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GENEALOGY COLLECTION



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Ancient, Noble, and Illustrious
Family of GORDON,

F R O M
The Year 1576, to the Year 1689.

TOGETHER WITH

An exact HISTORY of the most remarkable Transactions in SCOTLAND, from that Year 1576, to the Martyrdom of King CHARLES I. 1649, containing the Space of 73 Year.

All faithfully collected from *Scots* and Foreign Historians, Manuscripts, Records, and Registers of this Nation.

In Two Volumes.

By Mr. WILLIAM GORDON of *Old Aberdeen.*

VOLUME II.

EDINBURGH,

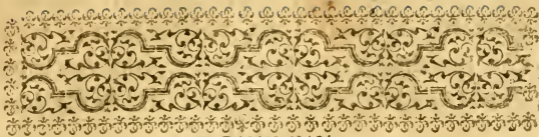
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To the Right Honourable,

The Marquis of *HUNTLY*;
ENZIE, &c.

My *LORD*,



Published the first Volume of this History of your illustrious Family under his Grace your Father's Patronage; and I humbly presume to offer this second Volume to your Lordship. It has been often observed, That Persons of all Ranks and Qualities regulate their Lives and Actions more by Example than Precept; and therefore I thought the best Service I could

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do your Lordship, was, now in the Beginning of your Life, to lay before you the gallant, virtuous, and noble Actions of brave and great Men, as Patterns for you to imitate, when you shall appear in the World in that high Sphere you was born to act in. I judged, (and I think rightly) that there were no Examples that would have such Influence upon you, as those of your illustrious Ancestors. It was with this View, and for this Purpose, that I collected, and have in this History registered the glorious Actions of those noble Heroes. In it you will find all of them commanding Armies, either of the King's Forces in Defence of their Prince and Country, against foreign and domestick Enemies of both, or of their own Friends and Followers, in Defence of their own just Rights and Honour; and in both Cases (for the most Part) victoriously triumphing over their Princes's or their own Enemies: Their Examples, and the Countenance they gave of old to their Friends and Followers, spirited them

them up to that Height of Courage, that their Enemies seldom or ever durst stand before them, of which you will find many Instances in both the Volumes of this History,

My Lord, tho' your noble Ancestors are upon all Occasions to be found in the Camp, yet you will also often find them in the Court, governing the Nation in the King's Absence, and sitting at the Helm of Affairs, as first Ministers of State. *My Lord*, there is nothing can contribute more to make a Person of Quality a truly great Man, than often to have before him, the noble and virtuous Actions of great Men; and therefore, not to trouble you any further, permit me only (with all Submission to presume to offer you an Advice; and it is, That how soon you arrive to that Age that you may read History with Advantage, you would read this of your own illustrious Family, that the Examples of those noble Heroes, your Ancestors, may raise in you an early and generous Ambition

tion to equal, if not exceed them in those heroic Vertues of Loyalty and Valour, that has raised your Family to the highest Degree of Honour, and makes it so conspicuous and regarded both at Home and Abroad. Let the Advice of the wise Man to his Son be deeply rooted in your Mind, *Prov. xxiv. 21. My Son, Fear thou the LORD and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to Change.* And that it may have this Effect, is the earnest Desire and Wish of him who is, with the utmost Submission and the greatest Sincerity,

My LORD,

Your Lordships most obedient,

and most faithful

humble Servant,

WIL. GORDON.



P R E F A C E.

I Shall not trouble the Reader with any tedious Preface. I have already, in the Introduction to the First Volume, accounted for the Motives that induced me to publish this History, and the Authors from whom I collected it. In that Introduction, I promised to bring down the History of the Nation, with that of the Family of GORDON, to the Year 1689: But the many and various Accidents that happened during the Rebellion in King CHARLES I's Time, having swell'd this Volume to a greater Bulk, than is proper for an Octavo Book, I was forced to break it off abruptly, at the Martyrdom of that most excellent Prince, and confine myself to the History of the Family of GORDON.

I have been as full and exact in the History of the Nation, especially in this last Volume, as the Smallness of it would allow me; and I resolve in a short Time to add a third Volume, which will contain a full and exact Account of the History of Scotland, from the Martyrdom of King CHARLES I. 1649, to the Revolution in 1688, which is 38 Years, without Regard to any particular Family. I have not seen a-

ny full or exact History of that Time ; and therefore I hope it will be the more acceptable to the Curious. And as I have hitherto exactly observed Cicero's Rule, in these Two Volumes now published, so shall I continue to do in the last. If that Rule has obliged me to relate the Faults and Failings of some great Men, I hope those concerned in them will pardon me for it ; I have not pretended to any secret History, I have given Vouchers for all I have related.

There is one Mistake I have fallen into in the First Volume, p. 39. where I have said, That Sir James Gordon of Park has most to say, for representing Tom of Riven. That Gentleman undeceived me, by telling me, that he was descended of Pitlurg's Family. I once resolved to have given a short Genealogical Account of the most considerable Families of the Name of GORDON; but few or none having sent me such an Account, I was forced to give over that Design. In fine, I have been as exact and faithful in collecting this History, as it was in my Power, and yet I doubt not, but that I may have fallen into some Mistakes, and may be guilty of some Omissions. Therefore if the courteous Reader will be so good, as to let me know of them; and if they be material, and I have any Opportunity, I shall very readily acknowledge and correct them.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Illustrious Family
O F
G O R D O N.

GEORGE *Sixth Earl of Huntly.*

GEORGE the Sixth Earl of *Huntly*, was in his Youth-hood, sent by his Uncle Sir *Adam* into *France*, where he was educated for some Years in those Exercises, suitable to his Age and Quality; and afterwards returning Home to his Country, was most welcome to
VOL. II. A King

King *James VI.* who had a very tender Regard for him during all the Time of his Reign, as I shall shew; after I have briefly touched what interveened in the publick Affairs from his Father's Death, until he came to be employed by his Prince in them.

The Earl of *Morton*, Regent, having made Peace, as said is, by his simulate Moderation, gave Hopes of happy Times under his Regency; but he soon disappointed these Hopes. He becomes most lustful, and exceedingly avaritious, gaping after, and snatching away other Mens Goods and Estates, wresting the Laws to the Prejudice of others, under the specious Pretence of Justice, but in Reality to fill his own Coffers; and when he had impoverished the People, he next applies the publick Treasures to his private Uses, by which in a short Time he became so hateful to all, that, by Consent of the States of the Kingdom, the King himself takes the Government upon him, altho' but Twelve Years old; and Twelve of the Nobility are appointed to be his Counsellors, Three for every Three Months, among whom *Morton* was one. This was done Anno 1578.

The Year following (a), *Amatus* or *Esmeus Stewart* of *Aubigny* comes from *France* to salute the King, being his near Cousin; for he was Son to *John Stewart*, the Brother of *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, the King's Grandfather, and intituled of *Aubigny*, a Lordship in the Province of *Bourges* in *France*, which *Charles VII.* had in former Times given to *John Stewart* of the Family of *Lennox*, who commanded an Army of *Scots* that did defeat the *English* at *Baugie*, and from thence his Descendants have enjoyed that

Pos-

(a) Camden, p. 300.

Possession of *Aubigny*. The King made him most welcome, and takes a particular Affection towards him, bestows on him large Possessions, makes him one of his Privy Counsellors, Treasurer of the Kingdom, Captain of the Castle of *Dumbarton*; and (revoking the Donation made to *Robert* Bishop of *Caithness*, his Grandfather's third Brother, of the Earldom of *Lennox*, giving to him in Compensation the Earldom of *March*) creates him first Earl and then Duke of *Lennox*. This high Favour and Liberality of the King to this Duke, made him the Object of Envy to many, who pretended that he being *Roman* Catholick, was come into *Scotland* to pervert the King, and re-establish that Religion.

Upon which the Ministers, joining with severals of the Nobility (*a*), *Mar*, *Ruthven*, (the Son of him who killed *Rizio*, now made Earl of *Gowry*) *Lindsay*, *Boyd*, *Glamis*, *Oliphant*, and many of lower Rank, conspire to have *Lennox* banished from *Scotland*; and for this Effect, invite the King to *Ruthven* Castle, where he goes; and when he was about to come from thence, they detain him against his Will, not permitting him to ride or walk in the Fields. They put from him all his faithful Servants, putting others of their own in their Places, at which he was exceedingly displeas'd. *Lennox* being at *Dalkeith*, gathers Forces to liberate the King; and many having a just Indignation at the Affront done to their Prince, flock to *Lennox's* Assistance. The Conspirators in the King's Name command all to lay down their Arms; and *Lennox* to depart the Kingdom: He retires to *Dumbarton*; and, fearing the King might

(a) Spottiswood, p. 308.

be endangered by his Presence, resolves to return to *France*, and accordingly went Abroad.

He being on this Resolution, the King is brought to *Edinburgh*, whose Citizens approve of what's done; and the Ministers holding a Synod in *September*, unanimously approve this wicked Conspiracy, commending highly the Conspirators, and forbidding, under (a) Pain of Excommunication, any Person to speak of them otherwise, than as the Defenders of Religion and Liberty. And this was appointed to be intimate to the People from the Pulpit, the King being forced to declare, That nothing in this Attempt at *Rutboven* was done against his or the publick Good: And for all this, not thinking themselves sufficiently secure by Law, they call a Parliament to authenticate their Proceedings, in which they enact what they please, few being present who had Right to give their Suffrage or Vote.

After this Parliament (b), the King having more Liberty, goes to *Falkland*, and from thence to *St. Andrews*, and lodges in the Castle, where some of his former Domesticks come to attend him; and those the Conspirators had put in, are turn'd out, and severals of the Nobility who were displeas'd with the Conspiracy, are sent for, *Huntly*, *Argyle*, *Marischal*, *Montrose* and *Roths*; and *Gowry* repenting, and obtaining Pardon, comes with the first. The King (c) thinking himself now Master, comes to *Edinburgh*, where the Ministers hold their Synod or Assembly; or, to speak more truly, the Council of State, wherein they deliberate upon, and regulate all publick Affairs, and let no Civil Matter escape their Censure. They
present

(a) Johnston, p. 78. (b) Camden, p. 361. (c) Johnston, p. 86.

present a Libel to the King, containing many Articles, which being examined, they receive Answer to every one, but not satisfactory to their Humour, the King being now Master of himself; and having those about him who disliked their Procedure, at which they are not a little troubled. In the mean Time, in the Month of *November 1583*, *Lodovick*, Son and Heir to the Duke of *Lennox* deceased, comes to *Scotland*, whom the King had sent for, together with his Sisters, having heard of their Father's Death; but the Sister's tender Age, did not allow them to travel so far at that Time. *Lennox* is conducted to the King by the Earls of *Huntly*, *Crawford* and *Montrose*, and meets with a very gracious Reception from his Majesty, being entred to the same Estate his Father had, and to the same Degree of Royal Favour his Father had enjoyed.

The King, to shew his Clemency, published (a) an Indemnity to all those who had intercepted him at *Ruthven*, and should come and ask Pardon within a prefixed Time: But they, despising his Goodness, contrive secretly how to intercept him the second Time; whereupon they are banished the Kingdom; most of them complies; some goes to *Flanders*, and others to *Ireland*, meeting with the same Measure they had measured to *Lennox* the Year preceding.

The next Year, 1584, many of them return Home privately, according to their Promise to *Gowry* (who had lurked all the Time in the Country) with whom they had made a new Plot to intercept the King; which coming to his Knowledge, he ordered *William*

(a) Camden, p. 363.

Stewart, Captain of the Guards to apprehend *Gowry* where ever he could be found. *Gowry* had gone to *Dundee*, making Shew as if he were to leave the Kingdom; *Stewart* surprises him, and, after some Resistance (a), takes and shuts him up in Prison; and after some Time he is arraigned, condemned, and his Head is separated from his Body; after which the rest of the Conspirators fly to *England*, imploring the Favour and Intercession of Queen *Elizabeth* (a sure Sanctuary for *Scots* Rebels) who, as was said, about this Time, inclining to liberate Queen *Mary*, now 14 Years Captive, and pretending to be almost determined to this Act of Humanity, she is diverted by the *Scots* of the contrary Faction, who clamour aloud, *That her Liberation would infallibly draw after it the Ruin of Queen Elizabeth. Her Admission to reign jointly with her Son, would ruin both Kingdoms; and the Permission of the Catholick Worship only within the Gates of the Royal Palace, would destroy the true Religion in the Isle of Britain* (b).

And they not content with this, some of their Ministers in *Scotland* from their Pulpits, and in ordinary Conversation, loading her (Queen *Mary*) with most base Calumnies, inveigh most bitterly against the King (tho' of their own Religion) and his Counsellors; and being therefore cited to Judgment, they disdainfully refuse to compear, as if the Pulpits were not subject to Supreme Authority, and Ecclesiasticks not to the Prince's, but to the Presbytery's Jurisdiction; which was directly contrary to the Laws enacted in Parliament this present Year: For in
this

(a) Camden, p. 376. (b) Idem, p. 385.

this Parliament, the Royal Authority over all Persons, as well Ecclesiasticks as Laicks was confirmed for all Time coming (a) ; That the King and his Counsellors were appointed supreme and lawful Judges in all Causes whatsoever, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil ; That it should be Treason to decline their Judgment ; That Meetings called *Presbyteries* ; as also, all Conventions of Laicks, as well general as particular, should be no more tolerate, as arrogating to themselves an unlimited Authority and Liberty of assembling at their Pleasure, without the King's Licence, and prescribing Laws to the King himself, and all the Kingdom. The popular Equality of Ministers was taken away, and the Dignity and Jurisdiction was restored to the Bishops ; the reproachful and ignominious Libels against the King, his Mother, and Counsellors, namely, the History of *George Buchanan*, and his Dialogue, *De jure regni apud Scotos*, as containing many Things worthy to be cancelled, are prohibited (b).

These Acts did so irritate some of the Ministers, that of their own Accord they left the Kingdom, and filled *England* with the Noise of their Complaints, as if the Reform'd Religion had been already banished out of *Scotland* : But Queen *Elizabeth* gave little or no Ear to them, neglecting them as Innovators, and turbulent Persons ; yet upon Occasion she made Use of them, to prevent, (as she pretended) any Prejudice the Reform'd Religion in *Scotland* might sustain. At this Time *James Stewart* Earl of *Arran* becomes odious to Queen *Elizabeth*, because he wholly ruled the King, and also to the greatest Part of the

(a) Act. 8. Parl. Ja. VI. 1584. (b) Johnston, p. 94, 95.

Scots Nobility on the same Account, but more especially to the Faction of *Gowry*; many of whom were banished, and remained in *England*; wherefore she projects to get him turned out of Court; and for this End, permits, by Connivance, those banished Noblemen to return to *Scotland*, assisted with Money by her to depress *Arran*.

These joining with the others at Home, who hated him, emit a long *Manifesto* in the King's Name (without his Knowledge) commanding all to assemble for the Defence of the true Religion, and liberating the King from ill Counsellors, and maintaining of Peace and Friendship with *England*. *Falkirk* is appointed for the Place of their Rendezvouze (a), where they convene, to the Number of 7 or 8000 Men; thence they march to *Stirling*, enter the Town, and *Arran* knowing they aimed chiefly at him, taking with him some of the King's Jewels, escapes out at the postern Gate of the Castle, and flies to the Country of *Lennox*; the King being lodged in the Castle, sends to know what the Tumult meant; They answer, they were come to submit themselves to His Majesty, and to kiss his Hand. He offers to recal their Sentence of Banishment, and to restore them to their Estates, if so be they would be gone without more trouble: They pretend not to value their Estates in Comparison of his Favour, being they may be admitted into his Presence. He finds himself obliged to consent, on Condition they should attempt nothing against his Person, or the Lives of those he should name, nor change any Thing in the Administration of Government. They protest their Lives are

(a) Johnston, p. 102.

are devoted for the Safety of his, and that they had not so much as a Thought of any Innovation (a); entreating their Enemies and the Fortresses of the Kingdom may be delivered to them for their Security (b).

The King having a Multitude of People with him in the Castle, and no Provision for any Time, makes a Virtue of Necessity, and yields to their Demands; and instantly *Montrose, Crawford, Rothes, Down* and others, are delivered to their Hands; all the banished Lords are pardoned, *Arran* is sentenced guilty of Treason, and the Earl of *Huntly* is sent to search him out of his lurking Places (which he frequently changed) and to bring him to have the Sentence execute upon him (c); but he having traced him over Land and Sea, yet could never find him. These Things being done, all Things seem'd to be pacified; only the Ministers, who returned with the Nobility out of *England*, could not be quieted, complaining the Nobles had cheated them, in not causing rescind (as they had promised them) the above-mentioned Acts of Parliament, whereby their extravagant Insolence in railing against the King and his Counsellors, and any that displeas'd them, was restrained. This Complaint of theirs was neglected in the Parliament held after the Return of the said Noblemen; whence sprung continual Matter of Tumult and Sedition, while they undervaluing that Law, restrain not their Tongues, but rail with the same Insolence as before.

Being unwilling to interrupt the History of these publick Transactions, I have omitted to give an Account of the Murder of *Sir George Gordon of Gight*,
and

(a) Johnston. p. 102. (b) Camden, p. 402. (c) Idem ibidem.

and the natural Death of Sir *Adam Gordon of Auchindown* (a), and so must return to them. Anno 1579, the Lord *Forbes* and Sir *George Gordon of Gight* being at Variance, were cited to appear before the Lords of Council at *Edinburgh*, where they were both obliged to find Sureties, or set Bail for their peaceable Behaviour for the Time coming. The Lord *Forbes* imagined that Sir *George* gave him some injurious Words before the Council; and the Lords thereof endeavoured to reconcile them, and believed they had done it: But *Forbes* still retaining in his Mind a Resentment, went and way-laid Sir *George* at *Dundee*, as he was returning home, and as he came out of the Boat (he expecting no such Thing) was attacked by the Lord *Forbes* and those with him, and wounded by a Musket-shot; Notwithstanding which, he, with his Servants, fought with great Courage, and kill'd severals of the *Forbesses*: But at last being oppressed by Multitude, died bravely fighting amongst the Throng of his Murderers. He was a very brave Gentleman, and one of the most considerable Barons of the Name. He was lineally descended of the Family of *Huntly*, his Predecessor being third Son to *George* Second Earl of *Huntly*.

Sir *Adam Gordon of Auchindown*, Anno 1580, being at *St. Johnston*, there sicken'd and died, and was buried there, near to the Grave of his Great Grandfather, *Alexander* Third Earl of *Huntly* (b). He was certainly the most resolute and successful Captain the Nation had in his Time. He was a loyal Subject, an affectionate Friend, and an excellent Tutor to and Manager of his Nephew the Earl of *Huntly's* Estate, who was now abroad. He died about the 38
Year

(a) Gordonston's MS. Hist. (b) Idem.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. II

Year of his Age, and left no Children behind him but one natural Son, *Adam*, who served in the *French King's Guard de Corps*, and died there. He was succeeded in his Estate by his Brother Sir *Patrick Gordon*, and who after his Death had the Management of the Earl of *Huntly's* Estate, during the Residue of his Minority.

On the penult Day of this Year 1580, that once great Man the Earl of *Morton* is accused before the Privy-Council, by Captain *James Stewart*, of the Murder of the late King *Henry*. He is sent Prisoner to *Dumbarton*, and his old Friend Queen *Elizabeth* uses all her Interest to get him set at Liberty; she both threatens and flatters, but all to no purpose, for it rather hastened his Death; and an Order is given to the Earl of *Montrose* and Captain *James Stewart* to bring him with a strong Guard from *Dumbarton* to *Edinburgh*, which was done *May 29th*; and on the 1st of *June* he was brought to his Trial, convict of, and condemned for King *Henry's* Murder, to be carried the next Day to the Market-Cross of *Edinburgh*, hanged on a Gibbet, have his Head cut off, and his Body quartered. But his Sentence thereafter was changed to *Beheading*: And thus ended the fourth and last of these rebellious Regents, the first and last were no Doubt the Contrivers and Promoters of the late King's Murder. He justly suffer'd for that Murder, of which he often unjustly and impudently accused the innocent Queen his Sovereign; innocent indeed, even to his own Conviction, as the Terrors of Death forced him to acknowledge after he had received his Sentence, both in the Prison and on the Scaffold. *Spottiswood* gives him a very Tartan Character, and I shall not trouble the Reader with

with it, he may easily gather it from the foregoing Pages. After he was beheaded his Body lay upon the Scaffold, from 4 to 8 a-clock, covered with an old blue Cloak, and at last was carried to its Burial-place by common Porters. A bright Example of the Justice of G O D and the Instability of humane Affairs.

Anno 1585 (a), the Earl of *Huntly* gives his Sister Lady *Jean* in Marriage to *George* Earl of *Caitbness*, and reconciles him with his Kinsman the Earl of *Sutherland*; and that these two neighbouring Earls Friendship might be more firm, they jointly resolve to prosecute the *Clanqueen* with Fire and Sword, as having been the Authors of the Discord betwixt their Predecessors, and of frequent Troubles in those Parts; and accordingly they fall to Work: And after the Loss of 180 of the *Caitbness* Men, with *Henry Sinclair*, who fought before the *Sutherland* Men came to join them; the Day following, the *Clanqueen* are totally defeat and killed. But it seems this Friendship has not lasted long; for I find, in a Year or two thereafter (b), these two Earls in the Field with all the Forces they were able to raise, ready to invade one another's Lands; of which the Earl of *Huntly* hearing (both of them being his near Relations) he sends over his Uncle *Sir Patrick Gordon* of *Auchindown* to settle these Differences, if possible. He went to *Sutherland's* Army, just as they were marching to fight the Earl of *Caitbness*; and when they were ready to join Battle, by his prudent Mediation they were kept from fighting, and a friendly Meeting was appointed at *Elgin*, where having met,

all

all Controversies were agreed, by Friends mutually chosen: And that the Friendship might be of the longer Continuance, by a Bond signed by both these Earls, the Earl of *Huntly* and his Successors are appointed heritable Judges and Arbitrators of all Debates and Controversies that might thereafter happen to arise betwixt the Families of *Sutherland* and *Caitness*.

In this Year 1585, *John Maitland* Brother to *Leithington* (who had been Secretary to Queen *Mary*) among others is admitted to be one of the King's Domesticks, first made Secretary, and then Chancellor, [*Johnston* calls him (a), *Homo callidus, promptus & versutus*] a cunning crafty Man, of a ready Wit, hated by the Nobility, and who afterwards raised great Tumults in the State; he knowing they bore him no good Will, strives to secure himself the best Way he could; and especially against *Huntly*, whose Power was greatest, and his Favour with the King no less: Wherefore he, with *Banantine* and others, feign and spread Rumours in *Edinburgh*, That *Huntly* was endeavouring the Ruin of the Protestant Religion, and intended to offer Violence to the Magistrates, and oppose the Government (b). Whereupon all the Apprentices and young Men of the Town take Arms to withstand the *Gordons* and the *Hamiltons*. Whereat they being much offended, in the Middle of Winter 1587 convene with all their Friends and Forces at *Linlithgow*, against *Maitland*, who, with all his Friends and Power he could make, puts himself in Order of Defence, with a Corslet under his Coat, and a Sword hidden, to make Use of in

(a) p. 104. (b) Idem, p. 125.

in Case of Need. The King perceiving the Bustle was like to ensue, sends Sir *Patrick Murray* to *Huntly*, conjuring him to persist in his Duty and Fidelity. *Huntly*, a Man nowise turbulent, but inclin'd to Peace and Quietness, assures the King of his Fidelity and Obedience, if the Chancellor by Act of Parliament was removed from the Administration of the Government; and (not thrifting for Blood) with a Dozen of the stoutest of his Friends, comes to the King's Presence at *Holy-rood-house*, and on his Knees mitigates the King's Anger, and by his Sincerity and Obsequiousness is made most welcome, feasted by him, and sleeps with him that Night in the same Room. *Maitland* in the mean Time being in great Fear, lest the King's Favour to him should be diminished by *Huntly*, who made known to his Majesty all his Briberies and other Crimes: But yet for all that the King continued his Favour to him (*Maitland*) and *Huntly* finding his Endeavours of discourting him to be in vain, returns home to the North; and in his Way makes an Agreement 'twixt the Town of *Aberdeen* and the Baron of *Balquhain*. What wheted *Huntly*, and so many others their Indignation against *Maitland*, was his bitter Taunts, his satyrical and invective Verses, stuff'd with Reproaches against all his Enemies. *Erat enim, says Johnston (a), naturâ dicacissimus, & ne inter tempora curarum verbis facietis satis temperans: invidiam procerum immodicis jocis provocavit, supervacaneum est singula maledicta referre, per quæ in proceres inimicosque suos contumeliosus fuit.* In the Year 1588 they make another At-

tempt;

(a) p. 128.

tempt, such as the former, to turn him out of Employment, but with no better Success.

In this Year the King gives *Henrieta Stewart*, eldest Sister to the Duke of *Lennox*, in Marriage to the Earl of *Huntly*; and she being the King's near Kinswoman, he ever thereafter used to call *Huntly* his *Good-son*, or Son-in-Law, because he (in Place of her Father) had given that young Lady in Marriage. Sometime before this Marriage, and in Prospect of it, the King had made him Lord High Chamberlain of *Scotland* during the Minority of the Duke of *Lennox*, as his Patent dated at *Edinburgh*, 20th of *August* 1587, bears.

Morton (as is said) being gone, and the Government established in the King's Hands, he was govern'd by those who were the Authors of this Change in State, or approved of the same. Hence sprung great Animosity and Faction among the emulous Nobility, which proved fatal to severals of them. In end, the King having wrestled through all these Broils excited by their Emulation, being now past 21 Years of Age, gave Tokens of a great Spirit and Ripeness of Judgment above his Years. He had found himself tossed to and fro by the factious Nobility, and deprived of the Liberty to have any about him but such as pleased them; they reigning in Effect, and leaving him nothing but the Name and empty Title and Shew. These were they, or their Posterity, who had dethron'd his Mother, and driven her into Exile, and never ceas'd from persecuting her, until they had brought her to a tragical and violent Death upon a Scaffold. And I must now be allowed to look a little back to that last Tragical Scene of that misfortunate (tho' innocent) Princess's Life.

In the Year 1584 (a), the *English* Nation came to be alarmed with new Plots of the Pope, the King of *Spain* and the *Guiffes*, about the invading of *England*: To prevent any Danger that Way, the Earl of *Liecestre*, the Queen's Favourite, and many others of all Ranks, bound themselves in an Association, with their mutual Oaths and Subscriptions, to prosecute with all their Forces unto Death, whoever they were that did attempt any Thing against the Queen of *England*. The Queen of *Scotland* quietly understood that by this a Way was made for her Destruction, and being weary of her long and miserable Imprisonment, and fearing worse; She, by her Secretary *Nave*, propounded to Queen *Elizabeth* and her Council (b), *That if she might be granted her Liberty, she with a sincere Mind would love and honour Queen Elizabeth above all Christian Princes, bind her self in a strict League offensive and defensive, forget all past Offences, acknowledge her the true and rightful Queen of England, should challenge no Right to the same during her Life, should practise nothing against her directly nor indirectly: And for the more Assurance of these Things, she will remain as an Hostage in England; and if she may have Leave to depart, she will give Hostages for the Performancé of these and many other Conditions, which were sufficient to secure Queen Elizabeth in the peaceable Possession of the Crown of England during all the Days of her Life.* She also promised such Conditions to her own Subjects of *Scotland* as were requisite to secure the Protestant Religion and themselves from being called to an Account for any Offences they had formerly committed against her,

(a) Stranguage, p. 154. (b) Idem, p. 155.

her, and for her self desired only the free Liberty of her own Religion in her Family; and yet for the more Security she promised to perswade the King of *France* and the Princes of the House of *Lorain*, to bind themselves as Guarrantees for her Performance of these Conditions.

Upon which Queen *Elizabeth* outwardly appeared to have some Inclination, upon these Conditions, to set Queen *Mary* at Liberty; tho' her former and future Behaviour makes it clearly appear, she had no such real Design. Nay, Queen *Elizabeth* dissembled so deeply in this Affair, that Queen *Mary's* rebellious Subjects in *Scotland* began to be apprehensive, that she was in earnest to put her at Liberty, and remonstrated to Queen *Elizabeth* that they would be utterly undone, if she was set at Liberty; and the Ministers in their Pulpits railed most bitterly and irreligiously against her. But

In the Beginning of the next Year 1585 (a), Queen *Elizabeth* began to act a little more openly, for she called a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, where the afore-mentioned Association was confirmed and enacted, *That twenty four, or more of the Privy-Council and Nobility of the Land, impowered by the Queen's Letters patent, might enquire of them who shall invade the Realm, raise Rebellion, or attempt to hurt or kill the Queen's Person, or any whosoever, or by them whosoever may challenge Right to the Crown of England: But he for whom or by whom they shall attempt, shall be made utterly incapable of the Crown of England, and shall be utterly deprived of all Right thereunto, and shall be pursued even unto Death by all*

the Subjects, if he shall be judged and publickly declared by those twenty four Men to be privy to such an Invasion, Rebellion and Hurt. Now if *Queen Elizabeth* had the least Spark of Compassion towards that unfortunate Princess, and her near Kinswoman, *Queen Mary*, she never would have allowed that Act to pass, for before it they had no Law upon which they could found a Procces against her. As it was upon this they founded their Procces, so it is sure it was made with no other View but only to take away her Life.

For in the preceeding Year, *Queen Elizabeth* being tortured with innumerable Jealousies and Fears (a), which so deprived her of the Night's Rest, that it threw her so far into a Decay, that her whole Court grew sensible of it: She had many Consultations with them about the Manner of taking away *Queen Mary's* Life. *Leicester* the beloved Favourite, was for poisoning her, and for that End sent a Clergyman to *Walsingham* to perswade him of the Lawfulness of it; but to no purpose, for he protested that he was so far from allowing any Violence to be done to her, that long ago he cross'd and broke the Advice of *Morton*, which was, that she might be sent to *Scotland*, and killed in the Borders of the two Kingdoms. Others were against Poison, thinking it not secure, and that they might be disappointed by its not having the desired Effect; and gave their Opinion, That the surest Way was to employ Assassins to murder her. *Queen Elizabeth*, tho' she wished to be rid of the *Queen of Scots* at any Rate, yet she could not see how it was possible to conceal that from the Eyes of foreign Princes, and was satisfied that all of them would arm against her

(a) Life of Q. Mary, p. 269. (b) Strangnace, p. 179.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 19

her to revenge such a barbarous Murder. This Diversity and Perplexity of Opinions among her Council so disturbed her Mind, that it became visible to all those whom she admitted to be nearest to her.

Leicester soon perceiving this, offered to cure her of that Distemper, by putting an End to *Queen Mary's* Days; which Offer being readily accepted, he quickly begins his Journey, in Order to put his wicked Design in Execution. But upon the Road he is seized with a Remorse; the Horrour of murdering the most beautiful Person in the World, and the Dread of blackening his Reputation to all Posterity, forces him to return. He confesses his Weakness to *Queen Elizabeth*; by which she discovered how unhappy she was, when she found a Person who so depended on her Favour, that a Frown of her Countenance could for ever render miserable, less touched with the Fear of losing his All than with the Horrour of such a Murder. This adding much to her former Uneasiness, put her and her Council to their last Shifts to find out a Method how to take away *Queen Mary's* Life; and in end they agreed to the making of the fore-mentioned Law, by which they concluded they could reach her.

About *Whitsun-tide*, Anno 1586 (a), there is a Plot contrived of taking away *Queen Elizabeth's* Life, and setting the *Queen of Scots* at Liberty, by one *Ballard* a Priest of the Seminary at *Reims*; which he communicated to *Anthony Babington* of *Dethick* in *Derby-shire*, a young Gentleman, rich, of a lively Wit and good Learning; and he being zealous for restoring the Popish Religion, went very

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soon

(a) *Life of Q. Mary*, p. 286. *Stranguage*, p. 166.

soon into it, and did associate to himself *Edward Windsor, Charles Tilney, Childeck Tichburn, Edward Abington, Robert Gage, John Traverser, John Charnock, John Jones, — Savage, Barnewell*, of a noble Family of *Ireland, Henry Dunne*; and one *Polley* (who was acquainted with the Affairs of *Scotland*) associated himself unto them with a View to betray them, which afterwards he did. A full Account of this Plot is given by all the *English* Historians, and by *Dr. Mackenzie*; and so I shall only notice it, and that very briefly, only as it relates to the Queen of *Scotland*.

Secretary *Walsingham*, by his Cunning and Diligence, soon discovered that Plot; he kept it secret to himself for some Time, then laid it before the Queen when he was fully informed of the Names of all the Conspirators: And when she thought proper to communicate it to her Council, they were all publicly declared Traitors, and Orders were issued out for apprehending them. They all fled to different Places, and in a short Time all of them were apprehended: *Edward Windsor* only was not found. They were all brought to *London*, and there examined, and they are said to have touched the Queen of *Scotland* in their Confessions (a). In the mean Time, tho' this was known all *England* over, yet was the Queen of *Scotland* her Servants so narrowly watched, that she was utterly ignorant of all that pass'd; until after they were all apprehended, that then *Thomas Gorge* was sent, in a few Words, to acquaint her of it, which he did as she was taking Horse to go a-hunting. She was not allowed to return, but in Shew of Honour was

(a) *Stranguage*, p. 176.

was carried about from one Gentleman's House to another; and in the mean Time *J. Manner, Edward Aston, Richard Bagot, and William Waad*, by Commission from Queen *Elizabeth*, kept *Nave* and *Curle* her two Secretaries, and her other Servants, fo close Prisoners, that they could have no Communication one with the other, or any of them with the Queen; and breaking open the Doors of her Closet, they seize all her Desks and Cabinets where her Papers were laid, and having seal'd them with their own Seals, sent them up to Court. Then *Pawlet* (being so commanded) seized on all her Money, lest, as he pretended, she might with it corrupt any Body by Bribes, and gave his Word to restore it. Queen *Elizabeth* searched her Papers, and among them were found the Letters of many Strangers, the Copies also of Letters unto many, about 60 different Cyphers, as also the Letters of many Noblemen of *England*, offering their Service. All of these Letters Queen *Elizabeth* thought fit to conceal, which they smelling out, acted with the more Vigour against her, to take off any Suspicion of their favouring of her.

After the afore-mentioned Conspirators were execute(a), then *Nave* and *Curle* were examined about the Letters, Notes and Cyphers, found in the Queen's Closet; they acknowledged, by their Subscriptions, that the Hand-writings were their own, dictated by the Queen in *French* to *Nave*, and translated into *English* by *Curle*; they acknowledged, that she received Letters from *Babington*, and that they wrote back to him by her Commandment. The forecited Author says, *That 'tis certain, out of Letters, that*

(a) Stranguage, p. 179.

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when Curle did at this Time ask Walsingham for the Reward he promised him, that he reproved him as one forgetful of an extraordinary Grace, as that he had confessed nothing but what he could not deny. Camden, in his Life of Queen Elizabeth, says, (and there is none that could have known it better) That it cannot be denied but that Walsingham did break up the Letters which Giffard brought him, counterfeiting in them what he thought fit; and that it was the Judgment of most rational Men, that the Secretaries of the Queen of Scots were seduced and corrupted with Money; And 'tis certain that they demanded a Recompence from Walsingham, who told them, That they ought to content themselves with their Lives; and added, That in condemning their Mistress they had not acted according to Justice. Now,

Upon the extorted Confessions of some of those Conspirators, and upon the Acknowledgments of these two corrupted Secretaries of Queen Mary, there was a Commission awarded out, under the Great Seal of England, to John Archbishop of Canterbury, and 45 more of the Nobility, Counsellors and Judges of England, to try Mary Queen of Scots for her Life. Stranguage (a) names all of them. All did not meet, but there came of them to Fotheringhay Castle in Northampton-shire, where Queen Mary was then kept, 32 of these Commissioners, upon the 11th of October 1586 (b), viz. the Earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, Lincoln, and Viscount Montacute; the Lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Gray, Lumley, Sturton, Sands, Wentworth, Mordant, St.

John

(a) p. 180, & infra. (b) Idem, p. 190.

John of Bletso, Compton and Cheyney; Sir James Crofts, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Amias Pawlet; the two Chief Justices, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, with Clerks, Solicitors, &c. There is so full an Account given by *Scots and English Historians*, and not long ago by *Dr. Mackenzie* in her *Life*, and even but the other Year by the Translator of her *Life*, from *Mackenzie, Stranguage and Camden*, that it would be superfluous here to trouble the Reader with it, therefore (studying Brevity) I shall only tell, That when they had once constituted their Court, they obliged the Queen of *Scotland* to appear before them; and after they had adjourned from Day to Day, and heard all her just and legal Defences, they at last adjourned themselves to the 25th of *October* in the *Star Chamber* at *Westminster*, whither all of them met, except the Earls of *Sbrewsbury* and *Warwick*, who were sick, and there pronounced the following Sentence against her, and affirmed the same with their Subscriptions and Seals; in these Words (a), *By their Assent, Consent and Accord, they do pronounce, give and say their Sentence and Judgment at the Day and Place last rehearsed, That after the End of the foresaid Session of Parliament, specified in the aforesaid Commission, viz. after the aforesaid First Day of June, in the 27 Year aforesaid, and before the Date of the said Commission, divers Things were imagined and compassed within this Realm of England by Anthony Babington and others, with the Privy of the said Mary, pretending Title to the Crown of this Realm of England, tending to*

(a) Stranguage, p. 203.

the Hurt, Death and Destruction of the Royal Person of our said Lady the Queen; and to wit, That after the aforesaid First Day of June, in the 27 Year above said, and before the Date of the aforesaid Commission, the said Mary pretending Title to the Crown of this Realm of England, compassed and imagined within this Realm of England, divers Things tending to the Hurt, Death and Destruction of the Royal Person of our Lady the Queen, against the Form of the Statute specified in the aforesaid Commission.

In a short Time thereafter there was a Parliament met at *Westminster*, where the forementioned Sentence was ratified; and they drew a Supplication to the Queen, to be delivered by *Thomas Bromely* Knight, Chancellor of *England*, in which they most earnestly besought her to publish the said Sentence against *Mary* Queen of *Scots*.

Thus was the Sentence pronounced and confirmed in an *English* Parliament, against *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, a free Sovereign and independent Princess, nay the finest Lady both of Body and Mind in *Europe*, and that for Crimes only alledged, but never proved against her, but only by the Testimonies of some convicted Traitors, who through Terror and Fear said what they were desired, and the Testimonies of two of her own brib'd and perfidious Servants, whom by the Law of *England*, Statute i. 13 Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, they were obliged to bring before her Face; but as they knew they were bribed, they durst not adventure on it: And that they were so corrupted, could not but be well known to *Walsingham* and several others of her Judges. No Man (the Law says) is to be condemned *testimoniis sed testibus*. How she fled into *England*, how often she

the intreated Liberty to go out of it, and how barbarously she was treated in it, is accounted for already. The Iniquity of this Sentence is so evident, that 'tis altogether needless to spend Time or Pains in laying it open; it sufficiently exposes itself.

This barbarous Sentence did afford no Quiet to Queen *Elizabeth's* Mind; she was often dunn'd by her Favourites to put it in Execution. When she thought of doing it, then her Conscience check'd her with the Injustice and Cruelty of such a Murder; and she again entertained Thoughts of murdering her privately, but could not think of being seen in it herself. Thus she was in a continual Perplexity of Mind, always doubtful what Course to take; resolved in nothing but one Thing, That Queen *Mary* must die. The first Method she resolv'd on, was to have her murdered privately, and her self not to be seen in it, which was the Thing she had long expected some of her Favourites would have done for her Ease, which is clear by the Letter she caus'd her two Secretaries *Walsingham* and *Davison* write to Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and Sir *Drew Drury*, which I have copied from Dr. *Mackenzie*, and inserted in the *Appendix*, N. 1. But these two Gentlemen utterly abhorred such an ignominious Murder, as is to be seen by their Answer, inserted in the foregoing Place.

The forenamed Judges, to streak Cream over King *James's* Mouth; I say the Commissioners and Judges of *England*, when they pronounced their Sentence against his Mother, declared, *That that Sentence did derogate nothing from James King of Scotland, in his Right or Honour, but him to be in the same Place, Estate and Right, as if that Sentence had not been given at all.* This gilded Pile did not satisfy King

James

James in the least ; for how soon he got Notice of their Proceedings, he sent (a) *William Keith*, Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, to *Queen Elizabeth*, with a Letter to this Effect, *That howbeit it seemed strange to him, That the Nobility and Counsellors of England should take upon them to give Sentence upon a Queen of Scotland, and one descended of the Royal Blood of England ; yet he would think it yet much more strange, if she should stain her Hands with the Blood of his Mother, who was of the same Royal Condition with her self, and of the same Sex ; which, as he could not believe would enter in her Heart to do, so if it should be, he desired her to consider how much it touched him in Honour, that was both King and a Son, to suffer his Mother, an absolute Princess, to be put to an infamous Death.*

No Answer being returned to this, he wrote a more sharp Letter to *William Keith*, commanding him to shew the Queen, *That if she proceeded against his Mother he would be obliged in Honour, to revenge so great an Indignity ; and therefore will'd him to labour for a Delay, until he should send an Ambassadour, with Overtures that might content and satisfy her Majesty.* *William Keith* upon this pressed a Delay, but not being able to obtain it, he shewed her the Direction he had received from the King his Master ; at which she flew into such a sudden Passion, as, if she had not been in some Measure pacified by *Leicester* and others, she had then discharged him, and refused him any further Hearing : But after she had calm'd a little, she told, *She would give no Answer in Passion, but would think on it till next Morning.* At
which

(a) Spottiswood's Hist. p. 351.

which Time, calling him again, she said, *That no Precipitation should be used, and if any did come from the King within a few Days, she would stay all Proceedings till that Time; and would be glad to hear such Overtures as might save the Queen of Scots Life, and assure her own.*

Upon which the King conceiving some Hopes of an Accommodation, wrote a softning Letter to the Queen of England; and in the mean Time convoked the Estates, and imparted to them his Mother's Condition. They made him very liberal Promises, and granted him a present Supply for dispatching his Ambassadors: So on the 20th December, the Master of Gray and Sir Robert Melvil his Ambassadors, took Journey for London, and arrived there the Penult of that Month, and was admitted to an Audience, January 1. She told them, *That she was unmeasurably sorry that there can be no Means found to save the Life of your King's Mother, and assure my own. I have laboured to conserve the Life of us both, but now I see it cannot be done.* To which the Ambassadors replied, *That the Case was not so desperate; and that Means would be fallen on to put her Majesty in Assurance.*

At the second Audience the Queen desired to know what they were to propose. The Ambassadors desired first to know if the Queen of Scotland was still alive. To which the Queen answered, *That she believed she was; but would not promise for a Moment.* Then the Ambassadors replied, *That they came not to shift, but will offer from our Sovereign, That he shall interpose his Credit in Behalf of his Mother, and give the Chief of his Nobility for Pledges, That no Plot shall be contrived against your Majesty*
with

with her Knowledge or Privity; or if that be not sufficient, that if it shall please your Majesty to set her at Liberty, and send her into Scotland, and then a Course shall be taken for securing your Majesty from all Attempts by her. The Queen communicated these Proposals to the Earls of Oxford and Leicester, but had no Regard to them, nor to any else the Ambassadors could propose; for after much Reasoning on both Sides, she at last flung away from them. Sir Robert Melvil followed, and requested for some Eight Days Delay of the Execution of the Sentence; but she answered, *Not one Hour*. The King advertised of this, and that nothing but Extremity was to be expected, wrote a very sharp Letter to the Master of Gray, *Commanding him to be no more upon the Reserve, as he had too long been; and if he expected the Continuance of his Favour, to spare no Pains or Plainness in this Case; ordered him to read the Letter written to William Keith, and to accommodate himself to the same.*

Before this Letter came to the Master, 'tis said, That he was drawn upon another Course (a), and that he had taken it upon himself to pacify the King, in case his Mother should be executed; and some *English* Historians say, That he should have said to Queen Elizabeth, *Mortui non mordent* (b). Leicester wrote at this Time a long Letter to mollify the King, as did *Walsingham* to the Lord *Thirlestane*. The King now perceiving that the Death of his Mother was determined on, recalled his Ambassadors; and gave Orders to the Ministers to remember her in their publick Prayers; which they denied to do, tho' the

(a) Spottiswood's Hist. p. 353. (b) Idem, p. 363.

the Form prescribed was most Christian, *viz.* *That it might please GOD to illuminate her with the Light of his Truth, and save her from the apparent Danger wherein she was cast.* The Queen of England, for no Intreaty the King could make, would spare her Life; the Ministers of Scotland; for all the Commands the King could put upon them, would not pray for the enlightening of her Mind, and Salvation of her Soul: Now, which of these two were most barbarous and farthest removed from the merciful Disposition of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, who prayed for his Crucifiers when upon the Cross, let the Reader determine. Upon their Denial, Charges were directed, commanding all Bishops, &c. to make mention of her in their publick Prayers, in the Form appointed; but none of the Ministers obeyed, except Mr. *David Lindsay*, at *Leith*, and the King's own Ministers. Upon which Disobedience the King appointed a publick Fast on the 3d of *February*, and solemn Prayers to be made in Behalf of the Queen, commanding the Bishop of *St. Andrews* to prepare himself for that Day's Service; which when the Ministers understood, they stirred up a little impudent Rogue of a Probationer (so they call those who have only past their Trials to be Ministers, but are not settled in any particular Cure) to take Possession of the Pulpit, and exclude the Bishop. When the King came to Church, and saw him in the Pulpit, he called to him from his Seat, and said, *Mr. John, that Place was destinate for another; but since you are there, if you will obey the Charge, and pray for my Mother, you shall go on.* He replying, *That he would do as the Spirit of GOD should direct him,* was commanded to leave that Place; but making as if he enclined to stay

stay, the Captain of the Guard went to pull him down; whereupon he burst forth in these Words, *This Day shall be a Witness against the King in the great Day of the LORD*; and then denouncing a Wo to the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, he came down, and the Archbishop went up, and performed the required Duty. Mr. *John* was called before the Council in the Afternoon, and was accompanied by two feditious Ministers *Balcanqual* and *Watson*, who for some impertinent Speeches were discharged Preaching during Pleasure, and Mr. *John* was sent Prisoner to *Blackness*.

The Queen of *England* being now positively determined about the Manner of the Queen's Death, signed a Warrant for the Execution, and gave it to *Davison* one of her Secretaries, to be passed the Great Seal; which was no sooner done, than repenting the Direction, she told him, *That she would take another Way*. (This was all Grimace; for there was none in *England* that durst have put the Sentence in Execution, notwithstanding what was done, if she had discharged it;) but the Warrant being communicated to the Council, they immediately sent out *Beal* their Clerk, with one or two Executioners, with a Mandate and Letters to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby* and *Cumberland*, to see the same put in Execution.

They with the Sheriff of the Shire, and Justices of the Peace, came to *Fotheringay* the 7th of *February*; and having got Access to the Queen, willed her to prepare her self; for she was to suffer next Morning. She heard them without any Commotion, and with a serene Countenance told them, *That she did not think that Queen Elizabeth her Sister*
would

would have consented to her Death ; but since it was so, Death was most welcome to her ; only I request that I may speak with my Confessor, and Melvil my Steward. Her Confessor was denied her, but they offered her the Bishop or Dean of Peterborough ; but them she refused, saying, *That they being of a different Perswasion, they could not be good Comforters to her ; and therefore she would comfort her self in GOD :* There is so full an Account given of the barbarous Treatment she met with, now in her last Agony, of the Christian Fortitude, Courage and Resignation with which she did bear it, and of all that past at her Execution, by so many Scots and English Historians, and lately a very full one by Mr. *Freebairn*, in his Translation of the History of her Life, that it would be deem'd superfluous in me to trouble the Reader in this Place with it ; I shall only briefly touch it. After she got the fatal News, she ordered her Supper to be made ready sooner than ordinary. She eated it soberly, according to her Custom. When at Supper she observed her Servants weeping ; then she called for a Glafs of Wine, and made them pledge her, which they did on their Knees, mingling their Wine with Tears. After Supper she read over her Testament and Inventory of Goods, and distributed them among her Servants : As also she wrote a Letter to her Son, the King of *France*, the *Guises*, and her Confessor ; then went to Bed, and slept soundly for some Hours, and spent the rest of the Night in Prayer. The fatal Day being come, she was advertised by *Andrews* the Sheriff, betwixt Eight and Nine in the Morning, (when at her Prayers) That the Hour was come ; upon which she rose and went along with him. In the Morning she had caus-

ed dress her self as she was accustomed to do on the highest Festivals; and thus she went chearfully to the Place of Execution; and the Earls and other Gentlemen meeting her in the Way, she shewed a serene Countenance, not in the least dejected; (the Sun never shin'd brighter at Noon-Day, than Majesty did then in her.) But looking grave and devout, and carrying an Ivory Crucifix in her Hands, she went streight to the Hall, the Place appointed for her Execution, supported by two of Sir *Anias Pawlet's* principal Gentlemen, *Melvil* carrying up her Train. She went streight up to the Scaffold, which was two Foot high, and twelve broad, with Rails covered with Black. On it was a low Chair, and a Cushion so covered, as was the Block. She sat down in the Chair; and, without any Commotion heard Queen *Elizabeth's* Commission for her Execution read. Having finished her Devotions, her Maids undressed her; and having covered her Face with a Linen-Cloth, she laid her Head down on the Block; and having repeated over the 31. Psalm, and again unto the fifth Verse, which was the Sign she gave the Executioner, she stretched forth her Hands; and he at the third Stroak separated her Head from her Body. There was one very remarkable Thing happened at her Execution, which ought not to be omitted, the strange and surprising instinct of a little Dog, whom they could never get separated from her, without doing Violence to her Majesty, he sheltering always beneath her Royal Robes; and when the Blood began to flow about him, he leaped some of it, and would never thereafter be induced to taste Meat or Drink, but died for Grief. This is from the Relation to *Cecil* in *Crawford's* Collection

lections, and an Account from another Eye-Witness, printed at *Antwerp, Anno 1588.*

After the Execution the Body was embalmed, and laid in one of the Chambers of the Castle till they should know Queen *Elizabeth's* Will. When the News came to her, she wept, and seem'd to be confounded, and laid the whole Blame upon *Davison*. She order'd her Corpse to be interred after a sumptuous Manner in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough* (a). Thus died that unfortunate Princess, by the Cruelty of her near Kinswoman, after she had detain'd her Prisoner 18 Years, in the 45. Year of her Age, and the same of her Reign, *A. Dom. 1587, February 8th.* Many have given us the Character of this excellent and beautiful Princess, (b) *Spottiswood* says, *She was a Princess indued with rare Vertues, but crossed with all the Crosses of Fortune, which never any did bear with greater Courage and Magnanimity to the last.* Mr. *Thomas Craig* gives us her Character, and he was the fittest to give it of any Man alive at that Time, for these Reasons, first, He was well acquainted with her, and had sitted oft in Council where she was present. He was Advocate to her Son. He was a Man of unquestionable Integrity, and the learnedest Lawyer that was in the Nation at that Time, or has appeared in it since, as his immortal Writings to this Day prove. For these Reasons, I say, his Testimony cannot be reprobated; and therefore I shall give it in his own Words.

He says, *I have often heard the most serene Princess, Mary Queen of Scotland, discourse so appositely, and rationally in all Affairs which were brought before*

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the Privy Council, that she was admired by all. And when most of the Counsellors were silent, being astonished, they straight declared themselves to be of her Opinion; She rebuked them sharply, and exhorted them to speak freely as becomes unprejudiced Counsellors, against her Opinion, that the best Reasons might over-rule their Determinations: And truly her Reasonings were so strong and clear, that she could turn their Hearts to what Side she pleased. She had not studied Law, and yet by the natural Light of her Judgment, when she reasoned of Matter of Equity and Justice, she had oftentimes the Advantage of the ablest Lawyers. Her other Discourses and Actions were suitable to her great Judgment. No Word ever dropt from her Mouth that was not exactly weighed and pondered. As for her Liberality and other Vertues, they were well known. Craig's Answer to Doleman, Cap. 10. p. 84.

I have said she was interred in the Cathedral of Peterborough; and her Funerals were kept most magnificently at Paris, at the Charges of the Guises, who performed all the best Offices of Kindred for their Cousin, both alive and dead. Near to the Grave the following Epitaph was affixed, and immediately taken away.

*MARIA Scotorum Regina, Regiſ filia,
Regis Gallorum vidua; Reginae Angliæ
Agnata & hæres proxima; virtutibus
Regiis & animo regio ornata:*

*Jure regio frustra sæpius implorato, barbarâ
Et tyrannicâ crudelitate, ornamentum noſtri
Seculi, & lumen vere regium extinguitur:*

*Eodemque nefario judicio, & Maria Scotorum Regina,
Morte*

*Morte naturali, & omnes superstites Reges
Plebeii facti, morte civili multantur.*

*Novum & inauditum tumuli genus, in quo
Cum mortuis vivi includuntur, hic extat :*

*Cum sacris enim Divæ Mariæ cineribus, omnium
Regum atque Principum violatam atque prostratam
Majestatem hic jacere scito : & quia tacitum regale
Satis superque Reges sui officii monet,
Plura non addo, Viator.*

1307897

Great Search was made for the Author of this Epitaph, but he could not then be discovered, but afterwards it was found to be composed by the learned *Adam Blackwood*.

Thus was *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, Dowager of *France*, and Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, a Sovereign and independent Princess, subject to no Laws, answerable to no Judge or Judges, but GOD Almighty, whose Vicegerent she was, barbarously murdered by *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, with a Shew and Form of Law ; the Illegality and Barbarity of which has been so fully discussed and laid open by many learned Pens about that Time, that it would be superfluous to say any Thing of it here. Nay, Queen *Elizabeth* was so much ashamed of the Blackness of this Crime, and so much convinced, that by it her Character would be ruined with all the Christian Princes in *Europe*, that she did all that was in her Power to deny her being in the Knowledge of it. She put on deep Mourning, and seemed to lament exceedingly when she was told of the Execution, laid all the Blame of it upon her Secretary *Davison* ; she said, *Tho' she had signed the Warrant for it, yet she had no Mind it should be put in Execution, and that*

she had a Mind to have spared her Life and taken another Course for her own Security.

She immediately dispatched Sir *Robert Cary*, Son to the Lord *Hunsdon* (a) with a mollifying Letter to *K. James*, taking GOD to witness her Innocency, and desiring him to believe so. The King refused him Access to his Presence, of which he acquainted the Queen; and she ordered him in that Case to deliver his Message and Letters to some of his Counsellors. This after a few Days was yielded unto, and with them he delivered a Writing to be shewed to his Majesty, containing the Reasons for her signing the Warrant, vindicating her own Innocency, and laying all the Blame upon *Davison*. This Declaration gave the King no Satisfaction; he took it for *Jest and Mockery*, well knowing that there was no Man in *England* that durst put that Sentence in Execution, without her Order and Knowledge; and her Ambassador returned without seeing the King, or hearing from him. Upon which the Queen, by her Ministers (of which she was always well furnished) dealt so with the Chief of the King's Counsellors and others who were most in Favour with him, as they kept Things from breaking forth into an open Hostility, which was every Day expected; and in the mean Time her Favorite, Secretary *Walsingham* wrote a very long Letter to the Lord *Thirlestane*, a Favorite of more Power with the King than any other about him. It contains the very Reasons that moved the King to forbear Violence, and take a more calm Course: For which Reason *Spottiswood* (b) has set it down *verbatim* from the Original; and it being too long

(a) Spottiswood's Hist. B. 6. p. 357. (b) Idem lib. 6. p. 359.

long to be inserted here, to him shall I direct the curious Reader.

Many People have blamed King *James* for not revenging his Mothers Murder, and has given it as a Mark of his Want of Courage; but those are either very ignorant of his Situation at that Time, or the Condition of the *English* Nation. The Nation of *Scotland* was broke into Parties, the woful Differences among the Nobility, occasioned by the late intestine War, was not then made up. The King had then little more than the Title. Many of the Nobility kept private Correspondence with, and were secret Pensioners of the Queen of *England*. That Nation was never in a more flourishing Condition, nor better furnished with military Men of all Ranks. Then with what Power or Hope of Success could King *James* invade *England*, so powerful a Nation at that Time? He who had not Power enough to oblige the Ministers of *Edinburgh* to pray for his Mother, even in his own Presence, but the least *Mas. John* amongst them, durst bang him from the Pulpit to his Face. The Ministers at that Time had more Power than the King; and 'tis known that they were, and always had been his Mother's mortal Enemies; and if he had endeavoured to raise an Army, they would have opposed it with all their Might. Not to take Notice of his political Reason, his Title to the Crown of *England*, reserved entire to him. Those who please to consider these Reasons, can with no Shew of Reason blame the King for not invading *England* at that Time, or impute it either to his Want of filial Affection or Courage.

And now they or theirs, who had so barbarously destroyed the Mother, thought they had done the

Son such inestimable Service in preserving the supreme Authority to him, and putting the Crown upon his Head, that no Favours or Rewards he could bestow upon them, were equal to their Merit, and would not so much as allow him to look with a smiling Countenance upon any of those loyal and noble Gentlemen, who, according to their Duty and Allegiance had constantly adhered to his Mother's and their Sovereign's Interest. He studying how to shake off these Fetters, and viewing in his Mind all the Families of the prime Nobility, their Deportment in latter and former Times; he finds them distinguished into two Ranks, the one inferior, commonly called Lords, who could not do much of themselves, nor were much to be feared, or regarded for their Power, Followers or Vassals, yet found always some of them to have had a Concern in the Civil Broils and Disturbances of the State, drawn in by, and associated with those of the superior Rank that were more powerful, with whom they were linked by Affinity or Consanguinity.

He likewise found, That the Families of the first Rank were not very numerous at that Time, *viz.* Earls; but afterwards during his Reign, Pride and Ambition increased to that Degree, that many who had neither Power nor Wealth suitable for the Dignity, got themselves exalted to the first Rank, the King easily bestowing Titles upon them, not sufficiently adverting to the Inconveniencies that attended the multiplying of the Nobility. Many private Men likewise following the Example of the Lords, by Money or Interest at Court, got themselves promoted into the two Ranks of Nobles, some of Earls, others of Viscounts, a Degree or Rank of Nobility
infe-

inferior to the Earls, and superior to the Lords. Many also at the Reformation had sacrilegiously seized on the Goods and Lands belonging to the Church; and this was the Bait that brought more to forward the Reformation than any Zeal they had for Religion. The Abbacies, Monasteries and Priors were their Prey; and of those there were not a few, both rich and magnificent. Those *per fas aut nefas* they seized upon; and once having got Possession, they got their Right confirmed by Parliament; and as formerly the *Abbots* and *Priors* had been Lords Spiritual in Parliament, they got themselves made Lords Temporal, taking their Titles and Designations from the Church-Lands they had possessed themselves of; and those Acts were passed in Parliament, *Anno 1587*, wherein they both cheated the unwary Prince and the Clergy, to whom they scarce allowed Subsistence. Afterwards indeed the King perceived the Cheat, but saw he could find no present Remedy to mend it.

Things being in this Condition, and Necessity whetting the King's excellent Wit, he resolves to oblige some of the prime Nobility with such Ties of his Favour and Friendship, as that they might be stedfast and faithful to him on all Occasions. Amongst these the Family of *Huntly* was not the least considerable, which of old by his Predecessor King *James II.* had been honoured with the chief Degree of Nobility; and by the Kings of *Scotland* their Liberality, and Marriages with Heiresses, had grown to a great Height of Power and Wealth. He knew this Family had been always loyal and faithful to their Princes; and when called by them, had performed great and signal Services to them, when they were

under the greatest Difficulties and Dangers. He also knew, that they had adhered constantly and faithfully to his Mother, and never laid down Arms, till there was no more Hopes of doing any Good for her; That it had abstained from the sacrilegious laying Hold on the Churches Goods, wherewith so many had polluted themselves; That its Power and Strength exceeded by far any of those bynorth the *Grampian Hills*, (and was not inferior to any bysouth them, for Number and Courage of Friends and Followers;) and that the Inhabitants of the *North* would chearfully follow *Huntly's* Banner, wherever the Royal Authority should call them.

There were moreover other Cares of great Importance, which rendered the King's Mind sollicitous, *to wit*, his Prospect of succeeding to the Crown of *England* after *Queen Elizabeth's* Death, he being the nearest Heir to the same, and having her reiterated Promises for it. Wherefore he resolved to fortify himself with all the Assistance possible, to make Friends Abroad, and settle Concord among his own Subjects at home, lest when she should happen to die, (as she was already well advanced in Years, being born 7th of *September* 1533, and consequently 55 of Age) the Seditions and Discords in *Scotland* might hinder his peaceable Entry to the Throne of *England*.

Finally, he was not a little anxious about the unbridled Insolency of the Ministers at that Time, who having cast off their Obedience to the Bishops, thought none had Right to controul them for doing what they pleased. They usurp'd the Royal Prerogatives, refus'd to obey the Supreme Authority, set up a Judicature of their own, making daily new Canons and

Laws

Laws (which the Christian World had never heard of before) with which all Ranks of Persons were to be bound, threatening all with the Sentence of Excommunication who should not obey these Canons. And this Excommunication of theirs was twofold, one reaching those who were summoned to appear before them; another of new Invention, which they call'd *Summary*, reaching those whom they did not like, altho' without their Parishes or Congregations, tho' not cited, not heard, nor giving in Defences for themselves. And this was not only Threatnings by Word or Writ, but reduced to Practice with Rigour and Severity, as the Histories of those Times testify and describe. *Vide Spottiswood and Johnston.* They had grown to this Height of Arrogancy by the Regent *Murray's* Indulgence towards them, who made Tools of them to promote his own ambitious Designs; and to recompence them, he (by Parliament) enacted, *That whosoever should be excommunicated by them, should be put to the Horn*, that is, declar'd Rebel to the State; and upon that, unless he submitted and was relax'd, his Goods were to be confiscated to the King's Use. Whence many were in Effect spoiled of their Goods, and many more in great Danger of the same. Nor was there any Remedy against this Tyranny, but the Recovery of the Ministers Favour and Good-will. These Usurpations and Insolences did much vex the King, and never permitted him to have Quietness, till he got the Sceptre of *England* into his Hands; after which his Power increased, and his Reign was more peaceable. But after his Death his Successors have found how difficult, or rather impossible it is, for a Prince to have Peace in a Kingdom where

where People of such Humours and Principles are numerous and powerful.

Huntly being (as I have said) now come to the Age and Capacity of doing his Prince Service, and being married to his near Cousin, and much in his Favour, clearly perceived what a turbulent Time he was to live in, and what Difficulties he had to wrestle with. Some of the Nobility hated him, not for any Offence he had done them, but because it fretted them to see him so much favoured by the King. Others envied him, because of his so much Power and Greatness: Others, because of the Enmities betwixt his Family and the Earl of *Murray*; which tho' the same seem'd to be quenched, yet the Sparks lay only under the Ashes, which small Occasions might in those Days cause to break out into great Flames. And on the other hand being nearly related in Blood and Affinity to many of the chiefest Nobility, he had no small Number of them his Friends. Nor did he all the Time of his Life seek after Employments at Court, or to meddle in Intrigues of State. *Johnston* says of him (a), *Huntlæus homo minime ambitiosus, minime turbidus, sed ad quietem proclivis*. But being oftentimes called to Court against his Inclination, when he had dispatched his Affairs he returned home, and diverted himself with building and bettering his Dwelling-houses, and with the frugal managing of his private Estate.

But the Ministers never ceased to give him all the Trouble in their Power. All the Contrivances and Darts of their Malice were levelled at him above all others. The Cause of their Hatred was, that he was

(a) p. 125.

a *Roman Catholick*, and his Predecessors had opposed with all their Power the violent and rebellious Practices of the Ministers and their Patrons against Queen *Mary*, in her Time, and who yet so persevered in their rebellious Principles, that in their Eyes critical Loyalty was the greatest Crime a Man could be guilty of. The King indeed had no Doubt of his Loyalty and Readiness to do him all the Service in his Power, which besides the Proofs he gave thereof in Deeds, is most evident from many Letters written to *Huntly*, the most part of them with the King's own Hand, in which he most affectionately advises him how to carry in several Emergencies. But of those Letters hereafter.

The Ministers therefore being possess'd with an implacable Hatred against *Huntly*, and many of the Nobility fretting that the King should favour him so much, or rather that the King was endeavouring to guard himself by powerful Friends against their implacable Humour, and against such Affronts, of being intercepted and detained by them, as he had already been, they watch all Opportunities to prejudice *Huntly* and discourte him with the King. Wherefore the Report being spread abroad, *That the Pope and King of Spain had sent Money to the Roman Catholicks in Scotland, for restoring the Catholick Religion, and raising Troubles in the State; (after the Spanish Armado was totally defeated by the English Fleet)* (a) *Huntly's Enemies lay hold on this, and he and Claude Hamilton are accused by Ashby, the Envoy of Queen Elizabeth, to have taken themselves to the Protection of Spain, and that they had sworn Allegiance to*
that

(a) Johnston, p. 136.

that King : That they were hoping for the Destruction of the Kingdom of England, and consequently of all Britain. Their Letters were produced in Council before the King, but forged and signed with the Counterfeit Subscriptions of Huntly and Hamilton, says my Author (a). They being called, and full of Indignation at the Calumny, demonstrate the Letters to be counterfeit, and deny that ever they saw a Farthing of that Money pretended to be sent from the Pope and King of Spain ; yet upon bare Suspicion they are imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh, to please Queen Elizabeth : But Ashby their Accuser failing in his Probation, they are acquitted and incontinently set at Liberty, and the King's Favour continued to them. Huntly renewing the Debate he had with the President of the Session, when he found that by the Deceit of his Enemies and the crafty Contrivances of Chancellor Maitland, Matters were come to that Pass, that the People of Edinburgh were like to rise in a Tumult and beset him in his own Lodgings, he retir'd himself out by another Gate of the City ; and, obtaining Leave from the King, passes over to Dumfermling, and thence to his own Dwelling in the North.

There were several other *Roman* Catholicks as well as *Huntly*, yet the Ministers make him the chief, if not the only Butt of their Malice ; which clearly evinces, that besides Religion, their Hatred sprung from those other Causes I have already mentioned ; for to those others of the same Religion, Conditions of Peace were accorded and accepted of by them, retaining still their Principles ; but no Peace at all for

Huntly

(a) Johnston, p. 136.

Huntly upon any Condition. For the King himself interceeding for him with the Ministers, and alledging many weighty Reasons for allowing him the same Conditions with others ; one Mr. *Robert Bruce*, the Ring-leader of them, desir'd Time to deliberate till To-morrow, which being come, he told the King, *That as to Angus and Errol (two Catholick Earls) Peace might be granted to them, but none at all to Huntly ; That therefore his Majesty might either choice Huntly's Friendship or his.* This Insolence of *Bruce* the King afterwards punished, by banishing him out of the Kingdom (a).

Huntly being much offended at *Askby's* Accusation, and convinced that Chancellor *Maitland* had a great Hand in it, he, with many others of the Nobility, resolves once more to attempt to turn him out of Favour and Employment : *Wherefore combining with Bothwel, Errol, Crawford, Montrose (and Johnston adds Murray, which is not very probable) they resolve to gather Forces for this purpose.* He says, *Huntly gathered a great Army and marched to Perth, and intercepted Glammis the Treasurer ; but hearing that the King was coming against them with Forces, and by Maitland's Advice he had declared them Rebels, they retire with all Speed as far as Aberdeen. The King follows them, they resolve to fight him at the Bridge of Dee ; but how soon he approaches they run all away, and for Fear dispers'd themselves.* After this Manner does *Johnston* relate it, because it seems his Information was from such as knew no more but the Outside of Things:

But

(a) Pitlurg's MS. Hist.

But *Pitlurg*, whose Manuscript seems to give the truest Account of this Affair, and who certainly had the best Information, not only from his Father, who probably was present; but if not, could not miss to know it exactly, being all his Life-time intirely intrusted with all the Affairs of the Family of *Huntly*; nay, he himself might know it, being a young Man at that Time, and in or near *Aberdeen*. He tells us, *That the Association against Maitland and Glamis not taking Effect, for that their Forces could not be timely conjoin'd, Huntly goes to Dumfermling, and thence to Edinburgh to the King; Maitland still defending himself with the King's Presence, was in the Palace at the Time. The Outter-Court was fill'd with Huntly's Train, of many stout and resolute Men. The King and Huntly enter into the Closet, and discourse together of several Matters: His People thought it a fit Occasion to dispatch Maitland; but he for the Respect he carried to the King, would not permit them to attempt any thing against him. The Day following, Maitland informing the King of the Danger he had been in, Huntly is ordered to Prison in the Castle; which he readily obeys. Errol and Bothwel are cited to appear; and they refusing, are declared Out-Laws. Montrose and Crawford excusing themselves by their Friends for what was past, and promising to live quietly in Time coming, are pardoned. After a few Days, Huntly is set at Liberty, and takes Journey home; and on the Way meeting with Crawford, and they bearing that Glamis, Maitland's intimate Friend and their Enemy, was not far off, they resolve to find him out. He perceiving the Danger, flees to the House of one of his Friends at hand. They approach and offer Violence, which he not being able to resist, yields him-*

himself to Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindown, his Kinsman and Huntly's Uncle; and he treating him with all Civility, takes him along to his House; and after he had staid there some Weeks, sends him home again with a honourable Convoy.

After this the Crime of Religion, or being *Catholicks*, is pursued with rigorous Edicts. *Huntly* keeps himself at home; *Errol*, who had considerable Possessions in the North, comes to visit *Huntly*; *Crawford* was with him also. Their Enemies oblige the King to send an Army against them, and to authorize it with his own Person. Queen *Elizabeth* still sollicitates him to prosecute the Popish Lords, that he might not seem a Favourer of *Roman Catholicks* against the established Laws: For to favour Papists, or Popishly inclin'd Persons, was an Imputation wherewith they ceased not to decry him then, and to alienate the People's Hearts from him: Nor have they ceased since so to decry his Successors, and on that Pretext to raise Rebellions against them.

The King thus against his Inclination goes with 1500 Men towards the North, and these Lords arm for their own Defence, and rendezvous at *Aberdeen* to the Number of 3000; then march to the Bridge of *Dee*, two Miles South of the Town. The King lay at *Cowie* that Night, ten Miles distant; and on the Morrow, fearing no Danger, orders to march forward. *Huntly* on the other hand considering how his Enemies Confidence was so nearly joined with the great Danger of the King's Person, began to be doubtful what to do, and calls his Associates to consult on the Matter, tho' all depended on himself; for *Crawford* had few or none with him, except his ordinary Domesticks; *Errol* had likewise but few with him:

him : *Huntly* represents to them, That he doubted nothing of the Event, if they should come to engage in Battle, the Victory, according to humane Probability, would be theirs ; but he would not have the Victory gain'd with the manifest Danger of the King's Person, being in the midst of his Enemies ; and when both Parties should engage in Battle, who could in such a Confusion be secure of the King's Person and Safety ? And no doubt his Majesty would easily reflect, that it was only the Reverence to his Person that made them let pass so fair an Occasion to repress the Fury of their Enemies, so far inferior in Number to them. Therefore it was fit to disband their Army, and let the King enter peaceably into the Country, and wait for better Times ; all humane Affairs being subject to Change, and nothing yet done which might not be easily pardoned. The Earl of Crawford was of the same Sentiments : But *Errol*, a bold and forward Man, not knowing the private Correspondence between the King and *Huntly*, fretted exceedingly, that so fair an Occasion as might never offer afterwards, should be let slip ; That their Enemies would judge this their Retreat so ignominious and shameful, and so unbecoming Men of Courage, to have proceeded only from Fear, (as they did indeed, and *Johnston* in his History ascribes it to Cowardice ; whereas *Huntly* and *Errol* both of them were Men of as good Courage as any in Scotland, as will hereafter appear.) And that therefore they should resolve to conquer without much Blood-shed, or hazard something, notwithstanding any Danger. But *Huntly's* Opinion prevailing, their Army is dissolved, and every one retires to their own home. The King goes to *Aberdeen*, *Huntly* is call'd to Court, delays to come ; the King resolves to demolish his Houses and

Castles, and marches toward them, but *Huntly* meets him in the Way, is secured and sent to *Edinburgh*; *Errol*, *Crawford* and *Bothwel* are likewise sent to Prison: And the King passing some Time in Divertisements through *Ross*, *Murray* and *Mar*, returns to *Aberdeen*, and thence to *Edinburgh*. These Things happened in the Month of *April* 1589.

The King's Marriage with *Anne* of *Denmark* being concluded, and the Earl *Marischal* sent to personate the King, a Subsidy is required, and readily granted, and cheerfully paid by the People, desirous of nothing more than the Continuance of the Royal Succession in the right Line. *Huntly* and the other Lords are called to appear in Judgment, and accus'd of Lese-Majesty, of Seditious, hostile Tumults, and receiving Money from the King of *Spain* to make War against the Country. *Huntly*, who was first called, boldly denies this last Point, confesses the Convocation or Tumult, and Association with *Crawford*, *Errol* and *Bothwel*, and submits himself to the King's Clemency; and is immediately removed. Then *Crawford* and *Bothwel* answer, They had taken Arms for their own Defence against *Maitland* their insolent and arrogant Enemy, a wicked flagitious Man, a Hater of the Nobility as well as hated by them, and that they had in no wise taken Arms against the King or his Security. Other Points of the Accusation they deny. The Votes of the Jury being required late at Night, *Maitland* not concealing his Spite against them, they are all three condemned for raising Tumult against the Common-weal; but the King pardons them all, and calling them to his Chamber, exhorts them to carry themselves modestly, and to continue constant in their Duty and Fidelity to him, and gives them Af-

furance of his especial Favour. *Comites nuper mortuū destinatos in summa gratia habuit*, says *Johnston (a)*.

The Ministers hold a Synod, and depose the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, for marrying *Huntly* and his Lady who were Papists, notwithstanding the King had commanded him to do it. The King hearing that his Queen on her Voyage to *Scotland* was driven back to *Norway* by a Tempest, resolves to go thither himself, but keeps his Resolutions secret till he embarks (after he had left Order for the Government of the State in his Absence) in the Beginning of Winter, and arriving safe in *Norway*, not far from *Opflo*, where the Queen remained; and on the *Sunday* following, the Marriage was solemnized in his own Person, *Mr. David Lindsay* performing the Ceremony: And being invited to the King of *Denmark's* Court, he with his Queen went thither a little after; and having staid there during the Winter, he returns home, and arrived with the Queen safely at *Leith*, *May 20. 1590*, to the great Joy of all the Nation; and the *Sunday* following she was crowned in the *Abbey Church of Holy-wood-house*, with all usual Solemnities, by *Mr. Robert Bruce*.

In this Year 1590, there happened Occasions of a bloody Enmity betwixt the Families of *Huntly* and *Murray*, which, for the Reasons before mentioned, had no good Will one to another. The Earl of *Murray* Regent left only a Daughter to succeed him as Heiress, who was married to one of the Name of *Stewart* of the Family of *Ochiltree*, intitled *Lord Down* from a Castle of that Name in *Strathern*: This Lord had a Quarrel with *Huntly* before his

Mar-

(a) p. 140.

Marriage, and after he came to be Earl of *Murray*, their Clients and Vassals discording, obliged the Patrons to espouse their Interests; and the Occasion happened in this Manner:

John Gordon, Brother to the Baron of *Cluny*, a late Cadet of *Huntly's* Family, had married the Widow of *Grant* of *Ballandalloch*, and he craving the Rents due to the Dowager his Lady out of the Lands of *Ballandallach* (a), falls at Variance about the same with the Tutor; and coming to Blows, one of *Gordon's* Servants is kill'd. For which Slaughter, a legal Process is intented against the Tutor, who not compearing before the Justiciary, is declared Fugitive, and a Mandate is directed from them to *Huntly* to search for him, and bring him to the Justice-Court. He pursues him and takes the Castle of *Balandalloch*; which the whole Tribe of *Grants* take as a great Affront done to them all, and call to their Assistance the *Clan-Chattan*, Neighbours to them in the Highlands, and their Kinsmen, and many of them Dependents of the Earl of *Murray*. They draw also into their Association many of the *Dunbars*, whose Dwellings lay betwixt *Inverness* and *Forres*, and all these take the Earl of *Murray* to be their Patron, and complain to him of the Affront done to them by the Earl of *Huntly*; which was to be repaired by Force, what could not be done by Law. He not sufficiently considering what a Task he took in hand, by engaging to patronize them, undertakes their Cause; and to strengthen himself the more, calls to his Assistance the Earl of *Atbole*, who then possess'd *Balveny*, upon the South Bank of *Spey*, and all of them appoint a Day

(a) Gordonston's MS.

of Meeting at *Forres* to consult about their common Quarrel.

Huntly being inform'd of this, taking with him as many Men as might be sufficient to dissipate the Convocation, marches quickly towards *Forres* (a); which they at their Meeting getting Notice of, disperse themselves whither they thought best. *Huntly* thinking to overtake some of them, pursues to *Murray's* Castle of *Tarnway*; and some of his Company approaching too near, within the Reach of small Shot from the Windows (*Murray* himself being absent) a Bullet shot from thence wounds the same *John Gordon*, upon whose Account the Quarrel began, deadly in the Head; who being carried off by his People, *Huntly* prepares himself for Revenge. The King getting Notice of this, and fearing it might notably disturb the Peace of the North Parts, commands both Parties to cease from Hostilities, and remit the Matter to the Determination of the Law before the Judges competent, under the Pain of being reputed Enemies to the publick Peace of the Kingdom; and causes summon both Parties, to give Bail for the Peace. *Huntly* being now reconciled with *Maitland*, was consequently superior to the other Party both as to Interest and Favour at Court, and as to his own Power at home; and could hardly be pacified or restrained from taking Revenge of the Wrongs done him, which he pretended he could not in Honour sit with. The King answers him, *That it was not just he was aiming at*; and perswaded him to lay aside the Desire of Revenge of his small Injuries, not worthy to be put in the Ballance with the publick Good and Peace of the Coun-

(a) Spottiswood, Book 6. p. 383.

Country (a). Thus this Bustle was quieted at this Time, till afterwards those Things happened by which all Bonds of Peace were broke in these Parts; which before I mention, 'tis fit to premise a little concerning the Earl of *Bothwel*.

He was a Man to whom the Writers of these Times give no good Character, and the King wishing him well, had often pardon'd him, in Hopes of his Amendment. He was highly offended at Chancellor *Maitland*, as well as most of the Nobility were, and had oftimes accused him of many ill Things; and finding all his Remonstrances in vain, he resolves to dispatch him from the World, or at least discourte him with the King: And *Maitland* knowing this, with wary Counsels guards himself against all *Bothwel*'s Snares and Machinations, and projects to be avenged of him by his Destruction.

About this Time it happened that some Persons were accused of *Sorcery* or *Witchcraft*, and many found guilty of familiar Conversation with the Devil (b). Among others that were in Prison on this Account, one *Agnes Simson*, who without being put to Torture confesses many Things, and amongst others, that *Bothwel* had consulted her concerning the King's Life, *How long he was to live? What Manner of Death he was to die? Who should succeed him? And what should happen thereafter?* declaring, She could never learn any thing certain or positive from the wicked Spirit whom she had Familiarity with, concerning the King (c), but still got ambiguous Answers: And being again and again urged by her to

D 3

say

(a) Johnston, p. 150. (b) Idem. (c) Spottiswood, Book 6. p. 303.

say something clear and determinate, the wicked Spirit said, *Il' est homme de Dieu*; and after that would answer her no more on that Subject. Which Words being *French*, the Woman knew not the Meaning, but only retained them in her Memory. The same Things of *Bothwel* did *Richard Graham*, another Sorcerer, declare likewise in his Confession before the Judges. Upon this *Bothwel* is imprisoned in *Edinburgh Castle*, but he is scarce a Month there when, bribing his Keepers, he makes his Escape. He is declared Fugitive, guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge, and intercommun'd; and, as 'tis usual to those who are turn'd out of Court, or does not succeed in their Pretensions to the Favour of it, to ascribe their Misfortunes to the Ministers of State, or the King's Favourites; so *Bothwel* being disgrac'd, attributes the same to Chancellor *Maitland*, who had the greatest Stroke with the King, and was his (*Bothwel's*) greatest Enemy. There were others likewise at Court to whom *Maitland's* excessive Power was a great Eye-sore. They advertise *Bothwel*, *That if he could have the Confidence to come, they had found the Way to introduce him into the Palace of Holyrood-house, where the King lodged, from whom he might beg and obtain Pardon for bygone Faults, and secure himself of Maitland.* To which he easily goes in, and gathering a good Company of his surest Friends, comes when it was Night to *Edinburgh*; and coming near to the Palace, commanded all to alight from their Horses, that it might seem only to be some eminent Person, with his Retinue, (as was the Custom of Noblemen in these Times, to walk the Streets with great Companies of their Friends, Clients and Dependents about them) rather than any hostile

Attempt, he is let in at the Postern Gate by one of his Confidants, and lays hold on the Servants that he meets with, first kills *John Schaw* a Groom of the Stable, and fills all with Noise and Tumult in the Dark of the Night, and assaults *Maitland* in his Apartment, who is stoutly defended by his Domesticks, and the Assaulters repulsed. In the mean Time, *James Douglas* of *Spot* (a) had got the Door of the King's Lodgings broke up, and taken the Keys from the Porter, and fought narrowly after *George Hume* a Favourite (afterwards Earl of *Dumbar*) his capital Enemy: But he at the first Noise of the Tumult being apprehensive, had run into the Closet with the King himself. The Assailants endeavour with Hammers to break the Doors where the King was, but the Servants endeavour to secure them the best they could, and take Arms for Defence. The Noise of the Tumult being spread in the City, the People assemble in great Numbers with Lights to the Palace; which *Bothwel's* Party seeing, make for their Horses, and flie what Way they thought securest: Eight of them were taken and hang'd the next Day.

Bothwel flies to the *Isle* of *Bute* with the chief of his Accomplices (b), and the King having Notice thereof, sends the Duke of *Lennox* and the Earl of *Huntly*, with their Followers, to apprehend him. But many People having a good Will to him, the Rumour of their Design out-runs all the Haste they could make in their March, and he escapes. They apprehend *Stewart* Sheriff of *Bute*, one of *Bothwel's* Associates, and bring him Prisoner along with them; and he repenting, and promising Fidelity in Time com-

(a) Spottiswood, Book 6. p. 159. (b) Id. ibid.

ing, is dismiss'd. Then *Sandilands*, one of the King's Domesticks and Governor of *Bute*, is sent with a Party to catch *Bothwel* and his Adherents by Snares or Stratagems: But that not succeeding, they pursue them by Force; and getting hold of some, they execute Justice upon them, and obliged *Bothwel* himself to flee into *England*, where he staid not long, but returns to *Scotland*, and lurks very close with the Earl of *Murray*; yet not so close, but Notice thereof comes to the King and *Maitland*.

At the same Time the King having before projected to make an Agreement betwixt *Huntly* (then at Court) and *Murray*, orders *Andrew Stewart* of *Ochiltree*, *Murray's* Kinsman, to go and bring him to *Edinburgh* for this End; and while he is going about this, the Report is spread, That *Murray* had concurred with *Bothwel* in the Attempt on *Holy-roodhouse*; That he was known by some Persons that same Night in the Palace, and was at present not far off, but only some 8 Miles, at his Mother's House of *Dunbirsfel*, on the other Side of the Firth. At which the King flew into an extreme Passion, having as it was reported other just Grounds of Indignation against him besides; and calling for *Huntly*, commands him to go and bring the Earl of *Murray* with him, to vindicate himself of what he was to be accused of; and if he refused to come, to bring him by Force: *Aut se venire renuat vim faciat*, says *Pitlurg's* Manuscript. He readily goes to perform what was commanded him; and being come to *Leith*, takes Boat. He communicates his Purpose to the most prudent and faithful of his Friends, especially to *John Gordon* of *Buckie*, who asks, Where was the King's Mandate to be his Warrant? He answers, he had not

not sought a Warrant in Writ, judging the King's Word sufficient Security. *Buckie* replies, *That it was indeed sufficient as to the King himself, who surely would not forget his Word, but not sufficient as to his Successors, who might question and call him to account (as Charles I. actually did) for what Reasons, or by Virtue of whose Order he had done such a Thing.* Whereupon *Buckie* is posted back to *Edinburgh*, to bring the Order in Writ, *Prætor digredienti mandata interficiendi Moravii dedisse creditur*, says *Johnston* (a). Which being done, they take Boats prepared before by the Chancellor's Diligence, and arrive at *Dunbyrnessel* in the Twilight of the Evening. *Murray* hearing of *Huntly's* coming, had caused secure the Gates, was on his Guard, and made ready for Defence. *John Gordon* Brother to the Baron of *Gight*, a Man of great Courage, trained up in the Wars in *Flanders*, and advanced there to military Preferments, breaks before all others into the Court, calls aloud to *Murray*, *That they were come thither to invite him to treat for composing Matters; That Huntly had the King's Order to conduct him to his Presence; that therefore he would obey without Repugnancy, assuring him he should sustain no Prejudice from them; That it would be in vain for him to refuse Obedience, since they were stronger than he, and had Orders to use Violence in Case he refused to obey.* While he was thus talking, one from the Windows fires, and gives him a deadly Wound (b). His Friends thereby being much exasperated, sets Fire to the House, and fills all with Smoak and Flames; whereupon those within give over Defence; many yield

(a) P. 159. (b) Gordonston's M. S. Hist.

yield and are saved, others make their Escape by secret Ways known to themselves. It was by this Time dark, being in the Month of *February*; *Murray* himself being resolved not to yield, runs down a back Passage into the Garden, and from thence to the Sea-Shore to seek a Boat; and finding none, lurks among the Rocks; Search being made after those who escaped, *Murray* is found out by a Spark of Fire which had stuck to the Top of his Helmet; and, refusing to be Prisoner, is killed by one who knew not what he was. *Gordonston* says it was by the Barons of *Cluny* and *Gight*; the first whereof had his Brother killed at *Tarnway*, and the last, his Brother mortally wounded in his Sight; and being a bold passionate Man, could not but be thereby much provoked. Thus fell *Murray*, much against *Huntly's* Inclination, who was most desirous to have carried him safe to the King; but could not prevent what had happened in the Dark. *Dumbar* Sheriff of *Murray* was likewise killed after the same Manner.

These Things being done, *Huntly* deliberates on what he was to do next. To return to the King was not safe for him, there being many about his Majesty, who before had concealed their Hatred, seeing him so much in his Prince's Favour, but would now declare themselves open Enemies. Nor could he for his Vindication produce his Warrant; for that would have turned the Odium of the Matter upon the King, which infallibly would have involved him into great Danger & Contempt, & consequently made him lose the King's Friendship. Neither was it safe for him to stay in that Part of the Country, where all were his Enemies, betwixt two Firths, with so few Men about him. *Pitlurg* says, they exceeded not 50, but all most brave and resolute

resolute Men; and he could not but be well informed by several Gentlemen that were present: Yet *Johnston* calls them 120; but they were too few to defend him there. Wherefore, resting that Night in the adjacent Village, he sent over *John Gordon* of *Buckie* to advertise the King and Chancellor of what had happened, and early next Morning dismissing the Prisoners without Ransom, he marches by *Perth* to his own Country, there to stay till he should hear from the King. When *Buckie* went to *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Murray*'s Death had made such a Noise and Tumult there, that he was forced to retire privately out of the Town, and for some Time quite his Service; for he was then Master of Household to the King. *Huntly* also left Captain *John Gordon* in his Wounds at *Inverkeitbing*, where he was seized, and brought to *Edinburgh*, and beheaded in his Wounds, tho' mortal: And to all this, (the Clamour was so great) the King was obliged to give Way.

Many indeed were offended at this Slaughter, but the greatest Indignation of the People on this Account, was against the Chancellor, as the Author of this Tragedy; and there is no Doubt but that it was of his Contrivance; and that he perswaded the King to employ *Huntly* in it, not out of any Goodwill to him; for tho' the King reconciled them outwardly, yet they still were no more Friends than Courtiers commonly are, who hate one another most; for there was no Man he feared so much to be outcourted by as *Huntly*, because of the great Favour he was in with the King (a). So bitter were the Invectives
and

(a) *Johnston*, p. 160.

and Exclamations against all those who had any Hand in this Affair, that the King, wearied with them, thought fit to retire to *Falkland*, his House of Pleasure in *Fife*, and afterwards to *Glasgow*, where *Elphinston*, *Huntly's* Friend, supplicates the King, That he and his Adherents, Contrivers and Actors of the Slaughter, might be brought to Trial; and that the Widow, Mother and Children of the Defunct might be present or send their Procurators to be Accusers (a). The King orders the Trial to be gone about; and when the Day prefixed for it drew near, and *Huntly* was on the Way to compear, he is commanded to Prison in *Blackness*, till the Day should come; which being come, and the Accusers not appearing, he finds Surety (b) to present himself when called to Judgment, and is within a few Days set at Liberty again.

Not long after this the *Clan-Chattan*, or Tribe of *Mackintosh*, the Tribe of the *Grants*, with several others of the Vassals of the Earl of *Murray*, who dwelt near *Huntly's* Lands, combine together to kill *Huntly*, or at least destroy his Lands and Tenants (c). *Angus Mac William*, one of the *Clan-Chattan*, breaks into *Mar*, towards the Head of *Dee*, spoils the Countries of *Strath-Dee* and *Glenmuick* belonging to *Huntly*, and killed four of the Sirname of *Gordon*, *Henry Gordon* of *Knock*, *Alexander Gordon* of *Toldow*, *Thomas Gordon* of *Blairchaross*; and at last enters the House of *Alexander Gordon* of *Brachly*, who entertains him civilly, being a Gentleman much commended for his Hospitality, whose House was always open to Strangers. He was then very old, and had never
done

(a) *Johnston*, 161. (b) *Id. ibid.* (c) *Gordonston's MS.* *Straloch's MS.*

done Wrong to any (a), nor meddled with the Quarrels and Discords of others; yet those *Clan-Chattan* kill him, his Children and Servants, and carry all they could find in his House away with them. But this was not all; *Angus* the Son of *Lachlan*, Chief of the *Clan-Chattan*, with a great Party, attempts to surprize the Castle of *Ruthven* in *Badenoch*, belonging to *Huntly*, in which there was but a small Garison. But finding his Attempt could neither by Force or Fraud have Success, he retires a little to consult how to compass his Intent; and, in the mean Time one creeps out under the Shelter of some Ruins, and levels his Piece at one of the *Clan-Chattan*, clothed in a yellow Waist-coat (which among them is the Badge of Chiftains, or Heads of Clans) and piercing his Body with the Bullet, struck him down dead to the Ground, and retires with Gladness to the Castle. The Man killed was *Angus* himself, whom his People carry away and conceal his Death for many Years, pretending he was gone abroad.

Huntly taking these Things ill, sends *Allan Macdonald* against the *Clan-Chattan* in *Badenoch*, and *MacRonald* against the *Grants*. The first defeats his Enemies with the Slaughter of 50 of them, and the last his, with the Slaughter of 18, and destroys their Country with Fire and Sword. These bad Successes do not make those turbulent People cease from molesting *Huntly*; for next they march towards those of his Lands, which lay nearest to *Strathbogie*, his ordinary Residence; but the Country People stop them from making any Slaughter or Depredations. *William Mackintosh*, who commanded them, was lying
in

(a) Johnston, p. 161.

in the *Cabroch* with 800 Men, on the Head of the River of *Dovern*; of which *Huntly* being advertised that they had invaded the Lands of *Auchindown*; he, with his Uncle Sir *Patrick Gordon* of *Achindown*, with only 36 Horsemen, makes all imaginable Haste towards them, overtakes them in the *Cabroch*, upon the Height of a Hill called the *Staple*; and, with the few Men he had, charges them vigorously, defeats them, and kills above 60 of them, and wounds a great many, among whom was their Captain *William* the Son of *Lachlan*, the Head of that Tribe.

Then *Huntly* assembling a greater Number of his People, who had not been at this Skirmish, marches towards *Badenoch*; upon whose Approach those of the *Clan-Chattan*, who were his Vassals, fly away; and he calls in for the *Camerons*, Inhabitants of *Lochaber*, his own Vassals and Tenants; and with these he marches speedily by the Mountains down upon the Country, to a Castle near *Inverness*, call'd *Petty*, belonging to the Earl of *Murray*, fertile in Corns and Cattle, and possessed for the most part by the *Mackintoshes*, who not dreaming of his coming, are surprized, and many of them killed in their Houses, their Houses burnt, their Cattle, Sheep and Goods made Spoil of, and carried away by the *Clan-Cameron*, their ancient Enemies; and *Huntly* returns Home through *Murray*, without doing Harm to any other Person.

The King hearing of these Things, sends the Earl of *Angus*, commissioned as his Lieutenant, to pacify these Tumults in the North, and to suppress those mutual Inroads of the discording Parties, on one another, and warn both Parties to cease from all Hostilities. He makes all Haste to the *North*, and with his Diligence and Industry, quiets the Tumults,

calms

calms their Fury, by the Authority of the King, remonstrating to them the Inconveniencies arising from their Divisions. He obliged *Atbole* and *Mackintosh* to leave *Murray*, and to go to the Country about *Dunkeld*, belonging to *Atbole*, exhorting them to lay aside Revenge, and forget the killing of the Earl of *Murray*. He entreats *Huntly* to lay aside his Inclinations to fighting, and to go to *Aberdeen*, to remove with his Absence the Occasions of Trouble. He answers, *That nothing was more dear and venerable to him than the King's Authority; That from his Childhood he had endeavoured to do nothing but what his Majesty might be pleased with; and therefore he should most cheerfully obey*: So both Parties are quiet, and *Angus* returns with great Applause to the King.

The Earl of *Angus* had not rested long in *Edinburgh*, when the Provost comes to his Lodging, takes him thence, and carries him Prisoner to the Castle. Before I give the Cause of this, I must borrow some of *Johnston's* Words, which will make it be better understood (a). He says, before he narrates the Occasion of this Imprisonment, *That about this Time some fiery and furious Ministers, ignei & furiosi, taking a new Boldness of pushing the Vulgar whither they would, as often as they prayed for the King, the Kirk, the People, as often they cursed and execrated Philip and his Kingdoms, and the whole Name and Race of Spaniards; and threaten, that if any private Man or Magistrate should thenceforth trade with Spain, they would excommunicate him; and the Reason of this their Decree was, lest by the Custom of trading to that Place, they might come to change their Religion.*
Many

(a) P. 170. N. 40.

Many Merchants being frighted at this, address the King, shewing how they were inhibited to follow a very gainful Trade. In the mean Time they had not cleared their Accompts with their Correspondents; and that hereupon the Importation of Money, and the Customs and publick Revenue must of Necessity be diminished. The King admonishes the Ministers to meddle only with sacred Things, and not to intoxicate the giddy and ignorant Vulgar with false Rumors, and push them on to commit Crimes.

Another Controversy arose in many Towns of Scotland, especially Edinburgh. Of a long Time before there was a weekly Market upon Monday. The Ministers preached, That it was not fit that the Market should stand upon that Day; and therefore henceforth that it should not, because that People flocking to it from afar on every Side, did profane the City, and the LORD'S Day appointed for divine Worship: But the Magistrates and Artificers looking to their Gain, would not change the Market-Day established by the supreme Authority. The Ministers, whose Tongues were ready and skilful to excite the Rabble, when they could not get their Will in these two Things, they rage and roar in their Pulpits; and upon this an Act of Council is emitted, ordaining them not to meddle in their Sermons with any Thing belonging to the State, nor to broach idle Reports and groundless Rumours to the Multitude, but to give Notice to the Council of any Thing they judged of Importance. Next, Out of their Zeal, all the Papists that were called trafficking Papists, (that is, endeavouring to make Profelytes) being commanded to depart the Kingdom, they excommunicate them; and being excommunicate, they were held as

condemned Persons; and all good Protestants fled from their Company and Conversation; all the Acts of Parliament against Papists, they most diligently put in Execution (says *Johnston*.) All this was a very proper Preparation for their ensuing sham Plot, which was the Occasion of the Earl of *Angus* his Imprisonment. And thus it was (a),

William Crichton, a Scots Jesuite, fled out of *Scotland* to *Spain*, and there to ingratiate himself with *Philip* King of *Spain*, writes a Book, wherein he endeavours to prove, that the *Infanta* of *Spain* had a just Title to the Crowns of *Scotland* and *England*. This *Crichton* writeth from *Spain* to a Relation of his in *Scotland*, one *Mr. George Car*, a Doctor of the Civil Law, and to some Jesuites, Anno 1592, shewing them, That he was in great Favour with the King of *Spain*, and that he had perswaded him to invade *Scotland* in the Right of the *Infanta*, married to the Arch-Duke. But first the King of *Spain* would be assured of the Good-will of the Catholicks in *Scotland*; therefore he behoved to have certain Blanks subscribed by them, to shew the King, which he was to see filled up; which if they did, he promised that the King of *Spain* would send into *Scotland* 250000 Crowns to be divided amongst them.

Car being at *Air* ready to embark for *Spain*, is apprehended, carrying over these Letters and Blanks, which *Crichton* and he had devised, and alledged to be subscribed by the following Persons:

*De vostre Majesté, tres-humble
et tres-obeissant Serviteur.*

GUILLAUME Compt de Angus.

E

Ans-

Another, *De vostre Majesté tres-humble
 & tres-obeissant Serviteur,*
 FRANCIS Coumpt de Errol.

Another, GULIELMUS, Angusiæ Comes.
 Another, GEORGIUS, Comes de Huntly,

Two other Blanks were subscribed in the midst of two open Sheets of Paper, as it were by Way of Contract or Obligation thus,

GULIELMUS, Angusiæ Comes.

GEORGIUS, Comes de Huntly.

FRANCISCUS, Erroliaë Comes.

PATRICIUS GORDON de Achindown, Miles.

These Blanks and Letters, said to be signed by these three Earls, intimated in the Name of all the Roman Catholicks in *Scotland*, that they were to be ready in Arms in the Month of *June* 1593, to receive the *Spanish* King's Army, which they advised to be sent into *Scotland*. This Army was to consist of 30000 Men; they were to have landed at the Mouth of *Clyde*, or at *Kirkcudbright* in *Galloway*; one Half to remain in *Scotland*, to restore the Popish Religion there, and the other Half by a short Land March, to enter *England*, accompanied by the *Scots*, until they should be joined by the *English* Catholicks. The Bearer *Car* being imprisoned, and interrogate, confesses nothing of the Conspiracy; but soon after, by the Fear of Torture, they force him to acknowledge whatsoever they had a-mind he should say. The Earl of *Angus* being interrogate

in Prison, denies all as Falsities and Fictions, contrived to involve many of the chief Nobility in the Guilt of Treason. *Graham*, Baron of *Fintry* (being accused of the Plot) confessed what they pleased, throwing himself on the King's Mercy, thereby thinking to save his Life. But he was mistaken; and so with great Constancy, whether being conscious to himself of his own Innocency, or weary of the World, had his Head struck off with an Ax, *Non sine vario animorum metu*, February 16. 1592. And *Car* for his Discovery had his Life spared (a).

The Rumour of this Plot becomes the common Subject of the Discourse of all Ranks of Persons; the Ministers alarm'd for the Danger of the Kirk, require the Noblemen Conspirators to be brought to condign Punishment. The Vulgar execrate this wicked Conjurament. *Bowes*, the Queen of *England's* Ambassador, presses the King to do Justice on the Conspirators. He being oppressed with all these Clamours and Sollicitations, gathers some Forces; and, in the deep Snow of Winter, marches to the North, as far as *Aberdeen*. The three Popish Earls (for *Angus* had made his Escape from Prison) retire to the Mountains, and lurk there. Horsemen are sent every where to search and apprehend them, but they could not be found. The King calls a Council of all the North at *Aberdeen*, where he speaks of the Conspiracy, and blank Papers, and inveighs against the Conspirators, and exhorts them to abide in their Duty, and to prosecute the publick Injuries. Then he requires Surety from those suspected. Many give Surety, and promise their Assistance. They who

(a) Johnston, p. 171.

were cited and compeared not, or refused to give Surety, were judged guilty; and for what remained to be done *Marishal* was left on the South-side of *Spey*, and *Atbole* on the North-side.

Most part who were Enemies to the Popish Lords, would have the King to demolish *Slaines* and *Strathbogie*, Castles belonging to *Errol* and *Huntly*: But their Ladies made their Address to the King, and got them spared for their own and Childrens Use. Impartial Persons commended the King's Clemency: But the Ministers, accustomed to think and speak ill of the King, ceased not to brawl against him most bitterly. *Still from that Day*, says *Johnston* (a) *their Sermons were turned against him; those of the before-mentioned Bruce were fierce; those of the Melvins at St. Andrews turbulent; those of Davidfon, forward and seditious; those of Black and Rofs, most furious and pernicious. Moderate People were amaz'd to bear such mad Sermons, their Ears loathed them, and their Minds disdain'd them, and they were struck with Horror at the very Remembrance of Rofs's Sermon.*

The King was necessitated to seem highly concerned at this pretended Plot; and by rigorous Proclamations, threatens he would spare none who should be found to have any Hand in it. The wiser Sort judged it to be a Sham, patcht up by those who had not sufficient Knowledge and Experience in State Matters, because it contained Things incredible to any who knew well the State of *Europe* at that present Time. The King of *Spain* had four Years before lost a Navy, the greatest, the most formidable, the best provided for War, that had ever been seen on
the

the Northern Sea ; on which he had spent such vast Expence, as might have exhausted the Treasures of a greater Monarch, there being spent such vast Sums upon it. In this Navy there were 28000 Men, most of whom perished one Way or another. Such a Loss could not be so easily or so soon recovered, especially from an exhausted Treasury, as to send out four Years thereafter other 30000 Men, and such a Navy as was sufficient to transport them, and secure their landing. Queen *Elizabeth* had very shortly before the Discovery of the pretended Plot, sent a Fleet to the Coast of *Spain*, which had taken some of the Islands there, and burnt a great many Ships lying at Anchor in a Bay. The whole Western Ocean was so molested with *English* and *Dutch* Fleets, and all Kinds of Pirates, that *Spain* could get but very bad Account of the Wealth that it used to receive from *America*. The Wars in *Flanders* did continually exhaust its Soldiers and Treasures. The King of *Spain* had likewise meddled himself in the Civil Wars of *France*, which helped not a little to drain his Kingdom of Men and Money.

What Man of Sense could believe that *Philip*, a wary Prince, not used to trust to Fortune much, would at the Desires and Intreaties of a few *Scots* Noblemen, scarce known to him by Name, undertake so great an Enterprize, after so late bad Success in the like. An Enterprize of 30000 Men, when *Spain* at that Time was not able to furnish 1000, much less such a Fleet as would be needful for their safe Transport. Who could believe he would find Pilots and Seamen to conduct this Fleet through these dangerous and narrow Seas, betwixt *Britain* and *Ireland*? All these Things being pondered in the Ballance of

Reason, made reflecting Persons see, that this Plot of a *Spanish* Invasion, was farced up with Falshood and Impossibilities, by People ignorant of the Affairs of *Europe*.

George Car (a) having exæmed himself from Torture and Death, by acknowledging what they pleased, to make their Plot be credited by the *Vulgar*, afterwards, when he was at Liberty, writes a Letter with his own Hand to the Laird of *Achindown*, Begging Pardon for what he had said in Prison, against his and others Honour, and declaring the same to be false and extorted by Fear of Torments and Death. This Letter is yet extant, tho' some Words of it cannot be read. I have inserted a Copy of it in the *Append. N. 2.* with a Copy of *Car's* Declaration, written and signed with his own Hand. So that in fine this Plot was look'd upon even at that Time, to be nothing but Sham and Grimace, by all indifferent People. The King in Effect gave no Credit to it, tho' he was obliged to dissemble a little to please the turbulent Church-men, who would needs have this Discovery of *Car's* to serve for the End it was extorted from him, to wit, the Persecution of those Popish Lords; wherefore they hold a provincial Synod at *St. Andrews*, and there excommunicate *Huntly*, *Errol*, *Angus*, &c. tho none of them had a Foot of Ground within the Diocess of *St. Andrews*. This Insolence of theirs was very displeasing to many, but especially to the King, who, as he was going to *Fedburgh*, *Huntly*, *Angus* and *Errol* meet him, and supplicate, That he would give them a legal Trial on the Crimes they were slandered with, since they were willing to undergo

(a) Burnet's MS. Hist.

undergo the same, and to be submissive to his Majesty's Will, having come so far to assure him thereof. He advising with his Counsellors, commands them to appear at *Perth* on a prefixed Day. The Ministers hearing this, at their Synod sitting then at *Edinburgh*, and judging this Trial regarded their Jurisdiction, send Instructions to the King, prescribing the Manner and Form of the Trial, offering themselves, with many Thousands to attend the same for the King's Safety.

The King, because they had assembled without his Licence, rejects (a) their Instructions, and checks them severely for still persisting in their insolent *Arrogance*; and appoints Judges for the Trial of the three Earls, whose Sentence should remain fixt and irrevocable, as if it were pronounced in Parliament. The Ministers *rage* at this Moderation of the King, and solicit him to Rigour and Severity against the Earls; but he persists in his Moderation, and appoints the 12th of *November 1593* for the Trial. There were named as Judges of the prime Nobility, *Lennox, Mar, Ch. Maitland, Livingston* (b); of the Barons, *Bass, Balvaird, Abbotshal* and *Tullibardin*; and then the Commissioners from *Edinburgh, Dundee, Stirling* and *Cowper*, by all whose Sentence the Accused were to be condemned or absolved. They were ordained to appear with no more Train than their domestick Servants. But *Johnston* says, *They thought it not safe to compear without their Friends, as the Custom was in Scotland, when Life and Fortune was at the Stake; and that therefore nothing was done.* But *Pitturg* (whom the Bishop of *Carlisle* calls

(a) Johnston, p. 179. (b) Idem 181, . . .

the honest and learned Historian) who was living at that Time, tho' young, and had learned of his Father, who was much trusted betwixt the King and the Earl of Huntly, says, *That those Judges having examined these Accusations, and the Proofs, did pronounce them innocent from the Guilt laid to their Charge, as to the Letters and Blanks to the King of Spain.* And this seems to be true; For *Johnston* says, *That not long after, in the Assembly of the Nobility, (where the King preceeded) at Edinburgh, the Matter being much agitated, at length an Edict of Pacification is emitted, and proclaimed by the Herauld, That all Papists should depart the Kingdom, before the First of February, never to return, or then embrace the Protestant Religion; That Angus, Huntly, Errol, Gordon of Auchindown, and Chisolm, if they should obey the Edict before that Day, should be restored to all their Goods, Fame, Honours, and all bygone Faults pardoned.* Here is no Mention of the Plot with Spain, which makes it seem true, that the foresaid delegate Judges had absolved them from it (as *Pitlurg* says.) The Ministers Fury was rather raised than abated by this Procedure; for they insisted vehemently that such atrocious Crimes should not be easily passed over. *Johnston* here describes *Bruce* and the rest of them, their Arrogancy to the Life, which the King was never able to quell, till he got the Crown of *England*; and then indeed he taught these *Mas Johns* some better Manners.

From *England*, Anno 1593, comes *Bowes* Ambassador from *Queen Elizabeth*, to confirm the Plot, pretending (a), *That Philip King of Spain was intending*

(a) *Johnston*, p. 177.

tending to make War on Britain, to ruin the reform'd Religion; and urging the King to denounce War against him, to declare the Popish Earls Enemies to the Publick, to confiscate their Goods; alledging, That Clemency was at present unseasonable, and their Crimes required the utmost Severity. Bowes receiving no Satisfaction, returns with great Indignation to England; and the King continues his Moderation to the Lords, and sharply reproves and checks the Ministers for their Cruelty, clamouring always after the Punishment of these Noblemen; and at the same Time he confirms the Ladies *Huntly* and *Errol* in the most full and ample Factory or Procuration of the Goods of their Husbands, whereat Queen *Elizabeth* was highly offended; and therefore Sir *Robert Melvil* is sent to *England* to pacify her, but to no purpose (a).

The Lady *Huntly*, accompanied with a great Train of Noblemen and Ladies, comes about this Time to Court, and gets all the Lands of her Jointure secured to her. This makes the Vulgar rage, and augments the Malice of the Ministers, who give loose Reins to their Tongues to rail at the King's Actions, who, tho' he undervalued their Frettings, and acts rather according to the Inclinations of his own good Nature, and to the Majesty of his Royal Dignity; yet, to calm the seditious Humours of the Multitude, he removes this illustrious Lady, his own Kinswoman, and orders her not to come near the Court, but to stay at home in the North. In the Month of *July* a Parliament is held, *Botbwell's* Banishment is herein reiterated, his Name is cancelled from the List of Nobles, his

(a) Johnston, p. 178.

his Honours are torn, his Estate forfeited, and his Person intercommuned. New Sollicitations are made by the Nobility against the Popish Lords, but the King exempts them from Danger and Dishonour, and delays their Banishment, because they had assured him of their Fidelity to himself, and would promise a honourable Amends to the Kirk for their Faults; adding withall, *That he was more prone to absolve than condemn them if they repented.* By this Moderation he offended a great many of the People; and among the Nobles, the Earl of *Arbole*, who was chiefly bent for the Revenge of *Murray's* Death.

Shortly after this, *Bothwel*, by the Mediation of his Friends, comes to the King and obtains Pardon; but, in Place of Amendment, becomes more insolent and formidable to the King himself, whose Mind was disquieted with nothing more than with the great Favour and Affection of the Ministers toward *Bothwel*, and this on Pretext of Religion too, praying for his Safety and Prosperity in their Supplications to GOD, out of a perverse Emulation against the King, and for their own Ends: And on the contrary, to see them so implacable toward the Popish Lords, and thirst so vehemently for their Blood, (whom he in his own Mind looked upon as innocent of the Crimes alledged against them) and so much the more greedily, as they saw the King more mild and willing to pardon them, for his own Security, and Peace of the Kingdom, and had granted to their Ladies the Enjoyment of their Dwellings and Estates.

The Report of the Edict of *Pacification* and *Abolition* being spread abroad in *England*, the Baron *Zouch* is sent Ambassador to the King, to solicit him to pursue the Popish Earls with Fire and Sword, without

Illustrious family of GORDON. 75

without sparing any of them. The King answers, *That he could not refuse to those of the prime Nobility that Benefit of Law which is granted to all Subjects.* The Ambassador insists, and the King stands out for some Time, refusing to consent to their Banishment. But in the End he yields, (the Importunities of Ministers and Ambassador prevailing :) The Benefit of the *Abolition* is revoked, on Pretext, *That they had not within the prefix'd Time obeyed the Edict of Pacification*; and they by a Herald are summoned to enter into several Prisons; and being slow to enter, are denounced Rebels. At this Time the Queen being big with Child, and drawing near to the Time of Birth, goes to *Stirling* with the King, where the Ambassador insists earnestly, *That the Popish Lords might be brought to Judgment, or an Army sent against them*: But the King thought it not fit to comply with his Desire at that Time. Prince *Henry* is born at *Stirling*, February 29. 1593.

In the following Year 1594, the King is much disquieted with continual Seditions, and with the Ministers intolerable Liberty in their Preachings; and finding *Bothwel* come to that Height of Ingratitude and Insolence, as to have assembled great Forces (the Ministers having bestowed upon him the Money they had collected throughout the whole Kingdom, for the Relief of the Protestants in *Geneva*, straitned with the Forces of the Duke of *Savoy* their Prince, which Money he employs to raise Forces against his own Prince, who had been too clement to him) resolving to try his Fortune by fighting in open Field. The King likewise, to provide for his own Security, raises Forces; and *Bothwel* in the mean Time stays on the Borders of *Northumberland*, waiting Opportunities,

nities, and confiding, by the Intercession of the Ministers and the *English* Ambassadors, to obtain Auxiliaries and Assistance from Queen *Elizabeth*. Upon this Baron *Zouch*, whom the King was jealous of, as favouring *Bothwel*, renews his Petition, *That he would either command the Popish Lords to leave the Kingdom, or drive them out by Force of Arms; and so weaken the Spanish Faction.* The King, in Anger, answers, *If Queen Elizabeth would give such Assistance as she could, according to the League betwixt them, and deliver up Bothwel, frequently lurking in England, he should then comply with what he desired of him.* This being done, and the Day resolved upon for the Ambassador to return homeward on his Way, he has a private Conference with *Bothwel*, who, by his Perfidiousness and Crimes, deprived himself of all Hopes of Pardon: And Things not succeeding with him to his Mind, out of Despair, gathering a Multitude of Robbers, loose Men of all Sorts about the Borders, marches by *Kelso* to *Dalkeith*, and then to *Leith*; whence he sends long Letters to the Assembly of Ministers at *Dumbar*, lamenting the Condition of the Kirk, the imminent Ruin of the Kingdom, the Loss of Laws and Liberties, and the Calamities of the People; *and therefore all should concur for redressing those Grievances.* But all this Ostentation of his Care for the publick Good, did avail him little. The King's Forces appearing against him, he makes show to fly, that he might draw them into an Ambush; and some Horsemen pursuing them too rashly, are driven back to the Suburbs with some Loss. But he not being strong enough to withstand the King's Party, gives over his Enterprize; and thereupon his Friends and Clients desert

desert him, and he retires to his wonted lurking Places on the Borders. The Queen of *England* forbids any Body to assist or lodge him : So that being excluded thence, he led a miserable Life, running from one lurking Place to another.

The Ministers Madness increases, *amentia Ministrorum*, says *Johnston* (a); calumniating the King, as *betraying the Cause of GOD*, and that of *Ross*, Minister of *Perth*, most of any ; for which he is banished the Kingdom for ever. And the like Punishment was enacted by the Council for those who should thereafter calumniate and reproach the King in their Sermons. Upon this they send Commissioners from their Assembly to remonstrate, *That no Violence could be unjust against the Popish Lords, guilty of so horrid Crimes ; requiring a Parliament to be held, wherein they might be declared Enemies to the Publick, their Dwellings demolished, and their Goods confiscated.* The King gives his Assent to their Demands, and promises his greatest Care should be to preserve the established Religion.

The Parliament is proclaimed and assembled the 8th of *June* : The Cause of the Popish Lords is debated ; few Noblemen being present, they judged it might be remitted to a more frequent Convention, and refused to give their Votes, there being then only present three Earls and six Lords, alledging (b), *That Sentence could not be given on Presumptions ; for altho' the blank Papers, Subscriptions and Seals were sufficiently certain, yet the Intent and Purpose of them had no other Proof than these Presumptions.* But the Nobility being unequal in Number to the

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Barons and Burgeſſes, who were much influenced by the Clergy, whom they ſaw frequently conveened, and obſtinately bent to condemn the Lords, they ceaſed from hindring the Matter; and in end, left they ſhould ſeem to loſe their Labour, they join their Votes with them. Whereupon the Noblemen ſaid to be ill affected to the Proteſtant Religion and Good of the Nation, *viz. Angus, Huntly, Errol; Maclean, Macniel and Donald Gorum*, are baniſhed, forfeited; and their Rents appointed to be brought into the Treafury (a). The Sentence was much applauded; and being proclaim'd on the Market-place, was joyfully hearkened to with the Huzza's and Acclamations of the Vulgar.

About the ſame Time *James Gordon* the Jeſuite, *Huntly's* Uncle, with ſome of that Society, lands privately at *Aberdeen*: The Citizens imprifon two of them, *James Gordon* himſelf eſcaping. *Angus, Errol* and the Laird of *Boninton*, with their Trains, come to *Aberdeen* and require theſe two Priſoners; the Citizens reſuſe them. *Huntly* with ſome Troops comes, and the Priſoners are delivered up to him. And the News of this going to the King, the People clamour againſt the Papiſts, and the Miniſters flock about the King, conjuring him to look to the Security of the Kirk, to the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, and to execute exemplary Punifhment on thoſe Popiſh Noblemen. The King immediately calls a Council, and their Judgment is, *That Argyle, Athole and Forbes* (for their private Animofities already Enemies to *Huntly*) ſhould make up an Army of their Vaſſals, Friends and Relations, and go with
Fire

(a) Camden, p. 619.

Fire and Sword against the three Earls; and after the Christening of the Prince, the King himself should follow to the North with a great Army.

The Solemnity of the Prince's Christning being over, these Three are appointed to carry on the Expedition against the Popish Lords; and *Argyle*, a very young Man, is appointed the King's Lieutenant in the same. He orders the assembling of Forces, but that goes slow on. Therefore to hasten it forward before the Winter should come, for that would render it impracticable till next Year, (a) Mr. *Robert Bruce*, the chief Man amongst the Ministers, who ruled all Matters in their Synods, taking with him Mr. *James Balfour* one of his Collegues, makes a Journey to *Argyle*, to perswade him to break off all Delays in suppressing the three Earls, as the only Obstacle now remaining against the total and secure Establishment of the true Religion; assuring him, *That Queen Elizabeth would not be unmindful of his Labours; That the Estates of the Rebels, which were now fallen under Forfeiture, would be divided according to his (the Victor's) Pleasure, and the greatest Share would fall to himself.*

With this *Argyle* is perswaded to hasten and begin his March, accompanied with all he could gather round about from his own Territories. A great many, gaping after Spoil, flock to him from the *Hebrid Islands*, all the Coast from the *Mule* or Promontory of *Cantyre*, Northward to *Lochaber*. With several Thousands of these he advances to the North, and in his March is join'd by the Earl of *Murray*, *Tullibardin*, the *Macleans* of *Mull*, the Tribes of the *Grants*,
Clan-

(a) Spottiswood, Book 6. p. 407.

