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THE SECOND DUKE OF GORDON.

HIS BIRTH AND BEGINNINGS.

The policy of Alexander, 2nd Duke of Gordon, was of the utmost importance to his house, for it lay with him to decide whether the Gordons were to throw in their lot with the Stuarts or with the line of Hanover. The territorial chief of a large Highland host, which was strongly pro-Jacobite, and the son of a Roman Catholic mother, he had many temptations to follow the Stuarts. On the other hand, he had a rough "horse sense" that disaster lay that way, and that the line of progress for the country and for himself lay in supporting the new regime. I call it "horse sense" rather than direct policy, for he faltered now and then. That may be attributed less to policy than to a disinclination to take any side whatever. He was, however, forced to take a side, and in the circumstances he temporised in a way which brought him much criticism, as everybody familiar with the ballads of the period is aware. In the end, however, he shared the extraordinary luck of his house which had weathered so many storms and which came to an end in the direct line only because it failed in male heirs.

The second Duke of Gordon was the only son of the 1st Duke, who had married Lady Elizabeth Howard in October 1676. G. E. C. says he was born "about 1678" ("Complete Peerage," iv., 51); but Colonel Hooke speaks of him in 1705 as "a young man of about three and twenty," adding that he gave "great hopes and is mightily beloved in his country."

Very little is known about his early years beyond the statement of his early travels. We get a clue to the date of some of these peregrinations from Colonel Hooke, who met the Marquis during his own furtive visit to Gordon Castle about September 1705. He says:—

The Marquis of Huntly arrived next day on his return from his travels. . . . There came such a number of gentlemen vassals of the Gordon family to welcome his return that I was afraid of being detected. I passed among them for a priest.

Though reference is often made to these travels, we know very little about them at present. C. A. Gordon, in his little book on the family of Gordon, tells us vaguely about the tour (Munro's edition, p. 118):—

While his father was alive [the Marquis of Huntly] went abroad and visited several of the Courts of Europe, and figured considerably in them. He was honourably entertained by the sovereigns, and contracted friendship with several of them, in particular with the King of Prussia and Cosmo de Medicis, Great Duke of Tuscany. This grand duke asked of him when he left his Court, to give him the compliment of the name of the first son he should have; and, for that reason, when the Marquis of Huntly was christened, he received the name Cosmo. . . . The Great Duke of Tuscany [Cosmo III.] sent him his bust in white marble [still in Gordon Castle], and to his god-son, the Marquis of Huntly, he sent a silver fount for his christening, and a very fine suite of steel armour gilt; This friendship with the Medici gratified the Marquis much, for he wrote to his friend the Earl of Strafford on May 14, 1711 (Add. MSS., 22,221 f. 4764):—

The Duke of Florance still continus to honor mee with his remembrance and heaps new favors on mee by having sent for a Spanish hors owt of Spain for mee to Florance, and has now forwarded him with his own servant to a marchant at Amsterdame. The bearer I have sent from hence for the hors, and have ordered him to receive yr. lo[rds]hip's commands, which would and will be on all occasions most acceptable and most willingly obey'd.

This is apparently the animal referred to in a sardonic poem, "Advice to a Painter," quoted in the Mar and Kellie papers (Hist. MSS. Com., i., 557):—

Near to him [Athol] let His Grace of Gordon stand;

For these two Dukes may well go hand in hand,
And, if you mount him on his Tuscan steed,
Pray leave him room to gallop off with speed.

The Marquis probably visited the Pope during his Italian visit, though the statement that Clement XII. "sent him his picture with several other presents of great value" may be doubted, for Clement XII. did not become His Holiness till two years after the Marquis's death. It must have been Clement XI. (1700-21) whom he saw. He was certainly in Florence in November

1717, for a newsletter tells us he went there with his father-in-law, the Earl of Peterborough, at that date (Portland Papers: Hist. MSS. Com. v., 542).

Pryse Gordon makes the surprising statement that the Gordons claimed kinship with the Medicis, through a connection by marriage in the sixteenth century, "of which the late [4th] Duke of Gordon gave me some particulars, but they have escaped my recollection." Pryse Gordon however, regarded the visit as a family invitation offered by the Medici, "who feted his cousin for many weeks with every mark of distinction and kindness." The name Cosmo has been borne by many of the Gordons since the birth of the third Duke, and it has percolated into the side branches of the family and into the families of neighbours quite unconnected with them. It was prominent among the Gordons of Fyvie. It is borne by Major-General Gordon, now of Culdrain, and by his second son. In the Richmond line it is now borne by Mr Cosmo Gordon-Lennox, the author, and it has figured in the Bedford family, who have perpetuated it in their Bloomsbury estates in the shape of Cosmo Place and the Cosmo Hotel in Southampton Row.

The Marquis also seems to have visited Germany on his travels. C. A. Gordon says he was "honourably entertained at the court of the Prince of Anspach," whose daughter, the future Queen Caroline, "had always a very great regard for him." The King of Prussia also sent the Marquis his portrait "at full length in the Prussian uniform." After the Marquis returned home "he always held correspondence with these princes."

He certainly corresponded with Thomas Wentworth, 3rd Earl of Strafford, whom he probably met at Berlin. Strafford, who was the Duke's senior by some six years, had a strange career. Lord Hervey describes him as "a loquacious, rich, illiterate, cold, tedious and constant haranguer in the House of Lords, who spoke neither sense nor English, and always gave an anniversary declamation on the subject of the Army." He began his diplomatic career as ambassador or envoy at Berlin, 1701, 1703, 1704, and 1705-11, when he was transferred to the Hague, 1711-4. It was in connection with his transference that the Mar-

quis wrote him from Gordon Castle, April 21, 1711 (Add. MSS. 22,221, f. 474):—

My dear Lord,—Your lo[rdshi]p's arrival at the Hague is a sencible pleasur to mee, since by the same I may be assur'd both of yr. lordship's good health and of yr. comming soone to Englande, which, if not for yr. disadvantage, I wish for extreamly, to have the pleasur of waiting on yr. lo[rdshi]p, and seeing you at your own estate in the north of England. I shall be extreamly glad to know when yr. lo[rdshi]p thinks of being there, for I am impatient as can bee of renewing my ashurances of gratitud for so many civilitys and honours which undeservedly I have recev'd from yr. lo[rdshi]p on so many occasions. I am shure yr. lo[rdshi]p's sense of honor has mad yow quit a place wher yr. frends wer us'd so ungraitfully, which I am shure yr. lo[rdshi]p's good nature will make you regrait, as all doe who know the good service that Minister did to his master wheelst in his service. I wish, on the conterary, yr. lo[rdshi]p may be rewarded for yrs., as yr. lo[rdshi]p deserves. None can wish you mor hartaly than I doe all the prosperity immaginable, for, though by having the misfortune of being of a religion conrerary to the laws of my cuntray, and by that rendered usles both to my freinds and to myselfe, yett I hope my sence of duty to my God will not, by so good a judge as yr. lo[rdshi]p, bee esteem'd otherways then a proof of my sincerity in other thing[s], particularly in that of my being to my Deare Lord a most graittfull and most obedient, humble servant,

HUNTLY.

