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LIEUTENANT GENERAL HUGH MACKAY, of SCOWRY

Commander in Chief of the Forces in Scotland, during 1689 & 1690.
Colonel Commandant of the Scotch Brigade in the Service of Holland, and a Privy Counsellor in Scotland.

From an Original Picture in the Possession of Lord [illegible].

MEMOIRS

OF THE

WAR CARRIED ON IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

M.DC.LXXXIX.—M.DC.XCI.

BY MAJOR GENERAL HUGH MACKAY,

COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES.

WITH AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.

PRINTED AT EDINBURGH,

M.DCCC.XXXIII.

PRESENTED

TO

THE BANNATYNE CLUB

BY

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ADAM URQUHART.

THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

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My Lord

Supposing your Lo[p] at Spearth if the Enemy be in the neighbourhood I dispatch this by a Labal to know from that place as the nearest quarter of your Troopes if Ramsay be drawn out, what Bettles in that shire, having vnderstood by a letter from the Earsch that the Rebells were fallen down to the Braes of monteith and Bochidder I left the north as far as inverness well secured as I do Aberdeenshire and intends southward with Livingston's Dragoons therefor be pleased to send an officer expres to meet me vpon the way of Brechen and Tyrfure to let me know the latest motion of the Enemy, and what forces Drumlanrie hath together and where about they are at present your Lo[p] may send this to the Earl of Ill to the end they may know where I am, which is all at present from

My Lord

Old Meldrum the 9th Nov 1690

your Lo[ps] most humble and obedient servant

H Mackay

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

The author of the following Memoirs was a younger son of Mackay of Scoury, a branch of the ancient and noble family of Mackay, Lord Reay, which has long enjoyed extensive possessions and much influence in the northern counties of Scotland.

He was born about the year 1640, and entered on the military profession soon after the Restoration in 1660, when he obtained his first commission as an ensign in the Royal Scots, at that time termed, from its commanding officer, Dumbarton's Regiment.

He some years afterwards accompanied this corps when it was sent to France by Charles II. to assist Louis XIV. in the war which the allied sovereigns declared in 1672 against the United Provinces. In the campaign which followed, Mackay was employed in the division of the army which, under the command of Marshall Turenne, overran the province of Gueldres, and captured most of the Dutch fortresses situated on the Meuse and Wahal. In the course of this service Mackay had the good fortune to be quartered at the small town of Bommel, in the house of a Dutch lady of noble family, the widow of

the Chevalier Arnold de Bie, to one of whose daughters he formed an attachment, and was soon afterwards united.

The influence of his wife's relations, added perhaps to a certain distaste for the cause in which the arms of England were then engaged, soon induced Mackay to change his service; and in the year 1673 or 1674, he resigned his commission in Dumbarton's regiment, and entered into the service of the United Provinces, in the Scotch-Dutch brigade, in which he obtained the same rank, that of captain, which he had held in his former corps.

In 1674 he was present at the battle of Seneff, when the army in which he was engaged, under the Prince of Orange, was defeated by the Prince of Conde; but the services of Mackay appear to have soon gained the notice and merited the confidence of his new commander. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of major in the service of the United Provinces, to which he, along with most of the other officers of the Scotch brigade, attached themselves, when Charles II. was compelled by Parliament to reduce his army. When the command of one of the regiments into which this brigade was now formed became vacant, the Prince of Orange bestowed it upon Mackay, and, according to a tradition preserved in his family, his competitor on this occasion was Graham of Claverhouse, who, it is said, then left the Dutch service in disgust at the preference given to Mackay.

Some time about 1680, Mackay was promoted to the command of the whole brigade; and in 1685, on the occasion of Monmouth's rebellion, he was dispatched by the Prince of Orange, along with the corps under his command, to England, at the

desire of James II., to assist in suppressing the rebellion, which however was subdued before the auxiliaries were called into action. On this occasion Mackay revisited his native country for the first time after a long absence, and was advanced by James II. to the dignity of a privy councillor in Scotland. In the following year he returned to Holland; and in 1688, having along with most of the other officers of the Scotch brigade, refused to obey the summons of James II., commanding them to leave the service of the Prince of Orange and return home, Mackay, along with five other persons were declared traitors, and specially excepted from the general pardon afterwards promised by King James.

General Mackay was now embarked in the cause of the Revolution; and his services to the new government in pacifying Scotland, and subduing the Jacobites in Ireland during the two following years, are the subject of the memoirs and letters which are now for the first time printed and offered to the Club.

He returned to Holland soon after the government of King William was finally established in Ireland by the capitulation of Limerick in 1691.

In the campaign of 1692, he was appointed to command the English forces which served in the army of King William in Flanders; but here, as in Ireland, it was the misfortune of Mackay to be placed by his sovereign under the command of foreign officers of no higher reputation, and of less military skill than himself. At the battle of Steinkirk, he remonstrated against the dispositions made by the commander-in-chief, the Count of Solmes, for the action, and in particular against the

desperate duty which his own brigade was ordered to perform with a very inadequate force. His remonstrances were unsuccessful, and Mackay marched into the battle with the feelings of a brave man who saw that his own life and those of his companions in arms were about to be sacrificed by the rashness and obstinacy of their commander. He was mortally wounded early in the action, and three thousand of his men, of the English brigade, were left dead upon the field.

Although Mackay succeeded in early life to the family estate of Scoury, in consequence of the untimely death of his two elder brothers, he does not appear ever to have visited it after his first departure from Scotland. And the desire which he expresses in several passages of his letters and memoirs to return to Holland where he had established his family, shows that he looked upon his adopted country as his home in preference to the land of his birth.

He had issue, by his marriage with Clara de Bie, one son and three daughters. His descendants in the male line came to an end in the year 1775, on the death of his grandson, a Lieutenant-General in the Dutch service, and Colonel of the brigade which had formerly been commanded by his grandfather. His eldest daughter became the wife of George, third Lord Reay, and left descendants who still survive.

Mackay is mentioned more than once by Bishop Burnet, as the most pious soldier whom he had ever known, and is commended for the care which he took to enforce the observance of strict discipline and attention to religious exercises among the men under his command. A curious illustration of this may be found in the book of Rules of War, published for the use of the

army in Scotland,* which being now rather rare, the editors believe that they will do an acceptable service to the club, by reprinting in this place, the conclusion of that work, which exhibits in a singularly beautiful and interesting manner this part of his character.

"LASTLY, When all Difpofitions are made, and the Army waiting for the fignal, to move towards the Enemy, both Officers and Souldiers, ought feriouffy to recommend (together with their Souls and Bodies) the care and protection of the caufe for which they fo freely expofe their Lives, to GOD, Who over-ruleth the Deliberations and Councils, Defigns and Enterprifes of his Creatures, and of whofe bleffing alone the fuccefs of all Undertakings doth depend, which they may do in thefe or the like words:

A PRAYER.

O *Almighty KING of Kings, and LORD of Hofts, which by thy Angels thereunto appointed, doft Minifter both* War *and* Peace; *Thou rulefl and commandefl all things, and fittefl in the Throne judging right; And therefore we make our addreffes to Thy Divine MAJESTY in this our neceffity, that Thou wouldefl take us and our Cause into Thine Own Hand and judge between us and our Enemies, ftir up Thy Strength, O LORD, and come and help us, for Thou givefl not alwayes the Battel to the Strong, but canft fave by Many or by Few. O let not our fins now cry againft us for Vengeance, but hear us, Thy poor fervants, begging mercy, and imploring Thy help, and that Thou wouldefl be a Defence for us againft the Enemy. Make it appear, that Thou art our Saviour, and Mighty Deliverer, Through JESUS CHRIST Our LORD.* Amen."

* The edition of this work here quoted is entitled, "Rules of War for the Infantry, ordered to be obferved by their Majefties' Subjects encountring with the Enemy upon the day of Battel. Written by Lieutenant General MACKAY, and Recommended to All (as well Officers as Soldiers,) of the Scots and Englifh Army. In xxiii Articles. Publifhed by his Excellencies Secretary." It is licenced by Edm. Bohun, and "Reprinted at Edinburgh, by John Reid in 1693."

The Memoirs, which are now printed for the first time, are preserved in MS. in the Advocates' Library, in a small volume in quarto, written in a fair distinct hand, apparently by some amanuensis or secretary, employed by the General. The French letters which are addressed to the King, and to the Earl of Portland, are contained in the same volume, and they are preceded by a title page, as represented in the work now printed at page 169, with the addition of the following words:—"*Recueilly et fidelement extrait des escrits du susdit Monsieur de Mackay. A Bommel* 1702." As neither the Memoirs nor these Letters have any pretensions to the character of autograph writings, the editors have, in this part of the work, taken the liberty to arrange the punctuation, (which is generally very incorrect in the MS.) according to their own judgment, and occasionally to modernise the spelling, where it has been apparently vitiated by the blunders of an incorrect copyist or secretary, perhaps imperfectly acquainted with the language in which he was writing. In making, however, these alterations, they have taken care not to change a single word, nor to alter the spelling where it appeared to be that which the writer habitually uses, and not to proceed from carelessness or error in transcribing. In arranging the punctuation they have found greater difficulty, as the style of the sentences is often diffuse and involved, and there is consequently sometimes considerable ambiguity, and doubt with regard to the exact meaning.

The letters which form the appendix, and are perhaps the most valuable and interesting portion of the work, have been communicated to the editors by the Earl of Leven and Melville, of whose ample and valuable collection of family papers, the ori-

ginals form a part, and the club is indebted to his Lordship for his permission so liberally given to print these documents along with this edition of the Memoirs. It is to be hoped that the interest excited by these letters may be sufficient to induce his Lordship to make public a more extensive selection of the stores in his possession of letters and papers which would form valuable illustrations of the history of Scotland during the seventeenth century. As these letters, now first printed, are all original and autograph writings of the persons whose names they bear, the editors have taken care in this portion of the work to preserve exactly the orthography of the MSS.

The editors are indebted to Lord Reay for the frontispiece which accompanies this volume, being an engraving from an original portrait of General Mackay, in his Lordship's possession, executed by his orders, and presented by him to the editors of the present volume.

The thanks of the editors are also due to John Mackay, Esq., the present representative in the male line of the family of Scoury, to whose researches respecting the history of his illustrious kinsman, they are chiefly indebted for the particulars which are related in the above notice of his life.

Edinburgh, March 1833.

MEMOIRES TOUCHING THE SCOTS WAR CARRIED ON FOR THEIR MAJESTIES, BY MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY, AGAINST THE VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE, AND AFTER HIM CANNON, AND AT LAST MAJOR GENERAL BUCHAN, FOR THE LATE KING JAMES

M.DC.LXXXIX.

MEMOIRS OF THE SCOTS WAR, &c.

All the Nobility and gentry of the Scots Nation then at London being met together at Whitehall, to conſult of the next beſt meaſures to be taken (after King James retreat into France) for the government of that kingdom, agreed to offer the adminiſtration thereof to the then Prince of Orange, our preſent ſovereign, untill a general convention of the ſtates thereof ſhould reſolve what further were to be done, which convention was to meet in the month of March enſuing.

His highneſs having accepted of the government, gave orders for the breaking of ſome neu levies on foot in that kingdom, together with the company entertained by the city of Edinburgh, apparently as not making much ſtate upon their affection to the cauſe in hand.

The Crowns of England, France and Ireland, being devolved upon their Majeſties, the King, by the bad humour, ſuddenly diſcovered in the major part of the late King Jamess forces, and the neceſſity of returning ſome thouſands of the Dutch troops to their oun country again, as well as of retaining the reſt of them in England, to ſecure his new got poſſeſſion, would not take all the requiſite meaſures for the ſecurity of Scotland and Ireland; nevertheleſs, apprehending diſorders in the former, if

the convention ſhould ſit without any forces to countenance and ſupport his party, the King reſolved to send Major General Mackay to Scotland, with the three Scots regiments come out of Holland, viz. his oun, Brigadier Balfours and Colonel Ramſays, notwithſtanding, the ſaid Major General was then very indiſpoſed for ſuch an expedition, not being recovered of a great ſicknefs wherby he had been attacked ſhortly after his landing in England, but willing to contribute his utmoſt endeavours for the advancement of so good a cauſe, embraced the command; and having obtained ſhipping, with ſome arms for new levies, and what amunition could be ſpared, he imbarked the ſaid regiments much about the midle of March, and arrived in Scotland eight or ten days thereafter.

The convention having ſat ſome days before the Major-Generals arrival, the Ld. Dundee, with the Biſhops, and ſeverals of the diſaffected members of the convention formed a deſign to ſeize ſuch members of the convention as were for their Majeſties, as was probably conjectured by the Duke of Gordon's refuſal to deliver up the Caſtle upon his Majeſty's order, as he had offered formerly to do, and Dundee's bringing to and lodging about toun betwixt three and fourſcore horſe of his late regiment, deſerted out of England.

One George Hamilton of Binny, a gentleman very well affected for their Majeſties and the Proteſtant Court, with communication of the Duke of that name, preſident to the Convention, got four hundred well armed citizens of Glaſgow to Edinburgh, which he ſo lodged about the Parliament Houſe, that the adverſe party found no ſecurity in the enterprize, beſides theſe the Convention ordered the Earle of Levin to beat drums for volunteers, till the forces which they expected with the Major-General were arrived, and the Earle of Argile got in ſome of his Highlanders. Mean time Dundee ſeing nothing to be advanced by his longer ſtay at Edinburgh, and apprehending that he ſhould be ſeized, or, (as he alleged thereafter by a letter to the Convention), aſſaſſinated by the weſt country-men, to revenge his rigorous uſage of them during the late reigns, retired with the forementioned horſe, after he had ſpoke a conſiderable

time with the Duke of Gordon without the Weſt-Port of Edinburgh, apparently concerning his reſolution to draw ſpeedily to arms.

In this condition things ſtood, when Major-General Mackay (whom we ſhall henceforth, for brevitys ſake, call General, being the chief commander of the forces of that kingdom, as well as of thoſe whom his Majeſty had given him out of England) arrived upon Leith-road: who, having informed himſelf of the ſtate of affairs in that kingdom, diſbarked his men, not paſſing eleven hundred, (the king having taken away their old Dutch ſouldiers out of theſe three regiments), and being informed that the Convention had not continued King William, then of England, in the adminiſtration of the government of Scotland, he forebore to make uſe of his inſtructions from his Majeſty; but deſired to act in concert with the said Convention, in ſo far as their commands ſhould agree with their Majeſties intereſt; in which he found the Duke Hamilton, very forward and zealous, though others would gladly have perſuaded otherwiſe of the Dukes conduct, who, no queſtion, did it, as conſidering that his parts and quality would eclipſe them, and fruſtrate their deſigns, if the king had once a good opinion of the Duke, ſo as to put intire truſt in him.

Dundee being retired from the Convention, together with ſeveral other Jacobites, a ſummons was ſent them to compear againſt a certain day, upon pain of being declared rebels and fugitives. Dundee anſwered the ſummons by a very diſreſpectfull letter to the Convention, upon which he was denounced rebell.

At this time the General had ſent ſome companies to Stirling, and becauſe he did not much truſt the Earle of Mar, heritable governour of that Caſtle, nor would not willingly let him know that he jealouſ'd him, upon pretext of an additional company lately levied, to reinforce the garriſon of the Caſtle, where there were many of the deſerters of Colonel Buchans regiment, he got the Earle perſuaded to receive a guard of fiftie men, with a captain, to be dayly relieved into the Caſtle, which captain, becauſe the officers of the Caſtle were but ſubalterns, ſhould command during his guard in the Earles abſenſe. By which invention, that firſt

poſt of the kingdom was by fair means, without giving offence or ſuſpicion to the Earle, ſecured for their Majeſties ſervice.

The General, immediately upon his landing, diſtributed money to the three Scots regiments, which we ſhall henceforth, for diſtinction, call Dutch, to make them up each to 1200, as alſo to the Earle of Levin, to levie of 780 men, according to his Majeſtys order: and finding the diſpoſition of that kingdom tending to a civil war by the retreat of the Lord Dundee, with ſeveral other noblemen and members of the Convention, as was touched above, as well as by the combination of ſeverals of the Highland clans for their mutual defence, being afraid of the riſing fortune and apparent favour of the Earle of Argyle, under the preſent government, who had conſiderable pretenſions upon their eſtates, beſides, that ſome of them had part of his eſtate in poſſeſſion, by a gift of the late King, under whoſe reign the Earls father had been forfeited; judging, I ſay, that thoſe diſpoſitions would tend to a rebellion, and not queſtioning but what was at the root, ſelf-intereſt and preſervation, as well in Dundee, with the other offended members of the Convention, as in the combined Highlanders, would be pretended King Jamess intereſt: to make their party the more formidable, diſpatched an expreſs to Sr. Thomas Livingſton to haſten his march to Scotland, as alſo to the Lord Colcheſters regiment of horſe. But this latter, being countermanded, after the revolted battalion of Dumbartons regiment, came not doun till the matter of a month thereafter. Upon Sir Thomas Livingſtons arrival, the General commanded him to Stirling and adjacents, both to ſecure that paſs with the foot they had ſent thither at his diſbarkment under Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder, and to be ſo much nearer the province of Angus, where Dundee lay with the matter of 60 or 70 horſe of his former regiment; the General, at his arrival, had ordered a trench to be made about that part of the Caſtle of Edinburgh, which lies towards the country, to hinder the communication of intelligence and proviſions, with the Duke of Gordon, after he had diſcovered his intentions to hold it out, and placed guards and ſentries towards the city to the ſame purpoſe; it being impoſſible and

vain to undertake any thing elſe, both by reaſon of the ſmall number of the forces, with the want of cannon, bombs, and other ingredients, for an attack, and the natural ſtrenth of the Caſtle rendering it very difficult to be attacked with proſpect of good and ſpeedy ſucceſs.

Dundee, as was touched above, having, by an uncivil letter to the Convention, diſcovered his intention of taking arms, the General ordered Sir Thomas Livingſton to fall in to the province of Angus, with inſtructions how to hinder his forming of a party, to ſurpriſe his horſe, and ſeize his perſon, if poſſible, and to lodge his oun dragoons, ſo that Dundees horſe ſhould not affront him.

The Convention taking into conſideration the untoward humours of many of the nobility and gentry, the combination of the Highland clans who apprehended the Earle of Argyles appearing greatneſs, and the general diſaffection of the northern provinces, as well as of the borders, and of ſeveral of the chiefeſt corporations of the kingdom, not excepting Edinburgh, whereof the greater part of the inhabitants appeared not well pleaſed with the late happy, and for the general intereſt of the Proteſtant religion, as well as the liberty of Europe, ſo neceſſary a revolution, reſolved to levy upon Scots pay 6000 foot in ten regiments, 12 troops of horſe, making 600, and a regiment of 300 dragoons; and, accordingly, diſtributed commiſſions to ſuch noblemen and gentlemen as did undertake to levy them, with levy-money, giving pouer to the colonels, as well as to the captains of horſe, to make all their officers, whereby it fell out that thoſe troops never came to any perfection, tho during the firſt ſix or ſeven months very punctually paid, becauſe the chief officers, being all noblemen of no ſervice, choſe the officers of their regiments and troops, according as they had a kindneſs for their perſons, or as they judged them popular, to get a number of men together, to the diſorder of thoſe troops, helping not a little, that the General found himſelf preſently engaged in the war, ſo that he could neither ſee them, nor give order for their compoſition or diſcipline.

Towards the 20th of April, Sir Thomas Livingſton, according to his

inſtructions, having formed a deſign to ſurpriſe Dundee in a country houſe of his, called Glenogilby, tho very well, and ſecretly led on, was nevertheleſs diſapointed by the retreat of the ſaid Dundee, the day before Sir Thomas came out of his quarter, upon whoſe advertiſement to the General, then at Edinburgh, of his miſluckt deſign, and the Lord Dundees motion to the north, the General judging his preſence at that time more neceſſary to diſſipate thoſe firſt appearances againſt their Majeſties government, (being by that time declared King and Queen of Scotland), in the north, then at Edinburgh, particularly ſince the Convention was to be adjourned till the Kings return and pleaſure, both as to the acceptation of the Croun, and the changing of the Convention to a Parliament ſhould come doun, he communicated his deſign to Duke Hamilton, who judged it were ſufficient to ſend an other: But the General judging the conſequence of letting Dundee, who wanted not his arguments, to perſuade men to his meaſures, play his perſonage among the nobility and gentry of the north, and knowing that all the Duke of Gordons intereſt, which is conſiderable in command of men, would joyn with him as one man, having diſpatched the Maſter of Forbes eldeſt ſon to the Lord of that name, who alſo hath a pretty command of men, and is no friend to Gordon, to oppoſe the firſt endeavours of Dundee, and labour to diſabate the inhabitants of the northern provinces, and overturn Dundees perſuaſions, as well as his endeavours to form a party, reſolved, upon the firſt advertiſement from the ſaid Maſter (to whom he had given written inſtructions how to believe in thoſe matters), to march northward himſelf with what ſmall number of forces he would ſpare from the ſiege of the Caſtle of Edinburgh, with the ſecurity of the government, and that of Stirling; in order to which reſolution he had ſent reiterat orders to Colcheſters regiment to haſt on their march to Scotland; which, accordingly, arriving about this time, the General ſeeing them much fatigued, and their horſes ſpoyled in their backs, choſe 120 only of the regiment, the Major and two captains, and ſent them to the province of Angus, upon his road to the north, whither he ſent alſo 200 choſen firelocks of

the three Dutch regiments, judging he would ſpare no more for that expedition, and to the end he might preſs Dundee on all hands, he communicated his deſign to the Marquis of Athole, who made many proteſtations of his affection to their Majeſties, King William and Queen Marys intereſt, as well as to that of the Proteſtant religion, repreſenting to him, that readily, if he would follow his advice as a man who wiſhed well to his perſon and family, he ſhould by the ſaid Generals progreſs to the north find occaſion to give the King, (to whom, as all of them ſaid, he being unknoun as to their inclinations and affection to his government, as yet they could not expect ſudden marks of his royal favour), ſuch a convincing proof of his zeal to his ſervice in the beginning of his reign, as he would find the advantageous effects of, during the whole courſe thereof; whom finding diſpoſed to follow his directions, he appointed to order his baillie, or ſome in whom he would repoſe truſt, to have in a body 400 of his beſt Highlanders to paſs upon Dundee, who, retiring before the General, would readily paſs by ſome part of his Highland countries, which propoſition the Marquis reliſhed well, and as the General diſcovered him afterward to have done, tho too late, to manage Athole for the behoof of their Majeſties ſervice, who, being betrayd by his baillie, the General concluded, (by the free paſſage and kindly reception of Dundee thorough his country, and other behaviour of his people, contrary to their Majeſties ſervice), that he had falſified his parole, and playd double game, which made him alſo both repreſent to the government, and conſider the Marquis thereafter as ſuch; by which means he had been loſt for the ſervice, who had he been got throughly engaged in it, would contribute as much to the ſpeedy ſettlement of the kingdom in peace, as any ſubject in Scotland.

The General engaged the Earle of Mar alſo, to cauſe obſerve Dundee with 3 or 400 Highlanders about the braes or height of the province of Marr, where he was very likely to paſs; for about this time Mar began to change in favour of their Majeſties intereſt and ſervice; and likewaies he ordered the Laird of Grant, a perſon of a conſiderable eſtate and High-

land intereſt, and following, to make all diligence to the north, and not only to hinder the paſſage of his own country, called Strathſpey, from the Lord Dundee, but alſo to cauſe guard all the foords of Spey, which he might eaſily have done, had he uſed diligence, and followed his directions; but inſtead of that, Grant ſtayed ſome days after the General at Edinburgh, while he beleived him before him to the north: which wrong ſtep of his was certainly without any deſign of prejudice to the ſervice, tho' highly puniſhable, had he been a man of ſervice.

For Dundee, being preſt by the Generals approach, paſt into Murray juſt where Grant had orders to oppoſe his paſſage, and the Earle of Mar ſickned immediately, whereof he alſo died ſhortly thereafter; ſo proved that project, (which, had thoſe three acted with diligence and underſtanding according to their orders, could not readily have failed to take effect), ineffectual by the Marquis of Atholes Baillies treaſon, who, inſtead of putting his maſter's orders againſt Dundee in execution, ſent the Marquis order, with aſſurance of his aſſiſtance: by the Earle of Mars ſicknes and death, which was the occaſion, that the country of that name joyned under Colonel Murrey in the rebellion; and by the Laird of Grants too long ſtay, contrary to his orders at Edinburgh, about affairs of leſs moment.

It is neceſſary to remember, that all this time the General could not regulate himſelf by the Kings inſtructions, but rather by order of the Convention, which, immediately upon his landing, conferred upon him the General command of all the forces of the kingdom, raiſed and to be raiſed, which he made no difficulty to accept of, tho he had no particular inſtruction for it from the King, being ſure his Majeſtie would be well ſatiſfied ſince the Convention had not continued him in the adminiſtration of the government as that of England had done, that he, to whom his Majeſtie intruſted the ſervice of that kingdom for him, ſhould be alſo intruſted by them during their ſovereignity, with the chief command of the forces whereof they had ordered the levie.

Mean time arms had been diſtributed to the Preſbiterians of the weſt

country, who ſheued themſelves of all the kingdom the moſt zealous for their Majeſties' government and the Proteſtant intereſt; and the moſt popular and leading men among them came to wait on the General, and gave him from time to time account of their matters, who encouraged them in their method of forming themſelves in companies, and continuing their weekly excerciſes of the handling their arms, whereof, ſo far as the government could not do it, they provided themſelves, ſo zealous they were for the cauſe.

In this poſture things ſtood in Scotland, when the Convention had formed their embaſſy to offer the Crown to their Majeſties, and reſolved to adjourn themſelves for ſome weeks, forming a comittee of eſtates for the adminiſtration of the government, untill their Majeſties should have accepted of the Crown, or that they ſhould ſitt again.

The General, as was touched above, finding not much preſent buſineſs to do in the ſouth, tho the government was not without apprehenſion of an invaſion from Ireland, and believing he might in a ſhort time fruſtrate the practices of Dundee in the north, which he had certainly effectuated, and ſo diſheart'ned the ennemys of the government at their very firſt undertakings, could he have carried along with him but 2000 good men: but his ſmall number, whereof, as afterwards appeared, a conſiderable part was traitors, together with the promiſſes of ſuccours from King James encouraged them; conſidering, I ſay, that his preſence was moſt neceſſary, where the firſt appearances of troubles did ſhew themſelves, left the command of Edinburgh to Brigadier Balfour, writing to Major General Laniere, that he judged his coming to Edinburgh, during his abſence in the north, for their Majeſties ſervice, went to Dunde, one of the chief touns of the province, called Angus, where he had ordered the rendezvous of his party, with which, tho but ſmall, he hoped to hinder the grouth of that of the diſaffected, and chaſe Dundee, if he durſt not venture in action with him, out of thoſe places where he expected moſt junction, and ſo at leaſt train things till the recruits and levies were pretty far advanced: Having joyned his party at Dunde,

compoſed of 120 Engliſh horſe, of the Lord Colcheſters regiment, four troops, of Sir Thomas Livingſtons regiment of dragoons, leaving the other troops at Dunde, with Lieutenant-Colonel Livingſton, to keep the province of Angus in awe, which was very diſaffected, and 200 of the three Dutch regiments, in all not exceeding 450 men, he marched to Brechin, where he halted that night, making a detachement of 50 foot, and as many dragoons, under command of his nepheu, Major Mackay, to Levingſton, ordering him to ſeize upon the Northwater bridge, the ordinary paſſage to Fettercairn, where he was to halt till nixt morning, taking ſpecial care he permitted none to paſs before him, and to fall into the village a little before or at the break of day, keeping the half of his party in body, and ranging the houſes with the reſt, in caſe, as the General had ſome intelligence, that Dundee with his party, might be lodged there that night, knowing nothing as yet of his motion northward, which had certainly fallen out, if a certain officer, as was ſuſpected, going to levie a company in the north, and had ſeen the General paſs the ferrie at Dunde, had not advertiſed the Lord Dundee thereof, as he was within eight miles to Fettercairn, where he deſigned to lodge that ſame night that the General ſent out Major Mackay to ſurpriſe his quarters, if he hapned to be there.

The ſecond day the General finding among the party of Engliſh horſe but 40 that could paſs the hills, left the Major, who was ſickly, with 80 horſe at Brechin, all ſore backed and in diſorder, and marched with the reſt of his party to Fettercairn, where, having underſtood from Major Mackay how Dundee, being advanced within 7 or 8 miles to that place, had turned another way, upon the news of his being abroad, but no certainty whether back again to the north, or whether he had taken the way up Strathdee, Brae-mar, and ſo into Glenſhee, by which way he could enter into the province of Angus again behind the General, which obliged him (notwithſtanding he was very impatient to be near him before he fortified his party) to make an halt at Fettercairn at the foot of the hills which ſeparate the ſouthern from the northern provinces of Scotland,

called in hiſtory the Grampian Hills, till he ſhould have certain notice what way Dundee had taken, and for that end diſpatched ſeveral poor countrymen, with money in hand, (and a promiſe of more at their return, with ſure intelligence), upon country horſes after him towards both the ways which he might have taken, who brought notice that Dundee, having underſtood the Generals motion, made a feint as if he paſſed by Brae-mar towards the ſouth into Angus, but that after ſome miles march he had turned doun towards Strathdone and Strathbogy, being the Duke of Gordons lands, which he, with the Earle of Dumfermling, married to the Dukes ſiſter, laboured to raiſe in rebellion.

Upon which advice the General marched over the hills, purſuing his way the whole night till he had paſt the river Dee at Kincardin, where he had certain news of the ennemy, (as we may henceforth call him), by an expreſs from the Maſter of Forbes, who nixt day met him with the matter of 40 gentlemen of his name on horſe, and about 5 or 600 country foot, who were ſo ill armed, and appeared ſo little like the work, that the General, thanking the Maſter for his appearance for their Majeſties ſervice, ordered him to diſmiſs thoſe countrymen, with orders to be ready to come together whenever any ennemy party threat'ned their oun province, deſiring the ſaid Maſter to beſtir himſelf as much as he could, and make as many friends for the government, with aſſurance of his effectuall recommendations to the King in his favour, which the Maſter alſo did obſerve very zealouſly, contributing all along, together with Sir George Gordon of Edinglaſſie, to keep two conſiderable and very diſaffected provinces in awe, under the obedience of their Majeſties government, whereof wee ſhall have occaſion to touch ſomething hereafter.

The General, being advanced the lenth of Strathbogy, got notice that Dundee had paſt Spey 12 miles from Strathbogy, whom, tho his party was much weakned, he reſolved to purſue hotly, to give him no time, either to draw to his party, by his cunning, ſuch as had not declared themſelves, or draw to thoſe plain countries the combined Highlanders, and to force thoſe that had no mind to it to take arms with them: nixt

day then, being on his march towards the river of Spey, a gentleman brought him a letter, writ by the Lord Dundee, from beſides Inuerneſs, ſignifying to the Magiſtrates of Elgin in Murray, a country open toun, ſix miles on the other ſide Spey, that he had met accidentally with one Colonel Macdonald, with 900 or 1000 briſk Highlanders, with whom he intended to meet Mackay, or return the chaſe upon him; and therefor deſired to make quarters for that number of foot beſides his horſe, for that he intended to be with them nixt day, that is to ſay, the ſame day the General got it, which letter, the Magiſtrates hearing of his approach, ſent him, being unwilling to receive a viſit from ſuch hungry gueſts, who kept at that time Inuerneſs blockt up, to force them to a compoſition, to which, being but an open country toun, they agreed, buying off the hazard of ane attack at the loſs of a little money.

The news of this unexpected junction of ſuch a party of Highlanders with Dundee, put the General at firſt to ſome nonplus what reſolution to take, for he conſidered that it would be matter of the laſt conſequence for their Majeſties ſervice, conſidering the ſmall number of forces at that time in the kingdom, if he ſhould happen to be beat. Of which advantage the ennemy would not fail to profit, becauſe the whole north, by fair or foul means, would declare for him, there being nothing, particularly in the north, to oppoſe them, if that ſmall handfull were routed: and on the other hand, the retiring ſouthward, yea, the halting at Spey would give time and occaſion to Dundee to render himſelf maſter of Inuerneſs, as well as of Elgin, with the provinces of Murray, Roſs and Caithneſs, which were moſtly affected to that party, beſide the affront and diſadvantage it would be to the government to be ſo early upon the defenſive. Those conſiderations then thus weighed, and the General relying upon ſome ſuccours out of the province of Sutherland, which he knew to be well affected to their Majeſties and the Proteſtant intereſt, as well as from the Lairds of Balnagown, chief of the Roſſes, and the Laird of Grant, both gentlemen of a conſiderable command of men, and well affected, reſolved to puſh forward, and inſtead of lodgeing, as he had determined

before he had received the foreſaid letter at Spey, to take his quarter that night at Elgin, where the inhabitants expected Dundee with his Highlanders, diſpatching an expreſs with orders to the Engliſh horſe, which he left at Brechin, to paſs the hills, and follow him in all poſſible diligence, being very well ſatiſfied to ſee his ſmall party ſo deſirous of action, that the 200 old foot he had with him kept the horſe and dragoons at the trott for ſeven miles betwixt Spey and Elgin, where he arrived with ſo much day, that he had time to view the ground, and poſt his guards in advantageous places, reſolving to halt there till the reſt of the horſe ſhould join him, diſpatching preſently well affected perſons of the country towards Inuerneſs, both to encourage the inhabitants to ſtand firm to the government, with aſſurance of ſpeedy relief, and to get news of the ennemy, ſending at the ſame time meſſengers to advertiſe the Earle of Sutherlands men, with thoſe of the Lord Rae, Balnagown and Grant, to be in readineſs to march with their beſt arms upon his firſt orders.

Mean time the General ſent orders to all the heritors of Murray to appear with their beſt horſes and arms after the uſual way, when they were called out for the Kings ſervice, but their appearance teſtified ſufficiently, that they were not ſo fond of the change as might be reaſonably expected of men ſo newly delivered from the greateſt of all evils, temporal and eternal ſlavery, the leaſt whereof was ſufficient to make the heathens venture all, rather than ſubmit to it. But Scotland was at this time ſufficiently prepared for the yoke, both by the popiſh deſign, for the introduction whereof the laws muſt needs be removed out of the way, which proved an obſtacle by the clergy, which, to favour ſuch deſigns, muſt be choſen, ſuch as would preach what might ſerve to the purpoſe, and by the miniſters of ſtate, particularly the ſecretaries, who follow cloſely (and refine at every change according to the capacity of the perſon) upon Lauderdales maxim of governing that kingdom by abſolute power, to which the Kings abſence, who can know nothing of the affairs thereof, but as they are repreſented unto him, no more than they would be repre-

ſented; but by his ſecretary giveth occaſion, and which can never be abſolutely remedied, tho the King or Queen in being, have no deſign but their peoples happineſs, being always neceſſarly abſent till there come ſuch a happy age as ſhall produce miniſters of ſtate, adminiſtrators of juſtice, men fearing God and hating covetouſneſs, or that Scotland be united with England, whereby their kings may have a clearer view of their matters, and the occaſion of men's oppreſſion to make up their own families be removed. But we ſhall leave this ſubject to the learned, only adding in general, that in all the progreſſes and marches of the General benorth Tay, he teſtified to have remarked no true ſence of the deliverance which God had ſent them, except in very few, and that the people in general were diſpoſed to ſubmit to, and embrace the party which they judged moſt like to carry it, their zeal for the preſervation of their goods going by them, far beyond the conſideration of religion and liberty, which he attributed to their groſs ignorance occaſioned by the negligence of their miniſters, as well as the large extent of their pariſhes, which made moſt of them come ſeldom to church, beſides, that the doctrine urged moſtly implicite obedience to the higher powers, without diſtinction or limitation, whether it was not more lawfull to obey God than men, when their commands meet in oppoſition, nor whether a prince can be called the higher power, without having the legiſlative as well as the executive part of the government in himſelf alone.

The General having got up his fourſcore Engliſh horſe, marched ſtraight towards Inuerneſs, diſpatching the Laird of Grant, who had joined him at Elgin, after he had been two days there, to his own country to have the men thereof in arms, in caſe he might have occaſion to call for him, and ordered the Lord Raes [ ] (he himſelf being a child) to ſend under two principall gentlemen thereof, 200 choſen men, and the Laird of Balnagown, an 100 to Inuerneſs proviſionally, till he ſaw how matters would diſpoſe themſelves: being then arrived at Forres, he got news that Dundee was retired into the Highlands from before Inuerneſs, not willing to hazard in action, ſo he continued his way thither, where he

met Balnagown with great proteſtations of his affection to the Proteſtant cauſe and their Majeſties government, which he alſo made appear thereafter, by his readineſs to comply with ſuch as commanded in thoſe northern parts their Majeſties forces, having then got into Inuerneſs, together with his own party, some 4 or 500 men of the forementioned families, which were only thoſe he could make ſtate upon. He ordered the paliſſading of all the avenues and entries with the principal ſtreets of the toun, and made a review of the inhabitants, which he found to be about 300 well armed and reſolved men for the defence of their toun: He ordered alſo the Lord Strathnaver and the Laird of Grant to levy their regiments, for which they had taken commiſſions, with all ſpeed, and to arm ſo many of them as they could, with ſuch arms as uſually Highlanders make use of, moſt of them being of that ſort of people. Mean time he ſummoned the chief heritors of the Earle of Seaforths family, which is conſiderable, as well as of the Lord Lovets, the former, called the Mackenzies, and thoſe latter the Frazers, to know how they were diſpoſed for the preſent government, to come to him to Inuerneſs, but found them partly diſaffected, and partly irreſolute and indifferent, and all of them more apparent to joyn againſt than with him; which the General conſidering, together with the weakneſs of his party, and judging that not only his reputation, but the intereſt of the ſervice would greatly ſuffer if he ſhould return ſouth without leaving that country in a more ſettled condition, he diſpatched an expreſs to Colonel Balfour, commanding in chief, the forces in the ſouth, ordering him to diſpatch Colonel Ramſay with 600 choſen men of the three Dutch regiments, (ſuppoſing them by that time pretty far advanced in their recruits) with officers conform, and for his more ſpeedy junction, ordered him to come the ſhorteſt cutt over Athole and Badenoch, in which latter country the General was to meet him, to ſecure his march in caſe Dundee, with the Lochaber men, ſhould form a deſign upon him in his march.

Balfour having received the General's orders, made the detachment under Colonel Ramſay, diſpatching him preſently forward, but by miſ-

fortune, or rather providence, whofe directions are above our reach, a fleet of Hollands herring bufhes appeared upon the coaft at the mouth of the Frith, the fame day Ramfay was buffie to pafs his detachement over from Leith to Bruntifland, which the government fuppofing to be a French invafion, being greatly alarmed, countermanded Ramfay, till they had difcovered the truth of the matter, which hindred him two or three days, and proved the occafion of all the difficulties and hazard for the fervice, wherewith the General had to wreftle with a fmall handfull of men for two or three months thereafter, mean time he laboured to have continual news of Dundee and the Highlanders.

A little before the General went to the north, happening in difcourfe with the Vifcount of Tarbat, touching the Highland combination, and willing to know what might be the true ground or motive thereof, was informed by the faid Vifcount, that it was neither the love of King James, nor hatred of King William, which moved them to it, or at leaft fome of the wifeft of them, as Lochiel Chief of the Camerons, whofe cunning engaged others, who were not fo much intereffed in his quarrel, but that it was out of the apprehenfion of the Earle of Argyles appearant reftauration and favour, whofe predeceffors, during their greatnefs, had always quarrels with almoft all the families of the Macdonalds, to the extirpation and ruin of a great many of them, and becaufe Lochiel had fome of the late Earle of Argyles lands, which were forfeited in the reign of King Charles, by a gift of King James in poffeffion, and that feverals of thofe combined Highlanders did hold their lands of the Earle, thefe were the moft apparent occafions of the Highland combination at firft; tho after their junction with Dundee, being fupported with the hopes of an invafion out of Ireland, and more by the devifions which fhortly fhewed themfelves in Parliament, fpliting the party which appeared the moft zealous at firft for their Majefties government, upon the account of the feffion, whether out of tendernefs for the common intereft of the fubject, or felf-defign, I leave it there, the fubfequent behaviour of that called the country party, making the latter seem the more probable, it was pre-

tended for King James, but certain it is, that it may be eaſily demonſtrated, that the Court party (as it was called) drove their oun more than the court intereſt, as happily, we ſhall have occaſion to touch in the following relation: ſo that, on all ſides, ſelf-intereſt lay at the bottom.

The ſaid Viſcount of Tarbat propoſed to the General a way which ſeemed to him likely enough to ſatisfy the Highlanders, ſo as that they ſhould not trouble their Majeſties government, viz. that the King ſhould pay of all Argyles pretenſions, not ſurpaſſing, as he affirmed, L.5000 Sterling, excepting Macklean, for which, if the reſt were brought off a medium might be found alſo upon the foot, that the late Earle of Argyle had formerly condeſcended; which propoſition the General liked ſo well, that he wrote of it to the Earle of Portland, from whom he alſo received an anſuer ſignifying, that the King was well pleaſed with the overture, and that the Viſcount of Tarbat ſhould ſee to get it adjuſted: which letter, with one of his oun, the General ſent to the ſaid Viſcount, having received it upon his march to the north, but, as he was informed afterward, inſtead of imploying Tarbat in that tranſaction with the Highlanders, touching Argyles pretenſions, the government pitched upon the Laird of Calder, a Campbell to his name, and kinſman to the Earle of Argyle, in whom the Highlanders concerned, could not be ſuppoſed to repoſe ſo much truſt, nor did his behaviour in after times, teſtify much that he meant very ſincerely with the government, tho a privy counſellor. However, the General, during his abode in the North, having known the Kings mind as to the Viſcount of Tarbats propoſition, wrote to Lochiel at two ſeveral times, but had no return, notwithſtanding that he propoſed fairly to him under the preſent government; he wrote alſo to a gentleman, chief of one of the families of the Macdonalds, called Glengary, who returned him a civil anſuer, but inſtead of hearkning to his propoſitions, propoſed to him the example of General Monck to imitate, who reſtored King Charles: which broke clearly off all further thoughts and endeavours of accommodation by the General.

Dundee, as was touched above, being retired upon the Generals motion

from Elgin towards Inuerness into the Highlands, after he had conſulted with ſome of the chiefs of the Highland clans, and draun aſſurances by letters from ſuch as lay at further diſtance of their adherence to him and King James intereſt, having given them a time and place of rendezvous, paſſed with his horſe at that time to the number of fourſcore thorough the heights or braes of Badenoch into Athole, where he was friendly received by the gentlemen of that country, particularly by the Marquiſis baillie, or ſteward of his lands, called Stuart of Balleachan ; from whence he marched to Perth, where he ſurpriſed the Laird of Blair, captain of horſe, with his lieutenant, and two other foot officers, which he carried priſoners in all his marches for the matter of ſix weeks thereafter, ſending them afterward to the Iſle of Mull, where Blair, a gentleman of good conſideration and zealous for the preſent government, after a great deal of ill and barbarous uſage, died.

Dundee having ranged ſome days through the province of Angus and Perth, (both very ill affected,) and got the number of his horſe augmented, which was his principal errand there, and braved two troops of Levingſtons dragoons, left at Dunde under the lieutenant-colonel thereof, by which occaſion he ſhewed, that he was either a traitor or a coward ; for notwithſtanding, he was at leaſt as ſtrong as Dundee, and his horſe in better caſe, he did not budge out of the toun ; after, I ſay, Dundee had paſt ſome four days to fortify his body of horſe with ſome gentlemen, and their ſervants which joined him, he retired into the Highlands by the ſame way he came, which made the General conclude that Athole play'd foul play, and falſified his engagement at their parting to him : Therefor conſidering his country henceforeward as ennemys, he diſpatched ſeveral expreſſes to meet Ramſay with direction how to order his march, according as he ſhould be informed of Dundees motion, judging, according to his intelligence, that if Ramſay ſhould follow his orders, ſo as to have marched immediately after Balfour had received command to detach him, he might eaſily paſs all hazard of being intercepted by Dundee, before he could have aſſembled a ſufficient party to dare undertake it : and for the men of

Athole, beſides that they had not openly declared themselves as yet, the Marquis with his eldeſt ſon being at Edinburgh. The General judged Ramſays party, ſuch as he had ordered it, ſufficient to ſecure their paſſage through that country, but being ſtopped (as was touched above) upon the alarm of the Hollands fiſhers two or three days, and the Generals meſſengers party being returned back for fear of the Atholemen, and the laſt of them being intercepted by the forementioned Stuart of Balleachan, kept priſoner in the Marquiſis houſe three days, and the Generals letter ſent to Dundee; Ramſay, after he had advanced within twelve miles of the place where the General had promiſed to meet him with his party to ſecure their junction, ſeeing the men of Athole in arms as he marched through their country, tho they attempted nothing upon him, who magnified extremely Dundees Highland forces, which they affirmed, tho falſly, were betwixt him and the General, from whom he received no late advertiſement; withall being altogether a ſtranger to the Highlanders and their numbers, believed them to be really ſo formidable, that it ſhould be no prudence in him, and as little ſafety to the ſervice to hazard that party, and ſo returned with all diligence again to Perth. But the morning before his reſolution of returning, he diſpatched an express to the General, giving account of his being advanced ſo far, and his intention to lodge at Ruthven in Badenoch, where the General had placed a gariſon of countrymen: The following night which expreſs coming to Inuerneſs, on Saturday night at even, the General having ordered proviſions only for two days for his party, and leaving ſome three or four hundred countrymen, under command of Balnagown, whoſe men they were moſtly, for the guard of Inuerneſs, marched out Sunday morning early with about 100 Engliſh horſe, 140 dragoons, at moſt 200 old foot, and 200 Highlanders of the Lord Raes and Balnagowns men, in all about 640 men, having ſent orders to the Lord Strathnaver to repair ſpeedily to Inuerneſs with all the ready men he had, as well as to the gentlemen of the Lord Raes family, to bring thither 200 men more of their beſt armed, which was punctually and ſpeedily obeyed, and ſo after he had taken care

for the ſecurity of Inuerneſs, which he judged of great importance for the ſervice, as much as his preſent bad enough circumſtances would allow, he purſued his way with all diligence to meet with Ramſay, and ſecure their junction at all hazards, notwithſtanding he had dayly intelligence out of Lochaber, and could not learn as yet that Dundee had got any conſiderable number beſides his horſe together, not willing to ſpare any pains or neglect the reaſonable methods of ſecuring the ſervice, as well as, becauſe he could not make uſe for intelligence but of ſuch as knew the Highlanders, and who might appear among them without ſuſpicion, and by conſequence Highlanders, whom he durſt not throughly truſt.

Dundee, having received by an expreſs from the Marquiſs of Atholes ſteward the Generals letters and directions to Ramſay, as well as intelligence that Ramſay was to be in Badenoch upon ſuch a day, made what diligence he could to get a body of Highlanders, foot, joined to his horſe capable to enterpriſe upon his party, (for at that time the Highlanders had more reſpect for our men than ſome few months thereafter,) marched out of Lochaber upon Saturday, at night, and entered into the braes of Badenoch, 12 miles above Ruthven, upon Sunday morning, with about 2000 men, which encreaſed ſhortly after to 1000 more, by which calculation of time we ſee, that if Ramſay had knoun the country himſelf, or had had knowing men with him, in whom he could repoſe truſt, he might have been at Inuerneſs before Dundee entered Badenoch, for upon Saturday night he might have lodged at Ruthven; and if the ennemy had approached him in Badenoch, he had a ſure retreat to the Laird of Grant's country, whom the General had a little before ordered to leave his men together to the number of 7 or 800 for the ſame purpoſe, but the interception of the Generals letters, wherein he had given him all neceſſary directions, occaſioned the miſtake, ſo that inſtead of Ramſay with his party, which he expected to meet with that day infallibly, the General, being advanced half way to Badenoch, met an expreſs from the Commander of the Caſtle of Ruthven, with advertiſement of Ramſay's return, and Dundee's entry into Badenoch, 10 or 12 miles above the ſaid caſtle; whereupon,

coming to a halt, he conſidered the conſequence, which naturally might be expected from his preſent circumſtances, for he concluded the Marquis of Athole, with his people, ennemies to the government, and looked upon that country as ready to join with Dundee; he expected no leſs of the Lord Lovets men, he himſelf being the Marquiſis ſon-in-law, depending wholly on his advice; he looked upon the Earle of Seaforths country and friends as ſlaves to their proper intereſt, ready to join with and obey the ſtrongeſt, and that the men of Badenoch would follow the ſame meaſures with thoſe of Athole. He conſidered that the loſs of Inuerneſs, which had for gariſſon but a few undiſciplined Highlanders, to be a great advantage to the ennemy; and, on the other hand, if he ſhould return back to ſecure it, that Dundee would form ſuch a party in the Duke of Gordons country, as well as in all the counties of Murray, Banff, Aberdeen, Merns, Angus, and Perth, as ſhould not only be too formidable for all the forces deſigned in Scotland, but would preſently cutt of all communication betwixt him and the ſouth, from whence he could alone expect to be ſuccoured, ſo that of two poſſible evils he choſe the laſt and leaſt apparent, and having diſpatched expreſſes to Inuerneſs, aſſuring them, that if the ennemy ſhould turn head that way they might freely expect him in his rear, exhorting them in ſuch a caſe to a vigorous defence; as alſo to the Lord Strathnaver and the Lord Raes family to haſt up thither the ſuccours he had ordered. He changed his march, and falling to the left hand toward the Laird of Grants country, (who was preſent with him), called Strathſpey, marched the reſt of that day, and the whole enſuing night, to gain betwixt Dundee and the Duke of Gordons country, which was his neareſt help, to cover the Laird of Grants intereſt, which lay nixt to the place where the ennemy lay for the time, it being a neceſſary maxim in the war for ſuch as would gain and keep friends never to abandon them without neceſſity. To gain betwixt Dundee and the ſouth, to be maſter as well of the retreat in caſe of neceſſity as of the neceſſary ſuccours, and to ſee if, by ſuch a ſpeedy and unexpected motion, he might happily meet with a favourable occaſion to fall upon Dundees party in diſorder and

ſtragling, to which that ſort of people are very ſubject; but ſo it was, that after a continued march of 24 hours, whereby he gained the plains of Strathſpey, betwixt Dundee and the low country, and willing in the beginning of the war to try his fortune, not judging he hazarded much, being ſtronger than his ennemy in horſe, believing at that time his dragoons firm and reſolute for the ſervice, and ſo judging himſelf in ſuch plain ground maſter of his retreat at the worſt, he marched with all poſſible diligence and ſecrecy till he came within a mile and a half of Dundees camp, but found he lay round about with a wood, and a mariſh within the wood, as in a double trench, whereby he ſaw there was nothing to be done that way, but becauſe his foot was extremely weary and ſleepy, he advanced near a paſs, within a mile of the ennemy, and there halted from four till ten in the morning, at which time, having put his party under arms, he marched to the paſs to obſerve the countenance of the ennemy, and to ſee if he would ſhow himſelf, but in vain; for the General was informed by ſome of their own number afterwards, that notwithſtanding of that advantage of their camp, upon the firſt alarm of his approach, Lochiel retired about four miles to the hills, from his camp, with all the foot, and with ſuch precipitation, that it looked more like a chaſe than a retreat, which doth juſtify the Generals thoughts of trying to ſurpriſe them, which he had certainly done were the ground ſuch that he could have come in ſight of them. Having then ſtayed at the foreſaid paſs till towards four of the clock in the afternoon, he judged, both for want of proviſions and forage, and that he could not lodge ſecurely near an ennemy of that kind, whoſe advantage is that with which men uſually ſecure their camps, as woods, mariſhes, and rough ground, withall, being ſo very unequall in number, that he ought to retire from them further, and ſo, having informed himſelf of the Laird of Grant, marched that night about four miles doun the country, from whence he wrote to the government of his preſent bad circumſtances, wherewith he charged principally the Marquis of Athole, concluding that his countrymen durſt not behave as they had done, both in the friendly reception of, and the free paſſage and aſſurance of aſſiſtance to Dundee, with

the interception of his expreſs and orders to Ramſay, whom they had diſcouraged by their falſe news, without the Marquis connivance, not ſparing at the ſame time the Viſcount of Tarbat, who, both at London and Edinburgh, had promiſed great matters of his credit in the county of Roſs, eſpecially with the name of Mackenzie, who can arm 1500 men, tho not of the moſt reſolute ſort, yea, aſſuring the General, that tho the Earle of Seaforth, (who was with King James, and papiſt), ſhould come to his own country, and among his friends, he, the ſaid Viſcount, would overturn in eight days more than the Earle could advance in ſix weeks; whereby the General, finding at his coming north the diſaffection of the Mackenzies, judged eaſily that the Viſcount was not a friend, if not an ennemy to the government, to whom he repreſented him alſo for ſuch. Whereupon the government ſecured him as they would have done Athole, had he not gone to England, where the King, upon the Generals letter ſent up by Duke Hamilton, cauſed arreſt him, and Tarbat being ſet at liberty upon the writing a letter to his friends the gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie, retired secretly into England and to London, where he found protection by his couſin-german, the Lord Melvill, ſole ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, who from that time forth, together with Tarbat, determined to loſe the General, as by the following relation ſhall appear, tho with him ſhould be loſt at the ſame time the Kings ſervice, which has very near proved the effect of their malice. Whether deſigned ſo or not, betwixt them and God be it, who, to his name be the glory, gave their Majeſties arms, entruſted to the General, ſucceſs, ſuitable to the juſtice of the cauſe, and the diſintereſted zeal and unwearied endeavour wherewith he laboured to advance it, yea, far beyond what he could reaſonably have propoſed to himſelf, conſidering the difficulties he had to wreſtle with, not only from the ennemy, but much more from the government, and ſuch as the King entruſted and benefited, (if it may be ſaid), only with the directions and advantages thereof.

The General, (to return to our relation), diſpatched orders to the regiments of Barclays dragoons and Leſlies foot, (who lay at Forfar and Cow-

per, in the county of Angus, being ordered doun to Scotland upon a letter from him as he went to the north to Sr John Laniere, when the new levies, by the reasons above mentioned, did not ſucceed ſo very well,) to march out of their preſent quarters to the north, by the road of Cairnmonth, purſuing their way by the root he marked to them, till they should receive his further orders, being as yet uncertain where he ſhould have occaſion to join, ſince he judged himſelf upon the defenſive, and ſo obliged to regulate matters according to the ennemys meaſures. The orders for the march of thoſe regiments he ſent for diſpatch ſake, becauſe the affair preſt, by one of the Laird of Grants tennents, recommended for a very truſty man, a Highlander, who was accuſtomed to trade in Strathdee and Braemar, where he was to paſs as the ſhorteſt way, and was not therefor judged ſuſpect to thoſe people, who, ſince the Earle of Mars death, favoured the rebells. But, to be ſure, he ſent other meſſengers every day by another road, and advertiſed the Maſter of Forbes and Sir George Gordon of Edinglaſſie, to get together all the armed men they could, in caſe he were ſpeedily obliged to retire before the ennemy, who increaſed in number dayly by the junction of ſuch as would lay hold upon the occaſion to robb and plunder, which Dundee was forced to give way to, if he would keep ſuch a rabble together. Having diſpatched thoſe orders and letters, and informed himſelf of the moſt ſecure and convenient poſt in the Laird of Grants country, having regard to the ſecurity of his party, as well as means of forage for his horſe, and proviſions for the men, a ſummer duelling of Grants, where there were ſome meadows and fields of corn proper for the nature of the party, whoſe ſtrenth was moſt in horſe, was pitched upon, whither he marched; the Laird of Grant furniſhing him with ſome oat-meal and ſheep for the men, with oats for the horſe, who found little or nothing in the field, which made the Engliſh horſe quickly loſe their bellies and become uſeleſs many of them, and ſeverals of them died in that camp by ſcarcity of forrage, and extraordinary cold weather, tho pretty far advanced in May. But the officers and men of that detachement of Colcheſters regiment never repined, tho ſeveral times, during a month, that that chicane with

Dundee laſted, reduced to great wants of proviſions and forage, notwithſtanding the General took all the care poſſible to have it out of Murray and other places, who having poſted himſelf at the foreſaid ſummer duelling of the Laird of Grants, engaged of ſuch truſty countrymen, as he recommended to him, 10 or 12 to be always coming and going toward the ennemy, who camped about five or ſix miles above him, upon the ſame river, being reſolved to ſtay there till the ennemy drew nearer, who, ſeeing our party making mine to expect him, might happily take it to conſideration, and expect the junction of more of his aſſociates, before he would venture upon our poſt, which was advantagious for horſe, whereby our ſuccours, ordered north by the General, would have the more time to draw near; for as yet he believed not the general report, that Levingſtons dragoons were ill affected to the ſervice; where, for mark of his truſt to them, he ſent ſome days before, order to Lieutenant Colonel Levingſton to repair to the north with the two troops of the ſaid regiment which was left with him at Dunde, and joined the party at his poſt called Colmnakill, which was ſo covered behind with the river of Spey, and before with woods and mariſhes, with a little river to the right very rough and ſtony; within which avenues there was a pretty ſpacious plain proper, as the General judged, for his horſe to gallop through thoſe Highland foot, who apprehend nothing ſo much as horſe in the midſt of this plain. Grant had as much houſing as could cover our foot. The General kept the whole party by their arms, and the horſe ſaddled and bridled in the night time, beſides ſmall guards of horſe and dragoons, for adverti ſement, pretty far advanced in the woods, and foot along the little river which covered his quarter to the right, ſo that he could not be ſurpriſed, tho' his ſpies ſhould not ſerve him faithfully, whereof ſome came in every two hours at leaſt. Beſide thoſe advantages of this poſt we had a ſafe retreat down the river, in caſe the General might judge that the ſureſt for the ſervice. Two days after the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel Livingſton by the party, two deſerters came into our quarter from Dundee, who being brought to the General, he examined them, demanding

why they had left Dundee, for one of them had been a ſerjant in Wachop's regiment in England, and deſerted after Sir David Collier was made Colonel of it, carrying three more with him, which made the General ſuſpect him the more, telling him he lookt on him as sent from Dundee to ſpy his camp, and that he ſhould be treated accordingly, if he would not give a better account of himſelf. Whereat the fellow deſired to ſpeak with him alone; ſo all officers being commanded out of the room, except Sir Thomas Livingſton, he told the General that he was betrayed by his own men, and being aſked who they were, he named Lieutenant-Colonel Livingſton, Captain Murray, Livingſton, Crighton, and ſeveral others, few excepted, (but the Colonel, the Major, and Captain Balfour,) of all the dragoon officers, who were not actually in the plott, or had leſs or more communication of it. And being further enquired what proofs he had of theſe aſſertions; he anſwered, (as did alſo his comrade) that beſide that Dundee uſually aſſured his Highland Chiefs of Clans, that he was ſure of the dragoons, but that it was not yet time to call them, being more uſeful to him where they were; that he ſaw him read letters from his Lady to the ſame purpoſe, naming particularly the forementioned officers, together with one Lieutenant Murray of the ſame regiment, a young debauched fellow, but one of the activeſt inſtruments in that plot.

Whereupon the General, having heard all they had to ſay, told them he would ſend them to the Laird of Grants houſe of Bala Caſtle (where garriſon was kept) to be kept in civil impriſonment, and well entertained, till he ſhould have occaſion to diſcover the truth of the matter, with aſſurance of recompence, if their intelligence were found true, and exemplar puniſhment in caſe it ſhould be diſcovered that they were ſent by Dundee of purpoſe to make the dragoons ſuſpect, and conſequently uſeleſs to him; whereat they appeared to be well ſatisfied; which made the General believe the more what they had atteſted; withall they appealed to the Lairds of Blair and Pollock, the Captain and Lieutenant of horſe which Dundee had ſurpriſed at St. Johnſtoun a little before, then priſoners in his camp, with whoſe communication they had left Dundee

to carry over that intelligence, left we ſhould venture in action with ſo ſmall a party, whereof ſuch a conſiderable part were traitors.

The priſoners being removed to Bala Caſtle, the General conſulted Sir Thomas Livingſton concerning his regiment, who told him that he did not believe the dragoons knew any thing of the plot, except it were very few; but he himſelf did begin to ſuſpect the behaviour of the forenamed officers, particularly after the Lieutenant-Colonels junction with the two troops, for that they were uſually ſerious together; but that always upon his appearance near them, the matter, whatever it might be, was huſhed up, which fortified the General in the opinion they were rogues; however, he reſolved to ſtay in his camp till the enemy drew nearer, upon the following reaſons, that every day which he ſtay'd there was gain'd to him, becauſe it drew nearer the expected ſuccour which he had ordered, and loſt to Dundee, becauſe it hindered his communication with thoſe places whereout of he expected his ſpeedieſt and beſt reinforcement, particularly in horſe, which he wanted moſt, and that he judged, if he ſhould preſently retire, that he muſt needs be obliged to repaſs the hills before the two forementioned regiments could join him, and ſo leave all the north to Dundee, where he would preſently have ſuch a party, both of horſe and foot, as ſhould not only be too formidable for any renforce expected at that time, but alſo for any thing he could put together in the nation againſt him, conſidering the diverſion which the Caſtle of Edinburgh, the securing that of Stirling, the guarding of the government at Edinburgh, and the apprehenſions both of a landing from Ireland, and a riſing upon the borders, occaſioned. Theſe reaſons then conſidered, the General reſolved to ſtay in the poſt, after communication and advice of Sir Thomas Livingſton, Lieutenant-Colonel Buchan, who commanded the detachment of foot he had from the three Dutch regiments, and the Laird of Grant, who had been uſeful to him, both as to the helping him to faithfull intelligencers and meſſengers, as alſo, with ſome proviſions and oats for the horſes at firſt, till it was got out of Murray by the Generals peremptory orders, which they durſt not refuſe, not knowing how matters would go.

At this time Dundee blockt by a detachment from his Highland army, which was judged now about 3000 men, the old caſtle of Ruthven in Badenoch, where the Engliſh kept a garriſon all the time they were in Scotland, and where the General at his firſt arrival at Inuerneſs had placed one John Forbes, brother to Colodin, Captain in the regiment which Grant was to levy, a reſolute briſk young man, and very well affected to the intereſt, with about 60 men of Grants Highlanders; whom Dundee knowing to want proviſions, by a letter of his which he intercepted, ſurpriſed him in that condition; for ſuch as had the charge to furniſh him neglected it too long, and he being a young ſouldier did not think of the nixt beſt remedy, viz. to take from the inhabitants, when the ſecurity of his poſt did abſolutely require it. This gentleman, having no ſubſiſtance, was forced to render the houſe which Dundee burnt, but capitulated for his own and his garriſon's liberty, and having been carried through Dundees camp, did ſee their horſes ſaddled, and all preparing for a march, and being licentiated he met upon the way to our poſt, and a mile from the ennemys camp, two men on horſeback, the one clothed in blue, and the other in red, whereof he in blue challenged Captain Forbes in French with a "*Qui vive*," who returning "*Vive le Roy Guilleaume;*" the other ſaid he had preſently been commanded out of our poſt to get news of the ennemy, and notwithſtanding, Forbes told him he would run hazard of being caught by Dundees men, he nevertheleſs purſued on his way; whereof the Captain having informed the General at his arrival by him as he was at dinner, he preſently cauſed make inquiry who had ſent any horſe or dragoons abroad, and if they wanted any of their number clothed blue, perſuading himſelf it was with intelligence from the officers of dragoons to Dundee; for he had given no order for ſending out any for intelligence; for beſide, that the Engliſh horſe were much ruined, ſo that they could not make parties, they were ſtrangers in the country, and the dragoons he truſted no more; ſo that he relayed moſtly upon Grants men as to information of the enemy.

Preſently upon this advice, ſome of the ſpies coming in, gave notice that

the ennemy was in motion towards us; whereupon the General called for the commanding officers, ordering them to put their men under arms, and to draw out upon the plain, calling the Laird of Grant to him; to whom he ſaid, that it was with regret he left his country expoſed to the ravage of the rebells, which neverthelefs he hoped ſhould be but for a very few days, and therefor willed him to cauſe his tenents remove their cattle doun the country out of the ennemys way, who, in all appearance being encouraged by his retreat, would follow upon his rear, by which means his people, for the greater part, might happen to eſcape good cheap. To which Grant replyed, that, tho all his intereſt ſhould be loſt thereby, he would not wiſh him to make one ſtep to the prejudice of their Majeſties service.

The General did not judge it as yet expedient to diſcover any thing of his jealouſy of the dragoons; therefor, becauſe he uſually made them march in the front and rear of his party, he continued the ſame order, only he put the Majors and Captain Balfours companies behind, and the Colonels with the other four companies in the front, that his preſence might overawe the ill affected officers. He placed nixt the two troops of dragoons the 200 foot of the three Dutch regiments, moſt of them grenadiers; next to them the Engliſh horſe, scarcely 70 ſtrong at this time; and betwixt them and Sir Thomas Livingſton, who led the march, 200 briſk Highlanders of the Lord Raes and Balnagowns men, and diſmiſſed what men of Grants were together, to the end they might do their beſt to defend their houſes againſt ſtragglers of the ennemy, and remove their cattle out of their way, ſince he was not in a condition to protect them; and continuing in order, as above, till it was obſcure with the night, began his march when he knew that the ennemy was within three ſhort miles of him, who, by this means, could not readily know the certainty of his retreat that night no more than the way he retired by, becauſe he had three ways to avoid engagement; one towards Inuerneſs, which Dundee, not knowing his reaſons, might readily belive his likelieſt way; the ſecond, which was the neareſt to join the ſuccours by twelve

miles through Strathdown and Glenlivet, by which, if Dundee had underſtood the country and his trade to have informed himſelf exactly thereof, he might have gained betwixt our party and the regiments which we expected from the ſouth, and put the General to a hard pull; who, tho he perceived the feaſability of ſuch a fachious accident, durſt not reſolve to march through an ennemys country all Papiſts, with an ennemy four times his number in his rear; beſides that the foreſaid way was very diſadvantagious for horſe, in caſe of the ennemys approach; ſo committing to the providence of God, (againſt whom there is no wiſdom, nor underſtanding, nor conncell can ſucceed), he took his way doun the river with hungry horſe and men, tho reſolute, particularly Colcheſter's horſe and the 200 fuſileers upon whom he relied moſt, and marching by a gentlemans houſe called Grant of Ballandalach, who was with Dundee, made no halt till he came to a place called Balvany, where he was forced to ſettle himſelf till he ſhould gett ſome bread for his men and oats for the horſe; where, having met with Sir George Gordon of Edinglaſſie with the country foot, he furniſhed him with men to ſend out for intelligence, of whom he diſpatched ſome by the way he came, and others by the way where he apprehended that Dundee would labour to cut betwixt him and his ſuccours; who came in nixt morning with news that he had not quitt Strathſpey as yet. Whereat the General being very well ſatiſfied, ſent neverthelefs preſently again others out the ſame way, and ordered a party of 12 dragoons to be ſent out by the way he had marched off, being in the greateſt impatience in the world to have in ſome proviſions and oats, which came at laſt about five of the clock at night. But the General ſeeing none of thoſe he had ſent out in the morning return, notwithſtanding both officers and ſouldiers grumbled, he would not ſtay till they had given their horſe corn, and till the ſouldiers had got ſome bread baked. He marched the party off in the ſame order he had done the day before; and having paſt a little river, the matter of a mile above the place he camped in, by that time he had marched about an halfmile on the other side, Sir Thomas Livingſton, who happened to be a little

behind, diſcovered the ennemy on the other ſide, that is, the ſide we lodged on before, and marching ſtraight to the ſame ground we came from, and to the foord where we paſt. The General having ordered Lieutenant Colonel Livingſton to continue a good pace, who then happened to be the firſt officer at the head, galloped back to the place from whence they diſcovered the ennemy; and having diſpatched Sir Thomas Livingſton to lead the party, with orders to continue a conſtant pace, ſuch as ſhould neither weary the ſouldiers nor loſe time, he placed himſelf with about 50 or 60 horſe and dragoons upon an height in view of the ennemy with his nephew, major to Levingſton, and the Maſter of Forbes, who joined him there with about 50 horſe; which the ennemy perceiving, came to a halt to gather up their ſtraglers, and form themſelves in battalions, or rather by clans. Mean time the General detached his nephew to a hill which lay to his left, about a quarter of a mile, from whence being towards the ennemys flank as they ſhould paſs the river, he could get a nearer and a more juſt view of their force; but ſeeing the ennemy deſign to act betwixt him and Major Mackay, he called him preſently back again. The ennemy having got up their men, paſt the river firſt with their horſe, which we judged at diſtance about 150, who imbattelled themſelves to cover and favoriſe the paſſage of their foot, which alſo they imbattelled as they paſt, and ſo their baggage. Mean time the General perceived them to begin to ſet foreward after ſunſet, and judging now his party about two miles in head, he turned his horſes head, ſaying to the officers which were with him, 'tis long enough ſtayd here, 'tis better to ſtep, then gallop off. But Major Mackay being intent upon the motion of the ennemy, and not hearing the General order to march off, ſtaid there behind a little, wherein he failed very little of being intercepted, and marching after at a good rate, he eſpied a party of 12 horſe, which appeared more becauſe of the twilight, to the Generals left along the face of an hill, which ſuppoſing of Dundees horſe, made him cry halt, to advertiſe the General: Who turning about, and ſeeing his nephew galloping after him, judged he had ſome of the ennemy in his

croop, which obliged him to ſend orders after the party to make Colcheſter's detachment halt in the firſt plain ſpot of ground, ordering the reſt to continue their march, being very ill pleaſed with his nephew for ſtaying behind him, whereby, if the ennemy were undertaking, he might happen to engage him mal-a-propos; but the horſe which alarmed the Major was the serjant with 12 dragoons of Livingſtons regiment, which were ſent out in the morning for intelligence, and who, hapning to be the Lieutenant-Colonels serjant, and concerned in the plot, deſigned to bring the ennemy upon us in our quarters, as it was afterwards diſcovered, the ſame being the man in blue which Captain Forbes had met within a mile of Dundees camp, the day the General marched off, which as yet was not known, ſo that the fellow pretended to have run great hazard of the ennemy, and to have marched far about to be free of them.

Sir Thomas Livingſton, then having got the alarm that the General was engaged, drew up all the party in order to wait for orders, which he preſently ordered to march, being diſſatiſfied at the halt: but no man could find out the author of the alarm; ſo continuing his march till he had paſt the River of Bogie, where he was neceſſitate to come to an halt at four of the clock in the morning, neither horſe nor foot being able to march farther; there he cauſed diſtribute the oats and oat meal, which had been got up in the former camp, and did let the horſe feed upon a ſpot of corn in the mens hands. Mean time he received news to his great ſatiſfaction, that Barclay and Leſly would join him that day, ſo to play ſure game, after two hours reſt, he marched three miles further toward his ſuccours, putting a very ill paſs betwixt him and Dundee, and poſted himſelf at the foot of an hill called Suy Hill, upon the common road from the ſouth to the north, over which he expected the foreſaid two regiments, and from whence he could diſcover two miles to all hands and ways by which the ennemy could approach him, who all this while knew nothing of the reinforcement he expected, contrary to the Generals apprehenſion, who judged, by reaſon, that all the countries by which they paſt, were affected to the ennemys party; he could not be ignorant of thoſe regi-

ments march northward. But God, who over-rules all the actions of the creatures, preſerved ſingularly that ſmall handful of men beyond all expectation, conſidering the ſtrenth of the ennemy, and that of 600, 200 (in which conſiſted our greateſt advantage were they truſty to the ſervice) were to be conſidered as ennemys: For, in the firſt place, had Dundee accepted of it, the General had engaged in action with him in all appearance, the firſt day he came near, having then opinion of the dragoons that they would fight, as happily he had done, had Dundee attacked him at Culnakeill before the ſpies diſcovered the plot of the dragoons to him; in which caſe he had certainly, without a miracle, been beat, which would be naturally of ſad conſequence to the government; for all benorth Tay (which is far the more formidable half of Scotland as to the war, except a few families which would be forced to follow the ſame meaſures, or be ruined, beſide all the borders on both ſides) would declare for King James, if afterward Dundee had got intelligence of the march of Barclay and Leſly, as the General apprehended, and had immediately, upon the aſſurance he had of our officers of dragoons, marched the ſhorteſt way along the foot of the hills toward Cromar and Bognie, he could not fail either of beating Leſly or Barclay, who lodged four miles diſtant from each other Monday night, or both happily, or tho he had no knowledge of their march, or proſpect of beating up their quarters, it was abſolutely his game being ſo much ſuperior in force, having intelligence with a conſiderable part of ours, the neighbouring hills for ſure retreat in all caſes, and being favoured of the country; I ſay, conſidering thoſe advantages, it was abſolutely his part and true maxim to get betwixt the General and the ſouth, it being eaſily conjectured, that if there were any forces in the kingdom, he would order ſome to his ſuccour, and his very motion ſouthward might teach ſo much to a cunning ennemy, beſide that the cutting the Generals communication with the government and the principal force of the kingdom, could not but be of notable conſequence and advantage to Dundee, and diſadvantage to the government, whereby we may ſee the hand of providence very viſible in this eſcape of ſo inconſiderable a party, whoſe

defeat at that time would naturally draw difficulties upon the government not eaſily to be redreſſed, by the reaſons above mentioned, as well as the diviſions which already began to diſcover themſelves in that very party which carried the convention in favour of their Majeſties government, whereby we ſhould learn to be modeſt when it pleaſeth God to bleſs the ſervice in our hands, which the moſt experienced and clear ſighted in their profeſſion will have reaſon to do, if they examine impartially themſelves, either as to their judgement, diligence and reſolution, wherein they ſhall find enough to humble them in themſelves, and move them to give the glory to God; beſide, that if we project and deſign any thing which the iſſue doth juſtify as advantageous to the intereſt we ſerve, we ought to attribute the deſign, as well as the favourable ſucceſs thereof to God, in whom all his creatures do live, move and have their being, and whoſe gift it is when men have the ſpirit of their calling, is, as we ſee by the example of Saul, David and others, to whom God gave ſpirit conform to the dignity he called them to, a double bleſſing, when it is given in the fear of the Lord, and continuall dependance upon his fatherly goodneſs to inſtruct and ſtrenthen us in our profeſſion, ſo as denying all ſelf and private regards, to carry on the ſervice wherewith we are intruſted with Chriſtian ſincerity, and unwearied zeall and diligence according to the apoſtle, ſerving our Maſters not with eye ſervice, but as the ſervice of Chriſt, doing the will of God from the heart.

The General being come to the foot of Suy Hill, where he expected that day the junction of Barclay and Leſly, and was out of all hazard of being engaged or cut from his expected ſuccours by Dundee, he let his party repoſe, tho not much refreſh themſelves, having little or no proviſions; wherefor he ſent to the Lord Forbeſ's houſe, two miles off, to ſee if any bread could be had, or quickly baked of oat meal, to ſupply his hungry ſoldiers, the horſe getting ſomething now in the fields to pick at, where order was given to prepare ſome bread; but the Generals ſpeedy march that night towards Dundee diſapointed us of that ſupply. Barclay being arrived at 12 o'clock, and Leſly towards ſix in the afternoon, having

a long march that day upon the reiterat preſſing orders which the General ſent to haſten them. He reſolved as ſoon as the night ſhould hinder the ſight of his motion from the tops of the neighbouring hills, to march ſtraight to the ennemy, which he did after ten of the clock; the day in thoſe northern parts of Scotland in that ſeaſon of the year being very long, which accordingly he did, after he had given their poſts to all the troops, ſetting the 200 Fuſileers of the three Dutch regiments at the head of all, by reaſon of the night and ſtrait ways, not diſcovering any thing of jealouſy of the dragoons as yet, except to the Colonel and Major. But the ennemy being about eight miles off, as he ſuppoſed, upon the lands of Sir George Gordon of Edinglaſſie, (which, with the houſe they had wholly deſtroyed), and becauſe of the ſhortneſs of the night he could not propoſe to himſelf to ſurpriſe them in body, becauſe of their ſenteries by day time upon the tops of the hills; but the Highlanders ſerving more for plunder than affection to the ſervice, cannot be kept from ſtragling over the face of the country, as well in their marches as camping, particularly when they were not paid, nor no general method taken for their ſubſiſtance: ſo he hop'd if they could not gett them in a body, he might catch ſome of them, and diſcourage the whole.

But the traiterous officers of dragoons prevented him by diſpatching two dragoons off in the night to give them advertiſement, who, with others of the ennemies, not being able to follow their body, were got hid in a wood beſide Edinglaſſies houſe, which proved the moſt clear evidence of their treachery thereafter; for ſome countrymen having advertiſed Edinglaſſie, that the ennemy was diſlodged, for the General would not advance detachments at any conſiderable diſtance, both becauſe of the roughneſs of the ground, whereby the retreat would be difficult to him if attacked by the ennemy, and becauſe he would not have them alarmed, if happily he might come near with his whole force before they had notice of it, at leaſt ſo as to have time to call in their ſtraglers; Edinglaſſie, I ſay, being advertiſed of their retreat, and that there were yet ſome ſtraglers about his houſe, rode off with the Maſter of Forbes, Major Mackay,

and ſome others, and got two dragoons of our oun, as above, hid in the woods, with a ſervant and a boy belonging to one Captain Bruce, formerly Captain-Lieutenant in Livingſtons dragoons in time of King James and ſeveral Highlanders. The ſervant and the boy being examined, confeſſed that the ſerjant mentioned above, who had been commanded out with 12 dragoons to get news of the ennemy, had been in Dundees camp, had ſpoke with the Lord Dundee apart, and that immediately thereafter the ſaid Dundee had ordered the march, which was at the ſame time Captain Forbes had met with him. The two dragoons alſo confeſſed ſo much, that the General finding his party now augmented, judged expedient to ſeize the perſons of Lieutenant-Colonel Livingſton, with the other ſuſpected officers of Livingſtons regiment, which done he marched after the ennemy to Balvany that night, and next day to Culnakeill, from whence he had retired five days before, where having got notice that a party of the ennemy was on the other ſide of the river, he ordered Livingſton to command out 200 dragoons, who himſelf underſtanding that the Laird of Grant had been preſt by the ennemy, went out with Lieutenant-Colonel Hauly of Barclays regiment, and Major Mackay, with a greater number than the General had commanded; who, in the mean time knowing Dundee not to be far off, kept the reſt of the party under arms, either to ſuſtain Livingſton, if he ſhould have met with a greater number than was expected, or to oppoſe Dundee, if, upon notice of a conſiderable detachment, he ſhould reſolve to fall in his quarter, for he was ſtill ſtronger in number than we, tho the General eſteemed his party more formidable by the unequality of horſe and dragoons.

Livingſton being marched about two miles fair ground from the river, met with 500 men of the ennemy, who, by the indiſcretion of his adjutant riding before about a quarter of a mile, had got the alarm ſo ſoon, that (notwithſtanding he galloped all the way after them, when he got diſcovery of them) they gained the foot of a great ſteep hill before he could join them, by which means they eſcaped him with the loſs only of about 80 or 100 men, whereas, if the adjutant had been ſo prudent when he

had diſcovered the ennemy, to retire without noiſe to give his colonel an account thereof, not one of them had eſcaped in this little occaſion. Livingſtons dragoons ſhewed a great deal of forwardneſs to rub off the affront occaſioned by their officers, as did alſo the Engliſh dragoons of Barcklay. There was of our ſide a captain of Barcklays regiment, with ſix dragoons of both the regiments killed, and ſome wounded. Mean time of this ſkirmiſh, news came to the General that Livingſton was unequally engaged againſt Dundees, whoſe force, (tho he did not believe him in any hazard, ſince he had double the number of Dundees horſe with him, and ſo was always maſter of a ſure retreat, ſteping ſo that the foot could not attain, neverthelefs, to neglect nothing, and to ſee if happily Dundees miſfortune might have engaged him in that plain ground,) paſt the river with all the reſt of the party, but met Livingſton a mile on the other ſide upon his return to the quarter, whither he alſo returned with the whole, ſending next day the reſt of Colcheſter's detachment into Murray, with orders to repair ſouthward to join the reſt of the regiment, the north of Scotland being ſcarce of good forrage for ſuch large horſes, and to carry along with them, in ſure cuſtody, the officers of dragoons which were made priſoners.

Colonel Ramſay, as hath been ſaid above, having retired upon the alarm of the great numbers of the Highlanders to St. Johnſtoun, again ſent for new orders to the council, giving them account of the reaſon of his return, who ordered a detachment of 100 dragoons of Barcklays regiment (before it had received the Generals orders to march to the north) 200 men of Levins, and 100 of Haſtings regiment to join him, with which he marched again through Athole and Badenoch to Inuerneſs.

Of which march, if the General had had timely advertiſement, he might have given Ramſay ſuch directions that Dundee would have much ado to diſembarraſs himſelf of both, but he got the notice of it ſo late, that he was paſt the place where Ramſay could have hindered him, before he could come the lenth from Inuerneſs, upon the orders ſent to him to that effect. Withall he had orders to bring ſome proviſions along with him,

which hindred his march ſome what, notwithſtanding the General did judge that he could not engage Dundee, and that he ſaw no way to ſecure himſelf of proviſions in thoſe rough and boggy countries, where no waggons or carts could poſſibly follow. Neverthelefs, not willing to quite the purſuit of him till he had forced his piece-meal forces to enter Lochaber again, having joind Ramſay he marched up Strathſpey, and into Badenoch, both lying upon the ſame river of Spey, having before ſent orders to Inuerneſs to get ſome meal to Ruthen in Badenoch, which was ſo long a coming, that the forces wanted proviſions 24 hours before he could retire, till he was certified ſo well by his ſpies as by a party of 100 dragoons, which he ſent after them till within 10 miles of Lochaber, that the Highlanders were diſperſed every one to his own houſe; whereupon he ſent Barcklays regiment to Strathbogy, an houſe belonging to the Duke of Gordon, where there was graſs for ſome weeks, Ramſay with the detachment of the three Dutch regiments to Elgin, in the county of Murray, and took Livingſtons regiment of dragoons, Leſlies of foot, with 300 of Levin and Haſtings regiments, and the 200 Highlanders with him to Inuerneſs, where he ſtaid the matter of a forthnight, to ſee if the ennemy would undertake any thing further, and to ſettle the neceſſary orders.

By this time ſeveral companies of the Lord Strathnavers and Grants regiments were levied, but being without cloaths, arms or diſcipline, the General laid no ſtreſs upon them for the ſecurity of thoſe northern parts; but conſidering all the counties benorth Spey, except that of Sutherland, (comprehending the Earle of Sutherlands and the Lord Raes countries,) and the Lairds of Balnagown and Grants men, either diſaffected, or ſuch as could not be made ſtate upon, he reſolved to leave Sir Thomas Livingſton to command there in chief, and for forces, his own regiment with Sir James Leſlies, the 300 of Levins, and Haſtings regiments, and the 200 Highlanders, beſides what he could make of the new levies, and upon occaſion could call for out of the county of Sutherland, and from Balnagown, and Grant; having at his return to Inuerneſs writ to Duke Hamil-

ton as the Kings Commiſſioner in parliament, that he ſaw no way to ſubdue the Highlanders, conſidering their country was full of mountains, bogs, woods and difficult paſſes with inacceſſible retiring places, where it was impoſſible to hunt them out, as well as to ſubſiſt a forthnight in ſuch barren and deſart countries, but by placing a formidable garriſon at Innerlochy, with other ſmaller ones in their places; therefore wiſhed that his Grace, with the Parliament and Council, would take it to conſideration ſpeedily before the ſeaſon were further ſpent, to provide the neceſſary materials for ſuch a deſign againſt his arrival in the ſouth, whither, ſeeing the ennemy attempt no farther, he moved, toward the 20th of June, with the detachment of the three Dutch regiments, only after he had given to Sir Thomas Livingſton ſome general idea of the matters of the north by way of inſtruction, recommending the improvement thereof to his own judgment, according to the dayly occurrences, leaving the regiment of Barcklay in the county of Aberdeen, with orders to chuſe quarters where they could beſt ſubſiſt; but judging the houſe of Braemarr a very fitt place for a garriſon, becauſe that it was far advanced in the Highlands, and covered the foreſaid county of Aberdeen; with all to bridle the Marr men, who had already diſcovered their affection to the ennemys party, he diſpatched 50 horſe, 50 dragoons of Barcklays, with 60 foot, and ſome proviſions, to take poſſeſſion thereof, with a written order to the captain of dragoons to puſh forward with the horſe and dragoons, leaving the foot to follow with the proviſions: and having put 20 of his dragoons in the houſe in paſſing, marched forward without halt, and before day, to the houſe of Innerey, three miles further, with all the diligence and ſecreſy poſſible, whereby he might readily ſurprize them, with ſeveral other gentlemen of note, who, upon the ſeparation of Dundees party, retired that way. But inſtead of following his order when he had got into the houſe, he ſtayed till he had refreſhed his horſes, whereby day ſurpriſed him before he had got the length of his prey, which eſcaped him neverthelefs ſo narrowly, that he got ſight of them running in their ſhirts to a wood near the houſe where they were; whereby we are taught that the leaſt minute

of time is not to be neglected in the war, becauſe the delay can never be ſo ſmall but it may overturn the enterprize, and that all neglects therein ought to be puniſhed according to the importance of the diſſappointed deſign ; whereby men, who do not their duty for conſcience, may be taught to do it for the fear of puniſhment. Nevertheleſs, tho' the neglect was of importance to the ſervice, and the behaviour of the commanders of the party, after the miſſing of that prey, looked very faint-hearted, the General judged not ſeaſonable to take much notice of it, but diſſembled his thoughts, becauſe one of the captains was a ſtranger, and the other the Maſter of Forbes, a young youth, whom he hoped to make uſefull to the ſervice, tho' as yet baſhfull before his ennemy, having never ſeen any.

Innerey and his gueſts having eſcaped this lurch, ſent with all ſpeed meſſengers out to gather the country people to take the paſſes before horſe and dragoons, and to incommode them in their retreat, while they retiring after their diſſapointment to the Houſe of Braemar, ſet their horſes looſe a graſing, and very ſecurely laid themſelves down to ſleep about the houſe ; whither Innerey, approaching with a few men to a rock above, and within a muſket ſhot to it, wakned them with his fire, at which their horſes ſo ſtartled, that after much ado to have catched them, without expecting to be attacked, forſook the houſe, and galloped all their beſt doun the country ; whereof Innerey laying hold, burnt the houſe to free them of the neighbourhood of a garriſon. The party of foot being advertiſed of this retreat, took itſelf to a gentlemans houſe, with the convoy of proviſions of meal, malt and ſome ammunition, and diſpatched an expreſs after the General, (who continued his march ſouthward) to give him account of the ill ſucceſs of the party, who, knowing that the adverſe party would make a great noiſe of that ſeeming advantage, notwithſtanding of his great haſte to Edinburgh to put life in the deſign of Innerlochy, and that he had not a days bread with him for his party, nor could he expect any that time of the year in that Highland country, reſolved to turn of his road to redreſs that litle diſorder, tho all this while he was ſo weak, not being re-

covered of the ſicknefs he got at his landing in England as yet, that he could not but with great inconveniency keep himſelf on horſeback.

