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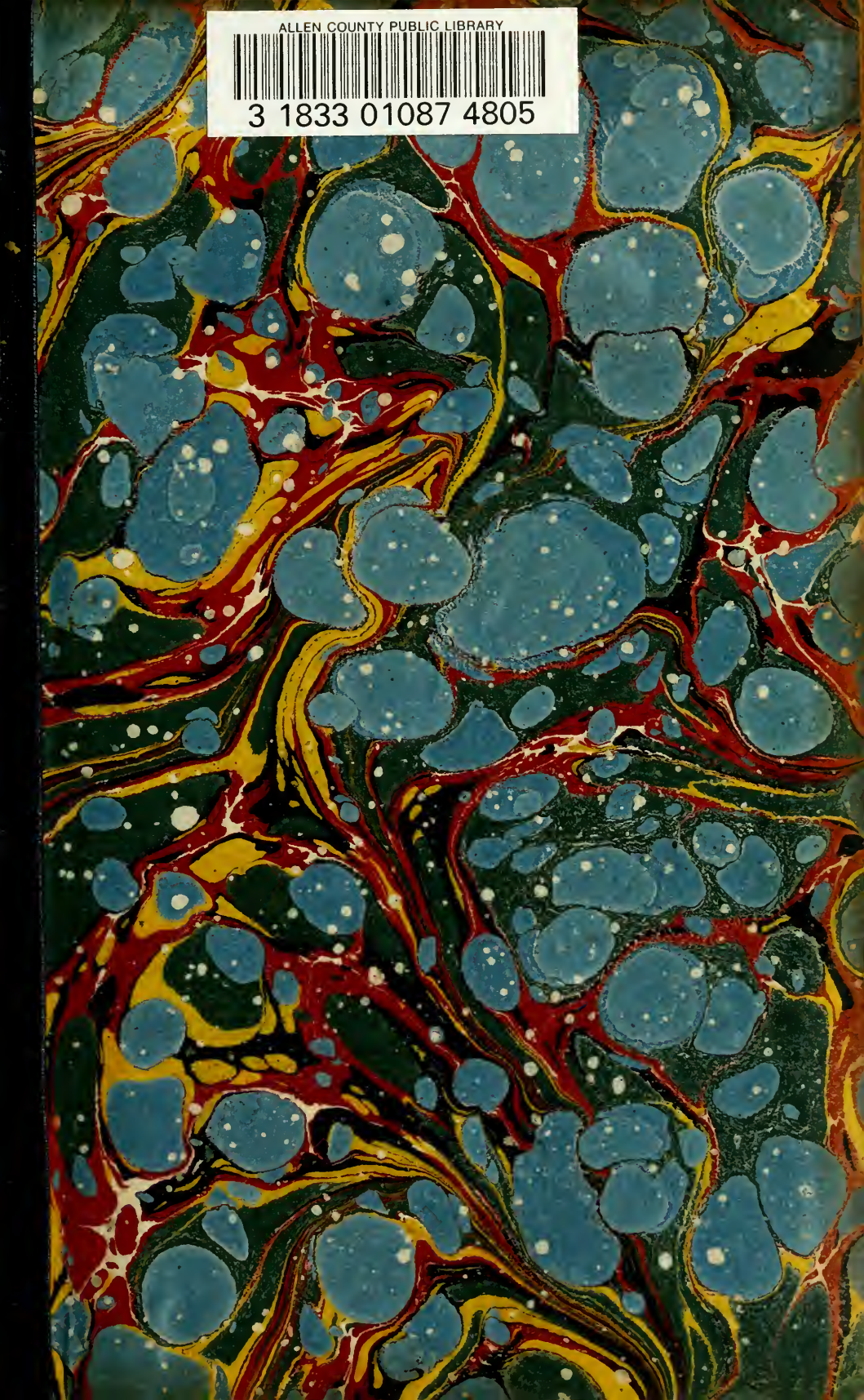
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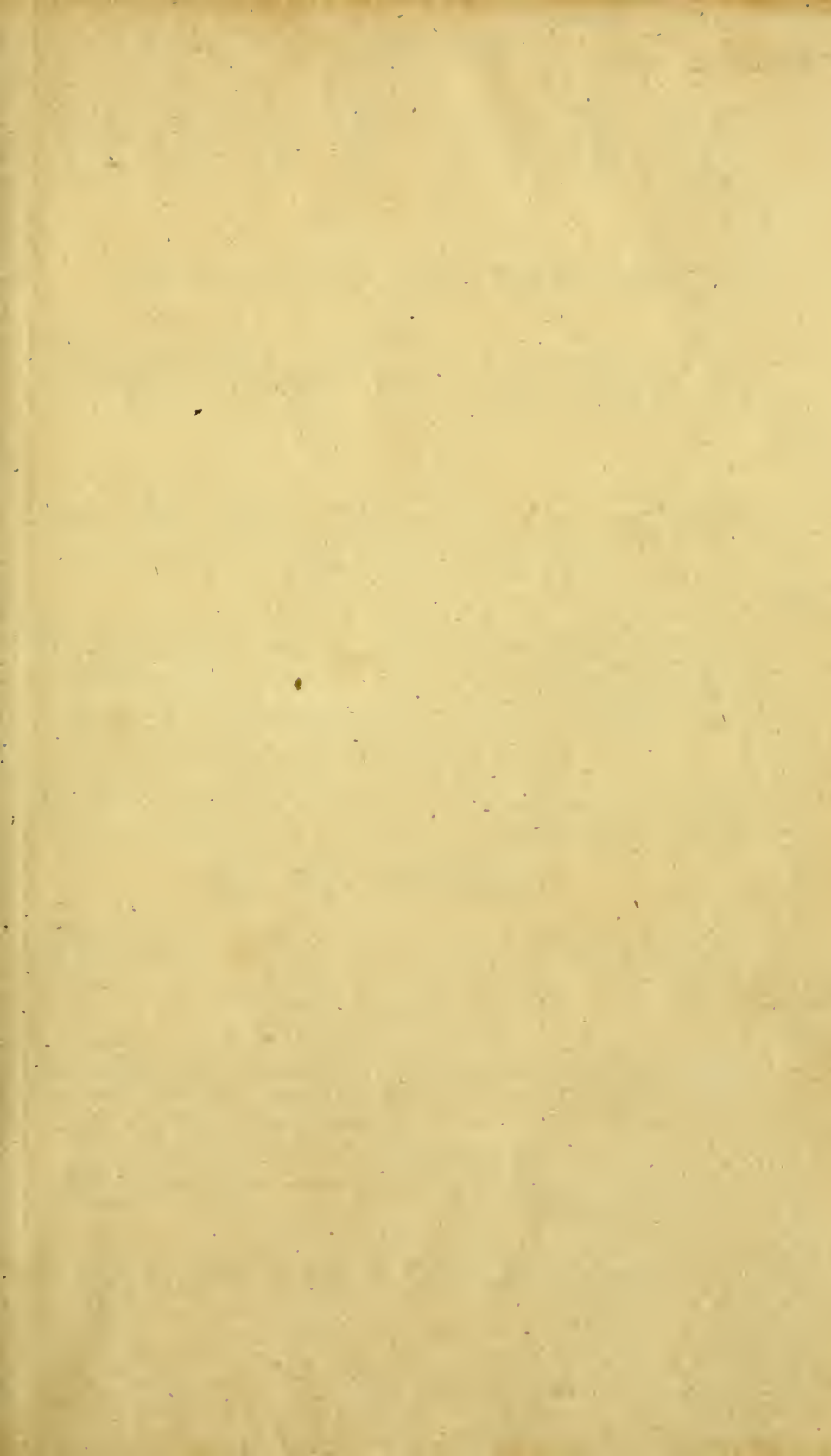
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T H E

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O F T H E

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F R O M

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Per fasces numerantur avi, semperque renata Nobilitate virent. Claud.

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Printed by Mr. THOMAS RUDDIMAN, for the AUTHOR, 1724.



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ALEXANDER

Duke of Gordon

Having been appointed by His Majesty
to the office of Lord Chamberlain
of the Household, I have the honor
to inform you that the same
will be in full force from the
first of January next.

Yours faithfully

I have pleasure to collect the
following list of your
noble and illustrious An-
cestors, and your Majesty to me

Handwritten. A 20.00 (2.15) 4-12-60
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To the High, Puissant, and Noble Prince

ALEXANDER,

Duke of GORDON,

Marquis of HUNTLY, Earl of HUNTLY
and ENZIE, Viscount of INVERNESS,
Lord Gordon of BADENOCH, LOCHA-
BER, STRATHAVIN, BALMORE, AUCH-
INDOWN, GARTLY, KINCHARDINE, &c.

May it please your GRACE,

I Have presumed to collect the
following History of your
noble and illustrious An-
cestors; and you having so na-
tural

iv DEDICATION.

tural and just a Title to it, I shall make no Apology for addressing of it to your Grace, or publishing it under your Protection. I acknowledge my self to be very unequal to such an Undertaking ; and if I have not put it into such a fine Dress as the Subject deserves, I hope your Grace will be so good as to pardon me. I have done it as well as I could, and with all the Faithfulness, Industry and Candour I was Master of ; and, *in magnis voluisse sat est*. The Motives that induced me to this Undertaking, were,

First, I could think on no other Way to express my Gratitude

DEDICATION. v

tude for the Favours and Countenance your Grace has been often pleased to honour me with, than to register, as it were, and preserve the Memory of the great, loyal and heroick Actions of your illustrious Ancestors. Family Pictures have always been in much Esteem, because they represent to us, the Face and Countenance of our Ancestors. A Family History is a Picture of their Minds, and represents to us the noble Qualities thereof, by which they were enabled and pusht forward to achieve great and heroick Actions; and so the one is as much to be preferr'd to the other, as the

vi *DEDICATION.*

Virtues of the Mind are to the Features of the Face.

The other Motive that inclin-
ed me to it, was, That I thought
it would be useful to remain in
your Grace's Family, to be often
looked into by your Posterity,
That it in some Measure may
contribute to raise in them a ge-
nerous Emulation to follow the
Example of their illustrious An-
cestors; yea even, if possible, to
exceed them in those loyal and
heroick Actions, which raised the
Family of *GORDON* to that
Height of Power, Honour and
Greatness, that long since it has
arrived at. And if this Histo-
ry can but have that Effect, had

I spent all my Life in collecting of it, I should be proud and think my Time and Labour well bestowed.

My Lord, If I should but give your Grace that Character which you with the greatest Justice can lay Claim to, I should by many be esteemed a Flatterer. I know your Grace's innate Modesty cannot admit of Flattery; and indeed, in my Opinion, Flatterers are the most dangerous Persons that can attend a great Man; for there is no Honour or Veracity in them, nor Truth or Honesty to be expected from them: and therefore I shall not presume to trouble

viii *DEDICATION.*

your Grace any longer, but only with the profoundest Submission, to beg that you would continue to be so good as to esteem me to be, what in the greatest Sincerity I am,

May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most dutiful,

most obedient, and

most faithful,

Humble Servant.

WILLIAM GORDON.



T H E

INTRODUCTION.

THE Histories of several noble Families of *Scotland* have been written by several Persons, who were either Relations of, or had some Concern in them; as the Family of *Douglas* by *Hume of Godscroft*, the History of the two first Dukes of *Hamilton* by *Dr. Burnet*: The first to vindicate them of the open Rebellions they were too often guilty of; the last to vindicate these two Dukes of the Under-hand Dealings with the Covenanters they were charged with. How far these Books have answered the Design of their Authors, I shall leave it to those who are pleased to read them to determine. The History of the Family of *Sutherland* by *Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston*, the History of *Drummond* by Lieutenant General *Drummond*, and by others, of several other Families. The two first are published
in

in Print, and the two last still remain in Manuscript.
And

I being sensible of the Obligations I owe to his Grace the present Duke of *Gordon*, for the Favours and Countenance, he has been often pleased to honour me with, thought my self bound in Gratitude to bestow some of my Time in collecting the following History of his noble and illustrious Ancestors, since their Arrival in *Scotland*, a long and conspicuous Race of Heroes, who for their Valour and Virtue, Loyalty to their Prince, and Piety toward their Country, are hardly to be paralleled, by any other Family in *Britain*, nor exceeded by any in *Europe*. Sure I am, there is none of them can make out such a numerous Catalogue of Heroes who died in the Field, valiantly fighting, or ended their Days on the Scaffold, for the Honour and Interest of their King and Country, with so great Magnanimity and Christian Resignation as they can do; as I hope will appear by the following History. *

There is nothing indeed can make a great Man really great, but Virtue (a). *Socrates* searching for the right Notion or Idea of true Virtue, found, *That of all ill Men, he is the worst, who can so artificially disguise his Wickedness, as to be esteemed and pass for a virtuous Man, and by that Means to enjoy all the Reputation and Credit which Virtue can give.* So on the other Hand, He must certainly be the most virtuous Man, whose Virtue is so perfect as to render him the Object of the Envy and Jealousy of all his Neighbourhood. And the so much admired *Cato*, being desired by one of his Captains, to ask at *Jupiter-*
Am-

(a) Socrat. apud Platon. Dial. 2. de Repub.

Ammon, what *Virtue* was? Answered, *That it was so well known, that it was needless to ask the Gods; for Virtue was, to will and desire, to do just and honest Things, whatever Success, good or bad, might attend the doing of it.* Seneca another famed Philosopher says of a virtuous Man (a), *Ab honesto nullâ re deterrebitur, ad turpia nullâ spe invitabitur.* And in another Place he says (b), *That a virtuous Man does all his Actions for Conscience sake, Nihil opinionis causa omnia conscientiaë faciam.* The Heathen Poets had the same Notion of *Virtue*; for Claudian says (c),

*Ipsa quidem virtus pretium sibi, solaque latè
Fortunæ securo nitet, nec fascibus ullis
Erigitur, plausuve petit clarescere vulgi.
Nil opis externæ cupiens, nil indiga laudis,
Divitiis animosa suis.*——

and Horace most elegantly describes a virtuous Man (d),

*Iustum, & tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida.*——

Tacitus says, *Bonos Imperatores voto expetendos, qualescunque tolerandos.* The wisest among the Heathens agreed unanimously in their Notion of *Virtue*: Nor were they mistaken; for in that the Christians do not differ from them. St. Augustine says (e), *He is much more virtuous who regards not the Opinion of Men,*

(a) Epist. 76. (b) De vita beata, cap. 20. (c) Consular. Mallii,
(d) Lib. 3. Ode 3. (e) De civitat. Dei, lib. 5. cap. 12.

Men, but is satisfied with the Testimony of his own Conscience.

Among the many Species of *Virtue*, there's none more glaring, nor makes a great Man more conspicuous, than *Piety* towards his *Country*. It was in the highest Esteem among the wisest of the ancient Heathens. It was that which made *Torquatus* condemn his own Son to Death, for fighting contrary to his Command, (he being General) altho' he had gained a Victory; judging the bad Example of despising the General's Authority might prove more prejudicial to his Country than the Victory his Son had gained would be advantageous to it. *Furius Camillus*, who had delivered his Country from the Fury of the *Vejentes*, its mortal Enemies; and yet being so ill requited for so good Service as to be banished, to satisfy the Envy of some of his Enemies, yet refused not in its last Extremities to rescue it again from the *Gauls*, *Mutius Scævola* thrust his Hand into the Flames, to punish it for not having seconded his Purpose to kill *Porfenna*, his Country's Enemy. *Curtius* threw himself, Horse and Arms, into the Gulph, to obey the Oracle which had intimated to the *Romans*, that they, for their Safety, should cast the best Thing they had into it. *Regulus*, *Marcus Pulvillus*, *Quintius Cincinnatus*, and many others, are extolled by the *Romans* with the greatest Praises, for their *Piety* and *Love* to their Country. Their Historians, Poets and Philosophers, are full of Proofs for this. *Fabius* instructing his Son, tells him, *That whatever Injury he or any Subject may happen to meet with from the Rulers of their Country, they should not be angry, nor conceive Revenge against it; because no Crime is more hainous than*

than that, nor will be more severely punished in another World, says the Poet (a).

*Famque hoc (ne dubites) longævi, nate, parentis
Accipe, & æterno fixum sub pectore serva :
Succensere nefas patriæ : nec fœdior ulla
Culpa sub extremas fertur mortalibus umbras.
Sic docuere senes. ———*

And Seneca to the same Purpose says, *That one should
choice to suffer Banishment, rather than to return to
his Country's Prejudice, to be revenged for the Injury
he has received from his particular Enemies. That his
Banishment was another's Crime, but to return to its
Hurt would be his own (b).*

————— *Melius exilium est tibi,
Quàm reditus iste : crimine alieno exulas,
Tuo redibis. ———*

Christians do not differ from the Heathens in their Esteem of this Virtue of *Piety*. They rank it among the first of those Duties we owe to our Neighbour. 'Tis commanded by the first Precept of the second Table of the Decalogue, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother*; under which Names no Christian but knows, or should know, that Rulers, Kings, and their subordinate Magistrates, are comprehended as our Fathers, and our Country as our Mother. When the Safety of these comes in Competition with the Safety of Subjects Lives, their Wives, Children, Estates,

(a) Silius Italicus, lib. 7. belli Punici. (b) In Thebaid.

Estates, or what's dearest to them in the World, they ought to venture all for the Safety of their KING and COUNTRY, their *Civil Father* and *Mother*. Christian Casuists make no Difficulty to determine, That a Man who seeing his Father and his own Child at the Point of starving for Want of Food, and he having but so small a Quantity as can only save one of their Lives, he is obliged (according to *Piety*) to prefer the Life of his Father to that of his own Child. How much more is he obliged to prefer the Safety of his King and Country to the Safety of whatsoever is dearest to him.

Christianity teaches Servants to be obedient, faithful and respectful to their Masters, tho' harsh and severe, and Children in like manner to their Parents, tho' of a froward Humor: How much more, if the King, the common Father, be of a froward Humor, are Christian Subjects bound to be faithful and dutiful to him? Nothing is more expressly enjoyn'd by the Apostles. The learned *Grotius* (a) has made it clearly appear, *That it is unlawful for Subjects to resist their Sovereign, by the Precepts of the Apostles, by the Judaical Law, and by the Civil Law.* And our learned Country-man *Barclay*, in that excellent Book of his, *Contra Buchananum & cæteros Monarchomachos*, has not only solidly refuted all those *Antimonarchical* Writers, and the Reasons by them adduced to prove it lawful for Subjects to resist their Sovereigns, but in like manner has answered all the frivolous Objections brought by them against the Doctrine of *Non-resistance*.

Which

(a) Lib. 1. cap. 4. de jure belli & pacis, per totum cap.

Which was the Doctrine that was both taught and practised univerſally in the Chriſtian Church in the primitive and pureſt Ages of it, as is manifeſt from the Writings of the Chriſtian *Apologiſts*. *Tertullian* plainly ſays, *That it was neither for Want of Power or Numbers, in Court or in Camp, in City or Country, that the Chriſtians peaceably ſubmitted to their perſecuting Emperors; and that the Chriſtian Religion taught them to give active Obedience to the lawful Commands of the ſupreme Magiſtrate, and to the unlawful, paſſive.* They choiced rather to loſe their Lives, than to reſiſt the ſupreme Powers. *Cum tam gravia perpetimur, ne verbo quidem reluctamur*, ſays *Lactantius* (a). And *St. Cyprian* (b), *Nemo noſtrum quando apprehenditur, reluctatur; nec ſe adverſus injuſtam violentiam veſtram quamvis nimius & copioſus noſter ſit populus, ulciſcitur.* But to this ſome of our *Anti-monarchical* Writers have replied, *That it was not for want of Will, but of Power, that theſe pious and primitive Chriſtians did not reſiſt thoſe perſecuting Heathen Emperors; notwithstanding that Tertullian, Lactantius, and the other Apologiſts, have told them the quite contrary.*

This is ſo bare-fac'd a Falſhood, and ſo contradictory to the whole of the Church Hiſtory, that I ſhould take no Notice of it, were it not that 'tis commonly made Uſe of to deceive thoſe who are neither acquainted with the Writings of the Fathers, nor the Hiſtory of the Church. I hope there are none who will reſuſe, that in *Constantine's* Time, and afterwards, the Court and Camp were made up of Chriſtians. Did any of them in *Julian* the Apoſtate's

(a) Lib. 5. (b) Ad Demetr.

state's Time, or in the Time of the *Arian* Emperors who were after him (I say, the Fathers of the Church in those Days) teach that it was lawful to resist those persecuting Emperors? No indeed. St. *Ambrose* (a) tells us what was then taught, and what Christians could do in Case of Persecution. When he and the Flock committed to his Care were persecuted by *Valentinus*, the Son of *Valentinian*, he says, *Coactus repugnare non novi, dolere potero, flere potero, gemere potero, adversus Milites, Gothos quoque, lachrymæ mea arma sunt, talia enim sunt munimenta sacerdotum: aliter nec debeo, nec possum resistere.* Now there was no Man of greater Courage in the Empire than this holy Father. He was a considerable Officer, and Governor of *Milan*, when he was elected Bishop of that City; and a Man of so great Christian Fortitude, that he stopt *Theodosius* the Great from entering the Church, till he had done Penance for the Massacre he had been guilty of at *Theffalonica*. *Nazianzenus* says (b), *That when Julian was endeavouring to ruin the Christians, he was kept back from it by their Tears, because that was the only Remedy against the Persecutor.* *Optatus* says (c), *There is not any Man above the Emperor.* *Chrysostome* says of the Emperor *Theodosius* (d), *That he was Top and Head of all Men upon Earth.* And *Cyril*, writing to *Theodosius* the younger, saith, *Unto your Excellency there is no State equal, much less superior.* I could bring innumerable Citations from the Writings of the ancient Fathers to this Purpose, were not what I have adduced sufficient to prove, that

(a) Lib. 5. Orat. in Auxen. (b) Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. cap. 4. (c) Lib. 3. (d) Homil. ad pop. Antioch.

that *Non-resistance* was universally taught and practised as a Part of the Christian Religion in the primitive Church, even when it was in their Power to have resisted, if they had thought it lawful. We have now indeed made up a Religion to our selves in many Things far different from that of the primitive Church. *Buchanan* was the first (for what I know) *Scotsman* that ever wrote, or publickly maintained, That it was lawful for Subjects to resist or dethrone their Princes. But I must confess that he has gotten too too many Followers or Disciples.

True it is, Kings and supreme Rulers should not provoke their Subjects to Wrath or Indignation, according to the Advice given by the Apostle to all sort of Fathers; for *Piety* is not only the Duty of Inferiors towards their Superiors, but that likewise of Superiors toward their Inferiors; and denominates the one *pious* as well as the other. But altho' it happen Superiors to fail in the Duty incumbent on them toward their Subjects, 'tis always *impious* in Subjects to be deficient in *Piety* towards their Superiors. For their mutual Obligations to one another proceed not from a Paction or Contract betwixt themselves, tying the one to be dutiful to the other, conditionally that the other be dutiful to him; but they proceed from the Ordinance and Law of G O D, commanding both to do their Duty in Obedience to his Will, independent of the one's Performance to the other. Wherefore as he would justly be thought an *unnatural* and *impious* Son who should be an unconcerned Spectator to the Attempts of any private Persons, against the Fortune, Fame, Life or Liberty of his Father, even tho' he had provoked him to Indignation, and dealt unkindly with him. In like manner, he cannot be a

b

dutiful

dutiful and loyal Subject, who is unconcerned at the Attempts of his Fellow-Subjects, or of Strangers, against his Sovereign, or the chief and supreme Rulers of his Country, upon whose Preservation his Country's Honour, Peace and Liberty so much depend. [*Attoniti jactura rei familiaris, salutem proditis Republicæ (a).*] And how much more impious and disloyal must he be, who concurs with disloyal Subjects against his Prince, even tho' disobliged by him.

This is very well declared by *Seneca (b)*, in these Words, *This unanimous Consent of Cities and People, in loving and defending their Kings, and in hazarding themselves and all they have, when ever the Safety of their Prince requires it, is not without good Ground. Nor is it self Contempt or Folly in so many Thousands to expose their Lives, and by so many Deaths to redeem the Life of one, sometimes a weak old Man. For as the whole Body is subservient to the Soul, and the Body being a Thing so sensible, great and comely, and the Soul hidden and remote from the Senses, it being uncertain in what Part of the Body it resides; yet the Hands, the Feet, the Eyes, are its Servants, the Skin covers it; by its Command we lye down to rest, or we run restless to and fro. If it be an avaritious Master, we search the Seas for Gain; if ambitious, we have long since thrust our Hands into the Fire, or voluntarily thrown our selves into a Precipice. In like manner this numberless Multitude environing one's Soul, is ruled by his Spirit, is plyed by his Reason, and would by its own Strength oppose, oppress, and bruise it self, unless it was supported by Counsel.*
Where-

(a) Pericles apud Thucydidem, lib. 2. (b) De Clementia, lib. 1. cap. 3.

Wherefore they love their own Safety, when they lead ten Legions into the Battle for one Man; when they rush into the first Ranks, and receive in their Breasts the Wounds from their Enemies, that their Prince's Army may not be vanquished. For he is the Bond or Knot which unites the Commonwealth. He is the vital Breath which so many Thousands respire, who would be nothing but a Burden to themselves, and a Prey to any, if that Soul of the State were taken away.

———Rege incolumi mens omnibus una :

Amisso rupere fidem.———

Therefore (concludes he) Kings and Princes, or by what Names soever the Defenders of the Commonwealth are called, 'tis no Wonder they are loved by the People above all their private Concerns: For if wise Men should prefer the publick Good to their private Good, it follows that he should be most dear to all upon whom the publick or common Good depends: For 'tis now sometime ago, that the Prince and People are so strictly linked together, that one cannot be separate from the other without the Ruin of both. For as the Prince has need of Strength and Power, so has the People of a Head. So far Seneca.

To which purpose Q. Curtius (a), speaking of Alexander, says, When you so eagerly expose your Body to manifest Dangers, you do not remember that you draw the Lives of so many People to be lost with you. And Lucan (b), of Cesar hazarding his Life in a little Boat :

b 2

Cum

*Cum tot ab hac anima populorum vita salusque
Pendeat, & tantus caput hoc sibi fecerit orbis,
Sævitia est voluisse mori.*—————

Plutarch says (a), 'tis the first or chief Action or Work of Virtue, to preserve him who preserves others. *Primum virtutis opus servare servantem cæteros.* And Cassiodorus says, *Servants do well, who by their own Death save their Master's Life; for their Conscience telling them, that they are bound to be faithful to their Masters, it seems agreeable to Reason, that they should prefer their Master's bodily Life to the Life of their own Body.* And again, *Out of Love therefore, and especially for the Safety of many, one may expose his own Body to Death.* *Regium nomen gentes, quæ sub Regibus sunt, pro Deo colunt,* says Curtius. And Artabanus the Persian, among many good Laws we have this (b), *That the King is to be honoured and adored as the Image of G O D, Conserver of all Things.*

If Subjects, according to what all wise Men judge, be bound so strictly to respect, and be careful of the Safety of their Sovereign above the Safety of all what's dearest to them; how hainously must they be *impious* who either hurt him in his Person or Reputation. Solomon, the wisest of Men, forbids, by an express Precept, Subjects to think an ill Thought of their King; and tho' he had in that same Chapter been speaking of bad Kings, yet he would have Subjects (c) to have so great a Regard
to

(a) Pelopidæ initio. (b) Apud Plutarch. in Themist. (c) Eecl. cap. 10. v. 20. /

to them, as not to harbour an ill Thought of them. In that Law which the Almighty gave to the *Israelites*, the Command is express, not to speak ill of the Kings or supreme Rulers (a); *Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the Ruler of thy People*. In which Precept (as the learned *Grotius* observes) the special mentioning of *supreme Powers*, shews that there is something specially commanded: For it is not lawful to accuse a private Man of Faults he is not guilty of, therefore People should abstain from accusing of the King, or blaming him even for Faults he is really stained with. *Noah* was truly naked, yet *Cham* was *impious*, and therefore accursed for telling of it even to his Brethren; and they were blessed for concealing of it even from their own Eyes. Now if the King should not be hurt by Thought nor Word, how much less by Deed. *Horrendum est* (says *Josephus* speaking of *David*) *Regem, quamvis malum, interficere; pœnam enim id facienti imminere ab eo qui Regem dedit*.

Yet altho' all these Obligations of *Piety* towards the chief Rulers of the Country be so clear, so expressly enjoined by the Almighty in the Old and New Testament, so much commended and recommended by the wisest of the Heathens, so exactly practised by the primitive Christians towards Heathen Princes; Princes who had not one Spark of *Piety* towards so dutiful Subjects, but on the contrary, drench'd all the Places of their Dominions, and vigorously endeavoured their utter Destruction: Yet, I say, the World has been still plagued with *impious* People who pretend to be Christians, and to take the Scri-

(a) Exod. cap. 22. ver. 28.

ptures for their only Rule, still rebelling and revolting against their lawful Princes, cloaking their Rebellion with the Pretence of *Religion* and *Piety* towards *G O D*, dethroning and murdering their Kings, ruining their Country, oppressing their Fellow-Subjects, depriving them of their Goods, of their Liberties, of all the Comforts of their native Country, and of their Lives too. Now if this be not an open, impious and profane mocking of *G O D* and Religion, I don't know what is, or how it is possible to mock either of them; and therefore from such Christians, *libera me, Domine.*

In such Torrents of *Impiety*, those Subjects must certainly be very vigorous in the contrary Virtue, who are not hurried along with their Impetuosity, but persevere in their Duty, and resist to the utmost of their Power. And as one who should choice to lose his Life to preserve that of his Father or Mother, would be a Martyr of *Piety*; (for every Virtue may have its own Martyrs, when one chooses rather to die than to violate its Obligations, or act contrary to it) much more would he be a Martyr of this Virtue, who should choice to lose his Life for the Safety of his King and Country; and if he be unstained with other Crimes, or die truly penitent for them, he cannot miss a Martyr's Reward. ✕ Now there is no noble Family in *Britain* can with better Grounds and clearer Evidences lay Claim to this Virtue of *Piety* towards their Country, and *Loyalty* to their Prince, than the Family of *G O R D O N*: Ever since it has been conspicuous among the *Noble Families* in *Scotland*, none of them can furnish such a numerous List of Martyrs, for their *Loyalty* towards their King and Country, as it can do. ✕ And I'm hopeful, by the following

owing History, to make it very clearly appear that there was never one of the Heads of that Family that drew their Sword against their Sovereign, from their first coming to *Scotland*.

I have seen and perused four Manuscript Histories of the Family of *Gordon*; The *First* was writ in *Latin* by *John Ferrerius*, a Native of *Piedmont*. He came to *Scotland*, and lived a Monk in the Abbay of *Kinlofs* in *Murray*, and there he wrote the History of that Family *Anno 1584*. He says he wrote it from the Records and Registers then kept in the religious Houses of *Scotland*. But he has been very careless and negligent in his Search; for surely he never did see the Chartulary of *Kelso*, in which there are a good many Charters to be seen of Lands given by the Family of *Huntly* to that Abbacy before *Robert I.*'s Time: None of which he takes any Notice of; which he would certainly have done, had he known of them. That History is very short and superficial, and comes no further down than the Year *1545*; it may be printed in less than two Sheets of Paper, and so must be very defective, as indeed it is.

The *Second* was writ by Sir *Robert Gordon* of *Gordonston*, entitled, *The History of the Families of Gordon and Sutherland*. He was second Son of, and Tutor to the last nam'd Family, and he is much larger on it than on the Family of *Gordon*. 'Tis a pretty large *Folio*. The Copy I had is in close Writ, and is in the Possession of the present Sir *Robert Gordon* of *Gordonston*, great Grandchild to the Author. It is a very fine History, and contains many great Transactions in the Highlands of *Scotland*; not to be found in any printed History of this Nation, and deserves very well to be made more publick. He brings down

the History of these two Noble Families to the Year 1630, or thereabout. I shall have an Occasion to give a more full Account of this fine Gentleman in the following History.

The *Third* was writ in *Latin* by Mr. *Robert Gordon* of *Straloch*, a Gentleman eminent for Virtue and Learning, and highly respected by all who knew him; and he is yet well known by his Geographical Maps of *Scotland*. He wrote this History of the Family of *Gordon* when he was very old, and ends it very abruptly about the Year 1594, when he himself was but a Youth. His old Age, and the Situation of his Dwelling, hindred him from searching into the Registers and publick Records; so that it is in many Things very defective. But what we have of it is very well done, and deserves the greatest Credit; for he was a Gentleman of the strictest Veracity. But more of him hereafter.

The *Fourth* was written (as I am told) by one Mr. *Burnet*, a Priest of the *Romish* Church, who lived in *Scotland* in King *James VII.*'s Time; and I'm sorry I can give no further Account of him, only I've been told he was a *Mearns* Gentleman. He has been honest, loyal, and a Man of good Learning. He entitles his History, *The Pourtrait of true Loyalty exposed in the Family of Gordon*, without Interruption, to this present Year 1691, with a Relation of the Siege of the Castle of *Edinburgh* in the Year 1689; and here he ends his History. And as he continues it much further than any of the former Authors I have mentioned, so he is more exact and full than any of them; yet in many Things, even of Moment, he is very defective, and gives but a very lame Account of what happened to the Family of *Gordon* in the

the Time of the Rebellion against *Charles I.* and *II.* It appears he did never see Sir *Robert Gordon's* Manuscript History, nor has he at all looked into the Registers or Records, and so behaved to be guilty of many Omissions. He seems to have been pretty well acquainted both with the *Scots* and *English* Historians; but being an intire Stranger to our Registers, has with them fallen into a good many Chronological Mistakes.

These forenamed Authors have been great Helps to me in compyling the following History; nay, it would have been a very hard Task, if practicable at all, to have done it without them, considering that the most ancient Papers of that noble Family, are now not to be seen, being taken away when it had almost been ruined with their Prince *Charles I.* and are not as yet recovered. Notwithstanding all these Helps were so defective that I found my self obliged to search into all the publick Records and Registers I had Access to, as also to consult all our *Scots* and many foreign Historians, who treat of *Scots* Affairs. I have also been much assisted by several Manuscripts I have procured, and shall mention in their proper Places; and from those Historians and Manuscripts have I collected the following History, with all the Impartiality and Candour I was capable of. I have advanced I think no Matter of Fact for which I give not a sufficient Voucher. If I have been by them led astray, they must bear the Blame of it. I have been in several Places obliged to narrate the Faults, Crimes and Failings of some great Men. I have fixed nothing upon them for which I have not given sufficient Authority. I acknowledge it was the most unpleasant Part of my Task, and
would

would willingly have forborn it, had not the Veracity incumbent upon all Historians required, and that excellent Rule of *Cicero*, *Ne quid falsi audeat dicere Historicus, ne quid veri non audeat*, (which I always resolved strictly to follow) commanded it. And so I hope the candid and impartial Reader will easily pardon me for it.