He followed up this epistle with another dated Gordon Castle, May 14, 1711 (Add. MSS. 22,221, f. 476):—

My deare Lord,—I hope your lo[rdshi]p gott my letter I writ from hence to show the pleasur yr. lo[rdshi]p's comming near wher I might wait on yow gave mee. I am in pain to truble you so often with my letters since they only contain continwal thanks for so many honors and favors done mee: but I hope to convince yr. lo[rdshi]p of the truth of them befor I dy, which would be asatisfaction beyond what I can express. I had latly the honor of a letter from yr. lo[rdshi]p, and though the most oblidging in the world, yett nothing can ingadge mee more than to be yr. lo[rdshi]p's ever devoted, graithful servant then I am alreddy. Showld I for ever writ[e] on my gratitud and acknowldgment I could not express the hunder part of my obligations to yr. lo[rdshi]p: and therfor only beg [you] to believe mee as much yr. humble servant as you cowld wish wer I the greatest man on earth and the most capable to doe yr. lo[rdshi]p service.

The bearer is ane old faithfull servant of mine, who, I believe, had the honor to bee seen by yr. lo[rdshi]p sometime at Berlin.

On June 25, 1711, four days before Wentworth was advanced from the Barony of Ruby to the Earldom of Strafford, the Marquis wrote to him from Edin'burgh (Add MSS. 22,221, f. 478):—

My deare Lord,—I was most agreeably surpris'd to hear in the publick news of yr. lo[rdshi]p's much wish'd-for safe arrival in England; but sorry to heare at the same time of yr. lo[rdshi]p's short stay in it. I was in hops, the letter and of this sumar or beginning of November, to have the happines of waiting on yr. lo[rdshi]p at yr. cuntray hows, but begin to fear yr. lo[rdshi]p bee gon back out of England befor that time. I hope yr. lo[rdshi]p's doubts not of the satisfaction I have of hearing of yr. lo[rdshi]p's merit being in som measur anowladg'd; and yr. capacity and service done yr. cuntray these several years past rewarded with honours due to none more justly.

I long for the time of congratulating with yr. lo[rdshi]p and renewing thos ashurances I owght to give of my gratitude for so much infinit favors and honors done mee, so little deserving except by my intire zeal for yr. lo[rdshi]p's welface and my being of all men the most graittfull and most sincere of your humble servants,

HUNTLY.

After writing this letter, Huntly must have gone straight to Gordon Castle, for he wrote from there (to Graham of Fintry?) on July 2, 1711 (MSS., belonging to Sir James Graham of Fintry, published by the Hist. MSS. Com., 1909, p. 259):—

I have sent you the only gooshauk I have. I am sorry her train is lost, but it was done before shee came to mee by the carriadge. I hope it will be in again time enufe befor shee can bee of use in Englan, which generaly is only in winter, for fesants. I hope you will judge of my redines to serve yow by my chaist. . . . I shall bee always fond of any occasion of showing you I am your most sincere frend.

In 1713 Strafford took the leading part in the negotiations which led up to the Treaty of Utrecht, which, Lord Hervey tells us, he constantly recited. On March 17 of that year Huntly wrote him as follows from Gordon Castle (Add. MSS. 22,221, f. 486):—

My deare Lord,—I hope my last came to yr. lo[rdshi]p, though I have hard nothing of it nor from Mr Powel, to whom I sent it under cover. I hope yr. lo[rdshi]p will believe none living is

gladder of yr. helth and prosperity nor wishes the continuance of it with mor earnestnes than I doe, which under a government so deserving of merit cannot faile after so much pains and so notable service done of the greatest consequence [the Utrecht Treaty], which is now accomplish'd happily, to the glory of a good and great queen and of a Ministry which will bee admir'd after ages of having done greater things for Queen, Church and State than ever was (everything consider'd) or could have been immagin'd possible by any but by the wise and noble actors of it, in which yr. lo[rdshi]p has a share fitt for so great a man, and who wishes his sovereign and cuntry so well. My deare lord and benefactor, I congratulat with yr. lo[rdshi]p the finishing of that great and good worke, and wishe it may produce such benefit to the Queen and Monarchy as may make both great and glorius as ever and greater then any on earth. I am inform'd and hard with pleasur of yr. lo[rdshi]p's speedy return to England. I wish (if for yr. advantage) yr. stay there and yr. lo[rdshi]p's cumming this summer to yr. new pur[cha]s[s] in Yorkshire wher in June or July I doe myselfe the honor to wait of [sic] yr. lo[rdshi]p without any other errand or going farder, only to have the extream pleasure of being with yr. lo[rdshi]p, whos person is and has been so deare to mee, and to whom I have been so much oblig'd.

Though I heare duly with extream pleasure of yr. groing greatness, yet I beleeve mee, my deare lord, that has no part in my expression of respect and love for yr. person, but it is purly the affects of my real inclination and my being beyond expression.—My deare lord, yr. lo[rdshi]p's faithful, most loving and most olig'd humble servant,

HUNTLY.

The next letter to Strafford is dated Gordon Castle, March 27, 1721, the Marquis having meantime succeeded to the Dukedom and gone through the trials of the Jacobite revolt. It runs (Add. MSS. 22,221, f. 362):—

My dear Lord,—I was so unlucke as to mis yow on the road and in London, which I hartaly regret, since ocasions ar agreeable to me when I can ashur yr. lo[rdshi]p how sencible I stil continw for al yr. favors so long and so frequently shown mee. I had the pleasur to know from Mr Went[wor]th yow and Lady Straford wer wel and had now a fine young lord [William, 2nd Earl of Strafford], of whom I wish [you] much joye and him much happines for his father's sake, whom I so much lov and esteem and with so much reason. Mr Dunbar of Thundertoun, Shiriv of the Counte of Murre, a man of good estate and great interest, is bearer heareof. Hee is my particular friend and much admirer of

your lo[rdshi]p's merit, known by what I have told him and by publick fame. He is a man of so much knowladg and woorth that I ansuer to yow his acquaintance wil bee agreable to yow, the more so the better and longer he has the honour to bee known to yow. He knous our countray perfectly, and I hope wil by his personal, when known, merit make himselfe [at?] ease befor yow. . . . I therefore need say no more or aither to gain him the happines of protection and favor he so much wishes for; I hope not the less that [it] is intreated by your lo[rdshi]p's most faithful and most obedient humble servant,

GORDON.

The last letter, which he signs Huntly, is as follows (Add. MSS. 22,221, f. 480):—

Gordon Castle, 28th July 1722.

