.
- CAMERON, Alexander D., 14 Esplanade Terrace, Edinburgh EH15 2ES.
- CAMERON, The Hon. Lord and Lady, 28 Moray Place, Edinburgh EH3 6BX.
- CAMPBELL, Alastair, Inverawe Barn, Taynult, Argyll PA35 1HU.
- CAMPBELL, Colin, P.O. Box 8, Belmont 78, Massachusetts, USA.
- CAMPBELL, J.L., of Canna, D.Litt., LL.D., Isle of Canna, Inverness-shire.
- CAMPBELL, Professor R.H., Department of Economic History, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ.
- CAMPBELL, Russel, c/o Loch Ness Lodge Hotel, Drumnadrochit, Inverness-shire IV3 6TJ.
- CAMPBELL, W.D., Gate-end, Stenton, Dunbar EH42 1TE.
- CANAVAN, Vincent J., 8 Howdenhall Road, Edinburgh EH16 6PQ.
- CANT, R.G., D.Litt., 2 Kinburn Place, St. Andrews KY16.
- CARATHER-MANNING, Mrs Doreen, BA., 71 King Street, Crieff, Perthshire PH7 3HB.
- CHALMERS, Trevor, MA., Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1LR.
- CHAMBERS, J.W., B.Sc., MB., Ch.B., FRCP (Glas.), 14 Woodburn Road, Glasgow G43 2TN.
- CHARLESWORTH, Peter.
- CHEYNE, Rev. Professor A.C., B.Litt., BD., 12 Crossland Crescent, Peebles EH45 8LF.
- CLANCY, Michael P., LL.B., 35 Wellshot Drive, Cambuslang, Glasgow.
- CLARK, Tristram, Scottish Record Office, H.M. Register House, Edinburgh EH1 3YY.

- CLARK, Lt.Col. Victor E., Jr., USAF (Ret.), BS., FSA.Scot., 142663 Southern Pines Drive, Dallas, Texas 75324, USA.
- CLAVERING, R.J.
- COCKBURN, R.W., 31 Ellen Street, Whitburn, West Lothian EH47 OHJ.
- COHEN, Mrs. M.C., The End House South, Lady Margaret Road, Cambridge CB3 OBJ.
- COLLINS, Dennis E., MA., LL.B., Stirling House, Craigiebarn Road, Dundee DD4 7PL.
- COLLIS, Ms Lin, MA.
- COOK, J.L. and Mrs A.H., 16 Hertford Road, Hoddesdon, Herts EN11 9JR.
- COSH, Miss Mary, MA., 63 Theberton Street, London N1.
- COVENTRY, Charles S., MA., ALA., 27/1 Jamaica Mews, Edinburgh EH3 6HL.
- COWAN, Professor Edward J., MA., Department of History, University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario, Canada, N1G 2W1.
- COWAN, Professor Ian B., Ph.D., Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ. (*Hon. Treasurer*)
- COWPER, Miss A.S., BA., 32 Balgreen Avenue, Edinburgh EH12 5SN.
- COX, Ms Eileen, Blackhill, Dunkeld, Perthshire.
- COYLE, Edward, 10 Ingram Place, Kilmarnock.
- CRAWFORD, Ian A., MA., Christ's College, Cambridge CB2 3BU.
- CRAWFORD, Mrs. S.D., Brenchoille Farm, Inverary, Argyll PA32 8XN.
- CRORIE, William D., B.Sc.
- CROSS, Mrs Margaret B., 13 Grange Road, Edinburgh EH9 1UQ.
- CUMMINGS, Andrew J.G., BA., Department of History, University of Strathclyde, McCance Building, 16 Richmond Street, Glasgow G1 1XQ.
- CURRIE, David, 6 South Mount Street, Aberdeen AB2 4TL.
- DACRE OF GLANTON, The Rt.Hon. The Lord, FBA., The Old Rectory, Didcot OX11 7EB.
- DAICHES, Professor David, 12 Rothesay Place, Edinburgh EH3 7SQ.
- DALGLEISH, George R., MA., 104 Montgomery Street (TFC), Edinburgh EH7 5HE.
- DALYELL, Mrs. Kathleen, MA., The Binns, Linlithgow EH45 7NA.
- DARRAGH, James, MA., 103 Deakin Leas, Tonbridge, Kent.
- DAVEY, Christopher J., BA., Department of Modern History, The University, Dundee DD1 4HN.
- DAVIDSON, Nimmo C.M., MA., B.Mus., 72 Auldhous Road, Glasgow G43 1UR.
- DAWSON, June, Ph.D., Department of Modern History, University of St Andrews, St Andrews, Fife, KY16.
- DE BEER, E.S., Stoke House, Stoke Hammond, Milton Keynes MK17 9BN.
- DEVINE, Professor T.M., BA., Ph.D., Department of History, University of Strathclyde, McCance Building, 16 Richmond Street, Glasgow G1 1XQ.
- DIACK, William G., 87 Lee Crescent, Woodcroft Park, Bridge of Don, Aberdeen AB2.