When I at first resolved to write this History I intended to have restricted it to the History of the Family of *Gordon* only; but when I came to look more narrowly into it, I found the Heads of that illustrious Family so much and so deeply concerned in all the great Transactions of the Nation, and the History of the one so linked with the other, that it was impossible to separate them, or to give any tolerable Account of the one, without intermixing the History of the other; and therefore, with the History of that Family, I have given a short Account of all the memorable Transactions of this Nation, from the Year 1300 to the Year 1690, which is about 400 Years, collected as above, with all the Exactness that the Brevity I have prescrib'd my self will allow. It has indeed swell'd this Work to a much greater Bulk than I at first intended. But then I hope it will render it much more pleasant, profitable and useful to the Reader, especially since we have scarce any printed History of the Nation since the Death of King *James VI.* that deserves much Regard. As for the History of *Montrose's* Wars, I have all imaginable Regard and Respect to the Memory of the excellent and very reverend Author of it, but must beg Leave to say, That it is rather a Panegyrick upon *Montrose* than a History of the Nation; and he has fallen into some Mistakes that

that I will be obliged to take Notice of. Bishop *Guthry's* Memoirs as printed, are very defective, and in several Things wrong, as I will be obliged also to notice in its own Place. As for Bishop *Burnet's* secret History of his own Time, it is sufficiently examined by others already, so I shall take little Notice of it. *Spang*, a Presbyterian Preacher, wrote in Latin a History of the Troubles in *Charles I's* Time, entituled, *Historia motuum in Scotia*. He wrote it in *Holland*, where he lived, from Hearsay; and 'tis full of gross Errors, as the learned *Stralock*, in a Manuscript of his by me, makes clearly appear. Indeed that learned Gentleman wrote a full and excellent History of the Troubles in those Times, from the Year 1636, to the Restoration 1660; but, to the Nation's Loss, it is now lost. All that I after the narrowest Search among the Friends of that Family was able to recover of it, was so much as contains the History of 1637, 38, 39, and a Part of 40, and those few Years take upwards of 90 Sheets of Paper in close and small Write; and what we have of it, is wrote with such Candour and Judgement, that if it had not been lost it would have made up an excellent History.

The only History we have of that Time, of any Value is, *Pere Monteith de Salmonet*, a Scots Man, and once Minister at *Duddisston*: But he went to *France* in the Time of those Troubles, and became Secretary to Cardinal *de Retz*, and there wrote that History in the Language of that Nation. 'Tis a very full and good History, but of little Use to the most Part of *Scotland*, they being Strangers to the *French* Language.

Altho the Stile of the following History be rude and unpolished, I hope it will be intelligible, and may
be

be excused, as being the best I could frame. If Meat be wholesome and savory, a good Stomach likes it best without Sauce. If Truth be clear and uncontroversed, some like it better in its native Beauty, than in the extrinsick Ornaments of Phrases and Language, (a) *Multum operæ impendi verbis non oportet. Hæc sit propositi nostri summa, quod sentimus loquamur, quod loquimur sentiamus : non delectent verba nostra, sed prosint : si fieri posset, quid sentiam ostendere quàm loqui malle.*

The following History is to consist of two Volumes, the first contains the History of that illustrious Family, from the first of that Name who came into *Scotland* with *Malcolme III.* (which *Ferrerus* makes to be about the Year 1061) to the Death of *George 5th Earl of Huntly, Anno 1576,* containing also a History of the most remarkable Transactions of the Nation, from *Robert I.* to that Time, to which is subjoined an Appendix, containing the Papers referred to in this first Volume.

The second Volume, which will be very soon published, begins where the first ends, *Anno 1576,* and continues the History of that illustrious Family from that Time, to the Surrender of the Castle of *Edinburgh,* by the late Duke of *Gordon, Anno 1689,* being the Space of 113 Years; not a long Time, but a Time in which two sovereign Princes, *Queen Mary,* and her Grandson *Charles I.* were barbarously murdered, the first by a foreign and cruel Prince, and the last by his own unnatural and rebellious Subjects. In this Time both Church and State suffered very horrible Convulsions, and both came to be buried in a
Chaos

(a) Seneca Epist. 75.

Chaos of Confusion. This is also a very dark Part of our History, occasioned by the Penury of printed Histories (as I have formerly noticed.) However I have, with a good deal of Industry, made myself Master of several Manuscripts, which has given me a great deal of Light into several considerable Parts of our History, not known to, or at least not taken Notice of by any of our former Historians; and in fine I have endeavoured, with all the Exactness and Fidelity that I am Master of, to make it as useful for my Country as it was in my Power to do. I have subjoined to that Volume a short *Genealogical Account* of the principal Families of the Name of *Gordon*; and if I have erred in any Part of this, I shall name those who have led me astray, and let them bear the Blame of it. I can say I have done it without the least Byass to any Family: I wish the Prosperity of all of them; and if I have been in the Wrong to any Family, I think in Justice I may expect to be excused, and let the Blame ly on themselves, for not giving me better Information; since my Design of publishing this History, was communicated to most, if not all of them, some Time ago.

NOTA

NOTA.

THrough Inadvertency 'tis said, Page 99. of the foregoing History, *That the Successors of Alexander 3d Earl of Huntly, are to this Day heritable Sheriffs of Inverness*; which is a Mistake; for the heritable Sheriffships of *Aberdeen* and *Inverness* were resigned to King *Charles I.* by the Lord *Gordon*, with Consent of his Father the Marquis of *Huntly*, Anno 1629, as shall be shown in its own Place, Volume 2d.

This is the only Mistake I am sensible of in this Volume; but if there be any other, I shall be obliged to any discreet Person that will in a mannerly Way acquaint me of it, and I shall endeavour to correct it in the 2d Volume, which is now ready for the Press.

Some of the Papers referred to, and inserted in the Appendix, are wrong numbred; but that is what the candid Reader will easily perceive, and can help with his Pen, as he may also any small typographical Errors he may find in his reading of the Book.







T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
I l l u s t r i o u s F a m i l y
O F
G O R D O N .

† Sir *Adam Gordon* of HUNTLY.

JOH N FERRERIUS of *Piedmont*, who lived a great part of his Time a Monk in the Abbay of *Kinlofs* in *Murray*, and was esteemed a Man of no mean Learning for these Times ; he had seen (he says) many of the ancient Papers and Manuscripts then extant; from which he did write a Supplement to *Boethius*

A

his

his History of *Scotland*, as also a short History of the Name of *GORDON*, which he intitles, *Historiæ compendium de origine & incremento Gordonix familie in Scotia, apud Kinlofs, Anno 1545*; and that at the Desire of Mr. *William Gordon*, Kinsman and Secretary to the then Earl of *Huntly*, faithfully collected out of the antient MSS. and Registers kept in Abacies at that Time.

† From him we learn, that amongst these valiant Captains who assisted *Malcolm III. King of Scotland*, against the *English*, about the Year 1057, was one *Gordon*, whose Christian Name is not known. He sometime before had killed a fierce Bear that much wasted the Country near the Forest or Wood of *Huntly*. This Gentleman being conspicuous both for his Prudence and Valour, was much in Favour with King *Malcolm*, who generously, as a Reward of his Merit, bestowed upon him the Lands of *Gordon* and *Huntly*: And that the Memory of so remarkable an Action, as the killing of that Bear, might be transmitted to Posterity, the King would have him carry in his Banner three Bears Heads, Or, in a Field Azure. He also at this Time got the Lands of *Stitchel* and other Lands in the *Merse*, which continued in the Family of *Huntly* for upwards of 500 Years afterwards; and a great Part of the Superiorities of these Lands belong to the Family of *Gordon* to this Day. *Ferreri*us says, That that Gentleman called himself by the Name of the Lands: Which to me seems a gross Mistake; and I shall endeavour to make it at least much more probable, that he gave these Lands his own Name, and did not take his Name from them, by the following Reason.

Both

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 3

Both sacred and profane Histories inform us, that there was nothing more ordinary than to call Lands by the Names of the Possessors, and not the Possessors by the Name of Countries or Lands by them possessed : And that there were many of that Name divers Hundreds of Years before the Time specified by *Ferrarius*, and some of them very remarkable (as is clear from several foreign Historians of undoubted Credit) both in *France* and *Flanders*.

Cesar in his *Commentaries de bello Gallico, Lib. 5.* mentions a People amongst the *Nervii* call'd *Gorduni* ; and *Ferrarius* in his *Lexicon Geographicum* says, *Gordoni populi Galliae Belgicae fuere.* He makes them to be Inhabitants of the Country about *Ghent*, and adds, that the City of that Name belonged to them. *Sir Robert Gordon* of *Gordonston* in his MS. History of the Families of *Gordon* and *Sutherland*, says, *That about the Year 800, Charles the Great conquered Britanny, by his High Constable the Duke de Gordoun, and that he brought the Princes of that Country, which he had conquered, Prisoners to Aix la Chapel, where the King then resided.* The History of the Constables of *France*, printed at *Paris, Anno 1658*, tells us, *That Gordoun de Beuland, Son to Emerie de Beuland, was Constable of France in the Reign of Lewis Debonair, Anno 820.* The forecited Author *Gordonston* says, *That when he wrote, there was a Viscount de Gordoun in France, who derived his Pedigree from that Duke de Gordoun ; and said, That they had a Tradition, that they originally came from a City in Macedonia called Gordonia.* Of which Town *Stephanus* makes Mention in his Book *de urbibus*, as does *Ptolemy* in his *Geographicks* ; and to this Day there is a Viscount *de Gordoun* in *France*.

Mr. Robert Gordon of Straloch, in his History of the Gordons, says, *That Colonel John Gordon (who was one of those who killed General Volstein) told him, That he was intimately acquainted with several Gentlemen of that Name in Tyrol, who inhabited that Country about the Foot of the Alps, and that they affirmed they originally came from that City in Macedonia; and that it was from thence that all those in France or Britain came, who are of that Name. Sed quis rem tam veterem, &c. In priscis rebus veritas non ad unguem quærenda est, says Diodorus Siculus.*

The most probable Conjecture, I can yet find in that Matter is, That the Gordons came originally from France into Scotland, and that before or about William the Conqueror's Time, as did the Bruces, Baliols, &c. and 'tis not improbable first into England, where the first Scots Gordon might get the Acquaintance of Malcolm III. and come with him to Scotland. That the Gordons were considerable in France, is past all Controversy: The French and English Historians relate *, That that Richard I. of England was killed by Bertram de Gordoun, and that he told Richard he did it to revenge the Death of his Father Roger, and two of his Brothers, that had been killed by him. And Rymer's *Fœdera Angl.* put it beyond all Controversy, that about that Time there were Men of very great Consideration in France of the Name of Gordon. *Vid.* Append. N. 1. By all which it appears to me pretty evident, That Ferrerius has been in a Mistake, when he said, *That the first Scots Gordon took his Name from the Lands given him.* If he had

* Baker, p. 65. Speed, p. 545, Anno 1109.

Had consulted the *French* and *English* Historians, he had never fallen into that Mistake, and had rather said, That he gave his Name to these Lands. But to return home :

What by the barbarous Cruelty of *Edward I.* of *England*, and the unaccountable Method that was taken in the carrying on of our Reformation in *Scotland*, the antient Records of this Nation were for the most part lost, which makes our History very defective ; so that I can find nothing remarkable concerning the Family of *Gordon*, from *Malcolm III.* to *Alexander II.* his Time. There are to be found several Charters of Donations in the Chartulary of *Kelso* by different Persons of the Family of *Gordon*, to that Ab-bacy ; but none of them having Date, or Witnesses Names (except the last,) I cannot take upon me to fix a certain Date to them : But it appears to me that most, if not all of them (except the last) are anterior to *Robert I.* I have taken them from the Copy of that Chartulary in the Advocates Library, and insert them in the Appendix, *Vid. N. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12* ; as also some other Collections from *Rymer's Fæd. Vid. N. 13.* *Ferrerius* says, *That during this Time it continued, to its great Praise and Commendation, most loyal and dutiful to its Princes.* His Words are, *A Malcolmi vero tertii ætate ad Alexandri II. Regis tempora, annos plus minus du-centos, magna cum laude stetit familia Gordoniorum of-ficiosissima suis regibus.*

I have an old MS. before me, written by one *John Gordon*, Son to *George Gordon* of *Prony*, that says, *That the first Gordon who got the Lands of Long-Gordon from Malcolm III. his Name was Sir Adam Gordon, and that he died valiantly fighting at*

the Siege of Anwick, where King Malcolm was killed. This *Adam* was succeeded by his Son *Adam*, who also died valiantly fighting against the *English*, in Defence of his own Lands and the Borders of *Scotland*, and was succeeded by his Son *Robert Gordon of Huntly*, who was succeeded by *Alexander Gordon of Huntly*; in whose Time *Alexander I.* was attack'd by sundry Traitors, conveyed into his Bed-chamber in the Night by the Gentleman of his Bed-chamber: The King slew Six of them and the Chamberlain, the rest fled, and Sir *Alexander* was sent with a Party of chosen Men in Pursuit of them, with whom he killed some of these Traitors, and others he brought Prisoners to the King, who bestowed on him, as the Reward of his good Service, the Lands of *Stitchel* in the *Merse*. He had two Sons, Sir *William*, and *Robert*, who got the Lands of *Stitchel* from his Father, and married the Heirefs of *Lochinvar*; of whom the noble and antient Family of *Kennure* is descended.

This Account of that Family is neither full nor exact; for I find in the Chartulary of *Kelso*, *Charta Richardi de Gordon*, *Charta Aliciæ de Gordon filia Thomæ*, *Charta Thomæ junioris*, &c. all which I have insert in the Appendix. Now all these living in the Time betwixt *Malcolm III.* and *Robert I.* he not mentioning any of them, his Enumeration must be very lame and defective; and by all Probability there must have been more of them than these mentioned by the above-cited MS. from *Malcolm III.* to *Robert I.* being about 250 Years: For brave Men (as no Doubt they were) in that Part of the Nation which they inhabited, did not commonly live to a great old Age.

Alexander

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 7

Alexander II. sent over to the Assistance of *Lewis IX.* King of *France* 1000 Soldiers under the Command of several great Officers, among whom was * *Sir William Gordon* of *Huntly*. He died in *Africa* in that Expedition. But before he went abroad, not having Children, he disposed of his Estate, appointing his second Brother *Adam* to succeed him, and to his younger Brother *Robert* he gave the Lands of *Stitchel*, who married a Lady in *Galloway* that was an Heiress, by whom he got considerable Lands; and of him is lineally descended that noble and loyal Family of *Kenmure*. *Adam*, the Brother of *Sir William*, lived but a few Years after him; he died peaceably at home, and was succeeded by his Son

Sir ADAM GORDON.

WHICH *Adam* was concerned in the Barons Wars in *England*, against *Henry III.* and his Son *Edward I.* After the Battle of *Eviskam*, *Somersetshire* was invaded by a great Number of *Welshmen*, commanded by one *Sir William Berklay*, who after having wasted much of the Country, approached to the Castle of *Dumfrye*, and encamped at a Place called *Munbered*. But *Adam Gordon* Captain of the Castle, opposed himself to them, and overthrew them with a great Slaughter, where most of them were killed, and the rest, with their Captain, were drowned in the Flight. The *Supplement* of *Matthew Paris* calls this Man *Sir Adam Gordon*, and says, *That he fought a single Combat with Edward then Prince of Wales, and afterwards Edward I. of England.* On this Occasion *Sir Adam* being on the Barons Part in that War, and a

* *Straloch.*

Man of great Courage, had always with him a Band of very resolute Soldiers, and being encamped betwixt *Fernam* Castle and the Village of *Aulton*, the Report of his Valour and Courage daily increasing, the Fame thereof came to Prince *Edward's* Ears, who thereupon desired to try his Fortune with him, and so marched with a strong Company against him. Sir *Adam*, with equal Courage, made himself ready to meet him, and advancing before the rest of his Company, was espied by Prince *Edward*, who thereupon commanded his Men to stand, and not to interrupt their Combate Hand to Hand, which presently ensued, and continued long with uncertain Victory; neither of them yielding to the other, till at last the Prince being much delighted with the Courage of Sir *Adam*, while fighting, he perswades him to yield to him, and that he would forgive him what was past, and very much advance his Fortune, to which (he dreading the Weakness of his own Faction then almost overthrown) yielded, submitting himself to the Prince, who very honourably received and rewarded him. *Daniel*, the *English* Historian, mentions this amongst the very first and greatest of that Prince's Actions.

* This *Adam Gordon* lived in the Time of King *Robert I.* but by *Rymer's Fæd.* it would appear that at first he sided with the *Baliol*: But perceiving what unworthy Steps he was making to bring his native Country under the Servitude of a foreign Nation, he changed Sides, and heartily joined with the *Bruce*, to free his Nation from the Tyranny and Slavery of the King of *England*, which the *Baliol* and his Accomplices had tamely and shamefully submitted to. And *K. Robert* who by long Experience well understood the Value of martial

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 9

martial and brave Men, did favour him much; and in Token of the Esteem he had for him, dignified him with the Order of Knighthood, a Prerogative in those Times granted to none but those who had signalized their Valour in Feats of Arms; and not, as now, given to mean and dastardly Spirits for Money. X

While the *Cummings*, a powerful and numerous Tribe, and close Adherers to the *Baliol*, were opposing King *Robert* with open Arms; Sir *Adam Gordon* accompanies him to the North of *Scotland*, where the *Cummings* were most strong, and at a Place called now *Sliach*, near the little River of *Bogie*, did bravely defend the King (who by reason of his Sickness, was then carried in a Litter to the Field) and drove away the Rebels; who yet made Head again with all the Forces they could get together, and strongly encamped themselves on the Hill of *Barra*, where the Vestiges of their Trenches are yet to be seen. King *Robert* still followed them, attended by Sir *Adam Gordon*, and pitched his Camp at a little Town called *Inverurie*, about a Mile and a half from his Enemy's Camp; from whence, tho' not yet recovered of his Health, he marched, attacked them in their Camp, forced their Trenches, and obtained so complete a Victory over them, that they never thereafter were able to appear in Arms against him in the open Field.

In Recompence of this good Service, and to enable him to perform the like, or more afterwards, the King bestowed on him the large and fertile Lordship of *Strabogie*, (on the two Rivers of *Dovern* and *Bogie*; from the last of which it takes its Name) fallen now into the King's Hands, by the Forfeiture of *David Cuming*, called *David de Strabogie*. This

Donation is mentioned in the Confirmation of the same, by *David* the Son, and Successor of King *Robert*, and by *Robert II.* his Grandson by *Marjory Bruce* his eldest Daughter, as I shall observe afterwards. In these Lands, of *Strabogie*, did Sir *Adam* fix his Residence, and obtained from (a) the Parliament holden at *Perth*, Anno 1311, That this his new Inheritance should be called *Huntly*, as it is called in Writings and publick Instruments, altho' amongst the Vulgar it retains the old Name of *Strabogie*. Sir *Adam* died soon thereafter, Anno 1312; after whose Death, his Lady built the Chapel of *Huntly* in the *Merse*, where his Predecessor kill'd the wild Bear. Sir *Robert Gordon* in his MS. History says, That Sir *Adam Gordon* assisted Sir *William Wallace*, as long as he lived; as did a very valiant Man, *John Gordon*, in all *Wallace's* most dangerous Exploits. He was natural Son to Sir *John Gordon* of *Stitchel*, and was made by *Wallace* Captain of *Wigtoun*; and of him are descended the *Gordons* who dwell about that Place. Sir *Adam* left three Sons behind him, *Alexander*, *Robert* and *John*, and was succeeded by the eldest of them

ALEXANDER GORDON of Huntly.

ALEXANDER succeeded him not only in his Inheritance, but also in his Martial Courage and Prudence, in which he had been carefully educated by his Father, and of which he gave a signal Proof two Years thereafter at that famous Battle of *Bannockburn*, fought upon this Occasion. After the Death of *Edward I.* of *England*,
King

(a) Burnes's MS. Hist. Penes D. Gordon pag. 34.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. II

King Robert of Scotland made many Incurfions into England, and ravaged and plundered the whole North of it, as far as York, carrying off always much Plunder, and many Prifoners; and now he was befieging the Caſtle of *Stirling*, by his Brother Prince *Edward*, defended by that valiant Knight *Philip Moubray*, which he had condeſcended to ſurrender, if not relieved by an appointed Time. Therefore, to revenge the Damages done by King Robert in England, and to raiſe the Siege of that Caſtle, King *Edward* raiſed a very numerous Army, compoſed not only of *Engliſh*, but alſo of many Strangers, from *Ireland*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Picardie* and *Bul-loigne*, (a) *Gasconie*, *Normandie* and *Aquitaine*, who brought their Wives and Families along with them, being promiſed great Riches and Poſſeſſions in *Scotland*; and to theſe not a few perfidious *Scots*, yet adhering to the Intereſt of *England*, did join; ſo that our (b) *Scots* Hiſtorians make this Army to conſiſt of no fewer than 150000 Foot, and as many Horſe. The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians will not allow that Army to be ſo numerous, and make them only to be 100000, but allow King Robert's Army ſcarce to be 30000. *Baker* (c) ſays, That the *Engliſh* Army conſiſted of Men fitter for the Court than the Camp. Many Men and great Bravery, fitter to take Spoils, than make Spoils. (d) *Speed* ſays, *They ſeem'd rather to be going to a Wedding than a Battle, having adorn'd themſelves with all Sorts of Riches, Gold and Silver.* In the *Scots* Army there were few or no Horſe; and there-

(a) The Battle of Bannockburn. (b) *Leſly*, pag. 252. *Boeth.* pag. 313. (c) *Baker*, pag. III. (d) *Speed*, pag. 671.

therefore that valiant Prince, that he might not be overpowered by the *English* Cavalry that were so numerous, caused, in the Silence of the Night, dig Ditches betwixt the Armies, and stuck in them Spikes of Timber, sharpned at the End, of about three Foot long, covering them slightly over with Twigs and Turf, so that the Foot might easily pass over. The *English* Army thinking themselves sure of a Victory, spent the whole Night before the Battle in Drinking and Revelling; but the *Scots* spent it in their Devotions, and making due Preparations for the Work of the next Day.

The *English* Cavalry advancing in a great Body to attack the *Scots*, fell into the Ditches prepar'd for them, which put them into utter Confusion, and much disordered their whole Army, and King *Robert* soon perceiving it, immediately attacked them vigorously, with the whole Strength of the *Scots* Army, which they not being able to withstand, took themselves to Flight. This was the greatest Battle ever fought in *Britain*. The *Scots* Historians say, there were 50000 common Soldiers killed, besides Noblemen, and Gentlemen of Note. The *English* Historians, acknowledge the Slaughter to have been very great.

The Earl of *Glocheſter*, who had shown much Valour that Day, was kill'd (a), as was the Lord *Maule*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Tiptock*, Lord *William Marshal*, Sir *Giles*, *De Argenton*, and 700 Knights and Esquires. There were taken Prisoners *Humfrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, thereafter exchanged for King *Robert's* Queen, *John Seagrave*

(a) Sir *Richard Baker*, pag. III.

grave, *John Claveringham, William Latimer, Sir George Northbrook*, Bearer of the King's Shield. The King was pursued as far as *Dunbar*, where he and some with him, got Fisher-boats, and in them escaped to *Berwick*. This Battle was fought *June* the 24th, *Anno* 1314. and gave King *Robert* intire and peaceable Possession of his Kingdom, the *English* hereafter never being able to give him much Trouble.

Anno 1318, *Alexander Gordon* of *Huntly* and *Strabogie* (a), made an Inroad into *England*, and defeated *Thomas Gray*, Captain of *Norham* Castle.

Anno 1323 (b), King *Edward* invaded *Scotland*, and spoiled the Monasteries of *Melrofs* and *Dryburgh*, and burnt the adjacent Country, and returned to *England*, and was soon followed by King *Robert*, who burnt and spoiled all the Country to *York*; and there getting Intelligence that King *Edward* was incamped at the Abbay of *Bigbland*, he marched forward, and fiercely attacking them there, put them all to Flight, King *Edward* scarcely escaping. The *Earl* of *Richmond* was taken Prisoner, and many killed. The King's Treasure and Furniture of War were taken. King *Robert* staid in *England* a Month, and four Days, and returned with a noble Victory, and great Spoil. And six Years thereafter, *Anno* 1329, having intirely freed his Country from *English* Usurpation, and settled it in Peace, being broke with the Toils of War and old Age, he died, and was buried at *Dumfermling*. He was certainly the greatest Captain of his Time: He was bold as a Lion, and wary as a Fox. No cross Accident broke his Spirit (c). 'Tis reported of him, That he was Twelve Times

(a) *Gordonston's MS.* (b) *Idem.* (c) *Lestly*, pag. 236.

Times beat by the *English*, before he had any prosperous Action with them. He was resolved either to sacrifice his Life for his Country, or recover its ancient Honour and Liberty, which at last he, to his great Honour and Glory, effectually did, and left it in Peace to his young Son

David, a Child about Eight Years of Age, to whom he left as Guardian and Governor of the Country *Thomas Randolph* Earl of *Murray*, a Man of singular Prudence and Valour, whom the King of *England* looking upon as great Stop to his Designs upon *Scotland*, causes take out of the Way by slow Poyson, administred by an *English* Monk (a), that pretended to be a Physician, Anno 1331.

After him the Earls of *March* and *Mar* are made Governours, under whose Administration *Edward Baliol* Son to *John Baliol* comes from *England* with 8000 Men, and being joined with those who adhered to him in *Scotland*, surpris'd and defeated the Earl of *Mar* at *Duplin*, August 3. Anno 1332, where the Earl with many others were kill'd; and to whom succeeded as Governour *Andrew Murray*, Lord *Bothwell*, and Sister's Son to King *Robert*, under whose Administration *Edward Baliol* is surpris'd and defeated by *John Randolph* Earl of *Murray*, and *Archbald Douglas*, Brother to the brave Sir *James Douglas*, at *Moffat* in *Annandale*, and forced to fly half naked to *Roxburgh*, on the first Horse he could get, without Saddle or Bridle; whither the Governour coming, and fighting the *English*, they fly into the Castle: But he pursuing them too far, is made Prisoner, and *Archbald Douglas* is appointed to supply his Place.

In

(a) *Lesly*, pag. 239. *Boeth.* pag. 322.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 15

In the mean Time the King of *England*, *Edward III.* besieges *Berwick* by Sea and Land, and *Alexander Seaton* defends the same with great Courage for three Months, until his Men and Provisions were so diminished, that he could not hold out much longer; wherefore he capitulates with the *English* to render the Town, if the Siege were not raised in Sixteen Days; and, for Pledges, gives them his eldest Son *Thomas*, another of his Sons *Alexander*, being before in a Salley, made Prisoner by them; but they hearing that *Douglas* was preparing to enter *England* with an Army; and *Douglas* hearing of the Capitulation, changing his Resolution, comes to oblige them to raise the Siege, before the Days of Capitulation were expired. They send a Herald to the Governour, desiring him to render the Town, otherwise they would incontinently hang his two Sons before his Eyes. Here was a sharp Conflict in his Soul betwixt Pity towards his Sons, and Piety towards his Country, in which the latter prevails, his Lady their Mother especially perswading him thereto, representing to him his Loyalty to his Prince, his Love to his Country, and the Honour of their most noble Family, more Children remaining besides these two, and themselves not so aged but they might procreate more Children; and tho' these two should now escape Death, yet shortly they must die, either through Accident or Age; but if the Honour of the Family of *Seaton* were stained, it could not be blotted out in after-Times, but would rub Infamy on their innocent Posterity. That she had often heard from the Discourses of the wisest Men, the Praises of those who had sacrificed themselves and their Children for the Good and Preservation of their Country; but he
would

would betray his Country, if he should render up the Town intrusted to him ; and even when he had done it, he could not assure himself of the Safety of his Children ; for how could he hope that the Tyrant, who broke his Faith now, would stand to his Promise afterwards. Wherefore she conjured him not to purchase a small and uncertain Advantage at so dear a Rate as certain and perpetual Infamy. With this Discourse, finding her Husband somewhat comforted, she takes him aside, where he might not with his Eyes behold the cruel Murder of his beloved Children (*a*), the precious Sacrifices of his and her not to be paralleled Loyalty, but the everlasting Monuments of King *Edward's* Perjury and Cruelty, the Time of the Surrender not being yet come, said to be abhorred even by most of his own People about him. I have been the fuller on this memorable Story, which surpasses all that can be found recorded either by *Greek* or *Roman* Historians, of the most celebrated of their Heroes, because from that noble Hero (and if possible) more noble Heroine, is descended that noble and illustrious Family of *Gordon*, whose History I'm now writing, and who to this Day (for whatever I could learn) have gone on in an uninterrupted Tract of Loyalty, always venturing their Lives and Fortunes for their King and Country, and not a few of them dying for the same, as the Sequel of this History will make appear.

This was done almost in Sight of *Douglas* and the *Scots* Army, who resolve contrary to the Advice of the Nobility, (which was to have entered *England*, and waste the Country, to draw the *English* from

(a) *Lesly*, pag. 240. *Boeth.* 327. *Gordonstoun MS.* *Burnet's MS.* 38.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 17

from the Siege) to give them Battle, in which Army of the Scots, *Gordonston*, says (a), That Alexander Gordon of Huntly and Strabogie, and his two Sons, Adam and William, accompanied with Alexander Lindsay; led the second Battle. *Boethius* says (b), That the second Battle was led by Alexander Lindsay, accompanied by Alexander Gordon. *Douglas*, eager for Battle, puts his Army in Order, and stands so for some Time; but finding the *English* tenacious of the Advantage of the Ground, he causes the Scots to march straight up the Hill towards them: Which sudden and rash Resolution could not miss to be attended with bad Success; for the *English*, with Showers of Darts and Stones, made great Slaughter on them, climbing up the Hill; and rushed so thick upon them when they came near, that they hurried them down again with a great Slaughter, some say of 10, others of 14000, among whom was *Douglas* the General, the Earls of *Ross*, *Sutherland*, *Carrick*, *Athol*, *Lenox*, *Monteith*, &c. Amongst the Prisoners were *Sir William Keith*, who had persuaded the General to fight, *Sir William Douglas*, *Sir Alexander Graham*, and many others, who were, all of them that were not concealed by the Soldiers, killed the next Day by King *Edward's* Order. This Battle was fought on *Halidonhill*, July 19. Anno 1333, which obliged the brave *Sir Alexander Seaton* to render the Town of *Berwick* to the *English*; and brought King *David's* Affairs so low, that those who continued loyal, were forced to lurk in the Woods and Mountains, and himself and his Queen are conveyed

B

veyed

(a) MS. Hist. (b) Boeth. pag. 323.

veyed to *France*, by *Malcolm Fleming* of *Cumbernauld*, and only Four considerable Castles kept out against *Baliol* and the *English*, viz. *Dumbarton*, *Lochlevin*, *Kildrumy* and *Urquhart*.

The Earl of *Athol* being reconciled to the King of *England*, that he might shew himself the more zealous in his Interest, marched *North* with a considerable Army, and besieged the Castle of *Kildrumie*, which he invested and attacked with great Violence; but hearing that the Earl of *March*, Lord *Andrew Murray*, Sir *William Douglas*, Sir *Alexander Gordon* with others, were marching to its Relief, he raises the Siege in Order to fight them. Both Armies joined Battle in the Forest of *Kilblain*, near the River of *Dee*; and such an Encounter happened, as was to be expected betwixt old Friends newly become Enemies. It was inexpressibly fierce; but the Match was unequal, for the *English* were in Number 3000 effective Men, and the *Scots* but 1100; and therefore were like to be enveloped and cut off, when Sir *John Craig*, the Captain of *Kildrumy*, came in to their Assistance with 300 fresh Men; and, falling suddenly on the Back of the Enemy, with a hideous Clamour, soon put them in Disorder, so as all of them fled from their (a) Cheiftain, except 13, who were resolved to die with him: But whatever may be in that, 'tis agreed by all, that *Athol* acted the Part of a brave and resolute Man; and, seeing the Battle lost, and being resolved not to fall alive in the Hands of his Enemies, from whom he had no Reason to expect Mercy, in respect of his so reiterated Perfidiousness, rushed in with a Company of the stoutest young Men about him, into the thickest of the Enemies

(a) Walsingham, pag. 513.

nemies, and is there killed (a) by the Hand of Sir Alexander Gordon. This Battle was fought, Anno 1336, and had two Effects; *First*, It reduced to the King's Obedience all the North of Scotland; and *next*, as Dr. Abercromby, in his very exact History, observes, it extinguished the Name of *Strabogie*, of which he says the Earl of *Athol* was; and I think with very good Authority, tho' contradictory to the Current of all our Scots Historians before him, who calls the Earl of *Athol*, *David Cuning* and not *David Strabogie*. I have before me just now a Manuscript History of the Family of *Gordon*, writ long before Dr. Abercromby, which calls him *Strabogie*.

The Year following, Anno 1337, the English lay Siege to *Dunbar* Castle, kept by the Countess of *March* (b). This Seige not having the desired Effect so soon as was expected, two little Armies are sent from *England* to *Baliol's* Assistance; one under the Command of *Montford*, and the other conducted by *Richard Talbot*. Against *Montford*, went *Robert Gordon*, Brother to Sir *Alexander Gordon* of *Huntly* and *Strabogie*, and *Laurence Preston*, with a good Party of brave and resolute Men. They entirely routed *Montford*, and killed himself and most of his Men. *Talbot* with the other Army had no better Success, being defeated by the brave Sir *William Keith*, Ancestor to the noble and antient Family of *Marishal*, and taken Prisoner.

Anno 1339, *Robert*, High Stewart of *Scotland*, afterward *Robert* the second King of *Scotland* of that Name, being made sole Governour, after the

(a) Boeth. F. 331. Abercromby, Tom. 2. pag. 51. Gordonston's MS. Straloch. MS. Burnet's MS. page 42. (b) Boeth. 331. Abercromby 70.

The History of the

Death of *Andrew Murray*, Lord *Bothwel*, thought fit to environ *Pertb* with a regular Siege (a); and because it had a numerous Garrison, and strong Walls, he got together a considerable Army, which he divided into four great Bodies. The Command of the first he took to himself, and appointed for his Lieutenants (by *Boeth.* call'd *Legati*) *John Gordon*, Brother to Sir *Alexander Gordon*, *William Hay*, *William Keith* and *Thomas Strachan*, Knights (b). The second he committed to the Conduct of *Patrick Earl of March*; the Third to *William Earl of Ross*; and the Fourth to *Maurice Moubray Lord of Clydsdale*. They were all brave Officers, and did all they could in their several Posts: But notwithstanding, the Town and Garrison were so strong, that after Six Weeks spent in continual Action, to the much greater Loss of the Besiegers than the Besieged, they were about to decamp, when Sir *William Douglass* arrived in the River of *Tay*, with a Recruit from *France*, of Men, and Abundance of warlike Stores, under the Command of two expert Captains, *Gyles de la Hois*, and *John de Breyse*. Tho' both Captains and Soldiers acted very bravely, yet the Town never offered to surrender, until the Earl of *Ross* having found Means to divert the Water from the Fosse, had advanced to the very Foot of the Walls, then the Governour Sir *Thomas Uchtred* thought fit to surrender after a Siege of four Months.

July 12th, Anno 1342, King *David*, then about 21 Years of Age arrived from *France* safe at *Inverbervy* in the *Mearns*, with his Royal Retinue, amongst whom was his Queen *Jean*, *John Randolph* Earl

(a) Boeth. f. 333. (b) Aber. pag. 74.