Having then diſpatched account of this little diverſion to Duke Hamilton, entreating the neceſſary preparations, whereof he marked the particulars, ſhould be made for the expedition of Lochaber, and given order for a weeks proviſion for his party (not exceeding 500 men) to follow him, he marched away in the afternoon, and continuing his way all night, joined the ſixty foot which he had detached for the garriſon of the Houſe of Braemarr, about ten o'clock next morning, after he had diſpatched orders to Barcklays dragoons to march up the River of Dee by a plain country between hills, (commonly called Strath in Scotland,) while he, with his foot marched ſtraight over the hills: For he judged that the ennemy would expect ſuch a motion, and therefor would gather what party they could together, to catch an opportunity in that ground too favourable for that ſort of people againſt regular forces, if his party were not formidable enough to overaw them; and having joind the dragoons, together with the Maſter of Forbes, and ſome ſtore of meal for the providing of a garriſon for ſome months, he marched up to the Houſe of Braemarr, where, finding it burnt, and the vaults incapable to lodge any number of men conveniently, after the burning of Innereys houſe, with all his lands, deſcended the river to Abergeldie, where he lodged 72 men of his detachment under the command of a Captain, Lieutenant and Enſigne; which ſmall number kept a 1000 from doing of any conſiderable prejudice to the government. Which being done, he ſent the dragoons, with the Maſter of Forbeſs troop, to their former quarters doun the ſame river, and with the reſt of his foot party, paſt the hills into the county of Angus, ſtraight to Edinburgh, where he arrived about the beginning of July, and found not the leaſt diſpoſitions made for the deſign he propoſed, viz. the placing of a garriſon at Innerlochy, as the only means appearing to his judgment capable to ſubdue the rebells, to which there muſt needs a Fort be built. But there being no means to be provided of materials for ſuch a work, it being impoſſible to

have them made time enough for that year, becauſe the rains begin ſoon in the Highlands, the General propoſed in council to have 1500 pioneers levied out of the northern countries, each of whom ſhould be obliged to carry his ſpade, ſhovel or pickax along with him, and to furniſh a months proviſion of meal, with horſes to carry it, as well for 400 men, which he deſigned to employ to that expedition. As for the pioneers, a propoſition (tho no other could be offered at that time) which, underſtanding the nature of the enterprize better afterwards, he eaſily diſcovered to prove neceſſarly ineffectual, not only becauſe the pioneers ſo provided of materials could not be furniſhed, and that, tho that difficulty were to be overcome, it was impoſſible to get ſubſiſtance to the forces for half the time, which muſt needs have been employed to make the fort, there being no foregoing meaſures taken to ſend it by ſea, much leſs to get the garriſon provided of cover for the enſuing winter, or ſupplied with proviſions, tho all the reſt were feaſible. All which difficulties were moſtly occaſioned by the courts neglecting the Generals propoſals ſhortly after his landing, to have three ſmall frigates ſent down to him to facilitate all deſigns to be formed againſt thoſe rebells who inhabited the north-weſt coaſts and iſlands of that kingdom, and were ſeparated from the reſt thereof by a ſpacious diſtance of country full of bogs, hills, lakes, woods and inacceſſible rocks, where a ſmall number of people knowing the ground, with the advantages of the paſſes and difficult ways, might eaſily have rendered them impracticable to a far greater number of better forces in plain ground; becauſe the Highlanders, with the proſpect of a very inconſiderable loſs, can in ſuch ground approach a ſtrong ennemy marching through their country to watch an opportunity, being ſure of their retreat, tho they happened to be repulſed, becauſe none but men clothed and armed as they themſelves could overtake them; ſo that the General confeſſed thereafter that his defeat ſaved in a manner his reputation, becauſe if the rebells proved opiniater, as we have reaſon to believe by what we ſaw of them afterward, he could have done nothing but return back again with his

finger in his cheek, if he would not ſtarve all his forces: nay, he could ſcarcely have carried along ſubſiſtance enough to carry him thither and back again tho he ſhould make no ſtay: Whereby he confeſſed that the whole deſign, conſidering the inability, ignorance and little forwardneſs of the government to furniſh the neceſſary ingredients for the advancement of their ſervice, was built upon a ſandy foundation, and much like the building of caſtles in the air; but his impatience to ſee an end of that war which was ſo contrary to his humour, and not knowing all the circumſtances of that enemy, as to the nature of their country, particular numbers of men which each of the combined rebels was able to bring out, nor yet their way of, nor firmity in, fighting, no more than the unconcerned method of the government in matters which touch them neareſt as to their general ſafety, each being for his particular, and fixt upon his private projects, ſo as neither to ſee nor be concerned for any thing elſe; I ſay, the Generals ignorance of theſe particulars as yet being thirty years a ſtranger to that kingdom, with his deſire to be quickly rid of that embaraſs, occaſioned that he eaſily flattered himſelf with the ſucceſs of that deſign at firſt, tho he ſoon (tho too late, being already imbarked in it) ſaw that it muſt needs prove fruitleſs for that year, tho he ſhould have met with no other oppoſition from the ennemies, but to perſiſt in their rebellion, and only keep themſelves out of his way with their cattle, which they might eaſily do, the nature of their country furniſhing them abundance of convenience thereto. But beſides all thoſe difficulties, which were too ſufficient to fruſtrate the deſign for that year, the government keept above three weeks at Edinburgh after his return from the north, ere they could condeſcend upon a way to carry forth a fortnight's proviſions for 400 men only; which certainly proved the occaſion that he did not prevent Dundee, by ſecuring the country of Athole, Badenoch, and ſome others of the neareſt Highlands, before he could be in a poſture to oppoſe it; the government being ſo ill compoſed at that time, that the ennemy was advertiſed of all our meaſures by ſuch as voted them in Councill, to which thoſe delays gave them con-

venience enough. About this time King James being advertifed that the Highlanders would lofe their patience, feeing the fo often renewed promifes of fuccours like to faill for good and all, commanded Brigadier Cannon with 500 Irifh to embark upon three fmall French frigates at Belfaft in Ireland for the fuccour of Dundee, with large promifes to make them quickly be followed by a greater number; who, having upon their way met two little Scots veffels armed for the guard of that coaft, and to hinder the paffage of Irifh into the Highlands, forced them and landed their men fafely in the Ifle of Mull, from whence they joined Dundee with his party. I forgot in its place to fhow how that the General, finding himfelf with fo few forces in the North, preffed by a ftrong party of the ennemy, and betrayed by a confiderable part of his own little party, wrote to the Council to order two or three of the new levied regiments with fome troops of the horfe and dragoons, to the county of Argyle, under the command of the Earle of that name, who could join a confiderable number of his vaffals, upon occafion, to them to form a diverfion, by falling in into parts of the ennemies countries to withdraw fome of them from purfuing their point fo hotly towards the north.

Before the General's return, the caftle of Edinburgh was rendered by capitulation to Sir John Lanier, who upon his letter, as was traced above, had come to Edinburgh to command in the fouth in his abfence, and to call for fome more regiments out of England, in cafe of any ftirrs in that part of the kingdom, or of a landing out of Ireland, King James being at that time mafter of all that kingdom, except Londonderry and Inchkillin, and having the grofs of his force in the northern parts thereof, from whence there is but a very fhort paffage of fome hours over to the fouthweft parts of Scotland.

The General then having refolved to carry only fix battalions of foot, making at moft 3000 men, with four troops of horfe, and as many dragoons, new levies with him for that expedition, with intention to join Argyle with what forces he commanded in his country, if the fervice fo required, ordered the rendezvous of the faid forces, the foot confifting

of a battalion of each of the three Dutch regiments, with the Vifcount Kenmores, Earle of Levins and Haftings regiments, the two latter not compleat, becaufe of detachments they had in the north at Perth, taking his way thither over Stirling, both to fee the caftle and fome regiments of foot with troops of horfe and dragoons of the new levies which lay that way. But fome few days before his departure from Edinburgh, he was advertifed by the Lord Murray, eldeft fon to the Marquis of Athole, that his fathers fteuard Balleachan, with fome gentlemen of the county of Angus, adherents of Dundee's party, were fortifying themfelves in the houfe of Blair Athole to fecure that country the better for King Jamefs intereft, refolving to defend it againft the Lord Murrays order, the Marquis being at this time in England. Murray being Duke Hamiltons fon-in-law, the General defired to fpeak with him of thofe matters, in prefence of the Duke, where he declared that he had no hopes of perfwading the men of Athole to join with the Kings forces againft Dundee, their inclination being more for King James than their Majefties government, but engaged to do his beft to render himfelf mafter of the caftle of Blair before Dundee could be there; to which end, and to hinder them from joyning Dundee, he was to go to Athole and gather all his fathers vaffals together, believing that Balleachan and the tenents he had with him durft not deny him entry in his own houfe; to which the General anfwered, that he defired no more of my Lord Murray, than to keep his men from joyning againft him, promifing to make all poffible hafte to prevent Dundee, being refolved to take the country of Athole in his way to Lochaber; but by the delays of government in the furnifhing of meal, as well as of horfes for the tranfport thereof, he was detained at Edinburgh eight or ten days after the Lord Murray went to Athole, who advertifed him of having the men of his country together, as alfo of Balleachans refufal to deliver the caftle of Blair into his hands, and that on the contrary he had difpatched meffengers to Dundee to haften him up to his fuccour, as well as that of his other friends, who feemed to be blockt up in the caftle of the Lord Murray.

The General not queſtioning the ſincerity of the ſaid Lord, both becauſe he was married to Duke Hamiltons daughter (a lady very zealous for the preſbyterian intereſt, as was the dutcheſs her mother) and of ſome years not living in very good underſtanding with the Marquis his father, of whom at this time the General had no favourable opinion, preſt with all earneſtneſs his diſpatch (tho he began already to have very ill thoughts of the expedition in groſs) to ſecure at leaſt the country of Athole with others adjacent, from caſting themſelves headlong in the adverſe party, which he pretended to do by forcing the gates of the caſtle of Blair, where he intended to leave a ſtrong garriſon, and for that end ordered four petards to be carried to the rendevous place; and having viſited the paſs and caſtle of Stirling, and ordered the troops of horſe and dragoons, which were to be of the expedition to follow him to Perth or St. Johnſton, one of the firſt towns of the kingdom, ſituated in the entry of the Highlands, about the 22d or 23d of July, where a letter from the Lord Murray was ſhown him, giving account of Dundees being in Badenoch on his march to Athole, whither Balleachan had ſo ſolicited his ſpeedy repair, that he left ſeveral gentlemen, whoſe junction he expected, behind him, to be in Athole before our forces, adding, that if the General did not haſten his march to prevent Dundee, he would not promiſe to get his men kept from joyning the latter. Upon which information he conſidered that if he ſtopt at Perth, Dundee would not only be reinforced with the men of Athole, making 1500 as reputed men for arms as any of the kingdom, but alſo with ſuch of the Iſles and other rebels who had not as yet joined him, as well as with thoſe of Badenoch, Monteith and Marr, beſides that his poſting himſelf in Athole, in the county of Perth and the neighbourhood of Angus, would give him apparent opportunity to fortify himſelf conſiderably in horſe. He conſidered further, that the ill-affected of the nation would not fail to make their advantage of any thing which might look like faintneſs in their Majeſties forces, which they, as well as we ourſelves, judged to be ſuperior in number to Dundee, particularly provided we might hinder the men of Athole as well as thoſe he

left behind to joyn him by obliging him to preſent action, or to keep to the hills; whereby the General propoſed to himſelf occaſion to be maſter of the caſtle of Blair, which infallibly would keep the Athole-men from joyning the ennemy; being ſure, however, that matters might fall out betwixt the bodies, that garriſon would always be able to vex them: with all the General judged better of his own men, tho all of them almoſt new levies than of the ennemy, by reaſon that, notwithſtanding of their advantage in the opening of the campaign, they ſhewed nothing that looked like briſkneſs. Theſe were the reaſons then which moved him to reſolve his march in Athole, notwithſtanding four troops of dragoons and two of horſe had not joyned as yet.

The firſt day he ſet forward from St. Johnſton he lodged over againſt Dunkeld, where by 12 of the clock at night he received a letter from the Lord Murray ſignifying Dundee's entry into Athole, and his own retreat from the caſtle of Blair, (which till then he made the faſhion to keep blockt) and his paſſing a ſtrait and difficult paſs two miles below the ſaid houſe, leaving it betwixt him and the ennemy, the farther ſide whereof he affirmed to have left guarded, for our free paſſage to the Blair where he ſuppoſed Dundee to be already; altho Lieutenant-Colonel Lawder, whom the General commanded preſently upon Murray's advertiſement for the better ſecuring of the paſs, denied to have met with any of his men there. Next morning by the break of day the General marched, having diſpatched orders to Perth to haſte up the other ſix troops and come to the entry of the paſs, which was eleven miles from his former nights camp, about 10 of the clock, where he let his men reſt two hours to take ſome refreſhment; having at his coming to a halt commanded 200 men more, under the Earle of Leven's Lieutenant Colonel to fortify Lawder, with order to ſend back what advertiſement they could have of the ennemy, before he ſhould engage himſelf in the paſs, which was two miles long. The General had ſpoke with the Lord Murray a little below the paſs; who being enquired how many men he had with him, anſwered that moſt of

them were gone to the hills to put their cattle out of the way, ſo that he had at preſent but two or three hundred of them by him, which ſeemed reaſonable as well as cuſtomary to that ſort of people, when any forces, whether friends or ennemy paſt through their country; which made the General not ſo apt to judge ill of Murray as others did. However it might be, he apprehended not the ennemy, though he ſhould have met them much ſtronger than himſelf. Therefor after he had got a return from Lawder, that the paſs was clear, he marched in the following order: Balfour's, Ramſay's and Kenmore's battalions firſt, then Belhaven's troop of horſe, followed by Levin's regiment, with a battalion of the Generals; after thoſe followed the baggage horſes being odds of 1200, and laſt of all the Earle of Annandales troop of horſe with Haſting's regiment, which were left behind the baggage, leſt the ennemy might detach men about the hill to attack it, or that the country men, ſeeing it without ſufficient guard, might not fall a plundering of it. Having paſt with the five battalions and the troop of horſe, we halted upon a field of corn along the ſide of the river, both to expect the paſſage of the baggage, with Haſting's regiment, and the troop of horſe, and to diſtribute a communication to the forces. While the General ordered Lawder to advance with his 200 fuſiliers and the troop of horſe which was paſt ſome hundreds of paces upon an hill towards the way from whence he expected the ennemy might appear, who preſently advertiſed that ſome partys of them began to diſcover themſelves betwixt us and Blair; whereupon the General, galloping to the ground from whence they were diſcovered, ordered Colonel Balfour to diſpatch quickly the diſtribution of his ammunition, and to put the men under arms, while, having obſerved the motion of the ennemy, he ſhould chuſe the field of battle. Being come up to the advanced party he ſaw ſome ſmall partys of the ennemy, the matter of a ſhort mile, marching ſlowly along the foot of a hill which lay towards Blair, marching towards us; whereupon he ſent orders to Balfour to march up to him in all haſte with the foot. But preſently upon that order, having

difcovered fome bodies of them marching down an high hill, within a quarter of a mile to the place where he ftood, when the grofs of their body appeared, fearing that they fhould take poffeffion of an eminence juft above the ground where our forces halted on, of a fteep and difficult afcent, full of trees and fhrubs, and within a carabin fhot of the place whereon we ftood, whereby they could undoubtedly force us with their fire in confufion over the river, he galloped back in all hafte to the forces, and having made every battalion form by a Quart de Converfion to the right upon the ground they ftood, made them march each before his face up the hill, by which means he prevented that inconveniency, and got a ground fair enough to receive the ennemy, but not to attack them, there being, within a fhort mufket fhot to it, another eminence before our front, as we ftood when we were up the loweft hill, near the river, whereof Dundee had already gott poffeffion before we could be well up, and had his back to a very high hill, which is the ordinary maxim of Highlanders, who never fight againft regular forces upon any thing of equal terms, without a fure retreat at their back, particularly if their ennemies be provided of horfe; and to be fure of their efcape, in cafe of a repulfe, they attack bare footed, without any cloathing but their fhirts, and a little Highland dowblet, whereby they are certain to outrun any foot, and will not readily engage where horfe can follow the chafe any diftance. Their way of fighting is to divide themfelves by clans, the chief or principal man being at their heads, with fome diftance to diftinguifh betwixt them. They come on flowly till they be within diftance of firing, which, becaufe they keep no rank or file, doth ordinarly little harm. When their fire is over, they throw away their firelocks, and every one drawing a long broad fword, with his targe (fuch as have them) on his left hand, they fall a running toward the ennemy, who, if he ftand firm, they never fail of running with much more fpeed back again to the hills, which they ufually take at their back, except they happen to be furprized by horfe or dragoons marching through a plain, or camping negligently; as the General four days thereafter furprized ten

of them at Perth, and Sir Thomas Livingſton the enſuing year in Strathſpey, as we ſhall have occaſion to touch hereafter.

All our officers and ſouldiers were ſtrangers to the Highlanders way of fighting and embattailling, which mainly occaſioned the conſternation many of them were in; which, to remedy for the enſuing year, having taken notice on this occaſion that the Highlanders are of ſuch a quick motion, that if a battalion keep up his fire till they be near to make ſure of them, they are upon it before our men can come to their ſecond defence, which is the bayonet in the muſle of the muſket. I ſay, the General having obſerved this method of the ennemy, he invented the way to faſten the bayonet ſo to the muſle without, by two rings, that the ſoldiers may ſafely keep their fire till they pour it into their breaſts, and then have no other motion to make but to puſh as with a pick.

The General having got up the hill with five battalions and a troop of horſe, for Haſtings and the other troops were not paſt as yet, and ſeeing Dundee maſter of an eminence ſo near him, reſolved to make the beſt of that ground, and rather receive the check there in good order, than to put his men out of breath and in diſorder, by attacking the ennemy againſt an hill. Betwixt the height which he had marched up from the river, and the foot of that whereon the ennemy were placed, there was a convenience to imbattail our men in one line, taking the former at our back, tho with a continued aſcent from us to them.

The General having got upon the ground which he had remarked, he began to even his line, leaving a little diſtance betwixt every little battalion, having made two of each, becauſe he was to fight three deep; only, in the midſt of the line, he left a greater opening where he placed the two troops of horſe (the other being come up juſt as he had taken his ground with Haſtings battalion) of a deſign when the Highlanders approached, and that the fire of the line ſhould be ſpent, to make them fall out by the larger intervall, to flank the ennemy on either ſide, as occaſion ſhould offer, not daring to expoſe them to the ennemy's horſe, which was compoſed all of gentlemen, reformed officers, or ſuch as had deſerted of

Dundee's regiment out of England, which was the reaſon he placed them behind the foot till all the fire were over on both ſides: He ſent alſo a detachment of firelocks of each battalion to the right hand to fortify Haſtings regiment, to whom he was obliged to leave that poſt. Being come up after he had taken his ground, not willing to make unneceſſary motions ſo near the ennemy, and becauſe the ennemy were ſo very cloſe upon him, and he always in action giving his ground to every one, they diſtinguiſhed him, which drew their papping ſhot over all where he moved, whereby ſeverals were wounded before the engagement, and finding that Balfour had advanced too far his regiment out of the line, obſerving that the ennemy made no motion to attack as yet, after he had advertiſed them not to be ſurpriſed at the motion, becauſe it was only to bring them in a line with the reſt, leſt they ſhould be flanked; he made them retire, and recommending the care of the left wing (betwixt which and the right there was a boggy ground, which, on a ſudden could not without hazard of bogging be galloped) to the Brigadier Balfour, returned along the face of the line to the right, where finding all ready to receive the ennemy, he made a ſhort ſpeech to ſome of the battalions which ſtood neareſt him, repreſenting the unqueſtionable juſtice of the cauſe, regarding not only the Proteſtant intereſt in Britain, but in all the world, whoſe loſs humanly ſeemed mainly to depend on the ſucceſs of his Majeſties enterprize, for the defence thereof, as well as of the temporal happineſs of their country, conſiſting in the maintenance of their laws, which confirmed it to them, beſides the obligation of honour and conſcience, which lay upon them not to betray by a criminal faintheartedneſs, their maſters ſervice, by whom they were entertained, and laſt of all their own ſafety; aſſuring them that if they kept firm and cloſe they ſhould quickly ſee their ennemy's take the hills for their refuge: For which reaſon more than the hopes of purſuing the chaſe they ſtript themſelves almoſt naked; but on the other hand, if they happened to give way (as he ſhould not expect) before that rabble of the Highlanders, they might freely conclude few or none of them ſhould eſcape thoſe naked purſuers far ſpeedier of foot than they; beſides that all

the men of Athole were in arms ready to ſtrip and knock in the head all runnaways: To avoid, then, thoſe certain ruines, the only viſible mean was to ſtand to it, like men fighting for their religion and liberty againſt the invaders of both, which was the true ground of his Majeſties enterprize, and not the deſire of a crown, as it was of all good men and true Proteſtant ſubjects in conjunction with and aſſiſtance to him therein, and not the proſpect of advantage by the change.

The ennemys being upon their ground much about the ſame time with us, ſeemed to extend their order beyond our right wing; which the General obſerving made his line move to the right by the flank, leaſt their deſign might be to flank, get betwixt him and the paſs, which would be a very advantagious poſt for them, whereby they could cut all communication betwixt us and Perth, from whence we expected ſix troops of horſe and dragoons more, as well as a further ſupply of proviſions, and where they could, by the favour of the Athole men, ſubſiſt, and have convenience to joyn as many horſe and foot as Dundee's credit in the counties of Angus and Perth could procure in a conſiderable number, without that we could hinder them but by making a motion which readily might furniſh them occaſion to attack us with a ſeen advantage: which motion brought the ennemy, whatever his deſign might have been, to a ſtand, and ſo we lookt upon one another for at leaſt two hours.

The General not willing to attack, for the reaſons already alledged, and the Highlanders apparently out of irreſolution, which he apprehended to be of deſign to expect the night, wherein they might happily hope to frighten our men by a ſudden motion doun the hill with a loud ſhout, after their manner, very likely to put new men unaccuſtomed with an ennemy in a fright and diſorder, tho' they could be kept more allert and ready then he could hope for during the whole night; neither durſt he venture to paſs the river in their preſence and ſo near them, both by reaſon of the hazard, the ſouldiers, ordinarily taking ſuch a motion for a ſubject of apprehenſion, and the imputation which he had to expect, if he were beat in retiring. He reſolved then to ſtand it out, tho' with

great impatience, to ſee the ennemy come to a reſolution, either of attacking or retiring, whereof they had more choice than he; and to provoke them, he ordered the firing of three little leather field-pieces, which he cauſed carry on horſe-back with their carriages, which proved of little uſe, becauſe the carriages being made too high to be more conveniently carried, broke with the third firing.

The ennemy having a full view of our forces, by reaſon of the height they poſſeſt above us, diſcerned preſently the General, which drew their ſhot into all places where he ſtood or walked, whereby ſeverals of our men were wounded before the engagement; and to have the ſo much nearer aim, they poſſeſt themſelves of ſome houſes upon the aſcent of the height whereon they ſtood, which the General not willing to ſuffer, leaſt the ennemy ſhould be emboldned thereby, ordered his brother, commanding his own regiment, before whoſe front the houſes were, to detach a captain with ſome fire-locks to diſlodge them; judging withall that that ſkirmiſh might draw on a general engagement, which he earneſtly longed for before the night approached. The captain chaſed the ennemy's detachment to their body with the loſs of ſome of their number; but ſhortly thereafter, and about half an hour before ſunſet, they began to move down the hill.

The General had already commanded the officers, commanding battalions, to begin their firing at the diſtance of 100 paces by platoons, to diſcourage the approaching Highlanders meeting with continual fire: That part of their forces which ſtood oppoſite to Haſtings, who had the right of all, before the Generals, Levins and Kenmore's regiments, came down briſkly together with their horſe, and notwithſtanding of a briſk fire, particularly from the General's own battalion, whereby many of the chief gentlemen of the name of Macdonald, who attacked it, were killed, puſhed their point, after they had fired their light pieces at ſome diſtance, which made little or no execution, with ſword in hand, tho' in great confuſion, which is their uſuall way: Which when the General obſerved, he called to the Lord Belhaven to march up with the firſt troop of horſe, ordering him to flank to the left hand the ennemy, the fire being then

paſt on all hands, and coming to handy ſtrokes if our men had ſtood, appointing the ſecond troop to do the ſame to the right; but ſcarcely had Belhaven got them without the front of the line, where they had orders to wheel for the flank, tho' their very appearance made the ennemy turn away from the place where they ſaw the horſe coming up, but contrary to orders, they began to paſs, not knowing whereat, and preſently turned about, as did alſo Kenmore's and the half of Levin's battalion.

The General obſerving the horſe come to a ſtand, and firing in confuſion, and the foot beginning to fall away from him, thinking happily that the horſe would be picked to follow his example, and in all caſes to diſengage himſelf out of the croud of Highlanders which came down juſt upon the place where he was calling to the officers of the horſe to follow him, ſpurr'd his horſe through the ennemy, (where no body nevertheleſs followed him, but one of his ſervants, whoſe horſe was ſhot in paſſing,) where he judged, by the way they made for him, tho' alone, that if he had had but fiftie reſolute horſe, ſuch as Colcheſter's, he had certainly, by all human appearance recovered all, notwithſtanding the foot was juſt plying over all, tho' ſooner upon the left, which was not attacked at all, than to the right, becauſe the right of the ennemy had not budged from their ground when their left was engaged. Balfour's regiment did not fire a ſhot, and but the half of Ramſays made ſome little fire. Lieutenant Colonel Lawder was poſted advantageouſly upon the left of all, on a little hill wreathed with trees, with his party of 200 of the choice of our army, but did as little as the reſt of that hand, whether by his or his mens fault is not well known, for the General would never make ſearch into the failings of that buſineſs, becauſe they were a little too generally committed; reſolution and preſence of mind in battle being certainly a ſingular mercy of God, he denyeth and giveth it when and to whom he will, for there are ſeaſons and occaſions, that the moſt firm and ſtout-hearted do quake and ſhake for fear: As Solomon ſaith, "The wicked flee when none purſueth, but the righteous is bold as a Lyon;" and tho' all ſincere chriſtians be not reſolute, it is becauſe it is not their vocation, for I dare

be bold to affirm that no truly ſincere chriſtian, truſting in God for ſtrenth and ſupport, going about his lawfull calling, ſhall be forſaken of him, whether military, civil, or eccleſiaſtick; not that ſure victory ſhall always attend good men, or that they ſhall always eſcape with their lives, for experience doth teach the contrary, but that God, upon whom they caſt their burdens and care, ſhall ſo care for them, that they ſhall be preſerved from ſhame and confuſion, and that they have his promiſes by whom are the iſſues againſt death and innumerable means inconceivable to us, to redreſs the diſorders of our affairs, to ſupport their hope and mind in the greateſt of difficulties: As the General confeſt, that immediately upon this defeat, and as he was marching of the field, he could not caſt his thoughts upon any preſent means to redreſs his breach, but recommended earneſtly unto God to direct his judgement and mind to fall upon ſuch methods as the ſucceſs ſhould manifeſt him to be the chief Author thereof, wherein he hath alſo been heard, as the purſuit of this relation ſhall demonſtrate. But to return to our purpoſe. Having paſſed through the croud of the attacking Highlanders, he turned about to ſee how matters ſtood, and found that all his left had given way, and got down the hill which was behind our line, ranged a little above the brow thereof, ſo that in the twinkling of an eye in a manner, our men, as well as the ennemy, were out of ſight, being got doun pall mall to the river where our baggage ſtood.

At which ſad ſpectacle it may be eaſily judged how he was ſurprized, to ſee at firſt view himſelf alone upon the field, but looking further to the right he eſpyed a ſmall hep of red coats, whither galloping, he found it to be a part of the Earle of Levin's regiment, with himſelf, his Lieutenant Colonel, Major, and moſt of his officers upon their head, whom the General praiſed for their ſtedfaſtneſs; but ſeeing the men in confuſion, there being ſome few of other regiments got among them, prayed the Earle with his officers to ſee to get them ſpeedily in condition to receive the ennemy, whom he minutely expected, while he galloped further to a part of Haſtings, which the Colonel was marching up to their firſt ground, which he affirmed to have loſt in purſuit of the ennemy, who, thinking to fall in

his flank, he wheeled with his picks to the right upon them, whereby they leaving him, repaired to the reſt of their forces, which they ſaw among the baggage at the river-ſide, the plundering whereof gave time to many of our runnaways to get off, and having joined Haſtings with the reſt of Levins, he diſpatched a nephew of his, captain of his regiment, ſeeing him on horſeback, (tho he had eight wounds with broad ſwords upon his body) after his runnaways to exhort all officers, whom he could meet with, to keep up their men, and labour to bring them back to joyn him, in which caſe he aſſured them of advantage.

Mean time ſeeing the officers could bring their men into no order, and looking every minute for the ennemy's appearing, he viſited a garden which was behind, of a deſign to put them in there in expectation of ſuccour, but preſently changed his purpoſe, conſidering, if ſuccour failed, as readily would fall out, there was no hope of eſcaping out of the ennemy's hands by defending an incloſure ſo far from new relief.

While he was in thoſe irreſolutions, in expectation of his nephews return, he brought at laſt news that all was gone clear away out of all reach, and that ſuch as he had ſpoke to, noticed him not; mean time he eſpyed numbers of men as it were forming themſelves along the edge of the wood which was on Balfour's left, and where Lawder had been poſted with 200 men, and becauſe he had not as yet been particularly informed of the behaviour of that wing, and it being already after ſun-ſet, he was doubtful whether thoſe men might not be ſome of his own men, who had retired to the wood upon the Highlanders deſcent; ſo, exhorting the officers to labour to get their men in a condition to make at leaſt one diſcharge if they were attacked, galloped up to the wood to view thoſe men nearer, which having diſcovered to be ennemy's, he ſtepped back ſoftly to his men, and bid them have ſpecial care to march off very ſoftly, whereby happily the ennemy judging they were reſolved to receive them briſkly, would have reſpect for them and let them retire quietly, the obſcurity hindring them of a full view of our number, but that if they ſhould offer to run, they ſhould be ſure to have the Highlanders among them; ſo, leading them ſoftly down

the hill he paſt the river, where he halted a little to get over all his men, and to obſerve whether the ennemy would approach the river after him. A little before his retreat the Lord Belhaven with the Earle of Annandales Lieutenant and Cornet and ſome four or five horſemen came up to us, which ſerved for ſcouts to diſcover during the retreat.

The ennemy loſt on the field ſix for our one, the fire to our right having been continued and briſk, whereby not only Dundee, with ſeveral gentlemen of quality of the countys of Angus and Perth, but alſo many of the beſt gentlemen among the Highlanders, particularly of the Macdonalds of the Iſles and Glengarie were killed, coming down the hill upon Haſtings, the General, and Levin's regiments, which made the beſt fire and all the execution; particularly the Generals battalion made great fire, being well exerciſed thereto by his brother, who, being his lieutenant colonel, commanded the battalion, and was killed on the ſpot with ſeverals of the old ſouldiers pickmen, who ſtood by him after the ſhot had run away: There were alſo two captains and five ſubalterns of that battalion killed, and the other two captains left wounded upon the ſpot; for certainly the greateſt force of that ſide was poured upon that battalion, and the reaſon was that ſome, who were officers among the ennemy, had carried arms in the regiment abroad, and were of opinion if it were beat that it would facilitate the reſt of the work; but there was a great difference betwixt it, when they had known it, and this time, as was alſo of the other two regiments come out of Holland, which were moſtly new levied men, the King having taken away their beſt and oldeſt men to recruit the Dutch regiments in England. The reaſon of the firmity of Levins regiment, was firſt, that they were not ſo numerouſly attacked, and ſecondly, that he had many more officers proportionable to the number of men than the three Dutch regiments, and very good briſk gentlemen; the ſame advantage Haſting's had, beſides that I prefer the Engliſh commonality in my judgment in matter of courage to the Scots. The Brigadier Balfour was killed labouring with a few perſons by him to get off, after his regiments had abandoned him. There was a lieutenant colonel of Kenmore's regiment alſo

killed, and a captain of Ramſay's with ſome more officers, which I do not remember, only that moſt part of the ſlaughter and impriſonment of officers and ſouldiers was in the chaſce.

The General having got the ſmall reſts of his forces ſafely over the river, and ſeeing no diſpoſition, ſo far as he could diſcern, of the ennemy to purſue him, he bethought himſelf which way he had beſt retire; and notwithſtanding of the contrary advice of all the officers who would have him to deſcend the plain country of Athole to Dunkeld and Perth, he reſolved rather to march into the Highlands three or four miles, and then over to Strath Tay and along the foot of the hills, over the Caſtle of Drummond, where he had a garriſon, to Stirling, whither he reſolved to make all the ſpeed poſſible to fall upon ſome preſent meaſures; but tho' there were who repreſented to him that thoſe few afrighted men would make no reſiſtance if the ennemy purſued, together with the neceſſity of his making haſte ſouthward, he would never reſolve to alter his reſolution with thoſe few men till he had conducted them into a place of ſecurity, notwithſtanding he was very well ſatisfied of the truth of what they alledged. The reaſon of the reſolutions was, that he apprehended more the purſuit of Dundee (whom he knew not to have been killed) with his horſe, than that of the Highlanders, whom he knew to be ſo greedy of plunder that their general would not get them that night to purſue us; therefor he reſolved to keep the moſt inacceſſible ground for horſe, beſides that he knew all the men of Athole would be in arms and run the whole night and next day upon the runnaways, therefore reſolved to quite altogether the tract of that country, and tho he was purſued, his men would not fight; as well as of the neceſſity of his haſte to Stirling; he judged it would tend to the diſreputation of the ſervice, as of himſelf in particular, if after he had got off thoſe few men in a body in preſence of the ennemy, they ſhould happen by his leaving them to be diſperſed and fall into their hands, reſolving at the ſame time never to halt much for ſuch as would not keep up, becauſe of the conſequence, both of looſing time, and of the ennemy's, and ſuch of the people of the country through which he muſt

needs march off, as this ſucceſs would induce to declare for them cutting before him, which they might eaſily do with hopes, tho they ſhould not be advertiſed of his rout till next morning: Marching then off, as he had concluded, he met in the obſcurity about two miles off the field of battle with Colonel Ramſay, who had kept up the matter of 150 runnaways altogether almoſt without arms, and knew not in the world how he ſhould beſt get them off; whom the General having joyn'd into his party, continued his way up a little river, which fell into that which he had croſſed before, till he came to ſome little houſes where he ſaw light, and having got out the man of the houſe, enquired of him concerning the ground and the way to Strath Tay and the Laird of Weem's lands, who was our friend, his eldeſt ſon having been in the action with a company of 100 Highlanders, which he levied for their Majeſties ſervice. The countryman having ſufficiently informed him of all his demands, and gueſſing himſelf at the ſituation of the country, by the map, ſo far that he could not carry him far out of the way, he croſſed that ſecond river, and paſt through very ill ground over hills and boggs to the Weem; and next morning at the dawning of the day the people of Strath Tay, alarmed with our approach, whom they took for the Highlanders, and fearing for their houſes and cattle, did raiſe a great noiſe and ſhout, whereat our men, judging it to be the ennemy, got before them, and began all to break off to the hills, if the General and ſome officers on horſeback had not, with their piſtols in hand, threatened them back again; but the obſcurity hindring a full view at any diſtance, the matter of 100 or more got away, who altogether were knockt in the head and ſtript, or taken priſoners, and we purſued our march with very little halt all that day, being on a Sunday, the 28th July, diſcovering the country all along as we marched in uproar, and arrived late in the night at the Caſtle of Drummond, and next day at Stirling, finding all the county of Perth in arms in favour of the rebels, tho no conſiderable body of them together as yet.

At Stirling the General met with Major General Lanier, whom the council had ſent there to form a body of what forces were in the ſouth to

maintain the River of Forth and the paſs and bridge of Stirling, of whom having informed himſelf of what orders had been diſtributed upon the news of this defeat, and finding that Barcklay's regiment had been commanded to Dundee out of the county of Aberdeen, that Sir John had diſpatched orders for his own regiment, which lay at Anwick and Morpeth in England, to march doun to Edinburgh, and that all their thoughts and meaſures tended to abandon the northern counties of Scotland to the ennemy's, he reſolved to alter thoſe meaſures, (knowing how hard a pull he would have) of the Scots war, if he left the north, which are abſolutely the beſt men of that kingdom for the war, to the diſcretion of the ennemy, where he would not only get great numbers to joyn them, but alſo take poſſeſſion of touns and ſeize upon the publick revenues, whereby they could form a faſchion of government, and ſo have more plauſible ways, not only to maintain, but alſo to ingroſs their party, than ever they have had; beſides the party they had ſecured on both ſides of the borders of the two kingdoms ready to declare for them upon the firſt proſpect of a favourable ſucceſs, and the rupture already beginning in that part of the parliament, which had been moſt determined for their Majeſties government, which, in all appearance, would hinder the reſolutions of that great court of the nation in favour; and having upon thoſe and the like other reaſons grounded his deſign, he ſent, on Tueſdays morning, orders to 8 troops of new levied horſe, 4 of dragoons of the ſame ſort, and the Lord Colcheſter's regiment of horſe, to march to Stirling, Wedneſday morning, not exceeding in all 500. Colcheſter's regiment being very weak, and the new troops not compleat, writing to Duke Hamilton, that the parliament ſhould not be alarmed at what paſt, but proceed in their affairs, while he ſhould loſe no time nor ſpare any pains to hinder the ennemy from profiting by their victory, ordering Sir John Lanier to return to Edinburgh to haſten the march of his own regiment of horſe with Hayford's dragoons, the former conſiſting of 9, and the latter of 8 troops; diſcharging at the ſame time the weſt country men, whereof ſome thouſands were gathering together upon the news of the defeat; the General not

willing that thofe people, whofe pretenfions appeared already exorbitant enough, fhould have ground to think that the King could not without them maintain his government, except neceffity fhould drive them, but rather to make ufe of any fuccour than fee the ennemys of the gofpel fortify themfelves in the kingdom. On Wednefdays morning, having got his horfe and dragoons to the park of Stirling, and paffed them in review, and leaving order with a new battalion of foot to follow him, he marched out of Stirling about two in the afternoon, taking his way ftraight to Perth, from whence nevertheleefs he could not poffibly get any news, all the country betwixt it and Stirling being in arms, and moft part abfent from their houfes. He halted a part of that night for fear of ambufhes in a village half way to Perth, and next morning at the break of day purfued his way toward the water of Earn, a little river three miles fhort of Perth, where four of his fcouts, not above a mufket fhot before the party, according to their order, (left they being furprifed fhould difcover our motion to the ennemy) met with two brifk horfemen of the ennemys party, who, attacking our men with a loud "qui vive," made them fire upon the ennemy in a furprize, and happened to fhoot the one dead, and the other fo that tho he fpake fome words, he had no fenfe of what was enquired of him.

This encounter made the General judge that happily the ennemys main body was not far off, wherefor he quitt the road and enlarged himfelf over a fteep hill above which there was a great heath, where the Marquis of Montrofe had obtained a notable victory over the Parliament's forces in the reign of King Charles the Firft, and having, about this place, got notice that fome foot and horfe of the ennemy were come to Perth, inftead of moving ftraight toward the toun, he took his way to the left to fall in betwixt them, and the grofs of their party camped at Dunkeld, 14 miles below the place where he had fought, and being advanced in fight of the toun of Perth, he difcovered the matter of thirty horfe of the ennemy already paffed the river of Tay, and fo out of reach; but within one half mile without the faid toun was a fmall party of foot about 300, who, upon the difcovery of our party, came to ane halt as irrefolute what to do.

The General, knowing the river to be low and fordable about that place, detached the four troops of dragoons to gallop all their beſt down to them to prevent their paſſage; at which motion the party of the ennemy returned toward the toun again, and the General, not knowing what number they might have in the village, where he had firſt diſcovered them, not having any ſure intelligence where their main body lay to prevent their entry into the town, having no foot by him to force the entry upon them, he detached three troops of Colcheſter's horſe at the gallop to fall in betwixt them and that retreat following cloſe with the reſt in good order; after he had left detachments upon the heights, where they could diſcover to all hands from whence ane ennemy could approach. At the appearance of thoſe detachements the ennemy threw themſelves into the river, where the horſe and dragoons mixed with them, and killed the matter of 120, and took 30 priſoners. They were all Athole-men, and were ſo opiniater or ſtupified that not one of them called for quarters. We loſt but one man in the action, who followed indiſcreetly 4 or 5 Highlanders a great way from his comrades.

Of this little action, which neverthelefs ſerved to good purpoſe, the General ſent the Lord Belhaven, captain of horſe, to give account to Duke Hamilton, Lord High Commiſſioner from the King to the then ſitting Parliament, and took his poſt at Perth to obſerve the ennemy as near as he could till he got more forces together, writing to Sir John Lanier to haſte the down march of his regiment and Hayfords, and ſent for a battalion of his own regiment, which lay at Stirling, to come to Perth, being reſolved to take the field with his party of horſe and dragoons upon the firſt motion of the ennemy to keep him out of the plain country, and from fortifying himſelf with a junction of horſe, which was that he wanted moſt, and wrote to Sir Thomas Livingſton, giving him account of the ſtate of affairs, ordering to put Inuerneſs in the beſt poſture he could, and aſſuring him that if the ennemy turned head that way, he ſhould quickly ſee him upon the head of 14 or 1500 horſe and dragoons in their rear. Meantime, the General gave orders for the palliſading of the moſt paſſable

places of Perth, knowing that the Highlanders are not good attackers where they cannot run to with ſword in hand, and keep ſtrong guards, and ſent out parties in the night to bring notice of the ennemy, in caſe he ſhould move toward him.

At the end of three or four days he was advertiſed that a conſiderable number of Highlanders met from ſeveral hands had joined him upon the noice of their victory, together with Lord James Murray, ſon to the Marquis of Athole, and all the ſaid Marquiſ's vaſſals; and that Canon, who now commanded in chief for King James in Scotland after Dundee's death, had made a motion from Dunkeld toward the north, along the edge of the plains, keeping always the hills cloſe upon his left, in caſe of the approach of any number of horſe: Whereof the General being for certain advertiſed and apprehending for the northern counties, ordered Sir John Lanier, with the horſe and dragoons which he expected out of England, to come with all diligence to Perth, (where the General left two battalions of foot,) where he was to poſt himſelf till further advertiſement from him; who, paſſing the River Tay, marched to Cowper, ten miles from Perth, a little country town in Angus, not far from the foot of the hills, and there having ſpoke ſome of his men who eſcaped from the ennemy upon their march, was told that they continued their march further north, which obliged him to advance toward Forfar, within eight miles of Glenila, where he underſtood the ennemy was camped; from whence Canon moved to Clova, much about the ſame diſtance from the General's quarters, who, being but weak, and moſt part new levies, placed himſelf in the fields every night, and in the morning after he ſent out ſome ſcouts, and placed his ſentries upon the heights about his quarter, did let his men reſt and refreſh themſelves.

After he had been two nights at Forfar, he got ſure intelligence that Canon had paſſed a very high mountain, called Mount Capel, into Braemar, where the General had a garriſon in the Houſe of Abergeldie, from which place he might, with equal convenience and proſpect of ſucceſs, turn either toward Inuerneſs or Aberdeen, where their party had many friends and well-

wiſhers. Therefor, to hinder as much as poſſible the ennemy's progreſs till more forces could be had, he wrote orders to Sir John Lanier to come to Forfar, left the ennemy, making a feint to draw him to the north, might ſuddenly return the ſame way ſouth, and into Angus again; and took his way ſtraight to Aberdeen, where he arrived the ſecond day to the great joy of the moſt part of the inhabitants, who otherwiſe expected the Highland army in their town that very night. There he was advertiſed by an expreſs from the maſter of Forbes that Canon had taken a very ſtrong poſt upon his father's ground, where he had the Highlands at his back, a wood to cover him, and free communication with his friends in the plain country of Aberdeen and Banff, which made the General judge, that the ennemy, knowing him to want foot, and his horſe and dragoons but ſmall in number, took that poſt of purpoſe to ſecure the junction of their friends in thoſe countries, to make up a body of horſe, with their foot, which at this time we judged odds of 4000 foot, with 150 horſe, wherefore he preſently diſpatched an expreſs to Sir Thomas Livingſton to leave the command of the forces in and about Inuerneſs to Sir James Leſlie, and to repair over Spey and toward Strathbogy, 24 miles benorth Aberdeen, with his regiment of dragoons, ordering him in caſe he found the ennemy to approach to that rout, to take his march more to the left over the plains, and to ſend continual expreſſes to give account of his diligence, diſpatching at the ſame time orders to Sir John Lanier to ſend Hayford's regiment of dragoons to Aberdeen, where he ſhould find further directions; by the junction of which regiments he doubted not to overturn all the deſigns of the ennemy.

The General reſted a day at Aberdeen, giving order for beaking of bread to his party to be ſent after him, tho' he could give no directions as yet to what place it ſhould be ſent him, being obliged to obſerve the ennemy; to which end he moved up toward the Lord Forbes's lands, and upon his march, being advertiſed that Canon moved further north towards the Duke of Gordon's lands, to prevent any deſign upon Livingſton, and hinder the joyning of the northern countries with the ennemy, the Ge-

neral, having refreſhed his party in the field for ſome hours of that night, marched by the break of day towards Strathbogy, by which motion he covered Livingſton's march, ſending back orders to Hayford to follow him with his dragoons. At Strathbogy, the ennemy being poſted within 4 or 5 miles of him, he viewed the ground and took up the moſt proper for the nature of his party, whereof he considered Livingſton's henceforth, for he expected him, according to his orders that ſame night; and viſited round about his poſt by day, but placed no guards or ſentries till it was dark, that the country men, whom he ſuſpected to be Duke Gordon's people, ſhould not know the particular poſts which he deſigned for the ſecurity of his party, with which, tho' without tents, he always for ſix weeks together lodged in the field in a body, and would never ſeparate. Livingſton joined him the night he came to Strathbogy. Next morning he ſent out 100 horſe and dragoons under Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie to view the ennemys countenance, and bring account how they were poſted, being reſolved to march up to them as ſoon as Hayford ſhould joyn him. At our partys approach the ennemy was alarmed, judging our whole body followed, notwithſtanding they were ſo poſted in woods and bogs that no horſe could attack them.

Next day the General ſent out a greater party, ordering Edinglaſſie to approach the ennemy's camp from another way, becauſe he [was] aſſured they would lay their ambuſcades the way he had been before, which he found to be ſo. The General was obliged to fatigue his men in parties and detached guards in this country more then in ſeveral others where he had been before, becauſe he could not lean much to the intelligences which were brought him by the country people; therefor he had every night ſmall parties out round about his quarters, but moſt towards the ennemy's camp. Hayford being joined with his regiment, and the General waiting only for ſome bread from Aberdeen, to march ſtreight to the ennemy's poſt, notice is brought him, that they returned again toward the River of Dee, which oblidged him to follow them to Cromar and the ſaid River, where having further intelligence that Canon had paſt

the hills into the counties of Merns and Angus, he not finding himſelf above 11 or 1200 horſe and dragoons in number, judged he could not without manifeſt hazard venture that paſſage after the ennemy odds of 4000 ſtrong, it being a way where horſe could do little or no ſervice. Therefor, being fully certified that the ennemy had paſt the ſaid mountains, he deſcended the River of Dee, the matter of 30 miles in one day, till he came to Aberdeen, diſpatching an expreſs to Sir John Lanier to advertiſe him of the ennemy's motion. Mean time the General was in continual motion with a very ſmall party to hinder the growth and progreſs of the ennemy.

The Court, being alarumed with the news of the defeat in Athole, with the General's death, ordered General Ghinckell to march to the borders with 9 or 10 ſquadrons of Dutch horſe lying in Yorkshire. Which orders, when the news of the General's being in health and in the field again, with the little rencounter at Perth, were countermanded. When we were at Strathbogy, the Council wrote to the General that they wiſhed he would garriſon the Houſe of Blair in Athole with that of Finlarie before the rains came on, which begin early in thoſe countries. To whom he returned anſwer, that he could not quitt the ennemy ſo long as he continued in a body ſo formidably; withall that the ſervice which they propoſed required no haſte, becauſe thoſe houſes being near the plain countries, he was ſure to render himſelf maſter of them at any time. But if their Lordſhips were very bent upon it, they might command Sir John Lanier to draw out ſome foot to joyn to his regiment with Barclay's, which lay at Forfar, by the Generals order, who alſo had, at his north going, ordered the three battalions of the Dutch regiments which had not been at the late encounter in Athole, to poſt themſelves under Colonel Ramſay at Perth, where he was come before this time. The Council, upon the General's anſwer, without conſideration of the inſufficiencie of the place for defence, ordered the Earle of Angus's regiment to Dunkeld, ten miles above Perth, ſeparate from all ſpeedy ſuccour, and expoſed to be carried by inſult, without the leaſt proſpect of advancement to the ſervice by their

being poſted there; but an aſſured expectation of being attacked, becauſe the ennemy had not ſuch prejudice at any of the forces as at this regiment, whom they called the Cameronian regiment, whoſe oppreſſion againſt all ſuch as were not of their own ſentiment made them generally hated and feared in the northern countries; whereby it might be eaſily judged, that the men of Athole now fully declared for the rebellion would not fail to lay hold upon the occaſion to cut them off, finding them ſo diſadvantageouſly lodged, and therefor ſent to give advertiſement of the occaſion to defeat them to Canon, who, having paſt the hills, as above, thought to play his perſonage alone in the county of Angus. But Sir John Lanier, poſted at Forfar with his own and Barclay's regiment, marched towards Brechin, near which toun the ennemys were advanced. Whereupon, after a little ſkirmiſh (where ſome of both ſides were killed) betwixt their fore partys or ſcouts, the Highlanders thought fit to quite the plain ground to Sir John, who knew nothing that the regiment of Angus had been ſo diſadvantageously poſted, nor that, about this very inſtant, Canon had received the meſſage from the men of Athole concerning the ſaid regiment, and the opportunity offered to cut it off.

Upon the ennemy's retreat to the hills Sir John Lanier returned to Forfar, where he received orders from the Council to march to Athole and Finlarie, to garriſon thoſe houſes. Whereupon he marched next day to Cowper of Angus, within ten miles of Perth as well as of Dunkeld, where he received advertiſement from Colonel Ramſay of the Highlanders approach to Dunkeld, where they could not miſs of defeating the regiment of Angus, deſiring to know his orders what was to be done. Sir John, being altogether a ſtranger to the country, delayed to order any thing till he ſhould be at Perth next day, in which interim, if the Providence of God had not blinded Canon, and diſheartned his Highlanders from continuing their attack, the regiment had certainly been loſt, for they had two full days time to carry them, and all their defence was but low gardens, in moſt places not above four feet high. But if a ſparrow fall not to the ground without the Providence of our Heavenly Father, much more may we

conclude that the lot of the children of men is over ruled by his providence.

This attack, which our own people, as well as the ennemy judged could not fail, produced clear another effect; for after that day the Highlanders got a low efteem of the conduct of Canon, who could never oblige the Highlanders to attack after the firft repulfe, tho' he had all the reafon in the world for this enterprize; which, without any manner of doubt, the half of their number of the fame forces which they had beat a little before in the field would have carried with as little difficultie as loffe. But the Highlanders are not of paffive courage, fo that when they meet with any thing to ftop their firft fury, and hinder their running upon their ennemys with fword in hand, they are foon rebated, and cannot ftand before fire tho' never fo irregular and fmall, whereof this is a great inftance; for tho' they loft not twenty men in the attack, Canon could never bring them to it the fecond time.

If Sir John Lanier had known the fituation of the country, or that Colonel Ramfay or others had known and confidered the matter, and how thofe people might be beft and fpeedieft fuccoured, the fureft way certainly had been to make the forces lying at Perth, immediately upon Sir John's approach to Cowper, pafs the river of Tay at Perth to joyn Sir John, and fo unitedly march to Dunkeld, which lay upon that fide of the river; becaufe by marching on the other fide the ennemy might force Angus's quarter, they looking on and not able to help them. Ramfay had fent up to their affiftance three troops of dragoons upon the firft alarm of the ennemy's approach to Dunkeld; but afterward, judging they could not help much to the defence of that poft, ordered them back. Upon which order, when the ennemy was already in prefence to attack the poft, they marched off, pretending they could not difobey orders, tho' to the palpable difcouragement of men, who faw themfelves abandoned to the fury of their implacable ennemys without poffibility of a retreat, and as little likelyhood of fuccour, and contrary to the proteftations of the Commander of the regiment Lieutenant Colonel Cle-

land, a ſenſible reſolute man, though not much of a ſouldier, who charged thoſe retiring dragoons with the loſs and blood of that regiment. In this buſineſs the Council failed, by giving ſpecial order for the poſting of forces, which they ought to have left to the judgment of officers. Ramſay failed (happily by too much reſpect for the Council's order, which he ought to have conſidered conditionally) firſt, by not ſtopping the regiment at Perth, giving the Council reaſon of his ſo doing, 2dly, that, upon the approach of the Highlanders, he did not either march with all the forces, which he had at Perth, to maintain the poſt if he judged it of conſequence, or provided Cleland with orders, if he found not the place tenable againſt ſuch numbers as he could expect againſt him, to make a timely retreat, giving at the ſame time advertiſement to him that he might make a motion up the river to favour his retreat; for all officers, who are not tyed by expreſs orders from their ſuperiors in command, are anſwerable for the neglects of the ſervice, as much as the chief commander, tho' he were preſent, when they by their rank fall to command in chief a body of the forces. Ramſay complained alſo, that Sir John Lanier delayed his reſolution too long after he had given him account of the preſſing danger of the poſt of Dunkeld.

The General, as was touched above, having been obliged rather than to venture the paſſage of the mountains without foot after the Highlanders to make the tour of Aberdeen; wher leaving Sir Thomas Livingſton with his regiment ſix troops of horſe and three of Cardroſſe's dragoons to keep all thoſe northern countries in aw, he marched with all ſpeed to joyn Sir John Lanier, and at Brechin getting notice of the Council's order to Lanier, he diſpatched an expreſs to deſire he might delay his march to Athole till he had join'd him, which he did about the beginning of September, and ſo with the moſt part of the horſe, foot and dragoons, which he carried with him, and found aſſembled at Perth, marched after the ennemy, threatning to leave not a ſtanding houſe in Athole, and to burn and deſtroy all their corn if the Houſe of Blair, where he deſigned a garriſon, ſhould be burned by the ennemy. Which rigorous meſſage ſaved the houſe, which otherwiſe was the intereſt of the ennemy as well as that of the

Marquis of Athole and the whole country to have burnt, being conſcious of their own guilt, and by conſequence having no ground to expect favourable treatement of a garriſon among them; nevertheleſs the proſpect of a preſent apparent rain made them ſpare the houſe, and the General, notwithſtanding the Athole men were the principal occaſion of all the troubles and diſapoynments he had met with during that whole ſummer, he ſpared their country, contrary to the formed deſign of the moſt part of the officers of the army, and received upon the terms of his Majeſtie's gracious indemnity all the inhabitants of that country who ſubmitted themſelves and delivered up their arms: for he followed forth an inviolable maxim to deſtroy none ſo long as there was any hopes of reclaiming men from purſuing ſo blindly their own and their country's ruin. But the rains began ſo violently the ſame day we marched from Perth, and continued not only all the time we lay camped at Blair, about 10 days, but for two months continually thereafter, that the General having ſent, according to the King's order, the regiments of Lanier, Hayford and Haſtings to the weſt to be ſhipped over for Ireland, as he did thoſe of Colcheſter's and Barclay immediately into England to be made up again, he was neceſſitate to retire with the foot down the country to Perth again, contrary to his reſolution to march to the head of Lochtay with a good detachment to garriſon the houſe of Finlarie, belonging to the Earle of Broadalbin, one of the chieſeſt and cunningeſt fomenters of the trouble of that kingdom, not for love of King James, but to make himſelf neceſſary to the government, and to try if, by ſuch a motion, the Highlanders, being now ſeparated each to his own country, not underſtanding happily the impoſſibilities of acting any thing againſt them for that year, might happen thereby to be intimidated ſo as to ſubmit to the government. But the continual rains, as is ſaid, forced him to retire the forces (after he had given order for the fortifying of Blair Caſtle with a palliſade and breaſtwork, and left nine companies of foot in it) to Perth, where he diſtributed them in the neareſt villages in expectation of fair weather, which he expected in vain ſome two weeks there in perſon.

At laſt having received letters from London to take under his care 1000 Daniſh forces, to ſee them diſbarked at Leith, muſtered and marched to the weſt of Scotland, and reimbarked for Ireland; and finding the wind favourable for their paſſage, he went to Edinburgh, communicated his orders to the Council, and obtained their order for taking of bread and providing of forrage along the road where they ſhould march through. Which done, ſeeing the rains continue, and all hopes of doing any thing more for that ſeaſon in the field being loſt, he returned to Perth, and made a detachement under command of the Lord Cardroſs to garriſon Finlarie, which he executed without any rencounter with the ennemy.

The General, apprehending the conſequence of the deviſion broached in Parliament concerning the Lords of the Seſſion, had writ to the Earle of Portland in favours of the Earle of Annandale and the Lord Roſs, as perſons of whom he believed well, and might be uſefull for his Majeſty in the beginning of his reign, having rendered themſelves very popular among the Preſbyterians, the only party upon whom he could lay ſtreſs for the ſupport of their Majeſtie's government; repreſenting to the Earle the dangerous conſequence for his Majeſty to take all his meaſures for a kingdom (to which he was neceſſarily altogether a ſtranger) by the information and counſel of two or three labouring to ſecure the adminiſtration of the government thereof to themſelves and their families; and that in his opinion the ſureſt meaſures for his Majeſty, as well as for his Lordſhip, would be to give a fair hearing to all parties, whereby he muſt neceſſarily be better informed, and more capable by conſequence to judge of matters rightly. Which letter he had writ with the ſaid Lords from Forfar after they had declared upon their honour and conſcience never to have intended nor to do (whatever the King's determination in the matter in queſtion ſhould happen to be) the leaſt ſtep contrary to their Majeſtie's intereſt and ſervice.

During the General's abode at Perth, he received a letter from the Lord Melvil, ſole Secretary of State for Scotland, ſignifying that the King being

refolved to break fome of the regiments paid with Scots money, becaufe the Parliament was not like to grant new fubfidies. The Court, not favouring well their addrefs, defired to be informed which of them deferved beft to be kept on foot. Which motion he oppofed with all the reafons he could alledge, confidering that the divifions of the Parliament began already to raife the loft hopes of the rebells, wherein not only Parliament, but Council Members fortified them; and tho thofe levies never came to confiderable perfection, yet the very name of them did keep many in aw, who, upon a ceffation, would lift the mafk; that he muft needs feparate the forces about 250 miles, to fecure the low countries from the ennemy's attempts, who otherwife would render themfelves mafters of a confiderable part of them, and fo have a better profpect of continuing the rebellion by fortifying their party with horfe, and fecuring a country fit to maintain them. Thofe with other reafons he offered to the confideration of the King, to be reprefented to him by the Lord Secretary, for the prevention of the ceffation, whereof he apprehended great inconvenience and hazard for his Majefty's fervice; defiring mean while, if the King was pofitive in breaking fome of the ftanding forces, he might fpeedily be advertifed of the number which was refolved to be continued on foot, that he might make his difpofitions of winter quarters accordingly, and that there was fo little difference to be found betwixt the regiments as yet, that his Majefty's favour might be the rule for the modell of the regiments to be kept up. Of which letter and propofition he had not the leaft anfwer for odds of ten weeks thereafter.

The General now apprehending the Parliament either would not meet, or if it came together it would not agree to the confent of a fubfidy till they had the matter of the Seffion regulated to their mind, and feeing the King truft wholly to the advice of the Secretary, who was influenced by the Lord Tarbat, whofe intereft was not to let the Parliament fit, fearing they fhould fall upon his no more than Melvils, who, finding himfelf in the whole credit of the government, thought it not very fafe to fall under the difputes of a mutinous Parliament, which

oftentimes Princes have been obliged to gratify with the loſs of their moſt intimate favourites. Judging that in either of theſe caſes King James's party would become ſtrong, and their Majeſtie's affairs brought into great diſorders, whereof the iſſue might prove doubtfull, he inſiſted extremely to have liberty to go for Holland ſome few months of the winter ſeaſon wherein he knew the ennemy could do no conſiderable harm ; and to facilitate his deſign, got Major General Monro, an old German as well as Britiſh ſouldier, who underſtood the matter of the Highlands pretty well, to be made a councellor, with a yearly penſion, to help the Council to take the neceſſary meaſures for the ſecurity of the ſervice in his abſence.

But Tarbat and Melvill knowing, or at leaſt believing, that he preſt that liberty not ſo much to be in Holland, as by the King, to repreſent things ſo to his Majeſty as that he ſhould be obliged to follow other councels and methods for his affairs in Scotland, or if he found his ennemys credit too ſtrong for him to lay at the Kings feet his commiſſion of Commander in Chief of their Majeſties Forces in Scotland, which was his true deſign and reſolution : They, I ſay, not willing he ſhould ſee the King, tho they contrived to have him removed from that command, oppoſed his getting of the deſired forloof, tho he was made to hope at his firſt ſuit for it, ſo that the General, who expected for certain his forloof about the beginning of November, the Daniſh troops being by ſtorm put out of their road and moſtly landed pretty ſoutherly in England, received a letter from the Earle of Portland, ſhewing that the King would willingly ſee that kingdom in a more ſettled ſtate before he left it ; whereby he began to conſider the Earle henceforth preoccupied by Melvills and Tarbats information of matters, conceiving that the King as well as the Earle of Portland conſidering him as from his youth a ſtranger to Scotland, beſides that his profeſſion hitherto promiſed no great ability in him concerning matters of ſtate, and would have no great regard to what he could alledge againſt the reaſons of ſuch an old politician as Tarbat, which certainly was a miſtake ; for to a man, who had been wreſtling with difficulties in that kingdom already nine months, as the General by the politick and double dealing of Tarbat

and others of his principles there, needed not much cunning to difcover that they governed themfelves neither by the intereft of Kings, country or religion, but by their own, in all their actings; and tho the General believed Melvil a wellwifher of their Majefties government in general, nevertheleefs he difcovered him to be fo bent upon the making up of his family in whom he would have lodged all the places of truft and profit of the kingdom, which at laft he got effectuate, that he was ready to embrace and promote all councels which he difcovered to tend to his own eftablifhment, not examining how prejudicial they might prove to the general intereft of King and kingdom, that not being fo much the fubject of his contrivances as the other.

Tarbat in the mean time faw, that if by his counfel for adjourning the Parliament matters fucceeded to the King's fatisfaction in Scotland, Melvil's credit, who was but his mouth, would be eftablifhed, and by confequence his own, with whom, as was faid, the King advifed what the fecretary propofed; and if, on the other hand, by an unpayd diforderly and mutinous army, an oppreffed people, difcontended nobility, for the moft part a divided Parliament and Council, an unacceptable compofition of Seffion to the moft part of the nation, whether abufively or upon good grounds, I leave it there; a church divided into two more irreconciliable factions, tho both calling themfelves Proteftants, than Rome and Geneva, fo much is that which the firft Reformers did fcarcely mention in their writings preferred by the religious zealots of our days to the being and well being of the whole Proteftant church, that rather than yield the leaft in thofe indifferent matters they would give occafion to the ennemies of the truth to overturn what God had wrought already beyond their expectations for the maintenance thereof, as well as of their laws and liberties, yea of the liberty of all Europe, which mainly dependeth upon the maintenance of this prefent government in Britain; the Epifcopal government being voted out, and their minifters (expecting little brotherly dealing from the refentment of the Prefbyterians, whom they had fo violently perfecuted during the former reigns,) preached King James more than

Christ as they had been accuſtomed to take paſſive obedience more than the goſpel for their text; which is not to be underſtood of all, there being many miniſters in the northern countries well principled and affected to your Majeſtys government, as the means whereof it had pleaſed God to make uſe for the defence of his truth against the deſigns of France; and the Preſbyterians, impatient to ſee their government eſtabliſhed by law, began to be very jealous of the court by the frequent adjournments of Parliament.

All thoſe conſiderations made the General look upon Scotſmen of thoſe times in general as void of zeal for their religion and natural affection, ſeeing all men hunt after their particular advantages, and none minding ſincerely and ſelf denyedly the common good, which gave him a real diſtaſte of the country and ſervice; reſolving from that time forward to diſengage himſelf out of it as ſoon as poſſible he could get it done, and that the ſervice could allow of.

And to the end timely meaſures ſhould be taken, wrote to the Earle of Portland, wherein the failings of the paſt campaign conſiſted, and the reaſon wherefor the troubles of that kingdom might not have been ended that very year, and then gave him a detail of the methods how to amend thoſe failings in time to come. Upon which ſubject he wrote ſeveral letters to the ſaid Earle, after he had diſcovered that his ſtyle was not grateſull to the deſigns of Melvil, who never almoſt anſwered any of his letters, and if he happened to write never touched the particulars contained therein, but ſaid overly he had repreſented them to the King; whereof the General, beginning to be jealous, applied himſelf to Portland, whom he was ſure and found had no other deſign in Scotland but the Kings ſervice, tho happily he might be miſtaken by crediting more ſuch as had their own deſigns, at which they levelled in all their propoſals for the government, more than thoſe who ſought nothing but a ſpeedy end of their diſorders. But whether by the multitude of other affairs, or being otherways perſuaded by Melvil and Tarbat, he could not know, but ſo it is that he got as little return from Portland as from Melvil.

Mean time he was vexed at the heart to ſee that the King, upon the account of the difference about the Lords of Seſſion, eſpecially the Preſident Stairs, at whom the chief clubbers ſeemed to level moſt, ſhould venture a rupture with the Parliament which ſo lately had teſtified ſo much zeal for his ſervice and intereſt, particularly upon the ſubject of prerogative, it being unſeaſonable to diſpute that point before the government was well ſettled upon its baſis; and therefor judged that the good opinion of the people was of ſo much more import to his Majeſty in the infancy of his reign than the prerogative in queſtion, which certainly ſignified nothing to a prince, who had no deſign differing from the intereſt and happineſs of his ſubjects, which conſiſteth much in the due and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; being of opinion that diſputes of that nature ſo early broached would create ill grounded jealouſies in the heart of the ſubject, ſo as from beginnings to form unjuſt conſequences for the reſt of that reign, which is more uſual than equitable for men to do.

Theſe and the like conſiderations made him write freely to the Earle of Melvil upon the ſubject, particularly in anſwer to one of the ſaid Earles, wherein he lamented as if all lay at ſtake again. To which the General replied, among other particulars, that his opinion was always that the King ſhould part with what was pretended by the country party, as it was termed, rather than venture a diviſion with his people in a time when his ennemys could not fail of profiting notably thereby to the making of a conſiderable diverſion of his Majeſtys forces and money, which might be employed more uſefully to further his greater deſigns elſewhere; alledging to his Lordſhip the councel of Solomon's old councellors to his ſon in the beginning of his reign, viz. to be the ſervant of his people for that day only, and that they would be his ſervants for ever thereafter; and that therefor the Kings ſervice was not to put the preſervation of particular perſons, how great and deſerved eſteem ſoever he might have for them, in the ballance with the peace of the kingdom, to which the jealouſies raiſed betwixt the King and his Parliament, whereof the matter of the Seſſion was pretended the ſubject, ſeemed to be the only obſtacle. For 'tis as

clear as the ſun, that after Dundee's death, when the Highlanders and others who had joined and favoured ſaw that they could make nothing of their advantage, which they could not ſo readily expect in future rencounters when the forces ſhould be brought under better diſcipline ; I ſay, ſeeing how little they could make of it, there is no queſton but they had given it over from that time forth, if the deviſions of the government had not encouraged its ennemies without and within the kingdom to ſet new deſigns on foot; whereof the General wrote very plainly to the Earle of Portland, finding how little notice was taken of what he propoſed before ; giving him to underſtand that his continuation in the command of the forces in Scotland could not but prove prejudicial to the Kings ſervice, becauſe his ſecretary and others of his faction were his ennemies, and having more credit than he with the King would labour to be revenged of him, to make the ſervice fail in his hands ; and therefor if the King did not judge him capable to give his Majeſty ſolid information of matters, and propoſe right methods to eſtabliſh his authority in that kingdom, it were the intereſt of his ſervice as well as the Generals deſire to be removed out of that command, being unwilling to hazard his reputation, tho obſcure in the world, where he had ſo little proſpect of advancing the ſervice, ſo long as thoſe who could be moſt helpfull to him proved his greateſt obſtacles. With ſuch expreſſions were writ two letters to the Earle of Portland much about the time the King ſent him to Holland, which, by reaſon of his abſence, Melvil carried to the King, who happily not being ſo well informed of the ſubject of the Generals diſpleaſure before, wrote to him in anſwer to thoſe two letters to Portland, deſiring to know what methods he would propoſe for the timely ſubduing of the Highlanders ; his Majeſty being alſo of opinion that the ſooner the General ſhould endeavour it the better, that he might make uſe of ſome of thoſe forces for the expedition of Ireland.

Whereupon he prepared and ſent to the King propoſals for the way to bridle ſo the Highland rebels before the beginning of May, that his Majeſty might leave Scotland in great ſecurity at his paſſage into Ireland with no

conſiderable expenſes. He deſired three frigats of 30 piece of cannon each or thereabout, with money or order to the government to furniſh 10 or 12 ſhips of burden, with ſome three or 4 dozen big boats, 3000 firelocks, the forces being ill armed, and picks not uſefull in thoſe Highland wars, 400 *chevaux de friſe*, with money to furniſh two months proviſions for betwixt 3 and 4000 foot, and 2000 ſpades, ſhovels and pickaxes, with which he propoſed to march toward the latter end of March through the county of Argyle to a place called Dunſtaffnage, the duelling place of the antient Kings of the Scots, before they had chaſſed the Picts out of Scotland, ſituated in the opening of the bay, which goes up to Innerlochy, where he deſigned to build a fort for a garriſon of 10 or 1200 men, capable to bridle thoſe rebels, and oppoſite to the Iſle of Mull: at which place, where there is a very ſecure haven, he was to appoint the men of war, with the ſhips of burden and boats with the proviſions, materials for working the ground, palliſades, *chevaux de friſe*, with the further neceſſaries to attend him where he was to embark his foot upon the ſhips and boats, and ſo under favour of his cannon from the men of war, and with the help of 400 *chevaux de friſe* he queſtioned not to force his landing at the very place, where he deſigned the fort according to the deſcription he had of it from Ingeneers who had been there, tho the ennemy ſhould oppoſe it with all the force they could make.

This method he propoſed upon the following reaſons: 1st, That Scotland might be ſo quieted and the combined Highlanders bridled, that the King might have no apprehenſion from that hand when he ſhould paſs the ſea into Ireland; it being naturally underſtood that if ever his ennemys ſhould labour to overturn the government, it would be during his Majeſtys abſence, to which the early ſubduing of the Highlanders would be a great obſtacle, for tho the General did not imagine that they would preſently ſubmitt upon the placing of a garriſon at Innerlochy, he was nevertheleſs ſure that it would keep them ſo at home; if otherwiſe they would not ſo expoſe their wives, children, cattle and houſes to the mercy of the garriſon, that they ſhould not trouble the government much, as we have experimented ſince

the placing thereof. And, 2ly, That he could not poſſibly march into their country by land before the month of June, by reaſon of the bad ways, and no ſubſiſtence for horſe in the field: before which time he conſidered beſides that the Kings abſence would raiſe the courage of his ennemys to undertake with the more hope of ſucceſs ſomething againſt his government in both kingdoms, where there was no diſpoſition to leave many forces; that the Highlanders, joyning ſuch a party of horſe as was ſecretly deſigned for them over all the kingdom, would come out ſo formidable, and ſeparate his quarters, (which, for the defence of the plain country from ſouth to north, was neceſſarily far diſtant from each other,) that in no place of the kingdom he ſhould be capable to make head to their forces, which, by the general averſion men began to have for the government, would quickly encreaſe as a ſnowball. With all which reaſons, and ſeveral others, the General accompanied and fortified his propoſitions to his Majeſty, begging a ſpeedy reſolution thereof, and preſent order to the council for the timely preparations of the neceſſary proviſions of ſubſiſtence and materials, according as the General ſhould propoſe. But by multitude of his Majeſty's other affairs, or happily not judging thoſe of Scotland of ſo great importance, with the inſinuations of others, who gave him other notions of them, the General received no return to his propoſitions and frequent letters; which made him so chagrin and impatient, that he declared he would not continue a minute in that command, ſeeing plainly nothing to be expected but the loſs of his reputation with the ſervice thereby, wherewith, as to the judgement of the vulgar, he was intrusted, and would ly under the blame of its miſcarriages, tho' in effect, it was never ſeen that a man hath been imployed in a ſervice of that importance ſo little truſted by his maſter, as he diſcovered himſelf to be by the King; which could not but be very ſenſible to him, conſidering that his Majeſty thereby muſt either queſtion his fidelity or his judgement and capacity. Nevertheleſs, he overcame all at laſt with patience, in the firm expectation that God, (without whoſe providence he had not been pitched upon for that ſervice, when he was ſo very unfit for any by his great ſicknes, as

was touched above, who overruleth the deſtiny of the leaſt of his creatures, much more that of kingdoms, and in whoſe preſence he ſerved that Proteſtant intereſt in uprightneſs and ſelf-denyed ſincerity) would bleſs his endeavours, and overcome, by his providence, thoſe difficulties which he foreſaw to his great diſcouragement, had he not been ſupported by that hope.

In the month of January, 1690, the King ſent down an order for breaking three regiments of foot, viz. thoſe of the Earle of Mar, with the Lords Blantyre and Bargany, and twelve troops of horſe and dragoons, notwithſtanding the General had repreſented the neceſſity of a conſiderable body of horſe and dragoons, without which it was impoſſible to ſecure the authority of the government in the north, by reaſon of the great extent of our quarters, and the ſlow motion of foot to move to the aſſiſtance of their threatened neighbours' quarters; whereas, the horſe and dragoons (if the commanding officers of the quarters had good intelligence and correſpondence with the garriſons which lay in houſes above them, toward the border of the Highlands) being timely advertiſed, might aſſiſt in body either of the quarters, ſo as to hinder the ennemy from rendering himself maſter of it, tho' not to rob ſome of the inhabitants which lay neareſt the hills, by ſurprize and ſtealth; there being no convenience to lodge ſufficient numbers, and in fit places, to cover the country, and no appointment for their ſubſiſtence, either in proviſions, fire, covering, or any other neceſſaries, tho' there had been more places to have lodged men ſecurely from inſult and ſurprize of the ennemy; in ſo far, that the garriſons and quarters we had, had been abandoned and deſerted of the ſouldiers, and the ennemy become maſters of them, and happily of the better part of the kingdom during that winter, while ſuch as had credit with and acceſs to the King, minded only to maintain their own court againſt ſuch as could render him every way better ſervice; if the General, by poſitive orders, had not enjoyned the officers commanding the ſeveral quarters and garriſons, to take ſubſiſtence for the men, and forage for their horſes, where it was to be found, provided it were taken orderly by meaſure and weight,

and receipts given to the owners, to be ſhortened of their arrears when they happened to be paid, tho' ſuch orders were directly contrary to the ſtanding laws: judging that of two evils the leaſt is to be choſen, and that no well conſtitute Parliament would accuſe an officer who broke not their laws but for their own ſafety, and ſecurity of their ſervice.

In the commiſſion for modelling the army according to the plan ſent down from Court, the Earle of Leven, tho' but a Colonel and a youth without ſervice, was not only joint with the General, but placed firſt in the commiſſion; which, tho' it was a manifeſt neglect and a token of his Majeſty's miſtruſt of him, he nevertheleſs diſſembled his diſpleaſure, leſt by any ſuch diſputes the hands of the ennemys might be ſtrenthened, and the ſervice hindered; and therefor adviſed the ſaid Earle and old Major General Monro, whoſe name was alſo put in the Commiſſion, not to proceed to the ſaid modelling till the inconveniences thereof in the unpaid ſtate of the army, with the danger of breaking the horſe and dragoons, were firſt repreſented by a letter, ſigned by all three, to the King; and becauſe the Earle of Portland ſignified the King's pleaſure to be, that the trooper's horſes belonging to his Majeſty ſhould be kept in the country, for which the King would allow tenpence the horſe dayly, he propoſed that the King, making the allowance but twopence more a horſe, might keep thoſe troops as they were in ſervice, for the ſecurity of the kingdom, till the Parliament ſhould meet. The neceſſity of which meeting he had taken the liberty to repreſent to the King himſelf, in theſe terms: that, whatever men might perſwade his Majeſty to the contrary, he could aſſure him, that there was but one of two ways to maintain his Majeſty's authority in that kingdom, either by the way of Parliament, or that of a well paid army, capable to ſubdue and keep it in awe in ſpite of all the contending factions; and that whoſoever repreſented otherwiſe to his Majeſty might ſee to it; as for him, he diſcharged his own conſcience in the ſincere advertiſement which he had given of matters from time to time. Upon the letter advertiſing the King of the inconvenience which might occur to his ſervice by the caſhiering of the horſe and dragoons, it was

left to them to licentiate or keep them, if the treafury could furnifh wherewithall; but the three foot regiments were broke, whereby the fervice loft nothing, becaufe a regiment for Colonel Cunninghame was formed of them, and a company added to every one of the other fix; and the treafury granted for fubfiftence only to a troop of horfe about 70 lib., one of dragoons odds of 50 lib., and a company of foot 20 lib. fterling, which ferved only to fatiffy a little of the fouldiery, but not to make them fubfift, nor that with fo little pay they could live without troubling the inhabitants.

The General finding the feafon advancing apace, and no regard had, fo far as he could judge, of his propofitions, moved in council to write a letter to the King, concerning the three frigates, which he defired, and that the Council fhould recommend to the Lord Secretary to prefs the difpatch of them, as alfo of the other particulars above mentioned; which had fo much effect, that the King ordered the fending of the frigates, as likewife, 500 firelocks, 200 *chevaux de frife*, with fome ammunition, and 1500 fpades, fhovels, and pickaxes; and finding that the provifions and other neceffaries, could not be had timely enough for the execution of his defign of Innerlochy in the fore-mentioned method, and the King fending no money down for the requifite preparations thereto; and confidering, that whatfoever was propofed in council, they fhould depute a quorum of their number, to whom he might give the opening of the way he defigned to proceed for the reduction of the Highlands. Which being ordered, he told them, that if their country were not fpeedily fettled in peace it fhould not be found his fault. And fo, having made a full relation of all his propofitions to the King, about two months before, affured them that he would not fpare his perfon, pains, and all the endeavours he fhould be found capable of, to bring their troubles to a fpeedy end; whereto he prayed them to contribute their part as having more intereft therein than he, who fought none in Scotland but the public; adding, that the time being paft for the enterprize of Innerlochy by water, he was, upon good grounds, afraid that the ennemy would be fo foon abroad, and find fuch

a ready diſpoſition in the moſt part of the kingdom, particularly the northern parts thereof, to joyn with them, as might endanger the government, conſidering the diſtance and extent of quarters; becauſe, that if the rebels, as he was ſure they would, prevent us in the fields, they would ſeparate our quarters, ſo that we could get no conſiderable body of our forces any where together to oppoſe them. To prevent ſuch dangers, ſince they muſt needs (ſaid he,) leave the forces ſo lodged as they then were, till they could be in readineſs to put to the field, except they reſolved to make the ennemy maſter of a great part of the kingdom, he propoſed for the next beſt remedy, to make a detachment of 600 choſen men to embark upon three or four ſhips of burden, with proviſions for three months, to be ſent upon the ennemy's coaſt, moſt of them being Iſlanders, or dwelling upon the north-weſt coaſts of the kingdom; and with them to ſend the ſpades, ſhovels, and pickaxes, with the palliſades, all to be ready againſt the arrival of the frigates, whereof, by a letter from the Lord Secretary, the Council was aſſured with the firſt fair wind. By which method he propoſed to give the combined Highlanders such a diverſion and jealousy upon their coaſts, that they ſhould not much trouble the low country, nor be able to come out formidable enough to give us much trouble till he could be ready to put to the field. For which, ſaid he, there would be neceſſary a conſiderable quantity of meal, as well for the forces during their being in Lochaber, as to leave the garriſon of the fort which was to be built provided for ſome months; as alſo planks and other wood, for houſes or lodges for the garriſon, with ſhips to carry all thither; for all which 5 or 600 lib. ſterling would go a great lenth. And the news being come of one of the frigates being caſt away, he propoſed to the Committee to hire a little frigate of about 20 guns, newly built at Glaſgow. To all thoſe particulars was oppoſed the impoſſibility of getting the money, one of the Lords of the Treaſury there preſent aſſuring them, that all they could engage for might be the proviſions of the 600 men which were propoſed for a diverſion; ſo that it was reſolved the Committee ſhould write to the King, giving his Majeſty an account of the

General's propoſitions, which they judged might be very effectual; as alſo of the emptineſs of their coffers, praying his Majeſty to order 4 or 5000 lib. to begin the preparations, becauſe they were not well able to diſpatch the firſt detachment of 600 men; which, if the General had not got the Provoſt and town of Glaſgow engaged to undertake the furniſhing of the ſaid 600 men, it had not been done by a month ſo ſoon as it was, whereby the whole deſigned advantage of it had been loſt.

The General had, toward the beginning of January, commanded Sir Thomas Livingſton, (who lay at Aberdeen ſince the month of Auguſt that he had called him to his aſſiſtance) with his regiment to the north, becauſe he knew more of the country and the nature of the people, with their inclinations, than any other he had to ſend; beſides, that his regiment was in reputation by the ennemy; to whom he gave very ſpecial inſtructions, according to the idea which he formed of the ennemy's deſigns, as well as the diſpoſitions they were like to meet with in the neighbouring countries, in caſe they drew to the field to prevent our forces. Which inſtructions the General renewed or altered according as the face of things changed from time to time, and as he received intelligence from Sir Thomas, as well as out of Lochaber, from among the ennemy, whence he had his weekly accounts, or oftner.

In the beginning of March the Daniſh horſe, according to the King's reſolution to have them tranſported from the weſt of Scotland to Ireland, becauſe of the ſhortneſs of the paſſage, began to approach Edinburgh, which obliged the General to make a turn thither, to ſee the firſt regiment of them imbarked and ſent away; becauſe theſe people being behind in their pay, and having no other motive to the ſervice than their own private intereſt, as all auxiliary forces are ordinarly diſpoſed, grumbled; therefor, he was willing to ſee the firſt of them pleaſantly diſpatched, to which he thought his preſence might contribute to ſerve for an example for the following two, who would not venture readily to ſhow leſs zeal for the ſervice than the firſt, an example being often of uſe in thoſe caſes. At the ſame time, he engaged the city of

Glafgow to hire fhips, and make the neceffary provifions for the fpeedy difpatch of the 600 men, which he defigned for the ennemy's coaft, to make diverfion, under the command of Major Fergufon, a refolute well-affected officer, to whofe difcretion and diligence he trufted much. He engaged the magiftrates of the faid city alfo to furnifh and fend away with the detachment, 5000 pallifades, with 500 fpades, fhovels, and pick-axes, to make up 2000 in all with the 1500 fent down from England, which he had ordered to Glafgow, to be fent away with the party; knowing, that if thofe things were left to the care of the government (whofe it ought to have been, the General having neither money or credit to furnifh them) he had certainly been difappointed at the time they fhould be made ufe of, as he had been, the firft year of this war, of all things neceffary to further the fervice, whereby, tho' he had learned the way, yet did the means fail him to provide againft the like difappointments for his enfuing campaign, the Court never anfwering the leaft word upon his reiterate repreftentations, tho' he painted forth the inconveniences which the neglect of the Scots affairs might probably bring upon the government, particularly during his Majefty's intended abfence in Ireland in very free terms, being willing that this free and hard language might have one of two effects, either that the fervice might be the better provided for, or himfelf removed out of that command; tho' he defired the former rather, becaufe that he was fenfible that another of much more capacity and knowledge of the war could not comprehend that fort of fervice, nor execute the defigns which he had formed and judged to be the only way to difembarafs the government of that barbarous ennemy as he himfelf; which befides that he had already been a twelvemonth engaged againft them, being an Highlander himfelf by birth, and of one of the reputedeft families for a number of good refolute men among them, and which formerly had fpecial correfpondence and good underftanding with all the Highlanders at this time in rebellion: he had better ways to know their numbers, intereftts, and inclinations, and fo more able to take fure meafures than others. For in the war we muft be informed of the circum-

ſtances of our ennemies, otherwiſe we ſhall never enterprize any thing but in incertitude, (I ſpeake as to humane appearances) and, conſequently with apprehenſion and fear of the iſſue, which makes men lyable to change meaſures upon ſuch reports as often the ennemy are authors of, to render our undertakings by ſuch precautions as our ignorance of the ennemy's ſtate doth neceſſarily occasion, ſlow and uncertain, whereby time and opportunity is loſt. But tho' the General had but little or no allowance for contingencies, he was ſo well inſtructed of the ennemy's circumſtances, that he was humanly ſure of his deſign, if ſuch as had all the truſt of that kingdom had not deſignedly oppoſed him, which, tho' he was put to great difficulties and ſome incertitude, yet pleaſed it God's Providence to crown his upright deſign and pains againſt the ennemies of His truth, in ſpite of his ennemies, who laboured to make it fail in his hand, their malice blinding their judgement, ſo that they could not diſcover that his diſappointment could not but bring prejudice to their Majeſties ſervice, to which the General believed they wiſhed well on the main, tho' they would have it done by other hands and ways than his. And ſince we are upon the ſubject of thoſe differences, let us ſay a word of the occaſion of them as the General had often and publickly enough declared.

The firſt occaſion of the miſunderſtanding betwixt the Lord Secretary and him ſeemed to have been upon the ſubject of Tarbat, as was touched above, who being couſin-german to Melvill, he was highly concerned for him, beſides that being but a weak, timorous ſort of man himſelf as to government, wherein he had never been exerciſed before, tho' very cunning in driving on his own private deſigns, and called to ſuch an eminent poſt as to be ſecretary of a kingdom to which the King was ſo neceſſarily a ſtranger, he had need of the advice of ſuch an able ſtateſman as happily any is in Europe; ſo far as he hath been employed, in propoſing and reſolving matters with the King, and putting him upon true methods for the government of that kingdom; 2dly, as he had got moſt of all places of truſt as to the civil government to depend upon him, being in the hands of his children, relations, or creatures, he deſigned likewiſe to have the

chief command of the army to his ſon Levin, tho but an unexperimented young man, as void of direction, as uncapable to follow that of others; whereto they judged that to make the ſervice fail in the General's hands, or to have the kingdom ſecured by other ways than that which he propoſed would be the likelieſt way to attain: beſides, that Melvil now being choſen the King's commiſſioner for the enſuing ſeſſion of Parliament, in whoſe hands he was to leave the whole truſt of Scotland, was deſirous the ſettlement of the nation ſhould be effectuated ſo as he ſhould have the honour of it, as one of the good effects of his government, which might tend to the better eſtabliſhment of his favour and credit by the King, wherein his politicks certainly were limited, having nothing of a publick ſpirit. Tarbat laying hold upon thoſe inclinations of the Secretary, as the General upon good ground ſuſpected, ...

Here ended theſe Memoires.

What follows was found among the reſt of the Lieutenant-Generals papers, being the notes he had written in Scotland, and of which he wrote the foregoing Memoirs.