Clan-Chattan, the *Clan-Grigor*, and *Mackniels* of *Barra*, making ail together above 10000 Men (a). The first Attempt of this Army was against the Castle of *Ruthven* in *Badenach*, belonging to *Huntly*; which was so well secured with a strong Garrison of the *Macphersons*, that finding his Enterprize not like to have speedy Success, he leaves it as he found it; and marching forward, he passes the Water of *Avin*; and holds on straight towards *Strathbogie*.

A Proclamation was sent over all the Country; commanding all the Gentry; with their Men in Arms; to join and assist *Argyle* his Majesty's Lieutenant. Few obey, but the Name of *Forbes* and the Baron of *Drum*, Chief of the Name of *Irvine*; who gathering Forces, march to join *Argyle*, being all Horsemen; of which he had greatest Need. While they are on their Way towards him, whether by Chance or of Purpose, in the Dark of the Night, by the Shot of a Pistol, a Gentleman of the Name of *Irvine* is mortally wounded: Whereupon there enters such a Diffidence and Jealousy amongst them, that they separate, and return the Way they came to their several Dwellings.

Argyle knowing nothing of this Accident, but puff'd up with Hopes of Success; and contemning his Enemy, becomes more negligent; they who saw his Army assuring him that none would dare to oppose him. Whence his People began, for Greed of Spoil, to scamper and range about in the neighbouring Country of *Glenlivet*. *Huntly* being informed of *Argyle*'s Strength and Camp, the Earl of *Errol* comes seasonably and joins him with Sixscore Horsemen, not having

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(a) Spottiswood, Book 6. p. 407.

ing, had Time to assemble a greater Number, for that his greatest Strength of Vassals lay at a great Distance, on the River *Tay*: Yet the great and generous Spirit of this noble Earl would not permit him to shun the Danger; or forsake his Friend in so great a Strait. Wherefore both together, with Sir *Patrick Gordon of Auchindown*, *Huntly's* Uncle, a Man of great Courage and Experience in Dangers, consult what was most expedient to be done; and in end resolve unanimously to fight the Enemy before he should be joined with the Horsemen that he expected from the *Forbeses* and others.

This being resolved on, one of *Huntly's* Clients or Vassals in *Strath-Spey*, named *John Grant* of *Gratinbeg*, being charged by his Chief the Laird of *Grant*, to concur with the rest of his Name in assisting *Argyle*: He being a faithful Servant of *Huntly's*, as his Predecessors had been; and knowing well that the King was *Huntly's* Friend, and was much concerned for his Safety, comes privately to him in the Night, and asks his Advice how he should carry himself; assuring him he was ready, according to his former Orders, to prefer his Service to that of his Chief. *Huntly* having Experience, that the Laird of *Grant*, was an Enemy to his Family, yet not proper to lead his Tribe or Clan himself in military Actions; and that he would commit the Conduct of the same to this *John Grant*, says; That therefore if he would do him singular Service, he should take upon him the leading of the *Grants*, and get them ranged in the left Wing of *Argyle's* Army, that upon the Encounter of the Armies he might face to the Right, charge *Argyle's* main Body, and put the same in Disorder. *John Grant*, with this Advice, goes away; and conducting

ducting 500 of the *Grants*, armed with Bow and Quiver, gets them ranked, as is said, when the Army was drawn up in Order of Battle.

Huntly and *Errol* march from *Strathbogie* to *Auchindown*, and thence straight to meet the Enemy. All their Forces were Horsemen, and these scarce 1200, (*Spottiswood* calls them 900) but all Gentlemen, resolute and experienced in Arms, and many the Heads of their Families, with their Kindred; very few of the meaner Sort of the People being called to this Action. One *Thomas Ker* (train'd up in the Wars of *Flanders*, and promoted to military Honours, who had done the *Gordons* good Service in the above-mentioned Battle at *Aberdeen*) is sent before, to bring certain Intelligence of the Enemy. Within few Hours he returns with Notice, That they were scarcely four Miles distant, marching in Order of Battle. There being now no more to be thought upon but an Engagement, *Errol*, a Nobleman of singular Courage, takes the Van, with 400 of the best Horsemen; and *Huntly* follows with the rest.

The Charge of *Argyle's* Van is given to *Macleane*, and 3000 under his Conduct. The middle Battle, consisting of 5000, is conducted by *Argyle* himself, and the Rear by *Colin Campbel* younger of *Glenurchy*. The Field of Battle was a Hill, not steep, but full of Stones covered over with Heath. On the South-side of the Hill was a Rocky Precipice, and below it, in the Bottom, a little Winding-brook of Water called *Aultchoinachin*. *Argyle* kept the Top of the Hill, and the South-east Side, being secured by the Precipice. *Huntly* had the low Ground on the North-west Side, which gave the Enemies some Advantage. Yet these their Advantages do not discourage *Errol*,
who

who approaching near, finds them secured by the Rocks; which being a Man's Height, reacheth a considerable Space of Ground like to a Wall, whence no Horse could come at them; wherefore he faces about towards the End of the Wall of Rocks. The Enemy in the mean Time sends out Showers of Arrows and small Shot against him. *Huntly* had brought with him two Pieces of small Brass Canon; which being discharged on the Enemy, and doing considerable Execution, they fall flat on the Ground to eschew the Bullets: And in the mean Time *Errol* getting about the Rocks, briskly charges the Enemies Foot, beats them down with Spears, disorders their Ranks, and makes great Slaughter amongst them. Then *John Grant*, facing about with his Men, and sending a Flight of Arrows into *Argyle's* middle Battle, increases the Disorder there; yet they make a brave Resistance: And being so numerous as near ten to one, they inclose *Errol* betwixt them and *Argyle's* Body. But *Huntly* perceiving the Danger, falls on, and engages both the Front and Middle of *Argyle's* Army; his Rear not stirring from their first Ground. The Conflict continues very sharp for the Space of two Hours, till *Argyle's* Ranks, with much Slaughter, were disordered and confused; their Courage begins to relent, and their Ranks to grow thinner. *Huntly* and *Errol* encouraging their People, press upon them; and finding them to give Ground and incline to withdraw, they push them on with great Eagerness, till they put them quite to the Flight: Which the Nature of the Ground favoured very much, being that the Horsemen could not pursue them; and so the Slaughter was not so great as otherwise it might have been. Yet they chase them

to the Brook at the Foot of the Hill, knocking down as many as the Inequality of the Ground would allow them to overtake.

Then becoming Masters of all their Baggage and a great part of their Arms, which they had thrown away to facilitate their Flight: *Maclean* who engaged first was last in retreating, much commended by his Enemies for his Valour and Courage, refusing Quarters, was killed. Some say (a) *Argyle* had about 1000 of his Men killed; others (b) 700; *Johnston* and *Gordonston* (c) 500, and amongst these, *Archibald Campbel* of *Lochnell* and his Brother *James*, *Macneil* of *Barra* and others. *Huntly* lost there his Uncle, Sir *Patrick Gordon* of *Auchin-down*; whose Horse being wounded; threw him among the Middle of his Enemies; who killed him before his Friends could succour him. This was a great Loss to his Nephew the Earl of *Huntly*, for he was always of great Use to him on many Occasions. He was an expert and couragious Captain. The first of the forenam'd Authors says, that with him were killed 20 Gentlemen; the last but 14. There were many wounded, amongst whom was the Earl of *Errol*. This Battle was fought *October 3. 1594*, and is called *the Battle of Glenlivet*, from the Torrent *Livet* that runs down from the Mountains near the Place. The Victory happened very fortunately for the whole Country around, which was to be abandoned as a Prey to all that Multitude of thievish Robbers, who were allured out to this Expedition only with the Hopes of the Spoil of all the Lands belonging to *Huntly* and *Errol*.

The

(a) Burnet's MS. Hist. (b) Spottiswood, Book 6. p. 408. (c) Johnston, p. 193.

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The King was at *Dundee* at this Time, somewhat indisposed, or seeming to be so, because of his Anxiety for *Huntly*, who he thought would be swallowed up with such a numerous Army of his vindictive Enemies. He was lying a-bed when some officious Courtier brought him the News, that *Argyle* had gain'd the Victory. Whereupon he turn'd himself on the Bed, saying to the Gentleman, *Well, go your Ways*. In a little Time thereafter certain Notice comes, *That Argyle was intirely defeated*. Upon which, starting up from his Bed, as if alarm'd with some imminent Danger, he said, *I knew well that would be the Event of it*; and calling for his Cloaths, orders them to make ready to depart thence speedily.

He comes forward to *Aberdeen* with a numerous Train; and consulting what was to be done in the present Conjuncture, it was resolv'd to demolish the Castles of *Huntly* and *Errol*, and of their Vassals and Adherents. Whereupon they begin with the Castle of *Slaines* belonging to *Errol*, and nearest to *Aberdeen*. Next the King marches to *Strathbogie*, and ruins it. *Newton* and *Ballogy*, belonging to the *Gordons*, undergo the same Fate. Having staid ten Days at *Strathbogie*, he returns to *Aberdeen*; and after a shorter Stay there, Southward to *Edinburgh*, leaving the Duke of *Lennox* (whose Sister was married to *Huntly*) his Lieutenant in the North, with full Power over all Things in those Places; where, after he had spent three Months in the greatest Tranquillity exercising his Office, without seeing or hearing of any to oppose him in the same, he returns to the King at *Edinburgh*.

Upon the King's coming to *Strathbogie*, *Huntly* had retired to *Sutherland*, where all were his Friends. The Earl of that Name descended of his Family, was the fourth Earl of the Name of *Gordon*. Next to this was the Country of *Caithness*, whereof the Earl was married to *Huntly's* Sister. *Errol*, being wounded in the Battle in his Arm and Thigh, staid privately with his Friends, none enquiring after him. It appeared plainly to all, that the King was nothing displeas'd with *Argyle's* being defeat, by his leaving the Care of all Affairs in the North to *Lennox*, most trusty to himself, and a most faithful Friend to *Huntly*, and by giving his Lady Access to him at all Times she desired it. Sir *John Gordon* of *Pitlurg*, *Huntly's* constant Friend, who went always betwixt him and the King after the Slaughter of the Earl of *Murray*, had a Lodging in *Aberdeen* while the King was in the North, and gave his Majesty true Information of all Things that pass'd, and represented to him what he thought fit, being at all Times allowed Access; and for that End *Huntly* kept him from meddling in any military Business. About a Fortnight after the King went from *Aberdeen* (a), *Pitlurg* invited the Duke of *Lennox* to Supper, who came privately to it; and *Huntly*, with the Laird of *Balquhain*, sup'd with him: where the Duke and *Huntly* concerted what Measures it was proper for him to take. *Burnet*, in his Manuscript History says, *That in the Year 1689 he saw amongst the Papers of the Family of Huntly, a private Remission from the King to Huntly, for the Battle of Glenlivet, granted the same Year it was fought; and this behoved to be before Lennox went*

from

(a) Burnet and Pitlurg's MSS.

from *Aberdeen*. And when the King became Monarch of *Britain*, he gave *Huntly* a more authentick Remission, dated the 2d of *April* 1603.

Queen *Elizabeth* now thinking the King in good Earnest to prosecute the Popish Lords, found herself obliged now, not to allow *Bothwel* to stay any longer in *England*, and so he returns to *Scotland*, to lay hold on any Occasion should offer to trouble the Peace of the Kingdom; and tho' he knew himself to be hated by the Popish Lords, he offers to associate himself with them. *Huntly*, who depended on all weighty Matters on the King's Advice, gives him Notice of *Bothwel's* Offer. The King finding this a fair Opportunity to discredit and discourte *Bothwel* with the Ministers, gives *Huntly* Leave to admit him into their Association; whereupon they make a strict Covenant together to do nothing but by joint Advice, and to stick close together in all Events of Fortune. This Covenant being made, and having the Effect the King had permitted it for, to wit, the cooling the Ministers Kindness and vehement Affection toward *Bothwel* (a), *Studia Ministrorum in Bothwellum accensa, quo nihil Regis animum altius penetravit*; who could not now but hate him, being associated with those they hated above all Mortals, and would have glutted themselves with their Blood (b), *In Pontificios proceres implacabiles erant; eorum sanguine se exsatiare cupiebant*. This Covenant is dissolved, and splits asunder very soon. *Johnston*, who knew not the Mystery of making it up, can give no other Reason for its dissolving so very soon, but the *Difference of the Religion of the Parties confederate*: Which being

(a) *Johnston*, p. 179. (b) *Idem*.

sufficiently known before to them, might rather have hindred them to associate, than, after they had, to break so soon their Association; had not the same Reason which made the Popish Lords join with *Bothwel* made them also shortly separate from him. And what hastened moreover their Separation was, the Ministers more vehement clamouring against them, after *Glenlivet* and *Bothwel's* joining with them: Nothing that could be projected or proposed for pacifying of them, could abate their Malice; and on the other hand, the Honour of the King seem'd to be prejudiced and to need Reparation. Wherefore the 3 Earls, whom the King with such Difficulty had underhand so long protected and preserved from the utmost Violence of the Ministers Hatred, offer of themselves to leave the Kingdom, and go live beyond Seas, not only for a determined Space of Time, but so long as it should please his Majesty, and till they should have Licence to return home again.

This seem'd satisfactory to all who were not overruled by their Passions and Animosities. And thus these three Earls taking Leave of their Friends, retire to *France* and *Flanders*, or at least two of them, *Huntly* and *Errol*; but 'tis said *Angus* lurked all the Time privately among his Friends at home. *Bothwel* finding himself disappointed by these Noblemen, despairing of his Matters, retires to *England*, where not being made so welcome as he expected, and fearing the *Scots* Ambassador might by Virtue of the late League require him to be delivered up to them, Fortune every where crossing his Purposes; goes over privately to *France*, *Spain* and *Italy*, where, upon a Pension from *Philip* King of *Spain*, he lived a
poor

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poor miserable Life (a). The banished Earls were not forfeited, nor their Goods confiscated, but allowed to their Ladies for sustaining them according to their Quality. This was granted for Respect to *Lennox*, whose Sister (b) was *Huntly's* Lady, and for the Intreaties of *Angus* and *Errol's* Friends, who had assembled together to interceed for them. But *Bothwell* having been from his Childhood seditious, did not deserve to meet with such easy Treatment; for his Dwellings and rich Possessions were given to his Enemies, *Coldingham* to *Hume*, *Kelso* to *Robert Ker* of *Cessford*, and *Liddale* to *Walter Scot* of *Buckleugh*, all rich Abbacies.

The Year following, 1595, Chancellor *Maitland*, a Man of great Wit, of exquisite Skill and Experience in State Matters, becoming less in Favour with the King, retires to *Lauder* and dies; and his Offices are given to *Alexander Seton*, President of the Session, *John Lindsay* Secretary, *Walter Stewart*, *James Elphinston*, *David Carnegie*, afterwards Earl of *Southesk*, *Thomas Hamilton*, afterward Lord *Hadington*, Advocate, *John Skene* Clerk-Register, and *Peter Young* Almoner. These Eight were appointed to administer the Charges and publick Offices of the deceased Chancellor *Maitland*, and were call'd the *Octavians*. Their Commission was so ample, that there was nothing relating either to State or Revenues that it did not comprehend. *Spottiswood* says (c), *That the King had left nothing to himself but the naked Title of King, and put all his Power and Means in the Hands of others, so as Subjects were to expect no Benefit or Reward from him.*

George

(a) Johnston, p. 194. (b) Idem ibid. 235. (c) B. 6. p. 412.

George Hume (a), a great Courtier with the King (afterwards Earl of *Dumbar*) emulous of the Power and Authority of the *Octavians*, studies how to diminish the same, and that he might bring the Administration of publick Affairs and State Offices to himself and other Courtiers. For this End he thought it a safer and surer Means to stir up the Ministers against them, to vindicate the Wrongs done to the Kirk, than to oppose them openly, they being still the chief Ring-leaders to raise Troubles and Broils, *Rerum turbandarum principes* (b), cease not, tho' they had gotten the Popish Lords banished, from their impious Attempts. They accuse the *Octavians* of Malversation in several Things, by which the Ministers manifested their Malice, and sustained the Stain of Calumniators. The *Octavians* vindicated themselves, and made appear their Administration to have been upright, and profitable to the Common-wealth; and being offended at this Injury of the Ministers, they began to find it needful for the Publick Good, that the Order of Bishops should be again restored.

The King finding the Ministers of no better Humour than before the Banishment of the Popish Lords, or rather unchangable in the Humour they were of from the Beginning, which was, the more Compliance to their Demands they met with from the Prince, still to add to their Insolence, by more impertinent ones, incroaching upon his Authority, and endeavouring to draw all Matters whatsoever under their Cognisance and Arbitration. Wherefore seeing to how little Purpose he had lent them his Name and Authority, for persecuting his best Friends,
and

(a) Johnston p. 205. (b) Idem, p. 206 N. 40.

and rendering them incapable to do him any Service ;

He gives *Huntly* privately Liberty to return home, and keep himself private in the Country, till Advertisement, to the End that when it should happen him to be called to the Crown of *England*, he might have a faithful Subject to leave behind him in *Scotland*, of so great Power as might counterpoise and keep in Order the Puritan Faction there, who he knew by long Experience would never cease from their seditious Contrivances. The Earl of *Angus* had lurked so close at Home, that it was not doubted but that he had gone abroad with the other two. *Errol* by a Tempest was put into *Zeland* ; and staying there some Days to refresh himself and Company, intended to go to *Brabant* ; but being known by his tall Stature and Comeliness of Countenance, is apprehended by the People of *Campvere* ; and Queen *Elizabeth* getting Notice thereof, requires him from the *Zealanders* as her Enemy, by Virtue of the League betwixt them, *That none should harbour one another's Enemies*. They deliver him up to the *English*, who had then a Garrison at *Vlissinghen*, who were to send him thence Prisoner to *England* : But the Night before he was to go aboard, inviting his Keepers to Supper, and making them all drunk, while they are asleep, he alone sober, goes out at a Back-Door, gets a Vessel ready to sail for *Scotland*, goes aboard of her, and returns shortly home *incognito*, very glad he had escaped such a Danger.

The Ministers hearing of their Return, they rage and roar against the King, and their Fury rose to an incredible Degree, not only on Account of the *Poish* Earls, but on the Account of the *Octavians*,
whom

whom they hated exceedingly. They cry out most bitterly against the King, his Ministers and every one they did not favour, in so much that they raised that famous Tumult in *Edinburgh*, on the 17th Day of *December 1596*, and beset the King and his Council in the Tolbooth or Council-house; which is at length described by our Historians, and particularly by *Johnston (a)*: For which some of the Ministers were removed from their Pulpits, and their Insolence repressed with new Acts of Council.

They in the mean Time, being loath to lose any of the Power they had usurped to themselves, leave no Mean unessayed to keep it entire. *Bruce* the chief Man amongst them, calling a Council of his Accomplices, sollicites all the Noblemen of their Perswasion, by Letters and Messages, to help the distressed Cause of the Kirk. He offers to *Hamilton* Earl of *Arran* (descended from the Royal Family) the Crown and Supreme Authority, if he would take upon him to preserve the Kirk inviolable. But he having seen their Tumults and Seditions, resolved to be more cautious in dealing with them; and finding the Safety of the Church not to be their Aim, but only to raise most turbulent Seditions, discovers their Purposes, and sends *Bruce's* Letters to the King. Whereupon a Synod of those who had no Hand in the preceeding Tumults, is appointed to assemble at *Perth*, where the Point concerning Church-Government being treated of, nothing was concluded upon at that Time (*b*). In this Synod it was enacted, *That the Ministers in their Sermons, should not speak of any Person by Name, nor rail against them with bitter*

Re-

(a) P. 215, 216, 217. (b) Idem, p. 218.

Reproaches, nor excommunicate any without due Admonition. And another Synod is appointed to meet at Dundee, May 1. 1597.

Which meeting on the Day appointed, confirmed the Acts of the former Synod, and restrained more and more the Insolency of the Puritans (a). In the mean Time the three banished Earls, who having had Leave to return, had abstained from entreating for Pardon, come humbly supplicating to be restored to their former Conditions. The King would have them absolved from Excommunication. That the Synod refuses, as being contrary to the Use and Custom of their Discipline. The King immediately grants them what was proper for him, to wit, *Impunity and Abolition* of their Crimes, and recommends their Supplication to the Synod. The Ministers, who would either have the Scepter of Empire to be subject to them, or shattered in Pieces, thinking the Authority of the Kirk to be ruined by the Absolution of the Earls, withstand the same obstinately; but the King comforts the Minds of all the honest Men amongst them, calling every one of them by honourable Appellations, and exciting them with a Discourse most full of Humanity, inveighing next vehemently against the Faction and Power of the Puritans, who so violently opposed the Absolution of the Earls. In End, after much Debate, the King cajol'd them into it; and it was ordained, *That Angus, Huntly, and Errol shall be absolved from Excommunication, every one in his own Presbytery;* and the King thanks the Synod, that they had done their Duty, and shown their Favour to the Noblemen.

After

(a) Johnston, p. 229.

After this a Parliament is called, and meets at *Edinburgh*, where *Angus*, *Huntly* and *Errol* are restored to their former Dignity, at which Parliament *Angus* carried the Crown and *Huntly* the Scepter.

In the 1599, *April 17.* the King honours the Earls of *Arran* and *Huntly* with new Titles, creating with the usual Solemnity the one Marquis of *Hamilton (a)*, and the other Marquis of *Huntly*; and to be freed of the importunate Clamours of the Ministers, he obliges *Huntly* to condescend to Conferences with them concerning Religion, and to shew a Willingness to be convinced by them; and he, to please the King, so far complied, as to communicate with them, tho' 'tis probable, that in his Interior he continued to be Popish.

But this Family of *Huntly* had not only the Ministers for its Enemies, and that only on Account of its constant Loyalty, but a Person of far greater Quality and Consideration in *Britain*, whom the King for very just Reasons behoved not to displease, but by any Means lawful keep her Favour and Friendship. This was the Queen of *England*, whom I have shew'd above to have oftentimes solicited and pressed the King to Rigour and Severity against the three Popish Earls. She was not only Enemy to this Earl of *Huntly*, but to his Father, for his adhering closely to Queen *Mary's* Interest; for I find in the Instrument of Restitution granted by King *James VI.* in favours of *George* Earl of *Huntly*, *Anno 1581*, when the King had taken the Administration of the Government upon himself, it is said, *That in the Pacification at Perth, Anno 1572, ratified in Parliament at Edinburgh*

(a) Johnston, p. 254.

burgh in April thereafter, in favours of George Earl of Huntly (the Father of this first Marquis) were contained some certain Exceptions and Limitations, which being judged of great Weight and Importance, were not absolutely remitted; but it was promised, That whatsoever our dearest Sister the Queen of England should counsell or advise concerning him, this should, with Consent of our Parliament, for our Utility, and the universal Obedience of our whole Kingdom, be performed, observed and fulfilled: And our said Sister and Cousin, the Queen of England, by her Counsel and Advice, remitting the Matter to us, to do in it as we should find convenient for us, when by the Ripeness of our Years, and the Laws and Customs of our Kingdom, we should take the Government in our own Person; and now by the Favour of Almighty GOD, having taken the Government of the Kingdom upon our own Person, and administrated the same for the Space of three Years bygone, calling to Mind the faithful, good and signal Service done to our most noble Progenitors, by the Ancestors of our beloved Cousin George now Earl of Huntly, as well in Defence of this our Kingdom, against the Invasion of Foreign Enemies, as in assisting the Sovereign Princes of this Kingdom, our foresaid Predecessors, in repressing the Insolence and Rebellion of rebellious and disobedient Subjects; for which they enjoy and possess, as the Favours and Rewards bestowed on them, very honourable Tokens and Monuments. We for these Things, and also desiring the Stability and Continuance of the ancient Families of our Peers, and of the Nobles descended of our our own Blood and Stock; and being moved likewise by our own special Favour, Bounty and Clemency, towards the Age and Innocence of our said Cousin, now Earl

Earl of Huntly, being but an Infant in the Time of the foresaid Disturbances and Civil Wars; and finally, having Respect to his ardent Affection for our Service, Advantage and Preservation, with Advice, &c. Our Will is, That the Benefit of the said Pacification, be as amply and honourably extended in his Favours, as if the same had been absolutely expressed, notwithstanding whatsoever Acts of Parliament may seem contrary. I have insert all this here, not only to shew that Queen Elizabeth was no Friend to this Family, but because it contains a Testimony of the constant Loyalty of the same beyond all Exception.

Burnet in his Manuscript says (a), He saw an Obligation by the King to this Earl, now Marquis of Huntly, for an Hundred Merks Land, in Recompence of his great Travel, Labour and Expences, made, and sustained by him in recovering to the King the Earl-dom of Ross, and Expulsion of the Rebels and Traitors that were in the same. Dated at Edinburgh the 24th of October 1598. But I find no Mention of this Piece of Service in any of the Scots Historians, that hath fallen in my Hands.

Anno 1600 happened that horrid Conspiracy against the King's Life by the Earl of Gowry, Son to that Earl of Gowry beheaded at Stirling, Anno 1584, for Treason and Rebellion; but divine Providence preserved the King, and the Earl and his Brother were killed in the Room, where they intended to have murdered the King. There being a solemn Thanksgiving appointed to be made in all the Churches in the Kingdom for his Majesty's Deliverance (b), the Ministers of Edinburgh, as if they had been sorry at the
King's

(a) P. 408. (b) Johnston, p. 266. Spottis. B. 6. p. 460.

King's Safety, demur on the Matter, pretending they ought to wait for more certain and particular Information of the Fact; and when it was made evident to every one, yet Mr. *Robert Bruce* would never be persuaded of the Truth of it. And there are yet not a few who deny that ever there was such a Conspiracy. But this Matter of Fact being so strongly vouched by the publick Registers, and the Historians of that Time, those unbelieving Monsters are not worth the taking Notice of. For the full Account of it, the Brevity that I am tied to, obliges me to refer the Reader to *Johnston*, Archbishop *Spottiswood*, &c. The 5th of *August*, the Day in which that horrid Murder was to have been committed, was appointed to be kept, as a perpetual annual Thanksgiving throughout all *Scotland*.

Anno 1601, The old Quarrel betwixt *Huntly* and *Murray*'s Family is renewed, the Earl of *Murray*, with his Clients endeavour to revenge his Father's Death, by taking away *Huntly*'s Life; and many of the Nobility oblige themselves by solemn Oath to revenge *Murray*'s Slaughter. The King getting Notice of this, calls both *Huntly* and *Murray* to Court; and, in his Cabinet-Council, deals with them concerning their Reconciliation (a). Both of them having come to *Edinburgh*, with numerous Trains of their Vassals and Dependents, (as the Custom of *Scotland* then was,) the King thus accosts them, *I think it not needful at present to deplore the miserable State of Things, and the mutual Slaughter of the Noblemen, well known to every one, or the Mischiefs sprung from intestine Discords. For several Tears ye have*

Vol. II. G *carried*

(a) *Johnston*, p. 282.

carried to one another a heavy and pernicious Enmity, which hereafter there is Danger may become more heavy to us and our Kingdom than your selves. These Animosities we beseech you lay aside this Day, lest they breed the Kingdom's publick, and your private Destruction. Upon this the confused Entreaties of the Nobility present, desiring the same, interrupted the King's Discourse, by exhorting *Murray*, by the Glory of his Ancestors, to pardon and forget his Father's Slaughter, for the general Good of the Kingdom, lest otherwise by his private Resentments, he should hinder the publick Advantage, diminish the Royal Dignity, and disturb the Common-Wealth.

Murray being perswaded by the King's Authority, and the Counsel and Advice of his Friends, who had greatest Influence upon him, yields and remits his deep Resentments of the Injury to the Good of the Publick; and, with both their Consents, Arbitrators are named for composing of Differences, by whose Prudence the Roots of old Quarrels are digged up, and the Project of a new Affinity is set on Foot. That *Murray* should take *Huntly's* Daughter to Wife, that this might tie together in Friendship the Father and the Son-in-Law. The Nobility gave Thanks to *Murray* for his preferring the publick Good to his private Revenge. The Agreement being made publick, the King's Care and Prudence in the Matter was much approved, and highly commended by the People. How careful and diligent he was to bring this Difference to an Agreement, will appear more particularly from one of his Letters to *Huntly*, insert in the *Appen. N. 3.*

Anno 1602, the *Higlanders* and *Islanders* trouble the Quiet of the Nation for Greed of Spoil; their Depre-

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 99

Depredations are begun by the *Mac-Gregors*, who enter *Lennox*, betwixt *Lochlong* and *Lochlomond*, and ravage it miserably with Fire and Sword, making much Prey. The Laird of *Luss* gathering together hastily what he could get of his People, goes to hinder the Robbers, but is defeat with great Slaughter, himself hardly escaping, with a few Servants; whereupon the Robbers ravage all the Country of *Lennox*, without Opposition, and return loaded with Spoil. The King hearing of their Insolence, and Cruelty, sends Messengers to the Noblemen that were nearest to them, *Huntly* and *Argyle*, with Orders to them to drive all those of the *Mac-Gregors* out of the Country they dwelt in, or to cut them off. *Argyle* being nearest, assaults them, and forces them to betake to the Mountains, with their Wives and Children.

This Year 1603, *March* 24th, died *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, after she had lived 69 Years, six Months and seven Days, and reigned 44 Years, four Months and seven Days. She was a Lady of a great and masculine Spirit. Never was a Princess better shap'd for Sovereignty than she was, if she had not always fomented the Rebellions in *Scotland* against Queen *Mary* her nearest Kinswoman, and at last, contrary to all Faith and Honour, the Laws of God, Nature and Nations, basely murdered that unfortunate and innocent Princess, she had left this World with as clean a Character, as any Prince that ever had sway'd the *English* Scepter before her: But that indeed has left such a Stain upon her Conduct, as no Time can wear off, and no Excuse can palliate. When Death began to stare her near in the Face, she was asked by her Secretary and others, whom she

would have to succeed her (a). She answered, *That her Throne had been the Throne of Kings, and that she would have no mean Person to succeed her.* Her Secretary entreated that she would be more explicite. She then said, *She would have a King to succeed her, and what King, but the King of Scots my nearest Kinsman.* And her Breath was no sooner out, then Sir Robert Cary, younger Son to the Lord Hunsdon, posted away unfent to King James in Scotland, with the News of her Death and dying Words; and for bringing of this News, King James made him a Baron of England, by the Title of Lord Leppington.

Baker says, *She died about Ten a-Clock in the Morning, and that King James was proclaimed with the usual Solemnities, and at the usual Places that Afternoon.* Salmon says, *She died about Ten at Night, and that he was proclaimed next Day.* After which the Council, with all convenient Diligence, dispatched Sir Charles Percy, and Mr. Thomas Somerset, and after them Sir Thomas Lake, Clerk of the Signet, a Man well acquainted with the Affairs of England; the first two to acquaint him with what they had done, to invite him to England, and the last to acquaint him with the State of the Nation, that he might not come thither entirely a Stranger.

Upon the Receipt of this News, the King gave Orders to make all possible Dispatch in preparing Things necessary for his Journey. Before his Departure he went to St. Giles Church, and there heard Sermon; after which he made a very affectionate Speech to the People, and gave a most loving and kindly Farewell, which occasioned a great deal of Sor-

(a) Baker, p. 401. Camden, p. 866.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 101

Sorrow and Lamentation among all Ranks of People: And indeed it was no Wonder; for tho' the Accession to the Crowns of *England* and *Ireland* made King *James* a greater King, yet it made *Scotland* a much lesser Nation. He set out from *Edinburgh*, *April* the 4th 1603, accompanied by the Earls of *Mar*, *Murray*, *Argyle*, the Lord *Hume*, and several others; and from *Berwick* he wrote to the Marquis of *Huntly*, to be ready in his best Order to wait upon the Queen to *London*, how soon she should advertise him. The King arrived at *London*, *May* 7. Queen *Elizabeth* had conferred Titles of Honour, during all her Reign with a very sparing Hand, but King *James* made up that Defect even to Excess; for upon his first going to *England*, he made no fewer than 200 Knights, and created several Noblemen. The Marquis of *Huntly* obeyed the forementioned Letter, and attended with a noble Retinue of his own Friends, waited on the Queen, the Prince, and Lady *Elizabeth* to *London*, where they arrived *June* the 27. Prince *Charles* was left behind, his tender Years as yet not allowing him to take such a long Journey; and upon the 25th of *July*, being St. *James* his Day, both King and Queen were crowned. Then and there did the antique Chair of Inthronization happily receive with the Person of his Majesty, the Accomplishment of that propheticall Prediction.

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatunz
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

The King had not been many Weeks in *England* (a), before the Lords *Cobham*, *Gray of Wilton*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* and others, were committed for high Treason, in conspiring to depose him, and alter the established Religion, &c. for which *Watson* and *Clerk* two Priests were hanged, and *George Brook*, Brother to the Lord *Cobham* was beheaded; the others had their Reprieves sent them when they were on the Scaffold. The *Puritans*, upon the King's going to *England*, petitioned him for a further Reformation of the Church, and Alterations in its Liturgy and Ceremonies. Whereupon the King appointed a Conference at *Hampton Court*, in the Beginning of *January* 1604, betwixt the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with some other Bishops and Divines, named by him for the Church of *England*, on the one Side; and Doctor *Reynolds* and others, chosen by the Puritans. Those for the Church reasoned so strongly for the present Establishment, and so fully answered the Scruples and Objections of their Adversaries, that they entirely silenced them, and satisfied the King that there was no Need for any Alterations. Upon which he issued a Proclamation, to enforce the Act of Uniformity; and 'tis observed by Archbishop *Spottiswood* (b), and others, *That for all the Noise they made, out of 10000 beneficed Clergymen, there were but 49 that refused to conform.* The King so behaved himself, that *Egerton*, the Chancellor of *England* said, *That he had often heard that the King was mixta persona cum sacerdote, but till that Day he had never seen the Truth of it.*

In

(a) Baker p. 427. (b) B. 6. p. 479. Salmon V. 1. p. 273.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 103

In this Year 1604, the King set on Foot a Treaty of Union betwixt *Scotland* and *England*, and Commissioners being named for the last, *viz.* 15 from the House of Peers, and 27 from the House of Commons; the King appointed a Parliament to meet at *Pertb*, July 11. who chose out of the three Estates, 32 Commissioners, to treat with those named for *England*. The King appointed *Westminster* for the Place, and the 20. of *October* for the Time of their Meeting. The Commissioners for both Nations met accordingly (a), and agreed upon a great many Articles (too long to be here inserted.) Notwithstanding which this Treaty had no further Effect at this Time, but that the King, having changed his Title of King of *Scotland* to that of *Great Britain*, he caused strick some Medals of Gold and Silver, upon which, with his Picture, were ingraven, on one Side these Words, *Quos Deus conjunxit, nemo separet*; and on the other *Tueatur unita Deus*; on others, *Faciam eos in gentem unam*; and on the other Side, *Henricus Rosas, regna Jacobus*. Upon which at that Time a Poet made these sententious Verses (b),

*Cum triplici fulvum conjunge leone leonem,
Ut varias atavus junxerat ante rosas.
Majus opus, varios sine pugna unire leones;
Sanguine quàm varias consociasse rosas.*

Anno 1605, The Nation being in intire Peace, was that hellish and barbarous Plot (commonly called the *Gun-Powder Treason*) contrived, where at one

(a) Spotisf. B. 6. p. 481 & infra. (b) Johnston, p. 389.

Stroak did those wicked Assassins resolve upon the 5th of *November*, to destroy the King, Prince, and both Houses of Parliament, by blowing up the House, and all in it, with Gun-Powder, of which they had lodged in a Cellar below, no less than 36 Barrels, with a great deal other combustible Matter. They had brought their wicked Design so far, that it was not discovered till about Midnight, the Day before the Parliament was to meet. The *English* and *Scots* Historians are all of them so full on this Matter, that I don't think it needful to give any further Account of it here.

Archbishop *Spottiswood* tells us (a), *That in the Parliament of England, holden November 1606, the Articles agreed on in the fore-mentioned Treaty met with so many Crossings, That of all of them, that only one, concerning the abolishing of the hostile Laws betwixt the two Nations was enacted.* At which the King was exceedingly grieved; and therefore thinking it would go better on, if begun with *Scotland*; he sent down the Duke of *Lennox*, to hold a Parliament there, which met *August 11. 1607.* There he says, the Estates, at the King's Desire, did allow of all the Articles of the former Treaty, with this Provision, *That the same should be ratified by the Parliament of England;* and that it was also declared, *That if the Union should happen to take Effect, the Kingdom notwithstanding should remain an absolute and free Monarchy, and the fundamental Laws receive no Alteration.* Whether or not our Commissioners named for that Effect since that Time, have been as careful to preserve the Independency and
funda-

(a) P. 505.

fundamental Laws of the Nation, is not my Province to enquire ; I only beg Leave to take Notice, that I can find no Vestige of what that worthy Prelate says, neither among the printed nor unprinted Acts of that Parliament ; as also to think, that King *James* was not very sollicitous at that Time to have the two Nations united ; for then he was so gracious with the People of *England*, that he would have had no Difficulty to have got it effectuate : And it would seem, by the Management both of this and the subsequent Treaties, that not only he, but his Son and Grand-Son, thought it more to the Advantage of the Monarch, that the two Nations should continue in a separate State, than to be united.

Anno 1608, a new Clamour was raised by the Ministers, against the three Popish Lords (for so were the Marquis of *Huntly* and the Earls of *Angus* and *Errol* then called) and in a General Assembly kept in the Month of *July* this Year, all of them were excommunicated : And this Sentence bore pretty hard upon those that fell under it at that Time, for the Parliament holden at *Edinburgh* the 24th of *June*, the subsequent Year 1609, appointed (a), *That na Persons whatsoever, wha are already, or hereafter shall happen to be excommunicate, for not conforming themselves to the Religion presently profess within this Kingdom, shall be suffered either directly in their own Persons, or covertly or indirectly by any others in their Names, and to their Bechoof, to enjoy the Possession of their Lands, Rents or Revenues, but that the same shall be uplifted for his Majesty's Use.* And the Archbishops and Bishops were appointed yearly

to

(a) Act 3, p. 20.

to give up the Names of all excommunicated Persons within their respective Diocese, to the Treasurer or his Deputes (a), &c. in a Roll subscribed with their Hands; that the former Act might be the more exactly put in Execution.

The King, notwithstanding the Severity of this Law, found a Method for the Marquis of *Huntly* still to keep his Estate; but to please the Church, the King was obliged to confine him in *Stirling*. And to the General Assembly convened at *Glasgow*, June 6. 1610, did he, with the two fore-named Earls, give in a Petition, requesting, *That they might be absolved, upon their signing the Confession of Faith*: But they refused to absolve the Marquis, notwithstanding that the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, the Bishops of *Orkney* and *Caithness*, found him willing to comply; *In regard* (as they alledged) *he had often relapsed into Popery; and recommended him to converse with Mr. Patrick Simpson Minister of that Town, that he may sign it with Knowledge and Conviction*. Upon which the King took off his Confinement, and allowed him to return to his own House; and he lived in Peace with the Church, until *Anno 1616*, that a new Complaint was raised against him, for hindering his Tenants from going to Church. And for this being called before the High Commission, he was by them imprisoned in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; but in two or three Days he was set at Liberty, by a Warrant from the Chancellor: Which very much offended the Bishops, who immediately sent the Bishop of *Caithness* to complain thereof to the King; who, to please them, dispatched *Mr. Patrick Hamilton*, then

(a) Act 4th.

then Secretary-Depute, with Orders to the Marquis to re-enter himself Prisoner in the foresaid Castle. But he, before his Imprisonment, having procured Liberty from the King to come to Court; in his Way to *London* meeting Mr. *Hamilton* at *Huntington*, a Days Journey from thence, intreated him to return and shew his Majesty, that he was coming to give him full Satisfaction in every Thing he would enjoin. The King allowed him to come to Court, and recommended him to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with whom he offered to communicate. But his Excommunication standing in the Way of it, and the King being very desirous to have *Huntly* reconciled to the Church, dealt with the Archbishop to absolve him.

It being contrary to the Canons, *That one being excommunicated by one Church, should, without their Consent who had so sentenced him, be absolved in another*: The King and the Archbishop were difficulted what to do; but the King being resolved not to delay it, falls on this Expedient: At this Time the Bishop of *Caitbness* being at Court, the King applied to him for his Consent; which he gave, not only for himself, but in Name of the Church of *Scotland*. With which the Archbishop was satisfied; and the 7th of *July* (a) being appointed for the Consecration of Dr. *Thomas Morton* to the Bishoprick of *Chester*, in the Archbishop's Chapel at *Lambeth*, in that Place, and at that Time, was the Marquis solemnly absolved, in Presence of the Primate of *Ireland*, the Bishop of *London*, 30 Noblemen, 80 Gentlemen of Quality; and the Prince *Radzivel's* Son, and another *Polish* Noble-

(a) Llyod's Mem. p. 439.

Nobleman communicated with him. How soon it was known in *Scotland*, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had absolved the Marquis, some of the Zealots of that Church took great Exceptions against it, interpreting it to be a sort of Usurpation; Of which the King being appris'd, he wrote to the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* a Letter, containing the Reasons why he had pressed it; and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* wrote him another, containing the Reasons that moved him to perform it, dated at *Croydon*, July 23. 1616. Both which Letters being communicated to the Clergy, and others that were offended, it was resolved, *That the Marquis, who was now returned from Court, should present a Supplication to the General Assembly that was to meet at Aberdeen, August 13th (a), acknowledging his Offence, in despising the Admonitions of the Church, and promising to continue in the Profession of the Truth, and to educate his Children in the same; and that upon this Supplication he was to be of new absolved, according to the Form used in the Church of Scotland.* And this was very solemnly performed the first Day of the Assembly, the Earl of *Montrose* being Commissioner. Whether this second Absolution was canonical or not, I shall leave to be determined by the *Canonists*. And thus ended that *holy War* betwixt the Kirk of *Scotland* and this Marquis of *Huntly*, which had given the King and him much Trouble for many Years. I have brought this Story together, not nicely regarding the Time, and therefore beg Leave to look a little back.

The King (as I have said) had gotten much Trouble in protecting the Marquis of *Huntly* against
the

(a) Spottiswood, Book 7. p. 528.

the Kirk, on Account of his Religion and the Laws of the Nation then made against Papists and excommunicated Persons. He had always shown more than an ordinary Regard to that Family for their constant and uninterrupted Loyalty: And that he might legally bestow on them those Marks of his Favour, from which their Religion precluded them, he resolved to do what in him lay to make Protestants of them; and for that End, he called up to Court the Marquis's eldest Son, the Lord Gordon; and carefully educated him Protestant with his own Son Prince Henry, who being 17 Years of Age *Anno* 1610, was upon the 13th of *May*, with the usual Solemnities, created *Prince of Wales*; at which the Lord Gordon, being much in Favour with the Prince, was made *Knight of the Bath*; and Sir Robert Gordon, second Son of (and Tutor to) *Sutherland*, gained a Prize, as one of the three best Performers at the Tournaments usual at that Time. The Lord Gordon continued with the Prince till his Death, which happened *November* 6. 1612 at his Court at *St. James's*: He had been taken ill of a malignant Fever *October* 29th, which raged that Year in most Parts of *England*. He was much beloved of the People, and had given great Hopes of his proving a brave and warlike Prince. The Rumour past as if there had been Violence offered to Nature; some said, by *Bunches of Grapes given him to eat*; others, by *Gloves of a poison'd Perfume given him in a Present*. But Sir Richard Baker (a) calls these all idle Rumours, and says, *Hunc tantum terris ostendent fata, nec ultra esse sinent*. He was aged 18 Years, 8 Months and 17 Days, and was buried

buried in *Westminster Chapel* December 17th. The King after his Death kept the Lord *Gordon*, for his Education, with his Son *Charles*, now Prince of *Wales*, with whom he was in as great Favour as he had been with the former. At this Time Prince *Frederick*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, was in *England*, and was installed *Knight of the Garter* on Sunday the 7th of *February*, and married to Lady *Elizabeth*, the King's eldest Daughter, on the 14th of that Month.

Anno 1616 (a), there happened a Controversy betwixt the Families of *Huntly* and *Errol*, which was like to have put a great Part of *Scotland* into a Combustion, upon this Occasion: *Adam Gordon*, Brother to Sir *George Gordon* of *Gight*, and *Francis Hay*, first Cousin to the Earl of *Errol*, being one with the other intimate Friends and great Companions, and conversing with one another very familiarly, they happened to discord; and a Duel was appointed. Both of them being Men of great Courage, punctually kept Time and Place: And after both of them had shown a good deal of Courage, *Gordon* had the good Fortune to disarm *Hay*, by taking his Sword from him; which he returned, and they parted, each of them going to their respective Dwellings. But *Hay* took his Misfortune so high, that he could not digest it; and so sent another Challenge to *Gordon*, who desired *Hay* to forbear, saying, *He thought they had done enough for all the Quarrel*. Whereupon he comes to *Gordon's* House on Horse-back, with a Pair of Pistols at his Girdle; and finding *Gordon* walking in the Fields, he alighted from his Horse, and desired *Gordon* to do him Justice. They both drew their Swords; and it

was

(a) Gordonston's MS.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. III

was *Gordon's* good Fortune to have the better of it this second Time, and to oblige *Hay* to ask his Life; and so they parted. But as *Gordon* was going home, *Hay* (disdaining thus to be twice worried) shoots *Gordon* behind his Back with a Pistol, and kills him. How soon this came to Sir *George Gordon's* Ears, he convened some of his Friends, with whom he went in Search of *Hay*; and apprehending him, brought him Prisoner to the Town of *Aberdeen*, where, by *John Gordon* Sheriff-depute, he was tried; and being, by a Jury, found guilty, he was condemned to be beheaded: And the Sentence was put in Execution very soon after, to prevent a Reprieve that was said to be coming to him.

The Earl of *Errol*, who was a bold and proud Man, took it very ill that his so near Cousin should thus lose his Head, summons Sir *George Gordon* to appear before the Justice-Court at *Edinburgh*, for his apprehending *Hay* without a Commission; and *John Gordon* Sheriff-depute, before the Council, for going further than his Commission impowered him, in executing *Hay* after the Time prescribed in the Law to all Sheriffs. The Marquis of *Huntly* found himself obliged to engage in this Quarrel, not only in Defence of his Depute *John Gordon*, but also of his Cousin Sir *George*. He made diverse good Offers to the Earl of *Errol*, thereby to give him all reasonable Satisfaction, because they had been always in great Friendship together. But he would hear of no Reconciliation, nor hearken to any Terms, unless he got an Exemption to himself, all his Friends, Tenants and Dependents, from the Marquis of *Huntly's* Jurisdiction of Sheriffship; which he could not agree to.

Where-

Whereupon both those Lords did appear at *Edinburgh*, with all the Friends they could bring together on either Side; and thereby a great Part of the Nation was divided into two Factions, ready to fall together by the Ears. Which the King understanding, he writes to the Council, *Ordering them to delay, and continue the Determination of that Business, and to dismiss both Parties until his coming to Scotland.* Which Orders the Council obeyed. But in the mean Time Sir *George* and his Friends committed a Riot against the *Hays of Brunthill*. Nevertheless all Things were continued until the King came to *Scotland*; and then his Majesty called both these Lords before him, caused them subscribe a Submission, whereby they did submit and refer all Questions betwixt them to his Arbitriment and Sentence; and he determined, *That both Parties should mutually forgive all past Injuries, and be reconciled in Presence of the Council; That John Gordon should be imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh two Months. And that for the Riot committed against the Hays of Brunthill, That Sir George should pay 2000 Merks Dammage, and that Patrick Gordon his Brother should be banished to England two Months.* All Parts of which Sentence was performed, and the Quarrel agreed. I have heard it reported, that upon pronouncing of this Sentence, the King (who was well acquainted with both their Tempers) should have merrily aside said to some by him, *That he believed these two Lords would not bear Mass in one Chapel in haste:* And it was so, for they were never cordially reconciled, until 1627; that the Viscount of *Melgum*, *Huntly's* second Son was married to the Earl of *Errol's* Daughter.

Anno 1617 the King being at *Edinburgh*, keeps a Parliament *June 28th*, where there were many excellent Laws made for the Government both of Church and State, as appears by the Acts thereof. He visited the Towns of *St. Andrews; Dundee; Perth; Stirling*, and many of the Nobility's Houses; in all of which he, with those both *Scots* and *English* of his Train, were royally entertained. At last he went to *Glasgow*, and from that, by *Carlisle*, he returned to *London*, to the great Grief and Lamentation of all Ranks of People, for his parting from them.

In the following Year 1618, there was a Discord fell out betwixt the Earl of *Enzie* (for so I find the Lord *Gordon* now designed by *Gordonston* in his Manuscript History) and Sir *Lachlan Mackintosh*, Chief of the *Clan-Chattan*; upon this Occasion: When the Earl of *Enzie* went to *Lochaber* on the Account of *Allan Mac-Konald-Duy* and his Kindred the *Clan-Cameron*, Anno 1613, he called *Mackintosh* to accompany him in that Expedition, not only because he was the Marquis of *Huntly's* Vassal, but also in regard of the ancient Enmity that had long continued betwixt the *Clan-Chattan* and the *Camerons*; for keeping some of *Mackintosh's* Lands in *Lochaber* from him; the Earl having offered him good Conditions; if he would follow him in that Journey; even that he would never give over the Pursuit of the *Camerons*, until he had put *Mackintosh* in as peaceable Possession of his Lands in *Lochaber*; as *Huntly* possessed his. But he, being perswaded thereto by the Laird of *Grant* (whose Daughter he had married) an ancient Enemy to the Family of *Huntly*; and the chief Instrument of all the Trouble that happened betwixt that Family and the Family of *Murray*, refused to go a-

long in that Expedition. This the Earl took in very ill Part, to be so treated by his Vassal. However, he went up without him, and pacified *Lochaber*, by obliging *Allan Mac-Konald Duy* to submit, and render himself Prisoner at *Inverness*. The Earl indeed shewed more Favour to *Allan*, than he would otherwise have done, to be at evens with *Mackintosh* for his Refusal.

As a small Spark will kindle a great Fire, so this small Affair brought such Trouble on *Mackintosh*, that it had almost ruined him; and it was with much Trouble and Charges, that he at last got himself extricated out of these Difficulties. Young *Macronald*, the Son of him that conveyed Sir *James Macdonald* out of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, with his Brother *Donald Glass*, began to molest *Mackintosh* his Lands in *Lochaber*, and laid the same waste. He to redress himself, purchases a Commission from the Council against them; and therewith assembling all the Friends he was able to get together. With them he marches into *Lochaber*, to pursue and apprehend *Macronald* and his Brother; but to no Purpose, being obliged to return without doing any Thing (a).

Some of the Earl of *Enzie* his Tenants, being of the Race of *Clan-chattan*, were charged to go with *Mackintosh* on that Expedition, who also urged them to it by Force. The Earl being very much offended thereat, did summon him before the Council, for having therein exceeded the Bounds of his Commission: He gets his Commission against *Macronald* discharged, and himself to be employed by the Council in that Affair. Then he having assembled his Friends,
marches

(a) Gordonston MS. Hist.

marches into *Lochaber*, and from it expells *Macronald* and his Brother *Donald*. The one flies to the Isles, and the other unto *Spain* to his Father: And neither of them durst shew themselves openly in *Lochaber*, until their Father's Return from *Spain* anno 1620, with Sir *James Macdonald*, at which Time all of them got their Pardon from the King. Then young *Macronald* and his Brother *Donald* returned into *Lochaber*, and apprehended one of their own Tribe, who had kill'd a Servant of the Earl's, and delivered him to him. He caused execute him at *Inverness*, and by this they made their Peace with the Earl of *Enzie*: And *Lochaber* remained peaceable till Anno 1626, that the *Camerons* and others refused such Proposals as he made to them, for improving their own Lands; whereupon he took a Journey thither, accompanied with Sir *Alexander Gordon* of *Navidale*, Brother to the Earl of *Sutherland*, and many other Gentlemen of the Name of *Gordon*, and so pacified that Country, as no former Age had seen the like Quietness there, nor such Obedience to the King's Laws in those remote Parts; which he did effectuate by the Death and Execution of some Malefactors of the Name of *Cameron*, at *Inverlochy* in *Lochaber*: A rare Sight to see a *Cameron* hanged in that Country.

Anno 1618, the Earl of *Enzie* (a) intented another Action against *Mackintosh*, for the Eviction of some Lands he did hold of the Marquis of *Huntly* his Father, and himself, for Service which *Mackintosh* did not perform, according to the Tenor of his Charter from the Marquis. And moreover, the Earl of

(a) Gordonston MS. Hist.

Enzie serves Inhibition upon the Teinds of *Culloden*, then *Mackintosh* his Inheritance; but the Tithes appertained to the Earl of *Enzie*; and the Time of Tithing drawing near, *Mackintosh* by the Advice of the *Mackenzies* and the Laird of *Grant*, boasted, That he would not allow the Earl of *Enzie* to draw the Tithes. This coming to the Earl's Ears, he took it in a very bad Part, thus to be insulted by his own Vassal; but being a Privy-counsellor, he would not trouble the Peace of the Country, by using Violence to maintain his Right, least thereby he should give bad Example to others. But having obtained a Decree against *Mackintosh*, for some preceeding Years Spulzie of these Tithes, he sends Two Messengers at Arms, to distrain and poind the Corn upon the Ground, by Virtue of the said Decree.

The Messengers are staid, hindred and deforced by *Mackintosh* his Servants, whom the Earl pursues before the Council, and gets *Mackintosh* and his Servants proclaimed and denounced Rebels. Whereupon the Earl of *Enzie* convened a considerable Number of his Friends, and with them marched, to poind and carry to *Inverness* the Corns of *Culloden*, the *Clan-Chattan*, *Clan-Kenzie*, and the *Grants* still boasting, that they would impede him. *Mackintosh* fortifies the House with Ammunition and Arms, and committed the same to the Custody of his Two Uncles, *Duncan* and *Lanchlan Mackintoshes*, and they bring all the Corns within Shot of the Castle. Upon which the Earl writeth to his Cousin Sir *Robert Gordon*, then Tutor of *Sutherland*, to meet him at *Culloden* the 5th of November 1618, at which Time he resolved to try, if these boasting Tribes would impede him, in putting the Laws in Execution.

Sir *Robert* upon Receipt of this Letter, hasted to the Bog of *Gight* (now *Gordon-castle*) *Huntly's* House, where he and his Son the Earl were. In his Way there he called for *Mackintosh*, and endeavoured to agree these Differences, advising him as a Friend (there having been a long Correspondence betwixt the Families of *Sutherland* and *Clan-Chattan*) to submit himself to the Marquis of *Huntly*, in respect he was not able to stand it out against him, even tho the *Grants* and *Mackenzies* should assist him. But he being a wilfull and headstrong young Man, and intirely managed by the Laird of *Grant*, would not hearken to Sir *Robert's* good and friendly Advice, and goes immediately to *Edinburgh*, and from thence privily to *London*. In the mean Time, the Earl of *Enzie* conveyed about 1100 Horse, and 600 *Highland* Foot, all resolute and well armed Men.

November the 5th 1618, they met at *Inverness*, and the next Morning the Earl marches with these Forces towards the House of *Culloden*; and being come within Sight of it, he sent off Sir *Robert Gordon* to *Duncan Mackintosh*, who with his Brother *Lachlan* commanded the Fort, shewing him, that the Earl (in regard of his Nephew's extraordinary bragging) was come hither to put His Majesty's Laws in Execution, and to take away the Corns which in Right belonged to him. *Duncan* answered, *That they would not presume to hinder the Earl from taking his own Due, but that they would defend the Fort that was committed to his Charge.* Sir *Robert* returned with this Answer, and intreated, that the Lord *Lovat*, who was there present, might be sent back with him, to speak to *Duncan*, and try by their joint

Endeavours, if they might perswade him to surrender, before they should fall into Hostilities. *Lovat*, *Sir Robert*, and *George Monro* of *Milton* did return, and desired *Duncan*, as he favoured the Good and Well-being of his Nephew, he would not contest with the Earl; and at last perswaded him to yeild the House, Corns, and themselves, to the Earl's Discretion. Then the Earl sent off a Party, under the Command of *Lovat* and *Sir Robert*, to take Possession of the House; which they did, and returned with the Keys of the same to the Earl, who now having all in his Power, and thinking he had sufficiently humbled them; and that now, neither the *Clan-Chattan*, *Grants* nor *Mackenzies* durst show their Faces to oppose him, he returned the Keys of the House to *Duncan*, made a Compliment of the Corns to *Mackintosh* his Grandmother, who had these Lands for her Jointure, and returned Home.

After this, the Earl charged *Mackintosh* to appear before the Lords of Council and Session, for divers other Particulars; and he not appearing, is declared Rebel and out-lawed; who being at Court at the Time, gave in a Complaint to the King against the Earl, who posteth immediately to *London*, and not only reverses all that *Mackintosh* had done, but dealt so effectually with the King, that *Mackintosh* is sent back to *Scotland*, to be imprisoned in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, until he should give the Earl full Satisfaction. Whereupon he suits for a Réconciliation, which by the Intercession of Friends he got effectuated at *Edinburgh* Anno 1619, and was appointed to pay a good Sum of Money to the Earl; some Part whereof he remitted to him. The Laird of *Grant* also submit-

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ted himself to him ; yet because the Earl afterwards (upon the Continuance of their undutiful Dealings towards him) maintained *Allan Mackonald Dny* the Chief of the *Camerons* against them, there continued always some Discords betwixt the Earl and them, until the Death of the Lairds of *Grant* and *Mackintosh*, who both died *Anno 1622* ; whereby the most Part of *Mackintosh* his Lands, holding Ward of the Marquis of *Huntly*, fell to him as his Superior, during the Minority of his Son ; so that he by his undutiful contesting with his Superior, had almost ruined his Family. The Lord *Kintail*, now Earl of *Seaforth*, and his Kindred the *Mackenzies*, were reconciled to the Earl of *Enzie*, by the Mediation of the Earl of *Dumfermling* Chancellor, whose Daughter *Seaforth* had married *Anno 1619*.

Anno 1620, on *Good-friday*, died Mr. *James Gordon* a Jesuite, Uncle to the Marquis of *Huntly* (a Man esteem'd at that Time of good Learning) at *Paris*, in the Street of *St. Anthony* in the Jesuites College, and was buried there ; and the same Year *Francis Gordon*, the Marquis of *Huntly* his Son, died in *Germany*.

Sir *William Alexander* of *Menstrie*, undertook a (a) Plantation in that Part of *North-America*, now called *Nova Scotia*, where he intended to send a Colony. Sir *Robert Gordon* joined in this Enterprize, and did contract with Sir *William*, to send thither some Men out of *Sutherland*, well provided with Corns, Cattle, Weapons and other Provisions, fit and sufficient for that Purpose, who were to have a good Portion of that Country allotted for them to inhabit.

(a) Gordonston MS. Hist.

The Earls *Marischal*, *Haddington*, *Nithsdale*, the Viscount of *Duplin*, Sir *Robert Gordon* of *Lockinvar*, Sir *Alexander Gordon* of *Cluny*, *James Gordon* of *Lesmore*, and divers other Noblemen and Gentlemen, were Partners in this Plantation: And for the further Advancement of the same, His Majesty concluded to make heritable Knight-Baronets in *Scotland*, which Honour should be bestowed on the chief Undertakers of that Plantation, and others, who were of best Quality amongst the Gentry: And this Sir *Robert Gordon* of *Gordonston*, Great Grandson to and Representative of that Sir *Robert*, is the first Knight of that Order in *Scotland* at this Time.

Anno 1623, the Earl of *Enzie* being now at Peace with all his Neighbours at Home, went over to *France*, partly for his Diversion, and partly to solicit the erecting again the *Scots* Company of *Gens d'Arms* in *France*, whereof himself was to be Commander under his Uncle the Duke of *Lennox*, as he (the Duke) had formerly been under *Charles* Duke of *York* (afterwards *Charles I.*) sometime Captain of that Company. The *French* King used the Earl very kindly, as his Birth and Virtues deserved. Having staid at the *French* Court Six Months, he returned into *England* at *Christmase*. During his Absence in *France*, his Brother *Lawrence Gordon*, a Youth of great Expectation, and his Son *William Gordon* died, the one at *Strathbogie*, and the other at *Inverness*.

Anno 1624, The noble Prince *Ludovick*, Duke of *Lennox* and *Richmond*, died of a sudden Apoplexy at *Whitehall*. He was a faithful and trusty Counsellor to his Prince, who gave that Testimony of him at his Death, that he had followed him in all Fortunes

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Forty Years, never having been absent from him six Months at once. He was beloved by all when alive, and regrated by all when Dead. He was buried at *Westminster* in *Henry 7th's* Chappel, not far from *Queen Mary of Scotland*, and *Lady Margaret Douglas* Countess of *Lennox*, and succeeded by his Brother *Esme Stewart*, who died the same Year, *July 30.* at *Kerby*, of a violent Fever, and was buried at *Westminster* by his Brother.

Two Days before *Ludovick* Duke of *Lennox*, his Death, the *French* King's Patent under the Great Seal, for restoring the *Scots* Company of *Gens d' arms*, was delivered at *London* by the *French* Ambassador, to the Duke, and to his Nephew the Earl of *Enzie*. The one received his Commission as Captain, and the other to be Lieutenant. And the Duke in two Days thereafter dying, the Earl put in to be Captain, he being Lieutenant, thought it his Due to succeed to be Captain. In that he was much opposed by his other Uncle the present Duke of *Lennox*. Notwithstanding which, the Earl of *Enzie's* Interest prevailed, and he was preferred to be Captain, and the Lord *Gray* was made his Lieutenant; and for that Effect the Patent was renewed by the *French* King at *Campaigne* in *Picardy*, *April 19.* 1624, and delivered to the Earl, then at *London*, by the Count *de Tiliers*, the *French* Ambassador, *June 7.* And so this Command which the Kings of *France* had for some Ages bestowed upon the Family of *Lennox* and *Aubigny*, is now transferred to the Family of *Gordon*. I have insert a Copy of the Patent in the *Appendix N. 3.* with a Copy of the Oath which the Earl of *Enzie* took before the *French* Ambassador, when he delivered him his Patent.

The Reign of King *James VI.* drawing now near its End, I shall beg Leave to look back a little, and take Notice, That on the 2. of *March 1619*, his Queen, *Anne* Daughter to the King of *Denmark*, died at *Hampton Court*. Her Corps was carried to *Denmark-house*, and from thence to *Westminster*, where it was interred in the Chappel-Royal, with the usual Solemnity. I have already observed, That his eldest Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth*, was married to the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, *Anno 1613*. Thereafter he was elected, by the Estates of *Bohemia*, King of that Country. He accepted very rashly of the same, without advising with that wise Prince his Father in Law, who in that Affair never would approve of his Conduct, nor give him the Title of King. The Emperor claimed it as Part of his hereditary Dominions, and at last expell'd him, not only out of it, but also out of his own hereditary Countries; and by a Diet of the Empire, he was divested of his Electoral Dignity, and the same bestowed on the Duke of *Bavaria*. By this he and his Family being reduced to much Straits, King *James* by his Ambassadors at *Vienna*, *Madrid*, and among the Protestant Powers in *Germany*, used all his Endeavours to get him restored to his hereditary Dominions, (for he never thought he had any just Claim to *Bohemia*) but all in vain, being still put off with Shifts and Delays, by the Emperor and King of *Spain*.

Sir *Richard Weston* (a), whom the King had sent to the Emperor, to solicit the Prince *Palatine's* Restoration, returning without Success, the King enters into a Conference with *Gundamor* the *Spanish*

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(a) Baker, p. 439.

Ambassador on that Subject. He made the King believe the only Way to effectuate it, was, to propose a Marriage betwixt his Son Prince *Charles*, and the *Infanta of Spain*; and that if he would send the Prince to negotiate the same in Person, the one, and in Consequence of that the other, might be easily obtained. The Marquis of *Buckingham*, (and afterwards Duke of that Name) a proud and ambitious Man, and the King's chief Favorite, went fondly into the Proposal, knowing he would procure that Favour, as to be sent along as prime Minister with the Prince; and thereby have an Opportunity not only to show his present Grandeur, but also to aggrandize himself yet further for the future; and their two Advices being joined into one, they soon prevailed with the King (who had very much at Heart the melancholy Situation his Son-in-Law had thrown himself into) to go into their Measures. This *Spaniard* was a cunning and politick Man; and as he had perswaded the King of the Facility of the Match, so did he perswade the Catholick Ladies in *England* (a) of the Certainty of the same; and thereby brought in a good deal of Money from severals of them for Preferments about the Queen, when she should arrive in *England*.

The King having consented to the Prince's going for *Spain*, his Equipage is sent by Sea, and himself goes by Land *incognito*, accompanied by *Buckingham*, *Endymion Porter*, and Mr. *Francis Cottington*, two Gentlemen well acquainted with the Language and Affairs of *Spain*. In his Way he visited the Court of *France*; and 'tis reported, That his Disguise did

(a) Baker, p. 439.

did not screen him from being observed by that beautiful Daughter of *France*, whom thereafter he made Partner of his Bed ; and that when it was told her he was gone to *Spain*, she should have said, *That if he was gone thither for a Wife, if he had pleased he might have got one nearer home.* However he went forward, and arrived safely at the Court of *Spain*, where he was receiv'd and entertained conform to his Character, but had seldom Access to the young Lady. King *James* press'd that the Affair of the Palatine should be determined before the Marriage ; the *Spaniard* on the other Hand, that the Marriage should be first solemnized. The Marquis, now Duke of *Buckingham*, the Prince's prime Counsellor, did not agree with the Count *Olivarez*, chief Favorite of *Spain*, who (as the *Spaniards* are naturally slow in their Counsels, and not soon determined) put off the Affair from Time to Time with Delays. The King was likewise blam'd, as guilty of a rash Action, for sending the Prince to *Spain* ; and so trusting the Hopes of *England*, with the antient Enemies thereof. The King being wearied with their Delays, and losing all Hopes of getting the Palatinate restored that Way, he sent Orders to him to return to *England*. The Prince, in Obedience to these Orders, took his Leave of the Court of *Spain* (where he had staid Eight or Nine Months) and arrived safely in *England*. The Prince had promised before his Departure from *Spain*, to continue the Treaty of Marriage : But the King, after his Arrival, having perused the Marriage-Articles, and finding nothing in them in Relation to the Restitution of the Palatinate, clearly now perceived, that he had been all along deluded by them, and so entirely broke off the Treaty, and notified the same to the

Spanish

Spanish Ambassador, and also to the other Princes his Allies. And,

Having received a Supply from the Parliament, raised an Army of 6000 Men for the Assistance of the *Dutch*, who were now brought very low by the Spaniard. In the mean Time, News comes to *Europe*, That the *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*, had fallen upon the *English* Factory there, at *Amboyna*, destroyed the same, putting the Company's Servants to exquisite Tortures, in order to make them confess a pretended Conspiracy against their high Mightynesses; and, under Colour of Justice, murdered the whole Factory, and so monopolized the Spice-Trade, excluding *Britain*, and all the rest of *Europe* from the same. *England* has ever maintained the *Dutch* (since their Revolt from *Spain*) at the Expence of incredible Blood and Treasure; and when they are pleased to balance their Books, they will easily perceive on what Side the Debit lies.

The *Spanish* Marriage being now discharged, another is set on Foot for the Prince, with that beautiful Daughter of *France*, whom he had seen in his Way to *Spain*; and the King being now resolved to do what in him lay for recovering of the Palatinate for his Son and Daughter, raised another Army of 12000 Men, to be commanded by Count *Mansfield*, who, by a Treaty with *France*, were to land at *Calais*, and from thence to march through that Country, to *Germany*. But when they came before that Place, they were delayed from Time to Time, not being suffered to land; and thereby having suffered much Hardship, they set Sail for *Zeland*, not doubting of a kind Reception from their dear Friends and Allies the *Dutch*: But were mistaken; for they shut their Doors also against them, not

allowing so much as any of them to disembark; and so they were obliged to return, having lost two Parts of three of the Troops by Sickness and other Accidents. Upon which a late *English* Author observes, *That England never suffered so much from her greatest Enemies, as it has done by the Perverseness and Treachery of some of its false Allies* (a).

That excellent Prince King *James* was deprived of the Pleasure to see the Treaty of Marriage for the Prince (to manage which he had sent to *France* the Earls of *Carlile* and *Holland*) concluded, and prevented from feeling the Grief for the Loss which his Army and Fleet sustained, would have given him, by Death; for being seized with an Ague in *February*, after a Month's languishing he ended his Days at *Theobalds*, the 27th of *March* 1625, and the 59. Year of his Age, making a very pious and Christian Exit, as is generally agreed on. His Body, for the greater State, was carried from *Theobalds*, to *Denmark-house*, *April* 23d, with Torch-Light, and interred in *Westminster* Chappel, *May* 7. with great Solemnity, but (as Sir *Richard Baker*, who could not but know him, and be well informed of what past at his Burial writes) with greater Lamentation, there being scarce one of the Multitude that were present, of whom it might not be said (a),

Multa gemens, largoque humectat flumine vultum.

He was married, as is said before, to *Anne*, Daughter to *Frederick II.* King of *Denmark*, by whom he had Issue, 1. *Henry*, who died the 18th Year of his Age. 2.

Robert

(a) Salmon Vol. 1. p. 190. (b) P. 446.

Robert who died in his Infancy. 3. *Charles*, who succeeded him. 4. *Elizabeth*, married to *Frederick* Palatine of the *Rhine*, Elector, Cup-bearer, and High Steward of the Empire, sometimes stiled King of *Bohemia*. 5. *Margaret*, who died in her Infancy. 6. *Mary*, who lived two Years. And 7. *Sophia* who died three Days after she was born.

I think it needless here to trouble the Reader with his Character at large, the *English* and *Scots* are so full of it, and all those in his own Time have agreed in it (a); *Spottiswood*, *Johnston* and *Baker*, all were contemporary with him; the first past all Doubt intimately acquainted with him, and probably the other two. The first calls him, *The Solomon of his Age*, admired for his *Wisdom*, *Love of Justice*, and all other *Virtues*, and particularly for *Piety and Patience*, and his *Knowledge in all Manner of Learning*, as is to be seen in his *Works left behind him*. And he says, *That he had often heard him discourse in the most weighty Matters, both of Policy and Divinity*. *Baker* says (b) *He was Master in all Arts, but a Doctor in Divinity*, &c. And the reverend and learned Doctor *Morley* has given us his Picture so justly in that elegant Epitaph of his upon him, that I thought it worthy of a Place in the *Appendix*, N. 4. because he could not but be acquainted with him. Notwithstanding all which, the Right R—— Dr. *Burnet* must sharl at his Character, as he does with all those of his Successors: But he is already sufficiently chastised by so many learned Pens for the Mistakes (not to give them a worse Name) in that secret History of his. And since the Characters of these deceased Princes

(a) Spottisf. p. ult. (b) p. 446.

Princes can suffer nothing from him, I shall let him alone, and only say, If there be any Place for Repentance in the other World, he has much Need of it.

He, with some others, has termed his Learning Pedantry. 'Tis true, some of it does not taste so with the present as it did with the preceeding Ages, and we are not sure that the Learning which is most esteemed now, will pass so well in the succeeding Ages. I think I'm pretty much assured, that that Treatise of his, call'd *Basilicon Doron, or, Advice to the Prince*, will never be in Disesteem with any of those who retain a Regard to Piety and Virtue; and I must acknowledge, that I think it is made up of the best and most religious Advices that I have yet found in any Apocriphal Book, if *Ecclesiasticus* be none. I have excerpted out of it two or three Advices, which it had been good that his Son and Grandson had followed; and I wish that those who shall reign hereafter, may follow them, *vide Appen. N. 5.* He is also branded by some with that unacceptable Name of a Coward, and they are pleas'd to give a natural Reason for it, *to wit*, that Fright his Mother got, when he had been six Months in her Belly, by that barbarous Murder of her Servant *David Rizzio* in her Presence. That she was affrighted is past questioning, but that it should have made him a Coward, is a little too far fetch'd Philosophy. They blame him for not revenging his Mother's Murder, and impute it to his Want of Courage; but if they would be so just as to consider how he had always been situate, and then was, with his rebellious Subjects; and how by their frequent Rebellions they had weaken'd the Nation, and so consequently him; and how powerful

the Queen of *England* then was, and laying by all other political Reasons, I'm sure they would not blame him for not doing a Thing that was not in his Power to do. He was stiled *Rex pacificus*; as all Christian Princes ought to be, and had always that Aphorism in his View, *Consilio omnia experiri prius quam armis sapientem decet*. I shall conclude with *Baker*, *That for his Learning he was a Prince after Plato's own Heart; and, which is infinitely more worth, after GOD's own Heart, for his Religiousness and Piety.*

As the then Marquis of *Huntly* was a constantly loyal and dutiful Subject, so was King *James* a most affectionate and loving Prince towards him; he still brought him through the Difficulties his Religion threw him frequently into; and in so doing, was continually vexed and troubled with the seditious and turbulent Preachers of that Time, on whom he never got Foot until he went into *England*. He call'd up this Marquis of *Huntly* to *London* several Times, to consult about *Scots Affairs*; and the last Time he call'd him, being come to his Presence, he desired his Son *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*, to take *Huntly* by the Hand, as the most faithful Subject that (said he) ever served a Prince, assuring him, *That so long as he should cherish and keep Huntly on his Side, he needed not be very apprehensive of great Danger from turbulent Heads in Scotland.* I have seen Eight or Nine Letters from King *James* to this *Huntly*, all (save two) wrote with his own Hand. They are undeniable Proofs of the sincere Care and Regard he had for him, and the just Sense he had of his Loyalty; and they being short, and not in a common Stile, I have thought proper to insert them in the *Appendix*; N. 6.

King *James*, when very young, took the Government of *Scotland* into his own Hands. Before that Time all Ranks of loyal Subjects had been miserably oppressed by those rebellious Lords, who had dethroned, banished, nay, I may say murdered his Mother, and usurped the Government to themselves; in Time of which Usurpation, they wasted the Crown Revenues, and divided the Church-Lands among themselves; and so having possessed themselves of all the rich Abacies and Pories, got them afterwards erected into temporal Lordships; and from them it is, that now not a few of our Nobility have their Titles and Estates. They, to save themselves from being brought to an Account, and keep what they had (*per fas aut nefas*) got, judged it their Interest to keep the young King at under, and the Nation still divided, as much as in their Power lay; and that they might the more easily effectuate the same, they associated to themselves a great many of the turbulent and seditious Preachers (of which the Nation was not scarce at that Time) who had the Populace so much at their Devotion, that they believed that whatever came from their Teachers Mouths, was as sacred Truth, as if it had been thundered down from Heaven to them. By these Means they obliged the King, contrary to his Interest and Inclination, to confirm these Rights they had made up to themselves in Parliament, and erect the same into temporal Lordships: And thus did he continue in a most fluctuating State, till the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anna* 1603, that he succeeded to the Crown of *England*.

Upon his going thither, he was very graciously received and caressed by that Nation. They

at first granted him as liberal Subsidies as in Reason he could demand; he coming from *Scotland* the *English* Puritans believed him to be almost if not altogether theirs; but he soon undeceived them, and they found they had no Share in him, tho' their Power was then so insignificant (and so he kept it all his Reign) that they durst do nothing above Board, yet never gave over working under Ground against him. The *English* Parliament began to set up upon him in a short Time, and would not allow even scarce necessary Subsidies, pretending that he would exhaust the Wealth of that Nation upon his *Scots* Favorites. Notwithstanding all which, he by his profound Wisdom kept the Nation in Quiet and Peace all his Time. In the latter End of his Reign, as I have said, his Son in Law was divested by the Emperor of all his hereditary Dominions: The upper *Palatinate*, with the Electoral Dignity was given to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the lower to the King of *Spain*, which he also possesseth, except the Towns of *Heidleberg*, *Frankendale*, and *Manheim*, all of them strongly garrisoned by the *English*. After all the Means the King had used for restoring the Prince *Palatine* proved in vain, then the Parliament would needs have him to engage in a War with *Spain* for that End; but he dying in the Interim, left his Son the Crown, with the Burden of a very chargeable War, an empty Exchequer, *L. 300000* of Debt, and a not very well contented People; for they had already begun to hatch those Grievances, which brought forth all the Troubles of the ensuing Reign. And thus died King *James*, leaving the Kingdom to his Son.

Charles I. the Afternoon of the Day in which his Father died; 27th of *March* 1625, was proclaimed

at the Court Gates, King of *Great Britain, France,* and *Ireland*, and soon after, at all the other usual Places, with the ordinary Solemnities. His Father's Funerals being over, the next Thing he thought proper to remember, was, to hasten over his Wife *Henrietta Maria*, youngest Daughter to *Henry IV.* King of *France*, to whom he had been married the *Sunday* before in the Church of *Nostre-Dame* in *Paris*, the Duke *de Chevereux*, (a Prince of the Family of *Guise*, from whom the King was descended by his Great Grandmother) espousing the Princess in his Name. On *Trinity Sunday*, late at Night, she was brought from *Bullogne* to *Dover*, where the King went the next Morning to receive her; from thence brought her to *Canterbury*, where the Marriage was solemnized in his own Person; where he gave himself up so entirely to her Embraces, that to them from that Time he confined himself with such a Conjugal Chastity, that on the Day before his Death, he commanded the Princess *Elizabeth* to tell her Mother, That his Thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his Love should be the same to the last.

In the Heat of these Solemnities the King forgot not the main Concernments of his Kingdom, and to that End began his first Parliament, *June* 18th, and there demanded a suitable Supply for carrying on that War, in which his Father, by their Advice was engaged with Vigour and Honour. Now in the Beginning of his Reign, all they granted him was two Subsidies, amounting to about *L. 150000*, so far short of the Charge required for the Maintainance of so great a Fleet and Army, that being distributed amongst the Officers, Soldiers and Mariners, it would scarce have served for Advance-Money, to send them

them a going. They made no Provision for the Payment of the 300000 *l.* of Crown Debt when his Father died ; nor did they bestow upon him the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage, which his Predecessors had ever enjoyed since *Henry VIIth's* Time. However, the King took all in good Part ; and this small Subsidy, as an Earnest of greater ones, he expected from them. The Plague now raging in *London* he adjourned the Parliament to *Oxford*, appointing them to meet there, *August 1.* They met at the Time and Place appointed ; and when they should have granted the necessary Supplies demanded, then did the Puritans begin by little and little to unmask themselves, and that Fire begins to sparkle, which burst out into such a Flame, that at last, in spite of all Opposition, it destroyed the whole Frame of the *British* Government, a Flame that lasted till the happy Restoration of *Charles II.* no less than 35 Years. They began with the Duke of *Buckingham*, after him *Strafford*, *Laud*, &c. till at last they broke out into an open barbarous Rebellion, which over-run the whole Island with Blood and Rapine, of which the *English* Historians have given us a full Account ; and therefore I shall only touch it now and then very briefly, except in as far as *Scotland* shall happen to be concerned in it (which was too often) and then shall endeavour to give as full an Account of the same, as the Brevity I have proposed to my self will allow, and so shall return to my main Design.

The Nation now enjoying an universal and happy Peace, the Marquis of *Huntly* waxing old, retired to his own House, bestowing his Time in recovering and frugally managing his own Estate, as did his Son the Earl of *Enzie* for some Time. But the

King being resolved to resume the heritable Jurisdictions of Sheriffships, &c. which the Nobility had enjoyed for a long Time, thereby to bring the Country under his own more immediate Dependence, *Anno 1629*, he called to Court the Marquis of *Huntly*, and his Son the Earl of *Enzie*. The Marquis and his Predecessors had been heritable Sheriff Principals of the Shires of *Aberdeen* and *Inverness*, since *James II*'s Time, and got them from him, as a Part of the Reward which *Alexander*, first Earl of *Huntly* got for his defeating the Earl of *Crawford* at *Brechin*, *Anno 1452*, and immediately thereafter *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Murray* in his own Country: By which two Victories he kept the Crown upon the King's Head, as his first Charter upon the Lordship of *Brechin* did bear. His Right to these heritable Jurisdictions was afterwards several Times confirmed to him in Parliament, by the succeeding Kings, as the Charters of Confirmation yet extant do testify. So he had just as good a Right to these heritable Offices as to any other Part of his Estate; notwithstanding the King dealt earnestly with him to make a chearful Resignation of them, thereby to be a good Example to others, with whom he was to deal for the same Purpose. And this was done by the Earl of *Murray*'s Interest with the King in whose Ears he continually bus'd, that these Jurisdictions made *Huntly* too great a Subject.

The Marquis, who had always looked upon the King's Desires as Commands, and never knew what it was to disobey any of them, with Consent of his Son, and they both with one Consent willingly resign these two heritable Sheriffships of *Aberdeen* and *Inverness*, in the King's Hands; for which the King
 agreed

agreed to pay the Marquis 5000 *L. Sterl.*, as the adequate Price thereof, and gave him a Precept upon the Treasurer of *Scotland*, &c. for the same, which bears Date at *Windsor*, July 16. 1629, the one Half to be paid at *Whitsunday*, and the other at *Martinmas* thereafter 1630. Upon Presentation of the same in Exchequer, there was an Act past for Payment of the said Sum, subscribed by the Chancellor, Treasurer, *Monteith*, *Haddington*, &c. The Extract is signed, *Hamilton*, Clerk-Register. But there was never any Part of that Money paid to this Day; and the Papers are yet in Possession of his Grace the present Duke of *Gordon*. It had been better for the King that these Jurisdictions had remained in the Family of *Huntly*; for they still employed what Power they had for the King's Service; whereas those who got them afterwards employed them to quite contrary Purposes.

November 1629 (a), the King granted the Knight Baronets of *Scotland* the Liberty and Privilege to wear about their Necks an *Orange* tanny Ribband, whereon shall hing pendant a *Saltire Azure* in a *Scutcheon argent*, that is, a blew *St. Andrews* Cross upon a white Field, and thereon an *Escutcheon* with the Arms of *Scotland*, with an imperial Crown above, incircled with this Motto, *Fax mentis honestæ gloria*, to distinguish them in future Ages. And this Warrant was appointed to be registred in the *Heralds* Office in *Scotland*.

Anno 1630 (b) There happened a melancholly Accident to the Family of *Huntly* thus. First of *January* there fell out a Discord betwixt the Laird of

(a) Gordonston's MS. Hist. (b) Spalding MS. Mem.

Frendraught and some of his Friends, and *William Gordon* of *Rothemay*, and some of his, in which *William Gordon* was killed, a brave and gallant Gentleman. On the other Side was slain *George Gordon*, Brother to Sir *James Gordon* of *Lefmore*, and divers others were wounded on both Sides. The Marquis of *Huntly*, and some other well disposed Friends made up this Quarrel; and *Frendraught* was appointed to pay to the Lady Dowager of *Rothemay* 50000 Merks *Scots* in Compensation of the Slaughter, which, as is said, was truly paid: But it seems the Price of Blood does not prosper; for that Family is now extinct.

Upon the 27th of *September* this Year, *Frendraught* having in his Company *Robert Chrichton* of *Condlaw*, and *James Lesly* Son to the Laird of *Pitcaple*, *Chrichton* shot *Lesly* through the Arm, who was carried to his Father's House, and *Frendraught* put *Chrichton* out of his Company. Immediately thereafter he went to visit the Earl of *Murray*; and, in his Return, came to the *Bog of Gight*, now *Castle-Gordon*, to visit the Marquis of *Huntly*; of which *Pitcaple* getting Notice that *Frendraught* was in the *Bog*, conveens about 30 Horsemen fully arm'd, and with them marches to intercept *Frendraught*, and to be reveng'd of him for the Hurt his Son had got. He came to the Marquis's House, *October* 7. Upon which the Marquis wisely desired *Frendraught* to keep Company with his Lady, and he would discourie *Pitcaple*, who complained to him grievously of the Harm he had done to his Son, and vowed he would be revenged of him ere he returned home. The Marquis did all he could to excuse *Frendraught*, and satisfy *Pitcaple*, but to no Purpose; and so he went away

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in a Chaff, still vowing Revenge. The Marquis communicated all that had past to *Frendraught*, and kept him at his House a Day or Two; and even then would not let him go Home alone, but sent his Son *John Gordon*, Viscount of *Melgum* and *Aboyne*, with some others, as a Safe-guard to him, until he should be at Home (among whom was *John Gordon* of *Rothemay*, Son to him lately slain) lest *Pitcable* should ly in Ambush for him.

They convoyed him safely Home, and after Dinner *Aboyne* pressed earnestly to return; and as earnestly did *Frendraught* press him to stay, and would by no Means part with him that Night. He at last condescended to stay, though unwillingly. They were well entertained, supped merrily, and went to Bed joyfull. The Viscount was laid in a Room in the old Tower of the Hall, standing upon a Vault, where there was a round Hole under his Bed. *Robert Gordon* and *Englisch Will*, Two of his Servants, were laid beside him. The Laird of *Rothemay* and some Servants by him, in an upper Room above *Aboyne*. And above that in another Room, *George Chalmers* of *Noth*, and another of the Viscount's Servants; all of them lodged in that old Tower, and all of them in Rooms one above the other. All of them being at Rest, about Midnight the Tower takes Fire, in so sudden and so furious a Manner, that this noble Lord, the Laird of *Rothemay*, *Englisch Will*, *Colin Ivat*, and other Two, being Six in Number, were cruelly burnt to Death, without Help or Relief offer'd to be made; the Laird and Lady looking on, without so much as endeavouring to deliver them from the Fury of those merciless Flames, as was reported.

Robert

Robert Gordon, who was in *Aboyne's* Chamber, escaped, as ('tis said) *Aboyne* might have done, if he had not rushed up Stairs to awake *Rothemay*; and while he was about that, the wooden Passage, and the Lofting of the Room took Fire; so that none of them could get down Stairs. They went to the Window that looked into the Court, and cried many Times Help for G O D's Sake, the Laird and Lady looking on; but all to no Purpose. And finally, seeing there was no Help to be made, they recommended themselves to G O D, clasped in one another's Embraces: And thus perished in those merciless Flames, the noble Lord *John Gordon*, Viscount of *Melgum* and *Aboyne*, and *John Gordon* of *Rothemay*, a very brave Youth. This Viscount was a very complete Gentleman, both in Body and Mind, and much lamented by the whole Country, but especially by his Father, Mother and Lady, who lived a melancholly and retired Life all her Time thereafter. And this was the Reward the Marquis of *Huntly* got for his Good-will to *Frendraught* (says my Author *Spalding*) who lived not far from the Place, and had the Account from Eye-witnesses.

How soon the Account of this lamentable Accident came to the Marquis's Ears, he sent some Friends, to gather up what of their Ashes and burnt Bones could be found; and as far as it was possible to distinguish them, to put them into different Coffins, for which he sent Six, one for each Person burnt, and ordered them to be buried in the Kirk of *Gartly*. The Day after the burning, the Lady *Frendraught* in a very homely Dress, and no more Retinue but one Servant leading her Horse, went to the Bog weeping, and asked Access to the Marquis; which

which he would not allow, though she was *Sutherland's* Sister and his near Cousin. The Marquis wrote an Account of what had happened, to his Son the Earl of *Enzie*, then living at *Inverness*, who immediately came to his Father. They convened *William* Earl of *Errol* (Brother to the sorrowful young Widow) and some of their Friends ; who after serious Consultation, concluded, That this Fire could not come by Chance or Sloath, and that it behoved to have been premeditated, and of Design ; and that *Frendraught*, his Lady, Friends or Servants were in the Knowledge of it. So *Huntly* being unwilling to revenge himself by Force, resolves to prosecute it legally.

Frendraught, for his own Vindication, seized one *Meldrum* a Sister's Son of *Pitcaple's*, and carried him to *Edinburgh*, where he was tried. He confessed nothing, and there was nothing proved, but *malum promissum*, and that in very general Terms ; yet he was condemned and execute, denying all to his Death. There was also a Gentlewoman who serv'd the Lady, of the Name of *Wood*, who was tried : She also denied all, was put to Torture, persevered in her Denial, and was set at Liberty as innocent.

The Marquis of *Huntly* being resolved to prosecute *Frendraught*, goes to *Edinburgh* Anno 1631, accompanied by a great many of his Friends, and gave in his Petition to the Council. They all regrated that unhappy Fire ; but were put to a Stand how to find out the Authors of it ; and being very willing to discover them (if possible) they granted Commission to the Bishops of *Aberdeen* and *Murray*, the Lord *Carnegy* and Colonel *Bruce*, to go to the House of *Frendraught*, and there ingenuously to try, how the

Tower took Fire; whether accidentally or of Purpose; or if it proceeded from within the House; or if Fire was put into it at Slits or Windows, by Mens Hands, or done by any other Engine.

These Commissioners convened at the House April 13th 1631, where the Earl of *Enzie*, the Lord *Ogilvy*, the Lord *Deskford*, with many other Gentlemen, met them. They surveyed the House, the burnt Tower, and Vault under it, within and without, with all Manner of Circumspection; and with one Voice concluded and write to the Council, *That this Fire could not be raised without the House, except by Force of Engines of War; neither came the same by Accident, Neglect or Sloth, but of set Purpose this Fire was raised in the Vaults or Chambers, by Mens Hands.* Huntly staid at *Edinburgh*, till the Report from the Commissioners returned to the Council, and then he returned Home, with his Suspicion more and more increased against *Frendraught*.

Anno 1633, King *Charles I.* comes to *Edinburgh*, and holds a Parliament in Person; which the Marquis intending to keep, for that End came from his House to *Kandakyle* (now *Dee-castle* in the Lordship of *Aboyne*) where he fell sick, and sent his Lady with the Lady *Aboyne*, to complain to His Majesty, concerning the burning of *Frendraught*, who went with some other Ladies in their Mourning- apparel, to inform the King about it. He comforted the Ladies as well as he could, and promised them Justice. The King returned, and they staid in *Edinburgh*, until the forenamed *Meldrum* was tried and executed; and his constant Denial still the more increased their Suspicion. There was another in Prison about it, one *Toskea*, a Domestick-servant of *Fren-*

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Frendraught's, who was much suspected to have been in Knowledge of it, if not the Actor; yet he was not put to his Trial at this Time. The Ladies returned to *Kandakyle*, where *Huntly* waited all this Time, and all of them returned Home to the Bog of *Gight*, September 17.

Anno 1634, *Huntly* being determined to have the forenamed Fellow *Tosbea* tried, he and his Lady goes towards *Edinburgh*; but he falls again sick at *Kandakyle*, and his Lady goes forward. She causes sharply accuse the Fellow, upon sundry suspicious Points: But he denies all, is put to the Torture, and confesses nothing. Thereafter she desires, he might be put to the Trial of an Assize; but his Lawyers (secretly imployed by *Frendraught*) pleaded strenuously, That he could not in Law be put to the Trial of an Assize, he being already put to the Torture, and confessing nothing; and is only ordained to stand upon the Pillory for Two Hours, for uttering some rash Words against the Marquis, and then to be set at Liberty. After which the Marchioness returns to her Husband, and both of them to their House at Bog of *Gight*.

After this, several Companies of Highlanders fall down upon *Frendraught*, and divers Times spoil and destroy his whole Lands, driving away all the Horse, Nolt and Sheep they could find. Upon which, finding he could not abide at Home, he retires privately to *Edinburgh*. Thereafter, to revenge *Aboyne* and *Rothemay's* Death, there breaks out a Number of the Gentlemen of the Name of *Gordon*, with their Friends and Followers, and that openly, as *Alexander Gordon*, eldest Son to *John Gordon* of *Innemarky*, Captain *Adam Gordon*, second Son

Son to Sir *Adam Gordon* of *Park*, *John Gordon* in *Auchindrith*, *William Gordon* Brother to *Auchanachie*, *James Gordon* in *Sutherland*, *Nathanael Gordon* and his Brother, Sons to *John Gordon* of *Ardlogie*, *John Gordon*, Son to *John Gordon* of *Little-mill*, *James Gordon*, Son to *Balernity*, *Alexander Leith*, Brother to the Laird of *Hartbill*, and several others, all of them brave and resolute young Gentlemen. These Gentlemen taking the burning of their Friends heavily to Heart, and expecting no Redress by Law, vowed to be revenged on *Frendraught* by Way of Deed. First, They drive away all the Cattle and Sheep they could find on his Lands, openly to *Briack-fair*, and there sold them, a Cow for a Dollar, and a Sheep for a Groat: And some of them being drinking at an Alehouse, they apprehend one *Thomson*, sent out as a Spy upon them, to hear what they said; and he confessing the same, without further they carry him to *Strathbogie*, and there hang him upon the Gallows near that Place.

Again upon the 15th of *November*, they drive out of these Lands 260 Nolt, and 360 Sheep, to *Strathbogie*. The Marquis not being there, they break open the Gates, and put them into the Clois or Court; and on the 23d of that Month, they burnt the Cornyard of *Frendraught*, in which was 80 Corn-stacks. *Frendraught* was forced to suffer all this, and stay in *Edinburgh*, and petition the Council, who directs North one *Malcolm* a Herald, and *Farquharson* a Trumpeter, to summon these Gentlemen at the Market-crosses of *Aberdeen*, *Banff*, *Forres* and *Elgin*, to compear before the Council upon the 16th of *December* Instant, and the 16th of *January* 1635; and likewise to charge the Marquis, 12 Barons, 12 Gentle-

men

men and 12 Ministers, personally, or at their Dwelling-houses, to compear before the Council on the foresaid Days, on great Penalties, to give them Information of these Disorders. The Herauld going from *Bamff* to *Elgin*, meets Captain *Gordon* and the rest of them, to whom he intimates his Orders, and executes his Charge against them personally, and was afraid they would have killed him: But the Captain discreetly answered, *That their Blood was taken* (for most of them were of the House of *Rothemay*, or allyed to it) *cruelly by Fire, in the House of Fren draught ; Justice sought, and none could be found ; which made them desperately to seek Revenge upon the Laird, his Men, Tenants and Servants, at their own Hands ; but as for the rest of the King's Leiges, they would do them no Injury, unless they themselves procured it.* The Herauld being glad to get away with his Life, took his Leave, the Trumpet sounded, and the Captain gave him Five Dollars of Wages. The Herauld before had summoned the Marquis at his House, where he was civilly entertained.

The Cattle they drove to *Strathbogie* they brought from thence, and carried them to the House of *Rothemay*, where the Lady with her Children were dwelling. They force her to retire to a Barn, and then possess the House : They kill as many of the Oxen, Cows and Sheep, as they think needful, to salt or smoke, for House-provisions ; some they keep for fresh Meat, and the rest they dispose of as they please. They oblige the Tenants to send in to them what Meal, Malt, Poultry, and what other Things they called, and gave them their Receipts for the same, to Account with their Laird. And thus they lived

lived for some Time as plentifully, as any in the Country. And all this Time *Frendraught* durst not come near his House, but staid in *Edinburgh*.

Huntly being summoned, and finding himself not able to travel in the Dead of the Winter, sends to *Edinburgh* *John Gordon* of *Innermarky*, *Gordon* of *Glengerack*, *Sir Adam Gordon* of *Park*, *James Gordon* of *Letterfury*, *James Gordon* Baillie in *Strathbogie*, and *James Gordon* in *Tillisoule*, desiring them to obey the Charges which they had gotten, and to present a Certificate which the Marquis had procured from some Ministers, declaring his Inability to travel; which was repelled, because it was not upon Soul and Conscience. And the forenamed Gentlemen were all imprisoned in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*; and Orders are directed to *Thomas Crombie*, Sheriff-principal of *Aberdeen*, to raise the *Posse*, and apprehend those who did not compear, and to convey them to the next Sheriff; and so from Shire to Shire, until they be brought to *Edinburgh*. He convened about 200 Horse, and went to *Strathbogie*, and some other suspected Places, *December 30, 1634*; but could find none within the Shire of *Aberdeen*, but understood they were in *Rothemay*, which is in *Bamff*-shire. And this he wrote back to the Council, to show his Diligence.

Thereupon the Lords send their Commission to *George Baird* of *Auchmeden*, Sheriff-principal of *Bamff*, to search for and apprehend these Gentlemen, in Manner and to the Effect foresaid. Upon which, the Sheriff raises about 200 Men, and goes to *Rothemay*, gets open Gates, searches the House, but finds none of them there. Upon which he discharges the *Posse*, and he and they return to their respective Dwel-

Dwellings. The Gentlemen had left the House some Two or Three Hours before the Sheriff came thither: And he was no sooner gone, than they returned again, and lived as formerly.

Anno 1635, in the Month of *January* (the Marquis's Certificate being rejected) he, and all those who did not appear, were declared Fugitives. With which not being well pleased, he on the 9th of *January* sets out for *Edinburgh* in a great Storm, and by easy Journies of about eight or ten Miles a Day, came to his own House at *Melgum*, within Two Miles of *Brechin*; and there (the Storm increasing) he was forced to stay. But in the mean Time, the Lords of Council directed North one *Eleazar Mackison*, a Herauld, to charge the Marquis at the Market-cross of *Bamff*, to enter his Person in Ward in the Castle of *Dumbarton*. This was pretty hard Measure, that old and loyal Marquis met with from the Council, especially they knowing him to be on his Journey, in order to appear before them, and only retarded by the excessive Storm, which made it impracticable for a Man of his Age and bodily Indisposition to travel. The same Herauld had it also in his Orders to charge the Lady *Rothemay*, to deliver up the Keys of her House; which was readily obeyed, none of the *Gordons* being there at that Time. He lock'd up the Gates, and returned to *Edinburgh* with the Keys. But he was no sooner gone, than they returned, broke open the Doors, and lived as formerly. In the mean Time, Letters of Intercommuning being directed out against them; and so it not being lawful for any Person to converse with or harbour them, they divided the Spoil, and broke up Company *January 23d.*

The Marquis being still detained at *Melgum* by the extraordinary Storm, is charged by the foresaid Herald, to deliver up the Keys of his House, where his ordinary Residence was; which he obeyed, and sent Orders to his Baillie, to deliver up the Keys of his Houses of *Strathbogie* and the *Bog*. The Baillie obeyed his Orders, the Herald received the Keys, and carried them South to the Council. The Marquis took it very ill to be so unreasonably dealt by, and therefore resolves, spite of all Impediments, to be at *Edinburgh*. Accordingly he takes Journey with his Lady, both of them being carried in a Chair upon Mens Arms, Horses not being able to travel: And having arrived, he appears before the Council, and is relaxed from his Fugitation.

Thereafter the Lords demand, if he was Art and Part, or on the Counsel with, or hounding out of these Gentlemen of the Name of *Gordon*, to do such open Oppression. He denied, *That he was privy to such Courses, nor did it stand with his Honour, to revenge his just Cause, by killing of Beasts, or burning of Corns.* They urge him then, as Chief, to bring in these lawless People to the Council. He answered, *He was no Sheriff, nor had Authority, was become now old, feeble and weak, to bring in such People, descended of a Stock by themselves, who were seeking Revenge of their Blood, and would neither be counselled nor commanded by him; but if his Son were in the Kingdom, he would be fitter for such an Affair.* The Lords said, he should have Commission, to search and apprehend them, or put them out of the Kingdom, and was order'd not to reset them in his Bounds: As also, he was to report his Diligence, betwixt and the 6th of *June* next: He was ordained also to give

Cautions

Caution to *Frendraught*, that he, his Men, Tenants and Servants, should be harmless and skaitheless, in their Bodies, Goods and Gear, of all his (the Marquis) Men, Tenants and Servants; and also of those broken Men, in so far as he could stop or hinder them; and that under the Pain of *L. 100,000 Scots*. . As also, to pay to *Frendraught*, such Cost and Skaith as he should sustain from them, after the 6th Day of *April* next.

This being done, the Keys of the Marquis's Houses were returned to him; and he not being able to do better, received them on the foresaid Terms: And Sir *Adam Gordon of Park*, with the other Gentlemen, were set at Liberty, finding Caution to appear before the Council the 17th of *June* next. And the Marquis writes to his Baillies, *That none in his Bounds should reset any of these broken Men* (for so are they now termed.)

The Laird of *Frendraught* purchases another Commission from the Council, to the Sheriff-principal of *Bamff*, to take Possession of the House of *Rothemay*, to garison the same, and to send the Lady Prisoner to *Edinburgh*; which he did. He also put 20 Men into the House, to keep it out, who were maintained upon the Lady's Charges. When she was brought before the Council, she was accused for resetting of those broken Men. She denied it, and told, *That they forced the House, and put her out of it, and obliged her to live in a Barn*. Notwithstanding which, she is confined to close Prison; but in *July* thereafter, the Council allowed her the Liberty of the Town, she having found Caution not to go out of it, without Permission: Which was hard Usage for a mournful Lady, who had her Husband murder'd.

by *Frendraught*, and her Son (a brave young Gentleman) burnt in his House. The Marquis returns to *Strathbogie*, and the next Day sent out *Letterfury* and others, to search for and apprehend those broken Men of his Name. Upon which, some of them fled over to *Ross* and *Cathness*, and from thence went abroad; and the rest left the Country. He then sent *James Gordon* of *Letterfury* to the Council, to give an Account of his Diligence. He for himself offer'd to re-enter Prison, in Obedience to their last Act: But they allowed him to return Home, he finding new Caution to appear again. But as for the Marquis, they would needs have him to give an Account of his Diligence in Person.

July the 15th, The Marquis having got new Charges to shew his Diligence, takes Journey for *Edinburgh*: He gives an Account of his Diligence, with which the Council is pleas'd. But they appoint him to give new Surety for L. 100,000, to keep the King's Peace himself, and all he could stop or command; which being done, he returns to *Melgum*. He had bought these Lands, and his Son now being dead, who was to succeed to them, he at this Time sold them to *Maul of Both*.

The forementioned Captain *Adam Gordon* perceiv- ing, that the Marquis of *Huntly* did eagerly pursue him and his Accomplices, and finding no Way of Retreat, applies himself to the Archbishop, then Chancellor of *Scotland*, and promis'd, that if the King would pardon him all bygone Faults, he would reveal who was the Author and Fountain of all these Troubles. The Chancellor accepts of the Offer, and sends an Express to the King, who signs *Adam's* Remission, and immediately sends the same back, which

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which very soon past the Seals; and in *October* his Peace was proclaimed at the Market-crosses of *Aberdeen, Bamff* and *Elgin*; and he was well entertained by the Justice-clerk when in *Edinburgh*.

This suddenly purchast Peace was thought strange of by many; they believed that he had revealed such as he knew to be the Promoters of these Troubles. Whereupon *Huntly* was charged *November* the 2d, to appear before the Council *December* 1st, and to produce *James Gordon* of *Letterfury*, *James Gordon* Baillie in *Strathbogie*, *John Gordon* of *Ardlachie*,

Gordon of *Kairnburrow*, *John Gordon* of *Invermarkie*, with *Alexander Gordon*, alias *Swankie*, and *John Lichton* his Servants, and divers others, as alledged Out-hounders of the afore-mentioned broken Men. And Charges were given to all the Barons and Gentlemen of the Name of *Gordon*, within the Sheriffdoms of *Aberdeen, Bamff* and *Murray*, to compare the foresaid Day, that they with the Marquis might find Caution for the King's Peace.

The Marquis with his Lady goes to *Edinburgh* in the Dead of Winter, and appears before the Council the Day appointed, with *James Gordon* of *Letterfury*, and *Alexander Gordon Swankie*; but none of the rest appear'd that Day. The Marquis and *Letterfury* were both confronted with Captain *Adam*; and denied all; yet the Marquis was commanded to enter himself Prisoner in the Castle; and *Letterfury* and *Swankie* were made close Prisoners in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, and not allowed to see Day-light, but were served with Candle-light. My Lady Marchioness was refused Allowance to go to the Castle with her Husband, unless she would ward with him; and it was with great Entreaty, that she was allowed to

Christmasts with him. Pretty hard Treatment for a Man of his Age and Quality, especially being in a dying Condition, as soon after happened, and nothing at all proved against him. If his old Friend King *James* had been alive, he had not been so used: But the King at this Time gave too much Ear to some about him, who most villainously betrayed him, and very soon appear'd in Arms against him; and were no Friends to the Family of *Huntly*, for no other Reason but this, that they knew, that their constant and steady Loyalty would be a Rub in the Way of those rebellious Projects they had framed to themselves. 'Tis pretty remarkable, and probably an unparalleled Instance of steady Loyalty, That notwithstanding this harsh Treatment, that *Huntly* and all the Gentlemen of his Name met with at this Time, and the Rebellion breaking out so soon, that it did not provoke one single Gentleman of the Name to join his Enemies: But all of them on the contrary, even under the greatest Discouragements, constantly spend their Lives, Blood and Fortunes for him, when those whom he now caresses as his Bosom-friends, not a few of them had declared themselves his open Enemies, and were fighting against him. But the Truth is, that Family and it's Friends had suck'd in Loyalty with their Mothers Milk, and were so inured to the same, that it was impossible for a rebellious Thought to find Harbour in their Breasts.

In the Month of *June*, the Earl of *Traquhair*, now High-treasurer, came from *London*, and brought Orders to the Council, to set *Huntly* and his Page *Alexander Gordon* at Liberty, without further, since he was satisfied of their being innocent, and that there was nothing proved against them; and recom-
mended

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mended it to the Council, to perswade the Marquis and *Frendraught*, to submit their Differences to Friends. But the Marquis would not hear of it, but refused the same with Disdain.

The Marquis now at Liberty, and finding himself grow still weaker and weaker, made all the Haste he could (if possible) to get Home: He therefore causes carry himself in a Bed in his Chariot, from the *Canon-gate* to *Leith*; and so to *Dundee* (his Lady in Company with him) to one *Robert Murray's* House, a Tavern; and finding Death near, he declared his Will to his Lady and such Friends as he had there; and having prepared himself for the other, he left this World, at *Dundee*, *June 13th, Anno 1636*, and of his Age the 74. His Corps was carried from thence the 25th, to the Chapel of *Strathbogie*; from that to the Kirk of *Bellie*; and next to his own Lodging in *Elgin*; and upon the 30th of *August* was interr'd in the Burial-place of the Family, in the Cathedral-church in the Night-time, with 300 lighted Torches. His Character may be easily gather'd from the Account I have given of him, and therefore I shall say no more about him, but that he was a loyal, brave and wise Man.

I have brought this Story about the Burning of *Frendraught* together, from the Manuscripts of Sir *Robert Gordon* and Mr. *Spalding*. I have already given an Account of Sir *Robert*; and for the latter, since I will be several Times obliged to his Manuscript, 'tis not amiss to show what he was. 'Tis writ by way of Diary, and gives an Account of the Transactions of *Scotland*, from 1630 to 1650. He was a little too exact in Matters near to himself, and that makes him sometimes trifle; but for all that,

there are a good many remarkable Things in it ; and 'tis no hard Matter for any judicious Person, to separate the Chaff from the Corn, to make Use of the one and leave the other. I have perused it, and I think he has been a very honest and faithful Man. 'Tis from such Memoirs, that a great Part of the History of that Time must be made up. He was a Lawyer, an Advocate in *Aberdeen*, and appears to me to have been a loyal and judicious Man. From these Two, I say, I have traced from the Beginning to the End, the Story of the forementioned Burning : The Family of *Huntly* being so deeply concerned, I was unwilling to break the Thread of it, or be interrupted thereby afterwards. Whether that Fire was by Accident, or on Design ; and so, whether the Laird and Lady were innocent or guilty, will now not be discovered, till the Secrets of all Mens Hearts be laid open. This is sure, that *Huntly* and the Gentlemen of his Name thought them guilty, and that they then put a great Value on their Friends Blood : I should be sorry if it were otherwise now. The Family of *Frendraught* then was a very opulent Family ; they had a great Land-estate, and much Money ; and after that it soon went to Ruin, and was sometime ago extinguished. I must now return to the Family of *Huntly*, and this obliges me to look back to 1632.

I shall take Notice, That Two Years before that Time, *Anno* 1630, one Dr. *Alexander Leighton*, a Scots Divine, who had published a (a) scandalous and seditious Book, intituled, *An Appeal to the Parliament, or a Plea against Prelacy*. For which an
 Infor-

(a) Eachard's Hist. Vol. 2. P. 91.

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Information was exhibited against him in the *Star-Chamber*. In it there were several Expressions so exorbitant and insolent against the Government, that the two Lords Chief Justices that were present delivered their Opinion, That they would have proceeded against him for Treason, if the Cause had come before them; and other Lords declared it to be his Majesty's great Mercy and Goodness that he was brought to receive the Censure of this Court, and not arraign'd for a Traitor at another Bar. In fine, he was sentenced to Imprisonment during the King's Pleasure, and to a Fine of 10000 Pounds, to be degraded in the Ecclesiastical Court, to be then twice put on the Pillory, and whip'd, to have both his Ears cut off, his Nose slit, and his Face stigmatized. But waiting in vain for the Penitence of the Offender, after five Months Respite, he made his Escape; but was apprehended, brought back to the *Fleet*, and nothing relenting, had the Sentence executed upon him to the full. And tho' the Nature of the Crime, the Obstinacy of the Offender, and the Necessity of suppressing such a furious Spirit, sufficiently required this or the like Punishment, yet it moved Pity in the unthinking Populace, and raised new Prejudices against the Court.

In this Year 1630 (a), on the 29th of *May* a little before One a-Clock in the Afternoon, the Queen was delivered of a Son at the Palace of *St. James's*, at which Time a Star appeared in a clear Sky, to the Wonder of numberless Spectators; and in Honour of his Nativity Medals were struck, representing the Star at his Nativity, with other Devices, and this Motto,
Haste-

(a) Echard's Hist. *ibid.*

Hactenus Anglorum nulli, signifying, That before him there was no *English* Prince born to so high Titles. Upon the 27th of *June*, this Royal Infant, with extraordinary Pomp was carried to the Font, and baptized *Charles*, by the Bishop of *London*, having for his two God-fathers, the *French* King, and the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, represented by their Proxies, the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*. The Queen-mother of *France* was his God-mother, represented by the Dutchess of *Richmond*.

In this Year the much renowned *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, undertook that famous Expedition into *Germany*, for the Relief of the Protestant Princes there ; and the King of *Britain* thought himself nearly concerned, both in Honour and Tenderness, to take this Opportunity to relieve his Sister, and restore the *Palatinate* to her Husband (a). The King of *Sweden* also sent an Ambassador to the King of *Britain*, to treat with him for his Assistance ; and the King of *Bohemia* and his Queen wrote earnestly to him, (their Brother) upon the same Account ; and the Queen wrote to the Marquis of *Hamilton* (knowing him to be much trusted by the King) to be assistant to the *Swedish* Ambassador in that Affair ; and the King of himself having a very warm Disposition to it, soon granted the Marquis of *Hamilton* a Commission to raise 6000 Men, to be carried over under his Conduct to *Germany* to the King of *Sweden* his Assistance. Upon which the Marquis sent over to the King of *Sweden*, Colonel *Alexander Hamilton*, Brother to the Earl of *Haddington*, and
David

(a) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 36.

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David Ramsay, a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to the King of *Britain*, to offer his Service to him, and to treat about the Terms upon which he was to bring over these Forces. The King of *Sweden* very readily accepted of the Offer, and immediately gave a Commission to the Marquis to command what Forces he should bring over as General; as also he agreed to the following Conditions, *viz.* (a).

I. *That when the Marquis shall signify to us, That he is ready to bring over his Forces, we shall assign him a Place for his Landing, either to come and join with our Armies, or to make an Impression elsewhere, as we shall think fit.*

II. *If we shall command him to land any where from whence he shall not come straight to us, we shall, for strengthening his Forces, send to him 4000 Foot out of our Armies, whom we shall furnish with all Necessaries, and maintain on our own Charges a whole Year.*

III. *Because the said Marquis thinks, that 2000 Horse are necessary for his Foot, for whose Levy and Pay he promises all Assistance, we shall think of all Ways and Means for raising and maintaining these.*

IV. *We not only give the said illustrious Marquis the absolute Command of this Army in our Absence, but shall join to him a Counsellor, with whom he may consult in all Things, that so his Deliberations be more expedite and clear.*

V. *Whatever the illustrious Lord Marquis shall take from the Enemy, the Land and Territories shall belong to us, but the Revenues and Emoluments shall go to him, and to the Relief of his Army, so as these Re-*
venues

Venues shall be gathered decently and in Order, without Depredations and Plunderings.

VI. *That the Marquis may more effectually perform what he hath bravely resolved, and may the sooner make these warlike Instruments of his own Invention, on which he relies much in this Expedition, we shall with the first Occasion furnish him with 100 Ship Pounds of Crude Iron, and assign Hammers for working according to his Design, of which Instruments he hath promised to leave a Model with us; and we shall be careful that none of our Servants shall make Use of them, before he hath made first Trial of them himself.*

VII. *We shall also furnish him with 370 Ship Pounds of Iron Ball for his Guns, and with 2500 Pikes, and as many Muskets.*

VIII. *When ever the Marquis shall advertise us of his needing Gun Powder, we shall assign him Bills of Exchange in Holland for buying 72 Ship Pounds of Gun-Powder.*

IX. *If any other Kings or States that concur with us, all they contribute shall be at our Disposal; but if the Marquis his Necessities require further Assistance, we shall not abandon him, but faithfully assist him as much as our Affairs shall permit.*

X. *For all which, the said illustrious Marquis, with all his Forces, hath promised Fidelity to us, and shall be bound to it as well as our Men, and those who receive our Pay are; for which both he and all his Captains shall be particularly engaged.*

XI. *But because there is to be a Treaty betwixt our Commissioners and the Imperialists at Dantzick; therefore, if a Peace be there concluded, so that we shall not need the Service of the Marquis and his Army*

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Army, he hath obliged himself to pay for the foresaid Materials at their entire Value.

All which Things being thus concluded, and to be firmly observed by us, we have subscribed these Articles with our Hand, and commanded our Royal Seal to be put to them at our Casile in Stockholm, the last of May, Anno Dom. 1630.

Locus Sigilli.

Signed GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

The King to enable the Marquis to raise this Army of 6000 Men, transport them and provide warlike Furniture for them, gave him a Lease of the Customs of Wines in *Scotland* for 16 Years (a), said then to be worth 20000 Pounds *per Annum*; upon which he and his Friends raised Money, sufficient for the foresaid Expedition, with the 10000 Pounds he got in Money from the King in *England*. Three thousand of these Men were to be levied in *England*, and the other 3000 in *Scotland*. Hereupon the Marquis hastens into *Scotland*, in order to the naming of Officers, and raising of his Men. At this Time there were no fewer than 28 (b) Colonels of the *Scottish* Nation in *Gustavus's* Army, all of them brave Men, and they had a great Share in the Glory of all his Victories. I have already said, That the Marquis sent over *David Ramsay* to treat with the King of *Sweden*; he gave it him also in Commission to consult and treat with the *Scots* Officers in that Army, for some good old Officers to assist him to model and train this new Army he was to raise.

Donald

(a) Etchard's Hist. p. 94. (b) Baker Ch. p. 450.

Donald Mackay, Lord Rae, commanded then two Regiments in the *Swedish Army*: To him did *Ramsay* apply for Advice; and it would seem that he contracted an intimate Friendship with him; for, as the *Lord Rae* said, *He told him in Holland and elsewhere, that very soon there would be great Commotions in Scotland; That there was not a few in England that would join them; That their Religion was in Danger, and great Discontents amongst all Ranks of People; to remedy which, the Marquis was resolved to employ this new Army when rais'd, and set himself up for King of Scotland.* He promised the *Lord Rae* great Conditions, if he would heartily join and be assisting in this Enterprize. The *Lord Rae* heard him several Times upon that Subject; but at last he thought himself obliged to come over to *England*, and reveal all that had past. He came over and revealed all to the *Lord Weston*, then *Lord High Treasurer*. He esteeming it a Treason of a high Nature, laid it before the King, who freely told *Hamilton* what an Accusation was brought against him, but generously declared to him, *That the World might know what Confidence he had in his Loyalty, he should lie in his Bed-chamber that Night*; which the *Marquis* did, and still continued in the most intimate Accesses to the King.

This Conference betwixt *Rae* and *Ramsay* being very private, the first had no Evidences to prove his Assertion against the last; the one still affirmed all to be Truth, and the other peremptorily affirmed all to be false and forged; and there being no other Way to find out the Truth or Falshood of the Accusation; there was a Challenge to a Combate (according to the ancient Laws in Cases of that Nature) given and

and accepted. The King kept many Consultations about it, and at last gave Way to the Combate; and that all might be done conform to the ancient Law and Custom, *Robert Earl of Lindsay* was by a Commission under the Great Seal appointed *in hunc effectum* (a) High Constable of England, who, with the Earl of *Arundel*, Earl *Marshal*, together with other honourable Persons named in the said Commission, were thereby appointed to keep their high Court of Chevalry in the painted Chamber *Westminster*; before which Court appeared both Parties, and gave in their several Petitions and Defences, too long here to be inserted. All which the Court having duly considered, at last gave their final Sentence, which was as follows,

IN the Name of GOD the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the holy and the most blessed Trinity, who is the One and only GOD and Judge of Battels, We as his Vicegerents, under the most excellent Prince in Christ, our Lord and King, by whom we are deputed to this, do admit you the aforesaid Donald Lord Rae the Party challenging, and you the aforesaid David Ramsay the Defendant, to a Duel, upon every Accusation contained in this Bill, and answer to the same: And we assign you the Twelvth Day of the Month of April next following, between Sun and Sun in the Fields called Tuttle-Fields, in or near Westminster, in the Presence of our Lord the King, and to do and perform your Parts to your utmost Power respectively.