Earl of Murray, and Sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld. He was received with inexpressible Joy of all the Nation, and in Triumph conducted to Perth, where he had the Pleasure to see himself attended by all in his Kingdom that were either of Worth or Wealth. He received them with much Affection, and expressed so tender a Concern for their Sufferings, that they thought they neither had, nor could suffer too much for so affectionate a Prince. He did not put them off with bare Compliments, but immediately called for a Catalogue of such as had lost their Lives at Duplin, Halidonhill, and otherwise, or had been deprived of their Fortunes, or had in any Manner of Way signalized their Loyalty; and afterwards rewarded all of them according to their own or Parents Merits. *Hector Boece* talks of one of his Ancestors, that by the King's Favour was married to the Heiress of *Balbride*, because his Father was killed at the Battle of *Dupline*. I wish all his Successors had followed his noble and generous Example. It seems his Counsellors did not advise him, as one of his Successors was, on the like Occasion, advised to bestow his Favours on his Enemies, thereby to gain them; for his Friends would still continue to be so. Which pernicious Advice that Prince too much followed (which I'm afraid has done no Good to his Successors, tho' I'm hopeful they will never follow any such Advice, if given them.) Virtue, I acknowledge carries a Reward along in its Bosom, yet when 'tis rewarded and taken Notice of, that raises a generous Ambition in every Man to be brave and loyal. And, on the contrary, now in this degenerate Age, there are not a few, who suspecting, that tho' they would venture never so much for their

King and Country, yet they may come to be neglected; and those who have acted the quite contrary Part, carressed and rewarded: And this Kind of Reasoning have I often been Witness to, and I have as often observed it make a great many (otherwise well inclined) very cool and indifferent, and not so forward, as Honour and Loyalty should have obliged them, to venture their Lives and Fortunes in their King and Country's Service. I never indeed could go into their Way of thinking; for every Man, in my Opinion, is bound by the Laws of GOD and Nature to do his Duty, and venture his Life, when the Good of his Country calls for it; and, tho' he should miss a temporal Reward, yet, if his Sins does not hinder, he is sure of an Eternal. Notwithstanding all which, GOD has promised both temporal and eternal Rewards to encourage Mankind to be virtuous; and the bravest of Princes always bestowed suitable Rewards and Honours on brave and loyal Men; for they found there was nothing surer than that *Virtus laudata crescit*. And

King *David* was soon sensible of the Advantage he reaped by his so generously rewarding the Services of his brave and loyal Subjects; for being resolved to invade *England*, to be revenged on King *Edward*, for the Barbarities he had committed in the many Incurfions he had made upon *Scotland*, he issued forth his Summons to all his loyal Subjects, Friends and Allies, to attend him at *Perth*, on a prefixed Day, with their best Horses, Men and Arms. He was immediately obeyed with the greatest Alacrity. The Earl of *Orkney* came to him with a great many Lords and Knights from *Sweden*, *Norway*, and *Denmark*; so that in a short Time he was at the
Head

Head of an Army (as *Froisart* says) of about 60000 Foot, and 13000 Horse: A prodigious Army indeed for *Scotland* to raise, which had been so often overrun and wasted of late by *England*; but by that we may know what a King of *Scotland* can do in Person, when beloved of his Subjects. With this Army did he invade *England*, as far as *Durham*, which he took by Assault, kill'd most of its Inhabitants, and gave the Plunder of the Town to his Soldiers; and having wasted the whole Country, returned with a great Booty, in Honour and Safety to his own Country. After which a Truce was agreed to betwixt the *Scots* and *English*; but in those Times, these Truces were not very punctually observed.

I have said, That in the Year 1342, King *David* returned from *France*; and, according to *Boece* (a) and others, Six Years thereafter, but four Years only according to *Abercromby* (b), who is much more exact in his Chronology; for I must acknowledge *Boece*, *Buchanan*, and others of our ancient Historians, fell into many Mistakes of that Kind, by their not exactly looking into, and comparing the Dates of our ancient Records. I say then, That *Anno* 1346, King *David* having invaded *England*, fought unfortunately the Battle of *Durham*, contrary to the Advice of the best of his Officers. He was then young, was a brave and forward Prince, and was push'd on by the *French*, in Order to bring King *Edward* out of *France*, who was at that Time victorious there. In this Battle, tho' the King did Wonders, acting the Part of a valiant Soldier in fighting, and of an expert Captain in often rallying his Men, who were ashamed to leave so brave a Master, yet

(a) Boece, f. 337. (b) Aber. pag. 97.

was he there unfortunately made Prisoner, by one *Copland*, a Gentleman of *Northumberland*, but not till after the Slaughter of a great many of the Nobility and chief Captains of his Army, amongst whom was Sir *Alexander Gordon* of *Huntly* and *Strabogie*, who so often before had fought valiantly and fortunately against the Enemies of his King and Country, and now spends the last Drop of his Blood, and dies honourably fighting for the same; *Dulce est pro patria mori*. He had behaved gallantly at the Battle of *Bannockburn*, and commanded the second Battle of the Scots Army at *Halidonhill* (as says *Gordonston*) and in many other Engagements: And at this last Battle his Son *William* was killed, valiantly assisting his Father and Brother. He calls Sir *Alexander* a very valiant and curagious Gentleman. *Abercromby* gives a long List of the most conspicuous of those killed in that Battle, to whom I refer my Reader.

Sometime after the Battle of *Durham*, Anno 1348, a Party of the Scots Nobility having defeated a considerable Body of the *English* at *Norham*, they resolve to attempt the Town of *Berwick*, and accordingly they assault and take it, not without a considerable Slaughter of their own Party; among whom was *John Gordon*, Brother to Sir *Alexander*. Some Time after this was King *John* of *France* taken by the *English* (a), at the Battle of *Poitiers*, in which Battle *Gordonston* says, was *Robert Gordon*, the other Brother of Sir *Alexander*, killed; but *Ferrerius* and *Straloch* say, That *Robert* (the Brother) died in his Bed before that Time, and that this *Robert*, who was killed at *Poitiers*, was Son, and not Brother to Sir
Alexander

(a) *Abercromby* Vol. 2. pag. 112.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 25

Alexander; To whom succeeded his Son *Adam Gordon*, who lived but short Time thereafter, and died *Anno 1351*.

Sir JOHN GORDON.

TO him succeeded his Brother Sir *John Gordon*, to whom King *David* gives a Charter confirming the Donation, made by his Father King *Robert* to *Adam Gordon*, Grandfather to this Sir *John*, of the Lands of *Strabogie*: Which Charter is of the Date, at *St. Andrews*, *March 20. the 28. of his Reign, Anno 1358, [Vid. Append. N. 14.]* the Year after *David* returned from his Eleven Years Imprisonment, having given Twenty Hostages for his Ransom, which was 10000 Merks *Sterling*, payable in Ten Years.

The King also bestowed on this Sir *John Gordon* (and probably) at this Time, the Lands and Forest of *Enzie* and *Boyne*, and granted him a Charter of the same: But in the Time of King *James IV.* a Part of the Palace of *Holy-rood-house* being burnt by a casual Fire, in which *Alexander* then Earl of *Huntly* resided; that Charter, and no Doubt several others of the ancient Papers of that Noble Family, were lost. But that the Earl of *Huntly* might suffer no Prejudice thereby, that King gave to him a Letter of Declaration, shewing, *That he had seen, read and understood the foresaid Charter, whereby these Forests were granted to the Earl of Huntly's Predecessor by King David Bruce, and erected into one free Barony.* This Declaration bears Date at *Edinburgh, April 17. 1506, Anno Regni 18,* and has the Great Seal appended to it. *Vid. Append. N. 15.*

The

The same Year the Truce, which had been agreed on for Fourteen Years betwixt the *Scots* and *English*, is violated by the latter, in their killing a Friend of the Earl of *March's* in a Market at *Roxburgh*. He craving the Author of the Slaughter to be delivered to him, or punished by the *English* Warden, according to the Border-Laws; and getting no Satisfaction of his Demands, conceals his Anger and Purpose of Revenge, till the next Year, that the same Occasion of the Market should recur: And in the mean Time providing secretly a Company of well armed Men, comes suddenly on the little Town of *Roxburgh*, kills all that were able to carry Arms, burns the Town, and returns with much Spoil. The *English*, to revenge this Slaughter, wastes and destroys with the like Fury, the Lands of Sir *John Gordon*, carrying from thence a great Prey. Whereupon he assembling all the Men he could, enters *England*, destroys with Fire and Sword wherever he came, and returns with much Booty (a); but in returning, is encountred by *John Lilburne*, with a Party far supernumerary to his. Fight he must, for shun it he could not. The Fight was fierce and eager. Sir *John* was five Times repulsed, and as often regained his Ground. In end, Victory falls to Sir *John Gordon* (b). Many of the *English* were killed; *Lilburne* and some of his Friends were made Prisoners, and brought into *Scotland*.

To rub off this Affront, *Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland* comes over the Border with 7000 Men, and encamps at *Duns*. The Clowns and Shepherds make in the Night such a Noise, with wooden and other Instruments they used to drive away the wild Beasts from

(a) Boeth. ad An. 1379. lib. 15. fol. 329. (b) Burnet's MS. p. 46.

from their Corn, that *Piercy's* Horses, frightened therewith, broke all that tied them; and running, dispersed through the Fields, became a Prey to the Country People; and his Army, expecting every Hour of the Night to be assaulted by the *Scots*, Day-light discovering to them the Illusion, with Precipitation they retire home on their Foot, leaving all their Baggage behind them.

The same Day *Thomas Musgrave* Governor of *Berwick*, issuing out with some of his Troops to the Assistance of *Piercy*, falls into an Ambush laid for him by Sir *John Gordon* (a); and having lost many of his Men, is by him defeated and made Prisoner, with what remained of them. Sir *John* thinking this a fit Occasion to surprize *Berwick*, assaults it in the Night with Six of his bravest Men, and a few others, and makes himself Master of it: But not being able to keep it, the *English* recover it with the same Facility. *Buchanan* (b), a declared Enemy to the Family of *Gordon*, calls this Sir *John Equitem illustrem*.

This Sir *John* got from *Robert II.* a new Confirmation of the Lands of *Strabogie*, dated at *Perth*, June 10. 1377: In which Charter, Mention is made of a first and second Forfeiture of *David Cuming*; He is there called *David de Strabogie*, and that he was forfeited at the Time of his Death. *Buchanan* relates, that *David Cuming* (as he calls him) Earl of *Athole* kill'd at *Kilblain* (by *Abercromby* called *David Strabogie*) by *Alexander Gordon* of *Huntly*, was likewise twice forfeited, being killed in Arms against his Prince. 'Tis not improbable that *David* of *Strabogie* and *David* Earl of *Athole* was one and the same

(a) Burnet's MS. p. 47. (b) Buchan. lib. 9. p. 306, 307.

same Person, and that the Earldom of *Athole* was given him in Compensation of his Loss of *Strabogie*, and for the good Services done by him in asserting *Baliol's* Right to the Crown.

In the latter Days of *Robert II.* Anno 1388, King *Richard II.* of *England* sent an Army into *Scotland*, which did great Harm in the *Merse*. King *Robert*, then at *Aberdeen*, getting Intelligence thereof, assembled two Armies to revenge these Injuries. The one, consisting of 15000 Men, was conducted by the Earl of *Fife* the King's Son, the Earls of *Mar* and *Sutherland*, with *Archibald Douglas* Lord of *Galloway*. The other, of less Number, was commanded by the Earls of *March*, *Douglas*, *Crawford* and *Murray*. The two Armies parting at *Fedburgh*, that commanded by the Earl of *Fife*, &c. entred *Cumberland*, wasting the Country all along as they went, with Fire and Sword. The other commanded by the Earl of *Douglas*, &c. entred by *Northumberland*, spoiling and-wasting the same even to *Durham*. At length the two Armies did join, near to *Newcastle*, 10000 of their best Men were chosen out, under the Command of *Sutherland*, *Douglas* and *Murray*, with others of the Nobility, to try if by any Means they could make themselves Masters of *Newcastle*, where the Flower and choicest Men of *Torkshire*, and all the North of *England*, were gathered together, commanded by the Earl of *Northumberland* and his two Sons, *Henry* (commonly called *Hotspur*) and *Ralph Piercies*, both valiant Gentlemen. But the Town was so well defended, that the *Scotsmen* were forced to give over the Siege; and they took their Way homeward, heavily loaded with the Spoil

Spoil they had gathered in that Journey, and encamped at *Otterburn*, a good Way from *Newcastle*.

Piercy having assembled a great Army, sufficient (as he thought) to overmatch his Enemies, followed them in all Haste. The Night was at hand, and both might have been well wearied with their Labour and Travel at the Siege, the one in Attacking, and the other in Defending: But they were so resolute for Fighting, that all this could not stay or hinder them from engaging. They prepared themselves for the Battle, equal both in Courage, ambitious Desires and Confidence of Victory. A very fierce and terrible Fight ensued, wherein the *Scots* so behaved themselves, that they quite overthrew the *English* Army, and put them to Flight with a very great Slaughter. But the Number of the Prisoners very far exceeded that of the Slain. The brave Earl of *Northumberland* was there made Prisoner, with a great many Knights and Gentlemen. *Holinshed* (a) from *Froisard*, counteth the Number of the Slain to be 1840, the Wounded 10040, among whom were *Henry Hotspur* and his Brother *Ralph*, both taken by Sir *John Keith* Marishal of *Scotland*, as *Holinshed* says: But *Lefly* (b) writes, *That Hotspur was taken by the Lord Montgomery; and that for his Ransom he built to him the House of Pounun, yet possessd by his Successors.* He also says, *That the Scots had a greater Number of Prisoners than their own Army amounted to; and therefore how soon they had disarmed them, they were obliged to put them in Fetters.* In this both *Scots* and *English* Historians agree, That there was never Battle fought

(a) *Holinshed*, p. 250. (b) *Lefly*, p. 251.

fought in *Britain* with greater Courage and more Obstinacy. Of the *Scots* were slain, the Earl of *Douglas* who commanded in Chief, a very brave and valiant Captain; as also, Sir *John Gordon* of *Huntly*, a very gallant Gentleman, who treading in the Steps of his noble Predecessor, was killed here in the Service of his King and Country, as his Father had been before him. This Battle was fought with Moon-light, and both Sides were so eager, that as the Moon darkn'd, the Battle slackn'd; and as it shin'd again, the Battle was renewed (a). It was fought *August 5. Anno 1388.*

About Day-light the *Scots* Army assembled themselves together, and being advertised by their Spies, that there was another Army ready to attack them; they gathered together their Prisoners, whom having disarmed, they made swear, *That in case of a second Engagement, they should not assist their Countrymen in Time of Fight; but even tho' they should happen to be vanquished, yet they should still continue their Prisoners.* So leaving a small Guard to attend them, (thinking it an execrable Thing to kill Prisoners in cold Blood,) they address themselves to the second Engagement, marching forward with horrible Shouting and Crying, as if they had not been engaged the Night before. The *Englishmen* hearing the terrible Noise, and being astonished at the fresh Courage and Chearfulness of the *Scots*, on the one hand, and on the other discouraged with the Sight of the dead Bodies of their Friends and Countrymen, they turned their Backs, and retired home. This second Army was commanded by the Bishop of *Durham*, who coming

(a) Boeth. ad hunc annum.

ming late to *Newcastle*, thought to have overtaken the Earl of *Northumberland*, and assisted him. The *Scots* now having nothing to hinder them, returned home with much Honour, many Prisoners, and an exceeding great Booty.

Sir ADAM GORDON of Huntly.

THIS Sir *John Gordon*, who was killed at this fierce Battle, left a Son, *Adam Gordon*, to succeed him, and a Daughter, *Mary*, married to *Hamilton* of *Cadzo*. He was married to a Daughter of Sir *William Keith*, Marishal of *Scotland*. After this bloody Battle, there was a Truce entred into by the *Scots* and *English*; and King *Robert*, broke now with old Age, died Anno 1390, Regni 19, Vitæ 74, and was succeeded by his Son *Robert III.* who during his Father's Life was *John* Earl of *Carrick*; but because *John* King of *France* and *John* King of *England* had both of them been unfortunate, he took to himself the Name of *Robert*, as a more auspicious Name for a King of *Scotland*, and was commonly called *Robert John Fernzier*. Vid. Append. N. 16.

The most, if not all our ancient *Scots* Historians, have fallen into a most notorious Blunder concerning this *Robert III.* (and that occasioned by their inexcusable Neglect in not consulting the ancient Records of the Nation.) They affirm, *That his Mother Elizabeth Muir was but his Father's Concubine when he was born, and that Euphame Ross was his Father's first Wife.* But now the contrary of that is made so clear from authentick Records, by the late Earl of *Cromarty*, the Author of the Preface to the

the last Edition of *Hawthornden's* Works, and others, that now 'tis no more questioned, but that *Elizabeth Muir* was *Robert II.*'s first and lawful Wife, and that she was dead before he married *Euphame Ross*. In this King's Reign, about the Year 1396, happened that memorable Combate betwixt the *Clan-Chattan* and the *Clan-Kays*, in which *Henry Wind* a Tradesman of *Perth*, supplied the Place of one of the *Clan-Chattan* that was wanting, and sought no greater Reward than a Crown of Gold *French* Money. The Victory fell to his Party, and to his Valour it was mostly attributed. Of the *Clan-Chattan* there came off Ten, but all fore wounded; and of the *Clan-Kays* only one, who finding he could not resist so many, threw himself into the River of *Tay*, and by swimming over made his Escape. At this Time the Title of *Duke* was first introduced into *Scotland*, Anno 1398; and the King's eldest Son, *David* Earl of *Carrick*, was created Duke of *Rothsay*; *Robert* Earl of *Fife*, Duke of *Albany*.

Robert III. in Consideration of a large Sum of Money, a Part of which he had got in ready Money, contracted his eldest Son, *David* Duke of *Rothsay*, to a Daughter of the Earl of *March*. But the Earl of *Douglas*, envious of so great an Honour happening to his Neighbour, by Means of *Robert* Duke of *Albany*, who rul'd all Affairs of State, diverts the intended Marriage, and gets his own Daughter married to the Prince. Whereat the Earl of *March* being highly offended, craves at least, *That the Money given out by him in View of the Marriage, might be repaid*. And that being refused, resolves to be revenged of the Injury done to him and his Family; and for that Effect goes into *England*, joins with the
Earl

Earl of *Northumberland*, a great Enemy to the Family of *Douglas*, and makes several Incurfions for some Years into *Scotland*, destroying the Country and the Lands, especially those belonging to the Earl of *Douglas* and his Friends. In end, the Earl of *Douglas* assembling about 10000 Men, and the most of the Nobility of *Fife*, *Lothian*, &c. enters *England* in a hostile Manner, as far as *Newcastle*. The Earls of *Northumberland* and *March* encounter him at a Village called *Nesbith*, or, as *Buchanan* says, at *Hamledonhill*, on the 3. of *May* 1401, and defeat him, with a great Slaughter, most part of the Nobility that came to the Field being killed, among whom was Sir *Adam Gordon* of *Huntly*, *Alexander* and *Roger Gordons* his Uncles. *Samford* says (a), *The Lords Gordon and Swinton, with several other Persons of Note, fell upon the Place.* *Boethius* says (b), *Adam Gordon was one of the Scots Generals.* He left of Children behind him only two Daughters, born to him by his Lady, a Daughter of the Lord *Somervell's*, (c) whereof the younger died before she arrived at the Age fit for Marriage: So the elder enjoyed all the Estate belonging to the Family; the entailing Estates upon Heirs Male (now adays so frequent) not being used in *Scotland* at that Time, nor long after.

C

ELIZA.

(a) Genealogical History, p. 262. (b) Boeth. unus ex ducibus Scotici exercitus, fol. 338. (c) Burnet's MS. p. 50.

ELIZABETH GORDON *Heiress of Huntly,*
and ALEXANDER SETON.

THIS Daughter, *Elizabeth Gordon*, being a Lady of a manly Spirit, fearing the Memory of her Progenitors might by process of Time come to be abolished, would therefore take none for her Husband, but one whose Heirs should be obliged to carry the Arms, and assume the Name of the ancient Family of *Gordon*; and being sought by many, she was pleased with *Alexander Seton*, second Son to Sir *William Seton of Winton*, an ancient and illustrious Family, which has produced a Race of as brave and loyal Men as any other Family in *Scotland*; nay to this Day, I do not find any of them branded with that odious Name of *Disloyalty*, in any of our Histories that I have seen. On these Terms did this Lady marry *Alexander Seton*, which were ascertained to her by the Marriage-Contract, and also by an Act of Parliament, obliging his Heirs to take the Sirname of *Gordon*; in which Case they were to enter to the Estate in their Mother's Lifetime (a).

The Earl of *Douglas*, *Walter Trail* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, an excellent Prelate, and Queen *Annabella Drummond*, a most virtuous Lady, being dead (b); the King, now in his decrepit old Age, wanting those Supports of his Government, was not able to restrain his youthful Son, the Duke of *Rothsay*, from breaking out into abominable Extravagancies; who now being free from all Restraints, gave Way to his disorderly

(a) Gordonston's MS. (b) Abercromby, p. 217. 2d Vol.

orderly Passions ; infomuch that the Chastity even of Noblemen's Wives and Daughters was not safe from his Allurements or Violence : Nay he debauched, or rather ravished some Virgins dedicated to the Service of G O D. Daily Complaints of these Exorbitancies coming to the King's Ears, he ordered the Duke of *Albany* to put him for some Time in Arrest. This Duke had not only a Design upon the Crown for himself, after the King his Brother's Death, but he was also made believe the Prince had a Mind to assassinate him. For these Reasons he received the King's Orders with great Chearfulness, and confined the Prince as a close Prisoner in the Castle of *Falkland*, which belonged to himself, and there starved him to Death. When the King had an Account of the Death of his eldest Son, he was at a Loss to know the Author (a) ; yet so great was his Power, that no Body durst accuse him. The King suspected him, he denied it ; offered himself to undergo a Trial, and was absolved by a packt Jury. This did not remove the King's Jealousie, who being by Sickness, Grief and old Age, scarce able to bear the Light of the Day, withdrew to his beloved Retirement the Isle of *Bute*, now only anxious for the Preservation of his younger Son *James*, a Youth of about 12 Years of Age. Him therefore, accompanied with a Bishop, probably *Henry Wardlaw* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, and *Henry Sinclair* Earl of *Caithness*, they privately ships aboard a Vessel at the *Bass*, prepared for that purpose to carry him to *France*. But as the Ship was sailing by the Coast of *Northfolk*, she was taken by some *English* Mariners, who conducted the Prince, Bishop and

C 2 1307896 Earl;

(a) Boeth. fol. 339.

Earl, to *London*. The Bishop made his Escape, and the Prince and Earl were put in the Tower. This melancholy News coming to the King, then in the Isle of *Bute*, he fainted away among the Hands of his Servants, who carried him to his Bed-chamber, where, for three Days, he lay, not capable to receive either Food or Comfort, and then expired *April 4. Anno Dom. 1406, Regni 16.*

Unto *Robert III.* succeeded his Son *James*, then Prisoner in *England*, a Youth about Twelve Years of Age; and the Government of the Kingdom was settled upon his Uncle *Robert Duke of Albany. Anno 1407* the King was conveyed from the Tower to the Castle of *Nottingham*, and was there very honourably entertained and educated.

Anno 1411, Donald of the *Isles* having over-run *Ross* and *Murray*, was forward to plunder *Aberdeen*; but was stopt in his Career by *Alexander Stewart*, a Grandchild of King *Robert II.* and Earl of *Mar*, in Right of his Wife (*a*) *Isabel Douglas*, the only Daughter of *William* first Earl of *Douglas*, and of *Margaret* the Sister and Heir of *Thomas Mar*, last Earl of *Mar* of that Sirname. That brave and experienced General, by Orders from the Governor, drew together with great Expedition almost all the Nobility and Gentry betwixt the Rivers of *Tay* & *Spey*; and being seconded by these, he met the Invader at *Harlaw*, a Village 12 Miles from *Aberdeen*, where a long, uncertain and bloody Battle ensued, and where a great many Gentlemen were cut off. 'Tis said the Laird of *Balquhoin* and Six or Seven of his Sons were killed there, as were also (*b*) *Alexander Ogilvy* Sheriff

(*a*) *Crawf. Hist. of the Stewarts*, p. 17. (*b*) *Abercr.* p. 239, 2d Vol.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 37

Sheriff of *Angus*, with his Son and Heir; *James Scrimgeor* Constable of *Dundee*, *Alexander Irvine* of *Drum*, *Thomas Maul* of *Panmure*, *William Abernethy* younger of *Salton*, *Alexander Straton* of *Lauriston*, *Alexander Stirling*, *Thomas Murray*, and *Robert Davidson* Provost of *Aberdeen*, all Knights. In this Action was *Alexander Seton*, now of *Huntly* in Right of his Wife. The Earl of *Mar* lay all Night in the Field of Battle, and *Donald* retired first to *Ross*, and then to the *Isles*.

Elizabeth Gordon had a Son by her Husband *Alexander Seton*, called *Alexander*, who, according to his Mother's Contract of Marriage, laid aside the Surname of *Seton*, and assumed that of *Gordon*, before the Nobility assembled in Parliament, *Anno 1449*; joining to the three Boars Heads (the Arms of *Gordon*) three Crescents, the Arms of *Seton*, together with the Arms of *Frazer*; for his first Lady was a Daughter of *Marischal's*, who had married the Heiress of the *Frazer* of *Cowie*; and the Lady dying, left only that one Daughter married to *Huntly*, who succeeded to her Mother; and he, in her Right, to the Lands of *Touch* in *Stirling-Shire*, the Lands of *Frazer*, *Aboyne*, *Glenmuick*, *Glentaner*, and *Cluny* in *Mar*.

I said, That *Alexander Seton* was at the Battle of *Harlaw*, after his Marriage to *Elizabeth Gordon*, because the Instrument of Resignation made by her of all the Lands belonging to the Family of *Huntly*, in the Hands of *Robert Duke of Albany*, Earl of *Fife* and *Monteith*, Governour of *Scotland*, for a new Infeftment to her and her Husband, is dated at *Perth* the 20. of *July 1408*, and is in the Possession of this Duke of *Gordon*: So 'tis sure they were married be-

fore the Battle: It not being probable that these publick Instruments in Favours of *Alexander Seton*, should have been made Four Years before the Marriage, supposing it was not till after the Battle *Anno 1411*; for immediately after such Instruments, he might have taken Infeftment, and *Elizabeth Gordon* might have died before that Battle, and so she should have transferred the Inheritance of the Family of *Gordon* to that of *Seton*, without any Marriage at all with any of its Branches. Wherefore it seems more than probable, that they married before these Instruments were made. They were in the fourth Degree of Consanguinity, and therefore needed, in those Times, a Dispensation from the Pope; which they obtained from *Martin V.* the Eleventh Year of his Pontificate, which was *Anno 1428*, long indeed after the Marriage.

Another Reason that they were married before the Battle of *Harlaw*, is, That *Alexander Seton* was present at this Battle, as is affirmed by *Ferrerijs*. If he had been then living in *Lothian* before his Marriage, he could not have had Time to have come to it. Neither read we of any to the South of *Tay* that were at it, nor had they Time to wait till Forces should be brought from such a Distance. For these Reasons *Alexander Seton* must have been then married, and living at *Strabogie* at that Time.

Ferrerijs says, That *Elizabeth Gordon*, Heiress of *Huntly*, had two natural Brothers, born to her Father by *Elizabeth Cruikshanks*, Daughter to *Cruikshanks* of *Assuanly*, the eldest called *John* of *Scurdarg*, of whom are descended many Gentlemen of considerable Estates; and the Laird of *Pitlurg* has been, by the Descendants of his Family, esteem'd the

Repre-

Representative of him. The Laird of *Buckie*, and those of his Family, pretend to the same. But neither of them have ancient Writs to make good their Claims; and so I shall not take it on me to determine in it, but briefly hint at what both of them advance for themselves. *Buckie* says, *That John of Scurdarg, his Predecessor, was first married to the Daughter of Macleod of Heris, by whom he had one Son, called Alexander Gordon of Essie, of whom this Laird of Buckie is descended.* On the other Side, *Pitlurg*, and those of his Family, say, *That John was not married to that Lady, but only hand-fasted to her; and that he married Maitland of Gight's Daughter, by whom he had John Gordon of Botery, the Laird of Straloch's Predecessor.* It would seem that the late Duke of Gordon lookt upon *Pitlurg's* Predecessor as the eldest of *John's* Sons: For in a Tailzie or Destination he made of his Estate, of the Date (at Edinburgh) *February 25. Anno 1707*; in the Substitution he prefers *Pitlurg* to *Buckie*. But neither of these Gentlemen having now any old Writs to decide this Controversy, I shall not take upon me to determine any thing about it, but leave the same as I found it. However, both these ancient Families afforded many brave Gentlemen, who upon all Occasions valiantly ventured their Lives, with their Chief, in the Defence of their King and Country.

The other Brother was called *Tom of Riven*, who by several Wives had Eighteen Sons, of whom are descended a numerous Offspring of brave Gentlemen. Who now represents him, is hard to determine; but I think Sir *James Gordon of Park* has most to say for it.

The History of the

Others affirm, (says *Straloch*;) That *John* and *Thomas*, commonly called *Jock* and *Tom*, were not Brothers, but Uncles to the Heirefs, and lawful Sons to Sir *John Gordon of Huntly*, killed at the Battle of *Otterburn*; and secluded from the Succession, because entailing of Estates to Heirs Male was not then, nor long after, in Use in *Scotland*. Also, that these two Brothers, and all descended from them for many Generations, even to this Day, have always carried the ancient Coat of Arms of the Family without any Mark of Illegitimacy, is a very strong Argument to prove their Legitimacy: And it is nowise probable, that the Head of the Family would still have allowed them to bear such a Coat of Arms, if they had not been lawful Sons. We know that 'tis not very long since some great Families in *Scotland* got Allowance to take the Mark of *Illegitimacy* out of their Coats of Arms; but in those Days it was not allowed to any to carry the paternal Coat, who were not legitimate, without some Cognizance, marking the Defect of their Legitimacy, which was then narrowly enquired into, when the Honour of *Chevalry* was so much esteemed. Nor was it permitted to any to take to himself such a Coat of Arms as he pleased; for it was the King then that gave such Coats of Arms as he thought the Valour or Loyalty of the Person deserved. But now when this Dignity is no more the Reward of Valour and Courage, manifested in the Defence of the King and Country, but can be bought with Money by every Clown, sprung from the *Dung-hill* perhaps but yesterday, 'tis in some Degree less regarded by brave and generous Men.

And that the Descendants of those two Brothers, *John* and *Thomas* (commonly called *Jock* and *Tom*) constantly

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constantly carried the Coat Armorial of *Gordon*, without any Mark of Illegitimacy, is past all Controversy; for there's yet to be seen on the House of *Lesmore* belonging to Sir *James Gordon*, built Anno 1508 (he's descended of *William Gordon* of *Tulltermont*, third Son of *John Gordon* of *Essie*) the Arms of *Gordon*, with no other Difference than a *Fess Cheque*, taken as a Distinction from the Arms of his Mother who built that House, a Lady of the Name of *Stewart*. The present Laird of *Pitlurg* has in his Possession the Banner, or (as then called) *Pencil* of Sir *John Gordon* of *Pitlurg*, which he carried at the Battle of *Pinky*, where he was killed; and on it is his Name and Arms of *Gordon*, with no other Distinction but a Dove with an Olive-branch in its Mouth, for his Crest. Nor is it alledged, that ever any of the Descendants of these two Brothers, *Jock* and *Tom*, ever carried any Mark of Illegitimacy: And that the late Duke of *Gordon* lookt upon them as legitimate Uncles, is past all Doubt, by the forementioned Destination.

By all which it appears very evident to me, that they were the legitimate Uncles of (and not the illegitimate Brothers to) *Elizabeth Gordon* the Heirefs. But whatever be in that, this I am sure of, That from them have descended a very numerous Race of brave and loyal Gentlemen, who have eminently signalized themselves when ever their King, their Country, or their Chief's Interest called them to it; and have still imitated their brave and loyal Ancestors. And this I have seen acknowledged by their King under his own Hand, and that not past our own Time.

The History of the

About the Year 1421 (a), the King of *Scotland* being then Prisoner in *England*, that King carried him over with him to *France* to his Wars there, on purpose to draw the *Scots* away from the *French*. But that was what he was not able to do. He desired the King to issue out his Orders to all his Subjects in the *French* Army to repair to his Standart: But he very wisely replied, *That he being then Prisoner, they would look upon these Orders as extorted, and would not obey them.* King *Henry* admired the Wisdom of his Answer, and desisted from pressing that Matter further. At this Time there were several brave Gentlemen that were anxiously concerned about the Safety of their King, and therefore would needs have the dangerous and chargeable Honour of guarding his Person, and by Consequence fighting Battles, which it was both his Interest and their's to lose. Among the most eminent of these was *Alexander Seton Lord Gordon* (b), who carried along with him, upon his own Charge, 40 Lances and 100 Horse that attended upon him.

Anno 1424, King *James* was set at Liberty, having given 12 Hostages for the Payment of 40000 Pounds *Sterling*; one of which was *Alexander Lord Gordon*, whose Revenue was then 400 Merks *Sterling*. The King being at Liberty, married the most beautiful Princess *Jean*, Daughter to the late Earl of *Somerset*, who was a Son of *John of Gaunt*, the first Duke of *Lancaster*, and Titular King of *Castile*, and of *Katharine*, Daughter to *Thomas Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, and Brother uterine to *Richard II.* And having

(a) Abercr. Vol. 2d, p. 256. (b) Rymer's Fœd. Angl. Tom. 10, p. 127 & 128.

ing delivered his Hostages, he left *Durham* 30. *March*, came to *Scotland* 1. *April*, and was crowned at *Scoon* the 21. of *May* thereafter. At which Solemnity, *Alexander* the youngest Son of the Duke of *Albany*, the Earl of *Douglas*, and many others of the Nobility, and among the rest were *Alexander Seton Lord Gordon* present. The University of *St. Andrews*, which was founded *Anno 1411* in his Absence, had its Increase and Perfection from his bountiful Presence. He invited Men famous in all Sciences thither, gave good Salaries and large Privileges to them, and graced their Lessons with his Royal Presence. And tho' he called *David I.* a *fore Saint to the Crown*, yet he founded the Convent of the *Chartereux* in *Pertb* with great Charge and Magnificence. His uncommon Skill in Poetry and Musick made him in Love with Quiristers, and he was the first that erected Organs in his own Chapel and in the Cathedral Churches in the Kingdom (a). *Anno 1425, May 18, Walter* and *Alexander* were condemned by an Assize, and that same Day beheaded at *Stirling*; as was the next Day their Father, *Murdoch* Duke of *Albany*, Grandchild of *Robert II.* and the Earl of *Lennox* his Father-in-Law. *Anno 1428* Ambassadors were sent from the King of *France* to *Scotland*. They were, *Reginald* Archbishop of *Reims*, and *John Stewart* Count *de Dreux* and Lord of *Darnly*. They were received at *Pertb* by the King with all imaginable Honour, and in a short Time all Matters concerning the two Kingdoms were adjusted, to the Satisfaction of both Parties; for on *July 19*, a Contract of Marriage was agreed to between
Lewis

(a) Hawthornden, p. 5.