My deare Lord,—Did not the fear of being trubilsom to yr. lo[rdshi]p (now imployed in matters of so great consequence) hinder mee, I would frequently importune yr. lo[rdshi]p with the often repeated ashurances of my constant remembrances and gratitude for so many favors yr. lo[rdshi]p has been stil from time to time honoring mee with. All I can write shows but a smal part of that unexpressable desire I have of being in a capacity on day or other of doing yr. lo[rdshi]p service, to which I would contribut the hasard of my life or fortune. I was in mighty hops yr. lo[rdshi]p's wise and good manadgment of Her Ma[jesty's] comands and indevors would have made all happy by a good and lasting peace. . . I flattered my selfe with the hops of waiting on yr. lo[rdshi]p at yr. own countray hows very soone, but since the pace, not being as yett general, may hinder mee some time of that honour, I will wait, though with much impatience, till yr. lo[rdshi]p is so kind to lett mee know of yr. return and immediatly, full of thankfulness come to wsh yr. lo[rdshi]p all jove and happines, and the lady who is happy by having so good a friend in so good and deserving a howsband. Yr. lo[rdshi]p, I hope, will pardon so long a serol, but I dare seldom, for fear of trubling yr. lo[rdshi]p when in such hurry of bussiness, expres, though imperfectly, the real sentiments of a faithfull and graittfull mast. The last letter I had the honor of was the kind offer of sending the Spanish hors over to mee, the Duke of Florance had been pleas'd to send mee, and was then in Holland. I answered that oblidging remembrance, which I hope came to yr. lo[rdshi]p's hand as I owght, and, though I would not accept it, have the same reson (as I doe) to acknowladg and give hartly thanks for that and so many instances of generosivy yr. lo[rdshi]p has shown to. —My lord, yr. lo[rdshi]p's ever oblidg'd and most affectionate humble servant,

HIS FLIRTATION WITH THE JACOBITES.

The first Duke of Gordon's sense of self-preservation kept him out of the Jacobite intrigues; but an error of judgment, which would have been fatal in a less lucky family, led his son, the Marquis of Huntly, to join the plotters. If he had gone down with the rest of the wreckage there might have been the excuse of picturesqueness in his venture; but Huntly's sense of preservation also came to the rescue, and leaves him a dubious figure in that sad gallery of enthusiasts who surround the name of Stuart. Huntly's entering the plot was clearly due to his mother, even if we had not Sir Hew Dalrymple's assurance. Writing to Lord Stair from Edinburgh, on February 9, 1716, Sir Hew says ("Stair Annals," i., 306):—"The Marquis owes his misfortune in a great measure to the Duchess, who both drew him into the snare and discouraged all means of bringing him out of it." The attitude of the Duchess was actuated as much by her feminine tenacity and sense of paying off an old score, as by her intense Catholicism. She had quarrelled irretrievably with her husband, and while he clearly did not wish to be mixed up in any pother, she was only too delighted to give the Jacobite plotters every encouragement. At the first set off with Hooke in 1705, the Marquis had just returned from his travels. Hooke had a little talk with him:—

The young Lord told me that he knew the sentiments of his father; that for his own part he was overjoyed to have returned so apropos to assure me that when it should please the King to take Scotland under his protection, he himself would be the first to take horse with his father and all their vassals, and that they should hazard all the interest of the Gordon family in His Majesty's service.

As a matter of fact, however, he soon after married Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, a lady who came out of a family with very different traditions. Her father, Charles Earl of Peterborough, is said by Bishop Burnet to have been the first to press the Prince of Orange to "undertake the business of England." The marriage was not popular with the Gordon family, as we learn from a letter by the 1st Duke of Perth, whose son married the Marquis's aunt, Jean. He wrote to the Duchess of

Gordon that he could "not congratulate" her on the Marquis's marriage; "but we must make the best of a bad bargain" (Hooke's "Correspondence" ii., 174). The Whig politicians, however, were pleased, for Harley's spy, D. Fearn, wrote his master from Edinburgh on April 15, 1707:—"We expect good things from this marriage" (Portland Papers, Hist. MSS. Com., iv., 402). Thus, instead of getting entangled by the well-named Hooke, we find Huntly playing the gentleman while many Scots noblemen were plotting and planning for the return of the Stuart. A letter from Alexander Innes, George Innes, and William Sutherland to Archibald Dunbar of Thunderton, and dated Leuchars, October 1707, given in Dunbar's "Social Life in Former Days" (1st series p. 45) illustrates the point:—

Much honoured—My Lord Marquesse off Huntly has been att sporte this day att the Loch off Cottise, and to-morrow desynes to be att the Loch off Spynye: therefore we your humble supplicants order you to repair in your pinace, most honoured, by to-morrow off the Rindes, or the gray ston off Pittgeveny. Your personall presence is nott doubted iff leisure allow; however, order smookes to be putt on att Duffus, Crookmoor, etc., ffull of Leuchar's strong ale, betwixt 11 and 12 this night.

C. A. Gordon tells us that the Marquis was "not bread to arms, nor concerned himself with politicks, and so lived mostly at home in the tranquility of the arts of peace." But he omits to mention that Huntly was drawn into the Jacobite movement, for when the old Chevalier, encouraged by the death of Queen Anne, started out on his great expedition in 1715, the Marquis threw himself into the scheme with curiosity. His father was an old man, and frequently in and out of the "Citadel of Leith." Besides which he was "neutral," but the Duchess was still vigorous, and did her utmost to encourage her son, who figures freely in the Jacobite correspondence of the period under various disguises, notably "Hunter," "Hammond," and "Young Gold."

The Marquis's connection with the movement clearly puzzled first-hand observers, as will be seen in the acrid account of him contained in the "Correspondence of Frances, Countess of Seaforth" (1706-1718), presented to the nation by Sir Charles Dilke—unsigned, and apparently unfinished (Add MSS. 28,239, f. 124). It occupies eight

folio pages, and will be referred to here as the Seaforth letter. It makes the remarkable suggestion that he entered the rising in an attitude of cautious doubt:—

He had conserted with [his uncle] Sr. Petter Ffraser of Dores yt. he would not take up arms for the Pretender till all the Kingdome hade declared for him; and begged of him to assure King George and his Ministry yt. he would live a peaceable man at hom: which Sr. Petter generously did assure the Court of.

Nor was he without a warning of the consequences nearer home. Thus Alexander Gordon, younger of Auchlyn, declared (Allardyce's "Jacobite Papers," p. 59) that he

publickly advysed the Marquis of Huntly in presence of severall of his rebellious adherents to forbear his preparations [to join the Jacobite army], and after the said Marquis was marched to Pearth with his army, the petitioner advysed him again, from Edinburgh, wheir he then was, to go home and brake with Mar and the Pretender: and, hearing that some diferenses were arissen betwixt the said Marquis and Mar, the petitioner by means of the latte Deuck of Gordon improved them to ane ruptur.

Long before that, however, the Marquis had been committed to the plunge, fatal to so many others. According to the Seaforth letter:—

The Marquis of Huntly befor and after the Queen's death appeared to be the most zealous partizan the Pretender hade in Scotland; and, being incuradg'd in his zeall for yt. interest by the D[u]lk[e] of Gordon, his father, and by the Duchess, his mother, he made it his business in the North to gaine all the neighbouring gentlemen to his pairty: and the most of them haweing a natural inclynation yt. way, my Lord Huntly hade not soe much difficulty to perswade them to join him in yt. service. He afterwards made publick rendezowses of his wassals and tennents under pretence of shooting prizes, which he gave gratis on those ocations. But the maine design was to exercise ther arms for the intended rebellion. He took upon him the managment of the Pretender's affairs in the north, and hade frequent privat conferences wt. Glengary and wt. Bri. Mackentosh of Borlum, whom he sent to Barleduce, and afterwards made use of him to perswade my Lord Seaforth and the oyr Cheifs of the Clans to take armes against the Government.