And we will and enjoin you the aforesaid Lord Rae the Challenger to be in the aforesaid Fields, and within the List there, between Seven and Nine of the Clock in the Forenoon of the aforesaid Day: And we enjoin you the aforesaid David Ramsay the Defendant, to be in the Fields, in the foresaid List, between Nine and Eleven of the Clock in the foresaid Day upon Peril, attending you respectively in that Behalf.

Which

Which Sentence being pronounced, both Parties found Sureties that they should appear at the Day appointed. The Dimensions of the Weapons assigned them were;

A long Sword four Foot and an Half in Length, Hilt and all; in Breadth two Inches.

A short Sword, a Yard and four Inches in Length, Hilt and all; in Breadth two Inches.

A Pick Fifeteen Foot in Length, Head and all.

A Dagger Nineteen Inches in Length, Hilt and all, in Breadth an Inch.

On the 10th of *April*, *Rae* and *Ramsay* appeared before the Court; and the Combate was adjourned to the 17th of *May*. Upon the 12th of *May* the Court re-assembled, and the Parties appearing, the *Constable* and *Marischal* declared, that upon Examination of the Cause, they had not found *David Ramsay* guilty of Treason, nor was the Treason intimated made appear by the *Lord Rae*; yet they found, That he had seditiously committed many Attempts against his Majesty, the Reformation whereof his Majesty reserved to himself; and therefore the Court decreed that both *Rae* and *Ramsay* should be committed to the Tower of *London*, till by Sureties to be approved by his Majesty, they gave in sufficient Caution, that neither in their own Person, nor by any in their Family or Procurement, they would attempt any Thing, one against the other, &c. And so by the *Constable* and *Marischal's* Orders, they were arrested by Serjeants at Arms, and delivered to Sir *William Balfour*, Lieutenant of the Tower. Then was the Court dissolved by his Majesty, he not being willing to have it decided by a Duel. There was never more of it, *Rae* was sent to
his

his Employment, and *Ramsay* continued in the King's Favour.

We must now return for a little to the Marquis of *Hamilton* (a), who having taken Leave of his Majesty, met with the Forces out of *Scotland* in *Tarmouth* Road, the Place appointed for their Meeting the *English*, and from thence set Sail, *July* 19. 1631, the Fleet consisting of about 40 Sail. On the 25th they arrived at *Elsenore*; and the Marquis came ashore, and waited on the King of *Denmark*, who lay at *Fredrickstadt*. On the 29th they set Sail, and the next Day came to an Anchor by the Isle of *Rugen*; and on the 31. they sailed into the Mouth of the *Oder*, betwixt *Wolgast* and the Isle of *Unsdorn*. On the 2d and 3d of *August* the Forces were landed, and upon Muster they were found to be above 6000 able Men, very few sick, and two only dead in the Voyage. On the two next Days they were all armed, and waded over the River from the Isle of *Unsdorn* to *Wolgastside*, and there billeted in five small Villages or Dorpts; but being disappointed of the 6000 *Swedish* Horse and Foot, he could not march up to the King, and so was deprived of the Honour of being at the Battle of *Leipsick*, which was fought about a Month after his Arrival in *Germany*. This famous Battle was fought *September* 7. where the King of *Sweden* obtained a signal Victory over Count *Tilly* the Imperial General; after which he marched on with a mighty Torrent of Success and Terror.

The Marquis (b) lost no Time after this Battle, but went to the King at *Worben*. He excused his not sending the Forces he promised, and appointed

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(a) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. 2. p. 105. (b) Idem, p. 123.

the Marquis to remove from those Villages near *Stetin*, and accordingly on the 20th of *September* he marched his Army up the *Oder*, carrying some of his Ordnance by Water, and the rest by Land; and the Army was quartered about *Custrein*, *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*, *Lantsbergen*, and *Crosar*, where a third Part of his Army languished and died of the Plague.

He had not been long there, when he received Orders to besiege *Magdenburgh*, where there were 3000 Men in Garison; but his Army being then very feeble by Sickness, the King of *Sweden* sent General *Bannier* with 3000 Foot, and 1000 Horse to join him, with which they so straitned that Place, that on *Christmas* Even they came to a Parley; but upon the second Day of their Treaty, Count *Mansfield*, Governor of that City, heard that *Papenheim* was coming with Relief; whereupon the Treaty broke up, and *Bannier* would have been retiring; but the Marquis pressing his Stay, he produced his Orders to command all the *Dutch* and *Swedish* Forces, and not to hazard an Engagement. (This was directly against the 4th Article of the Agreement betwixt the King and the Marquis) upon which *Bannier* marched away, and the Marquis staid there till *February* 1631, *English* Stile; and then the King ordered him to march to *Halberstadt*, and to quarter his Men about that Place.

The Marquis's Army (a) being very much weakened, *August* 1. 1632, the King of *Britain* wrote to him, to make a handsome Excuse and return home (b), and in *October* thereafter Duke *William* of *Sax-on Weymar*, Lieutenant General to the King of *Sweden*,

(a) Rushworth's Col. p. 170. (b) Idem, p. 175.

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den, was sent by that King to take the *English* and *Scots* of the Marquis's under his Conduct, and they were by that Duke reduced to two Regiments; the *Scots* Regiment was given to Colonel *Alexander Hamilton*, and the *English* Regiment to Colonel *William Balladyne* a *Scots* Gentleman. After which the Marquis returned Home: And a little thereafter that magnanimous Prince, *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, was unfortunately kill'd by an unknown Hand, at that memorable Battle of *Lutzen*, on the 6. of *November* 1632, in the 38 Year of his Age. 'Tis said of him, That in two Years Time he gained 292 Cities, Forts, and walled Towns. This Year was remarkable for the Death of three Kings, *Sigismund* King of *Poland*, who died the 29. of *April*, *Gustavus Adolphus*, who was killed *November* 6. and *Frederick* King of *Bohemia*, who died of the Infection, 19th of that Month.

GEORGE *Second Marquis of Huntly.*

IN which Year *Lewis XIII.* of *France*, resolving to assist the united Princes of *Germany* against the House of *Austria*, the Earl of *Enzie* being made Captain of the *Scots Gens d' Arms*, Anno 1624 (as I have said) is now called over with his Company. He carried over with him the bravest Company of them that ever had been seen in *France*, all of them gallant young Gentlemen, and well appointed. The Lord *Gray* was his Lieutenant; and in Letters yet extant, the King of *France* acknowledges the signal Services done to him by the Marquis of *Huntly* and that Company. He was sent with them into *Lorain*,

to serve in the *Marishal de la Force* his Army. After *Lorain* was brought under the *French* Obedience, they were sent with that great General into *Alsace*, in whose Valour that Marishal did very much confide, they having on all Occasions behaved themselves very bravely: And when the Town of *Spire* was taken by the *French*, the gallant Lord *Gordon*, Son to the Earl of *Enzie* (he who thereafter, to the great Loss of his King and Country, was killed at *Alford*) was wounded in the Thigh, valiantly fighting upon the Breach of the Wall, with his Pike in his Hand, and never gave over till the City surrendred. The Countess of *Enzie* went over to *France*, and there was brought to Bed of Twins, a Son and a Daughter, *Henry* and *Katharine*.

About this Time the Marquis of *Huntly* did write into *Germany* to his Son, to recall him from thence to manage the Affairs of his Family. He being now old, could not suppress the Insolencies committed both in the *Highlands* and *Lowlands*, being unable to march in Person against them, and therefore wrote to the King, intreating his Majesty to recall him to supply his Place; and the King knowing how useful he would be in suppressing these Disorders in the *North* of *Scotland*, having often done it before this Time, did write to him to come Home; but the *French* Army being then in Action against the Imperialists, he thought that then in Honour he could not leave the Army, and for that Time he got himself excused.

Anno 1633, upon *Thursday, February* 7th, a great Storm of Snow and Wind arose, the like of which had not been observ'd for many Years; it overthrew a good many little Houses, and beat down the
Crown

Crown upon the Top of the Steeple in the *Old-Town* College of *Aberdeen*, built of excellent squared and cut Stone. It was sometime thereafter rebuilt; and is a Piece of the finest Work of that Kind in the Nation, yet said to be short of the first.

In this Year, *June 5*. King *Charles I.* came from *London* to *Edinburgh*, attended with a noble Retinue of *Scots* and *English* Nobility. At his coming to *Edinburgh* the Provost receiv'd him, making a Present to him in a Gold Basin, of a Purse of Gold, in which were 1000 Pieces of Gold called Double-Angels. The Marquis of *Hamilton*, as Master of the Horse, pretended a Right to both, and got them (a). Upon King *James* his Death, the puritan Zelots among the Ministers in *Scotland*, sent up one of their Number, Mr. *Robert Scot* Minister of *Glasgow*, to King *Charles*, begging Redress of some Grievances they had about Church Government, contained in a Supplication to be presented by him to his Majesty: But he finding the King resolute to maintain Episcopacy, came down as he went up, without any Hopes of Redress. This did not quite dispirit them, but they still continue to work under Ground, hoping at last to bring their Mine to Perfection, by which, with uninterrupted Industry, at last they blew up both Church and State; and for that End they appointed amongst themselves to keep a Fast the first *Sunday* of every Quarter. They made no publick Intimation of it, but only invited such as were of their own Party, or whom they hoped to bring over to it, to join with them in it; and upon these hypocritical Fasting Days of theirs, the main Design of their Ser-

(a) Guthry's Mem, p. 7.

mons was to insinuate to the People, That the Kirk and their Religion was in Danger from Episcopacy and its Dependencies ; and in their Prayers they supplicated for a Remedy and a Blessing upon the Means that Providence should afford for that End. And by this they made their Disciples have a vast Opinion of their Sanctity ; and in Consequence of that got an absolute Power over both their Persons and Estates at last. And thus they continued indefatigably working for several Years under Covert.

By these Means, and for other Reasons hereafter to be shown, they brought over to their Party severals of the Nobility, in divers Parts of the Nation, such as, in *Fife* the Earl of *Rothes* and Lord *Lindsay*, in *Lothian*, the Earl of *Lothian* and Lord *Balmerinock*, in the West the Earls of *Cassils*, *Eglinton* and Lord *Loudon*. And now they had a Scrol of their Grievances signed with their Hands, ready drawn up to present to the King, upon his first coming to *Scotland* ; and upon his coming to *Dalkeith*, before he entred *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Rothes* early in the Morning went to communicate the same to him, before it should be made publick. His Majesty having read and considered it, returned it to *Rothes*, saying, *No more of this, my Lord, I command you.* Upon his Return he communicated the King's Answer to his Constituents, and they agreed to suppress it at this Time ; but we shall hear of it again next Year.

June 17th 1633 the Earl of *Angus* was created Marquis of *Douglas* ; and on the 18th the King was crowned in the Abbay Church, by the Bp. of *Brechin*, clothed in the Episcopal Habit of the *English* Church. And on *Sunday* thereafter he went to *St. Giles* Church, where the Bishop of *Murray* preach'd in his *Rotchet* ;

at which the People were surpriz'd, he having been before one of their own Ministers, and by them esteemed a Puritan.

June the 28th the first and last legal Parliament of King Charles I. met at *Edinburgh*, wherein (a), after the Subsidy was granted, the Acts of former Parliaments, in favours of the Protestant Religion, the Prerogative Royal, and the decent Habit of Church-men were ratified; then followed some other Acts that were not so acceptable to a great many, especially those who had got themselves possess'd of Crown and Church Lands; and first the Act of general Revocation of Crown and Church Lands, in which particular Mention is made of the Lordship of *Dumfermling*, which so startled the Earl of that Name, that forgetting that the late King had by his Bounty and Favour raised that Family to what it then was, he became one of the first and constantest Enemies this King had. Then followed the Act of general Annexation of his Majesty's Property; then the Act of Dissolution. These with the Commission of Surrendry of Teinds, tho' most just in themselves, and most profitable to the most of the King's Leiges, so irritated the Lords of Erection, that they never stopped from their Plotting, till they had involved both Nations into a bloody War, and ruined the King and both Kingdoms; for if *Scotland* had continued in their Duty, *England*, at least the King's Enemies there, durst never have attacked him. There were several other good Laws made in this Parliament, during the sitting whereof, the King made a short Progress, and visited *Linlithgow*, *Dumfermling* and *Falkland*; and, in his Return, having ship'd at *Bruntisland*, in his crossing the River

(a) Acts of Parliament Char. I.

of *Forth*, there was a Boat lost in his own Sight, wherein perished 35 Persons, most of them his own Servants; two escaped with their Lives; what Plate and Furniture he had along with him was lost. *Spalding* in his Manuscript says, *It was a fair Summer Evening, and no Storm, and that made it surprizing to every Body.* And if it was fair Weather, it was a very uncommon Accident. 'Tis said, when the King came ashore, he most devoutly returned Thanks to G O D for his own Preservation and those with him; and that in Testimony of his Gratitude, he made a Vow to erect a Bishoprick at *Edinburgh*. Whether he made any such Vow or not, I shall not determine; but he did erect a Bishoprick there at this Time, and Doctor *William Forbes*, one of the Ministers of *Aberdeen*, was consecrated Bishop of it, an excellent Man, of great Learning and Piety, but who lived but a very short Time thereafter, having died at *Edinburgh* suddenly, in his own Chair, after taking a little Phyfick, *April 12. 1634*, aged 44 Years. *Rushworth* says (a), *That the King came upon the Water about Mid-day; and that it was then calm Weather, but immediately such a fearful Storm arose; and that with great and imminent Danger, he with those in his Boat got themselves aboard of a Man of War then in the Road, which brought him safe to Leith; and that the fore-mentioned Boat was overfet in his Sight.* And, among those cast away in her, he mentions two Gentlemen, *Lewis Somervel & Alexander Napier*, who had the keeping of the King's Plate and Furniture; and, which is surprizing, all this Time there was nothing but fair Weather ashore; which certainly occasioned

occasioned

(a) Hist. Collect. Vol. 2. p. 184.

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occasioned *Spalding's* Mistake, in saying, *That there was no Storm at Sea.* Archbishop *Laud* in his Diary (a) mentions this Storm, but none of them the King's Vow. The King having put the Affairs of *Scotland* in such Order as he thought proper, leaves *Edinburgh*, and takes Journey for *London* July 13th. October 14th this Year 1633, the Queen was (b) deliver'd of her Third Son, but the second now living, who was immediately proclaimed Duke of *York* at the Court-gates, and the 24th of the same Month, was baptized by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by the Name of *James*; who after the Death of his elder Brother King *Charles. II* succeeded to be King of *Great Britain, &c.*

I have mentioned a Scrol of Grievances drawn up by the disaffected Clergy and Laity, in Form of a Petition, which they sent to be communicated privately to the King when at *Dalkeith*, in his Way to *Edinburgh*, by the Earl of *Rothes*, who after Perusal, being (c) displeas'd with the same, commanded, *That there should be no more of it.* And so it lay in the Dark, till this Year 1634, it came to be made publick, thus:

One Mr. *John Denmuir*, Writer in *Dundee*, being with my Lord *Balmerinock* at his House of *Barn-ton*, my Lord was pleas'd to discourse with him of the Corruptions that were in Church and State, laying them out to the full. Upon which Mr. *John* said, "It was a Pity that such as knew them, had not represented them to the King while in *Scotland.*" To which the Lord replied, *That they purposed to have done it, and had a Petition signed,*
which

(a) Hist. Collect. Vol. 2. p. 184. (b) Eachard's Hist. Vol. 2. p. 119. (c) Guthrie p. 9.

which the Earl of Rothes having shew'd him, he commanded that there should be no more of it. And further added, That the framing of the same having been committed to him, he yet had the Original, and would show it him. Mr. John having got it, retired to his Chamber, read it, took a Copy of it, and restored the Original to my Lord. Mr. John in his Journey Home, lodged at the Laird of Naughton's House; and being full of what he had been upon with Balmerinoch, he immediately fell upon that Subject. Upon which Naughton easily smelt from whence he came, and with whom he had been. He plainly told, That Balmerinoch was his Informer, and had given him a Copy of the Petition. Naughton, who was a loyal and Episcopal Gentleman, and no great Friend to Balmerinoch, found a Way to get the Paper from Mr. John, and carried the same to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, to whom he told all that past in Conference betwixt my Lord and Mr. John.

The Archbishop being then Chancellor, found himself obliged to send up the Paper, with what Information he had gotten, to the King. Upon which he sent down Orders to the Council, to call Balmerinoch and Mr. John before them. The Petition was read, my Lord owned, that it was a true Copy of the Paper he gave Mr. John; and he, that it was the same which he gave Naughton. Upon which Mr. John was dismiss'd, and my Lord sent Prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he staid for some Months, and at last he was brought before the Lords of Justiciary; and being found guilty of Treason by an Affize of his Peers, received Sentence of Death: But in a short Time, the King was pleas'd most graciously to grant him his Remission; which he in a
most

most dutiful Manner received upon his Knees, solemnly promising, that his future Behaviour should evidence the Sincerity of his Loyalty; but he did not long remember it. This Prosecution so exasperated the Minds of the Nobility of that Party against the Bishops (tho' innocent) that they left no Stone unturned, that might contribute to the Ruin of the whole Order; until at last they got their Work finished. And that the same might go on the easier, surer and sooner, they before that Time, then and thereafter, had one (a) *Eleazar Borthwick*, a dissenting Preacher at *London*, as their Resident with the Dissenters of that Nation, to solicit their brotherly (b) Counsel and Concurrence, which he very successfully did. I cannot but here take Notice of the Method Bishop *Guthrie* says King *James* took, in the Choice of Bishops, that when a Bishoprick became vacant, he appointed the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* to convene the rest of that Order, and them to name to him Three or Four of the best qualified of the Ministry; and he out of those to name one, to be by them consecrated to that Office: By which he seldom or ever made a wrong Choice. Tho' this Method probably will not exactly agree to the antient Canons, yet it is certainly better than the Way that has been usually taken since that Time.

Anno 1636, *George* second Marquis of *Huntly*, much about the Time of his Father's Death (having obtained Leave of the *French King*) his domestick Affairs calling him, returns Home; and with him his eldest Son the Lord *Gordon*. And in the Year following 1637, that pestilentious Fire of Rebellion, for

(a) Eachard's Hist. Vol. 2. p. 130. (b) Idem, ibidem.

for which the dissenting fanatical Party in *Scotland* had been gathering Fewel, by their Agents both in *England* and *Ireland*, broke out into such a Flame and with such Violence, that it destroyed the whole Constitution of the Three Nations. Nay the very Blood of the King, and the prime Nobility, both of *Scotland* and *England*, was not able to quench it. When a Dike that keeps back the Water, begins to break by a Speat, the irresistable and rapid Torrent carries all before it, with such a Violence, that 'tis impossible to stop it, till the Water is run out, and its Force exhausted. And when a discontented Party looses but one Pin in the Constitution, they generally go on, till they turn the whole Fabrick into a Chaos of Confusion; and so it came to be at this Time with the *British* Constitution. There are some Distempers incident to humane Bodies, for carrying off of which, the skilfull and wise Physician does not think it proper to venture upon strong and violent Medicines, but rather chooses, as the safest Way, to advise his Patient to wait Time, and use a sober and moderate Diet, not knowing how far a violent Medicine may work beyond what he could have expected, and thereby run the Hazard of killing and not curing the Patient. Even so in the Body politick, there may be some Faults in the Government, and Failings in the Governors, that Time and moderate Counsels may rectify, when violent Methods are not to be ventured upon, lest the whole Frame of the Constitution should be overturned. We can expect no Government so perfect, but discontented Heads may frame to themselves Grievances. Sure I am, there was never a King in *Europe*, that gave less Reason of Complaint to his Subjects, than that pious

and

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and excellent Prince *Charles I.* gave to his; but then there was, and still is in *Scotland* a Set of People, that no Concessions can satisfy, nor no Favours oblige. And now being in the Thread of this History come to that fatal Year 1637, in which that horrid Rebellion broke out, that made the whole Nation overflow with Blood and Rapine, that the Reader may understand, what these Grievances were that our *Scots Puritans* made an Excuse of, and a Pretext for their rising in Rebellion at that Time, I must be allowed to look a little back to the Reign of King *James VI.*

And, we having few valuable Histories of our Nation, after Archbishop *Spottiswood's*, which ends at the Death of King *James VI.* I must have Recourse to the *English* Historians, and such Manuscripts as I have been able to make myself Master of. Most of these Historians give but a very lame, and sometimes wrong Account of *Scots* Affairs: However from them I shall with all the Faithfulness and Impartiality in my Power, collect the History of that Time. The Veracity necessary to an Historian, will oblige me to remember the Faults of several Persons of the first Rank: I have Hatred against no Person, nor no Family, and shall fix nothing on them without a Voucher; and so I expect to be excused at the Hands of those concerned in them. I acknowledge, I abhor all disloyal and rebellious Principles, and I esteem and honour all brave and loyal Gentlemen, who have Courage to venture their Lives for their King and Country; and to the Memories of all such I shall do what Justice I'm capable of.

King *James VI.* when he went into *England*, and got a-top of the *Scots* Mas *Johns*, who had kept him

him (a) while there still at Under, had fomented many Plots against him, and had always given him much Trouble. He (I say) began then to compare the Decency and Uniformity of the *English* Liturgy, with that Diversity and Deformity in *Scotland*, where no Set or publick Form of Prayer was used. He retained always a great Affection to his antient Kingdom and native Country; and being a learned and pious Prince, he bethought himself, how he should reform that Abuse in GOD's publick Worship in *Scotland*; and easily found, that there was no other Way to do it, but by establishing an Uniformity in publick Worship there by a Liturgy, concerning which he had divers Consultations with the Bishops and others there: But these Deliberations met with some Opposition, and several Intermiſſions; until

Anno 1616, in a General Assembly held at *Aberdeen*, he by his Letters made the Necessity of a publick Liturgy so apparent, that by an Act of that Assembly, a Liturgy was framed by those appointed for it; and by Archbishop *Spotswood* it was sent to the King, who after he had perused it, he caused it to be revised by some learned Men in *England*; and sent it back, recommending it to be used by all that Church. It was the same in Substance with the Liturgy now appointed to be used; and it had been received, if King *James* had not soon thereafter died. But before that, in an Assembly held at *Perth*, the Five Articles that bore the Name of that Place, were agreed unto, tho not without some Contradiction; and these were, *The Confirmation of Children, Private Baptism, and private Communion in Cases of*
Neces-

(a) Rushworth's Col. p. 386 & infra.

Necessity, Kneeling in Communicating, the Observation of the Holidays, of the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension and Pentecost: And they were established in Parliament *Anno 1621*. After whose Death, the Son pursued the same Design, and order'd the same Book should be remitted to him: Which being done, after many Consultations with the Bishops of *Scotland* then in *England*, he authorized it, commanding it to be printed as it now is. And to usher it in, there was a Book of Canons composed by the Bishops and others, of the most Learning amongst the Clergy; which his Majesty having also revised, he by his Proclamation commanded the due Observance of them throughout all *Scotland*.

This Book of Canons and Liturgy displeas'd not a few. There were yet amongst the Ministry a great many, of a very hot and fiery Temper; who retaining still their old puritanical Principles, were highly disobligh'd, That the Canons and Liturgy should by civil Authority, without that of the Church (of which they reckon'd themselves the chief Part) be impos'd upon them. These Ministers, by their long, rhapsodical and extemporary Devotions, had got to themselves such an Esteem of extraordinary Sanctity amongst the most Part of the Populace, and not a few of the Gentry, especially the Ladies, that they soon became sole Masters of their Souls, Bodies and Estates; especially in the South and West-parts of *Scotland*. And to obtain this Dominion, (a) the most zealous of their Preachers, especially in the West of *Scotland*, appointed quarterly Fasts by their
own

(a) Guthrie, p. 8.

own private Authority, in their respective Parishes, to which they privately invited such of their own and neighbouring Parishes (where these Fasts were not kept) only such as they esteemed most zealous and easiest to be wrought upon, and managed by them. In these their solemn Fasts, which they kept the first *Sunday* of every Quarter, their Devotions consisted of Two or Three long Preachings, and twice as many long *ex tempore* Prayers. In the first, their chief Aim was to perswade the People (who flocked to them from all Corners) that Religion was in Danger by Prelacy, and the Dependencies thereof: And in their Prayers, they supplicated G O D for a Remedy, with a Blessing upon all good Means that Providence should afford for that End. And these their mock Devotions, which lasted from Morning till Night, they performed with the greatest Shew of Devotion imaginable. Thus they obtained to themselves such an Esteem of Sanctity among their Hearers, that they thought them immediately sent from G O D, to deliver his Will to them; and so to disobey them, was no less Crime, than to disobey G O D who sent them. By this Method, and other *piæ fraudes* they used, they got such a Power over the Estates and Persons of these deluded People, that they could cause them dispencc with as much of their Estates, and fight when and swear what they pleased. And this Dominion thus founded, they by Degrees so improved, that in a short Time thereafter, there was nothing could be done in their Counsel or Armies; that was not first approved of by the Kirk, as will appear hereafter.

(a) About this Time also, great Discontents spread

spread amongst the Laity, the most considerable among the Gentry complained of the King's Absence from among them; and his constantly residing in another Nation; that had been their antient Enemy; and there were not wanting some to join in that Complaint among the Nobility. But this was not the only Reason of their Discontents, another Matter gave greater Cause of Murmuring to the Nobility. By the Connivance of *Murray* and the other Regents, in the Minority of King *James VI.* the Lands belonging to cathedral Churches and religious Houses, which by Act of Parliament had been conveyed to the Crown, not that they might remain there, but that with the greater Security and Shew of Law be parcelled out amongst the great Men, their Friends and Associates; which was accordingly done. And they being thus possessed of these Lands, and the Regalities annexed to them, exercised an arbitrary Power over the Clergy and Laity under their Jurisdictions. That King also, when he came to the Crown of *England*, to recompense his Absence from *Scotland*, gave away to not a few of the Nobility a good Part of the Crown-lands. And

Now King *Charles* duly considering, that by these Improvements (as they were then called) and Alienations, he was deprived of a great Deal of his proper Revenue, and also of those Aids and Supplies from the Clergy, that were readily and cheerfully paid by them to his Predecessors, when ever their Affairs called for it (a), as appears by the Conference betwixt King *James V.* and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Ambassador of *England*; and that the Clergy now

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were

(a) Vol. I. Append. p. 411. N^o. 17.

were kept in many Places in a poor and low Condition. And *Lastly*, That now he himself had but very little Aid from his Subjects in *Scotland*. He, by the Advice of his Council of that Kingdom, to remedy all these Evils, proceeded to the Recovery of his Right to these Lands and Regalities; which he endeavoured to effect, *First*, By an *Act of Revocation*; and that failing, by a Commission for *surrendring of Tithes and Superiorities*. But the Possessors of these Lands chose rather to expose their Country to whatsoever Danger, than part with those rich Possessions and powerful Jurisdictions, that they had one Way or other got themselves possessed of. They therefore resolved to oppose the King in that and other Matters: And they imputed this Advice solely to the Bishops, and the Power they had with the King; and that it was all owing to their Contrivance; and this raised in them an Aversion to, and a personal Quarrel against most of the Bishops. I do not find, that any of the Nobility, or of the chief Gentry, had any Aversion to the Order or the Government of the Church by them, if they had not been afraid to have lost what they had possessed themselves of, tho' most sacriliginously. But this was not the only Ground of Quarrel the Nobility had against the Bishops, there was yet another, which was this.

Anno 1635, The Chancellor's Office becoming vacant, by the Death of *Hay Earl of Kinross*, the King made Choice of the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* to succeed him (a). The Lord *Lorn* (afterwards Earl of *Argyle*, whom we will have Occasion often to mention) had pressed the King to bestow

(a) Eachard Vol. 2. p. 131.

bestow that Office on him ; but he, wearied in conferring Favours on him, refused this Request of his. There was also a flagrant Report at this Time passing, that the King was resolved to take the *white Staff* from the Earl of *Traquair*, and bestow the same upon Dr. *Maxwell* Bishop of *Ross*, a Man of great Spirit and excellent Parts. There were also at this Time Nine of the Bishops Privy Counsellors. These Preferments of the Bishops, and the Prosecution of the Lord *Balmerino*, (which was unjustly attributed to them, they having had no other Hand in it, but only that the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* thought himself by his Office (being then Chancellor) bound in Duty to lay the forementioned Paper before the King) stirred up the Envy and Hatred of the Nobility. *Eachard* (from Bishop *Guthrie* and *Heylin* the *English* Historian) says, *That these Two Noblemen, tho they outwardly professed great Friendship to the Bishops, yet the Disappointment of the one, and Jealousy of t'other, provoked them severally to confederate with their Enemies, and resolve upon the Ruin of the whole Order.* And it is certainly true as to the first, for he caught hold on the very first Opportunity, to declare himself the open Enemy of the whole Order. But as to the last,

I am satisfied that he is wrong'd, both by the Author of the History of *Montrose's* Wars (whom I take to be Dr. *Wishart* Bishop of *Edinburgh*) and Bishop *Guthrie* in his *Memoirs*. The first was a learned, loyal and pious Prelate, and suffer'd much for it. Nay (in some Measure) it may be said of him, that he was *bonus ex integro*, for he was constant and immoveable in his Principles. It is very difficult, and requires more than common Exactness for one, to write the History of his own Time, and

not to fall into some Mistakes. That excellent Prelate certainly wrote some Part of his History upon Information from others, and that not being always good, occasioned him to fall into some Escapes, and I will be obliged sometimes to differ from him; but when I so do, I shall give such Reasons for it, as I hope will satisfy the impartial Reader. As for the last Author, he was Minister of *Stirling*, and a topping Covenanter, from the Beginning always an Assembly and Committee-man, until they came to divide into *Remonstrators* and *publick Resolutions*. I have already given my Opinion of his *Memoirs* (a), and shall not trouble the Reader more with it. Both these Authors load the Earl of *Traquair* with Crimes he was not guilty of, as I shall hereafter make appear from sufficient Documents presently by me. He had no good Will to the Bishop of *Ross*, for the Reason already given; but I see no Ground to believe, he had any Prejudice against the Order: And the King to the very last, believed him to be a faithful Counsellor and loyal Subject, as appears by a Tract of Letters, from 1637 to 1646, all writ by His Majesty's own Hand to the Earl of *Traquair*, and I shall insert them in their proper Place. Having now given the Reasons that were said to have occasioned the following horrid Rebellion, I return to the Thread of the History.

About the End of the Year 1536, was the Liturgy finished, and sent up to the King, to be by him revised; which he having done, and approved the same, returned it to *Scotland*, and by publick Proclamation appointed the Use of it to begin upon *Easter-day* 1637. At which Time (as the King declareth)

(a) Introduction Vol. 1. p. 27.

clareth) no considerable Opposition did appear, yet upon some Considerations, the reading of it was delayed till the 23d of *July* ensuing: And that this Delay was cunningly procured, is very probable by the secret Enemies of the Church (there being not a few of them in the Council, and none greater than Sir *Thomas Hope*, tho then King's Advocate, as will all along appear) till they should have Time to instruct and excite their beloved Mob, to rise and violently oppose it. For in *April*, Mr. *Alexander Henderson* came from his Brethren in *Fife*, and Mr. *David Dick* from his in the West, to *Edinburgh*; and having communicated their Minds to (a) the Lord *Balmerinock* and Sir *Thomas Hope*, and gotten their Approbation thereto, they met at the House of *Nicolas Balfour*; with him *Euphame Henderson*, *Bethia* and *Elisabeth Craigs*, and several others, stanch and venerable Matrons: And these Two Apostles seriously recommend it to them, that they and all their Adherents should give the first Affront to the Liturgy, assuring them, that Men should soon afterwards appear, and take the Business out of their Hands. And

These zealous Matrons having taken the Matter in Hand, *Henderson* and *Dick* returned Home, some Time before the Day appointed for reading of the Service-book, that they might conceal their having any Hand in the opposing of it. If it had pleased the King to have appointed the reading of it first for some Time at *Aberdeen*, by the learned Doctors there, and other Places in the North, where the People of all Ranks were well affected to Church and King,

(a) Guthrie's Hist. p. 20.

both by Principle and Inclination, it certainly would have met with no Opposition there, and so it might have had better Success afterwards elsewhere. But that which moved the King to appoint the reading of it to begin at *Edinburgh*, was, That the Liturgy of the Church of *England* having been used in his Chapel at *Holy-rood-house*, ever since his Father's being in *Edinburgh* in the 1617 (a), where many of the Council, College of Justice, and no Doubt of all other Ranks of People, had been often present, he judged that it would be esteemed no new Thing there; and therefore would meet with less Opposition there than any where else.

Upon *Sunday* the 16th of *July*, the Ministers from their Pulpits made Intimation, that the next LORD'S Day, the 23d, the Service-book would be read in all their Churches, extolling the Benefit of it, and exhorting the People to comply with it. But Two of the Ministers, Mr. *Andrew Ramsay* and Mr. *Henry Rollock*, having gotten some Notice of the Opposition that was to be made to it, notwithstanding their former Intimation, continued their old Way, and did not read it; but all the rest did. And that it might be done with the more Solemnity on the appointed Day, *July* 23d, *anno* 1637, *Hanno* Dean of *Edinburgh* was appointed to read it, and Mr. *David Lindsay* Bishop of that Place, to preach in *St. Giles's* Church. There were there convened the Two Archbishops, and divers other Bishops, many of the Council, the Lords of the Session, the Magistrates and Town-council of (*Edinburgh*, and a great Crowd of all Ranks of People flocked thither,

(a) Gordon of Straloch MS. Hist. ad an. 1637.

ther, some to be Spectators to the Novelty, others to remark the Event.

(a) The Dean had not sooner opened the Book, but many of the meaner Sort, with clapping of their Hands, Execrations and Outcries, raised such a hideous Noise and Hubbub, that nothing else could be heard. Upon which the Bishop of *Edinburgh* stepped up to the Pulpit, intending to appease the Tumult, minding them of the Place where they were, and intreating them to desist from further profaning of it. But he met with as little Reverence as the Dean had found; for they were more enraged, and began to throw Stools, nay their Bibles, and what else they could find in the Way; and 'tis said he had been knocked down by a Stool thrown at his Head, if it had not been diverted by a Gentleman near to him. The Mob increasing, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, Lord Chancellor, and others, endeavouring to assist the Bishop in quieting the Multitude, were made Partakers with him, of the Curses and horrid Imprecations, thrown out by them upon all the Bishops and their Abbettors. Thus he was obliged to call down from their Gallery, the Magistrates and Town-council to expell them, who with much Trouble did it, and then made fast the Church-doors. After which, the Dean began to read the Service, in Presence of the better Sort, who staid behind: But such were the Outcries of those without, the rapping at the Doors, and the throwing Stones at the Windows by the Multitude, who cried aloud, *A Pape, a Pape, Antichrist, pull him down*, that the Magistrates were obliged to come from their Places the

second Time, to appease them; and in this Noise and Tumult the Service was ended, but the People's Fury not a-bit abated.

For the Service being ended, the Bishop retiring to his Lodging, was environed by the rascally Multitude, and in Danger of his Life by them. He at last recovered the Stairs of his Lodging; but the Door of it being shut, he was like to have been pulled down headlong by the Sleeve of his Gown, had not the Earl of *Wemyss* (espying his Danger) sent his Servants to his Rescue, who got him at last (almost breathless) into his Lodgings.

That Morning the Service was read in the Church next to *St. Giles*, but not without Noise and Tumult. In the *Grayfriars*, Mr. *James Fairly* (Colleague to Mr. *Andrew Ramsay* who refused to read it) began to read it; but the Mob there also so cursed and exclaimed against him, that after the reading the Confession and Absolution, he was forc'd to give it over. In the College-Church, Mr. *Hary Rollock*, tho he had the *Sunday* before much commended it, yet delayed to read it. This Man had been lately before designed to be Successor to Mr. *Andrew Lamb*, in the Bishoprick of *Galloway*; but it seems he was not acceptable to the Bishops, and they found Means to stop his Preferment; and this Disappointment made him an Enemy to the whole Order.

The Forenoon thus past; betwixt Sermons such of the Council as were in Town, met in the Chancellor's Lodgings to advise how to prevent such Tumults in the Afternoon; and for that Purpose call'd for the Magistrates of the Town, who, at the Council's Command promised to do the utmost in
their

their Power to prevent any such Tumult in the Afternoon, and the Service was then read in the great Church, and the other Churches without Disturbance: But the enraged Multitude were as yet so little satisfied, that how soon the Churches were dissolved, they assault the Bishop of *Edinburgh*, with a fresh Charge of Curses and Execrations, and they began to let fly Voleys of Stones at the Earl of *Roxburgh's* Coach, where he was with the Earl, and they pressed so hard upon it, that if they had not been beat off by the Earl's Footmen, with their Swords drawn, those in it had been in Danger of their Lives; but at last they got with much Trouble to their Lodgings.

This Day's Tumult ushered in the most barbarous and deplorable Civil War that ever *Scotland* felt. It no Doubt was contrived and encouraged by some of the first Rank; for they very soon threw off the Mask, and discovered what they had been plotting; nay, with unheard of Impudence, openly boasted of it, they were the Persons that contrived this Tumult, and made Choice of *Henderson* and *Dick* as fit Tools for their Purpose. The first had been a Professor of Philosophy in *St. Andrews*, and highly Episcopal, but had sometime before this turn'd a mortal Enemy to the whole Order, and had the most Learning and Cunning of that Party, and was always the Leading Man amongst them. The last was a Man of no Learning, and little Cunning; but, to supply these Defects, he was plentifully endued with fiery Zeal, and so a right Tool to be employed with the giddy headed Multitude. I being now to enter upon the History of these troublesome Times, I must for once advertise the
 Reader

Reader, that this small Volume to which I have restricted my self, will not allow me to give a full Account of all the various Occurrences in these Times; but I shall do my Endeavour to omit nothing that is material that past in *Scotland*, but to give you a brief Account of all. The publick Papers both of the King's and Rebels during this War, were both so frequent and so long, that 'tis impossible for me to insert them, and so shall content my self with directing the Reader where to find them, especially since there is just now in the Press, and I hope will appear in publick with all convenient Diligence, a large and full History of *Scotland*, from the Reformation, in two Volumes *Folio*, where all these Papers will be insert at large. And now to return.

The next Day, *July 24*, the Council conven'd, and issued out a Proclamation, condemning the former Day's Uproar, and discharging all Concourses and tumultuous Meetings of People in *Edinburgh*, under Pain of Death; and the Magistrates were appointed the next Morning to conven their Town-Council to resolve upon a fit Method for apprehending the Movers of, and Actors in the late Tumult, and to report their Diligence to the Council; which accordingly they did; and further promised to use their utmost Diligence to find the Authors and Abettors thereof, and their best Assistance for establishing the Reading of the Service in their Churches, and *August 19th* they write a Letter to the Archbishop of *Canturbury* in their own Vindication, *vide (a)*. That Arch-bishop was much concerned about it, and signified the same by a long Letter to
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(a) *Rushworth's Collect. Vol. 2. p. 393.*

the Earl of *Traquair*, of the Date *August* 7th 1637 (a). This Tumult was represented to the King to be but a rash emergent of a few inconsiderable People, without any Predeliberation, and therefore not to be much taken Notice of, or punished with Rigour; nay, *Rushworth* says, That *Traquair* laid the greatest Blame of it upon the Bishops, by his Letter to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, *August* 27. (b). If some of these insolent Rabblers had been exemplarily punished in the Beginning, it might have crush'd all in the Bud, and have prevented the shedding of much Blood hereafter: But 'tis certain that they were underhand encouraged by not a few in the Council, and the King's Advocate, whose Province it was to have prosecuted them, was the Oracle they had always Recourse to (c).

Notwithstanding the unfavourable Entertainment the Service-book met with at *Edinburgh*, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* caused charge Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, Minister at *Leuchars*, Mr. *John Hamilton* at *Newburn*, and Mr. *James Bruce* at *King's-Barns*, to read the Service-book, under the Pain of Horning. They refused to obey; and on the 23d of *August*, supplicated the Council that they would suspend the Charge (d). The Council gave them a soft Answer, and wrote to the King, desiring to know his Mind against the 20th of *September*, the Day to which they were referred for Answer. The Bishops expecting that the Council would have rejected *Henderson* and the other Ministers their Petition, and inflicted some exemplary Punishment on some of the most active in the *Edinburgh* Tumult; and

(a) *Rushworth's Collect.* p. 389. (b) *Burner's Mem.* p. 32
 (c) *Eachard, Vol. 2.* p. 353. (d) *Rushworth*, p. 394.

and knowing that the Treasurer rul'd all at his Pleasure, they began then to be jealous of him when it was too late, says *Guthry* (a). And further, that the good Acceptance that those Ministers found in Council, which being communicated to their Correspondents, drew Numbers to *Edinburgh* to attend the next Council-Day the 19th of *September*, as the Earls of *Rothes*, *Cassils*, *Eglinton*, *Hume*, *Lothian*, and *Weemys*, the Lords *Lindsay*, *Tester*, *Balmerino*, *Cranston* and *Lowdon*, and divers Burgessees and Ministers from the Western Shires, and *Fife*; and the next Day all of them gave in a Petition to the Council against the Service-Book.

These Petitions, and the favourable Acceptance they met with, animated *Ramsay* and *Rollock*, the two disaffected Ministers in *Edinburgh*, with their Confederats to Petition against it. I have shown already what it was that rendred *Rollock* disaffected, and the same Cause had the same Effect upon *Ramsay*. He had long solicited the Earl of *Southesk* to deal with the King to make him a Bishop; but he being disappointed, it provoked his Choler, and turned him Apostate, and the Earl often upbraided him with it to his Face (b). The Council in the mean Time delayed to answer these Petitions, till the 17th of *October*, writing to the King what Height these Matters were come to, and entreated his Answer against that Day, and desired the Duke of *Lennox*, who was there present, to inform his Majesty in all Things, he being immediately to return to Court; and the Council was adjourned to that Day:

The Petitioners, upon the Day thereafter met again

(a) Guthry, p. 22. (b) Straloch's M. S.

gain at their several Cabals, and unto the Ministers were joined the two disaffected Ministers of *Edinburgh*, *Ramsay* and *Rollock*. The chief Thing they were then to treat of, was, how the Brethren throughout the Kingdom might be made to join with them, for few as yet appeared except in *Fife*, and the Western Parts; and so it was put upon *Rollock*; to deal with those of *Lothian*, *Mers* and *Tiviotdale*; *Ramsay* with those of *Angus* and *Merns*, Mr. *Robert Murray*, with those of *Perth* and *Stirling* Shires, and they wrote to Mr. *Andrew Cant* to use the like Diligence in the *North*, and then they separated; and each of them address himself to his respective Province, and that so effectually, that besides the Increase of the Nobility, there were few or no Shires befouth the *Grampian* Hills from which there did not come Gentlemen, Burgeses, Ministers and Commons.

The Harvest being now done, and Intimation being made by the disaffected Party, that there was a Return come from the King to the Council's Letter, the Conflux of People of all Ranks came to be so great at *Edinburgh*, and so tumultuous, as that a present Insurrection was feared, which obliged the Council upon the Day appointed for its Meeting, to publish three Proclamations, the first appointing no Church Business to be at present treated of at the Council-Table, and commanding all to repair to their Dwellings, under the Pain of Rebellion; the second, for removing the Council and Session, for this Session or Term to *Linlithgow*, and afterwards to *Dun-dee*; the third, for burning a Pamphlet (a) lately printed

(a) Rushworth, Vol. 2. p. 241. Large Declaration, p. 33. 34.

printed, call'd, *English Popish Ceremonies*, written by Mr. *David Gillespie*. The discontented Party paid no Respect to these Proclamations, but staid still in Town, and kept their Meetings as formerly; and the next Morning there assembled in great Rage, at the Head of *Forrester's* Wind, about three hundred Women and others.

They made their first Attempt upon Mr. *Thomas Sydserf* (a) Bishop of *Galloway*, as he was going to the Council-house with *Francis Stewart*, Son to the late Earl of *Bothwell*, for examining some Witnesses, in a Business of his; he was attacked with such Violence by them, that if he had not been rescued by two sturdy Foot-men of Mr. *Stewart's*, he was like to be torn in Pieces. He, by their Assistance, got into the Council-house, the Mob pursuing him to the Door, and besetting the House, demanded the Delivery of him, threatening his Destruction. The Treasurer being inform'd of the Danger the Bishop, (who had formerly been his Tutor) was in, came to his Relief; but soon found himself in as ill Condition as the Bishop, the Multitude with incredible Noise and Fury, crying, *God defend those that defend God's Cause! God confound the Service-book, and all the Maintainers of it!* Then the Magistrates were call'd to raise the Siege; but they returned for Answer, *That their Condition was the same, until the like Multitude forc'd them to sign a Paper, importing that they would adhere to them in Opposition to the Service-book, and that they would restore to their Places Ramsay and Rollock their Ministers, and Henderfon the Reader.* The Treasurer getting

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(a) *Rushworth*, p. 34.

no better Answer, he and the Earl of *Wigton* ventured to the Town-house, where the Fury was somewhat abated ; but returning with some Hopes to calm the Multitude, so as to preserve the Bishop, they had no sooner appeared on the Street, but they were attacked with such Violence, that they pull'd down the Treasurer, took his Hat, Cloak, and white Staff from him, and so hal'd him to the Council-house, and at last they were obliged to apply to some of the Nobility and Gentry that were disaffected to the Service-book for their Protection, which they granting, came and guarded them in Safety to *Holy-rood-house*.

The Petitioners sat all this Day at their several Tables, consulting how to stop some of the Ministers from going out of Town in Obedience to the Proclamation, (who were not let into the grand Secret) but they having in their View to make a sturdy Stroak, that required as many Subscriptions as possible. They were now forced to say to them, That they had Assurance from the Treasurer (notwithstanding the Proclamation) no Notice should be taken of their staying in Town, if they kept within Doors, and did not appear upon the Street: So they staid in their Meeting all that Day, doing little Business, *Balmerino* and *Henderson* being all the while privately managing their great Work with Sir *Thomas Hope* (a). In End *Henderson* brought a Proposition to the Ministers, *That whereas they had formerly petitioned against the Service-book, they might now take in the Bishops, also complain of them as Underminers of Religion, and crave Justice to be done*

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(a) Guthry, p. 26. Straloch's M S.

on them. To this many of the Ministers were very averſe, profeſſing, *That they came there only to be freed from the Service-book, and had otherwiſe no Quarrel with the Biſhops.* Which being reported to the Noblemen (whoſe Quarrel was more againſt the Biſhops than the Service-book) they ſent the Earl of *Rothes* and Lord *Lowdon*, who with their long Speeches, interlarded with Threats and fair Promiſes, ſo prevailed upon the Miniſters, that the Challenge againſt the Biſhops being ready prepared, was inſtantly ſubſcribed by them all. A Copy was delivered to the Clerk of the Council; and Copies were given to them to be carried home to their ſeveral Pariſhes and Presbyteries, to be ſubſcribed by all Ranks, and returned againſt the next Council-Day, which was to be 15th of *November*.

This being done, the Miniſters were ſent home, and they thundred ſo furioſly in their Pulpits, againſt the Biſhops, that upon the forenamed Day, Multitudes of all Sorts, and from all Quarters repair'd to *Edinburgh* with their Petitions in much greater Numbers than formerly; and, among others of the Nobility, the Earl of *Montroſe*, made his firſt Appearance among the diſaffected Party: What made that brave and gallant young Nobleman join ſo early with the King's Enemies, I do not know, nor ſhall determine. It is ſaid by ſome, That in his Return from his Travels, when he went to kiſs the King's Hand, he imagined he had not got that Reception which he expected, and this put him on the Fret, which being obſerved by ſome of the Contrivers of this Rebellion, and finding him a little ambitious, they on the one Hand aggravated any little Diſappointments that he thought he had met with; and on the other, promiſed him great

great Posts and Employments in the Army they were resolv'd to raise ; and he then not seeing into the Depth of their Designs, by these Means they easily deceiv'd and seduced him, and he soon became as active a Man as the worst of them. However, as it was his Misfortune to have been an early and active Sinner, so it was his good Luck to be an early and active Penitent: And no Man ever made a better Amends for a Fault than he did.

Now this brave young Nobleman was not the only Person that was at this Time seduced by those cunning Rebels ; but there were also many others of all Ranks whom they brought to join with them blindly. They conceal'd the secret Motives that induc'd them to contrive that horrid Rebellion. The open and publick Cry, was, *Popery! the Protestant Religion is to be subverted* ; whereas Religion had not the least Concern in the Affair, as the King himself makes clearly appear (a): And, as I have already hinted, they by their Lies and Calumnies had perswaded some of the leading and factious Men among the Clergy (zealous Disciples of the seditious *Melvil* and *Bruce*, who had given much Trouble to the King's Father while in *Scotland*) that Religion was in Danger ; and they having the intire Management of the Populace, they made them believe what they pleas'd. As for the Nobility and Gentry, they swore to them, that they had no bad Designs against the King or his Government, but on the contrary, would make him the most glorious Monarch that ever reign'd in *Britain* ; and indeed at last they crown'd him with a most glorious Crown, even with

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(a) Large Declaration, P. 6. & infra.

that of Martydom, which he now happily wears, and cannot be rob'd of. I say, by these, and such like Methods did they deceive and pervert many of all Ranks, who were not let into their Secrets, nor did foresee the dreadful Effects of their hellish Contrivances. And these well meaning People, how soon they saw their Seducers throw off the Mask, and act above Board, they immediately left them, return'd to their Duty; and to atone for what they had done amiss, bravely ventur'd their Lives for their King and Country: And for their Vindication it is that I have made this Digression; and shall wish that their Posterity may from their Example learn not to associate themselves to the Enemies of their King and Country, but always bravely to persevere in their Loyalty to both.

I have said (a), That great Numbers of all Ranks repair'd to *Edinburgh* against the 15th of *November*, the Day the Council was to sit, to give in to it their several Petitions; upon which the King issued out a Proclamation at *Stirling*, showing them the Piety of his Intentions in appointing the Liturgy; and that he had no other Aim in it than the Maintenance of true Religion, &c. The Publication of this was like a Cannon charged only with Powder, which makes a great Noise, but no Execution; for immediately they encountered it with a sharp Protestation, published by the Earl of *Hume*, Lord *Lindsay*, &c. insisting, *That the Bishops might not be allowed to sit in any Judicatories, &c.* But before this they had given in two Petitions to the Council, one of them was pretty merry, from the *Women*,
Bairns

(a) Eachard, Vol. 2. p. 137.

Bairns and *Servants* in *Edinburgh*; the other was from the Noblemen, Barons, Ministers, Burgesse^s and Commons, against the Service-Book; and by this Time the Town of *Stirling* came to be filled with armed Men; and they began to threaten the Arch-bishop then Chancellor; and the next Day the Noblemen and others, to the Number of about 2000, rod from thence to *Edinburgh*, there to consult what was next to be done.

The keeping together of such Multitudes came to be very chargeable and burdensome to many of them; and this obliged them to erect a new Form of Government among themselves, sufficiently despotical in respect to their Adherents, and intolerable as to the King for their Acts and Orders: And the Multitudes that accompanied their Petitions, were so troublesome to the Council, that they were willing to be rid of them; nor did they want Friends there, who secretly favoured and forwarded their Designs: And so, after several Conferences, it was agreed that the Multitude should be dismissed, and a few of their Number only remain at *Edinburgh*, to whom from Time to Time the Council was to communicate the King's Orders, and receive their Petitions from them in Name of the rest. Upon this, there were selected four from out of the Nobility, four out of the Barons, four out of the Burgesse^s, and four out of the Ministers; and thereafter the Number of each Order was doubled. Each of these Orders sat at a *Table* by themselves, to consult of such Things as were necessary for carrying on of their great Work, which being there reduced into Form, were offered, debated and concluded at the *general Table*, which consisted

sisted of a select Number of Commissioners, chosen out of the other four Tables.

These commonly called the *Green Tables* being thus constitute, soon came to consider that their Party as yet were like a Bundle of loose Rods that might soon fall asunder; and therefore they be-thought upon some Bond or Obligation that might keep them closely united together. And now, and for that End did they contrive and hatch that accursed Covenant of theirs, under that subtle Title, *The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland*, subscribed at first by the *King's Majesty*, and his *Houſhold* in the Year 1580, thereafter by Persons of all *Ranks* in the Year 1581, by Order of the Lords of secret Council, and Acts of the *General Assembly*, subscribed again by all *Persons* in the Year 1590, by a *new Ordinance of Council*, at the Desire of the *General Assembly*, with a *general Bond* for Maintenance of the *true Religion*, and the *King's Person*, and now subscribed in the Year 1638, by us *Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes, Ministers, and Commons*; together with, *our Resolutions and Promises*, for the *Cauſes* after ſpecified, &c. The Bond was fitted and accommodated to the preſent Occaſion, and by that they entred into *Covenant* for Maintenance of the Religion then profeſſ' d, and his Majesty's Person, but tending to the Destruction of both, as appears both from the Band it ſelf, and the Gloſs upon it; for by the one they had bound themſelves to defend each other againſt all Persons whatſoever, not excepting the King himſelf; and by the other they declared, that under the general Name of *Po-pery, Heresy, and Superſtition*, which were there expreſt, they had not only abjured the new *Liturgy*,
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and *Canons*, but the *Episcopal Government*, and the *five Articles of Perth*, tho' confirmed by Parliament; and to this Covenant in this Sense they required an Oath of all the Subjects of *Scotland*.

This was that famous *Scots Covenant*, that involved both Nations into a Civil War, that at length prov'd fatal even to the Projectors of it, and all their Adherents. It is the same in Substance with the *Holy League of France*, fram'd there by the *Jesuits*, Men of the same Principles as to Loyalty with the then regnant Clergy of *Scotland*. That *League*, and the *Scots Covenant* are as like one to other, as one Egg can be to another: The one was nurs'd by the *Jesuits*, and the other by the then *Scots* Presbyterians, *Simeon* and *Levi*: In both you will find a Combination for mutual Assistance to extirpate Heresy (as they falsely pretended) without the King's Authority, and for that Purpose levying Forces, which both of them turn'd against the King; at last they brought forth the same Fruit, *viz.* A Jealousy of their King's Religion without any Ground, and a War of Religion against them; who (tho' they were of the same Religion) yet they would make the World to believe both were Hereticks. A League with Strangers, and Armies raised in Kingdoms against their natural Princes, who had given them no other Provocation, but their too much Indulgence and Favour: Kings driven from their principal Cities, and the Fire of Civil War blown up by seditious Preachers: The superstitious People made tributary to a few ambitious *Rebels*. Weak Consciences instructed to cut the Throats of their Kings, and all that stood in their Way, for the Love of God, and to gain Paradise: Frequent *Fastings*,

redoubled *Devotions*, propheticall Inspirations; all to perswade the deluded Populace, that God favour'd their Rebellion as his own Cause; and that their Leaders were directed by the Holy Ghost, and had no other Aim but advancing the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and they both at last brought two great Monarchs to untimely Death.

I could draw this Parallell a great deal further, if I had Place for it; Sir *William Dugdale*, in his short View of the Troubles of *England*, has done it at large, Paragraph by Paragraph. But I must be so just to them as to allow, that they were not so exactly like one to another, but that a discerning Eye would find some Difference; but in this only the one was for maintaining the Religion established by Law in *France*, which they imagined, without Ground that King was to subvert; the other was entred into for *overturning* the Religion in *Britain*, established by Law, which they saw their pious and religious King positive to *maintain*. Judge then which of these were most innocent, or rather if the last did not both in its *Intentions* and *Consequences* out-doe the former.

That we had the Covenant originally from *France*, is plain; as also that a Scroll of it, or much like to it, was sent hither by that cunning Minister of State Cardinal *Richlieu*. *Eachard* (a) tells us, That he sent over *Chamberlane* a Scots Man, and his Chaplain and Almoner, to assist the Confederates in advancing the Business, and to attempt always for blowing up the first Heat. He also appointed one of his Secretaries to reside in *Scotland* at that Time,
and

and to march along with their Armies towards *England*, and to be present at all Councils of War. This Cardinal also sent them Arms and Ammunition. This is acknowledged by the *French* Writers, and particularly by the Jesuit *d^s Orleans*. The aforesaid Author gives the Reasons that moved the Cardinal to foment the Rebellion in *Scotland*; and there is not the least Doubt but that it was at this Time that the Lord *Loudoun*, and the others, First-rate Covenanters, settled that Correspondence with *Rich-lieu* that encouraged them thereafter to write to the King of *France* for his Assistance, of which in its own Place.

This Covenant being fram'd, as said is, it was immediately signed and sworn by all those of the *Green Tables*; and the first Day of *March*, and the *Gray Friars* Church was assigned by them as the Time and Place for those of the City of *Edinburgh*, to swear and subscribe it; and there and then did convene an incredible Number of all Ranks and Degrees of People; and to them did the Lord *Loudon* make a long Speech in Praise of it; and after him *Henderson* said a long Prayer (a); then they fell headlong a swearing and subscribing of it. Never was human Composition so admired and ador'd as it was. Happy did he esteem himself that was soon admitted to the Honour of taking of it; and the religious Earl of *Sutherland* had the Precedency allowed to him that Day, and he was the first that took it; and to him succeeded Sir *Andrew Murray*, Lord *Bavaird* and Minister of *Ebdy* in *Fife*; and after them all there present. After this it was carried through
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(a) Straloch's. M S.

the whole Town, and the young Women and Servant Maids held up their Hands and swore to the Covenant.

After this, Copies were sent to all the Presbyteries and Parishes of the Kingdom; and these were generally wrote upon large Scrolls of Parchment; and so it came to be called in a Pamphlet then written, *A Constellation upon the Back of Aries*. The taking of it was pressed with great Zeal and Forwardness all the Nation over; and both Laicks and Clergy had Power to administrate this Oath; and many of the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy carried Copies along with them where ever they went, to press it on all they met with. The last cited Author says, *That some were so zealous, That when they were to sign it, they drew their own Blood, and did it with that instead of Ink*. At first the Imposers of this Oath being somewhat diffident of their Success, made Use of moderate and cunning Means to bring in People to it: But afterwards when they found it universal and no where opposed, had got innumerable Subscriptions to it, and that it tended so much to forward their Cause; they did then cast off the Mask, and at last press'd it upon all Ranks with a military Force, by quartering their Soldiers upon, and exacting Contributions from the Recufants (as they then term'd those who refused it.) And the Kirk, not to be behind with the State, drew their Sword of Ecclesiastical Censure, (which indeed they kept always hereafter ready drawn, till *Cromwell* made them put it up) and, without Mercy, excommunicated all who refused it. Now whether the Civil or Ecclesiastical Dragooning lay heaviest upon the Recufants, is not hard to determine. By the first they had Soldiers

put upon them who got free Quarters, and mad^e them pay such Fines, as were imposed upon them ; but by the Ecclesiastical Censure, they were put to the Horn, and thereby their Escheat fell, and so were deprived of all their moveable Estate. Nay, if any Gentleman that was so used, lived in a Parish where the Minister was a Zealot (as most of them soon came to be, either by Inclination or Force) he was not allowed to keep a Servant, either to clean his House, dress his Victuals, or wash his Linen.

This Frenzy spread itself over the whole Nation ; nor was there a Person of Quality and Power, who at this Time openly offer'd to oppose themselves to it, *George Marquis of Huntly* only excepted, who thought himself obliged to tread in the Footsteps of his noble and loyal Ancestors, who always adher'd to the King's Interest when he was most in Danger ; and so neither he, nor any of his Friends would take this *Covenant*, but opposed it with all the Power and Interest they were Master of. The Covenanters were not ignorant of *Huntly's* Power, and what a Hindrance on the one Hand he would be to them, if he continued their Enemy ; and on the other, what Assistance he was able to bring them, if he could be brought over to their Side ; and therefore, they resolve to try if by fair Means they can bring him to it. He by his being at Court in his younger Years ; by his travelling Abroad ; and lastly, by the great Charges he was at, when he commanded the *Scots* Company in *France*, had spent much more Money than his Father's yearly Allowance amounted to, and thereby contracted considerable Debts ; which was well known to the Covenanters, who by giving him Money to discharge these Debts, were hopeful to bring

bring him to their Side ; and for that Purpose, they thought it proper to send a Commissioner of their own Party, whom they could trust, to treat with him ; and by the Earl of *Rothes's* Advice, they pitched upon Colonel *Robert Monro*, as the fittest Person they could send with that Message, because there had been a long Friendship between the Family of *Huntly* and the *Monro's* ; and him, with sufficient Powers and Instructions, they send North to *Huntly*, who was then and there opposing their Covenant as much as he could. The Sum of his Commission to *Huntly*, was, *That the Noblemen Covenanters were desirous, that he should join with them in the common Cause ; That if he would so do, and take the Covenant, they would give him the first Place, and make him General of their Forces ; That they would make his Estate greater and better than ever it was ; That they would give him L. 100000 Sterling to discharge his Debts ; That their Forces and Associates were one hundred to one with the King ; and therefore it would be to no Purpose for him to take up Arms against them : But if he refused their Offers, and declared against them, they should find Means to disable him for to help the King ; and moreover, they knew how to undo him ; and bid him to expect, that they will ruinate his Family and Estate.* How both these Threats were effectual, shall be shown in its own Place.

To these Proposals *Huntly* gave a short but resolute Answer, which was, *That his Family had risen and stood by the Kings of Scotland ; and for his Part, if the Event prov'd the Ruin of this King, he was resolved to bury his Life, Honours and Estate, under the Rubbish of the King's Ruines (a).* How far this resolute

(a) Straloch's M. S.

resolute Answer came to be prophetic, hereafter will appear. Of all this *Huntly* did advertise the King, advising him what was like to fall out shortly, if not timeously prevented. The aforesaid Author says, That nothing of any Consequence hereafter past betwixt the King and *Huntly*, or betwixt the King and his other Trustees in *Scotland* or *England*, that was not soon discovered to the Covenanters, by the Treachery of some of the Grooms of his Bed-chamber; and he particularly mentions *James Maxwell* of *Innerwick*, and *William Murray*, Nephew to Mr. *Robert Murray* Minister of *Methven*. All our Historians name the last. They usually made bold with the King's Pockets at Night, and took out such Letters as he had received: If of Importance, they copied them out, putting up again the Principals in his Pockets, and dispatching the Copies according to the present Exigent. This was so well known, that one Time Archbishop *Laud*, writing to the King, added this Postscript (*I beseech you, Sir, trust not your own Pockets with this:*) And this was the Way that all the King's Counsels and Friends came to be discovered, and their Actings came to be crush'd in the Bud.

(a) At this Time *Huntly* came openly to appear for the King; and as he had, so did his Friends, both in the high and low Country at this Time, refuse to take the Covenant; which tho' at first it had many Admirers, yet it wanted not its Opposers. The first that drew his Pen against it, was Dr. *John Forbes* of *Corse*, the most learned and pious Professor of Divinity in the University of *Aberdeen*; he put out
at

at that Time a small Pamphlet, which he dedicated to the Marquis of *Huntly*, shewing the Unlawfulness of it, and the Unreasonableness of pressing People to take it. He called it *A peaceable Warning to the Subjects in Scotland*; it was printed at *Aberdeen*, and is yet extant. There were also some in *St. Andrews* wrote against it, but that was never printed. In the College of *Glasgow*, some of the Regents refused it; and others of the Professors took it, with such Interpretations and Limitations, as were destructive to the very Foundation thereof. In the College of *Edinburgh*, Two of the Four Regents were expell'd, for refusing to subscribe it; and some other Gentlemen and Lawyers, remarkable for Piety and Learning, refused it, giving their Reasons for so doing: But in place of returning them Answers, they so persecuted them, that some of them were forced to quit the Kingdom for a Time; amongst whom was Mr. *Robert Burnet*, then Advocate, and afterwards one of the Senators of the College of Justice, by the Title of Lord *Crimon*. He was a learned and pious Gentleman, and differ'd much in his Way of thinking from his Son the Bishop of *Sarum*.

The Ministers of *Charenton* in *France* were much dissatisfied with this Covenant, and the Professors and Ministers of *Geneva* were so much displeas'd with it, that Mr. *John Diodati*, a learned Minister there, did write against them. The like did Dr. *Andrew Rivet*, Professor of Divinity in *Leyden*. The Writings of the first is extant in Print; and *Rivet's* Letters being directed to the General Assembly; but not agreeing with their Principles and Practices, were by them suppressed. Those foreign Divines looked upon the Covenant, as an indelible Scandal to the reformed

reformed Religion, and that it would be a Means to alienate the Minds of all Christian Princes, from entertaining a good Thought of it. The King gives his Opinion about it with great Learning and Piety (a), and in that incomparable Book of his (b).

The Council now perceiving the Flame to be like to break out, they met at *Stirling*, and appointed Sir *John Hamilton* Justice-clerk (a secret Friend to the Covenanters) to go to the King, and lay before His Majesty these Things contained in his Instructions: And by these Instructions it will easily appear, that they were no Enemies to the Covenant that drew them ; yet they were approved of in Council, and he was sent up to Court with them. The Earls of *Traquhair* and *Roxburgh* wrote a Letter to the King with him, much of the same Strain with his Instructions, and the Council wrote the like Letter to the Marquis of *Hamilton* ; all which are to be seen in *Burnet's* Memoirs (c). The King at this Time, that he might be the better informed of these Commotions in *Scotland*, called up to Court the Earls of *Roxburgh*, *Traquair*, and the Lord *Lorn*. At this Time also there went up to Court some of the *Scots* Bishops (not finding it safe for them to stay longer in *Scotland*.) And the King having fully consulted with those of his *Scots* Council, who were at Court, and such of his *English* as he was pleased to join to them, concerning the Affairs of *Scotland*, at last resolved to send *James* Marquis of *Hamilton*, as His *High Commissioner*, with full Powers to him, to settle all those seditious Commotions in *Scotland*.

(d) The afore-cited Author says, That it was al-
 ledged

(a) Large Declaration p. 66. & infra. (b) Εικον βασιλικη p. 98. (c) p. 35. & infra. (d) lb. p. 38.

ledged, that there were some about the King, that advised him to employ the Marquis of *Huntly* for that Service; but (he says) that could not take with the King, because *Huntly* was not well known to him; his Family was always unacceptable to that (the covenanting) Party; and that he himself was suspected to incline to *Popery*: And for these Reasons the King thought *Huntly* an unfit Person, to be employed in that Affair at that Time. I shall not dispute with the Doctor, whether *Huntly* or *Hamilton* were fittest to be employed; but I'm sure, those Reasons given by the Dr. were so false, even to the King's proper Knowledge, that they could have no Weight with him. Was he but little acquainted with that Man, who was educated constantly with him from his Youth-hood to Man's Age? that Man whom immediately thereafter he made his Lord Lieutenant in the North? Did he suspect that Man inclined to *Popery*, who was educated in the *Protestant* Religion with the same Care that himself was? So these could not have been the Reasons, that moved the King not to employ him in that high Post. The King then, and for some Years thereafter, trusted the Marquis of *Hamilton* without any Reserve (and if it be true what *Scots* and *English* Historians say) even probably too long. If *Huntly* had been employed at that Time, 'tis probable there would no Insinuations have been made to the Covenanters, to stand by their Tackling, and their Demands would be granted. The Covenanters would not have terrified his Vassals and Friends, from waiting on him; nay, they would have ventured their Lives with him in the King's Quarrel, when ever he had desired them. If the King had commanded him, he could have brought

brought an Army of them with him, who if the Covenanters could not be reasoned into their Duty, would have taken proper Means to have reduced them to it, before they had gotten over their foreign Officers, Arms and Ammunition; and had raised their formidable Army. That old Saying was too truly verified at this Time, *Serò medicina paratur.*

It was no sooner concluded, That *Hamilton* was to come down Commissioner, than the Lord *Lorn* left the Court, and returned *May* the 20th. The Reason of his Haste, was said to be an Advice given by his Father to the King, not to suffer him to return to *Scotland*, else he would wind him a Pirn (which it seems he had discovered :) The King thanked the Earl of *Argyle* his Father, but told him, *He behoved to be a King of his Word*; and therefore having called him, would not detain him. The other Two who went to Court with him, *Traquair* and *Roxburgh*, staid till the Commissioner came down. How soon *Lorn* came to *Edinburgh*, he acquainted those of his own Party what was done at *London*. The *Anti-covenanters* were much discouraged at it; and not expecting much Good from *Hamilton*, they revive the Story betwixt *Rae* and *Ramsay* (a).

The Marquis of *Hamilton* being named Commissioner, for his better Direction, gave in to the King a Scroll, containing 34 Queries, and desired particular Answers to each of them; which was returned to him, with particular Answers subjoined to each of them; and having gotten his Instructions and Commission *May* 20th (b); a few Days after taking Leave of the King, he began his Journey on the 26th, arrived at
Berwick

(a) Guthrie's Memoirs p. 31. (b) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. 2. p. 147 & infra. Burnet's Memoirs p. 46 & infra.

Berwick June the 3d. At his departing, the King gave him Orders to write to him often, and to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he being the only *Englishman* entrusted with the Secrets of that *Attair*. But *Dr. Burnet* owns, that he corresponded also with *Sir Henry Vane*, who was the greatest Patron in secret the Covenanters had in *England*; and sometime thereafter, he discovered himself to be their open Friend and the King's inveterate Enemy. He had writ to his Friends and Vassals in *Clydesdale*, and elsewhere, to meet him at *Haddington*; but the *Green Tables* discharged them to give any such Attendance; and they thought proper rather to obey them, than their Chief, their Lord, and the King's Commissioner (a), which heightned the Jealousies People had of him.

When he came to *Berwick*, he was waited upon by the Earl of *Roxburgh*, who sufficiently informed him of the Tumults in *Scotland*; and the next Day by the Earl of *Lawderdale* and the Lord *Lindsay*, and from them learned, that they were resolved never to give up the *Covenant*; That they would have the Five Articles of *Pertb* abolished, *Episcopacy* limited; so that there should little more remain but the Name. And if these Things were not granted them, and a General Assembly and a Parliament not quickly called, they would call them themselves, before the great Crouds at *Edinburgh* were scattered. The Covenanters, that they might the better oppose the Commissioner at his first Arrival, sent and convened from all the Corners of the Country, Multitudes of the most zealous of their Party, to be at *Edinburgh* against

(a) Large Declaration p. 80.

against his coming to *Dalkeith*: They also doubled the Number of the Commissioners at each of their Tables, ordaining all to give punctual Attendance.

Sometimè before this, the King hearing that the Covenanters were bringing in Arms to the Kingdom; and (not without Reason) suspecting that they would endeavour to surprize the Castle of *Edinburgh*; and it being now in the Time of profound Peace, altogether unprovided of Arms and Ammunition, he sent by Sea to *Leith* a small Number of Arms, 200 Muskets, and as many Pikes, and as small a Quantity of Powder, with Orders to the Earl of *Traquair* to lodge it in the Castle of *Edinburgh*: But how soon the Ship arrived in *Leith*-road, the Covenanters sent to the Master of the Ship; and with many Threatnings, commanded him to bring in his Ship to the Harbour. The Earl of *Traquair* hearing this, he got the Arms and Ammunition out of the Ship; and in some Boats got them to *Fisher-row*; and not being able to put them in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, he conveyed them on Carts to the Castle of *Dalkeith*; and that he might not lodge them in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, they immediately blocked up the same. Mr. *Robert Gordon* of *Straloch* in his M S. History observes, That the Covenanters cried mightily out against the King, for endeavouring to put Arms and Ammunition in his Castles, saying, that it was a Token he had no Inclination for Peace: But it was no Argument in them for want of Inclination to Peace, That they had at the same Time Two good Ships brought Home, fully loaded with Arms and Ammunition, which were landed at *Leith* openly and avowedly, as before another Ship full of Arms had been. Before the Commissioner came down, at their

Tables they concluded upon a Paper, containing 10 Articles, which they with wonderful Diligence dispatched to all the Shires of the Nation, to be communicated to their Sub-committees. It is full of high and rebellious Demands and Injunctions, but too long to be inserted here (a).

In this Posture, Affairs were when the Commissioner arrived at *Dalkeith*. How soon he came thither, he called a Council, where his Commission was read. The Covenanters would send none thither to treat with him, pretending, that it was not safe for any of their Number to go to that Place, where so many Arms and so much Powder was lodged, least it should be made Use of to blow them up, or otherwise to destroy them. The Commissioner on the other Hand could not come to *Edinburgh*, which was then crowded with a great Number of the most seditious amongst the Covenanters, of the Clergy and Laity, gathered together from all Parts of the Nation; and the Castle was by them blocked up with armed Men: So they kept a Distance for some Days the one from the other, till at last the Town of *Edinburgh* sent out some Commissioners to him, to intreat he would be pleased to come to the King's Palace of *Holy-rood-house*, to reside there, promising, *That he should be treated with all the Honour that was due to his Character, that thereby they might give a Demonstration of their sincere Affection to His Majesty's Service.* The Commissioner by Advice of the Council replied, *That if they would undertake to make their Citizens quiet, and to behave themselves obediently, as dutiful Subjects; and that the Multitude of Covenanters there*
would

(a) Large Declaration p. 79.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 211

would do so too, and discharge the Guards about the Castle of Edinburgh, then he would in a Day or Two come to the King's Palace of Holy-rood-house, otherwise it was not agreeable to the King's Honour for him to come thither. The Commissioners sent to him agreed to these Conditions.

On the 9th of June, the Commissioner (according to his Promise) removed himself from *Dalkeith* to the King's Palace at *Holy-rood-house*, accompanied and attended by the Lords of Council, the Senators of the College of Justice, and a great Number of the Nobility and Gentry, that were well affected to the King's Service. Some Two or Three Miles from *Edinburgh*, he was met by the whole Body of the Nobility, Gentry, and others, Covenanters, all mounted on Horse-back; *Straloch* and others call them divers Thousands (a); Dr. *Burnet* calls them 60000. (This seems to be a hyperbolical Flight in the Dr. if the Printer has not put a Cypher too many to the Account) 'tis certain, that at this Time they made the greatest Appearance in their Power, to show their Strength and Numbers. Next, in a nearer Distance from *Edinburgh*, he was met by their Ministry convened there; the Dr. calls them 500, others 700. They kept all in a separate Body, and *William Livingston* Minister at *Lanerk*, a hot-headed Zealot, was appointed and prepared to declaim an Oration to him; but the Commissioner being inform'd of the Temper of the Man, discharged it. As he pass'd by the Ministers, they made low Bowes to him; which he returned with much Respect, and with a smiling Countenance addressed them in the

(a) Memoirs p. 54.

Words of St. *Matthew*, *ch. v. ver. 13. Vos estis sal terræ.* Upon which one of the Number being at some Distance, and not hearing well what he said, asked at one that was nearer, what it was, who merrily replied, Brother, the Commissioner said, *Its we that makes the Kail salt (a)*; in whatever Sense it was spoken, it was certainly true in a literal Sense. When he came to *Holy-rood-house*, he was waited on by the Magistrates and Town-council of *Edinburgh*.

The Commissioner being now settled at *Holy-rood-house*, they dismissed their great Multitudes, being necessitated thereto for the easing of their great Charge: They also removed their Guards from about the Castle, there being still sufficient Numbers in Town, to hinder any Arms or Ammunition being put into it. The Covenanters then appointed of their Number to treat with his Grace, the Earls of *Rothes* and *Morton*, the Lord *Lindors*, and *Henderson*, *Dick* and *Cant* Ministers; to whose Consideration he offer'd Two Propositions, 1mo, *What they would expect in the King's Name to bear, for accommodating their Grievances.* 2do, *What he might expect from them in renouncing their Covenant, and returning to their Obedience.* Both which they with Scorn rejected, and told, *That nothing would satisfy them but a Parliament and General Assembly; and that it was before them that they would lay open their Grievances; nor would they acknowledge that they had departed from their Obedience; and for the Covenant, They would as soon renounce their Baptism, as abate one Word or Syllable of it, accounting it more useful and*
available,

available, than all the Laws since the Time of Fergus I. enacted (a).

At this 'Time the Marquis of Huntly, the only Nobleman who had openly opposed the Covenant, came to *Edinburgh* to wait on the Commissioner, who in his coming South, as he past some Towns, was openly reviled and cursed by the Covenanters, for his opposing of it: His Abode with the Commissioner was but for a short Time, and I have not learn'd what past betwixt them; the dangerous Sickness of his Lady, Lady *Anne Campbell*, Daughter to the Earl of *Argyle* (whom *Straloch* calls a Pattern of Piety and Virtue) called him hastily North; she died (before he could reach her) at *Old Aberdeen*, June 14th, and was buried in the Cathedral Church there with all usual Solemnity.

At this 'Time many Messages and Letters past betwixt the King and the Marquis of *Hamilton*, to be seen in *Rusworth's* Collections (b). When he designed to be at Divine Service in the King's Chapel, the Ministers sent him Word not to use the *English* Service, and caused nail up the Organs. Nay, they had the Impudence to write a long Letter to him, desiring him and the whole Council to take the Covenant, as they would answer to GOD at the great Day, and shun his Terrors at the Hour of Death.

Bishop *Guthrie* (c) seems to insinuate, That the Ministers were too much encouraged in their high Demands and insolent Behaviour. He says, That the first Time he met with the Covenanters Commissioners, his Behaviour was stately and harsh; but the

(a) Eachard Hist of England, Vol. 3. p. 142. Straloch's M. S.
 (b) Vol. 2 p. 752 & infra. Burnet's Memoirs p. 55 & infra.
 (c) Memoirs p. 34.

the next Day these Lords and Ministers returned to his Grace, and found him more plausible in treating with them, even publickly before severals of the Council; and that at parting he told them in private, *My Lords and Gentlemen, I spoke to you before those Lords of Council, as the King's Commissioner; now there being none present but your selves, I speak to you as a kind Scotsman, if you go on with Courage and Resolution, you will carry what you please; but if you faint and give Ground in the least, you are undone; a Word is enough to wise Men.* His Warrants for narrating this Story, are 1^{mo}, That the very same Day Mr. Cant (one of those to whom it was spoken) told it to Dr. Guild, who the next Morning reported it to Mr. David Douglas Minister at Cowpar, and Mr. Robert Knox Minister at Kelso, and to Mr. Henry Gutbrie Minister at Stirling. 2^{do}, The said Henry being that Night with the Earl of Montrose at Supper, his Lordship drew him to a Window, and there told it in the same Terms wherein Dr. Guild had reported it to him; and added, *That it wrought an Impression upon him, to doubt, that my Lord Hamilton might intend by this Business to advance his Diligence; but that he would suspend his Judgment until he saw further, and in the mean Time look more narrowly to his walking.*

I shall leave it to the Reader to determine, what Truth may be in this; but of one Thing I'm satisfied, and 'tis, That, if the Covenanters had not been under Hand encouraged by some great Men, whom the King too much trusted, their Demands had never risen so high, nor had they stuck so peremptorly to them; And that they had their secret Friends about the King, who betrayed him, and discovered

His most secret Counsels to them at that Time, and afterwards, is past all Controversy.

The Commissioner now understood, that nothing would satisfy them but a Parliament and General Assembly; and that if he offer'd to publish the King's Declaration, it would meet with a publick Affront: Of all which he acquainted the King, and advised him, that if he was positive as to the publishing of the Declaration, in the Terms it was in, that he would sweeten it, by first publishing an Act, recalling the Session and Council to sit at *Edinburgh*: And further, That he having several Matters of Consequence to lay before His Majesty, that he could not commit to Paper, he beg'd of him that he would allow him to come to Court, to get his further Orders. The King returned him an Answer, calling him to Court, and commanding him to publish the Declaration; and allowing him by a previous Act of Council, to recall the Session to *Edinburgh*.

Upon his Return from the King, the first Thing the Marquis did, was by a Proclamation published at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, the Recalling the Courts of Justice to sit at *Edinburgh*; and this was most acceptable to the Generality of all Ranks of People: And to testify their Gratitude, there was a Letter of Thanks subscribed by most of the Council, of the Date *July* the 2d (a), sent to his Majesty; and the Session sat down at *Edinburgh* July 3. And tho every Man was pleas'd with it, and no Man spoke against it, yet it gave no Satisfaction to those Gentlemen and Ministers at their Tables: They openly declared, the bringing back the Judicatories to *Edinburgh*,

(a) Large Declaration p. 91.

burgh, would not answer all Mens Expectations, except Sir Robert Spottiswood second Son to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, then Lord President of the Session, and Sir John Hay Clerk-register, were laid aside, being *Episcopally* affected, Promoters of the Service-book, and Enemies to the Covenant: And some of the principal Men at the Tables were sent to the Commissioner, to shew him, that they were to accuse them of Bribery and Corruption, and that they were ready to prove the same against them; and therefore desired him to remove them from their Chairs in Session.

To which the Commissioner answer'd, *That if they had any such Crimes to lay to their Charge, they might pursue them in a legal Way; and if they proved their Alledgeance against them, they would be punished as their Crimes deserved; but to punish Men before they were convicted, was to overturn all the Principles of Law and Equity.* The Session sat, and there was no more of this at this Time; and I shall have Occasion to do Justice to the Memory of these Two loyal and learned Gentlemen hereafter.

The Commissioner being now ready to take Journey for *England*, resolv'd to publish the King's Declaration; and this being noised Abroad, made a great Stir amongst the Covenanters. The Preachers from their Pulpits exclaimed mightily against it, and incited the People to oppose it (a), telling them, if it was allowed of, it would bring along with it utter Ruin to Religion and Liberty. Upon which for several Days, there were Multitudes of People who waited at the Cross in Rank and File, armed with

Swords

(a) Straloch's M S.

Swords and Pistols, but after some Days spent this Way the People became more quiet; and then a Herald was sent to the Cross, who read it with the usual Solemnities: But it was immediately encountered with a long Protestation which the Covenanters had prepared aforehand to meet it. And upon all that past the Earl of *Cassils*, in Name of the Nobility, Mr. *Alexander Gibson* younger of *Dury*, in Name of the Barons, *James Fletcher* Provost of *Dundee* in Name of the Burrows, Mr. *John Ker*, Minister at *Salt- Preston*, in Name of the Ministers, and Mr. *Archbald Johnston* (afterwards Lord *Wariston*) Reader of the Protestation, in Name of all who adhered to the Covenant, took Instruments in the Hands of three publick Notaries, before some hundreds of Witnesses. And to add yet a little more to their Impudence, they made a publick Offer of this their Protestation to the Nottar-Publick, who read the King's Declaration. The King's Proclamation, and the Covenanters long Protestation against it, are to be seen (a).

After the publishing of this Proclamation, the Marquis of *Hamilton* took Journey to Court, July 6. All this Time the Covenant had met with great Opposition in the North, by the Marquis of *Huntly's* great Power, and the Doctors of *Aberdeen* their great Learning: But now to inforce it there, a Committee was sent from the Tables, of the following Persons, the Earl of *Montrose*, *Arthur Erskine* of *Scots-craig*, the Lord *Couper*, the Master of *Forbes*, Sir *Robert Graham* of *Morphey*, and Sir *Thomas Burnet* of *Leyes*, and with them, *Dick, Henderson* and *Cant*,
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(a) Large Declaration, p. 96. & infra. Rushworth's Collect. Vol. 2. p. 754. & infra.

Ministers (commonly called the *three Apostles of the Covenant*) and they all arrived at *Aberdeen*, July 20. 1638. They had no sooner come thither, than the famous Doctors, Professors of Divinity, and Ministers there sent them some Queries concerning their Covenant, professing, That if they would satisfy their Doubts, they would not refuse to join in Covenant with them. The Magistrates of Town sent one of their Number also to them, to offer them the Compliment of the Town, and to invite them to a Col-lation in the Evening at the Town-house. But to them they returned for Answer, *That they would neither eat nor drink with them, till they had first joined in Covenant with them.* And this the Magistrates took in so ill Part, that they caused carry away the Wine, and what else they had provided to entertain those Zealots with, and distribute the same amongst the poor Men in the Hospital (a).

The Towns of *Aberdeen* had for their Ministers at that Time Dr. *John Forbes* of *Corse* Professor of Divinity in old *Aberdeen*, *Alexander Scrogie* D. D. Minister there, *William Lesly* D. D. Principal of the *King's College* there; in *New Aberdeen*, *Robert Baron*, D. and P. of Divinity, *James Sibbald* D. D. and *Alexander Ross* D. D. Ministers there. These were then the Ministers of *Aberdeen*, famous then, yet and ever will be for their eminent Learning, Loyalty and Piety. While they were allowed to live there, there was no such Cry heard in the Streets of that then loyal City, *To your Tents, O Israel!* the common Cant then of the Covenanters. They were faithful Pastors; they led their Flocks to
quiet

(a) Straloch's M S. Hist. p. 53.

quiet Waters; they fed them with wholesome Food, brought from the Scriptures, and the Practice of the primitive Christians. They had read most exactly the Writings of the antient Fathers in their own Language (undervalued now, because unknown to the present Teachers in that City.) They knew the Practice of the primitive Christians, in the Time of their hottest Persecutions by the heathen Emperors. They taught their People to obey the King as Supreme, and those subordinate to him for Conscience Sake, and not to rise up in Arms and rebel for Conscience Sake, as the Covenanters did. They were affectionate Fathers to their Flocks: They taught them in the Words of the wise Man, *My Son, fear GOD, and honour the King, and meddle not with those who are given to change;* and as they taught, so did they practise. In fine, the learned Works they left behind them, will continue their Fame, all the learn'd World over, as long as Learning is in any Esteem. I refer those who would know any more of them, to the Life of Doctor *John Forbes* of *Corse*, written by the Reverend and learned Dr. *George Garden*, and prefixed to the Edition of his Works, not long ago published by him in *Folio*, two Volumes. Notwithstanding all which, neither their Learning nor Piety were sufficient Armour to defend them from the Fury of the Covenanters, who most barbarously used them, all of them hereafter being deposed from their Ministry, turn'd out of their Livings, and some of them obliged to fly Abroad, and seek their Bread in a foreign Land. And thus did the Covenanters begin their Work of Reformation in the *North of Scotland*. Three foreign Historians to this Day make honourable

Men-

Mention of them ; a late *English* Historian (a), says of Dr. *John Forbes*, *That his Parts were very pregnant, his Learning of a vast Extent, and highly admired by Foreigners.*

I have said, That these Doctors sent to the three covenanting Ministers, immediately upon their Arrival at *Aberdeen*, some *Queries*, containing their Scruples against the Covenant ; to which the next Day being *Saturday*, towards the Evening they sent the Doctors their Answer, *They needed no long Time to deliberate about them, for 'tis far from being categorical.* They also then desired Liberty of the Doctors to preach in their Churches the next Day being *Sunday*. To that the Doctors returned for Answer, *That tho' they were willing to yield to them any rational Request, yet they desired to be excused in refusing them that, in respect they conceived it to be very unexpedient to give them an Opportunity to preach to their People Doctrines contradictory to what the People had been taught by them, till they were first convinced that the Doctrines taught by them were erroneous.*

They being resolved to preach that Day, with, or without Liberty, caused make it known in Town, that they were to preach after publick Worship was over, in the Court of *Marishall's* Lodging, and there (Novelty bringing some, and Curiosity others) a numerous Auditory being convened, all the three Ministers preach'd one after another. The Scope of their Preachings was to cry up their Covenant. But at this Time they had bad Success, there not being above 19 or 20 that subscribed it, and these of the meaner

(a) Eachard, Vol. 2. p. 624.

meaner Sort, says *Burnet* (a). *Straloch* (b) names only two of any Note, viz. *Dr. William Guild*, one of the Ministers of that Town, an Apostate now to the Covenanters, a Man of much less Learning than the rest; and *Dr. William Johnston*, Professor of Mathematicks in the Marishal College there: And neither would they put their Hands to it, without this Limitation and Protestation, That thereby they were not obliged to act any Thing against the King. And this their Protestation being put in Writing, was signed by the *Earl of Montrose*. So fond were they at that Time to get any Body in that City to sign their Covenant, *Dr. Guild* indeed hereafter took it in its full Vigour and Force, as it was explain'd by the Assembly at *Glasgow*.

From *Aberdeen* they went *North* through the Shire, where, by the Assistance of the *Forbeses* and *Frasers*, and *Mr. Andrew Cant's* Diligence, they met with better Success; but they did not think it proper to go near *Strabogy*, or any other Place belonging to the Marquis of *Huntly*. After a Stay of a few Days in the Country, they returned to *Aberdeen*, and by that Time the Doctors of Divinity there had printed their Queries, the Ministers Answers, and their Reply to them; and on *July 28th*, they delivered a printed Copy of all to the three Ministers, who had now gotten the Wolf by the Ears, and were put to a Stand what to do. To make no Answer, was to give up the Cause, and to answer to Purpose was a difficult Task. However, at last two of them, *Dick* and *Henderson* resolved to carry them *South* with them; and staying some Days at *Sir Thomas Burnet*

(a) Memoirs, p. 68. (b) M S. Hist. ad An. 1638.

Burnet of *Leys* his House of *Muchbells*, some eight Miles South of *Aberdeen*, they there drew up Answers to the Doctors Replies, and sent a Copy of them to the Doctors, who in a little Time thereafter printed *Duplies* to them; and so the Battle ended; for to these *Duplies* the Covenanters never gave any Answer, nor ever will their Successors, as I suppose. Of these Queries, &c. there are several Editions, and being common, I shall say no more of them, but that they then were, and still are in very great Esteem with all Men of Learning; and the King put such a Value upon them, that he caused reprint them at *London*, and wrote a Kind of Letter of Thanks to the Doctors for them.

(a) When the Marquis of *Hamilton* went to Court, he there laid before the King all that had past in *Scotland*, and told him, *That nothing prevail'd so much on the Vulgar there, as the cursed Insinuations given by the Covenanters, of his Majesty's staggering in the Protestant Religion*; wherefore he propos'd, *That his Majesty might cause renew the Confession of Faith, which was established at the Reformation, Anno 1567*, which his Majesty readily agreed to; and giving the Marquis new and fuller Instructions he returned to *Scotland* with a Declaration concerning the Confession of Faith, and the Bond thereunto annexed (b).

Upon the Marquis his Return to *Scotland*, the Covenanters came to him, and demanded his Answer. He told them, he was to be in Council that Day, and to morrow they should have his Answer, which he accordingly gave them in these Terms, viz.
That

(a) *Burnet's Mem.* p. 65. (b) *Idem*, p. 68. and Acts of Parl. Anno 1567.

That his Majesty was graciously pleased to empower him to call a General Assembly and after that a Parliament, if they would agree to those Terms given by the King to him in his Instructions, in Order to make it a free and legal Assembly: But that they would not hear of, pretending that was to prelimitate the Assembly. The Marquis amongst other Things had it in his Instructions, That the Bishops should be Members of the Assembly, and that one of their Number should be chosen Moderator of it; That they should treat of nothing derogatory to the Order of Bishops, or that might tend to the Subversion of the Government of the Church by them. For which Reasons they would go into no Conditions proposed by the Marquis, nor treat with him who should be Members of the Assembly, or what Matters should be transacted in it, until the Assembly sat, who (they said) were the only Judges to determine in both: And now they began to speak out their Mind plainly, telling, That if the King would not presently call a General Assembly, they by their intrinsic Power would do; and to convince him they were in Earnest, the Presbytery of Peebles, 20 Miles distant from Edinburgh, began to choise their Members to the ensuing Assembly.

(a) The Covenanters no way agreeing to the Propositions made by the Marquis; he resolving at last to satisfy them as far as it was in his Power, restricted his Propositions to the two following, *imo, If the Lords will undertake for themselves and the rest, That no Laicks shall have Voices in choising Ministers to be sent from the several Presbyteries to the*
Assem-

Assembly, nor none else but the Ministers of the same Presbytery.

2do, *If they will undertake that the Assembly shall not offer to determine of Things settled by Act of Parliament otherwise than by Remonstrance or Petition to the Parliament, leaving the determining of Things Ecclesiastick to the General Assembly, and Things established by Act of Parliament to the Parliament.* If they would agree to these Terms, he promised immediately to indict a General Assembly, and after that a Parliament. But they having peremptorily resolved that Episcopacy behoved to be down Root and Branch, cost what it would, to none of these Terms would they agree, but threatned that they would immediately call a General Assembly, by Virtue of their own intrinsick Power (as they term'd it) and the Marquis on the other Hand threatned, That if they offered so to do, he would no more mediate betwixt the King and them. These high Words brought both Parties to several Consultations, and at last the *Tables* came to agree that the Marquis should return to *London*, and endeavour to procure for them softer Terms from the King; and they promised that in the mean Time no Commissioners should be elected for the General Assembly, providing he returned before the 21st of *September*, for no longer Time would they allow him; and both Parties having condescended to these Terms,

(a) The Marquis takes Journey for *London*, *August* 25th, and in his Way at *Broxmouth*, consulted with the Earls of *Traquair*, *Roxburgh* and *Southesk*, (three Lords by the King then much trusted) of what was fittest

(a) Rushworth, p. 765.

fittest at that Juncture to propose to the King.
The Sum of their Advice, was,

1mo, *That the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and the high Commission should be discharged, in respect they were introduced against all Form and Customs practised in that Church.*

2do, *That the Practise of the Perth Articles should not be required; and although we conceive that Episcopacy be a Church Government most agreeable to Monarchy, yet the illimited Power which the Lords of the Clergy have assumed to themselves, in admitting and deposing of Ministers, &c. gives us just Ground humbly to beg that your Majesty would be pleased to remit to the Consideration of the Assembly this their unwarranted Power.*

3tio, *If your Majesty would be graciously pleased to allow or warrant such a Confession of Faith, with such a Covenant or Bond joined thereto, as that signed by your Majesty's Royal Father, Council, and most part of the Kingdom, we are confident the same would be a ready Mean to quiet the present Disorders. And lastly, They advised that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to pardon all that was past. And these Articles drawn out at full Length, they signed with their Hands.*

August 1638.

HAMILTON. ROXBURGH.
TRAQUAIR. SOUTHESK.

The Marquis of *Hamilton*, when he arrived at Court, laid before his Majesty the State of the Nation of *Scotland*, and the above Advice signed by these Noblemen; upon which the King, *September*

10th, dispatched him again to *Scotland*, with new and ample Instructions, not only condescending to all that was proposed by these three Lords, but also to many other Things that none but so good a King would have granted, and none but such a stubborn Sect would have demanded (a). He revoked the Orders for using the *Service-Book*, *Book of Canons*, *high Commission*, and discharged the Practice of the five Articles of Perth. He enjoined the Lords of Council, Session, and all others his Subjects, to sign the Confession of Faith, with the Bond thereto annexed, signed by his Father, and the most of the Nation 1580, commonly called the Negative Confession: Nay, even tho' he was convinced in his own Mind, That there were several Things in it that would be uneasy to weak or scrupulous Consciences, he declared, That he did not mean that any Subject should be excoemed from the Censures of a Parliament or General Assembly in a legal Way; and that Episcopal Government already established shall be so limited, as may stand with the present Laws of the Nation; allowed him to call a General Assembly, and immediately after that a Parliament. With several other Instructions of the like Nature all tending to establish the Peace and Quiet of the Nation.

The Marquis so instructed, returned to *Edinburgh*, September 17th, and on the 20th the Covenanters sent to know when they might wait upon him, and he appointed them next Day. When they came, he told them, That the King had granted them all they desired, and more also, a free Assembly and a Parliament, which he immediately indicted; at which they

(a) Burnet's Memoirs p. 734

they seemed to be reasonably well pleased, only they pressed him to desist from renewing the *Confession of Faith*, for, with the renewing thereof, their violent Ringleaders were much dissatisfied, altho' it be the same *verbatim* with that prefix'd to their Covenant, the only Difference is in the Bond annexed to it, which is of the Date, *Anno* 1589 ; and in this it chiefly consists, That this Confession of Faith, with the Bond annexed to it, was commanded to be signed first by the Authority of King *James VI.* and now by the present King's ; and their *Covenant* was contrived, carried on and signed, not only without the Knowledge of the King, but even in open Opposition to his express Commands and Orders. In the first Bond the Subjects bound themselves to maintain the Religion established by Law in *Scotland*, and the King, his Person and Authority, and each one another in Defence of the same ; and for that Effect, to convene arm'd or unarm'd, when and where the King or any impower'd by him shall call them, but all with the greatest Regard to the King and his Authority (*a*). By the Covenant they obliged themselves to the mutual Defence of one another, exclusive of, and without any Regard to the King and his Authority ; nay even to rise in open Arms, and fight against the King. Now, which of these *Covenants*, (the first was called the King's Covenant) was or is most agreeable to the Laws of the Nation, is not hard to determine.

The Marquis, as said is, having intimated his Instructions to the Covenanters, was attended next Morning by the Earl of *Rothes*, and several of the

Lords of that Faction, who in their own Names, and of the rest, earnestly desired that he would not put it to the Council that Day (being *Saturday*) to sign the Confession of Faith, nor publish the Proclamation thereabout, but delay both till *Monday*. The Marquis laid this Desire before the Council, where, after a long Debate it was carried by the Majority of Votes, That the Confession of Faith should be presently signed; next, That the Proclamation of Grace should be presently published, and another Proclamation calling a General Assembly to meet at *Glasgow, November 21.* and a Parliament to meet at *Edinburgh, May 15. Anno 1639.* And accordingly these Proclamations were immediately published, and encountered by a long Protestation from the Covenanters (according to their usual Custom) (a). The Lords of the Council were very well pleased with these Concessions of the King, and returned him a Letter of Thanks, signed with 29 of their Hands.

The Marquis took Care to cause publish through all the Nation the Proclamation discharging the Service-Book, &c. and appointing the *King's Covenant* (for so hereafter we shall call the Confession of Faith, with the Bond annexed to it) And Noblemen and Gentlemen in every Shire were appointed to offer the same to his Majesty's Subjects, but the Covenanters did all they could to hinder the signing of it; and it would appear that these Noblemen named to see it signed in each Shire, were very negligent in the Execution of their Trust, or at least the most of them, the Marquis of *Huntly* excepted; for in all

Scot-

(a) Rushworth's Collect. Voll. 2. p. 762. & infra,

Scotland there were but 28000 Subscribers, and of them *Huntly* procured 12000 (a); and amongst these were the Bishop, and the eminently learned Doctors of *Aberdeen*, to whom it being presented by *Huntly*, they, to be good Examples to others, very readily signed it, with seven Restrictions; and they having been misrepresented by some of the then Covenanters, I think my self obliged to do those learned Doctors Justice here, who did so much Honour to *Scotland* by their Learning; and from Doctor *Burnet*, who says he had the Original by him, I shall insert them.

1mo, *We do heartily abhor and condemn all Doctrines truly Popish or repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, and consequently to the uniform Doctrine of the reformed Kirks, and to our national Confession, registrate in Parliament, Anno 1567.*

2do, *We do noways hereby abjure or condemn Episcopal Government, as it was in the Days, and after the Days of the Apostles in the Christian Kirk for many Hundreds of Years, and is now conform thereto, restored in the Kirk of Scotland.*

3tio, *We do not hereby abjure or condemn the five Perth Articles, or any Thing lawful of that Sort, which shall be found by the Church conduceable at any Time, for good Policy and Order, or which is practised by any sound reformed Kirk.*

4to, *We still hold to that Clause in our great National Confession, Chap. 20. Art. 21. That the general Councils, and consequently the National Kirk*

(a) Burnet's Memoirs p. 86.

of Scotland have no Power to make any perpetual Law, which GOD before hath not made.

5to, *By adhering to the Discipline of the reformed Kirk of Scotland, we mean not any Immutability of that Presbyterial Government, which was Anno 1581, or of any other human Institution; but we do hereby understand, That the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, doth not depend on the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign Power; and hereby we do confess our constant Obedience to the Kirk of Scotland in all her lawful Constitutions.*

6to, *We do not presume by this our personal Oath, either to prejudge the Liberty of the Kirk of Scotland, to change and reform this foresaid short Confession in some Ambiguities and obscure Expressions thereof, whereupon some Men have builded inconvenient Interpretations and Doctrines, or to exeem our selves from Obedience to the Kirk in that Case.*

7mo, *By this our personal Oath, we do not take upon us to lay any further Bond upon our Posterity, than the Word of GOD doth, recommending only our Example to them, so far as they shall find it agreeable to GOD's Word. In this Sense, as is said, and no other ways, do we subscribe the said Confession, and the general Bond annexed thereto at Aberdeen, October 5. 1638.*

Ad Aberdonen.

John Forbes D. and P. of D.	Ja. Sibbald, D. D.
R. Barrone D. and P. of D.	Al. Scrogie, D. D.
Al. Rosse, D. D.	Wil. Lesly, D. D.

By

By these Restrictions the Reader will easily perceive, That these learn'd Doctors had no Mind for any Change either in the Worship or Government of the Church, or to limit and Restrict their Loyalty and Obedience to their Sovereign.

Before the Marquis of *Hamilton* came down the *Tables* had sent Instructions to the several Presbyteries through the Kingdom, to direct them in the Choice of their Commissioners, both Ministers and Ruling Elders, directing them also to make Choice of none but such as they were sure to be firm to the Covenant, and against Bishops; and if any other should be elected, they should make a contraverted Election, and then to return the staunchest Man, whether Minister or Ruling Elder: And for their Election, appointed every Presbytery to meet upon the 21, 22, 23, 24, or 25 of *October* at furthest. These Instructions are to be seen in the large Declaration (a).

(b) The Time of the Assemblies sitting now approaching, the *Tables* begin to consult how to stop the Bishops from sitting in it; and for that Effect they send the Earl of *Rothes* (their constant Agent) with other Covenanters, to petition the Commissioner to grant a Warrant to cite them to appear before the Assembly as guilty of most notorious Crimes. The Commissioner answered, *That the Law was open for citing such as were either within or without the Country; but there being no Precedent, he could grant no such Warrant.* Whereupon they address themselves to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, who immediately gave a Warrant for a Summons to cite all the

(a) P. 129, (b) Rushworth's Coll. Vol. 2, p. 787.

Bishops as guilty of *Hereſy, Simony, Perjury, Inceſt, Adultery, Breach of Sabbath, exceſſive Drinking, Swearing and Gaming*; and, in fine, as many other Crimes as Malice could think the worſt of Mankind could be guilty of. There was never ſuch a ſcandalous Summons heard of in the Chriſtian Church, and yet a Petition for it, narrating the whole of their Accuſation was given in to the Presbytery; 'tis called,

The Bill or Complaint of the Noblemen, Barons, Burgeſſes, Miniſters and Commons, Covenanters, (not Commiſſioners to the Aſſembly) againſt the Arch-biſhops, &c. to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, &c. ſigned,

Noblemen,

Unto your Wiſdoms humbly ſhews and complains, We *John Earl of Sutherland, John Earl of Athol, William Earl of Dalhousie, Mungo Viſcount of Stremont, Hugh Lord Montgomery, David Lord Elcho, George Lord Forreſter, Arthur Lord Forbes, John Maſter of Berridale, Robert Lord Boyd, David Lord Balcarras, John Lord Melvill.* Twelve.

Barons and Gentlemen,

Craigmillier, Lugtoun, Buchanan, young Dury, Balgony, Balbirny, Mr. William Hamilton, Thomas Craig of Ricartoun, John Couper of Gogar, John Hamilton of Boghead, David Inglis of Inglifton, Patrick Cockburn of Clerkington, John Dundas of Newliſton, Sir William Cockburn of Langton, John Leſly of Newton, Colonel Alexander Leſly, David Barkley of Onwerm, Sir Michael Arnot of Arnot, Sir Michael Balfour of Deannmill, John Aiton of Aiton, David Beaton of Balfoure, John Lundie of Lundie, Walter Murray of Livifton, Sir William Preſton

Preston of Ardrie, Walter Cornwall of Bonbard, William Scot of Ardrossie, Robert Forbes of Rires, George Dundas of Dudistoun, Sir William Murray of Blebo, Mr. Robert Preston, William Dickson. Thirty one.

Sir *Andrew Murray of Balvaird* his Name is insert amongst the Subscribers in the large Declaration; but *Straloch* in his MS. says, *That he positively denied it to him that he signed it*: And others of good Credit have informed me of the same, and therefore I have not insert his Name.

Ministers.

Mr. *William Scot* Minister at *Cowper*, Mr. *George Hamilton* at *Newburn*, *Walter Greig* at *Balmerinoch*, *John Macgill* at *Islisk*, *Andrew Blackat* at *Aberlady*. Five.

Burgeses.

George Bruce of *Carnock*, *George Porterfield* Burgeses of *Glasgow*, *John Smith*, *John Mill*, *Lawrence Henryson*, *Richard Maxwell*, Burgeses of *Edinburgh*. Six.

(a) This Bill or Complaint is contained at full Length in the *large Declaration*, of no less than Ten Pages in *Fol.* too long to be insert here. This Bill was no sooner past in the Presbytery, than the Tables took Care to have it read in all the Churches of *Edinburgh*; and that it might be done with the greater Solemnity, they had order'd the Communion to be given in all of them that Day: And some of the Ministers were so zealous to have it read, that they might have Time for it, they omitted a Part of their Afternoon's Devotions (b). If they had the Pre-requisites necessary to a worthy Communicant,

I

(a) Large Declaration p. 209. & infra. (b) *Straloch's MS.* ad an. 1638.

I shall leave the Reader to judge. It cannot but be surprizing to Posterity, to think, how it was possible to find so many Men of Quality and Distinction (being no fewer than 54 in all) to sign such a scandalous Libel against 14 Reverend Prelates and Peers of the Nation. If they failed in the Probation, what Censure did they (*lege talionis*) deserve? I believe, if any Person or Persons had then signed such a Libel, or this Day would, against any such Number of their Top-preachers, I believe they would meet with a pretty sharp Reproof, and I think very richly deserved it. They were so far themselves convinced of the Falshood of this Libel, that the following Assembly did not so much as censure any of these Bishops, that would submit to the Authority of the Assembly. This scandalous Libel was published in all the Churches of the Nation, where the Covenanters had any Power, and affixed to the most patent Door of each Cathedral, and sent to the several Presbyteries.

(a) The Covenanters by their private Instructions (b) had appointed, That no Prebend, or Member of any of the Bishops Chapters (*Chapter-men* as they called them) no Anti-covenanter, no Man who had taken the King's Covenant; and in short, none but such as were zealous Covenanters, should be elected Members of the Assembly, or Assessors to them: And for their further Security, they issue out new Orders, appointing all Noblemen Covenanters (those in the West excepted) to be at *Edinburgh November 12.* and there to stay till they go to *Glasgow*, where the whole Members were to meet

meët *November 17*. As also, that the full Number of those who are appointed Commissioners by the several Shires, attend with Four Gentlemen within the Bounds of every Presbytery at least, out of the Number of their Assessors (not excluding Voluntiers) come to *Glasgow* the Day appointed, and constantly attend the Assembly, to be assisting to the Ruling Elders ; and that the Burrows, according to their Quality, appoint Two, Four or Six. (They trusted only to their Numbers, for in that they all along boasted.) They appointed this previous Meeting, that they deliberate about, and resolve upon what was to be done in this Assembly ; and if it deserved the Name of a free one, is not hard to determine. I'm sure of this, that they had pre-determined what they were to do, and one Inch they did not recede from it.

All Things being thus put in Order, the Marquis of *Hamilton* came to *Glasgow November 17*. where he met with the greatest Confluence of People, that ever had been seen in these Parts of *Europe* on such an Occasion (says *Dr. Burnet*) and on the 21st did this Assembly sit down. *Mr. Bell* one of the Ministers of *Glasgow* did preach to them, by the Commissioner's Order. The fore-cited Author observes, That there was no Clergyman there to be seen in his Habit, but many a Sword, Pistol and Dagger. The Commissioner had appointed him for his Assessors, the Earls of *Argyle, Traquair, Lauderdale, Roxburgh, Southesk* and *Sir Lewis Stewart* ; but to none of them would they allow a Suffrage. He presented his Commission and the King's Letter to them, which were both read. They then called for the Choice of a Moderator ; but he desired, that first of all the
 Bishop's

Bishop's Declinator, presented to him by Dr. *Robert Hamilton* Minister at *Glasford*, might be read; but that they would not allow of, until the Moderator was chosen: Upon which the Commissioner protested, and took Instruments in the Hands of Sir *John Hay* Clerk-register, as did Dr. *Hamilton* in Name of the Bishops. The Assembly proceeded, and unanimously elected Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, Minister at *Leuchars* in *Fife*, their Moderator; and that was no Wonder, for all the Members had been previously directed so to vote: He was esteem'd a Man of the greatest Cunning and best Parts amongst them, but at that Time was full of Fire and Zeal.

November 23. Sess. 3. the Commissioner again desired the Bishop's Declinator might be read; but that was again refused, till a Clerk should be chosen: Upon which he protested as before, and they proceeded and made Choice of Mr. *Archibald Johnston* (afterwards Sir *Archibald*, Clerk-register, and Lord *Waristoun*) to be their Clerk. Then the Commissioner called again to read the Declinator; but they would not hear of it, till the controverted Elections were discussed, and the Assembly constituted and full in all its Members: And the controverted Elections being but few, they soon discussed them, the most zealous Covenanter was still the Man. And that being over, the Commissioner again required the Declinator to be read, which was agreed to; and it was read by the Clerk of the Assembly *November 27th, Sess. 6ta.* and the Commissioner laid before them the Necessity of it, and unavoidable Strength of the Reasons contained in it, and took Instruments upon the Production and reading of it; but all to no Purpose. It is an excellent Paper, full of Learning and close Reasoning;

soning ; it is of about 17 Pages Fol. (a); it is signed at *Holy-rood-house, Newcastle and Glasgow*, the 16, 17 and 20 Days of *November 1638*, by

Jo. St. Andreae Arch. Tho. Gallovidien.

Pat. Glasgow. Jo. Rossen.

David Edinburgen. Walterus Brechinen.

After the Commissioner's Protestation, there were a Number of young Noblemen and Gentlemen, to enter a Protestation with much Noise, that the Bishops might be prosecuted according to the Bill exhibited against them: And Mr. *Alexander Gibson* younger of *Dury* thundred out a verbal Protestation, *That they would pursue the Libel against the Bishops, so long as they had Lives and Fortunes*, etiam in foro contentiosissimo; and required Dr. *Hamilton* their Procurator then present, to compare de die in diem, till Sentence were given (b).

After this the Marquis finding that there was no Good to be done with them, and that they were resolved to drive, *Jehu* like, in the Measures that they had laid down to themselves, resolves to dissolve them: Whereupon, on the 28th of *November*, having called a Council in the Chapter-house, and told them what he had a Mind to do, and that he had peremptory Orders from the King for so doing, he went in to the Assembly: And after he had heard a great many Reasonings amongst them, and found, that they were resolute to sustain themselves Judges of the Complaint made against the Bishops, he making a long Speech to them, containing the Reasons why he was obliged to dissolve, he formally dissolved them,

(a) Large Declaration p. 248 & infra. (b) Idem ibidem. Straloch's MS. ad an. 1638.

them, commanding in His Majesty's Name, that they should immediately separate, and act no more as a General Assembly; and upon all took Instruments in the Clerk-register's Hands. The Moderator made a short Answer to his Speech; to which he made a Reply, and then left them (a). The Marquis immediately called a Council, all his Assessors and most of the Council approved of what he had done, *Argyle* only excepted, who told the Marquis in plain Language, *That he would take the Covenant, and adhere to the Assembly*; and thereby threw off the Mask. A few more of the Counsellors followed his Example. The next Morning the Commissioner, by a Proclamation (signed by himself and the Lords of Council, *Argyle* and a very few excepted) published at the Cross of *Glasgow*, declared the General Assembly dissolved; but (according to Custom) that was answered by the Covenanters, by a Protestation read by Mr. *Archibald Johnston* their Clerk, assisted by the Lord *Erskine*, and some others, young Noblemen and Gentlemen (b).

The Commissioner had not sooner removed from the Assembly, the Lord *Erskine* stood up, and not without some Tears said, *My Lords, &c. my Heart hath been long with you, I will dally no more with G O D, I beg to be admitted into your blessed Covenant; and pray you all to pray to G O D for me, that he would forgive my dallying with him so long.* Three others of meaner Quality said the same, and all were admitted into the Covenant. It was said, that they designed to have done this sooner, but it was delayed till this Time for the more Solemnity. (c) After a few

(a) Burnet's Memoirs p. 101. (b) Large Declaration p. 290 & infra. (c) Large Declaration p. 227.

few exhortatory Speeches made by the Moderator and some other Members, there were Two Questions put to a Vote.

Imo, *Whether, notwithstanding our Commissioner's Departure and Protestation, they would adhere to their own Protestation, and continue the Assembly?* To which they all voted *affirmative*, except the Lord Carnegie, Sir John Carnegie of Aithie, Dr. Strang of Glasgow, Dr. Barron of St. Andrews, the Commissioners from the Presbytery of Peebles, Mrs. John Annan and Joseph Brodie from Strathbogie, and some others, who refused to sit with them any longer (a). Straloch adds to them Mrs. Patrick Macgill, Patrick Lyon, Thomas Thoris, John Watson, Thomas Mackenzie, Ministers. The second Vote was, *Whether the Assembly though discharged, was competent Judge to the Bishops; and whether or not they would go on in their Trial?* And this passed in the Affirmative *unâ voce*.

I have been as full upon the Preliminaries to and Beginning of this Assembly, as this small Volume would allow me; and the Reason was, because we must look upon it as the Seed-plot or Ground-work of the following Rebellion, and of all the Bloodshed and Rapine that attended it. But they being now legally dissolved by the King's Commissioner, all they did hereafter, is to be looked upon, as done in open Contempt of the King's Authority; and consequently illegal and not binding; and therefore hereafter, shall only briefly take Notice of the most material Acts, that past in it and the following Assemblies, all of their Acts being long since in Print.

Seff.

(a) Large Declaration p. 227.

Seff. 7. *November* 28. they approve of some old Registers of former Assemblies brought to them. Seff. 12. *December* 4. they condemn the Six preceeding Assemblies; the First holden at *Linlithgow* 1606; the Second at *Linlithgow* 1608; the Third at *Glasgow* 1610; the Fourth at *Aberdeen* 1616; the Fifth at *St. Andrews* 1617; the Sixth at *Pertb* 1618; and they gave particular Reasons for condemning each of them (a). Seff. 14. *December* the 6. they condemn the Service-book, Book of Canons, High Commission, and Book of Ordination. Seff. 20. *December* 13. they pronounced Sentence of Deposition and Excommunication against Mrs. *John Spotswood* and *Patrick Lindsay*, Archbishops of *St. Andrews* and *Glasgow*, Mr. *David Lindsay* Bishop of *Edinburgh*, Mr. *Thomas Sydserf* Bishop of *Galloway*, Mr. *John Maxwell* Bishop of *Ross*, and Mr. *Walter Whitfoord* Bishop of *Brechin*; and by that Act (as it is worded) they depose them from all Functions, *Episcopal* or Ministerial, declaring them infamous, and ordaining them to be excommunicated, and to be holden by all the Faithful as Ethnicks; and the Moderator was appointed to pronounce this Sentence in Face of the Assembly after Sermon, in the High Kirk of *Glasgow*, and the same to be intimate in all the Kirks of *Scotland*; and both were punctually performed. The same Sentence in the same Terms, was pronounced and executed against Mr. *Adam Ballantyne* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, and Mr. *James Wedderburn* Bishop of *Dumblain*. Thus were Eight of the Bishops of *Scotland* deposed and excommunicated, by an illegal national Synod or Council, made up of Presbyters, and
Lay-

(a) Acts of Glasgow Assembly 1638.

Lay or Ruling Elders (as they called them.) Did ever Presbyters in any Nation, take upon them to depose and excommunicate the whole Bishops of that Nation? Was ever the Power of Excommunication or Absolution given to Laicks? Was ever the like of this heard of in the primitive Church? Is there any Vestige of a Precedent thereof to be found in any Church-history? Nay, I'm sure there is none; and for my Share, I think it such a Stain upon the *Protestant* Religion, and so diametrically repugnant to the Practice of the primitive Christians; that I wish it could be entirely forgot; and I should never have remembered it, were it not that we have yet too many in this Nation, who approve of all that that illegal Assembly did. This Sentence was very hard upon these Bishops, Deposition deprived them of the Revenues of their Bishopricks, and the Excommunication robbed them entirely of their moveable Estates, and the yearly Rents of what heritable Estates any of them were possessed of; and so they were reduced to that Extremity; either to starve or beg; and most of them were forced to fly Abroad, to save their Lives, and so to depend upon the Charity of Strangers. 'Tis to be observed, that tho the Eight forenamed Bishops were brought into the same Category, yet the Two last named did not sign the Declinator.

The Assembly proceeded next to a Sentence of Deposition and Excommunication, against Mrs. *John Guthrie* Bishop of *Murray*, *John Graham* Bishop of *Orkney*, *James Fairly* Bishop of *Lismore*, and *Neil Campbell* Bishop of the Isles. Their Sentence was not so severe in all Respects as the Two former; for tho they were deposed from exercising the Office,

either of a Bishop or Minister, yet they were not to be excommunicate, if they acknowledged the Authority of the Assembly, revered the Constitutions thereof, obeyed the Sentence, and made their Repentance, conform to the Order prescribed by the Assembly.