Tarbat having eaſily diſcovered the paſſion of Melvill to have the chief command of the forces in Scotland in his ſon, Levin's hands, did not fail to entertain him in the notion of it upon ſeveral accounts. 1ſt, Being the General's ennemy, he was glad to find occaſion to do him prejudice, and therefor perſuaded Melvill, as the ſaid General ſuſpected, upon apparent grounds, that, to make way for his ſons advancement, the ſettlement of the Highlands muſt be accompliſhed another way than the General propoſed; which at the ſame time would add a merit to his miniſtry in Scotland, whereby his credit would be raiſed and well eſtabliſhed by the King, who, conceiving well the prejudice and hindrance his more important affairs might receive from the diſorders of that kingdom, condeſcended willingly that the Highland rebels ſhould be bought off with conſiderable

diſtribution of money, according to their different circumſtances, among them; for which treaty Melvill had full power from the King. But the queſtion was, who ſhould be intruſted with the negotiation thereof. At firſt the Earle of Breadalbin came in conſideration, but he would have 5000 lib. for himſelf, which Melvill, who loved to profit of thoſe occaſions as much as any elſe, thought too much; wherefor he obtained an order from the King to one Hill, who had commanded in Cromwell's time in the Highlands, to repair to Edinburgh, and there to follow ſuch directions as he ſhould receive from his commiſſioner, meaning Melvill, who, about this time, came from the King to Scotland to repreſent his Majeſty in the enſuing ſeſſion of Parliament; to the end that Hill, being acquaint with all the Highlanders engaged in the Rebellion, and eſteemed of them, might be employed to treat with them, touching their laying down of arms upon the receipt of ſuch ſums of moneys he and they ſhould contract for. Which deſigns were a carrying on without the leaſt communication with, or advice of the General, by Melvill, puſhed earneſtly upon the account foreſaid of his own as well as families eſtabliſhment in all places of truſt, either civil or military, for the compaſſing whereof all obſtacles be removed, by repreſenting ſome diſſaffected and dangerous, and others incapable.

Tarbat, beſides his hatred to the General, had two views in the matter: the one, that if King James's party happened to prevail, he could, by undenyable teſtimonies, prove that he was the author of the counſel, which hindred all endeavours for the reduction of the Highlands under their Majeſty's government, and if the Highlanders happened to be ſatiſfied with the offers, he made his court with the King and his firſt miniſter of ſtate, and only truſtee for the affairs of that Kingdom.

Argyle's claims upon moſt of thoſe Highland chiefs eſtates ſeemed to be the great obſtacle in the matter, as indeed it had been the occaſion of their taking arms as well as their opiniatrity in their rebellion, conſidering that the ſaid Earle had countenanced his Majeſty's enterprize by accompanying him out of Holland, being beſides a perſon of conſiderable

command of men, and was not to be difobliged, without which they imagined they could not have been fecured; tho we have reafon to believe, that lefs money than was propofed to be diftributed among the Highland chiefs might have bought off the faid Earle's pretentions, which of the two had been the likelieft way to prove effectual.

The General, having given order for the provifions for the detachments with the frigates, and fhipped for Ireland Colonel Joel's regiment of Danifh horfe, came to Edinburgh, where he found the Earle of Melvill newly come down commiffioner to the Parliament, to whom, tho' he had been advertifed of his defigns againft him, he gave account of the ftate of affairs as to the war, of his defigns and the lenth he had difpofed things for the execution of them, propofing in council, that a Commiffary General of the provifions fhould be named to make ftores in time, and without delay, that the fervice for want of them fhould not be difappointed, as it had more than once fallen out the year before: whereby he was taught the neceffary precaution for the prefent, if he had wherewithall to fupply them.

The council out of deference for the Commiffioner leaving to him to name a fit man for that important employe, the General made dayly applications here; but, notwithftanding he urged many undenyable arguments for a fpeedy refolution, as that the ennemies of the Government would be encouraged by the King's abfence and the fmall number of forces to be left in the Ifle of Brittain to trouble his Government, if timely meafures were not taken to fecure the Highlands by a great garrifon at Innerlochy; that there muft be acted by land in concert with the detachment by fea to aftonifh the ennemies the more; that the proper feafon for fuch an enterprize, which doth not laft long in the Highlands, where the rains, rendring the ways as well as the works impracticable, begin early among thofe mountains, muft be managed and not let pafs without doing any thing; notwithftanding, I fay, thofe and the like reafons, and the General's letters to the Earle of Portland complaining of the Commiffioners methods, with affurance there were no effectual meafures to force thofe people to obedience, but by garrifons, he kept the matter in fuf-

pence five or ſix weeks, and at laſt inſtead of a well affected, generous, capable perſon, and a man of credit, who toward the latter end of the former campaign had acted as Commiſſary of the proviſions, he placed a man there, who knew nothing of it, and depended abſolutely on his own orders.

Nevertheleſs the General, who had no deſign in Scotland but to contribute to its peace and then to quite it, winked at thoſe deſigns, the more becauſe he diſcovered his letters to Court met with very little credit, the King as well as Portland being preoccupied by the falſe notion, which Melvill and Tarbat had given them of the matters of the Highlands, withal being perſwaded that labouring for a power independent of Melvill, to whom the King left the entire truſt of the kingdom, he would looſe his pains, the ſeaſon, and conſequently the ſervice; wherefor he gave orders for the neceſſary proviſions of bread, materials for the garriſon, and tranſport ſhips to come all about before the forces would march further, and put 4000 lib: which the King had ſent him to help forward the expedition in the hands of the ſaid Commiſſary, Melvill's creature, to avoid ſuſpicion of his putting of any part of it to his own uſe.

At this time, much about the midle of April 1690, the club joyn'd in Parliament with the Jacobites, thinking by that means to overvote that which was called the Court party, and ſeverals of them eſſayed to debauch Major Fergufon, after it had been publick the General had appointed him to command the detachment of land forces along with the frigates; to whom the ſaid Major, who is a vigorous and well affected man, diſcovered all their propoſals, not ſilencing a letter from a very near relation of his own to the ſame purpoſe; whereby the General gave preſent notice to the Commiſſioner and thereafter to the King.

Mean time Fergufon being kept up, the matter of five weeks, waiting for his proviſions, the General communicated to ſeveral perſons the deſign of that detachment, giving the party out for more in number than it was, that the ennemy might be advertiſed of it, whereby they ſhould be hindred from giving any conſiderable numbers of men to Buchan and Canon, who

preſt them ſore to take the field; which took the projected effect, for inſtead of 4 or 5000 they might have made up among them, I mean ſuch as were of Lochaber with their neighbours and the adjacent iſlanders who had combined from the beginning, they had made only a levy of 7 or 800 men, and ſent them out with the ſaid Buchan, whom King James had ſent the ſame winter to command for him in Scotland, who together with Canon took the field with the ſaid number much about the 20th of April; while the groſs of the rebells, particularly ſuch as dwelt near the ſea with the inhabitants of the iſles ſtaid at home to guard their country againſt the frigates, with Ferguſon's detachment, at the very noiſe whereof they were very much terrified.

The General being informed of Buchan's taking the field, ordered Livingſton, who commanded three regiments of foot, his own of dragoons, and ſome troops of horſe at and about Innerneſs, to obſerve them, and labour, by a detachment of the beſt of his men, to get a catch of them, or at leaſt to hinder the grouth of their number; but having got notice of them, and made two ſeveral marches towards the place where he was advertiſed they were, he found great difficulty to get his horſe and dragoons ſubſiſted in forrage, as well as his foot in victuals, and ſo was forced, by the ennemy's retreat to the hills, to retire alſo to Innerneſs. At laſt, being informed that many even of ſuch as were hitherto in our party, at leaſt by outward appearance, would joyn them if they were not oppoſed ſpeedily, he detached an expreſs to the General, to advertiſe him of their progreſs, and the diſpoſition of the greateſt part of the northern countries to joyn them; and with his own regiment, about 300 men, 400 of Leſlie's, a company of 100 briſk Highlanders of Lord Rae's men, which the General had taken into the ſervice a twelvmonth before, ſix companies of Grant's regiment, making about 800 men, and two troops of horſe, in all about 1200 choiſe men, he marched eight miles from Innerneſs, upon the way toward the place where he had advertiſement the ennemy lay, to wait further intelligence, and to joyn the ſaid detachment from their particular quarters.

Upon Livingſton's expreſs the General ordered 3000 men, which lay at Stirling, Dundee, Glaſgow and other places, to draw together to St. Johnſtoun at the entry of the country of Athole, both to be ready to move with them, if the north countries ſhould begin to get to arms upon that ſmall appearance of Buchan and Canon, and to keep the more ſouthern Highlands at home, for fear that body ſhould fall into their country and deſtroy them, being reſolved, without neceſſity, not to ſtir from that poſt till things were in readineſs to march into Lochaber, and the ſhips with the proviſions and the materials, were ſent about, leaſt the forces, there being no proviſions ready yet, ſhould be ſpoyled for the main deſign; and ordered Lieutenant Colonel Buchan, brother to him that commanded the ennemy's party for King James, with a battalion of Colonel Ramſay's regiment, the regiment of Angus, and five troops of horſe and dragoons which lay at Aberdeen and in the county of that name, to march upon Livingſton's orders, who, by his inſtructions, was ordered to call the forces out of the next quarters to his aſſiſtance upon occaſion.

Livingſton, mean time, being camped within eight miles of Strathſpey, belonging to the Laird of Grant, who was in the King's intereſt, and Colonel and Privy Counſellor in his ſervice, got advertiſement from a Captain of the ſaid Grant's regiment, who had his company in a caſtle near where the ennemy lay, that they were come down out of Badenoch to the foreſaid country of Strathſpey, marched out of his quarter in the afternoon, and continued his march till within two miles of the caſtle from whence he had the intelligence; where, finding his men weary, a difficult paſs betwixt him and the caſtle, and it being already very dark and well advanced in the night, he would gladly have camped; but not finding a convenient place, and by the perſwaſion of an officer which undertook to guide him through the paſs, he puſhed forward, not knowing as then the very place where the ennemy lay, but that the night before they were in that country, according to the intelligence he had had from the fore-mentioned Captain; whereby we may clearly diſcover the overruling providence of God in the directions of things here below. For if Livingſton

had known the Highlanders had been camped within a mile and a half on the other ſide of that paſs, not being very confident of the people of that country, tho' ſeemingly of our intereſt, he had never ventured to paſs it in the night; nor had the ennemies, if they had ſuſpected in the leaſt ſuch a march, come from the place whence he had the laſt news of them, where he could have done them no harm, to camp upon a plain a great mile and a half from any ſtrong ground, juſt as if they had been led thither by the hand, as an ox to the ſlaughter.

The Captain who kept the caſtle having been advertiſed of Livingſton's ſo near approach, locked the gates of the ſaid caſtle, permitting none of all the gentlemen of the country which came into him to avoid the ennemy, to go out again, leaſt Buchan ſhould be advertiſed of our forces approach. Livingſton being arrived the lenth of the caſtle about two of the clock in the morning upon the firſt day of May, was by the ſaid Captain advertiſed of the ennemy's poſt which he ſhewed him by the fires, offering to be his guide thither himſelf. Who having called the officers of his party together, ſent them each to his detachment to propoſe the attack of the ennemy to them, in caſe they found themſelves capable enough to undergo that little fatigue more, for he knew them to be very weary; to which they anſwered, they were very ready to undergo that and more to be at them, and that none of them ſhould forſake him. Having then given them an half hour to refreſh both men and horſe, he marched down by a covered way to the river, where there was a foord guarded by 100 men of the ennemy, whither he made a detachment of foot with ſome few dragoons to amuſe them, and marched his groſs to another foord below that a quarter of a mile, according as Captain Grant guided him, and having paſt his Highland company before him, he followed with 3 troops of dragoons, and a troop of horſe; and by that time he was out of the river, ſeeing the ennemy take the alarm as moving confuſedly as irreſolute men, he ſent orders to the reſt of his regiment, which was after his foot, with the other troop of horſe, to joyn; and puſhing betwixt the Highlanders and the hills with what he had, paſt at

the gallop, wherein the Highland company outrun his horſe and got the hill of them, who, ſeeing him ſo weak, reſolved to ſtand; but upon the ſight of the reſt of his party, which was following with all the ſpeed they could make, they began to run for it; and Livingſton with his major, a briſk young gentleman, mixt with them, killing and making priſoners about 400; and few would have eſcaped them, had not a ſudden fogg favoured the ennemy's flight, and obliged him to cauſe beat a retreat. He loſt 7 or 8 horſes, but no men in that ſurprize: the news whereof did very much good to the King's affairs both in Scotland and England, by abating the confidence of their Majeſties ennemies in both Parliaments. So little a matter falling out ſeaſonably can give a turn to affairs of the higheſt importance, whereby at the ſame time we can ſee what influence the ſtate of affairs in Scotland hath upon thoſe of England: For this little advantage helped not a little to diſpoſe things favourably for their Majeſty's ſervice at Weſtminſter as well as at Edinburgh, which we may clearly ſee by what hath been ſaid above, as well as by the favourable effects following upon it, to be the direction of God's providence, which, tho' it interpoſe in all the actions of the creatures, is as to our conceptions neverthelefs more viſible in ſome things than others. For to this concurred that Livingſton had no intelligence of the ennemy's being ſo very near the paſs; that when he was taken by the night, he could get no place to camp in; that an officer engaged to lead him by a pretty good way through the paſs, where being engaged and finding it ſo ill, was offended with his too officious guide; that the captain of the caſtle, who had never ſerved but ſome months, fell upon ſuch a diſcreet method to keep the march of Livingſton undiſcovered, and that Buchan, ſo far contrar to the uſual method of the Highlanders, came the ſame night out of a ſecure ground, where Livingſton could not get any advantage of him, to a place where he lay ſo expoſed and within diſtance of his ennemy, notwithſtanding that he knew there were odds of 2400 horſe, foot and dragoons within a days march of him: which by the way ſhows that none can readily carry on a deſign in any ground without it be well known to

them, no more than they can well ſecure themſelves from the deſigns of their ennemy's; and that without intelligence it is a rare matter to advance any thing in our trade; for tho' Sir Thomas Livingſton did all what could be expected of a diligent carefull officer, the captain of the caſtle, altogether a novice, ſeemed to have had the greateſt ſhare in this favourable ſucceſs: as is reported of a general, who of late had engaged himſelf in a ground with a great army, where he had periſhed, knowing no way to diſengage himſelf, if a poor country woman had not diſcovered a paſſage to him, for the two ways known to him were poſſeſſed by the ennemy and well guarded, and if they had not been ignorant of the third as well as he, he had ſtarved with his army, and been ruined without fighting.

The Heads of the Progreſs of the War againſt the Rebels in the Year 1690, in Scotland.

Six hundred men were ordered about to the rebels coaſts under Major Ferguſon, but did not ſail from Greenock till the 15th of May; nevertheleſs, the very expectation of them hindred the rebels from coming in any conſiderable number out of their country with Buchan and Canon.

The 1ſt of May Sir Thomas Livingſton being informed, that Buchan and Canon were come out of Lochhaber to the neighbourhood of Innerneſs, went out with his dragoons and ſome horſe and foot, to the number of 1200, and ſurprized much about the ſame number of the rebels in Strathſpey, killing, and making priſoners about 400, and ſcattering the reſt, which hindred all further undertaking of theirs, till the forces marched into Lochaber.

A fortnight before that ſurprize, I ordered a body of ſome horſe and foot to Perth to be ready to march to the ennemy, in caſe he ſhould ſeem to ingroſs his number; with much wreſtling and diſpute with the Commiſſioner, who laboured all he could to hinder the expedition of Lochaber

I obtained the King's liberty, by an expreſs I ſent to meet him at Cheſter, to march into Lochaber, and ſent orders to Fergufon to meet me with his detachment at Innerlochy, together with the ſhips of proviſions which were ſent about to him.

The 18th of June, notwithſtanding the Commiſſioner gave me a general account of dangerous plots againſt the government both in England and Scotland, judging it would be the readieſt way to ſecure us from the Highlanders, which I conſidered as the moſt dangerous ennemy we could expect, I marched from S^t. Johnſtoun with about 3000 horſe and foot; and having made a motion towards the ſhorteſt way to Badenoch, to alarm the ennemy, as if I intended that way, I turned to the right, becauſe the other way would lead me within a ſhort day's march of the ennemy, with whom in that country, full of defiles and difficult paſſes, I had not a mind to venture in action, till I had joyned the forces from the north under Livingſton; it being a maxim in our trade, without neceſſity to put nothing to an apparent hazard, when the ſucceſs is of great importance.

The 26th of June, having joined Livingſton in Strathſpey, I marched up to Badenoch; after a day's reſt to the forces, to the place of junction.

The firſt of July, having made a feint by four troops of horſe and dragoons towards a ſtrait paſs where the ennemy expected me, as judging I could enter their country no other way, after due information I changed ſuddenly my march to the left, having before ordered the officer commanding the foreſaid four troops, to retire after ſuch an halt as he could judge ſufficient for the country men which were ill affected to ſend intelligence to the ennemy of my approach that way towards them, to retire and joyn my rear guard; and through mountains and boggy ways entered Lochaber by Glenſpean, wher no body expected me that night.

And on the 3d, arrived at Innerlochy, where the ſituation of the old fort did not pleaſe me, being commanded from a near hill, but could not change it, there being none elſe ſo fit.

The 5th I began to work at the Fort, and in 11 days got it at its full height, the matter of 20 foot from the bottom of the foſſee, palliſaded

round, with a *chemin couvert* and glacis, a perfect defence againſt all attempts of ſuch an ennemy.

About the 17th ditto, when I had given order for the march of a party, to the Iſle of Mull, and ſhipped their proviſions, letters came from the council giving an account of the diſaſter of the fleets, and of the apprehenſion of a landing in England and Scotland, and deſiring me to repair with all ſpeed ſouth with the forces; upon which I countermanded the party for Mull, willing to march as formidable as I could ſouth, not knowing what occaſion the Queen might have of ſuccours in England.

I marched the 18th away, leaving 1000 men in garriſon in the new built fort, with 2000 bolls of meal, 30 hogſheads of acquavitæ, 500 pound ſterling in money, and 60 fat cows, and making each ſouldier carry 8 days proviſions of meal, the baggage horſes having been taken, loſt, and deſerted to a very few.

I arrived the 20th by eaſy marches in Badenoch. The 21ſt, leaving the army camped to reſt a day, I went with a party of 140 horſe and dragoons to Ruthen Caſtle which the rebels had burnt the year before, and having conſidered an old ſquare wall within which the garriſon could camp ſecurely from ſurprize or inſult, I left the Highland company of Lord Rae's men within it, with tents to lodge them till they ſhould have ſhelters made, and ordered the commander how he ſhould palliſade it about with a breaſt work. From thence I marched the 22d towards Athole the ſhorteſt way, and arrived at Perth the 26th, where having got notice that Buchan and Canon had got ſome 200 horſe together, I ordered the forces from Stirling to march ſtraight to them, while I waited for ſome biſket from Dunde to march with a detachment of the forces to labour to intercept them, but they were gone before thoſe poſted at Stirling went out, and paſt through the heights of Athole to Braemar, ſo that I could not overtake them, in two days that I marched after them, after I had ſent the forces to a quarter of refreſhing, except about 1000, with which I followed them.

But the 3d day, ſeeing I could not overtake them, and not being pro-

vided for a longer march, I returned to Stirling, from whence I dispatched three troops of Cardroffe's dragoons and one of horfe, to fortify the Mafter of Forbes who had two of horfe and two of dragoons for the guard of Aberdeen-fhire, judging thefe eight troops fufficient for any thing which fhould joyn the ennemy upon his appearance in that country, while mean time, I laid the Lochaber army in quarters to be refrefhed till I had certain news how matters went in England, for which I wrote feveral letters to the Earle of Marlborrough, whereof, if I had got fpeedy anfwer, I could have taken more timely meafures. About this time, Buchan and Canon having got joined to their horfe fome 5 or 600 Highlanders under Innerrey, with which reinforcement they left 160 men to block up and ftarve a garrifon of 70 men I had in Abergeldie, defchending with the reft down the country to joyn fome gentlemen who favoured their party in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Merns.

Upon their defcent into the Low Country, Jackfon and the Mafter of Forbes, oppofed them with 8 troops of horfe and dragoons, a fufficient force againft any party the rebels had as then; but their approach to one another, made them equally afraid of one another, fo that Buchan, to deceive his ennemy, ranged his few foot very much at large, and mixed all his baggage beafts and other horfes for which he had no men to mount them in his ranks, which took the defigned effect; for our men, aftonifhed with the imaginary number of the ennemy, retired from them, and afterwards turned their pace to a gallop, for 16 miles till they got Aberdeen; whither the ennemy followed them being reinforced confiderably upon that little appearance of advantage by the junction of feveral noblemen and gentlemen, fo that the Magiftrates of Aberdeen not being well compofed, our men were afraid the ennemy would force them, the toun lying altogether open and without defence.

Upon the alarm of this diforder, I difpatched Colonel Cuningham in all diligence, with his own regiment, 6 companies of Beveridge's, 10 companies of Kenmore's, making but 300 men, and a troop of horfe with one of dragoons to labour to get Jackfon joined; but the ennemy having got

betwixt them, and finding no appearance of a landing in England, (tho' as yet I got no return from Marlborrough,) I dispatched north myself, with Livingston's dragoons and 1400 foot of the three Dutch regiments without the least baggage or provisions for the forces. By this time, the ennemy leaving Aberdeen, marched southward, upon advertisement of my motion, past over the hills to the north, whither I followed them, tho' hindred some days to order and wait for provisions, and ordered the troops under Jackson where to joyn me. Being come to the river of Dee, I left Cuningham with his detachment posted at the Castle of Aboyn to cover the march of Jackson, and marched with my party to Abergeldie, to relieve, strenthen and provide that garrison, and by the way, by a detachment of 60 dragoons, under Major Mackay, defeat Innerey in the hills with 200 good Highlanders, and burnt all the country about the garrison, because they had blockt that house.

The next day I came down again, and having joined all the forces which I had in the north, except what lay at Innerness, and finding no certain intelligence of the ennemy, I marched a day's march more to the north the lenth of Strathdone, where having got some uncertain notice that the ennemy moved towards the county of Murray, and threatned a little country town called Elgin, leaving the foot behind me for the more dispatch, I made all the haste possible, and that the more because at the same time I found all the north in a design to joyn them, ordering the foot, if I did not call for them in a day or two, to march to Aberdeen to be supplied with provisions, and because the weather was bad. Mean time having got certain intelligence of the ennemy's march to the north, and their expectation of the junction of several thousands, I marched with all the diligence possible, losing no time, but what was absolutely necessary to refresh the horses, and came within four hours march to them before they had notice of me, which made them retire from before Innerness where they had designed an attack, as soon as the Earle of Seaforth, (who had gathered as his Highlanders together for that purpose,) with others of their party, should have joined them.

Upon my unexpected approach, and Buchan's ſudden retreat, the Earle of Seaforth was ſo intimidated, that he ſent two gentlemen of his name to offer all the ſecurity for his peaceable behaviour I could deſire; whom I returned with anſwer, that I could accept of none but his perſon priſoner, which after much repugnancy, being threatened with the preſent deſtruction of all his own and his friends intereſt, he condeſcended to, deſiring only the favour that I ſhould ſend out a party by night to make the faſhion of ſurpriſing him, to which I condeſcended, ſending out ſo formidably, as he could do them no harm: But the Earle, upon ſecond thoughts, diſappointed the party, excuſing himſelf of the breach of promiſe, upon pretext he could not ſuffer reſtraint. Whereupon reſolving to treat his vaſſals with all the rigour of military execution, I detached one Major Wiſheart, a pretty ſenſible man, who had been a conſiderable time in the country, with 200 choſen foot, to whom I ordered the junction of 900 Highlanders of the Earle of Sutherland's, the Lord Rae's and the Laird of Balnagown's men, to fall into all the countries under the obedience of the ſaid Earle acceſſible to horſe, to burn their houſes and take their goods, which I declared good prize; reſolving to march myſelf with all the horſe and dragoons and three battalions of foot (which I ordered to joyn me from Aberdeen, leaſt the weakneſs of my party might embolden Buchan with the Highlanders and Seaforth to return upon me) into his plain country. Notwithſtanding which diſpoſitions, being more willing to have him priſoner than to ruine his friends, who were all proteſtants, and none of the moſt dangerous ennemies, I cauſed convey advertiſement to the Earle's camp, as it were by an act of his friendſhip from ſome of my party unknown.

An Account of the Expedition of the Highlanders, and Particulars for the Year 1690. By Major General Mackay.

The King having ſignified to the ſaid Major-General, (who had ſollicited hard for permiſſion to go for Holland during the winter ſeaſon,) that his pleaſure was that he ſhould ſtay in Scotland till the things were further ſettled: knowing the irregularity of that kingdom the precedent year, by which means there was not ſuch advantages got of the rebels as otherwiſe might be expected, applied himſelf early to his Majeſty that ſuch meaſures might be taken, that the only formidable rebels then in the kingdom might be ſubdued by placing a garriſon at Innerlochy; ſo ſoon in the ſpring, that the moſt part of the forces then in Scotland might thereafter be employed elſewhere, as their Majeſty's ſervice ſhould require: Which deſign he propoſed to effectuate with 3000 men only, the government being at the expences to provide them of ſhipping and boats for landing, with the help of three frigates to convoy them, and cut off the communication of the rebels of the Iſles with thoſe of the main land, and to have ſome ſpades, ſhovels and pickaxes furniſhed from England, for caſting up of ground and building a Fort, with ſome money to make proviſions for ſix weeks only. Which deſign was certainly very feaſible; but things not anſwering ſo readily from England as was expected, by reaſon of the great preparations for the Iriſh expedition, and the Government being unable to ſupply thoſe expenſes, tho' but inconſiderable in Scotland, things wained on without that the Major-General could have any return of his propoſitions till it was near the month of March; at which time being aſſured of the frigates, as well as ſpades and ſhovels, and knowing the deſign of enterprizing with a conſiderable party by water was broke, he propoſed to the privy council to chooſe ſome of their number, who might hear what the ſaid Major-General had to propoſe touching the way to proceed againſt the ennemy the enſuing campaign.

Which being granted, he gave to that committee an account of what he had wrote to court; and ſeeing he was diſapointed in all likelyhood of his firſt expectation, he propoſed that preparations ſhould be made for 600 land forces with ſhips to tranſport them along with the frigates, which were expected to the coaſts of the rebels, by which means he ſuſtained that not only the Iſles ſhould be incapacitate to land any men for the ſuccour of their friends and party in Lochaber; but that whole party, which were the principal rebels, would be obliged to ſtay at home to guard their own country, and to make ſuch a diverſion of the ennemy's forces, that they ſhould not be able to fall in betwixt our quarters, which neceſſarly were extended to a great diſtance, in any conſiderable number, till we could be ready as to ſubſiſtence for horſe and men to put to the field. To the effectuating of which deſign, the Lords of the Treaſury undertook to furniſh 600 pound ſterling, but had certainly been left imperfected, ſo great was the diſorder and poverty of the government, had not the town of Glaſgow, out of zeal for their Majeſties ſervice, advanced credit for thoſe ſmall proviſions, with 5000 palliſades, which the Major-General ordered to be diſpatched with that party.

The project had ſo good effect, that the very noiſe of it occaſioned ſuch alarm among the rebels, that Buchan and Canon could only bring towards the latter end of April 800 of their worſt men, the reſt not daring to leave their country for fear of the frigates and the detachment foreſaid. Which party of Buchan's being reinforced with ſome Badenoch men and others, advanced towards the Laird of Grant's country, where Sir Thomas Livingſton fell upon them very opportunely, (the parliament being then in great heats,) killing and taking priſoners about 400, and diſperſing the reſt, which fell out upon the firſt of May.

In the month of March the Major-General being returned from Glaſgow, where he was ordering the proviſions for the detachment of 600 men, and the embarkation of the Daniſh horſe, waited upon the Earle of Melvill, newly come down his Majeſty's Commiſſioner for the Scots parliament, and diſcourſed with him, touching the deſign he had formed, to

march into Lochaber with a confiderable body of the forces to build a fort at Innerlochy, as the only feafible way appearing to him of reducing the rebels to obedience, and propofed to his Grace a fit and well affected perfon, and of good credit, a neceffary quality, confidering the ftate of the finances, to officiate as Commiffary or Provifor-General for that campaign, who fhould make timely provifions of bifket, meal, aquavitæ, deals and other wood for building of barracks or cafarmes for the fouldiers in the fort that was to be built at Innerlochy, with fhips for the tranfport of all the provifions and materials, both for fubfiftence and work. Which perfon his Grace rejected, feemingly upon the account that he would have 1000 libs. yearly for falary for himfelf and twelve affiftants or deputes, tho' I objected, that it were better for the King to give that fume than lofe one week of the fit feafon to go about his fervice: And certainly we loft near fix weeks by the fhift; befides, that the Receivers-General of their Majeftie's revenues, who were afterwards imployed, did not underftand, nor minded it, as he would have done, having officiated in the fame charge the year before.

In this mean time of the commiffioners irrefolution, whether of defign, as the Major-General fufpected, or by his natural temper, I know not; but a certain Colonel Hill, who in former times had been Governor of Innerlochy, coming by the King's order over from Ireland, a project was fet on foot to fubdue the Highlands by him, with a fume of money without forces. And for that end he was difpatched to Innernefs with power to treat with fome of the confiderableft of the rebels, without fo much as the leaft communication thereof to the Major-General, in fo much that the faid Hill was 8 days away before he knew any thing of the defign. Whereof being advertifed, he laughed at the nonfence to imagine to bind fuch people void of all principles of honefty by any other engagement than that of force, but held his peace to fee what fhould come of it, only pufhed on his preparations. To which the Commiffioner feemed to give way, tho' there was certainly a defign to have hindred him. Upon which a ceffation of arms was propofed, and by the Commiffioner granted, tho' quickly upon Livingfton's

advantage recalled, that is an order to Ferguſon not to act hoſtility for a certain time, which was lourdly miſunderſtanding of matters. The rebels demanding it for two chief reaſons: the one to ſee how matters ſhould go on in Ireland, and in expectation of ſuccours from France or the ſaid Ireland, with ſome appearance in England and on the borders by the diſaffected party, with which certainly they kept intelligence; and the other to make us loſe the fit ſeaſon for that expedition, knowing very well that after the month of Auguſt it is not poſſible to fix a garriſon in that poſt, becauſe of the continued rains much more abundant and frequent there than in any other part of the kingdom. This propoſition I oppoſed as favouring of ſuch perſons as minded not well to the ſervice. Withall the Commiſſioner told me that it came of Broadalbin. To which I anſwered that Broadalbin being a known ennemy to their Majeſty's ſervice, all his propoſitions of that nature ought to be conſidered accordingly. The Commiſſioner replied that he held him alſo for ſuch, but that it ſeemed he was recommended to the King for a man capable to bring off the Highlanders, and that he had his order to make uſe of him to that effect.

In fine, I diſcovered that the Highlanders were repreſented to the King much more formidable than they were to be conſidered, and that I ſuſpected for the following reaſons.

1ſt. That the King might be put off of any deſign of mine to reduce them by arms, by which the contrivers might have two marks to ſhoot at, the one if King James's party ſhould happen to be quite broke in Ireland, ſo as not to be able to ſuccour it in Scotland, they themſelves ſhould be the men to bring them to obedience, whereby they would not only, as they thought, put money in their pockets, but render themſelves neceſſary to their Majeſties, as men who had that power over them, as to make them rebell and lay down arms at their pleaſure.

The other, if upon the contrary that Jacobite intereſt ſhould carry it, they would have ſufficiently to teſtify, and not upon ill grounds, that they were the men which had contributed moſt to the maintenance of that party in Scotland, as having overturned by their intereſt with them who had

the truſt of the Government, the infallible deſigns which were laid down for the reduction of the Highlands; and the honour of this was to redound to the miniſtry of thoſe in truſt, as well as to the tools by which they acted in caſe of the former, and to the confuſion of one at whom they had a prejudice, who notwithſtanding of any intereſt as to his reputation, he might by a natural deſire in men to do ſomething upon their own account which might appear to their maſter good ſervice, would certainly have acquieſced to the deſign of the miniſter, if, 1ſt, he could have believed that thoſe who influenced them meant it ſincerely, 2dly, if he could have conceived it effectual to the end propoſed, which rationally ſhould be, to put thoſe rebels out of condition to trouble the Government any longer; for in the firſt place, he had God the ſearcher of hearts to anſwer to, if upon any private account of his own reputation or intereſt he would oppoſe any thing which he conceived to tend for the good of the ſervice; next he had the hazard of the general blame of the Government and of the King himſelf to run, if in the execution of his way he might be diſappointed of what he propoſed ſo feaſible; which by the untoward ſituation of the country, might fall out without miracle, tho' more likely it ſhould fall out otherwiſe: But all the accidents of war cannot be throughly ſeen of the moſt experimented, for the battle is not many times to the ſtrong, nor the race to the ſwift, but God diſcerneth the victory to whomſoever he will.

Colonel Hill having eſſayed the Highlanders by a repreſentation of ſums of money, he found that it would not do, but that either he had not commiſſion to preſent enough, or that they did expect greater endeavours in favour of King James, which made him fall in the Major General's ſentiment, that without force he could do nothing.

At this paſs things ſtood when his Majeſty took journey for Cheſter in order to his paſſage for Ireland; and the ſaid Major-General finding that the Commiſſioner was influenced (as he thought he had ſtrong ground to ſuſpect) by perſons which he judged were neither cordial for the Government, nor his well-wiſhers, and that the King, nor others to whom he ad-

dreſſed himſelf about his Majeſty's perſon, anſwered nothing poſitively to what he propoſed as to the carrying on of the war in Scotland, he diſpatched Adjutant-General Hill to Cheſter, with letters to the King and the Earle of Portland, with the map of all the rebellious Highlands, and a brief deſcription of the way he intended to proceed, with aſſurance, that if the ſecurity of the kingdom required a quick diſpatch, he would in eight days time leave the garriſon ſufficiently defenſible againſt all attempts of the ennemy, and in ſix days eaſy march be back again.

Upon which his Majeſty permitted him to follow his own project, tho' Broadalbin, with a recommendation from the Commiſſioner, poſted away to renverſe it, and to offer his ſervice to the King for the bringing off the Highlanders of King James's party, without the expences of ſending an army to Lochaber, as they pretended, tho' in effect the little expences that was of it, were made already, ſo that the march to Lochaber, with all the work that was wrought by the forces there, (which was more than could be well believed in ſuch a ſhort time with ſuch materials as the men had,) did not coſt the Government above 300 lib. more than what they are to ſhorten of the forces, ſuch as proviſions, I ſay, for the march of the army, the only things which can be brought into the King's accompts being freights of ſhips as well for tranſporting of the firſt party, with their proviſions and the palliſades, ſpades, ſhovels and pickaxes, in number five ſail, and the matter of 8 or 9 afterwards, with meal, deals and other wood, cannon and coals, with a frigat which they joyned to the two Engliſh frigates; for all other things are to be ſhortened of the forces, except it be ſome ſmall Items for loſſes, whereof no account can be given, as it falls out readily in ſuch marches when there is too little convenience for the tranſport of proviſions.

The Major-General having obtained the King's liberty to go on with his deſign, with a charge to do it as quickly as poſſible, having had the forces which he deſigned from the ſouth to take along with him about 3000 quartered at and about St. Johnſtoun, he took his leave of the Commiſſioner, who ſpoke much to him the night before of dangerous plots,

in preſence of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, and the Earle of Levin, of deſign, tho' happily true enough, as he the Major-General conceived, to induce him to retard his march. To which he oppoſed, that tho' he knew of a certain, there were ſuch deſigns of the contrary party to be ſpeedily ſet on foot, that he was abſolutely of opinion the ſafeſt meaſures ſhould be to march with the better part of the forces againſt that ennemy, to fix a garriſon at Innerlochy; which, whatever might fall out afterwards in either or both the kingdoms, would fix him at home, ſo that of 4 or 5000 which (if we

Account of the late Outbreaking after the Settlement of the Garriſons of Lochaber and Ruthen in Badenoch.

When the better part of the forces were in Lochaber, Buchan and Canon went to the low country, believing there were not forces to hinder their deſigns; the former to Aberdeenſhire, with about 60 or 70 horſes of all ſorts; and the latter not having above 30 horſe, moſt officers and their ſervants, to the Highlands of Perthſhire. To him gathered together, out of deſign to robb, 3 or 400 Highlanders of the ſame country; which, with the apprehenſion of a riſing upon the Borders, alarmed the Commiſſioner and others of the Government; who, notwithſtanding they had the troop of guards, 4 troops of Cardroſſes dragoons, with two troops of light horſe, making at leaſt 300 horſe and dragoons, 27 or 2800 foot, ſent none againſt them, but permitted the country to be ſpoyled, and houſes burnt, within 3 or 4 miles of Stirling. The Maſter of Forbes mean time chaſed Buchan out of Aberdeenſhire, with 4 troops of horſe and dragoons, making him retire to Canon. About this time the forces were on their march ſouth out of Lochaber, being haſtned by a letter from the Council, and paſſing through Badenoch placed a garriſon in the Caſtle of Ruthen, taking further march to Blair in Athole and Perth, where there were no

proviſions, ſo that the Major-General was obliged to ſtay there till he had ſome biſket brought to him from Dunde. At which time hearing that the rebels advertiſed of his approach took the hills, he marched after them with about 1000 horſe and foot, but they having got the matter of 20 miles in head of him, and his party ill-provided of proviſions, and having many ſick, he returned them alſo to quarters of refreſhment, not knowing what uſe the Queen in the then ſtate of affairs might have of ſuccour; therefor he lodged the moſt part of the forces towards the ſouth, excepting three troops of dragoons and a troop of horſe which he ſent north.

General Remarks upon the Scots Wars in the Years 1689 and 1690, with the occaſions of the Beginnings, increaſſing and continuation of the Rebellion againſt their Majeſties Government.

That upon his Majeſty's firſt landing in England, all Scotland was, for the moſt part, except Papiſts, rejoyced, and all the Miniſters prayed for his good ſucceſs, except ſuch as were of corrupt principles of life as well as doctrine, every one being big with the expectation of advantages, and the church with that of its then government.

That a part of the nobility and gentry imagining themſelves diſſapointed of their expectations, and finding the King ſomewhat more reſerved than they expected, as being uncertain as then of mens inclinations, which they took for a deſign to favour moſtly, and imploy in the government, ſuch of that nation as accompanied him from beyond ſea, came down from England quite altered in their minds.

Upon which occaſion, thoſe who had really ill deſigns againſt their Majeſties intereſt, laid diligently hold to form a party as well in the Convention as the country, and eſpecially among the Highlanders, to overthrow the deſigns of the well-affected, to put themſelves, by a general act of the nation, under their Majeſties government. That to make their party the ſtronger, the il-affected gained moſt part of the Epiſcopal clergy, who,

beginning to diſpair of the continuation of that church government, cooled in their affection to their Majeſties, and began to favour the deſigns which were a forming contrary to their eſtabliſhment in the ſupreme government of the nation.

That it is to be preſumed that the particular deſigns of ſuch in whom the King repoſed moſt truſt, and by whoſe informations and advice he governed himſelf as to the affairs in Scotland, contributed not a little to the alienation of many of the principal ſubjects hearts from his government, whereby he might the better be informed of all their matters, but laboured to overturn that whereby they could not conceive a preſent proſpect of advantage to themſelves, tho' the ruin of religion and country would be the inevitable humane conſequence of their criminal practices. That the preſent diſorders of the Engliſh forces upon the retreat of the late King and his Majeſty's adminiſtration of the government hindring the King's ſpeedy reſolution of ſending ſupplies to Scotland and Ireland, and the deſpicable number which was ſent to the former, emboldened Dundee, as well as the Highland clans, to declare for King James, and run to arms.

That if Dundee and his adherents had underſtood their advantages as well at firſt as they did in the proſecution of the war, and the inclination of the northern ſhires of the kingdom had been as determinately bent to favour their enterprize the firſt year of the war as it was the ſecond, the King had apparently met with a conſiderable oppoſition to his eſtabliſhment in the government, and a notable diverſion for his arms, which might have hindred his other great deſigns, and created troubles to him in other parts of his dominions.

That the reaſon of the grouth of the diſcontents, and number of the diſcontented, appears to be the following :—

1st, That ſuch as by their vigorous appearance in the convention for their Majesties intereſt, judging that others who were longer known to his Majeſty would carry the greateſt ſhare in the government, invented and managed a plauſible ſubject of quarrelling his Majeſty's councellors

upon a point wherein the intereſt of the ſubject ſeemed to be concerned, viz. a lawfull election of the College of Juſtice, how juſtly ſuſtained I leave to the learned to determine; but certain it is, that their afterſteps make it appear that their deſign in the thing was ſelf-intereſt.

That on the other ſide, ſuch as were in poſſeſſion of the places of advantage in the government, willing to maintain themſelves therein rather than foreſee the inconveniencies and dangers of the diviſions which were like to enſue, urged the King's prerogative, and the afront it would be to him to paſs from an act of his royal authority, and the bad conſequence of it in the beginning of his reign; offering the examples of his predeceſſors in the throne, whereby [who, by?] a gradual parting with branches of their royal prerogative were at laſt reduced to invincible difficulties, whereof the late troubles of theſe nations do afford recent examples, tho' it be very preſumable that, as the other's zeal was their own eſtabliſhment more than the intereſt of the people, ſo was that of the advocates of the royal prerogative, more the maintaining of their own ſhare in the government than any true intereſt a Prince, without any deſign but the happineſs of his people and the maintenance of the Proteſtant religion in all his perilous enterprize, had in the matter of the ſeſſion, which, according to all moderate diſintereſted judgment, was not a matter of that moment for the King, as to hazard upon that account ſuch diviſions and factions as it did occaſion even among that party which appeared the moſt zealous for his government, and the diſorders which thoſe diviſions produced, by which the dying hopes of the ennemies thereof were revived, their deſigns renewed and ſet on foot, and their party notably fortified. And if the gracious providence of God, author of this happy and opportune change for all the Proteſtant intereſt in the world, had not prevented it by his overruling directions, what dangers had we not to expect from an army eight months living upon oppreſſion; a people void of zeal either for religion, having very little except the form of it, or for their country oppreſſed by forces living at diſcretion; a church divided into two parties which, tho' both Proteſtant, were as irreconciliable as Rome and Geneva, or Calvin and

Bellarmin; whereof the one, affured to be outed, preached rebellion; the other, by the frequent adjournments of parliament, fearing not to be eftablifhed, at leaft as they would have it, threatned another; befides the ftanding rebellion, and Jacobites labouring to overturn every thing which was contrary to the faction, which each of them owned.

That the counfellors of the frequent adjournments of parliament being intrufted with the management of the laft feffion thereof, during his Majefty's abfence, finding the neceffity of having money for the maintenance of the government and the carrying on of the war againft the rebels, and the impoffibility of obtaining it without eftablifhing of the Prefbyterian Kirk government at its full height, refolved, (tho' as fuppofed not without warrant if otherwife could not be) to fatisfy that party's defire, after it was difcovered to be the carrying vote of the Houfe; whereby it falls under confideration whether the zeal of the minifters of ftate for the maintenance of the royal prerogative in the matter of the feffion, hath wrought fuch advantage for the King in any vifible or fuppofed refpect, as the too great a latitude given to the Prefbyterian party in their kirk government, confidering their irreconciliable prejudices againft all fuch as have preached under bifhops (tho' I will not deny but that condefcenfion, as things then ftood, was of an abfolute neceffity) may create to his Majefty and the government troubles hereafter, by perpetuating untoward humours and dangerous defigns in the kingdom, which, tho' by force they may ly covered with afhes for a time, will upon occafion be a ready matter to flame the kingdom into a rebellion, and furnifh fuch as would trouble the government with ground to hope for fuccefs to their pernicious defigns; it being rational to believe the great number of minifters, which by rigid trials and partial judgements may happen to be put out, tho' blamelefs in their life and doctrine, and ready to comply with and preach under the prefent church government, as eftablifhed by law, tho' they cannot abjure the former as unlawfull and unchriftian, fhall in their private meetings and feparate affemblies, labour to entertain fuch as are devoted more to Epifcopacy than Prefbytery, as well as their children in a liking of the

former and diſlike of the latter. Beſides that, it is a notable obſtacle to a preſent peaceable ſettlement of the kingdom, and therefor that it is offered moſt humbly to his Majeſty's royal conſideration, whether it be not a matter worthy of his reflection, to hinder gently as much as poſſible the deſign of depriving of their churches in Scotland ſuch as the greater part of their congregation are well pleaſed with, thoſe againſt whoſe lives and doctrine nothing can upon juſt grounds be objected, and are willing to own and comply with the preſent Government in Church and State, eſpecially in the northern parts of Scotland, which certainly as his Majeſty's affairs at preſent do ſtand, by the bleſſing of God upon his glorious enterprizes, would notably contribute to the diſabuſing of the prejudged ſpirit of the people, and bring them unto a liking of the Government.

Iſt. Advantage of the Highlanders.

That the Highlanders of Scotland do by their way of living, and nature of their habitation, ſurpaſs the reſt of the inhabitants of Scotland in valour and other qualities for the war, and that no new levies before they have been formed a while, and ſerved a campaign, are comparable to them in their hills, eſpecially where they can boldly attempt without hazard of any conſiderable loſs tho' worſted, becauſe of their nimbleneſs and ſpeed of feet, to which their way of cloathing doth much contribute, which may be judged as the chieſeſt human reaſon of the advantage they got in Athole, all our forces being levies of a month or two old, without diſcipline, and ill armed, particularly againſt ſuch an ennemy.

IId. Advantage.

That the ſituation of all the diſaffected Highlanders of Scotland being contiguouſly ſeated together, ſeparating the Lowlands, which form an half circle about them, furniſhed the rebels three to one of advantage in this war, ſo that their five thouſand always together in body might give play to triple their number ſeparate, as they muſt neceſſarly be, to hinder the ill-affected in the Lowlands to joyn them.

IIId. Advantage.

That by purſuing them in their hills and foreſts nothing could be advanced, becauſe of the ſpaciouſneſs, and that they, if preſſed, were able to march in one day as much as the regular forces could do in two; beſides that it is not poſſible for any conſiderable numbers to ſubſiſt in the Highlands, except the Government had garriſons in ſeveral parts of thoſe hilly countries, ſtored with proviſions ſufficient to ſupply the forces from place to place in purſuing the ennemy, as the Engliſh ſeeing the neceſſity of it had, to which pitch of care and direction this Government hath not made the leſt ſtep as yet.

IV. Advantage.

That tho' thoſe difficulties were overcome, the Highlands are of ſuch a vaſt extent, and ſo full of grounds inacceſſible for other forces but ſuch as they are, and ſo eaſy a matter for the inhabitants to ſhun a rencounter with a purſuing ennemy, that by ſeparating each to his own country, not only they could ſave their perſons out of our reach, but alſo their families and goods, by the great numbers of inacceſſible roads and other ſtrong grounds, wher a ſmall number could keep off a greater, as ſome of them have practiſed this laſt campaign, when the forces were too formidable for them in Lochaber.

V. Advantage.

That if upon their ſeparation and dividing themſelves into ſmaller bodies we ſhould do the like, as it is ſometimes practicable and uſefull in other countries to abbreviate the war, when a man finds himſelf the maſter in the field, they by their exact knowledge of the ground before we ſhould be aware, could quickly joyn to fall upon our ſeparate bodies and catch them at a diſadvantage.

VI. Advantage.

That conſidering the advantages of thoſe Highlanders in their own coun-

try and the neceſſity of forcing them to a ſubmiſſion to the preſent Government, it was upon reaſonable ſuppoſitions judged they could not be ſubdued without gariſons in the midſt of their country, whereby they ſhould either be obliged to live ſummer and winter in their hills and foreſts, or be ſo expoſed to the enterprizes of the garriſons if they ſhould inhabit their houſes, that at laſt they ſhould be forced to obedience, eſpecially that of Innerlochy, now called Fort William, was judged of all men void of ſelf ends effectual and neceſſary for that end.

Notwithſtanding whereof ſuch as had the chief direction in the Government by the influence certainly of ſuch as wiſhed not to ſee a ſpeedy ſettlement, laboured to hinder and obſtruct the deſign of it, as the manifold delays and difficulties to which the enterprizes thereof were expoſed for lack of the neceſſary concurrence of the Government, together with the ſeveral addreſſes to his Majeſty for liberty to go about it before the ſeaſon were loſt, or ſome other occurrence might furniſh a diverſion for the forces, may ſufficiently make appear.

That the Highlanders during the forces abode in Lochaber, have (by the neglect of the Commiſſioner, who would permit no detachment to be made to hinder them) got a body of 200 horſe good and bad together, and engroſſed it afterwards by the irreſolution and precipitate retreat of 8 troops of our horſe and dragoons, who durſt not abide them. Whereupon and by the lyes of the Jacobite party ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen joyned them, while the groſs of our forces lay beſouth Forth in expectation of ſome orders from the Queen in caſe of a French landing in England; which fear being over, a part of the ſaid ſouthern forces was marched northwards, which made the Rebels abandon their deſigns and betake themſelves to the hills, whether we could not follow them upon theſe reaſons. 1st. That with foot they could not be overtaken, nor any conſiderable body ſuch as could ſecurely march through their ennemy's hilly country, could not be 8 days ſubſiſted, both for want of magazines of proviſions, and tho' that were to be had, that there was no way to carry it along. 2ly. That a ſtronger body of horſe could not ſafely

march after them, becauſe that ſuch Highlanders through whoſe countries they marched, would without any manner of doubt lay hold upon an apparent advantage to joyn foot with the Rebels horſe, to take our horſe alone in ſtrong ground at a diſadvantage; which the ennemies of the commander of their Majeſty's forces did not underſtand, when maliciouſly they blamed him, becauſe the ennemy trotted up and down the hills the matter of three or four weeks, who underſtanding more of his trade than his cenſurers, ſeparated the forces in four ſeveral poſts betwixt the ſouth and north, that where ever they ſhould ſhew their head in the Lowlands, they might meet with a body ſufficient to attack, or chaſe them to their hills, by which method he was ſure they muſt with the firſt foul weather break of themſelves, beſides the want of forrage, proviſion and horſe ſhoes.

Some ſhort Remarks upon the Preſent State of Scotland.

I. That there ſhould no time be loſt to ſecure and quiet the ſpirits in this Kingdom, by reaſon that ſuch as find themſelves under the laſh of the law ſhall be apt to flatter themſelves with the hopes of a change; whoſe diſpoſitions to embrace readily the occaſions of troubling the Government will be a laſting ground for their Majeſties ennemies abroad to form continual deſigns upon this Kingdom, which would be much at an end if the Highlanders were diſpoſed to accept, and the King to grant a general pardon for bygones, excepting a few of the moſt criminal offenders for examples ſake.

II. That the more generally the nation was infected with, and engaged in evil deſigns, the readier the pardon ought to be; it being a dangerous matter for the Government to leave a ſtrong combination in ſuſpence and lying under fears of being called in queſtion thereafter, it being ſuppoſed that their apprehenſions will put them upon evil contrivances, againſt the power of which they fear a reſentment.

III. That moſt or all the Proteſtant Jacobites of quality in Scotland are ſuch for one of two reaſons. 1ſt, Self-intereſt, being, in their opinion, diſſapointed of the advantages which they promiſed to themſelves under this Government; and, 2ly, The fear of a rigid Preſbyterian Government, under which they cannot propoſe to themſelves to live eaſy and ſecurely. For a remedy to the former, it's propoſed that the King conſider either in the government, or by penſion, ſuch as are known to be able to ſerve him beſt upon all occaſions; and to the latter, that there may be formed a moderate Council, which, tho' they countenance only the Preſbyterian Kirk government as eſtabliſhed by law, may labour to keep a gentle bridle hand againſt their violences, and that no perſons of quality eſpecially be impoſed upon as to their particular exerciſes of devotion in their own families.

IV. That a delay in the matter of pacifying the ſpirits and diſſipating the fears upon the account of rebellion, or deſigns againſt the Government, by a general pardon, may not only render it thereafter more difficult, and the grace leſs eſteemed and embraced, upon the hopes of forreign ſuccours, but probably will be an invitation to the ennemies of their Majeſties Government to uſe all means to divert the diſcontented from any reſolution of ſubmiſſion to which the happy ſucceſs of their Majeſties arms had diſpoſed them, if the occaſion had been timely laid hold on, as alſo to form a real deſign of landing ſome forces in Scotland this winter, to make a diverſion for their Majeſties arms; all which timely meaſures to engage entirely two or three perſons of conſiderable dependency in the Highlands would without any doubt prevent and diſſappoint.

V. That the ſame method obſerved in the former reign to fortify the royal authority in a deſign againſt the religion and intereſt of the people, is of the ſame import now to fortify their Majeſties as well as the kingdom's true intereſt againſt all Pretenders to the Crown; that is, where a ſufficient number of forces is wanting (the kingdom not being able to maintain it) to ſecure the Government againſt foreign and domeſtik attempts, to gain ſuch of the ſubjects as are of greateſt following and command to ſupply the ſaid want, and ſerve upon occaſion in place of other

forces; and that the ſooner this method is followed, the better effects in all appearance it ſhall take.

Memorandum of the Chief Things to be remarked and enlarged upon, occaſion ſerving, ſince I came to Scotland.

In the month of March 1689, being ſent down to Scotland with little more than a thouſand foot, and about 200 dragoons and two regiments of Engliſh horſe to quarter upon the borders, in caſe I had occaſion to call for them, immediately I blocked up the Caſtle of Edinburgh, but having neither men nor artillery enough to attack it in form, I contented my ſelf to hinder the beſieged from all communication from without. I gave preſent orders for recruiting the companies of the three regiments, which I carried down to 100 men a piece, as alſo the Earle of Levin's regiment.

About that time the Viſcount of Dundee, having diſobeyed the State's ſummons, was by them declared rebel and fugitive. Whereupon I ordered Sir Thomas Livingſton to the ſhire of Angus and town of Dunde to obſerve his motion, and hinder all riſing in arms in that country, and labour to ſeize the ſaid Viſcount's perſon, and to fall upon and defeat any party or parties which ſhould appear for him and againſt the Government.

The ſaid Sir Thomas being informed that the Viſcount quartered with ſome horſe to the number of 50 or 60 in a place called Glen-Ogilby belonging to himſelf, and ſix miles from the dragoons' quarters, marched out in the night, of a deſign to ſurprize him, but he was gone the day before.

Within a few days thereafter, the Maſter of Forbes, whom I had ſent north with inſtructions, advertiſed me that the ſaid Dundee, with the forementioned number of horſe, was gone north to form a body there, which country ſeemed much diſpoſed that way, by the intereſt of the Duke of Gordon, the Earle of Dumfermling, with ſeveral ill affected gentlemen and corporations.

Upon which intelligence, knowing the neceſſity of a preſent oppoſition

to thefe defigns, as well as the continuation of the blocade of the caftle, and to hinder the efcape of the Duke of Gordon, whofe perfonal prefence in the north would bring a great weight to that party, I committed the latter to the care of the Brigadier Balfour, and having ordered the Marquis of Athole, the Earle of Mar, and the Laird of Grant, to guard the paffages of their country, that Dundee might not efcape to the combined Highlanders thereby, without danger of being taken or defeat, which they faithfully undertook, I took 200 fufiliers of the three regiments, 120 of the Lord Colchefter's regiment of horfe, and about 130 of Livingfton's dragoons, and made great diligence to the north.

Being come to the lenth of Brechin, I had fome report that Dundee was returning fouth again, and tho' I did not believe that I would furprize him in a country more his friend than mine, neverthelefs, I detached Major Mackay with 50 dragoons, and as many foot, to a pafs of a river or bridge four miles beyond my quarters, and two or three miles fhort of a village called Fettercairn, at the foot of the hills which I was to pafs towards the north, with inftructions to order his march fo from the forefaid paffage, that by the break of day he might fall into the faid village, which he did accordingly, but found no man there, Dundee having been advertifed of my motions (as he was on his march and within fix miles of the faid village where he intended to lodge) by fome people that had feen me pafs the ferrie of Dunde, otherwife he had certainly fallen into the fnare.

Having the following day joyned my detachment, and fent out feveral fpies to know whether he turned head after that alarm, I got notice, that after a motion, as if he intended for the Braes of Marr and Athole, he turned down again to the Duke of Gordon's country, which the Earle of Dumfermling laboured to put in arms for him; but being again alarumed of my approach, he paft Spey, which was occafioned by the Laird of Grant's not following exactly my orders for guarding the paffages of that river, which was an eafy matter, had he parted from Edinburgh when I ordered; but I fuppofe this fault to have been more of ignorance than want of affection.

Dundee having paſt Spey, joined the number of nine hundred Highlanders, which received him as their General, and declared for King James, who, after they had received ſome contribution-money from the town of Innerneſs, were reſolved to march through Murray, and make that country take arms for the late King, as appeared by a letter of Dundee's to the Magiſtrates of Elgin: whereof I being advertiſed, tho' I was forced to leave the moſt part of the Engliſh horſe at Brechin, ſo that I had but the 200 foot, 130 dragoons, and the matter of 40 horſe with me, I marched with all diligence to be at Elgin before the ennemy, diſpatching an expreſs to the reſt of the detachment of horſe to come up at any rate.

Dundee finding that I had prevented his deſigns in Murray, and conſequently in all the low countries which I had left behind, and happily not knowing that I had left the moſt of my detachment of horſe ſo far behind, not being able for ſore backs to follow, with the diligence I made, decamped from before Innerneſs, and marched towards Lochaber.

I not knowing the deſign of his retreat from Innerneſs, and finding by all the intelligence I could get, that he was near triple my number, halted at Elgin till the reſt of the Engliſh horſe, to the number of 80 came up, to which I was moved, (beſides the former reaſon,) becauſe from all hands I was advertiſed that there were ſome ill men among the dragoons; and tho' I did not much believe thoſe reports, nevertheleſs I thought it no prudence to ſlight them altogether.

Next day, after the foreſaid horſe had joined me, I marched ſtraight to Innerneſs, where, having lodged my few forces, I ordered four hundred of the Lord Rae's men, with three hundred of the Laird of Balnagowns men to come to joyn me, who accordingly came at the time appointed; and the Lord Strathnaver being come north, went diligently about getting his regiment together.

Mean time Dundee finding the Highlanders diſpoſed, (ſuch as Glengary, Lochiel, Keppoch, Macklean, Stuart of Appin, and Young Mackdonald,) to raiſe their men at a time appointed, reſolved, (whether to get a recruit of money or horſe, or both,) to paſs through the Braes of Bade-

noch and Athole to the ſhires of Perth and Angus, where he had many favourers and adherents, ſurpriſing in the town of Perth a captain and Lieutenant of Horſe, who were levying a troop in that ſhire, with a Lieutenant and Enſign of Foot, and 24 men ſent thither upon execution.

From thence he paſt into the ſhire of Angus, got ſome gentlemen and King James's officers to joyn him, came to the gates of Dunde, where I had left two troops of dragoons to guard againſt ſuch a deſign under Lieutenant-Colonel Livingſton, who did not ſo much as get his dragoons on horſeback, or ſent any of them to view the countenance or number of the enemy, which could not be much ſuperior or better mounted.

Dundee having got ſome part of his errand, returned by the ſame way he came to the Highlands again, where he had received aſſurances from the Marquis of Athole's men, particularly from his baillie, who had the direction of his country, and command of his men in his abſence.

This was a ſtep ſufficiently rendring the Marquis ſuſpect as well to the government as to me, to whom he had engaged that he would not only hinder Dundee from paſſing through his country, but actually to oppoſe his undertakings.

After Dundee's return to the Highlands, and finding the Highland combination growing dayly ſtronger, and the neareſt neighbours of Innerneſs, ſuch as the Mackenzies, the Fraſers, and the Macpherſons, giving me great ground of ſuſpicion; and judging that if I ſhould retire to the ſouth, the enemy would preſently be maſter of all the country be north Tay, which as to men is the conſiderable part of Scotland, I reſolved that except there were a landing in the ſouth out of Ireland, I would not quite thoſe countries, till I ſhould leave them better ſettled; therefore upon the relation of my ſpies of the ennemy's frequent meetings and conſultations, judging that they tended to put a formidable body in the fields, I diſpatched an expreſs with orders to Balfour to ſend me in all diligence colonel Ramſay, with 600 choſen men of the three battalions, giving directions to the ſaid Colonel by which way he ſhould come to joyn me, and calculating the marches ſo that, according to the judgment I

made, I might have him before the enemy would be in condition to hinder our junction: At the ſame time I ſent an order to make ſome regiments of foot, and Barclay's dragoons march into the ſouth of Scotland, and not to Sir John Lanier, becauſe I was uncertain of the iſſue of my northern expedition, to come himſelf to Edinburgh to take the neceſſary care there of their Majeſties intereſt and ſervice in my abſence. Upon the receipt of my order, Balfour detached Ramſay with the foreſaid number to ferry over at Leith and ſo to St. Johnſtoun, but upon the appearance of ſome thirty Holland fiſhermen, the Privy Council being alarmed ſtopt his march two days, which was the firſt break of my meaſures.

The Hollanders being diſcovered to be no French men, Ramſay was permitted to purſue his way, who being advanced in the country of Athole, through which I ordered his march, as much the neareſt way, he found it in arms. Ramſay ſtaying beyond my calculation, and having daily intelligence of the gathering of the Highlanders together, I diſpatched an expreſs by the way which I had ordered him to come, to look for him, with inſtructions to the ſaid Ramſay to ſpare no money to have intelligence of the ennemy's motions, and in caſe he found them to be too numerous for his party, he ſhould alter his march, and take more to the right of the Laird of Grant's country, who was in our intereſt, where I ſhould labour to meet him with the few forces I had by me, in caſe I ſhould have news of the ennemy's motion to hinder our junction.

This expreſs, tho' I choſe him ſuch as I thought ſhould eaſily paſs that country without being challenged, was ſtopt and made priſoner by the Marquis of Athole's baillie, and kept two days in the caſtle of Blair (after the ſaid baillie had ſent the letters to Dundee to Lochaber) till colonel Ramſay had paſt the ſaid caſtle, the matter of ten or twelve miles, to me; from whence he diſpatched an expreſs to Innerneſs, to advertiſe me that he would be that night, being Friday, at the caſtle of Ruthen in Badenoch, about thirty miles from Innerneſs; but after he had ſent away the ſaid expreſs, the man which I had ſent to meet him, and had been made priſoner, being ſet at liberty, as I ſaid before, after the ſaid colonel had paſt

Blair, came after him without his letter, who having given him ſome imperfect account, that I had ordered him to lead the party, in caſe of intelligence of a ſtronger ennemy betwixt us by another way, and the men of Athole being altogether diſaffected, magnifying the numbers of the Highland army. Ramſay uncertain what reſolution to take, whether to purſue his march, or to return to St. Johnſtoun, reſolved at laſt upon the latter, which, though without any fault in him, not having received my laſt orders, did put me to a great dale of trouble and hazard always for the ſpace of about a month, with what other accidents followed, to loſe with my ſmall forces (which were ſcarcely the fourth part of the ennemy's number) the north of Scotland, and occaſion a great dale of commotion through the whole kingdom, if God by his providence and ſingular care of his cauſe had not diverted the evil.

The expreſs which Colonel Ramſay ſent away before mine to him, which had been priſoner, came up to him, came to me at Innerneſs on Saturday, and next morning I took with me what was in condition to march of my own party, with an hundred Highlanders well armed of the Lord Rae's men and as many of Balnagowns, leaving this laſt to command at Innerneſs, till the Lord Strathnaver ſhould come up, to whom I ſent orders to come up with all diligence to guard the ſaid poſt; and having taken proviſions only for two days, having no other deſign than to ſecure Ramſays march, whom I expected to meet that ſame night, and ſo to return with the whole party the day following to Innerneſs, the more becauſe the night before I had marched, I had news out of Lochaber that the ennemy was not moving as yet. But being advanced the matter of twelve miles, I received a letter, &c.

MEMOIRES ECRITTES PAR MONSIEUR HUGH DE MACKAY LIEUTENANT GENERAL A SA MAJESTE BRITANIQUE TOUCHANT LA DERNIERE CAMPAIGNE D'IRELANDE.

M.DC.XCI.

TOUCHANT LA DERNIERE CAMPAGNE D'IRELANDE.

1691.

Monsieur Mackay ayant accompagné le Roy, de Londres jusquâ la Haye, dans la férme croyance que sa Majesté l'auroit doresenadvant employé en Flandres, d'autant qu'il avoit heureusement achevé les troubles d'Escosse, ayant tellement dompté les Rebelles de ce Royaume, que quoyque quelques uns de leurs chefs se tinssent dans leurs cachots et retraittes des montagnes d'ou il seroit malaise de les chasser du tout, sy nont ils jamais de puis pu former quelques corps, tant, les garnisons qu'il establit au millieu d'eux les tiennent en bride. Ayant dis je fait estat de servir cette campagne la aux pais bas, fus surpris quand le Roy allant en Brabant pour tacher de faire lever le siege de Mons, me dit que j'eusse a repasser en Angleterre et de la en Irelande ou sa Majeste croyoit que je luy pourrois estre utille, pour assister au siege des places dont elle scavoit que j'avois quelque experiance et estude, sa Majesté estant confirmée par les avis des Generaux qui commandoient alors ses troupes en ce Royaume la, que les ennemis ne pouroient metre une armée en campagne, a cause, selon leurs advis, que leur cavallerie estoit tellement ruynée pendant l'hyver quil ne

leur en reſtoit plus guere. Et de fait le Lieutenant General Shravemoer ſ'eſtant randu d'Irelande au retour du Roy en Angleterre luy tinſt la meme langage ; l'aſſurant comme les autres que les Irelandois n'avoyent plus 1500 chevaux au monde, et quoyque le Roy neceſſairement ajouta quelque foy a ces avis quy venoient des mains quy en devoyent le plus ſcavoir, ſy n'en fit pas toutes fois la regle de ſes meſures, ayant commandé encore le regiment de Portland pour y fortifier ſa cavallerie, quoy qu'il eſt bien a preſumer quil prendroit la reduction de ce royaume plus a cœur, ſ'il avoit eſté bien averty du veritable eſtat des ennemis commenous les avons trouvés a l'ouverture de la campaigne, bien loin de ce que Monſieur Shravemoer en avoit repreſanté. Car ils avoyent autant de chevaux et dragons que nous, et beaucoup plus d'infanterie, dont nous apprenons qu'il eſt de la derniere importance pour le bien du ſervice et la reputation du General qu'on ait exacte connoiſance des forces ennemies, a fin de ne pas ſe meſprendre en prenant des meſures pour la guere, et ſ'il arrive qu'il y ait de l'impoſſibilité d'en procurer toutes les lumieres neceſſaires, qu'on les prenne toujours au plus grand calcule qu'on ſ'en puſt raiſonnablement imaginer, afin de ne pas conter ſans ſon hoſte ; car effectivement l'ignorance de l'eſtat des ennemis comme auſsy d'autres circonſtances, et le manque de preparatifs neceſſaires ſuivant le plan naturel quon' devoit ſe former de cette campaigne, nous la fairoit inutillement perdre ſy Dieu n'avoit privé nos ennemis de jugement, et nous eut inſpiré des deſſains que ſa benediction ſeule rendent juſtifiables au jugement de tous ceux quy examineront au fond combien nous avons riſqué l'intereſt general de toute l'Europe, auſſy bien que le particulier de leurs Majeſtés par tous les pas que nous avons fait cette compaigne, que le Dieu des armeés a fait ſy heureuſement reuſſir a l'avantage ſingulier de tous les Princes Alliez auſſy bien que l'affermiſſement du gouvernement de leurs Majeſtés, dont il luy faut attribuer la louange et non pas a la conduitte et force humaines.

Mons eſtant randu avant que l'armée des Alliez fut en eſtat de pouvoir raiſonablement enterprendre le ſecours, le Roy ſ'en retourna en Angleterre avant que le Duc de Leynſter que ſa Majeſte avoit deſtiné pour le

commandement general de ſes troupes en Irelande, et moy quy ly devois accompagner en qualite de lieutenant-general euſmes le vent favorable pour paſſer. A l'arrivée du Roy a Londres, les meſures pour l'Irelande furent en grande partie changées ; car au lieu du Duc de Leynſter, l'on determina de continuer Monſieur de Ghinckle au commandement de l'armée en Irelande, et il ſemble que le Roy reſolut que durant cette campaigne le Duc de Virtemberg n'euſt point de tour de commandement non plus que Monſieur de Shravemoer, mais que tous les deux agiſſent en ſecond generaux, le premier commandant en chef l'infanterie, et l'autre la cavallerie, et que tous tours de commandement ſe fiſſent par les generaux majors dont il y en avoit dans l'infanterie quatre, et trois dans la cavallerie ; c'eſt pour quoy que le Roy apres avoir propoſé en conſeil de my envoyer en qualité de lieutenant-general, changea de propos, dont je fus bien faché, croyant que cet honneur m'appertenoit non ſeulement pour les ſervices que je luy avois randus en Ecoſſe, mais auſſy parce que j'avois eſte fait general-major par le Roy Jaques en meſmes tems que le Comte de Marleborough, lequel n'auroit pas manque de m'avancer, comme luy ſi j'avois ſuivy ſes intereſts, mais me repreſentant l'obligation dans laquelle ſe trouvent tous fideles proteſtans de ſervir cet interet purement pour l'amour de Dieu et de ſa verité ſans aucune conſideration du noſtre particulier, je me conſolay, reſolu de ſervir le Roy cette campaigne la de la meme fidelité et affection que j'avois fait juſqu' alors, avertiſſant toutes fois le Comte de Portland, que, ſi Dieu trouvoit bon de me la faire ſurvivre, je chercherois un autre maiſtre ſi je trouvois qu'on perſiſtat a conſiderer ſi peu mes ſervices, l'aſſurant en meſme tems que ce ne ſeroit jamais un qui ne fut dans l'intereſt de ſa Majeſté et de la religion proteſtante. Et de cette maniere pris conge du Roy, quy ne me dit le petit mot ſur les affaires d'Irelande, apparemment ſ'en remettant entierement a ce que Monſieur Shravemoer luy en repreſenta, quoy que je deſcouvris en peu de tems, et quand je fus ſur le lieu, qu'il ſ'en avoit formées des fort trompeuſes jdées, et qui nous auroient pu faire perdre inutillement la campaigne comme j'ai deja touché, ſi Dieu, autheur de cette grande deliver-

ance, n'y eut pourveu en ſa bonté infinie pour la liberté de tous les eſtats de l'Europe en general, et pour le bien de ſon egliſe en particulier. Quant au changement de la reſolution du Roy touchant le commandement general de ſon armée en Irelande, il n'y a nulle doute, que Shravemoer n'y aye le plus contribué, ayant declaré de ne pas vouloir ſervir ſous le Duc de Leynſter; on alleguoit auſſy que la nation Angloiſe, ſcavoir l'armée n'en ſeroit pas ſatiſfaite, laquelle n'ayme guere la promptitude et rudeſſe de laquelle on alleguoit que les commandements de ce general ſont d'ordinaire accompagnés ; mais comme c'eſt une nation naturellement brave quy ne fait jamais le moindre difficulté de marcher allaigrement où leur general la commande, et reconnue dans cette guere, (quoy que les premices de ſes ſervices, ayant jouy d'un long repos quy luy a fait tomber les armes des mains,) pour la nation du monde la plus patiante et a l'epreuve des ſoufrances, et la moins ſujette a murmures, il n'y a nulle doute qu'un general de l'experience et bravoure de ce Duc ne prit ſujet de ces qualités, tant neceſſaires aux gens de guerre pour faire bien reuſſir ce qui doit contribuer a l'eſtabliſſement de la reputation et fortune de leur general, de traitter honneſtement et ſelon leur humeur les Anglois, leſquels ne ſe plaignent de rien pourveu que leurs generaux leur donnent des teſmoignages de leur eſtime par leur civilité et honneſtetés.

Examinons a cette heure ſi ce changement eſtoit en apparance pour le ſervice du Roy. L'on ne ſcauroit nier que Monſieur le Duc de Leynſter n'ait eu plus de moyen de ſe munir d'une connoiſance generalle de la guerre, et du commandement general d'une armée que Monſieur de Ghinckle, parce que le premier eſtant fils d'un des plus grands capitaines de ſon tems, ſous lequel il avoit fait la guerre, il n'auroit pas manqué de luy donner tout l'eſclaireciſſement neceſſaire d'un metier auquel il l'avoit eſlevé des ſon enfance ; qu'il avoit ſervy dans pluſieurs pais où il auroit eu occaſion de ſe former le jugement en faiſant les remarques ſur leurs differents manieres de faire la guerre; et qu'en France il n'y a point de diſtinction des generaux de cavallerie et d'infanterie comme quelques autres pais, mais d'abord qu'on eſt avancé au deſſus du collonel il prent ſon tour de tout

commandement, ce quy donne une jdée plus generalle du ſervice que les officiers n'en peuvent avoir dans les pais ou ils ſont attachés a l'éſtude de quelque eſpece de troupes, comme la couſteume eſt en Hollande. Outre ces conſiderations, il eſt a preſumer que le Duc de Leynſter connoiſſoit mieux la capacité et l'humeur du general de l'armée ennemie que Monſieur de Ghinckle, toutes fois il y avoit un argument pour la continuation du dernier en Irelande (rejetant du tout celluy dont en ſervoit comme de peu de force, contre ce que je viens de dire) c'eſt qu'ayant paſſé tout l'hyver en Irelande et pratiqué quelque intelligence avec les ennemis, et les meſures pour l'artillerié et les vivres ayans eſtes pris par ſon aveu et ſes ordres, il ſemble qu'il auroit eſté hors de tems de luy donner un ſucceſſeur au mois de May, ou le loiſir avoit manque de redreſſer ce qu'il auvoit trouvé en deſordre. Toutes fois puis qu'il a falut neceſſairement pour entretenir la bonne correſpondance entre les confederés, que le Roy ſe mit a la teſte de leurs communes forces en Flandres, l'importance de la guerre d'Irelande demandoit qu'on la fiſt prudemment auſſy bien que vigoureuſement, et par conſequant demandoit un chef inſtruit de tout ce quy en depend, tant au regard de la maniere de la faire ſelon la force et qualité de ſes propres troupes, et celle des ennemis, que de la nature du pais, et de l'eſtat des affairs tant en Irelande qu'en Angleterre, l'Eſcoſſe, et par toute l'Europe, où un deſadvantage mediocre en Irelande pourroit avoir produit de mechants effets. Des reflections de cette nature formées de bonneheure fait auſſy ſonger a tout moyen neceſſaire pour emporter de l'avantage ſur les ennemis, ſans eſtre obligé, pour ne pas paſſer la campaigne ſans rien faire, de riſquer le tout pour le tout, comme il nous arriva de faire en Irelande plus d'une fois cette année cy, comme la ſuite le montrera ; dont toutes fois je n'entends nullement blamer Monſieur de Ghinckle, eſtant impoſſible q'une perſonne inaccouſtumée au commandement general d'une armée puiſſe ſe former un juſte plan de ſes deſſeins et de tout ce qu'il luy faut pour les executer tellement qu'il ne deſcouvre d'abord qu'il ſe trouve engagé contre ſon ennemy, le defaut de prevoyance quy neceſſairement enfante celluy des preparatifs ; car je confeſſe franchement que ſi j'avois bien entendu la

difpofition des chofes en Efcoffe que j'en auvois abfolument refufé le commandement des troupes du Roy, ou j'aurois efté envoyé de maniere d'y eftablir fon authorité Royale des la premiere campaigne; mais j'ay taché de remedier la feconde les fautes que l'ignorance du pais auffy bien que des ennemis m'ont fait commeftre la premiere, quoy qu'avec moins de troupes et peu d'argent, parceque je l'avois tellement eftudié pendant l'hyver que je m'en formay le plan de forte qu'humainement il ne pourroit manquer de fortir fon eftect, pourveu qu'on me laiffat agir felon mes projects, mais quant a la guerre d'Irelande, la providance toute vifible du grand Dieu, pour la gloire et verit falutaire du quel fa Majefte a pris les armes, les a tellement benies dans les mains de Monfieur de Ghinckle, que tout ce que j'en remarque ne fert que pour mon inftruction, et non pas de deffein d'amoindrir l'eftime q'uil en a acquife dans le monde.

Le Roy ayant eftablis les ordres neceffaires pandant fon abfance en Angleterre, et defpechéz fes ordres pour Monfieur de Ghinckle felon l'idée qu'on luy avoit donnée de cette guerre, f'en retourne en Hollande au commencement du mois de May, et je pris mon chemin pour Dublin, ou eftant arrivé, je fus d'abord trouver Monfieur de Ghinckle lequel, a fon ordinaire a tout le monde, me reçeut fort civilement.

Le Roy trouvant que le Lieutenant-General Douglas et le General Major Kirck eftoient mal enfemble, (outre qu'il y avoit des grandes plaintes de habitans du pays, tant contre eux, que contre le General Major Laniere,) refolut de les retirer d'Irelande tous trois, jugeant que la mefintelligence des officiers de ce calibre ne fe forme guere aux armeés que les troupes n'en participent et que le fervice n'en patiffe; ainfy n'en voulant donner fujet de defplaifir a l'un plus qu'a l'autre, les rapella les deux premiers en Flandres et Laniere pour paffer l'efté en Angleterre; m'envoyant avec le Marquis de Ruvignie et le General Major Talmoufh en leur place, dont le fervice ne fe trouva pas mal, non pas a l'efgard de la capacité des fucceffeurs plus que de ces meffieurs que je dis, mais parcequ'on na jamais veu une armée dont les generaux auffy bien que les troupes, quoy que compofées de quatre a cinque nations differantes, vecuffent de meillieure intelligence

enſemble ; au conſeil de guerre l'on voyoit bien de differance d'opinion, n'eſtant guere vray ſemblable qu'ils puſſent tomber d'accord en tout et par tout, d'un metier dont les maximes changent ſelon les ennemies : les pais, et infinies autres circonſtances dont la conſideration nous oblige de changer de meſures, mais d'abord que la queſtion eſtoit decidée par une reſolution definitive du chef ou par pluralité des voix chacun eſtoit eſgallement porté pour l'avancement du deſſein reſſolu pour marque que tout le monde ne demandoit que la fin de cette guerre tant prejudiciable a leurs Majeſtées et a leurs allies. Avant mon arrivée en Irlande, le General avoit diſtribués ſes ordres pour l'aſſemblement des troupes, celles des quartiers du nord juſqu'a lentour de Dublin vers Molingar, ou l'on avoit fait une eſpece de magazin et de bouche et de guerre, avec de l'avoine pour la cavallerie, et celle des quartiers du ſud environ Chonmelle [Clonmell] ſous Monſieur le Duc de Virtenberg, le General n'ayant pas encore reſſolu du lieu ou ces deux corps ſe devoient joindre. Comme je fus ſurpris de cette courvée d'Irlande, il me manquoit encore pluſieurs choſſes pour faire la campaigne a mon arrivée à Dublin, de ſort que je priay Monſieur de Ghinckle de me permettre le ſejour de Dublin juſqu'a ce qu'il allaſt luy meſme a l'armée, ce qu'il m'accorda, envoyant Monſieur de Ruvignie au rendezvous de Molingar, et ordre au Lieutenant-General Douglas d'y mener les troupes qu'il commandoit au nord toute l'hyver paſſé. Dans les ſix ou ſept jours que nous demeuraſmes encore à Dublin, je pris la liberté de parler au General touchant l'intelligence qu'il avoit de l'eſtat des ennemies, l'eſtat de ſes propres vivres, et ſ'ils eſtoient tellement logés qu'il en puſt tirer des ſecours de quelque coſté qu'il jugeaſt apropos de tourner teſte, et ſ'il avoit reſolu de l'endroit ou il tenteroit le paſſage de Shanon. Il me repond que le Roy ne le retranchoit pas quant a l'intelligence qu'il ne luy manquoit pas d'argent, mais qu'il ne pouvoit pas ſe fier aux Ir[eland]ois papiſtes, leſquels ſeuls puiſſent paſſer le Shanon. Quoyque je ſois d'opinion que Monſieur de Ghinckle, eſtant trop chargé d'autres affaires, laiſſoit le ſoin de cet article eſſentiel pour povour prendre des bonnes meſures a la guerre, (que ſans intelligence l'on n'y fait qu'a tatons,) a des

gens quy n'en ſcavoyent pas la methode, et ne ſe'n donnoient guere la payne ; tout le monde qui connoit les Irois affirment qu'il n'y a pas de nation au monde plus avaricieuſe et mercenaire que celle-la, de ſorte que le fils trahiroit le pere pour de l'argent, mais la vraye methode eſt d'eſtablir des chefs d'intelligence, gens d'honneur, de fidelité connue, et pratiqués dans les pais ou l'on fait la guerre, quy tirent honneſte traitement et ayent le ſoin de trouver des gens propres pour envoyer parmy les ennemis, tant pour en raporter leurs propres remarques que pour tacher deſbaucher quelques uns parmy eux ; et ſi dans les grandes armées il y eut quatre ou d'avantage eſtablis de tels chefs d'intelligence quy euſſent chacun une douzaine d'eſpions, tels qu'ils repondroient de leur fidelité, a bonne ſolde ordinaire, avec promeſſe d'une bonne recompanſe extraordinaire toutes les fois qu'ils apporteroient avis d'importance, et que les chefs et eſpions ſ'entre connuſſent le moins que ſe puſt ; je dis que moyenant telle ſemblable methode l'on ne feroit guere ſurpris d'une marche ennemie, et ne tarderoit guere d'avoir la connoiſſance de ſes mouvemens, ſoit en corps ou par deſtachemens ; car il y aurait touſjours des eſpions au camp ennemies, mais il les faut bien payer ſi on en veut eſtre bien ſervy, eſtant un metier ou il ny a point de quartier. Il me ſouvient, pour preuve de l'utilite de cette methode, qu'a la premiere campaigne de la guerre d'Eſcoſſe, avant qu'on avoit levées des troupes dans ce pais-la pour le Roy, voulant diſſiper des aſſembleés qui ſe faiſoient au nord par le Vicomte de Dundée, je me tranſportay avec un party de 500 hommes, tant cavallerie qu'infantrie et dragons, auſquels je joygnis 200 montaignards, et me trouvay bientoſt engagé avec le dit Vicomte avec plus de 3000 hommes, et comme je luy voulois empecher l'entrée dans un pais ou il auroit notablement groſſy ſon party et mentenir la communication, avec du ſecours que j'avois mandé ne pouvant faire l'un et l'autre ſi je changeois de poſte ou me retirois trop tot ; et voulant auſſy donner d'autant plus de tems a mon ſecours de m'approcher, a fin que quand l'ennemy avanceroit vers mon poſte, d'ou a ſon approche jettois reſolu de me retirer (d'autant plus que j'avois deſcouvert quelques jours aupara-

vant de l'intelligence entre les officiers d'un regiment de dragons que j'avois avec moy, quy faifoit environ 180 hommes, fcavoir la plus part des capitaines et fubalternes, ayant pour chef de leur deffein criminel le lieutenant-colonel, quoy que perfonne de bonne qualité, au quel j'avois rendu des bons fervices pres du Roy,) je dis que non obftant ces circonftances crouftilieufes voulant profiter du temps pour les raifons fufdites autant qu'il me feroit poffible par une mine de vouloir attendre l'ennemy de pie ferme, je conjuray le feignieur du pais ou je me trouvay de me fournir douze hommes fideles de fes payfans que je tiendrois a bonne folde tant que je refterois dans ces terres, ce qu'il fift, eftant affectioné a l'interet du Roy ; a l'ayde defquels je reftay encore la quelques jours, aufquels mon fecours m'approchoit toufjours, fi bien que quand les ennemis m'avoyent approché d'une demie liewe a l'entrée de la nuit, je me retiray, joygnant en deux jours de marche les troupes que j'attendois, avec lefquells je tournay tefte court fur les ennemis, et les aurois infalliblement furpris, fy les memes officiers de dragons n'en avoyent de nuit dans la marche detaché deux pour leur en donner connoiffance.

Quant aux vivres Monfieur de Ghinckle m'affura qu'il n'en manqueroit pas quelque deffein qu'il entreprit, et je me perfuade qu'il les croyoit tellement difpofés; et pour le paffage du Shanon il fut refolu que ce feroit pres de Banaker pour les fuivantes raifons, 1°. que le general croyoit avoir pratiquée quelque intelligence avec le commandant d'un petit fort au bout d'un pont de pierre au dit lieu, quy nous auroit accommodes tout autant que la prife D'Athlone quant a nous rendre maiftres du Shanon, 2°. qu'il fut averty qu'au deffaut de ce deffein il y auroit un fort bon guay [gué] par lequel avec un pont de pontons le tout favoriffé d'une groffe artillirie l'on efperoit de forcer fon paffage ; et comme les ennemis formoient leur armée a Lochreagh felon fon intelligence, lieu egalement diftant de Limmerick, Galway, et Athlone, pour puis apres fe regler felon nos mouvemens, eftans cepandant commodement poftés la, pour les vivres qu'ils tiroyoient de Limerick et de Galway ; il crut avec les Lords juftices qu'en formant le deffein du paffage au deffus d'Athlone on laifferoit toute la province de Leynfter et

ce qu'on tenoit dans celle de Munſter expoſe aux ennemis ſi laiſſans Athlone, Limerick, et Galway bien pourveus du monde neceſſaire, il leur prit envie de ſ'y jetter avec leur cavallerie et bonne parte de leur infanterie, au lieu que paſſant a Banaker ou a Melicks, qui en eſt a deux milles, nous ferious en eſtat (comme nous nous eſtimions maiſtres de la campaigne,) de les couper du Shanon, et trouver le moyen de les obliger au combat, ou bien en faiſant un deſtachement d'infanterie pour aſſieger Athlone, obſerver les ennemis avec le reſte de l'armée. Voycy les vrayes raiſons pourquoy il fut arreſté encore a Dublin que le paſſage ſe devoit tenter aux endroits ſuſdits, et jamais il n'entra dans l'eſprit de quy que ce fut de propoſer Athlone pour l'y tenter, juſqua' ce qu'un certain ingenieur François, qui avoit deſerté des Irois l'année precedante, en fiſt l'ouverture a Monſieur le Duc de Virtemberg, comme je toucheray enſuite. Cepandant Monſieur de Ghinckle envoya ordre lors qu'il partit de Dublin pour Molingar au Duc de Virtemberg de mouvoir doucement avec ſon corps prenant le chemin de Caſkall, et Tharles vers Roſcrea, et manda Monſieur de Tetau, General Major de l'infanterie Danoiſe, aupres du luy a Dublin, ou il fut mis en deſliberation ſi on devoit laiſſer Balimer bloqué ſans ſ'amuſer a le prendre, ou bien par la priſe de ce fort faire l'ouverture de la campaigne ; la raiſon pour la blocade fut qu'il nous pourroit arreſter quelques jours quy feroit autant de temps gayné pour les ennemys, et pour l'attaque (qu'y l'emporta) que ce feroit un affront et de mauvais example de paſſer une bicoque comme celle la avec un armée Royalle ſans la prendre, outre quelle incommoderoit fort nos convoys ſi bien qu'on reſolut de commancer par cette attaque.