- DICKIE, Ms Agnes, 10 Strathfillan Road, Edinburgh EH9 2AG.
- DICKSON, Paul, BA., The Hollies, New Road, Reepham, Norwich NE10 4LE.
- DILWORTH, Rev. A. Mark, 16 Drummond Place, Edinburgh EH3 6FL.
- DITCHBURN, David, MA., Department of History, Taylor Building, Old Aberdeen AB9 2UB.
- DOCHERTY, Rev. Henry, M.Litt., 8 Crookston Grove, Glasgow G52.
- DONALD, P.H., BA., 16 Glengyle Terrace, Edinburgh EH3 9LN.
- DONALDSON, Professor Gordon, D.Litt., 6 Pan Ha', Dysart, Fife KY1 2TL.
(Honorary Member)
- DONALDSON, Rear Admiral Vernon D'Arcy, Flat 36, Knox Court, Knox Place, Haddington, East Lothian EH41 4EB.
- DOUGLAS, Dr. Elma P., 4 Dowanhill Street, Glasgow G11 5HB.
- DOUGLAS, Gordon G., 3390 Norman Drive, Reno, Nevada, 89502, USA.
- DREXLER, Miss Marjorie J., Ph.D., RD2 Box 2430, Middleburg, Vermont, 05753, USA.
- DROCHOCKI, Marshal J.M., FSA.Scot., 260 Paisley Road West, Glasgow G51 1BN.
- DRUMMOND-MURRAY, P., 67 Dublin Street, Edinburgh EH3 6NS.
- DUFF, Huisdean A.M., MA., M.Litt., 182c Gilmartin Road, East Fulton, Linwood, Renfrewshire.
- DUN, M.D., and Mrs., 59 Dalhousie Road, Broughty Ferry, Dundee.
- DUNBAR, John G., FSA., Patie's Mill, Carlops, by Penicuik, Midlothian EH26 9NF.
- DUNCAN, Archibald,
- DUNCAN, Professor Archibald A.M., FBA., Department of Scottish History, The University, Glasgow G12 8QH.
- DUNDAS-BEKKER, Mrs.A., Arniston House, Gorebridge, Midlothian EH23 4RY.
- DUNLOP, Rev. A. Ian, 59 Meggetland Terrace, Edinburgh EH14 1AP.
- DUNNETT, Mrs. Dorothy, 87 Colinton Road, Edinburgh EH10 5DF.
- DURACK, Mrs.Isabel J., Department of History, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, Western Australia 6009.
- DURHAM, Mrs Jane M.S., Scotsburn, Kildary, Ross-shire IV18 OPE.
- DURIE, Alistair J., MA., Ph.D., Department of Economic History, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen AB9 2UB.
- DURKAN, J., Ph.D., 37 Earlsburn Road, Lenzie.
- EASSON, Mrs. Alexis, 42 Leven Road, Lundin Links, Fife KY8 6AA.
- EDWARDS, Owen Dudley, BA., Department of History, William Robertson Building, 50 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9JY.
- ELLIOTT, Lady Margaret R., BA., 39 Inverleith Place, Edinburgh EH3 5QD.
- EWING, Mrs. Elsie, 6 Rullion Road, Penicuik, Midlothian EH26 9HT.
- EWING, Mrs Winifred, MEP., LL.B., 52 Queen's Drive, Glasgow G42 8BP.
- FENTON, Alexander, CBE., MA., D.Litt., National Museum of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh EH2 1JD.

- FERGUSON, Miss Joan R.S., 21 Howard Place, Edinburgh EH3 5JY.
- FERGUSON, William, Ph.D., Scottish History Department, University of Edinburgh, 17 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LN.
- FFORDE, Mrs K., MA., Watery Lane Cottage, Dilwyn, Hereford HR4 8JJ.
- FINDLAY, Donald R., QC., LL.B., 26 Barnton Park Crescent, Edinburgh EH4 6EP.
- FINDLAY, William, BA., 36 Firpark Road, Bishopbriggs, Glasgow G64 1SP.
- FISHER, Ian, BA., Royal Commission, Ancient & Historical Monuments (Scotland), 52-54 Melville Street, Edinburgh EH3 7HF.
- FLECK, John M.M., MA., Ard-Coile, School Road, Canon Bridge, via Dingwall, Ross-shire IV7 8AE.
- FLETCHER, Ernest McD., BA., Clan Donald USA, 1314 North 9th, Temple, Texas 76501, USA.
- FLETT, Iain E.F., M.Litt., Archive and Record Centre, City Chambers, City Square, Dundee DD1 3BY.
- FORD, John D., MA., LL.B., LL.M., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, CB2 1TA.
- FORREST, Alfred D.A. and Mrs. Catherine, Burn Wynd House, 47 Lade Braes, St. Andrews KY16 9DA.
- FORRESTER, Eric, 77 Ashkirk Drive, Glasgow G52 1JY.
- FORRESTER, Rev. Ian L., The Manse, Inverkeilor, By Arbroath DD1 5GA.
- FORSYTH, Alexander, BA., B.Sc., MPS., South View, Eastfield Lane, East Harting, Nr. Petersfield GU31 5NE.
- FOSTER, Mrs Linda, BA.,
- FOTHRINGHAM, H. Steuart, of Grantully, FSA.Scot., Grantully Castle, Aberfeldy, Perthshire PH15 2EG.
- FRANCIS, James Y., MA., LL.B., 33 Worsley Crescent, Crookfur, Newton Mearns, Glasgow G77 6DW.
- FRASER, Alexander, Parkgrove, Gladstone Road, Bishopton, Renfrewshire, PA7 5AU.
- FRASER, Barclay S., Viewforth, Glebe Road, Cramond, Edinburgh EH4 6NT.
- FRASER OF TULLYBELTON, The Rt.Hon. Lord, Tullybelton House, Bankfoot, Perthshire.
- FULTON, Henry L., Ph.D., Department of English, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48859, USA.
- FURGOL, Edward M., BA., D.Phil. and Mrs. Mary T., Ph.D., 1340 Country Ridge Drive, Germantown, Maryland 20874, USA.
- FYFE, Ronald, Northern College of Education (Aberdeen Campus), Hilton Place, Aberdeen AB9 1FA.
- GALBRAITH, D.A., BA., M.Ed., 9 Fenbourne Close, Sheffield, Walsall, West Midlands WS4 1XD.
- GALBRAITH, James D., MA., M.Litt., Scottish Record Office, H.M. Register House, Princes Street, Edinburgh EH1 3YY.
- GAMBLE, Cameron B., 6031 Garfield Street, New Orleans, La. 70118, USA.