The next was Mr. *Alexander Lindsay* Bishop of *Dunkeld*: He had the Earl of *Argyle* for his Friend, who spoke for him in the Assembly (a); and his Sentence was yet further mitigate, for he was deposed only from the *Episcopal* Function; and providing he acknowledged the Assembly, revered the Constitutions thereof, obeyed the Sentence, made his Repentance at the Kirk of *St. Madoze*, before such Persons as were named, he was not to be excommunicate, but to continue Minister at that Kirk. The last was Mr. *John Abernethie* Bishop of *Caitness*: He had for his Friends in the Assembly, the Presbytery of *Jedburgh* (where he had been Minister) the Lord *Lowdon*, Sir *William Douglas* of *Cavers* and others. He also wrote a Letter to the Assembly (as the former did) excusing his Absence, by Reason of Sicknes and Distance of Place, and showing his Affection to the Covenant, and Willingness to submit to the Decrees of the Assembly; so his Sentence was mitigate in the Terms and upon the Conditions of the former, and he was allowed to be Minister in any Kirk that he should get a legal Call to (b).

The Earl of *Argyle* had moved in the Assembly, that they would emit an Explanation of the Covenant. He was seconded by the Earl of *Rothes*, and it was enforced by the Lord *Lowdon*, with a very long

(a) Straloch's MS. ad an. 1638. (b) Idem.

long Speech (and indeed if many Words make a good Speech, he was the best Speaker in his Time.) The Assembly went into the Proposal, and for Explanation of the Covenant, the Question came to be thus stated, *Whether or not Episcopacy was abjured, and removed by the Confession of Faith 1680?* This was a complex Vote, and the Negative might admit of Two Answers. 1. Neither *abjured* nor *removed*. 2. *Removed* but not *abjured*. When it came to be voted, it past in the Affirmative *nemine contradicente*, except Mr. Robert Baillie Minister of *Kilwinning*, who voted, that it was by that Confession *removed*, but not *abjured*. 'Tis not amiss for once, to observe, the Unanimity that was in this Assembly; the Votes were called *ordine alphabetico*, and Mr. *Alexander Cars* a Minister was first in the List: As he did vote, so did all the Assembly, Ministers and Elders vote, never varying in one except in the above Vote. An undeniable Evidence, that the Members were rightly chosen and well prepared.

The Confession of Faith *anno 1680*, being one and the same with that prefixed to the Covenant, they by their Act, Sess. 16. *December 8.* explain the Covenant, declaring *Episcopacy* to be abjured by it, and appoint it to be taken hereafter in that Sense only, tho they had allowed many to take it in the Beginning in a quite different one. The King is pleased to take Notice of this Act (a), and makes it at large appear from the Rolls of the Parliaments, from the Year 1599, to the Year 1607 *inclusive*, being Fifteen Parliaments, that Bishops and Abbots sat in all of them; so that it was impossible *Episcopacy* could be abjured by that Confession of Faith *anno 1680*.

Q 2

Then

(a) Large Declaration, p. 364.

Then they deposed a great many Ministers, who had adhered to the Bishops Declinator, or had refused their Covenant, and taken the King's; and some they excommunicate. *In fine*, There was no Mercy for any Minister or Master, in School or College, whom they suspected not to be sincerely theirs; and for deposing of such, appointed their Committees in all the several Diocesses of the Nation: And by their Act Sess. 26. December 20. they appoint the Covenant to be a-new taken, in the Sense and Meaning of the Assembly: And by a subsequent Act of the same Sess. they discharge the taking of the King's Covenant. The rest of their Acts were about deposing and transplanting of Ministers, Visitations of Schools and Colleges, &c. to be seen in the printed Acts; and so I shall no more notice them. And they (by their own Authority) having appointed the next Assembly to meet at *Edinburgh*, the third *Wednesday* of *July* 1639; and having destroyed the Apostolical Constitution of the Church, ruined the Monarchy, and involved the Nation in a long and bloody intestine War; in the Conclusion of all, the Moderator made a particular Speech to the Earl of *Argyle*,

Thanking him for his Presence, which had proved so comfortable and strengthening to them. Which *Argyle* answered with a long Speech, *Intreating all present not to misconstrue his too late declaring himself for them, protesting that he was always their Way inwardly, but delayed to profess it, so long as he found his close Carriage might be of Advantage to their Cause; but now of late Matters had come to such a Height, that it behoved him to join openly to their Society, except he should prove a Knave.* The King
takes

takes Notice of this Speech (a). (Which many thought that he had better let alone, being he was then and before sworn of the King's Privy Council.) (b) The Assembly having now finished all they met for, rose in Triumph the penult Day of *December 1638*: But we shall look a little back to the Commissioner;

Who a few Days after he left the Assembly, came to *Holy-rood-house*, where he found the People of *Edinburgh* horribly abused by Misreports spread amongst them, that the King had made good nothing of what he promised in his former Declaration, published at *Edinburgh September 22.* and by false Accounts of all that pass'd at the Assembly in *Glasgow*. Of which he having apprised the King, he thought it needful to undeceive the People; and for that End, by a speedy Dispatch sent the Commissioner a new Proclamation, of the Date at *Whitehall December 8th*, which was publickly proclaimed at the Market-cross of *Edinburgh* on the 18th (c), which was immediately encountered by the Covenanters, with a long Protestation, of no less than 24 Pages *Fol. (d)*, by which it clearly appears, that there were still some hidden Rogues about the King or the Commissioner, if not both, who betrayed their Secrets: And there were not a few of the King's faithful Friends, who entertained jealous Thoughts of the Commissioner, for allowing the Covenanters always Time, to have their long Protestations ready, before he published the King's Proclamations. Immediately after this the Commissioner went to Court, and thus ended this fatal Year 1638.

Q 3

Anno

(a) Large Declaration p. 326. (b) Straloch's MS. ad an. 1638.
 (c) Large Declaration p. 366 & infra. (d) Idem p. 374 & infra.

Anno 1639, the Covenanters being sufficiently apprised of the good Will that the disaffected Faction in *England* bore toward them, to vindicate themselves, and to keep up their Correspondence, send to them their Manifesto, the Title of which was, *An Information to all the good People within the Kingdom of England, from the Noblemen, Barons, Burrows, Ministers of the Kingdom of Scotland, for vindicating their Intentions and Actions, from the unjust Calumnies of their Enemies.* It bears Date at *Edinburgh* the 14th of *February* 1638-39 (a). The King by his Proclamation called in this Manifesto, and prohibited the same, as a scurrilous and seditious Libel; but to no Purpose, it was better credited than his Proclamation, such was the Madness of the Times then.

January 5th 1639, Dr. *William Guild*, one of the Ministers of *Aberdeen*, who had deserted his Brethren, and joined with the Covenanters, being returned from the Assembly, and to preach that Day, resolved to intimate from the Pulpit after Forenoon's Sermon, the Acts of the Assembly; but that his Resolution coming to the Knowledge of the Magistrates, they sent and inhibited him to make any such Intimation, in respect that the King by his Proclamation, had discharged all his loving Subjects, to pay any Regard to that illegal Assembly, their Acts or Sentences. Upon which the Dr. preached, but made no Mention of the Assembly's Acts; and by a Letter intimated to the Tables, that he had been stopt by the Magistracy, from obeying the Assembly's Orders. The Marquis of *Huntly* dwelling then in *Aberdeen*,

berdeen, sent a Messenger and a Notar publick, and intimated the above-named Proclamation of the King's in the Church to the whole Congregation: But that did not hinder Mr. *David Lindsay*, Parson of *Balbelvie* (a hot-headed Zealot) who preached in the Afternoon, from obeying the Orders of the General Assembly; for he after Sermon intimated the Acts, and read the Sentences of Deposition and Excommunication against the Bishops and others, pronounced by the Assembly (a).

The Covenanters the preceeding Year had been very busy, in providing Arms and Ammunition; and they had also brought over from *Germany* and elsewhere, General *Leslie* and other Officers, to command their Armies which they had resolved to raise. Of all which the King being now sufficiently apprised, began to see his Error, in suffering the Covenanters to have so much the start of him; therefore resolves to levy a Royal Army, and therewith to march towards *Scotland*, and by them to reduce the Covenanters there to Reason and their Duty; and for that End, begins to bethink where Money the Nerves of War was to be had. None could be timeously got in a Parliamentary Way, and his own Revenues were far from being sufficient to serve him; therefore he is obliged to apply for a voluntary Contribution: And Orders are issued out by the Council to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *York*, commanding them to send out Directions to the several Bishops in their Provinces, to convene the Clergy in their respective Diocesses, and to invite them to a liberal Contribution; and in that the

(a) Spalden's MS.

Clergy were both chearful and forward, some contributing at the Rate of 3 s. 10 d. a Pound, some 4 s. some 5 s. and some 6 s. a Pound. The Queen also by her Agents raised very considerable Sums amongst the *Papists*. By these Means and the Contributions of the Nobility and Gentry, the King was enabled to rig out a good Fleet to the Sea, and bring a Land-army to the Field, of no less than 23670 Foot, and 2360 Horse, with a suitable Train of Artillery (a).

The King sent also Letters to all the *English* Nobility, of the Date *January* 26th, commanding them to meet him at *York* in the Beginning of *April*, when and where his Army was to rendezvouz. Of this Army the Earl of *Arundel* Earl Marshal of *England* was appointed General by his Commission, of the Date *March* 7th, *an. Reg.* 14. the Earl of *Essex* Lieutenant-General of the Foot, and the Earl of *Holland* General of the Horse. The Command of the Fleet, aboard of which were 5000 Land-soldiers, was given to the Marquis of *Hamilton*. The Earl of *Strafford* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, undertook to make an Impression on the West of *Scotland*, in *Argyle's* Bounds; and the Earl of *Antrim* and *Donald Gorum* promised to assist him.

The Marquis of *Douglas*, the Earl of *Nithsdale*, and the Lord *Harris*, had Commission to raise what Forces they could, in the South-parts and Borders of *Scotland*. The Command of the middle Part was committed to the Earls of *Airly* and *Southesk*; and the Marquis of *Huntly* had his Commission as the King's Lieutenant, to command all the rest of *Scotland*

(a) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. 2, p. 827.

land, beyond the *Grampian Hills*. He had demanded of the King 2 or 3000 Men to be sent him, and Arms for 5000 more ; all which was promised him, but nothing performed ; but only, after long Expectation that *Dr. Morton* Bishop of *Durham* sent him, on his own Charges, Arms for 3000 Foot and 100 Horse (a). This Author says, *That the Marquis of Hamilton, envious of Huntly's Greatness, dissuaded the King, from sending him these Men, giving for his Reason, That if the King sent them, it would turn all the Burden of the War upon himself.* And by the not sending these Men, were the Hopes that he conceived from his Friends in the *North of Scotland* much blasted ; for the Highlanders, and others who stood for the King in those Parts, had promised their Concurrence to *Huntly* upon that express Condition, that they might have a Body of train'd Soldiers to join with ; and they not appearing, made those who had undertaken to *Huntly* to do much for the King, make that a Pretext why they would not stir. This was a very pernicious Council, give it who would ; for if that Supply had been sent to *Huntly*, he would (in all Probability) found such Work for the Covenanters at Home, that it would have been but a very insignificant Army that they could have spared to oppose the King upon the Borders, so that he might have made his own Terms with them.

The King now making all necessary Preparations for War, the Covenanters were not idle, for having already provided Arms, they fall now to listing and regimenting of Souldiers ; one Regiment was put under

(a) *Straloch's MS. ad an. 1639*

under the Command of Colonel *Robert Monro*, who had served in the *Swedish Army*; and him they command to wait upon the Borders, to stop any Incurfions that might be made from *England*; as also, to attend the Motions of the Earl of *Nithisdale* and others who had with him declared for the King; and his Regiment had Quarters assigned in the most proper Places for that Purpose.

The Earl of *Argyle* undertook to guard the western Coast, and the Firth of *Clyde*, to have an Eye to the Earl of *Strafford*, and the *Clan Donald*; and for that Purpose levied a Regiment out of *Argyle* and *Lorn* of 1000 Men; and because *Hamilton's* Castle in the Isle of *Arran* was convenient to guard the Firth of *Clyde* from any landing from *Ireland*, he took it by Surprife and put a Garrison in it. The Earl of *Montrose* was ordered to wait upon *Huntly's* Motion, with some Regiments of Foot, and Troops of Horse, to be raised out of the Shires be North *Forth*, to be joined by the *Forbesses*, *Frasers* and other Covenanters in *Aberdeen* and *Murray-Shire*; and to him was joined Sir *Alexander Lesly* (afterwards General of the Covenanters Army.) At this Time the first Command was given to *Montrose*, but he was to act nothing but by *Lesly's* Direction, and their Army consisted of about 3000. *Montrose* his Orders were to fall upon *Huntly* before he was joined with those Forces he expected (as was promised) daily from *England*, and to sleight the Trenches that he and the Towns Men had made about *Aberdeen*, and to disarm the Citizens, as they did to all those in their Power that favoured the King.

Huntly before this Time had sent his Cousin Sir *Alexander Gordon* of *Cluny* to the King, to inform him

him of the Affairs of *Scotland*, and to desire these Forces promised to be sent to him by Sea, and landed at *Aberdeen*, or any other Place be-north that ; that he might thereby be in a Condition to crush the Covenanters in the Bud, and stop them from proceeding in their Levies in these Countries under his Command, which they were carrying on with the utmost Diligence ; but Sir *Alexander* returned to *Huntly*, with a Commission of Lieutenantry, and only promises that these Forces should be sent. At this Time the Covenanters began to disarm, and to use hardly the King's Friends in all the Places where they commanded ; and there were not a few, whom either by Terrors or Allurements they drew over to join with them, who were otherwise well affected towards the King.

And because it was of great Importance for them to secure *Edinburgh*, they with all Diligence began to fortify *Leith*, as strongly as was possible after the modern Fashion then. It had been fortified by the *French* in Queen *Mary's* Time, and the Vestiges of their Trenches and Forts were yet to be seen ; but Sir *Alexander Hamilton* the Covenanters Ingeneer, and General of their Artillery, did not think proper to follow the *French* Lines, wrought upon a new Plan, according to his own Invention ; and they were so zealously forward in this Work, that the first Baskets full of Earth was carried by the Noblemen, the chief Leaders of the Covenanters, and their Example was followed with so great Alacrity by People of all Rank, especially the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, that Men, Women and Children travelled Night and Day so laboriously, that in a short Time it was brought to Perfection.

The Covenanters hitherto had only kept the Castle of *Edinburgh* block'd up, but now they must have it, and upon the 21st of *March*, General *Lesly* having caused the Muster-Masters of *Edinburgh* draw out some Companies of Men, he marched them up the Street, and placed them under the Covert of some Buildings nearest to the Castle, drawing a Company or two of them, close to the outward Gate, to which he fixed a Petard, which immediately blew it up; the Captain Mr. *Archbald Haddin*, looking on from the upper Battery, without making any Resistance, *Guthry* (a) says, *There was not one Man in it more than used to be in Time of Peace.* *Burnet* (b) says, That the Marquis of *Hamilton*, when he came to *Edinburgh* to the Assembly found the Castle in a better Condition than it was in when he went from that Place, and that 40 good Men had got in to it with some Muskets, and Cases of Pistols, with Abundance of Ammunition Provision for five Weeks. He further says (c), *That the Reason why the Captain made no Resistance, was, That a Gentlewoman of good Quality was sent in under Pretence to visit the Captain, to keep him in Discourse. She din'd with him, and engaged him to play; so that they were about his Ears before he was apprehensive of Danger.* I shall leave it to the Reader to credit which of these Bishops he pleases, and only must take Notice, That if the last Account be true, the Captain has been very Intent upon his Game, that he did not know what was doing so publickly at the Gate in Sun-Shine, and very close shut up with the Lady, that no Souldier could get Access to him, to advertise him what they were doing

(a) *Memoirs*, p. 44. (b) *Memoirs*, p. 111. (c) P. 117.

ing there. *Straloch* (a) says, as above, That he was looking on, and that he had neither Men, Ammunition, nor Provisions. The Covenanters very soon helped that Fault, and immediately plentifully furnished it with all Things necessary.

The General accompanied with some Companies of Foot, and a few Horse, went to *Dalkeith*, to make himself Master of that House, and some Arms and Ammunition laid up there sometime before for the King. The Earl of *Traquair*, who lived then in it, surrendered it to him, without any Resistance. It was no Strength, and so could make none. In it he found the Ammunition he wanted, and something else he knew not of, and that was a Chest, in which were the *Regalia*, the *Crown*, *Scepter* and *Sword of State*, all which were carried in Triumph to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which they had now garrisoned. The strong Fort of *Dumbarton* had the same Fate, and was surrendered with as little Resistance by Sir *William Stewart* Captain of it; he giving for Excuse, that when he came from *England* last Year, he found the Garrison all Covenanters, and that if he had not given it up, they were to have given both him and it up. And thus were these two strong Forts betrayed and given up to the King's Enemies.

(b) A little before these Things happened in the South, the Covenanters in *Aberdeen-Shire*, the *Forbeses*, *Frasers* and others, had appointed a general Rendezvous at a Village called *Turreff*, 24 Miles Northwest of *Aberdeen*, and about 12 Miles East of *Strabogy*, the Dwelling Place of the Marquis of *Huntly*; and this coming to Sir *George Ogilvy* (after-

(a) MS. Hist. ad an. 1639. (b) Idem ibidem.

terwards Lord) of *Bamff*'s Ears, he went and communicated the same to the Marquis of *Huntly*, telling him, that their Business was to consult, and lay down Measures how to impede the King's Affairs in that Country; and that if he, as the King's Lieutenant, would keep Rendezvouz at *Turreff* that Day, they would not appear; or if they did, out of plain Fear they would evanish, and act nothing. *Huntly* complied with his Advice, and wrote to all his Friends and Vassals to meet him that Day at *Turreff*, with their Arms and Followers. This could not be concealed from the Covenanters, who very quickly did certify *Montrose* thereof, who was ready upon their Call; and being willing to shew himself as forward in this his new Command, as he had formerly been in countenancing their Protestations, and the Assembly at *Glasgow*, he returned Answer to the Covenanters, desiring them to be at *Turreff* timoussly the appointed Day, and he should be with them; and he having immediately got together about 200 Horse from out of the Shires of *Merns* and *Angus*, with them he marches over the *Grampian Hills*, and with all Speed and Diligence, keeps his Appointment with the Covenanters at *Turreff*.

The Covenanters being there convened waiting him, before any of *Huntly*'s Friends appeared, they take up their Station in the Church-Yard, a high Ground on all Sides: They plant it with Musqueteers, where they supposed *Huntly* would come to meet his Friends. *Huntly*'s Friends appearing from several Quarters, some Companies of them entred the Town: But finding it already possess'd by the Covenanters, they peaceably went out of it, without so much as a bad Word on either Side, and drew up
in

in the Fields upon the South Side of the Town. How soon *Huntly* came to the Place, Advertisement was brought him, that it was taken up by *Montrose* and his Followers; therefore without any Stop he rode another Way, towards the Place whither the rest of his Company were begun to move, as supposing it to be the fittest Place to halt upon, till they knew *Huntly's* Intentions. The Place is called the *Broadfoord of Towie*, near to two Miles South of *Turreff*, where they all convened; and they were, of Gentlemen and others, about 2500, all mounted on Horse, tho' all the Horse not fit for Service, nor all the Men fit to serve on Horse.

There were severals there who advised *Huntly* to fall on immediately, and drive away the Covenanters, not doubting but he, as the King's Lieutenant could be answerable to do it, and that it was good to resist the Beginnings of Rebellion; and that if he dismissed so many gallant Men, who were come resolute to serve the King, without Action, they would be discouraged, and not so readily convene at another Time; and that it would encourage the Enemy to contemn him and them afterwards. There was at this Time with *Huntly* the Earl of *Findlater*, who had no much Stomach for War; and therefore offered himself to be a Mediator between *Huntly* and *Montrose*, who had sent a Commission to *Huntly* to show him that they had not Intention to molest any Body, and that if he had any Business with his Friends, he might take him to any other Part of the Town; and they named the Earl of *Errol's* House for him, and some of his select Friends: But for the rest that were with him, they neither spoke nor meant to admit them, much less to invite them.

Huntly

Huntly having taken some of the chief of the Noblemen and Gentlemen that were with him aside, satisfied them that he had no Orders to fall in Blood, but only as yet to act on the Defensive, by letting them see his Orders from the King. He thanked the rest for their ready convening, and exhorted them to continue in their Loyalty. About Sun-setting he broke up his Rendezvous, and sent the most Part of his own Men to *Strabogie*, under the Conduct of his second Son *James* Viscount of *Aboyne*; and he himself, attended by a considerable Number of Gentlemen, went to *Forglen*, the Laird of *Bamff's* House, keeping the straight Way by the Village of *Turreff*, and riding hard by the Walls of the Church-yard, within two Pikes Length of *Montrose* his Company, without Salutation or a Word speaking on either Side; and the next Day *Montrose* disbanded those with him, and returned *South*.

This Interview at *Turreff* did irritate both *Montrose* and *Huntly* to take Arms; the first by what he had seen, understood that he had a considerable Party to deal with; and the last saw that his Enemy was resolute and Watchful; therefore *Huntly* resolves to ly no more idle, but begins instantly to arm his Followers with such Arms as had been sent him, and to cause train the young Soldiers, and list them in Foot Companies and Horse Troops; and that he might not be surpris'd by his Enemies, he marched some of them in to *Aberdeen* as a Guard to himself and the Town: And for their further Security, the Inhabitants of that Place did cast up some Trenches about it, in some Measure to fortify the same. *Huntly* had no Mopey sent him, either to levy or pay them; so that he was oblig'd both to levy and pay them

them of his own proper Revenue, which brought a very weighty Charge upon him. He could expect no Contributions from his Friends or Associates; for they being equally engaged with himself, they were obliged all the Time of the War to maintain themselves and their Followers out of their own Estates.

The Family had been always accustomed to make their greatest Appearances when their Sovereigns were in their greatest Straits and Difficulties. And now this Marquis of *Huntly* perceiving, that by this Rebellion of the Covenanters, the King's Authority was levelled at, he was resolved not to degenerate so far from his Ancestors, as to take that Method in the Duty to his Prince that some do. Interior Perswasion of the Prince's Right, a real and sincere Will and Inclination to serve him, and the not siding with his Enemies, is an easy Loyalty, *Attoniti jactura rei familiaris, salutem prœdunt Reipublicæ*; to which too many always did, and still do pretend in the Trials of it. But to expose their Persons, Fortunes, Families, and what's dearest to them in the World, to the utmost Hazards for the Safety of their Prince, and in Defence of his Right and Authority (which true Loyalty requires) as 'tis most difficult, so 'tis most rare. Yet this so rare Loyalty this Marquis of *Huntly* and all his Friends shewed to the King during the whole Course of the Civil War. There was not one Gentleman of Note of the Name of *Gordon* in the *North* of *Scotland* (*Sutherland* excepted) that did not now with their Chief put on their *Helmet* in the King's Quarrel, and kept it on till the End of the War; not a few of them lost their Lives in it, and by it many of their Estates were so ruined, that to this Day some of them are not recovered, as I shall make

afterwards appear, that there was never a Family in *Scotland* suffered so much for their Loyalty as the Family of *Huntly* and their Friends did at this Time.

(a) *Huntly* went on in his Levies, and very soon had an Army together at *Inverury*, a small Town 10 Miles North of *Aberdeen*, of about 3000 Horse and Foot, all well armed: Nor was *Montrose* less diligent on the other part, to put himself in an Offensive Posture; for he was resolved to be no longer on the defensive, as he had lately been at *Turreff*; and for that End he sent Advertisement to his Associates, the *Forbesses*, *Frazers* and others, Covenanters in *Aberdeen* and *Bamff* Shires, to be in Readiness to meet him at the Time he appointed. He sent also Orders to those in *Murray*, and be-north that, to march southward against *Huntly*, so that they might have him enclosed betwixt them: He also got together an Army of Horse and Foot in the Shires be-north the River of *Forth* of about 3000 Men, which was much augmented before he came to *Aberdeen*, all well arm'd and train'd by veteran Officers they had brought from Abroad. The chief Commission, as General of that Army was given to *Montrose*; but the *Tables* sent with them their great Confident General *Lesly*, as a Tutor, by whose Advice and Direction he was to act; and his Orders was, with all possible Diligence to suppress *Huntly*, and to bring him South with him, *vel Marte vel arte*. The Reason why *Montrose* his Orders were so express to suppress *Huntly*, was, that they found it impossible to send such a considerable Army against the
King

King as they intended, as long as *Huntly* was so strong in the *North*. *Straloch* in his MS. gives another Reason, and says, *That the Marquis of Hamilton sent them privately a Letter concealed in a Pistol, advising to suppress the Northern Enemies, or expect no Terms from the King.*

Huntly was not ignorant of the Preparations that were making against him; but the Thing that troubled him most, was, That all Intelligence was stopped betwixt the King and him; and at this Time the Marquis of *Hamilton* was the King's sole Director as to *Scots* Affairs, and *Huntly* was obliged to receive all his Orders from him, and they were still commanding him to act only upon the Defensive, and to shun all Occasions of falling into Blood. These Orders were so straitning to *Huntly*, that he was put to a Stand what to do. His Friends were pressing upon him to march forward and fight the Enemy, before they should join the Northern Covenanters; and so break the Neck of the Rebellion in its Infancy, putting him in Mind of what his Predecessor the first Earl of *Huntly* had done, in a more desperate Case, in King *James II.* his Time: But he satisfied them as to this, That it being expressly against his Orders, and the Fate of War doubtful, he durst not venture on it; and therefore at last resolved to send Commissioners to enter into a Treaty with *Montrose*, and thereby in the mean Time stop him from marching North, until he should have further Orders from the King, which he daily expected. And having thus satisfied his Friends,

He sent from *Aberdeen* as Commissioners from him to *Montrose*, Mr. *Robert Gordon* of *Straloch* and Dr. *William Gordon* his own Physician and Professor of

Medicine in the King's College, and with these two Gentlemen the Town of *Aberdeen* sent two, Doctor *William Johnston* Professor of *Mathematicks*, and *George Morison* one of the Bailiffs of the Town. They found *Montrose* at his own House in old *Montrose*, he not having as yet got together his Army. The Proposal they made to him from *Huntly* and the City of *Aberdeen*, was, *That he should keep himself besouth the Grampian Hills (which divides Aberdeen-Shire from Angus and Mearns) until it should be known whether there might be any Hopes of a Treaty betwixt the King and the Covenanters.* Which if he would consent to, *Huntly* on the other Part promised, *To give Assurance that neither he, nor any of his Party should trouble or molest any of the Covenanters be-north these Hills, and that he should keep himself within the Bounds of his own Lieutenancy.* The Commissioners pressed this Proposition as much as they could, but obtained no other Answer from *Montrose*, but, *That he behoved, in Obedience to the Act of the General Assembly, to go and visit the College of Aberdeen, and that they should pay for what they called for, and do no Act of Violence to any Person there, more than they should be necessitate to do.*

With this dubious Answer the Commissioners returned to *Huntly* and *Aberdeen*; and it being satisfactory to neither of them, *Huntly* immediately conveyed his Forces; and this being in the Beginning of *March*, upon the 18th he rendezvouzed at *Inverury*, (as I have said) his Army consisting of about 3000 Horse and Foot; but as yet having received no Orders to fight, and not much Confidence in the Skill of his Officers, resolves still to put the best Face upon it that he could, and to keep his
Men

Men together, knowing that *Montrose* had got an Account that he had an Army now in Readiness to oppose him, if he should march North. He sent again the former Commissioners from his Rendezvous to *Montrose*, to try if his former Offer of a Cessation could be accepted of, or at least to gain Time, till these Orders should come from the King, which he hourly expected. They made all imaginable Dispatch, and found him in the Town of *Montrose*, and General *Lesly* with him, and a considerable Number of Horse and Foot, making there his Rendezvous for his northern Expedition. The Commissioners being admitted, urged their former Proposition, but could obtain nothing from *Montrose*, but civil and general Answers, that as they signified little, or were flat Denials, so they made little Stay, and returned speedily to *Huntly*, and told him that *Montrose* was making all Haste to march North, and that he might expect him very soon at *Aberdeen*.

Huntly having received *Montrose's* Answer from the Commissioners and being disappointed of the Orders he had so long expected from the King, was put to a Stand what to do. To march forward was to engage himself inevitably to fight, contrary to his Orders; to return and dismiss his Army, was as much contrary to his own and his Friends Inclinations. At least he resolved on what, as Matters then stood, he judged the safest Course, which was to act conform to his Orders, and keep himself upon the defensive, tho' much against his own Inclination; and so he returned to *Strabogie*, dismiss a Part of his Army, and kept the rest about him to defend himself, if he should be attacked. Upon the News of *Montrose's* Approach to *Aberdeen*,

the aforementioned Doctors of Divinity, with severals of the most loyal of the Citizens fled out of the Town; some to *Berwick* by Sea, and others to the Country to lurk among their Friends.

And now that the Marquis of *Huntly* was retired to *Strabogie*, the Lord *Frazer*, the Master of *Forbes* and others, Covenanters in the North, convened at *Kintore*, a small Town eight Miles North of *Aberdeen*. *Spalden* in his MS. says they were about 2000 Men, and with them, they marched from that to old *Aberdeen*, to wait *Montrose* his coming thither, who entred *Aberdeen* on *Palm-Sunday*, *March* 30. and with him were the Earls of *Marshall* and *Kinghorn*, the Lords *Elcho*, *Carnegy* and *Erskine*, and General *Lefly*, and with them an Army said to be about 9000 Men; so that when they were rendezvouz'd in the Links of *Aberdeen*, and joined by the Northern Covenanters, the forecited Author says they were estimate to be about 11000 Men. The first Thing *Montrose* did there, was to seize all the Arms he could find there; and among the rest, 12 Piece of Iron Cannon, 16 Pounders; the King had sent them there when he had War with *Spain*, which they sent off by Sea to *Dundee*, and were never restored.

On their Arrival, the covenanting Ministers that went along with their Army, took Possession of the learned Doctors, their Pulpits; and on the second of *April*, the Committee appointed by the Assembly at *Glasgow*, for visiting the University of old *Aberdeen* sat there, but none of the Masters thereof appeared before them. They had all fled before that Time, except Mr. *John Lundy* Professor of Humanity, who had brought the Visitation upon them.

They

They caused the Citizens of *Aberdeen* demolish the small Fortifications they had made about the Town not long before; and having staid there a few Days, and very much harassed the Citizens, they appointed the Earl of *Kinghorn* Governour of the Town, and left with him, for the Defence of it, 1500 Men. *Montrose* with his Army marched from *Aberdeen* and encamped at *Inverury*, 10 Miles North of *Aberdeen*; but before they left that Place, the *Forbesses* took Care to pillage and rife the Bishop's Palace, tho' he was Uncle by the Mother to the Master of that Name; and *Straloch* says, *Lyon of Old-Bar* Brother to the Earl of *Kinghorn*, took away the Iron Gate of it.

(a) The last Year the Covenanters sent their Ministers North to make Profelytes; but now they began to propagate the Covenant with another Sort of Apostles; for no sooner was *Montrose* encamped at *Inverury*, but his Soldiers were billeted all round his Camp upon free Quarters, a Language that till then was not understood in these Places, tho' thereafter every Body came to know well what it meant, to their great Charge and Expences. Nor was this all; for being that most Part of the Country next adjacent to their Camp were Anti-covenanters, the Soldiers were connived at to carry very rudely in their Quarters, and had underhand Warrants to rife the Houses of some Gentlemen that were fled. This Deportment of theirs looked very ill; for tho' few felt the Smart of this new kind of Discipline, yet all thought themselves obnoxious who were within their Reach; and the Terror of *Plundering* (so they called

led rifling or robbing of Houses) dragoon'd not a few to subscribe their Covenant. This was the Price of their Peace ; for *Montrose* gave no Safeguard, nor signed any Protection but to such as first subscribed the Covenant.

Huntly was at this Time at his House of *Boig of Gight*, now *Castle-Gordon*, 26 Miles North from *Montrose's* Head Quarters ; and now that he had no Army sufficient to resist *Montrose*, he was obliged either to fly and leave his Country and Followers a Prey to the Enemy, or condescend to a Treaty with them, which they were desirous of ; and *Huntly* accorded to it. The Place of Interview betwixt *Huntly* and *Montrose* was mutually agreed to be at *Lowis*, a Country Village some five Miles North of the Covenanters Camp, and nine Miles South of *Strathbogie*. There were Twelve Gentlemen appointed to be on each Side, arm'd only with walking Swords. Both Parties kept the Appointment ; but before the Parley there was a Gentleman directed from either Side, to search the counter Party for hidden Arms ; which being done, *Huntly* and *Montrose* respectfully saluted one another ; and then, after some general Compliments, they two stept aside, and had a long private Conference together, the Gentlemen that came along with them being only Spectators to their Meeting.

What pass'd betwixt them at this private Conference, *Stralock* says he could never learn, tho' he was there present. At this Conference *Montrose* perswaded *Huntly* to go along with him to the Camp ; for tho' he had the Command in chief, as General of their Army, yet there was a Committee sent along with him, without whose Advice he could conclude on
nothing

nothing; so that there was a Necessity lay upon *Huntly* to treat with the Committee; upon which *Montrose* giving *Huntly* Assurance upon his Honour, that he should have Liberty to return, and those 12 Gentlemen with him when he pleased, agree or not. Upon which, after some Hours Stay at *Lowis*, *Huntly* and those with him take their Horses, and go with *Montrose* straight to the Camp at *Inverury*. He was received with much Respect and Joy to the Covenanters, his coming being alike wished for and unexpected by them. The Gentlemen his Friends were very civilly used and left to their Freedom to go where they pleased, without urging them further than discreetly with the Subscription of the Covenant, which at that Time they delayed.

(a) This Conference and Capitulation terminated in this, *That Huntly should subscribe a Paper to the Covenanters, by which he obliged himself to maintain the Kings's Authority, together with the Liberties and Religion of the Kingdom*; which accordingly he did. He procured Assurance to his Friends and Followers, that they should not be molested in their Persons or Goods; and that they should be left at Liberty to sign the Covenant or not, as they inclined. It was also agreed, *That Montrose should withdraw his Army from the North, and that Huntly should immediately disband that Remainder of his Army he had as yet kept together, and should not trouble or molest any of the Covenanters within the Bounds of his Lieutenancy.* *Huntly* and *Montrose* having agreed in these Terms, there remained yet one Difficulty, and that was, What was to be done with those of *Huntly's*

Huntly's Followers who were Papists, and consequently could not sign the Covenant. To solve which Difficulty it was agreed that the Papists, to whom they gave Protections, should sign a Declaration of their Willingness to concur with the Covenanters for maintaining the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom; and that they might be encouraged to subscribe the same, there was a Declaration signed by *Huntly* and *Montrose*, with those Noblemen who were with him. *Straloch* in his MS. sets down from the Original (then in his Hands) a Copy of it; and it being short, from him I insert it here.

For as meikle as these, who by Profession are of a contrary Religion, and therefore cannot condescend to the subscribing of the Covenant, yet are willing to concur with us in the common Course of maintaining the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom; these are therefore requiring, that none of these who being Papists by Profession, and willing to subscribe the Bond of Maintenance of the Laws and Liberties foresaid, shall not be in any Ways molested in their Goods or Means, nor sustain any Prejudice, more than these who have subscribed the Covenant. Signed.

HUNTLY, MONTROSE, KINGORN,
COUPER, ERSKINE.

The aforecited Author says, This *Syncretism* was quickly neglected upon the Change of Affairs; neither the Givers nor Receivers intending it should be long lasting. And this Treaty being thus concluded, *Huntly* and *Montrose* parting seemingly

Friends

Friends, the first returned to *Sirathbogie*, and disbanded what Men he had in Arms; and the last marched back his Army to *Aberdeen*, and the Country was freed from Soldiers on either Side, to their great Satisfaction.

(a) Bishop Guthrie says, *That Huntly April 5th, signed a Paper, substantially the same with the Covenant; and that he conveyed Montrose to Aberdeen, as being now on his Side; yet such was his Levity, that the next Day he receded from the Writ he had signed; whereupon Montrose restored it to him, and brought him and the Lord Gordon his eldest Son Prisoners to Edinburgh; but the Lord Aboyn his second Son signed the Covenant, and therefore Montrose suffered him to stay in the North.* These are the Bishop's Words, and not one Word of them true, the whole of the Narration being utterly false, except that *Montrose* carried *Huntly* Prisoner to *Edinburgh*; and even that same is false, as narrated, as I shall anon make appear. I shall be obliged several Times to differ from this Author, and therefore shall take the Liberty for once to notice, that he puts down many Things in these Memoirs of his (as we have them in Print) for which he has no other Authority but Hear-say, as does at first appear to any intelligent Reader, who knows any Thing of the History of these Times. *

Straloch was one of those Twelve Gentlemen who were with *Huntly* at the Treaty with *Montrose*, he says, *The Covenanters were in no wise pleased with the Paper Huntly signed, and that it was not the same substantially with the Covenant; and that he returned*
from

(a) Memoirs p. 46.

from the Treaty at Inverury to his own House at Strathbogie. Mr. Alexander Spalding was at Aberdeen when Montrose returned, and was an Eye-witness that *Huntly* did not return with him; and gives a faithful and just Account when he came, and what it was that brought him to Aberdeen. The Lord Aboyne never in all his Lifetime took the Covenant, and I shall hereafter from the Two forenamed Authors, give an Account, how Aboyne was not carried South Prisoner with his Father and eldest Brother. Bishop Guthrie writes what he heard, for he was then a zealous Covenanter at Edinburgh. The other Two Gentlemen wrote what they saw; the one returned with *Huntly* to Strathbogy, and thereafter came to Aberdeen with him; the other was at Aberdeen, some Ten Miles distant from Inverury the Time of the Treaty, saw Montrose come in to that Town after it was concluded, and *Huntly* some Days after him. Here are two *oculati testes*, contradicting one *auritus testis*; and (being put to no Strait) I shall allow them to be of equal Authority. Sure I am, *Straloch's* Credit, either for Learning or Probity, is to this Day as intire as any Man's that was co-temporary with him. The Case being thus stated, it would be superfluous to spend Time or Paper, upon Arguments, to perswade the candid Reader to credit the *oculati testes*, rather than the *auritus testis*. So much for the first of the Bishop's Relation, I shall have Occasion very soon to notice the last Part of it.

The Reason why *Huntly* laid down his Arms, and at this Time entred into that Capitulation, was, That some Time before this, he received by *Leslie*, Brother to the Lord *Lindoris*, express Orders

ders from the Marquis of *Hamilton* (from whom by a particular Mandate from the King, he was to receive His Majesty's Orders) shewing him, that it imported for the King's Service, not to enter in Blood, by fighting against the Covenanters. With which Orders *Huntly* was obliged to comply; but what Prejudice it did to the King's Affairs, will hereafter appear.

While these Things were transacting in the North, the Earl of *Argyle*, conform to his Orders from the Tables, invaded the Earl of *Airly's* Lands, plunder'd the same, and burnt his House. *Straloch* says, *That he was so forward in that Service, that with his own Hands he beat down the Door-posts of the House.* And that Author further observes, *That as General Lesly was the first, who (while he encamped at Inverury) plunder'd the Country, so Argyle was the first that raised Fire in it.* From *Airly's* Land he marched over the *Grampian Hills*, towards the River *Dee*; and having plunder'd the Houses and Lands belonging to *Alexander Irvine* Laird of *Drum*, and *Sir Gilbert Menzies* of *Pitfodels*, who were true Loyalists, and of opulent Estates by the Side of that River, he marched to *Aberdeen*, and there in Triumph *April* the 11th, joined *Montrose* and the other Covenanters, who before this had joined him, even from the farthest Parts of *Murray*, and benorth that, as the Earls of *Murray* and *Seaforth*, the Lord *Lowat*, the Laird of *Innes* and 300 more.

There being now at *Aberdeen* a great Number of the prime Covenanters from South and North, a solemn and frequent Council was held for some Days. The main Business they had before them was, how to settle the North of *Scotland* in their Obedience.

Some there were amongst them, that were much displeas'd that *Huntly* was allowed to return Home, when last in their Power; and they, that they might get him again *per fas aut nefas* in the same Condition, propos'd in Council, that the Country could not be settl'd without his Advice; and this Proposition carrying some Shew of Reason along with it, to those who were not let into the Secret, it carried that he should be sent for; and accordingly one *Lawrence Oliphant* was immediately dispatch'd by them to *Huntly*, to invite him to Town, to treat about publick Affairs, wherein they were to proceed (so far as concern'd the North) by his Advice.

He (contrary to the Advice of his Friends) returned them for Answer, *That he was willing, providing they would give him Assurance of safe Conduct, and returning at his own Liberty, and that they should not detain him Prisoner.* This was soon granted, and a safe Conduct and Assurance was sent to him, signed and sealed by *Montrose*, as Commander in Chief, and some other Lords with him. Upon which *Huntly* trusting to this second safe Conduct, goes to *Aberdeen*, with his Two eldest Sons, the Lord *Gordon* and Viscount of *Aboyne*, and Forty Gentlemen. His Friends press'd him much to leave the Lord *Gordon* (a gallant young Gentleman, and much beloved by them) behind him, that in case of the worst, he might be at Liberty to command his Friends in the King's Service: But *Huntly* being a Man of great Honour himself, could not imagine, that *Montrose* and those other Lords, contrary to all the Rules of Honour, would falsify, or act contrary to the safe Conduct signed and sealed by them; and so he carried both of his Sons along with him.

The Zealots amongst the Covenanters, with the *Forbesses* and *Frasers* of *Aberdeen-shire* (that they might have the Direction of Affairs there) were overjoyed, that they had *Huntly* again in their Hands, especially that they had his Two eldest Sons also with him, and now positively resolved, right or wrong, not to part with him or them: And that they might make some specious Pretext or Shew for making him Prisoner, and as such carry him along with them ; after they had for a Day or two entertained one another in their respective Lodgings, *Huntly* then in *Pitfoddel's* House where he lodged, and *Montrose*, in the Earl of *Marshall's* where he lodged, communing all the Time about Trifles or Matters of no Moment, until they had fully digested their intended Plot against him ; at last their chief Confident General *Lejly* proposed to him to do some ridiculous Things, which they before-hand well knew that he would not agree to.

Such as that he would contribute to pay the Money they had borrowed for raising, arming and paying their Army. To which he answered, *That that Money was borrowed without his Advice, and therefore he would pay no Part of it.* Next, That he would apprehend *James Grant* and *John du Garane*, Outlaw of the Clan *Gregor*. As to the first he told them, *That he had the King's Remission, and so he could not molest him ;* As to the last, *Tho' he was neither Sheriff of Aberdeen nor Inverness Shires, yet he should concur with any that would apprehend him.* At last being fully determined, they spoke out their Minds, and plainly told him, That he and his Sons behoved to go to *Edinburgh* with them ; and *Montrose* told him, That he had it in his Choice, either

to go a disarmed Prisoner with a Guard, or with himself at large. *Huntly* told him, *My Lord, I came here upon your Assurance, That I should come and go at my own Pleasure, without any Hindrance or Molestation; and now that you tell me that I must go to Edinburgh Prisoner, whether I will or not; this is not honourable. I desire you may give me up my Bond I gave you at Inverury, and then I will give you my Answer.* They gave him up his Bond, and then immediately made him and his two Sons Prisoners. He desired that they would allow the Viscount of *Aboyne* to go home to settle his Affairs, and raise Money out of his Estate for his Subsistence. This they granted, upon *Aboyne's* promising to come to *Edinburgh* in a few Days. And so,

Upon the 13th of *April*, *Montrose* with his Army marched out of *Aberdeen*, carrying *Huntly* and his eldest Son Prisoners along with them, contrary to all the Rules of Honour and Honesty. They marched that Night to *Dunotter* Castle, a Fort belonging to the Earl of *Marishal*. Before they left *Aberdeen*, *Montrose* obliged that Town to pay him in Contribution 10000 Merks; and this was the first Money raised by military Force. I have taken this Relation from *Stralock's* MS. He was one of Forty Gentlemen that attended *Huntly* to *Aberdeen*. *Mr. Spalding's* MS. who dwelt there at that Time, and *Mr. Robert Mentet de Salmonet*, his *bistoire des Troubles de la Grande Bretagne*, Liv. 2. p. 67. printed at *Paris* 1661. All these three Authors agree in the Main; and if they differ in any, 'tis but in very small Circumstances. The first was an Eye-witness to all that past; the second was in the Town, and could not be ignorant of it; and the third, his relating

lating it as the first two does, is a sure Evidence that he was well informed, and a faithful Historian.

Bishop *Guthry* does not think proper to take Notice of any Part of this Story ; and therefore I have been the more full in narrating of it ; and I presume I have made it clearly appear thereby, that the last Part of the fore-mentioned Relation of his, is as false as the first Part; and that *Huntly* was guilty of no Levity, no refused from no Part of his Agreement at *Inverury*, as he was pleased unmannerly to alledge. Nor was his Son *Aboyne* set at Liberty upon his taking the Covenant. He did no such Thing; he was set at Liberty to provide Money for his Father, and upon his Parole to come to *Edinburgh* to them in a few Days. I shall have Occasion too often to take Notice to his (Bishop *Guthry*'s) Escapes in Relation to this Marquis of *Huntly*. He writes all along of him as one who had a Prejudice to him.

Thus by taking of this loyal Marquis of *Huntly* Prisoner, was the whole of the North of *Scotland* brought under Subjection to the Covenanters, and the King's Affairs there intirely ruined ; whereas if the King had sent to *Huntly* the 3000 train'd Soldiers he promised him, he would thereby have been enabled to have raised an Army of at least 10000 Men, with which, if timeously raised, he could have so disturbed their Levies, and broken their Measures, that the Covenanters could never have marched any considerable Army to oppose the King in the Borders. All the Histories that I have yet seen, either in Print or Manuscript (Bishop *Burnet*'s Memoirs excepted) lays the Blame upon the Marquis of *Hamilton*, that these Men did not come to *Huntly*; yea, they further load *Hamilton* with keeping all along a secret Correspondence

respondence with the Covenanters. Whether he did so or not, it is not my Province to determine ; all that I am tyed to, is faithfully to relate the Transactions of these Times, as I find them in Print and Manuscript Histories, which I shall endeavour to do, and leave the Reader to draw from thence such Consequences as he pleases, and from them to determine himself ; and only say, That if these Forces had been sent in Time, the Marquis of *Huntly* might have given the Covenanters such Diversion, as that the King when he came to *Berwick* might have obliged them to be fond to accept of his Terms ; whereas on the Contrary, they having now reduced all the Nation to their Obedience, they forced the King to stoupe to their most unreasonable Demands, as will hereafter appear.

The learned Mr. *Robert Gordon* of *Straloch*, in his Manuscript, has the following Observe ; and in his own Words I shall give it. *And for Montrose his going along with that Action* (he means in taking *Guntly* Prisoner,) *it is most certain to the best of my Knowledge* (for I write this knowingly) *it bred such a Distaste in Huntly against Montrose, that afterwards, when Montrose fell to the King, forsook the Covenanters, and was glade to get the Assistance of Huntly and his Followers, the Marquis of Huntly could never be gained to join cordially with him, nor to swallow that Indignity. This bred Fars betwixt them in carrying on of the War, and that which was pleasing to the one, was seldom pleasing to the other ; whence it came to pass, that such as were equally Enemies both (who knew it well enough) were secured, and in End prevailed so far as to ruate, and destroy both of them, and the King by a Consequent. I have*

have set down the *ipsissima verba* of my learned Author, because of a Passage I find (much to my Surprise) in the History of *Montrose's Wars*.

(a) The very Reverend and loyal Author of that History, (whom I take to be Bishop *Wishart*) and for whose Memory I have the greatest Esteem, says, *And now it comes into my Mind briefly to enquire, what might be the Reason why Huntly bore such a Spleen against Montrose; who had never given him any distaste, but had obliged him with Courtesies many Times undeservedly; nor could I ever hear, nor so much as ever guess at any other Cause (but a weak and impotent Emulation I cannot call it) but Envy of his passing Worth and Honour; for his Mind was never alienated from the King, but only averse to Montrose, &c.* These are the Words of that worthy Author: 'Tis pretty surprizing to hear him say, *That he had never heard that Montrose had given Huntly any Distaste.* That it may be so, I shall not refuse: 'Tis not impossible; but I must be allowed to say, That 'tis hardly probable that he did not know that *Huntly* was made Prisoner at *Aberdeen*, and carried as such to *Edinburgh* by *Montrose*. Doctor *Wishart* was then at or about *St. Andrews*, and was always very loyal. He has been much less curious than Men of Learning or Historians usually are, if he did not enquire why, and after what Manner the Marquis of *Huntly* was made Prisoner, the King's Lieutenant, the Nobleman of the greatest Power in *Scotland*; the only Man that had taken Arms for the King, and from whom the King and his Friends expected the greatest Assistance. The Method, Manner, and by whom

(a) Hist. Montrose's Wars, p. 108. Edinb. Edit. 1724.

whom *Huntly* was made Prisoner was not hard to be known. It was done in a populous City, in the Face of the Sun, in the midst of an Army. I shall not say it was so easy for the Doctor to know all that Affair, as it was for *Straloch* or Mr. *Spalden*; They were upon the Place, and the Doctor at some Distance, but not so great as Messieur *Robert Montet* was at, who then I believe was in *France*; but if Minister at *Dudistoun*, the Doctor was nearer. Now I hope all these Circumstances being put together, I may be allowed to say, That if the Doctor was ignorant of all that, it is a little surprizing, and yet more, if he knew of it, to think that such a dishonourable Treatment as *Huntly* met with from *Montrose*, to be made Prisoner, contrary to all the Rules of Honour, by one whose safe Conduct he had in his Pocket, was no Ground of Distaste, is to think that *Huntly* was either a Man of a very mean Spirit, or of more Self-denial than commonly great Men are. If the Doctor was ignorant of all this, I have put it down here, that Posterity may be no more ignorant of it. I wish that Breach had never been betwixt these two great Men, or had been made up, and *Straloch* has justly observed the dreadful Effects of it. There were some other Things that happened hereafter, that not only stopt the making of it up, but even increased it, of which in their own Place. I'm sorry that I must differ several Times from this worthy Author; but I shall advance nothing but with good Authority; and shall now return to this Marquis of *Huntly* in Prison.

(a) April 19. The Marquis of *Huntly* and his eldest

deft Son the Lord Gordon were brought Prisoners to *Edinburgh*, and the first Night allowed to stay in his own Lodging; and, while there, was much sollicitated by the chief Covenanters to subscribe the Covenant, leave the King's Side, and join with them; and very advantagious Terms were offered to him: But he for Answer gave them a resolute Negative, which I shall here insert from *Straloch*, who took it from the printed Copy published by the Marquis, with this Title, *The Marquis of Huntly's Reply to certain Noblemen*, dated *April 20. 1639.*

To be your Prisoner is by much the less displeasing to me, that my Accusation is for nothing else but Loyalty; and that I have been brought into this Estate, by such unfair Means, as can never be made to appear honourable in those who used them.

Whereas you offer me liberal Conditions upon my entering into your Covenant, I am not so bad a Merchant as to buy it with the Loss of my Conscience, Fidelity, and Honour, which in so doing I should account to be wholly perished.

I have already given my Faith to my Prince, upon whose Head the Crown, by all Law of Nature and Nations, is justly fallen, and will not falsify that Faith, by joining with any in a Pretence of Religion, which my own Judgment cannot excuse from Rebellion: For 'tis well known, that in the primitive Church, no Arms were held lawful, being lifted by Subjects against their lawful Prince, tho' the whole Frame of Christianity was then in Question.

Whereas you would encourage me to be a Partaker with you by your Hopes of Supply from France, and other foreign Nations, together with your so good Intelligence in England, as that no Danger will come from

thence : Let me tell you, That in my Opinion these Reasons are but vain, the French being now more strictly tied than before, to uphold the Authority of our Sovereign, whereby their Interest in his Majesty's Progeny will ever balance you, tho' your Cause were better. Other Foreigners are meerly unable by their own Distractions ; and the English have been ever strong enough for us, when only their own King and not ours did lead them.

For my own Part, I am in your Power, and not resolved to leave that foul Title of Traitor as an Inheritance to my Posterity. You may take my Head from my Shoulders, but not my Heart from my Sovereign.

Is it probable that this Marquis of *Huntly*, when at Liberty would have signed a Paper substantially the same with the Covenant, as Bishop *Guthry* alledges, when now a Prisoner, and great Offers made to him if he would sign it? He gave such a resolute and loyal Answer to the chief Lords of the Covenanters when now in their Power. No indeed, by no Means, probable. This right Reverend Prelate, had once the Misfortune to have been a zealous Covenanter, and so would have this Marquis of *Huntly*, right or wrong, to have a liking to it, at least no Aversion to it.

Upon this perempory and resolute Answer of the Marquis of *Huntly*, the *Tables* gave Orders that he should be incarcerated in the Castle of *Edinburgh* ; and there he was kept so close a Prisoner, that his Son the Lord *Gordon* was not allowed to stay in the Room with him ; yea so very close was his Imprisonment, that his second and third Daughters the Ladies *Henrietta* and *Jean Gordons*, says *Spalden's* Manuscript, were not allowed to visit him, but when they could

could obtain a Commission from the *Green Tables*. So in that State of close Confinement we shall leave him and his Son, and these two beautiful young Ladies to be courted by, and a little after married, the Lady *Henrietta* to the Lord *Seton*, and Lady *Jean* to the Earl of *Haddington*, until the Pacification at *Berwick*, when he was set a Liberty.

(a) *March* 27th, His Majesty took his Journey Northward against the *Scots*, and arrived at *York* the 30th, where, at his Entry, he was entertained with a very fine Speech by Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Recorder of that City and *Berwick*. The King left the Marquis of *Hamilton* at *Whitehall*, to take Care about the Shipping of 5000 Men, and to hasten Northward with them in all Haste. They were commanded by three experienced Officers, *Byron*, *Morton*, and *Harcourt*. The Covenanters having settled the North, and *Huntly* in their Power; and hearing the King was at *York*, and because he had published a Declaration against them, of the Date *February* 27th, which was read in all the Parish Churches of *England*, (b), they found it necessary to publish and disperse through the Nation a long Answer to it, wherein they endeavour to vindicate themselves of those rebellious Actions charged upon them by that Proclamation: And this Apology of theirs was by Order of the Committee of Assembly revised and dispersed by Mr. *Archbald Johnston* their Clerk. It bears Date *Edinburgh* 22d; the Substance of it is in *Stralock's MS.* but too long here to be inserted.

The King took no Notice of this long Remonstrance

france of theirs ; but being now at *York*, publishes a new Proclamation there, against the Covenanters, of the Date *April 25th*. (a) There was a Copy of this Proclamation delivered to the Marquis *Hamilton*, with Orders to cause publish it at his Arrival in the *Firth*, at the Cross of *Edinburgh* ; he with a Fleet of about 28 Ships arrived there *May 1*. with 5000 Land Soldiers aboard of them, and Money and Ammunition for arming and paying of more. Upon his Arrival he sent the forementioned Proclamation to the Provost of *Edinburgh*, with Orders for him to publish it there : But that was what the *Tables* would not allow, and sent the Marquis their Reasons for stopping the Publication of it. The Covenanters conveyed in great Numbers of Horse and Foot in both Sides of the River *Forth*, to impede his landing (which he made no great Haste to do) and among the many comical Inventions of theirs for that Purpose (b) one was, That his zealous Mother came riding to *Leith*, at the Head of some arm'd Troops, with two Cases of Pistols at her Saddle, protesting that she would kill her Son with her own Hands, if he did venture to land in an hostile Manner. And the Covenanters Historian extolls this heroick Ladies Zeal in this Case (c).

The last Year the Parliament had been indicted to sit this Year in *May* ; but the King, because of the troubled State of the Nation, thought fit to adjourn it to a more expedient Time. Some of the hottest Zealots were for holding this Parliament, as they had continued the last Assembly, contrary to the King's Adjournment ; but the Wisest found it not expedient

(a) Straloch's MS. ad an. 1630. (b) Idem ibidem. (c) Spang's hist. motuum p. 351.

ent to hold the Parliament, whilst the King with an Army was in his March toward them, and the *North of Scotland* beginning again to grow unquiet, as shall be afterwards told. If these Considerations had not hindered them, they would certainly have sitted; for they publickly declared, *That it was no Part of his Prerogative to adjourn the Parliament without Consent of the same.*

The Covenanters laying aside the Thoughts of a Parliament at this Time, begin to bring their Army together, for which long before they had made all the necessary Preparations: For over and above all the Money they had contributed themselves, they insinuated with *William Dick*, by far then the richest and most considerable Merchant in *Scotland*, and so flattered him, that he, (being a vain-glorious Man) advanced them very great Sums, whereby at last he died a Beggar; at first 400,000 Merks, and afterwards much more (a) for which he was made Provost of *Edinburgh*. With which Money they having levied their Army, they gave Commission to *Sir Alexander Lesly* to command it as Captain General and to him all the Officers thereof swore Obedience; and he took Oath to discharge his Duty faithfully to the Estates.

This new General rendezvouz'd his Army upon the Links or *Downs of Leith*; and being to march towards the Borders with the main Body of it, he leaves considerable Forces within the Kingdom, for keeping down inward Combustions, and repelling foreign Invasions. The Earls of *Argyle*, *Cassils*, *Eglinton*, and others of the most zealous Covenant-
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(a) Guthry's Mem. p. 471

ting Lords, had their Posts assigned in those Districts where they had most Power ; and the North, (beginning again to be troublesome to them) was appointed for the Earl of *Montrose* his Province, and for to enable him to reduce the King's Friends there, the Earl *Marisball* was joined to him, with his Followers ; as also those of the Earls of *Errol*, *Dumfermling* and Lord *Glammiss*, with a Regiment of *Athole* Men, and two Foot Companies out of the Town of *Dundee*. The King took Journey from *York*, *April* 29th, came the first of *May* to *Raby-Castle*, from thence to *Durham*, where he was for some Time nobly entertained by the Bishop, the learned and loyal Dr. *Morton* ; and from thence he went to *Newcastle*, where I must leave him, and look a little to the *North*.

(a) The Imprisonment of the Marquis of *Huntly*, as it was troublesome to himself, so it was very ill taken by his Friends and Followers, and others of the loyal Party in the *North*, who, upon the Rumour of the King's marching towards the North of *England*, and *Hamilton's* approaching towards the Firth of *Forth*, resolving to do the King all the Service in their Power, and to revenge the Indignity done to the Marquis of *Huntly*, a considerable Number of them conven'd at *Strabogy* Castle. They had Arms, Horses, and Courage, with Abundance of Affection to the King's Cause ; yet for all that they wanted one Thing necessary to make their Service useful or considerable, and that was a Person of a Character to conduct, and Resolution to command them. *Huntly* and the Lord *Gordon* were in Prison, the
Lord

Lord *Aboyne* in *England*, *Huntly's* third Son a Boy at School, the Lords *Charles* and *Hary* but Children, and the last in *France*; so that none of the Family of *Huntly* being with them, they could not agree among themselves who should have the Command. They were scarce of Under-Officers, and Money they had none, but what their own Estates afforded them. They had no Correspondence, and so no Intelligence, but the little that *Huntly* could privately send them out of Prison; yet notwithstanding all these Disadvantages, they were so zealously hearty for the King's Service, that for that Purpose they resolve to enter into an Association.

Those who made up that Association, were a Number of Gentlemen of the Sirname of *Gordon*, with their Followers; as also, such *Gordons* as were Vassals of *Huntly*, and commanded his *Highland* and *Lowland* Foot of several Sirnames; and with them joined several other Gentlemen in *Aberdeen* and *Bamff*-Shires; such as, Sir *Alexander Irvine* of *Drum*, Sir *Gilbert Menzies* of *Pitfoddels*, Sir *George Ogilvy* of *Bamff*, and others. When the Earl of *Montrose* and General *Lesly* returned from *Aberdeen*, having carried the Marquis of *Huntly* Prisoner with them, they gave the Command of *Aberdeen* and *Bamff* Shires to the *Forbesses*, *Frazers* and *Crichtons*, with Assurance of Assistance if they stood in Need of it. They began now to look on *Huntly's* Friends as less considerable than formerly; and to the End that they might quite reduce them, began to consult how to guard themselves, and restrain the *Gordons*. And this they could not do secretly; therefore *Huntly's* Friends, who did not think that there was any just Victory got over them, and that he was only betrayed, and carried

ried away Prisoner, contrary to all the Rules of Honour, by *Montrose*; and they, who for some Ages knew not what it was to be commanded by any Subject but *Huntly*, disdained that their Neighbours should command them, especially those whom they had been in Use to command.

They therefore resolve not to be behind with them, and whilst their Neighbours the Covenanters were conveying from all Quarters to *Turreff*, the Gentlemen of the Name of *Gordon* were as busy in drawing together at *Strathbogy*; and this was about the 11th, 12th, and 13th Days of *May*, by which Time the *Gordons* at *Strathbogie*, and the *Forbesses*, and others at *Turreff* were come to some Number, and then they consult what was to be done; and at last they determine to beat up the Covenanters Quarters. But this Project was like to be abortive, because they could not agree among themselves who should command in chief; but at last they agreed that Sir *John Gordon* of *Haddo*, and Sir *George Ogilvy* of *Bamff* should have the joint Command. There remain'd yet other two Questions to be solv'd: First, What Commission they had to fight; and, next, What should be their *Manifesto*. As to the first, they indeed had no Commission, but they agreed, that it being against the King's open Enemies, he would allow of it: And as to the last, *Alexander Gordon* of *Carnburrow* suggested, that there should be a Bond of Association drawn up, declaring, *That their Engagement was for the Maintenance of the King's Prerogative; and next, for the Duty, Service, Honour and Safety of Huntly and his Family, and for their own mutual Preservation*. This pleased all, and was subscribed by all the Gentlemen present.

Now

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Now they were in Readiness to march, the Night being approaching; their Strength consisted of two Troops of Horse, all brave Gentlemen, and five or six Companies of the *Stratbogie* Regiment of Foot. The Van was given to Lieutenant Colonel *Johnston*, Son to *Robert Johnston* of *Crimond*, a brave Officer that had been trained up in the *German Wars*. They carried likewise along with them four Brass Field-pieces belonging to *Huntly*.

They came within Musket-Shot of *Turreff* undiscovered, the Enemy thinking themselves secure from any Attack: But whilst the *Gordons* were over against the Village, the Carriage of one of their Field-pieces broke, which took some Time to patch it up: Which being done, they came hard to the Town, just as the Day broke up. They were obliged to march about the Village, and attack the Enemy on the East End of it. There is one long and broad Street that goes from West to East, and that End of it the Covenanters had blocked up where the Attack was to be made on the East End. The *Gordons* began immediately to remove that slender Blockade, which was soon done; and then gave a sharp Fire with their Muskets, seconding the same with three or four Salvo's of their Field-pieces, which put the Covenanters in such a Consternation, that they left the Town, and fled towards the South in great Confusion. Sir *William Keith* of *Ludwharn* and Sir *William Hay* of *Dalgety*, two brave Gentlemen that had been bred in the Wars, did all they could to repulse the Attackers, and to stay their own Men from fleeing, but to no Purpose, their Flight being so sudden, Colonel *Johnston* believed that it was done on Purpose to draw the *Gordons* into

into an Ambuscade, and so stopped them from pursuing. On the Covenanters Side there were two Gentlemen killed, Mr. *James Stalker*, a Servant to the Lord *Frazer*, and *Alexander Forbes*, Servant to Sir *Alexander Forbes* of *Tolquhon*; and of the *Gordon's* Side, one common Soldier, who was killed by one of his own Neighbours unskillfully firing his Musket. This is commonly called the *Trot of Turreff*, and it happened upon the 14th of *May*.

The *Gordons* (as they thought) having fortunately beat up the Covenanters Quarters, they return to *Strathbogie*; and being thereby encouraged, they begin to think on greater Projects; and their Numbers increasing, they send to *Huntly's* Highlanders, to desire them to come and join them; and in the mean Time, with what Force they had, they march forward to *Aberdeen*, billeting their Soldiers by the Way and in the Town upon free Quarters: And being there, they heard that the Earl *Marischal* was levying Forces in the *Merns* to oppose them; therefore they resolve either to have Assurance of him, or they will waste his Lands and disable him.

This coming to Mr. *Robert Gordon* of *Straloch* his Ears, one of the most considerable Barons of the Name, and a loyal and prudent Gentleman, he was much concerned, that so many of his Friends and Relations, should rashly engage themselves, without any Mandate from the King for what they were doing; and therefore he came to *Aberdeen* to them, he told them, *That he did not know how they could answer for what they had done, and much less for what they were to do, having no Commission nor Orders from the King; and for them to waste the Earl*

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Marischal's Lands, who was doing them no Harm, and in good Friendship with the Family of Huntly, he could not imagine how they could account for it. He having reasoned with them for some Time after this Manner, he got them perswaded not to march against *Marischal*, until he should go and commune with him and return to them; which he promised to do the next Day, and so he went to the Castle of *Dumnotter* to *Marischal*; who after Communing told him, *That he wished very well to Huntly and all concerned in him; and that he meant to act no further against those Gentlemen, than he should be obliged to do.* When *Straloch* left these Gentlemen of the Name of *Gordon*, they marched up the River of *Dee*, some eight Miles, and encamped at *Doores*: And there joined them *Donald Farquarson* of *Monaltry*, one of *Huntly's* Vassals, with some Hundreds of Men out of *Strathdee*, *Strathaven*, *Glenlivet*, &c. And to give the Matter the better Face, came along with them as their Leader, in the Highland Habit, *Lord Lewis Gordon*, third Son to the Marquis of *Huntly*, who had broke away from his Grandmother at the *Bog of Gight*, where she staid, being as yet but a Boy at School.

Straloch the next Morning after he had parted from his Friends, found them at *Doores* in some calmer Temper than he had left them; and having imparted to them the *Earl Mariball's* Answer, after some Reasoning he perswaded them to return Home till they should get further Orders, which they condescended to, and returned to *Strathbogie*; where they were not sooner arrived, than they had Intelligence that the *Earl of Seaforth*, the *Lord Lovit*, the *Dunbars* and *Innesses* of *Murray*, and the *Grants* of *Strathspey*

Strathspey were in Arms against them; and that *Montrose* was making ready to come from *Angus* against them. This put them to a Stand what to do; but they suddenly resolve immediately to march over *Spey*, in Order to break these Northern Forces, before *Montrose* should come from the South, lest they should at once be invironed upon all Quarters.

And accordingly with about 1000 Foot; and 300 Horse, they march from *Strathbogie*; cross *Spey*; and, before Sun-rising, they encamp upon a rising Ground, within two Miles of *Elgin*, near *Lottgbridge*. The Northern Covenanters lay at *Elgin*, to the Number of about 2 or 3000 Horse and Foot, of different Inclinations and Interests; but none of them had any Inclinations for fighting; and thereof they sent Sir *Robert Innes* of *Innes* to treat with those Gentlemen who were come against them; and gave them in Commission to acquaint them; That they were come together only for their own Defence, and that they had no Design to molest *Huntly's* Lands; or any Person concerned in him; and after some Conferences, they agreed, *That the Northern Covenanters should not come besouth the River of Spey, and the other Party to return home*: Which they immediately did. And thus ended that Expedition of the *Gordons*, without further than only showing their Affection and Loyalty to the King, and their ready Inclination to venture their Lives and Fortunes in his Quarrel.

(a) Whilst these Things were a doing in the North, the *Forbesses* and *Frasers* in *Aberdeen-Shire*, sent a Message to *Montrose*, intreating him to make

all

all possible Haste *North*, to their Relief, which he did, and came to *Aberdeen* with an Army of betwixt 3 and 4000 Horse and Foot, *May 27th*; and forced the Citizens to pay him 10000 Merks, to keep the City from being plundered. Having got the Money, he made short Stay there, and marched North to attack some Houses that belonged to Gentlemen of the Name of *Gordon*. The first and only Attack was on the Castle of *Gight*, belonging to Sir *George Gordon*, who had provided all Things fit to enable him to endure a Siege; and he, with Lieutenant Colonel *Johnston* and others of his Friends, were in the House. *Montrose* having encamped at some small Distance from it, sent and summoned Sir *George* to surrender it, who sent him a positive and resolute Answer, That he would defend it to the last. *Montrose* battered the House for two Days; and then being informed that the Viscount of *Aboyne* was come with some of the King's Ships to the Road of *Aberdeen*, and had brought along with him Officers, Soldiers and Ammunition, he decamped, and marched with as much Haste South as he had done North; lest *Aboyne* should have stopped his Retreat.

Aboyne after his Father's Imprisonment, went to *England* to the King, who being informed of his Father and eldest Brothers Confinement in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, gave him a Commission of Lieutenancy in the North, and then dismissed him to his Command there. He sent an Order with him to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, (then lying in the Firth of *Forth*) to deliver to him (*Aboyne*) 2000 of his Land Forces, and to send them to *Aberdeen*, with Arms and Ammunition. *Straloch* says, That *Hamilton* was previously advertised by some about the King of *Aboyne's* being

to come to him, and of the Contents of the Orders he was to bring along with him ; and that he might not be obliged to give him these Men, he shipped them off for England the Day before Aboyne came to him ; and when he came, gave that for an Excuse, That Scarceness of Provisions, and Sickness amongst the Soldiers obliged him to send them away : And all that Aboyne could obtain from the Marquis of Hamilton was four Brass Field-Pieces, a few Officers, and a small Quantity of Ammunition.

This Marquis of Hamilton had the Misfortune all along from the Beginning of these Troubles, to be thought a secret Friend of the Covenanters, and to keep private Correspondence with them. Bishop Guthry (a) says, That when Hamilton came with the Fleet to the Forth, Aboyne wrote to him, entreating that he would be pleased to send a Part of his Land Forces to the North, to act in Concert with the King's Friends there, already in Arms for him, which he plainly refused to do, notwithstanding the King had writ to him from Newcastle, of the Date May 8th 1639 (b), That if he could not land these 5000 Forces he had Aboard the Fleet in Lothian, he might send most Part of them North to strengthen his Party there. Burnet (c) has the same Letter, and I find no Apology he makes for Hamilton's not obeying of it. If he had at this Time landed these Men in the North, the King's Friends there, with the Assistance of so many regular Troops, would have been in Condition to have done him very great Service ; whereas his lying idle all the Time in the *Firth*, gave the Covenanters so much Courage, that they openly
said

(a) Memoirs p. 48. (b) Rushworth's Collect. Vol 3. p. 930
(c) Memoirs p. 127.

said, *That they knew the Son of so good a Mother would never hurt them (a).*

Bishop Guthry says, *That while Hamilton was in the Firth, William Cunningham of Brownhill was sent aboard to him; and that after his Return the next Night, the Marquis came ashore upon the Sands of Barnbugal at Mid-night, when my Lord Loudon met him, and had two Hours Conference with him, after which he returned to his Ships, and Loudon to those that sent him. And this coming to be known, occasioned much talking to his Prejudice.*

Aboyne notwithstanding the Disappointment he had met with from Hamilton, came to the Road of Aberdeen, June 2. with three Ships, two of them of 16 Guns each, and the third a Newcastle Collier. He came immediately ashore, and caused proclaim his Commission of Lieutenancy at the Cross of Aberdeen, and then went North to Strathbogie, to raise with all Expedition what Troops he could among his Friends for the Kings Service. He brought along with him (as I have said) some Officers, the Chief of whom was Colonel William Gunn a Caithness Man, who had served long and with good Reputation in that martial Prince Gustavus Adolphus his Army, where Hamilton had been acquainted with him. This Man was recommended by the Marquis to Aboyne, as an Officer of great Experience, to direct him in all his military Affairs; but his after Conduct was such, that Aboyne's Friends believed, and openly said, That he was sent rather as a Spy than a Counsellor, and rather to impede than forward the King's Service; so that he soon came to be com-

(a) Echard, vol. 2. p. 154.

monly called *Traytor Gun* (a). There came also at this Time from *England* with *Aboyne*, to visit the Drs. of Divinity at *Aberdeen* (who were then in great Esteem there for their Learning, Piety and Loyalty) Mr. *Nicolas Monk*, afterwards Dr. *Nicolas* Provost of *Eaton*, and afterwards by King *Charles II.* deservedly promoted to the Bishoprick of *Hereford* for his remarkable Negotiations before the Restoration, with his Brother the famous General of that Name.

Aboyne in a very short Time having got together, from the Highlands and elsewhere, of his Father's Friends and Followers, an Army of about 3000 Foot and 500 Horse, without Loss of Time with them he marched towards *Aberdeen*, making a Halt some few Days at *Kintore*, a small Town eight Miles North of that City, till his Reer should come up, and there published a Bond of Abjuration of the Covenant, and of all Correspondence with the Covenanters, and marched forward to *Aberdeen*, where his Ships were still waiting him: There he had Intelligence that the Earl *Marishall* was gathering such Forces as he could to oppose him. Upon which Colonel *Gun* directed out a Party under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Johnston*. They marched to *Stonhaven*, a small Sea-port Town hard by the Castle of *Dunnotter*; but the Country People being all fled, they returned to *Aberdeen*, with small or no Intelligence.

There *Aboyne* and Colonel *Gun* concluded to march Southward to *Angus*, supposing that such as were the King's Friends would join them, especially the Earl of *Airly* and his Friends, and there-

(a) Straloch's MS. ad an. 1639.

thereby as they marched their Army would encrease; and because *Aboyne* had got no Money for the Pay or Maintenance of his Army, they resolv'd to maintain it by free Quarters in the Covenanters Lands. If there were any standing Forces in the Country they were to march through, they made no Question soon to break them: And finally, if the Covenanters should draw off a Part of their main Army (which was then lying at *Duns-law* upon the Borders) to fight *Aboyne*, they took it for granted that they durst not draw off so many as would be able to overpower them, or if they did, the rest of their Army would be so inconsiderable, that it would be easy for the King to fight or break them; and, at the Worst, *Aboyne* had it always in his Power, to fight or retire to the Hills and strong Ground as he thought proper. This Determination, if it had been rightly prosecuted might have done good Service to the King; but *Gun* altered and spoiled the whole Project as will hereafter appear: However,

With this Resolution they march from *Aberdeen*, *June 14.* giving Order for their three Ships to sail along the Coast and attend their Motions; and to save them the Labour of Carriages, Colonel *Gun* ordered the four Brass Field-Pieces, with the most Part of the Ammunition *Hamilton* had given them, to be ship'd in one of the King's Ships, taking only by Land with them four Field-pieces, belonging to *Huntly*, and a small Part of their Ammunition. They marched from *Aberdeen* eight Miles, and encamped at the Castle of *Muchels*, a House belonging to Sir *Thomas Burnet* of *Leyes* (a zealous Covenanter) and there they had Intelligence that *Montrose*, with some Horse and Foot was marching against them; and

that he was already come to *Stonehaven*, four Miles distant from them; and with him the Earl *Marishal*, and what Levies he was able to make, lay in strong Ground which he had fortified. The Earl of *King-born* was come up to him with some Horse and Foot Companies from *Dundee*; he was also joined from the North by *Frazer* Lord *Muchel*, and the Master of *Forbes*, with such of the Covenanters as they were able to raise.

From *Muchels Aboyne* sent off a considerable Fore-party of Horse, who were to ly all Night quietly within two Miles of the Enemies Quarters to attend their Motions. *Montrose* lay all Night close within his Works, not offering to disturb *Aboyne's* Fore-party in the least, tho' he was sufficiently apprised of them. *June* 15th, *Aboyne* soon after Sun-rising march'd South towards *Fetteresso* Church, distant from *Stonehaven* about a Mile. When they had marched forward to a Heath, almost in Sight of *Montrose's* Army, Colonel *Gunn* drew up *Aboyne's* Army in Order of Battle. The Van was given to a Troop of about 100 brave Voluntier Gentlemen, all well mounted and arm'd with Back, Breast and Head-pieces, and commanded by a gallant and resolute Gentleman, Sir *John Gordon* of *Haddo*. The Battle was given to a Regiment of about 400 *Aberdeen's* Men. In the Wings and Reer were the Highland Men and the other Foot, and the rest of the Horse were placed in the two Wings. Whilst the Army was thus disposed, and their Ships in View of them, the Wind turned in to the East; and it being there a very rocky Coast, and a high Sea, the Ships were forced to steer off, and never came in Sight of them again. The Gentlemen in
Aboyne's

Aboyn's Army had begun to perceive a Backwardness in Colonel *Gunn* to Action, (which of all Things they hated most) and now having by his Advice lost their Canon and Ammunition, they came to distrust his Honesty; and because *Hamilton*, formerly when Commissioner, in all the Orders he sent to the Marquis of *Huntly*, and thereafter to *Aboyne*, had advised them when they were in Arms, not to enter upon Action, but still to keep on the defensive; they now openly said that *Gunn* was sent at this Time with the same Instructions from *Hamilton* on Purpose to ruin the Lord *Aboyn's* and their Honour, and in Consequence the King's Cause.

Whilst *Aboyne* is with his Army in this Order, *Montrose* sent him a Letter by Way of a complementing Challenge, on Purpose to divert him from marching South, until he should get up from the South some more Troops that he was expecting. This Letter much inflamed *Aboyn's* Courage; and *Gunn* was seemingly pleased with it; and immediately Foot and Horse march towards *Stonhaven*, within a Half Mile of it, and there drew up again in Battle, upon the Face of a rising Ground called the Hill of *Meagre*, where they stood open to the Enemies Cannon, which they fired immediately upon the Horse Troop of Volunteers, who were advanced a little before the Army, but to no Purpose.

Aboyn's Army after a short Halt there, marched yet further foreward, and were drawn up again within Canon Shot of the Enemy; and then Colonel *Gunn* retired a little to Breakfast, taking *Aboyne* and the most of his Officers along with him, without leaving Orders what they should do, if insulted by the Enemy, which *Straloch* says, smell'd strong of

Treachery to the more Intelligent ; for they thought it strange, if he intended Southwards, that he should step aside to discuss a small insignificant Village of no Consequence, and where he could not attack the Enemy but with much Disadvantage ; and from which, (if they were not able to maintain it) they were always capable to make a safe Retreat to the strong Fort of *Dunotter*, not a Mile distant from them, the Gates of which they had ordered to be kept open to receive them. Many thought it very bad Conduct in him to draw an Army of undisciplin'd Soldiers, especially *Highlanders*, within the Mercy of the Enemy's Canon and Reach of their Shot, and all to no Purpose.

They had not stood long in this Posture, when a considerable Number of Cavaliers, under the Conduct of Lieutenant Colonel *Johnston*, a gallant Gentleman, and an Officer of good Courage and Conduct, desired that they might be allowed to ride nearer the Town and engage the Enemy, if they would be engaged at all ; and if they would needs keep in, they desired the Foot might be march'd a little about to a high Ground that hangs just over the Town, from which they could not only attack the Enemy with Advantage, but also stop their Retreat to *Dunotter*, whilst the Horse engaged them on the other Side, on the plain and level Ground, where there was nothing to stop them. This indeed was a wholesome Counsel if it had been followed ; for tho' *Montrose* himself and several others with him were gallant Gentlemen, yet the Gross of his Army was much inferior to *Aboyn's*, either for Numbers, or Courage of Men : So that it was more than probable, that if the Covenanters had been thus attacked on both Sides

Sides at once, they had been obliged to have surrendered themselves Prisoners of War. But to this Proposal *Gun* would by no Means give Way; it seems he had other Views, and *Aboyne*, who was then but a young Man, was resolv'd not to hazard in any Thing that might miscarry, contrary to *Gun*'s Advice, who was generally esteem'd an Officer of great Courage and Experience, and as such, sent with him by the Marquis of *Hamilton* to be his Director. And thus by his Backwardness an Opportunity of doing the King a piece of singular Service, and of gaining great Honour to *Aboyne* and those with him, was lost, nor did ever thereafter any of *Aboyne*'s Friends cordially trust *Gun*.

Who at last, to cover his Backwardness to Action a little, with Difficulty was persuaded to allow about 24 Gentlemen to march towards the Town to divert themselves, as it were, with the Enemy. They marched up to a little Brook that runs in to the Town, where an equal Number of Gentlemen came out to meet them; and after the most of them had exchanged their Pistols, the Covenanters began to retire to the Town; but being reinforced by some Horse sent out to their Relief, *Aboyne*'s Cavaliers were obliged to give Ground; but the rest of the Troop to which they belonged being impatient to see their Friends retire, march'd up to support them, which the Enemy perceiving, made all Haste back to the Town; and the Cavaliers so hotly pursued them, that ere they were aware they were under the Musket Shot of the Town, which *Johnston* who commanded them, perceiving, call'd to them to retire; but in vain, until *Montrose* fired upon them with his two Demi-Cannon, and several Field-pieces

he

he had brought from *Dunnotter* ; as also with Musk-Shot, after he had seen his own Horse safely under Cover ; so that now they were obliged to retire as fast as they had pursued.

Aboyne's Foot had stood all the Time looking idly upon this bloodless Skirmish of a few of their Horse ; and *Montrose* being now rid of the Horse, fired his Canon and Field-pieces against the Foot, which killed two or three of them, and so affrighted the Highlanders (who had never seen nor heard Cannon Shot before) that they all retired in Confusion, to a Moss or fast Ground that was about half a Mile from them, nor could they be stopped from it by any Means that *Aboyne* could use with them. This unexpected Retreat of the Highlanders put the rest of the Foot in some Confusion ; and they began to mutiny against *Gun* ; so that in End he was obliged to draw them in covert back from the Sight of *Montrose* his Canon ; and now the Highlanders began to desert in Companies, and the other Foot to return to *Aberdeen* as they pleased ; and *Aboyne* having no Money to pay them, it was not in his Power to prevent it ; and the next Day there being so many both of the Foot and Horse deserted, he found himself obliged to return to *Aberdeen* with those he had kept together. This was all occasioned by the bad Opinion both Officers and Soldiers had conceived of Colonel *Gun*, whether he was treacherous of himself, or put upon it by others to be so, I shall not take it upon me to determine. *Aboyne* had no Money given him to pay his Troops, nor was his Father's Estate able to do it, so it was not in his Power to prevent it.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 299

Montrose being instantly advertised of *Aboyne's* Retreat, and his Foot's deserting, resolved to be no longer on the defensive, but immediately marched from *Stonehaven* towards *Aberdeen* bringing along with him his two Demi-Cannon, and some Field-Pieces, with the Earls of *Marshall* and *Kinghorn*, the Lord *Frazer*, Master of *Forbes* and others, then zealous Covenanters, being reinforced with several Companies both of Horse and Foot from the South. *Aboyne* now at *Aberdeen*, having yet with him the best of his Cavalry, got as quickly Advertisement of *Montrose's* March towards him; and to be sure of it, commanded out a Party of about seven Horse with Lieutenant Colonel *Johnston*, who having marched six Miles from *Aberdeen*, at *Elfick* engaged a Fore-party of the Covenanters of equal Number; and after wounding of severals of them, they took two of them Prisoners, *Thomas Fotheringham* of *Dunoon*, by *John Gordon* of *Fechil*, and *Ogilvy* younger of *Powry* by *Nathaniel Gordon*. The last had received some Wounds, but not mortal, then they brought Prisoners to *Aberdeen*, whom *Aboyne* put in sure, but free and honourable Custody.

At Night there was another Party sent to attend and disturb *Montrose's* March; and these Colonel *Gun* rather permitted than ordered to go out. *Johnston* desired Licence to go out, and make an Attack upon *Montrose's* Quarters, which he offered to beat up, and made the Thing very feasible, (as my Author says it was:) But to that Colonel *Gun* by no Means would consent; however the Party that had gone out brought in News that *Montrose* was marching close in their Reer. June 18th, *Aboyne* immediately commanded the *Aberdeens* Men to arm, and such *Strath-*
bogie

bogie Foot as were with him, he ordered to march to the Bridge of *Dee*, a Stone Bridge of seven Arches, and to make good that Pass, two Miles distant from *Aberdeen* (the Waters of that River being then so swell'd with the Rains, that it was nowhere fordable) until he should come up to them with the Horse and the rest of the Foot. They immediately march'd, and fortify'd with Earth and Turf the South Gate of it, which was nearest to the Enemy as well as the Shortness of Time would allow them.

Aboyne with all Diligence followed with such Horse and Foot as he had; and how soon he came to the Bridge, he espyed the Covenanters upon a rising Ground, a Quarter of a Mile South of the Bridge, who seeing *Aboyne* possess'd of it, made a Stand, and fired their two Pieces of Demi-Cannon upon his Cavalry, who were close at the Bridge, upon which they retired to a safer Ground, and thereby gave the Enemy a full Sight of them: Upon which they discharged about 20 Shot of their Field-pieces and Half-Cannon; but all fell short of them. By this Time four Companies of *Aberdeen* Foot came up, and lodged themselves upon the Bridge; upon which the Covenanters began to discharge their Battering Pieces against the Bridge, and to attack the same with commanded Parties of Musqueteers: But the Townsmen being assisted and encouraged by that brave Gentleman and their Fellow-Citizen Lieutenant Colonel *Johnston*, stood so resolutely to it, that the Musqueteers were soon beat off; without any Loss to the Defendants, save one *John Forbes* a Merchant, that was shot dead by a Musquet-Ball. Nay, 'tis very remarkable, that in a short Time the
very

very Servant-Maids got such Courage, that hourly they brought Meat, Drink and other Necessaries to their Masters and Relations that were upon the Bridge, not regarding the Cannon or Musket-balls that were continually flying among them.

In the Afternoon the Companies from *Dundee*, emulous of the Honour the *Aberdeens* Men were acquiring, desired to be allowed to storm the Bridge, which *Montrose* easily yielded to. Two Companies made the Attack, under the Command of one Captain *Bonner*; but they found so hot a Reception from the Defenders, that they made a quick Retreat. The Service continued until Night; and then both Parties being wearied, gave it over till the next Morning, and then, in the Forenoon, both Parties began afresh. *Montrose*, who thought such a Delay little better than a Defeat, had brought in the Night-Time his two Demi-Cannon near to the Bridge, that with them he might batter down the Port, and cleanse the Bridge of the Defendants. He beat down the Port, and its Gate, yet the Defendants still bravely maintained the Bridge, which *Montrose* espying, made a Faint with a Part of his Horse, and caused them ride up along the Water-side, as if they had been to ford it two Miles above that; and this was to draw off *Aboyne's* Horse, who had come down to the Bridge to support the Foot: Upon which Colonel *Gun* (who could find no Occasion before to draw off the Horse) commanded them to march up the River to stop *Montrose* his Horse from crossing of it.

Colonel *Gun* was told there was no Danger in that, for the Fords had been lately tried and were found impassable; but he had no Regard to that, tho he knew it to be true, but he immediately marched up
the

the River with the Horse, near to and in View of the Enemy's Canon. By a Shot of which, a brave Gentleman, *John Seton* of *Pitmedden*, as he was riding by the Viscount of *Aboyne*, was killed; his Body above the Saddle was carried away by it and crushed. The Day before this, Captain *Andrew Ramsay* (Brother to the Laird of *Balmain*) was killed by a Shot from the Bridge, levelled at him by *John Gordon* of *Inchmarkie*. This made the Gentlemen among the Covenanters less forward to attack it; which occasioned Lieutenant Colonel *John Middleton* (better known thereafter by the Title of Earl of *Middleton*) to upbraid them for Want of Courage, and prepare to attack it himself: And while he is preparing for it, a Part of one of the Turrets of the Bridge, near to the Port, was beat down by a Canon-shot, and the brave Lieutenant Colonel *Johnston*, who was always where the Danger was greatest, was almost buried in the Rubbish of it, and thereby one of his Legs was so bruised, that they were obliged instantly to carry him off; and by this the Defendants were so discouraged, that they left the Bridge and retired to *Aberdeen*.

This coming to Colonel *Gun*'s Ears, his next Orders was this, *Gentlemen* (says he) *Colonel Johnston is killed, and the Bridge possessed by the Enemy, therefore make Haste for the Town*. Upon which *Aboyne*, and those belonging to him, and *Gun* in Company, rode off to *Strathbogy*, leaving the Town to the Mercy of the Enemy. Whilst they were thinking of a Retreat, *William Gordon* of *Arradowle*, a Gentleman of singular Courage, proposed to Colonel *Gun*, to stand and wait upon the Covenanters Fore-party crossing the Bridge, showing them, That as yet they had

had the Advantage of the Enemy. He told him, *That it never had been the Custom of Huntly's Family to leave the Field, without fighting the Enemy*; but there was no hearing of it; for it was always Gun's Custom to cry out, *That if they would not obey his Orders, he would lay down his Command, and complain to the King.* This Refusal of his to charge the Enemy in that narrow Pass, where they had so visible an Advantage of them, so irritated Aboyne's Friends, that they openly told him, *That Gun had all along betrayed him.* And Arradowle in a great Chaff told him to his Face, *That he was a Villain and arrant Traitor.* All which Gun very quietly endured; and so by this one Man's Treachery, there was a gallant little Army, who were hearty in the King's Service, ruined and lost.

Spang in his *historia motuum* says, *That in the gaining of this Bridge, there were only Two of the Covenanters killed* (which is true) *but of the other Side, desiderati plus minus quinquaginta, Fifty or thereby, and many wounded*; which is false. There were only Four of the Town's-men killed, *viz. John Forbes, Patrick Gray, David Johnston, and Thomas Davidson,* and the Laird of Pitmedden by an accidental Shot of a Canon; and only Two wounded, Lieutenant Colonel Johnston and Captain James Gordon. After Aboyne's Retreat, Montrose immediately marched into the Town June 19th. He was persuaded by the Lord Fraser and others to burn the Town; but he perswaded them to delay it to the next Day: And to keep his Soldiers from putting Fire to it, and pillaging of it, he marched them out of the Town, and encamped in the Links or Downs all that Night: But he made Prisoners Forty eight of the principal Ci-

Citizens who had been with *Aboyne*, bound them with Cords, and threw them into Prison, and fined the Town in (a) 60000 Merks *Scots*, which he made them immediately pay.

Whilst this loyal City was thus in Fear of being immediately reduced to Ashes by the Barbarity of the Covenanters, that very Night there arrived a Pinace from *Berwick*, with Letters both from the King and the Chief of the Covenanters, signifying, *That the Pacification was signed, and ordering all Acts of Hostility to cease on both Sides.* Upon which the Peace was proclaimed next Day *June 20th*, at the Market-crofs, the Prisoners were released, those who had fled returned, and *Montrose* marched his Army out of the Town. I shall here take Liberty to rectify a Mistake Bishop *Guthrie* has fallen into, and then give a short Account of the Treaty at *Berwick*. He says (b), *That Montrose marched from Aberdeen, and disbanded his Army in Angus, and retired to his House, expecting to be called by the General to attend his Regiment in the Army.* Which he had no Manner of Reason to expect; for he knew, that the very Day he came from *Aberdeen*, that the Army, and in Consequence his Regiment, was disbanded.

The Covenanters being apprised, That the King with his Army had marched out of *Newcastle* towards *Berwick*, General *Leslie May 21st*, marched from *Edinburgh* towards the Border, with the Van, ordering the rest of the Army to follow. His first Encampment was at *Dumbar*, then at *Duns*; and from thence to *Dunglas*, near the Border, where he encamped in Sight of the King's Army. Then en-
camped

(a) Straloch's MS. ad an. 1639. (b) Mem. p. 49.

camped at a Place called the *Birks*, Two Miles West off *Berwick*. *Lesly's* Army consisted of about 24000 Horse and Foot, stronger in Foot than the King's Army, and better provided of all Necessaries.

General *Leslie* being come to *Dunglass*, the Earl of *Holland* General of the King's Horse, sent a Trumpet to him with the King's Proclamation, discharging any of the *Scots* Army from coming within Ten Miles of *Berwick*, under the Penalty of being treated as Rebels. The Council of War of that Army consult, what Answer was to be returned by the Trumpeter. Some were for entirely misregarding the Proclamation: Others of a more peaceable Temper, were for obeying it. And this last Opinion prevailing, they returned for Answer to the Earl of *Holland*, *That they were willing to obey the King, and to make himself and the rest of the English Nobility Arbiters betwixt the King and them: And finally, That they should keep the Distance commanded.*

The Trumpeter being dispatched with this Answer, they send after him to the Earl Sir *John Home*, with Instructions, to inform him and the rest of the Nobility of the true State of the Controversy, which they drew up in these Terms, *viz. Whether it is lawful or not for the Scots, to live according to their own Laws? And whether or not the Subjects of Scotland were holden in all Matters Ecclesiastical, to stand to the Determination of the General Assemblies; and in the Matters Civil, to the known Laws and Acts of Parliament?* To this they added, *That to these they were willing to submit, and to render an Account of their Actions; That they never thought of diminishing the King's Greatness, or of invading England, but upon necessary Defence; And that they*

saw no readier Way of composing all Differences, than that some should be chosen upon both Sides, who should bear all Things and their Desires. To this the Earl of Holland answered, That he should do his best to get their Desires accomplished.

Whilst these Overtures are preparing, somewhat interveened, which was like to have disturbed all the Hopes of Peace. There were lying about 4000 Foot of the Scots Army near *Jedburgh* and *Kelso*, at a Distance from the rest. *Lesly* suspecting that their Quarters might be beaten up, order'd the Lords *Lowdon*, *Fleming*, *Erskine*, and Colonel *Robert Monro*, to draw in their Regiments to *Kelso* (a Village situated by the River *Tweed*) and entrench them there. The King being advertised, that there were only the Lord *Erskine's* Regiment there, commanded the Earl of *Holland* to drive them away, supposing them to be within less than Ten Miles of *England*.

Holland, as he was order'd upon the 4th of *June*, marched for *Kelso* with 13 Troops of Horse and 3000 Foot, with some Field-pieces; but these Regiments having Notice of his Approach, stood to their Guard, and made ready to receive him. Which he perceiving, first made a Halt, and then without further retired in such Disorder, that the Scots Soldiers cried for Liberty to pursue them, but were kept back by their Officers, who would by no Means allow them at this Time to take the Advantage. The *English* took this as an Affront; and *Lesly* supposed that *Holland* would bethink himself how to repair his Credit; therefore he ordered these Regiments to meet him at *Duns-law*, where the whole Army encamped

camped *June* 5th, within Six Miles of *English* Ground, and in Sight of the King's Camp.

After the Two Armies had lyen some Days in View of each other, without any Action, the Earl of *Dumfermling* having got Licence and safe Conduct to come to the King's Camp, it was told him by some there, that the *English* expected that the *Scots* should propose Overtures of Peace, and supplicate the King for it; which if they did, the *English* Nobility there would be assisting to them in it. The Earl of *Dumfermling* returning to the Covenanters Camp, relates the Motion suggested by the *English* Nobility. Upon which he is made Choice of to return to the King, with a Supplication to him from the Covenanters. With which (having received a safe Conduct) he went. It was drawn in very submissive Terms, as it was their Custom to do, even when they meant the quite contrary; however it drew on a Treaty: But it and the other Papers that past betwixt the King and them are too long to be inserted here, and are to be found in several printed Books (a). With *Dumfermling* they sent also Letters to several of the *English* Nobility, intreating their Concurrence and Friendship; and they indeed very soon persuaded the King to go into the Treaty.

June 10th, by 8 a-clock in the Morning, was the Time appointed for commencing of this Treaty, in the Earl of *Arundel* the King's General's Tent. The King nominated of the *English* for the Treaty, the Earls of *Essex*, *Salisbury*, *Holland* and *Berkshire*, Mr. Treasurer *Vane*, and Mr. Secretary *Cook*: The Covenanters for them made choice of the Earls of *Ro-*

(a) Rushworth's Coll. Voll. 3. p. 938, & infra. Burnet's Mem. p. 140, & infra.

thes and Dumfermling, the Lord Lowdon, Sir William Douglas, Mr. Alexander Henderson Moderator of the Assembly at Glasgow, and Mr. Archibald Johnston Clerk to it. And all of them having got a safe Conduct, repaired to Arundel's Tent at the Time appointed, when and where this Treaty commenced; and after six or seven Days communing, and the Exchange of several Papers on both Sides, a Pacification was agreed to on the following Terms, viz. The King signed a Declaration, bearing, That tho' we cannot condescend to ratify and approve the Acts of the pretended General Assembly at Glasgow, for many weighty Considerations; yet we are pleased to declare and assure, that according to the Petitioners humble Desires, all Matters Ecclesiastical shall be determined by the Assembly of the Kirk, and all Civil Matters by the Parliament and other inferior Judicatures established by Law, and the Assembly to be kept once a-year.

And for settling the present Distractions of that our ancient Kingdom, our Will is, *That a free General Assembly be kept at Edinburgh the 6th Day of August next, and a Parliament to be held there the 20th Day of August, for ratifying what shall be concluded in the General Assembly, &c.* The Commissioners for the Covenanters signed the following Articles.

1. *The Forces of Scotland to be disbanded within 48 Hours after the Publication of his Majesty's Declaration be agreed upon.*

2. *His Majesty's Castles, Forts, Ammunitions of all Sorts, and Royal Honours, to be delivered up after the said Publication, so soon as his Majesty can send to receive them.*

3. *His*

3. *His Majesty's Fleet to depart, presently after the Delivery of the Castles, with the first fair Wind; and in the mean time no Interruption of Trade or Fishing.*

4. *His Majesty is graciously pleased to cause to be restored all Persons, Goods and Ships, detained and arrested since the first Day of November last past.*

5. *There shall be no Meetings, Treatings, Consultations or Convocations of his Majesty's Lieges, but such as are warranted by Act of Parliament.*

6. *All Fortifications to desist, and no further working therein, and they to be remitted to his Majesty's Pleasure.*

7. *To restore to every one of his Majesty's good Subjects their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods and Means whatsoever, taken or detained from them by whatsoever Means since the aforesaid Time.*

Tuesday, June 18th in the Morning, the Covenanters Deputies came to the King's Pavilion, and there his Majesty signed the aforesaid Declaration; and two several Copies were made of the above mentioned Articles, whereof one Copy was signed by Mr. Secretary Cook, the Earl of *Stirling* Secretary for *Scotland*, the Earls of *Rothes* and *Dumfermling*, the Lord *Lowdon*, Sir *William Douglas*, *Alexander Henderson* and *Archibald Johnston*; which Mr. Secretary Cook retained, and the other Copy, signed by him and the Earl of *Stirling*, was delivered to the Covenanters Commissioners.

When the Covenanters Commissioners returned to their Camp, the Committee that attended the Army being convened, the King's Declaration and the signed Articles were read; and it was asked, *If all of them were pleased with both?* They excepted against sundry Expressions in the Declaration; as par-

ticularly, that the late General Assembly should be called a *pretended Assembly*, &c. The Commissioners replied, That they had timeously foreseen all these Difficulties; and having humbly petitioned the King to obviate them, he explained, softened and sweetned all of them by Word of Mouth, in Presence of his *English Council*, which was as sufficient as if he had done it in Write; and particularly, that he publickly promised to them, that altho' he could not ratify the late Assembly, yet would he never desire any of them to disclaim it; and that after they had exactly collated their Memories, they had put all he said in Writing. Which Paper they read, but did not think fit at this Time to print or publish it, which soon after they did: And as it was utterly false in every Part of it; and being disclaimed as such, by every Member of the Council that were with the King in the Camp, it was publickly burnt by the Hangman at *London*, by Act of Council, of the Date *August 11th*.

June 20th, The King commissioned the Earl of *Morton*, Sir *Edmund Verney*, and Sir *John Burrough*, to go to the Covenanters Camp, to witness the publishing of his Declaration there; which was accordingly done by Sir *James Balfour*, Lyon King at Arms for *Scotland*; which was immediately encountered by a Protestation from the Covenanters. *Rushworth* says (a), That the Scots that very Day disbanded their Army; which is a Mistake, for they still kept up Nine of their best Regiments, and continued the General and several other Officers in Commission, as will hereafter appear.

This

(a) *Rushworth's Collect.* Vol. 3. p. 946.

This Pacification brought neither Honour nor Advantage to the King, nor Peace or Quiet to the Nation. *Echard* says (a) *His Generals and Admiral were indifferent, or rather complaisant in their Proceedings; the common Soldiers and Seamen were sick and weary of the Mock-show; the Courtiers and Council thought it wiser, not to carry Things to Extremity, while there were Hopes of a Submission.* And he from the Lord *Clarendon* observes, *That it was the King's Misfortune at this Time, not to have one Person about him of his Council, who had the least Regard to his Honour, or any Friendship to those who sat at the Helm, excepting the Duke of Lenox, who was a Man of true Honour and good Parts.* This is certain, that there were not a few of both Nations then, whom the King trusted, who were of Council with the Covenanters, and encouraged them; and it was by those that the King at this Time, was (in a Manner) forced to condescend to this dishonourable Pacification. Their After-behaviour made it soon appear, what they meant at this Time.

On the other Part, that which forced the Covenanters to press this Treaty, was, That the Viscount of *Aboyne* was in Arms in the North, with an Army superior to *Montrose's* Army, either in Number or Courage; and they knew, if he should obtain any Advantage over *Montrose*, that immediately he would be Master of all be-north the River *Tay*, and be able in these Countries to raise a very considerable Army, and *Montrose* would be in no Condition to oppose him; and this would oblige them, either to divide their Army, or suffer themselves to be in-

(a) *Echard* Vol. 2. p. 155.

closed betwixt two formidable Armies. And this indeed had been their Fate, if *Aboyne* had not been betrayed by Colonel *Gunn*; and this was the Strait that obliged them to press the Treaty, and to condescend to some Articles, not very advantageous to them, and which they resolved not to stand to, as shall be shown.

June 22d, The King came from his Camp at the *Birks* to *Berwick*, and on the 24th dismissed and dissolved his Army, recalled his Fleet; and *in fine*, performed all he was bound to; which the Covenanters were far from doing. For by the *First Article* they were obliged to disband all their Forces; which they did not do, but kept up Nine of their best Regiments, their Generals and other Officers in Commission. By the *Second*, The King's Ammunition of all Sorts was to be delivered up; they delivered only a Part and kept the rest. By the *Fifth*, No Meetings, &c. to be kept by them, but such as were warranted by Law; they still kept up their Tables and Meetings, contrary to Law. By the *Sixth*, All Fortifications to desist, they still continued to fortify the Town of *Leith*. By the *Seventh*, All Goods and Means they had extorted from the King's Subjects, to be restored, they restored none of the Money or Goods they had taken from the King's loyal Subjects; nay, they burden'd them with heavier Taxes for paying their Army (a). By this the King soon perceived, that he had disbanded his Army, without a Peace being made with the Covenanters; and that they were equally inclined, and more in Power than before to affront him. Surely

(a) Echard Vol. 2. p. 158.

ly there was nothing but the tender Regard this pious and merciful Prince had to Mens Lives, that could have perswaded him to have disbanded his Army until his Enemies had fulfilled every Article they were bound to.

June 22, the Castle of *Edinburgh* was delivered to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who presently placed General *Rutbren* in it; and the next Day the Marquis of *Huntly* and his Son the Lord *Garden*, was put at Liberty; and upon the 27th the King's Navy returned to *England*. The Marquis of *Huntly* immediately upon his Enlargement went to the King at *Berwick*, as did the Lord *Aboyne* his second Son. Colonel *Gun* went thither also; Lieutenant Colonel *Johnston* came to Court a little after them; and, in the King's Presence openly accused *Gun* of being a Traytor, in betraying the King's Cause, and the Viscount of *Aboyne*, and stopping him from defeating the King's Enemies at *Stonebyve*. *Gun* denied all; and he (*Johnston*) challenged him to a Combat; but *Gun* being supported by the Marquis of *Hamilton* was by him conveyed away to *Holland*.

(a) A little after this Pacification the King called to Court, then at *Berwick*, Fourteen of the Covenanters, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Rothes*, *Montrose*, *Lothian*, *Cassils*, *Dumfermling*, the Lords *Lindsay* and *Lowdon*, Sir *William Douglas* of *Cavers*, Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, Mr. *Archbald Johnston*, the Provost of *Edinburgh*, *Edward Edgar Baillie* there, and the Provost of *Sirling*, to consult with them about his coming to *Edinburgh* to hold the Assembly
and

(a) Guthry's Mem. p. 52. Straloch's MS.

and Parliament in Person : But of those only came (*July 16.*) *Rothes, Montrose, Lowdon, Sir William Douglas, Edward Edgar,* and *Mr. Archbald Johnston* ; and they having kissed the King's Hands, he commanded them to send back Post for the rest ; whereupon they prepared, as if they intended to go ; but it was so contrived, that when they came to the *Water-gate* to take Horse, their associated Mob convened and stopped them ; upon which it was resolved that *Lowdon* should write their Excuse to the King, which came to his Hands the 19th, and that Day those who had come were dismissed, upon their Promise to return with the rest. They being come home, it was resolved that it was not safe for them to go, and *Lindsay* and *Lowdon* were sent with their Excuse.

(a) This so provoked His Majesty to be thus shamefully distrusted, that instead of coming to *Edinburgh* to hold the ensuing Assembly and Parliament in Person (as he had resolved) upon the 29th of *July* he left *Berwick*, and took Journey for *London* ; but before he left that Place, being advised thereto by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, whom *Echard* says, was now more and more afraid of his Country Men, and entred upon dark Designs that rendered him suspected on all Sides. He sent for the Earl of *Traquair* whom he appointed Commissioner for holding the ensuing Assembly and Parliament ; and for his better Direction in that troublesome Affair, he signed his Instructions at *Berwick, July 27.* (b).

August 12. The Assembly met at *Edinburgh* ; the Earl of *Traquair* was appointed Commissioner, and *Mr. David*

(a) *Echard*, Vol. 2. p. 158. (b) *Rushworth's Collect.* Vol 3. p. 929.

David Dick was chosen Moderator, *Seff. 8. August 17.* Mr. *George Graham* Bishop of *Orkney* gave in a Renunciation and Abjuration of Episcopacy, signed with his Hand at *Breckness* in *Strones*, *February 11. 1639*: It was publickly read in the Assembly, and ordered to be recorded in their Books; and is to be seen among the printed Acts. It was such a Thing as had never been done before by any Christian Bishop; and he is roundly taken to Task for it by an eminent *English* Divine. That same Day the Assembly made an Act, condemning Episcopacy as unlawful, and contrary to the Word of GOD. Upon the 30th they made another Act, approving and ratifying the Covenant, and ordaining the same to be sworn, and subscribed by all the Subjects in *Scotland*, as explained by the Assembly. To all which the Commissioner gave the Royal Assent. All the Acts of this Assembly are to be seen in Print, and I shall not trouble the Reader with them here. Before this Assembly sat down the Bishops gave in to the Commissioner a Declinator against it, signed with their Hands at *Morpeth*, *Berwick* and *Holy-Island*, 10th and 11th of *August 1639 (a)*.

<i>St. Andrews.</i>	<i>W A L. Brechin.</i>
<i>D A. Edinburgen.</i>	<i>J A. Lismoren.</i>
<i>J O. Rossen.</i>	<i>A D. Aberdonen.</i>
<i>T H O. Galloway.</i>	

I do not find what Use the Commissioner made of this Declinator. It is not registrate among the Acts of Assembly, which rose upon the penult Day of *August*

(a) *Rushworth's Collect.* p. 953.

August. And I shall now step out of the Church into the Parliament-House.

The Parliament sat down *August* 31. and indeed such a Parliament as had never been in *Scotland* before, it wanting entirely one of the three Estates, the Clergy, which had been before this Time a necessary and constituent Part of that Body: As for the other Constituent, the King was there represented by his Commissioner the Earl of *Traquair*; and of the Nobility, Barons and Burgesses, a great many if not the most of them had been the Day before sitting as Ruling Elders among the *Mas Jobs*. As for these Noblemen who had been in Arms, or declared for the King, they were rendered all of them incapable to sit or vote, being cited to answer there as Delinquents: And with the same Sauce were many Gentlemen served, who had been active for the King, and were suspected to be chosen to represent their respective Shires in Parliament.

(a) The Parliament being thus constituted, the first Debate that arose was about the Election of the *Lords of the Articles*. They consisted of Eight of the Clergy, who were always named by the King; and those Eight chose the like Number from among the Nobility; and these Sixteen jointly named Eight of the Barons, and as many of the Burgesses. To these Thirty two were added the Eight Officers of State, and this made them Forty. Their Business was to prepare all Overtures for Acts that were to be brought in to Parliament, and nothing could be brought in that did not first pass them.

The State of Bishops being now turned out, the
Com-

Commissioner required the naming of the Eight of the Nobility, which the Barons and Burgesses strenuously opposed: But at last, after much Reasoning, they agreed that the Commissioner should name the Nobility, and he and they the rest for this Time, they entering a Protestation that their Right of Election should be entire to them for the future; and this Protestation to be insert in the Rolls of Parliament.

The next Debate that was among them, was, concerning the Constitution of the Members of this present Parliament; for it was questioned how a Parliament could be said to be full, where the third Estate (made up of old of the Bishops and Abbots) was wanting. The Covenanters replied, *That the Bishops were excluded by a necessary Consequence; for since by the Commissioners own Consent they were declared no Members of the Church, but a few Days before that in the Assembly, they could not be admitted Members of Parliament, they no more representing the Church.* And they added further, *That by the Covenant, Civil Places in Churchmen were abjured as unlawful; and therefore they could pretend to no Place in Parliament;* yet they themselves had their Commissioner at *Berwick*, who signed the Treaty there; and all along during this barbarous Rebellion, they assumed more Power in Civil Affairs than ever Churchmen had done in any Nation; and in end became the bloodyest Monsters that ever this Nations had seen, as will fully appear during the Threed of this History. The King most excellently reasons upon this Point, in his Declaration, *Anno 1640, P. 22.* to which I refer the Reader.

Next, They complain loudly of the Robberies comitted by the Highlanders, by *James Grant* and
John

John du Gear, or little *John MacGregor*; and for this the Marquis of *Huntly* was accused; not that they thought him guilty, but because they had detained him Prisoner in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, for which they could find no other Excuse. They accused him for *James Grant's* Robberies, because he was descended by the Mother of the Family of *Cluny*, a Cadet of *Huntly's*; and of *John Du's*, because he sometimes resorted to *Huntly's* Highland Countries, which were very large; and they procured some of the *Fraasers* and *Forbesses* rigid Covenanters, to join in this Accusation; and for these alledged Crimes he was cited to answer before this Parliament: But he was so well defended by that learned and loyal Gentleman, Sir *Lodowick Stewart*, that he was found not guilty, and so absolved from these alledged Crimes, tho' not admitted to sit in Parliament, because he would not take the Covenant.

In the mean Time while these Things were debating, the Parliament, by their 4th Act, ratified the Acts of the Assembly against Episcopacy, Liturgy, &c. their appointing the Covenant to be taken by their 5th, and the Commissioner as such subscribed the Covenant with the Assembly's Explication, and in all his other different Stations, as did *Roxburgh*, *Southesk*, and several other Lords of Council, September 6th. They went on to frame other Acts concerning the Coin, the electing of the President of the Session, and the other Lords, the Governours of the Castles of *Edinburgh*, *Stirling* and *Dumbar-ton* to be named by Parliament, and many such Acts, to be seen among the rescinded Acts, all highly derogatory to the King's Honour and Prerogative; and with which the Commissioner could not hold

Pace, and keep close to his Instructions, which he was resolved to do to the very Letter of them; and so upon the 30th of *October* he prorogued the Parliament to the 14th of *November*. The Covenanters, tho' they resolved not to sit till the Day to which it was prorogued, yet they protested against the Legality of any Prorogation without the Consent of Parliament. And

(a) The Commissioner had before this Time fully informed the King of the Proceedings of Parliament; and the King in his Letter to him of the Date, at *London October 1*. seems not to be pleased with his allowing the Assembly and Parliament to declare *Episcopacy to be unlawful in the Kirk of Scotland*, his Instructions only allowing him to give Way to the Abolition of *Episcopacy*, as contrary to the Constitution of the Church of *Scotland*; and there the King very judicially adverts, *That many Things may be contrary to the Constitution of a Church, which in themselves are not simply unlawful; and tho' the Word Unlawful may seem only to have a Relation to that Kirk, yet the Construction thereof doth run so doubtful, that it may be probably inferred that the same Function is acknowledged by Us to be unlawful in any other Church in Our Dominions; and so did not agree to the Word Unlawful.*

After the Prorogation of the Parliament, they sent up two of their Number, the Earl of *Dumfermling*, and the Lord *Lowdon*, Commissioners to the King, with the Acts of the Assembly, desiring he would order his Commissioner to consent to their Ratification; as also, to purge themselves of any Misrepresentation;

(a) Burnet's Memoirs p. 158.

sentations the King might have received of their Actions. They came to *London* in *November*, but the King would not see them, they having come without his Commissioner's Warrant, and were immediately ordered home, which they obeyed.

The King then wrote to the Commissioner to prorogue the Parliament to the second of *June*, and to come to Court to give an Account of Affairs; and if they should continue to sit and disobey, then he commanded him to require their Obedience under the Pain of Treason; but if they dissolved peaceably then to show them, that he would admit to his Presence such as he should send unto him to represent their Grievances, and show Reasons for the same. The Commissioner in Obedience to the King's Orders, prorogued the Parliament: But the Covenanters (that the King might take no Advantage of their Obedience at this Time) had a Protestation ready against his Power of Proroguing them, without Consent of Parliament, as new and unprecedented. They would not give it its own old Name, but called it *a Declaration of Parliament*. It was read there *December 18th*; 'tis too long to be insert here (a).

The Commissioner immediately went to Court; the King was not altogether pleased with his Conduct; and on the other Hand the Covenanters were so provok'd against him for some Expressions spoke in Parliament by him, and for proroguing the same without their Consent; that by Order of the Parliament 1641, he was indicted of Treason, of which I shall take Notice in its own Place. Indeed it was hardly possible for any Person so to demean himself

(a) Rushworth's Collect. vol. 3. p. 1030.

self in these distracted Times, as not to fall into any Escape; and this was clearly foreseen by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, when he shifted off himself this dangerous Post of Honour at this Time, and perswaded the King to employ the Earl of *Traquair* in it: He however, when he went to the King so vindicated himself, that he continued in his entire Confidence all the Days of the King's Life.

Before I end the History of this Year, I shall notice in it some Things that fell out in *Scotland* and to *Scotsmen*. *September 27th*, a Fire broke out in the Marischal College of new *Aberdeen*, that burnt down a fourth Part of the Edifice: But it being a calm Night, the Fire, by the Industry of the Citizens was extinguished, and the rest of it saved. As also not long after the Pacification at *Berwick* died Dr. *Robert Barron*, an eminently learned Professor of Divinity in that College. He was well read in all Parts of Learning, but excell'd in School Divinity, as is to be seen by his learned Works extant to this Day. *Straloch* says, *He was set a Work to write an Answer to Bellarmine his Controversies, which he finished, and carried with him to England, and his Executors not knowing the Worth of it, sold it to an English Gentleman.* In fine, to finish his Character, that learned Gentleman who was intimately acquainted with him, says, *That the Covenanters in hastning of him to his Grave, did take from the Church of Rome an hurtful Enemy, and rob'd the Reformed Church of one of her best Champions that ever Scotland afforded.* And the worst that his greatest Enemies can say against him is, That he was a great Opposer of the Covenant, his Judgment whereof dying, was, That the Covenant had

given the Papists the greatest Advantage, and done the Protestant Religion in *Scotland* the greatest Hurt of any Thing that had ever befallen it since the Reformation. Notwithstanding such was the Ignorance or Malice, if not both of the Covenanters, that they would needs have him, the other learned Doctors of *Aberdeen*, and all who opposed their Rebellion, to be Promoters of Popery; and their Successors continue to this Day in their Way of thinking about all such in *Scotland* or *England*.

November 19. a Part of the low Wall of the Castle of *Edinburgh* fell down; General *Ruthven* then Governor of it, desired them to let him have Materials for the Rebuilding of it, and shewed the King's Letters to them (the Magistrates) to furnish him with all Things necessary for rebuilding of it, which they denied, pretending Scarcity of such Materials, as if *Edinburgh* had ever been scarce of Lime and Stone to build 20 Paces of such a Wall. And the King takes Notice of this as a Point of Rebellion in his Declaration 1640, Pag. 85.

Finally in this Year *November 26th*, *John Spottiswood*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and Chancellor of *Scotland*, died at *London* in the 74th Year of his Age, and was honourably interr'd, by the King's Order in *Westminster* Abbey, near his beloved Master King *James*, GOD in his Goodness taking him away from being a Witness to those Calamities that afterwards happened to his Country. His Life is wrote and prefixed to his History; the Reader may take his Character from it; and I shall only with a learned foreign Divine and Historian, say (a), *That*
he

(a) Echard vol. 2. p. 164.

he was a Person justly advanced to that high Character, which he supported with such excellent Wisdom and Integrity, as shewed he deserved this Honour and Dignity.

Upon the 17th of November the Covenanters had sent up to the King Mr. William Cuninghame of Brownhall, with a Petition to his Majesty for a Liberty to the Estates to send up Commissioners to vindicate themselves, and clear his Scruples, who returning with the same, December 23d, a great Convention of the Estates and prime Ministers (without whom nothing could be done) was called to meet at Edinburgh, January 14. 1640, who nominated as Commissioners to go to the King, the Earl of Dumfermling, the Lord Lowdon, Sir William Douglas of Cavers, and Mr. Robert Barkley, Burgeses of Air; and they appointed a Committee to remain in Edinburgh to receive the King's Answer, and to correspond with their four Commissioners gone to London.