Monſieur de Ghinckle, ayant donné les ordres qu'il crut neceſſaires a Dublin, en partit le 29 de May, et arriva a Molingar le lendemain a vers le midy, accompaynée de Monſieur Tetau et moy. Dans cette marche je remarquay que nous eſtions pas aſſes pourveus de chevaux pour l'artillierie, parcequ'on ne la puſt trainer de Dublin a Molingar que par les renvoye des chevaux, et fus fort ſurpris de voir une place dont on faiſoit cas, comme une magaſin de munitions de guerre et de bouche, d'ou l'armée devoit

uniquement ſubſiſter, n'y ayant point d'autre communication de ce coſté-la entre elle et Dublin, ſource de tous nos ſecours, ouverte par tout comme un village, et ne pouvois pas empecher d'en teſmoigner mon eſtonement a Monſieur de Ghinckle le priant pendant qu'on ſ'arreſtroit la qu'il ordonna des deſtachments de l'infanterie quy ſ'y trouvoit deſja pour travailler a quelque eſpece de cloſture quy la mit aucunement hors d'inſulte ; jugeant quil ne faloit pas long travail pour l'aſſurer contre un ennemy que l'auroit ſoufferte deſja quelques mois ſi pres de luy dans cet eſtat ſans l'avoir viſitée quoy qu'il n'y eut dedans qu'un regiment qui ne faiſoit pas 300 hommes capables de ſervice. L'on conſtruit donc quelque choſe pour l'enfermer comprenant les pieces qu'on y avoit deſja conſtruites, quoy qu'apres tout on l'avoit laiſſée fort inſultable, ny ayant travaillié que trois a quatre jours, lors qu'il fut reſolu apres la junction de Monſieur Douglas de marcher a Balimer avec un corps d'environ neuf a dix-mille hommes ; j'etois d'opinion d'attendre quelquy peu de jours pour metre cette place en quelque eſtat qu'on ne la puſt pas emporter d'amblée, pandant qu'on feroit approcher le corps que commandoit le Duc de Virtemberg, parce dis-je que les ennemis eſtans maiſtres de tous les guays et ponts du Shanon (favoriſés du pais) apparemment bien informés de toutes nos marches au lieu que nous n'avions nul avis certain de leur eſtat preſant, ils pourroyent, (nous trouvans ſeparés par cinque a ſix marches) paſſer ledit fleuve avec toutes leurs forces pour nous forcer l'un ou l'autre de ces corps ſeparament au combat, ou aumoins nous tellament ſeparer que pour eviter un combat ſi inegale, il n'y auroit point d'autre remede que de nous retirer vers Dublin, comme le Duc feroit oblige de faire autant vers Kilkenie, pour de cette maniere chercher le moyen de ſe joyndre en ſeureté. Ajouſtons que ſi nous laiſſions ce poſte ſi mal aſſuré, d'abord que nous prendrions le chemin de Melicks et Banaker, les ennemis pourroient faire paſſer des troupes par Athlone ou Lanſboroegh pour nous l'enlever, cela non obſtant ceux quy pretendoient gaigner du tems par cette marche, ſouſtenans qu'il ne falloit pas appreheuder des entrepriſes de cette nature des Irois l'emporterent, ſi bien que nous voila devant Balimer, fort de ſituation mais mal fortifié eſtans

arrivés tard devant ce fort l'on ne peut rien faire ce jour la que camper, le lendemain l'on tira du canon et deux petits mortiers, et l'on fit metre dans le lac quatre batteux aveque quelques pontons, pour les attaquer par eau, auſſy bien qu'au travers d'un marais en comblant les foſſés de faſcines, et par la teſte couverte d'une tenaille flanquée et palliſſadée, ou l'on avoit fait breſche, cet appareil fift chanter la garniſon quy ſe rendit a diſcretion.

J'ay remarqué que de ce coſté-la il n'y avoit nul magazin que celuy de Molingar entre Dublin, (ſource de tous nos ſecours d'argent, de vivres, et de munitions de guerre) et l'armée, ny aucune communication entr'eux que cette place, juſqu'a la priſe de Balimer ou il ni avoit la moindre commodité pour loger un magazin, ſi bien que tout ſon utilité conſiſtoit en ce qu'on avoit privé les ennemis d'un poſte d'en ils auroyent incommodé noſtre communication avec Molingar et Dublin, et d'en avoir ſi pres D'Athlone pour favoriſer nos convoys de ces deux lieux, d'abord que nous aurions eſtablie la communication pres d'Athlone ſur le Shanon.

Avant que paſſer outre diſons un mot ſur le ſujet des magazins et de leur utilité ; comme toutes les operations de la campagne dependent de ce qu'il y en ait de bien fournis, et tellement logés pour la commodité de l'armée, quelle ne manque jamais de vivres ni de munitions de guerre, il ſemble d'une neceſſité indiſpenſable qu'un chef d'armée ſe forme de bonne heure un projet ou plan general de tout ce qu'il peut raiſonablement ſe propoſer de pouvoir entreprendre durant la campagne, par ou commencer ou finir, afin que ſi le pais dont il ſe trouve maiſtre ne luy fournit pas des lieux de ſeureté qui l'accomodent pour loger ſes munitions ſelon ledit plan, il travaille pendant l'hyver de ſ'en pourvoir et remplir, ſoit en fortifiant ou en enlevant des ennemis ; d'autant que ſans une providance toute ſpeciale de Dieu, telle qui accompagnoit les armes de leurs Majeſtés cette campagne-ci en Irelande, d'abord que ſes ſecours manquent il faut quitter tout penſée d'entreprenre ſur les ennemis, quelque avancé qu'on ſe trouve dans ſon deſſein. Suivant l'opinion d'une certaine perſonne laquelle, voulant ſignifier la neceſſité indiſpenſable de cette partie de la conduite d'un General, dit qu'une armée eſt un animal lequel il faut commencer a former

par le ventre, voulant donner a entendre par la il n'y a rien plus a faire que de les ramener ou ils en puiſſent eſtre ſecourus, ce qui ne ſe peut ſans grand deſtriment du ſervice.

Retournons a cette heure a noſtre recit qui nous fournira les occaſions d'en remarquer d'avantage la neceſſité, parceque cette ſeule manque nous penſa faire perdre la campagne ſans la benediction d'en haut qui a ſupplée a tout defaut.

Apres la priſe de Balimer il fut conſulté ſi l'on devoit faire avancer le Duc de Virtemberg de ce côſté-la, ou bien luy envoyer ordre de ſ'areſter a Balibog a ſix milles du pont de Banaker, la plus part des Generaux furent pour le laiſſer pres de ce paſſage pour ne luy pas faire faire le chemin deux fois, a quoy je m'opoſay, donnant mes raiſons par eſcrit comme ſ'enſuit.

Que l'experiance a ſouvent fait voire le danger de trop mepriſer les ennemis ; que pour appliquer cette doctrine a nos proſpres circonſtances, il pourroit eſtre de mauvaiſe conſequance de ſuppoſer les ennemis que nous avons en teſte ſi abattus et hors d'eſtat que de ne rien oſer entreprendre ſur un corps de neuf a dix mille hommes en cas qu'ils ayent toutes leurs troupes enſemble et qu'on leur en prete l'occaſion, qu'en ſe tenant ſeparé de trois a quatre marches un General accort et entendu au metier, dont toutes les troupes connoiſſent parfaitement bien le terrain, pourroit eſtudier et ſ'en procurer l'occaſion.

Que nous ne pouvons pas nous fier tellement ſur les avis que nous puiſſions avoir de l'eſtat des ennemis, de l'autre coſté du Shanon que d'en faire la regle de nos meſures.

Que, noſtre reſolution eſtant de tenter le paſſage du Shanon a Banaker ou Melicks, nous devions, pour en ſurprendre les ennemis, faire paroiſtre toute autre choſe a leur jugement pluſtot que ce deſſein-la.

Que les ennemis eſtans avertis du mouvement du Duc de Virtemberg vers Streaniſton a trois ou quatre milles de Balimer, dans le meſme tems que le General ſe mit devant ce fort, voyant le dit Duc ſur la reduction de Balimer ſ'arreſter tout court ſur le droit chemin de l'armée a Banaker, en conclueront naturellement que noſtre principal deſſein pour le paſſage du Shanon eſt formé de ce coſté-la et ſ'y oppoſeront.

Que la junction du Duc avec le General pres de Balimer, et enſuite un campement de toute l'armée enſemble dans les voiſinage d'Athlone, leur donneroit apparement une autre penſée, et attireroit le gros de leurs troupes ou ils apprehenderoient le plus notre deſſein de tenter le paſſage.

Que l'armée tout en corps ayant fait le dit mouvement, et pouſſans deſ partis du coſté de Lanſboro ou il y avoit, outre le pont, un bon gùay, auſſy bien que poſtant des gardes pres d'Athlone pour cacher les ſuivans mouvemens aux ennemis, et faiſant reconnoiſtre des endroits pres de cette derniere place propres pour jetter un pont ſur le Shanon pourroit tellement amuſer les ennemis que par une ſubite marche de nuit avec la moitié des troupes par le grand chemin d'Athlone a Limerick, moyenant qu'il ſoit practicable avec l'attirail neceſſaire l'on paſſat le Shanon ſans oppoſition conſiderable, ou a l'aide des chevaux de friſe et par un dilligent travail, l'on ſe mettroit en moins de rien en eſtat d'attendre la junction du reſte de l'armée (qui auroit reſte jusqu'au lendemain dans le voiſinage d'Athlone pour amuſer les ennemis et leur deſrober cette marche,) ſans coure aucun riſque.

Et finalement, qu'en tout cas la junction des troupes nous mettroit en repos, en privant les ennemis de l'occaſion de former quantité des deſſeins auquels noſtre ſeparation leur ſerviroit de fondement, dont, par malheur et la connoiſſance exacte qu'ils avoyent du pais, quelqu'un pourroit reuſſir au deſavantage des armes et du ſervice de leurs Majeſtes.

Enfin la junction fut reſolue, a quatre milles de Balimere ſur le chemin d'Athlone, et le Duc ſ'eſtant avancé juſqu'a Streamſton, vint avec quelques officiers entre autres le Marquis de la Foreſt trouver le General encor campé pres de Belimere. A cette entreveüe le dit la Foreſt propoſe le ſentiment d'un certain ingenieur François, lequel avoit comme il dit l'année d'auparavant travaille aux fortifications d'Athlone, c'eſt qu'il ſouſtenoit qu'il y avoit de noſtre coſte de la Riviere des hauteurs d'ou l'on voyoit tous les endroits de la ville de dela, ſi bien qu'un nombre capable de la defendre ne pourroit pas ſ'y tenir acouvert de noſtre feu, il dit auſſy qu'il y avoit un guay au deſſous et tout pres du pont par ou il voyoit paſſer ſouvent des ſoldats, mais ne ſcavoit pas dire combien il y en pouvoit paſſer de front.

De la a deux jours l'armée mouvant de Balimore et de Streamſton en meſme temps ſe joignit, et marcha le lendemain en corps juſqu'a deux milles d'Athlone, d'ou de bon matin le General Major Tetau fut deſtaché avec quatre regimens d'infanterie et quelque cavalerie et dragons pour ſe poſter audeſſa de tous les deffiles, lequel fut ſuivy de pres du general et du Duc de Virtemberg ; cepandant le pais eſtant ſerré, et trouvant qu'il ny avoit que peu d'infanterie paſſée devant, en cas que les ennemis par avanture euſſent fait paſſer de noſtre coſté quelque nombre conſiderable de leurs troupes pour nous diſputer les avenués de cette place, j'avanceay a grand pas avec la reſte de l'infanterie, lorſque le feu de nos eſcarmoucheurs me le fit redoubler, meme le General ne ſachant de quelle force les ennemis ſ'y pourroient trouver, envoya pour nous faire haſter voyant les ennemis faiſant contenance de luy vouloir diſputer les Hayes et rideaux qu'y eſtyoient pres de la ville, deſquells touts fois Monſieur de Tetau les chaſſa dans leur place et, ſ'en empara ſans autre ſecours.

L'eſcarmouche paſſée, et les ennemis chaſſés dans leur place, l'on marqua aux troupes un peu loin de la place comme on n'avoit pas reſolu de ce qu'on y devoit entreprendre, quoy qu'il ſemble qu'on ſe fut trop approché pour une feinte ſeulement de ce coſté la, tout noſtre camp eſtant expoſé a la veux des ennemis. Cette nuit je relevay Monſieur de Tetau, et l'on reſolut de faire une batterie de huit pieces de vingt-quatre livres pour faire breche, ce quy fut executé avant cinque heures apres midy du lendemain, auquel temps l'on reſolut de donner l'aſſaut a la breche quoy qu'entre elle et la batterie le ſpace de trois cents pas, il n'y eut point de couverte qu'un chemin pavé quy tiroit vers une porte a la droite de la dite breche. Comme cette action fut reſolue pendant mon tour de commandement, je la commanday, et avec moy les brigadiers Stuart et Vitkimhof, les regiments eſtants ceux de Stuart Anglois et Vitkimhof Danois, ſouſtenus de celluy de Bruer Anglois et de Naſſau Holandois. L'attaque devoit commencer par deux cents grenadiers commandées de toute l'armee, dont ayant fait la diſpoſition, j'ordonnay aux grenadiers de couler le long du pavé ſuſdit juſqu'a ce qu'ils fuſſent vis avis dela breche a fin de n'etre pas

300 pas expofes au feu des deux villes ; ordonnant a Stuart avec fon regiment de fouftenir les dits grenadiers, lequel fut fuivy du regiment Danois, puis de Bruér fuivy de Naffau. Ayant donc expliqué les ordres a tous fort diftinctement et fait partir les grenadiers, je me mis fur la batterie a pied pour voir comme cela fe fuivroit, afin qu'ayant une veue de tout, je puffe accourir ou ma prefance feroit le plus requiffe, et ny fus pas un moment l'orfqu'ayant remarqué [que] la tefte non feulement avoit pris le chemin trop a la droite, mais que le Lieutenant avec trente grenadiers quy marchoit a la tefte des grenadiers f'arreftoit guere loin de la breche dont les ennemis commencoient a prendre cœur et paroiftre plus ouvertement fur la breche, j'acourus viftement au regiment de Bruer, quy fuivoit les deux autres a la file, et ayant pris le premier Capitaine que je rencontray par la main fans m'amufer a courir a la tefte, luy montré par ou il devoit pouffer a la courfe droite a la brefche, le faifant fuivre de tout ce qu'il y avoit derriere luy du regiment, par ou, quoy qu'il fuft le troifieme regiment, fut avec les premiers a la brefche. Puis apres je pouffay aux autres regiments qui eftoient devant, lefquels par ce mouvement d'une partie de Bruer, commencerent aprendre le bon chemin. Le defordre de la tefte eftant arrive de ce que le Lieutenant commandant les trentes grenadiers fut tué, et le Lieutenant-Colonel commandant tout ce deftachement avoit reçeu un coup dans le genouil quy le mit par terre, ce que le Briguadier Steuart ayant remarque, f'avancea avec fon regiment, pouffent en mefme tems avec le regiment de Bruer dans la brefche, et pourfuivant les ennemis jufqu'au bout du pont entre les deux villes, ou il reçeut un coup de moufquet quy luy fracaffa le bras ; de forte qu'il fut mis hors de combat pour le refte de cette campagne, quy fut une perte pour le fervice, eftant brave homme, et tres affectioné et attaché a l'intereft de leurs Majeftés, l'on remarqua que beaucoup des ennemis fe retirerent par le guay cy deffus mentionné au deffous de pont ce quy nous obligea de faire de logemens contre i celluy auffy bien qu'au bout du pont n'y ayant encore aucun deffein formé de profiter de cette action pour attaquer par la l'autre ville, il eft certain que fi nous avions a noftre arrivée pres d'Athlone nos pontons avec nous que nous

aurions pu paſſer la riviere au deſſus de la ville avant que l'armée ennemie campée a Balinoſloe 10 a 12 milles d'Athlone, ſ'y fut pu oppoſer, n'y-ayant que peu de troupes en meſchant ordre qu'on avoit d'abord fait, deſcamper par quelques coups de canon ſur l'autre bord, mais le nombre convenable des chevaux d'attirail nous manquoit de ſorte qu'on ne pouvoit pas avoir le gros canon, les pontons, les munitions, et les vivres que par le renvoy des chevaux, ce quy non ſeullement retarda le ſervice, mais l'auroit du tout empeché, ſans une providance toute evidante quy ſuppleoit a tous deffauts.

Cette ville eſtant emportée, il fut trouvé raiſonable qu'on ne l'abandonna pas, mais quelle fut miſe en eſtat d'y laiſſer le gros canon et tout ce quy pouroit embarraſſer a la marche, en cas qu'on demeuraſt dans la reſolution de tenter le paſſage aillieurs. Voicy l'eſtat des affaires lorſque le gros canon arryva au camp, lequel par la perſuaſion du Duc de Virtemberg, de Monſieur Shravemore, et enfin de la plus part des Officers Generaux, fut mis en un batterie contre les defances de l'autre coſte, et eut tout l'effect q'uon ſ'en puſt promettre, conſiderant que ceſtoit de la terre ou d'ordinaire il ne fait pas tant d'effect qu'aux murailles, l'on ſe propoſa de conſtruire un pont de pontons entre les deux villes, de reparer les arches rompues du pont de pierre, en pouſſans une gallerie ſouſtenue de chandeliers, et couverte de faſcines, et Monſieur le Duc de Virtemberg fit ſouder le guay en plain jour par deux Danois, armés de cuiraſſes, ſous la faveur d'un feu continuel du canon et de mouſquet. Le premier de ſes deſſeins ſ'avorta par ce qu'on ne pouvoit pas conſtruire le pont des pontons ſans trop expoſer ceux quy y travailleroyent, pour le ſecond l'on repara bien deux arches, mais la troiſieme nous manqua au point de l'excution, comme il ſe dira, ſi bien que de tant de projets pour paſſer ce fleuve avec une bonne teſte, en cas que les ennemis fiſſent une vigouruſe deffance il ne nous reſta que le guay quand ce deſſein fut tenté, non obſtant tout ce que ceux quy en conſideroient la conſequance, en cas que ce paſſage ne reuſſit pas a ſouhait, puſſent alleguer pour en deſtourner le General et le perſuader de fixer ſa penſée ſur quelqu'autre endroit, pourveu que le deſſein en fut bien

ſecretement formé, et diligemmant et reſolument executé, il ne pouvoit pas bien manquer n'y riſquer le ſervice du Roy, tant ou nous voyons la main de Dieu fort viſible, car, que ce paſſage ait eſte, contre toutes les maximes de guerre et d'eſtat, il paroit en ce qu'on ſ'engageoit dans une action, ou quoy qu'il ne fut pas poſſible d'y perdre plus de deux milles hommes, quy ne laiſſeroit pas, tant en Irelande, qu'aux autres eſtats de leurs Majeſtes et chez leurs Allies, de produire les meſmes mechants effects que une battaile perdue, veu quelle paſſeroit pour telle par-tout, et qu'il y eut cents raiſons valables contre, ou les favoriſeurs de ce deſſein n'en puſſent alleguer que le mepris des Irois pour le ſouſtenir, il eſt conſtant quoy qu'il faille confeſſer en meſme temps que de la maniere que Dieu la fait reuſſir l'on n'auroit jamais pû mieux n'y ſi bien reſoudre d'une autre maniere.

Le troiſiſeme jour de noſtre campement devant Athlone, et apres que nous fûmes maiſtre de la ville de Leynſter, voicy St. Ruth avec une nombreuſe armée quy vinſt camper de l'autre coſte ſe faiſiſſant de toutes les hauteurs au deſſus de la ville, et fit achever un retranchement qu'on avoit commancé le long de la riviere ou il logea du monde, c'eſtoit juſtement l'unique endroit pres de la ville ou l'on puſt tenter le paſſage a l'ayde d'un pont, ſ'il n'y avoit pas une ſ'y grande force de l'autre coſté, le terrain y eſtant ſu, quy eſt ſur les bords de cette riviere quelque choſe de rare. L'on viſita diligemmant les bords de la riviere, et tout le monde trouvant du danger au deſſein du paſſage par la ville, l'on ſeroit bien ayſe qu'on puſt tomber d'accord, d'un autre endroit quy n'en fut toutes fois guere loin ou il n'y euſt pas tant de riſque a coure, quel qu'un penſant en avoir trouve le ſecret propoſe qu'on fit paſſer l'infanterie ſur un marais d'une grande eſtendue environ d'une bonne mille de la ville ou place, laquelle eſtant rangée ſur le dit marais, ou la cavallerie ennemies ne pourroit pas l'approcher, elle pourroit puis apres deſcendre le pluſtoſt en battaille vers l'endroit ou les ennemis eſtoient retranchés, et la faire deſcendre ſur le pont pour paſſer la cavallerie, deſſein d'autant plus perilleux que celuy de forcer le paſſage par la ville qu'on y riſqueroit viſiblement la perte de

toute cette infanterie la ; premièrement, parceque celle des ennemis la pourroit attaquer à demie paſſée, que les hauteurs en eſtoient ſi pres que le mouſquet y porteroit, ou les ennemis pourroient loger tout leur canon, et qu'en deſcendant pour favoriſer le paſſage de la cavallerie, et ſ'emparer du retranchement ennemi, elle ſ'engageroit dans une playne commandée de bien pres, non ſeulement des ſuſdittes hauteurs, mais auſſy de feu de la ville, et ſ'expoſeroit a l'attaque de leur cavallerie. Qu'on juge apres cela de la nature de nos propoſitions. Quelque fois a cela je dis tout franchement, ſi le General ne pouvoit jetter ſa penſée que ſur l'une de ces deux ou par la, ou par la ville, que je ſerois pluſtoſt pour cette derniere, parcequ'on n'y pouroit pas riſquer la perte de toute l'armée, a cauſe que nous y ſerions victorieux, ou aurions eſté repouſſés avant que nous aurions fait pas paſſer 1200 hommes ; mais que ſi c'eſtoit a moy a choiſir, j'en choiſſerois bien un troiſieſme, dont je prenois quelque fois la liberté d'entretenir Monſieur de Ghinckle tout ſeul, voyant que jamais nous n'en tomberions tellement d'accord au conſeil de guerre qu'il n'en reſtat touſjours matiere de ſcrupule pour luy, lequel juſqu'à lors n'avoit jamais fait le metier de l'infanterie ou des ſieges, dont toutes fois il faloit tirer les exemples pour juſtifier ce qu'on propoſe de cette nature ; et comme on ne pouvoit jamais obtenir liberté dans nos conſeils d'achever ſans eſtre interrompu tout ce qu'on avoit a dire, je m'acoutumois de mettre mon opinion par eſcrit quy fut icy a Athlone comme ſ'enſuit.

Qu'on a eſtimé de tout temps le paſſage d'une riviere conſiderable, ou il faille defiler quatre a quatre par un ſeul pont en preſance d'un ennemy quy n'eſt pas tout a fait meſpriſable, ſ'eſtant ſayſy de tous les avantages du terrain de l'autre coſté, l'une de plus perilleuſes actions de la guerre ; et pourtant que la plus part des paſſages de cette nature, dont nous avons des examples ſe ſont faits par ſurpriſe en donnant jalouſie d'un coſté pendant qu'on paſſoit d'un autre.

Que noſtre marche vers Athlone et priſe du coſté de Leynſter de cette place, y ayant, ſuivant le deſſein quy nous y mena, attirées toutes les forces ennemis, l'occaſion ſe preſante ſi belle pour paſſer le Shanon a Melicks ou

Lanſboro, tous d'eux fournis de bons quays au report de ceux quy y avoient veſcu toute leur vie, qu'on ne pouvoit pas la negliger a mon opinion qu'en ſ'attirant bien du blame, en cas que le paſſage ne reuſſit pas a ſouhait de la maniere qu'on le propoſoit, par la ville ou au deſſus d'elle.

Que je m'offrois d'entreprendre le dit paſſage par les troupes d'Inchkilling et de Derg, (a cauſe de la viteſſe de ces corps pour une prompte expedition) marchant a la legere ſans autre bagage que pour quatre jours de pain et de fourage, laiſſans leurs tentes, hardes, femmes, et enfants, dont ces troupes avoyent grand nombre, pour ſuivre avec l'armée.

Qu'on pourroit faire ſuivre cette teſte, par autant de cavallerie et des dragons qu'on jugeroit apropos, le ſpace de ſept a huit heures de tems apres la marche des premieres, et de toute l'armée dans le temps de vingt-quatre heures, tant afin de ſouſtenir cette teſte qu'a fin que les ennemis, auſquels le pais et le quays eſtoyent par tout connus, n'euſſent pas le temps de couper entre deux.

Que pour effectuer le dit deſſein, il faudroit, ſans perdre temps, fortifier noſtre coſté d'Athlone, pour aſſurer la garniſon avec l'artillerie et gros bagage, qu'on jugeroit apropos d'y laiſſer, pour n'en eſtre pas embaraſſé a la marche.

Qu'il faudroit faire ce deſtachement vers le ſoir, ſans que pas un des officiers ſeuſſent pour quel deſſein, que le commandant-en-chef; ne ſe chargeant d'aucun train que quelques pieces de campagne, avec quelques legeres charetes-d'outils, pour remuer la terre, et des chevaux de friſe.

Si le General trouvoit bon que ce fut du coſté de Melicks, que le meſme jour qu'on fairoit le deſtachement au ſoir, l'on mit quelques pieces en batterie pour battre le retranchement des ennemis le long du bord de la riviere au deſſus de la ville, faiſſant en meſme tems un deſtachement du coſté de Lanſboro, quy eut ordre de faire mine de vouloir reparer le pavé que les ennemis y auroyent rompu, le tout pour deſtourner leur penſée de noſtre vray deſſein, le dit deſtachement ayant ordre de retourner vers l'heure que l'armée devoit marcher pour luy ſervir d'arriere garde.

Si le General approuvoit ce deſſein qu'il fit marcher les regiments d'infanterie, au nombre de deux ou trois quy ſe trouvoient aſſemblées a Connelle en attendant ſes ordres, droit a Roſſerea [Roſcrea], pour joyndre l'armée, afin de remplacer ceux qu'il faudroit laiſſer en garniſon a Athlone.

Que la petite garniſon que les ennemis tenoient au millieu du quay [gué] de Melicks, dans une tour, n'en empecheroit nullement le paſſage, parce quand meſme elle ne l'abandonneroit pas, comme il eſtoit a preſumer a la veue de nos troupes, l'on y pourroit poſter des fuſilliers quy tireroient inceſſament a leurs feneſtres, et les empecheroyent de tirer ſur les paſſans.

Que pour ſon coup d'autant plus ſeur, le General pourroit envoyer un certain Trenche, miniſtre d'une parroiſe tout pres de quay [gué], perſonne fort fidelle a l'intereſt, quy fourniſſoit ſouvent quelque intelligence de ce coſté-la, lequel moyenant une eſcorte, et vingt-quatre heures d'avertiſſement, ſ'obligea de rapporter exacte intelligence du nombre des troupes que les ennemis auroyent de ce coſté-la, et comment poſté.

Qu'il pourroit arryver que ſur le bruit de ce paſſage, ſi peu attandu des ennemis, la garniſon du fort au bout du pont de Banaker n'eſtant qu'en meſchant eſtat, l'abandonneroit, ou que l'occaſion ſe preſenta de l'emporter d'emblée, mais qu'au pis aller, ce detachement ſe mettroit tellement a couvert en ſix heures de temps que d'aſſurer le paſſage a l'armée.

Que le dit paſſage eſtant heureuſement reuſſy, il eſt inconteſtable que les ennemis ſeroit obligés de ſe retirer d'aupres d'Athlone, ou ils n'avoyient des vivres que du jour au lendemain, parceque la voiture leur manquoit, ſi bien qu'il leur falloit faire des frequents detachements de leur cavallerie, pour en porter a cheval de Portunay (d'ou le dit paſſage couperoit leur communication) au camp, et que par le meſme manquement de vivres, ils ne pourroient pas paſſer la riviere pour nous couper les noſtres, ſi ce n'eſt que le meſchant eſtat de Molingar ne leur en fit concevoir la penſée ; mais il eſt vray ſemblable, qu'ils ne feroient pas ce mouvement la de peur que nous ne les coupaſſions du Shanon ; ſi bien qu'ils n'auroyent pas de meillieur party a prendre que de ſ'aller poſter entre Gallvay et Limerick,

d'ou ils tiroient leur ſubſiſtance, ſ'ils ne vouloyent haſarder la battaile. Et ſi d'autre coſté l'on fut pluſtot d'avis de tenter le paſſage a Lanſboro, l'on pourroit donner de la jalouſie vers Rachera et Banaker ; ce paſſage couvriroit Molingar, et nous aſſureroit nos vivres, parcequ'a Lanſboro nous en ſerions plus proches qu'a Athlone ; outre qu'il ſeroit impoſſible aux ennemis de venir avec le gros de leurs troupes pour ſe poſter avantageuſement pres de Lanſboro, (dont ce pais fourni generallement grande commodité a un ennemy qui ſe met ſur la deffenſive), pour nous empeſcher ayant paſſé la riviere, la marche vers Athlone, d'autant que par ce mouvement, ils ſ'eloigniroient de ſeize a dix-huit milles d'avantage de leur ſubſiſtance.

Je repreſentay, comme je dis deſſus, toutes ces choſes au General teſte a teſte, et m'offris pour en eſtre l'executeur ; mais, comme il ne pouvoit pas gouter le deſſein de Lanſboro, quoy qu'il me ſemblaſt le plus raiſonable de tous, parceque j'en viens de dire, et qu'il luy fut impoſſible d'aſſurer l'armée de douze jours de pain, qu'il faloit avoir avec pour faire l'autre marche, et la ſubſiſter juſqu'a ce qu'on eut eſtably la communication avec nos magazins par la priſe d'Athlone, (laquelle, apres l'arryve de l'armée devant cette place de l'autre coſté, ne nous couſteroit pas deux fois vingt-quatre heures), toutes ces propoſitions furent rejettées. Par la nous voyons viſiblement, comme on avoit negligé ce ſoin tant neceſſaire, non ſeullement d'avoir des magazins bien fournis, en divers endroits, ſelon le plan que le General ſe ſeroit d'en former par avance de la campagne, mais auſſy d'avoir fait l'amas des vivres neceſſaires dans l'unique magaſin qu'on avoit de ce coſté-la, et m'imagine facilement que Monſieur de Ghinckle ſ'en eſtoit promis toute autre choſe ; mais comme ce grand deſtaile d'une armée, avec toute ſa deſpendance, luy eſtoient une choſe nouvelle, il ſe deſchargea volontiers du ſoin des vivres ſur le Pereras, qu'il ſcavoit en avoir eue une longue prattique ; et ceux-cy, trouvans qu'ils avoyent fait un accord tres avantageuſe pour eux avec le Roy, a ſcavoir qu'il auroit ſeullement beſoin de faire tel amas de bled et des farines, et en tels lieux que le General leur ordonneroit, le Roy eſtant

obligé de fournir la voieture de-la a l'armée, comme auſſy de payer le pain quy ſeroit gaſté, eſtoient bien ayſes de ne pas recevoir des ordres precis, ſcachant que leur accord les tireroit toujours d'affaire ; par laquelle conduitte, ces gens ont profité extremement du ſervice du Roy, ſans quaſy rien riſquer, ce quy me fait croire que Monſieur de Ghinckle eſtoit perſuadé que les choſes ſe trouvoient mieux diſpoſées, c'eſt que je l'avois entendu ſe vanter que de quelque coſté du royaume qu'il tourneroit la teſte, l'armée ne puſt manquer d'un jour de pain pendant la campagne, quoy que nous en experimentaſſions bientoſt le contraire.

Cependant, dans l'irreſolution de ce qu'on devoit entreprendre, l'on ne laiſſa pas de battre toujours le coſté des ennemis de la ville de toute la groſſe artillerie, comme de reparer le pont de la maniere que je touche deſſus, de propoſer le moyen de jetter un autre pont des pontons au-deſſus de celuy de pierre, et en meſme temps de travaillier, quoy que foiblement à metre noſtre coſté de la ville en deffance, comme ſi Dieu avoit degouté ceux quy en avoyient le ſoin pour toute autre choſe et entrepriſe, que celle par laquelle il avoit determiné de nous rendre les maitres du Shanon. Le General ſouſhaitta qu'on mit le projet de l'attaque et paſſage par la ville par eſcrit, dont Monſieur de Tetau et moy en fit chacun un ; qu'on ne pouvoit pourtant tout obſerver, parceque nous fuſmes reduits au ſeul paſſage du quay. A la fin, au lieu des quatre endroits que nous nous propoſions quand on commançoit de propoſer cette attaque, il fut auſſy reſolu qu'elle ſeroit commandée par deux generaux-majors, et pour eſloignier toutes matieres de diſpute, que ce ſeroit par celluy quy ſe trouveroit de jour au poſte, et celluy quy ſe ſuivroit ou devroit relever, ce quy fut arreſté entre les generaux-majors quelques jours auparavant, en cas que cette attaque ce fit. Cependant Monſieur de Ghinckle, par ſon zelle pour le ſervice et le regard de la reputation, ne ſcachant a quel avis deſtera, ſe trouva dans la plus grande inquietude du monde. Comme en paſſant je puis teſmoigner en ſincerité que je n'ay jamais fait une campagne quy me fourniſt tant de chagrin que celle-la, voyant un affaire dont humainement dependoit le bonheur ou malheur de l'Europe, et ſurtout du pro-

teſtantiſme, maniée d'une maniere ſi peu convenable a l'importance de l'affaire ; car, entre nous, la pluralité et non pas la ſubſtance des avis l'emportoit en ces affaires crouſtilleuſes, dont le General, par les raiſons cy-deſſus touchées, n'avoit pas tout les eclairiſſement neceſſaire, ce quy faiſoit qu'il aymoit mieux arreſter par collection des avis que par choiſe, croyant par la de pouvoir mieux repondre de l'evenement, quoy que les princes eſclairés examinent par les vrayes maximes de la guerre (au moins le doit en toujours faire) pluſtot que par le regard des perſonnes quy aviſſent, n'y de l'inegalité du nombre pour le pour, et pour le contre ; outre qu'un general quy n'agiſt que par collection des voix ne peut jamais ſe propoſer d'arreſter quelque choſe dont on nait le vent dans l'armée, et par conſequant dans celle des ennemis, ſ'il luy arrive d'avoir a faire a un general entendu au metier, et quy n'eſpargne point ſa bourſe pour avoir l'avis neceſſaire des meſures de ſon ennemy, meſme quant tous ceux quy entrent au conseil fuſſent fort fidelles au ſervice de leur maiſtre commun ; parcequ'il ne ſe trouvent que rarement un nombre des gens ſi ſecrets qu'il ne ſ'en trouvent quy communiquent ce qu'ils ſcavent a quelques amis, quand cella ne ſeroit que pour en ſcavoir leur jugement, ſi bien qu'aux affaires intricats de la guerre, dont le General d'armée voulut ſ'eſclaircir du ſentiment des officiers experimentés de ſon armée. J'eſtime la methode de ceux quy ne laiſſent pas d'eſſembler leur officers pour leur communiquer ce qu'ils ſcavent de l'eſtat des ennemis leur faiſſant la deſſus quantité des queſtions par voye d'interrogative, et leur permettant d'en faire marquant ce qu'ils trouvent peſer, toutes fois ſans former leur reſolution deffinitive, en plain conſeil, afin quelle ne ſoit eſventée, la ſecreſteſſe eſtant ſi neceſſaire quand les armées ſont a peu pres de meſme force, que ſans elle on ſe trouve toujours prevenu.

Enfin, toute l'Irelande proteſtante eſtoit tellement apprehenſive du ſucces de cette entrepriſe, que la ville de Dublin ne ſe croyoit plus en ſeureté, ſi bien que le gouvernement donna ordre de baricader toutes les avenués ce que je leur avois propoſé d'abord, que je ſceus que nous n'avions pas des troupes pour former un camp-volant, quy couvrit le

pais de l'obeyſſance de leurs Majeſté ; mais alors ils n'y voulurent point entendre.

Enfin, apres beaucoup des conceils ſans rien pouvoir arreſter diffinitivement, je vins un ſoir fort tard trouver Monſieur de Ghinckle, et le priay de ſonger aux deſordres qu'un affront pourroit cauſer aux affaires du Roy, non ſeulement dans ſes trois royaumes, mais auſſy chez les eſtrangers, luy propoſant dereſchef de tenter le paſſage aillieurs, ſans qu'il fuſt neceſſaire de bouger de la, qu'il ne fut averty, qu'on l'auroit franchy, le priant de m'en charger, ne doutant pas pourveu que les quays [gués] fuſſent tels que les luy repreſentois, d'un heureux ſucces et effectivement. Je crus l'avoir laiſſé bien perſuadé de mon ſentiment, m'ayant promis qu'il ſurprendroit tout le monde de ce deſſein eſtant d'avis d'en rien communiquer au conſeil de guerre ; mais en faiſant ſemblant de pourſuivre le deſſein, dont la plus part des generaux eſtoyoient enteſtes, faire ce deſtachment quand on n'y penſeroit pas, ſi bien que j'eſtois ſurpris le lendemain au matin lorſque penſant le trouver logé ou je l'avois laiſſé la nuit precedante, on m'avertit qu'on avoit fait les deſtachements de toute l'armée pour l'attaque, le monde ſe trouvant ſur le lieu ; et Monſieur de Ghinckle agité tant de ſes propres apprehentions, que des avis differents de ceux qu'il conſultoit, demeurant encore irreſolu de ce qu'il devoit faire, l'on le vint avertir que les ennemis avoyoient mis le feu a l'arche rompue de leur pont de pierre, quy eſtoit au bout du dit pont, ſur laquelle l'on avoit paſſé le gros bois ou ſalivos, ſi bien qu'il ne faloit que poſer les planches, ce qu'on ne pouvoit faire qu'a meſme tems qu'on commanceroit l'aſſaut par le guay, cette avis mit fin a l'affaire pour ce jour la, et l'on renvoya les deſtachements, avec ordre de ſe tenir preſts les meſmes officiers et monde, ou l'on remarqua la triſteſſe peinte aux viſages des ſoldats, n'augurans rien de bon de ce changement de conceil, quoy que la direction celeſte fuſt viſiblement veue en cet accident, quy parroiſſoit caſuel aux yeux de ceux quy ne montent de leurs penſées plus haut que la terre ; car ce jour la, les ennemis voyans de leur camp qu'on faiſoit defiler des troupes vers la ville, non pas a l'heure ordinaire d'y relever les regiments quy ſe trouvoyoient de garde,

mais le matin, remplirent la ville des bonnes troupes, de forte qu'ils fe trouvoient en bon eftat de nous recevoir, au lieu que voyant qu'on ne les avoit pas attaqués ce jour la, jugeans comme il eftoit vray que c'eftoit, parcequ'ils nous avoyent rendu le pont impaffable, ils conclurent que c'en eftoit fait, et ne f'attendoyoient plus a une attaque par cette endroite, y ayant fait relever la garde ce foir la par trois de leurs plus mechants battaillions, comme on le fceut le lendemain par le General-Major Maxuel, qu'on prit prifonnier, et commandoit en chef dans la place lorfqu'on l'attaqua, Monfieur de Teffe eftant allé faire un tour au camp; auffy leurs foldats reprochoient toute la nuit fuivante, qu'ils n'avoyent pas ofé gaigner la guinea par tefte que Monfieur de Ghinckle propofoit aux huit cents grenadiers quy devoyoient donner les premiers cette nuit. Monfieur le Duc de Virtemberg, ayant deviné ce quy, par l'imprudence des ennemis et notre bonheur, arriva, preffa le General de reprendre le mefme deffein le lendemain, quoy qu'il n'y euft point d'autre paffage que le feul guay dans l'efperance de furprendre les ennemis, et pour leur en cafcher d'autant mieux la connoiffance l'on deflibera de faire defiler les deftachements a l'heure ordinaire de relever les poftes, et autant hors leur veue qu'on pouvoit, deffendant, en mefme temps, que perfonne fe mit fur les hauteurs voifines, dont les ennemis puffent conjecturer quelque nouveauté.

Le jour precedant, le General-Major Talmafh eftant de garde a la ville, c'auroit efté a luy de commander les fujets du Roy a la droite de l'attaque, comme a Monfieur Tetau les eftrangers a la gauche, parceque c'etoit a luy de relever Talmafh; mais le dit Talmafh, fortant de tour ce foir la, c'eftoit a moy de prendre la droitte, felon que nous fufmes convenus enfemble, fi bien qu'apres difner, je fus recevoir les ordres de Monfieur de Ghinckle, lequel me refpondit que Talmafh devoit continuer ce pofte, fuivant qu'il en avoit ordonné la nuit d'auparavant, que les mefmes officiers et foldats fe tinffent prets; je luy refpondis que cette ordre ne me regardoit pas, parcequel' attaque fe devoit faire a mon tour, que je ne foufrirois pas qu'on la fift pour moy, ajoutant que bien que

mon jugement, ne pouvoit pas l'approuver que je ne laiſſerois pas moyenant l'aſſiſtance de Dieu de l'avancer, autant qu'il me ſeroit poſſible, me doutant bien que les enteſtés de ce deſſein ne luy euſſent inſpiré la penſée de prendre ce pretexte pour y employer un autre que moy, parceque je m'y oppoſois. Il me repliqua, qu'il en ſeroit fort ſatisfait, mais que les autres officiers pretendroient le meſme raiſon, parceque c'eſtoit une choſe continue entre les generaux-majors de ſon aveu, ſi bien que nous ne reconnoiſtrions point d'autre ordre au contraire, et que ce deſtachement eſtant pourveu d'un double nombre d'officiers, toute l'armée n'en pouvoit pas aſſés fournir pour les relever. Il me pria donc d'aller trouver Talmaſh, au moins pour l'en avertir, ce que je luy conſentis, lequel me reſpondit que puis que je le voulois ainſy, que je luy permiſſe d'eſtre mon volontaire ; a quoy je repliquay, que c'eſtoit aſſes d'engager en cette affaire la moitie des generaux de l'infanterie, et qu'il ſe faloit meſnager pour d'autres occaſions, ou il y en auroit beſoin, auſſy bien que la. Ayant donné ordre pour faire defiler le monde, je me tranſportay a poſte pour les y attendre et faire renger, ſelon qu'ils devoient marcher au guay ; mais comme je trouvois que les officiers ne faiſſoient pas toute la dilligence que je voulois bien pour les renger de la meſme maniere que le jour precedant, comme je leur avois recommandé, et que j'apprehendois que Monſieur de Tetau n'euſt pluſtoſt fait, a cauſe qu'il ſcavoit des le jour d'auparavant d'aſſigner a chacun ſon poſte ; ayant fait le meſme maniere, alors je commence a faire defiler les grenadiers, les faiſant ſuivre des autres le mieux que je pouvois, apres leur avoit recommendé de ſerrer les rangs dans l'eau juſqu'au bout de l'epée, qu'ils ne tiraſſent qu'a bout portant, et que ceux quy n'avoyoient point d'epée ou bayonnete, apres avoir tires leurs coups de ſe ſervir de la croſſe de leurs mouſquets, leur repreſentans, en meſme tems, l'importance de ſe porter vaillemment a cette action, dont tous le ſucces dependoit d'une premier vigeur ; ſcachans bien que ſi nous ne l'emportions d'abord que c'en eſtoit fait, nous fiſmes donc de coſté et d'autre par deux chemins defiler la teſte de nos deſtachements juſqu'au bord de la riviere, en attendant le ſignal quy fut le ſon d'une petitte cloche de l'egliſe, que y avoit

reſtée, faiſant bien ferrer les ſoldats pour qu'il euſt aucune diſtance ou intervalle, afin qu'on eut le plus qu'il ſe puſt de monde a la main en montant la breche. Cepandant, l'on avoit preparés quantité des echaffaux eſlevés contre les mourailles, quy ſe trouvoyent encore de bout dans la ville, quy deſcouvriſſent dans les poſtes ennemis pour les empecher de tirer a leur aiſe ſur les paſſans; pointans, en meſme tems, tout noſtre canon grand et petit le plus avantageuſement qu'on puſt pour le meſme ſujet, le ſignal ſuſdit eſtant donné, les grenadiers ſe jetterent dans l'eau, menés de mon coſté d'un certain Colonel Guſtave Hamilton, devancé d'un deſtachement de trente, et un autre de cinquante grenadiers; apres luy ſuiviſt le Prince d'Heſſe d'Armſtad, jeune ſeignieur fort honneſte et brave, lequel je devois ſouſtenir avec le reſte du deſtachement des ſujets du Roy, comme devoit faire Monſieur de Tetau a la gauche avec les eſtrangers; trouvant donc les grenadiers tous defilés dans l'eau, et voyant que les ſuivans obſervoyient exactement mes ordres en marchant ferrés, laiſſant la un ayde-de-camp pour recommander aux officiers toute dilligence a me ſuivre avec leur monde, de peur qu'on ne negligeaſt quelque circonſtance et precautions quy renverſaſſent des favorables commancements, comme il arrive ſouvent a ces ſortes d'actions, ſurtout quand les officiers ne font pas fort experimentés, je me mis dans la riviere, prenant la droitte de mon deſtachement pour n'en eſtre pas empeché, ayant cinque a ſix officiers reformés et aide-de-camp avec moy; l'eau, quy eſtoit fort rapide et playne des groſſes pierres, me venant juſqu'a la ceinture. Au pied de la breche je rencontray le General-Major Maxuel, que les premiers entrés venoient de faire priſonnier; et quoy que la breche, eſtant de terre noire et maracageuſe, fut randue fort gliſſante, nos gens ne laiſſerent pas de la monter bien viſte, ſ'aſſiſtans l'un l'autre; et comme il y eut au millieu de cette grande face vers la riviere un vieil chatteau de mourailles fort eſpaiſſes, qu'on ne pouvoit pas tout-a-fait ouvrir mais ſeulement trouer, l'on commanda un lieutenant-colonel Anglois du regiment du Prince de Heſſe, nommé Colombin, avec deux cents fuſiliers, pour attaquer le dit chateau, pendant que je m'eſlargirois vers la droitte du dit chateau, pour m'enparer

des rempards du fort, quand nous aurions chaſſées les ennemis de tout ce front quy regardoit la riviere, comme Monſieur de Tetau devoit faire de ſon coſté juſqu'a ce que nous nous fuſſions joints ſur le dit rempard, quy formoit la defance de la place du coſté de la campagne regardant vers l'armée ennemie.

Sortant donc de la riviere, et voyans qu'un gros du monde quy avoit paſſé devant ſe pouſſoit par une rue quy alloit droit vers un gros baſtions au millieu de la fortification ennemie, jugeant que le Colonel Hamilton et le Lieutenant-Colonel Colombin, avec leurs deſtachements, avoyoient ſuivy leur ordre, je me pouſſay du coſté du dit gros baſtion pour m'en emparer ce quy vinſt fort apropos ; car les premiers des ennemis quy avoyoient fait teſte a nos gens ſortans du guay, les premiers ayants eſté culbuttés, l'eſpouvante ſe mit dans toute leur garniſon, ſi bien que tout enfuyant a la courſe, ſauta les rempards du coſté de leur armée. Il y avoit a la gauche de ce gros baſtion un petit, ou les ennemis avoyient fait breche pour relever et porter des facines et autres choſes dans la place hors la veue de notre canon, ou les plus avancés des Danois arrivant pour ſuivre les ennemis juſques dans la contreſcarpe, quy eſtoit toute ouverte ſans paliſſades ou parapet, ce quy ſeroit cauſe que les Anglois quy ne demeurent guere volontiers, les derniers auroient ſauté du rempard en bas en la pourſuite des fuyards, ſi je ne me trouvois juſtement la pour les empecher et poſter a meſure qu'ils m'arrivoient a la main le long du parapet, et dans les deffances, ce que Monſieur de Tetau fiſt auſſy de ſon coſté d'abord qu'il arryva ſur le lieu, faiſant boucher d'abord la ditte breche, ne permettant pas que ceux quy ſortirent par ce mouvement temeraire rentraſſent que juſqu'a la nuit, faiſant des reprimendes aux officiers commandans ces premiers deſtachements de ſes gens de ſ'eſtre ſi inconſiderement emportés d'une maniere quy auroit pu nous cauſer la perte de ce que nous avions ſi heureuſement gaigné avec ſi peu de perte et de reſiſtance, ſi l'on ne ſy eſtoit trouvé juſtement preſant pour y remedier. C'eſt pour apprendre aux vainqueurs de ne ſe laiſſer tellement emporter de l'apparance d'un plus grand avantage qu'ils ne tachent de

ſ'aſſurer celluy qu'ils auroient deja emporté preferablement a la pourſuitte d'un plus grand, et enfin d'agir partout avec du jugement, car il n'y avoit rien a gagner d'avantage que ce dont nous eſtions deſja les maiſtres, ſi bien qu'il ne reſtoit qu'a diſpoſer le monde le long du rampard, et dans les deffances, en cas que les ſecours quy venoyent aux attaques ſe miſſent en devoir de reprendre ce qu'ils venoient de perdre. Les ennemis, depuis le commencement du ſiege, tenoient quelques battallions derriere leur rempard hors la veue de noſtre canon pour en fortifier la garniſon, en cas qu'on tentaſt par la le paſſage de la riviere ; et pour ce ſujet, auſſy bien que pour relever la garde de la place, et pour y porter les choſes neceſſaires de toutes ſortes, avoyent fait la ſuſditte ouverture dans la face d'un de leurs baſtions, comme j'ay touché deſſus. Mais deux jours avant l'attaque, l'on ſ'aviſa de metre quelques legeres pieces de canon en batterie au deſſous de la place, d'ou elles puſſent enfiler l'endroit ou ſes batalions ſe tenoient de reſerve, dont il leur falluſt ſe retirer de quelques centaines de pas de la, dont nous ne remarquaſmes l'utilité qu'a l'attaque, car effectivement ils ne pouvoient pas ſi trouver quand meſme ils en euſſent la volonté aſſes a tems pour ſouſtenir les leurs contre une attaque ſi prompte et inattendue, n'ayant point d'endroit pour y entrer que par une ouverture de deux toiſſes de largeur, au lieu que ſ'ils avoyoient applanie une courtine, comme Meſſieurs de Maxuell et de Wachop ſouſtiennent avoir conſeillé, et retranchée la garge des baſtions de la droite et gauche de la ditte courtine, nous n'aurions pas pu maintenir cette conqueſte quand meſme nous l'aurions emportée, parceque nos gens ſortoient de l'eau en petit nombre a la fois et en deſordres ; ſi bien que la peur cauſée par la ſurpriſe deffit les ennemis pluſtoſt que les efforts de noſtres, de ſorte que les Irois ayans une grande ouverture eſpaulée de coſté et d'autre de deux baſtions retranchés par ou ils auroient pu faire marcher un battaillon de front au ſecours des leurs, ils nous auroient facillement chaſſées et fait retourner plus viſte que nous n'eſtions venus, parcequ'ils nous rencontreroient en confuſion, et qu'il y avoit quantité des petits retranchemens et des traverſſes dans la place, ou peu des gens reſolus

entrés au ſecours des fuyards nous auroient pu arreſter, et que la teſte venant a l'arreſter l'eſpouvante ſe metroit naturellement aux ſuivans, a cauſe que les plus ignorans regardoient cette attaque comme une actione deſeſperée, impreſſion capable d'eſpouvanter les meilleurs troupes ſ'il leur arrivoit de rencontrer bonne reſiſtance, et ſ'il nous avoit falu nous loger ſur le bord de la riviere, nous en aurions eſté infailliblement chaſſés, pourveu que les ennemis fuſſent entreprenans, ſans qu'il y eut moyen de ſouſtenir nos logemens que par le guay, que nos propres gens, ſ'ils venoyient apployer nous empecheroient ; mais Dieu, quy veillioit d'une maniere toute extraordinaire ſur les armes de leurs Majeſtés, pourveut a tout.

Relation de la Bataille d'Aghagm, avec quelques Reflexions ſur ce qui la precedoit depuis la priſe d'Athlone.

Cette place eſtant priſe d'aſſaut, apres avoir faite breche ſuffiſante et ſondé le gué, par lequel il faloit aller a l'aſſaut, l'on ne puſt pas d'abord paſſer la riviere pour ſuivre les ennemis, qui ſe retiroient a Ballinaſloe, ſitué ſur une petite riviere appellé Sucke, qu'on ne puſt pas auſſy paſſer que par des ponts et gués, parcequ'il faloit, premierement, faire tranſporter noſtre magazin des vivres de Molingar a Athlone, pour de la les tranſporter plus facilement a l'armée, auſſy nous manquant des boulets pour nos pieces de campagne.

Le General eſtant averty tant par ſes partis, que ſes eſpions que les ennemis ſ'eſtoient retirés a Ballinaſloe, mit en deſliberation par quel chemin il les devoit approcher, ou les uns vouloient qu'on marchaſt tout droit a eux par le dit paſſage Ballinaſloe, diſant qu'on perdroit autrement deux jours de tems en paſſant cette riviere a dix milles plus haut que le camp des ennemis.

A ce ſentiment les autres objectoient, qu'il ne faudroit pas toujours

donner trop beau jeu aux ennemis, que ce ſeroit trop tanter la providance de Dieu, qu'on ne pouvoit pas faire grand eſtat ſur les imparfaites idées du pais, qu'on puſt tirer des gens qui n'eſtoient pas du metier, qu'allant droit aux ennemis l'une des choſes ſuivantes arriveroit naturellement, ou qu'il faudroit attaquer les ennemis quelque avantageux qu'ils fuſſent poſtés, ou ſe retirer ſur ſes pas manque de fourage ; eſtant a preſumer qu'il n'y en puſt avoir dans un campement, ou les ennemis avoyent ſi long tems ſejourné, ſi peu de tems auparavant ; au lieu que prenant ſon chemin par Montalbot dix a douſe milles plus haut ſur le meme riviere, l'on auroit abondance de fourage pour n'eſtre pas preſſé de prendre conſeil de la neceſſité, l'on donneroit de la jalouſie pour Galway aux ennemis qui leur feroit apparemment decamper ou faire quelqu'autre mouvement, dont paravanture l'on put rencontrer occaſſion de les combatre ; et que plus on montat la riviere, moinſy trouveroit on d'obſtacle a la paſſer, et qu'en tout cas l'on ne pouvoit pas conter les jours a la guerre ſans donner par ſon impatiance de l'avantage a ſon ennemie. La deſſus le General envoya reconnoiſtre les deux chemins, et ſe declara pour le dernier, ſcavoir Montalbot ; mais la veille de la marche eſtant averti, que pour certain les ennemis eſtoient deſcampés, il prend l'autre, et ſ'eſtant venu camper la premiere nuit a trois miles de Ballinaſloe, pouſſa juſques la pour deſcouvrir la verité de ce qu'on luy avoit raporté, et trouva qu'il ni avoit point d'ennemis ſur le bord de la riviere, ni pres de ce paſſage ; mais il lui ſembla deſcourir des tentes a trois miles au deſla. Neanmoins l'on continua la marche le lendemain juſqu'a Ballinaſloe. Il fut conſulté ſi on devoit paſſer la riviere ce jour-la, ou camper de noſtre coſté, ou il y eut des pour et des contre ; car ſi on ne la paſſoit pas, les ennemis pourroient venir de nuit ſaiſir les hauteurs vis-a-vis de noſtre camp, d'ou leur canon nous incommoderoit en noſtre camp, et le voiſinage de leur armée de ſi pres rendroit noſtre paſſage dans cette endroite doubteux.

Ceux qui ſouſtenoient qu'il ne falloit pas paſſer de cette nuit alleguoient qu'on auroit trop peu de jour pour paſſer, et puis reconnoiſtre juſques pres du camp ennemy, que puis qu'ils avoient occupés des hauteurs bien

pres de celles, dont nous les pouiſſions deſcouvrir le plus pres; qu'il n'eſtoit pas ſeur qu'ils n'avoient leur armée rangé derriere les dites hauteurs dans le deſſein de marcher a nous d'abord, qu'ils nous veroient defiler, ſ'eſtans peut-eſtre eloignés expres a ce deſſein du paſſage ; que noſtre canon eſtoit encore bien loin et ne nous pouvoit pas ſervir a ce paſſage, que les ennemis ayans choiſi ce camp favorable au bord de la riviere, il n'eſtoit guere vray ſemblable, qu'ils en changeaſſent le deſſein pour l'effect qu'ils pouroient eſperer de leur canon, quoy qu'avantageuſement logé contre le noſtre, qu'ils ſcavoient eſtre tant ſuperieur au leur ; et finalement, que noſtre cavallerie deja fort fatigué patiroit fort en paſſant cette nuit, a cauſe qu'il ni avoit point du fourage dans le camp, et qu'il faloit tenir les chevaux au piquet ſans oſer envoyer loin au fourage au dela d'un defilé. Eſtant ſi pres d'un ennemy qui ſembloit nous attendre, et ſe trouvant ſaiſi des poſtes, dont ils pouvoient decouvrir tous tels mouvements, de toutes ſes repreſentations differantes, le General reſolut de camper cette nuit du coſté d'ou il venoit, et le ſoir a l'ordre, ayant fait aſſembler tous les generaux et brigadiers, l'ordre de battaile fut arreſté, ſcavoir, qu'il y eut de chaque aiſle d'infanterie trois bataillons rengés dans les intervalles de la premiere ligne de cavallerie, et autant a la ſeconde ligne, mais rangé autrement, ſcavoir, trois bataillons tous enſemble au milieux de chaque brigade de cette ligne. Le quartier-maiſtre-general devoit paſſer d'abord, que nos gardes ſe feroient pouſſés ſur les hauteurs pour marquer le terrain ou l'on ſe rangeroit dans le dit ordre a couvert de dites hauteurs ; l'infanterie devoit toute paſſer par un pont de pierre, en cas que les ennemis nous en laiſſaſſent le loiſir ; autrement paſſer auſſi bien que la cavallerie, partie par les gués, et partie par le dit pont. N'ayant pas pû trainer les pontons manque de chevaux, le canon paſſeroit par une gué tout pres du pont, et la cavallerie par deux autres devant leur camp.

Tout eſtant preparé, et chaque general et brigadier ſcachant ſon poſte, et ce qu'il auroit affaire, l'on commence a defiler l'armée, des que le General ayant fait avancer des gens detachés ſur les memes hauteurs qu'il avoit occupés le jour d'auparavant, eut obſervé autant qu'il puſt la contenance des

ennemis en perſonne, avec le Duc de Virtemberg et les autres generaux; mais comme le terrain ſe retraiſſiſſoit par deux marais (dont l'on couvrit entierement l'aiſle gauche) a une demie mile du paſſage, le General trouvant tout paſſé, ſans qu'on puſt decouvrir aucun mouvement dans le camp des ennemy, et ne ſcachant pas ſ'ils ne ſe trouvoient rangés derriere des hauteurs entre nous et leur camp, pour prendre leur tems de nous attaquer quand nous avancerions au deſla des dites marais, pour nous elargir de l'autre coſté, tant ſur la droite que principallement ſur la gauche, ordonna a Monſieur de Seravemoer de faire avancer quelques eſcadrons pour ſe ſaiſir des hauteurs de la droite, ou les ennemis avoyent a noſtre veue des petites gardes avancés, ce qu'ayant eſté executé, il ſ'y tranſporta avec tous les generaux. De la il pouvoit decouvrir tout leur camp, mais comme il y avoit devant leur droite une grande eſtendue de terrain couvert d'une hauteur, dont ils eſtoient encore les maiſtres, il fit de la main avancer une partie de ce qu'il avoit autour de luy pour les deſloger de la, ou bien decouvrir ce qui ſe trouvoit poſté derriere; mais comme il ni avoit pas grand choſe l'on ſ'en rendiſt maiſtre, et de la l'on put voir que le deſſein des ennemis eſtoit de ſe ſervir de l'avantage de leur poſte de pied ferme. Le General ayant tout decouvert et conſulté du terrain le plus propre, ſelon la diſpoſition du camp ennemy pour un campement ou champ de bataille, ſelon que l'occaſion ſ'en preſenteroit, donna ordre pour avancer les troupes, pendant que les quartiers generals marqueroit ſon terrain a chaque corps; et voyant d'une hauteur, ou il ſe tenoit a cheval, que les ennemis faiſſoient mine de ſ'arreter dans des jardinayes, pres deſquels les troupes de noſtre aiſle gauche devoient camper, et loin d'une groſſe mile de l'aiſle droite des ennemis, dont ce poſte fut detaché, commanda les dragons de Cuningham, ſouſtenue de quelque cavallerie Danoiſe, de les en aller chaſſer, ou il arriva quelque eſcarmouche les ennemis faiſant d'autres detachements a la file de leur armée, rangée a la teſte de leur camp pour les ſouſtenir, ce que le General obſervant, il fit avancer le regiment d'Eppinger, et puis voiant les ennemis ſ'avancer en plus grand nombre, le fit ſuivre de toutes les troupes de la

gauche qui devoient ſe ranger ſur ce terrain ; l'eſcarmouche ſ'eſchauffant de plus en plus, l'on crut remarquer quelques mouvements au camp ennemi, comme ſ'ils retiroient des troupes, ſurtout de la cavallerie de leur aiſle gauche pour fortifier leur droite, ce qui donna ſujet au General Major Mackay de dire au General, qu'on avoit ſouvent veu des plus petits commencements attirer une bataille, luy propoſant, en meme tems, ſi ſon excellence ne jugeroit pas apropos, puiſque ſa droite ſembloit eſtre couverte d'un marais, de retirer une partie de ſa cavallerie de la pour fortifier ſa gauche, ou le terrain entre les deux armées ſembloit plus ouvert et propre pour la cavallerie ; ajoutant que pour empecher que les ennemis ne ſe ſerviſſent de toute leur cavallerie a leur droite, ſi elle ne trouveroit pas bon qu'on fiſt deſcendre quelques bataillons de noſtre droite vers le marais, qui la ſepareroit de la gauche des ennemis pour en chaſſer quelques gardes qu'ils avoient avancés vers l'entré du dit marais de noſtre coſté, et en meme tems reconnoiſtre ſi tout ce qui nous ſembloit a cette diſtance inacceſſible eſtoit effectivement tel. Le General luy commanda de ſ'y tranſporter avec les Generaux-Majors de Ruvignie et Talmaſh, et de ſ'y gouverner ſelon qu'il le jugeroit apropos ſur le lieu, et que le terrain ſ'y trouveroit diſpoſé. Suivant le quel ordre, il fiſt deſcendre du terrain, ou ils ſ'alloient camper quelques bataillons de la premiere ligne de l'aiſle droite ; et les ennemis, ſur ce mouvement, eſtans retirés vers un chateau qui couvroit la gauche de l'armée ennemi, ayant viſité le terrain, et trouvant de l'eſpace pour y ranger environ quatre bataillons de front, les fit avancer ſous le canon des ennemis, rengeant, en meme tems, quelques eſcadrons des chevaux et dragons derriere, et donna ordre pour fonder un petit rivolet ou vaiſſeau qui paſſoit au travers du marais ſur la gauche de l'endroit qu'on avoit deja occupé, afin que ſi le General ou ſe trouvoit engagé au combat par l'eſcarmouche deja commencé a noſtre gauche, ou par avanture jugeroit apropos d'attaquer les ennemis dans leur poſte, que noſtre droite puſt attaquer leur gauche d'un plus grand front, on fit auſſy avancer de ce coſté-la douſe pieces de campagne pour tirer a trois, dont les ennemis nous incommodoient de la hauteur, comme

auſſy a des eſcadrons et bataillons qu'on voyoit rangés ſur les dites hauteurs, et derriere des troupes avancées qu'ils avoient logés tout le long du bas des hauteurs, et ſur le bord du marais, depuis le chateau juſqu'a noſtre gauche dans des hayes, leſquelles ſe trouvoient encore couvertes d'un foſſé d'eau et bourbier, ou de l'infanterie avoit de la payne a paſſer. Ces choſes ſe trouvant ainſy diſpoſées, le General-Major Mackay ſ'en contenta juſqu'a autre ordre, ne voiant pas avancer la gauche qui hormis les troupes eſcarmouchantes ſe trouvoient encore a une mile diſtante de la droite des ennemis. La deſſus le General-Major Talmaſh, qui commandoit la ſeconde brigade d'infanterie a la droite, dit qu'il falloit des l'inſtant attaquer la gauche des ennemis ; auquel Mackay, qui commandoit la en chef, reſpondit, qu'outre l'avantage du poſte ennemi, couvert premierement d'un foſſé, ou eſtang regnant tout le long de leur front, derriere lequell des hayes, au bas de leurs hauteurs bien bordés de mouſquetrie detaché, et derriere tout cela leurs bataillons, et eſquadrons rangés en bataille preſts a repouſſer ceux qui auroient le bonheur de ſurmonter les premieres difficultés que noſtre gauche eſtoit encore ſi loin de la droite des ennemis, qu'ils pourroient employer la plus grand part de leurs forces contre nous, et apres nous avoir repouſſes ſ'en ſervir aſſes a tems contre les troupes de noſtre gauche, avant qu'ils puſſent eſtre a portée de leur droite, Talmaſh ſe tournant vers le Marquis de Ruvignie luy demanda ſi on ne devoit pas attaquer, lequel reſpond, qu'il eſtoit la a l'ordre du General-Major Mackay, et prêt a marcher quand il le luy commanderoit, Monſieur Talmaſh ſ'echauffant la deſſus, dit qu'il eſtoit de la ſeconde ligne, et qu'il ſ'en alloit a ſon poſte ſi on ne vouloit pas attaquer les ennemis, ajoutant, que puiſque le General ſ'en eſtoit remis a Monſieur Mackay, il n'en deut pas faire tant de difficulté ; tant pis luy reſpondit Mackay, puiſque je le juge ſi mal apropos que le moindre eſclairé au metier le condamnera, mais pour vous ſatisfaire, ajouta-t-il, j'envoyeray au General pour lui faire la deſcription du poſte ennemy et mon jugement, ſ'il a deſſein d'attaquer leur armée, que ce ſoit ſans perdre de temps, et partout, en meme tems, ce qu'aiant fait, le General aparemment

empeché a la gauche lui fit dire, par l'aide de camp de Monſieur de Ruvignie, qu'il en agiſt ſelon ſon jugement; lequel lui aiant envoyé dereſchef le General vient lui même, et aiant entendu ſes raiſonnemens il fut conclu que ſon excelleance fairoit ſans delaye, eſtant deja pres de cinque heures du ſoir, avancer la gauche, et quand Monſieur de Mackay la jugeroit auſſy pres des ennemis que la droite, il feroit attaquer de ſon coſté toutes les hayes ou les ennemis ſe trouvoient logés, agiſſant enſuite ſelon que luy et les autres officiers generaux trouveroient la commodité du terrain, qu'ils ne pouvoient pas encore juger de ſi pres. Cepandant, comme il eſt dit deſſus l'on fit ſonder le marais pour pouvoir paſſer quatre a cinque regiments a gauche des quatre qu'on deſtinoit contre le chateau et les hayes, qui ſ'y trouvoient a droite et a gauche en attandant que noſtre gauche fut a portée; faiſant cepandant repoſer les troupes, et trouvant vers les ſept heures les noſtres de la gauche avancés a telle diſtance qu'il le jugeroit tems de faire mouvoir de ſon coſté, il commanda aux regiments des Colonels Earle, Bruer, Herbert et Crighton de paſſer le marais a l'endroit qu'il avoit peu auparavant fait reconnoitre, et ſur ſa gauche, avec ordre expres et bien expliqué de ſ'arreſter aux hayes au ſortir du marais apres qu'ils ſ'en feroient rendus maiſtres juſqu'a ſon ordre, ou qu'ils viſſent gaigner ſur les ennemis vers leur droite, et quelques eſcadrons paſſer les defilés, et marcha luy-même avec le regiment de Kirck, Guſtavus Hamilton, chaſſant les ennemis des premieres et ſecondes hayes devant, auſſy bien qu'a droit et gauche du chateau, ou il les fit arreſter, cherchant, en meme tems, paſſage pour la cavallerie, que Monſieur de Ruvignie fit avancer derriere l'infanterie. Dans ce tems-ci les regiments ſus nommés qui avoient ordre de ſ'arreſter de meme aux hayes ſur la gauche, oublians leur ordre en aiant chaſſés les ennemis, les pourſuivent au deſſa des hayes, ou les ennemis les prenant de front, auſſy bien qu'en flanc par pluſieurs eſcadrons et bataillons qui les renverſerent, auſſy bien que la ſeconde brigade de la droite, que le Prince de Heſſe tira de ſon poſte par je ne ſcay pas quel ordre, les faiſant paſſer le marais encore plus vers noſtre gauche, ſi bien que ſi les quatre regiments

qu'on avoit poſtés a l'entour du chateau n'avoient pas tenue fermes noſtre droite ſelon toutes les apparences humaines auroit eſté defaite, et conſequemment la bataille perdue, parcequ'a la veue de ce deſordre pluſieurs regiments de noſtre aiſle gauche commencerent a ploier. Le General-Major Mackay aiant remarqué le meſchant eſtat des affaires la, crut que ſ'il pouvoit faire paſſer quelques eſcadrons de cavallerie, il y auroit encore eſperance, pria inſtemment les officiers qui ſe trouvoient a la teſte des premiers de paſſer le mieux qu'ils pouroient pour flancer ces ennemis qui repouſſoit noſtre infanterie, la menant battant juſques dans le marais, leur repreſentant l'intereſt de la religion, l'honeur, et la liberté des Anglois, et enfin tout ce qu'il crut les y devoir pouſſer, trouvant qu'a cauſe de la dificulté du paſſage, et la veue des troupes deja defaite, la cavallerie au commencement ſembloit un peu eſtoné ; mais non pas toute egallement, car le regiment d'Oxford fraiant le chemin paſſa premierement puis ceux de Vilars et de Leviſon avec lequel il ſe trouva, que le Marquis de Ruvignie paſſant fut d'abord engagé par les eſcadrons ennemis qui avoient repouſſé noſtre infanterie, leſquels auſſy bien que leur infanterie ſ'arreſtans tout court a la veue du paſſage de noſtre cavallerie, craignant d'en eſtre flanqué, la vinrent attaquer avant quelle fut encore bien formée de l'autre coſté du defilé, et repouſſerent les premiers paſſés ; mais comme on en faiſoit ſans ceſſe paſſer a la filé, il y eut a la main pour les ſouſtenir. Cepandant Monſieur de Mackay, aprehendant que les ennemis ne leur tombaſſent trop fort ſur les bras, commanda a un certain lieutenant-colonel de paſſer avec ſon eſcadron plus pres de chateau, ou il n'y avoit plus de feu a eſſuier que la ou il en faiſoit paſſer les autres. Le defilé eſtant hors du coup de tout le feu de chateau, de la baſſe court, et de jardinage, lequel luy reſpondit, ſ'il vouloit qu'il paſſat par la qu'il lui montrat le chemin. Monſieur, dit le dit Monſieur de Mackay, vous vous meprenéz fort, car vous ne ſcaurez ignorer juſques icy, que j'ay le ſoin general de toute cette attaque, en ſorte que je ne puis pas me trouver a la teſte de chaque bataillon et eſcadron ; mais pour vous faire voir que j'oſe montrer le chemin, partout ou je commande des troupes, (ſe pouſſant

a la tefte de l'efcadron,) dit, fuivez moy donc ; et voulant fauter le foffe, ou eftang fufdit qui n'eftoit pas fort large, fon cheval f'embourba du cofté des ennemis, et l'efcadron fe retirant fans f'arrefter pour favorifer fa retraite, le laiffa feul avec fon efquier, qui le remontant, il fauta le foffé du cofté de fes gens fans eftre touché d'une grele de moufquetades que cette accident a cinquante pas du chateau lui attira. Les ennemis l'aiant reconnu pour un officier de commandement, de la il fe tranfporta au premier defilé et paffant a la tefte de Woufly, rencontra juftement un efcadron ennemy a la monté de la hauteur ou les ennemis avoient au commancement de la bataille defait noftre infanterie, qui pouffoit de noftre cavallerie a toute bride, il dit a Woufly de marcher au pas et ferré et de defendre a fes cavalliers de donner du feu ; mais d'attaquer cette ennemy l'efpée a la main, crainte de fe metre en confufion, ce que les ennemis aiant aperçeu tournerent tefte tout court. Il loua la froideur et fermeté de Woufly en cette endroit, et aiant fait figne au corps que les ennemis menoient battant de fe rallier derriere Woufly, il f'avança vers la hauteur du camp ennemy, avec trois a quatre efcadrons qu'il eut autour de luy. Monfieur de Ruvignie avec deux a trois des premieres paffes eftant un peu plus avancé, il ne faut pas oublier qu'au premier paffage de noftre cavallerie, qui arrefta les troupes ennemis qui pourfuivoient noftre infanterie jufques dans le marais, celle-ci ne fe trouvant plus pouffé fe rallie au millieu de dit marais, et vint reprendre fon pofte d'ou elle eftoit chaffée, et puis trouvant les ennemis repouffés par noftre cavallerie, gaigna les hauteurs avec elle, comme auffy firent les regiments de Bellafis et de Lord George Hamilton, ou le dit brigadier et Lord fe trouvoient a la tefte. Cepandant ceux de Kirck et de Guftavus Hamilton qui fe trouverent engagés plus vers la droite, aiant tout le temps de ce cofté la couvert la cavallerie, (car ils furent poftés a la droite de tous a caufe des marais), aiants rencontrés des murailles d'un jardin, ne pouvoient faire que maintainir leur pofte en faifant feu continué fur les ennemis du chateau, qui nous fervit de bon ufage au paffage de la cavallerie, parce que leur feu tenoit les ennemis fi courts que non obftant leur grand feu,

ils ne nous tuerent pas grande nombre a cette endroit ; mais les ennemis qui furent poſté dans, et a lentour du chateau ne ſe voyans plus en teſte que le dits deux corps ſortirent de leur poſte pour les pouſſer, et effectivement les auroient mal menés, ſi Monſieur de Schravemoer, qui avoit encore autour de luy quelques eſcadrons de cavallerie et dragons frais, n'en eut envoyé a leur ſecours, dont les ennemis furent renverſés la, et auſſy le chateau pris.

Pendant que ces choſes ſe paſſoient de la maniere ſuſdite a la droite, le General, qui ſe trouvoit a la gauche avec le Duc de Virtemberg, et les Generaux-Majors Tetau, Laforeſt, et Holtſapel, a cauſe que la plus grande force de l'armée, ſurtout en cavallerie, fut arreſté ou jetté de ce coſté la par les raiſons ſuſdites, voyant que les commancements de cette action ne lui promettoient pas de grands avantages, a cauſe que non ſeulement la plus grande partie de l'infanterie de la droite, mais auſſy quelques bataillons de la gauche avoyent ployés ; ayant fait ſouſtenir ſon infanterie par de la cavallerie ſ'en contentant, pour encore ne voulut jamais permetre que ſa cavallerie pouſſant trop avant les ennemis, quelle avoit en teſte que premierement ne fut averty, comme les affaires alloient a la droite, dont il n'avoit pas le veue, et y entendoit grand feu, de peur quelle ne fut flanqué des troupes ennemis qui avoient repouſſées notre infanterie au commencement de la bataille ; ſi bien que quand noſtre droite fut deja avancée ſur les hauteurs apres en avoir fait retirer les ennemis, les prennant toujours pour les ennemis ſ'arreſta comme dit eſt, juſqu'a ce que ceux ſi appercevans que notre droite ſ'avançoit pour les prendre en flanc, commancerent a branler, et le General eſtant a même inſtant averty de l'avantage de ſes troupes a la droite, fit donner ſur celle des ennemis qui ſe trouvoit devant lui, ce cy arrivant juſtement comme le General Major Mackay ſ'eſtoit avancé ſur les hauteurs, d'ou aiant reconnu le deſordre des ennemis partout, il ſ'avancea avec ce qu'il avoit autour de lui pour leur couper la retraite ; ce qui la leur fit precipiter, leur infanterie ſe jettant autant quelle pouvoit dans les marais, et leur cavallerie ſuivant le chemin de Lochreagh. Dans ce tems ci beaucoup de

nos eſcadrons de la gauche ſ'eſtans debandés, firent main baſſe ſur l'infanterie des ennemis avant quelle pût gaigner les marais, et effectivement le carnage fut plus de ce coſté la qu'a la droite, quoy que le gain de la bataille fut indubitablement deu a celle ci non obſtant la difficulté de l'attaque de ce coſté la, qui ſembloit inſurmountable ; mais ſurtout le faut il reconnoitre uniquement de la benediction de Dieu, qui oſta le cour et l'eſprit a nos ennemis, a quoi la mort de leur General, avant qu'on en fut aux mains par un heureux coup de la batterie de la droite contribua beaucoup. Le General Major Mackay ſe trouvant plus a portée pour la pourſuite de la cavallerie ennemie que la gauche la chaſſa juſqu'a quatre miles du champ de bataille ; mais comme il faiſoit deja tard, eſtant pres de ſept heures avant que le combat commança, et manquant des guides pour les bien mener dans un pais ſi plain des marais, il n'oſoit pas debander beaucoup de ſa cavallerie n'en aiant avec lui que peu d'eſcadrons au commencement de la pourſuite, quoy qu'elle groſſiſſoit a meſure qu'on avançoit. Le lendemain le General fit venir tout le bagage de l'armée, et campa a une mile du champ du bataille ſur le chemin de Lochreagh, ou il reſta trois jours pour faire occuper les chateaux et paſſages de Banaker, et Preſumay [Portunna] les ennemis ayant quitté le dernier, et rendu l'autre au deſtachement qu'on y envoya, et pour attendre un convoye de quelques jours de vivres.

De ce dernier camp aiant envoyé reconnoitre Lochreagh, et apris que les deſbris des troupes ennemis avoient pris le chemin de Limerick, l'on marcha vers la dite villette ſans avoir encore fixé aucune reſolution, et de la le lendemain a Athenicée [Athenry], a ſept mile de Galway, et ſur le grand chemin d'Athlone a la dite place, ou il y avoit beaucoup de fourage. Le ſoir, il fut conclu qu'on laiſſeroit la cavallerie campé pres d'Athlone, et qu'on marcheroit a Galway avec l'infanterie et douſe eſcadrons de cavallerie et dragons ſeulement ; mais un certain officier general, qui ne ſe trouvoit pas preſant a ce conſeil, aiant demandé au General l'eſtat des vivres, il reſpondit qu'il n'y en avoit que pour quatre jours a l'armée ; l'autre demanda, et ſ'il arrivoit que la place ne ſe rend pas, comme on

vous fait eſperer, et que les ennemis vous ſcachant engagé au ſiege, vinſſent avec tout ce qu'ils pourroient aſſembler vous couper vos vivres, qu'il faut ſuppoſer beaucoup ſuperieurs au corps de cavallerie que vous laiſſés a Schravemoer n'aiant guere perdue de la leur, ne vous faudroit il pas lever le ſiege pour venir au devant de vos vivres, afin de ne pas crever vos troupes de faim, et en tout cas que gaignerez vous, puiſqu'il faut avoir votre groſſe artillerie, qu'il faut attendre, auſſy bien que le pain d'Athlone, avant que vous puiſſiez preſſer le ſiege de Galway? Cela fit reſoudre, au General la marche aiant eſté ordonné pour les cinque heurs du matin, de faire aſſembler les generaux dereſchef a quatre heurs pour metre l'affaire qui ſembloit de la derniere importance encore en deſliberation; mais quoy qu'on pût alleguer au contraire l'avis de marcher devant Galway fut ſuivy, dont on ſe repentit avant qu'il fut dix heures du ſoir, ſur l'avis que le General eut de la ville, qu'il y avoit dix-huit regimens de dans, leſquells, quoy qu'on les crût fort affoiblis par la bataille, pour la pluſpart l'on jugea toutes fois trop contre dix milles fantaſſins que nous nous jugions alors forts, la deſſus comme l'on ſe blama l'un l'autre pour avoir precipité cette marche, la providance de Dieu nous eſclairoit de la verité par un capitain qui ſe vinſt randre d'une ouvrage qui eſtoit ſur une hauteur a la portée du mouſquet de la place, dont elle eſt aucunnement commandée, de ce coſté la, lequell nous aſſura qu'il n'y avoit que 1500 hommes armés dans la place; mais qu'ils attendoient qu'un certain Colonel O'Donel leur meneroit du ſecours par

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LETTRES OU DEPECHES ECRITES PAR MONSIEUR HUGH DE MACKAY, LIEUTENANT GENERAL, A SA MAJESTE BRITANIQUE, ET AU COMTE DE PORTLAND, LORSQU'IL COMMANDOIT EN CHEF LES TROUPES DE SA DITE MAJESTE EN ECOSSE.

M.DC.XC.

LETTRES ECRITES PAR LE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DE MACKAY, AU ROY GUILHEAUME III. ET AU MY-LORD DE PORTLAND.

Au Roy, du 14 Janvier 1690, d'Ecoſſe.

Sire,—J'eſpere que voſtre Majeſte pardonnera les fortes expreſſions de mes lettres a Monſieur le Comte de Portland, et par ſon abſance tombés entre ſes mains royalles, eſtant purement l'effet de mon zeale pour ſon ſervice que j'aprehendois par trop negligé icy. Selon l'ordre de votre Majeſté, j'ai lui envoyé les particularités ſur leſquelles je juge qu'il ſeroit de beſoin d'avoir ſes inſtructions marchant contre ces rebelles, avec des conſiderations, ſelon mon jugement, de la maniere que l'on ſ'y devroit conduire. Des difficultés qu'on y pourra rencontrer, et des moyenes pour remedier aux inconveniens qu'un mauvais ſucces pourroit cauſer a ſon ſervice, comme auſſy une liſte des armes, munitions et autres materiaux abſolument requis pour ce ſervice, et dont nous ne pourrons pas eſtre pourveu icy, car d'entreprendre a demie, et ſans les preparatives neceſſaires ſeroit de reculer au lieu d'avancer ſon ſervice. Si voſtre Majeſté aprouve qu'on tente une deſcente par mer a Inderlochy, comme la ſeule maniere practicable d'entreprendre la reduction des rebelles de bonne heure ſelon mon jugement, je ne manqueray pas d'y apporter toute la diligence et le ſoin poſſible, eſperant que Dieu m'y ſupportera, et

achevera d'apaiſer les troubles de ce pais ingrat a tant de bien faits envoyes du ciel par l'oportune deliverance que votre Majeſté lui aporta, ſous ſon heureux gouvernement, par mes foibles bien que ſinceres efforts. Sire, je me ſens obligé de repreſenter a voſtre Majeſté les grandes confuſions de ce royaume, ſurtout quant a l'egliſe, les miniſtres qu'on a . . . . . preſchans partout la rebellion impunement, et les autres ne ſcachans pas encore ou ils en ſont, ſi bien que je puis dire de ma propre connoiſſance que nous y avons deux ennemis au lieu d'un qu'il y en avoit quand j'y arrivay l'année paſſée, de ſorte qu'il n'y a que l'aprehention des troupes telles quelles ſont qui les tiennent en bride juſqu'icy, leſquells ſans un ſuplement du Parleament ne ſcauront ſubſiſter long tems en nombre capables de tenir le royaume en paix, et y mentenir l'authorité de voſtre Majeſté. L'on eſpere que beaucoup des membres du dit corp eclairſis de la verité par la publication de ſes inſtructions changeront de conduite pour la ſuivante ſeſſion, car effectivement voſtre Majeſté y retablit tout d'un coup ce dont la ſubverſion a couſté des ſiecles. L'eſtabliſſement d'un moderé gouvernement d'Egliſe aporteroit aparamment beaucoup de remede aux deſordres, les miniſtres aiant beaucoup d'influance d'ordinaire ſur l'eſprit du peuple. Sire, comme je ſuis perſuadé que voſtre Majeſté auroit juſte ſujet de me blamer ſi je lui diſſimulois mes ſentiments ſur ce que je crois avoir peu remarqué de ce pais, ou j'ay paſſée tantoſt dix mois dans des embarras qui m'auroient pu aprendre quelque choſe de l'humeur de ſes habitans. L'on ne ſcauroit a mon avis remedier aux deſordres d'Ecoſſe que par une armée bien payée, et capable d'eſtoner les factieux et cabaliſtes de toute ſorte, ou par le moyen d'un Parleament qui eſtablit ſans deſlay le gouvernement tant civil que ecleſiaſtique, lequel, avec un peu de bon ſucces contre les Montaignards, acheveroit, ſelon mon jugement, d'y reſtablir une paix durable, ſurtout pourveu que les affaires aillent bien en Irelande, comme j'eſpere que nous avons ſujet d'atendre pour la prochaine campagne, et laiſſeroit la liberté a votre Majeſté d'employer ſon argent et la plus part de ſes troupes quelle y employe plus utillement aillieurs. Priant affectueuſement que Dieu comble de ces plus

pretieuſes benedictions la perſonne ſacrée et le reigne de voſtre Majeſté, et demandant tres-humble pardon de cette liberté, je ſuis, de votre Majeſté, &c.

Lettre au Comte de Portland, du 13 Mars 1690, d'Edinbourg.

Milord, Dans l'attente de voſtre heureux retour aupres de ſa Majeſté et participation d'un paquet volant qu'une commité avoit envoyé pour faire entendre a ſa Majeſté leurs ſentiments ſur des propoſitions que je leurs avoit fait ſur le ſujet de la maniere que je jugeois la plus effectuelle pour dompter les rebelles, et en meme tems, ſelon mon jugement, reſtablir la paix en ce pauvre pais, pour puis apres laiſſer a ſa Majeſté la liberté d'employer ailleurs les troupes ſoldoyées d'Angleterre. Vous ſcavez, Milord, qu'avant voſtre paſſage en Hollande, vous m'eſcrivittes que le Roy avoit ordonné que ſe preparaſt trois fregates pour le ſervice de ce pais cy, je voudrois quelles fuſſent deja ici, car j'ay peur que les Montaignards ne nous previennent en tombant ſur le plat pais en plus grand nombre qu'aucun des poſtes vers le nord, et ne m'obligent de tourner teſte de ce coſté la, avant que nous puiſſions envoyer ces fregates ſur leurs coſtes pour faire diverſion juſqu'a ce que nous ſoyons prets d'y marcher avec le corps que je deſſein de mener a Inderlochy ſelon le projet que j'ay envoyée au Roy il y a long tems, et crains que le manque d'une petite ſomme d'argent, dont la ſuſdite commité eſcrivit a ſa Majeſté ne renverſe ce deſſein, au moins ne le retarde trop long tems. Il eſt vray ſemblable, Milord, que ſi les affaires vont bien et a ſouhait en Irelande que cette rebellion cy tombera d'elle meſme ; mais j'eſpere qu'on m'accordera qu'on ne doive jamais laiſſer les operations de la guerre dans des differantes provinces tellement dependre les uns des autres, que de n'en pas aſſurer le pluſtot le plus qu'on peut, pour que le vainqueur puſt en tous cas accourir au ſecours des autres de ſon parti, ſuivant la maniere des combats particullieres. Comme je marquay dans ma precedante, la

ſomme qu'on demande pour faciliter ce projet ne fait guere plus d'un demi mois de gage aux troupes que le Roy ſoldoye ici d'Angleterre. Jugéz donc, Monſieur, combien en profiteroit ſa Majeſté pour le reſte de la campaigne, ſi on lui pouvoit rendre ce pais-cy paiſible avant le my May, en ſorte qu'il n'y faudroit que peu de monde. J'ay auſſy marqué qu'on ne peut tirer en ſeureté les quatre regimens deſtinés pour la ſervice d'Irelande d'icy, qu'on n'ait entrepris ce deſſein, car les autres endroits du pais ſeroient trop expoſés pendant l'eloignement du ſuſdit corps, car il ſe fait voir beaucoup de gens ſuſpects qui ſe pourvoient de cheveaux et des armes ſous main, en ſorte que, ſelon mon avis, l'on devroit prendre des meſures comme ſi l'on apprehendoit un ſouflevement dans des differans quartiers tant de ce royaume que du nord d'Angleterre, ce qui fuſt cauſe que j'eſcrivis au Roy, non ſeullement de ne point tirer d'icy encore des troupes qui ſ'y trouvent, mais auſſy d'envoyer ſur les frontieres des deux royaumes quelque cavallerie et des dragons, car un peu de prevoyance previent ſouvent des maux aſſes difficils a remedier ſi l'on ſ'en laiſſoit ſurprendre a l'improviſte. Je ne doute pas que bien de gens ne ſe meſlent de donner des avis a ſa Majeſté des affairs de ce pais-cy ; mais je ſuis perſuadé que perſonne ne lui en pourra donner des moins partiels que moy, et je laiſſe a elle de juger ſi je ne puis pretendre d'entendre un peu du meſtier, dont j'ay fait ſi longue profeſſion dans les plus aggueries nations de l'Europe, au moins a l'egale de tout ce quelle peut en tirer d'icy, et pour ceux qui n'y ont pas eſté, ils ne ſcauront ſe repreſenter les choſes au vray. Je vous prie, Milord, de reſpondre au pluſtoſt ſurtoutes ces particulliarittés, la ſaiſon eſtant deja trop avancée pour un plus long deſlay, et de conſerver dans l'honneur de vos bonnes graces, Mi-Lord, &c.