- GAULDIE, Mrs. Enid, B.Phil., Waterside, Invergowrie, by Dundee.
- GELLATLY, Michael C., 40 Ben Alder Drive, Paisley PA2 7NJ.
- GIBSON, Dr. J.A., MD., DRCOG., MRCGP., Foremount House, Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire.
- GIBSON, John S., 28 Cramond Gardens, Edinburgh EH4 6PU.
- GILFILLAN, J.B.S., Tigh-Na-Leven, by Tarbert, Argyll.
- GILL, Stewart D., MA., Ph.D., Presbyterian Theological Hall, 156 Collins Street, Melbourne 3000, Australia.
- GILLIE, Judge William T., BA., JD., 26 Nottingham Road, Columbus, Ohio 43214, USA.
- GILLIES, Professor W.M., MA., Department of Celtic, David Hume Tower, George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9JX.
- GIMSON, G.S., BS., LL.D., 11 Royal Circus, Edinburgh EH3 6TL.
- GLEN, F.J., York Cottage, 1B Drummond Road, Inverness IV2 4NA.
- GOLBOURN, Robert, The Latch, Ranfurly Place, Bridge of Weir, Renfrewshire PA11 3DR.
- GONZALEZ, Charles, 1501 Black Thorn Drive, Glenview, Illinois 60025, USA.
- GORDON, Professor W.M., MA., LL.B., Ph.D., Department of Legal History, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ.
- GORRIE, D.C.E., MA., 54 Garscube Terrace, Edinburgh EH12 6BN.
- GRAHAM, Miss Barbara, MA., FSA.Scot., 42 Annanhill Avenue, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire KA1 2LQ.
- GRAHAM, Hugh F., MA., 3 Greenways, Walton, Chesterfield S40 3HF.
- GRAHAM, Sir Norman W., 6 The Steading, Chesterhall, Longniddry, East Lothian EH32 0PQ.
- GRAHAM, Thomas, MA., University Library, University of York, York.
- GRANT, I.D., MA., Ph.D., Scottish Record Office, H.M. Register House, Princes Street, Edinburgh EH1 3YY.
- GRANT, Ian R., Roseberry Place, Gullane, East Lothian EH31 2AN.
- GRANT, Miss Margaret W., 3 Ben Bhraggie Drive, Golspie, Sutherland.
- GRANT-PETERKIN, K., BA.
- GRAY, Kenneth J., B.Sc., M.P.S., F.S.A.Scot., 1 Fishers Green, Bridge of Allan, FK9 4PU.
- GREGORY, R.W., 22 Crackley Hill, Kenilworth, Warwickshire CV8 2FP.
- GREIG, Robert F.B., MA., 42 Albany Street, Edinburgh EH1 3QB.
- GRIEVE, Miss Hilda E.P., BEM., BA., 153 New London Road, Chelmsford, Essex CM2 0AA.
- GROVES, William W., 5 Staikhill, Lanark ML11 7PW.
- GRUBB, Rev. George D.W., BA., BD., 22 Belgrave Road, Edinburgh EH12 6NF.
- GUESSGEU, Achim, MA., Hauptstrasse 86, D-6360 Friedberg 1, West Germany.
- GUILD, Ivor R., 16 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh EH2 4YS.
- GUNN, Colin, MB., Ch.B., 12 Abbots Walk, Kirkcaldy.
- GUNN-WRIGHT, Scott M., 116 North M. Street, Lompoc, California 93436, USA.

- HAIG, Mrs. Eve, Newbyres Cottage, 8 Hunterfield Road, Gorebridge EH23 6TR.
- HAIG, Miss Lilian S., 30 Hazel Avenue, Kirkcaldy, Fife.
- HALFORD-MACLEOD, J.R.S., 49 Upper Green, Auchtermuchty, Fife.
- HALL, Sir John B., Bt., MA., Inver House, Lochinver, Lairg, Sutherland IV27 4LT.
- HALL, John N.S., MA., Glenaladale, 9 Lochpark, Doonfoot, Ayr KA7 4EU.
- HALLIDAY, J., Northern College of Education (Dundee Campus), Gardyne Road, Dundee DD5 1NY.
- HAMILTON, Chantal, 128 Gowanbank, Livingston, West Lothian EH54 6EW.
- HAMILTON, D.N.H., Ph.D., FRCS., 18 Kirklee Crescent, Glasgow G12.
- HAMILTON, Matthew, 10 Westland Gardens, Paisley.
- HAMPTON, Gordon B.L.,
- HANHAM, Professor H.J., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor, University of Lancaster, The Croft, Bailrigg Lane, Bailrigg, Lancaster LA1 4XP.
- HARDIE, Rev. R.K., Manse of Stenhouse and Carron, Church Street, Stenhousemuir, nr. Larbert, Stirlingshire FK5 4BU.
- HARGREAVES, Professor John D., Department of History, University of Aberdeen, Old Aberdeen AB9 2UB.
- HAWES, Lionel G., BA., 50 Kingsacre Road, King's Park, Glasgow G44 4LP.
- HAWES, Timothy L.M., 8 Keswick Road, Cringleford, Norwich NR4 6UG.
- HAWORTH, John C., Ph.D., 519 Witherspoon Drive, Springfield, Illinois, 62704, USA.
- HAWS, Professor Charles H., B.A., Ph.D., Institute of Scottish Studies, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Virginia 23508, USA.
- HAY, Professor Denys, 31 Fountainhall Road, Edinburgh EH9 2LN.
- HAY, Frederick G., MA., Department of Political Economy, The University, Glasgow G12 8QG.
- HERRINGTON, Franklin L., Duval County School Board, 1701 Prudential Drive, Jacksonville, Florida 32207, USA.
- HESKETH, Lady, Pomfret Lodge, Towcester, Northamptonshire NN12 7HT.
- HILDEBRAND, Professor Reinhard, Institut für Anatomie, Universität Münster, Vesalius 2-4, D4400, Münster, West Germany.
- HILTON, Miss Margaret, BA., 22 Mardale Crescent, Edinburgh EH10 5AG.
- HODGSON, Leslie, Dipl. Arch., 5 St. Stephen's Place, Stockbridge, Edinburgh EH3 5AJ.
- HOGG, James C.T., MA., ALD., 13 Grindlay Street, Edinburgh EH3 9AT.
- HOOD, Daniel, MA., LL.B., 12 Braehead Drive, Carnoustie DD2 7JX.
- HOPE, George A., Luffness, Aberlady, East Lothian EH32 OQB.
- HORN, Miss B.L.H., Scottish Record Office, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh EH1 3YY.
- HOUGHTON, Mrs. D.M., Wayside House, Moorlands Drive, Pinkneys Green, Maidenhead SL6 6QG.
- HOUSTON, Professor George, Department of Political Economy, The University, Glasgow G12 8QC.