Echard tells us (a), That at their Arrival there, there was great Resort to them, and many Secret Councils held with them, by the discontented English, chiefly by those who were no Friends to Bishops, had suffered in the late Censures in the Star-Chamber, High-Commission, &c. or were inclined to a Republick. They courted all, fomented every Discontent, and made large and religious Promises of future happy Times; and that the Earls of Essex, Bedford and Holland, the Lord Say, Mr. Hambden and Mr. Pyme, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen of great Interest and Quality were deep in with them. He

(a) Vol. 2. pag. 160.

tells us from the Memoirs of Duke *Hamilton*, That an English Lord came to Dumfermling and Lowdon, and with great Vehemency press'd them to a new War, and brought them Engagements in Writing from most of the greatest Peers in England to join with them, and assist them when they came in to England with an Army. This highly animated them, tho' the next Year this was found to be a Forgery. (Be that as it will, they had certainly too too many Friends there of no mean Quality) and from *Welwood* and *Manchester's* Memoirs, he names this Lord to have been the Lord *Savile*, afterwards Earl of *Suffex*.

The Commissioners appointed to go for *London*, arrived there, *February* 20. and the Committee of Estates, to make them the more acceptable to their Friends in *England*, sent a Manifesto with them, wherein they endeavoured to inform them of all that was past for preventing Calumnies; as also, to let all know the Equity of their Demands (a). The Copies of this Declaration coming into the Hands of divers of all Ranks in *England*, found too much Credit with too many there; but it coming into the King's Hands, he caused lay it before the Council, where it was read; and in Detestation thereof, the Lords of Council became humble Suiters to the King that it might be suppress'd by Proclamation, and burnt by the Hand of the Hangman; and that it was so used by Act of Council, very much troubled the Covenanters.

The Commissioners, upon their Arrival, were permitted to kiss the King's Hands, and had their first Audience of him before a Committee of his Council,
March

(a) Spang. Hist. motuum, p. 435.

March 3d; and their Conferences continued to the 23d of that Month, without advancing one Step towards an Agreement; and then they desired to be dispatched to those that sent them; whereupon the King told them, That he could not then determine any Time for their Dispatch. During this Conference the King employed the Earl of *Traquair* in all his Messages to them, and by him did he receive their Answers and Demands (a): By which it would seem that the King had then intire Confidence in him; and he was the only *Scots* Man then complained upon by the Commissioners as an Incendiary, for the Relation he had given to the Council of *England* of their Proceedings in Assembly and Parliament. They were commanded to stay at *London* till the King's further Pleasure should be shown to them; and that was not done till his printed Declaration was published, intituled, *His Majesty's Declaration concerning his Proceeding with his Subjects of Scotland, since the Pacification in the Camp near Berwick, printed Anno 1640.* To which the Covenanters printed a large Answer that same Year, both of them are very full, and they contain all that pass at that Time, either by Writ or Word of Mouth on both Sides.

April 13. The Parliament of *England* met, and the King, in his Speech, inveighed against the Proceedings of the *Scots*, and produced a Letter, subscrib'd in *April 1639*, by several Persons of Quality to the King of *France* for his Assistance; and it came thus to the King's Hands. At the subscribing of it, there were some Absent, whom those present

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(a) Straloch's MS. ad an. 1639.

wish'd also might subscribe it ; for which End they committed the Letter to Mr. *Archbald Johnston*, to get their Hands to it, who through Negligence lost it ; and it pass from one to another, until it fell into Sir *Donald Macdonald* (commonly called *Donald Goram*) his Hands, who delivered it to the Earl of *Traquair*, and he to the King ; and this more than any Thing enraged the Covenanters against him. This Letter as translated from the *French* is as follows (a),

S I R,

Your Majesty being the Refuge and Sanctuary of afflicted Princes and States, we have found it necessary to send this Gentleman, Mr. Colvil to represent unto your Majesty, the Candour and Ingenuity, as well of our Actions and Proceedings, as of our Intentions, which we desire to be engraven with a Beam of the Sun, as well as to your Majesty: We therefore most humbly beseech you, Sir, to give Faith and Credit to him, and to all that he shall say on our Part, touching us and our Affairs, being most assured, Sir, of an Assistance equal to your wonted Clemency heretofore, and so often shewed to this Nation, which will not yield the Glory to any other whatsoever, to be eternally,

S I R,

Your most humble, most obedient and most affectionate Servants.

Roths, Montrose, Lesly, Mar.
 Montgomry,
 Loudoun, Forrester.

It

It was indorsed *Au Roy*, which in *France* is always understood from those Subjects only to their natural Prince.

This Letter was writ by *Lowdon's* own Hand, which upon Examination he did not deny, only said for his Excuse, *That it being written before the Pacification, and thereupon reserved and never sent; and that if he had committed any Offence, he ought to be questioned for it in Scotland.* The Council of *England* was so much affected with this Letter, that *Lowdon* (a) was confined in *Thomas Adam's*, one of the Sheriffs of *London*, his House, and an Order of Council of the Date *April 11.* signed by the
 Lord A. Bp. of *Canterbury*, Earl of *Traquair*,
 Lord Marquis of *Hamilton*, Lord *Collington*,
 Lord High Admiral, Mr. Treasurer.
 Mr. Secret. *Windebank*,

And thereafter he was sent to the Tower, where he remained till the 26th of *June* when the Marquis of *Hamilton* procured his Enlargment, upon Condition of his good Behaviour for the Future (b). *Echard* observes, *That if the King had punished Lowdon at this Time as he deserved, it might in all Probability have put a Stop to the Scots Carrier.* And it has been observed by several Historians, That this merciful Prince, suffered more by his unseasonable pardoning of notorious Offenders, than by any thing else. In *February* this Year 1640, died the Earl of *Stirling*, Secretary for *Scotland*, in whose Place succeeded the Earl of *Lanerk*, whom we shall have often Occasion to mention.

(a) Rushworth's Col. vol. 3. p. 1103. Burnet's Mem. p. 170.

The last Year's Pacification at *Berwick* may be truly term'd *pax infida*. No Party put Trust in it, or believed it would be of any Duration: The Covenanters retain'd in Pay most of their chief Officers, and had sent privately for more from Abroad; but now being apprised by their Commissioners at *London*, (whom they continued there, more as Spyes and Agents than any Thing else) of the Preparations the King was making for War, they resolve not to be behind with him, but openly prepare for the same; The Charges of the last Years had emptied their Treasury; Money they must have, but where to find it, or how to raise it was the Difficulty; and therefore they fall upon a new Invention, which was to value every Man's Estate; and, that in the mean Time all should subscribe a Bond for Relief of the common Burden, according to the Value of their Estates. This they said was only for the paying off the Debts already contracted; but it was resolved by the Committee that it was to be extended to the defraying of the Charges they were to be at. Nay, how far they were to be extended no Body knew; and therefore it was commonly called the *Blind Band*; and their Estates being valued, which was done with the utmost Exactness, whether it was in Lands, Houses or Money, every Man was obliged to pay for defraying of the publick Charges, the Tenth Part of it: And for their further Supply, the Committee fell upon another Overture, That all who had Silver-plate should bring in the same to be coined, and they were to receive Bonds from zealous Noblemen for Value; and *Alexander Gibson* of *Dury*

Dury was appointed General-receiver, and *William Dick* a Citizen of *Edinburgh* lent them many thousand Pounds (a).

Ways and Means being thus laid down, for raising of Money, and the Parliament being prorogued to the 2d of *June*, a grand Committee met at *Edinburgh*; they appoint a greater Levy than the last Year's, and General *Lesly* to be General of their Army, Sir *James Livingston* Lord *Almond* to be Lieutenant General, whom for that End they had called from *Holland*, where he commanded a Regiment, and *Baillie*, Major-general of the Foot, who were to enter *England*, and Colonel *Robert Monro* Major-general of that Part of the Army that was to remain in *Scotland*.

(b) Whilst these Things were a doing, the Committee had a special Eye to the Marquis of *Huntly's* Friends and Followers, and to the Town of *Aberdeen*, who albeit he himself had been ever since the Pacification with the King, yet his Friends had neither forgot their ancient Loyalty, nor laid aside their Resentments against the Covenant. They looked upon themselves not as conquered in any just Victory, but only as basely betrayed by Colonel *Gun*, and were longing to have their Credit repaired. Of all this the Committee was not ignorant, and therefore they appoint *William* Earl *Marischal* for to draw together his Friends, with the *Forbesses* and *Frasers* in *Aberdeen-shire*, to keep all quiet there, till Major General *Monro* should come North with his Regiment. *Straloch* says, That *Marischal* was a Gentleman not ill-disposed, if left to himself, but at that
Time

(a) Burnet's Memoirs p. 162. (b) Straloch's MS. ad an. 1640.

Time too young, to see into the Depth of their Designs, and was led astray by the Cunning of his Cousin Argyle. He came to *Aberdeen* May 5th, and made the Town pay 6000 Merks, and then retired.

The Town of *Edinburgh* had raised some Companies, to block up the Castle; and for that End they built a Court of Guard upon the Castle-hill, and near to it had raised Traverses a-cross the Street, near it, to guard the People from Cannon-shot: And there was a Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel *Blair*, afterwards appointed to besiege it, and several Batteries of Cannon were planted about it, one near the *Gray Friars* Church, another at the *West-kirk*, and the third on the Corn-fields be-north it. And this was all done by the Direction of Sir *Alexander Hamilton*, Brother to the Earl of *Haddington*, chief Ingenier and General of Artillery to the Covenanters. The Earl of *Nithsdale* had fortified the Castles of *Treves* and *Carlaverock*; in the first were some of his Friends, but it was soon gained; to the last the Earl went himself, and maintained it for a considerable Time, till at last despairing of Relief, he surrendered it upon Terms. (a) Major-General *Monro* with his new levied Foot-regiment came to *Aberdeen* May 28th, and made the Town to pay him L. 10000 *Scots*, to pay his Regiment with, 1200 Pair of Shoes, and 3000 Ells Harn or coarse Linen, to be Shirts to them. We shall leave him there, and return to *Edinburgh* to meet the Parliament.

Which sat down *June* 2d, without any Commissioner from the King; but the Members not being
come

(a) *Stralock's MS. ad an. 1640.*

come up, they adjourned themselves to the 11th, and chose the Lord *Burleigh* to be President of Parliament, in Place of the Commissioner; and in one Day, with a great Deal of Unanimity, they vote and conclude Thirty nine Acts, which were afterwards printed. I find no Mention of any Day they met upon, but *June 11th 1640*; so that either they made great Expedition (tho all was made Work) or the Clerk was to blame, for not marking the Days of their *Sederunt*. By the 38th Act, they ordain the whole Lieges and Subjects of this Kingdom, to obey and defend the Acts of this Parliament, and to subscribe the Bond appointed for that Effect. It is to be seen among the printed Acts, and is an excellent Appendix to their Covenant. By the last Act, they declare this Parliament to be current to the 19th of *November*, and appoint the Acts to be printed. They also appointed Twelve Noblemen, and about Thirty Barons and Burgesses, as a Committee, to govern all during the Recess of the Parliament. They are all named Act 33d, and in which their Powers are contained; the one Half to reside at *Edinburgh*, or where they think expedient; and the other Half to be constantly with the Army. Mr. *Adam Hepburn* of *Humbie* is appointed to be their Clerk, and Mr. *Archibald Johnston* as a supernumerary Committee-man, is appointed constantly to attend the General.

By this Act, we have the Constitution of the *Hogan Mogan* Committee of Estates, in Place of the King, a Power or Judicatory that *Scotland* had never heard of, before they were the Parliament's Delegates, and a virtual Parliament epitomized. There is one Clause in their Power, which materially makes them

them a Parliament; that was their Power to call for any they pleased to assist them with Counsel. Their Power of making Peace and War, and laying on Taxes were very rampant. *In fine*, They were in Place of King, Parliament and Council. And thus they changed the whole Frame of the Government of the State, with a Colour of Law, as the Assembly at *Glasgow anno 1638* had done that of the Church.

The Spring-time was now grown old, and the Summer passing away; military Preparations were making with equal Diligence on both Sides; Treaties given up, and Acts of Hostility already begun; the last Summer's Pacification buried and forgotten: And now it seemed rather a Truce betwixt Two Enemies for a Time, that thereby each Party might take Breath, and put themselves in a Posture to fall on again with greater Advantage. Sub-committees (*delegatorum delegati*) were settled in every Shire of the Nation, to hasten their Levies; and these constitute of the most active and zealous Covenanters every where. By them Mens Estates were valued; they were Spies upon the Anti-covenanters; they were Informers against all those who were disaffected to their Cause; they compelled those they esteemed rich, to lend such Sums of Money as they pleased to demand; they threw on the Burden of the Proportions of their own Valuations and publick Levies, on such as they suspected to be the King's Friends. It would be burdensome to enumerate their Acts of Tyranny and Oppression; every petty Committee-man was a Tyrant. One would have thought *Scotland* not parcelled out amongst 30 but 300 Tyrants.

The Committees could not be gotten set a Foot vigorously at *Aberdeen*, till *Monro* brought his Regiment there to guard them. He spent not his Time idly; for he sent out his Orders, and immediately obliged the Shire to levy a Troop of Horse to him, and gave it to one *John Forbes*, who had no other Qualification for that Office, but Zeal to the good Cause; for he imployed them so much in *plundering* Cows and Horses out of the Lordship of *Strathbogy*, during the most of the Summer, that in the End of it *Monro* was obliged to disband them. The Committee of the Estates also obliged him to seize upon some of the chief and richest Men in the Town, and send them Prisoners to *Edinburgh*, where they were confined, till they purchast their Liberty, by paying considerable Sums of Money. Their Names were, Mr. *Thomas Gray*, *George Johnston*, *William Petrie*, *George Morison*, *George Cullen*, and Mr. *Alexander Reid*.

Sir Alexander Irvine of *Drum*, was Representative of an ancient and honourable Family, and Possessor of the greatest Estate any Gentleman of *Aberdeen-Shire* had. At that Time, and during all the Troubles, neither the Frowns nor Smiles of the Covenanters, could make him to submit to them. He garrisoned his House against them, and put in a Cousin of his own to defend it; it stands eight Miles West of *Aberdeen*, near the River of *Dee*. *Monro* could not endure a Garrison of Royalists so near his Headquarters, and therefore he marched out *June 2d* with his Regiment, and some Companies of Citizens he had forced the City to raise, and laid Siege to the House; which, after he had spent some Cannon and Musket-shot upon it, and had some of his Men killed,

led, the Governor (having no Prospect of Relief) surrendred to him. The Garifon marched out and went where they pleased, and he put another Garrifon in it, which miserably pillaged the Tenants belonging to that Estate. He also at this Time seized Mr. *John Gregory*, Minister at that Place, and made him pay a considerable Fine, for no other Crime, but because he was esteemed rich, and an Enemy to the Covenant.

Monro after his Return to *Aberdeen*, began to cast his Eye Abroad upon other Gentlemen. The first Two he pitched upon, were Sir *Alexander Cuming* of *Coulter* and *Robert Udny* of *Auchterellon*. The first a Gentleman, whose Estate (says *Straloch*) bore no Proportion to his antient Descent. Neither of them were rich, or very active against the Covenant, yet both of them he fined. At this Time Sir *George Gordon* of *Gight* (commonly called *Ardestie*) was carried Prisoner from *Angus* to *Edinburgh*, who through old Age or Grief, if not both, died there in his Confinement.

Much about this Time, *George Lord Gordon* having been directed by his Father to *Scotland*, for taking up some of his Rents, the Marquis remaining still with the King, he unexpected by the Covenanters, came by Sea and landed upon the Coast of *Enzie*, a Country belonging to his Father. He very soon did the Business he came about, and then came to *Bamff* with some of his Friends, to wait till the Ship was ready to return. *Monro* was advised of this by the Covenanters, and resolved to have surpris'd him: But the Lord *Gordon* got to Sea, and by the Favour of a prosperous Wind, was quickly before *Aberdeen*: And *Monro*, since he had miss'd him at
Land

Land, resolves to catch him at Sea; and to that End, seizes a Town's Vessel, puts some Cannon upon her, and a Party of Musquetiers in her, and with them puts her to Sea. She did what she could to fetch the Frigate, but they lost their Labour, and the Lord Gordon got safe to London to his Father.

(a) About this Time June 13th, Monro designing to march North with his Regiment, obliged that oppressed City (which was guilty of no other Crime but Loyalty to its Prince) to give him 10000 Pounds Scots, with Shoes and other Necessaries, to enable his Regiment to march. The Magistrates now being Covenanters, granted whatever was demanded, divided the same amongst the Inhabitants, as they favoured; and if there was any Recusant, a Party of Soldiers was put in his House upon free Quarters, till his Proportion was paid; and the Gentlemen in the Country were just so used by the Committees. And thus by a military Force, did they levy what Money they pleased; and with the greatest Pretences of Religion, robbed and pillaged the whole Country. It was more than a venial Sin then to be thought rich, and more than a mortal one to be rich and loyal. Before Monro marched North, he sent out a Party of 200 Men June 27th, who pillaged the House and Lands of Patrick Urquhart of Letbinty. He was a loyal Gentleman, and Son in Law to the Earl of Airly; and these were Two Crimes in him to be punished. From thence they marched to the House of George Gordon of Newton, whose House and Lands were treated in the same Manner. He was a brave Gentleman, and continued stedfastly loyal

(a) Straloch, Spalden.

loyal till his last, that he sealed his Loyalty with his Blood on the Scaffold, of which hereafter.

Monro had Orders from the Committee of Estates, that whilst he was in *Aberdeen-shire*, to take his Information from, and be advised by the *Forbesses* and *Frasers*, zealous Covenanters there. The leading Man amongst them was Sir *William Forbes* of *Craigivar*, he seized Sir *Alexander Irvine* of *Drum*, *Robert Irvine* of *Feddret*, and Sir *John Gordon* of *Haddo* (whose Character I shall suspend to a more proper Place) he had already swallowed in his Imagination the Laird of *Drum's* Estate; and indeed hereafter he peaceably possessed the same for some Years. These Gentlemen were sent to *Edinburgh*, where they were imprisoned; from which they redeemed themselves, by paying such Fines as were imposed upon them.

Monro having now reduced all about *Aberdeen*, July 5th marches North to *Strathbogy*, the chief Residence of the Marquis of *Huntly*. He encamped his Regiment upon a strong Ground, near to the Castle (where the Rivers of *Dovern* and *Bogy* met) the Keys whereof were delivered to him: And there was no Harm done to it, but he took out of the Garners in it, a great Quantity of Oat-meal, which he distributed among his Soldiers, whom he caused to cut down Trees, or rather Bushes that were near by, and with them build Huts to lodge in. Upon *Monro* his coming to *Strathbogy*, all the Country-people left their Houses (which the Soldiers at Pleasure rifled) and drove their Horses, Cows, Oxen and Sheep towards the Highlands to *Achindown*, some Six Miles distant from *Strathbogy*. *Monro* being informed where they had gone to, and were stay-

staying, he followed them with a commanded Party, and drove the Horses, Sheep and Cattle to his Camp, which obliged the Country-people to return, and compound for their Cattle, at such Prices as he was pleased to put upon them. By which (it being a large, open and Grass-country) he raised a considerable Sum of Money. He fined also all the Gentlemen there at Pleasure, and exacted the Fines by military Force.

Monro, while his Camp lay at *Strathbogy* (being called by the Covenanters) marched with a Part of his Regiment and some Field-pieces into *Murray*, to take in the Castle of *Spynie*, the Bishop of *Murray* his House, which he had in some Measure fortified and garrisoned; but upon his lying down before it, and firing his Field-pieces against it, the good and loyal Bishop Mr. *John Guthrie*, being without all Relief, surrendered it to him; which he pillaged, and then delivered it to the Covenanters. He took the Bishop also obliged to appear at a Day appointed; and then returned to his Camp. *August* 10th; he marched from *Strathbogy* to *Banff*, a small City 10 Miles North East of *Strathbogy*. Whilst these Things were a doing in the North, the Queen was brought to Bed of her fourth Son, and third now living, upon the 8th Day of *July*, at *Oatland* in *Surrey*; who on the 22d of the same Month, was baptized by the Name of *Henry*, and created Duke of *Gloucester*: And the Queen being somewhat convalesced; the King took his Journey to his Army at *York*, *August* the 10th.

July 28th, The General Assembly sat down at *Aberdeen*. The first Day they waited, to see if any Commissioner was to appear for the King, tho they

well knew that there was no such Person to be there. They made Choice of Mr. *Andrew Ramsay*, one of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, to be Moderator, and proceeded without a Commissioner. They sat but a few Days, their tenth and last Session being *August 5th*, and made but a few Acts, which are in Print. Such of the learned Doctors of *Aberdeen* as were alive, they deposed, such as, Dr. *John Forbes* of *Corse*, Dr. *Alexander Scrogy*, Dr. *James Sibbald*, Dr. *William Lesly* (who, *Straloch* says, had studied a whole *Encyclopædia*, but was so modest a Man, that he left nothing in Writ or Print behind him) upon which they were all obliged to leave *Aberdeen*. The first went over to *Holland*, and lived there some Years ; and having obtained Leave of the States of *Scotland*, returned for his Health to his native Country, and died there about the Year 1649. The second retired to *Ruthven* in the *Enzie*, and died there *anno 1659*, aged 95 Years. The third went to *Ireland*, and was placed Minister at *Dublin*, where he died. The last lived with the Marquis of *Huntly* (who was a great Encourager of learned Men, and had a particular Esteem for this learned Gentleman) until he was engaged in the Wars, and then he retired to his Cousin *Alexander Douglas*, who entertained him to his Death. This Assembly deposed also such of the Masters of the Two Colleges, as would not take the Covenant, and such of the Ministers of the Diocesses of *Aberdeen* and *Murray*, as were Anti-covenanters. They appointed the next Assembly to meet at *Edinburgh* the third *Tuesday* of *July 1641* ; and if any Thing should fall out in the *interim*, they impowered the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, to call an Assembly *pro re nata*. And thus having

having finished what they intended, they rose; and the few Acts they made are in Print.

Monro having marched to *Bamff* (as said is) encamped in *Sir George Ogilvy*, (afterward created by the King Lord *Bamff*) his Garden, inclosed with excellent Stone-walls, and planted with the best Fruit-trees then could be had. All of which they immediately hewed down, not leaving one Fruit-tree, or barren, young or old, standing; and they dug up all the Hedges by the Root. They intirely demolished his House there, one of the stateliest and finest in the North, and carried away all the Timber and Iron-work in it, leaving nothing standing but the ruinous Walls. When this barbarous Act was told the King ('tis reported) (a) he said, *As for the House, it matter'd not much, Money could build it up again in a short Time; but it was a cruel Thing to destroy the Garden, which many Years could not repair.* *Sir George* lost also in this House a great Deal of Household-stuff and Furniture: This being done, *Monro* sent out a Detachment of his Regiment, and rifled Two other of his Houses in the Country, *Inchdruer*, two Miles, and *Forglen*, five Miles, South West of *Bamff*: And this Gentleman suffer'd all this, for no other Crime but Loyalty to his Prince.

While *Monro* is thus making War against, and destroying empty Houses and fine Gardens in the North, the Castle of *Edinburgh* is closely besieged by Colonel *Blair*, who having carried a Mine under the Fore-bastion, he sprung it there, by which so much of the North-east Side of it was blown up, as

(a) Straloch's MS.

made a Breach fit to be assaulted. General *Rutb-ven*, by a Letter from an unknown Hand, wrapt about an Arrow, and shot into the Castle, was advertised of the Design; but not having Time to render the Mine uselefs, he taught his Soldiers to shun the Dangers of it. The Mine being sprung, *Blair* made the Assault with some of the *Edinburgh* Foot, who were repulsed with more Loss to the Assailants than the Defendants.

Argyle had better Success before *Dumbarton*-castle, it had been blocked up for several Weeks; he being now returned from the Highlands, where he had been playing the King for some Time, was now before that Place, which he thus made himself Master of. The Captain of the Castle had come down to the Church (the Blocade being at some Distance) in the Town of that Name, hard by the Castle, suspecting no Danger, was surprized by an Ambuscade, which were laid of Purpose near by to it. By them was the Captain, and some others he had brought down with him, made Prisoners. They immediately stript the Captain and those with him of their Cloaths, which they put upon others prepared for that Use, who went directly to the Castle-gate, called the Porter by his Name, ordering him to make it open to them. He (not adverting) believing it to be his Captain, and those who went out with him, opened the Gate. At which they with others (who were posted near by) rushed in, surprized the Garrison, and made themselves Masters of that strong Fort. Having now given an Account how Matters went in the North of *Scotland*, we shall look back to the South, where the *Covenanter's* main Army lay.

The Covenanters (as I have already noticed) never wanted their Commissioners at *London*, under Pretence of treating with the King, for the Security of their Religion and Property, and that in the most humble Manner, and with the deepest Hypocrisy; and in the most solemn Terms always protesting, that they had nothing so much at Heart, next to the Glory of GOD, as the King's Honour, when in the mean Time their Actions were diametrically opposite to both. And this was what they openly pretended to, when the main Business of the Commissioners in Secret was, *First*, To be Spies upon the King; and *Next*, To settle a Correspondence, and concert Measures with such in *England*, as were either disobliged with the Court, or puritanically inclined, and so favoured their Cause; and of both they found not a few of all Ranks, both in Court and Camp: For at this Time such a Spirit of Delusion and Enthusiasm had so overspread the Nation, that they themselves knew not what they would be at; for if the King had granted them to Day all that they would have been at, that would not have pleased them to Morrow; for the more he granted them, the more extravagant were they in their Demands. With such did the Covenanters by their Commissioners negotiate; with them did they settle a firm Correspondence, and concerted Measures in all that they were to do hereafter. Nay, so successful were they in those hidden Ways of Sin and Darkness, even with some so near to the King, as to be of his Bed-chamber, and not a few of his Council.

(a) A late *English* Historian tells us, *That this*
 Y 3 Trea-

(a) Echard Vol. 2. p. 175.

Treachery was afterwards boasted of in Cromwel's Reign, by Mr. Archibald Johnston, who valued himself in being the chief Contriver of it, as that which gave the Occasion of Ruin to the Family of Stewart.

The Scots Covenanters having thus settled a firm Correspondence with their Friends in *England*, they write down to their Constituents a full Account of all their publick and private Negotiations, which encouraged the Committee of Parliament at *Edinburgh*, to issue out their Orders, for raising an Army immediately. And for the more speedy doing of it, they appointed a Lévy to be made of the fourth Man; and each Nobleman and Gentleman, who was to command a Regiment, had a particular Precinct appointed to him, where he was to levy the same; and the Committees of War in each Shire were to be assisting to them in it: And they being made up of the most rigid Covenanters, were very forward in hastening of these Levies, in which they were very favourable to their Friends, but very severe and exact upon the Loyalists. By which they had a considerable Army soon on Foot, of about 24000 Foot and 2500 Horse, which was marched by the afore-named General Officers; and encamped at *Thausly-wood*, near the *English* Border.

The King was then at *York*, with an Army of above 20000 Foot and Horse, of which the Earl of *Northumberland* was appointed General, the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant General, and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horse. The other Officers were *Wilmot*, *Goring*, &c. (a). Of these three General Officers,

(a) Echard Vol. 2. p. 174.

Officers, 'tis observed of the first, *That he had Health, but wanted Will to the Expedition.* The second, *That he had Will, but wanted Health.* And the third *had neither the one nor the other.* The Earl of *Effex*, who commanded the King's Army last Year, was, as the last cited Author says, not pleased that he did not command this Army; and we shall soon see him resenting it at the Head of the Rebels Army in *England* (a). August 20th, the King began his Journey from *London* to his Army now at *Tork*, and that Day published a Proclamation, declaring, *That such of the Scots who had entred or should enter England, them, their Adberers or Assisters, or those who should supply them with Money, Munition, Victuals or other Provisions, Rebels and Traitors against His Majesty, Crown and Dignity, and to incur the Penalties of High Treason; promising to pardon such of them as should return to their Country and Duty.*

The Scots having sent a Paper in their own Vindication into *England* (b), called, *Six Considerations of the Lawfulness of their Expedition*, and knowing upon what Assurance they had undertaken it, upon the 20th of *August* (says *Rushworth*) upon the 21st *Guthry*, and upon the 22d says *Dr. Burnet*, crossed the *River Tweed*, and entred *England*, *Montrose* (Dice having been cast for it) leading the Van-guard, alighted from his Horse, and crossed the River on Foot at the Head of his Regiment, to encourage the same; and the College of Justice's Troop, consisting of 160 Gentlemen, commanded by *Sir Thomas Hope* Son to the King's Ad-

vocate, rode upon the Right of the Foot, to break the Stream; and that Night the whole Army encamped at *Hirslaw* in *England*; on the 21st at *Misfield-moor*; on the 22d at *Middleton-baugh* near *Wooler*; on the 23d at *Branton-field*; on the 24th at *Eglinbam*; on the 25th at *Nether-wotten*; on the 26th at *Creech*; and upon the 27th at *Newburn* upon *Tine*, Four Miles West of *Newcastle*.

The *Scots* Rebels (since the King has declared them such, I may so name them now) being advertised upon their March of the King's Proclamation (according to their usual Custom) encountered the same with a long Paper in their Vindication, full of the same Cant with their former Papers, intituled (a) *The Intentions of the Army of the Kingdom of Scotland, declared to their Brethren of England, &c.* The Lord *Conway* (who commanded that Part of the King's Army that were sent to stop the *Scots* Army from passing the River *Tine*) received a Packet from the Earl of *Strafford*, to prepare the King's Army to engage with the *Scots*, if they endeavoured to pass the River. He had there under his Command, says *R. Ishworth* (b) (who was present) 3000 Foot and 1500 Horse. *Straloch* calls them 1200 Horse; but *Gubry* (who is seldom very exact) calls them 4000 Foot and 2000 Horse, to guard the Passes on the River.

The Lord *Conway* encamped this Part of the King's Army (he had left as many in *Newcastle*) upon a plain Meadow-ground, about a Mile in Length, close upon the South-side of the River called *Stella-baugh*, where they had cast up Two
Breast-

(a) Rushworth's Appendix Vol. 3. p. 283. (b) p. 1236.

Breast-works, opposite to the Two Fords where the *Scots* were to pass; in each of which were placed 400 Musquetiers and four Pieces of Cannon: And now there being nothing betwixt the Two Armies but the River, on the North-side of which the *Scots* Army was encamped, opposite to the *English*, at the Town of *Newburn*; and the Tide flowing up that Length, the River was impassable but at low Water; and the Horses of both Armies watered in it, without molesting one another. The *Scots* had the Advantage of the rising Ground, by which they easily discerned the Strength, Posture and Motion of the *English*, while their own Army lay hidden among the Hedges, Inclosures, and Houles in and about the Town. The forecited Author says, the Engagement began thus,

A *Scots* Officer, well mounted, with a black Feather in his Hat, watering his Horse in the River, was perceived by an *English* Soldier, to cast an Eye stedfastly on their Camp. Upon which the Soldier fired upon him, and so wounded him, that he fell from his Horse. Upon which the *Scots* Musquetiers fired on the *English*, and the Fight was begun with small Shot, but was continued with great as well as small. The *Scots* played with their Cannon, to beat the *English* from their Breast-works, and the *English* with theirs on the Church-Steeple to beat the *Scots* from thence: And thus they continued till it came to be near low Water, by which Time the *Scots* had made a Breach in their greatest Breast-work, where Colonel *Lunsford* commanded, wherein many of his Men were killed; and the rest began to complain that they had been too long on Duty, and that they were not relieved from *Newcastle*; yet the
Col-

Colonel prevailed with them not to desert their Works: But presently thereafter a Captain, a Lieutenant and other Officers being killed, they began more to mutiny; yet he still kept them in their Duty; but another Cannon Shot falling among the Soldiers, and killing some of them, they immediately threw down their Arms, and would abide no longer.

This being observed by the *Scots*, a Party of 26 Horse of the College of Justice Troop were ordered to pass the River at the deserted Ford, to discover in what Posture the *English* were in at the other Breast-Work, but not to come to any Engagement; and in the mean Time the *Scots* playing hard on the other Work, forced the *English* to retire from it; which they perceiving, more Horse commanded by Sir *Thomas Hope* and two Regiments of Foot, commanded by the Earl of *Crawford* and Lord *Lowdon* crossed the River, while General *Lesly* play'd so hard upon the King's Horse, who were drawn up upon a plain Meadow, that it much disordered them, and more Forces crossing the River, a Retreat was founded, and Colonel *Lunsford* drew off the Cannon. *Rushworth* says, Commissary *Wilmot*, Sir *John Digby*, and *Daniel O-Neil* jointly engaged the Enemy, and had a sharp Encounter with their Horse; but still more Forces crossing the River, they were surrounded, and themselves, with some of their Troops made Prisoners. He says, of the *English* were killed about 60; *Guthry* calls them 80, and 40 made Prisoners. *Straloch* says, there were about 300 of the *English* killed and taken; and of the *Scots* he mentions none of any Note killed but Mr. *James Macgbie*, Son to Sir *Patrick Macgbie* of *Large*, whose Death was condol'd by the Presbyterian Poet, Mr. *Z. Boyd* in

two Lines, which for the Rarity of the Verse I shall set down,

*In this Conflict (which was a great Pitie)
We lost the Son of Sir Patrick Macghie.*

Upon this ignominious Flight of the *English Army*, the Lord *Conway* called a Council of War, where it was resolved, That the whole Army should retire to *Durham*.

The next Day *August* the 29th, the Lord *Conway*, and Sir *Jacob Asbley*, with both the Horse and Foot, the Ordinance, and other warlike Provisions, by five a Clock in the Morning, marched off to *Durham*, leaving *Newcastle* empty; and in the Afternoon, Sir *William Douglas* of *Cavers*, came with a Trumpet and summoned the Town, which was immediately surrendered by the Mayor, Sir *Peter Riddel*, who was in no Condition to maintain it; and the next Day being *Sunday*, the *Scots Army* entered it, where their Ministers entertain'd them with three long Sermons; and the Mayor feasted the General, Nobility and chief Officers, with a sumptuous Dinner.

I shall not further enlarge upon this shameful and treacherous Flight of the King's Army, than to take Notice, that the last named *English Historian* says, That at this Time there were in and about *Newcastle* 10000 Men daily employed to work at the Coal-Mines under and above Ground, one Way and another; and that there were often to be seen in the River at one Time 400 Sail of Ships (a).

The

(a) *Rushworth* Vol. 5. P. 47.

The Earl of *Bristol* in his Speech in the ensuing Parliament, says, That the *English* Army when they left *Newcastle* consisted of 12 or 14000 Men; the King had in that Place then a noble Magazine of Arms and other warlike Stores, ready to have armed the Seamen and Coaliers; so that there was no Difficulty to have got an Army together from *Newcastle*, *Durham*, &c. which being joined to those commanded by *Conway*, might have been in a Condition not only on equal Terms to have fought, but even have defeated the *Scots* Army. Coaliers and Seamen are commonly both strong bodied and good hearted Men. 'Tis true they were but a Militia; but then the *Scots* Army was no other; and even for the most Part (if not altogether) levied in those Counties, which for some Time have been esteemed the worst Militia of that Nation; but that which ruined Affairs at this Time, was, That there were not a few of the principal Officers of the Army and Lords of the Council, who were in a private Confederacy and Correspondence with the *Scots*, who fomented their Rebellion, and assisted them in it; and for that End constantly betrayed and rendered ineffectual all the Projects the King fram'd for reducing the *Scots* Rebels; and the Lord *Conway* who commanded this Army, was believed to be one of those.

The Standart of the Covenant being now set up in *Newcastle*, they place a Garrison in it of 2000 Men, and gave the Command of it to the Earl of *Lothian*; and the next Day they likewise seize upon *Durham*, and gave the Command of it to the Earl of *Dumfermling*; they also garrison'd the Castle of *Tinmouth-shiels*, and then canton'd their Army in

the Country Villages. But now while the *Scots* Covenanters are thus triumphant in *England*, there was a very lamentable Accident happened to some of their Bretheren in the South Borders of *Scotland*.

General *Lesly* had left some Pieces of Cannon at *Duns* (which he thought not necessary to carry along with him) with a Guard of 160 Foot. The Governour of *Berwick* getting Notice thereof, marched out with a commanded Party to take them away; and for that Purpose makes an Attack upon the Village of *Duns*, which was maintained against him for two Hours; and he hearing that the Earl of *Haddington* (who was left by the Covenanters to command in *Lothian* and *Merse*) was coming against him to its Relief, after he had lost severals of his Men, retired back to *Berwick*, of which the Earl of *Haddington* being apprised, pursued him no further, but went the next Day with several Gentlemen with him to the Castle of *Dunglass*, where the next Day, being *August* the 30. he, with those Gentlemen and Officers that were with him, having dined very jovially, carressing themselves with their unexpected Success in *England*, as he was coming down Stairs, reading a Letter, the whole House was suddenly blown up with one Blast of Gun-powder, and the Earl with all within it (a very few excepted) were killed; and the fore-part of the Wall being overthrown, overwhelmed a great many Soldiers and others that were in the Court or Clofs, and buried them under its Rubish. *Straloch* says, *There perished with the Earl by this Accident of Gentlemen and others above 100.* *Guthry* says, *there were 60 Gentlemen killed with him.*

It was never certainly known how, or by whom this House was blown up. It was only said, That the Covenanters had left in the Vaults of that House some Part of their Magazine of Powder, and that the Earl having got Notice the Day before, of the *English* shameful Retreat at *Newburn*, did jestingly say to his Page, *Edward Paris*, an *English* Boy, that his Countrymen were all Cowards: Upon which the Boy was observed to go off in a Discontent, and that he having got Access to the Vault where the Powder was, fired one of the Barrels with a hot Iron, and so blew up the House. If it was so, he suffered for it, for he perished with the rest in it. This Earl had prov'd very unfaithful to the King; for in the very Time that he pretended much Loyalty, and was trusted by the King, he was kept at *London* as a Spy upon him by the Covenanters; and in private as Agent for them to their Friends of the *English* Nobility (a). He was married on the 14th of *January* before to Lady *Jean Gordon*, Daughter to the Marquis of *Huntly*, whom he left a very sorrowful Widow, big with Child of a Daughter, who thereafter was married to Sir *John Keith* first Earl of *Kintore*.

The *Scots* Rebels being now possess'd of the Cities of *Newcastle* and *Durham*, and Masters of the County of *Northumberland* and Bishoprick of *Durham*, the King's Army having shamfully retired to *York*; they obliged these Counties to cels themselves in *L. 850 per diem* for the Maintenance of their Army, thus proportioned, *L. 300* to be paid out of *Northumberland*, *L. 350* out of the Bishoprick, and *L. 200* by

(a) Guthry's Mem. p. 47.

by the Town of *Newcastle*: Nor did they rest satisfied with these large Contributions in Money, which were punctually paid to them each *Friday*, but they extorted from the Inhabitants of these Counties so great Proportions of Hay, Oats, &c. for the Use of their Army, and for which they paid nothing, that they were obliged to Petition the King about it.

(a) The distressed Inhabitants of the County of *Northumberland* by their Petition to the King, sheweth, *That the Scots exact such great Proportions of Hay and Straw, over and above the L. 300, that such Cattle as was left them would starve.* The Petition of *Durham* sheweth, *That over and above their L. 350, they exact such Quantities of Hay and Straw, that they were not able to support it.* The Bishop of *Durham's* Tenants sent their Complaint of the same Tenor: And Sir *Thomas Riddel* Elder, in his Petition complains, *That by possessing of his Mills, plundering of his Corns, as well in his Garners as on the Ground, his Hay both of this and the last Year, his Coals wrought, and breaking of his Engines, drowning and destroying of his Mines, they had damnified him and his Tenants in above L. 1500;* and all these Complaints were entered before they had been many Days there; by which it clearly appears, that their Confederates in *England*, had more than ordinary Use for them, or they would never have entertained them at such a Price, or so tamely have suffered them to spoil so great a Part of their Country; nor would the *Scots* have ventured upon it, if they had

had not been in the Plot with, and had sufficient Assurance from their *English* Confederates.

(a) In the mean Time, while the Covenanters are thus providing for their Army, they send a Letter to the Earl of *Lanerk* by one *Catbcart*, in which they enclose a Petition to the King. In the Letter they shew *Lanerk*, That they being debarred from sending their Supplications the ordinary Way, they intreat he would be pleased to deliver in their Names the inclosed Petition to the King. I think it scarce was ever heard of before, for Subjects in an ordinary Way, to send Petitions to their King, with an Army of 24000 Men. The Petition was in general Terms, for redressing of their Grievances, and repairing the Losses and Wrongs they had suffered (but by whom I could never yet learn) and that a durable and firm Peace might be settled, by Advice of the Parliament of *England*. The Letter and Petition were signed by,

Rothes,

Cassils,

Dumfermling

Lindsay,

Lowdon,

Napier,

Tbo. Hope,

W. Richardson

J. Smith,

P. Hepburn,

D. Home.

Keir,

Ja. Sword,

J. Rutherford.

To which the King commanded *Lanerk* to return them for Answer, *That their Petition being in general Terms, he could give them no Answer to it, but that they might with Expedition send to him the Particulars of their Demands, that he might advise of them with the great Council of Peers, which he had called to meet at York, September 24th, and that they*

they should advance no further with their Army.

(a) Upon which they send by Sir James Merder a second Address to the King, full of such Demands as had never been asked of a King before; nor was it possible they could have expected that he would have granted them, had they not been encouraged by, and assured of Assistance from not a few in the nearest Trust with the King, both of the Scots and English Nation. They demanded 1. *That all the Acts of their last and illegal Parliament might be confirmed.* (Illegal with a Witness, for the King was neither there by himself nor his Commissioner.) 2. *That the Castle of Edinburgh, and all other Forts in the Nation might be put in to their Hands.* 3. *That all the Scots in England and Ireland might be free from Censure for taking the Covenant; and no Oath not agreeable therewith put to them.* 4. *That those whom they term'd Incendiaries might be punished.* (By them they meant the Marquis of Huntly, the Earl of Traquair, and all others who had appeared for the King.) 5. *That all Declarations emitted against them, wherein they were termed Rebels, might be recalled.* 6. *That their Losses and Charges, which at this Time or formerly they had been at, might be repaid.* This is the Sum of their modest Demands at this Time, as they had concerted them with their Friends in England.

The first indeed is of a pretty large Extent; by it they demanded no less than that the King should ratify all the Acts of that illegal Parliament, which sat down June 11. 1640, in which they made no fewer than 39 Acts, by which they ratified all the

Acts of their preceeding Assemblies and Parliaments in favours of their Kirk and Covenant; rescinded all former Laws in favours of Bishops or Episcopacy, imposed a Subsidy for levying and paying their Army they were to invade *England* with, by which they bereaved the King of his Forts and Castles, and appointed all such of his faithful Subjects to be cited and punished by a Committee they had appointed to sit at *Edinburgh* for that Effect: And, finally, by their last Act, continued the Currency of it to the 19th of the ensuing *November* (a). And this is the first Self-creating Parliament that ever sat in *Scotland*, without the King or a Commissioner from him.

The great Council of the Peers of *England* having met at *York*, *September* 24. so good was the King, and so much betrayed by those he confided most in, that notwithstanding the Unreasonableness of the *Scots* Rebels Demands, he consented to a Treaty with them: *Northalerton* was the Place appointed first for it, but that being thought not so convenient, *Rippon*, a little Town 15 Miles from *York*, was pitched upon; and there the Treaty commenced *October* 1. The Commissioners nominated by the King, were,

The Earls of	<i>Bedford,</i>	<i>Bristol,</i>	<i>Paget,</i>
	<i>Hertford,</i>	<i>Holland,</i>	<i>Brook,</i>
	<i>Essex,</i>	<i>Berkshire,</i>	<i>Paulet,</i>
	<i>Salisbury,</i>	Lords <i>Kimbolton,</i>	<i>Howard,</i>
	<i>Warwick,</i>	<i>Wharton,</i>	<i>Savile,</i> and
			<i>Dunsmore.</i>

To whom were added as Assistants, the

Earls

(a) Rescinded Acts of Parliament 1640.

Earls of <i>Traquair,</i>	Mr. Secretary <i>Vane,</i>
<i>Morton,</i>	Sir <i>Lewis Stewart,</i>
<i>Lanerk,</i>	Sir <i>John Burrough.</i>

The *Scots* excepted against *Traquair* as an Incendiary, and would not hear of him, so the King was forced to drop him. The *Scots* named as Commissioners,

The Earl of <i>Dumfermling,</i>	Mrs. <i>Smith,</i>
The Lord <i>Lowdon,</i>	<i>Wedderburn,</i>
Sir <i>William Douglass,</i>	<i>Henderson.</i>
Sir <i>Patrick Hepburn,</i>	<i>Johnston.</i>

Their Commission was signed by *Rothés, Cassils, Lotbian, Lindsay, Napier, Home, Sir George Ker, Thomas Hope, William Riccarton, William Hamilton, Henry Kennedy, George Porterfield, J. Sword, J. Rutherford.*

The Commissioners being met at *Rippon*, the first Thing they propos'd was a Cessation of Arms : But the *Scots* told them, That there was something previous to that to be done, which was a Fund to be agreed upon for maintaining their Army during the Treaty ; and for that Purpose they modestly demanded *L. 40000 per Menssem.* When this Proposal came to be laid before the great Council at *York*, the Lord *Herbert* storm'd highly at it, and advis'd the King not to condescend to it, but rather to fortify *York*, and gave many Reasons for it. However tho' they got not the full of their Demands, yet they got *L. 850 per diem* ; (to which they had cess'd *Northumberland, the Bishoprick and Newcastle*) ascertain'd to them ; and then a Cessation was agreed to, *October 16th,*

to continue to *December* 16th ; and the King with the Peers being obliged to return to *London*, to meet the Parliament he had called to sit *November* 3d, the Treaty was adjourned from *Rippon* to that Place, and the Commissioners were appointed to attend there.

To the *Scots* Commissioners before mentioned are by Consent added the Earl of *Rothes*, *Drummond of Riccarton*, and *Hew Kennedy* Burgesses of *Air*, and all of them march up to *London*, to wait upon the *English* deplorable and dismal Parliament which sat down *November* 3. who, with the City, looked upon them as Angels of Light. They zealously frequent the Congregations of the chief dissenting Preachers, who were now in great Numbers in and about the City (a), as Sir *Philip Warwick* tells us, proving that *Timothy* and *Titus* were no Bishops, and the Rites of the Church superstitious ; and *Bowing* at the Name of *J E S U S*, had a Book at this Time wrote against it, with no less Title than, *Jesus Worship confuted* ; so that if a *Turk* had heard it cried in the Streets, he would have believed the Nation had turned *Mahometan*. They kept a close Correspondence with the turbulent and disaffected Members of both Houses ; and with those of the Commons joined in impeaching that loyal and great Statesman the Earl of *Strafford*, *November* 11. against whom they exhibited a Charge, too long to be insert here (b). And after that, when that pious and learned Prelate, Archbishop *Laud*, came to be impeach'd, they joined in it, and exhibited to the Lords House a long Charge against him, *December* 17th 1640 (c). For all which

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(a) Mem. of Ch. I. p. 152. (b) Rushworth's Col. vol. 4. p. 789.
 (c) Idem, Vol. 5. p. 113.

good Services, the Parliament borrowed of the City of *London* L. 50000, and sent the same in a Present to the General of the *Scots* Army, to be divided amongst his Officers at his Pleasure.

While the *Scots* Covenanters were thus prospering in *England*, there was an Accident happened, which was like to have split them among themselves. As the Earl of *Montrose* was to be found very early among the first and forwardest of the Covenanters, so was he amongst the first, that came to look into the Depth and Villany of their Designs, and to abhor the same; and to put a Stop to their Current, he procured a Meeting in *July* this Year at *Cumbernauld*, the Earl of *Wigton's* House, of divers of the Nobility, where they entred into a Bond or Association for the King. The first who subscribed, were the Earls of *Montrose* and *Wigton*, the Lords *Fleming*, *Boyd* and *Almond*; and afterwards the Earls of *Marischal*, *Mar*, *Athole*, *Kinghorn*, *Perth*, *Hume* and *Seaforth*, the Lords *Stormont*, *Erskine*, *Drummond*, *Ker*, *Napier* and others. After which it was believed, that *Montrose*, tho he continued in the Army, yet he kept a secret Correspondence with the King; and when the *Scots* Army was lying at *Newcastle*, and the King at *York*, he by a Servant of his own sent a Letter to the King, while all Persons were under the greatest Penalty prohibited to send any Letters to Court, that were not first seen by the General. 'Tis said by the *Scots* and *English* Historians, that this Letter was pickt out of the King's Pocket in the Night-time, by one of the Bed-chamber, and a Copy of it sent to General *Lesly*. (a)

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Dr. *Burnet* says, The Blame was laid on the Marquis of *Hamilton*, whom he endeavours to vindicate, by telling a Story, how it was accidentally discovered by Sir *James Mercer*; and that the Contents of it were not known, till General *Lesly*, by threatening *Montrose* to deal capitally with him in a Court-martial, obliged him to exhibite the Copy of it. The Historians of both Nations laugh at the Doctor's Story as romantick, and say, that *Montrose's* Interest in the Army was so great, that the Committee were obliged to put their Foot upon it, and to accommodate Matters so, that Bygones were to be past, and fair Play to come. And as to the fore-mentioned Bond, we shall hear more of it next Year.

The last and illegal Parliament of *Scotland*, had by their own pretended intrinsic Power adjourned themselves to the 19th of *November*, at which Time they sat, and by the same usurped Power continued themselves to the 14th of *January* 1641; and from thence to the 13th of *April*, and so to the 25th of *May*, the 15th of *July*, and, lastly, to the 18th of *August*, always appointing the Committee of Estates to sit at *Edinburgh* in the Intervals of Parliament.

All this while the Treaty at *London* went but on very slowly; and the *Scots* Commissioners were employing themselves mostly in concerting Matters with their Brethren the Malcontents, and disaffected of *England*, who were no Ways foreward to push on the Treaty, being resolved not to part with the *Scots* Army, until they had extorted from the King what they had a Mind for; and this encouraged the *Scots* to demand of the Parliament Reparation of
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what Losses or Damages they had sustained in bringing their Army into *England*; and accordingly by an Ordinance of the 3d of *February*, they obtained L. 300,000 to be paid for their Losses, by Name of a friendly Assistance and Relief for the Losses of their Brethren of *Scotland* (a). And the *Scots* Commissioners returned their Thanks to the House, not only for the Money, but for the kindly Appellation of Brethren they gave them. They were indeed Brethren, such as *Simeon* and *Levi* were *fratres in malo*, they agreed in deceitful Hearts and bloody Hands; and they came hereafter to be sworn Brethren by that wicked Association call'd the *solemn League and Covenant*.

The Parliament of *England* was now much busied in prosecuting that great Statesman the Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; in which Prosecution the *Scots* had so heartily joined, that they did not think it proper to part with them until they were satiated with his Blood. He was a great Eye-sore to the *Scots* Rebels; they were more afraid of him than any Man else, lest he should have sent over an Army from *Ireland* to the King's Assistance against them; and the disaffected Party both of *Scotland* and *England* found, that if he lived and continued Lieutenant of *Ireland*, he would be a great Rub in their Way, and a great Stop to these rebellious Projects they had laid down to themselves; for he was a Man of unlimited Loyalty, and serv'd the King without Reserve. His Trial was long, and managed by those of most Learning and Spirit in the House of Commons of the disaffected Party, during

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which

which there were very many long and learned Speeches both for and against him. His Trial is to be seen at large in *Rusworth's Collections*, and it takes up the Whole of the 4th Volume in *Folio*. Yet for all they could do, they could not overtake his Life by the common Law; and so they were forced to take it away by an uncommon Method, a *Bill of Attainder*, with which the King was forced to comply. He says himself, *That a plenary Consent he did not give to it (a)*. In that Incomparable Book of his, he gives that great Man's Character, and says, *That he looked upon him as a Gentleman, whose great Abilities might make a Prince rather afraid than ashamed to employ him in the greatest Affairs of State, &c.* He did all, the Situation he was then in would allow, to have saved his Life. He sent a Message for that Purpose to the House of Lords, by no less Person than the Prince; but to no Purpose. He was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, *May 12.* (which was very acceptable News to the Committee of Estates at *Edinburgh*) and that good King heartily regrated, and sincerely repented that ever he had in the least complied with the taking away his Life (b).

(c) The Committee of Estates appointed by the Parliament *April 13. 1641*, to sit at *Edinburgh*, took into their Consideration the fore-mentioned Bond or Association signed at *Cumbernauld*, being now fully discovered by the Lord *Almond* to the Earl of *Argyle*, which by him being reported to the Committee, *Montrose* and such others as had subscribed it, that were at Home, were cited to appear be-

(a) Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ π. 6. (b) *Idem ibidem.* (c) *Cuthry's Memoirs*, p. 77.

before them. Some of the zealous Preachers press'd that they might be tried and punished capitally for it. But *Argyle*, who managed the Committee, looked upon them to be too numerous and powerful to be so dealt by at this Time: Therefore, upon their signing a Declaration that by it they meant no Harm to the Publick, and giving up the Bond, which they ordered immediately to be burnt, the Matter was made up at this Time. A Copy of this Bond was presented to the General Assembly at *St. Andrews*, who by their Act Sess. 17. August 9. 1641. condemned this Bond and all such, as unlawful, and declared, *That the Subscribers were not astricted by their Oath to the Tenor of it; and since by the Wisdom of the Committee the Matter was made up, they were not to incur any Church Censure for subscribing of it, providing that if any of them were called before the General Assembly, that they believed (as the Assembly had found) that they were not tied by their Oath to the Tenor of it.*

May 15. the Scots Parliament sat, and having re-established the Committee, they adjourned to July 15th. The Committee sat down May 26th, and called before them Mr. *John Graham* Minister at *Auchterarder*, who was challenged for Words spoken against the Earl of *Argyle*; and he gave for his Author Mr. *Robert Murray* Minister at *Methven*, who gave for his Author the Earl of *Montrose*, who being challenged, condescended upon the Words, viz. *That when the Earl of Athole and those 8 Gentlemen whom Argyle had made Prisoners were in Argyle's Tent at the Ford of Lyon, Argyle spoke publickly to this Sense, That they had consulted Lawyers and Divines concerning the deposing of the King, and had gotten Resolution that it might be done in three Cases,*

1. *Desertion.* 2. *Invasion.* 3. *Vendition*; and that once they thought to have done it at the last sitting of Parliament, and would do it at the next sitting thereof. Montrose gave Mr. John Stewart Commissary of Dunkeld, one of the Gentlemen present for his Author, and engaged for his Appearance.

Montrose being afraid that Mr. Stewart might be withdrawn; sent some Gentlemen for him, who brought him to *Edinburgh*, May 3d. The next Day he appeared before the Committee, and subscrib'd a Declaration, bearing, *That all Montrose had affirmed in his Name was true.* Upon which he was committed Prisoner to the Castle of *Edinburgh*; for *Argyle* by many Oaths in Passion had denied all. Some Days after *Balmerinock* and *Dury*, two cunning Men, and great Trustees of *Argyle's*, were sent to examine him; but their chief Business was to persuade him to retract, to take all the Blame on himself, and to vindicate *Argyle*. It is not hard to guess what Arguments they made Use of for that Purpose; and Stewart considering that *Argyle* was not only able to preserve his Life (which he esteemed was in Danger, but also to prefer him to an advantageous Post) was by them persuaded to write a Letter next Day to *Argyle*, wherein he cleared him of those Words, and acknowledged, *That himself forged them out of Malice to his Lordship*; and he likewise confessed, *That by the Advise and Counsel of Montrose, the Lord Napier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Andrew Stuart of Blackhall, he had sent a Copy of these Words under his Hand to the King, by Captain Walter Stuart.*

(a) The Earl of *Argyle* having communicated this

this Letter to the Committee, they set Watches to attend the Captain's Return, who made him Prisoner at *Cockburn's Path*, brought him and the Letters they found with him before the Committee, who after Examination sent him Prisoner to the Castle. And after that, they cited to appear before them *June 11th, Montrose, Napier, Keir and Blackball*; whom after Examination they also imprisoned in the Castle. And all that unfortunate Gentleman *Mr. Stewart* got by the Bargain, was to lose his Head and Character, for Want of Honour and Resolution: For *Argyle* consulted *Sir Thomas Hope*, the King's Advocate and Covenanters Oracle, *Whether or not, since he had assailed Argyle, and taken the Guilt upon himself, he should suffer Death, or be pardoned and preferred.* The Answer given was, That if *Mr. Stewart* was pardoned, it would be believed that he was bribed into what he had done; and therefore, for *Argyle's* Vindication, it was necessary he should die; and accordingly he was condemned and beheaded at the Cross of *Edinburgh* in *July*. The forecited Author who waited on him in Prison, and at his Death, says, *That he died with little Courage, and complained that he had been the Author of his own Death.*

The Parliament of *England* having now forced the King to comply with taking away of the Life of that great and loyal Statesman the Earl of *Stafford*; the impeaching and imprisoning of that learned and pious Prelate Archbishop *Laud*; and having extorted from the King in Parliament, what they had a Mind for at this Time; in all which the *Scots Army* had served them to great Purpose; and having now no more Use for them, the Treaty goes on a
page

pace, and is soon concluded, the King being persuaded by those he most trusted, to condescend to all their treasonable and unreasonable Demands. The Articles of this Treaty are too large to be here inserted; they may be seen in *Rushworth's Collections*, &c. (a). I only shall take Notice, That there was an Indemnity proposed by the Covenanters; which as to themselves they would have to be universal; but on the other Part, they would have to be excepted out of it the Marquis of *Huntly*, *Traquair*, *Aboyne*, and all others of any Note or Eminency, who had appeared faithful to the King in any Station. All whom they term'd Incendiaries, and declared there was no Mercy for them. To this the King would not condescend; but the Covenanters at last being persuaded, to restrict the Number of those excepted, to the Earl of *Traquair*, the Bishop of *Ross*, Sir *Robert Spotswood* President of the Session, Sir *John Hay* Clerk-register, and Dr. *Balcanquhall*, the King was persuaded to consent to it; and Dr. *Burnet* says (b) That *Hamilton* having got his own Name scored out of the Exception, was blamed for advising the King to agree to it; and the Dr. says but little to his Vindication.

All Matters being thus agreed, the Treaty sent down to *Edinburgh* ratified and returned, the *Scots* Army was to march out of *England* September the 1st, they getting Payment before that Time, of all Arrears resting of the *L. 850 per diem*; and also *L. 80000* of the *L. 300,000*, granted them in Name of brotherly Assistance, by Acts of Parliament of the 19th and 25th of *June*, and Security for *L.*

220000

(a) *Rushworth's Col. Vol. 5. p. 362. rescinded Acts Parliament 1641.* (b) *Memoirs p. 183.*

220000, being the Remainder payable at Midsummer 1642, and Midsummer 1643 Years. And the Parliament appointed Persons, Members of both Houses, from whom the *Scots* were to demand Payment at the foresaid Terms, the Place of Payment the Chamber of *London*. This Army of *Scots* Rebels were indeed dear Brethren to their Associates in *England*, in a literal Sense: For from their going into it till their marching out of it, they cost *England* above *L. 660,000 Sterl.* besides what Damages was done to the Country where the Army lay, when in the mean Time the *English*, they were such barbarous Niggards to their Prince (tho the best of Kings) that they would scarcely allow him Money for the necessary Subsistence of his Family.

(a) The King having passed such Bills as were prepared by the Parliament of *England*, and given Commission to some of the Nobility there, to pass some other Bills in his Absence, took Journey for *Scotland* August 10th, and arrived at *Edinburgh* (as *Guthrie* says) August the 14th (Dr. *Burnet* says August the 12th; but that was impossible) he was attended by the Prince *Palatine*, the Duke of *Lennox*, the Marquis of *Hamilton*, the Lord *Willoughby* and others. Before the King came from *London*, the Parliament of *England* named so many of both Houses, to go Commissioners from them to the Parliament of *Scotland*, and sent a Commission to the King, to be signed by him, empowering them to adjust all Matters with the Parliament of *Scotland*, in which both Nations might be concerned. The King refused the Commission, and gave his Reasons for it; but

(a) *Rushworth's Collect.* vol. 5. p. 375.

but allowed them to attend his Person to *Scotland*. The Persons named, were, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Howard* of *Eserick*, *Nathaniel Finnes*, Sir *William Army*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and *John Hampden*. The first did not go. All of them were the greatest Sticklers against the King in Parliament, and to be sure they meant him no good by their coming to *Scotland*.

The Parliament of *Scotland* had continued themselves from Time to Time, to the 15th of *July*, at which Time a Letter was read from the King, excusing himself, that he could not be there sooner than the 15th of *August*. Notwithstanding which, they would adjourn no more, but resolved to sit daily, to prepare Matters against his coming: And the first Thing they did, was, to appoint *Montrose* to appear before them *August* 13th. He desired Liberty to imploy Advocates; but those of the first Rank at that Time, were so zealous Covenanters, that they refused to be imployed by him; so he was obliged to make Use of Mr. *John Gilmour*, who before this had made but small Appearance. However, his Behaviour at this Time so recommended him, that thereafter he was imployed by all the Loyalists; and that was what raised him at last to that high Station, in which thereafter he appear'd. *July* 20th, the General Assembly sat down at *St. Andrews*, and adjourned to *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Wemyss* was Commissioner for the King. They approved of what had been done in former Assemblies, received a Letter from their dissenting Brethren in *England*, and returned an Answer to it; made an Act against unlawful Bands (by which they meant those that were for the King) and not doing any Thing more
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of Moment, adjourned themselves to *St. Andrews*, the last *Wednesday* of *July 1642*.

The leading Party among the disaffected in the House of Commons, had no good Will of the King's Journey to *Scotland*, not that they had any great liking either to his Person or Government; but they were much afraid, that his Presence in *Scotland* might so compose and settle Differences there, that by it the Confederacy they had made up with the Covenanters Commissioners at *London*, would be broke and ruined, and so their Measures would be disconcerted for these Reasons. Mr. *Hollis* advanced many Reasons, in a Speech to the House of Lords, for postponing the King's Journey to *Scotland*. To all which the King replied, (a) *That his Honour was engaged, and he behoved to go.*

The King (as I have said) came to *Edinburgh* *August 14th*, and went to the Parliament then sitting the *17th*, where he made a short, but excellent and indearing Speech. It is so succinct and sententious, that it cannot be compendized, or put in better Words, so I shall insert it here as he spoke it.

(b) My Lords and Gentlemen,

THere hath nothing been so displeasing to me, as those unlucky Differences which hath happened between me and my People; and nothing that I have more desired, than to see this Day, wherein I hope not only to settle these unhappy Mistakings, but rightly to know, and to be known to my native Country.

I need not tell you (for I think its well known to most) what Difficulties I have passed through and overcome, to be here at this present: Yet this I will say

say, if Love to my native Country had not been a chief Motive to this Journey, other Respects might easily have found a Shift, to do that by a Commission, which I am come to perform myself. And this considered, I cannot doubt of such real Testimonies of your Affections, for the Maintenance of that Royal Power, which I enjoy after an hundred and eight Descents, and which you have professed to maintain, and to which your own National Oath doth oblige you, that I shall not think my Pains ill bestowed.

Now the End of my coming is shortly this: To perfect whatsoever I have promised; and with all, to quiet the Distractions, which have and may fall out amongst you. And this I mind not superficially, but fully and cheerfully to perform; for I assure you, that I can do nothing with more Cheerfulness, than to give my People a general Satisfaction. Wherefore, not offering to endear myself unto you in Words (which indeed is not my Way) I desire in the first Place, to settle that which concerns Religion, and just Liberties of this my native Country, before I proceed to any other Act.

August 18th, The fifth Act of this Parliament, was, appointing an Oath to be sworn and subscribed by all the Members of this and ensuing Parliaments, whereby they were obliged to speak freely in all Things that was proposed to them, conform to their Conscience and Knowledge, without Reserve, &c. In the sixth, August 26th, are contained the Heads and Articles of the Treaty at London, which are thereby ratified: As also the Act of Pacification and Oblivion, containing the Exception of the whole Prelates of Scotland, the Earl of Traquair, and those other loyal Gentlemen therein named, whom they termed

termed Incendiaries, for which they appointed them to be pursued; and for the Crimes of Bribery, Corruption, and other gross Crimes, contained in the general and special Charges against them. They also excepted all other Persons, who are cited, and shall be found by the Parliament guilty of such Crimes (a). This was as extensive on the King's Part, as it could be contrived; and on the other Part so restricted and limited, that few of the Loyalists could promise themselves any Security by it.

The ninth Act, *September* the 2d, deprives all *Non-covenanting Patrons* (as they call them) of the Right of Presentation to any Church, and gives the same to the Presbytery within whose Precinct the Church lay. By the 13th, They appointed all excommunicated Persons, and those who did not communicate once a Year, to be prosecuted and punished. This was a pretty extensive Law; for the refusing to take the Covenant; or making the least Appearance for the King, was Crime enough for to excommunicate any Person. But by this Law it would seem, that in those Days, to communicate was looked upon as more necessary, than it has been thought since; for I remember, that after the Revolution, the *Presbyterians* in *Aberdeen* did not celebrate the Sacrament of the L O R D's Supper, for more than a Dozen of Years together; or the Design was, that they with some Countenance might reach those, against whom they had no other Crime, but their refusing of the Covenant: For in those Days, they admitted none to communicate, who had not as a previous Test of Sanctity, taken their Covenant.

V O L. II.

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The

(a) Rescinded Acts Parl. 1641.

The fifteenth Act bore hard upon the King; for by it they robbed him of that Prerogative of the Crown, which he and all his Ancestors had enjoyed, the Nomination of the Officers of State; for by it, it was appointed, That he should name them with Consent of Parliament; which (in Effect) was the same Thing, as to give the Parliament the sole Nomination: For in Consequence of this Act, the Lord *Lowdon* was by the sixteenth made Chancellor. The King had nominated the Earl of *Morton* to it; but his Son in Law the Earl of *Argyle* opposing it with great Heat in open Parliament, the King was forced to pass from it, and allow *Lowdon's* Nomination. He also named the Lord *Almond* for Treasurer; but that being likewise opposed, he was obliged to let that Office go in a Commission, and to be managed by the Earls of *Argyle*, *Glencairn*, *Lothian* and *Lindsay*. And by the twentieth, *Roxburgh* was elected Privy Seal, *Lanerk* Secretary of State, Sir *Thomas Hope* Advocate, Sir *James Carmichael* Treasurer-depute, and Sir *John Hamilton* of *Orbiston* Justice-clerk: And this only, that the Parliament might possess themselves of this their new usurped Power; for all these last named Persons had been in Possession of their respective Offices, for some Years before. And by the next Act twenty first, Mr. *Alexander Gibson* younger of *Dury*, a zealous Covenanter, was appointed Clerk-register, in Place of that loyal and worthy Gentleman, Sir *John Hay*. By the 22d, they named all the Members of the Privy Council, who were to continue *ad vitam aut culpam*. By the twenty third, they named all the Lords of the Session, Ordinary and Extraordinary, by which they turned out Sir *Robert Spotswood* President

sident, Sir *John Hay* Clerk-register, Sir *Patrick Nisbet*, and Sir *William Elphinston*, learned and loyal Judges, and in their Places put in Sir *John Lesly* of *Newton*, Sir *Thomas Hope* junior, Mr. *Adam Hepburn*, and Mr. *Archibald Johnston*, all zealous Covenanters, and great Fomenters of the Rebellion; and the Two last were knighted by the King. By the Twenty fourth, they named a Committee, for regulating the publick Burdens of the Kingdom; and these were such, as they were sure would lay the greatest Strefs of it upon the Loyalists; they were the most stanch Covenanters in all the different Counties of the Nation. By the next Act, they named a Committee, with Parliamentary Power, for Government in the Intervals of Parliament, all Men of their own Kidney.

By the Twenty seventh, they appointed a Committee, to receive the L. 220,000, yet resting of the L. 300,000, of brotherly Assistance, granted by the Parliament of *England*. By the Thirty third Act, they appointed those excepted out of the Act of Oblivion, whom they named Incendiaries, to be tried: And to them they added the Earl of *Montrose*, the Lord *Napier*, Sir *George Stirling* of *Keir*, and Sir *Archibald Stewart* of *Blackball*. And by the next Act, they named a Committee to try them. By their last Act seventy first, they appointed the next Parliament to convene the first *Tuesday* of *June* 1644. Indeed they had not much Use for frequent Parliaments now; they had extorted from the King, all that their Commissioners had concerted with the disaffected Party in *England*; and had settled a Committee with a Parliamentary Power, always to sit in the Intervals of Parliament. These are the most

noticeable of the publick Acts of this rebellious Parliament, which paved the Way to all the extravagant Demands the *English* Parliament very soon made upon the King; and consequently, may be justly term'd, the Source from whence all the Miseries that happened afterwards in the Two Nations did flow. Notwithstanding all which, at the Rising of this Parliament *November 17. 1641*, the Earl of *Lowdon* in Name of the Nobility, and Sir *Thomas Hope* junior in Name of the Gentry, made congratulatory Speeches to his Majesty, for giving them full Satisfaction in all Things concerning Religion and Liberty; so that a contented King was to depart from a contented People. The other publick and private Acts of this Parliament, are to be seen in the rescinded Acts of Parliament *1641*. I have brought these Acts of this Parliament together, and must now look back, and notice some Things that happened during the sitting of the same.

Sir *Robert Spotswood* and Sir *John Hay* (being cited as Incendiaries) appear'd before this Parliament, and were sent Prisoners to the Castle; from whence were brought to appear before it, the Earl of *Montrose*, the Lord *Napier*, the Lairds of *Keir* and *Blackball*, and were remitted Prisoners to the same. In the Month of *September*, the *Scots* Army having Payment of the Money as stipulated, returned to *Scotland*, and were disbanded: And now the King giving Way to all the Demands of the Parliament, tho never so unreasonable, Matters went on betwixt them very smoothly. At which some were not a little offended, whose chief Aim it was to make a Rupture betwixt them; and to effectuate the same (having no other Way left them) a sham Plot must be

be trump't up, and immediately the Earl of *Argyle* spread a Report, That he had discovered a Plot, contrived by *Ludovick* Earl of *Crawford*, Colonel *Cochran*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Stewart*, to murder the Marquis of *Hamilton* and him. Upon which both of them *October* 12th, withdraw abruptly to *Kinneil*, judging that their sudden Retirement upon such an Occasion, would break up the Parliament(a).

But they were much disappointed; for there were not a few in Parliament, who told the King, that the whole of the Plot was a meer Sham, with no other View, than to make a Rupture. And there is no Doubt, that the King gave some Credit to it; for the next Day he came attended to Parliament, with above 500 Gentlemen, and there made a Speech, which reflected much on *Hamilton*; so that the Parliament continued to sit. Which so much prevailed with the King's too good Temper, that the fore-named Plotters were confined, in order to their Trial, and *Hamilton* and *Argyle* were invited to return to Parliament; who having failed of their Design, were glad to return with so good a Countenance; for the Royalists advised the King to declare them both Enemies, and prosecute them: And those Three Gentlemen (called the Plotters) being tried, were found innocent, and the Plot esteemed ridiculous.

(b) Dr. Burnet says, That this Plot was revealed to *Hamilton* and *Argyle* by an unknown Gentleman; and his Vindication of these Two Peers is but lame. (He says) *it was a tedious Business*, and that it put a great Stop to the Settlement betwixt the King and the Nation. But further Particularities are

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needless,

needless, since the Matter vanished, and no Effect followed on it. It seems incredible, that Two so great Statesmen, would have given Credit in a Matter of such Consequence to an unknown Person. That *Hamilton* soon recovered the King's Confidence (says *Dr. Burnet*) and that is not improbable: All the Historians of that Time (the *Dr.* excepted) either in Print or MS. say, That if the King had put less Confidence in him and some others too near him, his Affairs would have succeeded better.

(a) The Contrivers of this Sham-plot being thus frustrated, the Commissioners from the *English* Parliament then at *Edinburgh*, resolving to make some Use of it, immediately advise their Constituents at *Westminster* (then sitting, and going on Hand in Hand with their Brethren in *Scotland*, to destroy Church and State) of a dreadful Plot in *Scotland*, by Persons *Popishly* inclined, to kill the Marquis of *Hamilton* and the Earls of *Argyle* and *Lanerk*. Upon which the *English* Parliament take the Alarm, and appoint strong Guards in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*; and enter into a Resolve, to take into their Consideration the Security of the rest of the Kingdom.

(b) The King at this Time bestowed Honours, Pensions and lucrative Grants or Donations, upon many of the most eminent Covenanters, and his greatest Enemies. The Earl of *Argyle* was made Marquis, General *Lesly* was made Earl of *Leven* and Keeper of the Castle of *Edinburgh*. He received his Patent in Parliament, where upon his Knees he made solemn Protestation of Loyalty hereafter. How
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(a) *Rushworth's Coll.* Vol. 5. p. 390, 391. *Guthrie's Mem.* p. 20 & infra.

he observed that will appear afterwards. The Lord *Lindsay* was made Earl of *Lindsay*, the Lord *Lowdon* Earl of *Lowdon*, the Lord *Almond* Earl of *Calender*, the Lairds of *Duddop* and *Arbutnot* Viscounts, Sir *Andrew Murray* of *Eddie* Viscount *Stormont*. The Earl of *Lawderdale* got a Grant of the Lordship of *Musselburgh*, worth 20,000 Merks *per annum*; the Earl of *Dumfermling* the Revenue of the Lordship of *Dumfermling*, during Life, worth about *L. 1000 Ster.* Mr. *Alexander Henderson* got the Revenue of the Chapel Royal, and Mr. *Gillespie* had a liberal Pension settled upon him. All these Persons thus promoted and gratified, had been all along conspicuously eminent in promoting the Covenant and Rebellion. The King no Doubt was persuaded by those he trusted, that this Method would oblige these Persons so honoured and rewarded, not only to return to, but even to continue in their Duty hereafter. But it had no such Effect; for there was not one of them, that did not continue with as much Obstinacy in their Rebellion afterwards, as formerly they had been zealous Promoters of it. Enthusiastick Rebellion is not to be cured that Way. The King by this Method cooled the Hearts of many of his Friends; for they took it much amiss, that he should thus reward his greatest Enemies, and neglect his best Friends, who had ventured their Lives and Fortunes for him; and some did openly complain of it.

Towards the Close of this Parliament, certain Intelligence came to the King, of the breaking out of the Rebellion in *Ireland*, which obliged the *English* Commissioners to intreat the King, to hasten his Return to *England*. To which the *Scots* Parliament

not only complied, but also offered to raise an Army, to assist in the reducing of it, providing the *English* would be at the Charge of maintaining the same. This Offer was readily accepted of by the Commissioners, and the Earls of *Lothian* and *Lindsay*, the Lord *Balmerino*, Sir *Thomas Myreton* of *Cambo*, Sir *Thomas Hope* junior, Sir *Archibald Johnston*, Sir *Thomas Smith* Baillie of *Edinburgh*, *Patrick Bell* Provost of *Glasgow*, and Mr. *Robert Barclay* Provost of *Irvine*, were nominated to go to *England*, and treat with the Parliament there about the same. All of them were so furious Covenanters, that it was not doubted, but that they would kindle a Fire in *England*, before they left it. And indeed those who thought so were not disappointed; for during their Abode there, they served as Correspondents betwixt the Rebellions of both Nations. It seems more than probable, that what most encouraged the *Irish* Rebellion, was the Success the *Scots* Covenanters had by theirs. They had by it extorted from the King whatever they pleased to demand. The *Irish* being then kept much under by the *English*, hoped by the same Method to obtain the free Exercise of their Religion, and such other Privileges, as they judged themselves unjustly deprived of. If the King had crush'd the *Scots* Rebellion in the Bud, which he might have done, if he had not been betrayed by those he too much trusted, the *Irish* durst never have ventured to have risen in Arms, and so much Cruelty and Bloodshed, might have been prevented. Before they broke out into Rebellion, they entred into an Oath, for the Defence of the *Popish* Religion; and it having such a near Resemblance to the *Scots* Covenant, *mutatis mutandis*, and being but short,

short, I shall take the Liberty to insert it here; the first seeming only to be a little more loyal than the last.

(a) *I A. B. do in the Presence of Almighty GOD, and all the Angels and Saints in Heaven, promise, vow, swear and protest, to maintain and defend, as far as I may, with my Life, Power, and Estate, the publick and free Exercise of the true and Catholick Roman Religion, against all Persons that shall oppose the same. I further swear, That I will bear Faith and Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King CHARLES, his Heirs and Successors; and that I will defend him and them, as far as I may, with my Life, Power and Estate, against all such Persons, as shall attempt any Thing against their Royal Persons, Honours and Estates or Dignities, and against all such as shall directly or indirectly endeavour to suppress their Royal Prerogatives, or do any Act contrary to regal Government; as also the Power and Privileges of Parliament, the lawful Rights and Privileges of the Subjects; and every Person that makes this Vow, Oath, and Protestation, in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful Pursuance of the same; and to my Power, as far as I may, I will oppose, and by all Means and Ways endeavour to bring to condign Punishment, even to the Loss of Life, Liberty and Estate, all such as shall, either by Force, Practice or Counsels, Plots, Conspiracies; or otherwise, do or attempt any Thing to the contrary of any Article, Clause, or any other Thing in this present Vow, Oath or Protestation contained. So help me G O D.*

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The *Irish* entred their Demands as high as the *Scots* Covenanters did ; but I shall take no further Notice of that Rebellion, but refer the Reader to the forecited *English* Historian and others, who have written largely on it. This troublesome Parliament rose *November* 17th ; and the King having that Night feasted the Nobility at *Holy-rood-house*, the next Morning early took Journey for *London*, where, upon his Arrival, he was received with all the outward Marks of Joy imaginable, when in the mean Time the disaffected Party were working under Ground indefatigably against him.

Anno 1642, in the Months of *January* and *February* the Committee appointed for the Trial of *Montrose* and his Fellow Prisoners were busily employed about it. By their Order his Lodging in the *Canon-gate* was narrowly searched, but no Letters of Correspondence with the King were found ; and the Lord *Sinclair* was sent to his House at *Old-Montrose*, to make the like Search. He made open all his Desks and Cabinets, and there were no Papers found in them relating to the Publick. They found some complimenting Letters that had past betwixt him and some Ladies, which they had the Impudence to publish, by which they gained no Credit ; and the final Sentence being referred to the King, there was no more of it.

(a) The *Scots* Commissioners, while they were treating concerning the Army to be sent to *Ireland*, soon appeared in their genuine Colour and Dress : They joined cordially with their Brethren the disaffected Party in the *English* Parliament, instigating them to overturn the Government of the Church of
England,

England, as they had done in Scotland; and in Order to this, on the 15th of *January*, they seconded the Desire of the two Houses, with a Paper they presented to the King on that Subject, which afterwards they printed. The King was highly displeas'd with it, and signified the same by his Letters to *Lanerk* Secretary, of the Date *January* 19. to *London* Chancellor, and to *Argyle*, both of the Date *January* 26. They were so hardened in Iniquity, that neither his extraordinary Concessions to them when in *Scotland*, perswaded them to their Duty, nor his Displeasure at their Proceedings in *England*, sufficiently notified to them, deter them from continuing Boutefeus, until they had raised such a Fire at *Westminster*, as soon broke out into a Flame that overspread the whole Island, which the best Blood in it could not quench, no not the King's own; yea it even in a short Time consumed the Vitals of their beloved Presbytery, and their General Assemblies.

These *Scots* Commissioners soon agreed about an Army of 14,000 Men to be sent into *Ireland*, the King named the principal Officers to command them, probably to get free of some of the most pragmatick Covenanters; but was mistaken; for these staid at Home, and left their Regiments to be commanded by their Lieutenant Colonels, as *Argyle*, and others of the Nobility. *Leven* was named General, and *Carickfergus* was appointed their Head Quarters. It was designed that *Argyle* should have gone to *Ireland* with this Army, but he was a Man they could not want; so he staid at Home. The Commissioners at *London* acquainted the Committee of Estates in *Scotland* of this Agreement; and the Ar-

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my was so soon levied, that they marched over to *Ireland* in the Beginning of *April*.

(a) *January* 3d, The King by his Attorney-General Sir *Edward Herbert*, accused the Lord *Kimbolton*, in the Lords House, of treasonable Speeches uttered by him there ; and by Serjeant *Francis*, he accused of the same Crime five Members of the Commons House, *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haselrig*, *John Pym*, *John Hamden*, and *William Strond* ; and on the 4th the King went in Person to the House of Commons, and demanded that these Persons might be delivered up to him. This by the Commons was voted a Breach of Privilege ; and their incouraged Mob became so tumultuous, that the King to avoid Affronts, was obliged to retire to *London*, from that to *Windsor*, and at last from thence to *Tork* ; and the Parliament issued out Commissions to the Earl of *Essex* as General, and others to raise an Army against him, notwithstanding he had granted them such Concessions as never Prince did to People before him. But the more he granted them, the more extravagant did their Demands become, trading close in the Footsteps of their rebellious Brethren of *Scotland*, which occasioned much Bloodshed, and the untimely Death of many brave Gentlemen of both Nations, with which then they did abound. The narrow Compass to which I have restricted my self in this Performance, will not allow me to give any tolerable Account of this War in *England* ; but that is already done fully by the Historians of that Nation : Only I shall for once take Notice, That as this excellent Prince had been often before this Time betrayed in Affairs

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(a) Rushworth's Collect. Vol 5. p. 473. & infra.

relating to *Scotland*, by perfidious Counsellors whom he most trusted, so was he dealt by, by such in the Affairs of the greatest Moment in *England*. He was eminent for Piety, Prudence, active and passive Courage: And, it was observed of him, That he trusted others too much, and himself too little; for when he followed his own Opinion, he seldom failed of Success; but when that of others, he as seldom succeeded.

I shall for the Future confine my self to the History of this Nation, and only notice that of the other, in so far as this was concerned in it; and I must acknowledge, that in my own Opinion *Scotland* was more to be blamed for that Rebellion than *England*: The former paved the Way to the latter, encouraged them to it, and assisted them in it. If the former had continued in their Duty, the latter durst never have rebelled; the King's Friends there, being assisted by *Scotland*, would have been too strong for his Enemies in *England*; for there were never braver Gentlemen in that Nation than were among the Kings Friends at that Time. The *Scots* Commissioners soon advertised their Constituents of this Rupture in *England*, which was very acceptable News to them.

Matters being brought to this Height, the Committee at *Edinburgh*, appointed a Fast to be kept in the Beginning of *May*, and the Chancellour was appointed to go to *York* to the King to mediate betwixt him and the Parliament. He designed to have gone from that to *London*, but the King knowing that there were too many of that Kidney there already, remanded him to *Edinburgh*, to convene the Council there, *May* 25th, to which *Roxburgh*, *Kinnoul*, *Lanerk*, and Sir *James Galloway* came from the King, and the Cove-

Covenanters brought great Numbers of the most zealous of their Adherents from *Fife*, and the nearest adjacent western Shires to *Edinburgh*, who joined in a Supplication to the Council, craving that nothing should be enacted contrary to the Reformation in Religion and the Treaty of Union betwixt the Nations (a); and this was presented by the Earl of *Haddington* and Lord *Elcho*, two Gentlemen and two Burgesses from the Commons, and two Ministers from the Kirk. The Council received this Petition graciously, and gave the Presenters their hearty thanks; whereas on the other Hand the Royalists, presented a Petition in Behalf of the King by the Earl of *Kelly*, the Lords *Erskine* and *Ker*, &c. which was rejected with Scorn. The Covenanters having named the Members of the Council last Parliament, it was always after that at their Devotion (b).

The King from these Proceedings, dreading a Storm was like to rise in the *North*, the Marquis of *Hamilton* offered to go thither, and draw over *Argyle* to his Party; but it was believed he caught a *Tartar*, and that *Argyle* drew *Hamilton* more to his Party than he was before: Of which the King being in some Measure apprised, he sent *William Murray* of his Bed-chamber to them both, who found them feasting together at *Hamilton*. He staid with them some Days; and then parting, there past a Report that they had discorded; but the Royalists had a quite other Opinion of him.

The General Assembly for this Year 1642, sat down at *St. Andrews*, July 27. Mr. *Robert Douglas* was chosen Moderator, and the Earl of *Dumfermling*,
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(a) Guthry's Mem. p. 100. (b) Idem p. 102.

was Commissioner from the King, and presented His Majesty's Letter, full of gracious Expressions, and desiring no more but that in Recompence of all his Favours to them, *they would by their Doctrine and Example endeavour to keep his Subjects in their Duties.* The Assembly past a Resolve to return an Answer to the King's Letter, and promised to obey it; but they acted otherwise. They received next Day a Letter from the Scots Commissioners at London, with another from their dissenting Brethren there, and a Declaration published by the Parliament of England, shewing their Intention to extirpate Episcopacy there. To all which they returned Answers, *testifying the Pleasure they had to be certified of the same, wishing them to prosecute that good Work;* and the Lord Maitland was named to go as their Commissioner, with their Answer. To all which the Commissioner tamely submitted without any Opposition.

The 3d Act in effect deprived the King and all Lay-Patrons of their Right of Patronage; then they brought in Overtures, which were approved, craving, *That the Council should be address'd to appoint the Lords of the Exchequer to uplift the Rents of all Papists and ex-communicate Persons.* Sess. 5. they desire a Signature from the King for L. 500 Sterl. (*well did they deserve it.*) Sess. 8. they appoint a Committee of no fewer than 45 Ministers, and 25 Ruling Elders, all of them the most zealous of the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy, to sit constantly at Edinburgh, Fifteen to be a *Quorum*, Twelve of the Clergy always being present, to keep a constant Correspondence with the rebellious Parliament of England; for so now I may name them, since they have levied an Army against their

their lawful Sovereign. All these and what other Acts past in this Assembly, are to be seen among the printed Acts of the Assembly 1642. And, *lastly*, they adjourned themselves to sit in *Edinburgh* the first *Wednesday* of *August* 1643.

Levies on both Sides being begun in *England* the Parliament's greatest Want was of old Officers; to supply which, their Brethren of *Scotland* sent them Sir *James Ramsay*, *John Middleton* and *James Hepburn*, who were so acceptable, that they soon rose to the Degree of Major-Generals. Two other ungrate *Scotsmen*, who had been the King's Creatures, engaged with them, Sir *William Balfour*; and Sir *John Meldrum*. The King having now set up his Standard at *Nottingham*, *August* 21. named the Earl of *Lindsay* General of the Foot, Prince *Rupert* of the Horse, and General *Ruthven* Field-Marshal; and the Parliament the Earl of *Essex*, General of the Foot, and the Earl of *Bedford* General of the Horse in their Army.

In the Beginning of *September* the *Scots* Commissioners returned from *London*, having done what they went for; but the Council thought it necessary to send back the Earl of *Lindsay*, and Sir *John Smith*, to remain there for Correspondence. At which the King was exceedingly offended, yet being unwilling to give the *Scots* any Ground of Quarrel, he complied with their going to *London* (a). *September* 21. the Committee of the Assembly met at *Edinburgh*, to receive an Account of the Lord *Maitland's* Negotiations at *London*. He told them in a long Discourse what great Things he had done, and then delivered

(a) Burnet's Memoirs, B. 4. p. 197.

livered the Parliament of *England's* Answer to their Message, showing their Resolution to abolish Episcopacy, and to call an Assembly of Divines for modeling a new Government, whereunto they wished our Church to send Commissioners.

September 22. The *Conservators of Peace*, by Order from the Chancellor met at *Edinburgh*, Doctor *Burnet* says (a), That at their first Meeting they seemed to favour the King; and *Hamilton* got a Paper signed not only by the best affected to him, but even by *Lowdon*, *Argyle*, *Wariston*, Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, and other Leaders of that Party, to call home the Queen (who was then in *Holland*) to mediate a Peace; but the King for his Affection to her would not trust her with them; and that at their next Meeting *November 24th*, they were much altered to the Worse. In the mean Time came the News of the King's Victory over the Parliament Forces at *Edgill*, *October 23.* which occasioned a Meeting of the Committee of the Assembly, to consider what was to be done in that Juncture; upon which the Ministers persuaded the People to Arms (b).

The King and Parliament were increasing their Forces, yet they were afraid of him; in Token of which they sent their Agent Mr. *Pickering* to *Scotland* to treat for Assistance; and soon after his Arrival they sent a Declaration, setting forth the Danger of Religion, and inviting their dear Brethren to engage with them for their Aid, dated *November 7. 1642*, which was sent to *Scotland* by the Earl of *Lindsay*, and read in Council by the Chancellor; but it having been communicated to the King before it

(a) *Memoirs*, B. 4. p. 121. (b) *Idem* p. 204.

was sent down, he immediately dispatched *Lanerk* with a Letter to the Council, and a Declaration from himself in Answer to that from the Parliament, of the Date at *Oxon. December 6th*, which was also read in Council (a); where there arose a great Debate about the Publication of these Declarations: But at last it carried by a Majority that the King's should only be printed and published: At which *Argyle*, his Party, and the Ministers were so offended, that they immediately sent to advertise their beloved Mob in *Fife* and the western Shires, to repair to *Edinburgh* in all haste.

Anno 1643, there being a great Convention convened at *Edinburgh*, from the above-named Shires, and the Commission of the General Assembly joining with them, there was a Petition drawn, and signed by great Numbers of the Nobility, Gentry and others, and presented to the *Conservators of the Peace*, *January 6.* craving, *That they would interpose with the Council to explain themselves in what they meant, by publishing the King's Message or Declaration, which put the hard Name of Rebellion on their Brethren of the Parliament of England, and in not publishing their Declaration:* Upon which the Council, (being for the most Part Covenanters) declared, *That a Publication was no Approbation; and appointed the Parliament's Declaration to be published.*

(a) While the Covenanters were thus busied, the Loyalists framed a cross Petition in Behalf of the King, and it was presented to the Council by the Earls of *Airly*, *Hume* and *Dumfries*, the Lords *Erskine*, *Montgomery*, *Ker*, *Fleming*, *Livingston*,
Drum-

(a) *Rushworth's Collect.* vol. 6. p. 343. 345. (b) *Guthry's* Mem. p. 107.

Drummond, Linton, Salton, Napier, Kirkcudbright, and Balgany. Dr. Burnet (a) says it was drawn by the Marquis of *Hamilton*; but I have seen no other Historian that names the Author of it. Whoever was Author of it, 'tis a very well worded Paper for those Times; and the Doctor inserts it at large. It was signed by many Noblemen and Gentlemen; but no Minister would put their Hand to it. It was rejected by the Council with Indignation; and the Committee of the General Assembly past a severe Censure upon it, in a Remonstrance they gave in against it, which they caused print and publish in all the Churches in the Kingdom; and the Preachers threatned Damnation to all the Authors and Subscribers of it, and spent all their Eloquence against it.

In the preceeding Year the *Conservators of Peace*, September 29th, wrote Letters to the King and Parliament for a safe Conduct to such Commissioners as they should name, to mediate a Peace betwixt them. The Parliament, October 20. returned them an Answer, approving of their Wisdom, brotherly Affection, &c. and sent them a blank safe Conduct, only excepted out of the same the Duke of *Lennox*, and the Earl of *Roxburgh* as Delinquents. The King by his Answer from *Bridgenorth*, of the 13th of *October*, declined to send them a safe Conduct, as useless in Respect any of his Subjects might repair to him without Danger when they pleas'd: But the *Conservators* by a second Letter of the 16th of *November*, renewing their Request, he granted them a safe Conduct of the Date at *Oxford*, December 18th. Upon which they named as Commissioners the Earls of

(a) *Memoirs* p. 206.

Lowdon and *Lindsay*, *Sir Archbald Johnston*, and *Mr. Robert Barclay*. They got their Commission, bearing Date at *Edinburgh*, *January 18. 1643*. The Earl of *Lanerk*, in His Majesty's Name, excepted against *Sir Archbald Johnston*: Yet they named him, but did not send him, and the rest arrived at *Oxford* in the Month of *February*; where they gave in several Papers to the King, to which he gave distinct and particular Answers. The Committee of the General Assembly gave in a Petition too, by their great Apostle *Mr. Henderson*, to which he also gave an Answer of the Date *March 20*. These Papers are too long to be inserted, but are to be seen in *Rushworth (a)*.

Whilst these Papers were passing between the King and the *Scots* Commissioners, the Queen returning from *Holland* in the End of *February*, landed in *Burlington Bay*, whither the Earl of *Montrose* went to represent to her the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, and the Dangers thence to be apprehended; That the King wanted not Subjects in *Scotland*, faithful and of Courage and Power to oppose the Covenanters; and that they only wanted the King's Commission, without which they could not do any thing; That all the Danger was in Delay; for that the Covenanters, when they had gotten an Army on Foot, they would be able to grind any to Powder that would oppose them; therefore the only Way was to have the Start of them. This was a sound and wholesome Counsel, if the Queen had given Ear to it, and might in all Probability have had the desired Success: For at this Time the Covenanters had no Army; and if *Montrose* had then gotten Commission, he

(a) Collect. Vol. 6. p. 399, & infra.

he could soon have raised such an Army of the King's Friends, that not only would have disturbed the Covenanters Levies, but so broken them, that they could never have joined (a).

Guthry says, (b) That the Covenanters much dreaded Montrose his being with the Queen, and that Argyle went privately to the Marquis of Hamilton; upon which he immediately posted up to the Queen at York, and all Authors agree that he dissuaded her from taking Montrose's Advice, as rash and full of Danger; and that the King having lately settled a Treaty with Scotland, it was not for the King's Affairs that he should be the first Breaker of it. He also held forth the Covenanters great Strength, not only in the Unity among themselves, but also in their having an Army of 10000 Men ready at their Command in Ireland. He also promised to keep all Matters quiet in Scotland, and that no Army should be levied there to assist the Rebels of England; and intreated that her Majesty would be pleased to lay all this before the King. She followed Hamilton's Advice, and dismissed Montrose discontented, and exhorted Hamilton to be mindful of his Promise; and assured him, That as an Earnest of the great Reward he was to get afterwards, he should immediately have a Patent for a Duke; but both the King and Queen soon came to repent that ever they should have so much trusted to Hamilton's Promises.

How soon Argyle and his Adherents came to be apprised that Montrose's Motions were crush'd, they began to discover their Intentions more publickly; and they came to talk openly that it was necessary

B b 3

that

(a) Rushworth's Col. vol. 6. p. 980. (b) Memoirs p. 109.

that an Army should be levied and sent into *England*, to the Assistance of their Brethren there. The *Scots* Commissioners at *Oxford* got their last Answer from the King, *April*. 19. upon which they insisted warmly for Permission to go to *London*, to mediate there. But the King resolutely refused to grant any such Permission (and it was no Wonder, they had been too often there already.) Upon which *Lowdon* threatened to protest against the King for his Breach of safe Conduct ; but the Earl of *Crawford*, who was then with the King, assured the Earl of *Lindsay*, That altho' the King granted the Permission, yet they would never get there ; for some had resolved to way-lay them, and cut them to Pieces ere they were many Miles from *Oxford* : Upon which the Earl of *Lindsay* went to *Lowdon*, shewed him the Danger they would be in of losing their Lives if they persisted ; and the irreparable Breach that would follow upon it ; which being considered by them, they altered their Resolutions, and desired the King's Commands for *Scotland* ; and *Lindsay* went back to *Lowdon*, and the rest returned to *Scotland* in the Beginning of *May* (a).

On the 21st of *May*, the Junctō of the Church Party, moved that there might be a joint Meeting of them, the *Conservators of Peace*, and the *Commissioners for publick Burdens*, to consider of the present State of Affairs. *Hamilton* and *Morton* opposed it ; but they met, and resolved that it was necessary to put the Nation in a Posture of Defence ; and therefore a Parliament or Convention of Estates was to be called : But being difficulted how that could be done

a) Burnet's Memoirs, B. 4. p. 217. 218.

done, they had Recourse to their Oracle Sir *Thomas Hope*, whom they always consulted in difficult Cases. He told them, *They could not call a Parliament without the King, but a Convention they might*, and gave them some wrested Precedents for it, says *Guthry*. *Burnet* says, (a) he opposed it : But I choose to follow the first in Matters where the Kirk was concerned, because he was for the most part, if not always, present, and the last in many Things is but a second-hand Author.

The King seeing that right or wrong they would meet, was advised to grant them Liberty to do it, which he did by his Letter of the 10th *June*, but with some Limitations (b). To which they had no Regard ; but immediately voted themselves a free Convention ; and to it did the Parliament of *England* send as Commissioners (c), the Earl of *Rutland*, the Lord *Gray of Wark*, Sir *William Armyne*, Sir *Henry Vane Jun.* Mr. *Hatcher*, and Mr. *Darley* : *Gray* excused himself, the other five came down by Sea, and arrived at *Leith*, *July* 20th. Mrs. *Marisbal* and *Nye*, the one an Independant, and the other a Presbyterian Preacher, were appointed to attend them. They brought along with them a Declaration from the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England*, to the Estates of *Scotland*, justifying all they had done, and intreating Assistance. To which the Convention gave them an Answer. They brought the like Paper to the General Assembly, to which they gave a gracious Answer, and also published a long Paper containing Reasons for assisting the Parliament

B b 4

of

(a) Mem. p. 111. (b) Burnet's Mem. B. 4. p. 232. 234. (c) Ruthworth's Col. Vol. 6. p. 466. & infra.

of *England*. All which Papers are to be seen in the last cited Author.

August 2. the General Assembly sat down at *Edinburgh*; Sir *Thomas Hope* Commissioner, and Mr. *Alexander Henderson* Moderator: They (Sess. 14) received a Letter from the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, of the usual Length and Strain, signed by the metaphysical Prolocutor, *William Twiss* Prolocutor, *John White*, *Cornelius Burgess* Assistants, *Henry Roboron* and *Adoniram Byfield* Scribes, dated *August 4. 1643.* To which the Assembly returned an Answer, and appointed as their Commissioners to repair to join with that Assembly Mrs. *Alexander Henderson*, *Robert Baillie*, *Samuel Rutherford* and *George Gillespy*; for ruling Elders, the Earl of *Cassils*, Lord *Maitland*, and Mr. *Archbald Johnston*; and upon the 30th of *August* the Lord *Maitland*, *Henderson* and *Gillespy* took Journey for *London*, *Hatcher* one of the *English* Commissioners, and *Nye* the Independent Preacher. They waited not for the King's Permission. What else past in this Assembly is to be seen in the printed Acts; one Thing they were sure never to omit, and that was, to recommend to the Civil Magistrate, with all the Warmth in their Power, to put in Execution with the utmost Vigour the penal Laws against excommunicated Persons. They appointed such a Committee of Ministers and Elders as the last did, and then adjourned themselves to the last *Wednesday* of *May 1644.*

And now came to Light that which had been a hatching by the Juncto's of both Nations, for several Months, which was that other rebellious Association, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, which involved both Nations in a most unnatural Rebellion, and a Deluge of
Blood

Blood. It is to be so often met with, that I did not think it necessary to insert it here; it was read in and approved by the Assembly, and sent up to *Westminster* by their afore-named Commissioners; and I shall only briefly take Notice, That it was presented in the Assembly *August* 17th, and that very Day twice read and approved, without one contradictory Vote. In what tended towards Rebellion, they moved like the several Wheels of a Clock: But the worst of all was, they most blasphemously attributed that Unanimity, to the immediate Hand of GOD; and they moved in this Affair so *Jehu* like, that neither they, nor the Convention would allow Time to acquaint the King of it, before the approving of the same. It was more explicite than the national Covenant. There were many who took it, that believed by it they had not abjured *Episcopacy* as unlawful: But by the second Article of this League, 'tis expressly abjured, as *contrary to sound Doctrine and the Power of Godliness*. I shall conclude my Thoughts about this League, in the Words of that excellent Prince, who says, (a) *That the Presbyterian Scots are not to be hired as ordinary Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawn'd their Souls to them by a solemn League and Covenant.*—(b) *The enjoining Oaths upon People in Things doubtful, must be dangerous, and in Things unlawful damnable.*

In wording of this League, the *Scots* and *English* jockeyed other strangely. The first resolved by it, to have Presbytery settled in both Kingdoms; but the last would not submit to it: But to please both, Sir
Henry

(a) Εἶκον Βασιλικήν p. 98. (b) p. 394.

Henry Vane Jun. cast in these general Words, *Reforming according to the Word of GOD*; and by that thought *England* well secured from the Tyranny of *Scots* Presbytery; and the *Scots* thought that by these Words the Presbyterian Government be-
 hoved to be established. This League was presented by these who were sent with it, to both Houses of Parliament *August 28th*; and after some small Alterations, was by them approved *September 21st 1643*, printed and published, and on the Day appointed to be taken publickly in *St. Margaret's Church Westminster*, by the House of Commons and Assembly of Divines. *Rushworth (a)* sets down the Names of the Commons who signed it, and they amount to above 200: And to make the taking of it the more solemn, it was introduced with Exhortations and Prayers. And it being returned to *Scotland*, the Committee of Estates did by their printed Act, *October 22d*, Ordain it to be sworn and subscribed by all the Subjects, under Pain of being punished as Enemies to Religion, His Majesty's Honour and Peace of the Kingdom; and to have their Goods and Rents confiscated, and they not to enjoy any Benefit or Office within the Kingdom, and to be cited to the next Parliament, as Enemies to Religion, King and Kingdoms; and to receive what further Punishment His Majesty and the Parliament should inflict on them.

(b) Before this Time, in Consequence of this solemn League, the Convention by their Act *August 18th*, ordained all betwixt 60 and 16, to be in Readiness upon Twenty four Hours Advertisement, to march when and where they should be appointed.

[At

At which the King was much offended, as appears by his Letter to the Council *September 26th*. The Commissioners from *Scotland* soon agreed upon the Terms, they were to send in an Army to the Assistance of the Parliament of *England*, and they were signed by both Parties. Dr. *Burnet* says, That by them *L. 100,000* was to be paid in *Scotland*; but *Rushworth* (a) says (and he knew better) that the Articles were only signed *November 29th*, by which the *Scots* were obliged to send in to the Assistance of the Parliament of *England*, 18,000 Foot, 2,000 Horse, and 1,000 Dragoons, all fully armed, and provided with a suitable Train of Artillery. The Officers of that Army were to be named by the *Scots*, and they were to obey a Committee of both Nations. No Peace to be treated of, but by mutual Consent, and the publick Faith of *Scotland* to be given, that their Army was to return out of *England*, when a Peace was so concluded. On the other Part, *England* was to advance *L. 100,000*, to enable *Scotland* to raise this Army, who were to have *L. 30,000* a Month for Pay while in *England*. And thus was that excellent Prince used, by those his unnatural Subjects, to whom he had granted, when last in *Scotland*, all the exorbitant Demands that their furious Zeal and blind Enthusiasm could suggest to them, even till they declared, *That he parted a contented Prince from a contented People.*

The Command of this Army was given to *Leven* as General, *John Baillie* Lieutenant General of the Foot, *David Lesly* Major General of the Horse, *Sir Alexander Hamilton* General of the Artillery, *Sir Adam*

(a) Vol. 6. p. 485.

dam Hepburn of Humble Treafurer and Commiffary General, - Ludovick Lesly Quarter-mafter General. The laft cited Author names all the Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels and Majors, that commanded in this Army (a). The King fays upon the Scots being called into England (b), The Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have not only common Ties of Nature, Sovereignty and Bounty, with my Father of blessed Memory, but alfo fpecial and late Obligations of Favours, having gratified the active Spirits of them fo far, that I feemed to many to prefer the Defires of that Party, before my own Intereft and Honour. But I fee Royal Bounty imboldens fome Men to ask, and act beyond all Bounds of Modesty and Gratitude.

(c) When the Scots finished the Treaty with England, they emitted a Declaration in their own Vindication, made up intirely of Cant and Falshood. And when their Army was ready to march, they published a much longer one, intituled, *Declaration of the Convention of Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland, concerning the prefent Expedition into England.* And this was of the fame Strain with the former, both of them ftuffed with notorious Falshoods, as the King makes clearly appear in his Declaration, in Answer to both of them (d). On the 15th of *January 1644*, this rebellious Army of Scotland entred England, crossing the River of *Tweed* near *Berwick*: And then both Nations published a Declaration, in Vindication of their taking Arms (as they were pleased to fay) againft the *Popish, Prelatical and Malignant Party*. Upon which a good many of the Nobility and Gentry, of the loyal Party, published a
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(a) *Rushworth's Coll. Vol. 6. p. 604.* (b) *Εἴκων βασιλική* p. 89. (c) *Rushworth Col. Vol. 6. p. 485 & infra.* (d) *Idem* p. 494.

Declaration, in Vindication of themselves and their Adherents.

I have already taken Notice of what passed betwixt the Queen and *Montrose* at *Tork*, and that the Marquis of *Hamilton* made her reject the good Advice then given by *Montrose*; and that *Hamilton* then promised her, to do great Things for the King in *Scotland*, and so to manage Matters there, that he should stop them from entering into any Treaty with the Parliament of *England*, to its Assistance; and the Queen in that Case promised him suitable Rewards; and that as an Earnest thereof, he should very soon have a Patent sent him to be Duke; which accordingly was done, and it passed the Seals latter End of last Year. *Argyle* and his Party were soon apprised of what had passed betwixt the Queen and *Montrose*; and knowing him to be a Man of a high Spirit, believed he would be thereby disobliged, and so were hopeful to draw him over to their Side, upon good Terms being offer'd to him; and for that End, they sent as Commissioners to treat with him, Sir *James Rollock* and Sir *Mungo Campbell*, with Power to offer in their Names, *That if he would join with them, all his Debts should be discharged, and himself preferred to the highest Command in their Army, next to General Lesly.*

(b) *Montrose* to gain Time, gave them a dilatory Answer; and they entertaining some Hopes of his Compliance, returned to him in a Fortnight. Then for a further Delay, he professed some Scruples of Conscience; for satisfying whereof, he wished to confer with Mr. *Henderson*, who was then at *Oxford*,

(a) *Rushworth Col.* Vol. 6. p. 502. (b) *Guthry's Memoirs*, p. 311 & infra. *Hist. of Montrose's Wars*, cap. 3. p. 44. edit. Paris.

ford, which they took for a good Answer, and promised he should be sent to him upon his Return; which they did. And he being acquainted of *Henderson's* coming by Sir *James Rollock*, met them upon the River-side of *Forth*, where they had a long Conference, and *Montrose* got a Secret out of him, that the Convention was to raise an Army, to be sent into *England*. After which they parted in good Terms, but made no Accommodation. *Montrose* immediately called such of his Friends as he thought proper, and amongst the rest the Lord *Ogilvy*, with whom he had great Intimacy, and imparted to them what he had learned from *Henderson*; and fearing that the Convention of Estates might issue Orders to apprehend him, he with the Lord *Ogilvy* withdrew themselves privately, and went to *Oxford*. The King being then at the Siege of *Gloucester*, he imparted to the Queen what he had discovered from *Henderson*; but so great was her Confidence in the Duke of *Hamilton*, that she gave no Credit to what he said. Upon which he went to *Gloucester*, and there laid all before the King: But the deep rooted Confidence he had of the Duke and his Brother, made it all to no Purpose. There were also some about the King, who painted out *Montrose* as a rash and ambitious young Man, and that all he said, proceeded from the Envy and Malice he had to the *Hamiltons*: And so for all he could, the King would not be induced to attempt any Thing for Prevention, being resolved sacredly to observe the Articles of Pacification, and he returned with the King to his Winter-quarters at *Oxford*.

Where the King getting certain Intelligence, of the *Scots* Army's March towards *England*, about
the

the Middle of *December*, the Earls of *Montrose*, *Crawford* and *Nithsdale*, the Lords *Aboyne*, *Ogilvy* and *Rae*, came to be better looked upon at Court; and the King could not forbear exclaiming against *Hamilton*, who by his Undertaking to hinder a Levy in *Scotland*, had made him so secure, that nothing had been attempted for Prevention. When the *Scots* Army was in the Borders, ready to invade *England*, then did the Duke and his Brother give Notice to the King, of that formidable Army's Approach, by their Letters (excusing themselves) which he shewed to *Montrose*, and when too late, asking his Advice what was to be done. Who complaining, *That his Advice had not been taken in Time, and showing how hard a Thing it would be now to do any Thing to Purpose; nevertbeless, if the King pleased, he would either lose his Life, or reduce his Countrymen, and bring the Rebels there into Subjection.* Upon which the King desired him to take Two or Three Days, to consider on the Method that was to be taken for effectuating what he proposed.

The Duke of *Hamilton* and his Brother trusting to the great Interest they had with the King, came to *Oxford* *December* 16. But the King had resolved before, not to see either of them, and that both of them should be made Prisoners, how soon they arrived; which was accordingly done. The Duke was sent to *Pendennis*-castle, and *Lanerk* confin'd to his Chamber; from whence shortly after he made his Escape; and went directly to the *Scots* Commissioners at *London*, where he was well received. Whether these Brothers were innocent or guilty, I shall not

not determine, but only shall join Issue with the *English* Historian *Echard* (a) *That if these great Men were innocent and honest, they had the hardest Measures that can be received from Historians; but if guilty as charged, their Memory cannot be too much loaden with Infamy.* The Charge given in against the Duke, with his particular Replies to every Article, are to be seen at large in *Dr. Burnet's Memoirs* (b). What relates to *Huntly* and *Aboyne*, in his Reply to the 4th Article, I have already had Occasion to notice, and shall repeat nothing of it here.

Montrose returning to the King at the Time appointed, shews him the Danger of the Enterprize he was undertaking; That the Enemy was well provided in Men, Money, and every other Thing necessary for War, and had strong Garrisons in all the Forts of the Nation; and for his Part, he had neither Men, Money nor Garrisons, to commence the War with; yet if the King would condescend to a few reasonable Requests, he would shun no Danger, and do his best for the King's Service. He desired, *That some Soldiers should be sent from Ireland into the West Highlands of Scotland.* Next, *That he order the Marquis of Newcastle to assist him with a Party of Horse, to enter the South of Scotland, that so he might get into the Heart of the Kingdom.* Then, *That he should deal with the King of Denmark, for some Troops of German Horse.* And Lastly, *That His Majesty should transport some Arms out of some foreign Country, into Scotland.* The King commending his Counsel, encouraged him to prepare himself cheerfully for so great a Work, and desired him to leave the Care of these Things to him.

As

(a) Vol. 2. B. 2. p. 453. (b) B. 4. p. 253 & infra.

As to the Aid desired out of Ireland, the Earl of Antrim (a *Macdonald of Scottish Extract*) was then with the King, and frankly engaged himself, both to the King and *Montrose*, to be in *Argyle-shire* with 10,000 Men, by the 1st of *April* 1644; this being agreed upon *September* 1643. As for foreign Aids and Arms, the King sent Sir *John Cochran* his Commissioner Orders about it, and the Marquis of *Newcastle's* Orders were carried by some of *Montrose* his Friends. These Things being transacted, (a) *Bishop Wishart* says, *Montrose* got then the King's Commission, to be Governor of *Scotland* and General of the Army there. *Monteith* says otherwise; that Prince *Maurice*, the King's Nephew, was General, and *Montrose* only Lieutenant General under him. His Words are (b), *He would not take his Commission to be Commander in Chief, because tho he was of one of the most illustrious Families in Scotland, and his Predecessors had been in the chiefest Employments; and possessed the greatest Charges in the State; yet to eschew Jealousy, and to do the King better Service, which he aimed only at, without regarding his own Advantages, he intreated his Majesty to make Prince Maurice General of the Royal Army in Scotland, whereof he would content himself to be Lieutenant-General; the King consented, and caused expedite his Commission in the Form and Manner he desired.* I incline to think, that this Author is rather in the Right, than the good and loyal Bishop; for he himself says in another Part of his History (c), *That when Montrose was lying at Bothwell (which was after the Battle of Kilsyth) that amongst other Messengers,*

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sengers,

(a) Hist. of *Montrose's Wars* c. 3. p. 64. (b) Part I. p. 215.
 (c) cap. 5. p. 390.

sengers, Sir Robert Spotswood now Secretary of State came to him there from the King, and brought his Commission along with him, of General and Governour. Upon which Montrose having drawn out the Army; Sir Robert making an humble Obeisance under the Royal Standard, delivered His Majesty's Commission under the great Seal to Montrose, and he to Archibald Primrose, who read it aloud; and that immediately hereafter he knighted Alexander Maedonald, Colonel of the Irish. And immediately thereafter we find him intituling Montrose Lord-Governour, which he never did before. Monteith also says, That at this Time he got his Commission to be Governor and General sent to him by Sir Robert Spotswood (a).

The Marquis of Montrose now taking his Leave of the King, comes from Oxford towards Scotland. When at Durham, he sent to the Marquis of Newcastle the King's Instructions to him, and they met together the next Day. And here Montrose got the first Disappointment; for that gallant and loyal Gentleman told Montrose, That the Scots breaking in upon his Quarters, had so spoiled his Recruits, and distressed his Army, being quartered within five Miles of him, that he could not spare any Body of Horse, without the manifest Hazard of his whole Army. Montrose urged, That that was the best Way to draw back the Scots Army from him. He replied, That as soon as he had got himself out of the present Danger, he would not be wanting in any Service to him. All that he could procure from him at present, was only 100 Horse, and those ill appointed, and Two Brass-pieces. He wrote to the King's Officers,

(a) Part 1. B. 6. p. 308.

Officers in *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, That they should assist him all they could in his Journey into *Scotland*. And accordingly in his Journey to *Carlisle*, he was met by 800 Foot and Three Troops of Horse of these Counties, who by the Marquis of *Newcastle's* Orders were to wait upon him to *Scotland*. *Montrose* (whom the King, when he gave him his Commission of Lieutenant-General, had dignified with the Title of Marquis) brought along with him from *Oxford* 200 Horse, most of them Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, who had been Officers in *France* and *Germany*. With these he entred *Scotland* April 13th. When he came to the River *Anan*, the *English* mutiny'd, and almost all of them deserted and run Home. Notwithstanding, he with those he brought along with him, marched forward, and made himself Master of the Town of *Dumfries*.

He waited there some Time, expecting daily to hear of the *Irish* being landed, the Day appointed for that being past: But hearing nothing of them, and the Sheriff of *Teviotdale* having raised the *Posse Comitatus* against him on the one Hand, and the Earl of *Callender* an Army (betwixt him and the North where his Strength lay) on the other; he was like to be surrounded. To prevent which, he was obliged to retire back to *England*; and his active Spirit not suffering him to be idle, he joined himself to the King's Forces in *Northumberland*, where he did eminent Service for the short Time he staid there, and where I shall leave him, and return to *Scotland*, and only take Notice here, That notwithstanding his Retreat, *Callender* went on with his Levies, and marched into *England* with an Army of 5 or 6000

Men, and with them laid Siege to *Newcastle*. (a) And I shall here remark, That the Covenanters at this Time had an Army of no fewer than about 40,000, in *Scotland, England and Ireland*.

While Matters were passing thus in *England* in the Beginning of this Year 1644, the Marquis of *Huntly* raised some Forces for the King's Service, consisting of his own Friends, and marched them to the Town of *Bamff*, where he lay, expecting Succours from the King, which he had promised to send him. (b) The Covenanters sent Colonel *Bickerton* with some Forces against him; and to him did the Viscount of *Frendraught* and other Covenanters in *Aberdeen-shire* join; but all of them were beat back by *Huntly*. Upon which the Committee of Estates appointed the Marquis of *Argyle* to levy Three Regiments of Foot (one in *Fife* to be commanded by my Lord *Elcho*, another in *Angus* commanded by the Earl of *Kinghorn*, and the third in *Perth-shire* commanded by the Laird of *Freeland*) and with them to march North, to suppress *Huntly*. And to them joined a Body of Horse, made up of the covenanting Gentry of these Three Shires; as also the Earl *Marischal*, with seven Companies of his Regiment of Foot (that was levied to march into *England*, Three Companies of it only having joined that Army) (c). He was also joined by the *Forbesses*, *Frasers*, and other Covenanters of *Merns* and *Aberdeen-shires*. *Huntly* being disappointed of the Succours he expected from the King, and finding himself not able to resist those united Forces, brought against him by *Argyle*, he by the Advice of his Friends,

(a) Guthrie's Mem. p. 135. (b) Burnet's Hist. MS. (c) Rushworth Vol. 6. p. 605.

Friends, discharged those he had got together, and himself retired to *Strathnavern*.

(a) *Guthrie* is pleased to say (in an unmannerly Manner) *That he very poorly deserted his Friends*. No such Thing, *Straloch* knew the Matter better than he did, and he says in his MS. That he did nothing in this but by Advice of his Friends, who upon his disbanding retired Home to their own Houses; Sir *George Gordon* of *Gight* garrisoned his, as Sir *John Gordon* of *Haddo* did his of *Kelly*. To which *Argyle*, upon *Huntly's* disbanding, laid Siege with his whole Army, *April 16*. Against which the Laird of *Haddo* defended his House very bravely for six or seven Weeks. The last cited Author says, *That Argyle going cunningly to Work, and offering fair Quarters to all within the House, the Laird and Captain Logie only excepted, the Garrison bound them both with Fetters, and delivered up the House*. But in this he has been grossly misinformed, as he was in several other Things; and I shall give an Account of it, as I had it from an Uncle of my own, *Gilbert Keith* of *Caldhome*, who was there with his Chief the Earl *Marischal*, and other Gentlemen who were present.