Lettre ecrite au Roy, le 9 Auril 1690.

Sire, Comme j'aprehendois par la lenteur ſurprenante que je voyois aporter a tout ce qui regardoit la ſeureté de voſtre ſervice dans ce royaume,

que les rebelles ne nous previnſſent et rompiſſent toutes nos meſures, auſſy n'ay-je menqué d'en ſouvent avertir voſtre Majeſté auſſy bien que des autres qui ont l'honneur d'aprocher ſa perſonne royalle, ce qu'a juger bien de mes circonſtances eſtoit tout ce dont j'eſtois capable. Je trouve a preſant que mes apprehentions n'eſtoient pas des chimeres, car ils ſont deja au camp, et Dieu ſcait a quelle confuſion ce pais-cy ſe pourra reduire dans l'humeur dont ſes habitans ſe trouvent par la pauvreté de ſes finances, l'eſtat miſerable des troupes, les diviſions qui ſ'y voyent meſme au conſeil de votre Majeſté, joint a l'impuiſſance ou je me vois d'y apporter aucun remede, n'eſtant pas capable d'entretenir un fort mediocre corps des troupes enſemble pour trois jours ſans courir riſque de m'en voir abandonné faute de quoy ſubſiſter, outre que les troupes ſe trouvent neceſſairement (ſi l'on ne vouloit abandonner la moitié du royaume aux rebelles) ſi ſeparées qu'on ne peut pas aſſembler un corps bien formidable nulle part, joint qu'on ne pouvoit autrement faire ſubſiſter, menquent d'argent tantôt ſix mois. Milord Commiſſionaire en veut tant icy a l'entour d'Edinbourg, que j'aprehende qu'il ne m'en donnera qu'un fort petit partie pour opoſer aux ennemis, ſ'ils tournent teſte vers la partie meridionale du royaume. J'eſpere que Levinſton et Buchan ſeront capables de maintenirl eurs poſtes, quoy que je ne m'en puis pas prometre, qu'ils ſeront tellement maiſtres de la campaigne, que beaucoup de mal affectionés ne joignent les rebelles. Mon avis eſt, Sire, que voſtre Majeſté ordonne ſand deſlay quelques uns des regimens de cavallerie qui doivent paſſer en Irelande de ſ'avancer quelques vingt miles de ce coſté des frontieres, pour d'abord jetter la terreur dans toutes ſes provinces mal affectionés; ce mouvement ne les eloignera pas de leur chemin, et pourra en tout cas eſtre de bon effet, pour fortifier les bons, et terrifier les mauvais ; il ſeroit auſſy tres neceſſaire que voſtre Majeſté ordonnaſſe le payement de nos trois regimens, ſans lequel ils ſe differont ſans aucun doute dans peu de temps, et ne ſeront nullement capables de ſervice pour le preſant beſoin. Sire, je vous ſupplie tres-humblement de vouloir penſer que ce pais icy tombant en deſordre pourra aporter bien d'obſtacle a vos glorieux

deſſeins ailleurs, et avoir des facheuſes influances ſur l'Angleterre, c'eſt pourquoy l'on ne devroit plus a mon avis marchander d'eſloigner du miniſtere quelque peu de perſonnes, auſquels le peuple en veut, pour pouvoir ſe prometre un heureux accord parmi les membres du Parlement, leurs diviſions eſt ce ſeul qui encourage les rebells, et les fait aſſembler ſitôt, de peur qu'ils ne perdent l'occaſion qui ſ'en preſante pour troubler tellement le gouvernement que la ſeſſion du Parlement ſoit interompue. Mon jugement, Sire, n'eſt pas fort penetrant, mais je crois avoir averti des deſordres que je me figure ſans un prompt remede il y a cinque mois, ce qui m'a fait auſſy prendre la liberté d'offrir mon avis a voſtre Majeſté, peut-eſtre plus librement qu'une perſonne plus ſoigneuſe de ſon intereſt particulier et moins de ſervice de voſtre Majeſté n'aura pas oſé faire, pour ne pas ſ'expoſer aux reſentimens des offencés par cette liberté. Il y a quelques jours que Milord Braidalbin eſt ſorti de ville, et je ne ſcaurois meſme m'empecher de ſuſpecter qu'il n'ait donnée le branle a ce mouvement precipité de ces rebelles, ſes proches voiſins et bons amis, et j'ay bien remarqué que l'advocat general eſt des amis du dit Milord; mais ſ'il eſt d'intrigue, je n'en ſcay rien, ſeulement j'ay apris de ne faire pas grand eſtat ſur l'exterieur de la pluſpart des Ecoſſois d'aujourdhuy, comme j'ay mandé il y a peu des jours a Milord Portland. Si le quartier de weſt d'Ecoſſe eſtoit contente quant au culte d'Egliſe, j'aurois moins d'apprehention de tous les efforts de ces barbares. Le Duc de Hamilton demeure ſur ces terres, comme auſſy quelques autres des ſeigneurs meſcontents depuis quelques jours il y a grand quantité de ceux qu'on appelle Jacobins venu d'Angleterre depuis peu, de ſorte que je me figure des revoltes en pluſieurs endroits du royaume ſi l'on n'envoye promptement quelque cavallerie, comme j'ay touché deſſus. Je prie Dieu de vouloir preſider a toutes les deliberations de voſtre Majeſté, et de ceux quelle employe aux maniement de ſes affaires, et de prendre ſa ſacrée perſonne et la conduite de tous ſes deſſeins pour l'avancement de ſa gloire, et ſouſtient de ſa verité ſalutaire a tous croyans en ſa divine protection, qui ſeront touſjours les prieres, Sire, de voſtre Majeſté, &c.

Lettre au Roy envoyée d'Edinbourg, le 23 Avril 1690.

Sire, Comme je n'ay point d'ordre au contraire de voſtre Majeſté, et que je ſuis abſolument perſuadé qu'il n'y a rien a gaigner ſur les rebelles et mutins de cette nation par la douceur et clemance, mais que le veritable moyen de les ranger a la raiſon eſt qu'on les pouſſe vigoureuſement, j'ay formées les inſtructions dont j'envoye cy jointe une copie pour l'officier qui doit commander le parti que je deſtache avec les fregates. Milord Commiſſionaire, auquel je les ay montreés, eſt d'opinion, par je ne ſcay pas quel avis, qu'on devroit ſurſoir tout acte d'hoſtilité pour quelque temps. Je luy ay repreſenté que ſe ſeroit juſtement complimenter nos ennemis au deſpans du ſervice de voſtre Majeſté, leſquels ne demandent mieux que de gaigner du temps, ſoit pour attendre l'effect des ſecours qu'on leur fait eſperer du coſté de France ou d'Irelande, ſoit qu'ils eſperent qu'on tranſportera tant des troupes en Irelande, que les ennemis de ſon gouvernement trouve le temps opportun pour le lui troubler d'avantage en leur faveur pendant ſon abſance, et comme l'on me dit que cette avis ſe trouvent du gout de Milord Braidalbin, je le tiens d'autant plus ſuſpect. J'auray ſujet legitime, Sire, de me taire de tout ce cy, voyant qu'on traite avec ces gens la, (dont je connois mieux le temparement qu'aucun de ceux auſquels voſtre Majeſté ſe puiſſe fier), ſans m'en rien communiquer, dont une perſonne ſe repoſant moins ſur la bonne conſcience, en tout ce qui releve de ſa charge ſeroit capable de ſ'allarmer, y trouvant ſujet d'apprehender que ſon maiſtre ne ſe deffiat de ſa conduite ; mais comme j'agis graces a Dieu par des principes bien au deſſus de toute veue mondaine, rien ne ſcauroit tellement atieder mon zealle que de negliger la moindre circonſtance que je juge devoir contribuer a l'avancement du ſervice, ou des regards particuliers et propres a moy n'ont jamais eu de part a m'engager. C'eſt pourquoy, Sire, je ne me l'aſſeray pas tant que voſtre Majeſté ne me le defende de lui dire et redire ce qu'en ſincerité, et comme en la preſance de Dieu, ſelon mon

jugement, je penſe de l'eſtat de ſes affaires dans ce pais. J'ay peur, Sire, que nos trois regimens ne tombent dans les meſmes deſordres des troupes ſoldoyées dans ce royaume ſans un prompt ſecours d'argent ce qui romproit bien d'avantage nos meſures. Si voſtre Majeſté aura trouvé bon d'ordonner quelque cavallerie ſur les deux frontiers des deux royaumes, il ſeroit apropos quelle eut ordre de ſuivre les inſtructions que je pourray avoir occaſion de leur envoyer, et je prens la liberté de repreſenter avec toute ſubmiſſion que des troupes que voſtre Majeſté auroit deſſein de laiſſer en Angleterre une bonne partie en ſoit logée ſur les dites frontieres, comme l'endroit des deux royaumes le plus dangereux. Le grand dominateur des royaumes des hommes affermiſſe celuy de voſtre Majeſté ſur des colomnes ineſbranlables, qui ſera touſjours le fidelle ſouhait de celluy qui eſt, Sire, &c.

Lettre ecrite au Roy, le 16 Avril 1690, d'Edinbourg.

Sire, Je vous envoye cy jointe a plus pres la ſuſtance de ce qui ſe paſſa entre le Major Fergusſon du regiment de Laudre, perſonne de probité et d'honneur, comme auſſy fidele et affectionné au ſervice de voſtre Majeſté, et les autres perſonnes nommées dans l'information que j'en ay priſe de la bouche du dit Fergusſon. La raiſon que ces Meſſieurs l'avoyent accoſté de tels propos eſtoit apparement parcequ'il fut deſtiné pour commander en chef le party qu'on deſtacha avec les fregates pour faire diverſion. Ces deux partis, Sire, des Jacobins et cabaliſtes qui furent ſi contraires l'année paſſée, paroiſſent ſi unis a preſant pour ſ'oppoſer a tout ce que je propoſe du ſervice de voſtre Majeſté qu'il faudroit eſtre bien aveugle pour ne pas ſ'appercevoir qu'ils couvrent quelque mechant deſſein qui pourra bientoſt eſclater. Je ſouſhaiterois volontiers que ce ſoit avant le paſſage de voſtre Majeſté avec tout le choix des troupes en Irelande, comme l'on le deſbitté icy, quoy que je ne ſeaurois ajouter entier foi ; me repreſentant le danger qu'il ſ'y rencontre. J'eſpere que Dieu preſide

a tous ſes conſeils, mais l'hiſtoire de tout le pays, ſans exempter l'Angleterre meſme aux expeditions d'Irelande, nous en font foy ; et je ſuis perſuadée, comme auſſy les ennemis de ſon gouvernement l'ont declaré dans leur converſation avec Fergufon, qu'ils croyent que ce ne fut pluſtoſt une feinte qu'une reſolution arreſtée de voſtre Majeſté tant ils en ſouſhaitent la verité. J'ay pris la liberté d'en dire mon jugement il y a quelque temps a voſtre Majeſté, comme auſſy depuis quelques jours au Comte de Marleborough avant que j'avois rien appris de meſme de ces Herodes et Pilates, qui, d'une haine qu'on croyoit irreconciliable, ſe ſont accordés pour perſecuter noſtre ſauveur, ſi non en ſa perſonne glorifiée au moins en l'œuvre de la deliverance de ſon Egliſe commancée du ciel par les travaux et ſoins infatiguables de voſtre Majeſté. Je continue, Sire, dans l'opinion qu'on devroit commander au pluſtoſt quelque cavallerie de ce coſté des frontieres des deux royaumes, quelque reſolution que voſtre Majeſté prenne le mouvement ne les eloignera guere du lieu d'embarquement, cependant l'on verra quel tour le Parlement prendra. Le grand Dieu premier et principal autheur de cet heureux changement garde ſa perſonne ſacrée de tous les deſſeins de ſes ennemis et conduiſe ſes hautes entrepriſes a la gloire de ſon grand nom et a l'immortelle louange du regne de voſtre Majeſté que feront touſjours les prieres, Sire, de voſtre Majeſté le tres-humble, tres-obeiſſant, tres-fidelle Sujet et Serviteur, &c.

Sire, Il y a deux jours qu'aiant randu viſite au Comte d'Arran, ſi rencontray le Milord Annandel et Roſs, puis apres le Duc de Queenſberry y vinſt. Sortant de la, le dit Comte me conduiſit a ſa porte, et m'aſſeura de ſon eſtime ; je lui repondis que j'eſtois fort de ſes ſerviteurs, parceque j'eſperois de le voir encore bien en faveur aupres de voſtre Majeſté. La deſſus il commença a m'aſſurer qu'il avoit eu beaucoup d'inclination d'aller ſervir en Hollande ſous voſtre Majeſté ; mais qu'il n'en put jamais obtenir liberté du Roy Charles, et que ſe trouvant engagé au Roy Jacque, juſqu'a la fin, il ne pouvoit ſe reſoudre de l'abandonner

a ſon beſoin, mais ſi jamais il lui arrivoit de prometre fidelité a voſtre Majeſté il mouriroit pluſtot que de la lui fauſſer. Je croy qu'il ne ſeroit pas mal aiſſé de l'engager a preſant moyenant quelque honeſte penſion, car ſon pere le tient court. Je crois effectivement qu'il a beaucoup d'honneur bien plus que beaucoup d'autres qui jurent fidelitté a voſtre Majeſté, afin de mieux traher ſon ſervice; mais ſi voſtre Majeſté fut d'opinion qu'on l'eſſayat, il faudroit que ſon commiſſionaire en eut l'ordre au pluſtoſt pour prevenir les pratiques de ceux qui ſans doute travaillent a l'attirer dans leur party et mechans deſſeins. Je trouve le Comte de Drumlenrig fort cordial et ouvert pour l'intereſt de votre Majeſté; les deux jeunes ſeigneurs eſclipſeroient fort tout le credit et la dependance de leurs peres mal ſatisfaits.

Lettre ecrite au Comte de Portland, le 9 Avril 1690.

Monsieur, J'ay ecrit ſi amplement au Roy, que je n'ay qu'a vous prier de vouloir faire de ſorte que ſa Majeſté prenne des promtes reſolutions pour ce qui regard la ſeurreté de ſon ſervice icy, et quoy que, Monſieur, nous ayons a faire avec un ennemy lequel, moyenant des bonnes meſures ſeroit mepriſable, dans l'eſtat miſerable ou les affaires ſe trouvent dans ce royaume a preſant, il nous pourroit cauſer des facheries et de diverſions au deſſein de ſa Majeſté ailleurs, ſi l'on n'y met ordre de bonne heure. Si l'on m'avoit voulu croire nous n'aurions pas eſté tant embarraſſés de ces gens-la, car je m'eſtois propoſé avant ce temps-cy, d'eſtre en marche vers eux, mais l'on a tant negligé l'intereſt du Roy, comme ſ'il n'eſtoit de nulle conſequance de lui perdre l'Ecoſſe. Je confeſſe franchement ſi elle eſtoit ſituée bien loin de l'Angleterre qu'elle ne meritroit pas qu'on y ſongeaſt beaucoup; mais de la maniere que les affaires ſe trouvent ces deſordres en pourroient inſpirer a ſes voiſins. Non ſeulement les troupes ſoldoyées en Ecoſſe ne ſont pas capables de ſubſiſter deux fois vingt-quatre heures en corps, mais auſſy nos trois

regimens qui ſont au troiſieme mois qu'ils n'ont reçeu d'argent qu'un peu de credit, que nous avons fait tant que les gens eſtoient dans l'eſperance d'eſtre payés de jour a autre, mais a preſant voyans que l'argent tarde a venir c'en eſt fait, je trouve eſtrange qu'on en fait tenir tous les mois a Levinſton et Leſlie et a nous point. Si le Roy, outre notre payement courant, pouvoit ſe reſoudre d'envoyer quelque ſomme d'argent a Milord Commiſſionaire pour ſuppleer au beſoin, il pourroit contribuer a ſon ſervice d'avantage que vingt fois autant une autre fois, ce n'eſt pas, Monſieur, que je n'aye remarqué ſuffiſamment combien je ſuis negligé depuis que le Roy m'a engagé dans une ſi facheuſe commiſſion que je m'en fay, mais parceque grace a Dieu je renonce volontiers a toutes conſiderations miennes, pourveu qu'on veuille ſonger un peu au ſervice mon regret eſt (comme vous ſcavez, Monſieur, que je m'en ſuis fort ſouvent plaint) que ceux que le Roy employe ont trop d'egard a l'eſtabliſſement de leurs familles, ce qui me fait ſuſpecter qu'il y en a qui tirent a deux butes ; car a quoy faire tant d'empreſſament de faire noſtre fortune dans un pais, ou l'on n'a pas encore bien aſſurée l'interêt qui nous la doit aſſurer. Le torrent eſt rapide et grand parmi toutes ſortes des gens contre le Preſident de la Seſſion et ſon fils, mais plus contre le fils que le pere. Je croy que leur eſloignement du miniſtere, contenteroit bien du monde. Il n'y a que mon zelle pour cett intereſt qui ſeroit capable de me faire jamais ouvrir la bouche d'avantage pour me meſler a donner des advis, mais ce principe qui des le commancement m'a fait uniquement engager dans cette querelle meſpris qu'on teſmoigne pour moy et mes conſeils ne me permet pas de me faire quelque reſolution contraire que j'aye pris. Dieu eſt mon teſmoin que je ſuis fort indifferant quant a mon particulier qu'ils ſoyent les miniſtres, en ſorte que je ne tacherois de mêtre le moindre de ſes ſujets mal dans l'eſprit du Roy juſtement, pour tout l'avantage que je me pourrois jamais propoſer de mes ſervices, mais comme je renonce volontiers a tout interêt mien pour avancer le ſervice d'un eſprit degagé de tout autre ſoin que de mon ſalut et de celluy la, il me ſemble qu'il n'y a point de crime que j'en agiſſe de meſme a l'endroit

des autres toutes fois que je trouve leur interêt traverſer celluy du bien publique. Ce ne ſeroit que des redites inutilles que de vous ecrire les meſmes choſes que j'ay ecrites au Roy, en ſorte, Monſieur, que je vous prie ſeullement de vous vouloir repreſenter dans l'eſprit l'embarras ou je me trouve a fin d'inſiſter que ſa Majeſté deſpeche au plus viſte ſes ordres pour prevenir le mal; lequel autrement en pourra attirer d'autres plus facheux. Sachez, Monſieur, que je ne pourray marcher un pas avec nos troupes ſans permetre le pillage et toute ſorte des deſordres, qui eſt ſi contraire a mon humeur, que j'aimerois mieux n'avoir jamais fait le metier, que de commander des troupes qui ne puiſſent ſubſiſter que par le crime. Je vous prie donc, Monſieur, d'y ſonger, car effectivement quand meſme le Parlement donneroit a preſant de l'argent, l'on n'en pourra pas ſurvenir a la neceſſité preſente et toute preſſante du ſervice. Si la reſolution ſe pouvoit prendre d'en envoyer d'Angleterre pour eſpargner vingt fois autant qu'il pourra couter au Roy, avant que les deſordres ſe pourroient redreſſer, que la pauvrete preſente nous pourra cauſer, le meilleur expediant ſeroit de parler avec un certain James Foules, banquier Ecoſſois a Londres, qui trouveroit le moyen d'en faire tenir icy au pluſtoſt, je vous en recommande dereſchef la ſerieuſe conſideration, comme l'opinion, Monſieur, de voſtre tres-humble, &c.

Lettre ecrite au Roy, le 14 May 1690.

Sire, La neceſſité preſſante du ſervice m'oblige de m'adreſſer dereſchef a voſtre Majeſté, afin de n'avoir rien a me reprocher, ſi apres tant de ſoin et de ſolicitude juſqu'a me priver du repos neceſſaire pour le ſupport de la nature, il ſe trouve que le ſervice ne ſ'avance pas ſelon que je me le ſuis propoſé, et que naturellement l'on en pourroit attendre ſi tous nos deſſeins, manque de moyens neceſſaires de les executer, ne ſ'etouffoient dans la naiſſance.

Voſtre Majeſté ordonna l'envoye de 4000 livres ſterling pour ſubvenir aux fraix du deſſein d'Inderlochy; mais Milord Commiſſionaire, qui ne

peut pas reſiſter aux plaintes continuelles des troupes, leur en a fait diſtribuer une bonne partie deja. Les trois regimens Hollandois, dont j'ay tiré le deſtachement qui doit agir par mer, et qui doivent faire la plus part de l'infanterie que je deſſein de mener a Inderlochy, ſont ſans argent et credit. La farine que je demandois, il y a quelque temps qu'on la tient prête pour l'envoyer par mer d'abord que nos fregates ſeroient ſur les coſtes ennemis pour l'aſſurer, ne l'eſt pas encore, quoy que les dittes fregates y ſoient, et ne ſcay pas pour quand que l'on l'y deſpechera. Des biſquits que j'ay ordonné pour la marche l'on ne m'en pourra pas fournir le quart, et des materiaux pour la conſtruction d'un fort, et pour faire des caſernes, il n'en eſt nulle nouvelle, et cela non obſtant que je ne manque un jour de conſeil que je ne propoſe ce qu'il eſt de beſoin d'avoir pour pouvoir le propoſer de compaſſer le deſſein de la reduction de ſes rebelles, de ſorte que voſtre Majeſté peut juger combien une perſonne qui ne le propoſe pour tout avantage que celluy du ſervice (comme il en peut appeller en teſmoignage celluy aux yeux duquel rien ne demeure caché) qui n'eſt pas tout a fait ſi ignorant en ſon metier que de ne voir une grande facilité a venir a bout de cette rebellion. Si on ne luy tenoit les mains lieés, combien, dis-je, une telle perſonne doit ſe chagriner qu'on la prive comme a deſſein du contentement de pouvoir contribuer dans ſon poſte a l'affermiſſement d'un regne qui doit produire tant d'avantage pour l'Europe proteſtante. Si bien, Sire, que je ſuis tenté a ſouçonner qu'on ne retarde voſtre ſervice, de peur que je ne fuſſe l'inſtrument par lequel il fut avancé, et quoy que je ne puis pas facilement croire le commiſſionaire coupable d'un deſſein ſi peu conſonnant a la profeſſion de pieté qu'il fait, ſi ne puis-je non plus m'empecher de ſuſpecter Milord Tarbet, qui luy rend des viſites de nuit, qui eſt mon ennemy deſclaré, et dont la conſciance eſt capable d'avaler des pillulles de cette ſorte. Et pour faire voire a voſtre Majeſté que ce n'eſt pas ſans aucun ſujet que je ſuſpecte quelque deſſein ſemblable, je trouve que Milord Commiſſionaire ne pouſſe nullement les choſes que je luy recommande pour l'avancement de mon deſſein, teſmoin qu'il y a plus de ſix ſemaines que je le ſolicite

d'eſtablir une perſonne propre pour exercer la charge de commiſſaire des vivres, quoy qu'il ne l'ait pas fait encore, et que c'est touſjours a refaire quand je lui propoſe quelque choſe du ſervice, ſi c'eſt par malice je ne l'en croy pas la ſource, mais, Sire, il a un fin compere qui le mene toutes fois malgré tout empechement. Je ne ſuis nullement en payne de venir a bout de cette rebellion, pourveu qu'on nous defende des ſecours eſtrangers que nos ennemis attendent autant que jamais ſelon les avis d'aujourdhuy, ils recommencent a reprandre courage, d'autant qu'ils ne voyent pas que nous nous mettions en eſtat de pourſuivre noſtre dernier avantage, quoy que j'aye les troupes aſſembleés toutes prêtes a marcher, mais je fremis quand je penſe aux difficultés que j'auray de les pouvoir faire ſubſiſter, et aux plaintes des ſoldats qui doivent neceſſairement patir par l'endroit du corp le plus ſenſible, ſcavoir, le ventre. Mais comme je ne ſcaurois plus long temps deferer la marche, ſi quelque inconvenient arrive au ſervice de voſtre Majeſté de tous ces manques, j'attende de ſa juſtice quelle ne me l'imputtera point, veu que je proteſte en homme de bien que je me rend tellement eſclave de la negligence et nonchalance d'autreuy, (qui ne donnerois le petit mot de toutes qui releve les diſpoſitions militaires ſi je ne les y tenois quaſi par force quelque fois), que nulle conſideration m'y aura pu aſſujettir ſi long tems que celle d'un ſervice, dont humainement ſemble dependre le bonne heure temporel des Proteſtans. Je ſouhaiterois, Sire, que le regiment de Berklay fuſt en Ecoſſe pour, avec d'autres troupes qu'on luy joindra ſous Monſieur de Berklay, qui eſt une perſonne de bon jugement et de ſervice, tenir en repos ce bout de royaume ; car voſtre Majeſté peut ſ'aſſurer que cette nation eſt dans un ferment qui pourra produire d'eſtranges changements ſi l'on ne pourvoit en laiſſant cette Iſle bien aſſuré des forces affidées au ſervice de voſtre Majeſté. Je ſuis plus en payne de nos regimens qu'ils ne deſertent, a cauſe qu'ils n'ont pas eſté accouſtumés a manquer leur ſolde que des troupes Ecoſſoiſes. Je demande tres-humblement pardon, Sire, de cette longue lettre, mais comme c'eſt le zelle pour le ſervice de voſtre Majeſté qui me rend ſi impatient de voir les affaires de ce pais-cy tellement menées

a bon port que voftre Majefté eut les bras d'autant plus libres pour travailler a la defliverance de tant d'ames oppreffées qui prient Dieu pour le fuccos de fes armes comme fera inceffament celluy qui fera toute fa vie, Sire, de voftre Majefté, &c.

Lettre au Comte de Portland, du 29 May 1690, d'Edinbourg.

Monsieur, Ce gouvernement fera capable de faire perdre la patience en Job. Il y a bien un mois que j'ay les troupes que je tire de ce bout du royaume en corps attendant qu'on me depechaft, car non feullement nous perdons l'occafion de prendre fes rebelles pendant leur eftonnement, mais, en mefme temps, celle d'agir de concert avec les fregates et mon detachement que j'ay fur leurs coftés, dont j'attendrois des bons fervices, fi je les pouvois pouffer, en mefme temps, de mon cofté. J'ay beau, Monfieur, de leur parler des raifons de la guerre, et leur reprefenter, qu'outre les dits motifs pour les obliger a diligenter ma depeche, la feureté qu'il y auroit deftablir une garnifon de bonne heure au millieu des rebelles en cas qu'il y eut quelque debarquement de la part du Roy Jacques, ou foulevement pendant l'abfance de fa Majefté ; car en laiffant 1200 hommes en feuretté a Inderlochy avec un regiment a Indernefs et quelque autres petites garnifons, je pourray agir le refte de la campagne avec 5 a 6000 hommes, quelque part que le fervice du Roy m'apellaft. Voicy un avantage et feureté bien vifible pour le fervice de fa Majefté. Mais que je parle de cela. Soit au commiffionaire ou a qui que ce foit du gouvernement, rien ne les peut eveiller de leur ftupidité. Ce feroit dur et pecher contre la charité de condamner comme mal affectionés tous ceux qui montrent de l'indifferance pour l'avancement du fervice, au moins quant aux mefures de la campaigne. Voyant donc la lenture du commiffionaire a faire expedier les chofes que je luy propofay, je m'addreffay il y a 8 a 10 jours au confeil, luy reprefentant que, puis que je n'avois nulles inftructions n'y pouvoir du Roy, et que ma commiffion m'obligeoit a recevoir

les ordres, je venois offrir a ſa conſideration que la ſaiſon propre pour agir contre cette ennemy ſ'eculoit ſans rien faire, que nous perdions les avantages mentionnes cy deſſus, et pour y remedier qu'on fit un emprunt de 6000 livres ſterling pour payer un entier mois de gage aux troupes que je menerois avec moy, et fournir aux fraix d'intelligence et de quelque peu de douceur aux troupes que je feray travailler a la fortification, qu'ils ordonnaſſent que le pais me fournît de 600 chevaux de charge pour porter les vivres par les montaigns, ou nul chariot ne peut paſſer, avec 800 pioniers ſeullement des provinces voyſines de Lochaber et qu'avec cette appareil qui ne feroit pas dificile a fournir, moyenant la bonne volonté, j'eſtois preſt a marcher, ayant fait cuire du biſquit pour la marche, et ordonné l'envoye des farines a Inderlochy par mer ; mais quoique j'aye pu preſſer de bouche et par des memoires rien ne c'eſt reſolu encore. Je ne ſcay, Monſieur, ce que j'en dois croire, mais je vois evidemment que quand je propoſe quelque choſe touchant le ſervice en conſeil, Monſieur le Commiſſionaire n'en parle jamais. Il ne ſcauroit eſtre avantageux au ſervice quand celluy qui en a la direction eſt hay de ceux par les ſoufrages deſquelles il faut qu'il ſe gouverne, et c'eſt juſtement mon cas. Les Jacobins me ſont ennemis, parcequ'ils le ſont de l'interet que j'ay epouſſay, les cabaliſts, dont j'ay condamné les meſures, me veuillent du mal, et les miniſtres me regardent de mauvais œil, de ſorte que, comme j'ay ſouvent repreſenté, j'aprehende que des gens ignorans le metier m'empechent l'avancement du ſervice a mon egard, ce dont je ſuſpecte ce dernier ordre, dont je conclus qu'il ne ſcauroit eſtre avantageux au ſervice du Roy que je commande icy en chef d'oreſenavant, voyant comme j'y ſuis hay et limité de ſorte que je ne puis rien entreprendre ſans la concurrance du gouvernement. Le ſujet de leur haine n'eſt pas parceque je recherche ce qu'aucun d'eux pretend, car je declare franchement que quand le Roy m'y donneroit des avantages auſquelles je n'oſerois jamais penſer, je ne voudrois jamais eſtre perſonne publique en Ecoſſe ; mais a cauſe que je n'y veu eſpouſer nul parti que celluy du ſervice ; et comme je n'y pretend rien que de l'avancer, auſſy n'eſpargne-je

qui que ce ſoit que j'y vois manquer. Ce n'eſt pas une propoſition nouvelle, comme vous ſcavez, Monſieur, qu'il y a long temps que je vous ay tenu le meſme language, que je ne renouvelle pas pour m'afranchir des fatigues ou hazards. Dieu le ſcait, mais a fin que le Roy ſcache avant qu'il quite cette iſle, ſi quelque affaire crouſtilleuſe ſ'y preſentoit en ſon abſance, que je me declare incapable de le ſervir comme ſa Majeſté pourroit attendre ſ'il y avoit des gens vigoureux et reſolu au timon de l'eſtat, le moindre bruit des troubles eſtant capable de faire perdre cœur a noſtre Commiſſionaire, dont cette foibleſſe eſt accompagnée d'un autre fort incommode pour moy, c'eſt que quoi qu'il n'entend guere reaſoner ſur les affaires de la guerre, il n'en veut pas croire ceux qui en ſont le metier. Si le Roy Charles, ou quelque autre qui n'avoit pas l'humeur fort guerierre, avoit aſujetty le jugement de ſes officiers a celluy des perſonnes qui ſont ſi peu capables de ſe former des juſtes idées du ſervice, ce ne m'allarmeroit pas ; mais de me voir expoſé a la riſée de tous ceux qui ne ſcavent pas mes dures circonſtances, d'un maiſtre que j'ay ſervi tantoſt 16 ans ſans avoir jamais donné ſujet legitime de ſuſpecter ma fidelité, c'eſt ce que je trouve un peu trop mortifiant ; quoique ſi je n'y rencontrois de facheux que ce qui me touche en particullier, mon zelle pour cett interêt me le feroit paſſer ſous ſilance ; mais j'y connois un grand tort au ſervice dont je me ſens chargé quoique je n'en ſuis pas credité. Pour donc, Monſieur, couper court, puiſque d'oreſanavant l'on ne peut pas par toutes les ordinaires repreſenter les choſes au Roy, ni en tirer reſolutions ſelon les changemens qui pourroient ariver, il feroit bon que ſa Majeſté fit ſcavoir au Commiſſionaire, que quand quelqu'un lui ſuggeſte des opinions contraires aux miennes, il nous confronte en preſance de quelques autres du conſeil a fin que la raiſon des uns et des autres ſoient connues, et qu'il ne ſ'amuſe pas ſans me ſatisfaire des raiſons, a retarder mes meſures pour le ſervice, ou que ſa Majeſté me tienne pour excuſé de tous les inconveniens qui en pourront arriver a ſon ſervice pendant ſon abſance, car j'en lave mes mains.

Pendant voſtre abſance, Monſieur, j'avois prie le Comte de Marle-

borough de demander au Roy ſ'il ne le jugeroit de ſon ſervice, que pendant la campaigne j'euſſe le pouvoir de remplacer les vacances, ſur tout puis qu'il faudroit attendre ſi long temps pour avoir leurs commiſſions d'Irelande, je le propoſe ſeulement, et le Roy en jugera, proteſtant ſeulement que depuis que j'ay eu le credit de lui recommander des officiers je n'en ay jamais profité un ſou, ſi bien qu'il n'y a que la commodité du ſervice qui m'en fait parler, eſtant neceſſaire qu'il le loge quelque part pendant ſon abſance de cette iſle, je ne me ſoucieray pas la, ou pourveu que le ſervice n'en patît.

Je vous prie, Monſieur, de croire franchement que je ne me forme le moindre ſujet de deplaiſir qu'au regard de celluy la, eſtant faché que non obſtant que je me prive de tout ce que me doit eſtre cher et agreable au monde a cett eſgard, je trouve tous mes deſſeins et travaux ſe reſoudre en fumée ſ'avortans dans la naiſſance ; car je me fois fort de ſouſtenir contre qui qui ſ'y voulût opoſer, qu'il y a long temps qu'on auroit aſſoupi les troubles de ce royaume ſans couter de bien loin pres tant au Roy, ſi mes projets avoyent eſté pourſuivis. Ce n'eſt pas, Monſieur, pour me faire valoir que j'en dis tant, car un autre qui fut ſi apliqué ſi long temps peut-eſtre y auroit mieux reuſſi, ſurtout ſi le Roy deferoit plus a ſon jugement, mais afin que quoiqu'il arrive de moy, la ſuite lui faſſe ſcavoir que je ne me propoſois pour toute butte depuis que j'ay vaincues toutes mes ſcrupules pour m'embarquer dans cette interêt que de l'avancer fidelement ſans donner un moment a d'autres penſées ſi ce n'eſt d'y implorer la benediction du ciel pour ſupleer a tous nos defauts et faux pas. Soyez donc aſſuré, Monſieur, moyenant le ſupport d'en haut que je ne relacheray jamais de mon zelle, quoique je n'en puiſſe pas promêtre des effets conſiderables de la maniere que je me trouve circonſtancie. J'ay propoſé qu'on formât une comitté du conſeil pour vaquer principallement pendant cette campaigne aux affaires de la guerre, mais quoiqu'il y ait douze jours depuis cette propoſition, et que le conſeil ſ'en eſt remis a la nomination de Milord Commiſſionaire c'en eſt encore a faire. Je veu croire que la lenteur de ſa diſpoſition naturelle y contribue, mais puiſqu'il traite avec

les ennemis ſans aucune mienne communication, ce n'eſt menquer a la charité que de ſuſpecter qu'il y peut avoir du deſſein de retarder mes meſures, mais ſi Milord a choiſy ſes conſeillers par nomination de ſa Majeſté que le tort que ſon ſervice en pourra recevoir leur ſoit auſſy attribuée. Je ne puis faire nul eſtat ſur le temps que je dois marcher. Si je ne me veux expoſer a la faim, ce que je ne voudrois volontiers faire ſans neceſſité; mais ſi ces rebelles ſe raſſemblent, il faut que je donne la dedans quoiqu'en arrive pour empecher leur junction avec tant qui les recevroient a bras ouverts. Je prie Dieu de conduire la perſonne ſacrée et les deſſeins de ſa Majeſté la ramenant couronnée de lauriers, et vous ſouhaitte de tout mon cœur toute ſorte de proſperité, et ſuis, &c.

Quoy que j'aye honte de plus parler d'argent pour nos trois regimens, j'ay peur de la conſequance, la deſertion eſtant deja commancée dans celluy de Lauder.

Lettre au Roy, du 5 Juin 1690, d'Edinbourg.

Sire, Venant d'aprendre pour certain que vôtre Majeſté ſ'eſt reſolue de partir de Londres pour Cheſter jeudi 5 de ce mois, et me trouvant principallement embaraſſé de ce que le gouvernement ne me preſte pas la main comme il ſeroit bien de beſoin, et que voſtre Majeſté quelque inſtance que j'en aye fait ne me communique pas ſes penſées ſur ce qui releve de ma charge, et que je me met en payne d'entendre, n'ayant rien qui en divertit mon eſprit, j'ay depeché Lieutenant-Collonel Hill avec des inſtructions touchant l'eſtat preſant des affaires et la carte du pais, ou je dois agir contre cet ennemy barbare, dont j'eſpere quelque temps et occaſion favorable que la lenteur ou deſſeins ou bien tous les deux enſemble mont fait perdre mal-apropos, moyenant la benediction de Dieu que j'implore ſur ſes juſtes armes de toutes parts, de luy rendre bon conte avant qu'il ſoit paſſé que peu des ſemaines et de temps.

Si voſtre Majeſté aura le temps de lire ſes inſtructons et conſiderer la carte elle, y verra la raiſon de mes plaintes, de l'idée que je me forme

de la campagne et de tort qu'on a de m'en empecher la pourſuite tant qu'on a fait juſques a preſant, ſi bien que tous les pas qu'on ſ'avance ſont contre le fil des deſſeins qui ſe forment pour renverſer les mienes. Je ſuis d'opinion, Sire, qu'une perſonne d'un temperament differant du mien n'y renconteroit pas tant d'obſtacles, mais comme mes deſſeins quant au ſervice ſont juſtes, deſintereſſées, et chritiens, auſſy blamé-je librement tous ceux qui n'agiſſent de la meſme ſincerité dont je m'attire des ennemis, qui le ſont peut-eſtre a cauſe du moy, du ſervice. Mais pourveu que voſtre Majeſté n'en retire pas ſon ſecours, j'eſpere que peu de temps vuidera le differant, car ſi ſon ſervice y eſtoit une fois en ſeureté, je la prieray tres-inſtemment de m'en retirer. Quoique je ſuis d'opinion, Sire, que voſtre Majeſté doit laiſſer cette iſle en toute ſeureté, je ne ſuis pas d'avis de negliger des certaines avantages ſelon toutes les aparances pour crainte de ce que peut arriver. J'ay demandé, Sire, au Comte de Portland que ſi je devrois relever de ce Commiſſionaire, et qu'il ſurvinſt quelque affaire croſtilleuſe et difficile a manier, il ſeroit capable de tout gâter, car la peur lui fait demander conſeil a bien des perſonnes, comme je croy et n'eſtant pas capable d'enformer un bon jugement, il pourra ſ'attacher au pis, de ſorte qu'il ſeroit bon que voſtre Majeſté ſ'expliqua la-deſſus ; car le charactere d'un commiſſionaire qui ne conſulte pas les choſes avec un commandant-en-chef lui peut apporter beaucoup d'obſtacles, ſurtout lorſqu'il ſe trouve abſent du conſeil, ou je trouve aſſes du credit pour emporter une partie de ce que je propoſe, quoiqu'il y paroiſſe fort froid et indifferent, car comme je n'aprehende rien que la perte du ſervice, je parle franchement, il pretend d'aprehender un ſouſlevement tant au ſud d'Ecoſſe qu'en Angleterre d'abord que voſtre Majeſté l'aura quitté, que ſi je me relachois tant ſoit peu de mon empreſſement pour la reduction des montaignards, il ſeroit capable d'en divertir le deſſein pour cette année ; mais il me ſemble que c'eſt bien mal entendre et prendre les choſes, car cett ennemy eſtant reduit tous les eſprits brouillons ſe calmeroient ; et ſi j'avois une fois aſſuré une poſte a Inderlochy, je feray capable de marcher avec un corps de 6000 hommes d'aſſes bonnes troupes

partout ou le ſervice m'appelleroit, ſans crainte que j'aurois ſes barbares ſur mes talons, au lieu qu'a preſant, ſi j'eſtois occupé ailleurs ils attendroient ſe fondre ſur le plats pais qui ſont aſſes diſpoſées a les recevoir et joindre. Et ſi pendant que je ſeray a Inderlochy, il ſurvinſt quelque ſouſlevement vers les frontieres des deux royaumes deux mille hommes que j'y laiſſe, comprenant le regiment de Berkley, ſeroient capables de leur donner des affaires en attendant que je m'accourût a leur ſecours, ce que je propoſe de pouvoir faire en fort peu de temps, et laiſſer ce poſte hors d'inſulte en meſme temps ; mais j'ay beau a rendre des raiſons a des gens qui n'eſtudient que des arguments, la plus part pretendus, pour la renverſſer. Je pourſuis toutes fois mon deſſein, et eſpere que voſtre Majeſté l'aprouvera, parce que je ne voy rien quy m'en deut divertir encore ; ſi Monſieur le Commiſſionaire le ſcait, il ne me le communique pas, ce qui me fait croire que ſes raiſons ne ſont que des chimeres et les effects de ſa nature craintive. Je vous prie, Sire, d'eſtre perſuadé que je n'ay nulle querelle contre ce Seigneur que celle du ſervice ; et ſeray toujours eſperant que tant d'ames fidelles perſecutées quy ſoupirent inceſſemment au ciel pour implorer les benedictions ſur ſes armes, dont depend humainement leur deliverance, lui obtiendront par l'interceſſion du glorieux autheur de la verité qu'elle ſouſtient une glorieuſe campaigne, avec l'heureux fin des troubles de ſes trois royaumes, afin que dans les ſuivantes elle porte ſes armes dans le cœur des eſtats ennemis de l'evangille et de noſtre ſalut. Dieu y vueille ficher ſon ſceau, et ramener voſtre Majeſté toute couronnée de gloire et des victoires qui ſeront toujours les fidelles prieres de celluy qui eſt inviolablement, Sire, de voſtre Majeſté le tres-humble, &c.

Lettre ecrite au Comte de Portland, le 5 Juin 1690, d'Edinbourg.

Monsieur, Vous auriez compaſſion de moy ſi vous ſcaviez l'embarras ou je me ſuis toujours trouvé depuis que le Roy m'a envoyé dans ce purgatoire, ou ſi j'avois d'autres deſſeins en veue que celluy de bien et

fidellement avancer le ſervice, je n'aurois pas eſté ſi travaillie, mais m'accommodant a l'humeur de ceux qui m'y pourroient aſſiſter, je paſſerois le temps ſans ſouci, trouvant aſſes de quoi m'excuſer, quand je demeurerois auſſy indifferant que ceux dont il me faut recevoir des ordres ; car je ne croy pas qu'il c'eſt jamais veu qu'une perſonne qui n'eſt muny d'aucun pouvoir d'agir de ſon chef, fut chargé de tout, comme je ſuis icy, car effectivement des gens plus ſcrupuleux que moy auroient garde de ſ'attirer des ambarras dont leur maiſtre les excuſe, au moins tacitement. Je ne croy pas que jamais perſonne ſervant le ſien de la maniere que j'ay ſervi le Roy qui n'en fut plus creditée, et ſi je l'avois par raport d'un autre circonſtantié comme moy, j'aurois de la payne a le croire. Que le Roy employe une perſonne attachée de long temps a ſon interêt et ſervice, de la fidelité, de laquelle l'on dit qu'il ſe tient ſatisfait dans un pais et parmi un peuple tout diviſé a ſa Majeſté, encore pour la plus part inconnus, et ou ceux quelle employe aux affaires de l'eſtat, ont neceſſairement auſſy peu de connoiſſance de celles de la guerre ſans luy faire ſcavoir la moindre choſe poſitive de la maniere quelle doit agir, non obſtant d'inſtances faites a cette egard. Si c'eſtoit, Monſieur, un gouvernement tel qu'il ſe voit ailleurs qui eut quelque rotine de la guerre, il ne me facheroit pas d'y eſtre aſſujeti, car ce n'eſt pas la vanité d'eſtre chargée de grands affaires, et au deſla de ma portée qui me pouſſe a tenir ce propos, au contraire j'en ſuis fort indifferent, pourveu que le ſervice n'en fut negligé ; mais de recevoir tous ſes ordres des gens qui n'y voyent goute, quoiqu'ils ſ'en croyent tous des maiſtres, c'eſt ce que naturellement ne doit pas reuſſir a l'avantage du ſervice. Quoiqu'en arrive, Monſieur, ma conſciance ſera toujours nette, et les gens raiſonables qui ſcavent ce qui en eſt m'excuſeront de blame, quoiqu'il ſoit mal aiſé de perſuader le monde qu'il n'y aille de la faute du commandant des troupes quand les affaires a rebours. Si je ſcavois que le Roy voulût que le ſort de cette guerre dependit du ſucces de celle d'Irelande, je ne m'en mettrois pas tant en pagne, et le prierois tres-humblement que je fuſſe de la partie ; mais comme ma raiſon et les imparfaites ideés que je me forme du metier

me dictoient des penſées contraires, je tachois de faire telles diſpoſitions quelle fut achevée icy, ſcavoir la campaigne, avant quelle pût commencer la, ſcachant qu'il ne faut pas tant de façon pour agir avec des petits corps, qu'avec des grandes armées. Si donc je ne fais pas les choſes ſelon l'intention de mon maiſtre, je n'en ſuis pas a blamer, car je n'en ſcay rien, autrement j'auray garde d'y manquer. A toutes mes difficultés, Monſieur, ce n'eſt pas la moindre que nos trois regiments manquent d'argent; le porteur de celle-ci, vous pourra faire voir l'accident qu'il en eſt arrivé depuis peu, et je ſouhaitte que la punition qui le ſuivit de ſi pres en arrête le cours. Ce n'eſt pas la vraye ſaiſon de la laiſſer manquer d'argent aux troupes lorſqu'il faut marcher contre les ennemis, mais patiance, des autres en auroient fait plus de bruit, et peut-eſtre en ſeroient plus refroidis et deſcouragés. Je feray toujours mon poſſible pour n'avoir rien a me reprocher, je ne me plaindray plus de la maniere deſobligeante que Milord Commiſſionaire me traite; il voudroit que je dependit des ordres qu'il ne conſulte qu'avec ceux qui ſont ignorants ou me ſont ſuſpects. Mais je m'addreſſe doreſenavant au conſeil, et me fache que je ne l'aye fait pluſtoſt, car la je trouve que la raiſon prend quelque place, et depuis ma derniere, je m'y trouve aſſiſté auſſi bien qu'au Parlement, et plus que je n'attendois de Monſieur le Duc d'Hamilton. Il y a quatre a cinq jours qu'il ſe plaint qu'il n'a jamais eſté ſi mal traitté ſous aucun gouvernement, et me pria de vous ecrire et repreſenter que ſ'il avoit fait quelque choſe qui parut contre le ſervice du Roy, que cela n'a jamais eſté ſon deſſein, comme il en appelle a temoin ce qu'il avoit dit au Parlement quand il eſtoit queſtion de ſes prerogatives royalles, mais que ſe trouvant negligé et comme traité en petit garçon des miniſtres, la nature avoit tant de pouvoir ſur lui qu'il en vouloit aucunement eſtre revangé. Je lui dis que je vous ecrirois de la maniere qu'il parloit, mais qu'il avoit donné trop de ſujet depuis la ſeſſion du Parlement de le ſuſpecter par tous ceux qui ſ'intereſſent pour le ſervice de leurs Majeſtés et trop de priſes a ſes ennemis en ſe joigniant a tels qu'on en ſcavoit eſtre ennemis, et dont il n'avoit pas accoutumé d'eſtre trop amis auparavant. Il me dit qu'il

n'avoit conſulté qu'avec des gens qu'il ſcavoit eſtre affectionés comme lui a ce gouvernement en general, mais qu'il en voudroit voir la maniement entre d'autres mains quant au miniſtere, et me prioit de croire que c'eſtoit le fond de ſon deſſein et jamais la moindre penſée de traverſer le regne de leurs Majeſtés. Quoiqu'il en ſoit il ſemble qu'il ſe relaſche. Je ſcay bien que lorſqu'a mon jugement il ſervoit bien le Roy que Milord Melvill en parloit mal, ſcavoir l'année paſſé. C'eſt une perſonne aſſez habille et ſcavante quant au gouvernement de ce pais, mais je ne l'ay jamais conſiderée comme propre a manier des deſſeins perilleux, eſtant trop ouvert, car a mon opinion il a le cœur ſur le bouche, car ceux qui ne ſcavent diſſimuler leurs mecontentements ne ſont jamais fort dangereux a l'eſtat et pour lui ſa maniere de faire mit le Commiſſionaire des ſon arrivée icy ſur les gardes. Il me dit auſſi qu'il ne vouloit pas repondre de la conduite de ſon fils, qu'il eſtoit trop frequanté de trop de gens mal affectionés a ce regne, et voulut que je vous avertiſſe qu'il n'eſtoit plus ſur caution, le temps eſtant ecoulé, je l'ay communiqué a Milord Commiſſionaire, quoiqu'il je croy que ce jeune Seigneur ſeroit facille a gagner; mais je ne veu jamais repondre d'un Ecoſſois de ce temps, car je le voye ſi flottant que je ne puis pas en faire jugement definitif, mais comme il me ſemble vous avoir ecrit d'autres fois, je ſuis d'opinion que les miniſtres créent plus des malcontens (ſurtout quand a ceux dont il apprehende la qualité et le credit) qu'il ne ſeroit pas convenable pour les conjunctions. Je ſouhaitterois pour la facilité et ſeureté du ſervice, et pour l'avancement de l'interêt proteſtant, que tous les ſerviteurs du Roy fuſſent en cet endroit comme moy, qui ſe dit ſans vanité faiſſant le ſervice par une principe de conſcience, ſans eſgard a l'interêt propre. Mais je vous aſſure, Monſieur, qui ſ'en trouve peu icy meſme de ceux que veuillent paſſer pour tels, quoique Monſieur le Commiſſionaire dit tout hautement que le ſervice du Roy lui a deja coute 2000 livres ſterling, et que ſon fils en a perdu 5 a 6000 par ſon regiment, quoique je ſcache que ce jeune Seigneur en profita plus de 2000 livres ſterling le premier mois, car il ne donnoit pas un ſou d'argent de levée a ſes officiers, ni du mois de Mars, et que d'autres

entendant le propos du pere dirent qui pouvoient faire le conte de plus de 15,000 livres ſterling qu'il avoit profité depuis qu'il eſt ſecretaire d'eſtat. Tous ces propos ne ſont, Monſieur, que pour vous faire voir la religion et le zelle de ce pais c'y n'eſt qu'interêt tout haut qu'il en crie ; et qu'il y auroit toujours des querelles et mecontentements du coſté des miniſtres pour tacher de ſi continuer et d'empoigner pour eux et pour toutes leurs creatures tous les profits, et des autres qui ſ'en croyent plus dignes par le ſang de poſſedé. Enfin, je croy de pouvoir faire eſtat de marcher vers le 13 ou 14 de ce mois, parcequ'apres beaucoup de diſputes et de ſolicitations l'on m'a ordonné 600 chevaux de charge pour porter les vivres et le petit bagage des troupes, et j'ay aſſez bonne opinion de la faire, moyenant la concurrance du ciel, car celle des hommes me manque, n'en ayant que ce que ſ'arrache contre le gré des miniſtres ; mais le Duc d'Hamilton m'a promis la ſienne pendant mon abſance, car depuis que j'ay changé de ton je commance d'emporter quelque choſe au conſeil quand je ſuis preſant. S'il arrive icy quelque vacance, je vous prie de vous ſouvenir de Monſieur Buchan, qui eſt un des plus ſenſées officiers que j'ay avec moy, et merit fort bien un regiment, eſtant affectioné au ſervice, et capable de le metre ſur un bon pied quand même il en eut qui ne valût guere. Le porteur de celle-ci voudroit bien avoir un ordre du Roy pour ſon traittement d'adjutant-general c'eſt peu de choſe icy, a cauſe qu'il eſtoit accommodé au temps de paix ou ſes officiers n'eſtoient pas obligés a faire des depances. Si le Roy le lui vouloit faire augmenter pendant la guerre il en ſeroit plus capable d'en faire le ſervice, car c'eſt un bon officier dont j'attend beaucoup d'aſſiſtance. Il eſt eſtrange que le Roy ne me donne point d'aide de camp, quoique je n'aye ecrite plus d'une fois ; je ne me plains de rien de ce qui me touche en particulier, car je ſerois faché ſi dans ce ſervice je ſerois capable de me laiſſer chattouiller d'aucune conſideration que de l'eſperance de contribuer mon peu a l'avancement de l'interêt proteſtant. Je vous prie de pardonner que je vous ecrire de ſi longues lettres ; mais c'eſt pour le ſervice du maiſtre qui doit excuſer l'importunité. Croyez franchement, Monſieur, que je ne vous

ecris jaimais que la verité felon l'idée prefante que j'ay des chofes. Mais comme je tiens mon chemin en ligne droite, il ne faut pas f'etonner que je varie quelque fois dans mes relations des perfonnes, a mefure qu'ils f'en aprochent ou eloignent. S'il plaît a Dieu d'apaiffer les troubles de ce pais par mes foibles quoique fidelles et diligens efforts, je vous prie que le Roy ne m'y laiffe d'avantage, car mon humeur eft incompatible avec les gens de ce pais-cy. Je fuis en toute fincerité, Monfieur, &c.

Lettre ecrite au Roy, du 8 Juin 1690, d'Edinbourg.

Sire, Venant d'apprendre qu'avec communication et recommandation de Milord Commiffionaire et des autres, le Comte de Braidalbin eft parti fecrettement d'icy pour Chefter, je me croyé obligé d'avertir voftre Majefté que c'eft par un confeil privé des perfonnes lefquelles pour la plus part fe font montrées jufques icy ennemis de fon interet et fervice (temoin que le dit Comte a la clofture de la derniere campaigne crût qu'il ne peut eftre acouvert de loix fans prendre l'indamnité) et le feroit demain fi le Roy Jacques eftoit en eftat de fouftenir leurs deffeins et efforts, et que le dit Braidalbin eft un des plus grands diffimulateurs, pour ne pas dire de Judas qu'il y a au monde. Je ne m'oppoferois jamais, Sire, aux effets de voftre clemence royalle, mais de grace n'accordes point de ceffation d'armes a des rebelles, qui ne cherchent qu'a gaigner du temps, fe voyans en eftat de ne pouvoir pas parer le coup qui eft prêt a eclatter fur leurs teftes; car tout court, Sire, ils ne fe foumettront jamais en forte au gouvernement de voftre Majefté, qu'ils ne foient toujours prets de fe joindre a fes ennemis, qu'on ne leur ait mis le pied fur la gorge. Quelque condition donc que voftre Majefté de fa grace royalle leur veuille accorder, il ne faut nullement demordre du deffein d'eftablir une forte garnifon pendant cette campaigne au millieu d'eux, et de les defarmer; et tous ceux qui luy confeillent le contraire, en ignorent la confequance ou trahiffent fon fervice.

Je ſuis prêt a marcher dans leur pais avec 5000 hommes d'aſſes bonnes troupes, capables moyenant que Dieu ne nous ſoit contraire d'effectuer mon deſſein, quand il leur devroit venir 2 a 3000 hommes de ſecours d'ailleurs j'auray pres de 10,000 hommes, tant des troupes reglées que des montaignards nos amis a Indernefs que je me pourray faire joindre ou agir d'un autre coſté, ſelon que j'en verray occaſion, et avec le regiment de Berklay ſur lequel je fay eſtat laiſſer environ 2600 hommes en deça la riviere de Forth, et les autres quartiers du royaume bien aſſurés contre tous hormis des voleurs. Ceux qui ont commancé et fait continuer cette rebellion juſques icy ſont tellement allarmées de ma marche qu'ils mettent toutes pierres en œuvre pour la retarder, et Milord Commiſſionaire, ſoit par ſa nature craintif ou de deſſein, (ſ'imaginant trouver dans la reduction des montaignards par voye d'accommodement plus de quoi ſe faire valoir avec ſon grand conſeiller Tarbet que ſ'ils eſtoient reduits par les armes), y donne dedans, comme il y a quelque temps que je l'ay remarqué. Le mauvais temps commence de bonne heure dans ces pais montaigneux, les troupes ſont en marche, au moins le ſeront avant que je les puiſſe contremander vers le lieu de rendezvous, et comme je mene le plus grand nombre, je dois couvrir la marche des autres. La deſpance pour les vivres et autres materiaux eſt deja faite, et ne faut que deux fois 24 heures et moins de bon vent pour avoir de nos vaiſſeaux de vivres ſoit de Glaſgow ou de ce coſté de royaume, ou nous en avons fait embarquer afin que le vent ne nous puiſſe guere manquer de l'un des ports a Inderlochy, les chevaux pour les tentes et les vivres qui nous doivent ſervir pendant la marche, et qui nous a coutté du temps pour les obtenir de ce gouvernement ſont ordonnées pour le 12 du courant au quartier des troupes. Si bien que ſi je ſuis arretté a preſant voſtre Majeſté en peut facilement decouvrir la conſequance, que les ennemis pourront desfaire quelques unes des troupes qui marchent d'autres quartiers, que toute la depance tant pour les fregates, le louage des vaiſſeaux de charges, que le parti de Fergufon et les vivres eſt perdue, qu'il faudra renvoyer les chevaux de bagage qui couteroit du temps pour les ravoir, et que nous

perdrions infalliblement cette faifon pour la reduction des rebelles, et tout cela pour fournir a fes miniftres matiere de fe glorifier d'avoir trouvé le moyen de reduire les montaignards a cette heure qu'on les tiennent en fa main d'une maniere plus effectuelle felon toutes les apparances humaines, fi on me laiffe faire eftant affuré qu'ils ne me puiffe oppofer la moitié des forces que je vay mener contr'eux ; et fi ce doit commencer quelque brouillerie dans cette ifle pendant l'abfance de voftre Majefté, ce feroit le veritable moyen de travailler utilement a l'appaifer que de nous affurer de ce cofté la au pluftot, car je me propofe qu'au bout de 8 jours apres mon arrivé-la d'y pouvoir laiffer 10 a 1200 hommes en toute feureté pour accourir avec le refte des troupes-la ou le fervice de voftre Majefté me pourroit appeller, lefquells retiendroient tous ces rebelles chez eux, pour ne leur abandonner leurs femmes, enfans, maifons, et beftail, quand même il fe levat un fouflevement dans d'autres endroits des deux royaumes. C'eft ce que les ennemis apprehendent de ce deffein, et dont Milord Commiffionaire eftant imbu des arguments de Tarbot, qui eft le plus charitable jugement que je puiffe former de fon opiniatreté a contre quarrer toutes mes mefures, et ne veut pas fe laiffer convaincre. Sire, je ne vous propofe rien que je ne juge de voftre vraye fervice, et comme voftre Majefté ne peut pas former des jugements fur la maniere de faire la guerre contre fes barbares que par defcription qu'elle reçoit des uns et des autres d'icy, de leurs forces, difpofition naturelle et de la nature et fituation de leur pais. Il me femble qu'il me deut croire plus qu'aucun autre qui f'y trouve, tant a caufe de mes fervices, du temps que j'y ay deja paffé ; et que je fuis natif d'un pais voifin et femblable, hormis qu'il eft plus civilité ; que parce que peut-eftre fuis-je le feul de tous ceux que voftre Majefté y employe en caractere publique qui ne cherche de faire marcher fes interêts particulliers de paire avec celluy de fon fervice. Je vous fupplie donc, Sire, derechef de ne pas vouloir crediter vos ennemis plus que vos fidels ferviteurs, et puifque j'aye travaillé fous tant des difficultés avant que de pouvoir conduire les affaires a tel point quelle fe trouvent a prefant, qu'on ne m'empeche de faire jouer la mine que

j'ay preparée au detriment du ſervice ; ou ſi voſtre Majeſté nonobſtant ce que j'ay tant de fois dit ſur ce ſujet, reſolut de pretter l'oreille aux propoſitions mercenaires de ce Braidalbin, ou de quelque autre pour luy, qu'elle me pardonne de grace que je ne ſcaurois me reſoudre de plus continuer mes ſervices en Ecoſſe, eſtant prêt d'eſtre employé le reſte de la campaigne partout ailleurs ou elle le trouvera bon ; mais jamais pour eſtre temoin tant a voir les effets que je me ſuis propoſé de tant des veilles et des ſoins renverſées, qu'a me voir, en même temps, expoſé a la riſée de ceux qui ne ſont mes ennemis (n'ayant rien de particulier a demeler avec eux) que parce que je tache de ſervir voſtre Majeſté et l'interêt proteſtant fidellement, et ſans m'attacher pour cultiver faveur de qui que ce ſoit aux factions, eſtant graces a Dieu agi d'un principe plus chriſtienne et honorable que de me laiſſer emporter par des deſſeins mercenaires contre l'interêt du ſervice, tellement que de faire un pas que je ne jugeaſſe y devoir contribuer. Le Comte d'Argyll, Sire, eſtant allarmé du depart clandeſtin de Braidalbin, et fort intereſſé dans le traitté qui ſe doit conclure avec ſes rebelles, va trouver voſtre Majeſté ; et comme j'apprehend que le Commiſſionaire, pour ne manquer a ſon but de preferer toute autre voye de les reduire aux armes, propoſera peut-eſtre d'employer ce premier. Mais je deſaprouve cette maniere d'en venir a bout de qui quelle ſoit maniée, comme honteuſe aux armes de voſtre Majeſté la neceſſité m'y obligeant pas, auſſi bien qu'ineffectuel pour obtenir la fin qu'on pretend de ſ'en propoſer, ſcavoir, le rêtabliſſement de la paix. Je vous ſupplie, Sire, de pardonner cette liberté a une perſonne qui ne ſ'eſtoit engagé dans vos deſſeins glorieux, et tant neceſſaires pour le ſupport de la verité chrêtienne, que par un principe de conſcience et de devoir qui ſeul l'y attache inviolablement comme eſtant, Sire, de voſtre Majeſté le tres-humble, tres-fidelle, et tres-obeiſſant Sujet et Serviteur, &c.

Inſtructions pour L'Adjutant-General Hill, du mois de Juin 1690.

Il repreſentera au Roy, que ſans renverſer mes deſſeins, et me rendre incapable de les pourſuivre l'on ne peut pas tirer de ce royaume aucun des corps qui ſ'y trouvent a preſant, et que je ne ſcauroye dire pour quand que l'on les en pourra tirer que premierement je ne voye l'eſtat de la garniſon d'Inderlochy, dont ſ'il plait a Dieu d'en faire bien reuſſir le deſſein comme je l'eſpere, je ne manqueray pas d'en avertir d'abord ſa Majeſté.

Que je laiſſeray vers le ſud du royaume a cauſe que Milord Commiſſionaire eſt fort aprehenſif d'un ſoulevement les regiments de Cunninghame et de Leven infanterie a l'entour d'Edinbourg avec la compagnie des gardes cavallerie, deux compaignies de cavallerie legere et une de dragons, et que j'y renvoyeray d'abord que j'auray joint Levingſton avec des troupes du nord, les ſix compagnies de Bevriſh, et deux autres des dragons de Cardroſ, leſquelles troupes, avec le regiment dragons de Berklay ſur les frontieres, auxquels j'ordonneray qu'on joigne les chevaux et dragons Ecoſſois que je laiſſe dans cette parti meridionale du royaume, tiendront bien les malcontents en bride pendant mon abſance, ou je ſouhaitterois que quelque un de ſervice commanda en chef.

Jé donne au Maiſtre de Forbes, pour tenir en bride l'intervalle entre le ſud et le nord, deux compagnies de cavallerie et trois des dragons de Cardros, avec ce qu'il peut aſſembler des gens du pais, tant a pied qu'a cheval.

Je formeray un petit corps volant de 14 a 1500 hommes, tant des troupes reglées que des gens du Milord Southerland, de Milord Reay, et du Laird de Balnagown, tout fort zellé et affectionné pour le ſervice de leurs Majeſtés, et de la nature de nos ennemis, afin que quand j'entre dans leur pais d'un coſté de deux grands lacs, ils ne tombent dans celluy de nos amis de l'autre.

J'y ay envoyé 1500 outils pour remuer la terre, avec 5000 groſſes palliſades pour planter ſur la contreſcarpe du fort d'abord qu'on l'aura tracé, au dedans de laquelle palliſade la garniſon et pioniers pourront travailler en toute ſeureté a couvert de tous les efforts de cet ennemy, bien que le ſervice du Roy m'obligeat de m'en retirer au bout de ſix jours pour tomber ſur les bras a des ennemis qui ſe remueroient quelque autre part du royaume. Outre les ſuſdittes troupes, j'ay 600 hommes en garniſon a Indernefs; 360 dans Blair d'Athol, maiſon apertenante au Marquis de ce nom; 80 de nos trois regiments de garniſon dans une maiſon dans le haut du pais de Mar; quatre compaignies dans une maiſon appertenante au Comte de Braid-Albin, pour nous aſſurer de ſon pais; ſept compagnies de Glenkairne en tres mechant eſtat a Perth, leſquelles ont ordre de ſ'en retirer ſi quelque ennemy, beaucoup plus nombreux, ſ'en vint approcher, eſtant tout ouvert; et le regiment de Kenmore au paſſage de Stirling, avec deux compagnies dans le chateau de ce nom.

Je donne rendezvous a Sr Thomas Levinſton avec ſon regiment, ceux de Milord Angus et de Grant avec deux compagnies de cavallerie dans Baidenoch, d'ou je n'auray que deux jours de marche a Inderlochy, d'abord que j'auray avis que mes vaiſſeaux des vivres y auront joints Fergufon.

L'Adjutant-General fera voir au Roy par la carte que je luy ay pretée pour ce ſujet, tout le pais ou j'auray a agir contre cet ennemy, et le chemin que je dois tenir de Perth ou St. Johnſton, ou les troupes ſe trouvent a preſant; le premier jour a Dunkelde, le ſeconde a Blair Athol ou j'ay garniſon, le troiſieme il faut loger ſur la Bruyere, et le quatrieme a Ruthen en Baidenoch, ou je formeray mon corps et feray mes deſtachements de Ruthen a Garvie dans le haut de Baidenoch, de Garvie a Glenroy et Keppoch, demeure de inſigne voleur de ce nom, qui fut le premier lequel joint Dundee aupres d'Indernefs l'année paſſée, d'ou je le chaſſay avec 4 a 500 hommes que j'avois pris avec moy ſans deſſein de pouſſer juſques la; et de Keppoch a Inderlochy, ou je donneray randezvous a Fergufon et les vaiſſeaux de charge, pendant que les fregates a la reſerve

d'une pour eſcorter, bloquerons l'Iſle de Mull, qui ſe voit auſſi dans la carte a l'embouchure de la riviere de Lochy.

Lettre au Comte de Portland, le 8 Juin 1690.

Monsieur, Trouvant que Milord Commiſſionaire ſ'oppiniaſtrant a toute outrance dans ſon deſſein, deja entamé par un certain Hill, qu'il employe de traitter avec nos rebelles d'accommodement en les achetant par argent, vient de depecher le Comte de Braid-Albin pour chercher avec une recommendation a ſa Majeſté pour quelle l'employe a faire reuſſir le dit deſſein, je me trouve obligé de vous dire que ce n'eſt pas le ſervice du Roy, ny le reſtabliſſement d'une paix durable dans le royaume qui le rendent ſi intentioné ſur ce traitté, qui doit couter au Roy ſelon qu'on me le rapporte de la bouche de ſuſdit Hill 10,000 livres ſterling; mais a fin de pouvoir faire valoir a l'avantage de ſa famille, et continuation de ſon miniſtere, l'eſtat ou ces rebelles ſe trouvent a preſant reduits, tant par les vaiſſeaux et le parti que j'ay envoyé ſur leur coſté, que par les forces toutes prêtes a marcher que j'y dois mener en peu de jours, a fin qu'en prevenant l'effet de nos preparatifs pour faire place a cette autre maniere de venir a bout de ces rebelles, il ſe glorifie d'en avoir eſté l'autheur, et Milord Tarbet le conſeiller. Vous ſcavez, Monſieur, que c'eſtoit mon opinion l'année paſſée qu'on travaillat a les gaigner de cette maniere, et ſi on y avoit reuſſi, il auroit epargné au Roy 2000 livres ſterling. Mais pour cette fois-cy, voyant qu'il y a moyen plus ſur et honorable d'en venir a bout, et que je ſcay qu'il n'y a que la neceſſité qui fait rechercher cette voye a des gens qui ne voudroient jamais voir ce gouvernement eſtabli qu'ils n'y trouvent leur interêt, je ſuis abſolument d'une autre opinion, d'autant plus qu'il n'y a pas moyen de ſ'aſſurer de ces rebelles qu'en les mettant hors d'eſtat de nous nuire. Sachez donc, Monſieur, qu'ils ſe trouvent preſſées, qu'ils craignent que nous ne prevenions les ſecours qu'ils attendent d'Irelande avec beaucoup de confiance;

et quand même ce traitté reuſſiroit de la maniere que Milord Commiſſionaire le propoſe, qu'on ne gaignera rien, ſi la garniſon ne ſ'etablit a Inderlochy. J'ay pris la liberté d'ecrire mon opinion la-deſſus au Roy, et je trouve que tous mes arguments ont ſi peu d'impreſſion ſur l'eſprit du Commiſſionaire, que j'en ſuis meu de croire quelque autre choſe ſemblable a ce que j'en viens de dire deſſus pluſtot qu'un pur deſſein d'avancer le ſervice; quoy qu'il en ſoit, je ſuis reſolu de n'y plus ſervir ſi je voy que les projets des ennemis du Roy (car le Commiſſionaire n'en eſt pas l'autheur) l'emporte par deſſus tout ce que je puis repreſenter pour ſouſtenir la validité des miens dont j'ay randu mes raiſons tout a plain au Roy. Si j'ay quelque mien deſſein icy ce n'eſt que d'avoir bientoſt a fait a fin de tourner le dos a l'Ecoſſe pour ne jamais la revoir plus. Le Comte d'Argyll eſt fort allarmé du depart de Braid-Albin, la plus part de ces rebelles eſtants ſes vaſſeaux et luy retenans ſes terres par force, ſi bien qu'il attand que par le traité qu'on concluroit avec eux il devroit eſtre conſideré, quoy que je croy qu'il aimeroit mieux qu'on les domtaſt par les armes. Ayant ecrit par l'Adjutant-General Hill une trop longue lettre, je ne veux pas tomber cette fois-cy dans la même faute, d'autant plus que j'ay ecrit au Roy tout ce que je voulois dire ſur le ſujet de cette conduite de ſes miniſtres que je n'approuve pas, ſcachant que l'interét de ſon ſervice n'en eſt pas le principal but, mais me recommandant a l'honneur de vos bonnes graces, je ſuis, Monſieur, voſtre tres-humble et tres, &c.

Lettre ecrite au Comte de Portland, le 26 Juillet 1690, de Perth.

Monsieur, Je n'ay reçeu celle dont vous m'avez honnoré du 4 courant qu'aujourdhuy, quoy qu'il y a 15 jours que nous reçeumes la nouvelle de la glorieuſe victoire que noſtre grand Roy a emportée par la grace ſinguliere de Dieu ſur les ennemis de ſa verité ſon nom ſoit eternellement benît quy l'a ſauvé d'un danger ſi eminant pour ſ'en ſervir comme d'un inſtrument choiſy dans ſa main toute puiſſante pour l'avance-

ment de ſa gloire et elargiſſement du regne de ſon fils ſur la terre. Le même jour que ſa Majeſté deffit l'armée Irlandoiſe, j'entray dans Lochaber par une ſainte, avant que les ennemis qui m'attendoient a l'unique paſſage de ce coſté-la, qu'ils crurent pratticable par de la cavallerie et baggage a cheval, en euſſent la connoiſſance, et parceque vous avez la carte de ces hauts pais je vous enferay en bref le recit.

Le 21 de Juin, je partis avec environ 3000 tant cavallerie qu'infanterie de St. Johnſton, pouſſant ce jour-la juſques a 4 miles au deſſus de Dunkel, dans le pais d'Athol, pour faire croire aux ennemis que je prenois le chemin tout droit par Blair et Drumogehter a Badenoch ; mais trouvant qu'il y avoit par ce chemin des paſſages difficiles gueres loins du pais ennemy, ou ils ſe pourroient rendre pour incommoder ſans grand riſque a eux, le lendemain je pris a droit par Strathardil, Glenſchie, Braemar, Strathdon et Strathavin joignant Levingſton le 27 dans Strathſpey, pais du Laird de Grant, ou je repoſay un jour. Le 29 j'avançay juſqu'a Ruthen en Badenoch ; le 30 j'avançay encore 6 miles juſqu'a Clunie, et ayant ordonné au gens du pais qu'on m'amenat des vaches pour l'armée a Garva, qui feroit le droit chemin au paſſage ou les ennemis ſ'eſtoient poſtés pour me le diſputter, j'y pouſſaye quatre compagnies de chevaux et dragons comme l'avant garde, pour faire courre nouvelle que j'avançois par la vers le dit poſte ennemy ; et ayant avancé trois miles de ce coſté-la, je tournay teſte ſoudain vers la gauche, et paſſage par des hautes montaignes et marais juſques la impratticable aux troupes, et entraye par Glenſpean. Ayant ordonné au parti que j'avois avancé pour les amuſer de joindre m'arriere garde, dont les ennemis ayants eu avertiſſement, ſe ſeparerent chacun chez ſoy pour retirer ſes beſtails, ou conſiſte leur richeſſe, dans les bois et forêts ; et comme mon deſſein n'eſtoit que de batir vitement le fort, pour puis apres m'en retourner au pluſtôt, je marchay ſans m'amuſer a chercher leurs cachettes, et ſans autres materiaux que la pele et beſche, en onze jours de temps fort pluvieux, j'ay eſlevé un fort qui deffiera tous les montaignards d'Ecoſſe, et l'ay laiſſé pourveu des vivres et munitions de guerre aſſes pour donner du temps au gouverne-

ment d'y envoyer par mer le ſecours neceſſaire, et a mon retour laiſſay en paſſant une garniſon a Ruthen en Badenoch, avec ordre au commandant de ſ'y fortifier d'avantage ne voulant point me trop areter pour ne pas manquer des vivres, et ne ſcachant comment les affaires alloient au ſud n'y en Angleterre. Je trouve que Buchan et Canon, pendant l'abſance des troupes, ont ramaſſés quelques chevaux enſemble au nombre d'environ 200 tels que ſi avec quelques centaines de montaignards du ſhire de Perth; mais pour ceux de Lochaber, je ſuis aſſuré qu'il n'en ſortira guere d'avantage de leur pais. Comme je ne fais que ſortir des hauts pais, je n'ay pas encore nouvelle aſſurée des dits Buchan et Canon, quoy qu'on diſe qu'ils ne ſont guere loin de Stirling, mais j'ay envoyée des eſpions de leur coſté; je croy marcher demain de ce coſté-la bien que fort mal fourni de vivres et d'argent, ce gouvernement cy n'ayant nul ſoin de ſes choſes neceſſaires. J'ay a preſant dans le ſud nos trois regimens entiers, celluy de Leſlie, et neuf compagnies fort foibles d'Argyll et autant d'Angus, les autres quatre de chacun ayant eſté laiſſées a Inderlochy, nommé Fort William, avec neuf compagnies de Grant, et deux cent montaignards, qui ſe ſont deja mis au ſolde du Roy. Il y a encore le regiment de Leven et Cuningham; ceux de Glencairn et de Kenmore ne valent pas grand choſe, je ſerois d'avis que le Roy le donnat a Buchan qui merite bien qu'on le conſidere, ſoit pour la connoiſſance du metier ou affection pour le ſervice de ſa Majeſté, et qu'on en laiſſat le ſurplus des compagnies dans les garniſons, ou elles ſe trouvent a preſant comme independantes tant qu'on en aura beſoin; car autrement le Roy n'en tirera jamais aucun ſervice, et en cas que Buchan ſera accommodé de cette maniere, je voudrois avoir mon lieutenant-colonel, qui n'eſt pas dans la melieure intelligence avec mes capitains changé dans le regiment de Ramſay, et que mon neveu, Major de Levinſton, eut ma lieutenance colonele, lequel a rendu bon ſervice au Roy, m'ayant joint avec quatre cent montaignards de gens de ſa famile hardis et bien faits, ſans leſquells nous aurions eu difficulté de ſubſiſter a Lochaber, auſſy bien que de faire de bons partis, nos gens peſemment armées, n'y eſtants pas ſi propres dans ces ſortes de terrains.

Je viens de recevoir avis que Buchan et Canon, allarmés de mon retour, ſe retirent dans hauts pais, et comme le principal de nos ſoins ſera doreſenavant tenir l'œil ſur l'Angleterre pendant l'abſance du Roy, je ſuis d'avis de ne pas m'amuſer a pourſuivre a petit parti par les montagnes et forêts, dont les troupes ſe ruineroient, auſſy ne ſeroit il pas pratiquable faute des vivres ; mais ſi j'aprends qu'ils prendont le chemin du nord, je detacheray quelques compagnies de chevaux et dragons Ecoſſois pour renforcer celles que j'y ay laiſſées, pour de cette maniere les reſſerrer dans leurs montagnes, juſqu'a ce que le mauvais temps leur faſſe tout quitter priſe. J'auray de quoy former un corps de 7000 hommes, tant cavallerie que dragons et infanterie, de fort bonnes troupes au ſud. Nos trois regiments, avec ceux de Leſlie et de Leven, eſtants en fort bon eſtat, celluy de Cuningham paſſablement bon, et le regiment de Levingſton un des meilleurs du ſervice. Noſtre cavallerie paſſe contre un tel ennemy, mais elle ſeroit trop legere contre une bonne. Les hommes ſont de bonne mine, et ſeroient montés comme ils ſont et armés de longues armes de bons dragons ; mais ils auroient beſoin de quelque changement d'officiers. Je vous remercie, Monſieur, du relas que vous m'avez envoyé du combat, et de l'eſtat de la ſanté du Roy. Dieu la luy conſerve pour long temps, a la gloire de ſon nom et conſolation de tous fidelles proteſtans, dont l'exemple de ſes vertus royalles et Chrêtiennes ſera, comme j'eſpere croiſtre le nombre dans ſes royaumes, autant que les vices de ſes anceſtres au throne, l'ont fait diminuer. Je vous remercie, Monſieur, de l'aſſurance que vous avez le bonté de me donner de voſtre eſtime, vous aſſurant en ſincerité que perſonne n'eſt plus que moy, Monſieur, voſtre tres-humble et tres-obeiſſant Serviteur, &c.

Lettre ecrite au Comte de Portland.

Monsieur, Je ſuis tellement perſuadé des grandes occupations de vos moments, que je ne voudrois pas en interompre le cours par mes lettres,

ſi ce n'eſtoit que pour le même interêt et ſervice. Depuis que j'ay ſceu que le Roy reſolut de ne pas permetre que je bougeaſſe d'icy de tout l'hyver, j'avois commancé a former le deſſein d'en appaiſer les troubles de bonne heure, a cauſe que je le conſiderois a grand charge et empechement au ſervice de ſa Majeſté d'y depenſer tant d'argent, et employer tant de troupes ; et voyant ſe couver une diviſion quy alloit dechirer le parti qui des le commancement ſe declara pour leurs Majeſtés, je le crus de mon devoir d'avertir la cour de ce que j'en deſcouvrois ſelon mon jugement, et les ſuites naturelles que je m'en figurois de ces diviſions, ſcavoir, un grand deſordre parmi des troupes ſans ſubſiſtance, des factions quy empecheroient l'eſtabliſſement du gouvernement dans le Parlement et un peuple irrité, les uns doubtants de l'eſtabliſſement de ce qu'ils ſouhaitoient uniquement, ſcavoir, leur culte d'Egliſe, et les autres par la foule des troupes qui ne ſubſiſtoient que de ce qu'elles en prenoient bon gré ou mal gré ; et le tout aboutiſſant a fortifier la rebellion formée dans le pais, et a ſervir de fondement aux deſſeins des ennemis irreconciliables du regne de leurs Majeſtés. Vous ſcavez, Monſieur, ce qui j'ay avancé ſur ce ſujet, et me perſuade, quoy que la providance divine nous a detournés les deſordres, que toutes ſes confuſions auroyent naturellement peu produire que les conſeils de ceux qui portoient le Roy a deferer l'aſſemblement du Parlement ſentoient plus leurs propres interêts que ſon vray ſervice et le repos de ſes eſtats ; car il n'y a aucun doute que moyenant la même condeſcenſion que je vois a preſant le Roy n'eſt reçeu du Parlement, il y a ſix mois ce qu'il en recevera a preſant, ce qui aura mis les affaires ſur un autre pied qu'elles ne ſe trouvent ; car la rebellion en auroit deja eſté eſteinte, les coffres du Roy eſpargnées, et la plus part des troupes auroyent pu eſtre employée ailleurs. Mais voyans que mes avertiſſements ne trouvoyent point de credit, je tournay mes penſées du coſté des ennemis pour mediter le moyen de faire des tels progres contre eux de bonne heure, quy euſſent le même effet, et puſt rendre le Parlement de meilleur humeur ; voyant les affaires du Roy ſ'avançans ſans ſon ſecours, et propoſay quelque vaiſſeau de guerre, des armes, et un fort

mediocre ſomme d'argent, pour faire les preparations neceſſaires pour attaquer les ennemis par mer au mois d'Avril, et etablir un poſte a Inderlochy. Mais ne pouvant tirer aucun reſolution de la cour ſur mes propoſitions, et ne voulant paſſer le temps et laiſſer approcher la ſaiſon ſans rien faire, je communiquay mes penſées a une comitté du conſeil, laquelle jugeant que le threſor n'en pourroit pas ſurvenir aux fraix, entreprit de fournir a un detachement de bord les hommes ſeullement que j'ay propoſé d'envoyer avec les fregates. Puiſque je voyois l'autre deſſein ſe trouvant renverſée, jugeant que ce detachement feroit une telle diverſion des forces qu'elle ne pourroit pas tous incurſer tout le plat pais, ny ſortir ſi fort en campaigne avant que nous fuſſions prets, que de nous attirer vers eux, et nous divertir par la du deſſein d'etablir une garniſon a Inderlochy ; mais tout ce que j'ay pu faire depuis que les fregates ſont venues, et quelques ſemaines auparavant ne les a pu depecher juſqu'a hier, et a cette heure que nous devions marcher, en même temps, pour agir de conſert, nous voicy arrettés faute des ſubſiſtance pour les troupes, et les ennemis ont le temps de reprandre cœur apres l'eſchec qu'ils ont reçeu depuis peu. J'ay peur que nos trois regiments ne ſoyent les premiers qui ſe defaſſent, parcequ'ils ſont accoutumés d'eſtre bien payés, et a preſent qu'on les tient en corps pour marcher d'abord qu'on entendra, des mouvemens ennemis, ils ne peuvent ſans argent ou proviſion. Les 7500 livres ſterling, dont vous, Monſieur, ecrivez, je n'en ay rien apris, non plus que de l'argent pour nos regimens, et Milord Commiſſionaire fait diſtribuer la plus part de 4000 livres ſterling, que Van der Eſch m'avoit envoyé, pour ſouvenir aux fraix de la campagne aux troupes Ecoſſoiſes, ſi bien qu'il faut que je demeure miſerablement les bras croiſſes, ou que j'expoſe les troupes a la faim. J'aprehende que Milord Tarbot n'aye trop d'influance ſur l'eſprit de Milord Commiſſionaire, et que le deſſein de renverſer mes deſſeins ne provienne de la, ſi le ſervice n'en patiſſoit a même temps, je m'en ſoucierois d'autant moins que j'en aye ecrite au Roy. Je vous prie, Monſieur, ſ'il n'y a pas deſſein de perdre ſes trois regiments qu'on trouve moyen de leur faire payer l'arriereage, car c'eſt

impoſſible de ſubſiſter icy a credit. J'ay ſigné pour 1000 livres ſterling pour mon regiment; mais veu que la ſolde tarde a venir, et que je n'ay pas des biens conſiderables dans ce pais, ils ne veulent plus m'en crediter. J'ay auſſy fait ſubſiſter une compagnie de 100 hommes, que j'avois priſe, il y a un an, a la ſolde du Roy, des montaignards de noſtre pais les ayant continues dans leurs propres habits pour eſtre plus diſpos; c'eſt la compagnie dont Levinſton parle dans ſa lettre, laquelle a ſubſiſté a mes depans depuis ſix mois. Je ſuis faché, Monſieur, qu'on ne mette quelque marque d'eſtime ſur le Maiſtre de Forbes, on luy auroit pu donner un commiſſion de lieutenant-colonel juſques a ce que le Roy eut occaſion de faire quelque autre choſe pour luy, car en effet il l'eſt ſignaliſé par deſſus tous les Lords d'Ecoſſe; mais il a des ennemis parce que j'eſpouſe ſes interêts. Le Commiſſionaire avoit promis qu'il l'auroit, mais Tarbet luy chiſle a l'oreille. C'eſtoit un abus que les gens de Grant avoient joints les rebelles, au contraire c'eſtoit que Levingſton eut les meilleurs avis. Je ſuis, Monſieur, &c.

Je croy que je pourray haſarder de vous envoyer ces remarques que j'envoye ce jointe. Si vous y trouvez quelque choſe qui ſoit digne de la conſideration de ſa Majeſté, vous les luy pourrez montrer, car les premiers pas qu'un prince fait dans le commancement de ſon gouvernement ſont de conſequance, tout le monde jugeant de la ce qu'il doit attandre de la ſuitte.

1. Si tels conſeils qui tendent a inſiſter ſur des prerogatives qui ont fourni matiere de grevance au peuple durant les regnes precedans ne ſont contre la veritable interêt de ſa Majeſté, quy conſiſte a regner dans le cœur de ſon peuple, et tellement remouver tout ſujet de jalouſie que rien de ce coſté-la n'empeche ſes plus grands et dignes deſſeins d'ailleurs.

2. Si l'on peut juger que des perſonnes qui conſeilleroient au Roy de faire quelques deſmarches au commancement de ſon regne qui ſentiſſent ou paruſſent aprocher la conduite des derniers roys, et de leurs miniſtres

quant au deſſein de l'arbitration pluſtot que de deſmordre de leur pretention au maniement des affaires, n'ont plus d'egard a leur propre interêt qu'au ferme eſtabliſſement du gouvernement de ſa Majeſté.

3. Si ſa Majeſté, en complimentant l'Ecoſſe quant a quelques loix et coûtumes introduittes depuis que la cour a formés des deſſeins auxquells elle n'auroit jamais pu parvenir, comme l'on ſoutient, qu'en foulant au pied les anciens privileges et droits du peuple ne ſe la rendroit plus utille a tous ſes autres grands deſſeins qu'en les voulant maintenir, excitter la jalouſie de cette nation.

4. Puis que le gouvernement d'Egliſe exempt de ceremonies ſuperſtiticuſes eſt une choſe indifferante au jugement de beaucoup de bons Proteſtans, et qu'il eſt conſtant qu'en Ecoſſe la plus part eſt pour le Preſbiterien, hormis une partie de la nobleſſe, quy n'eſt Epiſcopale, que par des eſgards d'interêt purement temporel, ſi l'inclination du peuple ne doit eſtre la regle de ce point, ou la doctrine de ſalut, n'eſt nullement intereſſé, veu qu'un culte forcé n'edefie jamais les ames.

5. La partie meridionalle d'Ecoſſe, comme eſtant du tout attaché au preſbiterienifme, (outre quelle eſt bien peuplée ſe trouve a preſant armée et dans une eſpece de diſcipline), parce que ſes gens eſtoient les ſeuls a peu pres ſur leſquels l'on pouvoit faire eſtat au commancement du changement qui ſ'eſt fait, ſ'il ne me ſemble plus pour le repos du royaume de les gratifier de ce point indifferant, que de les perdre pour gaigner le parti contraire, quy a deja fait tout le mal dont il eſtoit capable, eſtant comme j'eſpere aux abois, et aparament ſe contentera, pourveu qu'on le mette a couvert des reſſentimens de l'autre.