- HOWAT, Mrs. Marjory M., 44 Craigie Road, Perth PH2 OBH.
- HOWATSON, Mr and Mrs William, MA., Rosefield, Beach Road, St Cyrus, Kincardineshire DD10 OBJ.
- HOWELL, Roger, Jr., MA., Ph.D., Department of History, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine 04011, USA.
- HUME, J.B., and Mrs E.M., 2/9 Succoth Court, Edinburgh EH12 6BZ.
- HUNTER, Bruce, Graham Hunter Foundation, Restenneth Library, Restenneth Priory, Forfar, Tayside DD8 2SZ.
- HUNTER, Miss Jean, The Old Police House, Port Ellen, Islay.
- HUNTER-SMITH, Norval S., MA., Institute for General Linguistics, (Instituut voor Algemene Tallwetenshep) Spuistraat 210, 1012 VT Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- HUTCHISON, H., MB., CH.B., DRCOG., 228 Dundee Street West, Trenton, Ontario, Canada K8V 3Z4.
- HUTCHISON, Iain G.C., M.A., Ph.D., Department of History, University of Stirling, Stirling FK9 4LN.
- HYDE, Dr. E.D., 12 Douglas Crescent Edinburgh EH4 5BB.
- IGOE, Luke J., MA., 40 Summerside Place, Edinburgh EH6 4NY.
- IJJIMA, Keiji, B.Litt., 4-34-8 Yayoi-cho, Nakano-Ku, Tokyo, Japan.
- IMRIE, John, CBE., LL.D., 41 Bonaly Crescent, Edinburgh EH13 OEP.
- INGRAM, Mr and Mrs David B., 76 Granite Street, Foxborough, Massachusetts 02035, USA.
- INNES, Malcolm, of Edingight, MA., LL.B., Court of the Lord Lyon, HM. New Register House, Edinburgh EH1 3YT.
- INNES, T.L., B.Comm., 1116 Cloverbrae Crescent, Mississauga, Ontario L5H 2Z7, Canada.
- JOHNSON, Mrs Christine, 5 Johnsburn Road, Balerno, Midlothian EH14 7DN.
- JOHNSTON, Ivor S., Rhu Arden, 1 Upper Sutherland Crescent, Helensburgh, Dumbartonshire.
- JOHNSTON, James J., BA., MA., P.O. Box 65, Marshall, Ark 72650, USA.
- KANE, Patrick, ALA.
- KEILLAR, Ian J., 80 Duncan Drive, Elgin, Moray IV30 2NH.
- KENNEDY, A., Craigmullen, Dundrennan, Kirkcudbright DG6 4QF.
- KERR, John, 5/4 Sand Port, Leith, Lothian EH6 6PL.
- KIRK, David C., 15 Aspley Road, London SW18 2DB.
- KIRK, James, Ph.D., D.Litt., Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ.
- KIRK, Russell, BA., MA., Piety Hill, Mecasta, Michigan 49332, USA.
- LAMBIE, Brian, 113 High Street, Biggar, Lanarkshire ML12 6DL.
- LASHIN, Ms Karen, 1373 Walnut Street, San Carlos, California 94070, USA.
- LAWRIE, Mrs Caroline G., MA., 98 Dowanhill Street, Glasgow G12 9EG.

LAWRIE, John J.

LAWRIE, Peter J., B.Sc., MBCS., 95 Pitkerro Road, Dundee DD4 7E.

LAWRIE, R., BA., 201 Alberta Avenue, East Kilbride, Glasgow G75 8HU.

LAWSON, H., B.Sc., 7 Lynedoch Place, Edinburgh EH3 7PX.

LAWSON, William M., The Old Schoolhouse, Northton, Isle of Harris, PA85 3JA.

LEE, Professor Maurice, Jr., Douglass College, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 08903, USA.

LENMAN, Bruce P., MA., M.Litt., D.Phil., Department of Modern History, University of St. Andrews, St. Andrews KY16.

LESLIE, The Hon. J.W., Guildford House, Castle Hill, Farnham, Surrey GU9 7JG.