The earliest intimation of the Marquis's move is afforded by a letter he wrote from Edinburgh on February 8-19, 1715, to General Alexander

Gordon of Auchintoul, who was then in Aberdeen (Stuart Papers: Hist. MSS. Com., i., 349):—

Bruntstean has writ me account of your invitation, but I shall at meeting give you reasons why you should not be too hasty. I desire the favour of seeing you at Gordon Castle about the 8th of next month.

It is very interesting to note that Gordon Castle was used as the rendezvous for the furthering of the plot. The Marquis's letter is dated from the Castle, June 11, when he requests Gordon to meet him there on Tuesday the 7th by dinner time, to concert methods about what they are to do afterwards. He adds in a postscript:—"I wish the master the same success in what he undertakes as the man has here" (*Ibid.* i., 367).

Early in the struggle arms were lodged in a mill below Fort-William, and the Duke of Gordon's bailie sent two barrels of powder through Badenoch to Lochaber. A ship near the mouth of the Spey at Gordon Castle unloaded arms by night and day (Shield and Lang's "King Over the Water," p. 207).

The die was finally cast on August 27, when Mar held his famous meeting at Aboyne. As Aboyne was one of the great cradles of the Gordons, it would have been strange (though advisable) if the Marquis of Huntly had been left out. The Seaforth letter summarises this stage very severely:—

When my Lord Mar took the mad resolution of taking arms against the Government his first meeting was wt. my Lord Huntly and oyr heads of the Rebellion at Aboyne: and my Lord Marr, haweing perswaded the Marquis of Huntly yt. ther busines was soe easie yt. they could hawe no ocasion to feight but to march straight to London without opposition, the Marquis, thinking yt. he would hawe no ocasion to wenter his person (which he hade allways a great caire of) put all hands to work to make his equippage to arm and cloath his men.

On September 1, the Earl of Mar sent an order from Aboyne to the Laird of Mackintosh requiring him to raise his men to join the Marquis of Seaforth and the Marquis of Huntly and march southwards with them to join the rest of the King's forces in Angus or Perthshire. By December, Mackintosh was a prisoner in England ("The Mackintosh Muniments" No. 702). On September 6, the standard was raised on the Braes of Mar, and Huntly was soon in the thick of it.

If he had, as the Seaforth letter assures us, any natural misgivings, he was being urged to press forward by one of his own bailies, the redoubtable John Gordon of Glenbucket, whom Mar seems to have treated with as much confidence as he did Huntly. The Earl writes him on September 4-15, bidding him see that Seaforth should "join his men immediately with my Lord Huntly, but until he do so, you are to do your best with my Lord Huntly's own men and those who will join you" ("Stuart Papers," i., 418). Huntly was to march into Athole, where Mar thought the Duke of Athole might do something "uneasy" to the Jacobites. On September 9-20, Mar complained to Glenbucket about Farquharson of Invercauld's "tricks" in making the country people "belive that non of our neighbours are to stirr, and particularly my Lord Huntly's men." Mar says (*ibid.* i., 420):—

For cureing of this, I wou'd have you on Monday nixt, or as soon as possible you can, send some of my Lord Huntly's men into this country to join us. It may be some of them who are nearest us, and since we are all to meet in a few dayes, it will not be very much out of their road. If you send but one hundred men it will do a great dale of good here and elsewhere too, and it will not only occation more out of this country than otherwise I will do, but it will make them go with much better heart and prevent desertion. Pray do this if it be possible.

On September 11-22, Mar assured Glengarry that Huntly "acts the honourable part I expect of him, and Glenbucket, his bailly, is very diligent." Huntly's men of Badenoch, Strathaven, Glenlivet, Glenrinnes, Auchindown, as Glenbucket just now writes me, were in armes yesterday" (*ibid.* i., 422). A letter which Mar sent to Huntly by "Black Jock" got lost, and Mar was in a great state about it, writing to Glenbucket, September 12-23 (*ibid.* i., 427):—

I'm in mighty apprehensions that by this mistake your men I wrote for come not here to-morrow nor the rest of them to meet me in Athole, as I hoped they would, and that indeed may be fatal, for the whole project depends upon it, and until I know certainly that your men can join me there, and the precise time they will do it, I cannot march from thence, which will so discourage my people as well as those who expect that it may give a wrong turn to all our affairs.

Glenbucket was so eager that he described

Huntly's people in his "laigh interests" as a "rabble, the third of them not being armed" (ibid. i., 477). Glenbucket could not get men to flock to his standard. He tried the Enzie, but as he says, December 14-25 (ibid. i., 478):—

It took time before the vassals would condescend to give a man, as not being bound; on which I took out Lord Mar's order for all the shires of Aberdeen and Banff and told them I thought no orders but Lord Huntly's should have been needful in his own bounds. However, since it was to be owned, other measures were to be used. . . . Without laying their insolence, no man will willingly march from the country.

The Seaforth letter leads us to believe that Huntly had still doubts of the advisability of advancing:—

When he had received severall orders or rather calls from my Lord Marr, telling him yt. he only wanted his presence to march forward to Edinburgh, he went then to Pearth wt. a great cawall-cad, tuo squadrons of hors and three batalions of foot, such as they were.

Huntly reached Perth on October 9 with 500 horse and 2000 men, but, according to the Seaforth letter,

when his L[ordship] found upon his arrivall at Pearth yt. the Duke of Argyle had possessed himself at Stirling and resolved to fight and dispute the passage of the river, he then repented his foolish ingadgements, and did not know how to retein in honour wtout exposing his person, which he was never resolved to doe in any cause.

This statement is scarcely borne out by the letter Huntly wrote to Glenbucket from Perth on October 13 ("Stuart Papers," i., 437):—

Lodge your men as you intended till Lord Mar's further order. I hope there will be room for the rest of the foot when they come up at Cupar. It will be so late before I come where you designed me to see you, that I think it is not needful to come. I shall be glad to see you to-morrow at Cupar, where I think of being till Monday.

The Seaforth letter implies that between the meeting on the Braes of Mar on September 6 and the battle of Sheriffmuir, the Marquis had repented:—

The Marques, having failed in his word to Sr. Petter, and haweing no way to aply to the Court but by Sr. Petter, than [then] at Edinburgh, he resolved to write privately to hym, and beg his pardon for not keeping his word; but yt. he was deceived by the fals and tricking promises

of the E[arl] of Mar, who asured him yt. all Brittain was to declaire for the Pretender; but yt., now finding himself deceived, he was resolved to be a faithfull subject to King George, if he would but interceed for him to get him assurances of his life and ffortoun. And yt. Sir Petter might have reasons to ask such a favour, he promised, if it was granted, to brake the Pretender's pairty by bringing of all his own men and all those that he ingagdged in the Rebellion. And vt. Sr Petter might except his promises, he wrote his mother, the Duchesse of Gordon, than at Edinburgh, to see Sr Petter and consort matters wt. him and to engage for his performance.

The Duchesse did according to her sons desyre, and hade befor hand consorted wt. Sr Petter to bring off[f] her son, on condition yt he would procure him his life and fortoun. Sr Pet. Ffraser upon this sent ane express immediatly to Baron Bersindorf, the King's first German Minister, and to Mons. de Robeston [Robeston, private secretary to William III. and afterwards to George I.] to asure ym. if they would procure the King's promise for the Marquis of Huntley's remission, yt. he would bring him ower to his side, and by yt. means brake the Rebellion in Scotland.