Lettre ecrite au Roy peu de temps apres le conſtruction du Fort William.

Sire, J'aye depeché l'Adjutant-General Hill pour informer voſtre Majeſté de l'eſtat de la guerre icy, et de ce que par l'aſſiſtance divine ſ'eſt avancé pendant cette campagne pour l'eſtabliſſement de la paix de

ce royaume quoy que traverſé, par tant des ennemis de ſon heureux gouvernement que de ceux quy en ont la principale direction, leſquels ſelon que j'ay pu remarquer tachoient de rendre ineffectuels tous mes travaux, auſſy bien qu'ils decrioient tout ce que je faiſois, temoin le peu de ſoin qu'on prend de ſecourir des choſes neceſſaires le fort que j'ai baty en Lochaber, appellé de ſon nom royal, comme la lettre du gouverneur le fait voir. J'avois propoſée une perſonne de credit et d'honneur pour ne pas manquer a ſes engagemens, et d'affection pour avancer fidelement le ſervice de voſtre Majeſté, et quy l'avoit excercée dignement l'anné paſſé pour la charge de commiſſaire des vivres ; mais parce qu'elle y fuſt eſtablie par le Duc d'Hamilton, et par une creature de ce miniſtere la propoſition en fut rejettée, et par la je perdis au moins deux mois de temps avant que je pus porter le Commiſſionaire a en eſtablir du tout parmy eux, et eſtant eſtablis ſont tels dont l'ignorance et nonchalance, outre ce que le gouverneur du fort William dit de l'un, m'ont fourny aſſez d'embaras pour la ſuſſiſtance des troupes, et ſujet de plaintes au pais dont il les falloit prendre quand les meſures publiques y manquoient.

Enfin, Sire, par les deſmarches de ceux auſquels voſtre Majeſté fie la principale direction de ce royaume, j'aprehende qu'il ne ſ'y trouvera qu'eux et leurs creatures, leſquels, ſelon le bruit comun, luy rendent cher leur ſervice, quy ſ'efforceront d'avancer de bon cœur ſon ſervice dans ce pais, tant ils en degoutent toute le monde par leur conduite.

Je ſuis fort perſuadé, Sire, que ce n'eſt pas tant le retour d'un prince, confit a ce papiſme et imbu des principes incompatibles avec ce que naturellement tout homme (hormis les eſclaves de l'impoſture) eſtime tant, ſcavoir, la liberté temporelle et ſpirituelle, que les mêcontens de ce royaume cherchent, mais pluſtot de troubler le regne de voſtre Majeſté pour luy faire voir combien peu luy vaut au beſoin le credit de ceux qu'elle employe. Il eſt vray, Sire, qu'il ſeroit fort a ſouhaitter qu'on ſervit une cauſe ſi juſte et ſaincte par des principes plus chrêtiennes ; mais ſi l'Ecoſſe, ſelon mon opinion, ſans faire breche a la charité ne peut

guere fournir de cette trempe, et qu'il faile neceſſairement que voſtre Majeſté y ſoit ſervie des perſonnes qui feront marcher leur propre interêt de pair avec celluy de ſon ſervice, qu'elle ayt la bonté de pardonner que je ſuis d'opinion que ce fuſt pluſtot des perſonnes de credit dans le royaume, et qui feroient honneur a leur charactere que de tels quy de le propre credit ne feroient pas capables de monter vingt chevaux a leur dos. Cecy ſoit dit avec profonde ſoubmiſſion au jugement de voſtre Majeſté, le zelle pour ſon ſervice, pour l'interêt du proteſtantiſme m'arachent, malgré moy, ces propos de la bouche, contre la reſolution que j'avois ſouvent formé de m'en taire, trouvant que ce que j'en avois avancé de temps en temps auparavant trouva ſi peu de credit, quoy que tout bien conté. Si j'avois le jugement ſi eclairé, mon temoignage en meriteroit autant que d'aucun autre, et d'autant plus que je ne me propoſois rien pour moy ni aucun mien par le changement. Quand voſtre Majeſté donc aura des informations plus particullieres d'autres avis, elle pourra, ſi elle le juge de ſon ſervice faire reflexion ſur ce que luy en dit une perſonne qui, devant Dieu, n'y prend point d'autre interêt que celluy de ſon ſervice, et le repos de ce royaume, auſſy bien que de ſes autres eſtats, en ſorte que doreſenavant elle employe ſes armes non pas tant pour y affermir ſon gouvernement, mais pluſtot pour ebranler et renverſer les colomnes de l'impieté antichrétienne.

Sire, Je prens la liberté, avec profonde ſoubmiſſion, de vous recommander mon neveu, Major de Livingſton. Elle ſcait que la lieutenance-collonele de ce regiment luy eſtoit deue, premierement, parce qu'elle la luy decerna pour les preuves de zelle et d'affection qu'il avoit donné pour ſon ſervice, par une longue et rude priſon, pluſtot que de vouloir ſ'engager contre les interêts de voſtre Majeſté, eſtant mal informé de ce traittre de Livingſton, que je croiois plus capable de diſpoſer les dragons au ſervice, ayant ſervy quelques années parmy eux que mon neveu, qui leur eſtoit juſques la etranger ; et, en ſecond lieu, lorſque cette charge vaqua par la trahiſon du dit Livingſton depuis ce temps la. Sire, tant

l'en faut qu'il ait fait quelque chofe pour moindrir la confideration de voftre Majefté pour luy, qu'au contraire il n'y a pas un fujet en Ecoffe quy luy a rendu plus de fervice, quant a agir contre fes ennemis, non feullement d'avec le regiment ou il a données des preuves de fon courage et difcretion, tant aux occafions qu'en travaillant avec bon fuccès pour gaigner l'affection des dragons pour fon fervice, mais auffy en armant auffy fouvent qu'il en recevoit mes ordres depuis que je fuis icy, les gens de fon pais, pour opofer les ennemis, et venir a mon fecours lorfque j'en avois bien befoin, même a l'expedition de Lochaber, ou il mena 400 hommes, montaignards des mieux, faits et appointés de tout le royaume, et quy me furent fi utilles que les troupes manquant de vivres auroient eft reduittes a des grandes extremités fans eux, outre qu'ils me fervirent luy a leur tefte de grande feureté a la marche pour faire la decouverte dans ces pais plains des paffages et defilles inacceffibles a nos gens pefamment armées et habillies. Enfin, Sire, fi je ne le reconnoiffois perfonne de difcretion, de courage, et d'affection inefbranlable pour le fervice de voftre Majefté, temoin d'avoir perfifté tant dans fon zelle pour l'advancer, même depuis qu'on luy a donnée cette efpreuve un peu mortifiante pour une jeuneffe genereufe que d'avancer un autre peu doué pour cette charge a ce qu'il pretendoit de droit, auffy bien que de qualité et d'interêt dans le pais affez pour meriter fa faveur royalle, je n'en aurois pas ouvert la bouche.

Le porteur eft auffy une perfonne fort capable de fervir voftre Majefté dans ce pais, en ayant atteint d'affez juftes idées par tout depuis qu'il me fert d'affiftant, et furtout il feroit propre pour les dragons, ayant fervi long temps parmi la cavallerie, et entendant, en même temps, ce quy eft neceffaire de l'infanterie. Et comme le bien du fervice m'oblige de luy reprefenter ceux quy en font capables et fi attachent avec zelle, le Lieutenant-Colonel Buchan merit que voftre Majefté luy donne une meilleure pofte, et Ferguffon feroit bien plus capable de commander le regiment de Lauder que Balfour, f'il y avoit moyen d'accommoder

celluy-cy autrement qui ne pourra guere plus ſuporter les fatigues de la campaigne, eſtant incommode d'un mal qui ſemble incurable depuis ſa priſon.

J'ay envoyé au Comte de Portland un racourci de ce qui ſ'eſt paſſé icy depuis le paſſage de voſtre Majeſté en Irelande, et l'ay prié de m'obtenir de ſa bonté royalle congé de paſſer cet hyver en Hollande aupres de ma petite famille, dont je ſuis ſeparé a preſant deux ans paſſés. Le Collonel Livingſton ſ'eſt aquis plus de connoiſſance de ce ſervice que Ramſay, l'ayant employé beaucoup de temps pour commander les troupes au nord en mon abſance, quoy que tous deux de fort bons officiers, et zelles pour ſon ſervice ſans aucun biais, mais comme le premier eſt tellement abattu d'une maladie qu'il gaigna en Lochaber que difficillement il en echapera, et qu'au mieux aller il ne ſera de tout cet hyver en eſtat de vaquer au ſervice, je ſeray d'avis que voſtre Majeſté deferaſt le commandement a Ramſay avec brevet de brigadier, eſtant le premier collonel de ſervice icy. Si voſtre Majeſté aura le bonté, comme je n'en puis pas douter, de me donner le dit congé, je luy laiſſeray des inſtructions generalles pour la direction, avec copies de mes ordres, dont il ſera inſtruit de mes methodes ſelon la nature de cette guerre, dont j'eſpere que les plus grandes difficultés ſont paſſés.

Sire, il y a quelques jours qu'eſtans au pais d'Atholl, j'y rencontray le Marquis de ce nom. Il tachoit de ſ'excuſer de tout cedont je ſuſpectois ſa conduitte de l'année paſſée, rejettant le tout ſur l'infidelité d'un ſien Bailly, auquel il avoit fié le commandement de ſon pais; mais quoy qu'il en ſoit, Sire, je trouve qu'il ſeroit d'importance au ſervice de voſtre Majeſté qu'on l'y attaſchat tout de bon, eſtant capable tant des ſes propres vaſſaux eſtimées des plus braves de tous les montaignards d'Ecoſſe que de la famille de Lovet ſon gendre, ſur leſquels il auroit influance d'atirer de ſon coſté pres de 3000 montaignards qui vaudroit plus a voſtre Majeſté que trois regiments de nouvelles levées; ſi bien que ſi cette conqueſt ſe pouvoit faire a raiſon d'une honneſte pen-

ſion, elle apporteroit une grande ſeureté a ces affairs icy, et ſeroit un coup mortel au deſſeins montaignards. Or, en cas que voſtre Majeſté goute cet avis, il faudroit le mander aupres d'elle, veu que je ne voy pas qu'il penſe d'y aller, non plus que le Duc d'Hamilton ſelon qu'on me dit, n'ayant pas veu celluy-cy depuis mon retour du nord. J'ay peu d'ajouter d'avantage a celle-cy, qui n'eſt que trop longue deja, mais ſon ſervice l'excuſera, reſervera donc le reſte a un memoire que je donneray a Hill.

J'imploreray le ſouverain Roy des roys et le grand Dieu des armées qu'il conſerve la perſonne ſacrée de voſtre Majeſté comme un autre Joſué ſuſcité par ſa providance divine ſi opportunement comme a point nommé pour la deſliverance de ſon Iſrael, proſcript et deſtiné a ruyne par les ennemis de ſa verité, et faſſe ſuivre a ces armes cette glorieuſe campagne de tant d'autres, que la beſte et tous ceux quy luy preſtent leur puiſſance ſoient portés par terre, qui feront toujours les fidelles pierres de celluy qui ſera toute ſa vie, malgré tous les efforts des enfers, Sire, de voſtre Majeſté, &c.

Si voſtre Majeſté n'avoit d'autres affaires ſur les bras que le ſoin de ſes propres eſtats, il y auroit moyen de dompter tous meſcontans et rebelles, et de tenir bridés par des garniſons et nombres des troupes; mais puiſque toute l'Europe proteſtante ne reſpire que l'heureux moment de la voir en repos chez elle, a fin de pouvoir tourner au pluſtot ſes armes du coſté de ſa deliverance, il feroit a ſouhaitter que ces troubles domeſtiques ſ'appaiſaſſent tellement que jamais l'envie ne revienne plus a ces rebelles de reprendre les armes contre ſon authorité, quand même l'occaſion ſ'en preſentat favorable; et pour y parvenir il n'y auroit point de plus effectuel moyen que d'en commencer le deſſein par Milord Athol, lequel pourroit ſervir d'outil outille pour gaigner les autres, car les travaux de cet eſté les y diſpoſent, auſſy bien qu'ils ont eſtabli la reputation de ces armes parmi eux, en ſorte que tout ce que voſtre Majeſté voudroit conſentir en leur faveur a preſant ſera tenu comme des effets de ſa pure bonté royalle.

Lettre au Comte de Portland, le 4 Novembre 1690, d'Edinbourg.

Monsieur, Par la voſtre du 25 du paſſée vous me mendattes que le Roy m'avoit accordé mon congé pour l'aller trouver a Londres, et me fites eſperer de pouvoir paſſer l'hyver en Hollande, me promettant, en même temps, d'envoyer au premier une commiſſion pour celluy qui doit commander les troupes icy, et puiſque vous me nomaſtes Monſieur Sir Thomas Livingſton comme la perſonne deſtinée pour cett employe, et que Ramſay ſ'en eſtant allarmé ſ'en va avec moy a Londres, et que d'abondant Milord Craford me dit que le boite noire fut rompue la derniere fois, ſcavoir, les lettres du 30 paſſé apprehendant que mes dépeches n'en fuſſent etées, je ſuis reſolu d'attendre les lettres du premier courant, et puis ſ'il n'en vient point, je conclus que mes lettres ont eſté interceptés, et m'en iray avec le Colonel Ramſay, pour laiſſer Livingſton au commandement ſelon le deſſein du Roy. Je fais cecy, Monſieur, pour ne pas manquer l'occaſion du paſſage du Roy en Hollande, eſtant perſuadé qu'il aura reſolu des affaires de ce royaume avant que je puiſſe eſtre a Londres, dont je n'auray point d'autre regret que celluy du ſervice de ſa Majeſté, qui ſe trouve a preſant en fort bon train, et apparemmant continueroit de même, pourveu que le Roy tombat ſur un bon choix de perſonnes deſintereſſées et cherchant l'avancement du ſervice plus que de leurs familles pour l'adminiſtration de ce pais, qui eſt plus capable de mal que de bien. Ceux qui ne ſe forment pas des idées aſſez advantageuſes de leur deliverance du papiſme crient tout haut qu'on eſt plus foulé par les miniſtres qu'on n'a jamais eſté par leurs predeceſſeurs, voicy les cris comuns, je puis dire en gros que tout ce que le Roy a reçeu encore pour toutes les conceſſions au Parlement, ne monte qu'a deux mois de gage de huit qu'on conte depuis le commencement de cette derniere ceſſion du dit Parlement pour les troupes ſoldoyés en Ecoſſe, et environ peut-eſtre ſept a huit milles livres ſterling qu'on dit que le Fort William aura couté en louage des vaiſſeaux,

planches, et autres materieaux, et au lieu de payer l'armé, ainſy qu'on l'appelle, elle eſt ſix mois en arriere plus a preſant qu'elle n'eſtoit au mois de Mars, dont le pais fait bien du bruit, ayant payé tout ce qu'on luy demanda, et toutes fois ſe trouvant toujours foulé des troupes ſans payes. Je le juge, Monſieur, de mon devoir de vous avertir de ces choſes, dont ceux qui voudront faire valoir leurs ſervices auront garde de faire mention, et ce que j'en dis tant peut ſ'aſſurer que ce n'eſt pas malice, mais pour qu'on l'examine, et remedie a l'avenir. Eſperant donc l'honneur de vous voir bientot, je ſuis, Monſieur, voſtre tres-humble et tres-obeiſſant Serviteur, &c.

Par ma derniere je vous ay mandé ce que j'avois decouvert du ſujet du parti qui croit avoir donné tant de preuves d'affection et fidelité au ſervice de leurs Majeſtés qu'il n'y a aucun lieu d'en douter, et quand vous ſcaurez, Monſieur, que je n'ay nul autre egard en vous avertiſant de ce quy parvient a ma connoiſſance, et que je croy de l'interêt de ſa Majeſté quelle le ſcache que le bien de ſon ſervice, et le deſir de voir tout en repos dans ces royaumes, a fin qu'eſtant debaraſſé des troubles domeſtiques, elle ayt le moyen de travailler a la deliverance de l'egliſe de celluy qui luy en a reſervé la gloire, comme j'eſpere. Vous ſerez facillement perſuadé que tout ce que je dis ſur ce ſujet eſt tout a fait degagée d'aucune partialité ou regard propre ou particuliere, car je prens hardiment Dieu a temoin que je ne voudrois pas conſentir de propos deliberé a rien qui fuſt prejudiciable au ferme eſtabliſſement du gouvernement de leurs Majeſtés et de la vraye religion, pour les plus grands avantages que je me puiſſe figurer au monde. Apres ces proteſtations, donné d'un cœur qui ne voudroit pas ſe rendre coupable d'une diſſimulation ſi criminelle, je croy qu'on ne tiendra pas pour ſuſpect ce que j'en ecris.

APPENDIX.

LETTERS RELATIVE TO MILITARY AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND IN THE YEARS 1689 & 1690.

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1. Instructions from the King for Major-General Mackay.

You are to command our forces that are to be in Scotland, and you ſhall take the advice and aſſiſtance of the Lord Melvill, to whom Wee have given inſtructions to that effect.

You ſhall ſtrenthen the regiaments ſent from hence for Scotland to number of marching foot in each company; and if you finde neceſſity, you ſhall levey more regiaments; and if the occaſions that may occur admitt not of a delay, you ſhall give commiſſions to officers that are to levey or command them.

If the Caſtle of Edinburgh be not rendered according to our former orders, you ſhall treat for the rendering of it; and if you finde need, you ſhall give aſſurance of indemnity to the Duke of Gordon, Lev^t Collonell Windrome, and to whom Wee have already ſent paſſes and protections; and you ſhall give ſuch other gratifications to ſuch as you ſee convenient, that the Caſtle may be put in the hands of confident perſons, both commander and ſouldiers. You ſhall doe the like for the Caſtle of Dunbarton.

If you finde that there will be a formed party againſt the kingdome and our intereſt, or a breach, or ane invaſion, you ſhall ſecure ſuch perſons as ſhall be the cheif movers therein, and ſeaſe upon ſerviceable horſes and armes, and ſhall call to your aſſiſtance all the well affected to religion, liberty, our intereſt, and the Nations ſafety.

2. Instructions from the King for the Lord Melvill.

You are to concurr in advice and direction in matters of war with the Commander in Cheife of our forces, in ordering theſe that are levyed, or in levying more if it be founde convenient; and if the occaſions may not admitte of delay, that he, with your advice, give commiſſions to the officers who ſhall levey or command them.

If there be neceſſity to ſecure perſons, that the Commander in Cheif doe the ſame with your advice.

If the Caſtle of Edinburgh be not rendered according to our former letters, you ſhall treat for the rendering of it, and give aſſurance of indemnity, if need bee, and ſuch other gratifications, to the Duke of Gordon and others, as you ſhall ſee fit; and that you doe the like as to the Caſtle of Dumbarton, and that you put theſe Caſtles in the hands of confident perſons both as to commanders and ſouldiers.

If you finde that there will be a formed party, or a breach, or ane invaſion, the Commander in Cheif, with your advice, ſhall ceaſe upon ſerviceable horſes and armes, as you ſee neceſſarie for the publick ſafety; and in that caſe, that he call all ſuch as you know to be well affected to religion and liberty, and to the intereſt of the Nation, to concurr with him in arms. Given at our Court at Hampton this 7th day of March 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

WILLIAM R.

3. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

Holyroodhous, 1 *June* 1689.

This morning I received the inclofed from General M'Kay, and did communicate it to the Lords of the Privie Counfell, who advifed the fending of itt by a flying packet to your Lordfhip to be communicate to his Majeftie, and likeways refolved on fecurreing in priffon the Lords Tarbat and Lovat; for on what the General Major has write, they thought they could do no les. Wee all conclude His Majeftie has ajurned the Parlament, haveing had no directions about itt, and the Members certenly beleiveing his Majeftie wold grant the defire of their letter. I beleive very few will be here the 5 of June. This morning a ferjeant, a corporall, and the 3 foldiers made their efcape out of the Caftle; they inform that garifon is in good condition ftill, and that the bombs had done litle hurt there, but fpoilled the roome where the Regifters lays, and prejudged them. All our new troops are ordered to march into Perthfhire to be nearer the orders and derections of the Major Generalls Mackay and Laneir, the laft being now at Perth.—I am, your Lordfhip's moft humble fervant,

HAMILTON.

4. [LORD MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.]

Blair, *June* 4, 1689, 12 *at Night*.

May it pleafe your Grace,

Having writt in my laft that I intended to goe out of this country yefterday, I think fitt to acquaint your Grace that I ftaide, on information that Dundee was marching this way to meet the party commanded by Ramfay, which, if he doe before they joine M'kai, I am afraid it goe hard

with them, and if Dundee gett the better, its too probable that many in this country, as well as in other places, woud run in to him, tho it were for nothing els but in hopes of plundering, to hinder which, and to ſtop Dundee's paſſaige if he ſhoud attempt to make a retreat thro this country, has made me ſtay and conveen the country about for that end, which is thought no ſmall matter, conſiddering the humours I found them in: above 300 of the beſt men in Atholl had tryſted to joine Dundee that day I came here, having been conſtantly invited to it by many agents; particularly the Laird of Strouan had receaved a letter from Dundee requiring him to joine him (having commiſſion as the King's Livetenant Genneral) with all his men and clan; accordingly he had advertiſed his own men, and had uſed his endeavour to gett alſo many of my fathers that were of his name to doe the ſame who were too far ingaged in it, but ſo ſoon as I came to the country I writt to him that I was informed that he had uſed his endeavours to entice my father's men from their maſter's ſervice, which if he did not immediatly come and diſown he might expect I woud treat him as ſuch bye methods deſerved; on which he is come here, and having promiſed never to offer to take any ſuch methods hereafter, but to joine himſelf and his men with me and my father's, which he has now done, and ſo I have paſſed it over, as I was forced to doe with many others that were too farr engaged, otherwiſe they had generally broke away, but now I think I may ſay they will not, without it be here and there ſome looſe men that have nothing to loſe out of hopes of plunder; I have alſo engaged the lairds of Weem, Aſhuntily, and Glenlyon and Faſcaly to joine with the Atholl men, which they are all very well ſatisfied to doe, for they can gett them much ſooner to take that cours then any other, and they were all breaking out to Dundee, and only waited till the Atholl men went, for here the weaker dare not take conterar courſes to the ſtronger leaſt they ſhoud deſtroy their goods and country; this is ſo true that I am certainly informed that our neighbours, the Badenoch men, tho they belong to the Duke of Gordon, woud never riſe with Dundee, tho he has been all this while in their country for fear of the Atholl

men, who, if they ſhould not joine too, wond deſtroy their country when they were away, ſo that Dundee has been forced to burn their houſes and take their goods; to ſave which ſome are gone to him, but the moſt part have not, but are now lying in the mountains with wives and children in a moſt pitifull condition, and that country is quite ruined. My Lord Dundee is ſtill there, not farr from the Caſtle of Ruthven, which he has burnt, and the ſmall gariſon was put in it by M^k^kai, did ſurrender, their lives being ſaved; M^k^kai, and he were within 2 miles yeſterday morning, M^k^kai always retiring as he advanced towards, and encamping in ſtrong ground, ſo that Dundee coud never attack; it ſeems M^k^kai has been waiting for more forces, which I doupt not but will now have joined him, or els Dundee has mett with the party went this way. I expect to heare an accompt every hour, having ſent ſeveral to wait Dundee's motions leaſt he ſurpriſe this country againe; if he be far from it I intend, if pleaſe God, to goe from this to-morrow after I have ſettled a gariſon here. I had ſent for ſome of the chief men in my intereſt in Balquhidder to be here this day, who I was informed had been tampered with to make them riſe with Perth's men, but they have engaged the conterar, but aſſures me that a Chamberlain of the Earle of Perth's, called Creichton, went privatly thro his intereſt, in Strathern, above Drummond, taken a particular liſt with the officer of all the fencible men in it; your grace ſhall have the firſt certain accompt I gett if they engadge, by an expreſs.

5. The Duke of Hamilton to Lord Melvill.

Holyroodhous, 8 *June* 1689.

Yeasternight I received your lordſhips of the 4th instant, with one to Generall Major Mackay, I did the ſame night ſend one to the weſt to diſpatch ſome to Irland for intelligence, and write tuo ſeverall ways to the captans of our ſhips to go to the coaſt of Irland to cruze there, and give the beſt account they could if there was any apearance of an inva-

ſion from thence, which, I am confident, there is litle fears of, iff itt be not by the French fleet, and it's very ſtrange if they can be able to come to our coaſts and land men, if there be an Engliſh and Dutch fleet att ſea as you write, but if they ſhould be able to land any conſiderable force wee ſhould be in an ill condition, conſidering how diſafected all the north is, and if wee ſhould abſolutly with all his forces recall Mackay befor he diſipats or beats Dundee, all that countrey generally, lowlands as well as highlands, wold be in arms with him, ſo, upon comunicating your letter to the Councill this morning, they thought it not fitt abſolutly to recall him, but leave it much to himſelf, and deſired him to ſend any of the Engliſh horſe that is with him to the weſt countrey, where they can be beſt provided with horſe meat, and moſt of our ouen new leveyed horſe wee intend ſhould go there alſo, and ſome regiments of our foot lays there and about Stirling, the reſt being in St Johnſton, Dundie, and about this place, beſide what is with Mackay, from whom wee have not heard ſince what I ſent you. The incloſed from my Lord Murray being the laſt neues wee have, which when you peruſe itt, you will ſee he has done the king good ſervice in theſe countries; I have likewiſe ſent you a letter directed to your ſon, all I can ad to itt is, that he is a very notable boy broght itt, and ſays Londondery was in a good condition when he came away to hold out for ſome time, but the letter I ſent you from Captain Rooke is ſince he came away. I am, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant,

HAMILTON.

6. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

From the head of Strathſpey,
the 13th June, 1689.

My Lord,

Since I finde that ther are ſom apprehenſions of invaſion from Ireland, I will diſpoſe myſelf for the ſouth with a parte of the forces I have here by

me, which join'd me but within fen dayes: the rebells are enter'd Lochaber againe, where I judged it not for the ſervice to follow them, becauſe here ther is no good wayes to be fourniſhed over all with proviſions, and without them no regullar body of forces can ſubſiſt together; I leave Colonel Levingſton and Sir James Leſlie with their regements in and about Inverneſſe, with two hundert of my Lord Levins till they be releeved by three companies of Leſlies which are cumming doun from Berwyck. I can aſſure your Lordſhip had I not been here to oppoſe the rebells theſe two tyms they deſcended ſince my north cumming, that the moſt parte benorth Tay had been by this tyme in oppen rebellion againſt his Majeſtie and the preſent government; what ſhall now be the turn of affaires when I goe ſouth, I cannot as yet judge, but I hop God will compleet the delyvranc which he hath wrought this far for his oppreſſed people, and make the reigne of our preſent ſouverains abound in proſperitie and peace; I judge that it may be prejudiciall for the preſent ſervice, that their is no fond of money in Scotland, at leaſt for the punctuall payment of his Majeſties forces upon the Engliſh foot; withall the officers not receiving payment of a long tyme occaſions ſom grumblings among them, which your Lordſhip may take your own way to repreſent. I ſent the party of my Lord Colcheſter's regement of hors ſouth already; the officers and troopers are very well affected to the ſervice, but they loſt many horſes, which I hop his majeſtie will conſider, for, though ther hath been no great bloodſhed, they have don good ſervice, to be of the number of litle more than 400, which, by God's direction, brock the meſures of a diſaffected numberous people, and 200 of thoſe diſcover'd after to be partly infected and coreſponding with our enemys, not to us, therefor but to God (who hath hitherto bleſſed the juſte arms of our ſouverains) be the praiſe; if aſſiſtance from Ireland could be hinder'd, I queſtion not but thoſe Highlanders wold ſoon weary of it, but ſo long as they have any hops of that, they will not be ſo fond of propoſitions, becauſe they will judge themſelves in bad circumſtances with the preſent government by what they have don already; the Marquis of Athole doth not play faire, for his countrey is

very diſaffectedly diſpoſed. I hop you ſhall take meſures to keep from us ſuch as might augment our troubles. Tarbat hath not don in my oppinion neither what he ought and could doe, neither among his own relations or others with whom he had great credit. I am ſtill of oppinion that an act of indemnitie wold doe much to quiet the ſpirit of ſuch as feare after reckonings; a great parte of the Lord Lovet's men have been with the rebells at this tyme in all the north, I know of no familys wee can make ſtate on, except my Lords Strathnaver, Reay and Forbes, with the laird of Grant, and a gentleman of the name of Gordon intituled Edinglaſſie, ſhirif of the ſhire of Bamf, is very forward and zealous for the preſent government: I will eſſay Locheyl yet ons, though I have no great oppinion of his ſincerity; ther hath been a flying report this day as if ſom veſſels were cum to Inderlochy, but no aſſurance as yet thereof; your Lordſhip may reſt fully aſſured that by the ſtrength of the Moſt High, (in whom I truſt and not to my own underſtanding or direction) that I ſhall do faithfully as before God, all that lyes in mee for th' advancement of their Majeſties ſervice, and mantenance of the proteſtant religion, without the leaſt ſelf-regarde, having no other ambition, then the ſeeing of that intereſt once well eſtabliſhed and ſecur'd; I ſhall ad no farther then that I am unfeignedly, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

7. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

Holyroodhous, 14 *June*, 1689.

Since the laſt I ſent your lordſhip, from the Major Generall M'Kay, wee had none untill this directed to the Counſell which come late laſt night, which gives a full account of his proceedings, ſo I need ad nothing to itt but that the priſſoners mentioned therein are not yett come, and that wee ſhould deſire to know as ſoon as poſſible his Majeſtie's pleaſur

and directions as to them. Laſt night the Caſtle of Edinburgh was delivered up on capitulation by the Duke of Gordon, the copy of the artikles that Sir John Lanier agried on with him, and the Counſells ratification therof, is here incloſed ſent. I have likeways ſent your lordſhip the depoſitions of two men that are laſt come from Irland, which are the lateſt neues wee have. Sir George M'Kenzie, late Advocat, is gone to England; I have ſent yow a letter he write me which I received after he was gone; he is a member of our Parlament, and it is thoght ſtrange he ſhould have gote the King's leave to go now when the Parlament is to meet, which is like to be a very thin meeting, and I ſhould be glade to know the King's pleaſure what he thinks fitt ſhall be done as to thoſe that abſents, and will not come to the Parlament. I have write once or tuice to your lordſhip ſince I heard from you; I intreat for particulare anſwers to what is write to you by your Lordſhips moſt humble ſervant,

HAMILTON.

8. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord, *Inverneſs*, 14 *June*, 1689.

Being in haſte when I wrot my laſt from the head of Strathſpey, I forgot to mention the laird of Balnagowen, the chief of the name of Roſſe, who is a man of good following and hath teſtified all the zeale and forwardneſſe which could be expected of the moſt and beſt affected for his Majeſtie's ſervice and the preſent government; upon my deſyre the Comittie of Eſtates did ſend him a commiſſion of ſhirif principall for the ſhire of Roſſe, and becauſe I know that others who are neither ſo capable to doe his Majeſtie ſervice nor to exerciſe that charge, will be putting in for it, I judged it expedient to advertis your lordſhip that he may be continued therein by his Majeſtie, it being an affront, inſtead of favour, which he deſerves by his readyneſſe to all things that I commanded him for his Majeſtie's ſervice, if he ſhould be put out. Nixt Seaforth he is the conſiderableſt man in Roſſe for the mater of following, ſo I

pray your lordſhip may repreſent to the King that he may be continued, for non other can take ſo ill the not geting of it as he the being put out of the poſſeſſion of it. I have ſent to Lochaber to know what the rebells are a doeing, they are ſeperat ons as my former did mention; all the forces I had north after the junction of Ramsay and the two Engleſh regements wold make litle more then 2000 men, and the combin'd Highlanders can make 3000, beſydes as many more that wold quickly joyn them if ons they had ſom advantage; the Highlanders are abſolutly the beſt untrained men in Scotland, and can be equal'd to our new levies though they were beter armed then they are, perticullarly thoſe Highlanders we have in head; I will nevertheleſſe labour to ſetle things ſo that the general intereſt of the ſervice may be ſecur'd here, though I with a parte of the forſaid troupes goe ſouth, but ſom perticullar men may cum to ſuffer, perticullarly the Laird of Grant, at whom they have a great prejudice, as well as at the reſt of our friends, but he lyes the moſt expoſed of all, but if the whole be ſaved, the perticular breaches may be eaſily made up. I ſhall be obliged to ſtay ſom feu days here both that I may conſider what places are moſt expedient to be takin in poſſeſſion, and that the noiſe of my ſuddain march from this bring not the rebells ſo quickly together again to fall down upon theſe countreys, though I leave double the number of regular forces of what I had againſt the ſame enemy; ſo that I hop things may be well eneugh ſecur'd, if nothing cum from Ireland. God I hop will put a happy end to all, to his glory and the ſecurity of his ſalutary truth to us and our ſucceſſours under the government of their Majeſties and theirs. I am, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

A place of ſecurity made at Inerlochy for a gariſon of 600 men, (which cannot be undertaken without former proviſion of things neceſſary, and ſix weekes ſure tyme to end it,) wold, (with a ſmall body of the lyck number at Inverneſſe,) make thoſe Highlands as peaceable as Muray.

9. Major General Mackay to the Duke of Hamilton.

From Badenoch, a mile from the rebells camp, 1689.

May it pleafe your Grace,

I have received your Grace's, together with the letters of the Comitty; but fince my laft things look more drumly here. My orders and directions to Ramfay have been intercepted in Athole, and the poft imprifoned, till they advertifd the rebelled Highlanders of the faid Ramfay's march; wherevpon they, with the Lord Dundie, marched in all diligence to hinder his junction with me, of which though I could not be advertif'd, yet, receiving an expres from Colonel Ramfay, fignifieing his approach to Badenoch, I marched imediatly thither with the feu forces I had by me, affifted with fom Highlanders, to the number in all of 700 men; but at my approach I had notice from the garifon of Ruven, that Ramfay, upon the report of the Highlanders' march, was returned back, and that they were enterd the Strath, that is, Dundee, Locheyl, Glengarie, Kepoch, and feverall other lairds of fmaller following; but of their number the reports was fo various by fuch as I imployed, that no ftate was to be made on them; whervpon, finding that Ramfay was turned away from the way of Badenoch, I changed my march, and came in to the head of Strathfpey, thinking that he wold never venture to turn wholy back, knowing how much I preffed his march as neceffary for the fecurity of the fervice, but rather to take it lower, for feare of a greater power in his way; but, after I had made a long tour of about thirtie myl, and marched 24 houres without halt, fo well to joyn him as to cover his march, (being advanced within two mile of the ennemy, and betwixt them and him, if he had taken his march to Strathfpey, as I concluded, finding him to have changed from that of Badenoch,) this day I am from all partes of Strathfpey informed that ther is no word of his march in or about that countrey. It feems he hath taken the allarme too hot, for 'tis certain that he might have been at

Invernes before Dundie and his aſſociatts had touched the Breys of Badenoch; for he was on the 24th neare Ruven, and that they enter'd Badenoch but the 26th. They allarmed him purpoſly in Athole, as I am informed. What raiſon he might have propoſed to himſelf for ſuch a dangerous ſtep as to change his ſupperiour's orders, to the manifeſt hazard of the quiet of [the] kingdom, I cannot tell. One thing I can aſſure your Grace, that his not joyning with mee hath extreamely alterd the face of affaires; for otherwyſe I could eaſily have beat or chaſſed the rebells, without the leaſt hazard of the ſervice, being fortified with ſuch a body of foot; wheras now I finde them lodged where my hors can be of no value to me, and all the old foot wee have is but 200, ſo that, without a manyfeſte hazard to the ſervice, I cannot reſolve to attack them there, the more that they are, by all information I can get, conſiderably the ſtrongeſt, which I wold not value if I could bring them to plain ground. The rebells expects the junction of the Athole, Mar, and Badenoch men, beſydes Brad-Albin, Macdonald of the Iſles, Macleud, the Mackenzies, and Catneſſe, if things goe favorably for them. I had almoſt forgot the Fraſers, who refuſed abſolutely to join with me, becauſe they had no commands from their chief, and that one Kinaris, a papiſt, (who, though otherwyſe a civill perſon, can't be truſted in this mater,) hath the greateſt direction of his affaires. The Marqueſſe of Athole might have don much to a prevented all this diſorder, if he had been ſo much for the Proteſtant religion and the intereſt of King William and Queen Mary, as his Lordſhip was pleaſed to proteſt more than once ſolemnly to mee. And I believe my Lord Tarbet doth not ſo much as he ſhould, either for diſpoſing well his own family, or other Highland chiefs, by whom his advyce is of great eſteem. God forgive them all that wold bring in Popery and the violenteſt of all perſecutions (French and Iriſh) upon theſe nations. Now I have given your Grace a full detail of the ſtate of affaires in the north. Beſydes that litle good is to be expected of all benorth Tay, all the well-affected familys being in ſmall numbers beſydes the others, I am informed Mar's men have diſobeyd his order to take arms for the Government. The 600 men un-

der Ramſay, if they had joyn'd me according to my order and direction, had prevented diſorders which happily 10,000 men will have enough to doe to quiet, if they of the contraire party vnderſtand to ſerve themſelves of the occaſion. To remedie thoſe diſorders ſo much as poſſible, I have orderd north Sir James Leſly's regement of foot, and Berckley's of dragowns; therefore, if the ſtate of affaires requires others in their place, your Grace may deſyre Sir John Laniere to call for ſo many. My oppinion is, that a good body be lodged at St. Johnſton, and another at Dundie, whereof a parte hors in both places; and that the hous of Blair of Athole be gariſoned; for if they ſhould offer to hold it out it may be forced by a pettard, wherof wee brought ſom from England. When your Grace and the Convention ſhall have read this leter, I pray you ſend it to Court, that his Majeſtie may ſee how things ſtands as they appeare to me at preſent, declairing before God that I have no prejudice againſt any man, otherwyſe than that I cannot diſſemble what I think amiſſe of men's cariage in ſuch a juſte and chriſtian cauſe, for which wee ought to eſteeme it a happyneſs to ſacrifiſe all temporall conſiderations freely and cheerfully. It is abſolutly my oppinion more forces ſhould be without delay call'd down, and in ſuch number that the declar'd as well as the diſſembling diſaffected diſpair of a favorable ſucces to their criminall deſeyns; and ſo long as the deſigne of Ireland is not put in execution, they cannot be better imploy'd then to terrifie the ill affected here, and make them deſpair of their hop. I am, may it pleaſe your Grace, your Grace's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

H. Mackay.

I judge fitt that my Lord Leven's regement, with too troops of the new levies, be preſently ſent to Dundie, till more forces can be poſted on that countrey. This morning I had information from Inverneſſe, that the Lord Lowet's men have his orders to joyn Clevers. What truth is in it

I cannot tell; but 'tis not fit thofe Lords be permitted to joyn their men. If the heads be fecured, the men will act but flowly.

For His Grace my Lord Duke of Hamilton,
Prefident of the Convention of the Eftates,
Edinbrugh.

10. LORD MELVILL TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it pleafe your Grace, 18 *Junij.*

Between nyn and ten of the cloake laft night at Hamptown Court, I received yours of the 14 inftant by a flying packet, in which was a letter from Gen. Major Mackay to the Councell, a copy of the artickles between the Duke of Gordon and Sir John Lanier, with the Councells ratification, the depofitions of two men from Irland, and a letter to the King, all which I caried immediatly to his Majeftie. I was in hopes this day to have received his Majefties directions for anfwering feverall particulars of your Graces letter, but he came from his clofet in the morning ftreight to the City, wher I followed him, and have attended all day for an opportunity of fpeaking with his Majeftie, but he was fo much taken upe in the Councell and threafury that I could not, only I put him in mind as he was going; fo foon as I fhall receive his Majefties commands I fhall fignifie his Majefties pleafure as to the particulars you wrett off to your Grace. Befor I receaved your Graces letter, I knew not that Sir George Mackenzie had gott a pafs.

His Majeftie has given a commiffion appointing ten of the Lords of Councell and Seffion, a lift quhairof is heir inclofed to your Grace. The comiffion is fent to my Lord Craford as precedent of the Parliament, he being apoynted to take ther oaths. I received ane letter from the Earl of Crafourd in name of the Counfell, relating to the fending of armes and amonitione, and to ane war with France; to which I mead returne to his Lordfhip foe fare as I received his Majefties command, &c.

11. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it pleaſe your Grace, *Elgin, 27th of June*, 1689.

The raiſon I ſtay'd ſo long in north is apparant, by what hath occurred ſince my coming hither; firſt, if your Grace conſider what ſmall number of forces were in Scotland when I came north, conſiſting in the mater of 1200 foot I brought from England, Levingſton's regiment of dragoons the mater of 180, proven ſince to be ill compoſed as to the moſt parte of officers, and ſcarcely as many of the Lord Colceſter's regiment of hors, in all about 1560 ſtanding forces, which was the occaſion I came ſo ſlenderly accompanyed. Your Grace knowes that I was reſolved to ſtay but a fortnights away, having no other thought at that tyme, then to put the Lord Dundie from forming a party in the Duke of Gordon's countreys; to which end, and that ther might be ſure wayes lay'd for rendering his retrait difficult to him, I order'd the Laird of Grant to departe preſently for his countrey, to ſend men down Spey to hinder the ſaid Lord's paſſage over to morrow, when my approach ſhould allarme him; I gave the ſame orders to my Lord Mar for the paſſages of his countrey, as alſo to the Marques of Athole for his; Grant ſtay'd too long at Edinborg after my departure from thence; Mar was taken with ſieckneſſe, but what Athole's excuſe may be (after his ſolemn proteſtations to me of his reſolution to venture perſon and all for the Proteſtant religion, and the mantenance of the government under King William and Queen Mary) I know not, notwithſtanding wee ſaw that no countrey in Scotland favour'd the rebells more than his Lordſhips did, not only by giving free paſſage to the Lord Dundie, and treating him and thoſe of his party kindly, but alſo by ſeizing my poſts and leters, and ſending them to the ennemy to take his meaſures thereby. When then your Grace and the Councel ſhall ſerioufly conſider (as I ſaid before) the ſmall number of fenſible forces as then in

the kingdom, that benorth Tay (excepting a very feu familys which wold be forced to dryve with the ſtreame) all was in a generall diſaffection to the preſent government, and that I found preſently a conſiderable beginning of a party formed in arms beyond my expectation, you may eaſily judge of the reſt, if they had not met with preſent oppoſition, and if that ſnowball had rolled fourth and ingroſſed (as doubtleſs it wold ad on very quickly) the levies which now are prety well advanced, had been fruitleſſe in many parts of the kingdom; ſo much for the firſt Highland interpriſe; at the ſecond tyme their party was beter formed, and preſumed upon my ſmall number, the intelligence they had with my own people, and Ramſay's unſaiſonable contremarch, which cannot, nevertheleſſe, be much blamed in him, finding my orders and directions to him intercepted, and knowing that whole countrey of Athole to be ill-affected and ready to joyn with the ennemy. Of the reſt of that affaire I gave your Grace and the Pryvy Councell account already, ſo that I conclude that the peace which the kingdom doth enjoy as yet, and which, with God's aſſiſtance, we are able now to maintaine beter then at that tyme, may vnder God (whoſe work and direction it was) be attributed to the number of 450 regullar forces which I caryed north, whereof almoſt the half eſteemed favourers of the ennemy more then of us, by the corruption of their officers, ſo that we may ſee by what ſmall means God ſomtymes overturns great deſeyns; for I cannot perſuade myſelf otherwayes than that this plot was forged at Edinburg, in the brains of men of greater intereſt and influence upon the Highlanders than the Lord Dundie, which, if it be, I wiſh God may detect ſo great a villanie, that by the puniſhment of a feu, the peace and happyneſſe of Britaine, in the enjoyment of their religion and libertys, may be eſtabliſhed, and if otherways, their innocencie may appear ſo that they may not reſt under ſuſpition, nor we ſin in ſuſpecting them if innocent. I had then after my return from Baidenoch to Indernefſe reſolved to make ſom halt in the north, notwithſtanding I had certain intelligence that Dundie had not above forty hors, and the mater of 3 or 400 foot with him, both that I might have fuller aſſurances of the names of Mac-

kenzie, Frafer and Macpherfons, and knowing that the combyned Highlanders for the moft parte lay fo contiguous, that they could quickly gather vpon feu dayes advertifment; the forfaid names came to no final ingadgement with me, whereon I can lay any ftreffe according to my judgement, the moft parte of their following confifting in Highlanders, whereof the heads of familys no more then Seaforth's brother came not neare mee, and though Redcaftel, Coul, Tulloch, and others came, they fell not upon final methods, but protefted a great deale of affection for the caufe, fo far as their intereft (which is fmall in following, and of no good men for arms) can goe; the name of Frafer met, but in my oppinion are not to be much trufted, except their Lord were more throw ftick, for when they had wryten two or three lynes of a generall anfwer to his leter, when I wold have it alter'd according to the coppie I fend your Grace here inclofed, they refufed it; my Lord Lovet directed his leter to three perfons, whereof one was actually with all the men he could make with Dundie the laft tyme he was down the countrey, and the other two have neither confiderable intereft, following nor willingnefs, fo that though they promifed to fournifh three hundred men vpon a call, I know not what ftate can be made vpon them; and the Macpherfons who ftented their country to furnifh two hundred men to the ennemy againft me, have given me no affurances. Notwithftanding, (being vncertain of maters in Ireland, and at fea, and judging fo well by the Lord Secretary's leter as your Graces, that ther was fom apprehenfions of invafion in the weft of Scotland, or at leaft that men were not fo punctually informed of maters there as need were,) I refolved to leave Colonel Levingftoun and Colonel Leflie with their regiments, and the detachments of Levin and Haftings, in the north, which make a 1000 men in all, and to goe fouth with the eight hondert foot detached out of our three regiments, and Berckleys dragoons. Befydes the 1000 men at Inverneffe, I left a garifon at Braan and Cultayleud of a 100 men each, of my Lord Reays and Balnagowen's men, vnder a Captain and Lieutenant each honder, the Captain 4fh. a day, and the Lieutenant 2fh. and 6 pence for each fouldier fo long

till they be difcharged, for which I promifed to obtain precept from your Grace, which I pray your Grace may be fent upon Baillie Duff for two months, that they fhall be in pay the 8 July nixt. Ther was of my Lord Reay's men about 400 when the Highlanders came down laft; of my Lord Strathnavers' men, with the fix companies of his regiment, ods of 600, (whereof 398 belonging to his regiment,) and of Balnagowen's men 300, all thofe fupply men were fent away at my return, (excepting fuch as belonged to my Lord Strathnavers' regiment,) and had only fom meal allowed them vpon the publique account, but the 200 of Mackay and Balnagowen were with mee in the hills, and ftill fince I came north.

Now, being cum the length of this town, where I was to take the detachment of the 3 regiments, and the dragowns of Berckley, which I fent a fortnight agoe to Strathboggy in my way, I had this morning the inclofed letters from Colonel Levingfton, the Lord Strathnaver and Balnagowen, which I find not ftrenge, having allwayes fufpected, that upon my motion fouthward they would draw together again; now I find myfelf obliged to expect the certaintie of this fomwhere hereabouts, to the end I may not loofe the fruit of all my former labour, (though, I thanck God for it, wee are now better provided for their interprifes then when I came north,) for certainly, notwithftanding of the obliging meafures I take with all men, I find as much raifon to doubt of men as ever before, if they fonnd the occafion favorable. I have wryten feverall tyms, fo well to to your Grace as to the officers commanding the forces in my abfenc, that my opinion was, that more forces fhould be fent to Argyles fhire, which wold divert the combined Highlanders from falling fo troublefom to the north; for here they expect the moft formidable party, as certainly they have the greateft number of favourers in thefe norther fhires, who doe not believe there are fo many forces on foot in Scotland, fince nothing appears againft the rebels but the fmall party I had with me before the junction of Ramfay and the two Englifh regements: Nor yet doth it appeare but fmall, fince nothing els makes head againft them. It is therefore my opinion, to your Grace and the Privy Council, (to which his Ma-

jeſlie refers himſelf much as to the direction of matters in this kingdom) that a body of eighteen hundert foot, and a hundert and fiftie hors, or a hundert at leaſt, (comprehending the forces which might be ſent there already, whereof I am uncertain) be commanded to the foreſaid ſhire, not counting Argyle's own regement, which will be of no greater uſe then I find my Lord Strathnavers and Grants here in their own countreys, unarmed and undiſciplined, which body will keep thoſe Highlanders at home; and if they ſhould venture a march to the north, ſhall fall in and deſtroy their countreys. It will moreover be a bridle to Athole's and Braidalbin's countreys, and well poſted to march quickly, and help to oppoſe a landing in any place in Scotland where wee may have greateſt apprehenſion, and the ennemy greateſt appearance of effectuating it. A conſiderable body in the north cannot ſo quickly joyn for ſuch an oppoſition, but that in Argyles ſhire can in feu dayes march to any place in the weſt. The foreſaid body ought to be of the new levies, of the beſt armed, and moſt advanced in diſcipline. I believe my Lord Anguſe's regement wold doe well there; for I find, by experience, that neither the Engliſh nor Scots ſtrenger troopes can ſubſiſt upon meal and other victuals, which can be furniſhed for ſuch occaſions, as the men of the country, and ſuch as are newly levied. There muſt be a proviſor ſent with them who ſhall have care to get the meal fourniſhed without fail, ſee it diſtributed and ſhortned of their pay; as alſo to diſtribut fleſh three or four days a-week, according to the ſame method. Ther ought alſo order to be ſent to Baillie Duf at Indernefſe, colectour of the accyſe, as well as of the revenues of the crown lands in Roſſe, to have meal in magaſin at Indernefſe, and to deput a man along with the forces, to anſwer to the government for the diſtribution thereof to the forces, and that it be duely ſhortned of their pay, to the end the troupes be regullarly provided, whereby the ſervice may be advanced, and the government be at no loſſe theireby. And that thoſe proviſors, with their deputs, may doe the ſervice diligently and cheerfully, they ought to have ſom allowance for their pains; feu men now a dayes being ſo diſintreſted as to doe their duty upon a principle of conſcience,

without ſelf regarde. Your Grace and the Privy Councell, in my opinion, ſhould preſently appoint a commity of the councell to weigh thoſe conſiderations, and being found neceſſary for the ſafty and peace of the kingdom, order the preſent putting them in execution. To the committy might be joyned Sir John Laniere and the Brigadier Balfour, to heare their advice of matters; for if the Rebells move down again, as the letters which I ſend here incloſed ſeem to import, I cannot, without expoſing the north, leave it, notwithſtanding that I believe I might be of ſome uſe there. There ought alſo, during theſe troubles, horſes to be appoynted at Brunſtland, Dundie, Montros, Aberdene and ſo to Inverneſſe, upon the publick charges, for the quick paſſage of the expreſſes, which wold be of ſmall charges and great vſe. The ſame method ought to be uſed for all places where a conſiderable part of the forces are poſted, otherwayes orders and advices are very uncertain and longſom, whereby the ſervice may run a notable hazard. As to the officers I ſent ſouth, in my opinion they cant but be guilty; and all what is of the matter, the dragowns, who, by their own confeſſion, deſerve death, know it in all appearance, perticularly Provenſal, who was the Lieutenant Colonel's ſervant and ſerjent for many years. It were neceſſary that fellow, with the other dragowns, were put to the torture, and Lieutenant Murray deſerves it by the confeſſion of the ſerjent and one of the dragowns. If torture be juſt in any caſe it is in this; and ſince law allows it, why ſhould it not be uſed in a matter ſo eſſentiall to the ſervice, and of ſuch a pernicious conſequence if it had taken intended effect. It is for the ſervice it were ſoon diſcuſſed, and well affected officers placed vpon the head of thoſe men, who in that caſe, I am perſuaded, will doe the ſervice well. If your Grace deſyres I be ſouth, let the forces mentioned be quickly diſpached to the weſt Highlands; and then, when I am there, I ſhall help to take meaſures for the further ſettlement of the peace of the kingdom. I have, in the mean tyme, order'd ſom meal in magaſin at Indernesſe, and cauſed ſecure all the meal at Caſtel Gordon, (where the Duke's men keept gariſon hitherto againſt the government) as well as at Strathboggy, for the forces, if occaſion be

for it. I beg your Grace may let me quickly know what ſhall be refolved vpon this information and advyce of, May it pleafe your Grace, your Grace's moſt humble and moſt obedient fervant,

H. Mackay.

I pray your Grace, after communication to the Privy Councel, that this leter may be fent to court by a flying packet; becaufe I can't poffibly wryt many fuch long accounts of matters. A coppie may be keept of it if your Grace and the councell think it of vfe for your mefures.

This inclofed I got prefently from Cluny Macpherfon, chief of that Clan, which I fend your Grace. I believe that he is not ill inclined, and will cum to his duty, though feare made them ftand of hitherto.

12. The King to David Earl of Leven and Major General Mackay.

WILLIAM R.

Right trufty and welbeloved Coufin and Councellor, and right trufty and welbeloved Councellor, Wee greet you well. Whereas, Wee underftand that divers of our fubjects, efpecially in the North and Weft Highlands in that our ancient Kingdome being difaffected, doe daily affociate themfelves in open Rebellion againft Us, and being informed that the generality of them are mifled by a few perfons who are the Cheifs or heads of the feverall Clanns. And Wee being willing and defirous to prevent the effufion of blood, and, if poffible, by all gentle means, to reduce our faid fubjects to their due obedience; Therefore Wee doe hereby Authorife and require you forthwith to ufe your beft endeavours to effectuate the fame; and in order thereunto to capitulate with thofe who are judged the Cheifs and Heads of the Clanns, or Leaders of any Parties now in armes againft Us, Giving them affurance of our gracious pardone, if in

due time (prefcribed to them by you) they fubmit themfelves to our mercy, and give furety for the future to demean themfelves as loyall fubjects. As alfo you are to make them fuch offers and propofalls as fhall be communicated to you by George Lord Melvill our Secretary of State for that our Kingdome, whofe letters to you anent the premiffes, Wee require you to obferve and rely upon as from our felfe. And fo Wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Hampton Court, the 10th day of July 1689, and of our Reigne the firft year.

By his Majefties command,

MELVILL.

To our right trufty and welbeloved Coufin and Councellor David Earle of Leven, and our right trufty and welbeloved Councellor Major Generall Mackay, Commander in chief of our Forces in our ancient Kingdom of Scotland.

13. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord, *Edinbruch, the 20th July* 1689.

The Mafter of Forbes, who fince my goeing north hath given fingular proofs of his great zele and affection for their Majefties' fervice, hath refpefented unto me, that during the two late reigns the Duc of Gordon hath got from my Lord Forbes his father the fuperiority of a great many of his own and his friends lands, which the faid Lord parted with rather then be in difputs with the faid Duc, in a tyme when he himfelf and his famyly were look'd down upon, as not ready in all things to comply with the defynes of thofe tyms; therefor fince the faid Dukes lyf and fortune are at his Majeftie's pleafure, he judgeth it not unbecomming to labour by a marck of his Majefties favour, (which I can affure your Lordfhip he deferves as much as any I know in Scotland,) to have the fuperiority of

all his own and his friends lands which doe hold of the Duke of Gordon, to the end he may be in better capacity to appeare more formidable for their Majeſties ſervice; which conſideration, with the credit to deppend of none but the king, is the only raiſon of his ſolicitation, and my earneſt intreaty that your Lordſhip, (when the King in his own tyme may judge fit to reſtore the Duke of Gordon and pardon his former faults,) would have the goodneſſe to order maters ſo that his Majeſtie may gratifie ſo worthie a perſon with the grant of ſo raiſonable a demande, which is more for his Majeſties ſervice then any advantage to him, for it will not be ten pieces yearly in his pocket. I wiſh the Duke of Gordon's famyly well becauſe of an ancient friendſhip betwixt it and ours, but I prefer ſuch as are zelous for the Proteſtant intereſt, and the advancement of my maſters ſervice, (of which I may call myſelf now a competent judge, having tryed the puls of moſt men in the north,) to any conſideration of perticullar friendſhip. It is a thing in the King's hand, and which he may doe with all the juſtice in the world, and will not leſſen the Duke of Gordon's eſtate, and you know, my Lord, that it is fit ſuch perſons as venture freely and cheerfully lyf and fortune for his Majeſtie's ſervice ſhould receive ſom marks of his royall favour, perticullarly when it can be don at ſo cheap a rate. I find this parliament not lyk to jump with the intentions of the king. I believe their greateſt grudge is at my Lord Preſident of the Seſſion and his ſon for ought is pretended as yet, for ſom of them have been ſpeaking to me of the mater. The Lord Advocat and your ſon the maſter have this evening been conſulting with me, whether to evit one of two inconveniences, (that is to cheque his Majeſtie's choice of miniſters, or to hinder the ſetlement of the kingdom in civil and church government,) it were not neceſſary that his Majeſtie ſhould beſtow ſomthing upon Duke Hamilton, which might attach him wholly to his Majeſtie's intereſt, who certainly if he be faithfully informed, will never ſtreik or ſcreu up the royall prerogative beyond the juſt limits eſtabliſhed by law. But 'tis not fit nor ſaf he ſhould pairt with what the law provydes him to. The moſt new levyed forces are of the

weſt countreys, and thoſe who are contrairie to their principles, and apprehend the rigour of their government, wee have no great raiſon as yet to lay much ſtreſſe on; therefor if the Commiſſioner can remove difficultys betwixt the King and his parlement, I thinck a good charge ſhould be well beſtowed upon him, and if therafter he ſhould not be found ſo ſerviceable, the King is always maſter of his favours. For certainly there is a great inconvenience, in my oppinion, to be expected from proroguing the parlement without ſetling either of a church government or a Coledge of Juſtice, and no leſſe from continuing of them in a croſſe humour. How far their pretenſions doe conſiſt with law I am ignorant of, but one thing I believe, that if this parliament, by a mutinous diſpoſition of ſom leading members, ſhould obtain their end, it might prove of bad example; but certainly if they had right on their ſyde it were worthie the greatneſſe of the King to give their clame a favourable hearing; therefor, my Lord, I pray you to have a ſpeciall care his Majeſtie be put upon nothing that may ſeeme to be a ground of aſperſion to the ennemys of his government, for his Majeſtie is ſuppoſed, by ſuch as appear againſt his inſtructions, a ſtranger to your conſtitutions; and though, in my judgement their hates and delayes of the maters of greateſt moment be inexcuſable, I finde them nevertheleſſe allwayes making great proteſtations of affection and fidelity to his Majeſties ſervice. The officers of dragoons which I ſent here priſoners have confeſſed guilt, and throws themſelves at his Majeſties feet, confeſſing their lyves and fortunes to be at his royall pleaſure, ſo that all their hopes are in his Majeſties royall clemencie, perticullarly Lieutenant Colonel Levingſton, whoſe greateſt guilt ſeems to lye in the concealing of the plot of others, for none doth teſtifie that ever he conſented to joyn the ennemy; but though his Majeſtie ſhould incline to pardon them, I wold be of oppinion they ſhould be ſecured till things be better ſettled in the kingdom. I doe not know if I can be preſent at the councell of war, for I ſent the forces which I deſigne againſt the rebells on their way ſo far at St Johnſton, and ſhall follow them by the way of Sterling to ſee that place and the importance thereof, where I leave a good body of forces ready to

march where his Majefties fervice fhall require, with Sir John Laniere and Balfour to command them; it were fit the twelve troops newly levied were regimented; Annandaile and Roffe feems to be the expectants, they are both prety men and were forward to fettle the crown upon their Majefties; what may be their raifon to joyn with the jangling party now I cannot tell; haply this mark of his Majefties favour might break them of. Ther are feverall expreffe boats fent to Loch Foyl, to advertis his Majefties fhips there of the invafion by their negligence made by thofe three fhips. I cannot learn by the report of fuch as came from Belfaft, that ther is great appearance of the cumming of any more: a couple of frigats upon this north coft and towards the Ifle of Skye, wold contribut much to fubdue the rebellion. I am, my Lord, your Lordfhips moft humble and obedient fervant,

H. Mackay.

14. Major-General Mackay to Lord Melvill.

My Lord, *Edinburgh the 22 July* 1689.

I fend your Lordfhip a copie of the examination of the officers and dragouns of Colonel Levingftons regiment; I am jufte now going for Sterling, and from thence to St. Johnfton, in order to march againft Dundie and the Highlanders; it feems they will have a laft pull for it, for in their own mynds I doe beleeve that this fmall fuccour will more difcouradge fort of them, more then it will raife their hops. I wold willingly know for what pofts thofe 3300 pounds are to be fent from Berwyck; ther is no money cum as I fee for your fons regement, and I doe not know if ther be any for Livingfton; if ther be none for the Earle of it might be pay'd to Mr. Foulis at London, who wold caufe it be pay'd to the faid Earle or his order. If the King put out Balnagowen I judge it not at this tyme the intereft of his fervice, for I declare fince I went north that none could fhew himfelf more zealous and forward for the

prefent Government, and the contrarie I faw of others; Foulis is an honeft man and my coufin, but he is not very fit for fuch a charge, nor hath not the third parte of that intereft of men that Balnagowen hath. I could wifh your Lordfhip did take methods to ingadge Duke Hamilton cordially in the Kings fervice, and concert things with him, for he cannot be well wanted at this tyme, for ther are great incroachments defyned as it would appeare, though the main dryvers proteft great fincerity for their Majefties fervice, and none can fo well renvers them as the faid Duke; I beleeve the great fpeat runs againft Staires and his fon, for fom men declared that if they wer in the Government the King could not expect this Parlement right; this I wryt only for your Lordfhip's advertifment according as things are reprefented to mee, it lying otherwayes out of my road. I am, my Lord, your Lordfhips moft humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

15. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Sterling the 24th July* 1689.

I am this far towards the Highlands; it is not an eafie commiffion that the King hath given mee to keep a kingdom peaceable where ther is fo much divifion even betwixt fuch as love the prefent Government, that it hinders the neceffary expedition of thofe things which in my judgement preffes moft, that is to reduce the Rebells, in fo far that the Earle of Annandale and the Lord Roffe offer'd to lay down their commiffions rather then quit the Parlement to goe with mee to the feelds; protefting all fidelity and affection to their Majefties and their Government, and readyneffe to follow my orders to that end, if the neceffity of attending the hous did not oblige them to the contrarie at this tyme. My Lord they are extreamly jealous of my Lord Prefident of the Seffion; I wifh it breed no jealoufies of his Majefties Government in the fpirit of his fubjects, perticullarly of that party which I hold to be the fureft for the King, and

certainly my Lord, though Stairs and his ſon were wholy innocent of what they alleage upon them, I wold think it both their prudence and chriſtian duty to withdraw of their own accord to let paſſe thoſe heats rather then to imbark his Majeſtie in the leaſt difficulty or miſunderſtanding with his people; for they are perſuaded that the tyme of their full delyvrance from the ſlavery which was impoſed upon them by the Miniſters of State during the late reignes is cum, if his Majeſtie were rightly informed, who they believe intends nothing but juſtice and equity. Theſe are their words and proteſtations, which I pray your Lordſhip to repreſent to the King; for as I never imagin to myſelf any conſiderable advantages in the world, and ſerving mainly out of affection to their Majeſties ſervice and government, which goe hand in hand with the mantenance of the Proteſtant Religion, I never reſolve to flatter ſuch as may poſſeſſe their favour in any thing which I might judge to be againſt the intreſt of their ſervice. I can ſay that I never heard any of them jealous your Lordſhip, and if they did, it wold be ground eneugh to make mee think the leſſe their accuſation againſt others, perſuading myſelf that you are too much a chriſtian to offer the leaſt prejudice to his Majeſties intreſt and ſervice upon any privat account; I choſe rather to give permiſſion to thoſe noblemen to remain at Edinburgh though their troupes goe along with me, then receive their commiſſions, not knowing what ſpirit may govern men if they were greatly diſguſted by ſuch as his Majeſtie employs, and finding them very much countenanced by that party, though Duke Hamilton was offended I did not take them at their word; but if I be not miſtaken, I know the King to be ſo much maſter of his paſſion that he wold lightly condemne ſuch peremptorneſſe in mee, ſince he is allwayes maſter to put them out or continue them as he ſhall judge it for his ſervice. I am affrayd to be ſtraitned for proviſions in this expedition, therefor if I cannot effectuat what I project, with Gods aſſiſtance (upon whoſe providence I reſt more than any direction or conduct of myn,) it ſhall not be my fault, for I am reſolved, God willing, not to ſpaire my pains nor my lif (which is all that I have to venture) for the advancement of ſo juſt a cauſe. I wiſh your

Lordſhip wold obtain an order for the man of war that cums down with ſom money and ammonition to ſtay here upon our coaſts, for wee cannot have a farthing money ſent north for the forces wee have there, becauſe our coaſts are infeſted with French capers; if ther could be an other ſpair'd to it it wold doe much to the reduction of thoſe Highlanders, and accommodation of the forces, perticularly if wee undertake to plant a garriſon before winter in Lochaber, which in my oppinion is the readieſt way to ſee an end of theſe inteſtin troubles, which otherwayes by ſlow meſures may take us up for a while, and at laſt coſt much more money then wold doe the turn now by handling them more hotly. I order this to be ſent by a flying packet, becauſe it is a ſmall expenſe and requires haſte, that your Lordſhip may obtain the order for that man of war to ſtay here, and ſee to get another joynt with it. I am, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

16. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Holyroodhous* 28 *July* 1689.

On Fryday laſt Major Generall Mackay marched from St Johnſton with about 4000 foot, 4 troops of horſe and dragoons, and was at Dunkell that night, where he received intelligence that Dundie was come to Blair in Atholl; he marched on Saturday towards him, and within two miles of Blaire about 5 at night they ingadged, and by ſeverall inferior officers and ſouldiers that is come here this evening, gives us the account, that after a ſharp ingadgement Dundie being much ſtronger, the Major Generall was quite defeat, and I have yett heard of no officers of quality that is come of but Lieutenant Colonel Lauther, who my Lord Ruthven ſpoke with as he came from St Johnſton this day and gives the ſame account of there being wholy routed, but the confuſion is ſuch here that the particulars is hardly to be got. Wee have given orders at Council this afternoon

to draw all the ſtanding forces to Stirling, and has ſent to the weſt countrey to raiſe all the fencable men, and Sir John Lanier has write to the Engliſh forces in Northumberland to march in here, and is goeing to Stirling to command, for Mackay is either killed or taken by all the account we have yett got, but you ſhall quickly have an other flying packet or an expres. I am ſory for theſe ill neues I ſend you to acquaint his Majeſtie with, and my humble opinion is, that his Majeſtie muſt firſt beat Dundie and ſecuir this kingdom or he attempt any other thing, and now Dundie will be maſter of all the other ſide of Forth where there are ſo great numbers of diſaffected to join him, ſo the King muſt make haſt to aſſiſt us to reduce him, for I fear wee ſhall not be able to defend this ſide of Forth long, and the King will know what new men is after a ruſle given. Wee do not know what to do with the priſſoners, there is ſo many of them in the Caſtle and Tolbuith here, and deſires the Kings commands in it if they may not be ſent ſome to Berwike and ſome there to the Toure, in a man of warr wee hear is juſt now comeing up to Leith. I intend to ajurn the Parlament to morrow or next day, every body deſiring it, to October. In this confuſion and diſorder wee are in here, and haveing ſo many other things to deſpach, all I can further ſay is, that I beg you may haſt doun the Kings commands in this unhappy junctur to your Lordſhips moſt humble ſervant,

Hamilton.

17. Sir William Lockhart to Lord Melvill.

My Lord, *Edinburgh*, 28 *July* 1689.

The exceſſive trouble we are all in cannot be expreſed, both for the ſtrock the Kings affairs hath received and the loſs of many brave men; we dont not but the Major Generall Ramſay and Ballfour, with all the officers of ther regiments that wer ther, L. C. Lander on excepted, are cut off; it ſeems to be moſtly chargable att my Lord Murays door, who

not only refuſed to joyn M^c^Kay, but when his men began to give ground fell on them. My Lord Kenmoor and Bellheaven are certinly killed; L. C. Lauder ſays that after the brek of the armie he ſee your ſon Lord William on horſback; we have not yett heard of him; all we can nou doe is to intreat the King will ſend force with all expedition hear, for we have nothing to hinder Dundee to overrun the wholl country. Ill trouble your Lordſhip no furder, I am yours.

For the Right Honourable the Lord Melvill
Secretary of Statt for Scotland.

18. SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edenb. July* 28, 1689.

This day brings us ſory, ſad and ſurpriſing newes. We hav good hop that your ſon is ſaif; he is wounded in the ſhoulder but was mounted after all was broke: ther hath been treachery in the leading them to that place and the ſeig of Blair, and my Lord Murrays raiſing his men hath all been concerted, and yet I do admire that ſo good a party, ſo good officers and ſouldiers not ſurpryſed, but having weill fought it, could have bein oppreſſed with twice ſo many new men: we have no perfect accounts, bot ther is great loſs of officers. I fear poor honeſt G. Major M^c^Kay his brother is killed, and Coll. Ramſay and Coll. Haſtings, and my Lord Kenmor, I fear poor Belhaven is gon; Annandals troop wanting officers mad the firſt diſturbain. The Lord is puniſhing the ſpirit of contention that reingns amongſt us by thes who were no people. Argyl hes about three thouſand men on the other ſyd bot new men, and tho' he be within a days journey of Lochaber, yet he never knew that Dundee was marched. Dundee had not above one hundreth horſes; the Atholl men ar mor creuell then the enimys army, ſo I fear few will either gett off or gett quarter except ſome of the horſe who ran firſt, and the foot officers ther ſervants

ar all com away with ther horſes: this maks a great conſternation heir; we hav ordered all the forces we have to Striſling, and have ordered all the ſenſible men in the weſt to be rendervouzed, but I wiſh you may order us troops from Ingland, for the countrymen will not do any ſervice, and they will now becom intollerable: ſom people already appear not ſo concerned as the ſtroak requirs. I think the other ſyd of Tay is loſt, and Fyv is in very ill tune—the Lord help us and ſend you good newes of your ſon. My dear Lord Adeiu.

For my Lord Melvill
Lord Secretair of Stat for Scotland
at London.

19. The Duke of Hamilton to Lord Melvill.

My Lord, *Holyroodhous*, 29 *July* 1689.

Laſt night by a flying packet I gave you the ill neues of Mackays being beat. I have now ſent this bearer, a Dutch man who is a Lieutenant in Mackayes regement and ajutant, and was in the action, to give his Majeſtie all the account he can, and he gives as good account as any that is yett come, but to tell true they all differ in particulares as to the way of the action, but it ſeams Mackay has been ſo forward that after a march of 16 mylls ſhould ingadged the enemy when his men was weary, and the next day there was foure troopes of horſe and 2 of dragoons to have joined him, and I fear his foot did not ſtand to it as they ſhould, but run after ſome firing when the Highlanders came to a cloſe fight with them; wee know not certanely who are killed or taken, the bearer can tell who we hear no word of yett, and thoſe wee conſider as ſo, for there is ſeverall inferior officers and ſojors come, but none of them can give certane accounts of the loſs. The King wold haſt ſome of his beſt troops here, and eſpecially foot, for our new raiſed men will not be able to ſtand the High-

landers; there is thrie of the battalions of thofe that came doun with Mackay here and at Stirling, but moft of them new men, fo I fear they do as ill if put to it as the reft did, and all the foot wee have more now is, Mars regement, Bargany and Blantyrs, who are at Stirling; Argylls, Glencarns and Angus regement in the Highlands with Argyll whom we have fent for; Sir James Leflys, Stranevers and Grants about Invernes with the Scots dragoons under the command of Sir Thomas Leivingftone and Coll. Barklays dragoons are in Aberdeenfhire, who we thinke muft go north and join Sir Thomas Leivingfton, for we fear he can not come to join us here: Sir John Laneir is gone to Stirling to put the troops there in as good a condition as he can, but wee need more general officers. We have got no notice of Dundies motion fince the action, and wee fear all Perthfhire and Angus will be in arms for him prefently, fo what refolutions the King taks wold not be delayed; for if he caries Stirling he has all Scotland. The frigot with the money to pay Mackays regements is come, and the fhip with the arms, but the canon and mortar piece wee fhall fend bake for there is no ufe of them here, and the King wold give his derections as to thofe officers and fojors that has come of from the fight. I received yours with the news of the Princes of Denmarks being broght to bed of a fon, which I am very glade of, and wifhes their Highneffes much joy. I fhall long much for a return of his Majefties commands, and I intend to write to Carlile and give notice there to the commanding officer of this difafter, that Marfchall Shonberg may be acquainted with it, and I intend to defire fome of their troops may march into Scotland for our affiftance, for if wee be not able to defend Stirling, this place wee can not fly in, but muft retire into England. It was both by the Councill and Parlament thought fit not to adjurn them to day for difcurraging people more, fo I have by their ouen advife adjurned them to Wednefday; all that was done this day you will fee by the inclofed act, and the next day we are to confider how to gett mony, for little is to be expected now from the other fide of Forth. Your Lordfhip will be weary with this long letter as I am in writing of it, having never been out of bufiness fince 4 a cloake

in the morning, ſo I hope you will mend the errors in it when you read it to his Majeſtie, which is deſired by your Lordſhips moſt humble ſervant,

Hamilton.

I have given the bearer but twenty ginies.

20. Sir William Lockhart to Lord Melvill.

My Lord, *Edinburgh*, 29 *July* 1689.

I gave you in my laſt a ſhort and melancholy acount of this battel. I wryt nou not that I can give you anay better neus, but to intreat youll uſe your intereſt with the King as you wold avoid the ruine of your country to ſend ſuch force hear with the grateſt expedition as with what of honeſt men will joyne them may all at once extinguiſh this flame. I have ſpoke with L. C. Laudor, who ſays except the Dutch dragoons and ſom other ſuch force, he dos not ſee how it can be done; if your Lordſhips kneu the ſlones of our meſurs hear it wold move you to this ſpidy method, for tho it be now 48 hours ſince the defeat, and 36 ſince we heard of it, thers nothing of moment don; the Parliment refered it to the Counſell, and they have apointed a commite to conſider of it till to morou att ten a clock. For what I know Dundee may be at Stirling be that time. Thers nou grat want of good officers and ſom perſon of worth and underſtanding to command in chief, els our affairs I aprehend will turn to a very ill account. Tho I ſay this yett we have ſom ſmall hops the Major Generall and your ſon are alyve; thers on ſays he ſee the Major Generall a quarter of a myll from the place and nyne hors with him after the routt; and L. C. Lauder ſays about the ſam tyme he ſee your ſon Leven well horſed; God grant it be true. The King's llos in the officers is unexpreſable, and its pitie to give green men to good men to command them, for ther runing was the loſs of all. My Lord I need not tell you how much the King is concerned to ffalou this meſur in ſending his troups hear, and hou much its your Lordſhips intereſt as well as that of the King and country;

on the firſt view youll eaſily apprehend it. Pray you lett your reſolutions anſuer the expectations of your frinds, amongſt whom you may alwayſe reckon, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and faithfull ſervant,

WILL. LOCKHART.

For the Right Honourable the Lord Melvill
ſoll Secretarie of Statt for Scotland.

21. SIR PATRICK HUME OF POLWARTH TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edinburgh*, 29 *July* 1689.

Tho' you will have full accounts from others of the defeat of our army, and the particular loſs, yet I cannot forbear to write my thoughts upon the whole matter. I am indeed of opinion that the falſehood of pretended friends led honeſt Mackay in the ſnare to his ruine; what is paſſed cannot be helped; if the methods of ſome honeſt men had been followed, this great loſs might probably have been prevented; if they be yet neglected, greater loſs will probably yet befall us; if you do not ſee to it, your guilt will be heavie; all I can do here, and as I am, is to wiſh well to what I would gladly ſerve, if in a capacity. I trouble you no farrer, but am ſtill, my Lord, your L. humble ſervant and true friend,

Pray ſend my wife this note. PAT. HUME.

For the Right Honorable the Lord Melvill
Lord Secretarie at State to his Majeſtie.

22. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it pleaſe your Grace, *Sterling, the* 29 *July*, 1689.

I am ſory I have not beter account to give your Grace of our laſte expedition, but ſatisfied in my own mind that I have vndertaken nothing

but vpon ſuch grounds as more capable commanders might readyly be deceived in, for I take God to witneſſe (who knowes the ſecrets of hearts) that I doe not make ſuch an Idole of vain glory and reputation as to oblige me to interpriſe the leaſt thing which my judgement might repreſent to be contrairie to ther Majeſties ſervice and the preſent government vpon that account; but conſidering that my forces were ſuperiour in number to the ennemys, as I could very well know, being the ſpace of two houres in order of battaill, within a muſquet ſhot to them, (not judging it fit to attack them, being ranged vpon a hill above a plain, where I drew vp my troupes,) and judging my men far beyond theirs in the vſe of their arms and firmitie in occaſion, I thought I might ſafly, according to the rule of common prudence ingage them though it hath pleaſ'd . . . . . ntrarie to my expe . . . . . ofe regements vpon . . . . . moſt ſtreſſe, and which . . . . . ed to doe well heretofore . . . . . which might be expected of the . . . . of troupes, ſo carefully train'd for the trade as they were, but it ſeems that God (in this as well as in all acts of the vnivers,) will let vs ſee the vanity of humane confidence; in ſhort, there was no regement or troop with me, but behaved lyck the vileſt cowards in nature, except Haſtings and my Lord Levens, whom I moſt praiſe at ſuch a degree, as I cannot but blame others, of whom I expected more. Now that which I beg of your Grace is, that men goe quickly to work to ſtop the conſternation of our friends, as well as the hops and pryde of our ennemys, to which end Sir John Lanieres regement moſt be preſently called to quarter about Sterling, as well as my Lord Colcheſters; Balgeignies moſt be ſent to Dundie with order to deffend that loyally affected town againſt their implacable ennemys reſentments, till I can forme a body with the foreſaid hors, and what foot I can pick out as yet to chaſſe those highland barbarians again to their hilly confidence and refuge. I beg then (my Lord) that this deffeat may not alter in the leaſt your reſolution of continuing your ſeſſion of Parlement, for, in my oppinion, tis not worth the while, ... can be eaſily by God . . . . . cover'd without giv . . . . . .

much ſatisfaction . . . . . neceſſary deliberations of . . . . . prehenſion of their advantage . . . . . the ſucceſs of war is . . . . . men ought to be provided as well to remedie a bad one as to proſecute a good. If ther hath not been an order from your Grace or the councell to remove Balgeignie from St. Johnſton, the Lieut.-Coll. of that regement ought to be lay'd faſt, as having don it out of an ill intention. I intend to try narrowly if the faint-heartedneſſe of ſom officers hath not been the occaſion of ſuch a ſtrange breach among ſo many regements; to-morrow I ſhall viſit the paſſes of this river, and order the conſtruction of ſom redoubts to ſecure them, and ſo make a ſtart to Edinburgh to conſult with your Grace and the Lords of his Majeſties councell concerning further meſures to be taken for ſecuring the peace of this kingdom; the further relation of things I refer till I have the honour to ſee your Grace. I am, May it pleaſe your Grace, your Graces moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

I beg this letter may be ſent to the Kings ſecretary having no tyme to wryt another ſo full at preſent, and that it be diſpatch'd by a flying packet.

23. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Stirling, the 29th July*, 1689.

As none is more greeved that any thing prejudiciall to their Majeſties ſervice ſhould fall to my ſhare, ſo none ſhall uſe more diligence to repaire the loſſes ſo far as may depend of me then myſelf. My Lord, your ſon hath behaved himſelf with all his officers and ſoulders extraordinary well, as did alſo Colonel Haſtings with his. I have given a large account of maters to my Lord Commiſſioner, which I deſyred might be ſent your Lordſhip. I am extreamly in pain that my wyf ſhall have the newes of

my death before this inclofed can be at her; none of thofe who fled to Dunkell and St. Johnfton could fay any thing of mee, for they were gone neare an houre befor I caryed of your fon's men and Haftings by an other way then the fled went, to be free of the people of Athol, whofe difaffection I difcover'd of a long tyme to the prejudice of the fervice. This day late I came with that little body of the Debris of thofe two regements to Sterling, without halt or reft for two days and two nights to prevent the ennemy's diligence to cut my paffage, and am now fo overtaken with fleep, that I can fay no more, but that I am unchangably My Lord, your Lordfhip's moft humble and obedient fervant,

H. Mackay.

24. The Duke of Hamilton to Lord Melvill.

Holyroodhous, 30 *July* 1689.

My two laft gave your Lordfhip a very bad account of the action betuixt Mackay and Dundy, which I did not tell you fo ill as both officers and foldiers fayed that came from the action, as you will underftand by the expres I fent laft night; but this morning wee got neus that helped to comfort us again, for I fee letters this morning to my Lord Murray from fure hands, that Dundie was killed in the action, and a litle after wee had the certane account that Mackay, your fon, Kenmore, Belhaven, Coll. Ramfay, with two Battalions, wer come to Stirling, and all thofe wer fayed to be killed. So now I fee no officer of quality amiffing but Brigadier Balfour, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay, who I hope may be prifoners. They fay Collonel Canon comands now the highlanders fince Dundie is gone, by whoes death I think they have litle reafon to brag of the victory, and that they are marching towards Angus. I have juft now received the inclofed from General-Major Mackay, who, I believe, will

give you a better account; ſo I onely ad, that I am your Lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant,

HAMILTON.

25. THE LORD CARDROSS TO LORD MELVILL.

My Dear Lord, *Edinburgh*, 30 *Julay*, 1689.

I had not the courage to writ to your Lordſhip by the expreſs yeſterday, becauſe I had then too much apparent ground to think my Lord Leven was killed as well as moſt of our officers, but now, God be thanked, things ar better, both as to the King's intereſt and your Lordſhips concerne then dard to hope at the firſt report, for the Earle of Leven, General Major M'Kay, and all the conſiderable officers ar alive and free, except Colonel Balfour, Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kay, and Kenmoors Major, and it is not certaine what is become of them, if it be not the laſt that is killed; this is what is ſaid, but I cannot be poſitive, further then that thoſe we thought dead ar hourly coming in. Major-General Mackay is not wounded, nor Earl Leven. M'Kay took to Drummond Caſtle about 1400 men. General Major M'Kay was as long or longer in the field then the enimie, though they carried away the baggage; this is what is ſaid. The Lord Murray is exclaimed againſt and ſuſpected by moſt, and ſo is Patrick Graham, who was in St. Johnſtoun with Bargany's regiment, we think the General Major will cleare us much in theſe the morrow when he comes. People that ar honeſt ar not ſatisfied [with] our great man. I am, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble ſervant,

CARDROSS.

For the Right Honorable my Lord Melvill,
Secretary for the Kingdome of Scotland,
London.

26. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it pleafe your Grace, *St. Johnfton, the 2 Augufl*, 1689.

After I came to Sterling with a parte of the Regements of Leven and Haftings, which I cary'd of the field of battle in a body, and with others, which Colonel Ramfay had ralied the mater of two mile from the faid place of battle, I judged that it wold give fom efclate to the fervice, and hinder the difaffected of the fhires of Perth and Angus to ryfe in arms againft the government, to appeare prefently in the fields, and to place a garifon at St. Johnfton, clofe by the ennemis greateft body; therefore I order'd the Lord Colchefter's regement of hors, with fix troops of the Scots hors, two of Cardrofes dragouns, with Mar and Balgeignies regements to follow, conveighed by a troop of hors each, and march'd in all diligence with the reft of the hors and dragouns to St. Johnfton, whereupon the march I vnderftood that the ennemy had fent fom foot and hors, to tranfport the meale, which by order of the councell was tranfported thither for the vfe of their Majeftie's forces, and drawing neare the town wee difcover'd fom of their hors already got out of our reach, but their foot not being far from the town, as yet, was overtaken by a fquadron of Colchefter's regiment, which kill'd the moft parte of them, and took fom prifoners, the whole party being found afterwards to be of Atholemen, by the examination which I made myfelf of the prifoners. If I had three good battaillons of regullar foot, with the hors, and dragouns which I have here, (perticullarly Colchefter's regement) I wold make them feater, in my opinion. I intend, in the meantyme, to leave here in garifon Mar and Balgeignies regements, with three troops of hors, and as many dragouns, and fend the reft to Sterling, while I fhall cum to Edinburgh to know your Grace and the councells further good finding, how wee are to proceed for the further fettlement of the peace of this kingdom. I am juft now wryting a leter to Colonel Cannan, whom I vnderftand commands their army provifionally, to know what prifoners of ours they have,

and upon what conditions they will releeve them, where I let them know by the by that the ſtate of their affairs is not a hapeny advanced by their victory, and how litle the expectation wherewith thoſe highlanders are fed of King James's landing ſhall turn to their account, making them hop that vpon their humble addreſſe to their Majeſties privy councell, they may expect of the Kings clemency a gracious indemnity for the paſt faults. I am ordering ſom more ſecurity for the breaches of this town by way of palliſade, for tis a poſt of importance conſidering the diſpoſition of the Atholemen. I admire my Lord Murray could do no more to hinder the junction of that countrey with the rebells. I am informed for certain that the death of Dundie and this march do make them bethink themſelves, ſo as to ſay, that if King James land not preſently, they will look for their ſecurity by the government, which made mee try their puls in the leter I wrot to Cannon. Now, my Lord, ſince your Grace is ſo nearly concerned in the ſaid Lord Murray, and ſo intirely for this intreſt, I wiſh he may have ſom hand in dividing that party, which is, in my opinion, vpon the way to divide of itſelf ſhortly, by making his men to break of the firſt, in which caſe I think Baleuchan and all the other tranſgreſſours might be pardoned to procure a ſpeedy ſettlement of the nation in peace; if the ennemy turn head to the north I muſt goe with a body of hors and dragouns to releeve Levingſton. This is all I have to acquaint your Grace of at preſent, being alwayes, may it pleaſe your Grace, your Graces moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

Since I cannot wryt double information of things, I wiſh your Grace may ſend my leters allwayes as they are read in councell to court, that the King may know of our maters, for which a flying packet ought not to be ſpared.

27. Lord Melvill to the Duke of Hamilton.

May it pleaſe your Grace, 8 *Auguſt* 1689.

I have communicate all your Grace did wrett to me to the King upon the firſt and ſecond relation of the engadgement betwixt Generall Major Mackey and the Viſcount of Dundee. His Majeſtie not only ordered the Dutch and Engliſh forces that wer in the north of England to march unto Scotland, but alſo a conſiderable body of thoſe forces that wer at Cheſter, who wer to goe for Irland, wer appointed to be tranſported to Scotland; but when his Majeſtie underſtood affaires wer not ſo badd as at firſt repreſented, thoſe at Cheſter wer countermanded: and now upon your Graces laſt letter wherein your Grace thinkes the forces you have already may be ſufficient to repreſs thoſe that ar in armes againſt you, there is a ſtope put to moſt of thoſe that wer ordered to march; ſince, unleſs neceſſity required, it would be burdenſome to the country to have many horſes ſent: I heerewith ſend your Grace a copy of what the King hath wrett to the Councell in relation to the indemnity by them.