William Earl Marischal, the Representative of a noble and ancient Family, as any in *Scotland*, whose Predecessors had always continued loyal, and upon several Occasions had performed eminent and gallant Services to their King and Country, and had been honoured with the most honourable Posts in the Government: He (I say) in the Beginning of this Rebellion, being but a young Man, and not let

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into

into the Depth of the Covenanters hellish Designs, was by the specious Pretences of Liberty and Religion (which they constantly in Publick made Use of) and the artful Cunning of his Cousin *Argyle*, abused and seduced to join with them in the very Beginning of their Rebellion, as many other Noblemen and Gentlemen at that Time were; who, how soon their Eyes were open'd, left that Party, and made such Atonement for their Faults, as was in their Power. This Earl *Marischal* with others, was in this Army commanded by *Argyle*, at the Siege of this House of *Kelly*, belonging to his Cousin Sir *John Gordon*, who was nearly related to him, his Grandfather *James Gordon* of *Haddo* having married Lady *Jean Keith*, Daughter to *William Lord Keith*, and Sister to *George Earl Marischal*, anno 1582 (a). *Marischal* advised his Cousin privately, that *Argyle* was positively resolved not to depart from the House, until he was Master of it; and that it would be better for him to surrender in Time, than to keep it out to the last Extremity.

Sir *John Gordon* knowing that there was no Possibility of Relief; and being assured by my Lord *Marischal*, of safe and honourable Terms, at last followed his Advice, and surrendred his House. But *Argyle* had no Regard to these Terms; but being Master of the House, he immediately made Sir *John Gordon*, Captain *Logie*, *John* and *Alexander Gordons*, Sons to *Gordon* at Mill of *Kelly*, *Chalmers*, Son to *Alexander Chalmers* of *Drimmies*, and *Dalgarno* Prisoners, and the rest of the Garrison he dismissed. The Prisoners he

(a) Crawford's Hist. of Officers of State, p. 229.

he immediately sent in to the Tolbooth of *Aberdeen*, from whence they were carried to *Edinburgh*; and *Haddo* was put into the nastiest Prison in Town, ever since called *Haddo's Hole*. He put a Garrison of 36 Men into the House, destroyed and plunder'd every Thing that was in it, carried away out of the Garners 180 Chalders Victual, killed and drove away all the Horse, Nolt and Sheep that belonged to Sir *John* or his Tenants near about. (a) This barbarous Usage of Sir *John* touched *Marischal* in the most sensible Part; he took it as an open Affront done to himself, in respect the House was surrendered, upon the Assurance he had given to his Cousin Sir *John*, of safe and honourable Terms; and tho for some Time he made no open Rupture with *Argyle*, yet he never hereafter entertained that Intimacy with, and Regard for him, that he formerly had done.

April 10th, the Committee of Estates and Assembly met at *Edinburgh*; and the first Thing they did, was to receive the Earl of *Lanerk*, lately come down from their Commissioners at *London*, who (b) (*Guthrie* says) upon his Appearance, gave such Evidences of his deep Repentance, with such malicious Reflections on His sacred Majesty (that he, tho an Ear-witness (as he says) forbears to repeat them) and so was received to the Covenant, and soon made a Ruling Elder. And now that the Kirk might not be behind with the State, they draw their spiritual Sword, Sentence of Excommunication is pronounced again the Marquis of *Huntly*, the Laird of *Drum* and *Robert Irvine* his Brother, Sir *John Gordon* of *Had-*

(a) Spalden's MS. (b) Mem. p. 130.

do, the Laird of *Tipperty* and others, who had been in Arms with *Huntly*; and this Sentence was pronounced by Mr. *John Adamson*. And a little thereafter, the like Sentence was decreed against the Marquis of *Montrose*, the Earls of *Crawford* and *Nithsdale*, the Lords *Aboyne* and *Ogilvy*, and others who had been in the late Attempt with *Montrose*; and this Sentence was pronounced in *St. Giles Church, Edinburgh, April 26*. They did not now make Use of that legal Form of citing Delinquents to appear before them, that they might have a fair Hearing, but they excommunicated summarily, without any Delay. They gave neither Time nor Opportunity to those whom they esteemed Sinners to repent.

May the 29th, the General Assembly sat down at *Edinburgh*, without any Commission or Commissioner from the King. June 3d 1644, Sess. 6. They made an Act, declaring, *That they found the afore-mentioned Declaration signed at Oxford, by the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, against the Convention of Estates and the Invasion of England, to be a perfidious Band, and unnatural Confederacy, and to be full of blasphemous Expressions against the Covenant*: And for these and other Reasons contained in that Act, *They empower the Commission to excommunicate all those who signed it, or had been accessory to the framing or executing of it; and none of such excommunicate Persons are to be relaxed, nisi in extremis*. As to this Act I shall only take Notice, That I thought Blasphemy was only to be committed against GOD; but it seems they looked upon this Idol of theirs (that rebellious League) to be as sacred, as the *Ephesians* thought theirs of *Diana* to be. By the next Act of this Sess. they appointed, That none

of those who were already excommunicated for their Rebellion (as they term'd it) in the South or North, should be relaxed, *nisi in extremis*.

The Divines at *Westminster* had writ a Letter to the foreign Protestant Churches, falsely accusing the King of a Design to extirpate the Protestant Religion, and to bring in the Popish; which obliged the King to publish a Declaration to all foreign Churches, of his Sincerity in the Protestant Religion. It was published in *Latin* and *English*, and is to be seen, *Bibliotheca Regia* (a). And that the Assembly at *Edinburgh* might not be behind with that at *Westminster*, they writ a Letter in *Latin* to the same Purpose, directed thus, *Ecclesiis Dei quæ sunt in unitis Hollandiæ & Zelandiæ, aliisque federati Belgii provinciis*. What else passed in this Assembly is to be seen in the printed Acts of the Assembly 1644. They rose *June 4.* having adjourned themselves to the last *Thursday* of *May* 1645, But they met before that Time, *viz. 22. January* 1645. That gallant Gentleman, Sir *John Gordon* of *Haddo* was indicted of high Treason, for what he had acted at *Turreff*, and elsewhere in the King's Service. He pleaded before the Judges, *That all these alledged Crimes were particularly indemnified by the Act of Pacification*; and produced the King's Commission, by Virtue of which he had acted. He was also indicted of rising in Arms, and of Garrisoning his House against the Estates: And this was the Article they trusted most to for taking away his Life: But against this he pleaded, *That there were many Acts of Parliament making these Things Treason when done against the King, but none yet extant*

(a) p. 59. & infra.

tant making them Treason, when done against the Estates. Upon all which the Judges demurr'd, and Sir *John* was sent back to Prison.

Soon after the Parliament sat down (as the Assembly had done before) without either Commission or Commissioner from the King, and the governing Party being resolv'd right or wrong to have Sir *John Gordon's* Head, there was a Query for that Purpose prepared and brought in before them, viz. (a) *Whether a Dittay founded upon the Crimes of taking up Arms against the Kingdom and Estates, or holding of Houses against the same, &c. shall be relevant to infer Punishment or not, and what the Punishment shall be.* Upon which it was thus determin'd, *The Estates of Parliament finds a Dittay founded on the Crime of taking up Arms against the Kingdom and Estates of the Country relevant to infer the Punishment and Pains of Treason, and the Persons guilty thereof, are punishable by the Forfeiture of Life, Lands and Goods, &c.* They found also the holding out of Houses punishable by the same Pains, in Case the Holders out were required by the Parliament, Convention of Estates or their Committees, or secret Council having Warrant from them, to deliver up the same. And upon this Act, with a Retrospect, were the Lives of Sir *John Gordon* and Captain *Logie* taken, a Precedent whereof cannot be given in *Scotland*. They had served the King faithfully, and therefore dye they must, to please his rebellious Enemies, tho' Subjects. These two Gentlemen were within a few Days brought before their Judges, and were by them upon this new made Law condemn'd

to

(a) Rescinded Acts of Parliament 1644. June 29.

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to be beheaded at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, July 10. 1644. *Spalden* says in his MS. That the Earl of *Marishal* laboured much to save Sir *John's* Life, as no Doubt he would for the Reasons I have already given: But all to no Purpose; *Argyle* and his Party, who govern'd all, were inexorable.

When that fatal 10th of *July* came, that gallant Gentleman Sir *John Gordon* of *Haddo*, and Captain *Logie*, Son to a learned and loyal Minister, Mr. *Andrew Logie*, Minister at *Rain*, and Arch-deacon of *Aberdeen*, who for his Loyalty had been deposed before this Time, were brought from their nasty Prison, to the appointed Place for the Execution. Some of Sir *John's* Friends had petitioned to be allowed to wait on the Scaffold upon him at his Death; and unto six of them was granted that Favour. When they had mounted the Scaffold they were attended by some of the Town-Ministers. One of them addressing himself to Sir *John*, desired him to make an open and full Confession of his Sins to GOD, upon which he acknowledged, *That he had been a great and grievous Sinner, and hop'd that GOD would graciously pardon him, in and through the Merits of his Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST.* Of which the Minister catching hold, went to the Side of the Scaffold, and with an audible Voice told the People, That that unfortunate Gentleman had confessed himself guilty of rising in Arms against the Country, in Opposition to the Covenant; which *Haddo* overhearing, went to the same Place, and with the like Voice answered, *Not so, I confess my self to be a great Sinner before GOD, but never transgress against the Country, or any in it, but such as were in open Rebellion against the King; and what I did in*
that

that Case I thought it good Service, and bound to it as my Duty by the Laws of GOD and the Land (a).

After which he retired to his private Devotions; and then in his Sight Captain Logy's Head was struck off, which gave him no Disturbance; and he continued in his pious Ejaculations: In which Time, two Heralds in their Coats, mounted the Scaffold, one of them had two Papers in his Hand; out of one of them, he, with a loud Voice, read these Articles. 1. *The Parliament has found thee Sir John Gordon of Haddo worthy of Death, and thy Head to be struck from thy Shoulders.* 2. *The Parliament declares thee Sir John Gordon of Haddo to be a Villain and Traytor.* 3. *These Arms (which he had painted on the other Paper in his Hand) which thy Forebears through their Virtue has conquered and win for their Honour, I declare, for thy Treason, never to be worn by thy Posterity.* And at these Words he tore his Coat of Arms, and threw them over the Scaffold. All the while Haddo upon his Knees beheld these Things, without the least Commotion; and then arising, he forgave the Executioner, gave him a double Angel, address'd himself to the Block, and had his Head struck off by the Maiden. And thus died these two *Proto-martyrs* of Loyalty with all that Christian Resignation and Magnanimity that became Men of Honour and good Christians, suffering for a just and honourable Cause. Both of their Heads and Bodies were put in their Coffins, and carried by their Friends to the *Gray-friars* Church-yard, and there interred. I have heard it said of Captain Logie by some who knew him, That he was a young Gentle-

(a) Spaldens MS,

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Gentleman of very good Courage: As for Sir *John Gordon*, as he and his Ancestors for many Generations, had possess'd a very plentiful Estate in the Counties of *Buchan*, *Foremartine* and *Garioch*, in the Shire of *Aberdeen*, so he had got very liberal Education, and was a Gentleman of excellent Parts, both natural and acquired; but above all, was eminent for his Courage and Valour; and this was the Thing that was thought made his Enemies so inexorable, and hasten'd his Death; but that I may do Justice to his Merit and Virtue, and to that always loyal Family of *Haddo*, and now noble Family of *Aberdeen*; I shall take the Liberty in this Place, to give some Account of it.

All the old Papers of this antient Family are lost, by two Accidents; the first when the House of *Kelly*, the Mansion-house of that Family, was taken by the Marquis of *Argyle*, Anno 1644: It was plundered by his Soldiers, and every Thing destroyed that they could put their Hands upon, and then did they loose a great many of their Papers. The second, when the late Earl lived in *Aberdeen* a few Years after the Revolution, his Lodging there was burnt by an accidental Fire, which was so sudden, that he, his Lady and Children had scarce Time in their Shirts to make their Escape to a neighbouring House, to save their Lives from the Flames.

This antient Family of *Haddo* always derived their Origine from Sir *William Gordon* of *Coldingknows* in *Berwick-shire*. In the Time of *Alexander III.* the Family of *Gordon* came to be represented by an Heir-female *Alicia de Gordon*, Daughter to Sir *Thomas de Gordon*, Lord of *Gordon*, who married her Cousin, Sir *Adam de Gordon*, who in her Right possess'd the
Lordship

Lordship of *Gordon*, and came to be Head of that Illustrious Family. This Lady, her Husband, and their Predecessors, made several Donations to the Abbacy of *Kelso*, the Charters whereof I have inserted in the first Volume, *Appen. N. 1. 83c. (a)*.

The fore-mentioned Sir *William Gordon* was a younger Son of the fore-named Sir *Thomas*, who in these Charters designs himself, *Thomas de Gordon, filius Richardi de Gordon*. This Sir *William*, or his Son Sir *William*, in the Time of King *Robert I.* came North with his Cousin Sir *Adam Gordon*, when he got a Gift from that King of the Lordship of *Strathbogie (b)*; and being a Person of great Merit, married *Conea* (by some called *Anne*) de *Cithcrista*, or *Harper*, Heiress of *Methlick*, in the Shire of *Aberdeen*, by whom he got a fair Estate; and thereafter disposing of his Lands in *Berwick-Shire*, he, with the Money he got for them, purchased other Lands in *Aberdeen-Shire*, and joining them to the Estate of *Methlick*, provided all to the Heirs procreate or to be procreate betwixt him and his aforesaid Lady *Conea Harper*, and removed his Seat from the South to the North of *Scotland*; and he and his Posterity assumed their Title from the Barony of *Methlick*, for several Generations, and sometime thereafter the Title of *Methlick* and *Haddo* promiscuously.

(c) Mr. *Crawford* says, That Patrick Gordon of *Methlick*, was, with his Cousin the Earl of *Huntly*, at the Battle of *Aberbrothock*, on the Side of the Crown, against the Earl of *Crawford*, and was there slain. That Author has mistaken the whole of this Story; for

(a) Page: 383 & infra (b) Vol. 1. p. 9. (c) Hist. Officers of State, p. 2. 88.

for the Crown; properly speaking, was not concerned in this Battle. It was fought upon a private Quarrel betwixt the Lord *Lindsay* and *Alexander Ogilvy* of *Innerness* (a). Nor was *Huntly* Earl until 1449, three Years after his Battle. I have given the Names of those killed at this Battle from *Dr. Abercromby* in the forecited Place. *Mr. Crawford* cites *Hawthornden* for *Patrick Gordon* his being killed at that Conflict of *Aberbrothock*: But it seems he has taken this upon Trust, for that Author names those I name, and not one *Gordon* but *William Gordon* of *Burrowfield*: But *Patrick Gordon* of *Methlick* is not said to have been there, nor was he kill'd until six Years thereafter at that memorable Battle of *Brechin*; fought Anno 1452, May 18, betwixt *Alexander* Earl of *Huntly*, and *Alexander* Earl of *Crawford*, in which *Huntly* obtained a glorious Victory, but with the Loss of many of his Friends; and among others this *Patrick Gordon* of *Methlick*. And in this Battle the King indeed was so deeply concerned, that no less depended upon it than the Safety of his Crown and Life (b). After the Battle the Earl of *Crawford* was forfeited, and *James Gordon* of *Methlick*, Son to the forecited *Patrick*, got from the King a Gift of the Barony of *Kelly*, a Part of that Earl's Estate, in Reward of his Father's Loyty and gallant Service at that Battle.

Mr. Crawford in his History of the Officers of State has given an Account of the Descendants of that ancient Family, from the fore-named *James Gordon* of *Methlick* to this Time; and that being in many People's Hands, I deemed it needless to trans-

(a) Vol. 1, p. 60. (b) Vol. 1, p. 70.

transcribe it here, in respect of the narrow Compass I have restricted my self to in this Work, and shall only take Notice, that after many uninterrupted Descents, this antient Family came to be represented by the fore-mentioned Sir *John Gordon* of *Haddo*, who, I have shown was murdered and forfeited by an illegal Sentence of a rebellious Parliament, for no other Crime but his Loyalty to his Prince. This gallant Gentleman left two Sons behind him, Sir *John* and *George*, and a Daughter thereafter married to Sir *John Forbes* of *Watertoun*. Sir *John Gordon* of *Haddo*, who succeeded to his Father, his Estate was under Sequestration, until the Year 1661, that in Parliament the Forfeiture of his Father was rescinded *per modum justitiæ*, and he restored to his Estate and Honours. He married

Forbes, Daughter to *Alexander* Lord *Pit-sligo*, by whom he had one Daughter, who married Sir *James Gordon* of *Lesmore*, and dying *Anno* 1665, was succeeded in his Estate by his Brother Sir *George*, thereafter Earl of *Aberdeen*, and Chancellor of *Scotland*.

He was born *October* 3d, *Anno* 1637. At his Brother's Death, he was Abroad in Prosecution of his Studies; he had applied himself to the Study of the Law, which (tho' now he had succeeded to a very opulent Estate) he continued to prosecute with unwearied Diligence, and returning home, *Anno* 1667, he soon entred Advocate, and for some Years attended the House in that Station (a). *Crawford* says, That during all that Time, tho' he had Abundance of Clients, and many of them of the first Rank, yet

(a) Hist. Officers of State p. 231.

yet he never took any Fees as Advocate. And ¹⁶¹⁸ he says, he had attested by several noble Persons, who knew the Truth of it; some of whom are yet alive. He very soon obtained the Character of a great Lawyer, and was called by the King to be of his Privy Council, and *Anno* 1680 he was pleased to promote him to be one of the Senators of the College of Justice; upon which Mr. *Edwards* says, *What more suitable than the Son and Heir of a Royal Martyr Father, than to advance the Son and Heir of a loyal Martyr Subject.*

My Lord *Haddo* was not above a Year an ordinary Lord, when he was by the King, *Anno* 1681; promoted to be President of the Session: But the King not stopping here in rewarding the personal Merit of this Lord *Haddo*, and the Loyalty and Sufferings of his Father, was further graciously pleased to advance him to be Lord High Chancellor of *Scotland*, by Patent, bearing Date at *Windsor* May 1. 1682. Some few Days thereafter he waited on his Royal Highness the Duke of *York* to *Scotland* by Sea, aboard the *Glocester* Frigate, which on the 17th of *May*, straining on the *Lemon Ore*, his Royal Highness; to testify the great Esteem he had for the Chancellor, was graciously pleased to save him in the small Barge with himself. And the first Council-Day after the Duke of *York* came to *Edinburgh*, he is declared in open Council Lord High Chancellor. He was also made High Sheriff of the Sherifdoms of *Edinburgh* and *Aberdeen* Shires; and thereafter by Letters patent, dated at *Whitehall*, November 30th, 1682, created Earl of *Aberdeen*, Viscount of *Formartine*, Lord *Haddo*, *Methlick*, *Tarves* and *Kelly*. In the Preamble of the Patent; besides the just and noble

Character of himself, there is so full an Account of the Suffering of his Father that I thought it proper to insert it in the *Appen. N. 7.*

He enjoyed the Office of High Chancellor for two Years, with the Approbation of all good Men, for his Justice and Integrity in the Discharge of that high Office; and it is to this Day known, That during that short Time he was President and Chancellor, there was such Dispatch of Business before the Session, that there were more Actions determined in it, than had been for a good many Years before his Time, or was in a good many thereafter. When he was at *London* with the King, he told him, That he was surpris'd that in *Scotland* he got the Character of a Whig, and in *England* of a Papist; and plainly told the King that he was neither of them. This Saying of his coming to the Ears of the Popish and Presbyterian Parties, made both of them his Enemies; and indeed he was neither Papist nor Presbyterian. He was a true orthodox Protestant, and as good a Friend to the Church, as any who had enjoyed that high Post before him. He at last for Reasons best known to himself, surrendred his Office in the King's Hands, when he neither expected nor desired it; and His Majesty told him, *His laying down of his Office should never lessen the Esteem and Favour he had for him.*

He having now resign'd that high Post, retired home to his House, and spent the rest of his Time in the prudent Management of his proper Estate, which at his Death he left in a very great Condition to his Son. He had by his Lady *Anne*, Daughter to *George Lockhart* of *Torbreaks*, two Sons, *George*, who died unmarried, *William* the present Earl of *Aberdeen*, and four Daughters, *Lady Anne*, married to *Alexander*

der present Earl of *Eglinton*, Lady *Martha* married to *John Udny* of that Ilk, Lady *Mary* to *Alexander Lord Salton*, and Lady *Margaret* yet unmarried. He died at his House of *Kelly* the 28th April 1720, leaving a great and opulent Estate to his Son *William* present Earl of *Aberdeen*, one of the Sixteen Peers of *Scotland*, in the last and present Parliaments of *Great Britain*. The noble and honourable Appearance he has often made there these several Years by-gone, has made his Character so universally known over all this Island, that I need say nothing about him; neither can I be just to his Character, (he being still alive) without being condemned by some of Flattery. I abhor it my self, and I know he is unsusceptible of it; and I shall only say, That by all who knows him, he's esteemed a Nobleman of excellent Parts, both natural and acquired; and I my self know him to be a firm and constant Friend: And so I leave that noble and ancient Family, and return to the Threed of the History.

I have said, That *Montrose* upon his Retreat from *Dunfries*, march'd back to *England*, where, with that small Handful of Men under his Command, he did the King very good Service (a). He defeated the Garrison, and took the Town and Castle of *Morpeth*. He put in Provisions into the Town of *Newcastle*; and when Prince *Rupert* came to relieve *York*, he sent for him to join him, which *Montrose* with all Expedition endeavoured to do; but the Prince engaging the Enemy at *Marston-moor*, too hastily, he could not get up to him, until the Day after that unfortunate Battle, which was fought July 2d 1644, in which the Prince, tho' victorious at

(*) *Rushworth Collect.* Vol. 6. p. 984.

first, by too foreward a Pursuit, received a considerable Overthrow. The Number of Troops in both Armies were much about one (a). The Prince's consisted of about 24,000 Horse and Foot, and the Parliament's of about 26,000. The Defeat he received here, and the Differences betwixt him and the Marquis of *Newcastle*, ruined the King's Affairs in the North, and they came soon to decline all the Nation over. The Parliament Army renewed the Siege of *York*, which the Governour Sir *Thomas Glenham*, was soon obliged to surrender on honourable Terms; and the Scots Army was commanded back to join the Earl of *Callender*, who had block'd up *Newcastle*; and it was not long ere they made themselves Masters of that Town.

The Marquis of *Montrose* observing on the one Hand the King's Affairs thus declining in *England*, and in Consequence of that, on the other, the Rebels prospering; and this chiefly occasioned by the Assistance they had from their rebellious Brethren of *Scotland*, resolves upon a bold and resolute Step; and that was, to raise such a Fire in *Scotland*, as should oblige the Rebels there to recal their Army from *England* to quench it; and that he might the more effectually perform what he had resolved upon, he solicited Prince *Rupert* that he would allow him a Party of Horse to escort him to *Scotland*. He told the Prince, *That that was the only and sure way to free him of such a Powerful and formidable Enemy as the Scots Army then in England was.* But he gave a deaf Ear to that, and all the other Reasons *Montrose* made Use of, giving for an Excuse why he could not grant him his Request, the bad Condition his

(a) Rushworth's Coll. Vol. 6. p. 634. Echard Vol. 2. p. 479.

his Army was then in after the late unfortunate Battle.

Montrose not prevailing with the Prince, leaves with him such Forces of the North of *England* as he had then under his Command ; and with those few *Scots* Gentlemen and others that still adhered to him, he returned to *Durham* (yet in the King's Hand) there to deliberate what was next to be done ; and before he should determine himself in any Thing, he dispatched the Lord *Ogilvy*, and Sir *William Rollock* to *Scotland* in Disguise, to enquire if there was any Word there of Forces landing from *Ireland*, and in what Condition the King's Affairs were in ; and, in the Mean Time, he with those yet with him, retired to *Carlisle* to wait the Return, which they did in a Fortnight, bringing the melancholy News that all Things there were in a desperate Condition ; all their Forts and Passes in the Rebels Hands ; and the King's Friends so dispirited and kept under, that they durst not even speak decently of him ; that the Troops raised by the Marquis of *Huntly* were dissipate : And, lastly, That there was no Word as yet of the *Irish*, or of any Troops or Armies from Abroad, as had been promised. Upon which dismal Account, *Montrose* his Friends came to be much divided in their Counsels.

Some were for his returning to the King then at *Oxford*, others for his sending back his Commission to him, and he himself to retire to some foreign Country, there to wait better Times ; and none of them were for his returning to *Scotland*. But he being a Man of great Spirit, and full of Courage, contrary to the Advice of them all, resolves to make one bold Push for it, be the Event as it would ; and finding that there was no Way for him to get into the

North of *Scotland* (where all his Hopes of Assistance lay) but in Disguise, as his two Friends had lately done, he intrusted this Secret only to the Lord *Ogilvy*, his loyal and faithful Friend, to whom he committed the Conduct of those few Gentlemen that had been constant to him, to be by him conducted to the King, and to inform him of the Resolution he had taken, earnestly intreating him seriously to sollicite His Majesty to hasten those Aids of Men and Arms from Abroad which he had promised him. He accompanied *Ogilvy*, and those other Gentlemen two Days on their Journey; and then leaving with them his Horse, Servants, and Carriages, returned privately to *Carlisle*; and some few Days thereafter the Lord *Ogilvy* and those with him, unfortunately fell in among some of the Parliament Troops, by whom, after a hot Engagement they were defeated, and most of them made Prisoners; amongst whom were the Lord *Ogilvy*, Sir *John Innes*, Colonel *Henry Graham*, *Montrose's* Brother, *James, John* and *Alexander Ogilvies*, *Patrick Melvil*, and Dr. *Wishart* (Author of the History of *Montrose's* his Wars, and, after the Restoration, Bishop of *Edinburgh*) with several others; all of them were sent with a Guard to *Hull*, and thereafter to General *Lesly* then at *Newcastle*; and by him they were sent to *Edinburgh*, where they endured a long and nasty Imprisonment, until *Montrose* relieved them after the Battle of *Kilsyth*.

Montrose after his departing from *Ogilvy*, returned to *Carlisle*, and there imparted his Design to the Lord *Aboyne*. The Author of the History of these Wars, says (a) That he found such Fickleness in that young

(a) P. 22.

(a) P. 22.

young Man, that he was not over earnest to ingage him to venture with him, and persuaded him to reside there until he should hear further from him. That Author is not pleased to tell us wherein that young Nobleman's Fickleness, as he names it, did consist. Sure it is, That as to his Loyalty, he was immoveable as a Rock. That Author gives no Reason why he fixes that bad Character upon him: He was the first, who, with his Father and eldest Brother appeared in Arms for the King's Service; and during the Time of their Imprisonment he was honoured with a Commission of Lieutenancy from the King, which continued to the Pacification at *Berwick*, that his Father and Brother were set at Liberty. When the War broke out again, he went to *England* to the King: When he returned from *Carlisle*, he joined *Montrose*, and was present with him at all the Battles he fought thereafter, where he and his Friends did very signal and eminent Service, as the aforementioned Author owns; and at last, when there was no more Service to be done for the King in *Scotland*, he, with Mr. *William Gordon*, Son to the Laird of *Straloch*, a very brave young Gentleman, who had been Companion to him in all the Time of the War, left their Native Country, and retired to *France*: And when in *Paris*, the sad and melancholy News of the barbarous Murder of the King coming to their Ears, they were so overwhelmed with Grief, that not being able to support it, in a very short Time thereafter both of them died, one within three or four Days of the other. This brief Account of that brave young Nobleman's Life, I have copied off a Manuscript of *Straloch's* before me, and whether or not he deserved to be taxed with Levity,

at least with Respect to his Loyalty ; or if that Author has done Justice to his Character I shall leave it to the Impartial Reader to determine.

Montrose resolutely pursued his Journey into *Scotland*, having only for his Companions and Guides *Sir William Roulock*, and one *Colonel Sibbald*, of whose Courage and Conduct he had a great Esteem, and, in Disguise, as his Groom, in four Days, they arrived at his Cousin *Patrick Graham* of *Inchbrake* his House, not far from the Mountains in *Perth-shire*, where there was as yet no Account of any landing from *Ireland*. But in the mean Time (a) *August 3d 1644*, there landed at the Point of *Ardnamurchan* in the West *Highlands*, about 11 or 1200 *Irish* sent by the Earl of *Antrim*, under the Command of *Alexander Macdonald* a Scots Man. *Straloch* says, That on the Day that these *Irish* landed, there was the Noise of a Cannon-shot in the Air, heard all *Scotland* over : And some said they saw Fire, and others said they heard the Noise of a Cannon-Ball flying in the Air ; and he says, That himself and many hundreds were Witnesses to it ; and that upon Enquiry it was found, That it was heard at one Instant at *Coldstream* upon *Tweed*, and in *Rofs* in the North of *Scotland*. And I my self have heard several Gentlemen affirm, That they were Ear-witnesses to the Truth of this Story. The afore-named Author says, That *Alexander Macdonald* had orders to join the *Marquis of Huntly* with his *Irish*, and that his Commission bore so much, which he saw in *Charles Earl of Aboyne*, (Grandfather to this Earl) his Possession : But he says, That he thinks this was not the first Orders the King

(a) *Straloch's MS.*

King gave to *Antrim*, but that His Majesty sent it to him, after *Montrose* was defeat in his first Attempt at *Dumfries*; and that, least he could not come in Time to command these *Irish* upon their Landing. I have said, that the Marquis of *Huntly* before this Time had disbanded his Forces, and himself had retired privately to *Strathnavern*. The Marquis of *Argyle* had got Possession of his eldest Son the Lord *Gordon*, after his Father and he were set at Liberty, and still as yet retained him to his Party; as also the third Son, the Lord *Lewis*; and his second Son *Aboyne* was then in *England*, so as *Macdonald* could have no Access then to any of that Family.

(a) I shall here for once take Notice, That from the Beginning of these Wars, the King's peremptory Orders to *Huntly* were, that he should always receive his Orders from the Marquis, now Duke of *Hamilton*, whose Orders all along to *Huntly* was, that he should act only on the Defensive, and never would allow him to act on the Offensive; and this made him lose several Opportunities, of doing eminent Service for the King. This very much offended *Huntly's* Friends, whose Spirits could not bear it, to be brought in Sight of their Enemies, and to quite the Field without fighting of them; for by that they thought, they were losing all the Honour their Ancestors had formerly gain'd. I have already taken Notice, how *Gordon* of *Aradoul* upbraided Colonel *Gun* to his Face of Cowardice and Treachery, for stopping *Aboyne* from fighting *Montrose* at the Bridge of *Dee*; and of this they often and loudly complained to *Huntly*; which made him always communicate

municate his Orders to the principal Gentlemen among them (of whom my Author says he was always one) and to these Orders they found themselves (tho with much Reluctancy) obliged to submit ; for they entertained a quite different Opinion of *Hamilton*, from what either the King or *Huntly* did. There were many then, and still are not a few, who blame *Huntly*, for not acting with that Vigour and Spirit, that his Predecessors had done on such Occasions, or he should have then done ; but this proceeded only from their Ignorance of these peremptory Orders he was always tied down to. The Authority of my Author is so great, and his Character so clean, that I hope it will satisfy the Reader, that *Huntly* was unjustly blamed ; That the Fault (if any such was) was another's and not his ; and that he was brought to this hard *Dilemma*, that he behoved to act as he did, or disobey the King's peremptory Orders, which was neither safe nor honourable for him to do.

Colonel *Alexander Macdonald* and his *Irish* upon their Landing, came soon to be in great Straits ; for upon the first News of it, *Argyle* went to the *West-Highlands*, and burnt all the Ships that brought them over, to preclude them from a Retreat, and immediately raised an Army, and went in Pursuit of them, not doubting by his Numbers at first to swallow them up ; and upon the other Hand, *Macdonald* being a mean, tho gallant Gentleman, the *Highlanders* had no Respect to him at first, and refused to join him. Being thus straitned by *Argyle*, he marched his *Irish* down from the *West-Highlands* into *Badenoch*, a Country belonging to the Marquis of *Huntly*, where they were joined by 3 or 400 of his Tenants and

Vassals

Vassals there, (a) from whence Colonel *Macdonald* sent in a trusty Messenger into *Pertb-shire*, to enquire about *Montrose*, who immediately sent him Orders to march into *Atbole*, where they should find him as a Captain to conduct them. They glad to receive these Orders, instantly obeyed them; and *Montrose* being then near to, and well known in *Atbole*, went thither to meet them (both of them being very fond of each other) accompanied only with *Patrick Graham* of *Incbbrake*, a gallant and loyal Gentleman, *Sir William Rollock* and Colonel *Sibbald*, his Two old Companions.

Montrose being now in *Atbole* with those *Irish* and *Badenoch* Men, with 800 brave *Atbole* Men, over whom he appointed to command in Chief *Incbbrake*: And he now having got together 1200 *Irish*, 300 *Badenoch* and 800 *Atbole* Men, in all 2300 Foot, all resolute Men, but very badly appointed, either as to Arms or Ammunition, the Supply of which he knew was no other Way to be had, but off the Enemy; and therefore he resolves immediately to fall into Action. On the one Hand *Argyle* was near to him, with as numerous an Army as he was able to get together; and on the other Hand he knew, that at that Time there was a general Rendezvouz, if not of all, at least of the most of the Rebels Forces then in *Scotland*, at the Town of *Pertb*; within 24 Miles of him. And that he might not be invironed on all Hands, he determines without Loss of Time to fall down into the laigh Country; and so marching through the Plains of *Atbole*, towards the River of *Ern*, and passing by the Castle of *Weem*, whereat

a Trumpeter of his had been badly used, and the Rear of his Army attacked by the Followers of the Laird of that Name, he gave Orders to waste their Country, and burn their Houses and Corns, to terrify others. And the same Night he passed over the River *Tay*, with Part of his Forces, as the rest did early next Morning; and then ordered *Patrick Graham*, to march forward with a select Party of the nimblest of the *Atbole* Men, to discover the Country, who very soon returned him Word, that he saw a Party of Soldiers upon the Top of an Hill at *Buckinthe*.

Montrose soon understood these to be a Party of 500 Men, commanded by the Lord *Kilpont*, Son to the Earl of *Monteith*, and Sir *John Drummond*, second Son to the Earl of *Pertb*, both of them gallant and loyal Gentlemen, who had been forced much against their Inclinations, to raise these Men out of their Father's Lands, by the Rebels, for their Assistance against the *Irish*, as the common Enemy. Unto them *Montrose* sent a Messenger, to notify to them his Commission, apprise them of his Designs, and to require them in the King's Name, to come and join his Army; which they immediately and with great Cheerfulness complied with. His Army being thus augmented, and amounting to about 3000 good Foot; Horse indeed he had none but Three (a) (*Nec plures quam tres omnino strigosos & emaciatos equos habuit*) Two of them were for his own Saddle, and the other for Sir *William Rollock*, who was somewhat lame. He having given the Soldiers a little Respite, to refresh themselves, marched forward

(a) Hist. Montrose's Wars p. 118.

ward to seek out the Enemy, whom he understood to be about *Perth*.

The Covenanters had marched their Army out of *Perth*, into a large Plain, some Two Miles West of the City, called *Tippermuir*, where *Montrose* found them drawn up in Order of Battle. The Rebels Army consisted of about 6000 Foot and 700 Horse, commanded in Chief by the Lord *Elcho*, who in the Fight commanded the right Wing, as did Sir *James Scot* (the only experienced Soldier amongst them) the Left; and the Earl of *Tillibardine* the Battle. The Horse were divided in the Two Wings. (a) Bishop *Guthrie* says, *That Montrose his Army consisted of no more but about 1300, except those who joined him with Kilpont.* But in that he is much mistaken, for he had very near, if not fully so many *Irish*; and the Bishop himself in the very foregoing Page, makes *Montrose's* Army to be 3000; and indeed it could not be much fewer (as I have shown before). The Rebels trusting to their Numbers, thought themselves secure of an easy Victory; and it being *Sunday* the 1st of *September 1644*, on which this Battle was fought, the Ministers spent their Lungs and Rhetorick in the Morning, to encourage the Soldiers to fight valiantly for the Cause of *GOD* (as they most blasphemously term'd their Rebellion). And one *Frederick Carmichael* (a much esteemed Preacher among them) had the Impudence to say in his Preaching, *That if ever GOD spoke Truth out of my Mouth, I promise you assured Victory this Day.*

Montrose having drawn up his Army in Order of Battle, took the Command of the right Wing to himself,

(a) p. 143.

himself, gave the Left to the Lord *Kilpont*; and the Battle, which consisted of the *Irish*, was commanded by Colonel *Alexander Macdonald*. He having thus disposed his Army, (a) before the Engagement, to prevent the shedding of Blood, sent off to the Rebels a gallant young Gentleman, *Drummond*, Master of *Maderty*, to require them in the King's Name to lay down their Arms, and return to their Duty: But they, contrary to the Law of Arms, made this noble Messenger Prisoner, and sent him with a strong Guard to *Perth*, vowing, that how soon they had gotten the Victory (of which those lying Prophets, that were in great Plenty among them, had given them Assurance; and there is no Doubt, but if Victory had been on their Side, they would have paid their Vow very solemnly) they would make a Sacrifice of that young Gentleman.

The Two Armies being thus drawn up within Musket-shot of one another, the Rebels sent out a Party, commanded by the Lord *Drummond* (who was with them much against his Inclination) (b) to provoke *Montrose* to a light Skirmish. He commanded out a small Party to engage them, who did it with that Vigour, that at the first Charge they put them to Flight, and beat them back upon their own Army, by which in that Place it was disorder'd. *Montrose* observing that Disorder in the Enemy, and that his own Men were much encouraged by this first Essay of their Valour, and being unwilling to lose this Opportunity, he commanded his whole Army immediately to charge the Enemy; and he having
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(a) Hist. Montrose's Wars, p. 121. (b) Straloch's MS.

but a very scanty Provision of Ammunition, he gave it in Order, that they should not fire Powder till they were close up with the Enemy, and then after one Discharge of their Muskets, to fall in immediately with their drawn Swords, and Butt-ends of their Muskets. *Montrose* knowing his own Men to be nimbler and stronger bodied Men than the Enemy, and better accustomed to handle their Swords, rightly judged, that they would not stand such a vigorous Charge; which indeed both the *Irish* and *Higlanders* endeavouring to out-do one another, performed with such generous and brave Emulation, that they immediately broke the Enemy, and put them to a precipitant Flight, by which *Montrose* gained a noble and glorious Victory *September 1st, 1644.*

In this Battle there were 2000 killed of the Covenanters, and more taken Prisoners, whom *Montrose* made swear, that they should never bear Arms against the King, and then dismissed them; but they most perfidiously soon broke this Oath. I don't find it recorded what Number *Montrose* had killed in this Battle; but certainly it was very inconsiderable. With this Victory he had this very considerable Advantage, that he got Stores of Cloaths, Arms and Ammunition, that he abundantly supplied his Army of these great Wants they laboured under. And 'tis noticeable, that during the whole Course of this War, he had never any other Way to supply his Army, either with Arms or Ammunition, but with what he purchased off the Enemy. After the Battle, that very Day he made himself Master of *Perth*, and set the Master of *Maderty* at Liberty. He refreshed his Army there three Days, by which Time

Argyle

Argyle was at Hand, with a considerable Army of Horse and Foot, he had gathered together from the South and West Parts of the Nation. Whereupon *Montrose* cross'd the River of *Tay*, and encamped in a Field near the Village of *Cowpar* of *Angus*, where he was joined by a brave young Gentleman, *Thomas Ogilvy* Son to the Earl of *Airy*, and some others of the Gentry of that County. But

Next Morning, by Break of Day, he was alarmed with a great Tumult in the Camp, and the Soldiers running to Arms. He thrust himself in among them, to discover what it meant, where to his great Surprize, he found the Body of the noble Lord *Kilpont*, lying prostrate upon the Ground, recently murdered by one *James Stewart* a Retainer of his own, one whom he treated with such Civility and Familiarity, that that very Night he lay in the same Bed with him. (a) The Author of *Montrose's Wars* says, *That he was put upon it by the Covenanters to murder Montrose, for doing of which he was promised a great Reward; and he believed that he had so much Interest with Kilpont, as to draw him over to be consenting in, if not assisting to that villainous Act, and so disclosed his Mind to him: But soon perceiving that his generous Soul had an utter Abhorrence to it, that he might prevent his making a Discovery, by many Wounds instantly (by Surprize) killed him in the Place; and then by killing a Centinel, made his Escape in the Dark of the Night, and fled to the Covenanters, by whom in a short Time he was for this barbarous Assassination preferred to a considerable Post in their Army. Montrose being extremely*
grieved

(a) p. 135.

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grieved at this barbarous Murder of his so dear Friend, delivered his Body to his Friends and Servants, to be by them carried to his Parents, to receive from them such funeral Obsequies, as was suitable to the Splendor of that noble Family. The a-fore-cited Author gives him a most ample Character; both as to natural and acquired Parts.

Montrose immediately after this Murder removed his Camp, and marched towards *Dun-dee*, thinking to make himself Master of it, as a fit Sea-port Town; for receiving any Supplies that might be sent to him from Abroad. But it being numerous in its Inhabitants, and enforced with a strong Garrison from *Fife*, refused to surrender: And he thinking it not for the King's Interest to trifle away his Time in a Siege, removed from it, and marched North towards the *Grampian* Hills, expecting there to be joined by the Gentry of that Country, who had boasted much of their Power and Loyalty. But he was disappointed of his Expectation; for upon the News of his Approach, they withdrew themselves. Only the noble and brave old Earl of *Airly*, with his Two Sons, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *David Ogilvies*, gallant young Gentlemen (the eldest the Lord *Ogilvy* being then Prisoner to the Rebels at *Newcastle*) with some other Gentlemen of the Name of *Ogilvy*, Gentlemen of great Courage, Loyalty and Honour, joined him; and with Constancy suitable to their Character, adhered to the King's Interest to the last. The above cited Author says (a), *That this noble Lord was an Honour and Ornament to the Scots Nobility*: And indeed if Courage, Constancy and Loyalty can

V O L. II. E e intitle

(a) p. 139.

intitle any Person to that Character, he had a just and eminent Claim to it. There were several Reasons that might have excused him from being personally engaged in that War. His Age was sufficient for it; he being then above Sixty. His Three Sons were all of them personally engaged, and his eldest the brave Lord *Ogilvy*, then Prisoner, at the Mercy of the Enemy; yet his generous Soul would make Use of none of these Excuses. The Winter-frosts, the Storms of Snow, and the inaccessible Mountains which *Montrose* past in that severe Season, did not make him leave the Army, and retire to warmer Winter-quarters. No! he never was absent from the Army; he was present at all the Battles, where he always acted the Part of a brave young Soldier, and of a sedate experienced old General. I shall make no Excuse for this short Digression: If it be one, Justice to the Memory of that brave and loyal old Nobleman calls for it.

In this Year 1644, the Parliament sat down at *Edinburgh*, which they called the first Sess. of the third Parliament of King *Charles I.* The Acts thereof are to be found among the rescinded Acts of the other rebellious Parliaments, to which for Brevity's Sake I must refer the curious Reader; and only shall notice, that by the sixth Act, they named a Committee to reside at *London*, as their Correspondents with the Parliament there. And *Guthrie* (a) says, *They had allowed them for their Charges, a Nobleman L. 48, a Burges's L. 24, and a Minister L. 18 Scots per diem.* And I must look a little further back; *April 22d*, the Laird of *Drum* and some of his

(a) Mem. p. 140.

his Friends, and Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon*, with a commanded Party of *Huntly's Men*, made an Infall into the City of *Montrose*, to nail up some Cannon sent there by the Covenanters. They soon made themselves Master of the Town, did their Business, and then retired, for which *Alexander Irvine* of *Drum*, Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon*, and all the other Gentlemen who were there were outlawed, and a Sum of Money put upon each of their Heads.

(b) *August 17. 1644*, about 11 a-Clock at Night, *Alexander Irvine* of *Kincoufie* coming in quietly to *Aberdeen* from his own House, was barbarously murder'd as he was near to the Town, by *William Forbes*, natural Son to *John Forbes* of *Lesly*, an intimate Acquaintance of his own, who accidentally met him there; and after mutual Salutations, and parting in Friendship, *Forbes* turned upon him, and shot dead the innocent Gentleman with a Pistol behind his Back. This Gentleman had been with his Chief the Laird of *Drum*, at the Infall into *Montrose*, and for that there was 5000 Merks put on his Head, to be paid to any that would bring him in Prisoner dead or alive. And the Assassine having wrought his Work, came in to his Employers the Committee of Estates at *Aberdeen*, and required his Reward: And he being found to be a Trooper in *Sir William Forbes* of *Craigivar* his Troop, the Committee adjudged 2000 Merks to be paid to him, and the other 3000 to his Captain *Craigivar*, all out of *Kincoufie* his Estate, which did not then exceed 1200 Merks a Year; so the mournful Widow and the fatherless Children, were obliged to live upon short Com-

mons, until that Price of Blood was paid. And thus did the governing Saints at that Time encourage and reward Murder; and all to promote the Cause of God, as they blasphemously pretended. But the just Judge of Heaven and Earth did not let this Assassine pass unpunished; for the next Year at his Father's Houſe, in discharging of a Musket, he shot away that Hand with which he committed the Murder: And after the Restoration, the then Laird of *Kincouſie*, eldest Son to him who was murder'd, having obtained an Order from the Council to apprehend him, went to *Caithness*, where the Assassine then lurked (as he thought in Safety) took him Prisoner, and carried him to *Edinburgh*, where by the Council he was remitted to a Justice-court, to be holden at *Aberdeen* for that Effect, and was by that Court condemned to be hanged at the *Crabstone*, a Place as near as could be guess'd, to that where the Murder was committed; and which Sentence was accordingly executed.

Upon the 19th of *August*, the Laird of *Drum* and his Lady (a Daughter of the Marquis of *Huntly's*) *Robert Irvine* his Brother, Mr. *Alexander Irvine* his Cousin, and *Robert Irvine* a Messenger, were brought Prisoners to *Aberdeen*. They had fled to *Caithness*, in order to get Abroad, and were surprized and made Prisoners there, by *Francis Sinclair*, a Gentleman of that Country, who for the Reward of his great Service, demanded the Sums put upon them, viz. 18,000 Merks for *Drum*, and 5000 for his Brother; and he obtained the Order of the Estates for his Payment. These Gentlemen were sent to *Edinburgh*, where they were kept close Prisoners, till they were relieved by *Montrose* after the Battle of *Kilsyth*:

Kiljyth : And we shall return to *Montrose*, whom we left with the Earl of *Airly* at the Foot of the *Grampian Hills*.

Montrose, while there, had Intelligence, that there was a Committee of the Estates at *Aberdeen*, with an Army under the Command of the Lord *Burleigh*, endeavouring by fair or foul Means, to bring over that Country to join with them. It was there where *Montrose* had placed his greatest Hopes of Assistance ; and therefore he resolved, without Loss of Time, to beat up their Quarters ; and immediately marched his Army over the *Grampian Hills*, cross'd the River of *Dee*, Ten Miles West of *Aberdeen*, and marched down the North-side of the River, straight towards that City, and encamped within Two Miles of it. *Burleigh* commanded there an Army of about 2000 Foot and 500 Horse, and Lord *Lewis Gordon*, third Son to the Marquis of *Huntly*, was there, and a few of his Friends with him, tho much against his and their Inclinations, as very soon appear'd. I have already shown, how the brave Lord *Gordon* was carried Prisoner with his Father to *Edinburgh* by *Montrose*, anno 1639. Upon his being set at Liberty, his Uncle *Argyle* got Possession of him, and as yet he had not got himself rid of him. The second Son, as he was never Prisoner, so he still kept himself free of his Uncle, and was at this Time in *England*. The third Son, Lord *Lewis*, was but then a very young Man, not 24 Years of Age, and as yet under his Uncle's Direction, tho much against his Will, as he made soon appear.

Montrose had in his Army about 1500 Foot, and about 40 Horse ; he sent from his Camp a Drummer, with a Letter to *Patrick Lesly* then Provost, to de-

fire free Access to the Town, that he might there publish the King's Proclamation, and his own Commission. They gave for their positive Answer, that they were to stand to their Defence; and the Drum in his Return was shot dead. *Straloch* says, *He cannot determine, whether of Purpose or by Accident.* And *Burleigh* marched out his Army with the Townsmen, to a little Brook, a Quarter of a Mile to the West of *Aberdeen*, called the *Justice-mills*. He planted some Field-pieces he brought out of Town, in the Front of his Army (but they made more Noise than Execution) and he gave the Command of the left Wing to Lord *Lewis Gordon*, whom (a) Bishop *Wishart* calls *Adolescens audax & præfervidus, sed desultorii ingenii.* Why he gives him this last Character, I do not know. Sure he was an intire Stranger to him; nay, could never have seen him, unless when a Child or thereby; and I shall rather choose to take his Character from the Laird of *Straloch*, who was personally and intimately acquainted with him; and he in his MS. calls him a *gallant young Gentleman, and that he was there much against his Inclination.*

Montrose being irritated with the positive Answer he had received, and the killing of his Drum, marched his Army immediately against the Enemy. He gave the Command of the right Wing to Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon* and *James Hay*, and of the Left to Sir *William Rollock*; and by the Advice of Colonel *Gordon*, an Officer of great Courage and good Experience, he drew out a Detachment of the strongest bodied, nimblest and best Firemen among his Foot, and

(a) Cap. 6. p. 143.

and interlarded them with the few Horse he had; and it was this that made the Victory so easy. *Gordon* gave it them in order, that how soon they had spent their Fire, they should fall in with their Swords, and hamstring the Enemy's Horse, as he term'd it; That is to say, to cut the Sinews of their hinder Legs. And they performed their Orders with such Courage, that with their Fire they so pulled down the Enemy's Horsemen, and so disorder'd their Horse, by cutting the Sinews of their Legs, that they did not stand the first Charge. And Lord *Lewis Gordon*, with those under his Command (neither he nor they being hearty in the Cause) soon retired. Upon which *Montrose* commanded that Party of his Horse, that had charged Lord *Lewis*, to charge the other Wing of the Enemy's Horse; which they cheerfully obeyed; and falling in upon their Flank with invincible Courage and Resolution, they immediately forced them to retire. The Foot, notwithstanding both their Wings of Horse had retired, still kept their Ground. Which *Montrose* perceiving, and fearing the Enemy's Horse (tho retired, yet not broken) might rally, being unwilling to venture them a third Time, who had done such Wonders already; commanded his Foot to march up close to the Enemy, and not to dispute it any longer at a Distance, and break in upon them with Sword in Hand: Which they performed with that Vigour and Fierceness, that the Enemy's Foot did stand the first Charge; but upon it, immediately betook themselves to a confused Flight; which their Horse perceiving, made off with themselves, and suffer'd little or no Loss.

(a) Bishop *Wishart* says, *Quatuor horas tam dubio Marte pugnatum fuit, ut nemo dignosceret in quam partem inclinaret victoria.* He then was Prisoner at *Newcastle*, and knew no more than was told him: But *Straloch*, who lived near the Place, says, *That it was disputed at first for some Time with small Parties; and that neither Horse nor Foot stood a close Charge.* And it could not be otherwise, or *Montrose's* Loss behoved to have been greater. It certainly was very small, for I don't find it recorded by any Author. Of the Covenanters Horse, there were taken in the Battle Sir *William Forbes* of *Craigivar*, who commanded a Troop, and was of great Account among the Covenanters, and *John Forbes* of *Boindlie*. The rest of the Horse made their Escape, by a timely Flight, as did the Lord *Burleigh*, and the other principal Commanders. The Foot suffer'd very little in the Engagement; and if they had not fled into the Town, many of them might have escaped: But the *Irish* and *Highlanders* entering the Town with them in the Chace, in the Streets, Lanes and Houses of the Town, made such a dreadful Slaughter, that scarce any of them escaped: Nay they could not, and so did not distinguish Friend from Foe, but killed all that came in their Way; so that many innocent and loyal Persons run the same Fate with the guilty and rebellious, says *Straloch*; and *Spalden* (who then lived in Town) in his MS. numbers and names 98 Loyalists, and leaves a Blank for others who were there killed.

Montrose, with some others, after the Battle retired to his Camp, leaving the *Irish* and *Highlanders* to

(a) Cap. 6. p. 149.

to plunder and kill as they pleased for two Days, says the two above-named Authors. Bishop *Wishart* says only to rest themselves: But these two knew better what was done there than he did. *Montrose* at this Time was much provok'd by the obstinate and resolute Answer returned him by the Provost *Patrick Lesly*, and the killing of his Drum on the one Hand; and on the other, he had no Money to pay his Army, and so was forced at this, and sometimes hereafter, to allow his Army some Liberties that otherwise he would by no Means have permitted. There can be no Discipline in an unpaid Army, and what that Town suffered at this Time was owing to nothing but the foolish Obstinacy of their Provost, and some other leading Covenanters. *Montrose* after this Battle was Master of the Enemies Cannon, and got Store of Arms and Ammunition, and obtained this his second Victory, *September 12. Anno 1644.*

On the 14th *Montrose* entered the Town, and there published the King's Proclamation, and his own Commission; and as yet the slain were lying in the Steets and in the Houses, naked and unburied, neither Man nor Woman daring to appear to bury them: Upon which he marched out of Town his Army to *Kintore* and *Inverury*, two small Towns, some eight or ten Miles North-west of *Aberdeen*, and left the Inhabitants of that Place to bury their Dead; and from this Place he dispatched Sir *William Rollock* to the King, to give him an Account of his two Victories. Here he was inform'd that *Argyle* and the Earl of *Lothian* were in his Reer, with a Body of no less than 1500 Horse, says Bishop *Wishart*, *Straloch* 1000, and a considerable Army
of

of Foot ; and indeed with them did *Argyle* and *Lothian* enter *Aberdeen* September 17. and that Day by publick Proclamation declared *Montrose* and his Adherents Traytors to their King and Country, &c. promising L. 20,000 *Scots* to any Person that would bring him in dead or alive, thinking no Doubt by that Reward to find such another Assaffine, as any of these two who murdered *Kilpont* or *Kincousie*.

Montrose, being ascertained of *Argyle*'s being so near to him, very wisely resolved to retire towards the Mountains, where the Enemy's Horse would be of little Use to them, and for their Foot he made little Account of them ; and so he marched to *Kildrinnie* a Castle not far from the River of *Don*, and in the Borders of the Highlands, belonging to the Earl of *Mar*. From thence he sent Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon* into the neighbouring Country of *Strathbogie*, to perswade the Gentlemen of the Name of *Gordon* there to join him. Bishop *Wishart* says, He conceived great Hopes of them, but they were kept back by their Chief the Marquis of *Huntly*, whom he calls a back Friend to *Montrose*, and that he envied him for the Laurels he had gain'd. The Truth is, I believe *Huntly* had no personal Friendship for *Montrose*, and could never digest the Indignity he thought he had done him, when he made him Prisoner, which all his Friends heartily regreted ; But at this Time (as *Straloch* says) 'tis certain that his two so late Victories could not have reached *Huntly*'s Ears, being then in *Strathnavern*, the remotest Part of the Nation, and so could neither Envy the Honour he had gain'd, nor had Time to send to discharge his Friends to join him ; nay it was impossible for to suspect he would be in that Country ; and that Author gives this

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this for the Reason why Colonel *Nathaniel's* Journey was unsuccessful ; That *Argyle* had prevented him, and was at that Time there, and Master of that Country ; so that all he could do was in haste to return and acquaint *Montrose* that *Argyle* was in the Neighbourhood with a strong Army of Foot and Horse. Upon which he having buried his Ordnance in a Bog, and disposed of his heavy Carriages, decamped, and marched over the Mountains to *Rothe-murchus* in *Strathspey*. *Argyle* being advertised of it, sent Orders to the Shires of *Murray*, *Ross*, and *Sutherland* to arm and march against him, and he with the Horse resolved to pursue him at the Heels, which obliged *Montrose* to retire into *Badenoch*, where for some Days he was very bad in his Health ; but having recovered that, he marched from thence into *Athole*, and from thence sent Colonel *Macdonald* into the Highlands, to raise there what Forces he could, and he, with what Troops he had, march'd into *Angus* ; and from thence, passing over the *Grampian* Hills, having, as he judged, left *Argyle* at a sufficient Distance, march'd into *Strathbogie*, to try what he could do with the *Gordons*.

Bishop *Wishart* says, That they were as yet restrained by their Chief, and that the Lord *Gordon* was still detained by his Uncle *Argyle* ; that the Viscount of *Aboyne* was inclosed in *Carlisle*, then besieged ; and the 3^d Son *Lewis*, had not as yet left the Covenanters, and so there was none of that Family to command them, and that they had never been in Use to serve under any other General. And this is the Reason *Straloch* gives why they did not then join *Montrose*. And further adds, That the old Grudge they had at him was not as yet forgot by many of them.

them. There were a few of them joined him, but they did not stay long with him. He staid there for some Time, and from thence marched to *Fyvie*, a House belonging to the Earl of *Dumfermling*, which he took Possession of *October 24th*, where he had been almost ruined; for *Argyle* and *Lothian*, whom he took not as yet to be on this Side the *Grampian Hills*, came the next Day up to him, and encamped at two Miles Distance betwixt him and the Mountains. He had then but a very small Army with him (for he had sent off from *Athole* Colonel *Macdonald*, with a Party of his *Irish*, to raise what Forces he could) not above 1500 Foot, and 50 Horse, and *Argyle's* Army was not under 2500 Foot and 1000 Horse. *Montrose* had the Advantage of a strong and Woodie Ground near the House, which was inclosed with Ditches and Hedges; and these served as Ramparts to defend his Foot from the Enemies Horse. He was so scarce of Ammunition at this Time, that he was obliged to melt down in Ball all the Peuther Vessels in the House; nor was he better provided in Powder, until he beat a Party of the Enemy from a rising Ground they had taken up near him; and they being put to Flight by Colonel *O-Cain* a valiant young *Irish* Gentleman, left some Bags of it behind them.

Argyle at this Time had all the Advantages he needed to have wish'd for; but all the Historians agree, That he never had much Inclination to fighting; and all he did for three or four Days they lay in Sight of other, was by strong Parties now and then to disturb *Montrose* in his Camp, who were continually beaten off: Nor was there in these Skirmishes any Person of Consideration killed, but a brave

brave and hopeful young Gentleman *Alexander Keith*, Brother to the Earl of *Marishal*, who commanded a Troop of Horse in *Argyle's* Army. Bishop *Wishart* says (a), *That here in Sight of the Army all Huntly's Vassals who had come from Strathbogie with him deserted. Straloch says, He saw those Deserters that very Day, and that there were no more but about a Dozen of Foot of them in Highland Clothes, and that all the rest staid in the Army with Montrose, who being neither able to fight Argyle, nor to stay longer in that Place, resolved to retire back to Strathbogie, to wait in the strong and rocky Ground there for Colonel Macdonald's Return from the Highlands, with what Forces he could raise there. In Pursuance of which Resolution,*

Montrose called a Council of War, in which it was determined, That the Army should make a long March up to *Badenoch*, That the Highlanders might have nearer and Securer Access to them; and that his March might be the more expeditious, he sent off his Carriages at Night with a Guard, and ordered the Army next Morning by Day Light to be in Readiness to fight; but that Night *Forbes of Craigievar*, who was Prisoner at large, broke his Parole, and made his Escape unto the Enemy; and Colonel *Sibbald*, on whom *Montrose* much trusted deserted with him; the Account of which coming to his Ears, he justly suspected that they would betray his Council to the Enemy, recall'd his Carriages, as if he had changed his Resolutions, (which in Reality he had not.) He staid there a few Days longer; and having again sent off his Carriages, he
placing

(a) B. 7. p. 166.

placing his Horſe in the Reer, marched off his whole Army at Night; and the next Morning, by Break of Day was at the Caſtle of *Balveny*, where being ſecure from *Argyle*, he reſted to reſreſh his Army for ſome Days; and here did moſt, if not all the Gentlemen and others, who were with him (the *Iriſh* excepted) deſert, only the brave old Earl of *Airly*, tho' then valetudinary, with his two Sons, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *David* never parted from him, even in the extremeſt Hazard. From *Balveny* he marched by *Strathspey* into *Badenoch*, where he had Intelligence that *Argyle* with his Foot (the Horſe having gone into their Winter Quarters) lay at *Dunkeld*; endeavouring all he could to ſeducethe *Atbole* Men.

Montroſe, tho' he had no Reaſon to ſuſpect theſe brave Men's Loyalty, yet he reſolving to ſurpriſe *Argyle* now lying ſecure, in one Day marches 24 Miles, amongſt uninhabited Mountains, from *Badenoch* to *Atbole*: But he being apprized of *Montroſe's* Approach, tho' as yet 16 Miles from him, left his Men to ſhift for themſelves, and he in all Haſte fled to *Perth*, where the Rebels had a ſtrong Garrifon. *Macdonald* had by this Time returned, and with him came the Captain of *Clan-Ronald*, with 500 Men; and being further reinforced by ſome choice *Atbole* Men, commanded by *Patrick Graham*, he marches by *Loch-Tay* through *Broadalbine* into *Argyle*, that he might convince the Highlanders, that *Argyle's* Power was not ſuch as he boated of. He was then at *Inverary*, where he had appointed a Rendezvouz, not ſuſpecting that in that ſevere Seaſon, all the Mountains being covered with deep Snow, he could be ſurpriſed, until the

Cow-herds came running from the Mountains, with News that the Enemy was within two Miles of him, upon which, he, in great Fear left his Rendezvouz, Friends and Country, to the Mercy of his Enemy, himself making his Escape by Sea in a Fisher-boat, and *Montrose* ravaged the whole Country of *Argyle* and *Lorn*, from the 13th of *December* 1644 to the 28th of *January* 1645, killing all the Men in Arms, or able to carry Arms he could find, burning all the Houses, and driving away all their Cattle, and then marching through *Glenco* and *Aber*, came to *Lochness*.

Montrose when there, had Intelligence that the whole Strength of *Murray*, *Rofs*, *Caithness*, and *Sutherland*, with the Garrison of *Inverness*, to the Number of 5000 Horse and Foot were marching against him, and his Army then did not consist of above 1500 Foot, and a very few Horse, having allowed the *Clan-Ronald* and *Athol*-Men to go home, and disburden themselves of the Spoil of *Argyle* (having promised to return with greater Numbers) yet he contemning their Numbers, resolved to fight them, tho' commanded by *Baillie* and *Urry*, two experienced Officers; when in the mean Time he got certain Intelligence that *Argyle* having got together from the Low-Country and Highlands an Army of 3000 Foot and Horse, was close in his Reer, and then lay encamped at the old Castle of *Inverlochy*; upon which *Montrose* altering his Resolution, returned by a long and speedy March, and was upon *Argyle*, (having intercepted and killed his Scouts) before he heard any Thing of him. It was towards Night when *Montrose* Army appeared close before the Enemy, who immediately prepared for Battle; but

Montrose having made a very expedite March, of about 30 Miles, was obliged to wait for his Reer, which was not yet come up; and it being a very clear Moon-shine Light, all Night both Armies stood to their Arms, anxiously expecting the ensuing Day, the next Morning *Argyle* was surpris'd with the Musick of *Montrose's* Trumpet sounding to Battle; for he did not think till then that *Montrose* was there himself, or that there was any Horse in the Army: Upon which (a) *Argyle* convey'd himself, the Lairds of *Nidry* and *Duncrub*, *Archbald Sidserserf* Baillie of *Edinburgh*, and Mr. *Mungo Law*, Minister there, off into *Lochlochy* by Boat, there to be Spectators at a Distance, of the Event of the Battle; and by that prudent Caution of his, sav'd himself and these with him from falling into the Hands of his Enemy.

Upon *Candlemas Day*, *February 2d 1625*, by Sun-rising, both Armies engage; *Montrose's* Army, after a single Discharge of their Muskets, fell in upon the Enemy with their accustomed Courage and Fierceness, Sword in Hand: Which brave Charge they not being able to stand, betook themselves to a precipitate Flight; and *Montrose* Army had the killing of them at Pleasure for a long Chace of Nine Miles, in which many Gentlemen of the Name of *Campbell* were killed, who Bishop *Wishart* says, were brave Men, and that it was a Pity that their Courage had not been employ'd under a greater General, and in a better Cause. Both of the afore-named Authors say, That in this Fight there were above 1500 of the Rebels killed; of the Loyalists there were

(a) Hist. of Mont. Wars, Paris Edit. P. 202. Guth. Mem. p. 140.

were many wounded, and only three common Soldiers killed; and to *Montrose's* great Regret, a gallant young Gentleman Sir *Thomas Ogilvy*, Son to the never to be too much commended Earl of *Airly*; one who *Wishart* says was a brave Soldier, and a good Scholar, and had done eminent Service in *England*, under the Command of his Father-in-Law, General *Ruthven*, Earl of *Brentford* and *Forth*. *Montrose* sent his Corpse into *Atkole*, there to be interr'd with such Funeral Solemnity as the Time and Place would allow. This Year 1645 the General Assembly sat down at *Edinburgh*, *January 25*. the Acts whereof are to be seen in Print.

Montrose's Army being much fatigued by those many long Marches he had made, he gave them some Days to refresh themselves at *Inverlochby*, and then marched back to *Lochness*; and from thence by the Braes of *Murray* to the River *Spey*, where he was informed that a considerable Party of the Enemy were at *Elgine*; but upon the Noise of his Approach, all of them fled and absconded in their several lurking Places; and the Town surrendered to him, *February 14th*. Here the Lord *Gordon*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Huntly* joined him. Bishop *Wishart* says (a), *Quo quidem tempore, nunquam satis ob eximias virtutes laudandus Gordonius Regulus, Huntilæi primogenitus, ab avunculo, à quo in vitis fuerat detentus, ad partes regias palam pertransiit, &c.* His own Merit, and the great Following he was Master of, made him very acceptable to *Montrose*, who immediately marched into the Shires of *Banff* and *Aberdeen*, to raise what

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(a) Hist. *Montrose's Wars* Edit. Paris p. 212.

Forces they could, by the Example and Interest of the Lord *Gordon*, which was very great in those Places ; and having got together an Army of 2000 Foot, and 200 Horse, with them marching into the *Merns*, encamped at *Fettercairn*.

At this Time Sir *J. Urry*, an old experienced Officer, and then General of the Rebels Horse, lay at *Brechin*, at some six Miles Distance from *Montrose's* Camp, and *Urry* conceiving him to have but a few Foot and no Horse, drew out a Body of 600 Horse, and with them marched towards him to discover his Strength, not doubting if *Montrose* descended into the Plain, easily to defeat him ; who perceiving *Urry* to advance, keeping his Foot close under cover, made Shew only of his 200 Horse, whom, according to his Custom, he interlined with a competent Number of the nimblest and best Fire-men of his Foot ; which Horse *Urry* perceiving to be so few, immediately charged them, but soon discovering *Montrose's* Foot marching close up with the Horse, he founding a Retreat, fled back again over the River of *Esk* to his former Quarters ; and tho' the Darknes of the Night much favoured his Retreat, yet thinking himself not secure there, he instantly fled to *Dundee*, about 24 Miles from *Montrose's* Camp ; who understanding that the Rebels had brought *Baillie*, Lieutenant General of their Foot, and several other old experienced Officers, and that *Urry* had joined him, that he might not be oppressed by the strong Body of Horse they then had, march'd along the Foot of the *Grampian* Mountains, to the Village of *Eliot*, intending, if possible to pass the *Forth*, expecting to be joined by a considerable Number of the King's Friends besouth that River : And now both Armies being in Sight of
 other

other, *Montrose* sent a Trumpet to *Baillie*, with a Challenge, and desiring Liberty to pass over the River of *Ishy* to fight him ; or, if he pleased to accept of the Challenge, *Montrose* offered him full Liberty to pass over the River to him : But *Baillie* returned for Answer, *That he would take no Proposals from his Enemy of Fighting, but would choice his own Time and Place for it.* And so *Montrose* continued his March westward to *Dunkeld*, resolving there to cross the River *Tay*.

Bishop *Wisbart* (a) says, *That whilst Montrose was at Dunkeld, Lord Lewis Gordon, third Son to the Marquis of Huntly, deserted him, and carried off with him almost all the Gordons, much against the Will of his eldest Brother the Lord Gordon.* The Authors Words are, (b) *Is seu veris, seu simulatis patris literis, ex latibulo suo datis, Gordonios ferme omnes, clam ipso fratre, ad defectionem sollicitatos abduxit.* I have set down the Author's Words, that I may first take Notice of the impertinent and unmannerly Translation of them in the *English* Edition ; and then I shall make appear the Improbability, if not the Falshood of the whole Story. The *English* is, *He, (the Lord Lewis) either by true or counterfeit Letters from the old Fox in the Hole, his Father, &c.* Now if *Latibulum* be pertinently translated *the old Fox in the Hole* ; or if that loyal Nobleman, who had suffered so long and so much for the King, who was so much esteem'd both by him and the King of *France*, when Captain of the *Scots Gens d'Arms* there, as I shall make appear in its own Place, be mannerly treated by that lurking Translator, I shall leave the discreet Reader to determine,

(a) Paris Edit. p. 221. (b) Hist. rer. Montif. edit. Paris p. 221.

and consider what's more material, the Truth or Probability of the Story. I have already taken notice, That that right Reverend and loyal Author was close Prisoner in *Newcastle* and *Edinburgh*, from *Montrose's* coming from *Carlisle*, till after the Battle of *Kilfyth*, that he with others were liberate, by the Master of *Napier* and Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon*, and so wrote the History of that Time from Hear-say, and thereby was obnoxious to be imposed upon by Misinformation, as it evidently appears to me he was in this for the following Reasons.

1. We find *Montrose* never to have above 40 Horse with him or thereby, until the Lord *Gordon* joined him; and that same Author says, *That immediately after Lord Lewis Desertion, he marched towards Dundee, with 600 nimble Musqueteers, and 150 Horse.* Now, from whence came these Horse, if almost all the *Gordons* deserted: He does not name one single Person who joined him, after his March out of *Aberdeen* Shire. 2do, Is it probable the *Gordons* would have deserted the brave Lord *Gordon*, the Darling of the whole Name; one whom they so affectionately loved, in whose Conduct all of them trusted, and one whom many of them had seen give signal Proofs of his Valour in foreign Nations? Is it probable that these Gentlemen would have deserted such a Friend, especially in the Cause in which they had always shewed so much Forewardness, and for which they had suffered so much, and especially against the Will, and quite contrary to the Intreaty of their so much beloved Friend; and all this to please the Humour of a rash and hair-brain'd young Man, as that Translator is pleased to name the Lord *Lewis*? In my Opinion
it

it would need a clear Proof to make this Story probable, contrary to these Reasons. But lastly, what puts it beyond all Controversy me thinks, is, *Burnet* in his Manuscript History of the Family of Gordon says, *That he had it from several Gentlemen who were in Montrose his Army, at his Retreat from Dundee, and particularly from George Hay of Kinmouth, and Abercromby of Fctirnear, two Gentlemen of approven Loyalty and Honour, that the same Lord Lewis with an extraordinary Courage and Valour, defending a Pass against the Enemies, and killing the most forward of them, gave thereby Time to Montrose's People to gain so much Advantage of the Way, as put them out of Danger of the Pursuers; which (says these Gentlemen) was a piece of a signal Service, and as bold and dangerous an Action, as happened during all the Wars of Montrose.* And I myself talking of this Story with an ancient Gentleman of great and known Veracity and Honour, *Alexander Gordon*, Tutor to the present Laird of *Pitlurg*, who was then present with *Montrose*, he told me the same Story, and in the same Manner as *Burnet* narrates it from these two Gentlemen he names. And he further told me, *That the Story was quite false, as narrated by the Author of the History of Montrose's Wars; and that he had been misinformed not only in that, but in several other Things.* And now I think the Testimonies of these three Gentlemen, who were Eye-witnesses, are sufficient to satisfy the Reader that that pious Author was misinformed as to Matter of Fact, especially with the other Reasons I have given.

Montrose considering the powerful Army *Bailly* and *Urry* had against him, found it not proper to pass to the South of the River of *Forth* at this Time,

lest his Retreat, which in some Events he saw, he might be reduced to, might be cut off by that Army, which at this Time consisted of no fewer than 3000 Foot and 800 Horse; and therefore changing his Resolution, he resolved to march to the North, further to recruit his own Army; and sending off the weakest and worst arm'd of his Men, with his Baggage by the Side of the Mountains, with Orders to rest at *Brechin* till he came up to them, himself with 150 Horse, and 600 of his nimblest Foot, all Musqueteers (resolving to make himself Master of *Dundee*, then a most seditious City, and a noted Receptacle of the Rebels in that Country) marched from *Dunkeld* about Twelve-a-Clock at Night, and was at *Dundee* by Ten a-clock the next Day, *April 4.* and sent in a Trumpet to the Magistrates, to summon them to deliver the Town in the King's Name. To which they returned no Answer, but put the Trumpet in Prison. This so provok'd him; and knowing that there was no other Garrison in it but the Citizens, he gave Orders to attack it immediately in three different Places, which the *Irish* and *Highlanders* did with such Vigour, that after small Resistance they soon beat them from their Sconces; and being by that Master of their Cannon, turn'd them on the Town, and made themselves Masters of it. Some possess themselves of the Church and Market-place, and others put Fire to it in several Places; and had not the Soldiers greedily run to plunder, that rich City had in a short Time been reduced to Ashes. *Montrose* all the while stood on the Top of a Hill looking on the Skirmish, not believing any Enemy to be within 20 Miles of him, when his breathless Scouts brought him the surprizing

News

News that *Bailly* and *Urry* with an Army of 3000 Foot, and 800 Horse were within one Mile of him.

Montrose his Men in the Town were greedily set upon the Plunder, and so overheated with strong Drink, that they could hardly be brought out of the Town, even when the Enemy was within Musket-shot of them. In this Strait, *Montrose's* Council of War were much divided. Some were for his marching off with the Horse, and abandoning of the Foot, thinking it impossible to bring them off, who were fatigued with the last Night's March, and now almost, if not altogether drunk with strong Liquor; and that there was no Place of Safety to retire to nearer than 20 Miles of Distance. Others looking upon all Things as desperate, were for fighting it out to the last Man, and dying with Honour, and not unrevenged. Neither of these Opinions pleased *Montrose*; he could not think of abandoning these brave Foot who had deserved so well, to the Cruelty of a merciless Enemy: As for the other, he looked upon it as too desperate; but in the Case of the last Extremity, he took a middle Way; and immediately sends off 400 Foot commanding them to make all imaginable Dispatch in their March, without breaking Order, and the other 200 being chosen Men, to march after them at some Distance; and with his Horse he closed up the Reer, whom he ordered to march in such open Order, as if attackt by the Enemy they might receive the 200 chosen Foot in among them. And thus, with the greatest Prudence, Courage and Conduct did he care for the whole. He rightly judged that the Enemy's Foot would not be able to march up with his; and

if pursued by the Horse alone, he did not doubt but to dispute it with them now and then, until he should get quite free of all, the Sun being a setting, and the dark Night coming on, was of great Advantage to him in this Retreat.

The Enemy espying *Montrose* to have thus disposed of his Army for a speedy Retreat; and being informed of, and seeing the Smallness of his Numbers, divided their Army into two Parts, resolving to attack him in the Reer and Flank with the one, and to preclude him from the Mountains by the other. The Van of the Enemy's Horse came up close to *Montrose* his Reer, now interlined with these choice Musqueteers, and got such unwelcome Reception by a brisk Volley from them, by which divers of the foremost and forwardest fell dead from their Horses, as made the rest a little more wary and cautious in their Pursuit, and so encouraged those in *Montrose*'s Reer, that upon all Occasions they cheerfully faced about, and fearlessly received and repulsed the Enemy; and thus they continued, sometimes fighting, and at other Times marching, until the Darknels of the Night parted them, with no Loss to *Montrose*; and it would appear not much to the Rebels. About the Middle of the Night he found himself near to *Aberbrothock*, a City 12 Miles East of *Dundee*, where he halted a little to advise what was next to be done. He had no Place of Retreat to trust to but the Mountains, and rightlyguessing that the Ways to them would be laid by the Enemies Horse, he ordered his Army to face about and for, some Miles marching through the Heart of the Country westward; and then turning to the North, escaped the Enemy; and by Sun-rising crossed the River of

Southesk

Southesk, near to the Castle of *Caroldston*; and from thence sent to *Brechin*, to bring off that Part of his Army, which he had sent to that Place with his Carriages. But they, upon the Noise of the Enemy's Approach, had timely provided for their own Safety, and retired to the *Grampian Hills*.

While *Montrose* lay at *Caroldston*, waiting a Return from *Brechin*, he was suddenly advertised by his Scouts, that the Enemy's Horse were within Sight of him, and their Foot now refreshed with Meat and Sleep, were marching after them. His small Party, who had slept none for Two Days and as many Nights, but had been almost all that Time either fighting or marching, were so overtaken with a deep Sleep, that he had much ado to get them to their Arms; but that being done, he made a safe Retreat to *Glenesk*, among the *Grampian Hills*. And this Retreat of *Montrose's* from *Dundee* (which Bishop *Wishart* calls 60 Miles; tho' in this he is mistaken, all his March not making above 30) is allowed by all to be one of the greatest of his Actions, both for Courage or Conduct, during all the Time of his Wars. And the fore-named Author says, *That he has often heard in foreign Nations, this Retreat of his preferred to his greatest Victories.* *Montrose* being now secure from his Enemies, gave his over-wearied Soldiers sufficient Time to rest and refresh themselves, whilst he in a Council of War should advise, what was next to be done. Where it was determined, that the Lord *Gordon*, with most of the Horse, and a Party of Foot, should march North to his own Country, there to raise what Forces he could among his own Friends, and his Father's Vassals

Vassals and Followers ; which he cheerfully undertook to do, and as courageously performed. And

Montrose, with 500 Foot and 50 Horse, that he might distract the Enemy, marched by the Foot of the Hills, through *Angus* into *Perth*-shire, that he might make up his Army on both Sides. While *Baillie* was in *Perth* with his Army, *Montrose* came to a little Village called *Crief*, 12 Miles from that City ; which *Baillie* getting Notice of, drew out his Army in the Beginning of the Night, resolving by Break of Day to fall in upon *Montrose's* Quarters, and so by a Surprize to destroy him : But he found himself mistaken, *Montrose* had his Men ready in Arms, to march or fight, as commanded ; who having discovered the Enemy to be 2000 Foot and 500 Horse, he commanded his Foot with all Expedition to march up the River *Erne*, and to make good the Fords of it ; and he with those few, but gallant Horse he had with him, kept the Rear, and repulsed the Enemy, until his Foot, after a March of six Miles, made them Masters of the Pass on that River : And then the Enemy retiring with Loss, both Horse and Foot marched forward, and *Montrose* with them that Night, being the 18th of *April*, encamped at *Loch-Ern*, and the next Day came to *Balwhidder* (a), where the Earl of *Aboyne*, with 16 Horse, having made his Way good from *Carlisle* (notwithstanding all the Garrisons he was obliged to pass) joined him : As did also the Master of *Napier* his Nephew, and Sir *George Stirling* of *Keir* his Brother in Law, having made their Escapes from *Edinburgh*, where they had been confined. Upon which

(a) Hist. of *Montrose's* Wars, Paris, edit. p. 245. *Guthrie's* Mem. p. 145.

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which the Lord *Napier*, the old Laird of *Keir*, the Master's Lady, Daughter to the Earl of *Mar*, and his Sister Mrs. *Lilias Napier*, were made Prisoners in the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

Montrose leaving *Balwibder*, marched to *Loch-Catrinet*, and there had Intelligence, that *Urry* Lieutenant-General of the Rebels Horse, had marched North with a strong Body of Horse and Foot, to suppress the Lord *Gordon*, and stop his Levies. Upon which *Montrose* resolves, without Loss of Time, to march North, to oppose *Urry*, and to assist his gallant and beloved Friend the Lord *Gordon*; and so with the utmost Expedition passing through *Atbole*, *Angus*, and over the *Grampian* Hills at *Glenmuick*, is in the midst of *Mar* before there is any Word of him, and is there joined by the Lord *Gordon*, with 1000 Foot and 200 Horse, all resolute and gallant Men. And being thus reinforced, he immediately marches towards the River *Spey*, to seek out and fight the Enemy. *Urry* was then at *Elgin*, and did not think that *Montrose* had past the *Grampian* Hills, when he and the Lord *Gordon* were at the *Bog of Gight* (now *Gordon-castle*) within six Miles of him. He, that he might not be obliged to fight at the Pleasure of his Enemy, marches in all Haste towards *Inverness*, where he had appointed his chief Rendezvous, and *Montrose* pursues him close in the Rear, from *Elgin* to *Forreess*, and so forward, that he had much ado to get thither; and *Montrose* at last encamped at a Village called *Olderne*.

When *Urry* came to *Inverness*, he found there (according to his Expectation) the Earls of *Seaforth* and *Sutherland*, with the Forces of *Sutherland*, *Ross* and *Caitbness*, the Clan of the *Frasers*, and the Forces

Forces of *Murray* and the adjacent Parts. He had brought from the South with him, *Lothian* and *Low-don's* Regiments, and found *Lawers's* Regiment there, says *Guthrie*. And *Spalden* in his MS. adds *Buchanan's* Regiment; and further says, That he brought 600 Horse and Dragoons North with him: And with these Forces confiding in his Numbers, he marched out to fight *Montrose*. (a) Bishop *Wishart* says, That *Urry's* Army consisted of 3500 Foot, and 400 Horse. But I think he has been misinformed as to the Numbers, for *Seaforth* had a Regiment there; and that with the fore-named Regiments, makes five compleat Regiments; which with the Forces of the fore-mentioned Countries, must certainly make that Army more numerous. *Spalden* makes it to consist of 4000 Foot and 500 Horse. That Author also certainly mistakes the Number of *Montrose's* Army, 1500 Foot and 250 Horse (*equites ducentos & quinquaginta*, his Translator says only 200) he acknowledges that the Lord *Gordon* joined him with 1000 Foot and 200 Horse; and that Colonel *Macdonald* was with him with the *Irish* Foot. *Spalden* says, That *Montrose* had about 3000 Horse and Foot. 'Tis probable they were not fully that Number, but certainly they were more numerous than Bishop *Wishart* makes them. But I shall not take upon me to determine the precise Number of either Armies. Sure it is, *Urry* was supernumerary to *Montrose*; and therefore he would willingly have declined fighting at this Time, if he could have retired safely: But on the one Hand, *Urry* pressed hard upon him; and on the other, *Baillie* having
marched

(a) Hist. Montrose p. 250.

marched into *Athole*, after he left it; and the Men being all with him, he in their Absence, when none was to resist him, spoiled and burnt their Country, and was marching North in his Rear; and was then marching through *Aberdeen-shire* towards *Murray*, with a much stronger Army, especially in Horse, than *Urry* had. And being thus hardly beset on both Sides, he at last resolved to fight *Urry*, before *Baillie* should join him, not regarding the Inequality of their Numbers.

Montrose being thus resolved to fight, drew up his Army in the strongest Ground he could find, there to abide the Enemy's Charge. He gave the Command of the right Wing to Colonel *Macdonald*, with 400 Foot, placing them in a strong Ground, fortified with Banks and Ditches, Shrubs and great Stones, commanding him not to go out of his Strength, notwithstanding any Provocation the Enemy might give him; and to him he committed the Charge of the Royal Standard, judging, that upon the Sight of that, the Enemy would order the best of their Forces against that Wing, which because of the Disadvantage of the Place would be rendred almost useles to them. He commanded the rest of the Foot himself, and the Lord *Gordon* the Horse. The Enemy, as *Montrose* had foreseen, ordered the most Part of their Horse and old Soldiers against that Wing where the King's Standard was, and the Van began to dispute it with those he had placed before the Town, and in the right Flank, still sending in to them Supplies of fresh Men. *Montrose* resolved with all his Men in the left Flank, to make a vigorous Assault at once upon the Enemy. But while he is thus resolving, there comes one that whispers to him,
that

that *Macdonald* with those in the Right were put to Flight. Upon which (dissembling the Matter) he cries aloud to the Lord *Gordon*, *My Lord, what do we do, Macdonald on the Right having routed the Enemy, what do we stand by as idle Spectators, whilst he carries away the Honour of the Day; and with that desires him to charge. The Enemy's Horse not being able to stand the Charge of the Lord Gordon's Horse, immediately fled, leaving their Foot naked; who yet being old Soldiers, stood bravely to it for some Time. But Montrose coming close up to them, and charging them Sword in Hand, they threw away their Arms and fled also. Macdonald, who in the Right, being a hot Man, could not endure to be insulted by the Enemy, had come out of his Strength, was like to have paid dear for his too much Courage: However, he made the Amends of a gallant Man, brought back his Men to their Strength, he kept the Rear himself, having his Body covered with a Target he had on his left Arm, and he made excellent Use of the Sword that was in his right Hand. And*

Montrose, not unmindful of so brave a Man, and knowing how much he was put to it, he immediately came to his Aid; which the Enemy perceiving, and seeing the rest of their Army fled, the Horse without further followed; but the Foot of that Wing being many of them old Soldiers, were almost all of them killed in their Ranks. And thus *Montrose* obtained this fourth glorious Victory over the Rebels; and it was much owing to that brave Charge, by which the Lord *Gordon* put to Flight the Enemy's Horse; which obliged the main Body of their Foot soon to run. *Spalden* says, *That this Defeat was attributed*

tributed by the Rebels to one Crowner, or Major Drummond, who unskillfully wheel'd about upon their own Foot, and thereby broke their Ranks, and so occasioned many of them to be killed, for which he was thereafter condemned by a Council of War, and shot. This Battle of Olderne was fought May 4th 1645, in which were killed of the Rebels about 3000, and among those Colonel Campbell of Lawers, Sir Hugh and Sir Gideon Murrays, and divers others, Gentlemen and Officers of good Courage. Montrose lost only in the left Wing one private Soldier, and on the other, where Macdonald commanded, 14 private Soldiers; but there were many more wounded. Urry, the Earls of Seaforth, Sutherland and Findlater, and many other Gentlemen that were in the Battle, got safe into Inverness, says Spalden. Bishop Wishart says, That Montrose used such of the Prisoners, as were not obstinate in their Rebellion, courteously, and dismissed them; but such as continued obstinate, he disposed of in several Prisons. But where these Prisons were, I cannot conjecture. Sure I am, the King had neither garrisoned Fort nor Town in Scotland at that Time; so that I think that Montrose dismissed all of them, upon Promise not to carry Arms against the King hereafter. (a) There were many of Urry's Officers among the Prisoners; there were 16 Colours taken, and the whole Baggage and Ammunition of the Enemy; and the Soldiers got a good Deal of Money and rich Booty.

Montrose after this Battle gave the Soldiers some Days to refresh themselves, and then marched back to Elgin; where having the Conveniency of Chirurgeons

(a) Straloch's MS.

urgeons and Medicines, he staid some longer to cure the wounded; and from thence he came to *Keith*, and so to *Strathbogy*. And here *Baillie* meets him, to whom *Urry* and his broken Troops was now joined, and provokes him to Battle. *Montrose's* Soldiers, tho much fewer both in Horse and Foot, were very eager for it; but he kept them back, until he should raise more Forces; and therefore, maintaining the Ground he was in until Night, passes them to *Balveny*, and from thence by *Strathdown* and *Strathspey*, into *Badenoch*: And the Enemy marching up the other Side of the River of *Spey*, provokes him again to fight. But he, who as he was very daring, so was he a very cautious Captain, satisfied himself with harassing them so with Skirmishes and beating up of their Quarters, that he obliged them to march off in the Night-time to *Inverness*, where none were pursuing them. With which he was pleased, knowing that the Earl of *Lindsay*, a first Rate Covenanter, and Rival to *Argyle*, alledged, that he had not acted with suitable Care, or at least was not a fortunate General; and therefore had procured to himself the Command of an Army the Rebels had newly raised, promising to himself to manage Matters with better Conduct.

Montrose having Intelligence of all this, marched through the Plains of *Mar*, and over the *Grampian* Hills, to the Braes of *Angus*, by such speedy Marches, that he was within seven Miles of *Lindsay*, who was then with his Army at *Newtyle* in *Angus*, before he had any Account of him. (a) Bishop *Wishart* says, *That when Montrose was ready to have assaulted Lindsay,*

(a) Hist. rerum Mont. p. 273.

Lindsay, he was hinder'd from it, by the Northern Mens all deserting him, and returning Home. And he says, Some did not stick to say, that this was occasioned, and these Men brought away, by private Letters from the Marquis of Huntly to his Son Aboyne, who envied Montrose for the Honour he had gained. Envy is a secret Act of the Mind, and so the Bishop could know nothing about it, but what appeared by overt Acts; and he tells this Story in a very improbable Manner. First, He says, *Some did not stick to say so.* And what then? More said otherwise. Next, He acknowledges, *That then Aboyne, by reason of Sickness, was absent, and at a great Distance from him.* How could he then draw off these Men from his Brother the Lord Gordon, their only Darling of all the Family? This is so improbable a Story, that the good Bishop behoved certainly to be misinformed in this, as he was in many other Things. What it was that stopped him from attacking Lindsay at this Time, I shall not determine; but he changing his Mind, he and the Lord Gordon sent Colonel Nathaniel Gordon before them to the North, and they followed, and came to Cromar, having sent off Macdonald with a Party to the farthest Highlands, to conduct the Forces raised there with all Diligence to the Army. He also sent the Lord Gordon, to hasten and promote the Levies Colonel Nathaniel was making: And he not being able to face Lindsay and Baillie, being now joined together in the lower Mar, Macdonald and the Gordons being absent from him, retires towards the Mountains, to the ruinous Castle of Corgarf, there to wait (being secure from the Enemy's Horse) until the Gordons and Macdonald should return to him.

When *Montrose* was there, the Lord *Gordon* having raised what Forces he could do in a Haste, returned to him with his Brother *Aboyne*. But in a few Days *Aboyne's* Sickness recurring, he was obliged to retire back to *Strathbogy*: And in the mean Time, *Lindsay* having taken 1000 old Soldiers from *Baillie*, giving him as many raw and new listed Men in their Place, returned into *Angus*, and from thence march'd into *Atbole*, robbed and burnt all that Country; and this was all he did for all his great boasting. *Baillie* marched to *Bog of Gight*, to take in that House belonging to the Marquis of *Huntly*; which if he fail'd to do, then he resolv'd with Fire and Sword to destroy all the Country belonging to the *Gordons*. Upon which *Montrose* and the Lord *Gordon*, though *Macdonald* was absent with a strong Party, resolv'd to march to the Relief of their Friends, and fight *Baillie*: And they had not marched many Miles, before they discover'd the Enemy's Scouts. *Montrose* then sent out some of the readiest of his Men, who knew the Country best, to discover the Strength and Order of the Enemy, who immediately return with an Account, that the Foot stood on the Top of a Hill, some two Miles off; and that the Horse had possessed themselves of a narrow and troublesome Pass, which lay almost in the middle Way between the two Armies, and were come on this Side of it. Against them *Montrose* sent such Horse as he had in Readiness, interlin'd with some nimble Firelocks, whom the Enemy at first entertained with some light Skirmishes, and then retired behind their Pass, which was strongly guarded with Musquetiers. The next Day *Montrose* sent a Trumpet to *Baillie*, to offer Battle, who returned for Answer, *That he*
would

would receive no Orders to fight from an Enemy. Upon which *Montrose* removed from thence to *Pitlurg*, next to *Drumminor*, and thence to *Alford*. *Baillie* then being informed, that *Macdonald* with a strong Party was absent, and in the *Highlands*, resolved to seek out *Montrose* and fight him, and comes within four Miles of *Alford*. Upon which, he puts his Army in Order of Battle; upon a little Hill near to that Place. And

He (*Montrose*) went with a Troop of Horse, to view the Fords of *Don*, and observe the Order and Motion of the Enemy, when it was told him, that both their Foot and Horse were making towards a Ford of that River, about a Mile from *Alford*. Upon which he leaves that Troop, to bring him Intelligence of the Enemy's Motion, and returns to put the Battle in Order, and possesses himself of *Alford-hill*, there to receive the Enemy's Charge. He had scarce given the Orders of Battle, when the Troop of Horse returned with Intelligence, that *Baillie* with his whole Army had past the River; so that neither Party could well retire with Safety. *Montrose* gave the Command of the right Wing to the Lord *Gordon* (opposite to whom was the greatest Strength of the Enemy's Horse) and appointed Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon*, a skillful and brave Officer to assist him. The left Wing was commanded by the Earl of *Aboyne*, to whom was joined Sir *William Rollock*: And the main Battle was given to Two brave Gentlemen, *Glengary* and *Drummond* of *Bal-lach*, to whom he added *George Graham*, Master of the Camp, an experienced Officer. And the Reserve, which lay hid behind the Hill, was commanded by the Master of *Napier*. Both Armies were

near equal in Numbers of Foot, being each about 2000 : But *Baillie* was by much stronger in Horfe, being 600, and *Montrose* but 250; but these were mostly all Gentlemen of Honour. (a) The Lord *Gordon* first gave a smart Charge, and then marched close up to the Enemy. *Nathaniel Gordon* calling to the Foot that interlined the Horfe, to throw away their useles Guns, draw their Swords, and sheath them in the Horses Bellies; or hamstring them (as they had formerly done at *Aberdeen*) they immediately obeyed : And *Napier* bringing up the Reserve out of their lurking Place, their Appearance so surprized and terrified the Enemy, that they instantly took the Flight; but the gallant Lord *Gordon* rushing fiercely into the midst of them, was shot dead with a Musquet-ball. The last cited Author says, *That Aboyne, who commanded the left Wing, entertained the Enemy only with light Skirmishes* : But *Spalden* says, *That he charged them with equal Vigour to his Brother*. And they seeing the other Wing fled, and being deserted by the Horfe; betook themselves also to a confused Flight. This Fight was fought at *Alford*, July 2d 1645, and is the fifth glorious Victory *Montrose* obtained over the Rebels.

(b) *Baillie* and most of the Horfe made their Escape; but of the Foot very few, almost all of them, Officers and Soldiers, were killed; 12 of the Officers only were made Prisoners. Bishop *Wishart* gives no Account of the Numbers killed of the Rebels, and says, *That Montrose lost not one common Soldier, and but Two Gentlemen, except the Lord Gordon, whose*

Designa-

(a) Hist. rerum Mon. p. 290. (b) Spaldens MS.

Designations he owns he did not know; and so misnames one of them. Spalden says, That there were seven killed on the Field, among whom were the Lord Gordon, Mowat of Balwholly (whom Wishart names Culshol) and Ogilvy of Milton, who were buried in the Church of Alford. He says, The Spoil was great, 3 Pieces of Cannon, many Arms, much Ammunition, and a good Deal of Money and other Baggage: And that of the King's Army were wounded, George Douglas, Brother to the Earl of Morton, who carried the King's Standard, Sir William Hay of Dalgaty, Sir George Gordon of Gight, and Colonel Nathaniel Gordon; but all of them soon recovered. But the Death of the Lord Gordon over-ballanced all the Victory. The good and loyal Bishop Wishart says, That the Loss of him made so deep an Impression upon the Minds of all Men, that they had the Faces rather of a vanquished than a victorious Army; and that they bewailed his Loss with Sighs, Sobs, Flood-gates of Tears; and that with bedewed Cheeks, they blamed Heaven, Earth, and Fate, for depriving the King, Kingdom, the Age and themselves of such a Man; and forgetting their Victory, they fix'd their Eyes on his lifeless Body, and commending the singular Beauty of it, kiss'd his Face and Hands; compar'd the Nobility of his Descent, the Plentifulness of his Fortune, the Multitude of his Friends, and his personal Gallantry and Valour, reckoning it an unfortunate Victory, that stood them so dear: And that Montrose could not restrain himself, from bewailing with Tears, the sad and bitter Fate of his most dear and only Friend. He lamented much, that the Honour of his Nation, the Ornament of the Scottish Nobility, the powerfullest Asserter of the Royal Authority in Scotland,

and so intimate a Friend to himself, should be thus cut off in the Flower of his Age. I need add no more to the Character of that gallant and noble Gentleman, given by that worthy Prelate. He expresses it in so strong Words in the Latin, that it cannot be translated with the same Force. I have already taken Notice of the early Proofs he gave of Valour in his Youth, when educated in the School of Mars, in *Lorain* and *Alsace*, under that great General the *Marischal de la Force*, serving in the *Scots Gens d'Arms*, then commanded by his Father. Neither need I tell you, how heavily his Loss touched and was lamented by all the Name of *Gordon* and his other Friends. I shall only here take Notice, that *Montrose* had but few at this Battle, the *Atbole-men* and *Macdonald* with most of the *Irish* being absent, that were not belonging to the *Marquis of Huntly*; for *Glengary* is his Vassal, and obliged to attend him in the King's Army: So that it may be truly said, that this Battle was fought and gained by them, under *Montrose's* Conduct, assisted only by some few other gallant Gentlemen, and a Part of the *Irish*.

(a) *Montrose* after the Battle, having given Orders to embalm the Body of the Lord *Gordon*, that same Night marched the Army with it to the Kirk of *Cluny*, and the next Day towards *Crathes*; and the Day thereafter, leaving the Army on the Hill of *Fair*, he with 100 selected Foot, the Earl of *Aboyne*, and many other Gentlemen, conveyed it to old *Aberdeen*, where it was interred with such military Solemnity, as that Time would allow, in *St. John the Evangelist's Isle*, in the Cathedral Church, the Burial-

(a) Spalden's MS.

rial-place of his Mother, which his Father had purchased; and is always since called the *Gordons Isle*. And then *Montrose* with *Aboyne*, and the other Gentlemen, returned to the Army, and sent back the Earl of *Aboyne* for Recruits, many, whose Habitations were near, having gone Home with the Spoil after the Battle. And he marching the Army over the River *Dee*, and the *Grampian Hills*, encamped at *Fordon-kirk*, of old and sometimes yet called *Padie-kirk*, because in it was the Body of the famous *St. Palladius* buried. And from that Place he sent a Message to *Aboyne*, then at *Aberdeen*, to hasten him up to the Army; who immediately came, but not with very numerous Recruits; and leaving them, returned again Home (Bishop *Wisbart* says, to *Buchan*. But in that he is mistaken, he could raise no Men there, the Whole of that Country being possessed by the Covenanters) to raise as many more as was possible. And

Montrose with such an Army as he had, marched into *Angus*, where he was met by *Graham* of *Inch-brakie*, with the *Athole-men*, *Macdonald* with great Forces from the Highlands, viz. *Maclean*, a brave and loyal Man, with 700 of his Clan; the Captain of *Macronald*, with 500 of his Men; the *Macgrigors* and *Macnabs*, with their respective Chiftains; and *Glengary* by his Uncles and Friends brought him 500 Men. The *Macphersons* in *Badenoch*, belonging to *Huntly*, came with them. The *Farquharsons* from *Brae-Mar* also joined him, all of them brave and loyal Men. *Montrose* being thus reinforced, resolved to fall down to the low Country, to disturb the Enemy's Levies in *Fife*, and be-south *Forth*; and to break up the Parliament, that the Estates had ap-

pointed to meet at *Perth*. But the Scarcity of Horse in his Army hindred that. Expecting daily a considerable Body of them with the Earls of *Airly* and *Aboyne*, he marched forwards by the Foot of the Hills to *Dunkeld*, where he cross'd *Tay*, and encamped on the River of *Almond*; and then drew a little near to *Perth*, and encamped at *Methven*.

The Parliament was then sitting at *Perth*, they met the 8th of *July* 1645; and by their first Act of the 9th, they appoint a Levy to be made in the Shires be-south and West of *Perth*, of 8,200 Foot, and 450 Horse. They appointed by another Act, those who did not keep the Levies, to be severely punished: And then they named Officers, to command the several Regiments of Horse and Foot. By the last Act, they continued the Parliament to the last Day of *November*. These and all the other Acts of this rebellious Parliament, are to be seen among the rescinded Acts.

While *Montrose* was now at *Methven*, all the Enemy's Foot (the Garrison of *Perth* excepted) lay upon the South-side of the River of *Ern*; and the Horse, who were guarding the Parliament, gave the Alarm, that he would be immediately at the Gates of the City: And he the next Day, the more to terrify them, drew near to it with the few Horse he had, which were about 100; and to make the greater Show of Numbers, he mounted the same Number of his Foot on Pack-horses, drawing them up to such Advantage, that they appeared a considerable Body of Horse; which made the Enemy keep themselves within the Gates, and he stept aside to view the River of *Ern*, and the Country upon both Sides of it. This Appearance of *Montrose's*, made the Rebels in

Perth

Perth draw together from *Fife* and elsewhere, all the Forces they could, both of Foot and Horse in order to fight him, and having discovered that he had made but a sham muster of his Horse, they drew out their Forces to provoke him to fight; and he who was no rash, tho' resolute Captain, thought it fit to retire towards the Hills, until the Horse which he daily expected with *Airly* and *Aboyne* should join him: And having ordered off his Baggage, he drew out his Army, as if he had a Mind to fight the Enemy; and when he knew the Carriages were sufficiently advanced, he brought off the Army, placing the Horse and some of the best Firelocks in the Reer, who bravely repulsed the Enemy as often as they attacked them: And thus he made good his Retreat without the Loss of one Man.

The Rebels Army returned to the Camp *Montrose* had left in the Wood at *Metbven*, and there exercised their barbarous Cruelty in murdering all the Wives and Women belonging to the *Irish* and *Highlanders* that they could find. *Montrose* kept his Quarters at little *Dunkeld*, where *Aboyne* and Colonel *Nathaniel* came to him with 200 Horse, and 120 Dragoons, fewer than was expected, says Bishop *Wishart*, but in Courage and Valour far above their Numbers. *Airly*, with his Son Sir *David*, joined him with 80 Horse. *Montrose* having now a Body of some 500 Horse and Dragoons, march'd into *Fife*, and came to *Kinross* to stop their Levies there, or, if possible, to train the Enemy out of their Fastnesses, to the Aid of their Friends: But they turning another Way, and keeping close to the Banks of the Rivers of *Ern* and *Tay*, made Speed towards the East of *Fife*. As *Montrose* passed along, he sent

sent out Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon* and Sir *William Rollock* to make Discoveries, with a small Party of Horſe: They ſent that Party up and down for Intelligence, and only kept Ten Horſe with themſelves, when on a ſudden theſe two brave Gentlemen fell in with 200 of the Enemy, and not being able to retreat, theſe Twelve engaged the 200, put them to Flight, killed ſome, and took others Priſoners, an Action of unparalleled, and almoſt incredible Valour.

Montroſe now at *Kinroſs* hearing that the Earls of *Lanerk*, *Caffils*, *Eglinton* and others, zealous Covenanters, ſeeing the Seat of War drawing ſo near to them, were levying what Forces they could in the Borders and Weſt of *Scotland*; to diſturb theſe Levies, or to perſuade theſe Noblemen to return to their Duty, he reſolved to croſs the *Forth*; and decamping from *Kinroſs*, he marched towards *Stirling*, and lay that Night within three Miles of the City; and the next Day, ſending the Foot before, he marched ſlowly after with the Horſe, ſuſpecting that the Enemy would purſue him in the Rear. Nor was he diſappointed; for his Spies brought him Word that *Baillie*, with the moſt numerous Army that ever he had was at Hand; and his Scouts came ſoon in Sight of him, one of which being taken and examined, told that he believed that *Baillie* was to march all that Night, and oblige him to fight before the *Fife* Men ſhould leave him; whereupon *Montroſe* with all Expedition that Night paſt his whole Army over the *Forth*, at a Ford four Miles above *Stirling*, and made no Halt until he was ſix Miles be-weſt that City; and holding on his Journey, encamped in the Fields about *Kilſyth*, and
the

the Enemy passing the *Forth* at *Strirling*, encamped within three Miles of that Place.

Montrose being informed that the Earl of *Lanerk* had raised of the Friends and Clients of the *Hamiltons* in *Clydsdale* and other Places, 1000 Foot, and 500 Horse, and that the forenamed Noblemen and others, were raising what Forces they could, resolved to fight *Baillie*, tho' more numerous, before they joined him. The Enemy, on the other Hand, trusting to their Numbers, resolved to stop all Passes by which he might retire to the Mountains. *Baillie* brought out of *Fife* 3000 Foot in three Regiments, one commanded by the Laird of *Canmo*, the second by the Laird of *Terny*, and the 3d by *Henderson* of *Fordel*. He had also a Regiment of *Argyle's Highlanders*, reckoned 1200. *Guthry* says, That *Baillie* had in his Army 7000. *Wishart*, says 6000 Foot and 800 Horse; and that *Montrose's* his Army consisted of 4400 Foot, and 500 Horse; which I take to be a pretty exact Account of the Number of that Army. That Author says, That *Baillie* had no Mind for fighting at this Time, and was forced to it by *Crawford*, *Lindsay* and others, who obliged him to march forward, draw up his Men, and order the Battle.

Montrose was glad when he saw *Baillie* ready to fight in that Place, and told some who were standing by him, That he would supply the Want of Men by the Advantage of the Ground; and so made haste to possess himself of the Fastnesses that were before him, and then ordered his Men, Horse and Foot to fight naked, all to their Shirts above the Middle, which they chearfully obeyed, resolving either to conquer or die. In the Place where they intended to fight, there were some Cotages and Country Gardens, in
which

which *Montrose* lodged some few Men; and the first Attempt of the Enemy was to dislodge them, and for that End they made a fierce Attack upon them; but those who man'd these Places gave them so hot a Reception, as soon cool'd their Courage: They beat them off, drove them away, and slew them without Resistance: Which happy Beginning so animated some of the *Highlanders* that were nearest by, that they rashly (not waiting Orders) ran up the Hill, which lay open to the whole Strength of the Enemy. *Montrose* was not pleas'd with their Rashness, yet found himself oblig'd to support them; and the Van of the Enemy's Army making a Stand until the Reer should come up, gave him the better Time to do it; but the Rear being come up, they sent out three Troops of Horse, and 2000 Foot against those rash but resolute Men. Upon which *Montrose* desired the Earl of *Airly* that he would correct the Rashness of these brave young Men, and support them by his grave and discreet Valour.

Airly very chearfully accepted of this dangerous Piece of Service, he took along with him a Troop of gallant Horse, commanded by *James Ogilvy* of *Baldelvie*, who had formerly been a Colonel in *Swedenland*, a resolute and experienced Officer, who led them on upon the Enemy, who charged the *Ogilvies* sharply for a little Time; but at last not being able to withstand their Valour, soon gave Ground; and *Airly* pursued them so hotly, that he entirely routed them, and breaking through them, made them fall foul of their own Foot, and disorder them; which *Montrose's* Soulders perceiving, they could not be kept back longer, but with a great Shout, charging the Enemy, which they not being able to stand,

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immediately fled; which the Foot perceiving, throwing away their Arms, betook themselves also to flight, to save their Lives; but it proved of little Use to them, for the victorious Pursuers had the killing of them for 14 Miles; and Bishop *Wishart* says, *That there was not 100 of the Foot came off; nor did the Horse escape well; for of them some were killed, some taken, and the rest disperst.* *Guthry* says, *That the Rebels Foot, which were reckoned to be 7000, all of them were cut off in the Fight and Flight, except a few Straglers, who made their Escape:* So that it would appear from these two Authors, that there were between 6 and 7000 of the Rebels kill'd in this Battle, which *Guthry* says was fought on the 15th of *August* 1645. Their Ordnance, Arms and Spoil, which was very considerable, came all clear to the Conquerors. *Montrose* lost only but six Men, three of them were gallant Gentlemen, of the Sirname of *Ogilvy*; and the other three common Soldiers: And this is the Sixth Battle fought by *Montrose* in the Space of 12 Months, wherein he was victorious over the Rebels. But that which is most surprizing is, That in these six Battles there were killed of the Rebels more than 16000; and in all of them put together, *Montrose* lost not above 40 or 50 Men at most. I acknowledge it is a Thing almost incredible; the like of it not to be found in any History, and yet after all the Enquiry I was capable to make, I find it a most certain Truth. But the Reason of it was, That the Rebels did never stand the first close Charge of *Montrose*, tho' always much more numerous.

In this Battle there were several Prisoners taken, amongst whom were Sir *William Murray* of *Blebo*,
Jame

James Arnot, Brother to the Lord *Burley*, Colonels *Dice* and *Wallis*, all whom *Montrose* discharged upon their promising upon Honour not to carry Arms hereafter against the King. The Noblemen who were at this Battle saved themselves by a timely Flight; *Argyle* fled to the *Queensferry*, where he saved himself by a Boat, this being the third Time that he was obliged to such a Machine; and after that, he, with the Chancellor, the Earls of *Crawford*, *Lanerk* and others, fled to *Berwick*, as did *Baillie* (says *Spalden*) and *Glencairn* and *Cassils* fled to *Ireland*. After this Battle *Montrose* staid two Days at *Kilsyth* to refresh his Army; in which Time Sir *Robert Douglas*, and Mr. *Archbald Fleming* came Commissioners from *Glasgow* to congratulate his Victory, and to invite him to that City; whereupon the next Day he marched thither with his Army, and received the City into his Protection, restrained his Soldiers from Plunder, and the Day after that marched to *Bothwell*, where Commissioners came to him, from the Shires of *Linlithgow* and *Renfrew*, the Cities of *Irvine* and *Air*, all of them acknowledging their Rebellion, laying all the Blame of it on their Ministers. Then *Montrose* sent in Colonel *Macdonald* into the West, to oblige those who as yet had not made their Submission to do it.

Montrose's next Care was for the Prisoners in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, who were condemned, and daily expected Death, for no other Crime but their Loyalty to their Prince, these were *Lodwick* Earl of *Crawford*, the Lords *Ogilvy* and *Rae*, the Lairds of *Drum*, *Powry*, *Ogilvy* and Dr. *Wisbart*; (for before this Time, says *Guthry*, *Robert Irvine* died in the Prison) therefore he sent off the Master of *Napier*

pier, and Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon*, and a selected Party of Horse, to summon the City, and receive it upon Surrender, to set the Prisoners at Liberty, and to settle the Town in Peace and Loyalty. The Plague was then raging in the Town, so they were unwilling to enter it, thereby to preserve their Men from that infectious Disease; as also, to save the Town from Fire and Plunder; therefore when they were within four Miles of the Town they made a Stop: But how soon the News of their Approach came to Town, the whole City fell into such a Consternation and Fear, as if it had been already in Fire, and an enraged Enemy set at Liberty to burn and slay. They call'd a common Council, where it was resolv'd upon, that the only Mean now left them to preserve the City and themselves from utter Ruin, was to make their Application to the Prisoners, and to beg their Mediation with *Montrose*, which they immediately did, in the most humble Manner, intreating that they would have Compassion on the afflicted Inhabitants of the City, almost already destroyed by Pestilence that had so long raged in it; they humbly acknowledged themselves guilty of all those Crimes they were justly charged with; and they supplicated two of the Prisoners (whom they judged to have most Interest with *Montrose*, the Earl of *Crawford* and the Lord *Ogilvy*, whom they immediately set at Liberty, that they would be so good as to accompany such Commissioners as they were to send to *Montrose*, and to mediate with him for Compassion to the distressed City.

These two Noblemen went straight out with the City Delegates to *Napier* and *Gordon*. The first had already liberated his Father, his Brother in Law the Laird

Laird of *Keir*, his own Lady and Sisters, whom he had found Prisoners at *Linlithgow*. The Noblemen and City Delegates went forward to *Montrose*, whom they found in his Camp at *Bothwell*. He fondly imbraced the Noblemen, and, at their Desire admitted the City Delegates, who immediately made a Surrender of it to him, humbly desired his Pardon, promising all imaginable Loyalty and Obedience for the Time to come, and instantly to set all the Prisoners in their Possession at Liberty. This indeed they performed, but as to the other Articles they bound themselves to, they performed none of them. While *Montrose* lay at *Bothwel*, came to him the Marquis of *Douglafs*, the Earls of *Annan-dale* and *Hartfield*, the Lords *Erkine*, *Seton*, *Drummond*, *Fleeming*, *Maderty*, *Carnegy* and *Johnston*, with several others, Knights and Gentlemen, amongst whom were Sir *John Hamilton* of *Orbiston*, Justice-Clerk, and *Archbald Primrose* Clerk to the Committee of Estates, all of them promising their Service and Assistance for the future. *Guthry* (a) says, *That Montrose fancied by the two last named, to draw over the Earl of Lanerk to his Side, but that the Lord Napier and others advised him rather to take Care that they wrought not a Division in his Army; for it was their Opinion that Lanerk had sent them thither for that End.*

At this Time there came several Messengers different Ways from the King to *Montrose*, amongst whom was Sir *Robert Spottiswood*, now Secretary of State, who brought him Instructions from the King, that he should join *Roxburgb* and *Traquair*, and

(a) Memoirs. p. 6. 146.

and make haste towards the River *Tweed*; where he should meet such a Party of Horse, as should enable him to fight *David Lesly*, if he should come against him with the *Scots* Horse. He also then delivered *Montrose* his Commission under the Seal, to be Captain General to all his Majesty's Forces in *Scotland*, and Governor of that Kingdom. Upon which he immediately knighted Colonel *Alexander Macdonald*, and issued out a Proclamation, calling a Parliament to meet at *Glasgow*, *October* 20th. *Montrose* having before this sent off the Marquis of *Douglas*, and with him the Lord *Ogilvy*, with what Horse they could raise in the South, resolving to march in Obedience to the King's Orders to that Country; and in his Way encamped at *Calder*. At this Time Bishop *Wishart* says, *Before this Time, the most of the Highlanders, being loaded with Spoil; desired Leave to return home (their Houses and Corns being burnt and destroyed in their Absence) to make Winter Provision for their Wives and Families; and Sir Alexander Macdonald entreated that he might be allowed to go along with them as their Captain, promising in their Names to return in greater Numbers within a few Weeks: and Montrose not being able to stop them, seemed willingly, to encourage their Return, to consent to it; and that Macdonald carried along with him 3000 resolute Men, and 120 of the best of the Irish to be his Guard.*

(a) That Author also says, *That at this Time the Earl of Aboyne carried off with him, not only his own Men, but all the rest of the northern Forces; and that he would not be intreated, neither by the Gover-*

(a) *Hist. rerum Mont.* p. 391.

nor nor his own Friends, to stay but for a Week. That right reverend Author gives no Reason, nor so much as a pretended one, made Use of by *Aboyne* for his thus at this Time leaving *Montrose*; and therefore I shall give the Reason that at this Time provoked not only *Aboyne*, but also *Macdonald* and the rest of the *Highlanders* to leave *Montrose*, as I my self had it more than once from several Gentlemen of good Credit, who were then present in the Army with *Aboyne*; and particularly from *Alexander Gordon* Tutor to this present *Pitlurg*, a Gentleman of great Prudence, Integrity and Credit in the Esteem of all who knew him; and it was this, That when Sir *Robert Spottiswood* came down with *Montrose's* Commission, they came to understand, That in all the Accounts *Montrose* had sent to the King of the several Victories he had obtained, he had not so much as made Mention of any of them, their Behaviour, or the Assistance they had afforded him; and this they took as a high Contempt of them, and a Piece of great Injustice done them. They also began to perceive, or at least imagined so, That the great and liberal Promises he had gotten of Assistance from so many of the Nobility and others in the South and West, made him have less Regard for them, and alter his Behaviour towards them. Now

I shall not take it upon me, even supposing these Reasons to be true, fully to vindicate these loyal Persons for leaving *Montrose* at this Time, especially he being now clothed with so high and ample a Commission, and the King's Affairs so much requiring their Assistance. I shall only, with all Submission to *Montrose's* great and deserved Character beg Leave to say thus much in Vindication of those loyal Gentlemen

tlemen, that if it be true that was reported to me
 and I am sure the Reporters would not have told
 what they believed not to be so, that in that Case
Montrose neither acted prudently nor justly by them.
 And *Montrose* had soon Occasion to be sensible of this
 Omission in the Want of them; for if they had all
 staid with him, he would have been in a Condi-
 tion to have given General *Lesly* other Entertainment
 at *Philiphaugh* than he did. It has been the Cu-
 stom of all Nations, that when Generals obtain Vi-
 ctories, when they send Accounts of the same to
 their Princes, honourably to mention the Behaviour
 of those of distinguished Characters, who behave
 with Honour and Gallantry in the Day of Battle.
 'Tis commonly said that Men are but Men, and
 high Spirits cannot bear Contempt. They knew
 that *Montrose* had but a very few Friends, and no
 Followers of his own that ever were with him; and
 that the Victories he obtained was folly owing to their
 Assistance and Valour, and they could not forgive
 him that he had never so much as once mentioned
 them to the King: And this *Macdonald* so highly
 resented, that no Messages could ever persuade him
 to see *Montrose*, nor any Allurements could ever
 induce *Aboyne*, nor most of the *Highland* Clans cor-
 dially to join with him thereafter; and this unhappy
 Discord was what not only ruined the King's Cause,
 but consequently both *Montrose* and them. I have
 often heard it reported, that *Montrose*, as he was
 young, so he was naturally a high Man, and that his
 Victories so often repeated in so short a Time, and
 the high Commission the King had sent him, added
 not a little Fuel to that Fire, which came soon to
 be perceived. But to do Justice to that great Man's

Character, he was as gallant a Gentleman as this or any other Nation could boast of in that Age. I cannot but here take notice; how in one Thing the afore-named Author misrepresents *Aboyne*, and it is in this; He says, *Aboyne took not only away with himself his own Men, but also all the rest of the Northern Forces with him.* In this he is surely in the Wrong. There were no northern Forces there, but what properly belonged to *Aboyne*, except a few who were with *Airly*; and he neither does nor could pretend, that *Aboyne* took any of them away with him: So he could not take away but his own; and I can never so much as guess what could have moved that Author so often to misrepresent *Aboyne*, who was constant and inflexible in his Loyalty from the very first of the Rebellion even to his Life's End.