Such an important service at that time yl. [while] the Kingdom was in danger was accepted of, and Sir Peter Ffraser thank'd for it, wt. power to assure my Ld. Huntly of his remission. Sr Petter transmitted to the Marquis of Huntly Mons. de Robeston's leter, inclosed in a leter of his mother the Duchesse of Gordon, who begd of him not to faill in his word to Sr Petter Ffraser, otherwise yt. he vas ruin'd for ever. The Duchesse needed not make pressing speeches to convince the Marquis to lay dow n his arms, since he vas inteirly resolved on it. At any rate, howsoon he got assurances of his life and fortoun from King George, he then began to speak openly against my Lord Mar's interprise; and when they marched to pass the Forth and yl. [while] the D[uke] of Argyle hade com out of Stirling to feight them, in the rebells' councill of warr the marquis was against feighting; and when he found yt. the batle was resolved upon by the superiority of votes, he resolved to have no share in it.

From the moment Perth was reached quarrels began to ensue between Sinclair (son of the 7th Lord Sinclair) and Mar, Huntly siding with Sinclair. The pair placed themselves at the head of those who were in favour of peace with the Government, a piece of tactics scurrilously immortalised in the ballad on the battle of Sherriffmuir:—

Huntly and Sinclair,
They baith played the tinkler,

With consciences black as a crow, man.

A vivid account of the jealousies is given in "The Memoirs of the Master of Sinclair," which the Abbotsford Club published, from the manuscript in the possession of Lord Rosslyn. On reading them one is surprised not that the '15 failed, but that the rebels managed to go so far as they did, for they were raddled and riddled by a great diversity of opinions and innumerable old jealousies. Just consider Sinclair's account of Huntly's appearance on the scene at Perth on October 9, 1715 ("Memoirs," pp. 158-160):—

It was very observable, in his case, how the tongues of a great many honest, well-meaning men, can be turned loose upon an innocent man, without either their knowing for what, or the man's deserving it, or, at least, less than others who are more evidently guiltie of the same crime they pretend to accuse him of, and, by any designing man's putting a band, devoted to his interest, upon it, begin to cry, 'the others take it up, run away with it without consideration, before innocence is aware, or on its garde, and often through that, innocent men stab themselves to the heart, without its being possible to open their eyes; while the heat lastes, or till it's too late. Tho' my Lord Huntlie was at twice the distance from us that Marishall was, and had about fourteen or fifteen hundred men to bring up, and tuo squadrons of horse, a great many at fourtie miles distance from him, and spread in the hills, yet, from the beginning, there was nothing heard but complaints of Huntlie for not being there alreadie; and Mar. to my hearing, yea everie bodie, and I myself, without knowing him, saying the bitterest things against him that our imaginations could frame, and all that for his not comeing sooner; for a month before he came he was in the same case, and would no more be forgiven it than when he came: while Marishall, who was within half the distance to us, and brought not fourscore horsemen to joyn us, was in the same fault, or rather a much greater, by his situation; and haveing so little to doe, was cry'd up 'to the skyes as the bravest, forwardest, and most accomplisht gentleman on earth.

The reason was plain, tho' what would have made another valued did Huntlie harm: Mar was afraid of Huntlie's influence, being conscious to himself of his oun littleness, and that Huntlie had given Mar a proof he had more credite with Mar's feu-vassalls then Mar had himself, by makeing one of them follow him, when all had

refused; so could not bear the thoughts of his power being precarious, or depending on Huntley, ruined him earlie in the opinion of all these in Pearth, and made way for carrying off his own vassall: from him, in case he shew'd the least uneasiness at that bad treatment, and more, which he'd take care to give him, by constructing all ane aversion or dislike to the cause; and, if a misfortune happ'ned, which he saw certain, prepare the whole to joyn with in loading Huntlie with all: and turn their rage against him and others, who he treated the same, for not depending intirelie on him, and chimeing with him in the destruction of their countrie, and, in the mean time, draw his own neck out of the collar. He, on the other hand, had no jealousie of Marishall, who was younge, and had nothing to loose; he lookt upon him as one who had the same interest in the affair with himself; and not of that extraordinarie influence neither, for of that small number of horse he brought up with him, all were independent gentlemen, and many had more to loose than himself; and a great part were followers of Huntlie, who he engaged to goe along with him by letters from Mar, who had not got considerable credite by being the great man at Pearth; and by his own little tricks and traduceing of Huntlie, which no younge man can be more capable of, and fitted him to be ane admirable apprentice of Mar, and with that good disposition, and his not being able to subsist himself, render'd him very souple; for, except he had received the publick monie at Mar's discretion, and that from the beginning, he could not stood his own ground, far less had influence on others. They were not contented with what had been done to Huntlie before joyning; but soon made him and those with him the jeast of the armie.

The truth is, he laid himself a little open to them who were so inclined to make use of everie thing against him, by bringing up a troop of fourtie or fiftie great lubberlie fellows, in bonnets, without boots, or any such thing, and scarce bridles, mounted on longe-tailed little horses, less then the men, who were by much the greatest animalls of the two, without pistells, with great rustie musquets, tyed on their backs with ropes; and those he called light horse. I must own, the grotesque figure those made moved everie bodie's laughter, and soon got the other hundred and sixtie horse he brought along with him the same name of light horse, tho' they did not deserve it more then those who came with Marishall, who were almost all Galloways, as well as those who came with Huntlie. Severalls of those who came up with him, and did not intirelie depend on him, were, on the account of those jeasts, on the point of leaving his squadrons, and joyning others,

not being able to stand patientlie that generall reflection.

All those things being improven to the advantage by Marishall and Mar, he was not onlie discredited in the sight of those who, tho' not his dependents, had otherwise all the respect for him due to one of his weight and rank, but even in the sight of his own vassalls and tennants; tho' it's certaine at that time Huntley gave no occasion for it, and declared he'd take no command, not so much as of his own people, who he order'd to roule in dutie as others did; tho' it was not to be expected he could intirelie transfer his interest or following, and far less to those who aim'd at makeing hm ridiculous, and wresting it from him. However, that was not enough, right or wronge he must be pinioned; it seems they thought no more measures needed be kept, when they attackt him by endeavouring to carrie off his Highland temants, who are still more subject to him then his vassalls.