Lewis the Dauphin, afterwards King of *France*, and the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter to the King of *Scotland*; by which King *James* obliged himself to send his said Daughter, with a Retinue of 6000 Men, to *France*, on board the first *French* Fleet that should come to *Scotland* in order to her Transportation, any Time after the Feast of *Candlemas* next: And this was all the Portion the Lady got. In such Esteem was the Friendship and Valour of the *Scottish* Nation then, that it was esteem'd a sufficient Equivalent for the Riches of other Nations. On the other Part, the King of *France* bound himself to very good Conditions for the Lady (a). Some time thereafter King *James* sent over to *France* his Ambassadors, *Henry* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, and *Sir Patrick Ogilvy* Sheriff of *Angus*, in whose Presence the King of *France* ratified the said Treaty of Marriage, and swore to the Observance of the same at *Chinon*, *October 30*. In *November* following he made a Grant to *K. James*, and his Heirs Male, of the Earldom or County of *Zantogne* and the Lordship of *Rochfort*, on the River of *Charante*, and created him Peer of *France*, such as the Kings of *England* had been; with this Difference, That whereas the Kings of *England* were obliged to go over to *France*, and pay their Homage in Person for the Lands they possessed there; King *James* and his Heirs were only obliged to send over their nearest Kinsman to do it. The King of *France* reserved a Power to himself to re-annex these Countries to the Crown, if he pleased, after he had beat the *English* out of *France*: But then, and in that Case, he obliged himself to give to the King of *Scotland* the Duke-
dom

(a) See the Original in the publick Registers.

dom of Berry, or County of *Evereux*, to be holden as above.

To the great Joy of the Nation, *October 16, Anno 1430*, the King had two Sons born to him; *Alexander*, who died soon after, and *James* who succeeded to him. And to make the Joy the more universal, many Prisoners are set at Liberty, among whom were the Earl of *Douglas*, Sir *Gilbert Kennedy* the King's Sister's Son, and the restless Earl of *Ross*. Tho' King *James* had contracted his eldest Daughter with the Dauphin of *France, Anno 1428*, yet he did not send her over till *Anno 1436*; at which Time he provided a strong and well-man'd Fleet, sufficient to guard her against the *English*, who had put a Fleet to Sea to intercept her. It consisted of 40 good and well appointed Ships. In this Fleet he sent her over, accompanied with a numerous Retinue of the Nobility; among whom were the Bishop of *Brechin*, the Earl of *Orkney*, Sir *Walter Ogilvy* Treasurer, *Alexander Seton* Lord *Gordon*, *Herbert Harris*, *William Strachan*, *John Maxwell*, *William Scott*, *John Campbell*, *Henry Graham*, *Henry Wardlaw*, Knights; and also with no less than 140 Ladies, most of them unmarried, among whom were her Five Sisters (a). She arrived safe at *Rochel*, and from thence went to *Tours*, where she was married with great Pomp and Magnificence to the Dauphin of *France, June 24. Anno 1436*.

On the 21. *February, Anno 1437 (b)*, King *James* was barbarously murdered, by the Earl of *Athole*, *Robert Stewart* Grandchild and Heir to that Earl, and of the King's Bedchamber, (he was the Person who

(a) Hawthornden, p. 13. (b) Ibid. p. 15.

who introduced them) and *Robert Graham*, a very vicious and wicked Man. They and their Accomplices, guided by Resolution, and guarded by the Darkness of the Night, came to the *Black-Friars of Perth*; and having the Way made open unto them, entred the Gallery before the King's Chamber-door, where they attended some of their Confederates, who had stoln away the Bar, to facilitate their Entry to the Chamber. But before their coming, (bad Luck throwing the Occasion into their Hands,) *William Straton*, one of the King's Cup-bearers, came forth of the Chamber, and finding armed Men rushing rudely to enter the same, terrified with the Boldness of the Fact, with a loud Voice gave the Alarm to the King, crying, *Treason!* While they are working his Death, a Maid of Honour, of the Name of *Douglas*, got to the Door, and essay'd to shut it; but finding the Bar away, with wonderful Generosity and Courage she thrust her tender Arm into the Place where it should have pass'd: But that being soon broken, the Conspirators rush'd in, and having killed such as were awaiting that made Defence, they at last struck down the King: The Queen interposing her Body to save him, received two Wounds: But having pulled her from him, they cruelly murdered their King and Master, leaving him dead, with 28 Wounds, most toward the Heart. [*Anno ætatis 44. Regni 32.*] Those accursed Regicides were in a short Time taken and exemplarly punished. The Earl of *Atbole* was three Days in dying with exquisite Torments; *Robert Stewart* was hang'd and quarter'd; *Robert Graham* had his Flesh torn off him with hot-burning Pincers, and then hang'd and quarter'd.

He

He was so vicious a Wretch, that being asked (a), *How he dar'd to put Hand in his Prince!* He replied, *That having Heaven and Hell at his Choice, he dar'd leap from the Joys of the one into the Torments of the other.*

The Character given of K. *James* by all Historians, is, "That he was, for Proportion of Body, of a middle Stature, exquisitely well shap'd, of a graceful Majesty. His Hair was of an ouburn Colour. He was of vigorous Constitution, of great Nimbleness and Agility. He was both a *Latin* and *English* Poet, had studied Philosophy, but mostly Politicks. In fine, He was a brave, couragious and religious Prince; an excellent Justiciary, and a great Encourager of Learning. He had much Delight in Musick, and play'd better on the Harp than any in the Nation." He was buried in the Church of the *Chatreux* at *Pertb*, and left behind him one Son, *James*, and five Daughters: *Margaret*, married to *Lewis*, Dauphin, afterward King of *France*, by the Name of *Lewis XI.* *Isabel*, to *Francis* first Duke of *Britany.* *Jean*, promised to the Duke of *Savoy's* eldest Son; but thereafter twice married, first to *James* Earl of *Angus*, then to *Alexander* Earl of *Huntly.* *Helenor*, to *Sigismond* Duke of *Austria*; and *Mary*, to *John* Lord *Campvere* and *Zeland* (b).

Elizabeth Gordon Heirefs of *Huntly*, besides her eldest Son, who succeeded her, had a second Son, *William*, who was married to *Meldrum* Heirefs of *Meldrum*, (he retained the Name of *Seton*,) and a third Son called *Henry*. She had also a Daughter called *Annabella*, married to the Earl of *Roths.* She

(a) Hawthornden, p. 17. (b) Gordonston's MS. Burnet's MS.

She founded a Chapel at *St. Leonards Altar* in *St. Nicolas Church* in *Aberdeen*, died at *Strabogie*, Anno 1438, and was buried in that Chapel (a). *Gordonston* says, she was buried in the Isle of *Cockclairichy*, which is a Mistake; for there was no Isle, nor any Family design'd by that Name in her Time.

To her succeeded *Alexander* her eldest Son, who before King *James I.* died (b), was sent as Commissioner from him, with *Alexander Lord Montgomery*, Mr. *John Methven* and *John Vaus*, to *England*, in order to negotiate a Truce; which (notwithstanding what had happened in *Scotland*) was agreed unto, and it was to last for 9 Years, viz. from the 1. of *May 1438*, the first Year of *James II.*'s Reign, to the 1. of *May 1447*; and he was named as one of the Conservators of it on the Part of *Scotland*. A little before this Time, the Noble Family of *Frazer*, which had often done good Service to its Country, for Want of Heirs Male, is reduced to an Heiress, as that of *Huntly* about the same Time was. This Heiress espoused *Keith Lord Marischal*, and to him had a Daughter, and died: Whom (c) *Alexander Lord Gordon* takes to be his Wife; and she succeeding to her Mother, he, in her Right, claims and possesses himself of all the Lands that belonged to the Family of *Frazer*, in *Stirling*, *Mearns* and *Mar-Shires*. *Marischal* complained; for he had neglected to persuade his Lady to renounce her Right in Favours of him and his Heirs; or at least had not been sufficiently cautious when he contracted his Daughter with *Alexander Lord Gordon*. From hence did

(a) Ferrerius MS. p.

(b) Fæd. Angl. Tom. 10. p. 679.

(c) Ferrerius MS. p. 22. Straloch's MS. Gordonston's MS. Burnet's MS. p. 60.

did arise Differences betwixt these two Families; which were at last compos'd by the Lord Gordon's yielding some lesser Part of the Lands to *Marischal*, that had fallen to him by the Marriage with his Daughter: This indeed taught the Lord Gordon to take Care that the like Inconveniency should not happen to himself: Therefore the first thing he did after the Marriage; was to persuade his Lady to transfer all her Right into his own Person and his Heirs: For which he join'd the Arms of her Family to his own, to perpetuate her Memory: And not long after this, she died without Children; and he being in the Flower of his Age, to divert his Grief, went over to *Charles VII.* King of *France*, who then had hot War with the *English*, in which he serv'd with great Honour; and thereby so improved himself in the Exercise of Arms and military Prudence; that he came to be a most brave and successful Captain.

James I. being dead, as above, was succeeded by his Son *James II.* a Child about Six Years of Age; in whose Reign there was a most terrible Rebellion rais'd by the Earl of *Douglas*, in which there were so many of the most considerable Families concern'd, that if G O D, out of his infinite Goodness, had not blessed the Endeavours of the King's other loyal Subjects, it had certainly terminated in the Destruction of the ancient Race of *Stewart* and the Subversion of the Constitution. And the Lord Gordon (then Earl of *Huntly*) being the chief Instrument under G O D that preserv'd both, and I being now to give some Account of that noble and brave Gentleman's Actions; I hope it will not be thought either an improper or unnecessary Digression, (and if not absolutely necessary, at least an edifying

and diverting one,) to record the Rise and Progress of this Rebellion. I have no Pleasure in laying open the Crimes and Failings of great Families, who have deserved so well of their King and Country, as the Family of *Douglas* have often done: Nor am I put to it, to make the Valour and Loyalty of the illustrious Family of *Gordon* appear, by aggrandizing the Faults of others, further than the Thread of the History calls for, and that excellent Rule of *Cicero* obliges me to, *Ne quid veri non audeat dicere Historicus.*

After the Coronation of *James II.* at *Holy-rood-house*, *Abercromby* says (a), *That he saw two original Papers, the one at Edinburgh the 28. of November, the other the 8. of December; by both which it appears, that a Parliament or General Council of the Three Estates was holden at Edinburgh the 27. of November 1438, by the most excellent Prince and Lord, Archibald Duke of Turrain, Earl of Douglas and Longoville, Lord of Galloway and Annandale, and Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom.* But it seems to me, that this was more a military than a civil Command. And in the next Page he says himself, *That it does not appear by any Record of Parliament, that any one Person, during this King's Minority, had the Title (much less the Authority) of Governor or Regent.* There is no Doubt but the Earl of *Douglas* had very great Authority in the Kingdom at that Time; but all our Historians agree, that the Custody of the King's Person, with the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where he was to remain, was given to the Chancellor *Sir William Crichton*; and the chief Government of the Realm, to *Sir Alexander Livingstone* of

(a) Pag. 319. Vol. 2d.

of *Callendar*, and that they were both chosen to their several Posts by Parliament, says *Lesly* (a).

Archibald Earl of *Douglas* (b) grudged mightily, that the State had bestowed such Honours upon these two Gentlemen, so far inferior to him; and, in a Pett, retires to his own Castles, and there gives out his Orders, That none of his Tenants, Clients or Dependents, should obey any Precepts or Proclamations at which either the Chancellor or Governor's Hands were: That in Case of any Difference among themselves, they should pursue no Action before their Courts, nor answer to them, in Case they were cited. He also encouraged the Borderers to break out into all manner of Robberies and Riots. And thus he spent some Months amidst Country Pleasures, expecting what Time would produce. And indeed very soon it produced a Rupture betwixt the Governor and Chancellor, the one or other, for taking more upon them than was allowed either of them by Parliament. And these Jarrings still increasing, neither of their Orders were obeyed; and the Country usurped a licentious Liberty. All this Time the Queen remained in the Castle of *Stirling*, much offended that such Differences should happen betwixt these great Men; rightly judging that nothing could tend more to her Son's Prejudice than that. She had ever found the Governor sincere and loyal in all his Counsels; and that against his Will her Son was kept from her by the Chancellor, who was for ingrossing too much Power to himself, and placing in the Offices of greatest Trust and Profit only such who depended intirely on him. And this was not only taken in bad part by the Queen

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(a) Pag. 280. (b) *Hawthornden*, p. 19.

and Governor, but also by many of the Nobility. Therefore the Queen resolved to put a Trick upon him, by getting the King out of his Possession: To effect which she came to *Edinburgh*, and by many passionate and fair Speeches, at last obtained of the Chancellor the Liberty of diverting herself with her Son for some Days in the Castle: And to give Countenance to her Plot, she gives out, That she intended a Pilgrimage to *White-Kirk* in *Buchan*, there to make Offerings for the Health of the King, and to perform her other Vows. The Chancellor, who thought it Disloyalty to distrust the Mother of his King, and Impiety to hinder such religious Intentions, gives Leave to herself and some Servants to remain in the Castle; and, when she was to go away, to remove her Household-Stuff as she pleased: In which Time she perswaded the King, who was very obsequious to her, to allow himself to be handsomely couched up in a Trunk, as some Part of her Apparel, and to be conveyed by one of her trustiest Servants upon a Sumpter-Horse to *Leith*, and from thence conveyed by Water to *Stirling*, where he was received by the Governor with much Joy.

By this Advantage the Reins of the Government were taken by the Governor, the Queen's and his Proceedings approved, Proclamations issued out against the Chancellor, and he charged to surrender the Castle of *Edinburgh* to the King: Which he refusing to do, is by a great Party, raised of the Country, the Queen's and Governour's Followers, besieged and blocked up within the Castle. The Chancellor considering he had to do with too strong a Party, applies himself for Aid to the Earl of *Douglas*, who had been long expecting this, and thinking to make his own Gain

out of it, returned a disdainful Answer, refusing to concern himself with either of them, thinking to inhance the whole Government into his own Hand; for nothing less could satisfy his boundless Ambition. But it had a quite different Effect; for it procured a Meeting betwixt the two Rulers, which concluded in the surrendering of the Castle to the Governor, and a Promise of true Friendship betwixt them, that they might be no more Sport to their Enemies: And he, to shew the Honesty of his Intentions, continued the Chancellor in his Office, and restored to him the Keeping of the Castle of *Edinburgh*. A little after this, that ambitious Earl died at *Restalrig*, *Anno* 1439, and was succeeded by his Son *William* (who married the Earl of *Crawford's* Daughter) both in his Estate and Ambition.

About this Time *James Stewart*, Son to the Lord *Lorn*, commonly called the *Black Knight* (a), married the Queen Dowager, and had Children by her: But he fretting that he was not employed in the chief Offices of State, insinuated himself with the Earl of *Douglas*, now become formidable to the State, and with him plots to take the King's Person from the Governor. Nor was the Queen Mother ignorant of her Husband's Designs, fretting likewise that the Governor did not consider her Husband's Merit, as she expected he would have done. The Governor, who never wanted his Spies about the Queen's Person, soon discovered their Intentions, clapt up the Queen's Husband, and his Brother *William*, close Prisoners in the Castle of *Stirling*. The Queen staid with them, whether voluntarily, or forced to it, is

(a) *Lesly*, p. 282.

uncertain, and began now to repent her of the Favours she had formerly shew'd to the Governor, wishing her Son had yet staid in the Custody of the Chancellor. However they were still kept in close Prison, until the Queen had purged herself of what was laid to her Charge; and her Husband, with his Brother, had obtain'd the Chancellor and *Alexander Seton* Lord *Gordon* to become Sureties, That they should attempt nothing against the Governor, nor intrude themselves into Offices of Government. The Chancellor, a little after this, by the Queen's Means (who now had changed Sides) came to the King at *Stirling*, early in the Morning, when he was a hunting; and the Queen having so contrived it, and prepared him before hand for it, he is easily perswaded by the Chancellor to come along with him to *Edinburgh*, while the Governor was holding Justice-Courts at *Perth*; who finding the Face of the Court changed, by a young King intirely possess'd by his Mother, dissembling his Interest in an easy and calm Manner, cometh to *Edinburgh*, where, after long Conferences and Mediation of Friends, he meets the Chancellor in *St. Giles's Church*, and by the Bishops of *Aberdeen* and *Murray's* Diligence, an Agreement is concluded betwixt them, which was, *That the King should remain in Custody of the Chancellor, and that the Governor should enjoy his Office.*

I have said, that *Archibald* Earl of *Douglas* was succeeded by his Son *William*, yet more ambitious and turbulent than his Father (a); and that he could not succeed to his Father's Commission of Lieutenantry,

(a) Hawthornden, p. 21.

nantry, he imputed to the Chancellor and Governor (a); and so highly resented the Disappointment, that he retired to his Castles in the Country, convened his Vassals and Tenants, discharging them to give Obedience to all publick Proclamations or Orders, and to notice none but those from himself, nor to answer to any Justice-Courts but his own. Thus was the Country brought to a most miserable Estate and Condition. Rapine and Murder, if not encouraged, at least escaped unpunished: Nay, where he commanded, there was no Access to punish such abominable Crimes. His bad Example, and the Actors escaping unpunished, had diffused those Crimes throughout almost every Part of the Nation. The Cure of such an epidemical Distemper was not to be found any where but in a Parliament, which the two Governors called to meet at *Edinburgh*: Whither not only the ordinary Members, but whole Counties resorted, where Parents bewailed the Loss of their Children, Children that of their Parents; the crying Widows and naked Orphans were numberless. In fine, one would have thought that the whole Kingdom had been but one City taken by Storm, after a long Siege and the Extremities of Famine (b). The Earl of *Douglas* was known to be the Author of all these Calamities, and therefore it was agreed by most of the Nobility, that he should be cited to appear before the Parliament to answer for these Enormities.

The King and Kingdom at this Time were reduced to a most miserable State and Condition by the Faction of the *Douglasses*. That Noble Family had, by

(a) Abercr. p. 323, Vol. 2d. (b) Buchan. p. 371.

the Bounty of their Princes, increased in Wealth, Power, Honours and Alliances, to a formidable Greatness. They indeed had done most eminent Services to their Country, in the most difficult and pressing Occasions; neither shrinking at Dangers, nor sparing their Blood and Lives for the Honour and Liberty of their Country, being Men of a fierce and bold Courage, and dreaded by the *English* above all others: The Kings of *Scotland* never being jealous of their Greatness, nor suspecting that they would ever become so arrogant as to despise the sovereign Authority of their Princes, from whose Bounty their Greatness did arise. But Grandeur, which is composed of too great Wealth and Honour, is like those Liquors, by Distillation, composed of Spirits, whereof a Quantity renders the Brain giddy, and the Person distracted or mad for a Time: And as, (they say) nothing but Milk and Oil can moderate the Activity of these spirituous Liquors once drunk, and keep the Brain in some Temper; so nothing but solid Piety and the Grace of God can keep Men within their Duty, when they find themselves, as it were, swimming in Honour and Riches.

This was clearly perceptible at this Time in that Great Family. They had degenerated from that true and noble Generosity that had rendred it so illustrious; and become ambitious and insolent, cruel and terrible, to all who seemed unwilling to do it Homage; formidable to its Neighbours; a Shelter and Safeguard to the most barbarous Robbers and Murders; and, which was worst of all, a Rival to Regal Authority. For, as *Buchanan* relates (a), this Earl went

(a) Pag. 336 & 337.

went abroad with a more numerous Train than was suitable to a Subject ; and being called, with others of the Nobility, to consult about publick Affairs, he would come accompanied with no less than 2000 Horsemen all well armed, even in the Time of profoundest Peace. He created Knights and Counsellors, distinguished States and Ranks, by which he might imitate the Parliament of the Nation, and omitted nothing by which he might equalize the Majesty of a King. Such was the Earl of *Douglas*, when the most of the Nobility would have had him cited to the Parliament. But the two Rulers were not for that Method. They were mindful of that pernicious Revolt of the late Earl of *March*, and knew that, as he had been, so the Earl of *Douglas*, whose Estate lay so contiguous to *England*, would be supported with Men and Money from thence. Being therefore apprehensive both of a civil and foreign War, which seemed unavoidable, in case the Parliament should proceed against the Earl as a Criminal ; They thought fit to invite him by flattering Messages, and repeated Assurances of Safety, Friendship and Honour, to come and take the Place due to his Quality in Parliament. He swallowed down the gilded Bait, and contrary to the Advice of his Friends would go to it : And when they could not obstruct that, they put him in mind of the Advice his Father gave him, *That he should not adventure his whole Family at one Chance, but begged that at least he would leave his Brother David behind him.* But neither would he agree to that, but set out for *Edinburgh*, accompanied with his only Brother, and his trusty Friend *Sir Malcolm Fleming* of *Cumbernauld*. How soon the Chancellor knew of his coming, he went to do him

him Honour : And to make him the more secure, he went out to meet him, carried him to his Castle of *Crichton*, and there treated him with all manner of Civility ; and waited upon him into Town, invited him, his only Brother *David* and Sir *Malcolm Fleming*, to sup with the King. They were received with great Kindness, and admitted to the same Table with the King. But in Time of Supper, an unwelcome Dish appeared upon the Table, a Bull's Head, a sure Sign of immediate Death (a) ; and indeed immediately those prepared for that purpose laid hold on the Earl, his Brother Lord *David*, and Sir *Malcolm*, bound them, carried them to the Back-Court of the Castle, and there struck off their Heads. This was done *Anno 1440*. Dr. *Abercromby* is of Opinion, that there was a previous Sentence against them ; but I see no Reason he has to say so. They were pitied after Death by those who hated them when alive. Nor will I take it upon me to vindicate their Treatment in all its Steps.

To him succeeded his Uncle *James*, called the *Gross*, a peaceable quiet Man. He lived but about two Years, and was succeeded by *William* the eldest of his seven Sons, who married *Beatrix*, his Cousin, and Uncle's Daughter, called the *fair Maid of Galloway*. She had succeeded to a great Part of her Father's Estate, and so by her he augments his Fortune to a vast Greatness. He in a short Time so insinuated himself into the young King's Favour, that tho' he went beyond his Father in tyrannizing over all those that were not Approvers of his cruel and illegal Ways, yet none durst open their Mouths against him.

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(a) Abercromby, p. 239, Vol. 2d.

He was made a Privy Counsellor, and all Affairs of State were chiefly managed by his Advice : And his Faction so increased, that the two Rulers were forced to leave the Court.

James Kennedy, Sister's Son to King *James I.* (a) by the Countess of *Angus*, then Bishop of *St. Andrews*, (an excellent Prelate, and highly commended by those who write of these Times,) was offended at him for the illegal and irregular Courses he saw him taking. Which the Earl perceiving, he excites the Earl of *Crawford* to vex him ; which he does, by coming to *Fife*, wasting his Lands, and carrying away a great Spoil from thence into *Angus*. The Bishop knowing it would be in vain to seek Redress by Law, (the Earl of *Douglas* being now at the Helm of Affairs) notwithstanding his near Relation to the King, contents himself with Ecclesiastical Censures against *Crawford*, which he little regarded. But *Buchanan* says, he was soon punished for his Contempt both of humane and divine Laws : For

In the Beginning of the Year 1446, in our Account now, which I follow, tho' its known that at that Time, and long thereafter in *Scotland*, we began our Years on the 25th of *March*. The Benedictines of *Aberbrothock* (b) having constituted *Alexander* Lord *Lindsay* their Bailiff or Judge over their Temporalities ; and he, with his numerous Train, being very burdensom to them, and instead of Bailiff, carrying himself as Lord ; the Chapter takes the Charge from him, and gives it to *Alexander Ogilvy* of *Innerness*, Tutor to *John Ogilvy* of *Airlie* (c), to whom the heritable Jurisdiction belonged,

as

(a) Spottiswood, p. 57. (b) Abercromby, p. 335, Vol. 2d. (c) Lally, p. 286.

as it does to this Day. The Lord *Lindsay* taking this as an Affront, resolves to maintain his Pretences by Force of Arms. Both Parties gather what Men they can; and the Lord *Gordon* being coming at that Time from Court, home to his House in the North, lodged with his Friend *Innecarity*, owns his Quarrel for his own, and goes along with those few Friends he had with him. Both their little Armies met at *Aberbrothock*, and are ready to fight. When the Earl of *Crawford*, hearing of the Matter, comes in all Haste from *Dundee*, with a Design to agree his Son and *Alexander Ogilvy*. So entring betwixt the two Armies ranged in Battle, esteeming himself safe enough by his own Authority, calling to speak to *Alexander Ogilvy*, was thrust into the Mouth with a Spear, by a Soldier that neither knew him, nor what he meant; and by that Thrust he fell down dead on the Place. Whereupon ensued a long and sharp Conflict. *Lindsay* got the Victory, with the Loss of 100 on his Side. On the other Side were killed more than 500, and many of them Persons of Note; among whom were of the Lord *Gordon's* Retinue, Sir *John Oliphant* of *Aberdage*, *John Forbes* of *Pitsligo*, *Alexander Barclay* of *Gartley*, *James Maxwell* of *Telling*, *Duncan Campbel* of *Campbelfeather*, *William Gordon* of *Burrowfield*, &c. all Barons (a). *Huntly*, being put on Horse by his Friends, escaped; *Alexander Ogilvy* was taken Prisoner, carried to the Castle of *Finhaven*, and in a few Days died of his Wounds and Displeasure of Mind. This Battle was fought *January 24. 1446*; and the Lord *Gordon* had in a few Years thereafter all the Satisfaction on the Lord

Lindsay

(a) Abercromby, p. 336, Vol. 2d.

Lindsay, his innate Loyalty, whetted with Revenge for being worsted on this Occasion, could give him.

About this Time the Queen Mother dies, leaving behind her three Sons to her second Husband: *John*, who was made Earl of *Atbole*, Anno 1455; *James*, Anno 1469, made Earl of *Buchan* by King *James III.* and *Andrew*, afterwards made Bishop of *Murray*. Anno 1449, the King is married to *Mary* Princess of *Guelders*, who arrived in *Scotland*, and was crowned at *Holy-rood-house*, a Lady of incomparable Beauty and Courage. And in the same Year, 1449, is *Alexander Seton* Lord *Gordon* created Earl of *Huntly*; and after that changed the Name of *Seton* to *Gordon*, which by his Father's Marriage-Contract he was obliged to have done sooner.

ALEXANDER, first Earl of Huntly.

THE Earl of *Douglas*, before the King's Marriage, so far insinuated himself into his Favour, that he reconciled him to the Chancellor, and gave him a Commission to be Lieutenant-General. This being fresh Fuel for the Fire of his Ambition, it burst out into such a Flame, that he thought *Scotland* too mean a Theatre for his Greatness to act on; and therefore resolves to shew it in its greatest Splendor to foreign Nations. He was Duke of *Turrain*, &c. in *France*, and so resolves to go first thither; and from that, to *Rome*, to be present at a Jubilee then to be celebrated there, which must have been Anno 1450. Accordingly he takes Journey, accompanied with a most splendid and magnificent Retinue; among whom were, his Brother Sir *James*, the Lords *Hamilton*,

milton, Gray, Salton, Oliphant and Forbes; Urquhart of Cromarty, Fraser of Philorth, Campbel of Calder, &c. (a) They were so numerous, and so well equipt, that they made a very noble Figure in their Passage through every Country they went, and even fill'd *Rome* with the Expectation of them. To be sure they omitted nothing that could contribute to the Design of their Journey.

But while he was thus triumphing abroad, he lost Ground every Day at home. His Enemies, and all Men, but those of his own Faction, lay hold on this Opportunity, to represent the innumerable Wrongs done or connived at by him. To be short, the King was so importun'd by the Clamours of the Complainers, that he could not refuse to do them Justice. But being willing to gain Time, till the Earl should come home to make his own Defence, he caused summon him to appear; and instantly proceeded against one *Symington* his Bailiff, and after against his Brother the Earl of *Ormond*, whom he had left behind him as his Trustees and chief Managers. They were so insolent, that they refused to appear, contemning the King's Orders. The Earl of *Orkney* was sent by the King to cause put the Sentence in Execution, which was only to see the Injur'd repaid of their Damages: But he was so frustrated and disappointed by *Ormond*, and the Insolency of his Tenants and Vassals, that he was obliged to return *re infectâ*, and the King forced to march thither himself, where he caused Justice to be done to the Oppressed; and punished none but notorious Murderers and Robbers (b).

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(a) Abercromby, Vol. 2d, p. 349. (b) Buchan. p. 386.

The Earl being then at *Rome*, was by his Brother informed of what passed ; and then those with him thought it necessary to return home, and a great many immediately left him. But there still remained a good Number who returned with him. Upon his coming home, he humbly submitted himself to the King, who very mercifully pardoned him, and in a short Time restored him to his Favour ; and thereafter in *April 1451 (a)*, sent him with several Lords in a very honourable Embassy to *England*, where 'tis probable he took more Pains to manage a private Negotiation with the King of *England* for himself and his Associates, than he was at about the publick Business for which he was sent. For, in the *May* following he obtained a Protection for a Year from the King of *England (b)*, for himself and his three Brothers, Sir *James*, the Earls of *Ormond* and *Murray*, with a great many of his other Associates there named, and 67 more, noble or ignoble, on Horse or on Foot. Now all, or most of these, being engaged in the Revolt thereafter, 'tis not improbable, I say, that then he was treating with the King of *England* about it, thereby in all Events to make sure a Safe-retreat to himself and his Associates : For upon his Return, he immediately relapsed into his former Practices. Our Authors lay many Crimes to his Charge at this Time ; as, laying an Ambush for the Chancellor to kill him ; his putting to Death, with Form of Law, tho' contrary to all Law, two very considerable Gentlemen in *Galloway*, Sir *William Herris* of *Tereglis*, and one *Maclellan* Tutor of *Bombie*,

(a) Feed. Angl. Tom. II. p. 277. (b) Ibid. p. 284. Abercromby, Vol. 2. p. 351.

bie, notwithstanding the King sent *Patrick Gray*, *Maclellan's* Uncle to sue for their Lives, promising that Justice should be done in a fair and legal Way. And to make good these Outrages, and very probably with a further View; he enters into a League offensive and defensive against all Persons whatsoever, (the King's Majesty not excepted) with the Earls of *Crawford*, *Ross*, *Murray* and *Ormond*; the Lords *Balveny* and *Hamilton*, with many others; and thereafter goes privately into *England* (a); with no good View to be sure: For it was then capital for any *Scotsman* to pass the Borders without obtaining Liberty from the King or his Officers.

The Lord *Crichton* was then in *England*, who no doubt had a watchful Eye over *Douglas*, and thereby made such Discoveries of his Conspiracy, as obliged the King to look to himself. For that Earl was no sooner come to *Scotland*, than the King sent and called him to Court. But he, it seems, being sensible of his own Guilt, refused to go thither without a Safe-conduct under the King's own Hand and Seal, for himself and all his Retinue. As this was insolent to the last Degree, so was it contrary to a late Act of Parliament, by which the King's Peace had been declared to be a sufficient Security for Life and Fortune to all Men. The Safe-conduct was granted nevertheless in the strongest Terms and most ample Form. Upon which the Earl, with a Retinue like an Army, goes to *Stirling*. The King received him graciously, and it being *Shrove-Tuesday*, Anno 1452, a Day usually kept with Feasting and Mirth, he invited him to Supper, and very kindly entertained him. That being

(a) Abercromby, Vol. 2. p. 352.

being over, the King withdrew, with him, into another Apartment in the Castle, attended by a few Counsellors and Servants. The King put him in Mind what a gallant and loyal Family he represented, and how often they had been deservedly honoured and rewarded by the Kings his Predecessors; how often he himself had pardoned him, nay even had advanced him to the Lieutenancy, the highest Post in the Nation; and his Kindred, to Honours and Estates; and for his Sake had turned off the Lords *Livingston* and *Crichton*, and at his Desire had given Way to their being prosecuted and punished as Criminals, tho' his most Trusty Counsellors: And after much more to this Purpose, he told him, That as he had often before pardoned him, so was he yet not only willing to forgive, but even to forget whatever he had hitherto done contrary to his Duty and the Laws, provided he would once more return to his Obedience; and, for a Proof of his Sincerity, begin with the Dissolution of that odious League that he (a Subject) had entred into with Subjects, in Defiance of Royal Authority, and particularly against those Acts of Parliament made against such Bonds and Leagues (a) entred into by the Subjects. The Earl replied submissively to all the Points the King had insisted upon: But as to that of the League, he insolently refused to cancel it without the Consent of his Friends. Upon this the King, being young and fiery, and jealous of his Authority (b), fell into a Passion, as it was no Wonder, after such Provocation; and, with these Words, [If you will not break it, by

E G O D

(a) Black Acts, fol. 6. c. 33. (b) Lessy, p. 297.

GOD I will,] drew his Dagger, and stab'd him to the Heart, the Bystanders helping to dispatch him.

Godscroft says, it was premeditated, (but 'tis not much Matter what he says, one Part of his History is Romance, and a great Part of the rest without Book,) and contrived by the Lord *Crickton*; and tho' without Proof, has had the Confidence to leave us the following Distich:

*Me letbo, ante diem, Cricktonus Rexque dederunt:
Ille necis causam præbuit, iste manum.*

'Tis not probable that it was premeditated; for if it had been contrived by the Chancellor, he was a wiser Statesman than not to have been sure of more of the Accomplices before it was put in Execution, especially many of them being then in the Town. I shall not take upon me to vindicate the Method of taking away this Nobleman's Life, neither will I condemn it. I wish the King of *Britain* may never be put to that Strait, as to have to do with a Subject that he cannot easily bring to a legal Trial for his Trespasses: In that Case, not only the King, but the Nation suffers by the Insolency of such Subjects. Desperate Remedies must sometimes be made Use of for desperate Diseases. We know the Hardships *David* was put to by the Sons of *Zeruiab*; because he could not punish them himself, he was forced to leave it to his Son by his Testament. We know the Straits a King of *France* and an Emperor of *Germany* were put to by insolent and too great Subjects. If the King could have easily brought him to a legal Trial, he had as many Crimes to have accused him of, as might have justly brought him and 100 of his Accomplices

complices to a Scaffold ; nay that very League it self would have been sufficient for all of them. Lawyers have a great deal to say on this Head, and to them I shall leave it, lest they should tell me, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. Snares and Traps are laid for Wolves and Boars, as devouring Beasts of Prey ; but Deers and Hares, by the Laws of Game, are to have a fair Chase.