LEVITT, Ian, MA., Ph.D., Department of Social Studies, Plymouth Polytechnic, Plymouth PL4 8AA.

LILBURN, Alistair J., B.Sc., Mains of Coul, Aboyne, Aberdeenshire AB3 4TS.

LOGUE, Kenneth J., 24 Sherridan Drive, Bangor, Co. Down, Northern Ireland.

LOLE, Mr and Mrs F.P., 5 Clayton Avenue, Didsbury, Manchester M20 0BL.

LYNCH, Michael, MA., Ph.D., Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh, 17 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LN.

LYTHE, Professor S. G. E., 45 Aytoun Road, Glasgow G41.

McADAM, Garry Lloyd.

MACARTHUR, D., Ards Cottage, Connel, Argyll PA37 1PT.

MACAULAY, James H., MA., Ph.D., 11 Kirklee Circus, Glasgow G12 OTW.

McCALLUM, John, BA., DPA., Tigh na Feile, Newcroft, Fionnphort, Isle of Mull PA66 6BS.

McCAFFREY, J.F., Ph.D., Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow, 9 University Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QH.

McCONNELL, John W., BA., FSA.Scot., 1370 Fairbanks Court, Dixon, California 95620, USA.

McCOSH, Bryce K., of Huntfield, Quothquan, Biggar, Lanarkshire ML12 6NA.

McCOWAN, David B., BASC., RR., 19 Monarchwood Crescent, Don Mills, Ontario, Canada M3A 1H3.

McCRAW, Ian, 27 Pitcairn Road, Downfield, Dundee DD3 9EE.

MACDONALD, Miss Christina A., 36 Glasgow Street, Glasgow G12 8JR.

MACDONALD, D., 10 Pearce Avenue, Corstorphine, Edinburgh EH12 8SW.

MACDONALD, Hector, MA., Ph.D., c/o National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh EH1 1EW.

MACDONALD, Miss Kathleen R, MA., M.Ed., 43 Chatton Road, Bridge of Allan FK9 4EF.

MACDONALD, Randal C., Post Office, Barcaldine, Connel, Argyll.

MACDONALD, Robert, BA., 12 Orchard Terrace, Edinburgh EH4 2HA.

MACDOUGALL, Norman A.T., MA., Ph.D., Department of Scottish History, St Katharine's Lodge, University of St. Andrews, St. Andrews KY16 9AL. (*Hon. Secretary*)

- MACEWEN, Andrew B.W., Stockton Springs, Maine 04981, USA.
- McFADYEN, Alec. E.W., La Turbie, Claremont Road, St. Helier, Jersey.
- MACFARLANE, L.H., FSA., 43 The Spittal, Old Aberdeen AB2 3HX.
- MACFARLANE, William A., B.Sc., 9 Grange Valley Crescent, Ballyclare, Northern Ireland, BT39 9AY.
- MACFARQUHAR, Roderick, c/o The Highland Fund Ltd., 39 St Vincent Street, Glasgow G3 8NG.
- McFAULDS, John, 89 Anstruther Street, Glasgow G32 7BB.
- McGLASHON, Peter, Pinewood School, Hoe Lane, Ware SG12 9BP.
- McGREGOR, Archibald M., MB., CH.B., and Dr Margaret M., 5/1 Rocheid Park, East Fettes Avenue, Edinburgh EH4 1RP.
- MACGREGOR-HASTIE, Professor Roy, MA., Ph.D., Via Trento 40, Tuenno (TN), Italy.
- MACINNES, Allan, MA., Ph.D., Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow, 9 University Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QH.
- MACINTOSH, Farquhar, CBE., MA., D.Litt., 12 Rothesay Place, Edinburgh EH3 7SQ.
- MACINTOSH, Malcolm, MA., 21 Ravensdale Avenue, London N12 9HP.
- MACINTYRE, J. Archibald, BA., MA., 55 London Road West, Guelph, Ontario, Canada N1H 2B6.
- MACINTYRE, Miss M., B.Ed., Box 749, Sub PO 11, Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2E0, Canada.
- MACINTYRE, Robert D., MA., Ch.B., JP., 8 Gladstone Place, Stirling.
- MACINTYRE, Stuart, MA., Ph.D., History Department, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria, Australia 3052.
- MACIVER, I.F., MA., c/o National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh EH1 1EW.
- MACKAY, A.D., MB., Dunivden, Bridgend, Ceres, By Cupar, Fife.
- MACKAY, Rev. Hugh, MA., FSA.Scot., The Manse, Duns, Berwickshire.
- MACKAY, Miss Inez W., 25A Inverleith Terrace, Edinburgh EH3 5NU.
- MACKAY, James S., Lianag, Balcaldine, Oban, Argyll.
- MACKAY, Rev. P.H.R., MA., Clola, 1 Dirleton Road, North Berwick EH39 5BY.
- MACKAY, William.
- MACKAY, William A., MA., B.Sc., Chemin des Hutins 5, 1247 Anieres, Geneva, Switzerland.
- MACKECHNIE, Donald, Schoolhouse, Bridge of Douglas, Inveraray, Argyll.
- MACKENZIE, C.W.T., MA., c/o SEET plc., Essex Hall, Essex Street, London WC2R 3D.
- MACKENZIE, George P.
- MACKENZIE, Robert P., BA., Drummie Cottage, Golspie, Sutherland.
- MACKENZIE, Ross, MA., 176 Great George Street, Glasgow G12 8AJ.
- MACKICHAN, N.A., MA., MB., B.Chir., Aros, Towerside, Whittingham, Alnwick, Northumberland NE66 4RF.
- McKINLAY, Mrs Isabella, 11 Laburnam Road, Methil, Fife KY8 2HA.