On Sunday, October 23, the Jacobites, under Thomas Grahame, made a descent on Dunfermline, "a Whiggish toun," in order to levy cess. Glenbucket put his foot, 300 strong, into the Abbey, and took up his own quarters in the town. Early next day, however, the rebels were surprised by Cathcart's dragoons, and eighteen of them were captured. Sinclair says that after "this ruffle at Dunfermline," Huntly's two squadrons told the Marquis that "they'd be commanded by no bodie but I, Sinclair." This astonished the Master, "for the loss of Dunfermline falling heaviest on them they had a mind for the future to have one to command them who they thought they could trust." He goes on to say:—

Huntlie was satisfied with the proposall, and said he'd speak to me; and this was done when I had little or no acquaintance of Huntlie, and had never made him so much as a visite, and none at all amongst the gentlemen. His lordship bid Irvine of Drum, who he made afterwards collonell to one of his squadrons, tell me he wanted to see me. I went to Scone alonge with Drum, where Huntlie surprised me with the proposale. I thankt his lordship and the gentlemen for the good opinion they had of me, but told him that I had enough to doe already, and more under my command then I could well manage, and wisht he would give the command of his two squadrons to some other; and said, there were idle lords enough who would be glade of a less command to keep them in countenance. He ansuer'd, That neither he nor his friends would be contented with those, for were there no more

in it but such leaders, they had ignorant folke enough amongst themselves. I owned to him ingenuoslie, that I did not understand the horse service, for I had served amongst the foot, and that if I was amongst them now, it was not out of choice, but because I did not know how to dispose of myself otherwise, for I could not propose to be of any use amongst the Highlandmen, whose language, I did not understand, or, if I did, who were so savage that it was impossible for any man to bring them to discipline; and haveing spoke so in the beginning to Strathmore, who offered to make me his lieutenant-collonell of Low-Countrie Foot, I was within an ace of accepting of it, and leaving the more honourable command to take that in which I thought I could be more serviceable to my countrie; but, finding that everie bodie was drauing to himself, and the worthlesest formed the greatest pretensions, it being then their harvest, I had continued where my lot had throun me, least such should take advantage of it."

At last, Huntlie told me, he'd take no denyell, and the gentlemen of his tuo squadrons would not be satisfied if I was not made a brigadier, for they were scandalised at the makeing those superior officers who were not capable to command ten men, and keep those under who knew service. Then, I said, I had put on a stronge resolution not to be a brigadier, or further advanced, nor could he think that if any busieness happened I could quit my Fife friends. He said he'd make it so that his friends and mine should be always together, and my consenting to it on that foot would be ane obligation done him, and that I must goe with him next day to Mar, which I at last consented to, rather than disoblidge him. He called me next morning, and we went together to Mar; and he told him that his friends and he would have Mr Sinclair to command them, and no other on any out command, or at any time; and since he had a mind to put collonells on his tuo squadrons, for that reason it was proper I should be made a brigadier, since I was to have within a very few of the one-half of the horse of the armie under my command. Mar came up to me with a forc'd smile, Not I: no more than that of collonell, which was sent me, but the Marquise of Huntly had been pressing me to it, since I was to command his people, who were to have collonells of their own over each squadron, to put them on a foot with the others, and he thought that little would make them more subordinate; but, for my part, I did not court it. Mar said, Had he knoun I had desir'd it, he had done it ere nou.

Sinclair's command was no sinecure, for he says:—

I found Huntley's people in greater confusion than any of the others, and at that time did not know who to obey as their officers, and I spoke to his lordship, who knew them, to nominate those he thought proper to be captains and other officers, that they might be divided in troops; and doe their service with the others as regularlie as it was possible for them; but to no purpose. Here I don't pretend to excuse my friend, my Lord Huntlie; for, either out of fear of disobligeing some, by advancing others, which would give Mar a handle to work in upon him, as he and Marishall had attempted with his foot or out of a spirit of delaying, he contributed not a little to their disorder.

In the beginning of November a move was made on Auchterarder, whither the western clans, who had withdrawn from before Inverary, were ordered. Sinclair says:—

Mar, as well as those about him, were glade of the occasion to get ridd of Huntley's two squadrons, with whom there was a continuall struggell in doeing their guards or pickets, and all duties; all being in confusion for want of dividing in troops, and they rancour'd, by continueing still to be the jeast of the whole, without the poor gentlemen's knowing for what; not being so wise as those who had been longer with us, and suspecting that hardships were put upon them, in obligeing them to doe more dutie than the others, which, I believe, was true, but not to be knowu till out in order. So they were order'd out to relieve Linlithgow and Rollo, and went with pleasure, each being wearied of other, hoping they would get more justice done them when they were goeing. Huntley spoke to me to marche them to Auchterarduach, which I did, and endeavour'd to bring them in to a methode of marcheing regularlie, but I found so many divisions, and sub-divisions amongst them, that I did not know where to begin with them, for some one or other wanted to be on the right of everie troop, into which they had divided themselves most unequallie; others, who composed such a troop, would have the right in the squadron, or marche in by troops alone; and this had now run on so longe, they were heated against one another, there seem'd no appearance of ane accommodation; and all this proceeded from Huntley's indulgence, out of fear of Mar's takeing advantage if any of them were disobliged. Some, who were wearied of all that contest, and saw how Huntlie allowd them and himself to be treated, stay'd in Perth, with a resolution to leave his squadrons; which was all Mar askt of them, and wrought his game. I was forced to tell them my opinion, with a great dale of frankness, which the better sorte was pleased with; and was in-

different about the others. At last I got them formed into tolerable order; onlie one troop, which I made the avant garde, would by no means marche in squadron.

By the time I got there Huntley was reviewing the clans, a great part of whom were his own vassalls; I thought them as good like men as I ever saw, but no better armed than we. I was civillie receav'd by all, and particularlie by Captain of Clanronald, who surprised me with a compliment which I neither deserved or expected. He said he wanted more to see me engaged in that affair than anie man in Scotland. I dare say he meant soner than any man who was presumed to be of our partie, and indeed that was too much. All of them set upon me, and pressed me to stay at Auchterardach with them, and assured me they should get the Fife squadron sent to joyn us next day, that I might have all under my command with me: and because they had ane opinion of that squadron, I excused myself, under the pretext of saying, it would be a hardship done my friends to bring them out on my account; but the truth was, I was wearied of Huntley's horse. Hovever, I said, since they exprest themselves so much in favours of the Fife gentlemen and me, if ever they marched separatlie on any expedition, and wanted horse, I'd be always readie to marche with them. We had been told they were to be nere to five thousand when Lochiell and Apin joyned, but they were not more then tuo thousand five hundred, being weakned by desertion in that fatiguing marche, nere as much as those tuo clans strengthen'd them.

Huntley, Generall Gordon, Glengarie, Sir John Maclean, and I went to Pearth that night. On the road goeing back, I shew'd Glengarie a place of the horse cantoonment, which, I said, was exposed to the insults of the Duke of Argyle's garrisone at Castle Campbell; not that I believ'd he'd take more notice of such reasoning than I had seen others doe before, who ansuer'd all with that salvo, No fear, fo fear, but wonder'd to see him enter into it, sent back a servant, and order'd thirtie Highlandmen to be quarter'd there with the horse. In our returning, Huntlie, Generall Gordon, and Glengarie begun to talk a little obscurlie, for I was not then well acquainted with them, about keeping the clans in a separate bodie, and of marcheing by themselves with Huntley's horse, and spoke again oftner than once of bringing the Fife squadron to joyn them. Sometimes I imagin'd Glengarie, who was the leading man, went into it to please Huntlie for the time; at other times I fancied Glengarie had a designe on the plunder of Glasgow, and dreu in Huntley to joyn, by his getting the name of that command; but they spoke so obscurelie that I could determine nothing, and often spoke