Montrose tho' the before named Persons had left him, yet he continued his March with his small Army towards the South, and passing through *Lothian-Shire*, was at *Strathgala*, joined by *Douglas*, and others, but not with so numerous Forces as he expected, or they had promised. Here the Earl of *Traquair* came to him, and promised his Assistance; and accordingly he sent him to it, with his Son the Lord *Linton*, a gallant Troop of Horse, to serve under his Command, and promised to furnish him Intelligence of *Lesly's* Motions, who was coming against him with a great Body of Horse. And now not being far from *Roxburgh* and *Home*, and hearing nothing of them from whom he expected so much, he resolved to march into their Country, to bring them in to him one Way or other; but he was prevented by *David Lesly*, who sent a Party of Horse from *Berwick*, and brought

brought them thither Prisoners. And this was said to be done by the Contrivance of *Roxburgh*, and at his Desire. *Montrose* upon this Disappointment, that he might not be stopped from a Retreat to the North, resolves to change his Course and march West, and so came to *Kelfo*; and leaving that, marched to *Jedburgh*, and from thence to *Selkirk*. *Lesly* had march'd his Army into *Lothian*, wherein it was determined in a Council of War, That he should march towards *Stirling* to stop *Montrose's* Retreat to the North, and oblige him to fight before he should be joined by any Recruits from that Country: But he being advertised, that *Montrose* having only with him 500 *Irish*, and a weak Party of Foot and Horse newly raised in the West and South, might be easily surpris'd in the Borders; he altered his Measures, and marched *South* to seek out *Montrose* with all Expedition.

(a) The two Historians of that Time, Bishops *Wishart* and *Guthry*, say the Earl of *Traquair* sent this Advertisement to *Lesly*. *Wishart* says, *That Traquair sent Letters to Lesly was the general Report, tho' I cannot affirm it; but it cannot be denied that the same Night he sent his Commands to his Son the Lord Linton, that he should immediately withdraw himself, which he did.* And some Pages before that he is pleas'd to say, *That Traquair plaid the Scout-master to the Covenanters.* This good and loyal Prelate, in the first cited Place, owns in some Measure that he wrote upon Report, and that proving too often false, and he giving too easy a Credit to it, occasioned him to wrong the Characters of

(a) Burnet's Memoirs, p. 161. (b) Hist. rer. Montif. p. 404.

several loyal and well deserving Persons, and among others this Earl of *Traquair*; for that the King esteemed him such to the last, I shall clearly make appear.

I have already taken Notice, that the Covenanters always esteemed him their mortal Enemy; and at the Treaty of *London* they ranked him among their greatest Enemies; and as such, obliged the King to except him out of the Act of Oblivion, concluded upon in that Treaty, and that in the subsequent Parliament, *Anno 1641*, he was prosecuted as an Incendiary, for opposing the Covenant, &c. And his Remission from the King for the Crimes libelled then against him is by me. That the King believed him a faithful Counsellor and loyal Subject, appears from a Tract of Letters, written by the King's own Hand to him, (tho' Bishop *Burnet* falsely says (a), *That the Difference the King used in his Writing was, That he wrote to Hamilton with his own Hand, but used Hamilton's Hand when he wrote to Traquair.* The Copies of eight of them are by me. The present Earl of *Traquair* was pleased to Honour me with a Sight of the Originals, in the Presence of several Gentlemen of Honour and Learning, who owned all of them to be wrote by the King's own Hand; seven of them bear Date from the 20th of *November 1637*, to the 15th of *July 1646*. The Eight delivered to the Earl by Mr. *Murray* has no Date; and for the Readers Satisfaction and Vindication of that Noble Family, I shall insert them in the *Appendix N. 8*. Generals after they have had the Misfortune to be surpris'd by the Enemy, if it be in their

Power

(a) *Memoirs* p. 156.

Power to lay the Blame of it on any Person, they never miss to do it for their own Vindication. And there is no doubt, if *Montrose* in the least had suspected himself to have been betrayed by *Traquair*, he would have acquainted the King with it; and the rather that the King had commanded him to trust him; but that he did not, appears evident to me from the last Letter, which bears Date from *Newcastle*, June 15. 1646, now full Nine Months after the Surprise at *Philiphaugh*. But yet further, and what vindicates this Nobleman's Character beyond Exception is, That for his Behaviour at this Time towards *Montrose*, he was upon the 9th Day of the following *April*, Anno 1646, fined by the Committee of Estates in the Sum of 40000 Merks, which was rigidly exacted, and he immediately obliged to pay it; and his Discharge for it from *Archbald Sideserf* Deputy to Sir *Andrew Hepburn* of *Humbie* Treasurer to the Army, is by me. Now that this can be no simulate Matter, is evident from their so severely exacting the Money, as the Discharge clearly makes appear they did; and, in my Opinion, no indifferent Reader can think that they would have used any Nobleman, whom they esteemed their secret Friend at this Rate. And last of all, at Duke *Hamilton's* Engagement, he levied a Regiment of Horse for the King's Service, march'd into *England* with them, and maintain'd them all the Time after the Levy; and all this upon his own Charge. Now I hope all these Evidences of this Earl's Loyalty put together, will so far overbalance all the forenamed Author's *Hearsay*, that being misled by them, it will clearly appear to the impartial Reader, that he has done wrong to that Nobleman's Character; and it

appears to me so evident, that I shall enlarge no more upon it.

Montrose at *Selkirk* quartered his Horse in a Village, and his Foot in a Wood near by it. He placed all his Guards and put out all his Scouts, giving Orders to his Officers to patrol all the Country round, and to be careful in their several Stations; and then he retired to dispatch some Letters he was to send to the King early next Morning. He had Accounts from Time to Time that there was no Enemy near him, and, by Break of Day, Parties of Horse were sent out to view all the Country round; and the Officers who commanded them assured him at their Return, That there was no Enemy within Ten Miles of him, altho' it afterwards appeared that *Lesly* and his whole Army had lyen all Night within four Miles of them; for about Ten a-Clock in the Forenoon, the Morning having been very foggy, his amazed Scouts came riding in at the full Gallop, with an Account that the Enemy was marching towards them in a full Body, and was not half a Mile off.

Montrose upon this Alarm, mounting the first Horse he could find, gallops into the Field appointed for the Rendezvouz that Morning, where he found nothing but Noise and Confusion. The Cavalry were scattered up and down in their Quarters; and upon the first Alarm, they ran hither and thither, not knowing where, but took Care never to come where they should have been, that was into the Battle, only a few Noblemen and Gentlemen made all Speed thither, and gallantly undertook to make good the right Wing; and they in all were not above 120, (says Bishop *Wishart*) but by taking Notice of the Number *Montrose* had with him the Day after
the

the Battle, there must have been more of them. I find no Author, that gives an exact Account of the Number of *Montrose's* Army at this Time; nay, no Account at all, but by comparing one Part with another, of the printed and MS. Histories of these Times. I think he behoved to be at least upwards of 1200 Foot and about 600 Horse (a); I find him marching from *Bothwell* with 700 Foot; I find none of the *Irish* taken from him, but 120 by Sir *Alexander Macdonald*: And considering the Number of the Nobility and Gentry, and many of them of great Power in those Parts, who would always bring some of their Friends and Clients along with them, their Number could not be fewer than 600 Horse: But then indeed, all the Foot and Horse he had from the South and West, were new levied and undisciplined Men, never accustomed to Arms, and knew little of Honour, the Noblemen and Gentlemen being excepted. I have said, that

Montrose that Morning found his Cavalry in great Confusion, and his Foot were in no better Order, and many of their Officers absent. The Enemy being now at Hand, and pressing hard upon *Montrose*, with an Army of 6000, the most, if not all of them Horse, he had neither Time to deliberate nor to retreat; and so since fight he must, he put his Army in the best Order the short Time he had to do it would allow. *Lesly's* Horse charged *Montrose's* right Wing twice, and were as often gallantly beat off with Loss. Nor were they able to break that gallant Troop; and so wheeling to the Left, they broke in upon the Flank of the Foot, where there were no Horse; and then

(a). Guthrie's Mem. p. 159.

then a Party of no less than 2000 Horse, being sent over the River by the Enemy, fell in upon the Rear of that gallant Troop of Gentlemen; which they not being able to resist, retired every one, doing the best he could for himself. The Horse being gone, the Foot having little Hopes of escaping, drew to a little Hill; which they maintained with great Courage, until *Stewart* the Adjutant procured Quarter for them from *David Lesly*. Whereupon they descended to a plain Field, delivered up their Arms and surrendered. But thereafter, when in cold Blood, their Ministers came to give Thanks to GOD for their Victory; they made Use of that Expression of the Prophet to *Saul*, *What means the bleeting of these Sheep, or lowing of those Oxen*, applying the same to the *Irish* Prisoners. And General *Lesly* could get no Rest for them, until they obliged him to let loose the Army upon them, who barbarously murder'd all of them, Man, Wife and Child, without Distinction of Sex or Age; *It seems they impiously thought, that GOD would be pleased with Humane Sacrifice*. *Lesly* preserved Two of the chief Officers, *Ocaen* and *Lacblane*; the one Colonel, and the other Major. Both of them had given often and signal Proofs of their Valour, and were much esteemed by *Montrose*. These Two young Gentlemen he sent into *Edinburgh*, as a Trophy of his Victory, where they were immediately condemned, and hanged upon the *Castle-hill*. Their Cruelty did not yet end; they had an insatiable Thirst after Blood. When their Army came to *Linlithgow* and *Falkirk*, there they found, or were brought in to them, about 40 or 50 of the Wives and Children of the *Irish*; all of whom, young and old, big-bellied Women near their Deli-
very,

very, others with their suckling Orphans hanging at their Breasts, they threw into the River of *Almond*, and there drowned them. They placed Soldiers on the Sides of the River, who when the poor Women were scrambling out to save their Lives, pushed them in again with the Points of their Pikes, till they were dead. A Barbarity, the like whereof was not committed by the *Spaniards* in the Conquest of *Mexico*.

I do not find the Number of the slain in the Battle recorded. Bishop *Wishart* says, there could not be many, except those killed in cold Blood. Most of the Prisoners of Note, while straggling in Ways they knew not, were taken by the Country-people, and delivered to the Enemy; the chief of whom were, the Earl of *Hartfield*, the Lords *Ogilvy* and *Drummond*, Sir *Robert Spotswood*, Sir *Alexander Lesly* of *Achtiteal*, Sir *William Rollock*, Sir *Philip Nisbet*, *William Murray* Brother to the Earl of *Tullibardine*, *Alexander Ogilvy* of *Innerness*, Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon*, Captain *Alexander Gutbrie* Son to the Bishop of *Murray*, &c. The Enemy got great and rich Spoil, and among the rest *Montrose* his Commission, and several Letters from the King to him: But both the King's Standards were preserved; that of the Foot by an *Irish* Soldier, a brave Man, who pulling it from the Staff, wrapt it about his Body, made his Way Sword in Hand through the Enemy, and brought it safe to *Montrose* at Night; who in Reward of his Valour, gave it him to carry. The other of the Horse, was preserved by *William Hay* Brother to *Kinnoul*, who carried it; and after several Wandrings to and again, preserved it and brought it at last to *Montrose*; who seeing all lost, with a Party of 30 Horse broke through

through the Enemy, and made his Escape. The principal Men with him were the Marquis of *Douglas*, the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lords *Erskine*, *Fleming* and *Napier*. He was scarce Three Miles off, when he had got together such a Party, as was able to secure him from being insulted by the Country-people; and then marching at Leisure, he came to *Peebles*, where he rested that Night. And the next Morning he past *Clyde*, being conducted by Sir *John Dalziel*; and there to their mutual Joy met him the Earls of *Crawford* and *Airly*. And now by this Time having pick'd up by the Way about 200 Horfe, he determined without Loss of Time, to make the best of his Way to *Atbole*; and having past the *Forth*, and marched in by the Foot of the Mountains to *Dunkeld*, and from thence to *Atbole*, having in his Way sent off before him *Douglas* and *Airly*, with a Party of Horfe into *Angus*, and the Lord *Erskine* into *Mar*, to raise what Forces they could in those Countries, among their Friends and Vassals.

The Committees of the Estate and Kirk were sitting at this Time. The last took into their Consideration, that which they were most concerned about, and that was the Disposition of Mens Heads (says *Guthrie*) (a), who was then a Member of it: And says, *That he was an Ear-witness to all that past*. They sent Mr. *William Bennet* (Moderator in Absence of Mr. *Robert Douglas*) and two others of their Number, to press the Committee of Estates to condemn and execute the Prisoners: And they having proposed their bloody Desire, divers of the Lords were against it; and they were like to have
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(a) Guthrie's Mem. p. 164.

misd their Aim, had not the Earl of Tillibardine made a Speech to this Purpose, *That because he had a Brother among those Men, it might be that their Lordships so valued his Concurrence with them in the good Cause, that for Respect of him, they were the more loth to resolve upon the Question: But as for himself, since that young Man had joined himself to that wicked Crew, he did not esteem him his Brother; and therefore declared, that he would take it for no Favour, if upon that Account any Indulgence was granted him.* Upon which at the Intercession of the Kirk, Ten of them were appointed for Death, viz. the Earl of Hartfield, the Lord Ogilvy, William Murray Tillibardine's Brother; Alexander Ogilvy of Innercarity, Sir William Rollock, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Stewart the Adjutant, and Captain Andrew Guthrie.

The Committee of Estates getting an Account, that Montrose having raised a new Army in the North, was marching towards Glasgow, both Committees resolved to go thither, taking along Lesly with the greatest Part of the Army, to be their Guard. And the first Thing they did there, was to condemn to Death Three of their Prisoners, whom they caused execute, Oct. at the Market-cross there. These were first, that gallant and loyal Gentleman Sir William Rollock; and the next Day Sir Philip Nisbet and Alexander Ogilvy of Innercarity. The first, Heir of that ancient Family of West-Nisbet, and Chief of that Name, and but lately come Home from foreign Parts. The last, but a Youth scarce 18 Years of Age, and new come from the Schools: And upon this Occasion, that bloody Preacher, Mr. David Dick was heard to utter that impious Expression,
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The Work goes bonnily on. Unworthy indeed of a *Mabumetan Mufti*, much less of a Christian Minister. The Execution of the other Prisoners was delayed, until the Parliament should sit down at *St. Andrews* November next.

Montrose after his Retreat to *Dunkeld*, marched into *Atbole*; and tho the Harvest of that cold Country was not yet ended, yet they afforded him 400 good resolute Foot. Bishop *Wisbart* says, *That there were then uncertain Reports, that the King was to send a good Body of Horse to join Montrose.* And it is true, the King commanded the Lord *Digby*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, to make an Attempt with the Northern Horse to join *Montrose*, if possible. They had with them 1500 Horse; the Earls of *Carnwath* and *Nithsdale*, Scots Gentlemen, were with them: But near *Sherburn*, they were intirely defeated by Colonel *Copley*. And after the Loss of all their Baggage, they made an inglorious Retreat to *Skipton*, and at last to *Dumfries*: And then losing all Hopes of joining with *Montrose*, *Digby*, *Langdale*, the two Earls, and most of all the Officers shipp'd off to the *Ile of Man* (a). *Montrose* having no Notice of this Defeat, marched out of *Atbole* into *Mar*, making Haste to the Lord *Aboyne*, that he might encourage him by his Presence, to make more Haste South. He found in his Journey the Lord *Erskine* sick, but his Men and Clients all in a Readiness, if encouraged by *Aboyne's* Example. Here the last cited Author tells us, *That Huntly was now come Home from his lurking.* He calls him an *unthoughtful and unfortunate Man*: And further says, *Howsoever he would seem*

(a) Eachard's Hist. of England, Vol. 2. p. 538.

seem most affectionate to the King's Cause (and perhaps was so) yet he endeavoured by a close and dishonourable Envy, rather to extenuate Montrose his Glory, than out-vey it. He says, Seeing that it was not for his Credit openly to profess it, even before his own Friends, lest by that he should discover something of a Heart alienated from the King, he gave out, that for the future, he would take the Conduct of the War against the Rebels upon himself.

Here that Author gives *Huntly* a very bad Character. Envy is an Action or rather Passion of the Mind. He pretends to have known the very secret Thoughts of his Mind; he speaks here very doubtfully of his Loyalty, and that his Mind began to be alienated from the King. He would need to have been well acquainted with him, when he knew these Secrets of his Mind, none of them appearing by any overt Act. *Huntly* was immoveable and constant in his Loyalty, even to and in his Death, as the same Author acknowledges in another Place, which I will have Occasion to notice hereafter. Then he makes *Huntly* to have had very senseless Speeches to his Friends, full of boasting of the Glory and great Actions of his Ancestors, his own great Power; and that it was unjust, that the Honour gotten at the Expence of their Blood, should be put to another Man's Score; and a great Deal more of such idle Stuff, needless to be repeated. Now, this Author was not Ear-witness to these Speeches, nor does he name any Person who told him of them; and therefore in all Justice, they must be esteem'd his own, and for these Reasons, in no Construction can be put upon *Huntly*; and so I don't think myself obliged to take any further Notice of them. Only I must
be

be allowed to think it not a little strange, that such a pious and loyal Author, should give so bad a Character of *Huntly* here, who in another Place hereafter is pleased to give him so great an one.

Aboyne being solicited by *Montrose* and his own Friends to join him, meets him at *Drumminor* with 1500 Foot and 300 Horse, all cheerful in the Service, telling him, *That he had left his Brother the Lord Lewis to bring up the rest.* Upon which *Montrose* turned back the same Way he came, that taking up the *Lord Erskine's* Forces, he might march into *Atbole* and *Angus*, not doubting but in a short Time to pass the *Forth*. *Bishop Wishart* says, *In the second Day's March, Lord Lewis, who was put under Crawford's Command, marched back, taking away with him a strong Party of Horse, as if he had been to attack some Troops of the Enemy: And that in the third Day's March, when at Alford, Aboyne's Men were observed to draw back; and that they came to run away in Companies every Night.* This is a Story that I cannot understand, how they should have been Three Days marching from *Drumminor* to *Alford*, being but six Miles; or what should have brought them to that Place at any Rate. They could expect no Forces to join them there, and it was quite out of the Way to the *Lord Erskine's* Country in *Mar*. That Author says, *That then their Commander Aboyne desired Leave to depart, alledging for his Excuse, his Father's Commands, and that the Enemies were in lower Mar, and would be immediately upon their Backs, if they were deprived of the Protection of their own Men.* All Persons were surprized at this sudden Change, and *Montrose* gave him many Reasons to dissuade him from it; which

which he not being able to answer, desired his Father might be acquainted with the Whole. Which being granted, *Donald Lord Rae*, and *Alexander Irvine of Drum*; Son in Law to *Huntly*, were sent to acquaint him with it. The Lord *Rae* did not return, and *Drum* brought no more with him, but dubious and uncertain Answers. Upon which *Aboyne* declared, That it was against his Will to depart from *Montrose*: But urging the Necessity he lay under to please his Father, he desired Liberty to return Home, to pacify him, and promised in a Fortnight to return with more numerous Forces; which *Montrose* was obliged to consent to.

Aboyne being gone Home, *Montrose* marched by *Brac-Mar* into *Atbole*, and from thence down to *Perth-shire*, where came to him from the King Captain *Thomas Ogilvy* younger of *Powrie*; and Captain *Thomas Nisbet*, both of them with Commands, that if it were possible, he should march towards *England*, to join the Lord *Digby*. Both of these Messengers *Montrose* dispatched North, to communicate these Orders from the King to them. *Montrose* marched from *Strathern* into the *Lennox*, and quartered upon *Buchanan's* Lands, a prime Covenanter, at which Time those Three galliant Gentlemen I named before, were beheaded at *Glasgow*. He had sent several Messages, to bring Sir *Alexander Macdonald* to him; but nothing could perswade him to it. Both *Aboyne* and he took it in so bad a Part, and were so highly displeas'd with the Injustice they Believed he had done them, in never so much as making Mention of them in any of his Dispatches to the King, that nothing could ever bring *Macdonald* to see him; and *Aboyne* had no liking to serve under him. The

Winter being now far advanced, and the Season extremely severe, *Montrose* marched back from the *Lennox* into *Athole*, where he found waiting him the Two Messengers he had sent to *Huntly*, who told him, that they found *Huntly* inflexible in his Resolutions; for *Montrose* and he both had got the News of the Lord *Digby's* Defeat.

Montrose resolved, at least seemingly, to take no Notice of *Huntly's* Backwardness, and sent Sir *John Dalziel*, as a Mediatour of Friendship, and to inform him of the Danger the King and Kingdom were in, &c. and to desire a Conference of him. And after he had settled his Affairs in *Athole*, he marched his Army into *Angus*, and then over the *Grampian Hills*, when cover'd with Frost and Snow, into *Aberdeen-shire*; and made such Haste, that he was in *Strathbogy* with a small Party of his Army, before *Huntly* (who was then there) heard of him: And least he should unwillingly be brought to a Conference (that Author says) he fled to his House of *Bogy*, upon the Bank of the River *Spey*. I shall only here by the By take Notice, that he was not here with *Montrose* at this Time, nor ever had been in that Country, else he had known that that House was then, and always before called *Bog of Gight*; and that it is twelve Miles from *Bogy*: So that all he says of that noble and loyal Family, is only from Hearsay, and so he might very readily have been misformed. He here again falls on the Marquis of *Huntly*, and treats him with his accustomed Civilities. He begins to tell us, *Montrose never gave the Marquis of Huntly any Distaste to him, but had obliged him with Courtesies many Times, very undeservedly; nor could be ever bear of any Cause, nor so much as*

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guess at any, that ever could have provoked Huntly against him, but a weak and impotent (*Emulation I cannot call it*) but *Envy of his surpassing Worth*; for I cannot say, that ever his Mind was alienated from the King, tho always averse to Montrose, &c. As to that I have taken Notice of it already, and need not repeat it here. And then he says, *Both Father and Son had put neither a few nor small Affronts upon the King's Lieutenant*. And here mentions some of them; and I (with all Submission to his Character) think myself obliged to take Notice of them.

(a) He says, *They digged up the great Guns Montrose hid in the Ground last Year, and carried them in Triumph to their own Castles, and would not restore them on Demand*; Guns gotten at the Battles of Tippermuir and Aberdeen, where no Gordons were: But in an upbraiding Manner tells, *That Lord Lewis Gordon fought there on the Enemy's Side*. If he had as well remembred, that when the Marquis of Montrose was at Aberdeen on the Enemy's Side, he took the Marquis of Huntly Prisoner, contrary to the safe Conduct he had given him, he would have known the Reason of the Disgust Huntly had at Montrose; and he might have known the one better than the other: For when the Battle of Aberdeen was fought, he was Prisoner at Newcastle; whereas when Huntly was brought Prisoner to Edinburgh, he was at St. Andrews, which was not far out of the Way; but more probably at Edinburgh. As for the Guns, he brings not the least Shadow of Evidence, that ever they were demanded; and I think 'tis hardly possible. Sure I am, 'tis highly improbable,

(a) Hist. rerum Montif. p. 470.

bable, that ever they were demanded by *Montrose*; for after he put them under Ground, it was impossible for him in any of his Marches to have carried them along with him. Neither the Celerity of his Marches, nor the Road he marched in, would have allowed him to carry great Guns along with him, even tho he had had Draught-horses, as he had none; neither ever had he Ammunition for them. He was sometimes, that he had not Ammunition for small Arms, as that Author tells us. And as for *Huntly's* bringing them away from the Place they were hidden in, I think he did right in it, they were better in his Hands than in the Enemy's, tho he brings no Proof that ever *Huntly* took them away.

The next Affront that *Huntly* put upon the King's Lieutenant, was, *That when Aboyne returned Home after Kilsyth, he put at Liberty the Earl Marischal, the Viscount of Arbutnot, and other Men of Quality, and by that gave up the strong Castle of Dunnotter, which was of great Concernment in the War; and that if he had kept them but in safe Custody, the Rebels durst not have fallen so cruelly on the Prisoners.* It seems to me, this Author has been grievously imposed upon in the Whole of this Story; and for the following Reasons, I cannot give my Assent to any Part of it. *Imo,* This Author assigns neither Time, Place nor Manner, when, where, or how these Noblemen came to be *Huntly's* Prisoners; nor could I ever see or hear of any History in Print or MS. that makes the least Mention of it. *Straloch* and *Spalden* lived upon the Place; and as they could not have been ignorant of it, so 'tis highly improbable they would have omitted it. The last omits not the smallest Trifle that past in that Country. These Noblemen

Noblemen could not have been taken without some considerable Forces ; and sure I am, neither *Huntly* nor any of his Sons, were ever in the *Mearns* with any Army, (where these Noblemen live, and that strong Fort stands) after the 1639, when *Aboyne* was there with an Army at *Cowie*, as the King's Lieutenant, and *Marischal* and *Montrose* at *Dunnotter* and *Stonehaven*, as Covenanters. 2do, That Author accounts for *Huntly* his being lurking in *Strathnavern*, during all the Time of these Wars, till after the Battle of *Kilsyth* ; and for the Lord *Gordon* and *Aboyne*, to have been always with *Montrose* with what Troops they could raise ; so that 'tis impossible that at this Time these Noblemen could have been made Prisoners, or that Castle taken by any of the Family of *Huntly*. And *Lastly*, I myself did enquire at the last Earl *Marischal*, and the first Earl of *Kintore* ; the first being Nephew and the last Brother (and then a Youth about 12 or 13 Years of Age) to that Earl *Marischal*, if they knew any Thing of that Story : And they plainly told me, That they had never heard of it any where, but in *Montrose's* Book. And the last said, he was sure it was not true. As for the other Men of Quality, as he does not name them, so I know nothing about them. And *in fine*, it is probable, that he, as the King's Lieutenant in the North, had (as Things went then) Power to compose with Delinquents ; and so if they had been his Prisoners, as they were not, he might have set them at Liberty, without doing any Affront to the King's Lieutenant.

That Author further adds, *That he exacted Taxes and Tributes, upon Pretence of the War, but in Truth to far other Uses, and to the grievous Prejudice of the*

King's Cause, and which the Governour never had done. He neither names the Persons from whom these Taxes were raised, nor gives any Vouchers that ever they were raised; and he writing this only from Hearsay, and as it in that Case deserves but little Credit (I never having heard, nor read of it any where but in this Author) so I shall take as little Notice of it. But what he says, that he put these Taxes to other Uses than the King's Service, in my Opinion smells too rank of Prejudice. Sure I am, he spent more of his own Estate in that Service, and suffer'd more in his Estate for it, than any half Dozen did that were engaged in it. And *Lastly*, (he says) and which is most to be lamented, *That either at the Intreaty of the Enemy, or for small Sums of Money, they (meaning Huntly or Aboyne) enlarged the Prisoners, that had been taken in the former Battles in the North, and committed to his Castles.* That Author in giving an Account of these Battles, tells us, *That after the Battle, Montrose treated his Prisoners very civilly, and set them always at Liberty.* He nor any other Historian that I have seen in Print or MS. does not name one single Person, that was put by *Montrose* into any of *Huntly's* Castles, or any other Prison.

And now *in fine*, to sum up all, if that Author would have had any Credit given to that long Story, in which the Honour of that illustrious and loyal Family of *Huntly* is so nearly concerned, he should have given Vouchers of good Credit; for his own Hearsay is far from being sufficient, especially he not so much as naming his Authors. He should have nam'd when and where *Marischal*, *Arbutnot*, and those other Men of Quality were taken Prisoners, when
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the Castle of *Dunnottar* was taken and surrendered. This is sure, it still remained in the Possession of the Earl *Marischal*, until it was taken in by the *English*, when *Monk* commanded in *Scotland*. He should have named the Persons from whom these Taxes were levied, and the Prisoners that were put into *Huntly's* Castles. But since he has done none of these Things, I hope the Reasons I have given, will easily persuade the impartial Reader, that that pious and loyal Author has been abominably abused by his Informers, and sufficiently vindicate *Huntly* and his Son *Aboyne*. And I must be excused to say, That he seems all along in his History to have given too open and easy an Ear, to what Misrepresentations were given him of that Family. He says, That he could never so much as guess, what discorded *Huntly* and *Montrose*. But 'tis not hard for me to see, what was that Discord, that made him write so of *Huntly* and his Family. He might have done Abundance of Justice to the great and deserved Character of his Patron, without doing Injustice to the loyal Family of *Huntly*; which I'm satisfied he never would have done, if he had not been imposed upon by wrong Information. But this was certainly his Fault, that he looked not more narrowly into his History, before he published it: For my Share, I shall make no Comparisons among great Men: They are all but Men, and have all of them their own proper Virtues and Failings. After this, that Author tells us, that

Montrose passing by all these Affronts and Injuries, went and surprized *Huntly* at his own House on *Spey-side*; and there by his Reasons so softned *Huntly's* Mind, that they agreed upon Measures for their

joint Prosecution of the War hereafter. What they resolved to do first, was to besiege *Inverness*, then a Garrison of the Enemy's, and bring over to their Side the Earl of *Seaforth*. In Pursuance of which Design, it was agreed, that *Huntly* was to march in through *Murray*, and *Montrose* by *Strathspey*, that at the same Time they might straiten it on both Sides. And in the mean Time, *Montrose*, to amuse the Enemy on the other Side, sent *Patrick Graham*, and *John Drummond* younger of *Balloch* into *Athole*, who with the Men of that Country, defeated an Army of 1200 of *Argyle's* Men, who were coming against it, made them fly back to *Stirling*, and killed 80 of them.

At this Time *December* the 18th, 1645, the Rebels Parliament sat down at *St. Andrews*, and there were brought the Prisoners (I have already nam'd) that were taken at *Philiphaugh*, and yet not executed. The Committee of the Kirk, who now ruled the State, was there also: And the hot and zealous Preachers cried out with open Mouth, *That GOD required the Blood of those Men; nor could the Sins of the Nation be otherwise expiated, or the Revenge of Heaven be diverted.* Upon which all of them were condemned to Death. The Lord *Ogilvy*, pretending Sickness, his Mother, Lady and Sister were allowed to visit him; and the Keepers, in Deference to the Ladies, removed out of the Room: And he exchanging Clothes with his Sister, went out with his Mother and Lady; and having Horses laid for him, made his Escape. This noble Lady, who made her Brother's Escape, was afterwards married to *Urquhart* of *Meldrum*, and was Grandmother to this present Laird of *Meldrum*.

(a) 'Tis said that *Argyle* was extremely concerned that *Ogilvy* should have made his Escape, and endeavoured much that the young Lady should be punished for it; but her Friends protected her. He also conceiving this Escape to be done by the Contrivance of the *Hamiltons*, in whom *Ogilvy* had a near Concern, his Mother being a Daughter of the Earl of *Haddington's*, and himself first Cousin to *Crawford Lindsay*; therefore *Argyle*, to pay it home to the *Hamilton's*, would needs have the Earl of *Hartfield* spared, whose Death they were thought to thirst after, as much as *Argyle* did after *Ogilvy's*.

The first that suffered *January 6. 1646* was Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon*, a Man of excellent Induements both of Body and Mind, and as gallant and expert an Officer, as was of his Rank in this or any other Nation at that Time, and who had given often singular Proofs of his Valour both Abroad and at Home. The next Day was brought to the Scaffold, (yet reeking with the Blood of Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon*) that never to be forgotten Gentleman Sir *Robert Spottiswood*, eldest Son to Archbishop *Spottiswood*. He was knighted, and made Privy Counsellor by King *James VI.* advanced by *Charles I.* to be President of the Session, and now principal Secretary of State for *Scotland*. He made a learned and eloquent Defence for himself, *That he had never been in Arms against them; that was not his Trade, he was a Man of Peace and not of War.* It would have acquitted him before any other Court; but nothing could do it before that; Death was appointed for him, and die he must. He had succeeded *Lanerk* after

(a) Hist. Rec. Montif. p. 490. Guth. Mem. p. 168.

after he had deserted the King. When he was brought to the Scaffold, he, with his accustomed Gravity began to make a Speech to the People ; but that Blood-thirsty Man, *Blair* the Minister, who stood by him, much against his Will, left the dying Words of so great a Man, should have had some Effect on the Hearers, made the Provost stop his Mouth, which he took no Notice of, but then applied himself to his private Devotions ; and being interrupted again in that, by that barbarous cruel Man *Blair*, by asking him, *Whether or not he would have him and the People pray for the Salvation of his Soul ?* He made Answer, *That he desired the Prayers of the People ; but for his impious Prayers that were an Abomination to GOD, he desired not to be troubled with them ;* adding, *That of all the Plagues with which the offended Majesty of GOD had scourged the Nation, this was the greatest, That for the Sins of the People GOD had sent a lying Spirit into the Mouths of the Prophets.* Upon which *Blair* in a great Passion tell out a railing both against him and his Father : At which he being nothing moved, addressed himself to the Block, and there ended this mortal Life with great Christian Constancy, Resignation and Courage.

Bishop *Wishart* who could not but be intimately acquainted with him says of him, That he was a Man of great Knowledge both in Things divine and humane, in History, Law, and Politicks, in the *Hebrew, Chaldee, Syraick, and Arabick*, besides the Western Languages. He had a Companion in his Sufferings, Captain *Andrew Guthry*, Son to the Bishop of *Murray*, a young Gentleman valiant in Battle, constant and curagious in his Sufferings. The next
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and last that appeared upon this cruel and bloody Theatre, was *William Murray* Brother to the Earl of *Tillibardine*, a gallant young Gentleman, who died with much Courage and Constancy. He had a fine Speech to the Spectators, which, and Sir *Robert Spottiswood's* excellent Speech are to be seen in Bishop *Wishart's* History of *Montrose's* Wars.

(a) The Committee of the Kirk, whose Blood-thirsty Appetites were insatiable, prest the Parliament that the rest of the Prisoners might be execute; but they thinking they had done enough to please them, desired them to fall upon some other Overture for their Punishment. Many Overtures were proposed in their Committee; but at last Mr. *David Dick's* prevailed, which in his homely Way of Speaking, was, *Shame them, and harray them*; that is, take from them all their Goods and Estates. Whereupon the Parliament appointed a Committee to sit at *Linlithgow*, February 25, and to it referred the Remainder of the Prisoners to be severely fined.

Bishop *Wishart* says, That *Huntly* who had engaged to *Montrose* to march in through *Murray*, to straiten *Inverness* on that Side, did nothing but trifle away his Time in *Murray*; and so allowed that City to be supplied with Necessaries on that Side. They had no Difficulty to supply them with what it wanted (the Sea being open to them from the Coasts of *Murray*, *Ross*, *Sutherland* or *Caitbness*, all lying in Sight of it; and that whether *Montrose* and *Huntly* would or not, neither of them could stop it. At this Time *Montrose* got Intelligence that *Middleton* was advanced to *Aberdeen* with an Army
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of 800 Foot, and 600 Horse, in order to spoil and lay waste *Huntly*, and his Friends Lands, upon which *Montrose* sent Colonel *Stewart* to *Huntly* to desire him to hasten to *Inverness*; or, if he liked it better, he would raise the Siege, march up to him, and then they would jointly march and fight the Enemy: But *Huntly* returned him for Answer, *That he was able with his own Forces to protect himself from his Enemies, and that he might continue the Siege.* And that Author says, That after Ten Weeks spent in the Siege of an inconsiderable Castle, and the Loss of the forwardest of his Men, he raised the Siege with Dishonour and returned back. He does not name the Castle; sure I am, the most considerable Castle in *Murray* is not able to endure a Siege the third Part of that Time.

Montrose upon *Huntly's* Return, sent three Troops of Horse to guard the Fords of *Spey*, and to get him Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions; and the forenamed Author says, *That Lord Lewis Gordon, then in the Castle of Rothes, assuring the Captains of Horse that the Enemy was far off, and perswaded them to come to his Castle, where he entertain'd them with good Meat, abundance of Wine, and strong Waters, till Middleton had got over Spey with a strong Army, and then dismiss them with these jeering Words, Go now to your General Montrose, who will now have a sharper Bout of it than he had at Selkirk.* The Officers who commanded these Troops very ill deserved their Commissions or Trust (if this Story be true) all of them thus to desert their Posts; nay, they behoved also to have carried their whole Troops along with them, which was yet a greater Aggravation of their Crime: But in my Opinion *Montrose*

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Montrose would not have trusted that Command, of so great Importance, and in an Enemy's Country more than 30 Miles from his Army, but to Gentlemen of such Honour as were uncapable of being guilty of it ; and if they had, then no Report of Lord *Lewis* his Behaviour is to be credited from them : But the whole of this Story tells so ill, that I shall take no further Notice of any Part of it.

Middleton march'd in the Reer of these Troops to *Inverness*, and was there almost as soon as themselves ; and *Montrose* having gotten Notice of his Approach another Way, retired with his Army over the River *Ness* ; but not thinking himself secure there, passing by *Lochness*, returned through the Highlands to *Spey-side*. That Author tells us, *That before he raised the Siege, there began to come to him great Recruits from the Highlands, and many more had promised to join him ; such as the Earl of Seaforth, the Lord Rae, Sir James Macdonald, Maclean, Glengary, and the Captain of the Clan-Ronald ; and that in March he would have been able to have descended into the low Country with a greater and more formidable Army than Scotland had produced in Man's Age, if Huntly's Backwardness had not spoiled all.* Whatever Misfortune happened to *Montrose*, that Author blames *Huntly* always for it right or wrong : But all those Gentlemen whom he names being put together, were not able to bring out the Sixth Part of an Army for Numbers, that the Rebels then had under Pay in *Britain* and *Ireland*. He further adds, *That Montrose was resolved now to deal by Huntly as an open Enemy, but yet resolved to try all fair Means to bring him to a better Mind ; and for that End, taking only one Troop of Horse with him, he rode towards*

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Huntly's House, the Bog of Gight, and he sent a Gentleman before to shew him that he was coming to wait upon him, and to be advised by him in what related to the King's Service: But Huntly being affrighted with the News of Montrose's Approach, and abhorring the Sight of so gallant a Man, immediately leapt on Horse and ran away he cared not whither; which Montrose understanding, returned that same Day to his Army (a).

This Story tells just as well as the former Stories do, *Montrose* too well knew the great Regard the King had for *Huntly*, to treat him as an Enemy, he would not have got one single Clan in the Highlands to join with him in that. He knew *Huntly's* Strength, and his own Weakness better than ever to have entertained such a Thought as that. He knew that would be indeed to take the Boar by the Beard. Lastly, in this Story, he makes *Montrose* a Man of a very terrible Countenance, and *Huntly* the meanest Man by far that ever represented that illustrious Family, that he could not look *Montrose* in the Face; he that had looked the most formidable Armies in *Europe* in the Face, in the hottest Time of Action; he who from his Youth familiarly convers'd with the greatest Kings and Princes in *Europe*. This must have been a strange Lowness of Spirits that seiz'd him at this Time, that he could not look one Man in the Face, and he his Equal too (b). But to crown all, *Huntly* must also bear the Blame that *Sir Alexander Macdonald* would not join *Montrose*. I have already given the Reason why that brave Gentleman would not see *Montrose*; 'tis not a little surprizing to me to find

(a) Hist. rer. Montif. p. 529. & infra (b) Idem ibidem.

find his Backwardness imputed to the Marquis of *Huntly*, over whom he had no Power, and whom he had never seen or corresponded with.

And lastly, that Author continues to tell us, *That now Huntly least he should be thought never to have done any Thing by his own Conduct, went with an Army, besieged and took Aberdeen, kept by Middleton, with 500 Men, but more to his own Loss than to the Enemy; for besides the Loss of many gallant Soldiers, he gave the Highlanders leave to pillage the City. And adds, But what Fault those poor innocent Aberdeens Men had done either against the King or Huntly, let them who know judge, that almost all of them were eminent for their Loyalty (a).*

Spalden (who was in *Aberdeen* at the Time) gives a quite other Account, he says, that *Huntly* having raised an Army of 1500 *Highland Foot*, and 600 gallant Horse, came to *Aberdeen*, where Colonel *Montgomery* commanded with 400 old Soldiers, besides a great many Barons and Gentlemen of that Country, who, with their proper Retinues, had come in to his Assistance. *Huntly* came before *Aberdeen*, May 14. 1646, and sent in a Trumpet to require *Montgomery* to deliver up the Town to him, the King's Lieutenant in the *North*; and, upon Refusal to expect the worst. *Montgomery* returned for Answer, *That he would maintain the Place to the last*; upon which *Huntly* commanded Fire to be put to several Barns and Stables about the Ports and outsides of the Town, and then ordered out a Party of his Foot to force the Trenches, which they soon did; and then turning the Cannon planted there upon the Enemy

nemy, entred the Town, Sword in Hand in divers Places. That Party that attacked the narrow Street, called the *Gallowgate*, were twice repulsed, upon which *Huntly* sending in a strong Party of Horse to their Support, they soon made themselves intire Masters of the Town, and *Montgomery* with about 40 Horse immediately fled. There were several Gentlemen and Officers taken Prisoners, whom *Huntly* dismiss'd upon their Parol not to carry Arms hereafter against the King. There were on both Sides killed but 80, few of whom belonged to *Huntly*, and his Soldiers thus taking the Town by Storm, it was impossible for him to restrain them while in hot Blood from plundering; and there is no Doubt but they did much Harm to the Town, but it appears that there were few or none of the Citizens killed.

Bishop *Wisbart* says *Huntly* lost many of his valiant Soldiers, the other says very few. He puts the Question, *What Fault had those innocent Aberdeens Men done to the King or Huntly that they should be thus plundered?* I should not vindicate *Huntly* if it had been in his Power to have restrained his Soldiers: But I may be allowed to put the Question, (since he does not) *What Harm had these innocent Citizens done to Montrose, or the King, when after the Battle he fought there, September 13. 1644. he allowed his Irish Soldiers Liberty for three Days to plunder at Pleasure, and to kill without Distinction the Innocent and guilty, the loyal and rebellious Citizens (as Straloch and Spalden say, the one of whom lived near the City, and the other within a few Miles of it?)* The last Author reckons 98 Citizens killed, and leaves a Blank for others not named; and adds that the dead lay naked and unburied in the Streets and
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Lanes, when *Montrose* came in from his Camp (in which he lay all the Time) to command his Soldiers out of Town. That Author not only passes over this, but says, *That Montrose only allowed them to stay some Days in Town to rest and refresh themselves.* The Reader will easily judge which of the two did most Harm to that City. *Lastly*, he complains that *Huntly* put all his Prisoners at Liberty. Does not he tell that *Montrose* dealt so by his Prisoners after every Battle he gain'd? If *Huntly* had imprisoned them in any of his own Houses, then the Enemy would have besieged, taken, and garrisoned them; and that would have destroyed the whole of the Country belonging to himself and Friends; and the Truth is, neither *Montrose* nor he had any Place of Security to put Prisoners in.

Huntly after the taking of *Aberdeen*, march'd up towards the Highlands by the North Side of the River of *Dee*; and encamped in *Cromar*, and was followed thither by *Middleton*, with a strong Party both of Horse and Foot; and the most of his Highlanders being gone Home with the Spoil they got at *Aberdeen*, he was not in a Condition to give him Battle; and so after a few light Skirmishes he retired to *Strathbogy*; and the King before this Time had delivered himself up to the Scots Army, then besieging *New-wark*, tho' neither *Montrose* nor *Huntly* as yet knew of it. And now in the Course of our History we should come to give an Account of that tragical Scene which that gallant and excellent Prince, the pious and glorious Martyr King CHARLES I. entred upon: But the History of His Sufferings is so fully related by so many *English* Historians of both Sides, who lived at that Time; and since they are in so

many Hands, and so easy to be found, that it would be superfluous for me to transcribe them; neither will this small Volume to which I have prescrib'd my self allow of it; and therefore shall only briefly observe what is most remarkable in them.

(a) *Oxford*, the City in which the King had made his chief Residence during the War, and in which he presently was, was at this Time invested by the Rebels Forces: And now the King seeing his Affairs, reduced to a very desperate State; and that that City was not able long to stand out a Siege, resolves to leave it. He had been pleased to impart his Condition to Mr. *Montreville* the *French* Ambassador, who treated with the *Scots* Commissioners then at *London* about the King's leaving *Oxford*, and going to the *Scots* Army; and for the same Purpose, he went and treated with the principal Officers of that Army.

At this Time the *English* were wearied of the *Scots* Army, who had now fully served their Turn against their natural and lawful Prince, him who was Bone of their Bone, and Flesh of their Flesh, him who had indulged them with all the Concessions, and loaded them with all the Favours in his Power; yea, even to the utmost of their rebellious and boundless Desires. The *English* had told the *Scots*, they had no more Use for them, and desired that they might return home; the *Scots* had a Claim of Arrears, and were unwilling to return until the last Farthing was paid them: And thus were *Simeon* and *Levi* like to discord, when *Montreville* came to treat with them.

There

(a) Echard's Hist. of Eng. Vol. 2. p. 549. Rush. Col. Vol. 7. p. 267.

There was nothing the Scots Commissioners and Army so much desired as to have the King in their Power ; not that they had any Affection for him, but only that thereby they might make their own Terms with the *English*, and extort what Money from them they pleased. This made them give a very ready Ear to the Ambassador's Mediation, and to grant him what Terms he desired, never in the least resolving to abide by them (a). They frankly engaged, *That if the King should come to the Scots Army, that he shall remain with them in all Freedom of Conscience and Honour, and that all his Subjects and Servants shall be safely and honourably protected in their Persons ; and that the said Scots will really and effectually join with the said King of Great Britain ; That they shall protect all his Majesty's Party to the utmost of their Power ; and that they shall employ their Arms and Forces to assist his Majesty in the procuring a happy and well grounded Peace, for the good of his Majesty and the said Kingdom, and the Recovery of his just Rights.*

The King being apprised by *Montreville* of this Secret Negotiation betwixt him and the Scots Commissioners at *London*, and the Committee of Estates, then with the Army of that Nation lying before *Newark*, and of the afore-mentioned Terms he had obtained from them : As also, receiving hourly the News of the Surrendry of this and the other of his Garrisons: That excellent Prince was much put to it to determine what he should do, as he most Christianly expresses it in that inimitable Book of his (a), *Although GOD hath given me three Kingdoms,*

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yet

(a) Echard's Hist. of Engl. Vol. 2. p. 550. (b) Εἶχον βασιλικά
p. 177.

yet in these he hath not left me any Place where I may with Safety and Honour rest my Head. And thus being reduced to that lamentable Condition, he at last resolves, trusting to the Conditions agreed upon betwixt them and *Montreville*, and to the solemn Vows and Engagements they had often made to himself, to retire to the *Scots* Army: But alas! they were Men void of all Honour, Honesty, and Hospitality, Men whom no Vows nor Engagements, tho' never so solemnly entred into, could tye; Men whom no Favours nor Condescensions, tho' never so extensive, could satisfy or oblige; notwithstanding the King exactly knew them, yet Necessity forcing him,

(a) Upon the 27th of *April* 1646, he privately leaves *Oxford* in Company only of Dr. *Hudson* a Divine and faithful Guide, and Mr. *John Ashburnham*, as whose Servant the King rode, with a Cloak-bag behind him; and the Doctor his Guide, by uncommon and by-ways brought him to the *Scots* Army *May* 5th, where he was at first received with much Shew of outward Civilities, and according to their accustomed Dissimulation, they acquaint the *English* Commissioners then with them, that the King to their great Surprise was come to their Army, who immediately notified the same to their Constituents at *London*. The first Hardship they put upon the King, was to send Orders to the Lord *Bellasis*, Governor of *Newark*, to deliver up that City, (then besieged by them) to the Parliament of *England*, lest they should entertain any Jealousy, if it had been delivered to them; and the Governor
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(a) Etchard's Hist. of Engl. Vol. 2. p. 151. & infra. Rushworth's Collect. Vol. 7. p. 267.

in Obedience to these Orders, having obtained honourable Terms, surrendered the Place ; upon which the *Scots* retired with the King to *Newcastle* ; and being there, they by Degrees began to unmask themselves, and restrained *Montreville* from having any Conference with the King ; upon which he openly declared the Terms he had made with them, and then returned to *Paris*. The next Hardship they put upon the King, was to send a Messenger to *Huntly* and *Montrose*, commanding them to disband what Forces they had, and lay down their Arms. And this Messenger came to *Montrose*, *May 31*, with these Orders, and further commanded him to retire to *France*. How far this was contrary to that Article of their Agreement with the *French* Ambassador, whereby they bound themselves, *That all the King's Subjects and Servants should be safely and honourably protected*, the Reader may easily judge.

Montrose at this Time being quite a Stranger to all these Transactions in *England*, was then negotiating with the Earl of *Seaforth* and others, to recruit his Army. But being surpris'd with this melancholy Message, he then resolv'd to call together some of the King's Friends, that they might jointly advise and determine what was to be done by them in that Juncture ; and for that Effect sent Sir *John Urry* and Sir *John Innes* to *Huntly*, to desire him to be present at that so serious a Consultation, and referred unto him the Appointment of the Time and Place. *Huntly* returned for Answer with these Gentlemen, *That he had also received the King's Orders, which he was resolv'd to obey ; and that the King's Commands were of that Nature, as not to admit of second Thoughts, and that after them nothing was left for*

Consultation. The Truth is, that for the Reasons I have already mentioned, *Huntly* could never be induced to entertain any Correspondence with *Montrose*, and this unhappy Discord prov'd fatal to them both, and especially at this Time; for if they had cordially united, their joint Forces would at this Time proved so formidable to the Rebels (now that their Brethren of *England* was picking a Quarrel with them) that they could have obtained much better Terms from them now, than hereafter they were able to do.

Montrose being doubtful whether these Orders he had received from the King were extorted from him or not, wrote to him by a private Messenger of his own, intreating that by him he would let him know his Mind in that Point, and *Huntly* did the like by another Messenger he sent, and the King by their respective Messengers returned for Answer to both, *That the Condition of his Affairs at this Time required immediate Obedience from both, to the Commands he had already sent them.* Upon which both *Huntly* and *Montrose* disbanded their Forces; the first staid at Home, and the last having, by a Capitulation with Major General *Middleton* procured a short Time to put his Affairs in Order, and provide for his going Abroad, *September 3. 1646*, ship'd aboard a small Ship of *Norway*, carrying along with him in Company Sir *John Urrey*, *John Drummond of Ballach*, *Henry Graham* his Brother, *John Spottiswood*, Captain *John Lesly* and *Patrick Melvin*, Dr. *George Wisbart*, and a few others; and being favoured with a prosperous Wind, all of them arrived safely in *Bergen of Norway*.

The King now in the *Scots Army* soon came to perceive, that tho' they treated him with some outward Show of Civility, yet really he was in no better State than that of a Prisoner. He had brought along with him only two Servants, who soon came to be demanded by the *English Parliament*; and finding they could not expect the least Protection from the *Scots*, were obliged to make their Escapes and leave him: Nor would they allow any Servants to attend him, but of their own chusing. Upon the Assurances they had given to the *French Ambassador*, there were severals of the Nobility and others, who came to *Newcastle* to wait upon him; but they would admit none of them to see him; nay, they would not allow any so much Favour as to write to him or he to them. Bishop *Guthry* says, (a) That Lieutenant General *David Lesly* was now the favorite Commander in the *Scots Army*, (old *Lesly* being in some Disgrace since the Battle at *Longmarston*) to him was the King advised to apply to gain him, thinking by that to bring over the most Part of the Army to his Side; and for this Purpose did the King employ General *Lesly's* own Brother to deal with him, empowering him to assure his Brother, in Case he would return to his Duty, no less Reward than the Earldom of *Orkney* to him and his for ever. The General took this to advise, and promised to give his Answer in a short Time. But *Lanerk* and *Balmerino* being then with the King, (no doubt) he imparting the Secret to them, prevailed with him not to condescend to the King's Proposals, until *Argyle's* Arrival, whom they daily expected.

(a). Mem. p. 176.

The King, how soon he came to *Newcastle*, sent a Message to the two Houses at *Westminster*, demanding a Treaty, that Peace might be settled upon solid and just Foundations; but the more he demanded that, the more exorbitant and unreasonable Conditions did they require of the King. And now, *May 29th*, arrived at *Newcastle* the Chancellor from *London*, *Argyle*, *Crawford* and *Morton* from *Scotland*, and communing with *David Lesly* about the Proposal made to him by the King, they obtained Assurance of him, that he should not be tempted by the King's Offers, until *Argyle* should go to *London* and return again: And immediately *Argyle* and *Balmorino* went for *London*; the Chancellor and others staying with the Army to keep *Lesly* right. They two joined the other *Scots* Commissioners at *London*, with whom they found the Duke of *Hamilton*; and they soon made up Matters so with the Parliament of *England*, that Propositions of Peace to be sent to the King were mutually agreed upon. The Commissioners sent from the Lords House, were the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*; and from the Commons, Sir *Walter Earle*, Sir *John Hipsly*, *Robert Goodwyn* and *Luke Robinson*; and they delivered the Propositions to the King *July 24*. These Propositions were so extravagant, that they struck at the very Basis, and overturned the whole Frame of Monarchical Government, and destroyed the whole Constitution of the *English* Church: Yea, it was impossible (me thinks) that any reasonable Man could imagine that the King either in Honour or Conscience could agree to them, tho' even upon the Scaffold. They are too long to be inserted here,

and

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 521

and are to be seen in *Rusworth's* Collections (a).

I shall only take Notice of the 16th Article, by which they obliged the King to preclude from any Hopes of Pardon or Indemnity all those of any Note, Protestant or Popish in either of the Nations, who had served him faithfully. I shall only name those of *Scotland*; the Marquesses of *Huntly* and *Montrose*, the Earls of *Crawford*, *Nithisdale*, *Traquair*, *Carnwath* and *Airly*; the Lords *Gordon*, *Ogilvy*, *Herries* and *Rae*; Generals *Ruthven* and *King*, Bishop *Maxwel*; the Lairds of *Drum*, *Gight*, *Auchintoul*, and *Gortby*; Colonels *Cochran* and *Macdonald*; and all such others, as being processed by the Estates for Treason, shall be condemned before the Act of Oblivion be past. The *English* Commissioners were so restricted, that they could not part with the least *Jota* of these Articles, and were so limited in Time, that they had but 10 Days allowed them to stay after Delivery of the Propositions.

The *Scots* press'd the King hard to agree to these Propositions, without Reserve, as they were sent him; and for that Purpose the Chancellor made a long Speech to him, which is to be seen in the forecited Author. *Echard* says (b), *That they prest him with Threats, telling him in plain Terms, That if he did not agree to these Propositions, England would set up another Sort of Government, to the Ruin of him and his Posterity; and that if he left England, he would not be admitted to come and reign in Scotland.* That excellent Prince, not moved with these barbarous Threats, replied with the greatest Resolution and Magnanimity, *That no Condition they could*

(a) Vol. 7. p. 309. (b) Hist. of Eng. Vol. 2. p. 559.

could reduce him to, could be half so miserable and grievous to him, as that to which they would persuade him to reduce himself; and therefore bad them proceed their own Way; and that tho' all of them had forsaken him, GOD had not. After which the Commissioners from the rebellious Parliament returned to those who sent them, *re infecta*, August 2d; and the next Day the Chancellor, *Argyle* and *Dumfermling* offered to go up and treat with the Parliament for a Mitigation of the Propositions, and accordingly repaired to *London*. What the King expected from these deceitful subtle Managers is uncertain; but the Loyalists took Liberty openly to say, *That their treating would end in a Bargain*, as it very soon did.

All the Time of this Rebellion, the Army had a Committee of the Kirk as well as one of the State, to direct them in their Management; and the Truth is, the Kirk did now so predomine, that there could be nothing done either in Army or Parliament, without their Advice and Approbation. And now at this Time they sent a select Committee of the most zealous they could pick out to attend his Majesty, in Order to rectify his Conscience and remove his Scruples as to Church Government; and, among others of them, was Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, who, *Echard* says, came provided with Books and all other Helps to induce the King to abolish Episcopacy in England, as he had done in Scotland; Whereas the King had neither Chaplain allowed him, nor Books by him to assist him in that Conference that was to be betwixt *Henderson* and him; whereas *Henderson* came fully provided with all Necessaries for such an Affair. All the Papers that pass
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betwixt the King and him are to be seen among his Majesty's other Works (a). Notwithstanding these great Disadvantages his Majesty laboured under, yet how far he was superior in that Conference to his Antagonist, does so evidently appear to any intelligent Reader who will peruse those Papers, that I need say nothing about them, only shall take notice, That this Conference commenced *May 29. 1646*, as is to be seen by the King's first Paper, and ended *July the 16th*, as is to be seen by *Henderfon's* last Paper. The Conference was no sooner over, than *Henderfon* returned to *Edinburgh* a Profelyte of the King's, as I have often heard it reported from Persons of Credit who lived at that Time, and a hearty Penitent for the Part he had acted. Upon his Return to *Edinburgh* he very soon sickned and died, *August 22*. And when on Death-bed, he very ingenuously declared his Mind to some Ministers present with him, both as to the King, and as to the Part he and they had acted against him; and I have inserted it in the *Appen. N. 9.* as I find it in a Letter written by that learned Prelate Mr. *John Sage*, to his Friend, and annexed to his Life, printed at *London 1714*. I am not ignorant that this Declaration was and yet is rejected by some as spurious; but if the intelligent Reader will seriously read and compare the Papers that pass at that Time on both Sides, he will clearly perceive such a superior Genius brightly shining through all the King's Papers, to that in Mr. *Henderfon's*, that he will easily determine on which Side the Advantage lay, and be satisfied that he did the King nothing but Justice by that Declaration,

(a) *Reliquiæ sacræ Carolinæ*, p. 309.

ration, and that in the dying State he was in (if he believed that Virtue and Vice was to be rewarded and punished) he in Conscience was obliged to do no less; and that indeed, with the Authority of that learned and excellent Prelate from whom I take it, with whom I had the Happiness to be intimately acquainted, and for whose Memory I shall always retain a suitable Veneration. I say these Reasons determine me, to do Justice to Mr. *Henderson*, and to think that Declaration genuine.

I have already noticed, That the Committee and Officers of the *Scots* Army, carried at first with some Shew of Decency toward the King: But now having entred on a Bargain with the rebellious Parliament of *England*, for delivering up of the King, the Officers of the *Scots* Army and the Committee of Estates, with them began to change their Countenance towards him, and to talk of confining him, and that they might do it with some Shew of Reason *William Murray* of the Bed-chamber furnished a Pretext, (says *Guthry*,) (a) privately suggesting to the King to make his Escape, and offering to have a Ship in Readiness to transport him. Whether this was a real or sham Plot, is uncertain; but all was discovered before the appointed Time of putting it in Execution, and thereupon a Guard of Soldiers were planted within and without the Door of his Bed-chamber, whereby his Majesty was not only deprived of Liberty, but also of Quiet and Retirement; and there being no Smell the King so much abhorred as that of Tobacco, the barbarous Soldiers
smoak'd

(a) *Memoirs*, p. 185.

smoak'd it even in his Bed-chamber, which gave him much Uneasiness.

All this while the *Scots* Commissioners at *London* were busied in drawing on the Bargain with the *English*, for delivering up of the King to them; and that Matters might go the better on, the Rebels of *Scotland* appointed a Parliament to meet at *Edinburgh*, *November* 3d. The first Thing that occurred in it was, a Letter from *Middleton*, desiring more Forces might be sent North, to enable him to suppress the *Gordons*; upon which *Henry Barclay's* Regiment, and two more were ordered to march to his Assistance; and by the 21st Act of this Parliament, *March* 4. 1647, the Marquis of *Huntly*, *Aboyne* and others therein-named, are precluded from all future Hopes of Pardon or Conditions: But the great Business this Parliament met for, was about the Disposal of the King. The Question was, *Whether he should be delivered up to the English, or owned and protected by the Scots?* The forecited Author says, That the Loyalists prest *Hamilton* and *Lanerk* to bring in that Affair timeously, and particularly the Lord *Innerpeffer* besought his Grace that it might be gone about without Delay, assuring him, that at that Time it would go for the King by 30 Votes, but if delayed, the *Argilians* and Kirk-party were so busy intriguing, that all would be lost. The Duke thanked him for his Affection to the King, and entreated he would leave the timing of it to him, who knew best to take an Opportunity for it. That Lord sent the next Week Sir *John Hamilton* to the Duke, to tell him, *That by his Delay he had already lost the one Half of his Supernumerary Votes, but yet if immediately push'd the King would carry it by 15 Votes,*

and

and if delayed any longer, all would be lost. Notwithstanding all which, Sir *John* returned from the Duke to *Innerpeffer* with his former Answer.

While Matters were thus miserably delayed by these two great Men (whether for Want of Prudence or Honesty, I shall not determine) the Committee of the Kirk was providing a long Paper, which was delivered to the Parliament, *December 17.* and is called, *A solemn and seasonable Warning, to all Estates and Degrees of Persons throughout the Land*; wherein they most traitorously declare their Opinion, that for Conscience Sake the King was to be delivered up the to *English*. It is to be seen at large in *Rushworth* (a). At the same Time, there came Letters from their Commissioners at *London*, showing that the Bargain was made up betwixt them and the two Houses at *Westminster*, and that they were to get in Hand *L. 200,000 Sterling*, and as much more at set Terms, they retiring their Army, and leaving the King, without making any Conditions for him. Upon which by a Vote of that Parliament it was concluded (b) *Act 10. January 16. 1647.* That according to the Agreement of the Commissioners above, the Army should retire, and the King should be left to the *English* without any Conditions for him, &c. (c) There were only for the Negative, of the Nobility Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Lanerk*, *Kinghorn* and *Tullibardine*; the Lords *Spynie* and *Elibank*; of the Gentry, *Halkerton*, *Innerpeffer*, *Monorgan* and *Curden*; of the Commissioners of Burghs, those of *Forfar*, *Tain* and *Brechin*.

Thus

(a) Historical Collect. Vol. 7. p. 390. (b) Unprinted Acts, (c) Guthrie's Mem. p. 194.

Thus was the greatest Villany that could have been contrived by Men or Devils perpetrated with a Shew of Law, a Villany which no Excuse can soften, nor no Time obliterate. However, the Ignominy and Sin of it must be put to the Account of those who were busy Contrivers and active Promoters of it: But with no Shew of Reason can it be imputed to the Nation of *Scotland* in general; for the last named Author observes (a), That of the Nobility a third Part were not present; and of the Gentry, Burghs, and Commonalty throughout the Nation, (*Fife* and some western Shires excepted) there were an hundred to one that abhorred it; and that even amongst the Ministry there were a good many who openly disclaimed it, and that many others for Fear of Deprivation only complied. By the Account I have all along given of this Rebellion, the Reader will easily perceive, how and by whom it was contrived, begun and carried on to this fatal Period, and for that Reason I shall no further enlarge upon it.

This scandalous Act of Parliament being sent up to *London* to the *Scots* Commissioners, and by them communicated to the two Houses at *Westminster*. The *L. 200,000 Sterl.* was immediately sent down with them to *Newcastle*, to be there numerate and paid upon the Delivery of the King, and the *Scots* Army's retiring; and to receive him, were sent along with them from the Lords House, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Denbigh*, and the Lord *Montague*; from the Commons, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Walter Earle*, Sir *John Harington*, Sir *John Cook*,
Mr.

(a) Guthry's Mem. p. 194.

Mr. *John Crew* and Major General *Brown*, with two of their Chaplains, *Marshall* and *Caryl*. They arrived at *Newcastle*, *January 23d*; and having kiss'd the King's Hand, *Pembroke* told His Majesty, *That they were commanded by the two Houses of Parliament to attend him to Holmsby*. *Guthry* says they delivered up the King upon *January 28*. *Echard* says, *Upon the 30 of January, a Day of the King's Imprisonment and Martyrdom, they delivered up their Native Prince, and left the Town of Newcastle, and quitting their other Garrisons, they marched over the Tweed, February 11. after they had continued in the Kingdom a little above three Years, leaving the northern Counties miserably beggered*. He further adds, *They entered the Kingdom contrary to all Faith and Gratitude, as well as Loyalty and Obedience, and at last quitted it with Ignominy and Dishonor*. Never were People more complimented at their Arrival, more obliged while they were wanted, or more contemned at their Departure. They departed with a Reward, but likewise with a Curse; for from that Time they never prospered in any one Undertaking. They who in this and the last Reign, had all the Power, Riches, Offices, Marriages, Wealth and Greatness within their Command in both Kingdoms, were afterwards ruined at home, both in Kirk and State, by those they had assisted and raised; and beside a new succeeding Scene of Blood and Misery, they became the most despicable ruined People upon the Face of the Earth.

After the Return of the Army they modell'd it anew, and only retained in Pay 6000 Foot, and 1200 Horse, appointing the greatest Zealots of their rebellious Party to command them, as is to be seen in the 13th Act of this Parliament. The Parliament

distributed the *L. 200,000 Sterl.* they got for delivering up of the King, amongst their Friends as they pleased ; and Bishop *Guthry* says, 'That *Argyle* got *L. 20,000* for himself, and *L. 15,000* for his Friends ; Sir *Archbald Johnston* *L. 3000*, and the Duke of *Hamilton* *L. 30,000*, for Repayment of his Losses, but when or how he sustained these Losses, I have not yet learned. He also says, *That the Ministers did not want their Shares of it ; for it was observed, that afterwards some of them lived very sumptuously, and divers of them became rich.* At last this Parliament having appointed a Committee of 20 of each Estate to govern to the next Parliament ; they appointed it to sit *March 2. 1648* ; and this first triennial Parliament rose *March 27. 1647.* And now the *Scots* Covenanters having put on the Corner-Stone of their rebellious Building, by selling and delivering up of their native, natural and lawful Sovereign, to their rebellious Brethren and his barbarous Enemies, the Parliament of *England*, I am forced (with *Tears in my Eyes*) to leave that admirable Prince and glorious Martyr in their bloody and cruel Hands ; and his Sufferings from this Time to that of his Martyrdom, being so fully narrated by many Historians of *England*, I shall hereafter only very briefly touch at them as they fall in the Time when acted, and now return to the King's Friends in the North of *Scotland*.

Huntly, though he upon the King's reiterated Commands had disbanded the most of his Forces, yet for his own Safety kept still some on Foot, he never having submitted to the then usurping Governours, nor (for what I can learn) did, having ever applied for a Treaty with them ; and now in *April*.

1647, being apprised of the barbarous Treatment the King had met with from the *Scots*, and was daily meeting with from the *English*, he began again to levy some more Forces for his Service, and garrisoned his Houses of *Strathbogy*, *Bog of Gight*, *Auchindown*, and the Castle of *Ruthven* in *Badenoch*; and *Patrick Leith* of *Harthill*, a gallant Gentleman, and one of *Huntly's* Captains, had garrisoned the House of *Wardes*. I have already noticed that *Middleton* was sent with a Party of the Forces to reduce *Huntly* and his Friends; and he finding himself not in a Condition with the Forces he had then with him to do it, upon Application, there were three Regiments sent to his Assistance; and even with that he not being able to perform that Service, General *David Lesly* is now sent North with a strong Detachment of Horse and Foot to do it, in Conjunction with *Middleton*; and *Huntly* not being able to resist the united Forces of these two Generals, was obliged to retire to the *Highlands*.

(a) Upon which these two Generals marched to *Strathbogy*, where *James Gordon* younger of *Newton* commanded, who not being able to keep it out, surrendered it; in which House was Lord *Charles Gordon* (afterwards Earl of *Aboyne*) who with *Newton* were made Prisoners by *Lesly*. The Garrison consisted of *Scots* and *Irish*; the common Soldiers of the first were set at Liberty, but the last, with the Officer who commanded them, were hanged to a Man. The next Place they attacked was the House of *Wardes*, where *Patrick Leith* of *Harthill* a very gallant young Gentleman com-

commanded. He was soon obliged to surrender, and made Prisoner himself. The Scots in the House were set at Liberty: There were 16 Irish taken in it; all of them with the Captain who commanded them were hanged. The last House they took in that Country, was the House of *Lesmore*; the Commander Captain *Mortimer* was made Prisoner, and 26 Irish they found in it, with their Officer were hang'd. From thence they marched further North, and made themselves Master of *Huntly's* other Mansion-house, the *Bog of Gight*, where were made Prisoners, *James Gordon* of *Letterfurie*, and *Thomas* his Brother, and sundry other Gentlemen of the Name of *Gordon*.

Lesly having now finished his Work in that Country, marched South, carrying along with him his Prisoners to *Edinburgh*, and two of them, *James Gordon* of *Newton*, and *Patrick Leith* of *Hartbill*, were condemned by the Committee of Estates to be beheaded. The Sentence was put in Execution upon *Hartbill*, *October 20*, and upon the other some few Days thereafter. And thus were these two brave young Gentlemen barbarously murdered, against whom no other Crime could be imputed, but only that they, in Obedience to the Laws of GOD, Nature, and the Nation, had appeared for the King with much Honour and Courage, from the very Beginning of the War. Before the bloody Sentence was executed against either of these two Gentlemen, their Friends had procured the King's Remission to both of them: The same came to *Edinburgh*; and was timidly intimated to the Committee of Estates; but they had no more Regard to it, than if it had been signed by a Footman; for Loyalty at that

Time was esteemed a Crime, equal to the Sin against the Holy Ghost both by Kirk and State.

Middleton was appointed to stay in the North, and *Lesly's* next March was to the West *Highlands*, against Sir *Alexander Macdonald*, and *Argyle* marched along with him as his Guide and Director; and they arrived at *Inverary*, May 21. 1647; and from thence they marched into *Kintyre* where *Macdonald* was, and said to have 1400 Foot and two Troops of Horse with him. *Macdonald* skirmished with him, *March 25.* from Morning to Night, and killed about 50 of *Lesly's* Men; and the next Day himself, and the *Irish* (having Boats in Readiness, fled to the *Isles*, and from thence to *Ireland*.) The Country People, (a good many of whom he had forced to join him) submitted, upon Quarter given them by *Lesly*; but a bloody Preacher, Mr. *John Nive*, prevailed with him to break his Word, and to let loose his Soldiers upon them, who, without Mercy or Distinction barbarously murdered all of them; at which *Lesly*, seeming to have some inward Check, when walking amongst the Blood and dead Bodies, with *Argyle* and *Nive*, said to him, *Now, Mr. John, have you not once got your fill of Blood.* *Guthry* says, *This was reported as a Truth by severals that heard it.* And some few Years ago there was a Gentleman of my Acquaintance going from the North *Highlands*, to visit a near Relation he had in *Ireland*; and being to take Boat at *Kintyre*, when he was there he saw the Sculls and Bones of these People lying above Ground; and I doubt not but they may be seen there, and in that Condition to this Day. So it appears, that after they had barbarously murdered them, they inhumanly stript them, and left them un-

unburied.

buried, to be devoured by the ravenous Fowls of the Air, and Beasts of the Forest.

After this *Argyle* and *Lesly* went in to the Isle of *Islay*, and reduced a strong Castle called *Duniveg*, where *Macdonald* had planted a Garison, in which his Father commanded. *Spalden* says, *He kept out the Place for some Days; after which he came out upon Assurance to treat upon Terms of a Surrendry; and that being betrayed, Argyle sent him Prisoner to Inverary, where he caused his Sheriff-deput George Campbel condemn and hang him.* And so having finished their Work, *Argyle* and *Lesly* returned to *Edinburgh*.

May 11th, a Committee of the General Assembly sat down at *Aberdeen*, with Power to call before them all the Gentlemen Ministers and others in the Shire of *Merns*, and be-north that to *Inverness*, who were accused or suspected of Malignancy; (for so was Loyalty then term'd) or had been with, or ever assisted the Marquis of *Huntly* in the King's Service; and they were to ensure them as they thought proper, Several Ministers were by them deposed; some for conversing with the Marquis of *Huntly*, even when they could not shun it, and others for not praying heartily enough against him and *Montrose*. And *Alexander Gordon* of *Arradoull* and *John Gordon* of *Fechil*, and divers other Gentlemen were by Mr. *Andrew Cant* excommunicated in the Church of *Aberdeen*, for being with the Marquis of *Huntly* in the King's Service. About the first of *June*, the Plague, which had been raging for two Years before at *Edinburgh* and other Places in the South, broke out in *Aberdeen*, where it continued to the 20th of *October*, in which Time, notwithstanding all the Care

that could be taken to keep the Infected from those not infected, *Spalden* says, there died in *Aberdeen* about 1600; in the two small Fisher Towns of *Torry* and *Futty*, about 140, and in old *Aberdeen* only about 20; and the Winter following the two Colleges removed out of Town; the King's from old *Aberdeen* to *Frazersburgh*, and the *Marishal's* from *New-Aberdeen* to *Peterhead*, where they sat all that Winter.

(a) About this Time the Struggle betwixt the Presbyterians and Independents in *England* came to a Crisis: and the latter resolving to make a bold Push for Superiority, by *Cromwell's* secret Contrivance, ordered one of the boldest of their Agitators, Cornet *Joyce*, (once a Taylor) to go with a select Squadron of Horse to seize the King at *Holmby*, and bring him to the Army. This strange Attempt was managed with the closest Privacy; and the Cornet unexpectedly drew up his Horse before the King's Lodgings, and demanded Entrance. Colonel *Graves*, and Major General *Brown*, immediately upon this Alarm doubled their Guards, and asked his Name and Business. He told them his Name was *Joyce*, a Cornet in *Whally's* Regiment; and his Business was to speak with the King: They asked from whom; he answered, *From my self, and I must and will speak to him.* *Brown* and *Graves* ordered their Soldiers to stand to their Arms, and be ready to fire upon the first Command: But they finding those with *Joyce* to be their Acquaintances, opened the Gates and received them as Friends; and he, planting Guards at the Bed-chamber Doors of the Commissioners,

im-

immediately by the Back-stairs went directly to the King's Bed-chamber, and rudely knockt at the Door, with a Pistol cock'd in his Hand. The Grooms of the Bed-chamber, astonish'd at this Insolence, desired him to lay aside his Arms, to forbear giving Disturbance; and assured him, he should have his Answer next Morning. The Cornet insisted with so much Noise to have the Door opened, that it awak'd the King, who sent him Word, *He would not rise to speak to him till the Morning.* Upon which the Cornet huffingly retired for a few Hours.

The King arose early in the Morning; and after his Devotions call'd the Cornet, who, with great Impudence entred, and told him, *That he had Orders to remove him to the Army.* The King desired the Commissioners might be sent for. He answered, They had nothing to do but to return to the Parliament. The King desired a Sight of his Instructions. *Joyce* said, *He should see them immediately;* and having his Squadron drawn up in the Inner-Court, told him, *These are my Instructions.* The Commissioners to whom the Custody of the King's Person was intrusted, put several Questions to him; and he answering them all in the Negative, carried the King and them both off Prisoners; and they were much more dejected with it than the King was. He had sufficiently felt the barbarous Treatment both of the *English* and *Scots* Presbyterians; he hoped he might be better, and believed he could not be worse used by any Sect of People than he had been by them. And this gave a sudden Turn, which put an irrecoverable Period to the Power of the *Presbyterians*, who after a Redress of all their Grievances, had in-

volved both Nations first into Tumults, and then into a destructive and bloody War. The King now in the Army's Possession, was carried by them from Place to Place, and was lodged at last in a small House of his own at *New-Market*, where he was much more civilly used than he had formerly been, either by the *Scots* or *English* Presbyterians. He was suffered to divert himself on the Heath, either in Coach or on Horse-back as he pleased. The Noblemen and Gentlemen of the neighbouring Counties were allowed to wait on him; so that the Presence-Chamber was always throng. *Cromwell* was more than ordinary civil to him; four of his Chaplains were admitted to attend him; as Doctors *Sheldon*, *Morley*, *Sanderfon* and *Hammond*. Divers of his old Servants of his own chusing were allowed to wait on him, and many of the old Officers that had served under him, were civilly received by the Army, and lived quietly in their Quarters; none of which had been granted either by the *Scots* or *English* Parliament.

When the News of this surprising Change came to *Edinburgh*, the governing Rebels there could not imagine to what it would tend, or where it would end; however the Committees of Estate and Kirk appointed a Meeting *June 22*, and then adjourned to *July* to wait further Intelligence; and on the *17th* Mr. *George Winram* arrived and told them, *That the Armies Power encreased, and that Liberty of Conscience was aim'd at by them, with an universal Toleration;* and a great many other Stories equally unacceptable, as, *That the City of London had submitted to the Army, and that Cromwell and Fairfax, at the Head thereof, had marched through London, and that the Militia and Tower of that City*

were

were delivered to them. They had also gotten further Intelligence from *Lawderdale* and their other Residents at *London*; upon which they concluded to send up the Chancellor and *Lanerk* to act in Conjunction with them. Upon their Arrival there, and having conferred with their Friends at *Westminster*, one Mr. *Roe* was sent down from the Parliament to the Committee of Estates. The publick Message he pretended to bring, was, to urge that the *Scots* Army might be brought from *Ireland*; and instead of all their Arrears, offered them only one half Months Pay for Transportation: But it was believed, that he brought some secret Messages, which the Committee did not think proper to divulge.

(a) There had been a Motion made sometime before this, That to give the Country some Ease, *Lesly's* Army should be moddled, and a Part of them disbanded; and it was said, That if *Hamilton* had pleased (*Argyle* being absent) he could have carried it for disbanding; but he allowed it to be delayed till the Sitting of the Committee in *October*, at which *Argyle* being present, *Hamilton* and his Party, allowed it to be carried, That the Army should be kept up to the sitting of the Parliament in *March* 1648. Upon which the Army, (being now out of Fear of disbanding) grew so insolent, that altho the Collectors of the Monthly Maintenance (as it was call'd) for their Pay, exacted it so severely from the Country, that all of them grew rich by it; yet the Soldiers, being generally quartered upon the Loyalists, were allowed to take free Quarters; and also, if not allowed, at least connived at, both Foot and Horse to force their Landlords every Day

(a) Guthry's Mem. p. 293.

Day to lay down upon their Plate, when they went to dine that Day's Pay: And this he behoved to do, make what Shift he pleased for Money; for if he refused, they immediately went and poynded Horfe, Ox, or Cow, as they pleased. And this Story I have had from many People of good Credit in *Aberdeen-shire* who were so used. And thus was the whole Country, where they were quartered, ruined. But that was never noticed; for in those Days give a Man but the Name of a *Malignant* (for so the King's Friends were then called) and then it was reckoned Piety to plunder him. They also at this Time renewed their old Way of ruining the King's Friends. The Committee of Estates called before them such as they esteemed to favour him, and ordained them to lend Money to the Publick, some *L. 100 Sterl.* some *L. 200*, and some more, as they pleased to determine. If they scrupled to pay, they doubled their Proportion; if they pretended Want of Money, the Collectors were ready at Hand to lend it, who were sure to make them pay it next Term with Interest; and if any Person did obstinately stand out, he was immediately shut up in close Prison, till he paid the last Farthing: And this was the mild Government of these Saints.

After the King came to *New-market*, Jars and Debates arose betwixt the Parliament, and Army; the first struggling to keep themselves in the Possession of the Power they had most rebelliously usurped; and the last having now the King in their Possession, designed to set up for themselves, independent of the Parliament, to wrest the whole Power from it, and to settle it in their own Hands. And this Plot was deep laid by that Arch-dissembler

Cromwell: He imparted his Designs in full to none and only a Part of it to his greatest Confidants and Creatures. He, by his profound Hypocrisy and extemporary Effusions in Prayers, Preachings, and otherwise, to which he had a long Time accustomed himself and thereby made himself the greatest Master of it that we read of; used all Methods, and stopt at nothing that might promote his hellish Designs; nay, if the Story be true which some *English* Historians relate of him (a), *he not only consulted the Devil in them, but even, for his Assistance, engaged to deliver over to him his Soul and Body at a prefixed Day.* By these and other Methods he had engrossed the sole Power over that enthusiastick Army into his own Hands, and those of his Creatures, whom he had closely tied by Marriages and Preferments he had procured to them; so that by his Means their old General *Fairfax* was become a Cypher.

I shall only take Notice, That this Army was raised at first by the Presbyterians against their lawful Sovereign. They admitted all into it, whatsoever Religion they profess (if they were not *Loyalists*) And now they were become the strangest Medley of enthusiastical Sectarians that ever any Nation produced; they consisted of *Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Brownists, &c.* all of them the Spawn and Sons of Presbytery. The *Anabaptist* was the eldest Son, (if *Calvin* was not *Independent*; for I dont read that ever he had Episcopal or Presbyterian Ordination) the *Anabaptists* and *Presbyterians* had been in *England* since *Queen Elizabeth's*

(a) Echard's Hist of Eng. Vol. 2. p. 713.

zabeth's Time; the first from *Germany*, and the last from *Geneva*, to whom they gave some Trouble, and would have given more, if she very wisely had not kept them pretty well under the Hatches. The *Independents* were the most refined of the *Presbyterians*; and in a little Time came to be by far the most powerful; and from them sprang the *Brownists*, *Quakers*, &c. All of these *Sectarians* pretended to a more refined Religion, sublime Sanctity and greater Effusions of the Spirit than their Parents professed or had. There was hardly an Officer or a Soldier to be found in that Army, that was not as ready and believed himself to be as well gifted for an extemporary Prayer and Preaching as the best *Mas Jobn* in the Presbytery; and the Officers, or, in their Absence the Serjeants or Corporals, serv'd for, and supply'd the Places of Chaplains; and, as this diabolical Spirit of Enthusiasm prompted them up to these extemporary Raptures and Effusions, so it spirited them up to that Height of Courage and Resolution, that there was scarce to be found any Army in *Europe*, that exceeded, if equal'd them. And these Locusts having now overspread all *England*, joined as one Man like *Herod* and *Pilate*, to crucify the King, as they before that had done the Church.

While these Debates continued betwixt the Parliament and Army; the first courted the King, and the last carried him from Place to Place with them as they pleased; and after a Progress of almost Ten Weeks, they at last brought him to *Hampton-Court*, where they fixed his Residence; and there he staid with a Shew of State and Lustre for near three Months. At this Time the Parliament and Army were

were equally jealous one of another. The Army was so afraid, that the King should make it up with the Parliament, (a) that *Ireton* said in Major *Huntington's* Prefence, *That he had an intire Affection to the King, and a hearty Sense of his patient Sufferings and unparalleled Condescensions* : And declared, *That rather than His Majesty should continue thus enslaved by the vile Presbyterian Party, if but five Men would join with him, he would venture his Life in order to His Redemption.* And a little after, *Cromwel* solemnly declared at *Putney*, *That upon the same Score, if Ten Men would but stick to him, he would bazard his Life and Fortune for the King.* And thus, or after this Manner did they express themselves to the King at this Time, and to some of his Servants, whom he employed to negotiate with them. But all this was only Grimace, proceeding from the Fear they had of the Parliament, and their deep Hypocrisy, to conceal their secret, hidden and hellish Designs, as will immediately appear.

During the King's Abode at *Hampton-Court*, he had the Pleasure to see Three of his Children; the Duke of *York* then about 14 Years of Age; the Lady *Elisabeth* about 12; and the Duke of *Gloucester* not above 7, to give them his Paternal Advice: And foreseeing his own Destruction, he chiefly recommended to them Obedience and Subjection to their eldest Brother the Prince, and Perseverance in the Religion they were educated in. He had also the Satisfaction to recover, what of the *Divine Meditations* he had wrote before, and were taken after the *Battle of Naseby*; they being procured by the Interest

(a) Echard's Hist. of Engl. Vol. 2. p. 583.

rest of Major *Huntington* from General *Fairfax*. All this Time, while the King was at *Newmarket*, and now at *Hampton-Court*, there were Messages going betwixt His Majesty and the Parliament; and this increased the Jealousies of the Army more and more. So the Breach betwixt the Two contending Parties daily increased, till at last the Army having got the upper Hand, they then fell roundly to it. They impeached 6 or 7 of the Lords House, whom they forced to fly Abroad. They forced severals of both Houses to retire, and then modelled a-new the Parliament to their own Mind. They reduced the City, and committed to the Tower the Lord Mayor, and many of the principal Citizens. And thus the Army having now purged, subdued and reduced the City and Parliament to their own Model and Design, they began to change their Countenance and Carriage towards the King. And *Cromwel*, who a little before was imprecating, *That himself, Wife, nor Children might prosper, if he did not restore Him*, would not now come near Him; nor *Ireton* either, who had been as full in his Promises and Oaths as he had been. And

Now the Army having begun so prosperously, and being pufft up beyond Measure with their Success, in subduing the Parliament, and thereby getting the whole Power to themselves, *Cromwel*, *Ireton* and others, spirited the most furious of the *Anti-monarchical* Party, to make open and long Speeches against the King: And one of them, Colonel *Harrison* (a fiery Zealot, and great Man among his Party) in a set Speech, publicly said, *That it lay upon his Spirit to declare to them, that the King was a Man of Blood; that therefore all Engagements to him*

him were taken off, and that they ought to prosecute him. And nine Regiments, and the General's Lifeguard had prepared a Narrative, to be communicated to all the Soldiers of the Army, to draw them to a general Rendezvous, that they might there jointly declare against any Settlement with the King. These Things coming to His Majesty's Ears, could not but very much trouble him: But a little before it came to this Height, *Lowdon; Lanerk and Lawderdale* repaired to the King; and entring into a Treaty with him, offer'd to rescue him from the Army, or perish in the Attempt. And again, the King being hunting at *Non-such*, the Two last came to him with 50 Horse; which struck no small Terror in the small Guard then about him. They told His Majesty, *That they came to rescue Him from His Captivity, and were all resolved to die at His Feet; therefore they begged him to make His Escape.* The King replied, *That he had engaged his Honour, not to leave the Army, without giving them Notice; and till he had freed himself from that, he would rather die than break His Faith.* But thereafter the King being sufficiently apprised of the Designs of the Army, sent to these Two Earls and told them, *That he had now freed himself from that Engagement, and desired their Advice concerning His Escape.* He ask'd them first of going to *Scotland.* *Lawderdale* replied, *That except he complied with their Demands as to Religion, he might expect no better Usage from the Kirk-party, than he had met with at Newcastle.* Then speaking of *London*, that Earl gave Reasons, why he should not go thither. At last the King propos'd to go to *Berwick.* To which *Lawderdale* and *Lanerk* agreed to, says *Echard*: But in what bet-

ter Condition he would have been there, then in the Parliament of *England's* Power, or the Church-party of *Scotland's*, I cannot see. I'm sure, both of them had shown themselves his inveterate Enemies. But

His Majesty now being sufficiently apprised of, and terrified with the dreadful Machinations of the Army against him, he was at last resolvèd to make his Escape; but where to go, was the great Question. He, that admirable Prince, hereditary Monarch of Three Kingdoms, might justly at this Time renew that Complaint, *That the Fowls of the Air and Beasts of the Earth had Places to hide themselves in; but he, GOD's Vicegerent in these Kingdoms, had no Place of Safety to retire to.* And now Necessity forcing him, upon the 11th of *November* he made His Escape from *Hampton-Court*, accompanied only with Sir *John Berkley*, Mr. *Assburnham* and Mr. *Leg*, and delivered himself up to Colonel *Hammond*, Governor of the Isle of *Wight*, who carried him to *Carisbrook-Castle*. This Escape of the King's, is said to have been made with the Connivance, if not by the Contrivance of *Cromwell*, who wished him to be in Security in any remote Place, at a greater Distance from the Parliament; and in no Place rather than there. *Hammond* the Governor being his great Confident, he treated His Majesty at first civilly (as all others had done) and there we shall leave him, and return a little to *Scotland*.

The Marquis of *Huntly* was now the only Nobleman of Power and Strength, who had neither submitted to, nor capitulated with the then usurping Powers. The Committee of Estates, by their Act
of

of the Date at *Aberdeen* May 30. 1644, had obliged themselves to pay, as a Reward to any Person that would apprehend him, *L. 1000 Sterl.* I have already related, That when *Lesly* and *Middleton* came North with greater Forces against him than he was able to resist, he was obliged to retire to the *Highlands*, where he staid sometimes in one Place, sometimes in another, to this Time; and now in the Month of *December*, he was in the Lordship of *Strathaven*, where he had privately staid for some Days in a House of a Vassal of his own, called *Dalnabo*. He had only with him Ten Gentlemen and Servants, the rest of the Country-people having dispersed themselves in the Neighbourhood, fearing no Danger. One Lieutenant Colonel *Menzies*, whether for the Greed of Money, or Zeal to that rebellious Cause in which he was engaged, or both, knowing *Huntly* to be lurking in the *Highlands*, laid himself out to know where he was; and getting Intelligence of it, he came with a select Party of 3 Troops of Horse to *Dalnabo*, in the Beginning of *December* 1647 (where *Huntly* then was) about Midnight; and having caused his Troopers alight from their Horses, he immediately enter'd the House, *Huntly* being just then going to Bed. Those few Gentlemen with him in the House, made what Resistance they could, Six of them being killed, and the rest mortally wounded; among whom *John Grant* his Landlord was one. And of the Enemy were only killed Three Men and their Guide. He immediately made *Huntly* Prisoner. Upon Notice of which, the whole Men in the Country got together in Arms, to rescue their Lord: But *Menzies* wisely foreseeing that, instantly carried him off to

the Castle of *Blairfindie* in *Glenlivet*, some 3 or 4 Miles Distance from *Dalnabo*. The Men of the Country being convened to the Number of 4 or 500 in Arms, by *Grant of Carron*; all of them swore in their most solemn Manner, that they should to a Man die or rescue their Lord; and of this they sent him Notice by a Gentlewoman, Spouse to Mr. *Gordon of Munmore*, desiring his Orders what to do.

I'm informed by Gentlemen of that Country, that the Answer he returned, was, *That now almost worn out with Grief and Fatigue, he could no longer live in Hills and Dens*; and that he hoped, that his Enemies would not drive Things to the worst; or if such was the Will of Heaven, he could not outlive that sad Fate he foresaw His Royal Master was like to undergo: And be the Event as it would, he doubted not, but the just Providence of GOD would restore the Royal Family, and with it his: - And so discharged his Men from endeavouring his Rescue, which otherwise they certainly would have effected. It would seem, that he trusted too much to the great Interest the *Hamiltons* and *Argyle* then had; and that at least they would save his Life: But in that he was much disappointed, as will afterwards appear. There were taken with *Huntly* some *Irish*, who were lodged in the Barns about the House he was in; and him and them *Menzies* brought Prisoners to *Strathbogy*, where *Middleton* then was. *Spalden* in his MS. says, That he caused shoot to Death all the *Irish* there, and immediately sent an Express to the Committee of Estates at *Edinburgh*, to notify to them, that *Huntly* was his Prisoner; and they returned him Orders, to send him up thither with a strong Guard.

Guard. Upon which, *Menzies* brought him Prisoner with a Guard of Horse to *Leith*. The last named Author says, That he was kept there Two Days, till the Committee should determine what to do with him. And *Guthrie* tells the same Story. The Question was, *Whether he should be brought up to Edinburgh, and there immediately execute at the Cross, or imprisoned till the sitting of the Parliament.* The last Author says, *That when it came to the Vote, Argyle, tho his Brother in Law, yet his great Enemy, withdrew; but all of his Faction were for present Execution, as was the Committee of the Kirk; by their most earnest Solicitations; nevertheless it was carried by one Voice, that his Life should be spared, until the sitting of the Parliament; and then he was brought up from Leith to the Netherbow Port of Edinburgh, on Horseback; where being met by the Provost and some of the Baillies, he was obliged to alight from his Horse, and was conducted by them to their nasty Prison, the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.*

Menzies immediately applied to the Committee of Estates, for Payment of his Reward of the L. 1000 Sterl. and by an Act of their Sederunt, of the Date at *Edinburgh* January 6. 1648. obtained an Order for the Payment of it; and *Hamilton* and *Argyle*, to whom *Huntly* trusted so much, are the first Signers of it. I have inserted the Act from the publick Records, in the *Appen. N. 10.* *Spalden* in his MS. says, That *Argyle* seeing his Brother in Law imprisoned, takes the Advantage of his Estate, buys up all Mens Rights, who had Comprisings on *Huntly's* Lands, he sends to *Aberdeen*, where at the Market-cross, with Sound of Trumpet, he caused summon all the Wadsetters or Debtors *Huntly*

had, or that he was resting any Thing unto, to compear at *Edinburgh* the Day of *March*, at the Instance of *Argyle*, for taking Order with them according to their Rights and Securities. They were also summoned to produce their Securities before the Lords of Session, with Certification, if they compeared not, their Securities were to be declared null and void. Some transacted with *Argyle*, and others did not, chusing rather to take their Hazard of *Huntly*: And thus he bought up all the Rights he could get upon *Huntly's* Estate, thinking thereby to exhaust the same. And I have been credibly informed, by Persons to whom some of these Rights belonged, That he made these Creditors dispone their Rights, for Sums of small or no Value; and for them only gave his Bonds, which he never did pay: And all this he did, pretending always, that it was only for the Advantage and Benefit of his Nephew the Lord *Gordon*. And thus did *Argyle* possess himself of that great and opulent Estate, the greatest Part whereof that illustrious Family had got, as a just Reward of their Valour, and eminent Services done to their King and Country. He lived with his Family in *Huntly's* Houses; he put Chamberlains and Bailiffs upon his Estate, and in his Jurisdictions; he uplifted and enjoyed the Rents of it as his own, from the Beginning of this Year 1648, to the happy Restoration *Anno* 1660, full 12 Years; and the Rent of that Estate at that Time was better than 100,000 Merks a Year.

The News of *Huntly's* being made Prisoner very soon came to the King, then in the Isle of *Wight*; upon

upon which he immediately wrote the following Letter to the Earl of Lanerk, then at London (a).

Lanerk,

Hearing that the Marquis of Huntly is taken, and knowing the Danger that he is in, I both strictly command you as a Master, and earnestly desire you as a Friend, that you will deal effectually with all those whom you have any Interest in, for the saving of his Life. It were I know lost Time to use Arguments to you for this; wherefore I judge these Lines necessary, to add to your Power, though not to your Willingness, to do this most acceptable Service for

Carisbrook 17th
Decem. 1647.

Your most assured, real, constant Friend.

CHARLES R.

What Effect this Letter had upon Lanerk or his Brother, we shall hereafter hear.

About this Time the Parliament of England had resolved to admit of a personal Treaty with the King, he condescending to Four preliminary Articles, viz. By the First he was to acknowledge, *That the War was raised by Him.* By the Second, *He was totally to dissolve the Government of the Church by Bishops, and to give the Church-lands for such Uses as they proposed.* By the Third, *To settle the Militia as the Parliament proposed.* And by the Last, *To sacrifice all those who had served him to the Mercy of the Parliament.* Upon this, the Scots Commissioners at London entred their Dissent against them, and to that Purpose emitted a Declaration. And when the Parliaments Commissioners carried them to the King, the Scots Commissioners there with him en-

(a) Burnet's Mem. p. 333.

trud their Dissent there also against them, by an open Protestation. And *Lowdon*, *Lauderdale* and *Lanerk* perswaded him to refuse these Propositions, and rather grant some further Concessions, to satisfy the *Scots*; and in that Case they assured him, that the whole Kingdom would go to Arms for his Restoration. Upon which, the King refused these Propositions, and entred into a Treaty with the *Scots*, which is to be seen at large in *Clarendon's* History. The *English* Commissioners had but a very few Days allowed them to wait for the King's Answer; which he gave them in the Time limited, containing his Reasons, why he could not agree to the passing of these Acts, until a just and equal Peace was concluded betwixt him and both Nations. Upon which the Parliaments Commissioners returning, Colonel *Hammond* putting all His Majesty's Servants (who had attended him) out of the Castle, made himself close Prisoner; and the Parliament of *England* past a Vote, that no more Addresses should be made to him. And thus ended the Year 1647.

In the Beginning of the Year 1648, the *Scots* Commissioners transmitted an Account of what had past betwixt them and the *English* at the Isle of *Wight*, with the King. Upon which, His Friends in *Scotland* were mightily troubled, That he had not rather made up Matters with the *English*, even tho upon very hard Terms, than to throw himself again upon that rebellious and governing Party of the *Scots*, who had so lately ignominiously sold and betrayed him to His Enemies. The Truth is, never was Man so hard put to it, as this excellent Prince was at this Time, to determine what to do. These Four Propositions sent to him from *Westminster*,
were

were such, that He neither in Conscience nor Honour could agree to them; neither had he any Reason, to repose much Confidence in the Engagements made to him by the *Scots*. And which was worst of all (a), he was advertised by *Watson*, Quarter-master General to the Parliament-army, That at an appointed Meeting of the General Officers of the Army, it was resolved, *That the King should be prosecuted for his Life, as a criminal Person*. At this Time the Army had the Parliament so under Foot, that they commanded all. And in this Strait was he now, having no Comfort left him, but a good Conscience and a serene Mind, which GOD out of his infinite Goodness always preserved to him, as is to be seen in those inimitable Meditations of his, when made close Prisoner in *Carisbrok-Castle* (b).

The *Scots* Parliament being to sit *March 2d 1648*, there were sent down Commissioners from both Houses at *Westminster*, to keep all right with their Friends in *Scotland*. The last of them, the Earl of *Stamford*, came to *Edinburgh* *March 8*. The last, because he brought up the heavy Baggage, a good round Sum of Money; and who shared best of it, is to be guess'd by the Behaviour of some of the Nobility and Clergy at this Time; for to be sure, it was not misapplied. The Committee of the Kirk having got Notice of the large Concessions made by the King, to the *Scots* Commissioners in the *Isle of Wight*; and tho they were so extensive, that it may be truly said of His Majesty then, That he had stript to the Skirt to please them; Yet nothing could do it, for they had prepared their Remon-

(a) Echard's Hist. of Eng. Vol. 2. p. 591. (b) *Elmer's* *Scots* p. 227.

france against them, as not satisfactory, which they presented to the Parliament by Mrs. *Douglas, Dick, &c.* Ministers, the Laird of *Dundas* and others, Ruling Elders. The Parliament took a Time to consider of it, and discharged the publishing of it till then. But the Kirk had no Regard to that, they caused print it *March 12.* and by their Act of the 24. they appointed it to be publickly read in all the Kirks of the Kingdom; and for that Purpose, immediately dispatched Copies of the same. Of which the Parliament took no Notice. And this renewed the Jealousy which the Loyalists had always entertained of *Hamilton* and *Lanerk*.

To remove this Jealousy (*Guthrie* says) (*a*), That there was a Challenge given, and a Combate appointed to be fought betwixt *Argyle* and *Crawford*, and *Lanerk* was to be Second to the last. The Time agreed on for fighting, was *March 21.* at 5 a-Clock in the Morning, and the Place, the Links of *Stonyhill*. They both were on the Ground an Hour before any came to interrupt them, yet it came to be *duellum incurmentum*; and all was looked upon to be but Grimace from the Beginning. The Truth is, none of them ever had much Inclination to fighting. But the Kirk was much offended, that Two so devote and firm Pillars of it, should be so bloody-minded, that they appointed them both to do Penance for it; and *Argyle* performed his very Christianly, but *Crawford* refused.

(*b*) At this Time there appeared Three Parties. One of those would hear of no Propositions for the King's Delivery, unless he first took both their Covenants,

(*a*) Mem. p. 214. (*b*) Burnet's Mem. p. 336. *Guthrie's* Mem. p. 211.

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venants, and gave full Satisfaction in Matters of Religion; but what would have satisfied them, in my Opinion is impossible to guess; for by their Actings and Demands they seemed not to know themselves; and this Party was made up of the zealous Preachers and *Argyle*, with a few of the Nobility who joined them. The other, of whom *Traquair* and *Callender* were the Chief, were for a direct owning the King's Quarrel without any Restrictions; and for taking in all who had been formerly in Arms for His Majesty's Service. The third Party, which consisted of Duke *Hamilton* and his Friends, not liking to offend either Party, were for a cautious and middle Way. *Lowdon* the Chancellour was at first of the second Party, who were for engaging presently for the King, but soon changed Sides, and fell into the first and rigid Kirk Party. *March 26*, Sir *William Fleming* came from the Prince by Sea to *Leith*, and delivered Letters to the Chancellour, *Hamilton*, *Lawderdale*, and *Lanerk*. His Message was, *That their Commissioners in the Isle of Wight having given the Queen and Prince Assurance of their Resolution of engaging the Nation of Scotland for the King, he was now sent to know what they had done or were to do in it.* They in a few Days sent him back with their Answers. And

Now after a long Delay, and much Altercation betwixt the Kirk and State, there were three Things voted and concluded in Parliament, *April 11th*, First, *That they should demand the King to be brought from his Prison in the Isle of Wight to London or some Place near it, in Honour, Freedom and Safety.* 2do, *That they should require the English to disband their Sectarian Army.* And 3tio, *That Religion be established*

blished there according to the Covenant and Treaties. Against all which voted *Argyle, Cassils, Sir Archibald Johnston* and a few others. But the passing of these Votes so inflamed the fiery Spirits of the rebellious Kirk Zealots, that from several Synods, Supplications were presented, that nothing might be done in Parliament without the Consent of the General Assembly; and the two General *Leslies* and *Holburn* signed a Supplication to the same Effect; and the Committee of the Kirk again appearing, gave in a Paper of the same Nature. Notwithstanding all which, about the End of *April* it was concluded in Parliament, That the Kingdom should be put in a Posture of War.

May 3d the Parliament voted a Levy of 30,000 Foot, and 6000 Horse, and to call over Major General *George Monro* from *Ireland*, with the Forces under his Command there; and the two General *Leslies* being against the Engagement (as it was call'd) who drew over with them the Colonels *Scot, Ker, Holburn* and some others; upon *May. 10.* Duke *Hamilton* was elected General of the Army, *Callender* Lieutenant General of Horse and Foot, *Middleton* Major General of the Horse, and *Baillie* Major General of the Foot; and then the Parliament having appointed a Committee of 24 to govern in the Interim, adjourned to the 1st of *June*, and the Members retired to their several Counties to forward the Levies, as the Parliament by their 9th Act, *May 4th* had proportioned them on each Shire; and, at their parting, had the acceptable News that the Duke of *York*, who had been the Parliament's Prisoner, in Custody of the Earl of *Northumberland*, had made his Escape, and was safely arrived in
France

France; as also, that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Philip Musgrave* and others, with a considerable Army were ready in the North of *England* to join them; and the more to facilitate the *Scots* March into *England*, they had possess'd themselves of (as it were the Keys of that Country) the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*.

(a) The Day after the rising of the Parliament, *Argyle* dispatched Major *Strachan* with Instruction to *Cromwel* to inform him of the Engagement entred into in *Scotland*, and of the Army that was raising there, desiring he would send a strong Party of Horse into *Scotland* to join with that Party there who were against the Engagment, that they thereby might be in a Condition to interrupt the Levies making in *Scotland*. And *Argyle* having thus dispatched *Strachan* to his great Confident *Cromwel*, went from *Edinburgh* to *Fife*, and from thence to *Stirling*, and *Dumbarton* Shires, to stop the Levies; and for that Effect he dealt earnestly with all the Gentry he had any Influence upon to rise in Arms upon the first Call to oppose it: And then went to a grand Meeting appointed at the Earl of *Eglinton's* House, betwixt him, *Lorndon*, *Eglinton*, *Cassils*, Mr. *David Dick* and other Ministers, who had the sole Command of the Populace in those Places; and to them he communicated (for their Encouragment) the Instructions he had given *Strachan*; and at last went Home to his own Country to raise what Men he could do there.

The first who disobeyed the Levy Act, was the City of *Glasgow*; upon which the Colonels, *Urry* and *Turner*,

(a) Guthry's Mem. p. 223.

ner, with their Regiments were sent to that Place to reduce it and the Country about it to Obedience. *May 31.* the Nobility and others Members of Parliament, *Argyle, Cassils, Eglington* and others of that Faction excepted, and Duke *Hamilton* now General of the Army, entred *Edinburgh*, with a numerous Retinue of 400 Horse; and the next Day the Parliament sat down; and there immediately appeared many Gentlemen and Ministers spirited up by *Argyle* and his Faction to supplicate against the Levy. Their Supplications were referred to the grand Committee of Twenty four, who rejected them; and upon *June 7th* gave in a Declaration to the Committee of the Kirk, which so displeased them, that they gave over any further treating with the Parliament. By this Time *Urry* and *Turner* sent Notice to the Parliament, that a great Part of the West Country were rising in Arms; whereupon *Callender* and *Middleton* were appointed to haste thither with more Forces. The Loyalists (*Bishop Guthrie* says) (*a*) were much offended with *Hamilton*, that now *Argyle* and his Faction being absent, his Party was so strong in Parliament, that he could do what he pleased, yet neither he nor his Brother *Lanerk*, (notwithstanding the pressing Letter the King had sent him to take Care of *Huntly*) all this Time had ever moved for his Liberation, but suffered him still to be kept close in that nasty Goal. They well knew how much the King's Friends were offended with it; and to give them some Satisfaction, all they did for him was, to change his Prison from the Tolbooth to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, when it had been as easy for them to have

(a) Memoirs, p. 227.

have procured his full Liberation. This the aforementioned Author says was to gratify the *Argylian Faction*, that when they should recover their Power, they might cut off his Head. Bishop *Burnet* says (a), *That the Church-Men had so bad an Opinion of him, that to have proceeded roundly in that Matter, would have given greater Grounds of Jealousy to that Party; and the Juncto sent him Word to the Castle that they were willing he should make his Escape, and they offered their Assistance for conveying him safe away. But to this he answered, That he came there by Order, and that he would not steal out as a Thief. And from this fatal Stiffness they could not get him removed; yet resolved to liberate him openly when they should be better able to avow their Actions.* This is a Piece of that Authors secret History; he gives no Voucher for it, and so deserves no Credit. *Huntly* knew too well their barbarous Meaning towards him, and the Hazard he was in ever since he was their Prisoner, not to be fond of an Escape at any Rate.

The Parliament having appointed a grand Committee for the Government, and Committees of War for regulating the Levies, having adjourned themselves to the first *Thursday* of *March* 1650, rose *June* 10. and the Noblemen and others hasted home to foreward their Levies, so that the Army might be in Readiness to march by the End of that Month. At this Time *Callender* and *Middleton* were with their Forces at *Paisly*, and had appointed a Rendezvouz with *Urry* and *Turner*, *June* 12. at *Stewartoun*, where they were informed that there were

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(a) *Memoirs of the Family of Hamilton*, p. 353.

a great Multitude in Arms already against them at *Machlin*; whereupon *Middleton* and *Urry* were sent against them with six Troops of Horse to require them to disband, and give Obedience to the King and Parliament. *Glencairn* and *Eglinton* had assured *Callender* that their Numbers were but inconsiderable, and so there were no more Forces sent against them, yet when *Middleton* drew near, he found them to be no fewer than 2000 Foot and 500 Horse: Upon which *Middleton* having sent for more Forces, marched up to them. Their chief Commanders were Ministers, viz. *Mrs. William Aldair*, *William Gutbry*, *Gabriel Semple*, and *John Neve*, &c. They were resolute to fight, and *Middleton* charged them, and soon defeated them. Eighty of them were killed on the Place, and the rest were made Prisoners except a few who escaped by Flight. The Prisoners were all set at Liberty, three only were condemned by a Council of War to be shot; but these were also pardoned at the Intercession of some Ladies. This was not the Way they used to deal with the King's Friends when Prisoners.

A little after this they had Intelligence that *Lambert* had marched North towards *Carlyle*, with a Body of 2000 Horse, no Doubt to have joined these Rebels, if their Defeat had not interveened. And now the Army being got together, from all the several Counties that gave Obedience to the Parliament; the Duke of *Hamilton* sent Colonel *Lockhart* with some Regiments of Horse, to ly at *Annan*, and Colonel *Turner* with some Regiments to *Dumfries*, to secure *Carlyle* from being attacked by *Lambert*; and he (*Hamilton*) with the other general Officers and several Regiments of Horse and Foot, marched

marched from *Edinburgh* to *Annan*, and was there joined by *Turner* and the Regiments with him, with some Ammunition, and Abundance of Meal sent from *Edinburgh*. They entred *England* upon *Saturday July 8*. An *English* Historian says (a), That according to *Fame* the Scots Army consisted of 20,000 Foot, and 6000 Horse. (b) *Burnet* says, This Army wanted a Third of the Levy appointed by Parliament, and that they did not amount to above 10,000 Foot and 4000 Horse. If they were not more numerous, they wanted two Thirds of the Foot, and one Third of the Horse; for the Parliament, as I have said, appointed a Levy under very severe Sanctions, as is to be seen in the Act, of no less than 30,000 Foot and 6000 Horse. 'Tis true, some of the western Shires were backward in their Levies, and did not complete them; and the Levies in *Argyle* and a part of *Inverness*-Shires, were certainly kept back by *Argyle*; notwithstanding which, this Army was certainly more numerous than *Burnet* makes them, at least in Foot, and I don't think they were so numerous in Horse as *Echard* makes them; and I have been told by several Gentlemen who were in the Army, That the Number of the Horse was much as the first makes them, and the Foot as the last.

After the Army had entred *England* the General Assembly sat down at *Edinburgh*, July 28. 1648. The Committee of the Kirk had all along with the utmost Zeal done what in them lay to hinder the Nation from engaging for the King: And now the General Assembly not only to ratify what their Substitutes

(a) *Echard's Hist.* vol. 2. p. 603. (b) *Memoirs of the Family of Hamilton* p. 356.

tutes had done; but also to give a full Proof of their own Zeal against this Engagement, made an Act (a), July 28 1648, the Title whereof is, *Act and Declaration against the Act of Parliament and Committee of Estates, ordained to be subscribed the 10th and 12th of June, and against all new Oaths and Bonds in the common Cause, imposed without Consent of the Church.* This is indeed a pretty surprizing Act of those self-denied Men. They in the Beginning of the Rebellion complained loudly against the Bishops for being Officers of State, and meddling too much in secular Affairs; but they no sooner indeed got into the Saddle, than they assumed such a Power, that nothing could be done Civil or military without their Approbation; they never wanted a Committee of them with their Army to direct them: and for the same Purpose they always had their Deputies with the Commissioners of State. And now, to evidence the Fulness of their Power, by this Act they assume even a Negative upon the Parliament; by which we see 'tis one Thing to be under the Hatches, and another to be commanding on the Quarter Deck.

Upon the Scots Army's entring England, the Towns of *Carlyle* and *Berwick* were delivered to them. In the first was placed as Governor Sir *William Livingston* of *Westquarter*, under the Earl of *Callender*; and in the last *Lodovick Lesly*, under Duke *Hamilton* (a). Major General *Monro* had by this Time arrived from *Ireland* with a Body of veteran Troops, of about 1200 Horse and 2100 Foot. Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* also joined them with a Body of

(a) Printed Acts of the G. Assen. 1648. (b) Burnet's Mem. p. 394

Of near 4000 *English* Foot and 700 Horse. Major General *Monro* had a Conference with Duke *Hamilton* at *Kendale* in *Westmorland*: But he being unwilling to take Orders from *Callender* or *Baillie*, was very imprudently left behind. An *English* Historian says (a), *That the Scots Army march'd very slowly, and with great Negligence; so that the Van and Reer would sometimes be at more than twenty Miles Distance from other.* *Monro* being thus left behind to bring up the Train of Artillery that was coming from *Scotland*, which, *Guthry* says, consisted of five Canon, had Orders, if attacked by the Enemy not to Fight, but to retire to *Appleby Castle* or *Carlisle*, and there to secure himself till further Orders, and was here joined by Sir *Philip Musgrave* and Sir *Thomas Tilsle*; the one Lieutenant General and the other Major General to *Langdale*, with two Regiments of Foot then raised in the Northern Counties. And it was determined that the *Scots* and *English* Armies should march into *Lancashire*. *Lambert* had by slowly retiring South always attended the *Scots* Army with a strong Body of Horse; and, by frequent Skirmishes often interrupted their March. *Langdale* with his *English* commanded the Van, thereby to furnish Guides and Intelligence for the Duke, who *August 17th*, was advanced as far into *England* as *Wogan*, or near *Preston* in *Lancashire*.

The next Day *Cromwel* with another Army having joined *Lambert*, they jointly fell in upon *Langdale*; and the Van advanced at some Distance before the Army, and that gallant Gentleman with those under his Command fought it for some Time

(a) Echard's Hist. of Engl. Vol. 2. p. 60.

with uncommon Bravery, and maintained the Dispute for six Hours (says the last named Historian) and further adds, *That being neglected and not succoured by the Scots, he was forced to give Way and retire*; whereas, if he had been but supported with 1000 Men, and some Ammunition (his own being spent) he declared himself that he verrily believed he should have gained the Day: But the Scots presuming by their own Strength to obtain the Victory, and so reap all the Advantage of it, and have the sole Honour of restoring the King; and by this foolish Presumption, and abandoning of those Men who fought so well, they contributed to their own Ruin. Guthry says (a), *That these Men fought well, but at last their Ammunition being spent, and overpowered with Numbers, they were beaten, in regard the Supply of Men and Ammunition they called for was refused them by the Duke and Callender*; and adds, *That Langdale's Ambition was such, That he meant to have the whole Glory of the Business.*

The next Morning Cromwel and Lambert assaulted the Scots Army, who were quartered at such Distances, that they never came together. The last named Author says, *That Major General Baillie at the first surrendered himself with 10000 Foot Prisoners, and that the rest of them fled North in small Parties, and joined Monro*; and for the Horse, the Duke, Callender and the rest of the general Officers (Middleton excepted, who made the best Defence, and was taken on the Place) with 3000 of them fled together in a Body, while the rest marched off in small Parties (as those of the Foot who escaped had done) and also joined

(a) Memoirs p. 253.

ed Monro. *And the Duke with the general Officers, and Body of Horse with them, were taken Prisoners, only Callender disguising himself, escaped and went over to Holland.* (a) *Echard says, That Baillie, after divers sharp Encounters with those who pursued him, recovered Warrington Bridge, and there surrendered himself, with 4000 Foot; and that the Duke at Uxeter in Staffordshire, with 3000 Horse, was taken without a Blow, so remarkably, that it was not known whether by the Country Troops, the Lord Gray of Groby, or some of Lambert's Colonels sent to capitulate with him; but to the last (says that Author) he entituled himself Prisoner, as most conducing to the Safety of his Life.*

I have by me a Memoir belonging to the present Earl of *Traquair*, bearing, That at this Engagement, the then Earl of *Traquair*, who, at the King's Desire levied a Regiment of 600 Horse, which cost him upwards of *L. 5000 Sterling*, was taken, with his Son the Lord *Linton*, and imprisoned four Years in *Warwick-Castle*, and was to have been executed. But it seems, that tho' they reach'd Duke *Hamilton's* Life as an *English Peer*, (being Earl of *Cambridge*) yet they could not find Law to make it Treason in the Earl of *Traquair* (being a *Scots Man*, and no *English Peer*) to levy War against the Parliament of *England*. The Truth is, they had not the least Shew of Law for it; and for that Reason only did they save his Life; for they knew him to be a Man of as good Parts, and as great a Favorite of the King as the Duke was.

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(a) Bishop *Burnet* gives a fuller Account of the March and fatal Overthrow of this Army, than any other Historian I have seen. He says the Duke treated with *Lambert*; he inserts the Articles of Treaty, and the Officers Names who treated on each Side; but says, *Before the Treaty was signed, the Lord Gray not regarding the same, nor the Cessation of Arms granted by Lambert, tho' acquainted by the Duke of it, fell in upon him, and made him and those with him Prisoners.* That Author endeavours all he can to vindicate the Duke in all the Steps of his Conduct: But by all the Accounts I have seen, from the very first March of this Army to their utter Overthrow at last, there neither appeared Conduct nor Concord among the general Officers; for even when they came to be attacked by the Enemy, the Duke's and *Callender's* very often disagreed. Never was such an Army (*Guthry* says the greatest and best furnished that ever *Scotland* sent forth) so entirely routed, without so much as striking a Stroke. If they were not able to march forward, what should have stopped such an Army from making a safe Retreat, is hard to divine; but what contributed most to their Ruin, would seem to be their marching so loosely and widely dispersed, that when they came to be attacked, it was impossible to bring them all together. *Guthry* says, *That when they came to Preston, there was 38 Miles betwixt their Van and Rear.*

When the News of this entire Defeat of the *Scots* Army at *Preston* came to *Scotland*, the West-country People began to draw together in Arms, especially those

(a) Memoirs p. 355. & infra.

those belonging to *Eglinton*, under the Command of *Robert Montgomery* his Son : They defeated a Troop of Horse belonging to *Lanerk*, and killed some of them. The Report of which coming to *Edinburgh* the Committee there resolved to call forth all the Men in *Scotland* fit to carry Arms, and *Lanerk* was chosen General. He had three Regiments of Horse in Readiness ; and with those it was expected that he would have marched West to suppress the Insurrection there ; but he turned towards the Borders, giving out that it was to meet *Sir George Monro*, who was upon his march homewards ; and by this he gave the Western Shires Opportunity of joining together in a Body of no less than 6000 Men, who with *Lowdon*, *Eglinton*, *Mr. David Dick*, and some other Ministers upon their Head, marched straight towards *Edinburgh* ; and upon their Approach some of the Magistrates and Ministers went out to welcome them, and the Ports were cast open to receive them.