- McKNIGHT, G., ARICS., Nirvana, 26 Harburn Road, West Calder, West Lothian, EH55 8AH.
- MACLACHLAN, Gardiner S., BA., FSA.Scot., Dunadd, 4 Dean Place, Crosshouse, Kilmarnock KA2 0JZ.
- McLAUCHLAN, Miss Elise R.M., BL., 55 Spottiswoode Road, Edinburgh EH9 1DA.
- MACLEAN, A.J., LL.B., Department of Scots Law, University of Edinburgh, Old College, South Bridge, Edinburgh EH8 9YL.
- MACLEAN, Alexander, Aird, Bhearnasdail, Skye.
- MACLEAN, Donald F., 5787 Ogilvie Street, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada 33H 1C3.
- MACLEAN, Mrs L.M. of Dochgarroch, Hazelbrae House, Glen Urquhart, Inverness IV3 6TJ.
- MACLEAN, Mrs Mary, 59 Society Street, Nairn IV2 4NL.
- MACLEAN-BRISTOL, Major Nicholas, Breacachadh Castle, Isle of Coll, Argyll PA78 6TB.
- MACLENNAN, Miss Maureen, Caledonian Hotel, Fort Augustus, Invernesshire.
- MACLEOD, Innes F., MA., Department of Adult and Continuing Education, 57-59 Oakfield Avenue, Glasgow G12 8LW.
- MACLEOD, Miss Iseabail, 11 Scotland Street, Edinburgh EH3 6PU.
- MACLEOD, John W. and Mrs Johanna, 160 Reading Road, Woodley, Reading RG5 3AA.
- McLINTOCK, John, MA., FSA.Scot., West Register House, Scottish Record Office, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh.
- McMAHON, Geo. I.R., MA., B.Litt., Ph.D., Homerton College, Cambridge CB2 2PH.
- McMILLAN, N.W., LL.B., George House, 36 North Hanover Street, Glasgow G1 2AD.
- McNAUGHT, James.
- McNAUGHTON, Joseph M., Box 636, RD. Apt. 9, Greenburgh, Pa. 15601 USA.
- MacNEIL of BARRA, Ian R., BA., LL.B., Kismull Castle, Castlebay, Isle of Barra, PA17 80.
- McNEILL, Hugh M., 29 Ennismore Mews, London SW7 1AP.
- McNEILL, Sheriff Peter G.B., 31 Queensferry Road, Edinburgh EH4 3HB.
- McNIE, R.W., MA., M.Ed., 86 Findhorn Place, Edinburgh EH9 2NZ.
- MACPHAIL, I.M.M., PH.DR., 17 Clydeshire Road, Dumbarton G82 4AF.
- MACPHAIL-GREEN, M. Marjorie, MA., MB., Ch.B., Rue de L'Hyvreuse, Candie Road, St. Peter Port, Guernsey, Channel Islands.
- MACPHERSON, Roderick A., BA., FSA.Scot., 68 Queens Drive, Glasgow G42 8BW.
- MACQUEEN, Hector L., LL.B., Department of Scots Law, University of Edinburgh, Old College, South Bridge, Edinburgh EH8 9YL.
- MACRAE, Iain A., MB., B.Sc., North Farm, Murton, Seaham.

McRAE, William.

McTYRE, Raymond M., 3987 Indian Lakes Circle, Stone Mountain, GA 30083, USA.

MAIR, Thomas B., 10 Ashford Drive, Islington, Ontario M9B 5W8.

MAKEY, W.H., MA., Ph.D., 3/2 Chessels Court, Edinburgh EH8 8AD.

MARCHBANK, Mrs Agnes, 28 Bellhaven Terrace West, Glasgow G12.

MARSHALL, Rev. James S., MA., Ph.D., 4 Claremont Park, Edinburgh EH6 7PH.

MARSHALL, Miss Rosalind K., Ph.D., 11 St Clair Terrace, Edinburgh EH10 5NW.

MASON, Roger, MA., Ph.D., Department of Scottish History, University of St Andrews, St Katharine's Lodge, St Andrews, Fife KY16 9AL.

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MOORE, Hugh P., Deputy High Commissioner, Clan Campbell Society (USA), 1906 Montezuma Way, West Covina, California 91791, USA.

MORRIS, F.G., 45 Potton Road, Everton, Sandy, Beds SG19 21E.

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MORRISON, H., MB., CH.B., DPH., 1 Staplegrove Manor, Taunton, Somerset.

MUI, Hoh-cheung, Ph.D., 161 Park Close, Oxford OX2 8NP.

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- ROBERTSON, F.W., Ph.D., 17 Sinclair Terrace, Wick, Caithness.
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- ROSS, Rev. Anthony, OP., STL., Queen's Drive, Langside, Glasgow.
- ROSS, Ian S., Department of English, University of British Columbia, Vancouver V6T 1W5, BC., Canada.
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- RUSSELL, D.F.O., Rothes, Markinch, Fife KY7 6PW.
- RUSSELL, Miss Florence M.
- SANDERSON, Miss Margaret H.B., Ph.D., 28 Highfield Crescent, Linlithgow, West Lothian.
- SCOTT, David and Mrs Hester M., M.A., Glenaros, Aros, Isle of Mull PA72 6JP.
- SCOTT, J.G., MA., 10 Abbotsford Court, Colinton Road, Edinburgh EH10 5EH.