His Associates in the Town had heard no sooner what was done in the Castle, than they run to Arms, filling every Corner of the same with Fear. Sir *James*, now acknowledged Earl, proposed that the Castle should be immediately besieged : But that was rejected, not out of any Respect to the King, but because they wanted Necessaries to carry on such a Siege ; and therefore agreed to go to their respective Habitations, with a Resolution to return very soon with greater Numbers and better provided. They came back accordingly in the End of *March* or Beginning of *April* (a) ; they entred the Town, dragging the Safe-guard, granted to the Earl, at a Horsetail, through the Streets to the Cross ; and there proclaimed, by the Voice of an Herauld, the King, and all with him, perjured Covenant-breakers, and Enemies to Mankind, with the Sounds of many Trumpets. *Buchanan* calls them, *quingentis simul buccinis*, terrifying thereby the defenceless and innocent Place, which they first plundered, and then sent back Sir *James Hamilton* of *Cadzou* to burn, but made no Attempt on the Castle, because it behoved them to divide their Forces, to oppose the Royalists, who were gathering together, in Defence of their

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Master;

(a) Lesly, p. 292.

Master, from all Places of the Kingdom where the Rebels did not command.

The King, to withstand their Impiety, gathers together an Army : But not thinking it sufficient to withstand his rebellious Subjects, began to entertain Thoughts of retiring into *France*, but is persuaded by the good Bishop *Kennedy* his Uncle, to stay and expect the Earl of *Huntly*, who was coming to his Relief with great Forces gathered out of the North. Which Advice he followed ; and so all the Glory of defeating that terrible Rebellion was reserved to the gallant and noble *Alexander Gordon* Earl of *Huntly*, Successor to and Ancestor of a long untainted and in all Respects illustrious Race of Worthies (*a*), who never were absent when their King and Country stood in Need of them. The Earl of *Crawford* assembled (*b*) all the Power of *Angus*, with a great many others his Friends and Followers; in order to assist the *Douglasses*. But hearing that *Huntly* was marching South to assist the King, the best Service he thought he could do to his Confederates was to intercept him by the Way, and fight him before he should join the King. *Huntly* on the other hand knew the Earl of *Murray* had raised all the Forces he could in that Country, in order to join *Crawford* ; therefore he was resolved to fight him before *Murray* should come up to him. Both of them being resolute to fight, they met at *Brechin*, or near it. There they encounter fiercely, and fight most obstinately for a long Time, till a Company of fresh Men joining *Crawford*, gave so rude a Push to *Huntly's* Van-guard, that they made it give Way a little. But immediately

(*a*) Lesly, p. 303. (*b*) Holinshed, p. 275.

diately they are repulsed further back by *Huntly*. And thus the Victory stood doubtful, till *John Col-lace* of *Balnemoon*, being offended at the Earl of *Crawford*, for refusing to give to his Son, the Day before the Battle, an Entry to his Lands, (the Earl being Superior of them;) and he having the Conduct of the left Wing of that Earl's Army, where a great many were armed with Axes, withdrew from the Field, and left the middle Battle naked; who being thereby disheartned, betake themselves to the Flight, leaving the Victory to *Huntly*. But it cost him dear, for his Brothers, *William* and *Henry Gordons*, the Laird of *Haddo*, and a great many more of his Name and Vassals were killed. There were likewise many Gentlemen of Note killed on *Crawford's* Side, and among them Sir *John Lindsay*, *Crawford's* Brother. *Huntly's* Men pursued the Chace to the Castle of *Finhaven*. 'Tis reported, that one of them called *Calder*, of whom are descended the *Calders* of *Assuan-ly*, having advanced too far in the Pursuit, found himself among the Middle of his Enemies before he was aware, and therefore thought fit to go along with them to the Castle as one of their own Party, where he heard the Earl of *Crawford* say (a), That he could have been content to be seven Years in Hell, to have obtained so notable a Victory as *Hunt-ly* that Day had the Honour to get, in suppressing such a considerable Army of Rebels, and thereby deservedly gaining so much of his Prince's Favour. *Crawford* fled that Night to his Castle of *Finhaven*, and, when at Supper, was alarmed, that *Huntly* was marching up to the House to attack it. Upon which

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they

(a) Hawthornden, p. 31.

they all in great Confusion fled, leaving their Supper behind them on the Table: Which the forenamed *Calder* perceiving, thought, while they were in Confusion, it a fit Time for him to make his Escape; which he did, bringing along with him the Silver Cup they were drinking in; and came straight to the Earl of *Huntly*, told him where he had been, and what he had heard: And *Huntly* refusing to believe him, *Calder* says, *My Lord, in Testimony 'tis true what I have said, here is the Cup the Earl of Crawford drank out of at Supper, and you will see upon it the Arms of his Family.* *Huntly* took it from him: Whether he got the Fellow of it from him at that Time, I do not know; but the late Duke of *Gordon* caused make a Cup of Silver, gilded and embossed as like to the Original as a Workman could do, and gave it to this Mr. *Calder* of *Affuanly*, to be kept in their Family by him and his Successors, under Penalty of paying the double of the Feu-duty of his Lands that he now pays to the Duke and his Successors; and out of this Cup have I of late drunk. It weighs 12 lib. 13 sb. Sterl. This Battle was fought on *Ascension-Day*, May 18. 1452, two Miles East of *Brechin*, tho' called the *Battle of Brechin*.

The Earl of *Huntly*, the Day before the Battle, to encourage the Gentlemen that were with him, bestowed on them many Lands in the Lordship of *Kieg*, on the River of *Don*, of his own proper Estate, to be for ever possessed by them and their Posterity, to be holden of him and his, for the Payment of small Feu-duties (a). In the mean Time while *Huntly* was thus valiantly and generously fighting for his King and Country,

(a) Hawthornden, p. 31.

Country, and had intirely defeated one of the most considerable of *Douglas's* Confederates ; his own Lands of *Strabogie* are invaded by *Archibald* Earl of *Murray*, Brother to the Earl of *Douglas*. His Castle, Tenants Houses and Corns are burnt, their Horses and Cattle driven away, and that with a great deal of Bloodshed and Cruelty, which generally all Rebels are guilty of. And indeed this Earl acted in this Rebellion a very ungrateful Part towards the King. He had allowed him to be married to the youngest Daughter of *James Dunbar* the last Earl of *Murray* of that Name, born to him by *Katharine Seton*, Sister to the Earl of *Huntly* ; and by his Brother's Interest, who then intirely managed the King, he obtained the Earldom of *Murray*, which, by the Laws and Practice of this Nation, belonged to *William Crichton*, Heir to the Lord *Crichton*, who had married the eldest Daughter.

The Earl of *Huntly* was sufficiently apprised before the Battle, that his proper Estate was invaded by the Earl of *Murray* ; but he preferred the publick Interest of his King and Country to his private Concern, thereby speaking out the Greatness of his noble Soul, like another *Regulus*, *Curtius*, &c. and the Prudence of the same, in justly weighing, that the utter Ruin of the whole Nation must be the dreadful Consequence of the King's being defeat by such a Number of so powerful and traitorous Conspirators. Whereas all the Damage he could suffer in his private Estate, was easily to be retrieved, even by himself : And that he very soon did ; for having defeated the Earl of *Crawford*, and thereby reduced to the King's Obedience all the North Country from *Stirling* to *Murray*, he immediately after the Battle marches North, at once

both to serve the King, and his own Concern, in reducing that other ungrateful Rebel, *Archibald* Earl of *Murray*; who hearing of *Huntly's* Approach with a victorious Army, not daring to look him in the Face, retired into some lurking Place. *Huntly* marched into *Murray*, and burnt and wasted all the Lands that belonged to the Earl of that Name and his Adherents, bringing away very great Spoil, sufficient to recompense his Tenants of all Damages sustained by them, when invaded by the Earl of *Murray*; whom he obliged to fly from that Country, and seek Shelter somewhere else.

And now having reduced all the North of *Scotland* to the King's Obedience, as above said; there being not so much as one left of all the Rebels, or their Confederates, that durst openly shew his Face; He marches South to assist the King with his Forces and Counsel, where he was very graciously received by the King, who frankly owning the singular Services he had done him, gave him (as a lasting Remembrance of that Battle he had so valiantly and fortunately fought, and in Recompence of the Lands he had given of, as above) the Lordship of *Brechin*, and the heritable Sheriffships of *Aberdeen* and *Inverness*, with the Addition of three Lions Heads to his Coat-Armorial, which to this Day is born quartered with the three former Coats of *Gordon*, *Seton* and *Frazer*. He also gave him the Privilege to carry before his Horse-Companies at Weapon-shaws and Battles, (as the Manuscript (a) words it,) a Pencil of four Corners, or four Squared, which

(a) Gordonston's MS. History.

which was not then allowed to any other of the Scots Nobility.

The Earl of *Huntly* very soon thereafter, with the King's Consent, exchanged the Lordship of *Brechin* with the Lands of *Badenoch* and a great Part of *Lochaber*, and gets himself stiled, by the King's Patent, Earl of *Huntly*, Lord *Gordon* and *Badenoch*, as the Manuscript-Histories of the Family of *Gordon* say. But in this they are certainly in a Mistake; for there is to be seen in the publick Records a Charter granted by King *James II.* bearing Date *April 28, Anno 1451*, to *Alexander* Earl of *Huntly*, Lord *Gordon* and *Badenoch*, for the Lordship of *Badenoch* and Castle of *Ruthven*. By which Charter 'tis clear, that he was in Possession of the Lordship of *Badenoch* at least a Year before the Battle of *Brechin*; so that, to be sure, he got no more but at most the *Braes of Badenoch* and the Lands in *Lochaber*. This Charter is registred in the publick Register, *Lib. 4. N. 139.* and the onerous Cause mentioned in the same, is, *Propter servitia nobis multipliciter impensa.* He also got a Charter of Confirmation of all his Lands, from the King, *viz.* the Earldom of *Huntly*, alias *Strabogie*; of the Lands of *Aboyne*, *Glentanner* and *Glenmuck*; of the Lordships of *Badenoch* and *Lochaber*; *Huntly* and *Gordon* in the Shire of *Berwick*; and the Lands of the Forest of *Enzie* and *Boyne*, &c. This Charter is of the Date, at *Edinburgh, March 15, Anno 1457, Anno Regni 22, (a)* and the onerous Cause for granting the same is, **FOR KEEPING THE CROWN UPON OUR HEAD.** This Charter seems to be lost, (for I never could see it,) as many other of
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(a) Burnet's MS. History.

the ancient Writs are. They fell into bad Hands, during the Rebellion in *Charles* I. and II.'s Time, and out of their Hands has never the Family yet recovered them : And I'm credibly informed, that several of those ancient Writs are yet in Possession of the Successors of those who then intromitted with them, and still kept up from the Family, tho' they cannot be of any manner of Use to any Body else. Sure I am, a more honourable one than this above-mentioned could not be given by a King, nor received by a Subject ; and his eminent Services truly deserved it. He had the Honour to do that (for all I can learn from our ancient or modern Historians) which never any one Subject did before or since ; and that was, by his own Valour and Force to defeat such a terrible and formidable Rebellion, consisting of so many of the greatest and most powerful Men of this Nation. If he had not defeat the Earls of *Crawford* and *Murray*, they had certainly joined *Douglas* ; and in that Case it was morally impossible for the King to have stood his Ground against their united Force : And then *Douglas* would neither have wanted Power, Will nor Ambition to have pulled the Crown from the King's Head, trump'd up his frivolous and antiquated Title to the same, and put it on his own Head ; as his Actions both before and after that Battle clearly evince.

The Earl of *Douglas* was the greatest Subject that then or ever was in the Nation ; an insolently haughty and insupportable Man. The Earl of *Rofs*, who pretended to sovereign Authority in the *Isles*, was able to raise more Men than any other Subject, whose Father in the preceding Reign over-run the Country with an Army of 10000 Men. The Earls
of

of *Crawford*, *Murray* and *Ormond* ; the Lord *Balveny*, Knight of *Cadzou*, were all Men of great Power, who with many others, Gentlemen and Barons, had solemnly sworn and subscribed a Contract (a), *Never to desert one another during Life ; That Injuries done to one, should be taken as done to all, and be esteemed a common Quarrel. Neither should they desist, according to their best Abilities, to revenge them ; That they should concur indifferently against whatsoever Person within or without the Realm, and spend their Lands, Lives, Goods and Fortunes, in Defence of their Debates and Differences whatsoever.* Here there is no Exception made of the King's Person. Into what State and Condition they would have brought the Nation, if their Rebellion had prospered, is not hard to guess.

The first of the confederate Rebels that repented of his Rebellion, and offered to return to his Duty, was the Earl of *Crawford* ; who, to obtain the King's Pardon, thought it his best Way to apply to the Earl of *Huntly* : And he was certainly in the right of it ; the Memory of his Services being so recent and fresh, and being the Person who had defeated him, there was none so proper to interceed for him. And accordingly *Crawford* came where *Huntly* was, surrendered to him, intreating that he would be his Intercessor with the King. Who rightly pondering the Instability of humane Affairs, received him very honourably, and as generously promised to use his best Endeavours with the King. He put *Crawford* upon the Method of his Application, and then went to the King to prepare him for it ;
and

(a) Hawthornden, p. 28.

and he so ordered the Matter, that *Crawford* was to meet the King on the High-way, in his travelling, attended by his Uncle, that excellent Prelate, the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, at whose Intreaty the King was to pardon him. So to make up the Breach that had continued betwixt the Bishop and him, *Crawford* did, as advised, meet the King in his travelling, as it had been by Accident, and having in the humblest Manner confessed his Fault, he begg'd that his Majesty, in Compassion to his Family, would be pleas'd graciously to pardon him. He, at the Intercession of the Bishop, not only pardoned him, but restored him to his Estate; only he oblig'd him (as *Gordonston* in his Manuscript says) to exchange his Place in Parliament with *Huntly*, and dispoise his heritable Sheriffship of *Aberdeen*, which he had already got from the King. All which he readily complied with; and returning to his House of *Finbaven*, in a few Months died of an Ague.

The Earl of *Douglas* continuing obstinate, would not follow *Crawford's* Example; and therefore at a Parliament holden at *Edinburgh*, he, with his Brothers, the Earls of *Murray* and *Ormond*, and the Lord *Balveny*, with their Adherents, are forfeited, and their Estates and Goods confiscated to the King's Use. And now, not knowing what to do, they send their trusty Friend, *James Hamilton* of *Cadzou*, to seek Aid from the King of *England*; which at that Time he was in no Condition to grant, and so returned with an Excuse. This put them in Despair; therefore they resolv'd to make one bold Push for all: And for that end got together as great an Army as it was possible for them to do, and with it march'd to relieve the Castle of *Abercorn*, then besieged by the King.

King. But when *Douglas* had brought his Army in Sight of the King's, he found a great Averseness in his Men to fight against their King and Country-men, and delayed the Engagement till the next Day, contrary to *Cadzou's* Advice, who told him, *He had let slip an Opportunity he would never have in his Power again.* Upon which *Cadzou* left *Douglas*, and went over to the King : Which was no sooner known in *Douglas's* Camp, than most of his Men deserted him. The King pardoned *Cadzou* ; and the *Douglasses*, with those who yet staid with them, fled into *England*, where they gathered together such a Company of broken and loose Men as they could get, and made often Incurfions into *Scotland*, wasting and destroying the Country ; till at last they were encountered by the *Maxwells* and *Scotts*, to whom the Care of the Borders had been committed ; and being intirely defeated, the Earl and the Lord *Balveny* escaped into *England*, the Earl of *Murray* was killed, and the Earl of *Ormond* made Prisoner, and thereafter beheaded at *Edinburgh*. The Earl of *Douglas* after that, being assisted by the Earl of *Northumberland*, made an Inroad into *Scotland* ; but was defeated by his Cousin the Earl of *Angus* (whom his Brother, by the Mother, the good Bishop of *St. Andrews*, kept in his Duty) and Sir *James Hamilton* of *Cadzou*. He made his Escape again to *England*, and got a Pension from *Henry VI. Edward IV. and Richard III.* upon which he lived there. And thus ended that formidable Rebellion in the Ruin of the chief Rebels, and all by the Valour of that brave and noble *Alexander* Earl of *Huntly*.

Anno 1460, to recover *Roxburgh* from the *English*, the King marches with a small Army to the Siege of it,

it, and upon the first Approach becomes Master of the Town: But the Castle being very strong, could not be so easily taken. In the mean Time, none were more prompt and ready to discharge their Duties than those who had been in the late League with the Earl of *Douglas*, and above others, the Earl of *Ross*, who to testify his Gratitude for the King's Clemency, came to his Aid with a great Company of his Highlanders. *Alexander* Earl of *Huntly* coming to the Camp, the King, with the Earl of *Angus*, would take a View of the Trenches; and as to welcome a Man whose Presence seem'd to prognosticate good Fortune, caus'd discharge a Pale of Ordinance together. At this *Salvo*, one of the Cannons being over-charged, broke, and a Shiver of it falling on the King's Thigh, broke the same, and kill'd him out-right, to the great Grief of all true-hearted *Scotsmen*. This happened on the 3. of *August* 1460, the 30th Year of his Age, and of his Reign the 24th. He was of a comely handsome Personage, graceful Mien, and robust Constitution, much delighting in Knightly Exercises. He had a red Spot in one of his Cheeks, which made the Vulgar call him, *James with the fiery Face*. In fine, he was endued with all the Princely Virtues requisite to make a great Man. He had Issue, by his Queen *Mary*, *James* who succeeded him, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, and *John* Earl of *Mar*; *Margaret* Countess of *Arran* by *Boyd*, after by *Hamilton*; and *Cecilia*. He was buried in the Abbey of *Holy-rood-house* at *Edinburgh*.

The Nobility that were standing by, tho' much astonish'd with the Accident, covered the King's Body, and conceal'd it from the Army, lest they should be thereby disheartn'd. The Queen being come that
same

same Day to the Camp, did not suffer her Spirit to be dejected with the Excess of Grief she was under; but calls together the Nobles, and exhorts them to take Courage, and not suffer a Thing almost brought to a Period, to be abandoned for the Loss of one Man; That she should shortly bring them another King instead of him that was gone, and that in the mean Time they should press the besieged with all the Force they could, lest they getting Notice of the King's Death, should grow more bold; and brag that so many Gallant Men's Courage was extinguished by the Death of one Man. The Noblemen blushing to see themselves inferior in Courage to a Lady, carried on the Siege so vigorously, that neither Side were sensible of the Loss of the King: And in the mean Time the young King, about Seven Years of Age, is brought to the Camp; and a few Days thereafter the Castle capitulates, and is surrendered.

To King *James II.* succeeded his Son *James III.* being then Seven Years old. The Custody of his Person, the Education of himself and the other Children, is committed to the Queen. The Management of publick Affairs to *Andrew Stewart Lord Evandale*, the Lord *Kennedy*, the Lord *Boyd*, the Lord *Graham*; the Bishops of *St. Andrews*, *Glasgow* and *Dunkeld*: But all was chiefly managed by that excellent Prelate the Bishop of *St. Andrews*.

The brave *Alexander* Earl of *Huntly* had to his second Wife *Egidia Hay*, called *Heiress of the Lands of Enzie and Forest of Boyne* (a), by whom he had a Son called *Alexander*. But these Writers are both mistaken; for I have already made it evident [P. 25.] that

(a) Gordonston's MS. Straloch's MS.

that long before this Time Sir *John Gordon* of *Huntly* and *Strabogie* got the Forests of *Enzie* and *Boyne* from *David Bruce* King of *Scotland* : So that this Lady could only be Heiress of some Part of the Lowlands of *Enzie* upon the Sea-Coast. *Huntly* repudiated this Lady, upon what Ground I could never learn : But certainly it has either been upon a Pre-contract of the Lady's, or they have been related by Affinity or Consanguinity within the Degrees by the Canon Law prohibited, without a Dispensation from the Pope. Her Son *Alexander* would have succeeded to her in the Lands she was Heiress of ; but they lying contiguous to his Estate of *Huntly*, the Father excamb'd them with his Son, and for them gave him the Lands of *Touch* and *Tullibody* in *Stirling-Shire*, which he had got by his first Lady, and are to this Day possessed by his Posterity, retaining the Name of *Seton*. To his third Wife he married *Elizabeth Crichton*, a Daughter of the Lord *Crichton*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, a Man of exquisite Prudence, hardy Courage and singular Fidelity to his Prince. And that the Estate might never go out of the Sirname of *Gordon* again by an Heiress, he entails it to the Heirs Male procreate betwixt them two, and their Male Successors (a). She had to him three Sons ; *George*, who succeeded him ; *Alexander* of *Mid-mar*, of whom is descended the Family of *Abergeldy* ; and *Adam*, Dean of *Cathness*. Also three Daughters ; The eldest was married to *Macdonald* the Predecessor of this Sir *Alexander Macdonald* of *Slate*. The second, *Christian*, was first married to the Earl of *Errol*, and had Children who succeeded in that Family ; and surviving her

(a) Ferrerius MS.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 81

her Husband, she was again married to the Laird of *Kennedy*, Predecessor to this Earl of *Cassils*. The third was married to the Predecessor of this Lord *Forbes*. *Huntly*, in his Youth, had two natural Daughters, whereof the one was married to *James Innes* of *Innes*, and the other to *Hugh Ross* Baron of *Kilravock* (a). He had spent his Time abroad, in the Wars of *France*, to great Advantage: for when he came home, he was esteem'd the best Captain in the Nation at that Time. And being come to old Age, he sickn'd and died at *Strabogie*, July 15. 1479, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of *Elgin* in *Murray*. *Elizabeth Crichton* his Lady died also at *Strabogie*, Anno 1497, and was buried beside him in the same Church. *Buchanan*, the best Poet of his Time, tho' a declared Enemy to the Family of *Huntly*, being conscious of his great Merit, long after his Death, wrote on him the following Epitaph;

*Clausus ALEXANDER jacet hac GORDONIUS
urna,*

*Qui priscum ornavit lumine stemma novo.
Forma decens, firmæ vires, unogue tenore
Continuo nullis sors labefacta malis.
Dives opum, luxuque carens, domus hospita cunctis;
Pectus amans pacis, fortis ad arma manus.
Omnia permensus felicitis commoda vitæ,
Hic animam cælo reddidit, ossa solo.*

F

GEORGE

(a) Burnet's MS. Hist.

GEORGE GORDON, *second Earl of Huntly.*

GEORGE GORDON, eldest Son and Heir, succeeded to his Father *Alexander*, and was the second Earl of *Huntly*. He still retained those noble Principles of Loyalty, transmitted to him by a long Tract of loyal and brave Ancestors; for in them he had been carefully educated by his Father. And King *James* being mindful of the great Services done to the King and Country by his Father, soon thereafter made him (the Son) chief Justiciary by North the River *Forth*. The Patent is yet extant, of the Date, at *Edinburgh*, 10. of *October* 1479. *Ferrius* calls him *Cancellarius Scotiae*.

King *James* III. (by the current Accounts of our *Scots* Historians) is said to have excluded the ancient Nobility from the Management of publick Affairs, and govern'd only by the Counsel of *Cochran*, *Rogers*, and others of low Rank; which exceedingly disobliged the Nobility, who being conven'd at *Lauder*, with a considerable Army, by the King, to oppose an Invasion threatned from *England*; they conspire to remove from him *Cochran*, and his other Favourites. This Plot was contrived, fomented and carried on by *Archibald* Earl of *Angus* (a), a Man of a turbulent Spirit and great Estate; having gotten, by the Bounty of his Prince, the most part of the Lands that belonged to the late Earl of *Douglas*. The Nobility that were of the Conspiracy, met about Mid-night in the Church of *Lauder*. *Hawthornden* (b) mentions

(a) Abercromby, p. 446. (b) p. 50.

of the Nobility present there, the Earls of *Angus*, *Lennox*, *Huntly*; the Lords *Gray*, *Lyle*, and others. *Abercromby* (a) mentions the same Persons, but says, That *Lennox* and *Huntly* were put upon by the Cunning of this Earl of *Angus*, call'd *Bell the Cat*, the Lord *Gray* and others, who had a Mind to depose the King; which they concealed from these two Earls, who otherwise to be sure would never have consented to it. And that they made sufficiently appear by their After-Conduct; for they immediately abandoned them, and continued ever thereafter in their Loyalty; and *Huntly* was always highly trusted by the King. The Lords were together in Consultation near to the King's Lodgings, who being awak'd from Sleep, sent *Robert Cochran* to enquire what the Matter meant. Him they immediately seize, and pulling a Gold Chain from about him, which he wore, told him, *That he should very soon have another of a quite different Nature*. Upon which the Earl of *Angus*, and some others, rush'd into the King's Tent, and from thence violently drew away *Preston*, *Bomil*, *Rogers*, *Torfisan* and *Leonard*, and without any Form of Law, or allowing them Time to defend themselves, they hang them immediately over the Bridge of *Lauder*.

Hume of Godscroft calls this Rebellion and Murder, *A rare Example of Carefulness of the Commonwealth, join'd with all Modesty, Love and Dutifulness toward their King*. *Their Behaviour* (he says) *was just such as Lawyers prescribe in the like Cases, who accounting the Person of the Prince sacred, do allow, that wicked Counsellors be taken Order with:*

(a) p. 445.

What Law did ever allow Subjects to force their Way into their King's Bed-chamber, to reproach him to Face, and, without Form of Process, to murder his Servants? That Author has not been pleased to point out to us the Law; nor was it in his Power to do it, it being diametrically opposite to all the Laws both divine and humane that ever I could read of. Nay, if the King had done so by any of themselves, it would have been reckoned down-right Tyranny in him. And what Care these Patriots (as he calls them) *join'd with Modesty, Love and Duty*, had of the Common-wealth, shall be shown hereafter. Did these Patriots, after this Murder, march forward against the *English*? No, they did not want to defeat them. On the contrary, they wished for and wanted their advancing forward into the Country; and disbanded that Army the King had raised to oppose the common Enemy, and obliged their injured Prince to retire to a Place of Safety, the Castle of *Edinburgh*, a Fort then thought impregnable, till it should appear who were his Friends, who were his Enemies; and whether he staid there by Choice or Consent, I shall not determine.

The King being in this Situation, it was easy for the *English* Army to advance forward. Accordingly the two Dukes of *Albany* and *Glocester* leaving the Siege of *Berwick* to be carried on by the Lord *Stanley* and others, advanced with the main Body of their Army as far as *Edinburgh*; and as they met with no Opposition in their March, so they did little Harm to the Country (a); the Duke of *Albany* being resolved rather to oblige the People by Courtesy, than

to

(a) Ferrerius, p. 396.

to exasperate them by Hostilities : And when he came to *Edinburgh*, he left nothing undone or unsaid there that might make him as much beloved of the People as (he thought) his Brother was hated. But he soon found himself mistaken; for in a short Time, tho' their King was still under Restraint, there appeared about *Haddington* an Army of brave and true-hearted *Scotsmen*, who tho' they were not in a Condition to give the *English* Battle, yet they were likely to cut off their Convoys, and make their Retreat dangerous. These Considerations brought on a Treaty betwixt some *Scots* Patriots for the King (as I have said, still in Restraint) and the two Dukes of *Albany* and *Glocester*. Those for the King were, *William Schevis* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, *James* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, *Andrew Stewart* Lord *Evandale*, and *Colin* Earl of *Argyle*, who, on the 2d of *August* 1482 (a), bound themselves to the Duke of *Albany*, *That if he did keep for the future, true and faithful Allegiance to the King and his Successors, and observed his Promise made to them and remanent Lords of Scotland; he should thereupon be free from all bodily Harm, and that they should prevail with the King their Sovereign to restore to him (the said Duke) all his Lands, Heritages and Offices, &c. that belonged to him when he left Scotland: As also, That the King should grant to him, and to all Persons engaged in his Service (excepting those who had been excepted by the King his last Proclamation made in Parliament) a full Indemnity and Remission of all Crimes committed by him or them at any Time bypast, providing always, that henceforth they should behave themselves as true Lieges.*

(a) *Fœd. Angl.* Tom. 13. p. 161 & 162.

By this Treaty, the great Author and Contriver of all these Rebellions, the Earl of *Douglas*, was excluded from this Indemnity; and the Day after this Agreement was made, *William Barthram* Provost of *Edinburgh*, and the whole Community thereof (a), “Obliged themselves to repay to the King of
 “*England* such Sums of Money as he had advanced
 “in View of the Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Rothesay* and his Daughter the Lady *Cecilia*: Or if the
 “said King did yet incline that the Marriage should
 “be compleated, they undertook for the King their
 “Sovereign Lord, that he should concur conform
 “to his former Obligations, provided that their said
 “Sovereign, or the Lords of his Council, or the
 “Provost of *Edinburgh*, were informed of the King
 “of *England*’s Pleasure and Election in that Matter,
 “by the Feast of *All Saints* next to come.” Upon
 the 24th of *August* the Town of *Berwick* was surrendered, and by the Duke of *Albany*’s Perfidy to his Sovereign, put in Possession of the *English*, which they have retain’d ever since. He was not immediately admitted to the King’s Presence; but some Time thereafter he was, seemingly at least, reconciled to him. And the King of *England* not complying with the Marriage, the Town of *Edinburgh* (b), upon his requiring the Money by his Servant, Garter King at Arms, repaid it, being a Sum amounting to 6000 Merks Sterling.

This rebellious Duke was no sooner put in Possession of his Estate, but upon some frivolous and imaginary Pretences or Jealousies, he removes from Court, and retired to his Castle of *Dumbar*, where he kept

(a) *Fœd. Angl. Tom. 12. p. 162.* (b) *Ibid. p. 165 & 166.*

a Court crowded with more of the Nobility than were in his Majesty's at *Edinburgh*; and it was not long after, until he sent *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*, *Andrew* Lord *Gray*, and Sir *James Liddel* of *Halkerston*, his faithful Counsellors, as he calls them, in their Commission, dated at the Castle of *Dumbar*, the 12th of *January* 1483 (a), to treat with the King of *England* about such Things as had been agreed on at the Castle of *Fotheringay*. And on the 9th of *February* the King of *England* appointed *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *John* Lord *Scroop*, and Sir *William Parr*, as his Commissioners, to treat with them: And they soon came to agree to the most abominable Treaty that ever Subjects of *Scotland* made (b), viz. First, *That the King of England on the one Part, and the Duke of Albany on the other, obliged themselves to assist one another against all Mortals; and agreed to a Truce for a Year.* Secondly, *The Duke of Albany his Ambassadors undertook in his Name, That during the Truce, and after it, he should endeavour the Conquest of Scotland, that thereby he may be enabled to great and mighty Services to the King of England and his Heirs, against the Possessors of the Crown of France.* Thirdly, *That while the King was willing to assist him, he should never lay down his Arms, for any Reason or Offer that should be made to him by James who now occupieth the Crown of Scotland, or his Heirs.* Fourthly, *The Earl of Angus, the Lord Gray, and Sir James Liddel, oblige themselves, by their Faith, Honour and Knighthood, That in Case the Duke of Albany should die without Heirs to succeed him in the Throne of Scotland; they,*

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their

(a) *Fœd. Angl.* Tom. 12. p. 172. (b) *Ibid.*

their Vassals, Friends and Dependants, should never live under the Liegeance of any other Prince but the King of England; and that they should keep their Castles and Strengths from James now King of Scots, with all their Power. Fifthly, That the Duke, forty Days after the obtaining the Crown of Scotland, should cancel all former Leagues with France; and with all his Power assist the King of England towards the Conquest of that Kingdom. Sixthly, That he should restore James Earl of Douglas to all his Lands, &c. in Scotland. Seventhly, That the Duke being in Scotland, and at Liberty to marry, should take to Wife one of the King of England's Daughters, without putting the said King to any Charges concerning the Marriage. Lastly, That the King of England was to assist the Duke to conquer Scotland, &c. This Treaty is so full of such gross unnatural Villany and Treason, that I need make no Commentary upon it.

While this King of England is contriving the Ruin of his two neighbouring Kings, viz. of France and Scotland, he is snatched away by Death April 9th, his own Crown usurped, and his two innocent and young Sons barbarously murdered, by his unnatural and cruel Brother Richard Duke of Gloucester; as also, those abominable Plots of the Duke of Albany and his rebellious Associates intirely frustrated. And he being summoned to answer for them; and the present Revolution in England making it impossible for him to get Assistance from thence, to enable him to break out into an open Rebellion, he flies to the Borders, leaving his Castle of Dumbar well provided with all Things necessary for a long Defence, in the Hands of an English Garrison; and is now forfeited

a second Time. He met with a favourable Reception in *England*; but the Usurper *Richard* had in the Beginning so much to do at home, that he could give no Assistance as yet to his foreign Confederates. But the next Year, 1484, he began to quicken the Zeal of the rebellious Earl of *Douglas*, by granting him a yearly Pension of 200 *Lib. Sterl.* during Life (a), and also appointed his former Pension granted by King *Edward* (b), to be continued during Life, and the Arrears of it to be punctually paid up. For all this the Usurper *Richard* was still so alarmed by a Party at home, and a Pretender abroad, that the Refugees, I mean the Duke of *Albany* and the Earl of *Douglas*, were soon made sensible, that he was not like to be in Condition to make that Treaty good which they had entred into with King *Edward*: Yet still they depended upon their numerous Friends in *Scotland*, hoping they would rise in Arms for them, how soon they appeared on the Borders with a competent Force to support them. Accordingly on the 22d of *July*, being the Feast of *St. Magdalene* (c), on which Day a Fair or publick Market was kept at *Lochmaben*, they marched thither with 500 choice Horfe, leaving a Body of Foot on the Hill of *Burnswark* to support them. But the People, tho' most of them had been Vassals or Tenants to the Duke or Earl, would not join them as they expected: But on the contrary, believing they came to plunder the Fair, and being confirmed in that Opinion by Speeches, and animated by the Example of the Lairds of *Johnston* and *Cockey*, and every

(a) *Fœd. Angl.* Tom. 12. p. 213. (b) *Ibid.* p. 218. (c) *Buchan.* p. 434. *Hawthorn.* p. 155.

every Country Fellow being accustomed to the Use of Arms, a fierce Engagement ensued. The Fight lasted from Noon till Night with various Appearance of Success. At length the *Scots* prevailed, and the Duke of *Albany* owed his Escape to the Swiftness of his Horse; and the rebellious and unfortunate Earl of *Douglas*, being weighted with Years and Arms, was made Prisoner, and carried to *Edinburgh* by *Robert Kirkpatrick*, who for that Service obtained a Grant of the Lands of *Kirkmichael*.

When the Earl was brought before the King, he was so conscious of his so often reiterated Guilt, that he refused to look the King in the Face, tho' probably he had never seen it before; for he, for his reiterated Rebellion against King *James II.* was driven out of *Scotland* for the last Time, *Anno 1456*, and had ever since continued in *England* a restless Worker of all the Mischiefs to his King and Country, having sworn to the King of *England* to be an Enemy to both. Indeed if he had had a thousand Lives, he richly deserved for these Crimes to have died as many Deaths; yet that merciful Prince, being taken with the goodly Personage and gray Hairs of the Man, spar'd his Life, and inflicted no further Punishment upon him at that Time, than to confine him to the Abbey of *Lindores*, there to spend the rest of his Days in a quiet and pleasant Retirement, and have Time and Opportunity to repent sincerely of his bygone hainous Sins; which 'tis probable he did (a): For some Years thereafter, when that same Faction, in which he had been so deeply concerned, began again to prevail, he was earnestly solicited by his

(a) Lesly, p. 316.

his Cousin and ancient Confederate the Earl of *Angus* to leave the Cloister, and set himself at their Head. But he not only rejected all their Offers, but also earnestly entreated them, while it was yet Time, to return to their Duty; using many Arguments with them, drawn from the different Passages of his long Life and old-aged Experience. But they neglected all these good Advices; and he died in Peace in the Abbacy, after the fatal Overthrow of the King, *Anno 1488*.