His Majeſtie commanded me to ſignifie to your Grace that he would cauſe appoint ſome frigatts as you deſired to cruſe upon the weſtern coaſt of Scotland, as alſo that upon your Graces letter wherein was the firſt relation of the engadgement, his Majeſtie had ordered the perſons of quality that wer in priſon with you, ſhould be ſent heere to London, yett now that circumſtances ar altered, he deſires they may be keept in Scotland until his further pleaſure. His Majeſtie approves what the Councell hath don in reſtricting the prohibition for comeing out of the country, now ſince ther ſeems no ſuch neceſſity as a litle agoe for one of a larger exſtaint. I am likewais commanded by his Majeſtie to tell you, that he deſires execution to be delayed as to thoſe officers of dragouns who have confeſſed ther guilt till his Majeſtie ſignifie his pleaſure anent them.

I juſt now heare of ane expreſſe come from Cheſter confirming the raiſing of the ſeige of London Dary; they talke that the late King James

ſhould be gone from Dublin and its not knowen wher, but this laſt needs confirmation.

28. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO THE EARL OF LEVEN.

MY LORD, *Strathboggie the* 17*th Aguſt* 1689.

I have wryten fully to my Lord Portland of your praiſeworthy behaviour in the late occaſion; I ſent according to his deſyre a perticullar account of the whole to my Lord your father ſo far as I can remember, to be put in a neter dreſſe and ſhown to his Majeſtie. Your Lordſhip ſo far as may depend upon me, hath free liberty to goe for London, for I beleeve much ſhall not be undertaken more this yeare, and your Lordſhips regement is render'd incapable to ſerve in haſte. Your Lordſhip can give a good eneugh account of the Athole and Perthſhire men, and for Angus wee found them in a very bad diſpoſition if their intentions were not prevented by my march. I have no tyme to anſueer leters preſently becauſe I want all aſſiſtance; I wiſh your Lordſhip a good journey, and myſelf, if maters were appeaſed, out of this country; for if things be not beter regulated, a man muſt either neglect the Kings ſervice or in a ſhort tyme conſume himſelf. I am allwayes, My Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

29. A SHORT RELATION as far as I can remember, of what paſt before, in and after the late deſaite in Athole, of a parte of their Majeſties forces under my command.

Strathboggie the 17*th Aguſt* 1789.

After neare three months chicane with a very ſmall parcell of forces againſt a numbrus ennemy, and at laſt having oblidged them to diſperſſe

and ſepperat, and having left the north well ſecured, I returned to Edinbrugh to haſten the neceſſary preparations for the deſigne I had formed to goe to Lochaber and ſecure a ſtrong gariſon in the heart of the Highlands, as in my judgement the moſt faiſable and readyeſt way to ſubdue thoſe Highland rebells, but met with ſuch delayes before the number of eight hundert hors for the tranſporting for a fortnights ſubſiſtance of meal only, that the ennemy who queſtionleſſe was advertiſ'd of our deſigne, had tyme to gather together his forces depending of ſeverall Highland chiefs, and to march to Athole to ſecure that countrey (capable to put twelve or fifteen hundert men under arms) for their party, which I had certainly prevented if the hors and proviſions had not been too ſlowly fourniſhed; of this I accuſe none, for I beleeve it was want of uſe mor than any thing els which occaſioned it.

Cumming to St. Johnſton ther was a leter ſhowen me from my Lord Muray, wiſhing the perſon to whom it was ſent might ſhew mee that a ſpeedy march was alltogether neceſſary to prevent the junction of his men with Dundie, which he ſhould not be able to hinder if the ſaid Dundee ſhould prevent my cumming to that country; upon which advertiſment, having ſix good battaillons of foot by mee, and about a hundert hors, having ſent orders to four troupes more of hors and two of dragouns to follow in all diligence, I march'd to Dunkell, where I was informed that my Lord Muray had retired from before the caſtell of Blaire, my Lord Marquis of Atholls hous, upon which I preſently judged that Dundee was marching into the countrey, which thoughts were confirmed by a leter from the ſaid Lord Muray, who wrot that according to my deſyre he had ſecured a paſſe by which I ſhould paſſe conveniently with baggage and hors with eighty men, but ſince they were but countreymen and volontiers, he was not ſure they ſhould ſtay there long, wherupon I ſent Lieutenant Collonel Lauder with 200 choice fuſeliers of the whole army to keep the ſaid paſſe till I ſhould cum up. About 10 of the cloack I arryved at the ſaid paſſe, and having met with my Lord Muray, he told me that the moſt parte of his men were gone from him to ſave their cattle

from the Highlanders; with all that he thought he ſhould get them keep'd from joyning Dundee ſo long as he ſhould ſtay upon their head, but that by no means they wold joyn mee. I told him if beter could not be, he ſhould doe as he ſaid, till they ſhould ſee the iſſue of the mater, ſo having paſt the ſaid paſſe, before I got up the regement of Haſtings and the Earle of Annandales troop which I left behind the baggage, left the ennemy or the Athole men, which I truſted as little, might ſend a party to attack them behind, I diſcover'd the Highlanders approaching and gaining the heighths, and prety neare before I could get my men to the ground which I judged by their motion they wold be at; ſo changing my march and facing with every battallion as it ſtood by a *quart de converſion* to the right, having vewed the ground where I judged a propos to range them, I made every regement march ſtraight before its face up a ſteep bray, above which their was a plaine capable to containe more troupes then I had, and above that plaine the mater of a muſket ſhot, a ryſing of a hill above which and betwixt it and a great hill at his back Dundie had place eneugh to range his men,; I could not have rang'd myn but upon one line, both becauſe I wold not be outwinged nor obliged to draw ſo neare the ennemy having the advantage of the hill above us, by which he ſhould force us to attack him againſt the heighth or be incommodat with his too neare fire. The ennemy ſeeing mee ranged ſooner then he thought, (having, as I beleeve, deſigned to cum down upon the ſame ground before I could get poſſeſſion of it, in which caſe he ſhould have forced me over a river with his fire, which could not be without manyfeſt hazard of great diſorder) he halted upon the heighth the ſpace of more than two hours, wherin nothing paſt but ſom light ſkirmiſhing. At laſt towards ſun ſetting they began to deſcend, and having made a ragged fire threw away their ſnaphans and ran down the hill with drawn broad ſwords and targes; the battallion of Haſtings which was ranged upon the right hand, becauſe the reſt were drawn up in order before it had paſt the defile, that of my regement, my Lord Levens, and Kenmore with the half of Ramſays battaillon made prety good fire, the other half of Ramſays, with Balfours whole battaillon, and

Lauders detachment of 200 men, gave ground, or rather fled without any firing. When the ennemy came down I hade my eye much upon their hors, which I judged ſcarcely ſo ſtrong as our two troops, and, having remarqued that they ſeemed to attack much about the midle of the line, when I perceived the moſt parte of our fire ſpent, I called out the ſaid two troops which I had behinde the lyne by an interval, of a deſigne to cauſe one of them flanck the approaching Highlanders to the left and the other to the right, which certainly had been of ſuch effect had they the reſolution to obey their orders, and wold have ſo encouradged the foot that in all appearance the Highlanders wold ſoon have run for it, but the ſaid hors not advancing, notwithſtanding I brought them up myſelf, and that the Lord Balhaven who commanded them did behave very honeſtly; after a little confuſed firing they renverſed upon the Lord Kenmores right wing and ſo begun the firſt breach ſo neare as I could remarque; Dundee with his hors wheeling to our right came upon the battaillon of my regement, by whoſe fire according to their own confeſſion, both Dundie, Pitkur, one Ramſay and others were killed at the firſt onſet, but in a very ſhort tym all did run except a parte of the Earl of Levens regement, which by the diligence and firmity of the ſaid Earle with his Lieutenant Collonel, Major and other officers, and a parte of Colonel Haſtings regement, which, after they had loſt ground, the Colonel with his Lieutenant Colonel and other officers brought up againe, and keept the feeld of battail.

When all had ſcoured of which ſtood about me, ſo that I found myſelf abandoned in the midſt of the ennemys, I pearced throw them, being well horſ'd, and ſeeing ſom red coats in the feelds, I went to them, and ſent preſently after the rnnawayes, deſyring the officers to doe their outmoſt endeavour to get as many rallied as poſſibly they could, but after neare an hours expectation, till it begun to be dark, and ſeeing the ennemy preparing of all ſydes to attack mee, having in all but about 400 men which wee could not poſſibly bring in any order, and receiving notice that none of the officers could perſuade their men to ſtand, much leſs

to return back, having advertiſ'dthe men to march of ſoftly, wee retired in the beſt order wee could over the litle river, and ſo retired by ſuch wayes as I judged ſhould be the ſecureſt, and wold evit the rencontre of the Athole men, who, as I was informed of officers and ſoldiers afterwards, killed more men, and made more priſoners, three tyms over, then Dundies men, for wee judged that the ennemy loſt more men in the fight then wee did in this occaſion. I could learn of no commanding officer that miſbehaved, though I confeſſe that my Lord Leven, Colonel Haſtings and their officers have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this occaſion above all others. The Brigadier Balfour, my brother, and others were killed after their men abandoned them. Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder was abandoned of his party, and labour'd without ſucces to rallie them; Colonel Ramſay, the ſame; but two mile from the feeld of battaill, he gather'd about two hundred men, with which he join'd me, when I came of, marched then with about 6 or 700 men throw the Highland wayes, till I came to Caſtell Drumond, where I had a gariſon; and Monday, from thence to Sterling; Tweſday, I diſpach'd order to the Lord Colcheſter's regement with all the troops of new levied hors and dragouns thereabouts to the number of 400, and with them on Wedneſday took my way to St. Johnſton, both to hinder the junction of the ſhires of Perth and Angus with the ennemys, and to keep them in the hills. At St. Johnſton wee ſurpriſed a party of a couple of hundert men, wherof 150 were killed; thither I ſent for the three battaillons that were left of the Hollands regements, with Sir John Laniers and Hayfords regements, ordering Sir John when he ſhould cum vp to halt at St. Johnſton till he heard from mee; while vpon the ennemys motion to the Brayes of Angus, I march'd with the hors and dragouns I had by me to Forfare, to hinder that ſhire from ryſing in favour of the ennemy, and vpon their further motion over the hills to Aberdoneſhire, I went to the town of that name, and from thence approached the ennemy nearer; but judgeing by the nature of his poſt fit to receive ſuch as wold cum in to him both from the high and low countreys I ſent for Hayford and Livingſtons dragouns, having for diſpache taken no Infanterie with

mee, to oblidge them to leave that poſt, which regements joyn'd me the laſt of them this day. I am of oppinion, and my inteligence doth confirme it, that they ſhall ſoon weary of it, if they get no ſondain ſuccour from Ireland. Tomorrow I intend to march in ſight, if the ennemy doe not draw to the hills. This is a ſhort ſummaire of what paſt as to the late affaire, but certainly the ennemy is in a wors ſtate now then before his victory, for he durſt never ſet his noſe in the Low Country, becauſe I was over all to oppoſe him.

H. Mackay.

N. B. That before the ingadgement I made a ſpeech to every battaillon, repreſenting that not only their honour, religion, countrey and fidelity to their Majeſties required they ſhould behave themſelves manfully, but alſo the conſideration of their own lives, which could not eſcape if they ſhould turn their backs to their ennemys, becauſe they were ſpeedyer a foot, and that Atholemen wold be wors to them then ennemy if they ſhould be brock vpon; which they all anſwered with the greateſt cheerfullneſſe imaginable, that none of them ſhould abandon me, which moſt of them belyed ſhortly after.

The Engliſh officers of hors begin extremely to repyne to ſee their hors ſo ill accommodat in theſe Highland countrys, where it begins to be cold and rainy. Colcheſter and Berckley have ſuffered very much this campaigne, ſo that they ſhall hardly get thoſe regements right, except the King help them with ſom money to make vp their loſſes. I am oblidged to ſpeak for them, becauſe I found them very well inclined and ready for their Majeſties ſervice, as all the Engliſh forces which ſerved with me this yeare have ſhowen themſelves. I ſhall be oblidged to return them very ſhortly to quarters ſince the Highland army is ſeperat.

For the Right Honourable my Lord Melvill
his Majeſties ſole Secretary
for his auncient kingdom of Scotland,
Whithall.

30. Major General Mackay to Lord Melvill.

My Lord, *Strathboggie, the* 17*th* [*August*] 1689.

I ſend your Lordſhip an account of the affare which fell out in Athol, both before, in, and after the occaſion till this tyme. I ſent to the counſell ſom directions what is further to be vndertaken; the want of ſom fregats to be imployed againſt thoſe Iſlanders which are joyn'd doth hinder much, for they could burn and ruine their countreys; tis not my fault, for its long ſince I wrot of it, I am ſure three of the ſmalleſt rates could not be beter imploy'd; the account which I ſend here incloſed your Lordſhip may cauſe wryt over againe in a beter forme. I ſend herewith a liſte of the vacancies of my regement, and the perſons I recommend to them. I am ſo vnprovided of all things for the ſubſiſtence of the troops as to money proviſion and tents, that if the ennemy knew our inconvenience, they wold oppiniatre the more without doubt; the raiſon of the want of money is, that the troupes were ſo ſuddainly called out, and ſuch as are pay'd out of England had no tyme to get it from Edinbrugh and the Scots are pay'd by precepts, which they had no tyme to get in. Tents wee want generally, for this body of hors and dragouns except Levingſton. I doe not know how my meſures ſince the deffeat will be repreſented to, or reliſh at Court, but ſure I am, that it was the viſible means which occaſioned that the ennemy got no greater advantage by it; I doe things as I judge them moſt advantagious for the ſervice, and not to ſatisfy every crittique fancy; his Majeſty is a good judge, and may be ſure Il never betray the intereſt of his ſervice, nor the truſt which he hath put upon me ſo far as my judgement can penetrat; tis difficult to be misfortunat and free of blame at ons, but I ſubmit to providence.

Lauder pray'd mee to recommend his intreſt to your Lordſhip. His Colonel is certainly killed as well as my brother, he is brauve enough, and affectioned to his Majeſties ſervice as any to whom he can give the regement. I am marching this day towards the ennemy with a conſider-

able body of hors and dragouns, to fee if I can make them take the hills againe, for I dout wee ſhall not get them in any attackable ground. I am allways, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. Mackay.

I wrot to my Lord Portland concerning your ſon, whoſe behaviour in the laſt occaſion was beyond any thing that could be expected of a longer experience. I ſend here alſo a liſte of Sir Thomas Levingſtons vacancies; I placed ſeverall ſubalterns in his regiment, for the neceſſity of the ſervice, having but 3 or 4 officers in the regement, beſydes the impriſon'd. If his Majeſtie wold ſend mee a power for ſo doing, I queſtion not but he wold be beter ſerved then with the London recommendations. As I have not met with the officers of the other two battaillons ſince they returned to gariſon, I know not what vacancies they may have.

31. Major-General Mackay to Lord Melvill.

My Lord, *St. Johnſton, the* 26 *Aguſt* 1689.

Beeing cum here with the regements of Hayford and Colcheſter, and three troops of Scots hors, I intend tomorow for Athole, leaving here a battaillon of foot, three troops of dragouns, and two of hors, for the ſecurity of the town, and a hundert men in my Lord Marquis of Athols hous of Dunkell. I finde no ſecurity to receive the Athole men except they be diſarmed, for all they will doe now is but by force, and though they ſhould ſweare fidelity, I doubt much of their performance if they did ſee a faire occaſion to break their ingadgement; neither doe I conceive how they can ſecure the peace by baile, except the Marquis of Athole and his ſons were taken baile for their good behaviour, who have more need to be bailed themſelves for ought I ſee; however, I would gladly know the counſells mynd in it; meantyme I ſhall let them feel the foly of reſiſting the government, if quickly they doe not ſhew ſuch ſubmiſſion as I ſhall be

ſatisfied with, and have ſent them word that if they ſhould offer to burn the Caſtle of Blair, I ſhall not leave a hous ſtanding betwixt it and Dunkell. The government may ſee what rogs they are ; for after the indemnity was publiſhed, they joyn'd with the other rebells, ſo that ther is no ſtate to be made upon them. If ther be no way to gariſon ſtrongly their countrey, which cannot be don if that hous were burnt, as is reported they have a mynd to doe, I am apt to beleeve if the rebells be put out of Athole that they will ſeparat, and if they get no incouragement out of Ireland, will not in haſte aſſemble againe ſo numberous. I wiſh ther were more pettards ſent, for the mines though wee had ſuch as could lodge them well, wold render the houſes vſeleſſe for us; and the canon ſignifies no more then muſquets againſt ſuch old walls, which wold require a good whiles battering of better pieces to force them; if the councell pay not the troops and compaynies but upon their preſent foot, they'l not be able to recrute them, ſo that if their Lordſhips have a mynd to intertaine ſo many forces, they ought to pay them upon the foot of their firſt muſter, and oblidge them to be compleet againe ſuch a tyme, which is all at preſent, from my Lord, your Lordſhips most humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

32. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Blair Caſtle, the 30th Auguſt* 1689.

Since my laſt to your Lordſhip from Strathboggy, the enemy finding he could advance nothing in the north, I being continually in his way, and betwixt him and all communication with the low countrey, he turned ſouthward by the ſame way he went north, and I followed him as clos as I could, conſidering I wold not ingadge myſelf in any bad ground with hors and dragouns, only leaving Sir Thomas Levingſton with his own regement which I had called from Indernefſe, three troops of Cardroffes dragouns, and ſix troops of the new levies in Aberdone and Bamf ſhires.

In the meane tyme, the counſell order'd the regement of Angus to Dunkell, where the enemy having a ſhort cut over the hills, arryved before either Sir John Lanier, who was nearer, or I could be vp, and attacked the ſaid regement, which lay very oppen from all hands, but was beat of with ſom loſſe of their men. Sunday therafter, I cam vp to St Johnſton, and Monday marched to Dunkell, and ſo fourth to Blair, where I found the caſtle emty and intier, which might be the effect of a threatning meſſage I ſent vp the countrey as ſoon as I arryved at St Johnſton, that if the Caſtle of Blair were burnt, I wold not leave a hous ſtanding betwixt it and Dunkell. I had ſom of the countrey gentlemen by mee to have the benefit of his Majeſties gracious indemnity, but I told them, ſince they could not otherwyſe ſecure the peace ſufficiently, they muſt bring in all their arms, aſſuring them as then of the protection of the government, but that I could not judge it ſecure eneugh to receive them vpon their bare ſwearing of the oath of alledgeance. To morow I expect the anſwer of ſom of them, and ſhall be oblidged to deale rigouroufly with ſuch as ſhall refuſe to cum in vpon thoſe termes, for they have ſhewen ſo much enmity to the government allready, that wee cannot be ſure of them otherwyſe; meantyme the Highlanders are ſeparat, and each returned to his own home, from whence I fancy they will not gather in haſte ſo compleetly, except they have incouradgement from Ireland, and I am of oppinion if they let paſſe the limited tyme preſcryved by his Majeſtie for their ſubmiſſion, that it ought not to be given them any more, but to rouſe them out of the nation as the bane thereof, perticullarly the Lochabrians. If the fregats which had order to ſaile about this north, to joyn Rooke, had order to receive directions from mee, they had notably contributed to force them to obedience, for Macklean, Macdonald and Clauranald, who are of the conſiderableſt of them are Iſlanders, and ſoon ſubdued with 3 or 4 frigats and ſom land forces abord of them, which wold certainly ſo diſhearten the reſt, that they wold quickly give it over. I am now about the gariſoning of ſom places in the neareſt highlands, it being impoſſible without ſterving of the forces, to think to place any forces at Innerlochy

for this yeare, the faifon being fo far advanced, that wee cannot expect much more faire weather, and no poffibility to be fupply'd with victualls but by fea, which is very uncertain, except it were there before us. I make no queftion but it may be an eafie mater to make this kingdom peaceable, if things go well in Ireland and at fea, as I hop they fhall, by the bleffing of God. My Lord, if the King fend down fubaltern officers to Colonel Levingfton's dragouns, he fhall loofe thereby feverall good and ferviceable officers which I have been oblidged to caufe place for the neceffitie of the prefent fervice, ther being after the difcovery of their traifonable deffeyn, but 4 fubalterns in all, with the Colonel and Major, for all officers in the regement. I wrot for fom comiffions alfo for my own regement, of which I fent a lifte, in tyme of war; and at this diftance it ought to be much left to the Commander-in-Chief to place officers, if he be known to be a man who principally doth regarde the intreft of the Kings fervice in choofing of officers; for the fmall number allowed us in the three regements upon fuch ftrong companies, hath no queftion contributed to their diforder, in the late occafion. One Lieutenant Arnault of Balfour's regement hath behaved himfelf very honeftly, and is a carefull officer, who had his Colonel's promis to be recommended to the firft vacant companie of his regement, which hath fallen out to be the Colonel's own, he deferves it very well, and your Lordfhip will have no difcredit in recommending him. I am extreamly weary of this fort of war, and is certainly more fit for a man of fewer years and more accuftumed with the maner of the countrey, then for mee, fo that nothing but my zeale for their Majefties fervice and the intreft of the proteftant religion, could make it fupportable to mee; fo that if that be fo far fecured this yeare as to confine the rebells fo within their own hills as that they cannot trouble the government, or that they happen to fubmit to it, I hop his Majeftie will have the goodneffe to permit mee to take my winter quarters in Holland, if it pleafe God I live fo long, and that the neceffity of his fervice doe not otherwayes require; for I can affure your Lordfhip, that I have wreftled not only with a great waikneffe of body for the moft

parte of the tyme I have been in this kingdom, but alſo with great fattigues, inconveniences and difficultys, perticullarly to get the forces to ſubſiſt, by raiſon of the ſlow and irregullar methods of the government in thoſe things to which they have been ſo litle accuſtumed, together with the ſkearcity of money, without which the moſt knowing will but ſlowly advance matters, except wee ſhould make war as the Highlanders, by giving liberty to commit all ſorts of diſorder and violence, in which caſe wee could keep an army as good as theirs of the ſame ſort of people, but I wold never be the Commander of ſuch an army. Our new levies have not proved generally very good, eſpecially the foot regements, I mean the levies orderd by the Convention of Eſtats; for my Lord, your ſons regement, as well as our new recrutes have ben in good order before they were ſhater'd at the late bad rencontre, though, I thank God for it, the Kings ſervice hath loſt nothing except the loſſe of ſom few honeſt men, whoſe tyme was cum. I am alwayes, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. Mackay.

My Lord,

Since this leter was wryten, the moſt pairt of the Athole men are cum in, and have taken the oath of allegiance and delyver'd their arms up upon oath that they have none els; I intend to leave betuixt four and five hundert men here in gariſon of the new levies, notwithſtanding of what I wrot above. If with the expences of ſom few thouſands of pounds wee could break this Highland combination, I judge it wold be advantagious for their Majeſties ſervice, for then the King might imploy his forces more uſefully elſewhere; ſom propoſitions have been made to mee, that a pardon for what he did laſt yeare againſt Mackentoiſh, with a gratification of ten thouſand marcks to help to pay the ſaid Mackentoiſhes pretentions, that his family might be able to ſubſiſt, wold not only make Keppoch ſubmit, but contribut to break the reſt of the combination; this I had to day

from the Laird of Caldell, it might be of good effect if he be ſincere. I have wryten to my Lord your ſon, to ſpeak to Caldell of it.

33. Major-General Mackay to Lord Melvill.

My Lord, *Blair Caſtle, the 30th Auguſt*, 1689.

I have framed this leter as preſſing and urging as I could, and that according to my judgement and the knowledge which I may pretend to have in ſom meaſure of ſuch affaires; and I judge it were not amiſs, if your Lordſhip let ſom of the moſt zealous for their Majeſties ſervice and intreſt of the Engliſh government ſee it, for I ſuppoſe it is plaine truth and matter of fact; it is abſolutely dangerous to diſarme in this countrey till things be better fitted for it, having ſo great a circuit of countrey to garde, and ſo many boſom ennemys, who (though pretended Proteſtants,) the devell doth ſo far poſſeſſe, that at leaſt conſequentially they wiſh for nothing more in all appearance then the uter ruine and extirpation thereof, by wiſhing and labouring (as much as in them is, and as far as the ſafty of their intreſt God can allow) for King Jameſes reſtoration, your Lordſhip wold preſſe a finall reſolution, otherwyſe ther ſhall be an inevitable generall complaint when the forces ſhall want pay; and conſider this one argument more upon the matter againſt a caſſation in ſuch a tyme, that wee may haply have many of thoſe wee diſmiſs, nixt day in arms againſt us, ſo that it were better never to have levyed them, then diſband them during the Rebellion, and when they have learned ſomething of their trade, at leaſt as to the handling of their arms; if the Dains be to cum this winter, they ought to be here ſhortly, and if they wer ons reembarqued, I hope I may without the leaſt hazard, be ſpared from here during the winter ſaiſon, and if nixt ſpring, (God ſparing lyf and ſtrength,) his Majeſtie judge me more uſefull here then elſewhere, I ſhall be allwayes ready, judging that I can hardly have it wors than this laſt yeare, both as to my indiſpoſition of body, and laik of all things neceſſary, as well as

perſons to imploy, underſtanding the right notion of matters, as I did myſelf of this kingdom, whence I have been ſo long abſent, otherwyſe I had inſiſted more then I did to have a greater force down with mee which was the occaſion this Rebellion was begun, and if begun not quickly ended; but let us not fall in the ſame failings againe by an unſaiſonable diſbanding, which will ſtrengthen and continu it in all appearance. Upon the arryvall of four troops of hors and dragoons which I ordered to the North, (to fortifie the body that lyes there,) under the command of my nephew, all the enemys deſſeyns upon that countrey vaniſhed preſently; all their winter attempts, (provided wee continu formidable) will be but to ſteale cowes. I have wryten to my Lord Roſſe, wherein I blame their heats, and ſhow the diſadvantadge of it conſidering the preſent juncture; I wiſh with all my heart, thoſe perſons might be ſo diſpoſed before they cum down, that his Majeſtie might with ſatisfaction let his parlement meet againe; I have given them all the raiſons I was capable of to perſuade them to more moderat proceedings. I am, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. Mackay.

34. Lord Cardross to Lord Melvill.

My Lord, *Perth*, 3 *September* 1689.

Since my laſt nothing hath occured in theſe parts worthy the troubling you. By a letter yeſternight from General Major Makay at Blair of Athol, I finde that the badnes of the weather in theſe parts, the want of tents and the ſcarſty of priviſiones, will keep him from a further progreſs for this ſeaſon; he deſigned a garriſone for Finlarigg, and for that end to have marched there, but that the weather ſtoped him, he ſays he findes the army cannot march three days from a toun but the forces will run the haſard of ſterving; that which occaſiones this is the badnes of the way, that cartes cannot paſs, and that baggage-horſes cannot be gott; this con-

ſiſts with my particular knowledge, for I have the greateſt dificulty to gett horſes to carry what amunition and proviſiones ar gone from this to the army; and when the horſes wer at laſt gott, it was allwayes later then ought to have been. I know no way, my Lord, to prevent this for the future, if his Majeſtie doe not appoint a Commiſſary for baggage-horſes, to call for what horſes ar needed at ſo much as is reaſonable for the mile, and to pay them duely accordingly, and to reſtore there horſes at the appointed ſtage, except ane abſolute neceſſity obſtruct it. My Lord, my brother William deſigning for London, and will probably be the bearer herof, I intreat your Lordſhips favour to him, for I am ſure he hath a heart full of duety and loyalty to our King and Queen, and is a faithfull ſervant to your Lordſhip. I hope your Lordſhip will finde him not altogether unworthy of participating of his Majeſties favours at this time of his diſpoſing of them. You may be ſure, my Lord, that what you doe for him will much oblige, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt faithfull and moſt humble ſervant,

CARDROSS.

35. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edinburgh, the* 10 *Septembre* 1689.

Since my laſt I reduced the countrey of Athole to their Majeſties obedience, and diſarmed all who did not prefer their arms to a fals oath, which tyme muſt diſcover, for I have left order with the Commander to make a ſearch of the houſes of ſuch as may be ſuſpected to have concealed them, I have put 500 men in gariſon at Blair Caſtle, and order'd a *chemin couuert* and a palliſade round about it, in ſuch a forme as the ground wold admit of, ſo that that poſte is prety well ſecured, as it ſhall ſecure a great parte of the Highlands; for I reckon that Athole was a large third parte of the rebells ſtrength; the bad weather and great rains have chaſſed mee out of the hills ſooner then I thought; but though I ſent the Engliſh hors

and dragouns to a quarter of fourage, except that of Hayford, which (according to an intimation I had from Mr. Blaithwait of an order of the King to that purpos) I ſent ſtraight to Kirkubright to be ſhipped over for Ireland; I keep a parte of the Scots forces with the three intire battaillons of our regements lodged in and about St. Johnſton, to take the occaſion of the firſt faire weather to place two or three gariſons more to ſhut up the Highlanders in their hills, and cover the low countreys. I am of oppinion that the neck of this rebellion is broken, if all ſuccour from Ireland be hinder'd, as I am hopfull it ſhall. Very many cum in dayly to take the benefit of his Majeſties gracious indemnity, and I beleeve many more wold cum in if they had tyme; but to-morrow the terme is out, ſo that the door is ſhut if ther be no new prolongation: I wold wiſh, nevertheleſſe, that his Majeſtie take no more regements as yet, till we ſee what this and the nixt month ſhall produce, though I confeſſe that the Engliſh hors cannot recruit ſo conveniently here as in England; but hors is the great feare of Highlanders, for the ſame forces which beat mee three thouſand men formerly I keept in ther hills and hinder'd from all communication with their favourers, who were in no ſmall number, with the mater of 400 hors and dragouns, moſt new levies, the ennemy being recruted with ſeverall other Highlanders who were not preſent at the action. This day the Earle of Braidalbin is cum in and hath taken the oath of allegiance and found baile, as did alſo Southeſk and Strathmore, and to-morrow the Earle of Calender, with the Lords Levingſton and Duffus, are to be received upon the ſame terms, but ther is none of the chief combined Highlanders have made their application as yet, but it is no great hazard; for if their Majeſties other affaires goe well, with the help of the gariſons which I ſhall take in poſſeſſion, they can ſoon and eaſily be ſubdued nixt yeare, and all the Highlands of Scotland reduced to as peaceable a ſtate as the lower partes, ſo that the forfaltures of the obſtinat will make up as well the expences of that expedition as the loſſes well affected perſons have received by them. Colonel Canan is in no reputation or eſteeme by them, for he and Dunfermeling doe nothing but drink acquavity, as I am informed

by people who are cum in from them. The whole north is very peaceable at prefent. I received a line from your Lordfhip concerning his Majefties inftructions to Sir Allexander Bruce. I fhall give him a route where to finde the regements and troops pay'd by this kingdom; they are generally waike, by reafon of fom rude marches to which they were oblidged, perticularly the hors, but more efpecially the troops of Annandale and Balhaven, who were in the unlucky action of Athole, though I thank God their Majefties fervice, as things by his bleffing, have been manadged fince hath fuffer'd nothing by it; the troupes cannot be well recruted till I affigne them their winter quarters, which I doe not refolve to doe till nixt month. Ther are many ill men, I mean unfit for fervice, among the foot regements, and have great want of experienced officers; they have received precepts for the month of Aguft, fo that they are nothing behinde. I had no tyme all this Campaigne to look after the modelling of them, or bringing them to a better forme, fo that they are very raw and new as yet, but this winter (if ther wer a perfon of good capacity made ufe of as drill-mafter, to fee them well exercifed and mufter out the ill men) might put them in beter order. My Lord, ther is one Mr. Forbes, mafter gunner of the Caftle of Edinburgh, who, to my knowledge, fo long as I was here, and by the teftimony of Sir John Lanier, and the Brigadier Balfour before his death, hath been of great ufe for the reduction of the faid Caftle by his continuall and undeffatiquable pains; upon which account, before my laft march from this place, I gave him a provifionall order to exercife the charge of Lieutenant of the Arteyllerie, ther being none fo fit for it, Sletcher having abfolutely denyed to ferve his Majeftie at my arryvall from England; and Duree, though ufefull as an Ingeneur, not underftanding the Arteyllerie fo well as this man, therefore I earneftly defyre that your Lordfhip wold be pleafed to fpeak to his Majeftie, that he may reward his fervices with the place of Lieutenant of his Arteyllerie in Scotland, which will be a notable incouradgement to him to continow his faithfull fervices upon all occafions, as well as to others to follow the exemple of fuch as they fee confider'd for their for-

wardneſſe and fidelite in their Majeſties ſervice. I am not of oppinion that Sletcher ſhould be imploy'd any more in this kingdom, having refuſed to ſerve when ther was moſt need of him. I pray your Lordſhip to let me have your anſwer upon this as well as other things concerning the ſervice whereof I have wryten to your Lordſhip in my former letters, not forgeting the commiſſions of ſubalterns for Colonel Levingſtons regement, whereof ſeveralls are proviſionally placed by my orders, judging it for the ſervice, that ſuch a body commanded heretofore by diſaffected men ſhould not be without officers upon their head, in a tyme when ther was expected dayly occaſion to employ them; this is all at preſent from, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. Mackay.

I beg pardon for troubling your ſervants with my leters to put them upon the peny-poſt, that for the Secretarys your Lordſhip will have the goodneſſe to cauſe delyver.

36. Major General Mackay to Lord Melvill.

My Lord, *Edinburgh, the* 16*th Septembre* 1689.

Since (God be thanked) that it is lyck to goe well with the Kings ſervice ſo well here as in Ireland, I am of oppinion if the commiſſion to my Lord your ſon and to me, were continued, that wee could finde a way to break the Highland combination, which at the beſt that affaires can goe, will allwayes ſave his Majeſtie more money then it will coſt him, for I am for certain informed that Maclean makes no profeſſion of poperie, and if ſo be, in ſecuring him from the uter ruine that he apprehends by my Lord Argiles credit, he can be brought of in my oppinion, and his falling away from them wold quickly oblidge the reſte to look to their ſafty. Tis not becauſe that I apprehend any undertaking of theirs for

this winter which can trouble the government, that I make this propoſition; but beſydes the advantage of ſetling maters with the firſt, I judge it not the Kings ſervice to ruine thoſe auncient familys, that a nighbour might be made too great thereby, but rather that the King ſhould pay his pretention in mony, then to let him have ſuch a command, who certainly hath not all the neceſſary command over himſelf, but is too much caryed with paſſion againſt the familys to which he beleeves he doth ow a prejudice, as he hath diſcover'd lately in Athole. My Lord your ſon will wryt more fully of this mater.

If the King hath not adoe with all the Daniſh forces in Ireland, I could wiſh he did let a few of them over winter in Scotland. I did wryt to the Secretary at war about it, for the regements of Colcheſter and Berckly are capable of litle ſervice till they be recruited, and Laniers, Hayfords and Haſtings are marching for Ireland, where I wiſh they were all ready, for if things goe well there, wee'l have the leſſe to doe here. I hop the King will permit mee, in ordre to my better preparation for the nixt campaigne, where his ſervice ſhall require to make a ſtep for Holland this winter, to ordre my family and litle affaires. I am of oppinion that it wold be for his Majeſtie's ſervice to make Sir George Munro of his pryvy councel, and to give him ſom penſion to ſtay allwayes at Edinburgh; for though he be old and infirme, he is yet of a ſound judgement, and his advice both in military and civil affaires, wold be of great aſſiſtance to the councell, for he can in all things which might occur, aſſiſt them to give pertinent orders to the reſpective officers in their ſeveral quarters where I ſhall place them. He is certainly a well-wiſher of this cauſe, and is now a Parlement member, choſen ſince your Lordſhip went up. I pray your Lordſhip to let me have your oppinion upon theſe particullars, which I propoſe only for the Kings ſervice. Sir George hath his judgement and memorie as freſch yet as he had thirty years agoe, and underſtands perfectly the Highlanders, and how to deale with them; if his Majeſtie will doe this, hee and I will project before I ſhould goe from this, if I be permitted, what meaſures moſt be followed to proceed againſt them if they

ſhould not ſubmit; this is all at preſent from my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

I pray your Lordſhip to ſend the incloſed to the Earle of Portland.

37. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edinbruch, the* 16 *Septembre* 1689.

This gentleman bearer hereof, Henry Rolo of Woodſyde, being a perſon very well affected to their Majeſties ſervice and the Proteſtant religion, and by me put in truſt of the command of the Caſtle of Blakneſſe, when I came down from the King, as a perſon in whom I could truſt for the cuſtody of priſoners; I pray your Lordſhip to recommend him to his Majeſtie to be continued in the ſaid poſt, being aſſured he cannot put a more deſerving perſon in that place, according to the teſtimony of all ſuch as know him. I am, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

38. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edinbrugh, the* 16*th Septembre* 1689.

This gentlewoman being the widow of one of the Captains of my regement, kill'd in the late occaſion with the rebells, I could not refuſe her a recommendation to your Lordſhip, in caſe ther be any allowance for ſuch perſons; her huſbands name was Lamy: his Majeſtie knowes the people; he was a brave man, and had taken himſelf up lately ſo well, that I was reſolved to recommend him for his advancement when occaſion ſhould offer. The moſt parte of the officers of my battaillon were kill'd upon the ſpot; my brother, Lamy and Captain Angus Mackay, who were as brave as any men could be, were ſhot, and afterwards being abandoned of their men, diſpatch'd with broad ſwords; my nephew Captain Robert Mackay,

who was a young man, and his firſt ſervice before an ennemy, fought ſtoutly for his lyf, and diſingadged himſelf, having received four conſiderable wounds of broad ſwords in his head and body, to whom my Lord your ſon having met with him in his wounds, generouſly gave his own hors to cary him of, till his ſervant at laſt came up with his own; and my Captain Lieutenant Mackenzie was left mortally wounded among the dead, and was helped of therafter when I marched of the feelds with the feu men that ſtood, ſo that all the Captains of the battaillon I had there, were either killed or doe beare the marks of their good behaviour; beſydes that I loſt about ſix very good ſubalterns, and briſk fellows. I pray your Lordſhip to doe your beſt to get ſom conſideration for this poor widow. I am, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

There is another poor widow (a ſtrenger) of one Lt. Chambers of Colonel Balfours regement, whoſe huſband was kill'd there alſo, and was a reſolut man according to the teſtimony of his officers, whom I recommend alſo to your Lordſhips charitable offices by their Majeſties.

39. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edinbruch, the 23d September* 1689.

The bearer hereof I recommended together with Captain Lamys widow to your Lordſhip by another leter; but being with child and not able to goe by land, ſhee importuned me for this ſecond recommendation; her huſband was one Chambers, Lieutenant in Colonel Balfour's regement, and killed in the late occaſion in Athol; ſhee is a ſtrenger and expects ſom charity of their Majeſties; her huſband was known to be a brave fellow. I doe recommend her then to your Lordſhips charitable offices, being, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

40. Major-General Mackay to the Duke of Hamilton.

May it pleafe your Grace, *Edinbrugh, the* 11*th Octobre* 1689.

Underftanding that ther might be fom thoughts of putting others in the charges hitherto officiated by Mr. Hamilton of Binny, I cannot in juftice forbeare to teftifie that I have found him affectioned to their Majefties fervice and the prefent caufe, ready and diligent to goe about his duty fo far as deppended of him, and free to ingadge his own credit where the publick directions were wanting, not judging it the intreft of the fervice to change ufeful men, ons formed to the manadgement of their buffineffe, (and perticullar that of the Secretary at War,) to get in fuch as muft be made to it; therefore I wifh he may be continued for the eafe of fuch as fhall happen to command their Majefties forces here. I have been this 10 or 12 dayes in Perthfhire ordering the garifons; at the Blair ther are 500 men; at Finlarig 200, which are all the hous is capable of till convenience of beding be made, at Weemb 200, and at Camfmore, Cardros and Drumekill, 6 companies of the Earle of Angufes regement, which is not above 600 men at prefent; with all I am certainly informed that the said Earles own companie was never in being: in my opinion it were beft to reduce them to ten companies, for which ther might be found good officers and men of fom fervice in the regiment, and who are not of the wilde principles; but if it be continued a regement, ther ought prefently be fent a good Lieutenant Colonel, a man of fervice to it; upon the noyfe that the Highlanders were refolved to difquiet again the northern fhires, I order'd fom hors and dragoons over Spey, and if need be upon further advertifment Sir Thomas Levingfton to follow them with more; the forces are feperated in quarters as followes, my two battaillons with Blantires and Eglintons and Roffes troops at Sterling, Balfours two battailons, Argiles with Newbottles and Grubets troops at Perth, Ramfays two battailons with Annandale and Belhavens troops at Dundie, Angus and Cardros at

Monros, Brechen, Ardbroth and Forfare, Levingſtons dragoons with the other ſix troops of hors, in the ſhires of Aberdone, Bamf, Moray, and ſo to Indernefſ, with the regements of foot of Leſſie, Strathnaver and Grant at Indernefſe, Fores and Elgin, to be drawn together upon advertiſment of the commanding officer in thoſe quarters, the half regements of Mar, Glenkairne and Bargany, (the other 5 companies of each being in the gariſons of Blair, Finlarig and Weemb.) I lodged at Cooper of Fif, Inderkethin and Dumfermeling, to be made up again, for they are ſcandelouſly waik; Levins regement with ſix companies of Beuuridge are at Lieth and Canegate; by this diſpoſition the low countrey over all is guarded, and the forces ſo lodged, that in a ſhort tyme a good body of them may be drawn together whether in the ſouth or north; but if this winter they interpriſe any thing, it will be to the north, becauſe it doth lye neare them; this is all I can inform your Grace of at preſent, ſave my being alwayes, May it pleaſe your Grace, your Graces moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

41. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edinbrugh, the 12th Octobre* 1689.

I received your Lordſhips of the 5th from Newmarket, inſinuating his Majeſties order to have from me the true ſtate of the forces on foot in this countrey, with what regements and troops are fitteſt to be keept up, ſince ther is no money to pay the whole; 'tis not poſſible for mee at preſent to anſwer to the former, becauſe the nature of the countrey and the ſervice doth require their ſepperation at no leſſe diſtance than betuixt Glaſcow and Indernefſe in a half circle, bordering the Highlands, in all which bounds I muſt take my meaſures ſo that where the Rebells (whoſe ſtrength when together is all in one body,) doe turn head or move, I may have preſently together wherewithall to make head to them, ſo that the

regements which lye be north Spey, I have not ſeen ſince the midle of July laſt, after the Highlanders had ſeparate and I had formed a deſſeyn to goe to Lochaber, though I confeſs too late for any preparations I could get to effectuat it, but in generall I may ſay, that though many of the regements are little worth, yet the diſbanding of them might be of evell conſequence till things be further advanced in Ireland, and my raiſon is, firſt, that the name of them doth keep the countrey in ſom aw, at leaſt the low countrey, of which benorth Tay wee are not very ſure except ſom feu familys; nixt the great diſtance of countrey to garde over all, at leaſt 200 miles, and the manyfold gariſons to mantaine requires many men, beſyds that wee muſt have hors and foot over all to forme a body where thoſe Highlanders appeare and fall down, ſo that wee muſt make account to be oblidged to keep at leaſt triple the number that they can be able to put together to withſtand their attempts over all; the Highlands lying in a maſſe contiguous together, and ſurrounded with the low countrey, ſo that making a feinte to draw our forces north or ſouth, they may (cutting ſhort through the hills,) ſurpriſe other parts before the ſame body could be bak again to oppoſe them; this is the true notion of this ſort of war, and the ſituation of the kingdom will let your Lordſhip or any other ſee it in the map, ſo that my opinion is clearly that none of the hors or dragouns be diſbanded this winter, if his Majeſtie reſolve not to ſend others in their place, and that 6 battaillons of the new levied foot or at leaſt five be keept on foot, for our regements and the Earle of Levens ought to be keept diſingadged from gariſons to forme one body or more (according to the nature of the ennemys interpryſes) when occaſion might require; for if a competent number of forces in the kingdom be wanting, ther ſhall appeare more ennemys then doth appeare as yet; the only aprehenſion of the forces and Duke Schombergs paſſage to Ireland being that which diſcouradged them, ſo that my opinion is, that his Majeſtie ought rather to be at ſom expences to keep a formidable body on foot for this winter, then to hazard a longer continuation of the troubles of this kingdom, which is not yet ſo very ſetled as could be wiſhed, though forces being layd as I have

and ſhall further appoint them ; I am perſuaded the ennemy for this yeare cannot doe much harme ; if his Majeſtie reſolve to break ſom of the foot, his favour ought to regulat it, for ther is litle difference, only that I beleeve the regements of Mar, Glenkarne and Blantire to be of the worſt ſort, alſo a battaillon of Angus might be brock ; but one good might be made of it if ther were a man of ſervice put vpon the head of it, for the men are good, and ther may be for that number of good officers of ſom ſervice, and not of their wilde principles got among them, I beleeve that Strathnaver and Grant have as good men as any of the reſt ; I had no tyme all this yeare to look after the modelling of them, being continually ingadged againſt the Rebells ſince I came to Scotland except a feu weeks the beginning, and though my indeavours had not all the ſucces which humanly one might propoſe to himſelf in my chief ingadgement with them, nevertheleſſe the Kings affaires hath ſuffer'd nothing by it through Gods bleſſing vpon my preſent diligence to hinder the ennemy from the advantage which he propoſed to himſelf thereby, and which certainly he had obtained if he had not met with preſent oppoſition, though my number was but very ſmall, not exceeding 450 hors and dragouns moſt new and ill armed men. My Lord, though I wold gladly ſee my family and litle intreſt, not knowing if it be not in this winter ſaiſon, when I can promis that ſatisfaction to myſelf again in tyme of war ; I ſubmit to his Majeſties pleaſur, but ſince my being here in a tyme when the ennemy cannot keep long in a body, is only or moſtly in regarde of direction, if your Lordſhip wold be pleaſed to promot by the King my propoſition touching Sir George Munro, who is a man though old, as freſh in his judgement and memorie as any man that ever I did ſee of his adge, and vnderſtands exactly the countrey, and the intreſt of the Highlanders, and how to give directions for their ſuppreſſion, I make no queſtion but it wold contribut much to the ſervice : the King needs not imploy him in a generall character but to put him vpon the Pryvy Counſell, and let him have a penſion of two or three hundert pounds yearly to help to keep him at Edinbrugh. I am fully perſuaded of his affection to the preſent cauſe, for I had occa-

ſion to diſcours with him when I was in the North upon all maters relating to the preſent juncture of tyme and affaires, and had very good advice and ſatisfaction on that head from him; moreover though I were to ſtay alwayes in Scotland, I wold wiſh to have ſuch a man vpon the Counſell, perticullarly when the ſervice ſhould require my abſence from the board; pray then my Lord neglect not the repreſenting of it to the King, for I can aſſure you that it is his ſervice let other men aleage to the contrary what they will, for I declare that it is only a motion of myn, and that he nor none in his behalf hath ever broached it to me, and in ſo doeing, the King can ſafly ſpare mee for this winter out of the countrey, and nixt yeare his Majeſtie can judge where I can be moſt ſerviceable to him, in what command or quality he pleaſes, for I am not a man to value myſelf, becauſe I am of opinion that not the ſervant but the maſter ought to be judge in that caſe, for I ſhall never be a mercenary ſervant to their Majeſties, nor ſtand vpon conditions wherin they judge me vſefull for the promotion of their ſervice.

But to return to the conſideration of the forces, I pray your Lordſhip whatever the King reſolve as to the foot, let not the hors and dragouns be reduced to a ſmaller number for a while yet, till things be better fixed in Ireland, and if his Majeſtie break more than 4 battaillons, they might be conſider'd thus; of Angus one battaillon, Glenkarns regiment, Mars regement, Blantires and Kenmores, for certainly they are the worſt, and Angus though the men be good it can make but one battaillon at preſent; if the hors be keept ther is a neceſſity to regement them, for they ſhall not otherwyſe be capable of ſerving ſo well nor be ſo well cared for; I pray your Lordſhip to mynd the maſter of Forbes, who hath ſhewed as much affection to their Majeſties ſervice and the preſent cauſe as any man in Scotland; as did alſo Sir George Gordon of Edinglaſſie, who were very inſtrumentall to keep Aberdone and Bamffſhires from joyning the ennemy when I was ingadged againſt them with ſmall forces, before ſom was got on foot, I have no intreſt therin but the Kings ſervice, for they are neither my relations nor acquaintance till the occaſion of his ſervice

(by diſtinguiſhing themſelves therin), did make them known to me. I wiſh things be accommodated there, (the moſt leading men of the hous being up) before the nixt Seſſion, God knowes that I ſeek no intreſt thereby but the happy ſetlement of the kingdom under the moſt happy government of their Majeſties, wiſhing that all the world called proteſtants were ſo ſelf-denyed therein, as I thank God I am, for I have no quarell againſt any, God knowes, but the publick quarell; and I may ſay to the Scots as Samwell ſaid to the Iſraelites, that I have coveted no mans goods, nor ever thought to benefit myſelf therin to the prejudice of an other; yea the ennemys of my maſter can be my witneſſes, that if I uſed any rigour (which was very litle, or none at all in compariſon of their deſerts) it was ſolely upon the account of his ſervice; after which proteſtations, if I ſhould offer any advice as to the preſent diviſions, none I am ſure can do it with more liberty, being engadged in no party or intereſt, but that of their Majeſties ſervice, and the Proteſtant religion, for I make no eſſentiall difference betwixt Preſbiterieniſme and Epiſcopacy, ſo their be no offending ſupperſtition, neither ſeek I any eſtabliſhment or advantage in the kingdom. I crave your Lordſhips pardon for this long letter, but I cannot comprehend ſo much of my mynd, (which I find myſelf oblidged to communicat to you) in feu words, I pray your Lordſhip to make ſom reflexion upon the whole, and at convenient tyme to let his Majeſtie ſee it, ſince I never repreſent things to him but by the Earle of Portland and your Lordſhip, knowing that neither of you will faile in what is of his true ſervice, ſo far as you can be informed of things. I am, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

I doe not know what will becum of our regements except their [be] ſom money ſent down by ſea, for wee can draw none here, Lauder hath brought along for his, but myn with Ramſays, and your ſons doe want much. I heare there is a fregate to cum down; therfor pray be pleſed my Lord, to move the ſending ſom down that way, at leaſt to the end of

Novembre, to ſerve. Vander Eſch knowes how much of it wee want as yet. Wee have had hitherto much adoe to get credit for them, but I have made ſom litle for my own. If this occaſion be let paſſe, wee may be reduced to great neceſſity. It were alſo fit more poudre, match and ball were ſent down, for our magaſins ought to be beter provided. The forces are generally ill armed, moſt of them being match locks.

42. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edinbrugh, the 15th Octobre*, 1689.

I forgot to ſhew you, that what reports you might have had when you wrot your laſt from Newmarcket, of the rebells gathering again to a head, could not be tru, for I have no certain newes of it as yet, nothwithſtanding that upon the apprehenſions of ſom of our friends in the north I order'd Sir Thomas Levingſton (whom I left with his own regement, and 6 companies of hors in Aberdeenſhire, to ſecure the north when I was laſt there, obſerving the rebells motions, and to hinder them from profiting of their victory) to paſſe over Spey to Muray, with eight troopes of the 12, which he had by him, nether doe I beleeve that they will cum in any conſiderable body abroad this winter, and though they ſhould, provided the King break not too many of the forces, and perticullarly that he keep the hors and dragoons on foot, till he ſee how the affaires ſhall goe in Ireland; they ſhall not do much harme, for they cannot lodge in the hills, nor ſafly deſcend to the low countrey for our hors and dragouns; it is not apparent that they ſhall think of fortifying themſelves at Innerlochy, becauſe it wold be ſo much worck don to our hand; their beſt fortifications and fitteſt for their purpos are the hills, woods and bogs. I have often inteligence out of thoſe places; all that makes them ſo oppiniatre, is the ſpreading of fals newes among them, which was Dundies method, and is now cunningly contryved by the prieſts. I pray you my Lord let your reflexions goe over the propoſition which I made touching

Sir George Munro of Culrain, who is very fit to be in his Majeſties counſel, for he is a man of long experience, and very affectioned to their Majeſties and the preſent cauſe. I am, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

43. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edinbrugh, the 22d Octobre* 1689.

I have given my oppinion in my former leters concerning the forces, and how I apprehended that a caſſation might give occaſion to prolong the civill diſturbances of this nation, by hardning the rebells againſt the government, and perticullarly that I was not of oppinion any of the hors and dragouns ſhould be licenciat for this winter, nevertheleſſe not knowing what raiſons his Majeſtie might have to the contrarie, I have delay'd to make a finall diſpoſition of both hors and foot to their winter quarters, till I know whether the King will keep the whole, or what parte of them he ſhall be pleaſed to intertaine in his pay and ſervice, which reſolution I wiſh your Lordſhip wold procure, and ſend down with all ſpeed upon the forſaid conſideration. I am of oppinion that a battaillon of the Earle of Anguſes regement ought to be intertained ſo long as his Majeſtie may have occaſion for ſuch, becauſe they behaved well againſt the rebells at Dunkell, as a teſtimony of his Majeſties eſteem, but they ought to be a man of ſervice put upon their head, for at this tyme they ſhall ſcarcely make up the number of ſix hunder men: nixt I doe judge that my Lord Strathnavers, and the Laird of Grant's regements are the beſt and completeſt; Barganys is compoſed of good men, but moſt of them Scots Iriſh, who came over laſt ſomer. Argils regement needs mending, which he promiſed to doe; the reſt I wrote to your Lordſhip of by my leters in anſwer to your laſt; the diſtance to garde from the rebells attempts is very ſpacious, from Dumbarton to beyond Indernefſe, and the motions of forces from one place to another, not only uncertain, but many tymes

impoſſible in the winter ſaiſon, as it hath been now for ten or twelve dayes together for the great rains and ſpets, and beleeve me, my Lord, that it is power and not affection that makes many in this kingdom ſubmit to their Majeſties hapy government, which ſhows by what ſpirit they are led, and that the Jeſuits have gone a great length to attaine their deſſeyn of wiping all conſcience of religion out of the hearts of the inhabitants of this iſland, that theirs might find the more eaſie ingreſſe with them, for ſurely of the vaſt number of diſcontented ſpirits, we have raiſon to beleeve that very feu of them wold prefer the Proteſtant Religion even to their eſtates, though their lyves were not in hazard thereby, ſo that ſuch as have acces to his Majeſtie, and are reſolved to ſtand or fall with and for his government, ought to adviſe him to ſuitable meaſures, without regarde of being at ſom extraordinary expence till things be beter ſecured, for arms are *journaliere*, ſo that his Majeſties forces elſwhere (by many accidents which all the humane prudence in the world ſomtymes cannot prevent) might happen to receive ſom *eſchec*, without indangering much the generall intreſt of his ſervice, if men be garded againſt them, which otherwyſe might prove of a facheous ſuite, if men were not provided againſt the deſſeyns which a litle diſadvantage wold ſet our ennemys upon from all hands; nevertheleſſe this is but my judgement, the value of which, I hop, wee ſhall not have occaſion to eſſay. There is no newes here as yet of the Daniſh forces of which I admire extremely, the wind having been very good of a long tyme, and now at the wryting of this lyke to change. The Engliſh forces from here are landed in Ireland, and I wiſh ther were ſo many that the Duke were in condition to diſpute for his winter quarters mere ſoutherly, before either ſieckneſſe or the rigour of the weather oblidge him to make uſe of ſuch as are behind him. My Lord, I preſſe yet as the intreſt of the Kings ſervice, the putting Sir George Munro with a penſion of 300 lib upon the Privy Councell, in doeing of which, beſydes the forſaid conſideration, your Lordſhip hath that of your ſon, the Earle of Levens, being the firſt officer in rank in this kingdom in my abſence, who, (though he be a perſon of as much capacity and firmity as can be found of his age and ſervice

among his Majefties fubjects, yea, and beyond men of much longer fervice in diligence and defcretion, without flattering your Lordfhip) wold never the leffe be much the better of the folide directions of fuch an old and experienced fouldier and ftatfman; he is alltogether a Proteftant, and for their Majefties government, and though he be more a Prefbiterian, as I beleeve, then Epifcopall, yet not bigotly attached to a rigicie in either, which, in my oppinion, is the more raifonable notion of the mater as to Scotland, if things could be concerted there, a fetlement of a church government wold be very requifit in this kingdom. I pray your Lordfhip to let mee have affoon as poffible his Majefties pleafure upon fom of thofe heads, and beleeve mee allways, my Lord, your Lordfhips moft humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

44. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edinbrugh, the* 31st *Octobre* 1689.

I have pray'd your Lordfhip in my laft to difpatch down his Majefties finall refolution as to the forces (which fhall be keept on foot for this winter,) to the end I may order them in quarters as fhall be judged moft convenient for repelling the Rebells attempts, and keeping the ill-affected in aw, till the tyme of the yeare be propre for their finall reduction with Gods blefling upon their Majefties arms fo well here as elfwhere. As I faid before, my oppinion is, not that they fhould be much retrenched in number, till things be further advanced and fecured in Ireland, and I beleeve that the readyeft wayes for fupplying of them with money for fom mounths wold be, to ingadge fuch branches of the Kings revenues as doe not deppend of a gift of Parlement, to fuch perfons as wold advance money upon them till they be repayed of what foums they fhall advance, that being the moft neceffary charge which his Majeftie can be at here; I was founding fom perfons allready upon the head, who doe beleeve money might be had thereby; I propofed nothing of it in counfell, neither doe I

oblidge the officers to recrute, but doe caufe pay them upon the foot of their prefent ftrength, till his Majefties further pleafur be known, which wold be fent without delay; the very name of braking of forces at this tyme (our ennemys knowing that maters are not fo very cleare in Ireland as yet) wold make them more infolent, every litle appearance being ready to make them big with hops. Your Lordfhip hath never anfwer'd mee as to my propofition concerning Sir George Munro; I have no other intreft in it but the Kings fervice, and I doubt whether any that fhall advyfe your Lordfhip to the contrarie do mind it fo fincerely, at leaft I can boldly fay, that none in Scotland is in this caufe and their Majefties fervice leffe intereffed in any thing that I fhall advance touching the maters of this kingdom, where I have fo much occafion to difcover mens partiality generally; all that I can fay as to the perfon I faid before, and though I were to be confined allwayes to this countrey, (which fhall never be with my confent longer then the neceffity of their Majefties fervice fhall require) I wold be very defyrous of the advyce of fuch a man, I pray then, my Lord, let me know the Kings pleafur concerning it, for I wold gladly leave his fervice here in as great fecurity as I can, holding for granted, that his Majeftie will permit mee to fee my family this winter if the Dains were paft ons.

My Lord, Sir George Gordon of Edinglaffie, having diftinguifhed himfelf in affection and readyneffe upon all occafions to ferve his Majeftie, and the intreft of the Proteftant religion, and the Pryvy Counfell upon the reiterat reports which I made of his unwearyed zeale and pains for the advancement of their Majefties fervice, having recommended him to the King for the firft vacant troop among the hors or dragouns; and now the Laird of Blair being dead, I pray your Lordfhip to recommend him for his troop; it will fhew others that his Majeftie is not infenfible of honeft mens fervices, and be more ferviceable in his hands then any two of the reft, for he is a brauve fturring man, befydes, my Lord, that he hath got a confiderable loffe in his hous and lands, which were intirely plundered, when I was oblidged to make a retreat of 2 or 3 dayes this foumer before the Highlanders to joyn more forces, at which tyme he abandoned hous

and all to cum joyn mee. I pray you, my Lord, let it not goe by him; the old man that commands it provifionally is not fo fit; I can affure you none in Scotland will do more fervice upon the head of it then hee; I pray you alfo to be myndfull upon occafion of the mafter of Forbes, tis a family that hath been keept at under thefe many yeares upon th' account that it was judged more Prefbiterian then Epifcopall, though allways very moderat, as is alfo this gentleman, one of the moft generous youths and moft throughly ingadged for this intreft of any I know in the kingdom, without the leaft regarde of what may follow, refolving to finck or fwim with it. I recommend then, my Lord, fuch to your Lordfhips care, and to the gracious marks of the Kings favour. I am, my Lord, your Lordfhips moft humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

45. LORD MELVILL TO MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY.

I receaved your's of the 31 paft, and did communicat the famyn to his Majefty, as I allwife faithfully did all that you fent to me, but that you have not gott fuch returns as you defired or expected, feverall interveening accidents may occafion the fame. But you may affure your felff I was allwayes cairfull both to reprefent what you defired and exactly to follow his Majefties commands in making returns to you. His Majefty read every word of this laft of yours, but was fo weary that he gave no orders thereanent, therefor yow gett not a full anfwere; but before this come to your hand yow are accquainted with the Councils letter and additionall inftructions to yourfelff, Sir George Monro, and my fon; I fent alfo your comiffion for being Generall Major of all his Majefties forces in Scotland, all which went away on Sabbath morning. There is great difficulty in difbanding either horfe or dragoons; want of money is a great hinderance to his Majefties affairs. By the aditional inftructions you have a greater latitude. In confidering the difficulties you tranfmitted here, you give a

conjecturall opinion that there will be but about 4000 effectuall foot, which feems ftraing, there being 6000 by the eftablifhment of the Convention, befides the old and new garifons and independent companies, which, with the nine regiments, conform to the laft mufter-rolls, did extend to 6362 men. You fee that his Majefty defignes to tranfport a confiderable number of thefe forces, and it will be fitt that whatever attempt be made by the Highlanders upon the low country, there be a force fufficient for to prefs them, whereby of neceffity fome garrifons muft be flighted, therefor it was very reafonable that his Majefty fhould be acquainted what places are neceffare for garrifons and what not. That difficulty which yow propofe anent the Lowland regiments not being accquainted with the country feems fufficiently anfwered, that if a certain number of the beft experienced Highlanders fhall be detatched from their own regiments and incorporat with the South-country regiments, who are or fhall be pofted nixt to the rebells, feing yow feem to be fo much concerned for thir things that you prefent, now I wonder there was not fome touch of them in the difficultys tranfmitted here with the flying packet, not doubting of your zeall for the prefent intreft, and fincere affection to his Majefty fervice, as his Majefty evidences his entire confidence in yow. By refufing to grant to your defire, I fhall forbear any further diffcanting upon the ftrain of your letter wifhing that there may be no miftakes betwixt yow and your old friends, and that no infinuations of any perfones with yow may have that influence to make yow entertain prejudices againft thofe that wifh you well.

46. Major-General Mackay to Lord Melvill.

My Lord, *Edinbrugh the 5th November* 1689.

I expected long er this that I fhould have received his Majefties finall orders concerning the forces pay'd in Scotland, for as I have wryten to the full formerly, I cannot make a finall difpofition of them in garifons

and quarters till I know which, and what number of them the King will intertaine in his ſervice: I have alſo delyver'd my oppinion fully as to the conſequence of diſbanding of forces during a ſtanding rebellion in the kingdom, the unſetled ſtate of the nation (divided generally in two factions, wherof the one doth not favour his Majeſties government, and no doubt wold gladly lay hold upon the occaſion to trouble it, if by diſarming or otherwayes it were preſented) and the only party in whom wee can truſt, and which, I hop, will not be ſo mad as to act againſt his intreſt that brought them ſo ſaiſonable a deliverance, ſubdevided among themſelves, which at leaſt hath that bad effect of giving ground of hops to our ennemys, beſydes that the preſent ſtate of affairs in Ireland is not as yet ſo advantagious for us as wee expected, and our ennemys apprehended, by which, my Lord, you can judge, that my oppinion for not diſbanding is not alltogether groundleſſe, but how to get them pay'd, I leave to others to propoſe it to his Majeſtie; but ſo it is that I am told, that there is ſcearcely to cleare the precepts of the laſt mounth, and though the laſt poſt ſave one, I have wryten to your Lordſhip ſomething concerning thoſe branches of the revenues which run in courſe. I find by nearer information, that as things goe now, at the outmoſt extent they ſhall not make 40000 lb Sterling a-yeare, beſyds, that men are very unwilling to ingadge their effects upon ſuch a fond, till they ſee things in a better ſetlement. I ſend your Lordſhip an account of what the payment of thoſe forces doth amount to monthly, and ſuppoſing his Majeſty in three or four months tyme, either will, with Gods aſſiſtance, have his affaires in Ireland better ſecured, (which will much ſecure this kingdom) or find, by way of a Parlement, means to pay what forces he may have uſe for here. If things might ſeeme to continu ſomwhat longer in a ballance in that kingdom, juge whether for the ſaving of the mater of 30000 lb the leaſt hazard for the government ought to be run, which, to redreſſe, haply wold coſt ſix tymes more, beſydes the diverſion which the continuation of a civill war may occaſion for his Majeſties forces, which wold be more uſefull elſwhere, and that the money wold be reembourſed againe, when his Majeſtie ſhould think

fit to let the Parlement fit againe. If fuch of the Englifh counfell as haply may oppofe the advance of money for the fecurity of Scotland, did but confider what great foumes Cromwell did fpend to that fame effect, judging he could never be fecure in his government without fecuring Scotland to his intreft, certainly they wold not make fo light a mater of it, and, I may fay, wee have as many oppofers, both in their defignes and indeavours againft their Majefties fervice and intereft as he had, and as dangerous and difficult a conjuncture for England (by an untoward humour, dryving many of the inhabitants of thofe Proteftant kingdoms downright againft their own happyneffe) as it was at that tyme, though the fubject of the quarell now adayes be much more jufte, and of a more indifpenfable tye upon all Proteftant confciences to fupport a government by which they have received fo fignall a delyvrance. By this ftate of the payment of the Scots ftanding forces, at their full number as they are now pay'd, a monthly loan of 11085 lb Sterling wold doe the buffineffe, and if his Majeftie think fit to reforme 5 battaillons (which is the half of the foot, for I am not for reducing any of the hors and dragouns as yet) in the other five, to make them better and fuller, it will leffen the foume to 7105 lb Sterling monthly; making in 4 months 28420 lb, for the reft of the expences may be had here, and I hop before thofe months be paft, his Majeftie will have otherways ether to fupply them or difpens fafly with their fervice. I wifh only a quick refolution to be taken; the forementioned Cromwell was triple that foume out upon each of four citadelles which he built in Scotland, befydes an armie which he mantained here upon Englifh pay feverall years, before he could draw any confiderable foumes of this kingdom; and though his quarell was not good, it is not forbiden to follow his politick exemples in things wherein he may be lawfully imitated, thefe arguments tending only to fhow how neceffary he judged it for the fafty of England to have Scotland well fecured. I finde Sir George Munro much better difpofed and more vigourous then when I did fee him in the North, and very ready to ferve his Majeftie and his government to his outmoft indeavour. He is here and gives your Lordfhip his

humble dutys. I am, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

47. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edinbrugh, the 9th November* 1689.

Since my laſt to your Lordſhip, I have wryten in the ſame terms to the Earle of Portland concerning the forces, and the neceſſity both of keeping of them for the moſt parte on foot, and of a loan of money out of England, which no queſtion may be returned when the Parlement can meet again in a good humour, which I hop may be expected when they ſhall conſider the prejudice their untymely diſputes (granting they were in the right) is lyke to occaſion to the nation, by leaving the moſt effenciall points for which they have ſo long ſtrugled againſt the former governments, and was th' occaſion of their greateſt complaints and ſufferings unſetled, when it was in their obtion to eſtabliſh them by law. It were very fit, my Lord, that a ſpeedy reſolution were taken as to the forces, and that if his Majeſtie break any of them, the beſt officers among the whole were keept. I think ſtrenge that the Engliſh ſcruple ſo much to have Scots ſent to Ireland, ſeeing they can imploy them as they doe other ſtrangers, and ſend them away when their worck is don; for certainly it were better management to ſend them thither then to diſband them, for I am perſuaded they will ſerve his Majeſtie ſincerely. The Earle of Glenkairns and the Lord Barganys regements are moſt compoſed of Iriſh; the ſaid Earle is a very honeſt man and well affected to the preſent government, and he, with his predeceſſours, have ſuffered both upon th' account of loyalty and religion. Ther is no newes of the Dains as yet; I find the money orderd for their tranſport throw this kingdom very krimp, ſo that hors and foot, conſidered one with another, twill ſcearcely make eight ſhillings a man: I hop when they ſhall be reimbarcked, or that

wee ſhall no longer expect them for this winter, that I ſhall have permiſſion to goe up to London to wait on his Majeſtie and receive his commands for Holland; for I knew his Majeſties reſolution ſo ſhort a tyme before our march laſt yeare, that I had none to leave orders for my litle concern there; beſyds, that I ſee no neceſſity for mee here during the winter ſaiſon, perticullarly ſince his Majeſtie is reſolved to put Major Generall Munro in the Government. I can not ſufficiently admire the ſtay of those Dains, the wind having been for ſo long a tyme continually good; haply good meaſures have not been taken for their proviſions. I pray your Lordſhip to diſpatch his Majeſties pleaſur as to the forces. I am, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

48. SIR JAMES LESLIE TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Inverneſs, the* 6 *December* 1689.

I have receiv'd yours of the 14 fifteen dayes after the date; for it came by Captain Baxter, who was ſoe long by the way; but if it had come ſooner, I could have put a garriſon in Eclaſs, but now it is impoſſible, (if the intelligence I have be true); for the enemie is drawing togeather in a verry conſiderable body, as you will find by the account I herewith ſend you. Your cannon and ammunition is not yet arriv'd, therefore am thinking vpon this vrgent occaſion to ſend away a boate to gett it brought here, which we ſhall be in great want of, and, if poſſible I can, I will bring the cannon too. I ſhall give an account of this to Colonell Levingſton, that, in caſe they ſhould come, I might haue his aſſiſtance.

I am certainely inform'd, that 500 of the rebells were come to Vrquett; they threatned the Caſtle, but I looke vpon it to be in little dainger, they haueing a fortnights or three weekes proviſſions.

I ſent the laſt night Captain Grant vp with ten bowles of meale and ammunition, and 13 men and a ſargeant of my regiment, and 12 of my

Lord Strathnavers; but the boat ſpringing a leake by forcing her out of the river into the laugh, he tooke but 12 of my men and a ſargeant, and ſent the reſt back againe.

I deſigne to ſend for the three companies of Colonell Grants regiment this night or to-morrow, and will likewiſe ſend for 120 men out of the two Caſtles, and think it convenient to ſtrengthen myſelfe as well as I can, they hauing a deſigne againſt this place, as it is whiſpered by the beſt intelligence I have. You know that my Lord Strathnavers regiment and Colonell Grants haue noe cloathes as yett, and are verry ill arm'd, ſoe what ſervice can be expected you beſt know yourſelfe; but they are verry good bodyes of men, but haue neither ſwords nor bagganetts. Whether the enemies deſigne be upon this place Roſs, or Murray, I cannot tell; for, by the account I give you, they come in two bodyes. It is reported, that they ſay, if they find us in ſuch a condition as that they cannot atack us, they will burne all the corne and ſtraw, the peates and mills round about us; and if they are of that ſtrength they are reported to be, I am ſure I ſhall not be in a condition to oppoſe them in the field.

I heare there is a battallion of foot come to Aberdeen, which, if they were here, they might be of great uſe; but whether it be true I am not certaine. My not heareing from you puts me to a greate deale of trouble, and the forces that are here are ſoe ill paid, that a great many of them are quartering up and downe the countrey for ſeaſs, which weakens the companies verry much, ſoe that I cannot draw them ſoe eaſiely togeather.

I have juſt now received a letter from Corremonie, your nephewes brother in law, that the Highlanders are come into the countrey of Vrquett, with 4 or 500 men, under the command of Glengerry and my Lord Fredrick, and this night or to-morrow they expect Laugheale and Cannon with more forces. It is reported, that a great many of the M'Kenzies are like to joyne them, as likewiſe ſeverall of the Fraziers. What offers, from time to time, ſhall informe, as becomes, honoured Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

JAMES LESLIE.

This is the account of what people, I am inform'd, will joyne them, beſide the few Iriſh they have.

Colonell Cannon,
Loughheale and his men,
Glenco,
Kepoch,
The Badinoch men,
The Strathharrick men,
The Laird of M'Lean.
Theſe are deſigned to come on the ſouth ſide of the Neſs.

The Laird of Glengerrey of Knoder,
The Captain of Glenrannald,
The Laird of Murrar,
The Laird of M'Donnald of Slait,
The Kintaile men, and other of Seaforts Highlands,
The Corryn hart and Strathglaſs men,
The Glenmorriſton men,
The Glenealge men, which were preſſed out.
Theſe are on the north ſide of the Neſs, and, it is inform'd, they will make about 4000 *att leaſt.*

Upon this juncture of affaire have thought fitt to ſigne this letter, which I hope your Excellency will approve of; I haveing noe other deſigne but the good of theire Majeſties ſervice and the preſervation of the countrey.

I have given an order for Colonell Grant to take out his armes and cloathes out of the ſhipp above eight dayes agoe, ſoe hope, by this time, they have got them, and then they will be in a better condition to doe ſervice then they are att preſent.

49. SIR JAMES LESLIE TO MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY.

HONOURED SIR, *Inverneſs, the* 9 *December* 1689.

I have received the honour of yours of the 5th; and as for the billett you incloſed, which you judged came from the rebells, I believe there is nothing of it; for I muſt juſtifie the towne ſoe farr, that I find them upon all alarums to be verry willing to be in a readeneſs; and we have never had ſoe much as one falling out, and there has never been any ſuch thing as raviſhing and lyeing with theire wives. Colonell Jackſon, who is here, will informe, that they are verry loyall, as farr as we can perceive. I have ordered them this day to be att theire armes; and although I have had them ſeverall times out before, yet I think it but reaſonable that att this time I ſhould know what men and armes I have to truſt too; I judge they will be between three and fowr hundred.

I gave you an account that the Caſtle of Vrquett could containe three companies very well, and for a ſtreſs, four; but they being neither armed nor cloathed, could doe little ſervice there, eſpecially upon partys, they haveing only a few carrabines Duke Hamilton ſent them; and if the reports be true, I ſhall have occaſion for all the forces here. Nor is the maggaziene able to provide them with proviſions; for what is in ſtore I think it verry reaſonable I ſhould keep it here, not knowing what occaſion I may have for it, eſpecially haveing 60 out of the Caſtle of Brahan that has neither money nor proviſions, ſoe muſt ſupply them here, and becauſe I thought it not neceſſary to ſend them proviſions, therefore have ſent them 112 marke to buy them ſome.

I have likewiſe given Captain Grant, Commander of the Caſtle of Vrquett, 5^{lb}, and am this day ſending him ten bowles of meale more with candle, which money I muſt lay out of my own pockett, and it coſts me two per cent. to gett, beſides one per cent. to the officer for bringing it. As for the Caſtle of Eclas, I told you it was not in my power to doe any

thing in it, the ennemie being drawing togeather in a body; nor can I conveniently ſpare ammunition, your cannon and ammunition being not yet come up.

My Lord Lovatt is now in towne, and aſſures me that none of his men ſhall joyne the rebells, though I apprehend the contrary. He is goeing to Edinburgh, ſoe what they doe in it ſhall inform you, that you may take your meaſures accordingly.

I have ſent you two or three expreſſes lately, but doe not find by any of yours that you have received any, which makes me wonder extreamly. I gave you notice of Major M'Kayes goeing away, and taking the priſoners along with him.

I have, according to your order this day, ſent away the two priſoners.

I have writt to you ſeverall times for an order concerning Pladds, but have never gotten one yett, or elſe I ſhould have provided that garriſon with Pladds; but all I was able to give them was only 15 paire.

I gave you an account that I had four companies of my Lord Strathnavers regement here, and have been here theſe two moneths, but have neither cloathes and but bad armes, moſt of them being match-locks. His Lieutenant-Colonell is likewiſe here.

As for corne and ſtraw for the troopes, it is noe eaſie matter to get it brought in here. As Colonell Jackſon will informe you that I have not been wanting to uſe my endeavours, having quartred a party of twenty draggoones for their defect, but all to little purpoſe, the rebells threatning to burne and deſtroy all that ſupplyes us. However, have ordred three troopes to come from Elgin, one of them to quarter att Caſtle Steward, and the other att Bodlum, and the third at Collodon, ſoe I hope they will not be able to doe us much prejudice. I have likewiſe ordred three companies of Colonell Grants regiment from Elgin, and have given them orders to take out theire cloathes and armes out of the ſhipp, as I inform'd you in my laſt.

Captain Grant gott verry ſafe to Urquett Caſtle, and informes me there

is not above 600, though at firſt he wrott me word there was 800. His letter I herewith ſend you.

I believe your Excellency has had noe complaint from the towne of me or my regiment, for I endeavour to keep them in as good order as poſſible. I believe there is a great many, both of the towne and countrey, that gives intelligence to the ennmie, but you may be ſure they will keep it from me; but if I can find them out, ſhall ſecure them according to your orders. Colonell Jackſon is here.

I have had a great fitt of the collick, but now I thank God it is verry well over; I adviſe with him in all things that concerneis theire Majeſties ſervice, and have lett him ſee your letters directed to me. As for the officer of my regiment, I had noe reaſon to ſuſpect him other then that he drank with my Lord Downe and Cannaries when he was here in towne, and that your nephew, Major M'Kay, inform'd me that he had ſeen a letter directed to my Lord Downe, wherein they deſired him to keep him well affected to their party. He promiſed to ſhew me the letter, but never did, and I think it verry hard to ruine a man when there is noe manner of proofe againſt him; he is ſtill interceading with me for to give him leave to goe for England, ſoe if you think fitt ſhall give him leave, his father being dead; and this he has been doing theſe three moneths, which is all I know of the buſſineſs.

You may be ſure I will indeavour to carry myſelfe as prudently and diſcreetly as I can, and ſhall be ſure to obey your orders in what lyes in my power. Since the writeing hereof, I have received intelligence from Sir Alexander M'Kenzie of Coull, that my Lord Seaforts uncle is gathering all the ſtrength he can, and is reſolved to joyne the rebells. It is reported by him and ſeverall others, that they deſign to come againſt this place, and that they are like to come verry well provided. I have likewiſe notice from the Sherrieff Deput, that the M'Kenzies will certainely joyne them with three or fowr hundred, but others makes them much ſtronger. He gives me notice that Corremonie is with the enemie and ſeverall others, ſoe that they play faſt and looſe as they think fitt. I ſhall

endeavour to put myſelfe in the beſt poſture I can, haveing given notice to all the countreys round about, as Roſs, Elgin and Murrey, to be in a reddeneſs, and put themſelves in the beſt poſture they can for theire owne defence, having aſſured them of what aſſiſtance I can afford. Pray lett me heare from you, and know whether this comes to your hands, and you will oblige, honoured Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

James Leslie.

50. Major-General Mackay to Lord Melvill.

My Lord, *Edinburgh, the 12th December* 1689.

I ſend your Lordſhip the laſt account I had from Indernefſe, where I have three regements of foot, four troops of hors, and three troops of dragoons, and have given order to four troops of Levingſtons regement, with another troop of hors which lyes in quarters with him in Aberdeenſhire, to march thither if the rebells fall down in any formidable numbers. There is no hazard for the town of Indernefſe, but I wold have the countrey protected as much as poſſible. With all I have ſignified to Sir James Leſlie (with whom I have joyn'd Lieutenant Collonel Jackſon, ordering him to conſult all occurences with him) to call out all the fencible men of the countrey, if they will have their houſes and goods protected, which, if they did as unanimouſly as the rebells joyn againſt us, they needed not care much for their incurſions; but ſo it is, that, generally, ſuch as ſeem to be for their Majeſties government doe more temperiſe, and are more reſerved then its ennemys are, which argues a ſervil ſpirit in them as well as great folly; however, it lets us ſee that the King cannot well retrench the forces here till the countrey be ſettled; which, if the rebells get no aſſiſtance from other parts, may be effectuated with Gods aſſiſtance tymely the nixt ſummer, if his Majeſtie will ſend down three fregats, by whoſe help haply the illes (which make their moſt conſiderable force) might be

reduced before the tyme of marching to Lochaber to plant a garrifon. I fent a memorandum to the Earle of Portland of things neceffary for that expedition, which, if not tymely confider'd, we fhall be reduced to the fame unprovided condition as before, and all the blame (by men that doe not underftand the trade at leaft) will lye at the Commanders door, for they confider nothing but marching to the ennemy with our finger in our cheek, as fom have had the confidence, or rather the ignorance, to fay, I fhould have marched to Lochaber after the reduction of Athol, when not only the continuall rains to which the troupes were there expofed for 10 or 12 dayes, without tents or any other cover, rendering the leaft brooks impaffable, and which lafted continually in this countrey for two full mounths therafter, but could not get them at that place fournifhed with provifions though neare. How fhould wee then be able to fubfift fo far of, by which your Lordfhip may eafily judge (all circumftances confidered) that nothing but the regarde of their Majefties fervice, and the caufe which hath fo neare a relation to the mantenance of their government, could render this countreys fervice fupportable to a man, which I may without vanity affirme, is in a great mefure disintrefted, in comparifon of men who haply will be ready to blame mee if things fucceed not to their fancy; therefore, my Lord, fince all the perticullar intreft I have in it, is to conferve my litle reputation, I pray it be not expofed when the los of it can be no fervice to the King but to the contrary, fo long as he intrufteth me with this fervice.

I have ordered the Earle of Argyll (with two regements and what men he can make of his dependencie there) to Argylfhire, who, if he wold apply himfelf more, might make much a better figure then he hath don hetherto (for he hath a confiderable command of men) and render Braid Albin (who is one of the cunningeft temperifers in Britain) infignificant, if he did but ufe the fame authoritie over his name as his predeceffors have don. This is all at prefent from, my Lord, your Lordfhips moft humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

The defigne of fending thofe forces to the fhire of Argyll is to make a diverfion, and haply if wee had fhips to forme a deffein up the ifle of Mull at firft, and according to the fucces upon the reft, which cannot be undertaken but with great uncertaintie and hazard of the interpryfers, without the help of fhips, of which thofe Iflanders are much affrayd. Want of pay for the forces of this kingdom will occafion great diforders I am affrayd.

51. The King to the Earl of Leven, Major-General Mackay and Sir George Monro.

WILLIAM R.

Right trufty and welbeloved Coufin and Councellor, right trufty and welbeloved Councellor, and trufty and welbeloved, Wee greet you well. Whereas Wee are refolved to have our forces of that our ancient kingdome new modelled, and that the regements of foot may confift of thirteen companies each, and fixty fentinells in each company, and of each regiment one company to be Granadiers, and each troop of horfe and dragoones to confift of fifty men: Therefore Wee authorife and impower you to make up feven regiments of foot, three troops of horfe, and three troops of dragoones out of the prefent ftanding forces, to be commanded by the perfons contained in the Inftructiones under our royall hand herewith fent; And Wee further impower you to choofe and nominate fuch Lieutenant Colonells, Majors and other inferiour officers for the Foot, and Lieutenants and other inferiour officers for the Horfe and Dragoones as you fhall judge moft proper, out of the whole ftanding army; or fuch other perfones as you fhall find well qualified for the ftationes in which you are to place them, and to tranfmitt a lift of the fame to our Secretary, that their names may be filled up in commiffions accordingly; And Wee recommend to you to proceed in this with fuch due care and fecrecy as the matter doth require, and as you tender the good of our fervice. For doing whereof this fhall be your warrant; and fo Wee bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court at Holland Houſe, the 18th day of December 1689, and of our Reigne the firſt year. By His Majeſties Command,

MELVILL.

To our right truſty and welbeloved couſin and councellor, our right truſty and welbeloved councellor, and our truſty and welbeloved, David Earle of Leven, Hugh Mackay, Major Generall of our Forces, and Sir George Monro.

52. INSTRUCTIONS to our right truſty and welbeloved couſin and councellor, our right truſty and welbeloved councellor, and our truſty and welbeloved, David Earle of Leven, Hugh Mackay, Major-Generall of our Forces, and Sir George Monro.

WILLIAM R.

1. You are to review and modell the ſix regiments commanded by the Earle of Angus, the Earle of Argile, the Earle of Glencairn, the Lord Viſcount of Kenmore, the Lord Strathnaver, and the Laird of Grant, and you are to forme a regiment to be commanded by Cunningham. Of the ſaid ſeven regiments three are to remain in that our ancient kingdome, and the other four to be imployed for our ſervice in Ireland.

2. You are to appoint the above ſeven regiments to conſiſt of thirteen companies each, and ſixty men in each company, and one company of each regiment to be granadiers.

3. For making up the ſaid regiments, you are to diſband the three regiments of the Earle of Mar, Lord Blantire, and the Lord Bargeny.

4. You are to diſband all independent companies, and what officers of them as are fit for our ſervice, you are to imploy in ſtationes proper for them as our ſervice requires.

5. You are to appoint fit perſons to be Lieutenant Colonells, Majors, and other inferiour officers to the foreſaid ſeven regiments.

6. You are to imploy what officers you judge fit for our ſervice, that were in the three regiments which you are to diſband, or in the independent companies.

7. You are to turne out of any of the regiments what officers you think unfit for our ſervice, and put others who are well qualified in their places.

8. You are with all expedition, to tranſmit an account at what places it is abſolutely neceſſary to keep garriſons for ſuppreſſing the rebells, and what number of men will be required at each place.

9. For compleating of the above regiments, you are to take the men out of ſuch gariſons as are not neceſſary to be kept up.

10. You are to forme the ſouldiers of the three regiments which you are to reduce, into companies by themſelves, ſo far as they will goe, and what officers you think fit to imploy of the ſaid three regiments, whether Captaines, Lieutenants or Enſignes, you are to allow them to command in their ſeverall ſtationes their own men, that the ſouldiers may be the better kept together.

11. Being informed that ſome regiments continue ſtill in the places where they were raiſed and may not be ſo fit there for our ſervice, therefore you are to order ſuch regiments to march to ſome other place of the countrey where you ſhall find convenient; and you are to order ſome of thoſe men that came from Holland to march where they were, if thought neceſſary.

12. You are to modell three troops of dragoones, each troop to conſiſt of fifty men, and the Lord Cardroſs to be Colonell and Captain of one troop, Robert Jackſon to be Lieutenant Colonell and Captain of another troop, and Patrick Home of Polwart, to be Captain of the third troop, and Guthrie to be Major without any troop.

13. You are to modell three troops of horſe to be commanded by the Earle of Eglingtoun, the Maſter of Forbes, and Sir George Gordon of Edinglaſſie, each troop to conſiſt of fifty troopers if more troops cannot conveniently be maintained.

14. You are to appoint fit Lieutenants and other inferiour officers for the ſaid troops of horſe and dragoones.

15. You are to compleat ſuch regiments firſt as you think moſt proper for our ſervice.

16. You are to tranſmitt a liſt of ſuch officers as you nominate to George Lord Melvill our ſecretary, that they may have their commiſſions accordingly. Given under our Royall hand and ſignet, at our Court at Holland Houſe, the 18th day of December 1689, and of our reigne the firſt year.

W. R.

53. DIFFICULTIES to be humbly repreſented to the King, touching his late Inſtructions for modelling the Forces till they be payed of ther arrears.

That if any regements or troups be broke befor they are payed of ther arrears, it is to be feared that they ſhall mutinie, which in the preſent unſetled ſtate of the kingdome might prove of a bade conſequence, and would undoubtedly fortifie the Rebellione.

This is granted for 4 regiments.

That the regements which are deſigned to ſtand, whither for the ſervice of this kingdome, or to be ſent heirefter to Ireland moſt have preſent ſubſiſtance, befor it be proceeded to modell them, otherwayes that it cannot be expected that they can be keept togither, or got recruted or bettered, becauſe they ſhall diſband and not ſubject themſelves to diſcipline.

That if any waies be falleu upon for subsistance to moe troups, they be keept upe.

That if the horſe and dragouns be diſbanded, the King will undoubtedly looſe the horſe and furniture, beſydes that the men which have nou bein on foott and accuſtomed to ryde, ſhall be much more ſerviceable for the nixt campaigne, then ſuch as ſhall be neuly levied, and therefor ought to be keept at 12d a day for a horſe, and 9 pence a dragoune, for ſubſiſtance, (the officers ſerving till the parliament meet without pay) rather than to be at the loſs of them to the King, for the ſpairing of ſo ſmall a ſoume of money.