- SCOTT, Ms Margaret, MA., 22A Mildmay Grove, London N1 4RL.
- SCOTT, P.H., 33 Drumsheugh Gardens, Edinburgh EH3 7RN.
- SCOTT, Roderick F., BA., LL.B., and Mrs Linda, BA., 6 Orchard Avenue, New Malden, Surrey KT3 4JT.
- SCOTT, W.W., 13A Merchiston Place, Edinburgh EH10 4PL.
- SEFTON, Rev. H.R., Ph.D., Department of Church History, King's College, Aberdeen AB9 2UB.
- SELLAR, W.D.H., Department of Scots Law, University of Edinburgh, Old College, South Bridge, Edinburgh EH8 9YL.
- SEMPLE, Walter G., 47 Newark Drive, Glasgow G41.
- SHAND, Margaret H., BA., 52 Rio Vista Boulevard, Florada Gardens, Broadbeach Waters, Queensland, 4218, Australia.
- SHARP, Brian J., 12 Shelley Drive, Bothwell, Glasgow G71 8TA.
- SHARP, Buchanan, BA., MA., Ph.D., Department of History, College V, University of California, Santa Cruz, California, USA.
- SHAW, Very Rev. Duncan, Ph.D., 4 Sydney Terrace, Edinburgh EH7 6SL.
- SHAW, Miss Frances J., Ph.D., Scottish Record Office, H.M. Register House, Princes Street, Edinburgh EH1 3YY.
- SHEAD, N.F., 8 Whittliemuir Avenue, Muirend, Glasgow G44 3HU.
- SHEPHERD, James P., MA., and Mrs Doreen, 14 East Fettes Avenue, Edinburgh EH4 1AN.
- SHORT, Mrs Agnes, BA., M.Litt., 20 The Chanonry, Old Aberdeen AB2 1RQ.
- SIMPSON, Eric J., MA., 27 Briarhill Avenue, Dalgety Bay, Dunfermline, Fife KY11 5UR.
- SIMPSON, Grant G., Ph.D., FSA., Department of History, University of Aberdeen, Old Aberdeen AB9 2UB.
- SIMPSON, John M., Scottish History Department, University of Edinburgh, 17 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LN.
- SINCLAIR, C.J., MA., LL.B., Scottish Record Office, H.M. Register House, Princes Street, Edinburgh EH1 3YY.
- SINCLAIR, Iain M., Flat 16, 365 Byres Road, Glasgow G12 8QU.
- SKINNER, Miss Gillian, Loch Ness Lodge Hotel, Drumnadrochit, Inverness-shire, IV3 6JT.
- SLADE, H. Gordon, TD., ARIBA., 15 Southbourne Gardens, London SE12.
- SLAVEN, Professor Anthony, Department of Economic History, Adam Smith Building, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ.
- SLIMMINGS, Sir William K.M., CBE., D.Litt., CA., 62 The Avenue, Worcester Park, Surrey.
- SLOAN, Mrs Sheila M., 4 Rockville Terrace, Bonnyrigg, Midlothian EH19 2AG.
- SMALL, Gilleen P., 3 Princes Gardens, Hyndland, Glasgow G12 9HP.
- SMART, Mrs Aileen, MA., 64 Essex Drive, Glasgow G14 9LU.
- SMITH, Mrs Annette, Ph.D., 8 Lade Braes, St Andrews, Fife KY16 9ET.
- SMITH, Sheriff David B., MA., LL.B., 72 South Beach, Troon, Ayrshire.
- SMITH, Harold, MA., 13 Newhailes Crescent, Musselburgh, Midlothian EH21 6DP.

- SMITH, J.A., B.Ed., 108 Queen Victoria Drive, Glasgow, G14 9BL.
- SMITH, J.A.B., CBE., MA., B.Sc., Callune, 33 West Hemming Street, Letham, Angus DD3 2PU.
- SMOUT, Professor T.C., Ph.D., Department of Scottish History, St Katharine's Lodge, St Andrews University, Fife KY16 9AL.
- SMYTH, Thomas, 21 Kinnaird Street, Dundee DD3 6NX.
- STEELE, Ms. Margaret, MA., 13 Amundsen Crescent, Kanata, Ontario, Canada K2L 1A6.
- STENHOUSE, B.A., 6/14 Orchard Brae Avenue, Edinburgh EH4 2HP.
- STEVENS, T.E.R., 247 Viewfield Road, Tarbrax, By West Calder EH55 8XE.
- STEVENSON, Mrs A.G. Sheila, 17 Little Dene Copse, Pennington, Lymington, Hampshire S04 8AW.
- STEVENSON, David, BA., Ph.D., and Wendy B., Ph.D., Department of History, University of Aberdeen, Old Aberdeen, AB9 2UB.
- STEVENSON, Miss Stephanie B., BA., D.Phil., Johnston Lodge, Anstruther, Fife.
- STEWART, Miss Anne, 12 Wellside Place, Falkirk, Stirlingshire FK1 5RL.
- STEWART, Archibald Ian B., Askomeil End, Campbeltown, Argyll PA28 6EP.
- STEWART, Miss Marjorie A., Airlie Cottage, 7A Hawkcraig Road, Aberdour, Fife KY3 0XB.
- STEWART, Robert G., RFD 2, Box 1446, Leavitt Road, Augusta, Maine 04330, USA.
- STRACHAN, M.F., MBE., Glenhighton, Broughton, by Biggar ML12 6JF.
- STRAWHORN, John, Ph.D., 51 Connel Crescent, Mauchline, Ayrshire.
- STRINGER, K.J., MA., Ph.D., FSA., Department of History, The University of Lancaster, Lancaster.
- STUART, Peter and Mrs Maxwell, Traquair House, Innerleithen, Peeblesshire EH44 6PW.
- STUART-MURRAY, Gaenor, 26 Ashburn Road, Stockport, Cheshire SK4 2PS.
- SUNTER, J.R.M., MA., Ph.D., Department of History, University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario, Canada N1G 2W1.
- SURRY, Andrew, 116 Old Hale Way, Hitchin, Herts, SG5 1XT.
- SUTHERLAND, Norman A., MA., 55 Argyle Way, Dunblane, Perthshire FK15 9PX.
- SUTHERLAND, The Rt. Hon. The Countess of, House of Tongue, by Lairg, Sutherland.
- SWAINSTON, Mrs A.Y. Imrie, 8 Sheldon Avenue, London N6 4JT.
- SWEENEY, J. Morgan, D.Phil., Department of Humanities, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48824, USA.
- SZECHI, D., BA., D.Phil., Department of History, 7030 Haley Centre, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama 36849-5207, USA.
- TAYLOR, David, FSA.Scot., 39 Ashley Drive, Edinburgh EH11 1RP.
- TAYLOR, Iain S., MA.
- TAYLOR, W., Ph.D., 25 Bingham Terrace, Dundee.