low; only Huntley said, plain enough, he'd have all his people, foot and horse, joyn the clans. I must say that I was afraid of a separation; and I thought it my dutie to advertise Generall Hamilton of the jealousie which I had, that he might tell Mar of it; for I could call it no other. But I thought it was easier preventing these things in the beginning, then remeading them afterwards, if once taken root; and tho' I knew the state of our affairs too well to presage good of them, yet a separation of that kind might well make us worse, it could not better us. I know he told Mar of it. How he managed it, I can't tell, but Hamiltone told me, next day, they had made Gleugarie maedlie drunk, as he called it, and had broke the neck of that project. Hovever, Huntley insisted at this time and afterwards, to have his foot at Pearth to joyn the clans. It's certain all the clans at their first comeing, had no better notion but that of being commanded by Huntley; and Captain of 'Clarronald, who was the first of them who came to Pearth, said that he engaged to serve the King, but, next to him, he'd follow no man so willinglie as Huntlie; and this in Mar's antichamber; for these were then strangers to us, and were not as yet reconciled to Mar, so as to give them the intire trust. But it was not longe ere Mar's address and the common cry changed their minds, and lay'd out all Huntley's faults, so that they had no further regarde to him than to flatter him a little; as to the rest, they did what they pleased; nor can I think but the publick monie given in a double portion to Glengarie, who had the key of the others, with everie one's getting his own quota, contributed a great dale to it; for Generall Gordon, then whom no man was a more humble servant of his before forgot, as soon as anie of them, his obligations to his chief. What made me find greatest fault, that if Huntley had a mind to any thing, why did he not give his reasons, and speak plain and above board, and, in that case, ten to one I'd been of his side; but we'd at least had the pleasure of knowing the meaning of it.

On November 10 the horses "canted" about Dinnen, and the foot in and about Auchterarder. That night all the Frasers left and 200 of Huntly's best men, who were under the command of Glenbucket deserted, because, according to Sinclair, "they have been designedlie more oppressed with dutie than any other."

On November 11, the horse reached Auchterarder Moor, where Mar told Sinclair that

My Lord Huntlie and the clans who were to march before it in a separate body, had refused to march except he'd order me and the Fife squadron: why not them? I told him I knew nothing of the matter: and that was the same



to me, as well as to the gentlemen, where or with whom we were to marche. He said it was not resolved I should goe along with them to please them: and likewise said he believed I had ane influence on Huntlie: and spoke pressingly to me to encourage him. I answer'd I was not well acquainted with my Lord Huntlie, but that I would doe all that depended on me: nor had I then the honour of his lordship's intimacie.

November 12.—I joyn'd the clans who by this time were beginning their marche. They consisted of Sir Donald MacDonal'd's, Captain of Clan Ronald's, Glengaries, Glencoe's followings, all MacDonal'ds, Bredalbins, the MacCleaus, the Caunerons, Steuart of Apin, and the few that were left of Huntlie's Strathdoun and Glenlivet men, who had not deserted, for the greatest part of them had gone home. All were under the command of General Gordon of Auchintoul. As I was likewise with the three squadrons which I commanded, Huntlie's two and the Fife squadron. I marched on the front with the horse, haveing detached two avant guards, and the foot followed. The gross of our armie, under the command of Mar and Generall Hamiltone, were to follow as soon after, to cantoon that night at Ardoch, and we were to take post at Dumblaine, eight miles further. We continued in full marche till three of the afternoone: about which time our Quarter-Masters, who had left us a little before, came back with a lame boy, who had run as hard as he could to tell us that the Duke of Argyle was marching through Dumblaine with his whole armie towards us.

General Gordon then set a patrol to "go as nere to Dumblaine as possible to reconnoitre the enemie," while the little army halted about two miles west of Ardoch, and then advanced another mile in the darkness.

Next morning, November 13, the army formed in two lines, and when it was doing so a small number of the enemy was discovered "on the height of the west end on the Sheriff-muir which looks into Dumblain." Mar, who did not expect the enemy, was "stunned," and much time was lost. At last a council of war was held on a "little raised spot of riseing ground betwixt our lines where Mar stood."

[Huntly] was not of opinion we should marche further; because he said, if we should pass the Forth, the King who we expected daylie, would be lost and all communication betwixt him and us cut of, and for that reason we ought to goe back to Auchterarder to waite the King's coming. [Keith, on the other hand, says that Huntly made some insinuations that it would not be fit

to remain in unaction till the King's arrival.] My Lord Huntly was the onlie man who spoke in our Council of War [hastily summoned to settle the point]. He askt if the gaineing a battle would recover our liberties and give the décisive stroke to our affair as we were then circumstanced, and whether we could pretend after that to resist the force of England and its allies without foreigne aide. [Sir Walter Scott, commenting on this, says "it must be owned that Huntly from the beginning seems to have been very lukewarm in the affair"]; that he did not doubt but my Lord Mar knew what encouragement we had to expect that forraigne aide, which we had been so long flatterring ourselves with the expectation of, since he had so latlie deceived a letter from my Lord Bollingbrook: and that everie bodie present might judge of things as well as his lordship, desired the letter might be produced. This was the first time even I heard of that letter, which afterwards made a noise amongst us. Mar took no notice of what my Lord Huntly said and desir'd the vote to be stated—Fight or Not, and all unanimoslie, with ane unexpressible alacritie called out "Fight!" And the moment most went to their posts.

In the battle, that of Sheriffmuir, Marischal was on the right of the front line, with the Stirling (Linthgow's) and Huntly's squadrons. It is not my purpose to describe the battle. The Seaforth letter declares that he "did not goe near the line of battle, but went off[f] as soon as he heard the first fire." Sinclair says he "would never take a command upon him, but came up to the field with the others," and to have been "more maliciously and unmercifullie traduced than any, after General Hamilton." Sir Walter Scott, annotating this, is of opinion that "Sinclair seems to admit that the Marquis fled the field." The well-known ballad has done much to emphasise this view:—

From Bogie-side to Bogie-gight
 The Gordons did convene, man;
 With all their might, for battle weight,
 Together close they join, man.
 And oh! as the Marquis rade
 And oh! as he ran,
 And oh! as the Marquis rade,
 When the battle it began.

The ballads of the period contain many references to Huntly:—

The Gordons, the bright,
 Sae boldly did fight,
 That the redcoats took flight and awa', man,

Wi' the Earl of Seaforth,
 And the Cock o' the North,
 But Florence ran fastest o' a', man.

Another ballad runs:—

And when we marched to Shirramuir
 And there the rebels saw, Willie,
 Brave Argyll attacked our right,
 Our flank and front and a', Willie:
 Up and warn and a', Willie:
 Warn, warn, a'.
 Traitor Huntly soon gave way,
 Seaforth, St Clair, and a', Willie.

Again, in another ballad we read:—

Wha wad hae thocht the Gordons gay
 That day wad quat the green, man??
 Auchluncart and Auchanochie
 Wi' a' the Gordon tribe, man:
 Like their great Marquis they could not
 The smell o' powder bide, man.
 Clunie played a game at chess
 As weel as ony thing, man:
 But like the knavish Gordon race
 Gave check unto the King, man.
 He plainly saw, without a queen,
 The game would not recover,
 So therefore he withdrew his knight
 And joined the rook Hanover.

Still another ballad has it:—

So cheerfully our King cam' owre,
 Sent Echlin to the North:
 But treach'rously he was betrayed
 By Huntly and Seaforth.
 O, the broom, the bonnie, bonnie, broom,
 The broom o' the Cowdenknowes.
 I wish these lords had staid at hame
 And milked their minnies' ewes.
 O, wretched Huntly! hide thy heid,
 Thy King and country's gone:
 And mony a valiant Scot hast thou
 By villainy undone.