That the 4 regements which his Majeſty deſignes for Ireland, ought, ſo long as they are in Scotland to be payed upon the ſame foott with the three that are to ſtay here; and therfor if his Majeſtie ſend doune money

for ther ſubſiſtance, upon the foott of other Engliſh troupes, the over plus may helpe for the ſubſiſtance of the other 3 regements for the ſaid tyme of ther ſtay in this kingdome. This granted.

That the ſaid ſubſiſtance would be ordered doune without delay, and in the mean while Mr. Feelding, controllear generall of the proviſions for Ireland ordered to advance what money he heath by him till bills be ſent doune to ſupply him or money ſent to Newcaſtle, or along with the Dainiſh horſe, when they come to Scotland. This granted.

That his Majeſtie be humbly prayed to explicate his royall pleaſour touching the caſtle of Stirling, becauſe the Earle of Marr, being heritable governour, is alwayes Captaine of the company in gariſone ther, and therfor judged that it ought to continou independent. As alſo concerning the caſtle of Dumbarton, the Baſſe and Blackneſs being but ſmall gariſons, inconvenient to be furniſhed out of regements, none of them being capable to receave a company, Dumbarton being of 40 men, and the reſt not above 20 each. This granted. This may be done by keeping a company fewer.

That ſo neare as may be gueſſed by the preſent diſorderly ſtate of the forces payed in this kingdome, the 10 battallions of foott, will not make above 4000 effective men, ſo that to make up 7 regiments each at 780, will take ods of 1500 new recruits to compleit them, which is feared will be ill to be gott, ther being no levie money, and the people haveing gotten ill impreſſion of the ſervice, becauſe of ther late ill payment. Regiments, that for Ireland must first be made vpe.

It is humbly repreſented, that notwithſtanding his Majeſties Inſtructions to us have bein poſitive, the forſaid inconveniences occurring to our judgements in caſe of our preſent proceeding therto, we have judged it for the ſafetie of his ſervice rather to delay it for the ſpace of eight dayes; in which tyme his Majeſtie having conſidered further of them may ſignifie his finall pleaſour, in hopes this effect of our tendernes of the intereſt of his ſervice, ſhall not be miſconſtructed.

Leven.
H. Mackay.
SG. Monro.

54. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edinbrugh, the* 21 *December* 1689.

Your Lordſhips of the 12th I had two poſts agoe, but have received nothing as yet from my Lord Portland or by Colonel Cunningham. It hath been my oppinion, that, in the beginning of ſuch a ſignal change, conſidering that all ſuch as did goe allong with it could not be ſuppoſed to have been acted by truly chriſtian and ſelf-denyed principles, but that many of them had two great a regarde to the perticullar advantages which they propoſed to themſelves thereby. I ſay my Lord, it was my oppinion, that the people ſhould have been in ſom meſure humoured, though thereby ſom perſons in eſteem by his Majeſtie might for a tyme be depryved of the outward marks of his royall favour, for the words of Solomons counſellers are not in vaine recorded, who ſaid to his ſon, if thou be a ſervant to this people for this one day, then will they be thy ſervants for ever; if my indeavours or direction, or perſon or intreſt, can contribut any thing to his Majeſties ſervice and the promotion of this cauſe, your Lordſhip needs no wayes to queſtion it, hoping that God (who hath been the author of ſo ſignall a delivrance, at the point of tyme when the ruine of the Proteſtant intreſt was projected and far advanced in the counſells of men) will return (after he hath let vs ſee how litle wee have to truſt to our own prudence or force) to be (in all ſuch as he in his providence hath call'd, or ſhall call, to have any direction in the advancement of this cauſe) for a ſpirit of judgement to them that ſit in judgement, and for ſtrength to them that turn the battle to the gate.

I confeſſe, that when I conſider that Proverb, whereof our Saviour made vſe againſt the fals calomnies of the Jews as to his miracles, that a kingdom devided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand, I think I might have ſom grounds of apprehenſion of the fall of Scotland in ſom notable deſafter; for ther is nothing but deviſions and factions in Parlement, in Counſel,

in the Church, and in the Countrey; but when I make reflexion that it is the undoubted truth of God for which wee ſtand up, and which I queſtion not but our King and ſom of thoſe whom he doth imploy, (whether in the cabin or in the feeld,) doe ſincerely mynd, and prefer incomparably above all temporall conſiderations, (which in compariſon are but a vanity;) I cannot but have ſom lyvly hop, that he will not leave unperfected a delyvrance which his providence hath thus far advanced, and for the accompliſhment whereof, ther are, without doubt, many faithfull prayers dayly put up to heaven in all Proteſtant Churches of the world; conſidering withall, that it is not for our ſins and crimes againſt God (though numberous and conſcious to every one of us) that wee are hated of our ennemys, but for our adherance to his ſaving truth. I hop he ſhall doe it for his own great names ſake which is invocked upon (and by) us, and for his truth, which, by their advantages over us, wold be ſpocken againſt and blaſphamed by the ennemys thereof; therefor, though I am of oppinion that the means to prevent trouble and unſaiſonable deviſions ought to be diligently and carefully uſed, I labour to ſupport all wayes my hop by the contemplation of Gods all mighty power, and over all preſent providence and direction, overruling all the actions of his creatures good and bad, ſo that all things muſt tend to the end which he hath propoſed to himſelf concerning them, in his eternall, unchangeable, rightious and holy counſell; and as he wanteth not innumberable means unconceivable to us to redreſſe that which wee in our finit judgement think is redreſſable, ſo is he bound to no means; therefor, my Lord, let every faithfull ſervant of God, called to any publick adminiſtration, make uſe of ſuch reflexions for his ſupport in difficulties, but not for an occaſion of tempting providence by neglecting the means; for I muſt take the liberty to ſay, that the intreſt of the ſervice, and the means of reſtoring the peace in Scotland, hath been too long neglected, and that for my own parte I had loſt my patience ſo far, that I often wiſhed I had never been imploy'd in it, but I conſider that the heart of the King (who hath made choice of mee for ſervice) is in the hand of the Lord, from whoſe providence I alſo wait

for a favorable ſucceſs there to, notwithſtanding of all thoſe difficultys and clouds overſhadowing this comfortable blinck of the delivrance of the Proteſtant Churches of Europ, which he can quickly diſſipat after he hath tryed our faith, and retired our confidence from the arm of fleſh to fix it in him. The tenour of your Lordſhips leter (which ſeemed as well to regrate as to apprehend the preſent ſtate of affaires dangerous at that raite, that the Proteſtant intreſt may be judged to lye again at ſtake) hath given occaſion to this diſcours, and aſſure yourſelf, my Lord, that if the proſpect of all the advantages which the world can propoſe ſhould cum in the ballance, it wold weigh in my eſtimation no more then the wind in compariſon of the Proteſtant intreſt, for which, with Gods ſtrength, I ſhall chearfully ſacrifice all that can be deare to me on earth, which is all at preſent from, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

55. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edinbruch, the* 31 *December* 1689.

I finde by his Majeſties late order for modelling and reduceing the Scots forces, that litle regarde is had to what I have reiteratively wryt upon that ſubject, which I cannot queſtion, but hath been lay'd open before his Majeſtie; therefor I muſt conclude, that ther is more credit given to ſom other mens relation of maters belonging to my profeſſion, and deppending of the charactere which I beare here, of Commanding in Chief their Majeſties forces then to myn, for which I wold not be in the leaſt offended, if I did not ſee that thoſe informations doe not only levell at mee as incapable to judge of the moſt convenient places for gariſons, or what ſorte of forces are moſt fit to be lodged in the different places of the kingdom, but alſo are againſt the ſervice; for whoever hath informed, that well affected Highlanders being formed in regular bodys, are not the fittest for the Highlands, and to be imploy'd in the houſes nixt ajacent to the Highland

Rebells, have informed very ill; for wee know the contrary by experience of late, that when wee place ſouth countreymen and ſtrengers in thoſe Highland countreys among the hills, they dare not ſtur a foot from their gariſon, by raiſon they cannot truſt to the guidance of the countreymen who are about all our gariſons, and ennemis in their heart to our Kings ſervice, and this intreſt in generall. About Indorneſſe wee have the MacKenzies and the Fraiſers, of the behaviour wherof I have ſent your Lordſhip lately a leter, and doe ſend you hereby one received to day. If they have given over their deſſigne, tis by raiſon of a ſuply of hors and dragouns lately ſent thither, which body (I mean of hors and dragouns) if the King will break, (as I hop he ſhall not,) I am apprehenſive he ſhall not be long maſter of the north, and will coſt him more then the keeping of them for a feu months more can ſtand him to recover it. The Laird of Grants regement in the north about Indorneſſe have made lately out of houſes where they are partly poſted ſom ſuccesfull interpryſes upon their nighbouring rebells, becauſe they know the convenience of the ground, which our other forces placed in Blair of Athol, Finlanrig, Braymar and other places, are not capable to doe, becauſe they are ſtrengers in the countrey, and cannot truſt to the inhabitants; ſo that, my Lord, whoever medles to give the King advyce for changing the regements from one place to another of the kingdom, without conſulting him who commands his forces here, doe take a litle too much upon them, and happly by the conſequence more then they could well juſtifie; being, in my oppinion, one of the things moſt regarding the Commanders judgement, being in the countrey, and ſuppoſed to have had the neceſſary informations, wherupon to ground his meſures in the diſpoſition of the forces. My Lord, as to houſes which are not neceſſary to be gariſoned, I know none, except the want of forces to ſupply them render them neceſſary to be abandon'd; for the houſes of Brahan and Caſtle Leud, belonging to the Lords Seaforth and Tarbot, when they were gariſoned, it was judged very neceſſary, as it is yet, for all that ſom men may ſay to the contrary, not ſo much to offend the ennemy, as to cover the well affected in Roſſeſhire from the

depradations, not only of the open Rebells, but alſo from the ill affected Mackenzies and Fraiſers, who rob them under the coulour of the ſaid Rebells. You find, by the incloſed, as well as the other I ſent a while agoe, that they were for certain in arms; for Sir James Leſlie (no more then I) hath no other quarelle againſt them but upon the publick account. My Lord, I have many raiſons to be weary of this command, and to wiſh, with all my heart, ſom other might be pitched upon to ſupply it; for ſuch as are fed with the fancy of great ambition and expectations, and haply have not experienced ſo many different faces of that which men call fortune as I have, and are yonger to recover a loſt reputation, may undergoe ſuch difficultys more cheerefully, without examining them ſo narrowly; but, my Lord, I am not lodged there, and, therefore, when I have not wherewithall, I can advance and humanly ſecure the intreſt of the ſervice, I had rather quit all expectations, though they were more apparently advantagious, then ever I did forme them in my own mynd, then appeare upon the ſtage to my confuſion. It was my lot allwayes to ſerve his Majeſtie with more difficultys then any other of my charge, at which I wold never repyne, God knowes, in this quarell, if my concern were alone intereſted thereby; for I wiſh this intreſt did goe well, and were ons well ſecured, though I were to morow reduced to a piece of bread; and I wiſh alſo, with all my heart, that all who pretend zeale for it were of the ſame mynd, for then wee ſhould not ſee the King ſo ambarraſſed in his affaires at this tyme, as I have apprehended of a long tyme he ſhould be, and now find it to my regrate. My Lord, I could ſay much more upon the ſubject, but tis late; and the poſt waiting, ſo that I can ad no more, then that I am, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

56. Major-General Mackay to Lord Melvill.

My Lord, *December* 1689.

If I did not judge it abſolutly my duty (however it may happen to be taken) ſo long as I am here, to repreſent perſons and maters, as I can judge moſt advantagious for their Majeſties ſervice, and the reſtabliſhment of the peace and quiet of the kingdom, I had long ſince given over to wryt, becauſe I ſeldom or never get the ſatisfaction to know whether any thing I propoſe be had in any regarde or the contrarie. I remember to have wryten ſeverall tymes of the Scots hors, that they wold never be fit for ſervice if they were not regemented; I heare now from other hands that they are to be ſo, but I doe not know if any regarde be taken of the Maſter of Forbes, who, I am ſure, hath don more for their Majeſties ſervice this yeare, then many that make greater pretenſions, and though he be ſuch a perſon, as I am perſuaded doth not ſerve this cauſe upon principles of ſelf intreſt, when ther are nevertheleſſe ſom charges to be diſtributed, which might help to accommodat a family, which (though of a conſiderable following) is not of the richeſt, and ſo intirely ingadged in their Majeſties intreſt, I am of oppinion that it wold be of good exemple ſuch were not neglected, for I can beare him witneſſe (who have had occaſion to remarke mens temper in this kingdom) that from one end of Scotland to the other, none hath been more through ſtick and cordiall in this cauſe, nor made better figure (keeping all the countrey about him, which abounded with ill affected people for this government, in aw) then hee, and hath been of very good uſe to mee when I had but feu or no forces to oppoſe a great multitude of rebells. I underſtand from the Earle Leven that your Lordſhip hath ſpock for Edinglaſſie; one thing I wold have your Lordſhip to advert unto, that if the repreſentations of ſuch as ſhall command at any tyme their Majeſties forces in this kingdom be alltogether neglected, perticullarly in tyme of war and civill troubles, his credit is preſently out, and can act no further then juſte command what regullar forces

he hath, which, in the beginning of this laſt ſummer, had not don the buſſineſſe, if my credit with ſom familys had not got them to joyn with mee; and though I am hopfull that whoſoever ſhall command hereafter, ſhall not have ſo much need of ſuch ſhifts, nevertheleſſe, ſince the affaires of the world are ſo evidently ſubject to ſtrenge revolutions, there is no doubt but ſuch as doe well ought to be incouraged, to be a good exemple to others. I know your Lordſhip hath much to doe, and if I knew to whom to addreſſe ſo fitly what touches the ſervice here as to your Lordſhip, I wold not a given you ſo much trouble, but I forgot to deſyre the Kings explication upon that point; and now ſince I am in expectation that his Majeſtie will give me ſom months of this ſaiſon, wherin I can doe but litle ſervice here, to look after my family, and labour to leave it in ſom better order then I left it laſt, upon ſuch a ſhort warning as I had from his Majeſtie, I doe not think it worth the pains to change methods, or look after another coreſpondent at Court. Ther is one Van Hill, Captaine in the Earle of Levens regement, a very good officer, who hath ſerved long among hors. If the troops be deſigned for regements, he wold be a very fit Major for one of them, for certainly theyl need in each regement at leaſt a Major that ſerved abroad and among hors; this is of the nature of all my other recommendations, that is, men in whom I have no intreſt but that of the ſervice; for ſince I came to Scotland I doe not remember that I recommended a relation of myn but Major Mackay, who was put by, though he had the grant of it before from the King; but any wrong which may happen to be don to mee or my relations, over whom I ſhall have any power, ſhall never leſſen the number of their Majeſties faithfull ſervants; for I doe thank God for it, that neither the paſſion of ambition, or deſyre to be accommodated with abundance of temporall convenience, doth ever diſquiet my mynd. I expect dayly orders concerning the Dains, for if they be ſhiped out of England to Ireland, the ſhips muſt goe thither. I gave preſent account of what I knew to Maſter Blaithwait. I am, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

57. ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS to our right trufty, and welbeloved Coufin and Councellor, and our righty trufty and welbeloved Councellors, David Earle of Leven, Hugh M'Kay, Major-Generall of our forces, and Sir George Munroe of Culrain.

WILLIAM R.

Notwithftanding of our former Inftructions from what you reprefent, Wee find ground to make the following alterations.

1. You are to confider for how many you can find fubfiftance by methods within your owne power, and if that fall fhort of the number propofed by us formerly, you are to advife with our Councell (before you proceed to modell and difband) to know what they can propofe for fubfiftance to the number mentioned by us, or more if they think fitt, and can find fubfiftance for them; and after you have found what the fonds will fuftain, you are then to proceed to modell them accordingly, and to difband the reft for making up of the regiments and troops that are to ftand for your better performance, whereof Wee have ordered our Privy Councell to give you their concurrence.

2. If the fonds of fubfiftance money fhall not amount to fo much as will maintain the numbers formerly propofed by us to you, you are to appoint the regiments to confift of fewer companys than what We mentioned in our former Inftructions.

3. And to the effect that the troops which are to ftand be compleated, you are to devide the troops commanded by the Earle of Annandale, and Lord Rofs (if the reft are to be kept up) amongft the ftanding troops for compleating them; if otherwife to difband them.

4. You are to appoint the company in the Caftle of Stirling, now commanded by the Earle of Marr, to continue an independent company, and not to be regimented, and to confift of centinells; and likewife what

numbers you ſhall appoint for the garriſons of Dumbarton, Blackneſs and the Baſs, to be independent, and Araſkin of Alvas company, now in the Caſtle of Stirling, you are to appoint to be one of the regimented companyes.

5. You are not to levy any more foot for making up the ſeven regiments untill ſome new fond be condeſcended upon for their ſubſiſtance.

6. If the ten battalions be ſo far ſhort of their numbers as you conjecture, you are to enquire who have been guilty of falſe muſters.

In all other matters, Wee referr you to our former inſtructions, excepting in ſo far as they are hereby innovated.

Given under our Royall Hand, and Signett at our Court at Kenſingtoun, the 4th day of January $16\frac{89}{90}$ and of our reigne the firſt year. By His Majeſtys command,

MELVILL.

58. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edinbrugh, the* 13*th Januar* 90.

Finding the bearer hereof, Captain Hill, of the Earle of Levens regement, an officer which can be very uſefull to me for the enſueing campaigne, (being a perſon underſtanding prety well both foot and hors, perticullarly the later, and to the boot, a ſober, diligent and carefull man) I pray your Lordſhip to recommend him to the King from me, for the charge of Ajutant Generall of his forces in Scotland, having hitherto had great want of a capable perſon for that charge, both as to the regullar diſtribution of orders, muſtering of the forces, and bringing of our ſmall cavallerie upon ſom foot of ſervice. I beg then that his Majeſtie for the intreſt of his ſervice, (which neceſſarily, in ſpyt of mee, will be neglected if I have not the ordinary helps) may be pleaſed to grant Captain Hill a commiſſion for the ſaid charge; and further, to allow me two Aides de Camp for the enſueing campaigne, for in thoſe perticullars I ought not to

be confider'd as a Major-Generall under fuperiour Commanders, but as Commander in Chief of fo many forces, and in an occafion much doth deppend upon the having a fet of good men for the fpeedy and regullar diftribution of the orders, and is greatly the raifon that I cannot be fo fure of the ftate of the forces when fepperat as otherwyfe, being oblidged to make ufe of the officers of one regement to mufter another for want of fuch officers, upon whofe report I could make more ftate. If his Majeftie be pleafed to grant the forfaid commiffion to Captain Hill, he may be imploy'd to fee difpach'd fuch fupply of arms, ammunition and other neceffarys, as he fhall refolve to let me have for the carying on, and with divine affiftance, ending of this war, according to a memoriall which I shall fend up to that effect. I pray your Lordfhip to forward this folicitation, as alfo the difpach of the neceffary fupplyes wherof wee cannot be fournifhed here; for though no man breathing fhall, with Gods affiftance, more cheerfully encounter all fortes of difficultys for this caufe and their Majefties fervice then I fhall doe, yet where they can be remedied, I ought not to be overcharged. I fhall give his Majeftie by the poft account of the perticullars; my earneft defyre is, that we might make a confiderable progres in the reduction of the rebellion in this kingdom before the oppening of the campaigne in Ireland; and in order to our airly camping (notwithftanding wee are cloathing for the third tyme fince our cumming to Scotland) I have given order for making furtouts for all the regements pay'd out of England, as alfo tents, in cafe the ingredients can be had here. If it pleafe God they doe well, his Majeftie can allwayes confider their loffes and expences, but till then I fhall not folicit for them were they at never fo much. This is all at prefent from, my Lord, your Lordfhips moft humble and obedient fervant,

H. Mackay.

59. INSTRUCTIONS to Our trufty and welbeloved Councellor, General Major Mackay, Commander in Chief of our forces in Scotland. Feb. 1690.

WILLIAM R.

Yow are to take and apprehend the perfon or perfons of them who fhall be given yow up in a lift fubfcrived be our right trufty and welbeloved Coufin and Councellor, George Lord Melvill, and any three of our fecret councell, as practifers againft the government, and carry them fecurely prifoners into the Caftle of Edinburgh.

Upon what information yow have of any private perfons under your command or otherway's, that are delated as practifers againft the government, yow are immediately to fecure them, and to keep them clofs prifoners till they be delivered to the Councell, or any having their order to receive them; and this fhall be your warrant. Given under Our Royall hand and Seal, at Our Court at Kenfington, the day of February $16\frac{89}{90}$, and of our Reigne the firft year.

W. R.

60. INSTRUCTIONS from Major-General Mackay, for Major Fergufon appointed to command in chief the detachement of 600 men, which are to be fhiped at Greennock and to go about to the Ifles and waft of Lochaber, and for Captain Pottinger, commanding their Majefties fhip the Dartmouth, with the reft of the fquade under his command.

1. The faid Major and Captain fhall doe all things communicatively, and digefte their refolutions betwixt themfelves before they communicat them to others.

2. They are expreffly charged, that no divifions be among them upon

the mater of their undertakings, which may prove prejudiciall to the ſervice, but that they reſolve and do every thing unanimouſly and with one accord, the Captain ſubmiting to the judgement of the Major as to landings and undertakings againſt the ennemy by land, if occaſion ſhould offer viſibly favourable thereto, and the Major ſubmiting to the Captains jugement as to ſea affaires.

3. The main deſſeyn of this detachment being to make a diverſion, allarme the rebells coaſts, cut their communication with the Iſlanders now in rebellione againſt their Majeſties authoritie, and to take away or burn all their boats and birlins whether in the Iſles or allong the coaſts of the rebells upon the firme land; the Major is to undertake nothing as to landing but upon viſible and apparent advantages and humane aſſurance of ſucceſs.

4. If the Major ſhould ſee palpably, that with a renforce of three or four hunder men more he might maſter the Iſland of Mul, he ſhall preſently give notice thereof to the Laird of Arckinlas, Shirif-deput of Argylls ſhire, who is to have order from the Earle to aſſiſt him with that number of the moſt reſolut and beſt armed men of the ſhire, and ſuch as will willingly and cheerfully be imployed in that ſervice and againſt that ennemy, and that with all poſſible diligence that the occaſion may not be loſt by delays.

5. That their firſt interpriſe be againſt all the ennemis boats, to the end they be render'd incapable to ſuccour with men or proviſions one another, and ſo be reduced to extreamities, and haply to ſubmit.

6. That upon giving up all their arms, as well ſwords as guns, delyvering over all places of ſtrength, and ſwearing allegiance to their Majeſties King William and Queen Mary, the Major forſaid is hereby authoriſed to give protection to the inhabitants of the Iſles, but not to their chiefs but by caſting themſelves in the King's mercy and delyvering their perſons priſoners to the ſaid Major, who in that caſe is required to treat them civilly.

7. Hee ſhall take nothing from ſuch perſons and countreys as ſhall ſub-

mit upon the forſaid conditions, but a neceſſary ſupply of proviſions to his men and ſhips, and that moderately; and upon the contrarie ſhall uſe with all the rigour of military executions, ſuch as ſhall continu obſtinat in their rebellion, with this proviſo, that vomen and children be not touched or wronged in their perſons.

8. The ſaid Major commanding in chief ſhall have ſpeciall care his men be keept under exact diſcipline both as ſouldiers and chriſtians, to hinder curſing and ſwearing, and all other unchriſtian and diſorderly cuſtums, and to chaſtiſe in their purs or perſons, ſuch as perſiſt in them after intimation.

Being upon the coaſt he ſhall wryt to the Laird of Macleod, ſignifieing that he hath order to ſuccour and protect his countrey in caſe he be moleſted by thoſe of his nighbours in rebellion, and that the government and I are well ſatisfied with his behaviour hitherto, knowing that ſo long as our aſſiſtance was ſo far diſtant wee could not expect his oppen declaring for their Majeſties government; but now as it is our reſolution not to abandon him, ſo it is our expectation that he ſhall declare himſelf freely for us and againſt our ennemis, and ſo joyn forces.

61. Major-General Mackay to Lord Melvill.

My Lord, *Edinbrugh, the 6th Februar* 1690.

I had your leter of the j February. I queſtion not but you have your hands very full of affaires, and I am perſuaded that his Majeſtie is ſo extremely thronged with affaires, of all ſorts, that its no mater of admiration that he can not ſo quickly diſpach orders as thoſe who are intruſted with any direction in the carying on of his ſervice wold gladly have them, ſeeing what prejudices delays may occaſion thereto; and truly my Lord, as no man (be it ſaid without vanity,) ſerves this intreſt with leſſe regarde to his own then I doe, ſo none is more grieved when I ſee any wrong ſteps made therein. The raiſon is palpable, for having no other object to

divert my thoughts I have them allwayes fixed there, nevertheleſſe to litle purpos if I have no beter concurrence then hitherto. I have laid before the King, fully my judgement as to what ought to be undertaken airly this ſpring, and if the litle aſſiſtance which I deſyred were tymely ſent, with the three ſmall fregates which his Majeſtie promiſed, and order to the Pryvy Counſell for what further concurrence the ſtate of affaires here at preſent may be capable of, I queſtion not but with Gods aſſiſtance, to be able to give a good account of the Highland rebellion before the end of Appril, the weather proving any thing favourable. I expect therefor my Lord, that I may be advertiſed tymely what ſupply I can expect from London of the things I wrot for, to the end if it were poſſible the deffects might be ſupply'd here,which never the leſſe I can make but little ſtate upon, all things conſider'd ; beſyds my zeale for their Majeſties ſervice, and the intreſt of our holy religion ; my longing to be out of this countrey, (where I can never expect to be gratfull to men, becauſe I neather doe nor never ſhall eſpouſe any faction which I diſpaire to ſee extinguiſhed therin,) ſhall be a ſufficient argument to mee, to promote (ſo far as in me lyes) what may contribut to the peaceable eſtabliſhment of their Majeſties happy authoritie in this kingdom.

I know I have my ennemis, but they may well perhaps (as underſtanding the trade better then I,) cenſure my conduct, but I wold never the leſſe advyſe them to conſider that the King is a Prince that will hear mens raiſons, and that I want not myn, of which thoſe that wold condemn mee without hearing, haply doe not know the weight, but I deffie the malice of all the earth to finde a deſigned wrong ſtep (as to what his Majeſtie hath intruſted me with) in my conduct.

I have ſent my Lord your ſon to muſter the forces beſouth Aberdeen, who hath brought me an exact account of their ſtate. My Lord, I doe not uſe to flater any, and therefor take it for none that I tell you, I am very well ſatisfied with his conduct as to any thing I imploy him in the advancement of his Majeſties ſervice ; the truth is, though our forces are none of the beſt, my greateſt want is of officers capable to command a ſeperat body,

though I beleeve ſuch of them as have ſerved be good reſolut men; but the chief direction is not every officers talent, though in this ſo large and ſeperat winter quarter, I could give but very imperfect directions from ſo far, ſo that neceſſaryly it muſt needs have reſted moſtly upon the perticullar commanders diſcretion, excepting ſom generall inſtructions from tyme to tyme according to the notion I had of the ennemy and the countrey.

I wiſh the King wold declare the Scots regements which he deſigns for Ireland, that they may be brought ſouth if any of them be in the north; I have never doubted but your Lordſhip did communicat my leters to the King, for they allwayes touch leſſe or more his ſervice, wherof he ought to be all wayes the judge. I am, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant, H. MACKAY.

62. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it pleaſe your Grace, *Bruntilland, the* 18*th June* 1690.

One King who is nephew to Lieutenant Colonel Buchan, and ſerved in my regement in Holland, being made priſoner in the north and caryed to Edinburgh, is now fallen very ſick of a violent fievre, which I knew not till I was at Lith, otherwyſe I had ſpock to your Grace, as I now intreat by theſe to let him out upon baile of reentring priſoner when he ſhall be recovered again; the phiſitians declaring he cannot readily eſcape if he be left there, or otherwyſe to be keept by ſentnells.

I beg your Grace not to be too much allarmed at the behaviour of thoſe yong ſparcks, but that methods be thought on, and ſpeedyly put in execution to prevent their aſſemblings, and men of Pollwarts and other honeſt ſouthern perſons chooſing, be joynt to the officers which ſhall be detached to the borders, ſo well to give tymely advertiſment of their gatherings, that they may be fallen upon before they have tyme to ſtrengthen themſelves, as to diſcover all ill affected perſons horſes, that they may be ſeaſed according to the act of Parlement; begging earneſtly that without the laſt

neceſſitie I be not interrupted in my deſigne, which with the aſſiſtance of God, I ſhall labour to accompliſh ſpeedyly, and without a powerfull invaſion will prove an effectuall means to quiet this kingdom and mortifie the hops of the ill affected. I reſolve to make feu halts till I be in the rebells countrey, hoping that ſom of my victuallers will be about by that tyme. I am, may it pleaſe your Grace, your Graces moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant, H. MACKAY.

63. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Strathardil, the 23d June, at 12 *of the clock at night.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I muſt regrate that it is my lot to ſerve among a people that ſeems to conſpire the ruin of the ſervice in my hands. It is certain that without ingeneurs and wrights I ſee not how I can accompliſh well or to purpos my propoſed deſign, but ſo it is that I muſt march without either if I ſhould not reſolve to make new proviſions and ſo give it over for this yeare. It ſeems the Devell who is certainly an ennemy to all good purpoſes, (of which whatſoever doth contribute to the advancement of this intreſt, upon which I thank God however the iſſue may prove, my thoughts do only run in Scotland, doth make a parte,) ſturreth up all ſorts of people to oppoſe my indeavours, for I thought I was ſure of nothing more then the ingeneur and wrights and yet they faile me, but whatever may be their excuſe (if any juſtice might have place) their lyves wold be too ſmall a price of the diſappointment; for if it was for ſom little money, it might have been had by the armie, though things leſſe . . . . . ing none more were poſtponed . . . . . confidence which made me . . . . . to in this kingdom againſt ſuch a ſpet of difficulties occaſioned no doubt by my enemies, that is the providence of God, which findeth counſell when we know of none. I march to morow to Braymar, and the day following to Strathſpey, where I expect to joyn Livingſtone. I choſe ſuch

a marche to hazard nothing, becauſe the other way I ſhould march within a litle dayes march to the enemy, which might with all ſecuritie attempt ſom thing in difficult paſſages, being much perſuaded they will neither have the tyme nor the reſolution to cum out of their countrey ſo far as to fall in betwixt us by this march which I have followed; the nixt remedie for the wrights will be to make all haſte day and night by land through the ſhire of Argyll, for which I ſend them an order. I had great difficultie to paſſe the river Tay four miles above Dunkell, it being on a ſudden ſo riſen, that ſeveralls of our hors and men were dryven down the river, but I thank God none drowned either hors or men. I ſtay'd Sonday for the party which I left for the miniſters and the wrights, and ſent the officer order to cum to Strath Ardil, ſeeing I was diſappointed of the firſt rendevous; but now I muſt give them the third at Strathſpey by the way of Aberdeen, with the miniſters allone, if they cum to Pearth before to morow morning, the party having order to parte aſſoon as it cums to their hand; but it ſeems wee are neglected in ſoul and body by this government. It is a ſad thing that for 2 or 300 pounds, the King's ſervice ſhould be ſo much neglected, but . . . . . further of this mater, and ſhall, ... aſſiſtance go on, hoping againſt hop, and begging your Grace may not offer to diſturb me without great neceſſitie, ſince the effectuating of this deſigne will make other enemies the leſſe formidable for us. I pray your Grace to cauſe diſpatch the ſhips with the materialls, which is at preſent all from, May it pleaſe your Grace, your Graces moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

64. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

From the Camp at Collnakeille, the 28th June 1690.

May it pleaſe your Grace and Lordſhips,

Having of a long tyme judged that the only way to reduce the preſent ſtanding rebellion, was to eſtabliſh a gariſon at Inderlochy, all the go-

vernment knowes with what earneſtneſſe and obſtacles I laboured to get things diſpoſed thereto; and never the leſſe now wee have no more then two months of faire weather to expect, ſo that if upon any occaſion I were oblidged to delay my march, I might at the ſame tyme give over the deſigne for this yeare. I find myſelf ſo ſtraitned with the want of proviſions, that I muſt venture forward before I have the aſſurance of any of our victuallers being about, which is ſom what contrarie to the maxime of war; but I truſt in the providence of God, and I find that the wind was all wayes good both from the eaſt and weſt coaſts; and I hop that the provoſt of Glaſcow, according to his wounted forwardneſſe in this cauſe, hath a while ago diſpached his ſhip with the 1000 bolls. I had had meal allong with me for a fortnight at Inderlochy, had not the counſell excuſed ſuch ſhires as ſent out pioneers from furniſhing of baggage horſes, notwithſtanding that the whole number of pioneers got makes but 200. But leaving of complaints, I cum to informe your Grace and Lordſhips, that notwithſtanding I found myſelf more numberous then any thing the ennemy could oppoſe to me betwixt Athol and Baidenoch. I choſe rather to take my march by Braymar, Strath Don, and Strathdown (who were all in rebellion) into Strathſpey, where I gave rendevous to Livingſtone with all the forces in the north all moſt, except Strathnavers regement, with ſom men from Balnagowen at Inverneſſe, whither I order'd alſo ſom of my Lord Strathnavers beſt men, two troops of hors in the ſhire of Muray, and five troops of hors and dragouns under the maſter of Forbes. The raſon that I alter'd my reſolutions of forming a body be north Neſſe are, that I may have a formidable body of forces together, in caſe their Majeſties ſervice required my ſudden moving towards the ſouth, without expecting a further junction, that I may be in a condition to enter into Lochaber by more wayes then one; if I ſhould beyond my expectation meet with difficulties by the paſſe of Glen roy, which is the beſt that leads in to that countrey, at leaſt to make a ſtronger detachment above it, which is practicable with foot, then the enemies forces can be, and that I am much of the oppinion that the temporiſing party in the north will not move til

they ſee the event of this expedition, ſeeing ſo many forces in a body for their Majeſties ſervice, and ready to fall upon any that ſhould oppoſe it.

I have order'd three hunder of Balnagowens men (a perſon well affected and moſt ready for this intreſt and ſervice, and who ought, as ſuch, to be conſider'd of the government) to fortifie Inderneſſe gariſon, whither I diſpach'd two troops of hors. I expect alſo 300 of my Lord Strathnavers men in the ſaid gariſon, and I wiſh my Lord himſelf were there, to command all, whoſe qualitie, intreſt and zeale for this ſervice, may contribute much to the ſecuritie of that countrey in abſence of the forces.

I intreat earneſtly that your Grace and Lordſhips doe not recall me before I have ſufficient tyme to fix the gariſon at Inderlochy, but that a way may be found to give me often notice of the ſtate of affairs in the ſouth, whereby I may judge rightly of the meaſures which are to be taken for the ſervice in generall; reſting confident that nothing ſhall be neglected whereof my judgment ſhall be found capable, for the advancement of an intreſt to which I have ſelfdenyedly vowed my pains without any by regardes.

I wiſh alſo your Grace and Lordſhips take into your conſideration the loſſes that neceſſarily the Laird of Grants countrey ſhall ſouſtain by this junction of the forces, and to diſpach the ſaid Laird to his countrey, who can eaſily keep ſom of his diſaffected nighbours in aw, perticularly Strathdown, Glenlievet and Strath Don, though I am of opinion that my march with the meſſage I ſent them may make them ſee the iſſue before they trouble their nighbours much. The Maſter of Forbes is allways at great charges and pains for the ſervice, and hath of the countreymen placed gariſons over all the ſhire of Aberdeen where it is needful. I recommend him then earneſtly to the conſideration of the government, and that a leter of thanks and approbation of his meaſures, with aſſurance of reembourſment and reparation of his expences and loſſes for the ſervice, be wryt to him; for ſuch forward perſons ought not to labour under diſcouragements. I reſolve to march tomorrow with 6000 men to Baidenoch, from whence I have but three dayes march to Inderlochy; I hop my victualls will ſerve

me thither and fom feu dayes over, and that God the principall author of this happy change for all fincere Proteftants, will conduct every thing that conduces to the fecuritie and advancement of this fervice.

I have added to the 3 Highland companies in pay 300 men of my Lord Reays countrey, which my nephew, Major of Livingftone hath armed for this expedition, and do expect, with the help of thofe 6 '0 brifk Highlanders, to be provided of flefhes in Lochaber. I caufed pay every thing that was taken for the armie in Strathfpey, becaufe of their loffes otherwyfe. This is all at prefent from, may it pleafe your Grace and Lordfhips, your Grace and Lordfhips moft humble and moft obedient fervant,

H. Mackay.

65. Major-General Mackay to the Privy Council.

Inderlochy, the 7th July 1690.

May it pleafe your Grace and Lordfhips,

My Lord Commiffioners leter of the 28th June, with a poftcript of the 30th, put a ftop to the thoughts I had to make a detachment capable to fubdue the Ifles of Mul and Skye during my abode here, being willing to expect the event of the maritime ingadgment which was then expected, to oppofe the attemptes of the ill affected, if, as God forbid it fhould fall out cros for us, in as formidable a pofture as I can; and that the rather becaufe I am certain that without more fuccours for them as we can well apprehend, they muft within three or four months beg the peace. Surely their obftinacy deferves a fevere treatment, for hitherto, though this be the fyfth day I am in this countrey, none of them hath made any cordiall application as yet, but though I am not ignorant how fuch fantafques, whofe countrey is now in my reverence fhould be ufed, I will rather refer it to the government; becaufe all that I can doe to a difperfd lurcking ennemy, the governour of Inderlochy can doe it much more effectually within three months, that is to burn their houfes and deftroy their corns.

This government may be of great uſe if it be ſpeedyly ſupply'd with neceſſars, otherwyſe it will turn to nothing; whatever be don to the reſt of the forces, it muſt at leaſt and ought be pay'd ſom months by advance, and the governor ſupply'd with ſom fond of money, whereby he may be allwyſe ſtored, certainly both officers and ſouldiers which are left here ought to be incouradged, by providing liberally for them, for the countrey is not very tempting. I woud willingly take my way out of this countrey by the head of Lochneſſe, to gariſon Glengarys hous, if your Grace and Lordſhips order for my ſpeedy repairing ſouthward doth not determin otherwyſe, which wold be more to force him to obedience and ſubmiſſion then for communication, which I judge more effectuall and ready from the weſtern partes of the kingdom, ſo long as thoſe rebells are not brought under intire ſubjection, as I have no commiſſion from the King or your Grace and Lordſhips to treat with thoſe obſtinat rebells; and knowing that my Lord Argyll, who is wholly ingadged in their Majeſties ſervice and intereſt is more concerned in ſuch treatis then I am well informed, I willingly wave it, refering the mater to ſuch as know beter his Majeſties intentions and his Lordſhips concern to do the reſt; reſting ſatisfied to put things in that poſture, with Gods aſſiſtance, that this ennemy ſhall not trouble us much whatever may fall out more in any other parte of the kingdom.

Buchan, with Dumfermeling and ſuch other low countrey gentlemen as were with them, are gone by the way of Baidenoch, whither further I cannot tell, but not one man of this countrey with them. I ſuſpect they will labour to forme a party in Aberdeenſhire, but I queſtion if they find a readyneſſe to joyn them ſo long as I am above them; however I am reſolved to leave this gariſon in a poſture of deffence, to which the ſpeedy arryvall of the plancks, canon and other materialls, wold contribut much. Your Grace and Lordſhips wold ſeriouſly mynd the ſpeedy ſupplying of this important poſte, from the weſt, of ſuch neceſſarys as I ſent you a liſte of, given up by Colonel Hill, otherwyſe all the pains and expences men have been at may prove fruitleſſe, which neceſſarily wold be of ill conſe-

quence. I ſhall forbeare to uſe this obſtinate ennemy according to my judgment and the ordinary practice of war, becauſe as I touched above, the government if diſpoſed thereto can allwayes get it done by the gariſon, while I labour only to make them the arbiters of their ennemys lot, which as it allwayes hath been, ſo ſhall it hereafter be in Scotland, the only deſigne of, may it pleaſe your Grace and Lordſhips, your Grace and Lordſhips moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant, H. Mackay.

The wrights whoſe ſtay hath put me ſom dayes behind are at laſt arryved.

66. Major-General Mackay to the Duke of Hamilton.

May it pleaſe your Grace, *Inderlochy, the 10th July*, 1690.

My two laſt leters were to your Grace and counſell, to the end they may lay to heart the ſpeedy ſupplying of this gariſon, and now I ſend one of the Commiſſarys who ſhall have perticullar directions from Colonell Hill of things to be furniſhed. I pray your Grace therefore, that it may be reſolved, without any interrupting buſineſſe, and the gariſon ſufficiently provided of money and proviſions with all diligence, otherwyſe ther will be great grounds to accuſe the government of an inexcuſable negligence in maters of greateſt importance for the peace and quiet of the kingdome. I have wryt to Arckinlas to intimat to my Lord Argylls chamberlains in Kintire, to ſend butter, cheeſe and what other proviſions they can furniſh to the gariſon, upon the bearers precept, which I oblidge myſelf ſhall be payd by the generall receivers upon ſight; but though ſuch things may happen to take effect, they muſt not be truſted to; if the gariſon be ſupply'd with money it will not want proviſions; it muſt not be pay'd be precepts as your other forces but with ready caſh, otherwyſe it ſhall go to wrack.

One wold admire how far our worcks are advanced in three or four dayes, ſo that any tyme nixt week in caſe the ſervice required it, I ſhall

be ready to march and leave this fort not only palliſſaded round, but moſt of the worcks at their full highth, and that notwithſtanding our men have nothing but meale and water, with now and then a little acquavitie to the workmen. Of all the Pioneers I got but about 150, which I ſent home out of Strathſpey. Many of our baggage men deſert us with their horſes, moſt whereof fall into the hands of the ennemy. If the meale from Glaſcow and other partes cum not, the gariſon will be very ſpeedyly reduced to great neceſſitie, becauſe of the 2000 bolls arryved, the armie conſumes much, having nothing elſe to eat, for the partys I had out, met with no catle within 20 miles.

The regement of Angus makes great difficultie to remain here in gariſon, which proceeds more of their officers and miniſter then of the ſouldiers. It were very unraiſonable to leave any of the ſtrenger forces in ſuch a remote gariſon, ſince if the kingdom happen to turn peaceable, they may and doubtleſſe ſhall be ſpeedyly diſpoſed of elſewhere. Your Grace then wold wryt to Lieutenant Colonel Foulerton to ſignifie that the confidence the government hath in thoſe men is the raiſon they were deſigned for that gariſon at firſt till Lochaber ſhould be ſubdued, which is hoped ſhall not be long, and then if they be not pleaſed with their poſt, that they ſhall be relceved by others which may be eaſily don by the ſhire of Argyll; withall if it might be thought fit to ſend them to Ireland they may be tranſported as readyly and more compleat from Inderlochy as from the weſt; however tis very in commode to have men in the ſervice who moſt needs chooſe their poſt. I confeſſe I am no admirer of a devotion which doth not teach men their relative duty according to their vocation. I leave here alſo betwixt 4 and 500 men of Grants regement with ſom Highlanders. I can not reſolve to give the ſecond command to the Laird of Weemb ſo long as Foulerton ſhall be here, though I know he might be very ſerviceable to the gariſon both as to his inteligence and credit, and that ther is not the leaſt abſurditie in the thing, it being very practicable in all countreys; but many men pretends to know that underſtands very little. I hop things are peaceable in the ſouth ſince I get ſo feu expreſſes

though they may be eafily conveyed through Argylls fhire over Dunftaffenage. I am much of the oppinion they will have fom refpect for this body in the midft of their friends countrey, which certainly this garifon if carefully provided will fepperat from their party, at leaft fo as not to trouble fo much the reft of the kingdom hereafter. I fhall be oblidged to return fhortly though it were but to leave fom provifions for the garifon; for neither the meale of Glafcow or Southerland is cum as yet, nor yet a barck which I order'd out of Cathneffe with 400 bolls, nor have we any notice of the two fhips with the plancks, canon and ammunition. Colonel Hill affures me that ther moft be double the number of plancks which was provided, therefor more wold be imediatly fecured at Glafcow though they fhould coft more, and in cafe they be not found there fent from Lieth as formerly: this wold be don fpeedyly becaufe the winter drawes neare a pace. I wifh the canon and ammonition were cum left fom enemy fhips might com to in commode the garifon before it be well cover'd towards the fea, which will take tyme. I find the palliffades which I fent of great fecuritie for the fort, for here it wold not be poffible to get any, there being no propre wood within diftance, and the countrey not lyk to fubmit till the winter force them. Here is a talk among our ennemys that fom thing will be undertaken by the Earle of Arran Marques of Athol and others before I return. I do not beleeve it, nevertheleffe if any fuch thing fhould occur and that any confiderable numbers from that hand fhould make head towards me, a motion wold be made from that hand towards Pearth to threaten both Athol and Braid Albins countrey, and your Grace wold labour to give me fpeedy account of the ftate of affaires and as often as poffible. If I can learn of no oppofition in my return, I have thoughts of leaving the Earle of Argylls regement in the fhire of that name, with which and what he can joyn to it of the fhire, together with the help of the frigats whofe provifions drawes to an end, he can eafily fubdue Mull this campaigne yet; but if I heare of any allarmes foutherly, I will march with all the forces except the garifon, that being of greateft confequence. I make no queftion but ther is account fent the

King of our progres hitherto againſt this ennemy, otherwyſe I had labour'd to have don it from here. I recommend earneſtly to your Grace the care of this poſt, which I look upon as the moſt important of the kingdom at preſent, and that which will at length make ſuch as wold ſell their credit and ſervice at ſuch a deare rait to the King of no greater uſe nor more neceſſary to him then a Lauthian or Fif Laird; therefor by no means let it be neglected, though other things ſhould be poſtponed, but let the perſon which Hill imployes be ſpeedyly diſpached back again with the neceſſary ſupplies. The reſt of the planks may be hade before the firſt if they happen to cum ſafly be wrought. The Queen wold be advertiſed alſo how maters go. I hope in God, before this tyme that ther ſhall be good newes both out of Ireland and of the fleet whereof I ſhall long to be pertaker. I am, may it pleaſe your Grace, your Graces moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant, H. MACKAY.

If I find Angus regement of ſuch an ill humeur that I cannot judge them to be a ſure gariſon, I ſhall be oblidged to leave a detachment of them and the regiment of Argyll with the companies of Grant which are here, left their deſertion of the gariſon might expoſe it. If my Lord Argyll had been here, tis very lyk he had received the ſubmiſſion of the men of Mull, except the Laird, before this tyme; but after my return it may bide him a greater tug. I recommend again the buying of the Glaſcow frigate for the ſervice of this gariſon; the Captain of it is much praiſed by Ferguſon for a well affected and diligent man who is alſo content to continue his command in the governments ſervice.

67. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Mouillons, betwixt Blaire and Dunkell, the 24th
May it pleaſe your Grace, *July* 1699, *at* 11 *a cloak forenoon.*

Yeſterday morning I gave your Grace and the Councell account of the approach of the armie from the head of Lochgary, but the leter was inter-

cepted by one Kinloch, who followed Buchan at Dunkell, as I am informed by people of that town. I left Colonel Hill with his garifon well fecured and fo provided, that fpeedy meafures being taken for his further fupply, as the nature of that poft feems abfolutly to require; he fhall not readyly have occafion to apprehend any thing which can menace him from the ennemy. I got 6 half coulverains from Captain Pottinger, and fix fmall pieces from the fhips of burden for him, and left him well enough provided of ammonition till he get more by the fhips from Lieth; his ftock of meale I fuppofe about 1800 bolls. I left him alfo 60 fat cowes, 8 barrells of hering, with a good quantitie of the aquavitie, and 500 lb Sterling in money, which, confidering the worck which he fhall have to make with the number of men, cannot lafte very long; befydes, that poft muft be provided for a 12 month during the faire weather. This I recommend to the Governments ferious confideration, that being a poft of that importance, and fo difficult to repoffeffe, if loft by neglect, that no tyme fhould be loft to have it fupply'd with all neceffars, both for lodging and fubfifting, perticullarly of money to pay the garifon, and buy bargains of provifions, which wold fave fhips fraughts after a while; but meale muft abfolutly be fent, that being wares not to be had for money there; but other provifions, I fuppofe, he may be ferved of, provided money faile not; that garifon ought to be keept in good humour, and capable to ferve well; they want, and ought prefently to be fupply'd of furtouts, breeches, ftockings and fhues.

Your Grace's leter of the 10th I got but after I was away from Inderlochy, and advanced as far as Badenoch; the tenour wherof, if I had not been accuftumed much with that fort of language, and known fomthing more, then haply your Grace can judge of the ftate of the ennemy, wold allarme me. God doth, in his goodneffe, worck for us, otherwyfe fuch a timourous fpirit as doth act this Government wold be capable to expofe us to the fcorn of our ennemis, and hinder all progres of the forces. Now, fince your Grace doth reproach me to have, contraire to your judgement, hazarded the loffe of the reft of the kingdom for the conquifh of Inderlochy (which I as well as your Grace wold judge a foolifh exchange) being

com this length with the armie, I deſyre your Grace may propoſe in Counſell whether ther be any preſſing preſent ſervice for me in theſe ſouthern partes, or that otherwyſe they may be put for 10 or 12 dayes in quarters of refreſhment; becauſe the foot hath ſuffered much by the continuall rains and worck, and where your Grace and the Counſell judges they ſhould beſt refreſh, and at the ſame tyme keep the ill affected moſt in aw. Theſe directions wold be ſent me with all ſpeed, being reſolved to camp ſom dayes at Perth till your orders with the Counſells cum to my hand. The Commiſſarys wold be ſent to ſee the forces want not proviſions, having brought nothing from the fort but what the ſouldiers could conveniently cary, and have been 8 dayes by the way, wherof I reſted one in Baidenoch to put a gariſon at Ruven, with directions to Captain Mackay, with his Highland companie of my Lord Reays men a 100 ſtrong to ſecure himſelf with all, which is all at preſent from, may it pleaſe your Grace, your Graces moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

I ſhall camp this night at Dunkell. I have no advice of the ſouth ſince the 12th, by which the Counſell deſyred my repair thither.

68. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it pleaſe your Grace, *Perth, the 26th July* 1690.

I have received your Grace and Lordſhips of the 25th, giving account of your calling of ſom weſt countreymen to Sterling and Falkirk, which I judge needleſſe, now the armie is cum back again from the Highland expedition; withall they occupy the quarters which I deſigned for the forces; for now, I ſuppoſe, our greateſt care muſt be towards England, if any troubles ſhould occur there during the Kings abſence; and Sterling, with the ajacent towns and villages within ten or twelue miles, wold be a fit poſt to look to both ſouth and north; I judge moſt of the hors and dra-

gouns which were not in the Highlands ought to be ſent north. To keep thoſe low countreys in aw, I had left ſom of the hors which I had with me, but, becauſe I knew not how I ſhould find maters here being ſo haſtyly wryt for, and that they wanted recrutes, I took them all ſouth, except Balhavens and Stwarts troops, which lye at Elgin in Muray; and there is no foot now in the north beſyde the gariſon of Fort William in Lochaber, and Ruven in Baidenoch, but Strathnavers regement at Indernefſe, wherof two companies are lodged at the houſes of Vrquhart and Erchlas. I judge foot in that countrey, during the good weather, not ſo vſefull as ſom hors and dragouns, therefor I reſolve to ſend Jackſon north with the three troops which he hath at Sterling, and the troop of hors which is ſaid to be Elphiſtons, and then I beleeve wee ſhall be prettie well ſecured to that ſyde; while we ſhall have . . . 7 troops of hors, with Livingſtons regement of dragouns, a troop of Cardros and the Hors-Gardes, with the three Dutch regements, Sir James Leſlies and the Earle of Levens all very good forces, to be ready to march where the ſervice ſhall moſt require it; and, in caſe of a conſiderable landing any where ſoutherly, whether in England or Scotland, the ſaid body could march towards it, while the weſtern ſhires men might be diſpoſed for the ſecuritie of Forth and the Government, beſydes thoſe Cunninghams regement will be in prety good condition of ſervice. I have here alſo 9 companies of the Earle of Argylls regement, with as many of Angus. Theſe forces vpon the Scots repartition will certainly turn to nothing without ſpeedy ſupply of money; and I admire to vnderſtand no meaſures have been taken all this while to furniſh them.

The money for the gariſon of Fort William muſt be ſent the Governour, and not comprehended in the precepts of the regements to whom they belong; and ſpeedy care wold be taken for to get that poſt ſupply'd of all neceſſars during the fine weather, and the Laird of Grant ſpocken to to agree with the Commiſſarys for deals and other wood to be order'd by him ſpeedyly to Ruven; together with a numbre of wrights for the accommodation of that hous for a gariſon of a 100 foot and 20 dragouns, which will be of great ſervice to keep the countrey below in peace, whereof

Grants is one to be benefitted thereby; meanwhile, by the order I left, the garifon is fecured againft ennemy attempts. This is all at prefent from, may it pleafe your Grace and Lordfhips, your Grace and Lordfhips moft humble and moft obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

69. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

May it pleafe your Grace and Lordfhips,

Pearthe, the 28th July 1690.

Having examined the ftate of the forces, I find that the ficknefſe which began to inffect them at Inderlochy or Fort William doth increafe, viz. the bloody flux, fo that if we expect more fervice of them for this running faifon, ther is a neceffitie to lay them for a little tyme in quarters, of refraifhment, which I have accordingly order'd fo neare, that in a day moft of them can be together. They are difpofed as followes: my regement at Sterling, Ramfay at Lithgow, Leflie at Falkirck, Angus and Kenmore at Borowftoneffe and ajacents, Livingfton at Killfeith; the fix troops of hors in the villages about Sterling, Argyll and Lauder at Pearth, and Glenkairn fomwhere therabout, as the Commanding Officer of that parte of the forces which marches now to Sterling fhall informe himfelf, that it may be accommodat, becaufe now that I have got fom bifket from Dundee I take Livingftons Dragons, four troops of hors and fix hundert commanded foot to look after thofe people that are infefting the countrey. I have fent orders to Jackfon to march northward with his three troops of dragons which lye about Sterling, becaufe that the Rebells having got fom hors together, they may, with the help of the brocken Highlanders, be uneafie for the party wee have there, and whatever may fall out in the fouth, the north ought to be fo well cared for that the ennemis may have no footing in the low countrey. It were fit that fuch of our party as are north country men, and have intreft to raife men, were fent thither, among whom chiefly

my Lord Strathnaver and the Laird of Grant; for it is not the queſtion of Proteſtants divided in court party and club, but of Proteſtants and Papiſts, now when our ennemis maine or only expectations are from France, ſo that whoſoever is not zealous in ſuch a cauſe, with all the ſelf denyedneſſe which our religion requires, can hardly expect the advantages which it promiſes, only to ſuch as ſeek firſt the kingdom of heaven, and for the reſt deppend upon Gods providence to have it added to them.

I have often preſt that Fort William be cared for tymely, and that the forces be furniſhed with money to put them in caſe to do the ſervice, for ſurely the Kings money ought not to be ſpaired to looſe his ſervice, for in caſh upon occaſion it cannot help much but in well compoſed forces ther is a proſpect at leaſt humanly of ſecuritie whatever may fall out.

I could wiſh ther were preſent order given for 11 or 1200 ſurtouts for the gariſon of Fort William, the men being ill cloathed for the approaching cold wet ſaiſon; plaidin weſt coats wold doe well alſo; for ſhues and ſtockins ther hath been a memorandum given to a certain Commiſſary Depput called Cambell, who is ordained to attend the ſaid fort; ſhirts wold not be forgot alſo, the ſaid monting can be found of their retention money, and coſt nothing but the credit making to the government.

Your Grace and Lordſhips would conſider that it is an unſupportable burden for me to have the care of all thoſe things, for tis impoſſible for me to exerciſe my thoughts effectually how to diſpoſe the forces to the moſt advantage of the ſervice, if I be obliged to give directions for and ſolicit all things, thay may be found requiſit for the perticullar detail and oeconomie of them; therefor to make the ſervice go well on, it ought to be made as eaſie for any who happen to have the chief command of the forces as poſſible, otherwyſe he ſhall neceſſarly neglect the chief parte and end thereof, which is to contrive how to make uſe of them to the moſt advancement of the ſervice. Your Grace and Lordſhips therefor wold eſtabliſh the Committie of war which I propoſed, to inſpect the leters and propoſitions which I have wryten and hereafter may happen to make or wryt, that no delay be made in things eſſentiell for the preſent ſervice and

juncture, for though I have the designe and will, I thank God for it, good and found in this mater, my spirit and body cannot support the weight of all, and necessarly many things most be neglected if I should be charged therwith, which are the present thoughts of, may it please your Grace and Lordships, your Grace and Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

70. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace, *Sterling, the* 30*th July* 1690.

Presently I had your Graces of the 28th instant; I am much of opinion more might be don for the subsistance of the forces and supplying other insidents of the service, but where the neglect lyes I cannot tell; certainly it will discover itself at last; I make no maner of doubt but the garison in Lochaber will be presently waikned except speedyly supply'd, not only of provisions, but of money to incourage the men; for as they must do the rest of the work they expect to be pay'd. Whatever others may think, I am of oppinion that it is the most importantest post of the nation as wee are now stated; there was not a taile of all those Highlanders with Canon and Buchan of I am sure 4000 that at least wold appeare in the feeld at this tyme, if those measures had not been taken, which nevertheleffe stood betwixt *cinqu* and *syce* whether it should or not. Canon, to my certain knowledge, had not 50 hors, very badly mounted and armed, and no foot but such as were of the theeves of Ranuch, Buchoider and Brays of Monteith, before Buchan joynt him, of whom not one hath followed him north, nor have they joynt him but to rob and steale under his name, so that it was a disgrace to the forces to let him do such disorders so neare four troops besyde foot, wherof som might be chosen for a detachment. I march'd after them till neare the Weemb, but I found that they were advanced to the north. I wold not therfor venture to go so far out of the way, not knowing what newes might be out of England. My Lord

Cardros is gone out, when the ennemy was ods of 30 mile from him, and is now out of the way when my orders for Jackſon came here to march north in all diligence. I wiſh with all my heart ſom of the Lords were accommoded otherwyſe, and left thoſe charges which requires ſervile attendance to ſuch as wold wait upon them. I intend tomorrow for Edinbrugh, when I ſhall have directed the reſt of the forces to quarters; tis pleaſant that the Lords of Counſell wold have an armie keept together without money, fourage or proviſions. It makes me think upon a drol ſaying of Colonel Hills, that becauſe peoples rents in this countrey were moſtly pay'd in meale, they judged meal wold anſwer every thing. I wonder what Sir George Monro does, for if he cannot help the government to ſom directions as to the taking ſom meaſures for the forces, he is not lyck to be very uſefull, except it be to contredict me, which I beleeve can hardly paſſe for ſervice worth a penſion, ſince I beleeve the government is perſuaded I deſigne well to it. I wrot to your Grace and the Counſell from Pearth 3 dayes ago, which I wiſh may be conſider'd, which is all at preſent from, may it pleaſe your Grace, your Graces moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

H. Mackay.

I take the libertie to recommend to your Grace Pottingers letter to the Commiſſioners of the Navy. You will ſee by his letter to me that he and Douglas are on their way to Greennock to be revictwalled. I ſhall wryt to him to cum ſpeack with your Grace.

71. Major-General Mackay to the Privy Council.

Brechen the 17th Aguſt, 90.

May it pleaſe your Grace and Lordſhips,

At my arryvall this length I am informed that the rebells are paſt the hills of the Karne mounth, and that they were ſtrong in hors, for all the

gentry and men of qualitie in the north do joyn them, ſuch as the Lords Fraiſer and Innerurie, Sir Peter Friſer the Laird Meldrum and the ſhirif deput of the Mearnes with ſeverall others. I am extreamely at a non plus for want of proviſions it being impoſſible to follow the enemy, and as impoſſible without following them cloſe to know their motions, the countreys being generally ſo ill affected. Thoſe difficulties which is only occaſioned by the want of order for providing the forces, do render me incapable to take any ſure meſures, for though the rebells ſeem by the way I am informed that they are gone over the Kairne month to bend towards the north, it might happen to be to the brayes of Mar and ſo to Athol and trouble the government conſiderably. I find if they know to take meſures with the adherence they have in the north countreys, and expect in the ſouth, together with the body of hors they have together, and the diſorders of our payment and proviſions and the bade caſe of the Scots forces, that they may creat ſom trouble to the government. My oppinion then is, that the weſt countrey men might be advertiſ'd to be in readyneſſe that is ſom competent numbers of them to march to Sterling in caſe thoſe men ſhould take their way to the ſouth, as alſo to Edinbrugh to ſecure the government that the forces may be all gather'd to a body betwixt Sterling and Pearth. If I find that they have taken the way to the ſouth, I ſhall make a detachment of three troops of Livingſtons dragouns thither, while I muſt of neceſſitie fall down towards Aberdeen to be provided of proviſions as well as to joyn Jackſon and the Maſter of Forbes, though it ſeem light to ſom men to move with forces to and fro and obſerve the ennemys I cannot ſee through it; for all allong the countrey there is nothing to be had, not ſo much as a boll of meale. If now the Highlanders of Lochaber were joynt they might give us worck eneugh, for my parte I do not underſtand all this worck. At Edinbrugh every malicious tongue cenſures all that is don by ſuch as ſacrifices all their intreſt, contentment and reſt, for their peace and wellfaire while they themſelves do not touch the wight of maters ſo much as with their finger; at leaſt let men be ſo juſte as to lay the blame where it ought to lye,

which certainly if ther be any is in the government, which ought to finde ſom poſſible way to have the ſervice don. I ſent ſom men for inteligence after them, and I am to march this night to Fetterkairne, and if they be gone north ſhall march down the Mearns towards Aberdeen, to be provided of victualls, and if they go up Mar I know thoſe countreymen will not go with them to the ſouth, I mean their foot, and in that caſe I ſhall either make detachments to the north and return with ſom of the forces ſouth or ſend ſom of them ſouth and ſtay to ſetle the north a little; for as yet I know no certain reſolution to be followed before I get further inteligence, of which I ſhall give your Grace and Lordſhips account; only I wiſh you had a man more acceptable to you, to whom you wold give your aſſiſtance more cordially, but men ought to have care that the maſters ſervice be not hazarded out of prejudice to the ſervant. I do earneſtly recommend the care of the gariſon of Fort William, which if not tymly provided may be of bade conſequence. This all at preſent from, May it pleaſe your Grace and Lordſhips, your Grace and Lordſhips moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

H. Mackay.

I order'd the Commiſſarys to ſend a deput or two allong with me but it ſeems they forgot it, as I am affray'd many other things will be. An order ſhould be ſent to Captain Pottinger to make the beſt of his way to the coaſt of Lochaber and the Iſles, and my oppinion is, ſince the gariſon at Fortwilliam may happly be waikned for want of neceſſars, orders might be given that the governour might at any tyme call for 300 well appointed men out of Argylls ſhire to help to make inroads upon the Lochaber men in caſe any of them ſhould offer to joyn any more with the other rebells; but all deppends upon a faiſonable diſpoſition of maters, the neceſſarys for that gariſon and other things requiring diſpach, ought to be conſtantly plyed till it were diſpach'd and not deppend upon the ſolicitation of officers.

72. Major-General Mackay to Lord Melvill.

My Lord, *Indernesse, the 29th Agust* 1690.

This day I received your Lordships of the 23d instant. I was continually moving since I wrot from Brechein to my Lord Commissioner and the Counsell, and had litle or nothing to advyse, except a litle rencontre betwixt Inverey and a party of hors and dragouns under my nephew Major Mackay, which I commanded out to attack him in a very rough and steep ground, which imbolden'd him to approach my march very neare, where allmost all his men were killed and taken prisoners, and he himself strangely escaped, after he was under the hors feet, and thought dead by the pursuers, whereof I wrot the perticullars to the Secretary at War, which, no doubt, he communicated. I was oblidged, before the junction of the forces which lay at Aberdeen, to step a syde for the relief of the garison of Abergeldie, which was blockt up, and wold have been lost within three dayes, had it not been tymely succour'd; and to terrifie others from the lyke attempts, I burnt 12 miles of a very fertile Highland countrey, at least 12 or 1400 houses, but had no tyme to go up the length of Braymar, being willing to follow the ennemy to the north, or elswhere he should direct his march, it being impossible for me, in those rebellious countreys, to get any sure inteligence of him; so that to be sure of him again, I judged expedient to leave the foot behinde me, and follow with the hors and dragouns with all the diligence they could be capable of; and if they had not had the countrey, even in Muray, more to their friend then I, I had gone prety neare to a surpryfed them besyde Invernesse, where they did not expect me so soon, and waited for the Earle of Seafort, with all his men, who were, and for ought I know, are yet at a head, as well low as high countreymen; but upon the advertisement of my approach, the rebells retired up by the north syde of Lochnesse to the Highlands, and the Earle sent me two gentlemen of his name, signifieing that he was oblidged in

honour to make ſome appearance for King James, but had no deſigne to a troubled the Government, nor to a joyn'd with Buchan, offering ſureté for his peaceable behaviour in tymes cumming; to which I returned anſwer, that without looſing any longer tyme in debating about his deſigne, I was to walck by what occur'd to my judgement, and left his Lordſhip his choice of one of two, either to ſee his countrey enter'd by fire and ſword, or delyver up his perſon priſoner into my hands, to be keept in civill cuſtody till the Government ſhould diſpoſe otherwyſe, or ſent ſouth, according to his choice. I am expecting that his mother, who was with me yeſterday, and his low countrey kinſmen, who render'd themſelves now by this laſt ſtep guilty, will labour to diſpoſe his Lordſhip to the later, which I am willing they do alſo, rather then be oblidged to proceed to rigour, which nevertheleſſe I am reſolved to do, judging it the ſervice, if he do not agree to the former.

Upon Buchans retreat toward the head of Lochneſſe, judging he might have ſom hops of ſuccour from the Clans, I called up a parte of the foot, viz. our three Dutch battaillons (with Kenmores debris, which I intend to lodge at Indernefſe) to be in condition to pouſſe them in all ſort of grounds, and if they from the head of Lochneſſe paſſe by the braes of Badenoch toward the ſouth, I ſhall labour to be as ſpeedyly after them as I can with the inconveniences I meet with, by the forces wanting of money and victualls; for though they had their precepts they had no tyme to get money for them. I have diſpach'd an expres to Colonel Hill to labour for good inteligence of what paſſes in Lochaber in favour of the rebells, that he may lay hold upon the occaſion to chaſtiſe them if they ſhould go out in ſuch numbers that his partys can ſecurely interpryſe upon the reſt. I have wayes lay'd down vpon all hands to be ſpeedyly advertiſ'd of their motions, and be able to follow them in caſe they march your way; mean while tis my oppinion the ſix troops of hors with the gardes be lodged in a body, and my battaillon out of Sterling, with Sir James Leſlies regement and Lauders from St Johnſton, be drawen alſo togther to Dumblain and Down, and that of Angus ſent to Sterling, being certain that the forſaid

hors, with the three battaillons, are forces eneugh for Buchan's, with any thing that can joyn him out of Lochaber, conſidering the neceſſary effect of the gariſon of Fort William, or that Ramſay may aſſiſt my Lord Drumlanrig, (who, by raiſon of the junction of the troop of gardes, ſhould fall to command the ſaid body,) his bataillon could be joyn'd from Dundee in place of Lauders. This I propoſe to be don in tyme, becauſe the rebells wold otherwyſe have tyme to trouble the countrey before thoſe forces could be drawn together; for, if they be hunted from hand to hand, the tenderly bred countrey lords and lairds will ſoon weary of it, and diſperſe if otherwyſe no catch can be had of them. In this magaſin of Inderneſſe, ther is not 80 bolls of meale at preſent, therefor the Commiſſarys ought to be order'd imediately to put meale in ſtore at Inderneſſe, Aberdeen and Montros, there being already ſom ſtore of meale and biſket at Dundie, which lyes alſo convenient for Pearth, if need were, to cary it thither This leter your Lordſhip ſhall be pleaſed to communicat to my Lord Commiſſioner and the Lords of Counſell, to have their approbation, whether they think fit to have thoſe directions followed or not. After to-morrow I ſhall be at a point with the Mackenzies, and if there be rigour in the caſe let them blame themſelves; for I am perſuaded the deſigne was lay'd to joyn Buchan, and for their firſt interpryſe to labour to cary Inderneſſe, if my ſpeedy motion had not prevented them. I have advertiſ'd my Lord Reayes countrey and Balnagowen to be in readyneſſe to fall in the ajacent parts of the Earle of Seaforts countreys to them in caſe they ſhould joyn the other rebells, ſo, whatever ſhould cum of the reſt, they wold quickly paſſe their tyme ill if they ſhould oppiniatre. This is all I have to ſay at preſent, being, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

73. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Indernesse, the 1 *Septembre* 1690.

May it please your Grace and Lordships,

At the wryting of my last account to the Earle of Leven, which was to be communicated to your Grace and Lordships, the Comtesse Dowager of Seaforth was here, together with the Laird of Coule, and a leter from the Earle (to whom his kinsmen gives the title of Marquesse now) assuring me that he should agree to such conditions as should be concluded betwixt them and me, which was that the Earle should give over his person in my hands to be keept in civill detention at Indernesse till your Grace and Lordships should further determin of him; and that he might appeare the more excusable to those of the other party, my nephew, Major of Livingston, was to make a fashion of surpryfing him at Chanrie one of his houses; but instead of keeping his agreement, his Lordship and his mother wrote leters showing that the condition of his health could not beare with imprisonment, as if a lodging at Indernesse, with the liberty of the free air in companie of the Commanding Officer, or such as he should appoint were more contrarie to his health then the hills allready in this countrey covered with snow. Upon this sincere dealing I dispached orders to Southerland, Strathnaver and Balnagowen, to gather of their Highlanders the mater of a 1000 men, to whom I joyn'd Major Wishart with two hunder of Strathnavers regement to command them with a commission, whereof I send herewith your Grace and Lordships a copie, and I am assured they will make their campaigne cost those men deare eneugh, for ther is no other way to deale with them or bring them to raison, as may be seen by the late exemple of Strathdee, which, for 12 miles of the best Highland countrey in Scotland, hath been totally burnt to ashes; and now those who wold never here of delyvering up their armes heretofore brings them all in upon oath with certification, that with

whom any armes ſhall be found thereafter ſhall dye without mercy; for I had left order to permit none to rebuild but by delyvering up their armes and ſwearing allegeance to their Majeſties. I beleeve it ſhall fare ſo with the Earle of Seaforth, that is, that he ſhall haply ſubmit when his countrey is ruined and ſpoyled, which is the character of a true ſcotſman, wyſe behinde the hand. However, I have hunted people ready for the prey at his Highlands, and ſhall take a word of his low countreys with my hors and dragouns, now the foot is cum up to ſecure this place behind me; for I can ſee no ſecuritie for the government to leave ſuch a countrey and people lying ready to catch at all occaſions to trouble it (as it hath now ſufficiently appeared) in a condition to do us harme, therefor your Grace and Lordſhips may be freely perſuaded that I take my meaſures by what I judge to tend to the eſtabliſhment of the peace and quiet of the kingdom, and not by humour or prejudice, having reſolved at this tyme to treat rudely all that I ſhould finde in armes and none els: Witneſſe Strathdon, Strathdown and Glenlivet, which I paſt without doing them the leaſt harme, becauſe they had not joyn't Buchan, and were all in their countrey as I paſt; tis true that the Earle of Seaforth offered me his kinſmen ſecuritie for his peaceable deportment, but 'tis as true they had all ſecur'd the peace before, and yet joyn'd with the ſaid Earle at this tyme; I leave then to your Grace and Lordſhips to judge of what value ſuch a ſecuritie of kinſmen for a Highland chief can be to the government.

If, in the meantyme, Buchan with his party paſſe over the hills to the ſouth, I ſhall leave a ſufficient force here to execute my orders againſt this new ſtart up ennemy, while I ſhall follow that other as ſpeedyly as I can, and if the combined Highlanders ſhould venture ons more (as I do not much apprehend) to cum out, except it be by connivance of ſmall detachments, I have force eneugh to oppoſe them all with Gods aſſiſtance, only I am extremly put to it for want of money and proviſions, there being no meale here in magaſin. I do not know whether it be a worck of creation to get neceſſarys furniſh'd for the promotion of the ſervice in this kingdom, but ſure I am it is a worck of no ſmall vexation to ſerve without it; I

ſhall never repyne at my pains, or any thing els I can contribut to your peace and quiet, without the leaſt deſigne which any juſte and impartiall man can call my own, in all your maters, nay, I ſhall willingly beare with the malicious miſconſtructions of my ennemys ſo be I may ſee but a way to bring things (by the providence of him who hath called me to this unpleaſant piece of ſervice) to that paſſe, that the peaceable ſtate of the kingdom may make me hop to make way for ſome other whoſe circumſtances might render it more gratefull to him then it can be to me; but I confeſſe that it is a great temptation to be expoſed to ſo many difficulties, toyles and vexations, by the continual complaints of the forces and their ill humour (which ought to be as carefully avoided, perticullarly in ſuch a war as this, as men wold deſyre to receive good ſervice of them and give no advantage to the ennemy) and inſtead of acknowledging mens ſincere indeavours over the belly of thwarting practiſes of others, to load them with injuries, as it hath been my own caſe after my late expedition of Lochaber. But whatever prejudices men in the government may have for the perſon, if they be publick ſpirited men, for the conſequence ſake they will acknowledge the ſervices. Your Grace and Lordſhips will have the goodneſſe to pardon this digreſſion, becauſe I am ſufficiently convinced that men take the liberty to ſpeak of my conduct no leſſe ignorantly then maliciouſly.

My laſt newes of Buchan was, that he marched towards Lochaber; if the Highlanders give him ſuccour it ſhall not be ſo ſoon but his hors may cum to ſuffer notably before they gather; I have lodged myn ſince the change of the weather within the town; if they cum back to joyn the mater of 800 men that Seaforth hath together, I have foot eneugh now neare to march to them in any ground where I can meet them: this poſt is propre for obſervation, ſeeing the Mackenzies are in the play, becauſe here I can obſerve their motions either to the north or ſouth, but if ons our Highland hunters be abroad they will make a break among Seaforths party if I be not miſtaken, otherwyſe they are not of the nature of other Highlanders.

I have borrowed a 100 lb ſterling for ſom of the Scots troops of hors and dragouns, which wanted from the town of Indorneſſe, for which the receivers wold be order'd to ſend a precept upon their Colector there for repayment, that my bond may be releeved, as alſo to ſend an order to all Colectors in the North for the payment and acceptance of ſuch precepts as their Deput Commiſſarys or an officer commanding in chief ſhall draw upon them for proviſions for the forces, when in a body at leaſt.

It is my oppinion, if your Grace and Lordſhips wold give the Earle of Argyll the 18 companies of his oun and the Earle of Anguſes regement, that he wold not only quickly render himſelf maſter of Mul, but alſo help to make a conſiderable diverſion of the ennemys numbers during the ſaid march and expedition, becauſe his march to Argyllſhire and raiſing of that countrey wold keep all the men of Lochaber at home, though otherwyſe they ſhould be of oppinion ſom of them might venture out notwithſtanding of the gariſon: Meantyme the Earle might be helped to his own, and the forces be as uſefully imploy'd there as any other where, for ought I know at preſent, it being certain that if any conſiderable ennemy march that way, I ſhall not give them tyme to do much harme before I be after them, though notwithſtanding any meaſures I can take for intelligence, being ſo far diſtant from me, they can have the ſtart of a day or two's march before me; but if it ſhould not be found good to give him Angus's with his own regement, (or rather parte of it), that he may have the 4 companies of Glenkairns which are out of gariſon, if they be in any condition to do ſervice; or rather, laſtly, his own 9 companies with 50 men out of every one of the other five battaillons, and 50 of the beſt of thoſe four companies forſaid, making 300 men, which with his own, ſuppoſing 400 effectives, and the men of the ſhire, may do the buſineſſe, without waikning ſo thoſe bodys but they'll do the ſervice as well as otherwyſe. The Earle to my knowledge is at expenſes to prepare for this expedition; therefor, 'tis my oppinion, without ſom raiſons which I do not know to the contrarie, he ought not be diſappointed, ſince at the ſame tyme it is the King's ſervice alſo to ſubdue thoſe ennemys.

I have ſent all wayes to look out for meale, but I fear it will be difficult to be got this ſyde Aberdeen in any quantitie; therefor the Lords of Theſſurie ought to give preſent orders to have this gariſon furniſhed with a 1000 bolls from Aberdeen by ſea, as alſo to have a magazin there and at Montros, as I wrot to the Earle of Leven in my laſt, the want of which loſt me two dayes when I marched laſt through Angus.

I hop your Grace and Lordſhips have not neglected to have Fort-William ſupply'd, the weather becomming cold. If deals be not ſent in ſufficient quantitie the ſervice may cum to looſe by it. I only put you in mynd of it, being none of my care; what is wryt by me or others intruſted with any directions of the ſervice ought to be preſently conſider'd, and what is found neceſſary preſently reſolved and order'd or it be lay'd aſyde in the clerck's hands, it being otherwyſe ſubject through forgetfulneſſe to delays, which occaſions all the diſorders of this ſervice, and could have been prevented by forming the commity which I propoſed in the beginning of ſummer before I went to the feelds. The Fraſers keep themſelves very quiet, and I am aſſured by one Allexander Chieſolm, Shirif-deput of Indernneſſe, that they will not countenance this ennemy at any rate. My Lord Lovet would be ſpocken to, to make the ſaid Chieſolm baillie as he hath been formerly, being an active perſon, and for ought I can learn, well inclined. This is all I can adviſe at preſent, being, May it pleaſe your Grace and Lordſhips, your Grace and Lordſhips moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

74. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Indernneſſe, the 2d Septembre, 1690.

May it pleaſe your Grace and Lordſhips,

This day I have advis that Buchan and Canon, with their hors are paſt from the head of Lochneſſe to the Braes of Lochaber, whereby I gueſſe,

ſince they finde no diſpoſition in the Clans to joyn them, except it be ſom few looſe fellowes upon the hop of plunder, that they ſhall take their way towards the Braes of Badenoch, and ſo into Braemar or Perthſhire. I advertiſ'd a while ago that there ſhould be a body there compoſed of the hors with three battaillons of the foot, lodged ſo contigouſly together that they may upon the firſt advertiſement march to them, it being certain our hors allone there are capable to beat them; but as long as it can be don, and leſt they get ſom foot together as they march through thoſe Highlands, it ſhall be beſt and ſafeſt to joyn the forſaid foot to them. Such a motion might caſt them my way, at leaſt if they be ſom what toſſed from hand to hand they will grow thiner, and whoſoever hath keept himſelf from them hitherto will hardly now joyn them. My foot (without which I cannot well march through the hills after them) is ſo haraſſed, and wants money and proviſions at that rait, that I am affray'd I cannot make uſe of them for ſuch a march; however I ſhall do what I can if the march of the ennemy be not too ſudden. If I had Seafort and his people ſecured I ſhould be at more liberty as to the reſt. By this tyme I am in expectation that the Kings ſpeedy return will quiet the ill humours in the ſouth, ſo that theſe in rebellion ſhall not have many more to joyn them, and if it were to be don over again, I am perſuaded they wold take it to conſideration who joyn'd them laſt, and as perſuaded if they be ply'd hard that they'll diminiſh dayly. I had a leter from Colonel Hill by an expres I ſent him, ſignifieing that they begin to want deals for the worck, and longs extreamly for the cloathes and money for the ſouldiers, the weather being all ready prety cold perticullarly at nights, otherwyſe his gariſon is hearty and well pleaſed with his way. I have ſent him orders to be briſk in caſe thoſe people ſhould be ſo fooliſh as to ingadge again, but he ſeems not much to apprehend it; his fortifications are well nigh compleat. I recommend earneſtly to your Grace and Lordſhips the caſe of that poſt, which ſerves us now for no ſmall uſe, and ſhall be the greateſt ſecuritie of the peace of any poſt in the kingdom if keept in good condition. He complains of neither ſickneſſe nor deſertion, and praiſes much Grants Major of whom he hath great help. I am of

oppinion it ought be feen what way the ennemy turns before the detachment I propofed for the fubdueing of Mull be fent of, which I fuppofe may be feen in a feu dayes. This is all at prefent from, May it pleafe your Grace and Lordfhips, your Grace and Lordfhips moft humble and moft obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

75. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Old Meldrum, the* 8th *Septembre* 1690.

Suppofing your Lordfhip at Pearth, if the ennemy be in the nighboured, I difpatch'd this by a labal, to know from that place, as the neareft quarter of our troupes, if Ramfay be drawn out, what paffes in that fhire. Having underftood by a leter from the counfell that the rebells were fallen down to the brayes of Monteith and Bochoider, I left the north as far as Indernefle well fecured, as I do Aberdeenfhire, and intends fouthward with Livingfton's dragoons; therefor be pleafed to fend an officer expres to meet me upon the way of Brechen and Forfare, to let me know the lateft motion of the ennemy, and what forces Drumlanric hath together, and whereabout they are at prefent. Your Lordfhip may fend this to the counfell, to the end they may know where I am, which is all at prefent from, My Lord, your Lordfhips moft humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

76. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it pleafe your Grace, *Forfar the* 15*th Septembre* 1690.

Since my laft to the Earle of Leven, I have nothing to advyfe, but that I order'd Sir James Leflie to Sterling, to releeve Argyll and 2 companies of Angus's, the 2 of Glenkairnes which lay at Drumond Caftle, with the

reſt of Angus's to Dumblain, ther being no need of ſo many forces as Drumlanrig had by him againſt the ennemy that appeares in the feelds at preſent, whom I order'd to keep my battaillon and that of Ramſay together with the hors for ſom dayes yet till wee heare further of thoſe ſculckers, which I heare looſes of their number dayly. I ſent to Blair Athol to have what that officer knowes, and order'd Drumlanrig to ſend to the Weemb, Finlarig, and the caſtle of Drumond, for inteligence. I order'd Colonel Cunninghame to Braemar, withthe 6 troops of hors and dragoons which he hath by him, and 600 of his beſt foot, to diſarme or burn Invereyes countrey and all Brae mar, which I had no time to effectuat when I went north; and my oppinion is, the braes of Monteith, Bochwither, and other highlands thereabout ought to be treated the ſame way; but ſince it is ſo neare the government, I would not order it without their good finding. I make a halt here with Livingſton's dragoons, and a battaillon of Laudertills. I know ſomthing of the ennemys, becauſe I ly ſo much upon my way if they ſhould turn to Aberdeenſhire. This is all I have to advyſe at preſent, being, May it pleaſe your grace, your grace's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

Ther ought to be ſpeciall care taken to get a ſet of honeſt men in majeſtrature of Aberdeen, for which ther is a good occaſion, as my Lords Cardros and Balhaven can informe your grace, which by no means ought to be neglected, it being of great conſequence for the ſecuritie of the peace in the north, that that town be in good hands.

77. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE KING.

May it pleaſe your Majeſtie, *Edinbr. the* 16 *October*, 1690.

As the ſuccess of your Majeſties armes and magnanimous expedition in your kingdom of Ireland, hath defeated all the deſignes of ſuch who were

equally enemies to your Majeſtie and the Proteſtant religion, and farr advanced the peace of that nation, ſo God hath lykwayes been pleaſed to bleſs the conduct of your affairs and forces in this kingdom with ſuch iſſue againſt the obſtinat rebells of the nation; that ſome of the chieff of them being disappoynted of there vain expectationes and conſcious of ther own guilt and deſervings, have, and wee believe many more will render themſelves priſoners and ſubmitt to your Majeſties mercie; and Wee haveing no inſtructione from your Majeſtie how ſuch as ſhall ſo ſurrender themſelves ſhould be treated, whither by makeing them priſoners in the ordinarie goals, keeping them under guards, or ſetting them at libertie upon ſurety and baill, to appear when your Majeſtie ſhall ſignifie your pleaſure about them, doe in all humilitiy beg your Majeſtie would be pleaſed to tranſmitt your commands to us herein, that all due obedience may be given to them.

The Lord Inverurie, eldeſt ſon to the Earle of Kintor, haveing been ingadged for ſome ſhort ſpace with the rebells, to his fathers great greiff and afliction, who had alwayes no leſs detaſtatione to any thing might tend to the leaſt diſloyaltie then abhorrence at this cryme in his ſon, which some of our own number were eye witneſes off, hath now rendered himſelf priſoner to the government and abſolutely caſt himſelf upon your Majeſties mercie, without any condition or reſerve whatſoever. The Councill have thought fitt to keep him confyned under a guard, untill your Majeſties pleaſure be knowen how he ſhould be diſpoſed off, being the firſt that hath offered in this manner a return to his duty, as he was among the laſt who departed from it.

The Earle of Argyle in proſecutione of the Councills commands for endeavoring to reduce the rebells of ſome of the Iſles and places adjacent, being lyke (if he were inveſted with a power,) to have occaſſione of treating with ſome of the chief of theſe rebells, about the particulars contained in a letter ſent by him to Major Generall Mackay for the Councills orders how to demain himſelf towards them therein, Wee have thought it our duty to tranſmitt that letter with a coppie of the articles of the Surrendar

of the Caſtle of Iſlandſtalker, to the Secretary of State for this kingdom, to be communicat to your Majeſtie, that your orders to us therein may direct what furder inſtructiones wee ſhall give to the Earle in that matter.

Major Generall Mackay hath frequently moved, that a conſtant committie of councill might be named to ſitt twice a week or oftner, to conſider and determin in ſuch matters as relate to the carieing of the warr, or ordering your Majeſties forces within this kingdom in ſuch particulars as are not propper to be communicat in open Councill before expeding therof, or of ſuch particulars as cannot allow of the delay of Councill meetings and debaites of a full board, and in all other things, not to proceed without firſt makeing report to the Councill, and being ſubject to and receiving commands from them; which wee judged our duty to lett your Majeſtie know, that your Majeſtie might make ſuch nominatione, and give ſuch commands in this particular, as in your Royall wiſdom, your Majeſtie ſhall think fitt. We are, May it pleaſe your Majeſtie, your Majeſties moſt humble, moſt loyall and faithful ſubjects and ſervants.

MORTON. CRAFURD.
SOUTHERLAND.
STAIR.
H. MACKAY. C. CAMPBELL.
JOHN HALL. C. CAMPBELL.
ARC. MURRAY.
RO. SINCLAIR.

To the King,

In relation to the Priſoners.

78. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord, *Edinbr. the* 16 *October* 1690.

The ſtate of the rebells in the highlands becomeing deſperat, hes obleidged ſeverall of the cheiff of them, ſuch as the Lords Innerurie, Frazer and others, to render themſelves priſoners, and ſubmitt to his Majeſties

mercie. This, with what hes occurred to the Earle of Argyle in his expeditione againſt the Iſles, occaſtioned ſeverall motiones to be made at the board anent theſe particulars, which were concluded in a letter to his Majeſtie, which letter, with a copy therof, and the Earle of Argyles originall letter to Major Generall Mackay, and a coppie of the articles of the ſurrendar of Iſlanſtaker are herewith tranſmitted to your Lordſhip, to be delivered and communicat to his Majeſtie, with your firſt convenience; earneſtly entreating that your Lordſhip may uſe your intereſt with his Majeſtie for a ſpeedie and particular anſwear, that none of his Majeſties affairs depending hereon may be retarded. We are, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble ſervants,

MORTON. CRAFURD.
SOUTHERLAND.
STAIR.
H. MACKAY. C. CAMPBELL.
JOHN HALL. C. CAMPBELL.
ARC. MURRAYE.
RO. SINCLAIR.

For the Right Honorable the Earle of Melvell, ſole Secretary of State for the Kingdom of Scotland, London.

In relation to the Priſoners.