It fared not much better with the other Confederate the Duke of *Albany*. He staid, some time after the Defeat, upon the *English* Borders, and was the Author of many Inroads which were made by both Nations; *which, says Buchanan, proved very hurtful to the English, and not very advantageous to the Scots*. For which, and other Reasons, King *Richard* endeavoured an Accommodation, and became regardless of his Brother's or his own Engagements to the Duke, who had no Appearance to be successful: And King *James* was willing to have his rebellious Brother removed to a greater Distance, and a less hostile Climate. A Congress was appointed at *Nottingham (a)*, where appeared as Plenipotentiaries for the King of *Scots*, *Colin* Earl of *Argyle*, *William Elphinston* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, &c. And for the King of *England*, *Richard* Bishop of *St. Asaph*, *John* Duke of *Northfolk*, &c. who upon the 21st of *September* agreed to a Truce, which should begin at the rising of the Sun on the 29th of that Month, and last till the setting of the Sun on the 29th of *September 1487*; by which, during these three Years,

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(a) Holinshed, p. 405.

All Castles, Towns, &c. should remain in the Hand of the present Possessors, the Town of Dumbar excepted, which if the King of Scots had a Mind to recover by Force, he might, without Breach of Truce, attempt it, but not till six Months be elapsed; and not then, unless he gave fair Warning of his Resolution to the King of England within six Weeks. No Out-Law of either Kingdom was to be received or entertained in the other; and that in every Safe-conduct this Clause was to be inserted, PROVIDED always that the Obtainer of this Safe-conduct be no Traitor. The Conservators of this Peace were (a), David Earl of Crawford and Lord Lindsay, George Earl of Huntly, Lord Gordon and Badenach, &c. And there were Commissioners appointed to meet upon the Borders on certain Days and Places, for redressing of Offences, and publishing the Truce. For Scotland, were the Earls of Huntly, Angus and Argyle; the Lords Amundale, Seton, Oliphant, &c.

By this Treaty the Duke of Albany's Measures were intirely broke, and he was obliged to retire to France, attended by John Liddel Son and Heir to Sir James Liddel of Halkerston, where (tho' very undeservedly) he was received, and honourably entertained for many Years (b); till being mortally wounded at a Tournament by the Splinter of a Spear, he lost his Life, and so died in Exile. King James is called by Buchanan a monstrous Tyrant. If any Body will but consider the Treatment of this Duke, and his confederate Earl then the greatest Rebel that ever Scotland bred, and the other, the most unnatural Brother that ever was born: The first he could have banished

(a) Abercromby, Vol. 2. p. 461. (b) Lesly, p. 313.

nished *France*, if he had pleased ; and the last, even when in his Power, all the Punishment he inflicted upon him, was rather an Advantage to him than a Loss in his old Age. Many Men of greater Quality than he, have, in the latter End of their Time, voluntarily chosen such an advantageous Retirement. I say, if they will but impartially consider his more than ordinary Clemency to such notorious Rebels, they must certainly differ from *Buchanan*, and conclude him to have been a most merciful Prince:

In this Year 1484, there came Ambassadors from *Charles VIII.* who had succeeded to his Father *Lewis XI.* King of *France* ; *Bernard Stewart*, Lord *Aubigny*, Marishal of *France*, a noble and brave Gentleman, and of great Esteem there ; and *Peter Mailart* Doctor of the Laws : Who after they had witnessed the Ratification of the former Leagues, returned to *France* with a Body of auxiliary Troops, and many brave Officers. The King having renewed this ancient League with *France*, and (as he thought) broke the Strength and Power of the Rebels, he called a Parliament in *February* 1485, and laid before them the State of the Nation both as to Peace and War. They approv'd of the Truce with *England* and Peace with *France*, remitted the Punishment of the Rebels at home to the King (a), and advised him to besiege the Castle of *Dumbar* by the 1st of *May* next, it being no Breach of the late Truce. They immediately issued out Orders, under most severe Penalties, That all his military Soldiers be-south the Water of *Forth*, should repair thither with their best Arms and 20 Days Provision, at the appointed Time ;

(a) Black Acts, fol. 69.

Time; and those be-north that River in the same Condition, by the 18th of *May*. They also advised the King severely to punish all the Aiders and Abettors of the Duke of *Albany* in his rebellious Practices; *to deter others from committing such odious Crimes against his Majesty in Time coming*, as the Statute words it. This Law was so terrifying to the numerous Offenders, that now, to save their own Lives, they begin to plot against the King's, and never ceas'd from so doing, till they had murdered their Sovereign.

The King, according to the Advice given to him by the Parliament, besieges the Castle of *Dumbar*, which is surrendred to him, upon Terms, in *October*. *Anno 1487* the King calls another Parliament, and there, to remedy the innumerable Disorders that by the late Rebellion had over-spread the whole Nation, he promises (a), *That by his special Grace, and in Favours of his poor Lieges, to give no Pardon or Remission, for full seven Years, to any found guilty of Treason, Murder, Burning, Ravishing of Women, Robbing, Thieving, or Coining of false Money*. There were also a great many other good Acts made in this Parliament: And the Lords and Commons, in Testimony of their Gratitude for them, enacted (a), *That because our Sovereign Lord has so graciously applied himself to the Council of his Three Estates in all Things concerning them, and so bountifully granted them their Desires, &c. They have frankly promised and sworn, That in Time to come, they shall not maintain, fortify, supply, defend, nor to be Advocates for, nor stand at the Bar with Traitors, Thieves, &c.*
but

(a) Black Acts, fol. 74. (b) Ibid. fol. 75.

but shall with all their Power and Knowledge give Counsel, Help, Supply, Favour and Assistance, toward bringing Offenders of all sorts to suffer according to their Demerits. This loyal Parliament made many other good Laws, and then dissolved. And after this,

To confirm the Peace betwixt *Scotland* and *England*, Ambassadors from both Kings having met, several Marriages were agreed upon, to wit, That King James (now being a Widower) was to marry Queen Elizabeth late Wife to Edward IV. As also, the Prince of Scotland was to marry one Daughter of the said King's; and his Brother, King James's second Son, another of them. Tho' none of those Marriages took Effect, yet that betwixt the King and Queen Elizabeth raised great Jealousies in the Minds of the Earl of *Angus* and his other Associates, who had been deeply concerned in the late Rebellions; they apprehending, that after the Marriage she would fully disclose to the King all their secret Plots and Negotiations in *England*. And this their Fear and Jealousy they endeavoured to infuse into the Minds of all those who for their rebellious Practices were obnoxious to these severe Laws made last Parliament. And

The Earl of *Angus*, whom *Abercromby* calls a notorious Rebel, and his Adherents, were not yet satisfied with the Death of those Men against whom they first complained, and being afraid of being made accountable for their late rebellious Practices, and having got into their Association the Lords *Hume* and *Hailes*, who were disobliged at the King for annexing the Priory of *Coldingham* to his Chaplainry at *Stirling*, the Revenues whereof had been still possess'd by them or their

their Friends ; nothing now will serve them, unless the King will abdicate his Government in Favours of his Son, who seeing the Straits he was put to, sent to *Huntly* to haste towards him with all the Forces he could raise in the North which stood firm to their Duty. But while he is marching with a considerable Army towards *Edinburgh*, where the King was keeping himself in the Castle until they should arrive, he was perswaded to leave *Edinburgh*, and betake himself to *Stirling* Castle, and there wait for *Huntly* and the Northern Forces ; that being a Pass where all his Friends might with more Ease assemble at than *Edinburgh*, by reason of the River of *Tay* and the Firth of *Forth* that is betwixt the North and it. But the Governor of *Stirling* Castle being corrupted by the Conspirators, delivered to them the Prince, whom they put upon the Head of their Army, and shut the Gates, denying the King entrance. Whereupon he is forced to fight with the Forces he had ; which being defeat, and the King retiring, was seized by some of the Rebels, carried into a Mill, and was there barbarously murdered (a). If the King had delayed fighting, this Earl of *Huntly* might have had the Honour to have rescued him at this Time from the *Douglasses*, as his Father had done the late King. This Battle was fought on a plain Field not far from *Torwood*, near a small Brook called *Sauchie Burn*, June 11th, Anno 1488. Dr. *Abercromby* has writ the Life and Character of this King with great Exactness, and in my Opinion has fully vindicated him from the Calumnies of *Buchanan* and others, who load him with many Things he was not guilty of.

George

(a) Hawthornden, p. 60.

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George Earl of Huntly had to his Wife, *Jean*, Daughter to King *James I.* Our Acts of Parliament call her the third, *Lesly (a)*, the fifth. *Ferreri* says, *That she had a Daughter to him, that was married to the Earl of Errol, and that he repudiated her.* But in that I think he is mistaken. The Earl of *Errol* married his Sister; and he indeed, after her Death, married *Elizabeth Hay*, Sister to the Earl of *Errol*. By Lady *Jean Stewart* he had four Sons and six Daughters (*b*), as is asserted by all the Manuscript-Histories of that Family. The eldest, *Alexander*, who succeeded him. The second, *Adam*, who got the Lands of *Aboyne* on the River of *Dee*, and married the Heiress of *Sutherland* and *Strathnaver*, whose Posterity still continue to possess that Estate and Dignity. The third, *William*, to whom he provided the Lands of *Gight* and *Shevis*, which he got by Resignation of *Janet Maitland*, whose Ward and Marriage he obtained after the Death of Sir *Patrick Maitland* her Father. The fourth, *James Gordon* of *Letterfury*, to whom he gave an Estate in the *Enzie*. His eldest Daughter *Katharine* (who for her Beauty was called the *white Rose*) was by Consent of King and Parliament married to *Perkin Warbeck*, who past for *Richard Duke of York*, Son to *Edward IV.* (*c*). She is there, and by all *Scots* and *English* Historians, called the King of *Scotland's* near Cousin (*d*). And after *Perkin* was executed, she was as such entertained by the King of *England*, very honourably allowing her a suitable Pension, which she enjoyed all his Life, and after his Death,

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till

(a) Pag. 298. (b) Gordonston's MS. Straloch's MS. Burnet's MS. (c) Lesly, p. 333. Buchan. p. 447. (d) Speed, p. 978. Beckr, p. 242.

till her own. She, for her second Husband, married Sir *Matthew Cradock* (a), a Man of great Power in *Glamorgan-Shire* in *Wales*; of which Marriage is descended the present Earl of *Pembroke*. She died in *Wales*, and was interred in a Chapel at one of the Earl of *Pembroke's* Dwelling-houses. She was much esteem'd of in *England* for her admirable Beauty and Modesty. Now, in my Opinion, this is a clear Refutation of that Mistake which *Ferreri*us fell into, in asserting, *That Jean Stewart had but only one Daughter, and that she was married to the Earl of Errol.* The second was married to the Earl *Marischal*. The third to the Earl of *Crawford*. The fourth to the Earl of *Bothwel*. The fifth to Sir *William Sinclair* of *Westeraw*, Brother to the Earl of *Caithness*. The sixth to Sir *Gilbert Hay* of *Kilmalemock* in *Murray*. He had two natural Daughters, one of them married to the Laird of *Findlater*, and the other to *Gasper Cullen*, of whom descended Captain *Cullen*, executed at *Leith*, Anno 1571. He, as his Father had done before, tailzied his Estate to his Heirs Male, and got the same ratified in Parliament, *Næ hæreditas Huntillææ domus iterum ad fæminas devolveretur*, saith *Ferreri*us. He built, and provided with Rents, the Priory of *Kingussie* in *Badenach*, and likewise *St. Peter's* Church in *Elgin*. He founded and finished the Castle of *Bog of Gight*, now called *Gordon-Castle*, upon the River of *Spey*; and at last died at *Stirling*, June 8th, Anno 1501, was buried at *Cambuskenneth*, and succeeded by his Son

ALEXAN-

(a) Gordonston's MS.

ALEXANDER GORDON, *third Earl of Huntly.*

ALEXANDER, the third Earl of *Huntly*, was much in Favour with King *James IV.* and by him made Chancellor of *Scotland*, heritable Constable of the Castle of *Inverness*, and heritable Sheriff of that Shire, as his Successors are to this Day; and from him also he got the Castle of *Inverlochy* in *Lochaber*, with some Lands there: Which Donation is dated at *Edinburgh*, March 24, Anno 1505, Regni 18. After the Family of *Huntly* got these Lands, they could, and yet can, go upon Land belonging to themselves, either in Property or Superiority, from the Mouth of the River *Spey* which falls into the East Sea, to the Firth of *Lochy* which runs into the West Sea; and that, I'm told, will be about 90 Miles. There is no other Subject in *Scotland* can do the like.

King *James III.* being killed, as before, contrary to the express Orders given by his Son the Prince before the Engagement, and who, when after the Battle he heard of his Father's Death, wept bitterly (a); was succeeded by his Son *James IV.* in the Sixteenth Year of his Age. He had two Brothers, *James* (not *Alexander* as some call him) by his Father created Duke of *Ross*; and *John* Earl of *Mar.* Both of them died without Issue.

Upon *James IV.*'s Accession to the Throne, there was a Parliament called, which mostly consisted of

(a) *Abercromby*, p. 476.

those who had contributed to the Murder of the late King; and in it were all their rebellious Actings approved of, and all those who had been in Arms in Defence of their King were condemned or punished one Way or other. A great many were cited to appear before this Parliament, and among them *David Lord Lindsay of Byres* was cited to answer to an Indictment they had drawn up against him. The chief Article whereof was, *That he had conspired with the Father James III. to destroy the Son.* A pretty Fetch, thus to arraign a brave and loyal Subject, for adhering to his rightful Sovereign, when an execrable Rebellion was fram'd against him. When he was called to answer before the Parliament, he there had a Speech in his own Defence which was so brave and so like a true-hearted and loyal *Scotsman*, and (in my Opinion) yet so instructive, that I thought it not amiss to insert it here, from that excellent Introduction to *Hawthornden's History*, which the Author had from a Manuscript of *Lindsay of Pitcotty*:
Ye are all Lurdanes, my Lords; I say, ye are all false Traitors to your Prince: And this I dare prove with my Body on any one of you, which hold you best, from the King's Grace down. For ye, false Lurdanes and Traitors, have caused the King, by your false Sedition and Conspiracy, to come against his Father in plain Battle, where that noble Prince was cruelly murdered among your Hands; tho' ye brought the King in Presence for your Beboof, to make him the Buckler of your Enterprize. Therefore, false Lurdanes, if the King doth not punish you hastily for that Murder, ye will murder himself when ye see Time, as ye did his Father. Therefore, Sir, [thus he addresses to the King present] beware of them, and give them no Cre-
dence;

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dence; for they that were false to your Father, can never be true to your self. Sir, I assure your Grace, if your Father were living, I would take his Part, and stand in no Awe of false Lurdanes: And likewise, if ye had a Son that would be counsel'd to come in Batt'e against you, by evil Counsel of false Lurdanes like thir, I would take your Part against them, and fight against them in your just Quarrel, even with Three against Six of them; and thir false Traitors that would have you believe ill at my Hands, I shall be truer at length to your Grace than they shall. Notwithstanding of this brave and free Speech, (and indeed it is second to none that's to be found in History) the Lord Byres escaped unpunished, thro' an Informality in the Procefs.

This Parliament impowred certain Noblemen and Gentlemen, all the Nation over, to administer Justice, and suppress all Disorders in their own Lands, and those adjoining to them, till the King's Age of 21 Years; and the Care of the North, from the Shire of *Mearns* to *Inverness*, was committed to the Earls of *Huntly*, *Errol*, and the Lord of *Inverugie*. *Henry VII.* of *England*, who had a singular Esteem of King *James III.* would as yet in no manner correspond with his Murderers; but on the contrary, sent down a Fleet of five tall Ships, to join with Sir *Andrew Wood* who commanded the *Scots* Fleet, and others the late King's Friends who had taken Arms to revenge his Murder. The *English* Fleet came to the *Scots* Firth join'd with Sir *Andrew*, but they did not act in Concert; for the *English* transgressing their Orders, fell foul upon the maritime Towns, pillaging Friend and Foe, and so block'd up the River of *Forth*, that the Commerce of *Scots* Merchants with

Foreigners, and even among themselves, was very much interrupted. This being highly displeasing to the Government, and not agreeable to Sir *Andrew*, they perswade him to come ashore: And among many Arguments they made use of to bring him over to their Interest, they told him, *That now King James IV. had as much Right to his Allegiance as his Father had before him, and to withstand the present Government, was to perpetuate intestine Comotions, and to bring a foreign Enemy into the Bowels of his Country, to its utter Ruin.* Sir *Andrew* at last yielding to Reason, went with his two Ships (for more he would not have, tho' they had provided them for him) down the Firth, either to oblige the *English* to retire home peaceably, or to fight them. Upon which there happened an Engagement, off *Dumbar*, betwixt Sir *Andrew* with his two Ships, and the five *English*; in which he being victorious, brought the five *English* Ships up to *Leith*.

To revenge which, Sir *Stephen Bull*, a Sea Officer, much fam'd for his Valour and Knowledge in Sea-Affairs, was sent to intercept Sir *Andrew* in his Return from the Low-Countries, who for that End lay with some good Vessels in the Mouth of the *Firth*, under the Cover of the *May*; and accordingly these two excellent Officers met, and engaged the 10th of *August* 1489. The Fight lasted two Days, during which they were carried along the Coast of *Fife* with the Winds and Tide; at last they were driven among the Sands at the Mouth of *Tay*, and the *English* being Ships of much greater Burden than the *Scots*, stuck moored among the Sands, and became an easy Prey to Sir *Andrew*. He took them, and brought them Prizes to *Dundee*, delivered Sir *Stephen* and the rest

rest of the Officers, Prisoners to the King, who dismissed them Ransom-free. Upon which a Truce ensued.

Robert Archbishop of *Glasgow*, *Patrick* Earl of *Bothwell*, Great Admiral of *Scotland*, and Warden of the West-Marches, and *Andrew* postulate Bishop of *Murray*, received plenipotentiary Powers from King *James* at *Stirling*, *October* 8th, 1501, to treat of a Marriage betwixt him and the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter to *Henry VII.* of *England*; who having obtained from the Pope a Permission for the Marriage, (the Lady being then but 10 Years of Age, and King *James* and she being within the fourth Degree in Blood and Affinity,) the *Scots* and *English* Plenipotentiaries agreed upon the Marriage-Articles at *Richmond*, 4th of *January* 1502; and thereafter, upon the Terms of a perpetual Peace and League between the two Nations (a). She came to *Scotland*, conform to the Treaty 1503, and had a Jointure settled upon her of 2000 *L. Sterl.* or 6000 *L. Scots*, of yearly Revenue: The Lands assigned for that Effect (b) being the Forest of *Etrick* and Mannor of *Newark*, the County of *March* and the Lordships of *Condbranspeth* and *Dumbar*, the Lordship and Palace of *Linlithgow*, the Lordship and Castle of *Stirling*, the Earldom of *Monteith*, the Lordship and Castle of *Down*, and the Palace and Lordship of *Metbuen*. I have set down the Lands assigned to this Lady for her Jointure, to let it be seen what a vast Difference there is betwixt the Value of Lands then and now. She set out from *Richmond* the 16th of *June*, accompanied with a great Retinue of Lords and Ladies;

(a) *Fœd. Angl.* Tom. 12. p. 793, 794. (b) *Ibid.* Tom. 13. p. 63.

and the Marriage was solemnized at *Edinburgh* with most magnificent Jufts and Tournaments (as the Custom was in those Days) by Knights of *France*, *England* and *Scotland*, all of them signaling their Skill in martial Exercises: But none came near in any Performance to the *Savage Knight*, by which Name the King went. His Retinue were the robuſteſt Highlanders he could find, who fought as in a true Battle with Sword and Targe, to the Muſick of their Bagpipes; inſomuch that they were admired by the *Engliſh*, who had never ſeen Men ſo ambitious of Wounds, and ſo prodigal of Blood, in Sport.

When all theſe Jollities were over, the King, who was heartily well pleaſed with his Conſort, took Care to have her Jointure confirmed in Parliament at *Edinburgh*, *March 1504*: And as if ſhe had not got enough, he appointed (a) Sir *Hugh Campbel* of *Lowden*, Sheriff of *Air*, to infeſt her in the Lordſhip of *Kilmarnock*; which he did, before Witneſſes, *Conſtantine Dunlop* of *Knuthal*, *John Lockhart* of *Bar*, *David Crawford* of *Kerſe*, *Alexander Boyd* of *Kilmarnock*, and *Thomas Gylbam* an *Engliſhman*.

About the 1507 (b), one *Odon Odong-neil*, a great Man in *Ireland*, according to *Gordonſton* (c), (who calls him the Great *Oy-do-neil*) came himſelf to the King at *Edinburgh*, offering his Service to him before all other Princes. *Abercromby* ſays, he ſent over from his Town of *Drumangeil*, *Æneas Macdonald*, to intreat his Friendſhip, and Aſſiſtance (being to maintain the Liberty of his Country againſt the *Engliſh* with his Sword) of 4000 Men, he was obliged to ſend him by Virtue of a League

(a) Ford. Angl. Tom. 13. p. 92, 93. (b) Abercr. p. 517. Tom. 3

(c) Gordonſton's MS. Leſly, p. 343.

League betwixt them, under the Conduct of *John*, the Son of *Alexander Mackean*, and that he would give Orders to his Subjects in *Clandom-pnail* not to molest him (a). The King very kindly entertained him, told him, that he should send the Orders he desired: But I don't find that he sent him any Assistance of Men. However, it appears, that there has been a Correspondence kept up betwixt the Kings of *Scotland*, and some of the Princes among the native *Irish*, still since King *Robert I.*'s Time; and that although the Kings of *England* term'd themselves sole Masters of *Ireland*, yet that at least there were some *Scots* Colonies in the North of *Ireland* that owned themselves Subjects of the King of *Scotland*, and were so lookt upon by others. And yet, to do more Honour to that *Irish* Prince, the King appointed the Lord *Gordon* to wait upon him till he was out of *Scotland*.

The *Hollanders* at this Time (b) being provoked by the Protection the King gave to the Duke of *Gueldres*, or out of their Covetousness, took and plundered some *Scots* Ships, and threw the Merchants and Mariners over-board. But to their Cost. For the King having built a huge big Ship, gave the Command of her to *Andrew Barton*, an excellent Sea-Officer; ordered him to Sea, to revenge the Injuries received from the *Dutch*. He immediately went to Sea; and as a Proof of his Success, he sent a great many Chests fill'd with the Heads of *Dutch* Pirates, to the King, and return'd himself with many Prizes and much Honour. In this King's Reign we were at least an equal Match either to the *English* or *Dutch* at Sea; and if we had kept the last from fishing in our Seas,
and

(a) Collect. Liter. in Bibl. Jurid. Edinb. (b) Lesly, p. 392.

and enhanced that so beneficial a Trade to our selves, we might have been still in much better Condition than we now are.

King *James*, as I have said, being married to *Margaret*, eldest Daughter to King *Henry VII.* there was Peace betwixt the two Nations all his Time, and a Part of *Henry VIII.*'s; till about the Year 1513 (a), that the *Scots* received several Damages both by Sea and Land from the *English*: And tho' they fought several Times Redrefs of the same, yet they could obtain none. The King of *England* was at this Time invading *France*, twixt which and *Scotland* there was an ancient Alliance. The King of *France* sent over an Ambassador, not only to renew the old League with *Scotland*, but also to perswade K. *James* to send over a Fleet and Land-Forces to his Aid, and to break with King *Henry*, and invade *England* by Land. He not only renews the old League with *France*, (in which the *Scots* had many new Privileges granted them) but he makes Preparation for the War with *England*; and his Allies were not wanting to assist him. The King of *Denmark* sent him several Ships loaded with Gun-powder, Cannons and Arms of all sorts. Monsieur *la Motte* landed in the West with four Ships loaded with Wine and Flower from *France*. *Oy-doneil* came also hither at this Time from *Ireland* to offer his Assistance, whom the King, after honourable Entertainment, sent home.

King *James* had a Fleet of Ships (b) at this Time in the River of *Forth*, and among many others of which it was composed, the *Michael*, *Margaret* and *James*, were universally admired for their Bulk and Strength.

(a) Lesly, p. 360. Buchan. p. 445. (b) Abercromby, p. 527.

Strength. He gave the Command of the whole to Sir *James Gordon* of *Letterfury*, Brother to the Earl of *Huntly*, of whose Valour and Fidelity he was sufficiently assured, with Letters of Mark, and Orders to transport the Earl of *Arran* and 3 or 4000 Men under his Conduct, to *France*; whom to encourage the more, the King in Person goes aboard the *Michael*, and accompanies them to the Island of *May* (a).

The same Day the Fleet sailed down the Firth, the Lyon King at Arms was dispatched with a Letter from King *James* to King *Henry* (b), containing all the Reasons of the War; and it was delivered to him when, together with the Emperor *Maximilian*, he was besieging *Terouenne* in *Flanders*: And this Letter he took as a sufficient Declaration of the War. And King *James* in the mean Time makes all suitable Preparations to invade *England*. But before he march'd, the most of our *Scots* Historians tell us, that he was advertis'd, while at *Linlithgow*, not to proceed in his Journey; or if he did, not to follow too much the Advice of Women. There was also another Apparition at *Edinburgh*, while his Army lay in the Burrow-Moor. Our Authors give a full Account of them, to whom I refer the Reader (c). But the King's boundless Courage contemned all those Things, and so he sets forward, and pass'd the *Tweed* the 22d of *August*, and encamp'd that Night near the River *Twisfel*; and upon the 24th he made an Act at *Twisfel-haugh* in *Northumberland*, with the Advice of all his Lords then present, declaring, *That the Heirs of all those who should die*

in

(a) Lesly, p. 359. (b) Holinshed, p. 417. (c) Abercromby, p. 530.

in the Army, or be killed by the Enemy during their Abode in England, should have their Wards, Reliefs and Marriages of the King; who upon that Account dispensed with their Age. This done,

He laid Siege to the Castle of *Norham*, which was surrendered to him in a few Days; and after that, demolished the Castles of *Wark, Ford and Etil, &c.* and enriched his Soldiers with much Booty, and many Prisoners; among whom were the Lady *Ford* and her beautiful Daughter, whose Charms so soften'd him with Love, that he was less intent upon the War, (as had been predicted by the old Man.) However these he soon threw off; for when there was Occasion to fight, he express'd too much Forwardness, even contrary to the Advice of the best of his Captains, declaring, that with the Forces he had, which were then very few (a), he would fight the Enemy, if they were 100000. According to the *English* Authors (b), they were about 26000, or 30000; but the *Scots* Army were not half that Number. Upon which many of the Nobility dissuaded the King from fighting, and among the rest, the Earl of *Huntly* made Use of many Reasons, why the King should not fight at that Time, but retire home, since his Army was so much weakned, and that he could do it with Honour and Safety: But concluded, that he frankly submitted to the King's Opinion, and that he was to share in the Danger as well as the Glory of the contrary Opinion. *Holinshed* says, *That this Earl of Huntly was held in the most Reputation of all the Scots Nobility for his Valiancy, join'd with Wisdom and Policy.* *Archibald* Earl of *Angus* (c) reason'd also
against

(a) Lesly, p. 346. (b) Eachard, p. 630. (c) Abercromby, p. 532. Vol. 2.

against fighting; but when he could not prevail with the King not to fight, he shamefully deserted him, pretending *Infirmity* and *old Age*, (as *Godscroft* says;) tho' in the mean Time he makes him to be no older than 61 or 62 Years. If he had been either old or infirm, he should have staid at home, and not come to the King's Host, and give so bad Example. But he, *Hume*, and others, who had caused a Mutiny in the late King's Army at the Bridge of *Lauder*, and by a long Series of the blackest Treasons, at length effected the Ruin and Murder of that excellent Monarch. It could not be expected, I say, that those who had so treated the Father, could wish Prosperity to the Son, lest at some Time or other he might bring them to account for their former Misdeeds.

But the King believing every Man in his Army to be of equal Strength, Courage and Gallantry, to himself, gave a deaf Ear to all the Reasons laid before him, for declining fighting at that Time. He was a Prince of such resolute Courage, and Firmness of Body and Mind, that he could not bear to hear of retiring, tho' their Numbers were much superior to his; and so immediately ordered the Disposition of the Battle (a). The Right Wing was commanded by the Earl of *Huntly* and his two Brothers, *Adam* Earl of *Sutherland* and *William* Gordon of *Gight*. The Lords *Hume* and *Hailes*, with their Vassals, were appointed to succour him. The Earls of *Crawford* and *Montrose* commanded the Left, and the King the main Battle. The Corps of Reserve was commanded by the Earls of *Argyle* and *Lennox*. The Earl of *Surrey* was General of the *English* Army, in which,
with

(a) Gordonston's MS. Lesly, p. 348.

with the Admiral his Son was lately arrived about 5000 veterane Troops from *France*.

Huntly gave the first Charge with such Force and Vigour to the Left Wing of the Enemy, that in a short Time he put them to Flight, forcing Sir *Edmond Howard* (a), the youngest Son of the Earl of *Surrey*, tho' he performed Wonders, to flee with the Remainder of those 3000 Men who engaged under his Conduct; and if they had not escaped to the next Battalion commanded by the Lord *Dacres* and Bastard *Heron*, must have all perished, or been Prisoners of War. But the Earl of *Huntly* returning from the Pursuit, found the rest of the Army quite disordered, and almost routed; and therefore orders the Lord *Hume* to make all possible Haste to succour the middle Battle where the King was: But he returned for Answer, and a villanous one indeed it was, *That they do well this Day that do for themselves*. The King saw the Body of the *English* give Way that was defeated by the Earl of *Huntly*; but unluckily he alighted from his Horse, commanding his Guard of Noblemen and Gentlemen to do the like, and follow. He had at first abundance of Success; but at length (b), Lord *Thomas Howard* and Sir *Edward Stanley*, who had defeated those oppos'd to them, coming in with the Lord *Dacre's* Horse, and surrounding the King's Battalion on all Sides, the *Scots* were so put to it, that for their last Defence they cast themselves into a Ring, and being resolved to die nobly with their Sovereign, who scorn'd to ask Quarters, were to a Man with him cut off. The Fight continued till Night parted them, neither Party know-

(a) Holinshed, p. 421. (b) Hawthornden, p. 76.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. III

knowing where the Victory rested. But the brave King *James* neither being found among the dead nor the living, the Loss by much was greatest on the *Scots* Side. What came of the King could never certainly be known. If his Body had been found among the dead, it would have been easily known by the Iron Girdle he always wore about him. Some say he escaped out of the Battle upon a swift Horse brought to him, came to the Castle of *Hume*, and was there murdered. I shall be loath to think any Gentleman could be guilty of such a Villany: But I don't know what that Man is not capable to do, who can stand by in Time of Battle, see his Prince in such a Hazard, and return such an Answer as he did to the Earl of *Huntly*. This is certain, that the Earl of *Angus* and he were the principal Heads of the Rebels in his Father's Time, and that they had a great Hand in the Murder of that King. 'Tis also hard to think, that they wished well to this, when the one went away before the Battle, and the other refused to fight in it. And if the King fled to the Castle of *Hume*, (as was then confidently reported) he might readily suspect, that some Time or other the King might call him to account for the Murder of his Father, and betraying of himself; and to prevent that, resolved to make sure of him. But this being doubtful, I shall be willing to judge on the charitable Side. However one thing seems to be pretty sure, and that is, That if he had succour'd the King as he was ordered, 'tis more than probable the *Scots* had been victorious, and their King had been safe: for he's blam'd both by *Scots* and *English* Historians for the Loss of this Battle (a).
'Tis

(a) Holinshed, p. 301. Hawthornden, p. 77.

'Tis recorded by several Historians; that divers ill Omens happened before the Battle, that might have had some Impressions on the Courage of one less resolute than this brave Prince was: As he was in Council with his Lords; asking their Opinion anent the Order of the Battle, a Hare started; and tho' pursued with a thousand Engines of Death; yet she escaped safe and unhurt. As also; the Night before the Battle, Mice or Rats had gnawn the Buckle and Leather of the King's Helmet, that should have fastened it upon his Head; and that the Vail or Cloath of his Tent appear'd as if it had been tinctur'd with Blood instead of Dew. But neither these, nor the bad Prefages that are reported to have happened before his March from *Scotland*, had any Impression on the noble Mind of that valiant Prince. This Battle was very obstinately fought, and it yet remains a Question on which Side the Victory rested. There were of the *Scots* killed upwards of 15000 (a): Many of them indeed were of the best Quality of the Nation: There were more killed of the *English*; but they were of much less Consideration. *Abercromby* (b) has given us the Names of about 40 Noblemen, or the eldest Sons of such; and more of Knights and Barons. The Earl of *Huntly*, and his Brother *Adam* Earl of *Sutherland*, came safe off; but his other Brother, Sir *William Gordon* of *Gight*, a very brave Gentleman, was there killed (c). This Battle was fought on the 9th of *September 1513*, *Regni 26. Vitæ 41.*

Both *Scots* and *English* Historians give King *James IV.* the Character of one of the bravest Princes

(a) Buchan. p. 368. (b) p. 540. (c) Lesly, p. 349.

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Princes of his Time. He was a great Encourager of Learning and learned Men. It was by his Beneficence that Bishop *Elphinston*, that excellent Prelate, was enabled to erect the University in *Old Aberdeen*. Nay, *Buchanan* (a), who writes often falsely to the Disadvantage of many of our Kings, is forced to give him a great Character: He says, *Rex autem Jacobus, ut vivus omnibus fuit charissimus, ita ejus amissi tantum remansit apud superstites desiderium, tam jucunda in omnium animis hæsit recordatio, quantum nullius fuisse Regis, aut meminimus, aut legimus, &c.* What was his Fate, is yet uncertain, whether he was killed in the Battle, or on a swift Horse escap'd to the Castle of *Hume*. The last cited Author seems to think, that he was there murdered. He says, *That he often heard from Laurence Tailfer, an honest and learned Man, and who was one of the King's Pages then, and an Eye-Witress to the Battle; that when it was declining, he saw the King mounted on a Horse cross the Tweed.* These, with many other Circumstances, made the Generality of the People then believe, that he was murdered in that Castle, if not by the Lord *Hume* himself, at least by some of his Servants, to prevent their Master's being brought to account not only for his Rebellion in King *James III.*'s Time, but also for his dishonourable (if not treacherous) Behaviour in Time of this Battle.