One of these undone Scots is made to sing:—

Hard fate that I should banished be,
 And rebel called with scorn,
 For serving of the kindest prince
 That ever yet was born.
 O, my King! God save my King,
 Whatever me befall.
 I would not be in Huntly's case
 For honour, lands and all.

The Seaforth letter declares that Huntly himself "cam in a horid confusion to his sister [the Countess of Perth] at Castle Drummond, wher the old Earl of Breadalbin ridiculed him for his cowardise," adding that "whether it was by his

influence or example, all his men ran away, except 200 yt were under Gordon of Glenbucket's command on the right."

Sinclair says that a "great many" of Huntly's and Marischal's squadrons "went off home and returned ausuers that they had no more money: talkt before their leaving us as big as ever, and continued doeing so when at home, and left us to manage the rest." He also says that Marischal, "having lost not a feu of his squadron by goeing home, endeavoured to recruite out of Huntlie's fourscore horse: for of both his horse and foot that was all which stay'd with him." This four-score came off very badly, for when Huntly joined those who counselled capitulation, the supporters of Mar who still wished to hold out "pulled off the cockards from the hats of severalls of the four-score horse who staid with Huntlie, and treated them in the kennells and said all the injurious things that can be imagin'd." Sinclair then proceeds:—

While Mar was still blowing the coale underhand, he was not wanting in shewing civilities to all of us, giving encouragement to have recourse to him for redress, which never any of us did, and were not at a loss how to receive everie thing that came from his lordship. Haveing observed that I had not gone near him for a week, he sent for me as he was goeing to dine. I had difficultie to persuade myself to goe to him, haveing put on the resolution of never goeing where he was, but could find no excuse for disobedience, so long as I was under his command, which might have given him and his friends too good a handell for keeping up the differences, which I wisht heartilie were let fall: so I obey'd. He desired me to dine with him. I askt to be excused, and said I was engaged. He took me into his oun room, and told me, as if in confidence, that he could not understand my Lord Huntlie, who was so fretfull there was no doeing with him: and continued, tho', God knows, I have treated him with all the respect and civilitie in the world, he is not commoulie civill to me ; for these tuo days past he has made me such surly returns to tuo letters I wrote to him, that I cannot understand his meaning, nor can I persuade him to come to see me: and said, I find he is goeing north without giving me any adverticement. I said, as to the first, it was not my bussiness to enter into it, but could not conceave how his lordship could been ignorant of the last, for I believed the whole armie had known it, and I had heard Huntlie say, he had told his lordship of it, and the necessitie there was for his doeing it since

Southerland was advancing southward. Mar made me a compliment, without taking notice of what I told him, and said, he believed I had a good dale more to say with Huntlie than anie bodie, and did not doubt, if I would take the trouble of going to Huntlie at Scoon, I could persuade him to stay eight days longer, tho' Glen-garie and Generall Gordon could not prevaile with him. I told my lord, his lordship did me no small honour to believe I had anie influence on Huntlie, but that I would not deceive him; and said, I did not believe I had anie, and that I had heard the Marquise of Huntlie [say] positive, he'd goe north in tuo days; but there was nothing so easie as to try what was to be done. So, leaveing Mar, I went to my Lord Huntlie, after dinner, who I found mightilie out of humour with all the indignities done him; I told him plainlie what Mar had said to me; and his lordship was pleased to read to me both Mar's letters, and his ansuers, which, I thought, afforded Mar no occasion to complain of him. I assured him I did not enter into Mar's reasons for his staying, but that I thought both the publick good and his own required it, since there seem'd some faint hopes left us of the Duke of Argyle's getting full pouer from Court; and till we saw what ansuer he was like to get, which, I hoped, might come soon, the onlie thing we could doe was to keep a countenance, and keep together; for the enemie, on so considerable a man as he leaving Pearth, to goe north, would construct it either a rupture amongst us, or necessitie to put a stop to Southerland's progress; either of these might be pernicious, and begged of him, till ane absolute necessitie presst him, to delay it, and send orders to get his men readie, in case of a suddain call from that corner, for, as I have already said, all the foot that had followed him had gone home. I put him in mind that if he went he left the whole, and himself, at Mar's disposal, who designed no terms. His lordship, haveing ane opinion of my probitie, or haveing designed to doe it of himself, consented to stay eight days longer than the time he had set, provided Mar would order the payment of eight days' arrears to some of his poor gentlemen, and give them as much pay as carrie them home, when he marched. I returned, and made my report to Mar, and told him Huntlie was surprised that he did not remember that he had adverticed him often of the necessitie of his going north, since the Earle of Southerland was groun to such a head, after taking of Inverness, that he fear'd the disarming of his vassalls, and guarnisoneing his houses, and after that, he had nothing to hinder him from paying us a visite at Pearth. But that argument, tho' often made use of, was never to be admitted. I laid hold of that opportunitie to tell him, that

when Huntlie went north I was resolved to goe with him.

It's scarcelie to be believed that Mar, while he was making his outward applications to my Lord Huntlie to stay, wanted he should be gone, and did all he could, for the ten days he stay'd, to exasperate him, by rancouring all the old sores, to increase the gangrene. His associates again attackt Huntlie's followers to leave him, and did not stand to say, that no honest man ought to have the least regarde to such a man as he, and would allow none of these gentlemen who they durst attempt, to bear his cockard, which was the liverie, as they said, of a very ill man; and this tho' they knew they could gaine no ground, and all would be told him. The others, who they still called mutineers, were not more favoured than he, except that Mar used to send for them, one by one, and wonder that so worthie a man as he who he spoke to, should been misled by some others who had treacherous designes, or were acted by fear; and, when he thought convenient, named some, and desired them to believe that the cause was not desperate; he had got good news, but that it was not proper to tell them so soon, for he had done himself harm by being too communicative; and missed the entertaining very few of them in this manner, and speakeing ill of the one to the other, while some of his emissaries were employed to act the same part which he did, and confirm people, and tell everie man in private, who they spoke to, that Mar had a great value for them; and used to express himself in their favours; tho' the greatest part of his accomplices breathed nothing but revenge against those who had betrayed their King and countrie.

Sinclair also cites another grievance of Huntly. It was the question of the payment of his horse, among whom "there is a great many gentlemen of the poorer sorts, his feuars and vassalls who reallie could not subsist themselves and horses." Huntly represented the point to Mar, who got a sort of bogus petition from the men of another squadron to get only a groat a day. Huntly accordingly "subsisted" his poor men out of his own pocket for some time.

Another lurid light on the situation is thrown by Macdonald of Keppoch, who was a vassal of Huntly. He went to Perth with 240 men after Sheriffmuir, and Sinclair tells us he "robbed the other Highlanders who were going home." Mar was "extreamlie civill to him," so in a day or two Keppoch took "no more notice of his master Huntlie then many of the others."

The further connection of the 2nd Duke with the Jacobites, treated by the same writer and on a similar scale, was dealt with in the "Ross-shire Journal" (Dingwall), January 29, 1911; and the "Strathspey Herald" (Grantown), December 15, 22, 1910; January 5, 12, 1911.