- THOMSON, F.G., Am Fasgadh, 5 Rathad Na Muilne, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis.
- THOMSON, Alan J.R., 2 Parkhill Place, Northmuir, Kirriemuir, DD8 4TA.
- THOMSON, Professor Derick S., MA., BA., FRSE., Department of Celtic, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ.
- THOMSON, J.A., Summerhill House, Annan, Dumfriesshire.
- THOMSON, J.A.F., D.Phil., Department of Medieval History, The University, Glasgow G12 8QQ.
- TODD, J.M., Redbourn House, Main Street, St Bees, Cumberland.
- TORRANCE, Donald R., B.Sc., 1 Strathfillan Road, Edinburgh EH9 2AG.
- TORRIE, Mrs E.P.D., MA., Ph.D., The Haining, Ferryhills, North Queensferry, Fife.
- TROUP, J.A., St Abbs, 34 Hillside Road, Stromness, Orkney.
- TURNBULL, John G., c/o Garcia, 42-26 81st Street (Apt. 5G), Elmhurst, Queens, NY 11373, USA.
- VAUGHAN, Mrs Sheila M., 138 East Main Street, Hamburg, New York 14708, USA.
- VOUSDEN, D.H., 132 Earl Street, Glasgow G14 0BW.
- WALKER, Bruce, BA., University of Dundee, Dundee DD1 1BR.
- WALKER, Charles T., B.Sc., Flat A5, 8 Caldecott Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong.
- WALKER, Professor David M., CBE., QC., Ph.D., LL.D., Department of Law, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ.
- WALLACE, Ms Veronica, B.Sc., 48 Findhorn Place, Edinburgh EH9 2NS.
- WARD, Mrs Anne, 1A South Hamilton Road, North Berwick, East Lothian EH39 4NJ.
- WATSON, T.A., MA., 8 Melville Terrace, Anstruther, Fife.
- WATT, Professor Donald E.R., Department of Medieval History, St Salvator's College, St Andrews KY16. (*President*)
- WEBSTER, A. Bruce, FSA., 5 The Terrace, St Stephens, Canterbury, Kent.
- WEIR, The Hon. Lord, QC., MA., LL.B., 9 Russell Place, Edinburgh EH5 3HQ.
- WEIR, Thomas E., USNR., BD., Ph.D., PO 642, Riverdale, Maryland, 20737, USA.
- WHATLEY, C.A., BA., Ph.D., Department of Scottish History, St Katharine's Lodge, University of St Andrews, St Andrews, Fife KY16 9AL.
- WHITEFORD, Rev. D.H., QHC., BD., Ph.D., 3 Old Dean Road, Longniddry, East Lothian EH32 0QY.
- WHYTE, Donald, 4 Carmel Road, Kirkliston, West Lothian EH29 9DD.
- WICKES, D.J.C.
- WIGHT, John H., MA., 146 Rowanhill Place, Kilmarnock KA1 1ON.
- WILLIAMS, J.W.C., 23 High Beeches, Frimley, Camberley, Surrey.
- WILLOCK, Professor I.D., Department of Law, University of Dundee, Dundee DD1.
- WILLS, Mrs Peter, Allan Gowan, 109 Henderson Street, Bridge of Allan, Stirlingshire.

- WILSON, Miss Isabel J.T., 2 Segton Avenue, Kilwinning, Ayrshire KA13 6LQ.
- WILSON, John B., MD., FRCPE., The Whins, Kinnelbanks, Lochmaben, Lockerbie DG11 1TD.
- WISEMAN, William George, 33 Burton Road, Kendal, Cumbria LA9 7LT.
- WITHERS, Charles W.J., MA., The College of St Paul and St Mary, The Park, Cheltenham, Glos. GL50 2RH.
- WITHRINGTON, D.J., M.Ed., Department of History, University of Aberdeen, Old Aberdeen AB9 2UB.
- WOODHOUSE, Mrs Unity N.R., BA., Bruce Lea, Lumphanan, Kincardineshire AB3 4QJ.
- WORMALD, Jennifer M., MA., Ph.D., St Hilda's College, Oxford OX4 1DY.
- YOUNG, Mrs E.M., MA., FRGS., Beechwoods, Kittishaws Road, Dalry, Ayrshire KA24 4LL.
- YOUNG, Kenneth G., LL.B., WS., Mansfield, Auchterarder, Perthshire PH3 1DB.
- YOUNG, Miss Margaret D., 1 Craiglockart Gardens, Edinburgh EH14 1ND.
- YOUNG, Mrs Margaret D., 73 Kingslynn Drive, Glasgow G44 4JB.
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