The *English* believed they found his Body among the dead. There were several Gentlemen who had put on that Day the same Armour and Dress with the King, so to personate him in Time of Battle, that he might not be distinguished in the Heat of Action

H

by

by the Enemy, nor, in case of any fatal Accident, be missed by his own Soldiers : And among those Gentlemen, there was one *Alexander Lord Elphinston*, a brave Man, had dressed himself as like to the King as it was possible ; for he was also very like the King both in Stature and Countenance, so that it was hard to distinguish the one from the other, while alive, and much more when dead. He was of a comely Countenance, which even when dead, seem'd to breathe Majesty ; and it being found surrounded with Heaps of the dead, the *English* took it for the Body of the King. But to me it seems they were mistaken, for it had not that Iron Belt about it which the King still wore. But whether it was the Lord *Elphinston's*, according to *Buchanan*, or the Laird of *Bonbard's*, as saith *Lesly*, is uncertain. The Lord *Dacres*, who found it, believing it to be the King's, treated it as such ; he embalm'd it, wrapt it in Lead, and carried it to the Abbay of *Sheen* in *Surrey*, and there it was honourably buried. But before that could be done, King *Henry* was obliged to write to the Pope for a Licence, because he died excommunicated by that Pontiff: Upon which *Leo X.* (a) in the first Year of his Pontificate, wrote a Letter to King *Henry* ; and because there is some Things singular in it, I thought it not amiss to insert it in the *Appendix*, N. 15.

Dr. *Abercromby* writes (b), from a Manuscript-History of *Scotland* done by the Earl of *Nithsdale*, and preserved in the *Scots College* of *Doway*, That during the Usurpation of *Cromwel*, a Skeleton girded with an Iron Chain, and involved in a Bull's Skin,

(a) *Fœd. Angl.* Tom. 13. p. 385. (b) p. 536. Vol. 2.

Skin, was found among the Ruins of the old Castle of *Roxburgh*, and that the Iron Chain, which King *James IV.* did at no Time lay by, made People generally believe, that it was the Body of that Prince which they had discovered; but that the Nation being then in Subjection to the *English* Rebels, there was no Way then to make a further Enquiry into the Matter: So the Skeleton was interred, without further Ceremony, in the common Burial-place. From the Accounts transmitted to us, both by our *Scots* and *English* Historians, the Fate of this brave Prince; whether he was killed in the Battle, or murdered thereafter, is not, in my Opinion, positively to be determined: So I shall leave it to every one to satisfy themselves about it. He being dead, is succeeded by his Son

James V. a Child scarce 18 Months old (a). The Queen called a Parliament, by which the Government of the Nation is committed to her; but she was to do every thing relative thereto by the Advice of the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, the Earl of *Huntly* then Chancellor, and the Earls of *Angus* and *Arran*. The Command be-south *Forth* was given to the Lord *Hume*, and be-north that River to the Earl of *Huntly* (b). He had before that a Commission of Lieutenancy from the late King, be-north the River of *Northesk*, dated at *Stirling*, *March 25. A. D. 1504*, *Reg. 10.* and this Office of Lieutenancy in the North has been renewed to every Earl of *Huntly* without Interruption, from that Time to the Revolution 1688, as appears by Commissions yet extant.

(a) *Lelly*, p. 351. (b) *Buchan*, p. 370. *Hawthorn*, p. 25.

The Queen, some little Time after the Nation was in some measure settled, in *April* was brought to Bed of a posthumous Son, in the Castle of *Stirling*, who was baptized by the Bishop of *Cathness*, and named *Alexander*. How soon she recovered her Health, she began to think of a second Husband: Whether moved thereto by the Backwardness she found in some of the Nobility's not paying that ready and chearful Obedience to her Commands that she expected, or by other womanish Reasons best known to herself, I shall not determine; but whatever they were, she found very soon Charms enough in the Earl of *Angus* to determine her to make him Partner of her Bed, and instantly married him, without advising with her Brother or any Body else. How soon her Marriage came to be discovered, the Nobility thought it proper no longer to trust her either with the Government of the Nation, or the Protection of her two Infant Children, especially since she had married into that Family which had given so much Trouble to severals of the former Kings: And being much spirited up to it by the Lord *Hume*, they resolved immediately to call home from *France*, *John* Duke of *Albany*, Son to *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, Brother to King *James* III. (a) who, after several Messages from the Publick, and his private Friends, notwithstanding the great Opposition made by the King of *England*, who esteem'd him too much a *Frenchman* to be Governor of *Scotland*; being honourably dismissed, and furnished with a sufficient Fleet of Ships, arrived safely at *Dumbarton*, *July* 1515. Upon which a Parliament is called, and he is thereby restored

(a) Buchan, p. 373.

restored to all his Father's Inheritance, Titles and Honours; being declared Duke of *Albany*, Earl of *March*, and Governor of the Kingdom till the King's full Maturity. He found the Country in great Disorder. He made many good Laws, and reduced the Country into as good Order as was possible at that Time. Yet his Government became disagreeable both to the *Douglasses* and *Humes* (a): They had been so much accustomed to rule, that they did not know to obey even their Kings, much less any other Person; and so they join in a Confederacy against the Governor. They also drew into their Party the Earl of *Arran*, and his Sister's Son the Earl of *Lennox*; but these two were soon reconciled, by the Mediation of the Countess of *Arran*, a Lady then venerable for her Age. She was Sister to King *James III.* Mother to the Earl of *Arran*, Grandmother to the Earl of *Lennox*, and Aunt to the Governor; and so a very fit Mediatrix among such Relations. She put *Andrew Forman*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, upon the Affair, who soon made it up. About this Time died *Alexander* Duke of *Rothsay*, the King's only Brother, at *Stirling*, and was buried in the Abbay of *Cambuskenneth*.

The Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Hume*, and several of their Friends, fled into *England*. The Peace betwixt the two Nations being very near expired, there were Commissioners sent from *Scotland* to renew the same; and a short Peace was made up, in which the King of *England* comprehended the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Hume*, and others their Accomplices. The Lord *Hume* return'd, and was receiv'd into the Governor's

(a) Hawthornden, p. 84.

vernor's Favour. But he (the Governor) being push'd on by *John Hepburn* Prior of *St. Andrews*, who was his intimate Counsellor, was made by him believe, that it was impossible to retain *Hume* in his Duty, as being one whom neither Rewards could soften, nor Honours oblige, and make constant. He desired him to remember how often he had been pardon'd, and yet as often relaps'd; and that if he should incline at any Time to go abroad, and *Hume* alive, the King would neither be in Safety, nor the Nation in Peace; and that to bring him to a legal Trial, would be the most acceptable Action he could do to the Generality of the Nation, and the greatest Security to the King. The Governor at last yielded to the Importunities of the Prior, and for that Effect called a Convention of the Nobility to meet at *Edinburgh*, and deals with the Lord *Hume's* Friends, that he might not be absent. Several of them were against his coming thither, or at least advised him to leave Mr. *William* his Brother, a Man of equal Courage and Spirit, behind him.

The Lord *Hume*, neglecting these Advices (a), came to the Convention, accompanied by his Brother and Sir *Andrew Car of Ferniebasht*. They were at first with much Ceremony welcom'd by the Governor; but in a few Days were all three clapt up in close Prison, brought to their Trial, and accus'd by *James* Earl of *Murray*, the natural Son of the late King, of being guilty of the Murder of his Father, who by many Witnesses was proved alive, and seen to have come from the Battle of *Flowden*. But to prove the Murder, there were not sufficiency of pregnant Evidences,

(a) Hawthorn. p. 87.

dences, and therefore he was indicted of several other Points of Treason; and many of his private Faults are laid against him, especially his not behaving himself honestly or honourably at the Battle of *Flowdon*. Of all which neither he nor his Brother being able to clear themselves to the Satisfaction of the Judges, they were brought in *Guilty*, and had Sentence past against them, to have their Heads cut off; and the same was put in Execution next Day, and their Heads fixed on the most conspicuous Parts of the Town of *Edinburgh*. *David Car* of *Ferniebaft* was either declared *not Guilty* by the Jury, or pardoned by the Governor; which made many believe, that he was made use of as an Instrument to bring them in. This Treatment of the *Humes*, they being so ancient and potent a Family, struck Terror and Astonishment into many other Noblemen who could not well *wash their Hands in Innocency*, and estranged their Affections much from the Governor. There had just then arrived Ambassadors from *France*, to renew the ancient League betwixt the two Nations; and there being Ambassadors to be sent from *Scotland* to *France* for that End, he so ordered the Matter, that he himself was nominated to go on that Embassy, promising to return in six Months; thinking that some Time's Absence would in some measure settle the Minds of those that were afraid of themselves. Upon which the young King is conveyed from *Stirling* to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and the Custody of his Person is intrusted to the Earl *Marischal*, the Lords *Ruthven* and *Borthwick*; two of them being always to reside with him, and assist the Lord *Erskine* his constant Governor. The Government of the Nation was put into the Hands of the Archbishops of *St. An-*

drews and *Glasgow* (a), and the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntly*, *Arran* and *Argyle*; to whom was joined Sir *Anthony Darcey*, *Le Sieur de la Beaute*, a *French* Gentleman, then Captain of *Dumbar*, Warden of the East Marches, and the Governor's only Trustee. He was in the Governor's Absence killed in an Engagement upon the Borders, by the *Humes* and *Cockburns*, in Revenge of the Lord *Hume's* Death.

The Governor staid about five Years in *France* before he returned, during which Time the Nation was in great Disorder, occasioned by the intestine Quarrels and Feuds among the Nobility, especially those betwixt the Earls of *Angus* and *Arran*; which occasioned much Spoil and Slaughter in the South Country. When the Governor returned, he brought along with him 3000 *French* Foot, and some Horse. He landed in *November 1521*, being honourably attended by the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, the Earl of *Huntly*, and several others of the principal Nobility. He came to *Edinburgh*, summoned a Parliament to meet there, and by their Advice re-established the Peace and Quiet of the Nation, as far as the Iniquity of those Times would allow. At this Time the most of the richest of the Church Preferments were enhanced by a few, the Relations or Favourites of the chief Nobility; and every one of those endeavoured to have his own Friend preferred as often as Vacancies happened, and every Disappointment occasioned a new Feud: And the Country was then in such Disorder, that if any of their Friends came to be disappointed of a Benefice that had been usually possess'd by such, or that they had any colourable Claim to, they,

with-

(a) *Lally*, p. 385. *Buchan*. p. 478.

without more, immediately convey'd their Friends and Clients, and endeavour'd to establish them by Force of Arms; which seldom or never fail'd to end in much Blood-shed and Rapine. At this Time also the Bishops, who were for the most part the near Relations of the Nobility, would not rest satisfied with the Revenues of their respective Bishopricks, but also, as they were of Interest, procur'd two, three, or more of the richest Abbacies *in Commendam*. The Governor being duly apprised, that it was these Abuses that had occasioned most of the Disorders that had happen'd in his Absence; to remedy the same, and reconcile the Discords that it had stirr'd up among the Nobility, he resolv'd to make a more equal Distribution of the Church Benefices; and to effectuate the same, perswaded some of the Bishops who were possess'd of the richest Abbacies, to resign some of them; which he immediately dispos'd of, and also fill'd up such Bishopricks as were then vacant; and among the rest, that of *Aberdeen*, about which there had been a long Competition.

Bishop *Elphinston*, that excellent Prelate, in the 30 Year of his Episcopate, and 83 of his Age, died at *Edinburgh*, Anno 1514. *Spottiswood* and *Lesly* (a), the one a Protestant, and the other a Popish Bishop, both of them join in giving him the Character of an excellent Man, and learned in his Time, and that he was a great Encourager of Learning, of which the University of *Old Aberdeen*, erected and endowed by him, is to this Day a standing Witness. After his Death there arose a great Competition for the Bishoprick: The Candidates were (b), *Alexander Gordon* Chantor

(a) *Lesly*, p. 357. *Spottisf.* p. 106. (b) *Ibid.*

Chantor of *Murray*, who by the Earl of *Huntly's* Interest was elected by the Chanons: One *James Ogilvy* was presented by the Duke of *Albany*, and *Robert Forman*, Dean of *Glasgow*, took a Provision thereof from Pope *Leo X.* At the Desire of the Governor, *Ogilvy* resign'd his Pretensions; and in Recompence, got the Abbacy of *Dryburgh.* *Forman* did the same, at the Desire of his Brother the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, getting the Promise of the first vacant Benefice. So *Alexander Gordon* at last got the peaceable Possession of his Bishoprick. *Spottiswood* calls him a Cousin of the Earl of *Huntly.* I have a Manuscript before me that calls him a Son of the Laird of *Haddo's*, Predecessor to this Earl of *Aberdeen (a).* Both of them may be in the right. He possess'd it only three Years, died of a hec tick Fever, and was buried in the Cathedral Church, near to the high Altar. He was a Man of a clear Wit, good Learning, and of a grave and pious Disposition; but could do little the Time he was there, being all the while valetudinary. He was succeeded by *Gavin Dunbar*, an excellent and worthy Prelate, who was Archdeacon of *St. Andrews* and Clerk Register, and Nephew to the Earl of *Sutherland.* He was Executor to Bishop *Elphinston*, and finished what he had begun, viz. that stately Bridge over the River of *Dee*, of seven Arches of fine cut Stone; an Hospital for eight poor Men, with a publick Oratory, a publick Refectory, and particular Cells for each of them. He also endowed it with a Revenue sufficient for their Maintenance; adding many other Works of Piety, of his own.

December

(a) Gordonston's MS.

December 5th, Anno 1517, John Lord Gordon, eldest Son of Alexander Earl of Huntly, returning from France (whither he had gone some time before with the Duke of Albany) was singularly well received and entertained by all Men; and going North to his own Country, was taken ill of a violent Sickness at the Abbay of Kinlofs in Murray, died there, and was by his Father buried in that Abbay, before the high Altar, on the left Hand, with a goodly Tomb erected over him. He was free from all Ambition, and other Vices which blemish the Virtues of a Nobleman, says *Lesly* (a); was endued with Manhood, Wisdom and Liberality, and with all other Virtues which were fitting for a Man of his Birth and Quality. His Death gave great Grief to all who were acquainted with him, but most of all to his Father, who lov'd him dearly. He was married to Margaret, Daughter to James IV. born to him by Anna Drummond, Daughter to the Lord Drummond, Predecessor to the noble and ancient Family of Perth; and by her he had two Sons, George, who succeeded to his Grandfather; and Alexander, by Queen Mary made Bishop of Galloway. Of both of them afterwards.

The Governor having, by Advice of Parliament, put the Nation in some Order, resolves to invade England in Favours of the French, then much molested by them; and for that purpose, gathers together a good Army, with which and the French he had brought along with him, being accompanied by a great many of the Nobility, he advanced to the Borders of Solway. Huntly, with 3000 Men under his Command, following at a Distance, halted three Miles

(a) p. 368. Holinshed, p. 305. Gordonston's MS.

Miles from the *English* Borders. Whereupon the Governor comes back, and induces him to advance towards the rest of the Army; where it being deliberated, whether the Army should enter *England*, as the Governor enjoined them, for Love of the *French*, or should only defend their own Borders, as the Nobility inclined to? *Huntly*, by a most prudent and eloquent Discourse, shewing how dangerous it was for the present Condition of the Affairs of the Kingdom to hazard a Battle, did bring the Governor to be of the same Opinion: Which when the Queen understood, she sent to him, requesting he would be pleased with a Truce for some Months, and that he would commune with the Warden of the *English* Marches, whom she would move to come to his Tent. Which he consented to; and the Warden of the *English* Marches, the Lord *Dacres* (a), came to his Tent, (and, as some have recorded, the Queen also,) where a Cessation was agreed to for some Days: In which Time the Queen and the Governor were to send Ambassadors to King *Henry*, to treat of a Peace; which shortly thereafter they did. But the Ambassadors returned without doing any Good; King *Henry* demanding extraordinary and harmful Conditions of *Scotland*.

This *Alexander* Earl of *Huntly*, had by his Wife *Jean Stewart*, Daughter to the Earl of *Athol* 4 Sons, *George*, who died young, *John*, Lord *Gordon*, who died 1517, as above, *Alexander*, to whom he gave the Lands of *Strathdown*, which he had purchased from the *Stewarts*, and afterwards gave him the Lands of *Clunie* in *Mar* in Exchange of them. His

Fourth

(a) Hawthorn. p. 90.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 125

Fourth Son was *William*; he was first Chanon of *Arbuthnot*, then Chancellor of the Church of *Elgin*, and last of all, Bishop of *Aberdeen*. He had also 4 Daughters, First married to the Earl of *Argyle*, second, to the Lord *Gray*, third, to the Baron of *Innermeth*, fourth, to the Laird of *Weem*. As this Earl *Alexander* was a Man of great Courage, Conduct and Prudence, so he was a very good Man; and being by every Body so esteemed, obtained the Epithet of the good Earl (a). He died at *Perth*, *January 16. 1523*, and was buried there in the Convent of the *Dominican Friars*. He was Lieutenant over all *Scotland*, except *Argyle's* Bounds, by Patent dated at *Edinburgh* the 26. of *February 1517*.

This Earl *Alexander's* Brother (b), Sir *Adam Gordon* Earl of *Sutherland*, by his Wife the Lady *Elizabeth*, Heiress of that Family, had 4 Sons and 4 Daughters. *Alexander Gordon* Master of *Sutherland*, who died before his Father. *John Gordon*, the second Son, dwelt in *Tillichoudie*, and had only one Daughter married to *George Gordon*, second of that Name, of *Coclarachie*. Third Son, Mr. *Adam Gordon* dwelt in *Ferrack* in *Aboyne*, and was slain at the Battle of *Pinky*, who left no Succession. Fourth Son *Gilbert Gordon* of *Gartie*, married *Isabel Sinclair*, Daughter to the Laird of *Dunbeath*, by whom he had *John Gordon*, *Patrick Gordon* of *Gartie*, and several Daughters. Earl *Adam's* Daughters were *Beatrix Gordon* Lady *Gormack*, *Helenor Gordon* Lady *Tillichoudie*, (who after the Death of her Brother *John*, had the Lands of *Tillichoudy* for her Portion, and was

(a) Lesly, p. 306. Holinshed, p. 305. Burnet's MS. (b) Gordon-
 sten's MS.

was married to *George Gordon* the Laird of *Craig of Achindore* his Brother's Son) the Lady *Leys* and *Birkenbog*, and *Elizabeth* Lady *Lethenty*. He had also a Bastard Daughter married to *John Robson*, Captain of the Clan *Gun* in *Caithness* and *Strathnaver*, by whom he had *Alexander*, beheaded at *Inverness*, by the Earl of *Murray* Regent.

In this Time lived, and a little after died, *Anno 1528*, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of *Elgin*, beside his Father *Alexander* first Earl of *Huntly*, Mr. *Adam Gordon*, Dean of *Caithness*, and Rector of *Pettie*. He was a Man of very good Learning, and govern'd the Church in the Diocess of *Caithness* 24 Years, for so long it was vacant, because *John Sinclair*, Son to the Earl of *Orkney*, to whom *Prosperus*, Bishop of that See, had demitted his Place, was never confirmed nor admitted; and Mr. *Adam* being Dean, was appointed Vicar General for that Time, until the Admission of Bishop *Andrew Steuart* Commendator of *Kelfo*. Mr. *Adam* had 3 Sons and one Daughter, Mr. *William Gordon* Chancellor of *Dunkeld*, Rector of *Petty* and Treasurer of *Caithness*. Mr. *George Gordon* of *Beldornie*, and *John Gordon* of *Drummoy*, and *Elizabeth* his Daughter was Lady *Findlater*.

GEORGE fourth Earl of Huntly.

UNTO *Alexander* Earl of *Huntly* succeeded his Grandson *George*, Son to *John* Lord *Gordon*, who died before his Father, and now is the fourth Earl of *Huntly*, in the Minority of King *James V.* being

(a) Gordonston's MS. (b) Ferrerius, MS.

being but 10 Years old, and the King but 12. He was a Child of so lovely a Countenance and Carriage, so quick and witty in his Jestts and Discourses, that the Earl of *Angus*, who was married to the Queen Mother, unto whom *Huntly's* Education was intrusted, could hardly ever want him from his Prefence and Conversation, until *Angus* being fled into *England*, and having previously used all the Allurements in his Power to perswade the Child to go along with him, he could not prevail with him to stain so much, even as in Appearance, that Loyalty his Predecessors had transmitted to him with their Inheritance, by accompanying one banished from the Kingdom for his many and great Misdemeanours against his Prince.

Wherefore *Angus* (a) being fled into *England* for Refuge, *Huntly* comes and casts himself before the King, shewing him how he had dedicated himself and all he had to his Majesty and Country's Service. The King most affectionately embracing him, gives Order he should be educated in all those Exercises of Learning and Virtue, that were suitable to his Rank and Birth (being his own Sister's Son) and proper to bring to Perfection those Seeds of Generosity and Duty to his King and Country, whereof he had given so manifest a Proof in so tender an Age. Nor did he frustrate the Expectation was conceived of him, nor the Care and Pains were taken on his Education, by which his rare Spirit became so well polished, that coming to riper Years, whether in conversing with those of his own Country at Home, or with the *French* or *English* abroad, he bred in all an Admiration

(a) Holinshed, p. 305.

tion of his Vertues, and so much good Liking of his Person, as he gained both Honour and Esteem to himself, and to his Country, which had given him such Education at Home, and brought him to such a Degree of Humanity, Modesty, Affability, Valour and Prudence. The *English* Historians (a) term him the valiant *Gordon*; and the *French* Ambassador call'd him, *The Wisdom of Scotland, and the Terror of England*.

The Governor resenting highly the slighting of the Ambassadors sent by him to the King of *England*, but more the Contempt of the *Scottish* Nobility, in refusing to follow him into *England*, past by the West Seas over to *France*, promising, that if a Peace in the mean Time was not concluded, he would bring next Summer such Brigades of *French* and *Germans*, that he should not stand much in Need of his own Countrymen. He demanded from King *Francis* 5000 *German* Horsemen (b), and 10000 Foot, to be transported into *Scotland*, with which, and the Army he was to raise in *Scotland*, he promised to continue the War with King *Henry*. But the *French* at that Time could not spare so many, having then War both with the Emperor, and the King of *England*. They gave him 3000 Pikes and 1000 Lances, and with those he embarked at *Brest*, and landed safely at *Kirkcudbright*, or the Isle of *Arran*, in the West of *Scotland*. He came to *Edinburgh*, and then assembled the Lords, where they agreed that an Army should be forthwith raised, and the 28. of *October* 1523, to rendezvous at *Douglasdale*. At the Day prefixed the Army
marched

(a) Baker, p. 301. Holinshed, p. 343. Lefly, p. 389. (b) Lefly p. 387. Hawthornden, p. 91.

marched towards *Coldstream* upon *Tweed*, the Governor having selected a Number of the hardiest among the *French* and *Scots*, sent them under the Command of *David Car* of *Ferniehaft*; having conveyed some Artillery over the River, to take in the Castle of *Wark*; but it was so well defended, that they were obliged to raise the Seige, and return to the Army. The Lords would not invade *England*; so, by the Queen's Mediation, a Truce was agreed upon, to continue till *St. Andrew's Day*, to which the Backwardness he found among the Nobility obliged him to condescend.

During the Time of which Truce, there were held many Consultations among the Nobility, whether it was proper to continue the War or not? Many held it unreasonable, that for the Pleasure of *France* only, *Scotland* should continue to suffer such Damages; and finding the Governor always bent to do whatsoever the *French* desired; they wished their King, being now past the Age of a Child, might have some Share in the Government. The Nobility were divided about it, and there was much Reasoning upon it; by which the Governor finding that they were adverse to his Intentions; and that both the People and Soldiery were weary of him, and had their Affections bent upon the young King, he requested them to give him Leave to return to *France*, and to forgive him any Errors he had committed, which he protested was of Ignorance, and not Malice: And having obtained what he desired, without any Shew of Discontent, he came to *Stirling*, where after some Days Stay with the King, when he had given him such Instructions of State as he was able to understand, being but then in the 13th Year of his Age, he, with
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many

many Tokens of Love and sincere Affection, took his Leave of him, and by the West Seas went to *France*; from whence he never returned to *Scotland*. He was a Prince adorned with many Virtues, active, courageous and resolute. If he had not been opposed by the Queen and Nobility, he was likely either to have lost himself and the whole Kingdom, or revenged the Death of his Cousin, King *James IV*.

The Duke of *Albany* being gone for *France* (a), the Queen Dowager, with the Government of the Kingdom, assumeth the Custody of the King's Person, whom she perswaded to leave *Stirling*, and come to *Edinburgh*; which he did, and lodged in the Castle. And that her Actings might be agreeable to Law, she called a Parliament to meet at *Edinburgh*. In the mean Time the Earl of *Angus*, who had been banished to *France*, being secretly called from thence by the King of *England*, his Enemy the Governor being now gone, returns home loaded with many fair Promises from that King to befriend him. The Parliament being met, the Authority of the Governor is abrogated; eight Lords are chosen to have the Custody of the King's Person, every one his Month successively; and the whole to stand for the Government of the State, with this Limitation, *That the King, with their Counsel, should not determine nor ordain any thing in great Affairs, to which the Queen gave not her free Consent and Approbation.* The Lords were, the Archbishops of *St. Andrews* and *Glasgow*, the Bishops of *Aberdeen* and *Dunkeld*, the Earls of *Angus*, *Arran*, *Lennox* and *Argyle*. In a very short Time the Earl of *Angus* enhanced the Custody

(a) Lesly, p. 393. Hawthorn. p. 92.

study of the King's Person, and the whole of the Government, to himself. All the Places either of Profit or Honour, in Church or in State, were given among his Friends. He made *Archibald* his Uncle, High Treasurer; his Brother *Sir George*, Great Chamberlain; the Abbacies of *Coldingham* and *Holyrood-house* were possess'd by him: And all this he did, without ever consulting the Queen or any of the rest of the Nobility.

These Things highly provok'd the Queen, and those of her Faction, against him: And the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argyle* and *Murray*, accuse him of High Treason, *In that he kept the King against his Will, and insolently restrained his Liberty, contrary to the Order established by the Estates; and that he could not dispose of any thing of Moment alone: Yet the contrary of all which he had usurped.* The Earl did not answer himself, but his Brother *Sir George* mov'd the King to make the following Answer for them, *That his Mother and the other Rulers should not be thus solicitous about him; for with none more chearfully, willingly, and contentedly, could he live and spend his Time, than with the Earl of Angus: Neither could he leave the Company of one so highly favoured of his Uncle, and so well meriting of himself.* These were the Earl of *Angus's* Words in the King's Mouth (a); for notwithstanding that, he sent Letters secretly to the Queen and the Lords of her Party, intreating they would remove him from the Earl, and not suffer him any longer to remain under his imperious Government; and if it could not be otherwise done, to ac-

(a) *Lelly*, p. 398.

complish it by main Force of Arms. *If they had any Pity, or if any Sparks of Duty remained in them towards him; if they dared Enterprize ought for a Royal (though now thral'd) Supplicant, or obey the Command of their King in Prison; That the Answer which he sent before unto them and his Mother, was by Constraint and Compulsion drawn from him, and contrary to his Mind.*

Upon this Advertisement, the Queen, and the Lords of her Faction, assemble what Power they could raise upon such a Suddenness at *Stirling*, and with great Expedition marched towards *Edinburgh*, to separate the King from his uneasy Guardian; who, with the Town's-men and many Friends and Adherents, march'd out to meet them, taking the King along with them, tho' against his Will. But when those with the Queen understood the King in Person to be there, fearing that in the Heat of the Action his Person might be in Danger; they retire back again to *Stirling*, and disband their Forces. The Queen, with the Earl of *Murray*, goes to that Country; the Earls of *Arran* and *Argyle* to the West, and the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* to *Dumfermling*. This rivetted *Angus* in his Government; who having now no Competitor, grew daily more and more uneasy to the King.

The Queen, by this and otherwise being provoked by the Earl of *Angus* her Husband, by Advice of the Archbishop, resolved to be divorced from him (a), with which he was as well content as she. They were both of them weary of one another's Company; (she being, it seems, as inconstant in her Amours as her Brother.)

(a) Lesly, p. 400.

Brother.) He is cited to appear before the Archbishop's Court, to hear Sentence pronounced against him, according to the Laws of the Church. He appeared, and the Queen alledged *A Precontract betwixt him and another Lady, a Daughter of Traquair, before their Marriage; and so that he could not be her lawful Husband.* The Earl confessed, and the Sentence of Divorcement was pronounced by the Archbishop, with this Reservation, *That the Child procreate betwixt the Queen and the Earl in the Time of their Marriage, by the Ignorance of the Mother, should not suffer any Loss, Damage or Disadvantage.* And a little Time after she married *Henry Stewart, Son to the Lord Evandale; whom King James, to do Honour to his Mother, made thereafter Lord Methven, and General of the Artillery.*

The King's Restraint growing daily more uneasy, he applied himself to the Earl of *Lennox* (now his chief Confident,) importun'd him to advise him how he might be made free of the Earl of *Angus*, of whose Bondage he had been long weary, and whose Tutorship was now turned into Tyranny. The Earl of *Lennox* told the King, *That the fittest Person he knew for that was the Lord Buccleugh; and that if he failed to effectuate it, he himself would endeavour to do it, or lose his Life.* *Lennox* put *Buccleugh* upon it, who (the King making a Circuit upon the Borders with *Angus* and others of the Nobility) came with about 1000 armed Men (a) to take off the King from *Angus*; who encountered *Buccleugh*, near *Melross*, and by the Assistance of his Friends the *Cars* and *Humes*, defeated him. *Buccleugh* was wounded, and above

(a) Lecky, p. 400.

80 of his Men were killed. After this, the Earl of *Lennox* resolv'd to venture and rescue the King by main Force, and maketh open Declaration at *Stirling*, to all the *Liegés*, of his Intentions, inviting all of them to assist him in so honourable and just a Quarrel (a). 1000 Men came from the Highlands to him, the Earl of *Cassils* and Master of *Kilmaurs* brought 2000 with them, the Queen and the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* sent many of their Vassals from *Fife* to him. With all which he marches towards *Linlithgow*, near to which Place he was encountered by the Earl of *Arran* (now a close Confederate of *Angus* and his Followers,) and was there defeated and slain, as is said, by Sir *James Hamilton*, after he had been made Prisoner by the Laird of *Pardivay*.

These two Attempts by Force proving unsuccessful, the Earl of *Angus* thought himself secure, having no Rival, no Castle or Fortress but what were in his Power, and garrison'd by his Friends, except the Castle of *Stirling*. The King being at *Falkland*, and the Earl having not been in his own Country for a long Time, resolves to go thither and put his private Affairs in Order, leaving the Care of the King to his Brother Sir *George*, *Archibald* his Uncle, and *James Douglas* of *Parkhead*, Captain of the Guards; and having given them strict Orders to take Care of the Trust committed to them, he passeth over the *Forth*, with a Resolution soon to return. The Archbishop of *St. Andrews* being advertised of his Departure, invites Sir *George* to that City, to receive the Leases of Tithes he had promised him. And while he is there, *Archibald* the Treasurer by other Letters, for Mat-
ters

(a) Lesly, p. 491, 492.

ters of Love, is inticed to *Dundee*. But nothing could move the Captain of the Guards to leave his Charge. The King, amidst his solitary Walks in the Park, considering what a cumbersome Train he was relieved of, and that all Attempts by Force, for his Liberty, had proved abortive; resolved to lay hold on the Opportunity, and try a Stratagem of his own. Having fixed his Resolutions, he gave Orders to the Forester to advertise all those Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood that kept Hounds, to attend him next Morning; for he intended to be very early at Game. For that End, he ordered Supper to be sooner ready than usual, entertaining the Captain of the Guard with much Ceremony, and Representations of the Pleasures of the next Morning's Sport, and then invited him to go to Rest, the Night being short. The Waiters being all removed, and the Court hush'd; the King having shut his Chamber-door, in the Apparel of one of his Grooms past the Guards to the Stable, where, with two who attended him with spare Horses, he mounted, and posted to *Stirling*; where, by the Queen's Intelligence, he was expected in the Castle.

When the Certainty of his Escape was noised abroad, many Noblemen came to *Stirling*, being called by Letters from him; so that in a short Time he found himself safe from any Danger of being surpris'd; the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Glencairn*, *Menteith*, *Eglinton* and *Rothes*; the Lords *Graham*, *Drummond*, *Livingston*, *Sinclair*, *Lindsay*, *Evan-dale*, *Ruthven*, *Maxwell*, and the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, the chief Contriver of his Escape, being all of them, with their Friends, come to him. The Earl of *Angus* also, with many of his Friends, was

on his Way to *Stirling*; but Proclamations were issued out against him, discharging him from all his Offices; and by an Herald being forbidden, with his Friends and Followers, to come near the Court by some Miles, under Pain of Treason, he turned back to *Linlithgow*, where two Days he attended the King's Pleasure; which at last was declared, *That neither he, nor any of his, should presume by some Miles to approach his Residence; that he should confine himself beyond the River of Spey; and that his Brother Sir George should render himself Prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh, and there remain during the King's Pleasure.* These Offers they refused, and therefore are cited to answer according to Law, in a Parliament to be holden at *Edinburgh*.

Before the Day of appearing, the Earl of *Angus* (a), accompanied with a great Retinue of his Friends and Followers, essayed to enter the Town; but is kept out by the Lord *Maxwell* and *Lochinvar*. And the King at the same Time coming unexpectedly from *Stirling* with 2000 Men, he removed: And not appearing at the appointed Day, is by Decree of Parliament forfeited, with his Brother *Sir George*, his Uncle *Archibald*, *Alexander Drummond* of *Carnock*, and divers others. The Articles they were impeached upon, were, *The assembling of the King's Lieges, with Intention to have assail'd his Person; The detaining the King against his Will, and contrary to the Articles agreed upon, and that for the Space of two Years and more: All which Time the King was in Fear and Danger of his Life.* At this Parliament, (some write) the King made a solemn Oath, never
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(a) Lesly, p. 409. Hawthorn. p. 98.

to give a Remission to any of the *Douglasses* there forfeited; as the Lords did, never to interceed or request for any of them. At this Time was *Henry Stewart*, who had married the Queen Dowager, made Lord *Methven*. After this they (the *Douglasses*) were prosecuted up and down wherever they could be found, by the Earl of *Argyle* and Lord *Hume*, who had accepted a Commission from the King for that Effect: So that after much Misery and Night-wandering, they, with *Alexander Drummond* of *Carnock*, were constrained to flee into *England*, where they were kindly received and entertained by King *Henry VIII.* who was always ready to receive, nourish and encourage *Scots* Rebels, even tho' the King was his Nephew.

Anno 1526, a great Dissention arose among the *Clan-chattan*, a powerful Tribe in the North Highlands of *Scotland*, which gave Occasion to much Blood-shed and Rapine. Neither *Buchanan* nor *Hawthornden* take Notice of it; *Lesly*, and *Gordonston's* Manuscript do (a): And from them I shall insert an Account of it here, which I hope will be acceptable to the Reader; there being in it such a singular Test given of that People's Fidelity to their Chieftain, that the Parallel of it is not to be found in any History I have yet seen. The Chief or Head of that Family was *Lachlan Mackintosh*, a Man of great Possessions and excellent Wit and Judgment. He kept all his Followers within the Limits of their Duty; which Constraints (being such as they could hardly bear) did withdraw the Affections of divers of that Clan from their Chieftain *Lachlan*; among whom

was

(a) *Lesly*, p. 404. *Gordonston's MS.*

The History of the

was a Kinsman of his own *James Malcomson*, who thriving after the Command of the Clan, did deceitfully way-lay, and traiterously kill him : And thereafter, being afraid to be prosecuted for that barbarous Murder, fled, with many of his Associates, to the Loch of *Rothemurkus* in *Strathspey*. The rest of the Clan gathering together, pursued him with such Resolution, that they took and kill'd him there, with many of his Associates. And because the Son of the deceased *Lachlan* was but young, and so unfit to command his Clan, they by common Consent chose *Hector Mackintosh*, Bastard Brother to *Lachlan*, to be their Chieftain, until his Nephew should be of Age to govern them.