By this Time *Monro*, with those he had brought from *Ireland* and others who had joined him, after the Defeat at *Preston*, had returned to *Scotland*, and united with *Lanerk* as their General, and *Sir Thomas Finsley* with 1000 Horse offered to join them ; but they very ungenerously refused the Offer, and left this brave and loyal Gentleman to make the best Terms he could with *Cromwell* ; and by this rejecting the Offer of 1000 good Horse, it easily appeared that *Lanerk* had no much Mind to do any Thing to Purpose for the King. And now the Western Army being pretty well modelled, were commanded by the Earl of *Leven* as General, *David Lesly* as Lieutenant General, *Robert Montgomery* and *Sir*

John Brown as Major Generals. *Lanerk* and *Monro* with their Army marched North to *Haddington*, and from thence towards *Edinburgh*; and *Monro* was for fighting the Western Army immediately; but *Lanerk* would not agree to it, tho' he had with him 4000 Horse and as many Foot, the most of them old-experienced Soldiers; and so might have expected an easy Victory; but to shun fighting marched west to *Lithgow*, where he had surprized the Earl of *Cassils*, who was there with 300 Horse he had raised in *Carrick* and *Galloway*, if some Friend had not sent him Word in Time to be gone.

Argyle at this Time, *September* 12th, about Eleven a Clock came to *Stirling*, with what Men he could raise in his own Country and the Neighbourhood, and having placed his Men in their several Posts, and agreed with the Magistrates of the Town, for providing Entertainment for them; *Went* (says *Guthry*) to dine; but while the Meat was setting on the Table, being alarm'd with the Approach of *Monro's* Army, he instantly left all, took his Horse, and fled, without stopping till he was at the North *Queensferry*; and there, after a Flight of 18 Miles took Boat, (this was the Fourth Time he had found such a Machine useful to him) and came to *Edinburgh*, leaving his Men to the Mercy of the Enemy; and *Monro*, when within two Miles of *Stirling*, getting Intelligence of *Argyle's* being there, without consulting *Lanerk*, marched in all haste to attack him, and went straight to the Bridge: But *Argyle* had escaped long before that, and those he had left in that Place, upon *Monro's* Approach, throwing down their Arms, fled; but being pursued by his Troopers, all of them were cut to Pieces, except a few, that to avoid
Death

Death by the Sword, threw themselves into the River, and were drowned. But Lanerk, Crawford and others coming up with the Foot Army, the rest of Argyle's Men who were in other Posts, to the Number of about 500, had better Fortune, and were made Prisoners, and soon thereafter set at Liberty.

Lanerk, Crawford and Glencairn being now in Stirling, did convene their Committee, wherein they express no small Grief for Argyle's Men whom *Moro* had cut off. But he not knowing what they meant was so far from repenting, that he proposed there a new Motion, which vexed them more; and that was, that he might be allowed next Morning to attack the Western Army then at *Falkirk*; but to prevent such Attempt, Lanerk appointed all the Horse to cross *Stirling-Bridge*, and to quarter on the North Side of *Forth*, from the Castle of *Down* to *Bruntisland*. After this there past several Messages betwixt Lanerk and those with him, and the Noblemen and Officers in the Western Army; and, on *September* the 15th, a Treaty was concluded in these Terms, viz. That the *Hamiltonian* Party, referring all Matters Civil to a Parliament, to be called before the 10th of *January*, and Ecclesiastical to the General Assembly (accepted this Assurance) that the other Side should neither harm them, nor entice others to do it; and upon these Terms both Armies, with all the Garrisons in the Kingdom, were to be disbanded against the 29th of this Month, or the 5th of *October* at farthest, and all Prisoners to be set at Liberty.

Cromwel now having suppress'd Sir *Thomas Filistly* and other Royalists in the North of *England*, he with *Lambert* advanced towards the Scots Bor-

ders; and thither went *Argyle*, the Lord *Elcho*, and Sir *Charles Erskine*, to compliment them: And *Argyle*, in Name of the Committee, caused *Ludowick Lesly* deliver up *Berwick* to them. And after that, they conducted them with their Army to *Edinburgh*, where they took up their Head-quarters in the *Canongate*, at the Lady *Home's* Lodging. Upon their Arrival, the Committee of Estates adjourned, until their Removal again: And all those who had been in the Engagement, were commanded by Proclamation to depart the Town of *Edinburgh*. While *Cromwel* remained in the *Canongate*, those who haunted him most (says *Guthrie*) were *Argyle*, and the Earls of *Lowdon* and *Leithian*, the Lords *Arbutnot*, *Elcho* and *Burleigh*; the Ministers, Mrs. *David Dick*, *Robert Blair* and *James Guthrie*. He says, *What past among them was kept as a Secret, but it was loudly talked, that he communicated his Mind to them, in Reference to the King, and had their Assent to it.* And *Cromwel's* Return was hastned, by an Account he had received of a Treaty between the King and Parliament; and having gotten the Town of *Carlisle* delivered up to his Delegates, leaving *Lambert* behind him with Part of his Forces, to settle the *Argylian* Faction in their Dominion, he returned to *England*; and *Lambert*, after he had done the Work he was left for, followed him.

(a) A Treaty was now entred upon, betwixt the King and Parliament; and they having nam'd their Commissioners, and the Noblemen, Divines and Lawyars that they allowed to assist and attend the King,

King, the Treaty commenced at *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight* September the 18. What pass'd in it, is to be seen in *Echard* and other *English* Historians; and the Papers that pass'd betwixt His Majesty and the *English* Presbyterian Divines there with the Commissioners, are to be seen among his Works (a). This Treaty being ended, *Cromwel* sent Colonel *Ewers* to the Isle of *Wight*, who violently brought the King away to *Hurst-castle*. The News of which so alarmed the Parliament, that they immediately pass'd a Vote, *That the carrying the King to Hurst-castle, was without their Advice or Consent*; and thereafter voted, *That His Majesty's Concessions to their Propositions upon the Treaty, are sufficient Grounds for the Houses to proceed upon, for the Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom*. Upon which, *Cromwel* and the other Officers resolving to make one bold Push for all, bringing some Regiments of Horse and Foot to *Westminster*, seized upon 41 of the Members, as they were entering the House, and shut them up in different Prisons. And they denied Entrance into the House to 160 more, leaving the Possession of it only to about 150, all of them Officers, who were sure to do as directed by their Leaders. And Matters being thus prepared,

The King was brought up from *Hurst-castle* to *Windsor* December the 21. by Colonel *Harrison*, a Favourite of *Cromwel's*, and after that to *St. James*, in order to his Trial; which with the barbarous Usage he met with, and the Christian Patience and Fortitude he endured all, is so fully related by *Echard*, and several other *English* Historians, that it were

(a) Reliquiæ sacrae Carolinæ p. 245.

were needless for me to repeat it here. I shall only notice, that those rebellious Regicides might perpetrate this barbarous Murder, with the Pageantry of a Trial, they erected a *High Court of Justice* (as they call'd it) to sit upon the Trial of their lawful Sovereign. The Commissioners that actually sat, or assisted as Judges on the King's Trial, were 79 in Number. The *English* Historian names them, as also 52 more who were named Commissioners, but refused to sit. All Things being thus prepared, and a Theatre erected to begin the grand Tragedy, on *Saturday* the 20th of *January* 1648-9, the Court being constitute, the King was brought before them. Their Accusation and the Answers he made, are to be seen in his Trial. There was an Accident that happened this first Day, not to be forgot. While he was in the Court, leaning on his Cane, the gold Head of it broke off on a sudden, without any visible Reason. He took it up, and seem'd unconcerned; yet he told Bishop *Juxon*, *It made a great Impression upon him, for he could never possibly discover how it should happen.* This Day the Soldiers were very rude to him, calling him to his Face *Tyrant* and *Murderer*. And one of them was so rude, as to spit in His Face; which His Majesty wiped off, and mildly said, *My Saviour suffer'd far more than this for me.*

January 24th (the last named Historian says) there were no fewer than 33 Witnesses gave in their Depositions against him, raked out of 15 Counties, Men of the meanest Condition and most profligate Lives. The King all along declined the Authority of the Court; but they being now fully resolved, met for the last Time *January* the 27th; and that infamous

infamous Varlet *Bradshaw*, their President, being clothed in a Scarlet Robe, pronounced that bloody and barbarous Sentence against their lawful Sovereign, and the LORD's Anointed, in these Words, Charles Stewart, *as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer and publick Enemy, shall be put to Death, by severing his Head from his Body.* The Judges that sat when the Sentence was pronounced, and formally gave their Assent, by standing up, were 66. And this unparalleled Sentence being thus pronounced, His Majesty was carried in a close Chair, with a strong Guard, through *King's Street* and the *Privy Garden*, to His Bed-chamber; and Two Hours thereafter to *St. James's*.

On *Monday* the 29. 59 of these Judges met, and signed a Warrant, directed to the Colonels *Hacker* and *Hunks*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Pbray*, and to every one of them, requiring them to see the Sentence pronounced *Saturday* last, executed in the open Street before *Whitehall*, upon the Morrow being 30. of this instant Month of *January*, between the Hours of Ten in the Morning and Five in the Afternoon. Dr. *Fuxon*, Bishop of *London*, assisted him after his Sentence in his private Devotions, and on the Scaffold: And his Behaviour on both Occasions, is fully related by the afore-cited Author and others, and to them I shall refer the curious Reader. And now the fatal Moment being come, at the last Call of Colonel *Hacker*, He came with him and the Bishop through the *Banqueting-house* to the Scaffold, by a Passage made through a Window. The first Objects he saw on the Scaffold (which was all cover'd with Black) was Two Executioners in Frocks and Vizards, to disguise and conceal themselves:
And

And the King having perform'd his Devotions, he took off his Cloak and *George*; the last whereof he delivered to the Bishop, with a particular Emphasis, *REMEMBER*; and he meekly laid his Neck on the Block, desiring the Executioner to stay for the Sign, which was the stretching out of his Hands. Upon which Motion, His Head was at one Blow severed from his Body. Which being shown to the astonished People, was with His Body put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet, and carried into His Lodging in *Whitehall*.

Thus fell the *Royal Martyr*, King *CHARLES I.* in the 49th Year of his Age, after a troublesome and comfortless Reign of 23 Years, 10 Months and 3 Days. *Echard* enumerates several Barbarities committed upon His headless Body (a). His Character is given by many learned *English* Historians, many of whom were personally acquainted with him. He has left His Image and lively Representation, in those inimitable Meditations of his, which His Enemies endeavoured to rob him of; but it still remains His, and ever will, in spite of all their Malice. And for me with my weak Pen to offer to give His Character, were but to fully it: I shall only observe, that never was Man endued with more active or passive Courage, than that admirable Prince was. He was afraid of nothing but Sin, and offending *GOD*; His Enemies dare not brand him with those Vices, that the Luxury of Courts entices Princes to. He declares Himself at His dying Hour, that His Heart and Affection never strayed from His Queen, from the first Time that ever he knew her. And finally,

(a) *English Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 645.

finally, for His Piety, he was so regular and constant in his Devotions, that nothing could hinder him from, or interrupt him in it. And take him altogether, 'tis certain there was never a Prince more according to G O D's Mind than he was. The *Presbyterians*, at least some of them, have endeavoured to vindicate themselves of this odious Crime (tho there are not wanting among them, and that not a few, who to this Day approve of it) but *Salmasius* their Friend very justly says, That *Presbyteriani ligârunt, Independentes trucidârunt*; and that in plain *English* is, *The Independants committed this barbarous Murder, and the Presbyterians enabled and gave them Power to do it.* They were *Simeon and Levi, fratres in malo. Instruments of Cruelty are in their Habitation.* O my Soul come not thou into their Secret; unto their Assembly, mine Honour, be not thou united; for in their Anger they slew a Man, and in their Self-will they digged down a Wall. Cursed be their Anger, for it was fierce; and their Wrath, for it was cruel.

The King's Servant, Mr. *Herbert*, much sollicitated the then Governors, to allow His Royal Master's Body to be interred in *Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster*, near the Grave of King *James* His Father. But that was what they would not allow, alledging the Danger of much Concourse to that Place, out of a superstitious Respect; and appointed *Windsor* to be the Place of Interment, allowing it to be in a decent Manner, but the Expence of it not to exceed *L. 500.* Upon which, the Corpse of that *Royal Martyr* was privately carried out of Town by some of His Servants. And those Four loyal Lords, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hartford*, the Earls of

South-

Southampton and *Lindjay*, after much Intreaty, were allowed to witness the Interment, tho' not wait on their Royal and Beloved Master's Corpse out of Town. When they came to *Windsor*, by knocking on the Pavement of the Chapel, they found a Vault, in which were Two Coffins, the one of *Henry VIII.* and the other of *Queen Jean* his third Wife: And there the King's Coffin was, without any other Inscription, than these Words upon a Lead-plate fixed to the Coffin, *King CHARLES 1648.* There were many Pens employed to write Elegies upon Him, but I shall insert only one, written by the Marquis of *Montrose* (as is said) with the Point of his Sword, on the Sands at the Sea-shore.

*Great! Good! and Just! could I but rate
My Griefs, and thy too rigid Fate,
I'd weep the World to such a Strain,
As it should once deluge again.*

*But since thy loud-tongu'd Blood demands Supplies,
More from Briareus Hands than Argus Eyes,
I'll sing thy Obsequies with Trumpet Sounds,
And write thy Epitaph with Blood and Wounds.*

Having now brought down the History of this Nation to this fatal and dreadful Period, I thought at first, that I should have been able to have continued the History of the Nation to the Revolution; but now having been so full in the History of this present Rebellion, this Book is swelled to a greater Bulk, than is proper for so small a Volume; and I'm obliged in the few following Sheets, to restrict myself intirely to the History of the illustrious Family of *Gordon*, without taking Notice of the publick

lick History. But to atone for that, and that the History may be in some Measure compleat, I resolve in a short Time (if not interrupted) to publish a third Volume; which shall contain as full and exact a History of *Scotland* (as I'm capable of, or the Smallness of the Volume will allow) from the Martyrdom of King *Charles I.* to the Revolution *Anno 1688*; and there being no Print-history, as far as I know, of these Times, I hope it will not be unacceptable, to the Lovers of History, or of *Scotland*; and to that I shall subjoin an Index to all the three Volumes.

The Marquis of *Huntly* having been kept close Prisoner in the Tolbooth and Castle of *Edinburgh*, since *December 1647*, and now the King being murder'd in *England*, by that mock and rebellious Parliament of that Nation, the like Parliament of *Scotland*, to imitate them in their barbarous Cruelty, and as far as was in their Power, to homologate and approve what they had done to the King, resolve to send after him, and in the same Manner, his greatest and loyallest Subject in *Scotland*, the Marquis of *Huntly*, who by their Sentence, of the Date at *Edinburgh* the 16th of *March 1649*, was condemned to be beheaded at the Market-cross of that Town, on *Thursday* the 22d of that Month. *Argyle* his Brother in Law governed all, his Power was so great at this Time, that a Word of his Mouth could have saved him; yet he did not think it proper in the least to interpose for him, he was possessed before this Time of his Estate; and so the Reason for his not saving his Lite, is so obvious, that I need not name it. The Committee of Estates by their Order, of the Date at *Edinburgh* *March 21st*, directed to
the

the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, Command them to receive the Person of *George Gordon*, late Marquis of *Huntly* (as they were pleased then to design him) from his Excellency the *Earl of Leven*, or the *Laird of Lamberton*, Constable of the *Castle of Edinburgh*, the Morrow being the 22d Instant; and to cause the foresaid *George Gordon*, in Obedience to the said Order of Parliament, to be brought to the said Place of Execution, and there to see the foresaid Sentence duly executed, &c.

The fatal Hour being come, *March 22d 1649*, he (the Marquis of *Huntly*) being brought upon the Scaffold, one of their bloody Ministers asked him, *If he desired to be absolved from the Sentence of Excommunication, pronounced against him.* He answers him, That he was not accustomed to give Ear to false Prophets, as he was, and therefore desired him not to trouble him. Then turning him toward the People, he told them he was going to die, for having employed some Years of his Life in the Service of the King his Master; That he was sorry, that he was not the first of his Majesty's Subjects who had suffer'd for his Cause, so glorious in itself, that it sweetned to him all the Bitterness of Death. He exhorted all the King's good Subjects not to be discouraged, for what happened to him; but on the contrary, to consider the Scaffold as a Theater of Honour; and to abhor the Doctrine of those, who would divert them from that Obedience, which all Laws, Divine and humane, obliges them to render to their *Sovereign Prince.* He declared further, That he had Charity to forgive those, that had given their Votes to the Sentence of Death against him, altho so far from being guilty of Treason, that they could

could not convince him, to have ever done any Thing against the Laws; That he doubted not, but that he was a Criminal great enough against GOD, requiring to be assisted with the Prayers of all those, who had good Intentions for His Majesty; and declaring, he did not value the Prayers of those, who were of contrary Sentiments. Thus having spoken to this Purpose, he threw off his Doublet with his own Hands, put his Hair under his Night-cap; then having made his Prayer, and embraced such Friends as were on the Scaffold, he presented himself to Death, without any Emotion of Spirit, and with a cheerful Countenance bid the Executioner do his Office. And thus was that gallant and loyal Nobleman miserably murder'd, for no other Crime, but his constant and loyal Adherence to his Sovereign. His Head and Body were buried in the new Church of *Edinburgh*.

This Marquis of *Huntly* (as I have formerly said) served several Years, with much Honour and Reputation, in *Lewis XIII.* King of *France* his Army, when he was Captain of the *Gens d'Arms* of *Scotland*. He had from him also a Commission, to levy a Regiment of 2000 Men, to serve under his Command in the *French* Army; if he could obtain Liberty from King *Charles I.* to raise them in *Scotland*; as appears by a Letter of the King of *France* to him; of the Date at *Paris* December 10. 1629: But I don't find that ever he raised them. What great Esteem that King of *France* had of him, is to be seen in Thirteen Letters, all signed by his own Hand and his Secretary at that Time: And because in them he does much Honour, not only to this Marquis of *Huntly*, but to the whole Nation of *Scotland*

in general, I thought it proper to insert them in the *Appen. N. II.* This Marquis of *Huntly* was a great Favourer of learned Men, and kept a near Correspondence with the learned Doctors of *Aberdeen* in his Time; and one of the learnedest of them, Dr. *Lestly*, lived with him in his House, from the Time he was put from his Office of being Principal of the King's College, until the Rebellion broke out. And that he was not unlearned himself, or at least had good Skill in the Latin Language, appears by a Distich of his Composure, when in *France*, yet to be seen on the *Louvre*.

(a) *Non orbis gentem, non urbem gens habet ulla,
Urbisve domum, Dominum nec habet ulla parem.*

His Education was such, when a Youth with King *Charles I.* under the watchful Eye of that learned Prince King *James VI.* and no Doubt the best Masters of *England*, that he could not but have a good Share of Learning himself, and so a Love to learned Men. I shall conclude all I shall say about this great and loyal Man, with the Character given of him by Bishop *Wislart*, in the Edition of his Book printed at *Edinburgh* 1724, P. 171: And I hope no Body who has perused that Book, will think he would be partial in his Favours. And indeed in this Place he does him Justice, and no more, tho' (by Misinformation) he treats him otherwise in other Places. He says,

They had not in their Power another King to murder, and therefore they pitched on one of his greatest Subjects,

(a) Present State of the Universe, printed Lond. an. 1704, p. 58.

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Subjects, the Marquis of Huntly, the Chief of the Gordons, whom they beheaded most unjustly, after a long Imprisonment. The Marquis, besides his noble Birth, in which he was inferior to no Subject, was one of that Power in the North, that he was fear'd by all his Neighbours. He had a great Estate, many Friends, Vassals and Followers; was of a comely Personage and bright Spirit, and had stuck close to the King's Interest from the Beginning of the Troubles. On this Account, and on this only, he was so hated by the Fanaticks, that they resolved to make him a Sacrifice. If we do but except that unlucky Difference he had with Montrose, which indeed was hurtful to King and Country, the Marquis had very few Equals. As for that Difference, I have already given the Reason of it. In his Death, he verified that resolute, loyal, and (I may say, propheticall) Answer he gave to Sir George Monro, in the Beginning of the Rebellion, which I have already taken Notice of. And now seeing certainly that Martyrdom may be undergone, not only for the Confession of our Faith, but for any Virtue by which holy Men make their Faith manifest, there is no Doubt but he hath received that Crown. And this Marquis of *Huntly* being educated with King *Charles I.* when Prince, lived and died a Protestant; and while he lived, educated all his Children in that Religion; but by the Iniquity of the Times, most of them turned *Popish* thereafter.

This Marquis of *Huntly* married a beautiful and excellent Lady, *Anne Campbell* Daughter to the Earl of *Argyle*. By her he had five Sons, and as many Daughters; *George* killed at *Alford*; *James* Earl of *Aboyne*, who made his Escape to *France*, who at *Paris* hearing the dismal News of the King's Murder,

not being able to support the Grief it gave him, sunk under it, and in a few Days sickned and died; *Lewis*, who lurked in *Scotland* the Time of his Father's Imprisonment and Murder, and succeeded after to his Honours and Estate; *Charles*, afterwards Earl of *Aboyne*, and Grandfather to this present Earl of that Name; and *Henry*, born in *France*, who was by Dr. *Davidson* carried to *Poland*, with his youngest Sister, Twins; he served there several Years in very honourable military Employment, and came Home and died at *Strathbogy*. His eldest Daughter *Anne* married the Earl of *Perth*; the Second, *Henrietta*, the Lord *Seton*; the Third, *Jean*, the Earl of *Haddington*; the Fourth, the Laird of *Drum*, Chief of the Name of *Irvine*; and the youngest, Count *Morstain* Treasurer of *Poland*.

The Marquis of *Huntly* now being made a Martyr of Loyalty, and his Estate being seized on by *Argyle*, now the Head of that Faction, not so much as a Groat of those Lands and Revenues, which this Family had so long possessed, either as the Rewards of their Fortitude and Loyalty; or as the Fruits of their Industry and Frugality, was allowed to *Huntly's* Children and Grandchildren, for their Maintenance, until the Year 1653, that *Lewis* now Marquis of *Huntly* died, and then 1000 Crowns a Year was allowed his Lady, for her own, her Son and Three Daughters Maintenance, tho in the Parliament holden at *Perth*, on the 5th of *March* 1651, King *Charles II.* being there, *Lewis* Marquis of *Huntly* is restored to his Honours and Estate. This Marquis lived but short while thereafter, and died (as is said) anno 1653, leaving his Lady, Daughter to the Laird of *Grant*, with a Son *George*, now Marquis of *Huntly*, who suc-

succeeded, and Three Daughters, Ladies *Anne, Mary* and *Jean*: And this illustrious Family lay depressed with the Royal Family, till it pleased GOD to restore the same.

In the Year 1660, King *Charles II.* by the good Providence of GOD, and to the great Happiness of His Three Nations, was restord to the Throne of His Royal Ancestors; and He knowing what Share the Family of *Huntly* had with his Royal Family in its Misfortunes, and how costant its Fidelity had been to the same, under the Reigns of his Predecessors, thought himself obliged in Justice and Honour, to raise it up again from its Grave (as it were) and restore it to the same Capacity and Condition, of being able to show the same Fidelity to Himself and his Royal Successors. And thus this Family, as it was depressed with its natural and lawful Sovereign, was again re-established with him and by him, in the Person of *George Gordon*, fourth Marquis of *Huntly*, then a Child about 10 Years old.

George Gordon Fourth Marquis of *Huntly*,

WHEN he came to the Age of about 18, he went Abroad, first to *France*, where he spent most Part of Two Years in *Academies*, in those Exercises proper to render noble Persons fit to signalize themselves in martial Employments. Then he passed into *Italy*, to *Rome, Naples, Venice*, &c. and back to *Paris*. Anno 1672 he returned by *London* into *Scotland*. In the Year 1673, he went to *Paris*, and from thence to the *French King's* Army at *Oudenard*, and in *June* to the Siege of *Mastricht*, then taken by the *French* in 16 Days Time; and the

Winter following he spent at *Caen* in *Normandy* and the Year thereafter he went with the *French* Army to the Conquest of *Burgundy*. After which, he went to the *French* Army, commanded by the Marshal *de Turenne*, before the Battle of *Strasburg*; and at the End of that Campaign he returned by *London* to *Scotland*. In Summer 1675, he went over to *Flanders*, to pass a Campaign in the Prince of *Orange's* Army, from whom he met with many Civilities, and in *November* returned to *London*; and there a Marriage is treated of, betwixt him and Lady *Elisabeth Howard*, eldest Daughter to *Henry Duke of Northfolk*, great Marshal of *England*. 'Tis concluded, and in the Year following solemnized in *October* 1676; and in *November* he came to *Scotland* with his Lady: And being (by his Religion) precluded from any publick Employments of State, he lived for the most Part at Home in his own Country, enjoying the Pleasures of a frugal and retired Life, among his Friends and Vassals; and that during all the peaceable Reign of *Charles II.*

King Charles II. being mindful of the great and eminent Services performed by the illustrious Family of *Gordon*, to His Royal Ancestors, His Majesty, to testify the Esteem he had of the Loyalty of the Family of *Huntly*, and the Regard he had for this present Marquis, by his Letters-Patent, of the Date at *Whitehall* *November* 1st 1684, conferred on *George Gordon*, ninth Earl and fourth Marquis of *Huntly*, the Titles and Honour of a Duke, creating him Duke of *Gordon*, Marquis of *Huntly*, &c. with the Privilege of a Regality over all his own Lands and Vassals. And a little thereafter, that excellent Prince *King Charles II.* dying in *February* 1685,

without

without Children, was succeeded by his only surviving Brother,

James VII. of that Name of *Scotland*, and *II.* of *England*. He is no sooner seated on the Throne of *Great Britain*, than threatned with an Invasion from *Holland* in the Month of *June* 1685. The Earl of *Argyle*, with some few Ships from *Holland*, invaded *Scotland*, he touched at the *Orkneys*, and after that landed in the *West-Highlands* in *Cowel*, betwixt *Loch-fyne* and *Loch-long*. And the King's modell'd Forces, under the Command of the Earl of *Dumbarton*, were sent against him; and the Marquis of *Atbole*, with his own Men and a Part of the Militia, is appointed to retard his Progress, until the Earl of *Dumbarton* should draw near; and the Duke of *Gordon* (now Lieutenant of the North, by a special Commission, dated at *Whitehall* 10th of *June* 1685) conducting the Northern Forces, should come to block him up on the other Side; and in whose Fidelity the King reposed great Confidence.

Argyle being sufficiently convinced of the Loyalty, Power and Courage of the Duke of *Gordon*, and of the Injury his Father had done to the Family of *Huntly*, in the two former Reigns, did not think fit to abide his coming, but rather to march away, and try his Fortune with the regular Forces, conducted by *Dumbarton*, the Approach of whom did so quell the Courage of his rebellious Crew, that they took the Darkness of the Night to conceal their Retreat, leaving himself (*Argyle*) to fall into the Hands of a Country Clown, by whom he was made Prisoner, and brought to the Earl of *Dumbarton*, who as such, sent him to *Edinburgh*, where he suffer'd the Punishment due to his Rebellion.

Sometime after this Rebellion was crush'd, the King to give some Marks of Gratitude to the Family of *Gordon*, for their past Services to the Royal Family ; and particularly, for the recent Services and Sufferings of that Family, in his Father *Charles I's* Time, he made the Duke of *Gordon* Governour of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, a Post of more Honour than Profit : And at the same Time His Majesty made him a Privy Counsellor, and one of the Lords of the Treasury. The King thinking himself now secure from all His Enemies, by the Advice of some of His prime Ministers, of late Profelytes to *Popery*, and some Priests of that Religion, all of them zealous to promote the Religion they professed, perswaded the King, contrary to the established Laws, to bring in *Papists* to the first Places of Trust in the Nation. They endeavoured all they could with the Duke of *Gordon*, to bring him to their Side and Way of thinking : But he plainly told, that he foresaw, that that Way would ruine the King at last ; and therefore with all the Power he had, opposed those rash and precipitant Measures, telling them, that his Mind was, that they had Toleration enough, in having the Liberty of Religion in their own private Families, without being noticed. This so much offended those zealous Profelytes and Churchmen against the Duke (whom they expected to bring in to be Head of their Party) that all of them joined with the greatest Industry, to misrepresent him to the King, and turn him out of his Favour.

(a) How far the King gave Credit to these Misrepresentations, made to him of the Duke of *Gordon*,

I

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I shall not determine ; but it certainly made some Impression upon him : For when the Duke went up to Court in *March* 1688, he found the King noticed him less, and dealt by him with more Reservedness, than he used formerly to do. Nay before this, those profelyte Statesmen so far opposed him in his private Concerns, that they perswaded the King to restrict him in some of his just Rights and Privileges, he had over the Lands of some of his Vassals in *Lochaber* ; and particularly, in a Case betwixt him and *Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochbol*, to which he had as good a Right, as to any Part of his Estate. All which the Duke was obliged tamely to bear with, and still retained his Integrity. Nay, they put all the Affronts upon him in their Power. They by the King's Order, put in the Artillery-company upon him in the Castle ; which gave General *Douglas* Access to it when he pleased. And that they might make the World believe, that they doubted his Fidelity, they caused remove from the Castle the greatest Part of the Arms and Ammunition kept there, to the Castle of *Stirling*. The Duke having turned out one *Forbes*, Master-Gunner, of whose Fidelity he doubted ; (and his After-behaviour proved it was not groundless) they procured an Order from Court, without his Consent, to repone him.

The Duke of *Gordon* being then at Court, when these and many other such Affronts were put upon him ; and not being able to bear them, he offer'd to the King to resign his Offices, and intreated His Majesty would be pleased to allow him to go Abroad for some Time. But the King sent him Word by *Melfort*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*, That He would not permit him to go Abroad. And now in *October* 1688, an Inva-

sion

sion being threatned upon *Britain*, by the Prince of *Orange*, he did not think it either agreeable to his Honour or Duty, nor to the Example of his brave and loyal Ancestors, to leave His Sovereign, when threatned with so imminent Danger; and therefore, not pressing his Resignation further, he returned to his important Post the Castle of *Edinburgh*. Yet notwithstanding the approaching Tempest, that threatned the King and both Nations, the Duke's Enemies never abate their Spite and Malice against him. And now

November 5th 1688, the Prince of *Orange*, with an Army of about 12,000 Horse and Foot, lands at *Torbay* in *Devonshire*. And the King being betrayed by those he most trusted, is in a short Time deserted by His Fleet, his Army (the *Scots* and *Irish* Troops excepted) and all those he most trusted; and so having sent away before him the Queen and Prince his Son, is obliged for the Safety of his own Life, to make his Escape to *France*. Tho the King was thus deserted by all, no Man daring to appear for him; yet the Duke of *Gordon*, notwithstanding the hard Usage he had met with at Court, and the disadvantageous Impressions his Enemies had made of him upon His Prince's Mind, would let the World see, he inherited from his Ancestors a Glory, which no malicious Representations could rob him of; that is, a Loyalty, which no Disobligement from His Prince or Country could extinguish; and therefore resolves to signalize his Fidelity, in so general a Revolt of His Majesty's Subjects. Upon this Resolution, he addresses the Chancellor and Council, to have the Castle provided with Necessaries, for the Entertainment of the Garrison of 120 Men. And 3 Months Pro-

Provision is order'd, besides 200 Bolls Meal, and 100 Bolls Malt before in the Castle. But this Order was little obeyed, there was not a fifth Part of the Bisket, nor the twentieth Part of the Beer appointed brought into the Castle. As to Ammunition, there was no more left in it, but as much as was judged necessary for Three Months Defence ; and there were but 17 Bombs left in it.

Upon *Sunday* the 19th of *December*, the Duke being informed, that there was a Tumult in the City, he retired into the Castle ; and the next Day, went to the Abbey, where the Chancellor was, and advised him to retire to the Castle. But he told him, that he was to retire to his own Country ; but before they parted, he signed an Order, to pay to the Duke 2000 Crowns, to be by him employed in the King's Service. But when he caus'd present that Order to the General Receiver and Cash-keeper, they told, *They had no Money in their Hands* ; and so it was never paid. A few Days thereafter, the Duke was informed, that there was like to be a Mutiny in the Garrison. He called the Officers, to consult upon Measures to frustrate this Delign ; and Colonel *Windram*, a Gentleman of Honour and Courage, promised to watch that Night, and give Notice if any Thing looked ill. He made all the Soldiers to go to Bed, and told the Duke that all was quiet : But about Midnigat, one comes to advertise the Duke, *That a Part of the Garrison were come in a Tumult to the Guard-hall, and were dragging out of their Beds those who had gone to rest.* Upon which he goes thither in all Haste, and by his Authority calms the Mutiny, makes all go to Bed, and order'd all Lights to be put out.

The Duke was informed, that the Mutineers had a Design to secure his Person, and the keeping of the Castle, to the Government that was to be established; and that they might the more effectually act that villainous Part, had spread abroad a villainous Report, *That he was to make the Whole of the Garrison to swear, to maintain the Popish Religion.* Upon which, the next Day he gave Orders to draw out the Garrison, and assured them, that he was to require no other Oath of them, than that of Allegiance to the King, and Obedience to their superior Officers. The most of the Garrison took that Oath, and those who refused it he immediately disbanded. The Garrison being thus weakned, and the Duke being resolved to hold out the Castle to the last, order'd *Francis Garden of Midstrath*, to bring up to him from the North, out of his own Lands, 45 of the best and resoluteft Men he could find, to supply the Place of those disbanded. He no sooner brought them to *Leith*, than the Cry went, *That the Duke of Gordon was bringing down Papists and Highlanders upon them.* But he being desirous, to remove all Jealousies that might arise from his Conduct, immediately commanded them Home again.

About the 20th of *December*, the Council sent one to tell the Duke, that they were to send some of their Number to speak to him; and the same Day the President and Three Counsellors came to the Castle, and told him, *That it was the Council's Desire, he should deliver up the Castle to them.* To whom he returned Answer, *That he was bound to obey the King only, and justified the same, by reading the King's Commission to him:* And further told them, *He was obliged in Conscience and Honour, to make good the*

Trust

Trust reposed by His Majesty in him; That he acted by His Commission, and that in Justice he might require a strict Account from him of his Procedure; and therefore desired, they would give him Time to receive His Majesty's Commands, to whom he had written for that Effect, and he should act accordingly. A few Days after this, the Council sent one of their Clerks, with an Order signed by severals of them, requiring the Duke to deliver the Castle to them. But he (observing what Way they looked, by their ordering Captain *Graham* to beat *Wallace* out of the Abbay, and allowing the Rabble to spoil and plunder the same; as also, by their giving Orders to intercept the Chancellor, whom they had shut up in Prison) told them, *That he hoped for his Justification, they would sign their Order; which they after some Deliberation did, and sent it to him.* Then he told them, *There was yet something wanting; and that was, That they should warrant him at His Majesty's Hands for so doing.* This they refused, but still persisted in what they required. Then he desired to know, *by what Authority, or for what End they required him to deliver up the Castle; if by the King's, he desired to see it; if they had a Mind to compliment the Prince of Orange with it, he could do that as well as they.*

While this was in Agitation betwixt the Duke and the Council, a Report was spread, *That the Duke with his Garrison, was resolved to fire the City with Bombs, and beat it down with Cannons.* Of which he being informed, sent for the Provost and Magistrates, told them what he had heard, and assured them, *That no such Thing had ever entred in his Mind; and that as he had always been a Friend to the*
City,

City, so would he continue to be, as long as they behaved civilly to him: And then he sent for some of the Officers of the Train'd Bands, and gave them the like Assurance. Upon which they being called before the Council, they declared they fear'd no Harm from him. Sometime after this, a Surrender of the Government being made to the Prince of Orange, he emitted a Proclamation, ordaining all *Papists* to quite their Charges, and surrender their Commissions to the next *Protestant* Officer under them. This so put up *John Auchmuty*, Lieutenant of the Company in the Castle, that he refused to obey any further the Duke and Lieutenant Governour's Orders, and was advised to secure both of their Persons; but the Duke managed him so prudently, that he soon returned to his Duty. After this he was threaten'd with new Dangers, of being betrayed by a Part of his Garrison; and was advised by some of the King's Friends to surrender the Castle, which they judg'd he could not keep out against the whole Isle of *Britain*, not one Man in it then (himself excepted) appearing publickly for the King. The Castle was extremely ill provided for a Siege, there were many in the Garrison whom he could not trust; and if besieged, as he was sure it would be, he had not the least Hopes of any Relief from without. All these Discouragements being consider'd, no Man, but one of the Duke's unstained Loyalty and resolute Courage, could have entertained the least Thought of keeping it out: But he had determin'd, never to sully the Honour of his illustrious Ancestors, by a cowardly Surrender, and therefore resolv'd to keep it out to the last.

Some Days after this, there came one *Brady* to the Duke,

Duke, who told him, *He had seen the King depart from Paris for Brest ; and that His Majesty had commanded him to show his Grace, that it was His Pleasure he should leave the Castle, in his Lieutenant's (Colonel Winram's) Hands, and himself retire North, and there to wait further Orders.* This Man the Duke had never seen nor heard of before, and therefore demanded, if he had any written and sign'd Credentials, that could perswade him to trust him. He acknowledged he had none. Upon which, the Duke judged it not prudent, either in Honour or Safety, to trust him, and upon his verbal Order, to leave a Post of such Importance committed to his Care ; and he well knew, to leave it to *Winram*, was to give it up (for tho he was a Gentleman of great Courage and Loyalty) he was so unacceptable to the Soldiers, he was sure they would instantly seize him, and deliver up the Castle to the Government. For these Reasons, the Duke resolved to stay in the Castle, and keep it out to the last.

A little before the sitting down of the Convention of Estates, the Duke discovered a new Conspiracy forming in the Garrison, which obliged him to require a new Oath of the Soldiers ; and foreseeing several of them would refuse it, he appointed *Hary Gordon* to take on some old Soldiers, who had laid down their Arms since the Revolution, and were about the Town ; and to chose such out among them, for whose Fidelity he could answer. Then conveening the Garrison, and concealing what he knew, he commended their Fidelity ; but told them, he knew there were Endeavours used to seduce them. He desired all of them to renew their Oath already given. Many of the Soldiers refused it, and
among

among others a Serjeant, the Master-Gunner, two under Gunners, desired Time to deliberate on it; and the Chirurgion, who was at that Time out of the Castle, never returned; and the Duke disarmed the Refusers, turned them out of the Castle, having paid them their Arrears; and the Master-Gunner, he caused secure, till he should account for the Money he had received for the Service of the Cannons. And the Duke foreseeing the Straits he would be in by casheering these disloyal Gunners, some Days before called in to the Castle *Robert Dunbar*, formerly a Captain of a Ship, a Man of good Courage, and Loyalty, and who well knew how to manage the Artillery.

March 15th, the Convention being assembled, the first Thing resolved on was, That the Duke, with the Officers of his Religion should be ordered in their Names to surrender the Castle, and withdraw themselves: And with this Order were two of their Number sent to desire the Duke's immediate Answer, and Obedience within 24 Hours. He desired Time to give his Answer, which they not granting returned without it. The next Day the Earl of *Dumfermling* (who was married to the Duke's Sister) came to him, and told him, *That all Things were like to go wrong with the King in the Convention; and therefore he would leave it and go North;* upon which the Duke, after he had concerted Measures with him, gave him a Writing, whereby he desired all his Friends, and commanded all his Vassals to obey *Dumfermling* in all Things he thought proper for the King's Service. He gave also an Order to *Mr. Innes*, his Master of Horses, to deliver to him such of them as the Earl should call for; and which

which Order was obeyed. After this the Duke had Notice by Billets sent him, That the Convention was to set a Price upon his Head; if he refused to give his final and determinate Answer, and two Earls were sent to him to demand it. Upon which he thought it proper for the King's Service, and to gain Time, to enter upon a Treaty with them; and for that End drew up some Articles to be delivered to the Convention: But these two Noblemen, and he not agreeing upon them, they returned to the Convention in such a Pet, that they would scarce give an Account of their Negotiation to that Assembly.

The next Day thereafter two Heralds and two Pursevants came in their Solemnities, approached the Gates, with two Trumpeters sounding before them; and there, with a loud Voice read the Summons, whereby the Duke is ordained with all other Papists, to remove thence immediately upon Pain of Treason. At the same Time there was read a Proclamation discharging the Subjects to converse with, or assist him, or any under his Command, who should remain in the Garrison, and promising a Reward of six Month's Pay, with an Indemnity to the Protestants in the Garrison, who should seize the Duke, and deliver him with the Castle up to the Convention. The Duke spoke to the Heralds, and told them, *That he kept the Castle by Commission from their common Master, and was resolved to defend it to the last Extremity.* And having given them some Guineas to drink the King's Health, and all his loyal Subjects he jestingly advised them, *not to proclaim Men Traitors with the King's Coats on their Backs, or at least they might turn them.*

The Heralds being gone, the Duke caused draw

out the Garison, caused read the Summons to them, told them their Danger, and that he was resolved to hold out the Castle for the King's Service, to the last; and those of them who were unwilling to hazard themselves with him, might go where they pleased, and should have their Arrears fully paid them, which he faithfully performed; whereupon *Wil. Colquhoun*, and *Andrew Reid* Gunners went away, having refused to obey their other superior Officers, tho' they were content to swear Obedience to the Duke: But that was what he would not accept of, and the Day following, *John Auchmuty* Lieutenant to the Company, *Arthur Forbes*, Master-Gunner, *John Scot*, Chirurgion, *John Crichton* and *Thomas Hume* Serjeants, *Alexander Kelmon*, and *John Colquhoun* Corporals, *Oliver Sinclair* Sutler, two Drums, and betwixt 60 and 70 Centinels left the Garison. Notwithstanding this Weakning of it, they being gone, the Duke caused shut up all the Gates of it, and then prepared all Things for a Siege.

The Garison being thus reduced, it consisted now of the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Ensign, four Serjeants, one of which was sick, and about 120 Centinels, without Gunner (except Captain *Dunbar*) Enginier, Chirurgion or Drogues, or Carpenter or Money, except what the Duke had for his own private Use. The Garison was formerly divided into three Squadrons, the Governor's, the Lieutenant's, and the Ensign's; but now he casts them into two Divisions; the one commanded by the Ensign, and the other by Mr. *Garden*. There were a few Gentlemen Retainers of the Duke's, came in Voluntiers in to the Castle resolving to run all Hazards with him; and they being resolute and loyal, did him good Service

vice. The Duke went next and visited the Magazine, and found in it only 160 Barrels Powder, in very bad Condition, many of them not full by far.

The 18th of *March* the Convention made place Guards about the Castle, to hinder the Entry of any Provisions, and to intercept any Person that should come from it with any Message; and the same Day the Duke sent out his Horses and Coach-man, who was immediately imprisoned. The same Day the Viscount of *Dundee* having left a Party of Horse of about 30 or 40, in the *Long-gate* be-north the Castle, came to the Foot of the Rock. To him the Duke went out at the Postern-Gate, and spoke to him. *Dundee* told him, That all was wrong for the King in the Convention; That he had sent them a Letter, but they had no Regard to it; and that therefore he had left them. He told him what further past in the Convention; and they two loyal and brave Noblemen, having conversed for some Time together, they took Leave of other. The Duke returned to the Castle, and *Dundee* to his Party of Horse; and immediately thereafter the Castle was block'd up by some thousands of the *Cameronians*, who were come into *Edinburgh* (as they pretended) to guard the Convention. Sometime after this, the Duke desiring Speech of some without, Captain *Lawder*, who commanded the Blockade, was sent to him. He desired the Captain to show the Convention that he desired a safe Conduct to his Ensign Mr. *Winchester*, which being granted, he sent him to propose some Articles of Treaty with the Convention; and with him he wrote a Letter in these Words to the Duke of *Hamilton* President of the Convention:

May it please your Grace,

THE singular Proofs your Grace and the States have been pleased to give me of Kindness, heighten, if possible, the Concern I have always had for the Good of my Country and Country-men; permit me then to lay before your Grace and the States, the imminent Danger to which this poor Kingdom is exposed, to become very soon the Theater of the most bloody and irreconcilable War that has been in Europe this Age, if not prevented by extraordinary Prudence.

Permit me likeways to represent, That of all the ancient Nobility and Gentry, of which this illustrious Assembly is composed, perhaps there is not one whose self or Predecessors has not received reiterated Marks of his Majesty's or Ancestor's Bounties and Clemency; should we therefore, for the Misfortune of four Years Reign forget the Benefits we have received from 110 King's and Queens. For my own Part, 'tis known to severals of the States, and particularly to your Grace, the severe Usage I have had from the Court these three Years, yet I would lay down my Life to procure a good Understanding between his Majesty and his Subjects, as I most sincerely and affectionately offer my Endeavours for procuring it. And if the States will think fit, I shall wait on his Majesty, who is now in Ireland. I hope as all Scotland will most dutifully assert the just Prerogative of the Crown, so the King will be pleased to settle the Property of Religion and Liberty of his Subjects on such sure Foundations, that they shall never be shaken by the Avarice or Ambition of evil Ministers.

May it please your Grace, I thought my self bound in Conscience to represent to you and the States, what this Paper contains; and it is with much respect that I am, &c.

The

The Duke desired this Letter might be recorded by the Convention, but that they refused; and he breaks off all further Negotiation with them; and makes Bonfires in the Castle, for the King's Arrival in *Ireland*; and, in Token of Joy, discharged three Rounds of his Cannon. The 25th of *March* the *Cameronians* were relieved by Major General *Mackay*, with three Regiments, 12 Companies in each, from *England*; with him came Cannon, and Ammunition of all Sorts in Plenty, and he caused furnish Store of Wool-packs to make his Approaches in order to the Siege. The 30th of *March* the Duke being advertised that the Besiegers were casting up Ground on the West Side of the Castle, came with his Officers in the Night Time to the Rampart that looked that Way, and, by the Light of some Squibs perceived their Approach; whereupon he (the Duke) made place a Battery of Cannon there, and fire them on their Works; which had good Effect. He continued firing the following Nights, which retarded their Works, but consumed much of his Ammunition. The Castle was so ill furnished, that the Duke was obliged to send out Mr. *Garden* with seven Men, who returned, bringing with them some Loads of Straw, which they wanted much for charging of their Cannon. Upon the 23d of *April*, the Besiegers were perceived to lodge about the House of *Cottis* on the West; and several great Guns being fired upon them, did beat down an old Wall, and did some Execution; and at this Time *John Gordon* went out, and brought in a Brewer, two *Irish* Gentlemen, and *John Macpherson* a Vassal's Son of the Duke's. But before this,

On the 6th *April* the Besiegers had with the Loss

of Men finished a Battery at the *Castle of Collops*, a House South of the Castle, and planted thereon two Cannon 18 Pounders, but in a few Hours they were both dismounted. On the 11th Day the Garison heard a great Noise in the Town, which proved to be the Proclamation of the Prince of *Orange* as King of *Scotland*. Some Persons took Occasion, (who had no Good-will to the Duke) to blame him for not firing on the Town at that Time: But 'tis easy with Reason to refute that Objection, tho' Envy and Malice will still be barking. He knew not what was the Ground of this Solemnity, till long after all was over; and if he had known, the Place of the Proclamation was so hidden from the Castle, by the Tolbooth, Churches and other Houses, that it was impossible to reach it; nor could he hinder it. And for these and other good Reasons, this Reflection is so idle, frivolous and malicious, that it were vain to take any further Notice of it. It would have done no more but shown his Teeth when he could not bite, and have been *vane sine viribus ira*.

On the 20th of *April*, *M. Smith* the Duke's Chirurgion came into the Castle, which was very couraging to the Garison; and *James Gordon* being sent out for Intelligence, returned, bringing with him, Lieutenant *James Hay*, *John Macky*, and one *Launders* an *Irish* Man having by the Darknes of the Night lost other three of their Company. The Besiegers then drained the Loch on the North-side of the Town and Castle, to divert the Springs from the Wells, but that had no Effect. On the 9th *May*, the Castle fired some great Guns upon a House near the Enemy's Battery, having discovered Soldiers in it, and severals were killed. At this

this Time the Besiegers began to cast up a Battery at the *Multreesbill*: On the 11th *William Urquhart* came into the Castle, and was sent out again for some Necessaries; and returned after few Days with *John Falconar*, and they brought with them a Rope for mounting of the Cannon, procured by Sir *James Grant*, who furnished the Duke always with what Intelligence he got. This Rope came very seasonably; for they had been obliged to make Use of the Well-Rope, so ill the Castle was provided.

While the Besiegers carried on their Works the Duke caused beat down the Parapets, which were but two Foot high, that he might secure his own Batteries against the Enemy's Cannon; and having no Cannoneers, made choise of 12 of the ablest of the Soldiers to be for that Use, under the Direction of Captain *Dunbar*. All the Artillery in the Castle were, One, 42 Pound Ball, One 36 Pound, Four of 24 Pound One of 18, and Two of 12; all these of Brass: Besides them, severals of Iron, of 24, of 16 and 12 Pound Ball. There were likewise some little Field-pieces, and one Mortar of 14 Inches Calibre,

15 Bombs. On the 17th of *May* the Duke caused so many Bombs to be cast; and in the high Well found only 1 Foot Water, and the rest were dry. Upon the 19th, the Enemy having got their new Artillery planted, about Ten at Night they began to fire on the Castle with their great Bombs, from a Battery raised at the West Corner of the Town-wall, on which they had planted two Mortars, and threw the Bombs in Pairs: All of them went over the Castle, or fell short of it at the *West-port*, not without Damage to the Houses of the Town. Upon this being the Castle gave them some great Guns,

pointed to their Bomb-battery, but without Success.

Upon this the Duke ordered all the Garison to lodge in Vaults, as he himself then did; and about the same Time became sickly, and continued so for some Days. Upon the 20th of *May*, about One a Clock in the Morning, when they had ceased from firing of their Bombs, there fell much Snow, which notwithstanding the Season of the Year, did ly a great Part of the Day two Foot high; the Soldiers gathered it, and put it into Vessels, and made use of it for Water, tho' unwholsome, for fear the Wells might fail. The 21st about Ten a-clock at Night, the Besiegers fell again to Work with their Bombs, and continued till after 12; by one of them the Stair of the Church was ruined, another falling on the Rock at the back of the low Guard, the House tumbled down upon the Soldiers in Duty, but did no Harm. After this the Soldiers became better acquainted with the Bombs, and could judge by their Elevation where they would fall, and so learned how to shun them. *May 22.* some of the Besiegers from the *Castlehill*, *Westport* and other advanced Posts, as also from the Windows in the Town, fired upon the Soldiers in the Garison, which provoked them to fire on the Soldiers when they perceived them in the Streets, killing a Centinel on the *Castlehill*, and casually wounding some Persons not concerned.

The Duke perceiving a Work cast up upon the Street above the Weigh-house, proposed a Parly, to speak about the removing of it. The Besiegers said it was done by the Towns-Men. The Duke demonstrated that it could be no Defence to them, and promised upon removing of the Work, the Towns-Men should have

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have no Ground of Complaint ; otherwise not knowing their Design in it, he would be obliged for Defence of his Garison, to fire at any Work within the reach of his Cannon ; so that by their Fault the Town might suffer against his Inclination : But the Besiegers were so little concerned at that, that they would not condescend to the demolishing of it, nor allow the Town Major to speak to the Duke : But after they had gone and returned several Times, and concluded nothing, some People were perceived throwing it down, and there was no further Trouble about it. All this Time the Besiegers continued to fire their Bombs, but with little Damage. *May 24.* the Besiegers began to fire their Bombs on Day-light, which was more dangerous, because not so easily perceived ; the 25th, they had got the Elevation of the Castle exactly, and several Bombs were thrown into the Palace, which defaced many of the upper Rooms, also the Church ; the Magazine and several small Arms were broken. On *Sunday* the 26th, the Besiegers having finished their new Battery, North of the Castle, early in the Morning began to fire with three Cannon 24 Pounders on the Palace, and the Gun-Ports of the high Half-moon, and they beat down the Balcony on the Top of the Wall : Nor were they at that Time sparing of their Bombs. At this Time were the Contents of a Letter from a Person of Credit from *Ireland* communicated to the Duke, which deprived him of all Hopes of Succour from thence.

On the 28th, a Bomb falling into the Room where the Records were, occasioned a Parly to be beat in the Garison ; and the Duke sent a Letter to the *Lord Ross*, giving him an Account of the Accident
that

that had happened, and desired to speak with him. He would not come, but a Captain was sent from the Duke of *Hamilton*, to whom the Governor proposed the removing of the Records to a surer Place, at the Sight of some Persons commissioned by the Estates for that Effect, lest the Nation should suffer a Loss in general. Yet the Estates having no Regard to that, the Records lay still where they were. *May* 29th, the Besieged observed the Solemnity with Bonfires and Squibs, but were obliged to drink the King, Queen and Prince's Health in mortifying Liquor. On the 31. a Serjeant, a Corporal, and three Centinels deserted, which much discouraged the Garison, fearing they would discover their Weakness and Correspondents in Town; to prevent which the Duke immediately sent one *Runsiman* a Footman, to advertise his Correspondents to abscond. He was observed the next Day about Four in the Afternoon to be returning with his Sword drawn; and there being some great Guns planted toward the Besiegers Guards, the Garison fired with small and great Shot so smartly on them, that they thought fit to let the Footman return safe to the Castle: Upon which the Besiegers were so enraged, that they fired great Guns, and threw in Bombs incessantly to the Castle, which did much Hurt to Houses, but nothing else, except that one *John Stewart* a Servant of the Duke's was wounded by the Splinter of a Door in the Face, and lost an Eye; and till this Time there had no Creature in the Garison been wounded, except a Cow of the Lieutenant Governor's by a Musket Shot; and she was the greatest Part of the fresh Provisions they had during the Siege.

After the last Desertion, the Convention seized
all

all the Duke's Correspondents in Town, Men and Women, as the Lady *Largo*, Mrs. *Ogilvy*, *Janet Cunningham*; but they were most cruelly bent against Mrs. *Hay*, and Mrs. *Smith*, Grandchild to the late Dr. *Atkins* Bishop of *Galloway*. Sir *James Grant* had been seized before, and shut up in close Prison. At the relieving of the Guard at Night, the Duke spoke to the two Squades severally. He told them, *He had undertaken the Defence of this Place, as his Enemies must acknowledge, and declared for the King, when all Britain seemed to have abandoned his Interest, and had done so only upon a Principle of Conscience and Loyalty; and as Conscience had determined him to that Act of Justice, so it obliged him to another, which was to oblige him to study the Preservation of all those in Garrison with him.* And then added, *Gentlemen, ye know I never broke Promise to you. I assure you, if we be not relieved in a competent Time, I will capitulate, and every one of you shall have as good Terms as my self.*

After this the Besiegers did cast up Trenches on the Corn Land on the North Side of the Castle, and made up a Work on the North Side of the *Castle-bill*, to stop all Intelligence from the Town to the Besieged. Both Besiegers and Besieged for divers Days and Nights fired incessantly the one upon the other. The last lost not a Man, but the first had a good many killed at the *West-Kirk* and elsewhere. Upon the 9th of *June* the Besieged having no Intelligence from the Town, longed much for it: Several Gentlemen offered to go out for that End, and one *John Grant* was pitcht upon, and was conveyed over the Wall opposite to the *West-port*; he promised to inform himself diligently if there were any
 Hopes

Hopes of Relief; and if so, to give a Signal at a Place agreed upon at a Mile distant; and if none, he should give them another different Signal, and then retire to the North of *Scotland*, lest he might be apprehended.

On the 7th of *June* *John Grant* appeared at the Place appointed, and gave the Signal, That there was no Hopes of Succour; wherefore the Duke having never received a Letter, nor Orders from the King ever since he went into the Castle, tho' he had written often to His Majesty; and this I know *ex certa scientia* to be true; that there came from the King when in *Ireland*, either five or six Letters, and were safely delivered to a Lady of Quality at *Edinburgh*, all of them superscribed by the King, and subscribed by *Melfort*. The Lady had many Occasions to have sent them to the Duke, yet she kept all of them up; whether out of Ill-will she bore to the Duke, or out of Obedience to some secret Orders she might have received from the Secretary, I shall not determine; but one of them it must be, since she had so many Opportunities of delivering them: Nay, they were concealed from him, after he came out of the Castle, and he never heard a Word of them to his dying Hour, nor did ever his Son this present Duke of *Gordon* hear of them, until the Year 1724, that I was in a Person of Quality's, and he told me of them, and that he yet had two of them by him; and that the rest were lost or fallen by Hand in the Year 1725, when the Papers of that noble Family were in some Disorder; and these two Letters yet extant did Mr. *William Fraser* of *Fraserfield* and myself see delivered to this present Duke of *Gordon*, by that Person of Quality in the Duke's Garden at

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Gordon-Castle, in the latter End of *October* 1724, and till that Time none of the Family of *Gordon* ever heard of them.

There were some, and still are who blame the Duke of *Gordon* for staying in the Castle at that Time, and not going to the North and raising his Friends, Vassals and Followers there for the King's Service: But these Men must be of very scanty Knowledge, who think that he either in Honour or Safety could leave such an important Place, committed to his Trust, without the King's express Orders for so doing: And the King in the last of these Letters, heartily thanks him for the resolute Defence he had made of that Castle, desires him to stay there, and appoint such Deputy-Lieutenants in the *North* as he should be answerable for, renews his Commission of Lieutenancy, and promises him Relief in a short Time. For these and other obvious Reasons, I have insert these two Letters yet extant in the *Appendix N. 12.* And to return,

The Duke was now out of all Hopes of Relief, the Soldiers deserted so frequently, and the Straits the Besieged were put to, by the Scarcity both of Provisions and Ammunition, were made known to the Besiegers, by the Deserters: There were more than 20 sick Men in the Garison; and their Number daily increasing, and no Medicines for them, there were scarce 40 Men in the Garison able to do Duty: The Water was very bad, which occasioned the Sicknes to increase; there was not Victual for 10 Days, except mouldy Bread, and spoiled Salt Herrings: The Ammunition was near spent; and all other Things necessary were wanting. For these Reasons it was thought necessary upon the 7th of *June* to beat a Parly,

Parly, and about Six a Clock the white Flag was put out; and Major *Somervel* with another Officer came to the Draw-Bridge, but made Scruple to come further; and so the Duke at the one End, and the Major at the other, communed.

The first Thing proposed was, as to the Person the Governor should treat with, and was in Condition to give him Security. The Duke of *Hamilton* was named, who was then Commissioner to the Parliament. The Governor desired to see his Commission, so the Major went for further Instructions, and in a short Time returned with Major General *Lanier*, the Lord *Colchester*, and Colonel *Balfour*. Then the Exchanges of Hostages came under Consideration. They demanded Lieutenant *Winram*, and offered Major *Somervel*. To that the Governor would not agree, and offered Mr. *Garden*. While this was under Debate, there came a Message from Duke *Hamilton*, that they should treat without the Formality of Hostages, and so the Treaty broke off that Night, as did the Cessation; and both Parties began to fire upon other more incessantly than before; and this continued for two or three Days; and at last Colonel *Winram* intreats the Duke to write to the Enemy to renew the Treaty, and offers to carry the Letter; to which the Duke condescends, and *Winram* delivers the Letter to Captain *Moody*, Captain of their Guard; and in a short Time returns with the Lord *Colchester* to the Castle. Then the Governor gave him the Articles drawn the Day before, *viz.*

The Duke was to ask no Terms for himself, so he renders himself intirely on King William's Mercy.

I. Colonel *Winram* shall submit himself to King William's Pleasure, his Life being secured, and all the rest

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rest of the Garrison shall have their Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes secured, and Passes shall be granted to those who shall take Oaths not to bear Arms against the present Government.

II. The Garrison shall march out with their Swords and Baggage belonging properly to themselves.

III. That all the Gentlemen Volunteers, Servants and others, shall have the same Capitulation with the rest of the Garrison.

IV. That all manner of Persons shall have the Benefit of the first Article, who have kept Correspondence with the Garrison, and have not been in Arms, and being presently in Edinburgh or the same County, shall be indemnified, and have the Benefit of this Capitulation.

V. That sick Soldiers shall have Liberty to dispose of themselves as they think best, they behaving themselves as Leucometh.

VI. That all Officers, Gentlemen, Servants and others, shall have the same Benefit with other Lieges, they behaving themselves peaceably.

VII. A considerable Post within the Castle shall be immediately surrendered, after Security is granted to the Garrison for Performance of the above Articles, put in Possession of those Forces under Major General Lanier.

These Articles, after some Altercation being agreed upon, both Parties sign them, and the Privy Council ratifies them by their Act of this Date, signed by Duke Hamilton and the Earl of Crawford. Upon the 14. of June, 3 Months after the Siege began, the Castle was surrendered, and the Garrison marched out. There were left in it about 40 Barrels Powder, whereof a great Part was useles, being spoiled with Water, six Bolls Malt, one Barrel of Salt-Beef, 2 Stone Weight of Cheefe, and two of Butter; some Meal, and some

Bif.

Bisquet, and some salt Herrings, which being very bad had much impaired the Soldiers Health; so that in 4 or 5 Days Time the Garison would have been reduced to live upon bad Meal and worse Water. And, in fine, it is to be noticed, that all the Time of this Siege, the Duke of *Gordon* was obliged to pay the Garison, and defray the other Charges of it, out of his own private Pocket.

This Duke of *Gordon* was a Nobleman of a very comely Stature, and Countenance, of great Courage and Loyalty, which he gave very signal Proofs of, both at Home and Abroad. He was not loyal for Interest, he was loyal with no such View. No bad Usage at Court could provoke him to stain that spotless Honour and Loyalty which had been transmitted to him from an ancient Race of gallant and illustrious Ancestors.

And now I have brought down the History of that great and illustrious Family to this remarkable Period; and I hope, as I have often said, I have made it plainly appear in this and the preceeding Volume, *That the Loyalty of the Family remains yet uninterrupted to this Period.* I have done it with all the Candour and Industry I was Master of. If I have not done it so well as it should have been done, I hope it may incite some abler Pen to do it better, and continue it longer, of which I shall be very fond. I can with Confidence say one Thing, That in both this and the preceeding Volume, I have with the exactest Niceness observed that great and excellent Rule of *Cicero*,

Ne quid veri non audeat, ne quid falsi audeat dicere Historicus.



APPENDIX:

N^o. I. *To Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drew Drury.*

AFTER Our hearty Commendations, we find by a Speech lately made by her Majesty, that she doth note in you, both a Lack of that Care and Zeal for her Service that she looketh for at your Hands, in that you have not in all this Time (of your selves, without other Provocation) found out some Way to shorten the Life of the Scots Queen, considering the great Peril she is hourly subject to, so long as the said Queen shall live; wherein, besides a kind of Lack of Love towards her, she wondreth greatly that you have not that Care of your own particular Safeties, or rather the Preservation of Religion, and the publick Good and Prosperity of your Country that Reason and Policy commandeth; especially having to good a Ground and Warrant for the Satisfaction of your Consciences toward GOD, and the Discharge of your Credit and Reputation towards the World, as the Oath of Association, which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed, especially the Matter wherewith she standeth charged, being so clearly and manifestly proved against her: And therefore she taketh it most un-

Q q

kindly

kindly, that Men professing that Love towards her that you do, should in a kind of Sort, for Lack of the Discharge of your Duties cast the Burden upon her, knowing as you do, her Indisposition to shed Blood, especially of one of that Sex and Quality, and so near to her in Blood as that Queen is. These Respects we find do greatly trouble her Majesty, who we assure you hath sundry Times protested, That if the Regard of the Danger of her good Subjects and faithful Servants, did not more move her than her own Peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the Shedding of her Blood. We thought it meet to acquaint you with these Speeches lately passed from her Majesty, referring the same to your Judgments. And so we commit you to the Protection of the Almighty.

Your most assured Friends,

London Feb. 1. 1586.

Fra. Walsingham.
Will. Davison.

*To the Right Honourable, Sir Amias
Paulet Knight, one of her Ma-
jesty's Privy Council.*

S I R,

Y Our Letters of Yesterday coming to my Hands this present Day at 5 p. M. I could not fail, according to your Direction to return my present Answer with all possible Speed; which I shall deliver to you with great Grief and Bitterness of Mind, in that I am so unhappy, as living to see this unhappy Day, in which I am required by Direction from my most gracious Sovereign, to do an Act which GOD and the Law forbiddeth. My Goods and Living and Life are at her Majesty's Disposition, and I am ready to lose them the next Morrow, if it shall please her, acknowledging that I do hold them, as of her meer and most gracious Favour, and do not design to enjoy them, but with her Highness's good Liking: But GOD forbid that I should make so foul a Shipwreck of my Conscience, or leave so great a Blot to my poor Posterity, and shed Blood without Law or Warrant, trusting that her Majesty, of her accustomed Clemency, and the rather by your good Mediation, will take this my Answer in good part, as proceeding from one, who will never be inferior to any Christian Subject, living in Honour, Love and Obedience toward his Sovereign. And thus I commit you to the Mercy of the Almighty.

Your most assured poor Friend.

From Fotheringay,
2. Feb. 1586.

A. Pawlet.

P. S. Your

P. S. Your Letters coming in the plural Number, seem to be meant to Sir *Drew Drury* as to my self; and yet because he is not named in them, neither the Letter directed to him, he forbeareth to make any particular Answer, but subscribeth in Heart to my Opinion.

D. Drury.

N^o. II. *Letter to the Laird of Auchindown.*

Right honourable Sir,

THe Care of my own Troubles, and Grief of your Hurt and others which ensued by me, is at this Time turned into Repentance and craving your Pardon, which I wish with all my Heart. I am assured you will impute nothing to any willing or wilful Fault of mine, but rather to the Necessity, and which was the only Way to save my Life by. Whether it was laudable to do so or not, your Forgiving and Approbation shall make clear. Always so soon as I could have my Liberty I have published the simple Verity. The Rigour used to me, and how I was forced by Torture and Fear of Death, to come to that Point to wrest the Truth, and make Dittay to you as well as my self, whereof you have a Copy contained herein: If any other had such Occasion as I had, perhaps they would have even so condescended for Safety of Life, to say what were false; and that they would, after Liberty purchased, have constantly denied, the which I presently do, declaring all my Depositions, which Fear wrested out to your Damage, and against the Truth, to be false and void of Verity. Therefore, in Sign and Token of Satisfaction for them, I have written this with my own Hand, and subscribed, to be a Testimony against all these false and pretended Crimes against you. Thus, after my humble Commendations of Service, I commit you to GOD. The Day of Year of GOD 1593.

Your assured Friend, and most sorrowful for his offence,
George Car.

N^o. III. *Patent from the French King to the Lord Gordon.*

LQUIS, par le grace de Dieu, Roy de France et de Navarre, a tous ceux qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Savoir faisons, que nous avons plein confiance des sens, suffisance, loyauté, prudence, vaillance, vigilance, experience & diligence de la personne de

nostre tres cher, & bien aimé le Sieur Marquis de *Gordon*, et desirans l'honorer, de quelque charge, selon qu'il s'en est rendu digne. A iceluy pour ces causes, & autres bonnes & grandes considerations, à ce nous mouvans, avons donné et octroyé, donnons & octroyons, par ces presentes, signées de nostre propre main, la charge & conduite d'une compagnie de cent hommes des armes de nos ordonnances que soloit avoir le feu Sire Duc de *Lenox*, vaquante par son trespas; pour icelle avoir, tenir & dorenavant exercer par le dict Sr. Marquis de *Gordon*, aux honneurs, autorités, prerogatives, preeminances, franchises, libertées, gages, soldes, estats, entretene-ments & appointments, accoustumées, telles & semblables que les ont & prennent les autres Capitanes. Si donnons en mandement à nostre tres cher & feal Cousin le Duc de *Lesdiguiers*, Pair et Con-estable de *France*, que dudit Sr. Marquis de *Gordon* pris & receu le serment, en tel cas requis et accoustumé, il le mette & institute, ou fasse mettre, & instituer de par nous en possession & saine de la dicte charge, & d'icelle ensemble des honneurs, autorités, prerogatives, preeminances, franchises, libertées, gages, droits, estats & appointments dessus dictés, le fasse, souffre et laisse jouir et user plainement & paisiblement, & luy obeir, et entendre de tous ceux, & ainsi qu'il appartiendra és choses touchantes & concernantes la dite charge. Mandons en outre à nos ames & feaux concelliers, les Tresoriers ordinaires des nos guerres, et chacun d'eux, que par le paieur qui sera ordonné en la dicte compagnie, ils fassent dorenavant par chacun quartier des deniers qui luy seront assignées pour le payment d'icelle paier, baillier, et delivrer au susdict S. M. de G. les dictés gages, solds, estats, & appointments, & en apportant par eux ces dictés presentes, ou vidimus d'icelles deument collationées pour une fois seulement, avec quittance du dict Sr. M. de G. & les rolles desmonstres de chacun payment, nous voulons iceux gages, solds, estats, appointments estre passés, et allons en la des-pence des comptes desduits et rabatus de la recepte des dictés tresoriers, & paieurs par nos amés et feaux les gens de nos comptes à Paris. Aux quels mettre nostre seel à ces dictés presentes. Données à Compiègne le (xix) jour d'Avril, l'an de grace mil six cens vint quatre, & de nostre reign quatorziesme.

Signé L O U I S.

Par le Roy, Le B E A U C L E R C.

Here follows the Certificate of the Oath which the Lord Gordon took at London, in Presence of the French Ambassador, when the Patent was delivered to him, which is set down under the Patent.

A U'jourd huy le VII de Juin l'anne 1624. Monsieur le M. de *Gordon* a fait & preste le serment qu'il estoit tenu faire à cause de

de la charge de Capitaine de cent hommes d'Armes des Ordonnances du Roy de nation *Eycussoise*, dont il à pleu à sa Majeste le purvoit entre les mains de Monsieur le Count de *Tilliers* son Consilier d'estat & Embassadeur en *Angleterre*, et moy son Secretaire present.

Signe Taneguy le Veneur.

Du Moulin.

N^o. V. *Basilicon Doron.*

P. 148. **E**ST hæc paritas mater confusionis, inimica unitatis, quæ est ordinis parens: quod genus si ut in Ecclesia ista quoque in republica obtineret, omnia certo certius misceri necesse foret. Si utramque ames, ex utraque pestem hanc egere; Puritanos inquam, quos nec beneficiis devincias, nec jurejurando fidos facias, nec promissis constringas; sine modo ambitiosos; sine causa maledicos; nec quicquam spirantes nisi seditiones & calumnias; quibus una conscientia regula est, non divini verbi autoritas, sed commentorum sanctorum vanitas. Testor illum magnum Deum (nec testamentum condenti fas est mentiri) nunquam inter Montanos aut Limitaneos nostros latrones majorem ingratitude aut perfidiam reperiri posse, quam inter hos phanaticos nebulones. Nec patere, si pacatè vivere decreveris, ut hi eadem tecum patriam fruantur, nisi fortè patientia experienda ergò, ut Socrates vixit cum Xantippe.

P. 154. Licet enim anima non sit ex traduce, sed à Deo creata & infusa, certum est tamen, virtutem & vitium unam cum patrimonio sæpe numero devolvi ad posteros; nec minus animi quam corporis morbos in quibusdam familiis hereditarios inveniri. Igitur ephebos istos ex iis familiis eligere conveniet, quæ, probitate & fide præter cæteras insignes, nullam unquam perfidiam vel proditionem notatam sunt.

P. 155. Atque hinc committere non possum, quin te moneam, vel pro patria potestate, etiam injungam, eos præcipuè in tuam familiam adsciscas, qui mihi fidelem operam navaverunt. Sin ex eo numero, quosdam emeritos inveneris, præmiis ornatos dimitte: exque eorum sobole, ut notissimam, ministros lege. Ita non modo tibi de præstantissimis servis prospicies; cum necesse sit te ament qui parentes tuos amarunt, si verum est, quod modò ostendimus, te illis acceptum nunquam fore, qui parentes tuos oderunt, &c,

N^o. VI. *First Letter under the King's Hand.**My good Son,*

I May on my Soul swear unto you, That sen your parting frae here, I was never an Hour unthinking upon you, but when I was sleepand, and scarcely then, I was sa laith to tyne the Report of my Friendship in Absence. I had been out of this Town or now, and met with you, gif the Examination of this Letter-bearer had not stayed me. As to your Diet in meeting with me, fail not to do fully therein as the Bearer thereof your Friend shall direct you. As for your Information in all Things concerning you, and my Mind therein, I remit it to the said Bearer's Report, because ye know I desire not to be prolix in my Letters. Always trust fully this Gentleman, and obey whatever he bids you in my Name, whom I have selected to send to you at this Time, because he was the first Man that ever spake good of you unto me. *Farewel*

JAMES R.

Because *Patrick Murray* takes Medicine this Day for the Dregs of his Fever, I have reserved his Voyage till he meet you by the Way and bring you to me.

II. *Letter.**My good Son,*

I Am sae continually occupied in thir Turnis of yours, as I and the Bearer hereof are compelled to keep Quarters in it; and sa cannot baith be with you at anes; always he will shaw you my Mind in all Things. I pray you, as I have oft said, to trust my Counsel best in y ur Turnis, ay and quhill it deceave you; and quhill then, for GOD's Sake, follow directly, constantly, and without Doubt my Advices, quhatsumever any or all your Friends say in the contrary. I wald be laith to leave any Man in the Mire, that lippinit only to me. As to your particular Turnis, the Bearer will inform you how we are never an Hour idle. *Farewell*

JAMES R.

III. *Let-*

III. Letter.

My good Son,

HOW true the Alarums was, that were so confidently given you this Day, the Bearer hereof, wha heard and saw all, can report unto you: Therefore, I pray you, remember all Promises you made to me this Day. I know you are to fight a hard Battle, with all that are about you, whilk I pray you as valiantly to sustain as gif you were fechtng for me in a forraigne Country, and esteem they only to be your true Friends that counsels you to obey me, and follow my Course, and all others to be your Enemies in Effect. And for my Part, as I have provin heretofore, sa judge and assure your self of me hereafter, quhilk as well in your Absence, as at your Return, shall kyth in all Respects (ye keeping your Promises) as likewise all them that I will answer for unto you. All other Things I remit unto the Bearer's Report, quhom praying you to trust, I bid you heartily *Farewell*.

JAMES R.

IV. Letter.

Good Son,

THE Occasions of my sa lang remaining here, the hail World knaws, how lang it shall be yit, my Fortune and the Disposition of thir Countrymen will limirate. In the mean Time, remain ye at the Speculation of your future Joy; and I pray you, quhill my meeting with you at *Edinburgh* (quhilk shall be as soon as I may, tho' not as soon as I wald,) trouble me not with na Manner of Requests for yon *Spanish* Lord; for I have been sa ill used at this Time, as Matters are na mair in that State they were in at our last parting. The Causes I remit to Meeting. *Farewell*.

JAMES R.

V. Letter.

My Lord,

I Have not been idle since your hame-going in this Particular betwixt you and the Earl of *Murray*; and as I have not been forgetful, sa have I been as well remembred thairon be your glooming Agent that is here, quha aft-times quarrelled me for doing na-thing thairin because she saw me not sa outwardly bislie therein as

she thought I should have been. Always after many crackit and manv keepit Tryfts in this Turne, I have won thir Points in it. *First*, The Earl of *Argyle* has publickly declarit unto me, in the Earl of *Murray's* Presence, and a Number of his Friends, that he will be na mair a Head or Topper of that Quarrel; and that he will be ready only to give my Lord his Advice in that Matter, amongst the rest of his Friends; and that he will not enter in Action in that Quarrel, except upon twa Conditions, That he may have my Permission, and that the Earl of *Murray* mell in it himself. *Next*, all the Earl of *Murray's* wife and honest Friends, as weal the Earl of *Argyle*, as these of my own Name, have given him plain Advice to agree, and have all promisit to me never to mell in his Turnis any mair, if herein he fall not follow their Advice. And *last*, The Earl of *Murray* has absolutely promisit unto me, to advertise me upon the Fifteenth Day of *Aprile* next, quhat Day he will take to conven his Friends in my Presence, and to give me an direct Answer in that Turn; sa as quhatsumever End this Matter takes, ye fall ever have Advantage in it, either be Peace, to be the mair able to do me Service, or else upon his Wilfulness, I to become Party with you, and all his own Friends to leave him, as mair particularly my Aunts, and Sir *Patrick Murray's* Letters will enform you, as likewise anent my Diet to *Angus*, quhilk will be about the Sixth of *April*. Farewel.

JAMES R.

VI. Letter.

Good Son,

According to my last speaking with you, I will the Morn send you a Direction of my full Mind concerning your Behaviour in all Things. I trust you will remember on your Vow made at your Bridal. Thus remitting all Things to my foresaid Direction, and willing you to take Resolution of naithing in the mean Time, but only to remain where you are. I bid you *Farewel*.

JAMES R.

VII. Letter.

I Trow you are not sa unwise, *my Lord*, as to misinterpret my exterior Behaviour the last Day, seeing what you did, you did it not without my Allowance; and that by your Humility in the Action it self, your honouring me served to countervail the dishonouring of me be others before: But perceiving by my Expectation, that

that baith Noblemen and Counsellors, thought to wash their Hands of that Turn, and lay the hail Burden upon me, I thought the hurting of my self, and their louping free could be na Pleasure nor weil unto you; for gif that Impediment had not been assure your self I wald fainer have spoken with you, than ye wald with me, for many Causes that were langsum to write. Always assure your self, and the rest of your Marrowis, That I am earnestest to have your Day of Tryal to hald forward, than your self is, that be your Services thereafter, the Tyranny of their Mutins may be repress: For I protest before GOD, in Extremity, I love the Religion they outwardly profess, and hates their presumptuous and seditious Behaviour. And for your part in particular, I trow you have had Proof of my Mind towards you at all Times; and gif of my Favour to you ye doubt, ye are the only Man of *Scotland* that doubts thereof, sen all your Enemies will needs bind it on my Back. To conclude, hald forward the suing of your Tryal, as the Bearer will enform you, and use the Advice that I have commanded him to give you in your Proceedings, and move your Marrowis to omit na Diligence in halding forward this Dyet. Let nane see this Letter. *Farewel.*

JAMES R.

I houpe to see you or this Month be
endit (gif you use your self well)
in as good Estait as ever ye was
in.

VIII. *Letter, with the King's own Hand.**Good Son,*

According to my Promise in my last Letter, I sent a Pairt of my Opinion to you twa Days syne, with sum of your awin Friends, and in respect of nae Answer yet, I send you here with the Bearer hereof, with farder of my Mind, gif ye never had Cause to plain of my Passion in your Particulars; and gif Nature (in a Manner) must move me to wish you weall, mair nor other common Folkis, use I pray you the Counsel that this gentle Minister gives you in my Name, for quhais intire Love towards you, I dare fully responde. I will upon *Tysday* at the fardest advertite you of my Dyet, and quhair you shall meet me, be a Man they call *Alexander Lindsay*. In the mean Time not doubting of your Conformity in all Things, I bid you, *Fareweal.*

JAMES R.

N^o. VII. *The Earl of Aberdeen's Patent being too long to be insert here at large, I shall transcribe no more of it than what relates to that gallant Gentleman Sir John Gordon of Haddo, as I have said, Page 418 of the foregoing History.*

CAROLUS Dei gratia, &c. ——— In Memoriam pariter revocantes plurima, eximia, & intemeratæ fidei officia diademati nostro præstita & peracta, per majores ejusdem Domini Georgii Gordon, quibus sciz. Progenitoribus nostris, belli togæque, in diversis summæ fiduciæ muneribus & officiis inservire fuerat honori: quibus quidem officiis fideliter semper & strenuè functi sunt, summa quæque obstacula & angustias, ipsos officia obeuntes, partibus nostris & coronæ firmiter adhærentes, sæpissime comitantia, prorsus spernentes, adeo ut non interruprà successionis serie, cum re suâ familiari simul inconcussam & intaminatam erga nos Regiosque nostros Progenitores, fidelitatem & integritatem, ad heredes suos, ac successores transmiserint: nosque præcipuè grato animo recordantes, insignem & memorabilem fidelitatem & integritatem patris præfati Domini Georgii Gordon, cujus præclara servitia, & perdura gravamina, quæ sciz. legitima nostra, & diadematis nostri jura propugnando, & speciatim patris nostri charissimi jura & commoda vindicando perpessus est, tanquam durable quoddam monumentum, in stirpis generisque sui honorem permanent. Ille etiam signo militari Regio, ad fatalem illam & execrandam rebellionem, in utroque regno postea erumpentem, evertendam & supprimendam, erecto, re suâ familiari liberisque suis illicò posthabitis (unde illi singulis miseris, angustis, & calamitatibus, quas implacabiles isti & furiosi rebelles ipsis infigere valebant, obnoxii reddebantur) ad dictum regale vexillum statim se contulit, dictoque nostro patri, in extremo belli discrimine adversus rebelles in Anglia, strenuè inserviit; postmodum autem præfato nostro patri (illius fidei, conductui, & erga servitium suum amori plurimum innitenti) visum est eundem, sub titulo loci-tenentis, sub Georgio tum Marchione de Huntly, in dictum regnum Scotiæ remittere: qui quidem secundum dicti nostri patris mandata, utque ipsius commodum & servitium quantum in se effet promoveret, dictum officium alacriter suscepit, idemque strenuè & fideliter exolvit, inter primos quippe in dicto regno nostro, ad jura coronæ propugnanda, & rebelles supprimendos, armis insignis apparuit; quorum quidem rebellium copiis indices adductis, in eorum potestatem captivus tandem devenit, & ab iis nonnullis mensibus in arcta custodia

custodia detentus. tandem (omnibus regni legibus, & privilegiis inter homines jure gentium sacris, violatis & penitus intractis & everfis) per sententiam sceleratissimæ rebellionis coluviei damnatus, & ab iis pariter vitâ & re familiari exutus, & barbarè tandem, nefariè & inhumaniter, super theatro publico, trucidatus & obtruncatus, adeo ut pro nobis & diademate nostro martyrium subisse meritò dicatur, &c.

N^o VIII. Copies of Seven Letters from King CHARLES I. to the Earl of Traquair.

Traquaire,

I have taken this Occasion to assure you that I have not delayed your upcuming out of anie Displeasure against you, or the least Distrust of your Councellis; but to show you the contraire, I have commanded *Roxbrough* not onlie to show you the very Secrets of my Thoughts, but also to have your Judgement, as well as your industrie concur in my Service: So referring you to *Roxbrough*, I rest
Your assured Friend,

*Whitehall the 20th of
November 1637.*

CHARLES R.

Traquaire,

Since by your owen Desyre and my Permission, ye are retired from my Court, to satisfie the needless Suspitions of your Countymen, I have thought fit by these Lynes to assure you, That I am so far from having chased you away as a Delinquent, that I esteeme you to be as faithful a Servant as anie I have, believing that the greatest Cause of Malice that ye are now vext with, is, for having served me as ye ought: Therefore I desyre you to be confident that I shall both fynde a fit Tyme for you to wpe away all these Slanders that ar now against you; and lykewais to recompence your bypast Sufferings for my Service: So you shall trewly see that I am
Your assured Friend,

*Whyshall the 1. July
1641.*

CHARLES. R.

Traquaire,

I Believe the Reason is well anuse knownen to you, why I did not permit you to waitt upon mee at *Newcastel*; therefore I will say no more of that; but because of that I thinke fit to tell you that all I have hard of you now, at my being in
Scot-

Scotland, has been so far from doing you Prejudice with me that by the contraire, I see more clerely then before, that your Sufferings has been for your Service to mee. This being granted by mee, I am obliged to make good that inference upon it, which you and all honnest Men mult needs understand: And I knowing my self to be one, I will say no more but that you shall fynde me to bee

Your most assured Friend,

York 21. *November*
1641.

CHARLES R.

Traquaire,

I Have so much to say, that I shall say verie little, because I will refer my selfe to the faithful Relation of this honnest Bearer: These few Lynes being anuse to assure you, that I neither forget you, nor esteeme you as an useles Servant, and that in Spyte of all your Enemies I shall still remaine

Your assured Friend,

Windsor 26. *Jan.* 1642.

CHARLES R.

Commend mee to *Muntrose*, and desyre him to give Credit to what this Bearer shall tell him in my Name.

Traquaire,

I Am so confident in your Affectione to my Service, that I have commanded the Bearer to follow your Directions in all he is sent about. You have not hitherto deceived my Expectation, and it were now an ungentlemanly Trick to begin. The Conjuncture is extreemly considerable in the Business; therefore what is to be down, must either be now or not at all. I will say no more, but that I am

Your assured Friend,

Yorke 7. *May* 1642.

CHARLES. R.

Traquaire,

THE former Experience I have of your Zeale to my Service, and your Dexteritie in it, makes me adrefs this Bearer particularly to you, that tho' his Business may seem equally adressed to many, yet you ar he whom I chiefly (and indeed only) trust for the right managing of it; the Particulars I leave to this trusty Servant of myne, assuring you that you shall ever find me

Your most assured constant Friend,

Chester 26. *Sep.* 1642.

CHARLES R.

Tr.

Newcastle 15. June 1646.

Traquaire,

I Have so fully instructed this trusty Bearer *Robin Car*, that I will only tell you, that I long to see you, which if I had publicly expressed, it would have hindred what I desired; however you shall finde me

Your most assured constant Friend.

CHARLES R.

Discharge, Archbald Sydeserf to the Earl of Traquaire for the Fine of 40000 Merks.

I *Archibald Sydeserf* Deputt to *Sr. Andrew Hepburne of Humbie*, Treasurer of the Army, grant me be thir Presents, to have received from the Right Honourable *John Earle of Traquaire, Lord Linton, &c.* the Soume of Forty Thousand Merks *Scots* for the said Earle, and *John Lord Linton*, their Lordships Fine, conform to ane Decreet of the Committee of Prices and Money, of the Dait at *Edinburgh* the Nynt Day of *Apprylle* One thousand six hundred and forty six Years, in Manner following, *viz.* The Sum of Thirty six thousand, four hundred Merks in Money, and the Soume of Three thousand six hundred Merks, in compleat Payment of the foresaid Soume of Forty thousand Merks, be an Ordinance of the said Committee, of the Dait the sevent Day of *May* 1646, allowing to the said Earle certaine Troope Horses put out behim for the publick Service: Therefore, discharges the said noble Earle of the foresaid Fyne for now and ever, consenting thir Presents be registrate in the said Committee Books, and remain *ad futuram rei memoriam*; and constitutes

Our Procurators, &c. in Witness whereof (written be *James Tarbet*) I have subscribed thir Presents with my Hand at *Edinburgh* the Thirty Day of *July* One thousand six hundred and forty six Years. Witnesses *David Peter* Servitor to *Mr. James Primrose*, and *James Tarbet* Writer hereof.

Archibald Sydeserf.

Ja. Tarbet Witness.

D. Peter Witness.

N^o. IX. Mr. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

MR. Robert Freebairn, Arch-Deacon of Dumblane, and Minister of Gask in Strathern, a Person of great Worth and Integrity, gave me this following Account: That while Mr. Henderson was in his Decay, of which he died, Mr. John Freebairn Father to this Mr. Robert, and one Mr. Rue, and another Minister, whose Name I have forgot, went together to visit him. He, the said Mr. Robert, (who was then a Preacher) went along with them. After some other Things had past in their Discourse one of the Ministers address'd himself to Mr. Henderson to this Purpose, That now, in all Likelihood, he was a Dying; That he had been very much concerned in the publick Commotions which for some Years before had happened in Scotland; That his Testimony (after his Death) would be of great Weight with all those who were zealous for the Cause, &c. That therefore it was very proper that he should lay himself open to those who were then present, that they might be in a Condition to encourage their Brethren, &c. To which Mr. Henderson composedly and deliberately replied to this Purpose; That he had indeed been very active in Overturning Episcopacy, and in Encouraging the Rebellion; but he took GOD to Witness, That he propos'd nothing to himself when he began, but the Security of Religion and the Kirk, in Opposition to Popery, which, he was made to believe, was at the Bottom of the King's Designs; but now he was sensible that his Fears were Groundless: He had had Opportunities of Conversing frequently with the King, and he was fully satisfied that he was as sincere a Protestant as was in his Dominions: He was heartily sorry, and humbly beg'd GOD's Pardon for it, that he had been so forward in a Course so unjustifiable; and that if it should please God to restore him to Health and Strength, he would go no farther on in that Course; and that he was heartily afraid they had all gone too far already: The only Advice therefore he could give them, (and he intreated them to take it as the last Advice of a Dying Man) was, That they should break off in Time, for they had gone too far already; nothing now was so proper for them, as to retreat and return to their Duty to His Majesty, who was the learnedest, the most candid and Consciencious, the most religious, and every-way the best King that ever did sit upon a Throne in Britain. This his Discourse so surpris'd them, that for some time they sat silent: At length one of them, (I think it was Mr. Rue) bespake the rest of them after this manner; Brethren, This our Brother is in a high Fever, and is raving, you ought not therefore to heed what he says. No (said Mr. Henderson) I

am very Weak, indeed, but I am not at all raving; Blessed be God, who of his infinite Mercy allows the Use of my Reason in this low Estate, and which I have as much as ever; I hope I have spoken no Incoherencies, and what I have said, I will say over again. Then he resumed what he had said, and enlarged upon it; and desired them, in the Name of God, to believe, that what he spake was from his Heart, and with the Sincerity and Seriousness which became a dying Person. After they had taken Leave of him, the three Ministers enjoined Mr. *Robert Freebairn* a profound Silence of what he had heard, discharging him to communicate it to any Person whatsoever; and they added Threatnings also to their Prohibition. But he (as he told me himself) boldly told them, That he thought himself bound in Conscience to declare what he had heard, as he had Occasion; God's Glory required it; and it was Mr. *Henderson's* Purpose that it shall be prepaed and propagated. This Account I had oftner than once from Mr. *Freebairn's* own Mouth: He died about 21 or 22 Years ago, Aged above 70. I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

JOHN SAGE.

N^o. X. S E D E R U N T.

Edinburgh 6th January 1648.

Crawford Lindsay, Pr.
D. Hamilton,
Argyle,
Eglintoun,
Glencairn,
Cassills,
Tweeddale,
Balmerino,
Balcarras,

Bargeny,
Advocatus,
Halkertoun,
Lee,
Tofts, Loudoun,
Maner,
Prestongrange,
Provost of Edinburgh,
Sir John Smith,
Archbald Sydsers,
John Semple,
John Kennedy,
James Stewart.

FORASMUCHAS by Act of the Committee of Estates holden at *Aberdeen* upon the Thirty Day of *May* One thousand six hundred and forty four, it is Declared and Ordained, That whosoever should take and apprehend, dead or alive, the then Marquis of *Huntly*, should have really paid to them for their Pains, the Sum of
Twelve

Twelve thousand Pound *Scots*. And whereas in Pursuance of this Act, Lieutenant Colonel *James Menzies* has apprehended *George Gordon* late Marquis of *Huntly*, and designed in the Act foresaid Marquis of *Huntly*, and has brought him hither, where by Order of the Committee he is committed to Prison within the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*. the Committee of Estates finds and declares, that therein he has done good and acceptable Service to this Kingdom, and that in Justice the Sum aforesaid of Twelve thousand Pound *Scots* should be presently paid to him for the same. Likeas they do hereby bind and oblige the Estates of this Kingdom, to pay to the said Lieutenant Colonel *James Menzies*, his heirs, Executors, or Assignies the said Sum of Twelve thousand Pound *Scots*; and do hereby declare the said Sum with the Annualrents thereof, so long as the same shall remain unpaid, to be a publick Debt due by the Estates of this Kingdom, to the said Lieutenant Colonel *James Menzies* and his foresaids. And further they hereby ordain Sir *James Weymsee* of *Bogie*, Tresaurer of the Army, to pay and deliwer the said Sum, with the Annualrents thereof until the Day of Payment to the said Lieutenant Colonel, and that out of the readiest Monies in his Hand, after the Payment of the Army. And because possibly the Sum foresaid will not be soon paid this Way, the Committee of Estates, for the said Lieutenant Colonel *Menzies*, his further Assurance of Payment thereof, do hereby engage the publick Faith of this Kingdom, That the Forfaulture of the said late Marquis of *Huntly* shall not be disposed of, discharged nor recalled, till the said Lieutenant Colonel be paid of the principal Sum and Annualrent aforesaid, out of the first End thereof (he not being paid any other ways.) Likeas they do hereby burden the said Forfaulture with the Payment of this Sum and Annualrent thereof. Provided always, and it is hereby declared, That this Act is to be without Prejudice of the former Assignment granted to General Major *Middleton*. *Sic subscribitur* exactly as in the Sederunt.

N^o. XI. LETTERS from the King of France,
to the Marquis of Huntly.

Mon Cousin,

Cette cy vous sera rendu par le Seur Marquis Duffat mon Ambassadeur, qui à charge très expresse de moy de vous dire l'estime que je fais de votre vertu, & l'affection que je vous porté & quels sont mes sentiments, sur ce que je vous ay promis. Je vous prie de le croire, & que cest avecque regret que cela tarde & que J'en demeure la, je conçois pour vous bien des graces au dessus celle la,

& aux occasions vous le congnoistrez. Lesquelles attendant, Je prie Dieu, mon Cousin, vous tient en sa sainte garde. Escrit a St. Germain en Laye, ce 6 Aoust, 1624.

Signé Louis.

A mon Cousin le Marquis de Gordon.

MR. le Marquis de Gordon, Je vous fais la presente, pour vous dire que le Sieur Jean Wood, Gentilhomme Escossoys, ayant cy devant bien fidellement servy le feu Roy mon Seigneur & Pere, en l'un de ses Regiments entretenuz; & le congnoissant particulièrement plein de valeur & de merite, je desireroys bien volontiers, qu'il eust une place de Gend'arme dans ma Compagnie que vous commandez, ou aultre charge s'il s'en presente en icelle. Et parceque c'est vous qui pouvez en cela luy donner le contentement que je desire, J'ay bien voulu vous en prier par cette Lettre, & vous dire, que vous ne scauriez me tesmoigner vostre affection en chose qui me soit plus agreable. A tant Je prie Dieu, qu'il vous ayt, Mr. le Marquis de Gourdon, en sa sainte garde. Escrit a Paris le x^{me} jour de Febvrier, 1625.

Signé Louis.

A Monsieur le Marquis de Gourdon.

MR. le Marquis de Gourdon, Envoyant les Sieurs de Bezançon & de Briseaux Commissaire & Coneur ordies des mes guerres, pour faire le Monstre de la Compagnie de cent hommes d'armes de mes ordonnances, que J'entretiens en Escosse sous vostre charge & conduite, avec un Tresorier Paieur de ma Gendarmerie, pour en faire le paiement: Je vous ay voulu faire la presente, pour vous dire, que vous donniez ordre de faire trouver un vaisseau, dans lequel ils se pussent embarquer & mettre l'argent destiné au dit paiement, pour estre porté seurement en Escosse, ou vous ferez assembler, & mettre le dite compagnie en armes; afin que mes dits Officiers y exercent la fonction de leurs charges, ainsi que je leur ay commandé, & qu'il leur est enjoint par les ordonnances de la Gendarmerie de France. Aquoy m'assurant que vous satisferez, Je ne vous en diray davantage, & prieray Dieu qu'il vous ayt, Monsieur le Marquis de Gourdon, en sa sainte & digne garde. Escrit a Paris le 9 jour de Juin, 1625.

Signé Louis.

A Monsieur le Marquis de Gourdon.

Monsieur le Marquis de Gordonne, J'ay veu par les lettres, que vous m'aves escrites, & entendu plus particulièrement par le Sieur de Seyton, exempt de mes gardes du corps le zele & devotion,

que vous portez au bien de mon service, & le desir que vous avez de m'en rendre des effectz sur les occasions presentes, le dit Sieur de Seyton m'ayant fait des offres, expressis en vostre nom, sur ce sujet, ce que j'ay receu en fort bonne part, pour l'estime particuliere que je faictz de vostre personne, & de quoy desirant vous faire congnoistre par effect: Je vous diray que je seray bien aise de me servir de vous avec la compagnie de Gensdarmes, que vous commandez, & un regiment de ii mil hommes de pied Escossois, si vous pouviéz obtenir permission du Roy de la grande Bretagne de les ammener en mon royaume: je remetx a vous d'adviser ce que vous aurez a faire pour obtenir ce congé, & lorsque vous l'aurez obtenu, J'entends que vous vous adressiez au Marquis de Fontinay, que J'envoye presentement mon Ambassadeur ordinaire en Angleterre, avec lequel vous aurez a convenir pour la levée du dit regiment, dont il vous fera fournir l'argent, comme aussi la solde de trois mois, pour vostre Compagnie de Gensdarmes, desirant que vous scachiez qu'il est nostre, sy ces troupes doibvent venir en ce royaume quelles s'y rendent dans la fin du mois de Feburier prochain, & quelles viennent débarquer au lieu que ce dict Marquis de Fontinay vous fera entendre de ma part. C'est la réponse que je seray a votre lettre; vous asurant de ma particuliere bienveillance en vostre endroit. Sur ce, Je prie Dieu, Mr. le Marquis de Gurdonne, qu'il vous ayt en sa sainte garde. Escrit a Paris le x^{me} jour de Decembre, 1629.

Signé Louis.

A Monsieur le Marquis de Gurdonne.

Monsieur le Marquis de Gourdonne, J'ay veu par vos lettres, & plus particulièrement encore par celles, que m'a escrites le Marquis de Fontinay mon Ambassadeur; les tesmoignages, que vous rendez de vostre zele & devotion à mon service, & le desir que vous avez pour me venir servir avec des troupes sur les occasions qui se presentent, dont j'ay beaucoup de satisfaction, pour l'estime que je faiz de vostre personne, & de vostre fidelle & courageuse Nation; mais ayant consideré, que vous ne scauriéz avoir faict une levée de quatre mois, qu'il conviendra employer beaucoup de temps a l'embarquement, & au passage de la mer, & qu'avant que vostre regiment peust estre arrivé en Italie, ou je destine mes principales forces, la saison pouroit estre passée de faire la guerre, j'ay estimé plus a propos de differer d'en faire la levée, me reservant de la vous demander a tel temps qu'elle pouroit arriver en mon royaume l'année prochaine en la saison plus propre pour l'employer, si la guerre dure, comme il y a grande apparence. C'est ce que j'ay commandé a mon dict Ambassadeur, de vous respondre de ma part, & vous assurer, comme je fais, de ma bonne volonté, de la quelle j'auray a singulier plaisir de vous rendre des effects en quelque bon sujet. Sur ce je prie Dieu, Mr. le Marquis de Gourdonne, qu'il vous

vous ayt en sa sainte garde. Escrit a Troyes le x jour d'Avril, 1630.

Signé LOUIS.

A Monsieur le Marquis de Gourdonne.

Monsieur le Marquis de Gourdonne, le Marquis de Fontinay mon Ambassadeur vous fera tenir les ordres & expéditions, que je vous adresse pour le passage de ma Compagnie, que vous commandez, depuis son débarquement, en ma ville de Boulogne jusqu'à Lyon. Vous partirez donc aussi tost que vous aurez receu le presente, pour vous en venir par de ça, ou je seray bien aise de vous voir avec ma dicte Compagnie, laquelle le Marquis de Fontinay m'a escrit, que vous avez faite tres belle. Je me reserve a vous tesmoigner la satisfaction que j'en ay lorsque je 'verray icy par effect ce qu'il m'en a mandé, & a vous faire paroistre aux occasions qui s'en offriront la continuation de ma bonne volonté. Priant sur ce Dieu qu'il vous ayt, Mr. le Marquis de Gourdonne, en sa sainte garde. Escrit a sainte Germain en Laye le 6^{me} jour d'Aoust, 1631.

Signé LOUIS.

A Monsieur le Marquis de Gourdonne.

MR. le Marquis de Gourdon, ayant fait choix du Baron de Grey pour remplir la charge de Lieutenant de ma Compagnie d'hommes d'armes Escossois de mes ordonnances, vacante par le decez du feu Sieur de Gourdon, sur le tesmoignage qui m'a été rendu de sa naissance & vertu, & des bonnes qualités qui sont en sa personne comme de son affection vers cette couronne; j'ay bien voulu vous faire cette lettre pour vous en donner advis, & vous dire, que vous ayez a le recevoir & establir en la dite charge, & l'y faire recognoistre & obeir de tous ceulx qui en dependent, suivant ce qui est de mon intention. Aquoy m'assurant que vous satisferez, je ne vous feray cette cy plus longue, que pour vous assurer de ma bienveillance en vostre endroit. Sur ce je prie Dieu, Mr. le Marquis de Gourdon, vous avoir en sa sainte garde. Escrit a le xviii^{me} jour de Mars 1631.

Signé LOUIS.

*A Monsieur le Marquis de Gourdon Capitaine
de ma compagnie d'hommes d'armes Escossois.*

Monsieur le Marquis de Gourdonne, J'ay veu par vostre lettre du xii du mois de Fevrier, qui m'a été rendue par le Sieur de Magdougat, les assurances que vous continuéz de me donner de vostre affection a mon service, & du grand desir que vous avez d'en

R r a

rendre

rendre des preuves aux occasions, ce qui m'a apporté beaucoup de contentement, scachant que telles offres partent d'un tres bon cœur; vous debvéz voir aussi que je seray bien aise que les occasions se presentent d'en tirer des effectz, & de vous faire ressentir ceux de ma bienveillance lorsqu'il s'y offrira quelque bon sujet. Vous scaurez par le dit M^dougal comme j'ay fait remettre en mains du Sieur d'Ouchterlony & es siennes, une lettre de change de treize mil tant de livres pour estre distribué a vous & aux autres membres de ma Compagnie de Gensdarmes. Vous recevrez cette gratification pour arres de ma bonne volonté, attendant de meilleurs effectz. Sur ce je prie Dieu, Mr. le Marquis de Gourdon, qu'il vous ayt en sa sainte garde. Escrit a St. Germain en Laye le xvi jour de Jouillet 1631.

Signé LOUIS.

*A Monsieur le Marquis de Gordonne Capitaine
de ma Compagnie de Gensdarmes Escossois.*

MR. le Marquis de Pluvault, La compagnie de Gensdarmes du Sieur Marquis de Gourdon, que j'ay fait venir en France pour aller vers Lion, ayant ordre de passer par le Nivernois, je vous ay voulu faire cette lettre pour vous dire de tenir la main, que les lieux de l'estendue de vostre charge ou elle doit loger luy fournissent l'estappe conformement a l'ordre accoutumé, suivant la route, que j'en ay fait expedier, dont les gens des dits lieux, seront rembourséz selon l'ordre, qui sera envoyé aux Presidant & . Sur ce Je prie Dieu vous avoir, Mr. le Marquis de Pluvault, en sa sainte garde. Escrit a St. Germain en Laye, le iij jour d'Aouust 1632.

Signé LOUIS.

*A Monsieur le Marquis de Pluvault, Conseiller
en mon conseil d'etat & mon Lieutenant general
au gouvernement de Nivernois.*

Monsieur le Marquis de Gourdonne, L'estime que je fais de la valeur & fidelité de vostre Nation, comme aussi de vostre personne & des membres de ma Compagnie de Gensdarmes Escossois, m'a fait refoudre de l'entretenir & de m'en servir actuellement, en mon royaume, & en mes armées selon que les occasions s'en pourront presenter: Pour cet effect je vous fais cette lettre pour vous dire que vous ayez a mettre sus & faire assembler la dicte compagnie, & me faire scavoir en quel temps, & en quel lieu vous pourrez estre prests affinque je vous envoie les ordres necessaires pour passer en mon royaume, ou j'auray a plaisir de vous voir en vostre particulier pour vous y faire ressentir des effectz de ma bienveillance en vostre endroit. Sur ce je prie Dieu, Monsieur le Marquis de
Gordonne,

Gordonne, qu'il vous ayt en sa sainte garde. Escrit a St. Germain en Laye le xvi jour de Mars 1632.

Signé LOUIS.

A Monsieur le Marquis de Gourdonne, Capitaine de ma Compagnie de Gensdarmes Escossois.

Monsieur le Marquis de Gordone, J'ay donné ordre que vostre Courrier vous soit renvoyé avec assurance, que vous trouverez un Commissaire a Boulogne, & une monstre preste pour la Compagnie, vous la pourrai faire passer par escadrons puisque cela facilitera son traject, lequel vous ferai le plus prompt qu'il vous sera possible, en sorte que entre le partement de la premiere troupe, & celuy de la derniere il n'y ait que fort peu de jours. Cependant il sera fourni a ceux qui seront passés le surtaux comme aux Cavaliers François quand ils tiennent garnison. J'ay commandé que l'on vous donne ausly cent paires d'armes & de pistolets, dont la valeur sera deduite sur les monstres. Quant au reste que vostre Courrier a representé des frais que vous avés fait cy devant pour la dicté Compagnie, je vous feray entendre sur ce mon intention, quand vous serai icy; ou vous pouvai vous assurer, que vous serai traité favorablement en tout ce qui se pourra. Je me promets que vous y serai bientoist, & prie sur ce Dieu qu'il vous ayt, Mr. le Marquis de Gordone, en sa sainte garde. Escrit a St. Germain en Laye le xiii jour de Fevrier, 1633.

Signé LOUIS.

A Monsieur le Marquis de Gordonne, Commandant ma Compagnie de Gensdarmes Escossois.

MR. le Marquis de Gordonne, ayant destiné vostre Compagnie de Gensdarmes pour servir en mon armée d'Allemagne sous les ordres de mon Cousin le Marechal de la Force, je vous fais cette lettre pour vous dire qu'incontinent cette receue vous la fassiez acheminer a son rendezvous, en la plus grande diligence qu'il vous sera possible, suivant la route que j'en ay fait expedier, laquelle vous ferez exactement observer & tiendrez la main que vostre Compagnie vient avec la police requise par mon dernier reglement, de sorte que je n'en reçoive aucunes plaintes. Ce que me promettant de vos soins, Je prie Dieu, qu'il vous ayt, Mr. le Marquis de Gordonne, en sa sainte garde. Escrit a St. Germain en Laye le xxix jour d'Octobre, 1633.

Signé LOUIS.

A Monsieur le Marquis de Gordonne, Capitaine d'une Compagnie des mes ordonnances, & en son absence a celui qui commanda ma dite compagnie.

MR. le Marquis de Huntly, ayant appris par l'envoy de vostre serviteur comme vous estes alle en Escosse, avec intention de faire au plustot la revüe de la compagnie de Gensd'armes Escossois que vous commandez, j'ay desiré vous tesmoigner par le retour de vostre serviteur le gré que je vous en sçay, & vous dire qu'il est vray que cette Compagnie a grand besoin que vous preniéz soin de la remettre en bon etat, estant depuis long tems, comme vous le sçavez, reduite a un fort petit nombre de Gensd'armes. Si elle cust esté complete, je l'eusse fait entretenir, par deca tout l'hiver en un bon quartier, ainsy que lá esté cette partie que vous y avez laissé, & je vous assure que quand elle sera au nombre & en l'etat au quel une compagnie de cetté qualité doit estre, ella ne sera pas moins bien traittéee que les principales Compagnies d'hommes d'armes que j'ay a mon service, ayant meme en consideration particuliere la ditte Compagnie, ainsy que la nation dont elle est composée, laquelle je sçay bien estre autant affectionnée a cette Couronne que l'alliance ancienne & l'amitié reciproque des Francois l'y oblige.

Quant a ce qui vous touche en particulier pour votre pension & pour tous les avantages que vous pouvez justement desirer en me servant, je vous assure que j'y feray pourvoir avec soin, & que je feray bien aisé qu'il se presente occasion de vous donner des effects de ma bonne volonté, a quoy je n'ajouteray rien par cette lettre, que pour prier Dieu vous avoir, Monsieur le Marquis de Huntly, en sa sainte & digne garde. Escrit a Chantilly, xvi jour de Juillet, 1637.

Signé LOUIS,

*A Monsieur le Marquis de Huntly, Capitaine
d'une Compagnie de cent hommes d'armes de
mes ordonnances de Nation Escossoise.*

N^o XII. Copies of Two Letters from King JAMES
to the Duke of Gordon, when in Edinburgh-castle,
1689.

JAMES R.

Right trusty and right intirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor,
We greet you well. Upon the Informations we have had of your excellent Deportment in our Service, We sent you Our Royal Thanks from St. Germans sometime ago; but now since Our Arrival into this Our Kingdom, We have been again inform'd of the Continuance of your Zeal for Us, and your despising the malicious Threats of that illegal Convention, and their wicked and unjust At-
tempts

tempts against you, that yet you are resolved to stand firm to Our Royal Interest; which, as it is an Action worthy of your Family, so eminent in their constant Services to, and Sufferings for the Crown, so it is worthy of our Royal Esteem and most hearty Thanks at present: And whenever it shall please Almighty God, to put us in a Condition, shall oblige us to make our Rewards equal your Services, of which you may rest most assured.

We think it fit for our Service, that our Castle of *Edinburgh* be kept from the Power of the Rebels, as long as may be; and we assure you, we shall not be very long, of bringing such a Force into that Kingdom, as shall quickly retrieve it; but we leave absolutely to you to stay there, or to go to the North to your Interest, to put them in Arms for our Interest; which that ye may the better do, we are resolved to send you our Commission of Lieutenant, as you had it before, so soon as we have a safe Conveyance for it. In the mean Time, it is our express Will and Pleasure, that the last Commission of Lieutenancy you had be revived, and it is hereby revived to all Intents and Purposes, during our Royal Pleasure, with express Orders to all whom it concerns, to obey you as our Lieutenant aforesaid. And you are hereby empowered, to act according to the Tenor thereof, and Powers therein contained, to suppress all who shall rise in Arms against our Authority, within the Limits of your Jurisdiction; and to send such Troops, as you shall think fit for our Service, to the Assistance of others.

We do nowise doubt, of your acting for us in this Conjunction, as becomes yourself; and therefore we shall add no more to this, but to require you to send us your Advice, what you think may be best for our Service, in all the Branches thereof. And so assuring you of our Royal Favour, and declaring this to be a sufficient Warrant for what ye shall do in our Service, we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at *Dublin-castle*, the 29th Day of *March* 1689, and the fifth Year of our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

MELFORT.

Directed, To Our right trusty and right intirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor,
George Duke of Gordon.

JAMES R.

Right trusty and right intirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, we greet you well. Some Time ago we wrote a Letter to you, a Duplicate whereof is here inclosed; but that we are informed fell into the Hands of our Enemies, together with the Officer that

carried

carried it to you. We do still find more and more Reason, to approve of your exemplary Loyalty and Service to us, shown in the Defence of that our Castle, of which whenever it shall please God to put it in our Power, you shall reap the Benefit due to your Merit.

And since we do not now think it fit, that you should leave our said Castle (where your Presence is so necessary for our Service) so long as you are in a Condition to defend it, we do hereby empower you, to make Choice of one or more Persons, such as you shall think fit, to be your Depute-lieutenants within the whole Bounds of your last Commission of Lieutenancy, with Power to them to act, as if you your self were present, that thereby our Service may suffer as little Prejudice as possibly can in your Absence. And for doing all that is above said, this shall be to you and all others a sufficient Warrant and Authority. So hoping you shall have good Success in all that is relating to our Service, we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at *Dublin-castle*, the 17th of *May* 1689, and in the fifth Year of our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

MELFORT.

Directed, To our right trusty and right intirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, *George Duke of Gordon.*

I have given several Instances of the barbarous Cruelty of zealous Kirkmen, during the Rebellion in King *Charles 1's* Time; and that the most of the Blood, of the King's gallant and loyal Subjects, that was shed at that Time, lyes at their Door; and this original Paper coming but just now to my Hands, I thought proper to insert it here, as an undeniable Proof of what I have asserted. It is signed by Mr. *William Makjore* Moderator, and 23 Ministers of that Synod, and 14 Heritors of that Shire, some of whom are known to have been so loyal Gentlemen, that they would never have done it, if they had not been forced thereto by the Ministers.

The humble Remonstrance of the Synod and Committee of the Shire, within the Sberiffdom of Drumfries, to the Right Honourable, the Lords of Parliament now sitting;

Our very Honourable and Noble Lords,

HAVING had a Purpose to represent some of our Thoughts to your Lordships, at this solemn Meeting of Parliament, we cannot

cannot but acknowledge Divine Providence, in bringing together at one Time, both the Committee of the Shire, and the Synodical Meeting of the Ministry, without any previous Correspondence upon any Side: And we cannot but reverence the same Providence, in ordering and directing our Hearts and Minds one Way, in putting forth this joint subsequent Remonstrance to your Honours. And *First*, We hold it a Duty incumbent to us, to put your Honours in Memory of the LORD's exceeding Love to us, in calling us to renew our Covenant with him, which for our Part of a long Time was almost both forgotten and buried: How graciously the LORD blessed us at that Time, with Tenderness of Heart and Zeal to His Honour; as also with most comfortable and happy Success in our Undertakings, was very evident and manifest, both to ourselves and others. But O alas! (which we cannot deny) we did not long continue in our first Love, but being forgetful of our Covenant and Oath to GOD, fell in Security and Deadness, settled ourselves on our Lees, rent ourselves asunder by our Divisions, and threw ourselves in a most dangerous and fearful Condition; yet our LORD, who has Mercy on whom he will have Mercy, was pleased to have Pity on us, in discovering many secret Plots of Sathan and his Instruments, and in bringing divers of the most active and malignant Incendiaries, within the Compass of Justice. How these were then dismissed, and what a monstrous Generation they have afterward begotten, as also to what a deplorable Condition they had of late brought this Kirk and Kingdom, we doubt not but your Honours, and all good Patriots, have often with much Sorrow and Grief of Heart most seriously resented. Now while our Darkness and Confusion had overspread the whole Face of this Kingdom, and Matters were come to such an Height, or rather Depth of Misery, that All in humane Probability was given for lost, no Place almost being left for Sense or Reason, but that the Just must live by Faith; in this Instant, it pleased the LORD, to blink with a favourable and undeserved Look upon us, to give us such a glorious Victory over our Enemies, as we trust shall tend to His eternal Honour, and to the ever enduring Good of us and our Posterity: Only we make bold (which is the main Scope of our Remonstrance) to excite, and in the Name of the *Lord Jesus Christ*, to warn your Lordships, to follow out and improve this Victory to the best Advantage, which we conceive not only to consist in chasing and persewing the Remainder of that unnatural Crew (wherein your Lordships do well) but also in doing Justice upon these Arch-traitors and Rebels, that GOD hath now put into your Hands. We doubt not, but this is a Work, that as it doth heavily weight your Lordships already, so it is, and will be still

more and more pressed and born in upon you, both by GOD and Man, until ye acquit your selves as is expected.

We shall only at this Time intreat your Honours to remember, how acceptable Service this will be to GOD, what Wrath the Neglect of this Duty will afterward produce: Remember also, how far your Honours are led this Way by your Covenant with GOD; remember the Blood of your dear Brethren; remember the woful Condition of many poor Widows and Orphans; remember the recent general Desolation of the Kingdom; and forget not the late Anti-parliament indicted by the Rebels, whereof many should have been Members, who are now your Prisoners. The LORD Himself suggest these, and such other Arguments powerfully to your Honours in convenient Time, as may make you give Evidence to the World, that ye have neither neglected our LORD's Quarrel with His Enemies, nor have forgotten your own Interest in this Kirk and Kingdom; neither yet have disdained the earnest Suit and faithful Warning of,

Your Honours most humble Servants.

Errata Volume I.

Introduction page 23. line. 10. 1584 read 1545. p. 2. Bear r. Boar. p. 33. l. 19. Ounger r. Younger. p. 34. l. 4. abolished r. extinguished. p. 47. l. 23. Alexander r. George 2d. p. 62. l. 2. Campbell r. Caldel. p. 68. l. 7. Uncle r. Cousin. *idem* p. 76. p. 118. l. 24. Sir Andrew r. Sir David. p. 143. l. 5. à fine dele as heritably. p. 211. in notis ad finem, Garden r. Cambden. p. 219. l. 16. 1563 r. 1562. p. 321.

Volume II.

PAg. 2. l. 11. dele only. p. 56. l. 5. à fine, takes Boat r. to take Boat. p. 67. l. 10. metu r. motu. p. 69. l. 6. à fine, 1000 r. 10,000. p. 37. l. 11. on r. in. p. 261. l. 27. least r. last. p. 274. l. 21. untly r. Huntly. l. 3. à fine, both r. to both. p. 379. l. 21. 14,000 r. 10,000. p. 390. l. Lowdon r. London. p. 415. l. 5. his r. this. p. 439. l. 4. à fine, did stand r. did not stand. p. 449. l. 18. 1625 r. 1645. p. 475. l. Terny r. Ferny. p. 529. l. penult. ever r. never. p. 547. l. ult. Debtors r. Creditors. p. 564. l. 17. after Callender's insert Orders.

If there be any more typographical Mistakes, I hope the courteous Reader will amend them.