In the mean Time the Earl of *Murray* (being Uncle by the Mother to the Child) caus'd take him away from them, and gave him to the *Ogilvies*, to whom he was also related, to be by them instructed in Learning and Virtue. *Hector* was greatly offended, that the Child should be taken from him, and therefore endeavoured by all Means to have him again in his Possession : But the Earl of *Murray* took such Care of him, that he could never get at him. Whereat *Hector* being highly incens'd, he caus'd his Brother *William*, and others of their Kindred, joining their Forces together, spoil the Earl's Possessions ; which they did with so great Fury and Barbarity, that they overthrew the Castle of *Dyke*, and besieging *Farnway*, they committed many Slaughters, Spoils and Burnings : And not content with what they did against the Earl of *Murray*, they march against the *Ogilvies*, and besiege the Castle of *Petty* with that Fury, that in End the Fort was yielded, and they inhumanely kill 24 of the *Ogilvies* they found there-
in.

in. Whereupon the Earl having obtained a Commission from the King, raised an Army, with which he marched into their Country, and by Surprise took *William* the Brother of *Hector*, and with him more than 200 of that Clan, Prisoners. *William* he hang'd, set up his Head on the Castle of *Petty*, and his Quarters upon Poles in the Cities of *Elgin*, *Old-ern*, *Forress* and *Inverness*. All the rest were hanged; but before their Execution, he brought each of them to the Gallows, and there offered them their Lives, if they would but discover where their Chiftain *Hector* was. Which all of them refusing to do, and chusing rather to die, than betray their Friend, they were all to a Man immediately hanged, thereby shewing a very rare and singular Constancy and Resolution, the like whereof is not to be found recorded in any History, that so many Men, and no Doubt most of them of the meaner Sort, should so deliberately chuse rather to be hanged, than discover where their Friend was! *Holinshed* says (a), *That every Man of them, one by one, boldly answered, That they knew not what was become of him; but if they did, they would not (for fear of any Pain or Terror of Death) break their Faith, or betray their Friend.*

In the Year 1530 (b); King *James V.* did institute the COLLEGE OF JUSTICE. Before that, it was ambulatory, removing by Circuits from Place to Place. Suits of Law were peremptorily decided by Bailiffs, Sheriffs and other Judges. When any great and notable Cause offered itself, it was judged sovereignly by the King's Council; which gave free Audience to all the Subjects. The Power and Privileges

(a) p. 315. (b) Hawthorn. p. 99.

ges of this College was immediately confirmed by Pope *Clement VII*. It consisted of 15 Judges; 8 of them of the Clergy, of which the President was always one; the other 7 were Laicks. There were also 4 extraordinary Lords added, but they were removable at Pleasure. *Lesly* says (a), *That it was not thought proper, that the Revenue of the Crown should be diminished by their Salaries; and therefore the Clergy was satisfied they should be paid out of the Revenue of the Church.*

In the Year 1535, the King intending to go to *France*, in order to his Marriage with the Lady *Magdalene*, the *French King's* eldest Daughter; the Nobility advised him to nominate some Person to supply his Vice and Place in the Administration of the Government during his Absence, to prevent Faction and Sedition. He nominates the Earl of *Huntly* (b), then about 28 Years of Age, for his Lieutenant of the Kingdom in his Absence, appointing the Earl of *Eglinton* and others to assist him with their Counsel and Advice.

The King took Ship at *Kirkaldy* the last Day of *August*, accompanied with a great Retinue of the chiefest of the Nobility; and with a prosperous Wind, he arrived safely, in ten Days, at *Diep* in *Normandy*. During the King's Stay abroad, the Earl of *Huntly* so prudently managed the publick Affairs of the Nation, that there were no Tumults nor Disorders committed all the Time of his Absence, which was about eight Months. And at his Return he found the Nation in such Peace and Quiet, that ever thereafter he continued to have a very great Esteem for

(a) p. 417. (b) Ibid. p. 421. Burnet's MS. Gordonston's MS.

for *Huntly*, and always employed him in the most important Affairs of the Nation.

On the 29th of *May* the King, with the Queen, arrived safely at *Leith*. There was never a Lady, in so short a Time, gain'd more on the Affections of the People of all Ranks, than she did. She was a Lady every Way so charming both in Mind and Countenance, that it was not easy to determine by which of these Powers she conquer'd most. All agree, that their united Force was irresistible. But so uncertain are humane Affairs, that all these great Expectations came to prove nothing but Shadows ; for, in a few Weeks after her Arrival (in *June*) she contracted a Fever, of which she died (in *July*) and was buried, with the greatest Mourning *Scotland* was capable of, in the Church of *Holy-rood-house*, near King *James II.*

The last Honours being paid to the dead Queen, the King, desirous of Succession, has his Thoughts wandring in *France*. *Mary of Bourbon*, who was first propos'd to him for a Wife by the King of *France*, and whom he had visited upon his first going thither, being frustrated of her Royal Hopes, had not only turn'd religious, but was now dead. But while the King was in the *French* Court, he had been acquainted with a Lady, rich in all Excellencies, who next to *Magdalene* had made the greatest Impressions on his Affections ; and this was *Mary of Lorain*, Sister to *Francis*, and Daughter to *Rene* Duke of *Guise*, and Widow of the Duke of *Longueville*. Her he esteem'd worthy of his Love, and made Choice of her to be his future Wife : And to negotiate the same, he sent over his late Para-nymph *David Beton*, and the Lord *Maxwell*.

While this Marriage is in Agitation, divers at Court are accused of Plots against the King's Life; and among others, *John* Master of *Forbes*. *Hawthornden* and *Holinshed* give the following Account of it, and both from *Buchanan* only, which I think my self obliged to take Notice of. They say, *That this Gentleman was hardy and valiant, but ill educated; which made him easily suspected to be capable of any Crime. He had one Strachan, a mean and vicious Fellow, who attended him, and whom he allowed to be a Companion and ordinary Sharer of his Pleasures. This Man desired something of his Master which he thought his Services gave him a Title to. But this the Master passionately refusing to grant him, he (as they say) applied himself to the Earl of Huntly, his Master's Enemy, by whose Advice he forgeth a malicious Plot to overthrow him: And to compass their Design, they accuse the Master of having once an Intention to kill the King, that the Douglasses might be restored to their ancient Honours and Possessions, and bribed Witnesses to prove the same. And tho' the Crime was not clearly proved, yet the Master was convicted of it by an Assize, and executed for it: But at his Death he denied all, and said, That tho' he was innocent of the Crime for which he was to suffer, yet GOD had justly brought him to that End for being guilty of the Laird of Drum's Blood. I shall presume to consider the Evidence brought against the Earl of Huntly, to prove him to have been (as we say) Art and Part, or rather Principal, in falsely accusing and suborning Witnesses, to depose contrary to Truth, against the Master of Forbes, according to the two aforementioned Historians. I shall not consider whether the Master*

was

was guilty or not; but take it, as our Historians give it, that he was not guilty.

I have enquired about that Part of the Master's Confession, to wit, *That he had kill'd the Laird of Drum*, and particularly at the late Laird, who told me, *That he had read the Story in Hawthornden, but before that Time he had never heard of it; and to satisfy himself, he had gone through all the Papers belonging to that ancient Family, but could not find the least Vestige of it, nor had ever heard so much as a Tradition of that Matter, and therefore gave no Credit to it.* Now Slaughters of that Nature being constantly handed down from Father to Son, and so never forgotten in the great and neighbouring Families, as both were, induces me to be of *Drum's* Opinion, and to think that Part of the Story false.

Bishop *Lesly*, who lived in that Time, gives us an Account of that Story (a), but does not so much as mention *Huntly*. So that these two fix a Crime of an abominable Nature upon him, and that solely upon *Buchanan's* Authority. Nay, they seem to be a little more positive than their malicious Author; for all he says, is (b), *ut plurimi putant*; that is to say, *Many did believe it.* And what then? *As many did not believe it.* And since it is a common Maxim, that *omnis homo præsumitur bonus*, we are not to fix such a monstrous Crime upon a Man of such Honour, barely upon his, *Ut plurimi putant*: Especially if we consider that *Buchanan*, as hereally was that Earl of *Huntly's* mortal and inveterate Enemy; and that (for no other Reason, but because he so vigorously opposed his Patron the Earl of *Murray* in his unnatural, cruel and perfidious

(a) p. 425. (b) p. 401.

perfidious Dealings against his Queen and great Benefactrix) he puts the worst Face on all his Actions that subtle Malice can invent; so no good Man should credit him in any thing he writes relating to that Queen or her Friends; for he was a professed Enemy to both.

Mr. Robert Gordon of Straloch, a Gentleman of great Honour and Learning, says of Buchanan (a), thus, *When he has brought down his History to his own Times, Affairs then being in great Confusion, and the Kingdom miserably embroil'd with Tumults; Good GOD! how bare-fac'dly does he side with a Party? He is no longer an Historian, but an Advocate for the Party; wretchedly perverting the Truth of Facts: So that hardly any thing that's sound or candid is to be met with in him. And all this to get his Patron fixed in the Height of Power. And afterwards, The Treatise, de jure Regni, is his Scheme of Government, and the History is so wrested by him, as it might serve best to establish his Hypothesis, &c.* Melvil says (b), *He wrote and spoke of the civil Troubles in his own Time, as those who were about him inform'd him; for he was become careless, following in many Things the vulgar Opinion. For he was naturally popular, and extremely revengeful against any Man who had offended him. Sir James Melvil was his Contemporary, and knew him exactly; and so great Credit is to be given to his Testimony, that it alone is sufficient to repudiate Buchanan's Authority.*

By the Laws of England, if any Person be accused of a hainous Crime, in Order to vindicate himself, he is allowed to prove his Character: And I think 'tis

(a) In vitam Forbesii à Corfe, p. 67, 68. (b) Mem. p. 125.

'tis very just and reasonable it should be so. Now, the Character given this Earl of *Huntly* both by *Scots* and *English* Historians, is, *That he was a Man of the greatest Honour, Prudence and Valour of any in the Nation in his Time*; as I have taken Notice of before. If the Master of *Forbes* had offended him, he wanted neither Courage nor Power to have revenged himself of him in a more honourable Way; for he was then, without Controversy, the Nobleman of the greatest Power in the Nation. He is by these Historians call'd the *Master's mortal Enemy*; but for what Reason they don't tell, neither can I conjecture. There was no Feud then betwixt the *Gordons* and *Forbesses*. The Master was the Earl's Vassal: He held most of his Lands of him, as to this Day that Family does; and by the Tenure then of his Holding of these Lands, and the Custom of the Nation, he was obliged to perform *military Services* to him, and *answer to his Courts*. Nay, the two Families were then in such Friendship, that the next succeeding Master of *Forbes* was married to this same Earl of *Huntly's* Daughter. Now all these put together, I think, must satisfy any unbiass'd Man; that this is a meer Calumny, forg'd by *Buchanan* without the least Shadow of Ground or Reason. And in fine, there is just as much Credit to be given to him, in what he writes either concerning the Queen or this Earl of *Huntly*, her constant and powerful Friend; as *Bradshaw* or *Cook* (these two infamous Regicides) would deserve, had they written the Life of the Royal Martyr King *Charles I.* For, from their open Actings, we may, without any Breach of Charity, conclude, That he, with his Patron and Accomplishes, would have made as little Scruple to have pass

Sentence of Death against their Queen, as they above-nam'd, with that accursed Court of Justice, did against their King. And thus, I hope, I have vindicated that brave and gallant Gentleman from this groundless Calumny, and that beyond all Exception.

The Abbot of *Aberbrothock* and the Lord *Maxwell*, as Proxies, espouse for the King (a), *Mary of Lorain*, a beautiful and excellent Lady, at *Paris*, in Presence of the *French King*, with much Solemnity; who being accompanied to *Haver de Grace* by the Admiral of *France*, in the Beginning of *June 1538*, goes aboard a *French Fleet* there waiting her; and after some Tossings at Sea, arrives safely at *Carail* in *Fife*, is immediately waited upon by the King, and by him conducted to *St. Andrews*, where in the Cathedral Church the Marriage is solemnized; and in the very next Year she bore a Son, who was named *James*. About this Time the King, taking along with him the Earls of *Huntly*, *Arran*, *Argyle*, and others, in a competent Fleet of Ships sails about the North Coasts to the Western Isles, and reduces these unruly People into such Order, that there were no more Outrages committed by them during his Life.

Henry VIII. of England by his Ambassadors, the Bishop of *St. Davids* & Lord *William Howard* (the Queen Mother being now dead and buried at *St. Johnston*, near to King *James I.* who had often been a Mediator betwixt her Brother and her Son) desires a Meeting of King *James* at *York* (b), where (he said) he was to communicate such Things to him as would tend

(a) Lesly, p. 426. Hawthorn, p. 105. (b) Holinshed, p. 322.

tend to the Good of both Nations. King *James*, of himself, was not against it: But *Scotland* then, as well as *England* was divided in Religion. Those who favour'd the new Religion (as it was then call'd) were for the Congress, and those who stood close to the old were against it. The first thought, That if the Interview succeeded, the King might be perswaded to shake off the Pope's Authority, and so give some Way to the Reformation. And indeed that was what the last most dreaded; for as the King of *England* had shaken off the Pope's Authority, so had he enhanced most of the Church Revenues into his own Hands, and applied them to his private Use: And he had advised King *James* to do the same, (but of that hereafter.) Of which the Clergy were mightily afraid, and therefore made Use of all their Interest to hinder the Interview, promising, *That in case of a War, they should furnish the King as much Money as should defray the Charges of it.* There were great Reasonings about it, and many Arguments adduced by both for and against it. But tho' the Clergy and their Adherents, by that alluring Promise of Money, carried the King to their Side, yet it was not thought proper to give the King of *England* a flat Denial; but Sir *James Learmont* was sent to make his Excuse, why he could not meet King *Henry* at *York*, the Time appointed: Which that King constructing as a down-right Refusal, the Peace betwixt the two Nations was broke.

King *Henry* being much incens'd, emits a long Declaration, containing the Reasons of the War (a); and in the mean Time puts a Fleet to Sea, which

(a) Holinshed, p. 323.

intercepted and took 28 *Scots* Ships loadned with all kind of rich Merchandise from *France, Flanders, Denmark, &c.* He also sent Sir *Robert Bowes* with an Army of 3000 Men, to waste and destroy the *Scots* Borders (a). *Huntly*, who was appointed by the King as his Lieutenant, to reside on the Borders for Defence of the same, convened such an Army as in Haste he could, to oppose the *English* and their Army. He attacked them so fiercely (b), that with great Slaughter he put them to Flight, took their General Sir *Robert Bowes*, with his Brother Sir *Richard*, Prisoners; also Sir *William Moubray* Captain of *Norham* Castle, *James Douglas* of *Parkhead*, and a natural Son of the Earl of *Angus*, and about 600 more. The Earl of *Angus* and his Brother Sir *George* were both in the Battle, but escap'd. This happened at *Haldenrig* on the 24th of *August* 1542, being *St. Bartholomew's* Day.

King *Henry* of *England* understanding that his Army under Sir *Robert Bowes* was so miserably overthrown, he immediately sent the Duke of *Northfolk*, with the Earls of *Sbrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hartford, Rutland, Angus*, and all the Lords of the North of *England*, with an Army of about 40000 Men (*Holinshed* says, but about 21000) to invade *Scotland*. They came over *Tweed*, and burnt some small Villages: But *Huntly*, who had then 10000 Men under his Command, so waited upon them, harassing them with continual Alarms and Skirmishes, that they never durst advance two Miles from the River; and at last were forced to return
with

(a) *Holinshed*, p. 328. (b) *Hawthorn*. p. 112.

with the Loss of many Men and Horses, that fell to those under *Huntly's* Command, saith *Holinshed*.

The King at this Time was lying with an Army at *Fala-moor*, to wait on the Duke of *Northfolk*, if he should march forward. When the King understood he had returned and repassed the *Tweed*, he was for pursuing of him; the common Soldiers were indifferent, but the Nobility were against invading *England*, and would not consent to fight but on *Scots* Ground. The King made Use of many Reasons to persuade them to it; but the King's two Sons being dead, and no Children alive, they tell him, *In case he should fall in Battle, as his Father had done, the Nation would be in a miserable Condition*; and so they continue obstinate. Upon which he, in a great Anger, returns to *Edinburgh*, and disbands his Army. The King was so mightily fretted against the Nobility, for their refusing to invade *England*, that he publickly avouch'd, *That the Nobility neither lov'd his Honour, nor desir'd his Abode among them*. And Cardinal *Beton*, *Oliver Sinclair* and others, were not wanting to add Fewel to those Flames of Jealousy that were lodged in the King's Breast.

To breed in the King better and kindlier Hopes of the Nobility, the Lord *Maxwell* offereth with 10000 Men to invade the *English* Borders (a); and now the *English* Army being divided, he hoped to stay as long on *English* Ground as *Northfolk* had done on *Scottish*. The King readily accepts of the Offer, and sends the Earls of *Cassils* and *Glencairn*, the Lords *Fleming*, *Somervel*, *Erskine*, and many Barons, to the West Borders, to assist the Lord *Max-*

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well;

(a) Hawthornden, p. 113.

well; and the Night before the Road, the King came to *Lochmaben*, attending the Event of the Incurfion. Sir *Thomas Wharton* Warden of the *Eng'lish* Marches, being alarmed with the frequent Assemblies of the *Scots* Riders, raifeth the Power of the Country, and placeth them by a little Hill, where he might view the *Scots* Forces; and with him were *Jack Musgrave* and *Baftard Dacres*, two valiant Captains.

The *Scottifh* Lords being in Sight of the *Eng'lish* Army, desired to know who was the King's Lieutenant General; it now being fit Time for every Man to be at his Post. Presently *Oliver Sinclair* is mounted on crofs Spears, the King's Banner display'd, the Commiffion is read, in which he is defigned *Lieutenant*; and all commanded to obey him. Upon which all military Order was turn'd into Confufion, none complaining more than the Lord *Maxwell*. The *Eng'lish* obferving the Diforder the *Scots* Army was in, immediately attack'd them; and in that general Confufion they were in, they furrender without any Resistance; there not being one Man kill'd on either Side. This happened at *Solkway Mofs*, where every *Eng'lishman* is faid to have 3 or 4 Prifoners; among whom were the Earls of *Caffils* and *Glencairn*, the Lords *Maxwell*, *Fleming*, *Somervel*, *Oliphant*, *Gray*, *Oliver Sinclair*, and many others, who were all carried to *London*, and remained there till after the King's Death; who hearing of the Defeat, returned to *Edinburgh*.

From thence he went to *Falkland*; and giving himfelf wholly up to Grief and Melancholy, would allow no Access to him, nay fcarce to his domeftick Servants; would receive no Comfort, and abftain'd both from Food and Recreation. While in this

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Condition, Letters were brought to him from *Linlithgow*, that the Queen was delivered of a Daughter, *December 8th.* Upon which, sighing a Farewell to the World, said, *It will end as it began.*—
The Crown came with a Woman, and with one it will go.— *Many Miseries approach this poor Kingdom. King Henry will make it his, either by Arms or Marriage.* After which he spake but little, still thinking on the Misfortune at *Solway Moss* : And in that Condition he left this World, *December 13th, 1542, ætatis 31.* His Body was carried to *Edinburgh*, and buried in the Abbay Church of *Holy-rood-house*, near the Body of *Magdalene* his first Queen.

King *James V.* was of a well-made Body, of a middle Stature, and of an excellent Mind : He was of an undaunted Courage, and an exact Justiciary. He made many Circuits through the Nation, to punish Robbery and Murder, and to relieve the Oppressed. He obliged the Highlanders and Borderers to live more regularly and quietly than they had been accustomed to do. He was very affable, and gave as easy Access to the meaner Sort as to the great. He established the Court of Session, and brought Tradefmen of all Sorts from abroad. By *German* Miners he found out the Gold Mines of *Crawford-muir.* 'Tis reported of him, that when he went to *France* to marry his first Queen *Magdalene* (tho' he was not usually prodigal) he carried with him a great Retinue of his Nobility and others ; and that he and they lived at so great an Expence, that the King of *France* took Notice of it ; and causing enquire who furnished him Credit at *Paris*, he found he employed none there for that Use, but that he had brought along with him as much Gold as defrayed all that great Charges ; and

that, as it was all *Scots* Coin, so was it the natural Product of that Nation. He was a good Poet, and a great Encourager of Learning. He was sober in his Diet, but pretty much given to his Amours. *Hawthornden* says he had many Bastard Children, but does not name them. He was as averse from Sacrilege, as his Uncle was bent to it; as that excellent Dialogue betwixt him and Sir *Ralph Sadler* (when he was perswading him, by King *Henry's* Order, to take the Church-Lands into his own Possession, and annex them to the Crown) testifies: Which I thought, for the Excellency of it, worthy of a Place in the *Appendix*, and have inserted it, N. 16. In his Time lived two of our *Scots* Historians, *John Major* and *Hector Boece*. The first was Professor of Theology at *St. Andrews*; and the last, Principal of the University in *Old Aberdeen*. Both of them wrote the History of this Nation, and were esteem'd Men of good Learning at that Time. In *England* at that Time liv'd Cardinal *Wolfey* (a), the greatest and richest Church-man that ever was in that Nation. He by his Legatine Power, which he obtained *Anno 1516*, might summon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all other Bishops in the Kingdom, to assemble at his Convocation. He might superintend and correct what he thought was irregular in all their Jurisdictions, appoint all Officers in Spiritual Courts, and present to all Ecclesiastical Benefices, constitute Masters of Faculties and Ceremonies. To advance his Dignity, he might exercise a Visitorial Power over Colleges, and all the Clergy of *England* exempt and not exempt. He had in his Family 800 Servants, among

(a) Dr. Fiddes, p. 106.

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mong whom 9 or 10 Lords, 15 Knights, and 40 Esquires ; and that his Revenue, including the Presents and Pensions he got from abroad, exceeded that of the King of *England*. Notwithstanding all that extraordinary Riches and Power he was once possessed of, he fell into Disgrace with the King, who took from him all his Places and Wealth ; and going Prisoner to *London*, he died by the Way, regretting that he had taken more Pleasure in serving Man than GOD. So uncertain is all humane Grandeur, and so true is it what *Solomon* says, *The King's Favour is as Dew upon the Grass ; but his Wrath is as the roaring of a Lion, and as a Messenger of Death*. I have ventur'd upon this Digression, to give some Account of the extraordinary Greatness of this Church-man at that Time.

King *James V.* being dead, is succeeded by his Daughter *Mary*, a Child of 7 Days old, born in the Palace of *Linlithgow*, December 6th, Anno 1542. The Government of the Realm, during her Minority, was claim'd by the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argyle* and *Murray*, by Virtue of a Will said to be made by the late King. But the Nobility being conven'd to consider the same, they found the King was in no Condition to give any Mandate to make a Will ; and so it was lookt upon as forg'd by the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*. And at last, after much Debate among the Nobility, *James Earl of Arran* was (as nearest in Blood to the Infant-Queen) declared Governor during her Minority. The Earl of *Huntly* very little troubled himself with these Debates about the Government, and join'd closely with the Queen Dowager, for the Preservation of the young Queen.

The News of the King's Death very soon reach'd the Court of *England*. Upon which King *Henry* immediately call'd before him the *Scots* Prisoners that were taken at *Solway-moss*, and acquainted them of the King's Death, and how unwilling he was to involve them in a War during the Minority of their young Queen; notwithstanding all the Provocations he had received: And that now there was a fair Opportunity put in their Hands to extinguish all the Animosities that had been so long betwixt the two Nations, if they would concur with him in making up a Match betwixt their Queen and his Son Prince *Edward*, then 5 Years old; and that if they would heartily forward so good a Design, they should not only be set at Liberty Ransom-free, but also should all of them have Pensions settled upon them. They very soon went in to the King of *England's* Proposal, and promising him all the Assistance in their Power, were dismiss'd *January 1543*; and with them came to *Scotland*, *Archibald* Earl of *Angus* and Sir *George Douglas* his Brother, who had liv'd Exiles in *England* 15 Years; whom King *Henry* recommended to the Governor of *Scotland*: For which they obliged themselves, under their Hands and Seals, not only to promote the Marriage, but also, in case of the Queen's Death, to assist King *Henry* with all their Power to conquer *Scotland* (a). A Bargain their noble Ancestors would have been far from going into.

The Lords from *England*, upon their Arrival at *Edinburgh*, delivered to the Regent and Queen-Mother, the King of *England's* Letters, wherein he expresses

(a) Dr. Drake Hist. Scot. Angl.

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presses his great Desire of settling a perpetual Peace betwixt the two Nations, by a Marriage betwixt the young Queen and his Son the Prince of *Wales*. Upon which the Governor call'd a Parliament, which met the 12th of *March* 1543; where the Earls of *Morton* and *Bothwel*, the Lords *Hume*, *Sinclair*, *Harris* and *Somervel*, with the Abbót of *Cambuskenneth*, having sworn, That the Earl of *Arran* was nearest Kinsman of the Royal Blood of *Scotland*, to the young Queen. He was declared, by Act of Parliament, *Tutor in Law to the Queen during her Minority*; By a second Act, *Governor of the Realm*; And by a third, *Second Person of the Kingdom, and next Heir to the Queen*. This Parliament appointed, as Counsellors to him, the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, the Bishops of *Aberdeen*, *Murray*, *Ross*, *Breckin* and *Orkney*; the Abbots of *Dumfermling* and *Cowper*; the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntly*, *Murray*, *Argyle*, *Bothwel*, *Marischal*, *Cassils* and *Glencairn*; the Lords *Erskine*, *Ruthven*, *Maxwell*, *Seton* and *Methven*; *George Douglas* Provost of *Aberdeen*, *Sir William Hamilton*, *Sir James Lermont*, the Treasurer, the Clerk-Register, the Justice-Clerk, and Queen's Advocate; and appointed the Earls *Marischal* and *Montrose*, the Lords *Erskine*, *Ruthven*, *Livingston*, *Lindsay*, *Seton*, and the Laird of *Calder*, for keeping the Queen's Person in *Linlithgow* or *Stirling*, who was not to be transported elsewhere, without Consent of the Queen Dowager, and of the Governor, and Lords of Council (a). In this Parliament it was proposed by the Lord *Maxwell*, *That the Bible should be translated into the vulgar Tongue, or the English*
Tran-

(a) Records of Parliament.

Translation allowed to be read. And it pass'd in an Act, which, with the rest, was proclaim'd at the Market-Cross of *Edinburgh*, by Order from the Governor, *March 19.* *Vid. Append. N. 17.*

King *Henry*, to forward the Marriage, sent his Ambassador *Sir Ralph Sadler* to the Governor, whom he desires him to credit; he having given him full Instructions in every thing that might relate to the Peace and Good of both Nations. The Governor also, by Advice of Parliament, sent to *England*, as Ambassadors, *Sir William Hamilton* of *Sanquhair*, *Sir James Lermont* of *Balcomy*, and *Mr. Henry Balmaves*, fully instructed, as well to conclude the Marriage, as a lasting Peace betwixt the two Nations; and desires the King of *England* to credit them. *Sir Ralph Sadler* was very diligent with the Governor, and the Lords of the *English* Faction, to forward the Marriage. To him he made very many and liberal Promises; and among others, at last to fix him to his Measures, he propos'd a Marriage betwixt his eldest Son and *Lady Elizabeth*, King *Henry's* Daughter, and that he should go to the *English* Court, to be there educated, till the Marriage was consummated. And to the *English* Lords (as they were now call'd) he paid the Pensions that were settled upon them for carrying on of the Match. The Earl of *Angus* had 200 *Lib. Sterl.* the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Cassils* each of them 200 Merks *Sterl.* The Master of *Maxwell* 100 *Lib. Sterl.* the Lord *Gray's* Friends 380 Merks *Sterl.* *Sir George Douglas* and his Friends 200 *Lib. Sterl.* And *Sir Ralph Sadler*, in a Letter to the Duke of *Suffolk*, dated *April 20.* desires him to send the 100 *Lib. Sterl.* that was payable monthly to the Earl of *Angus*, and says, *That he crav'd it*
might

might be augmented to 200 Lib. Sterl. monthly. With these Sums he so far prevailed with some of them, that they promised, if the Governor would not condescend to the Articles propos'd, they would conduct any Army his Majesty pleased to send, from *Carlisle* to *Glasgow*, and shew them a Way how to conquer that Kingdom: And they promised to King *Henry* all *Scotland* be-south *Forth*; and particularly, to give him up all the strong Forts that were in their Hands.

These great Divisions among the Nobility about the Queen's Marriage obstructed the Execution of Justice and the Laws; which occasioned great Disorders in many Parts of the Country. And those of the West-Isles and the Highlands taking Advantage of the same, came down upon the Low-Country, and there exercis'd their accusom'd Depredations and Robberies. The Governor sent the Earl of *Argyle* to repress the Islanders; and having made the Earl of *Huntly* Lieutenant over the North of *Scotland*, *Orkney* and *Zetland*, sent him to repress those of the Continent, viz. the *Clan-cameron*s, *Clan-ronald*s, and them of *Knoydard* and *Moydard*, who had expelled the Barons of *Grant* & *Lovat* from their Dwellings. Upon which *Huntly* raised an Army in order to chastise them for the Robberies already committed, and to deter them from doing the like in Time to come. The Captains and Chiefs of these Families, were, *Ewen Macellan*, *Ronald Macdonald-glas*, and *John* of *Moydard*, who had possess'd himself of some of *Lovat*'s Lands. Against them *Huntly* marches up with this Army; but how soon they understood he was near unto them, they all withdrew to their inaccessible Mountains and hidden Recesses; so that there

there was no coming at them ; but he repossessed the Laird of *Grant* of his Lands, as before ; and *Lovat* marching towards his Territories, which lay be-north *Inverness*, happens to encounter with those Highlanders, so posted, that he could not avoid fighting of them ; and after a fierce and long Conflict, the Night parted them with uncertain Victory. The Numbers of the Slain was greatest on the Highlanders Side ; but *Lovat*, and his eldest Son, with the rest of the Gentlemen of his Name, and Followers, to the Number of 300, being slain, their Loss was incomparably more to be regretted ; and 'tis reported by our Historians (a), That there was not one of the Sirname of *Frazer* that was come to Man's State left alive ; but that they all having left their Wives at home with Child, all of them were brought to Bed of Male-Children, and so the Family preserved from perishing. *Huntly* being very much afflicted for *Lovat's* Loss, immediately returned against them, hotly pursues and overtakes them, kills severals of them, and takes their Captains, *Ewen M'Allan*, *Roynald M'Donald*, *Glass*, and divers others, whom he immediately causes put to Death. Others, he imprisons, and binds the meaner Sort by the ordinary Ties of Law : And here I cannot forbear to take Notice of another Instance of *Buchanan's* Partiality, as to this Earl of *Huntly* ; he says, *That these Highlanders were under-hand incouraged by Huntly to commit these Outrages* (ut creditur;) and this contrary to what all other Historians write of that Affair, not one of them giving the least Insinuation that can favour his *Ut creditur* ; but
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(a) Lesly, p. 452. Buchan. p. 420. Holinshed, p. 343. Gordonston's MS.

on the other Part, all of them agreeing that *Huntly* punished as severely and exemplarly as it was in his Power : But he can never be even with *Huntly* for his so vigorously opposing his Patron the Earl of *Murray* : However his *Ut creditur* now being of as little Value, as his, *Ut plurimi putant*, is in the Case of the Master of *Forbes*, which I have already evinced to be of none at all; I shall take no more Notice of it.

While the Earl of *Huntly* was thus busied in settling the Peace of the *Highlands*, the Negotiations concerning the Queen's Marriage went vigorously on, the Governor (a weak and easy Man) being flatter'd into it by high and great Promises, and the *English* Lords brib'd into it by Sums of ready Money advanced to them. At last it was agreed upon, the Marriage Articles were concerted, put into Form, signed and sworn to by the Governor, before the *English* Ambassadour, in the Church of *Holy-rood-house*, the 25th of *August*. He notifies the same to King *Henry* in a Letter, and that he had sent Sir *George Meldrum* of *Fyvie* with the signed Treaty, to which the Great Seal of *Scotland* was appended, desiring his Majesty to ratify and give his Oath for the Observance of the same, as he had done.

The Governor and the Lords appointed to draw up the Marriage Articles, notwithstanding the great Promises and Bribes they had gotten from King *Henry*, yet they were very careful of, and zealous for the Honour, Freedom, Independency and Interest of *Scotland*; and indeed the Marriage Articles then agreed upon, were as advantagious for this Nation, as could well have been demanded in View of that Marriage; and they differ so much from the Articles of
the

the last Treaty, that I thought proper to give them a Place in the Appendix, N. 18.

In the mean Time the Lords of the *French* Faction, of which the Earl of *Huntly* was one of the most considerable then, both for Power and Resolution, finding there was no gaining over the Governor to their Side, sent over to *France* to the Earl of *Lennox* to desire him to come over, promising not only to make him Regent, but also to declare him next lawful Heir to the Crown. Being buoyed up with these Promises, and encouraged with many great Promises of Assistance both of Men and Money from the King of *France*, he takes Shipping and arrives safely at *Leith*. The next Day he went and visited the Governor at the Palace of *Holy-rood-house*; and finding how Affairs stood betwixt him and the Queen Mother, in a few Days he went to *Linlithgow*, and was joyfully received by the Queen Mother, and the Lords with her.

The Governor being doubtful what to do in this Juncture, at last resolves to seize on the Person of the young Queen, who was then in Custody of the Lords of the *French* Faction; but they prevented him, by suddenly raising an Army of 4000 Men, with which they carried her from the Palace of *Linlithgow*, to the Castle of *Stirling*; (where she was committed to the Care of the Lord *Erskine* Governor of the Castle, and to him was associated the Lords *Livingstone*, *Fleming* and *Ruthven*) and issued out a Proclamation, summoning all the three Estates of Parliament, to be Witnesses to her Coronation, *September* the 4. at which Solemnity the Governor was present. The King of *England* being apprised of the Earl of *Lennox* his Arrival in *Scotland*, and what
had

had been done there in Relation to the young Queen, since that Time, began to think that her Marriage with his Son would not be so easily accomplished as he at first imagined. He had made Use of Bribes and fair Promises at first, to bring it about; but that not proving so effectual as he expected it would, he resolved to threaten and cudgel them into it.

Sir *George Meldrum* had no sooner arrived at *London*, and delivered the signed Treaty to King *Henry*, to be ratified by him, than he sent him back to *Scotland*, without doing of it; and in his Letter with him to the Governor, dated *September 2d*, he says, *That he knew Sir George would be of Use to him in the present Commotions, for which Reason he had sent him back to him without ratifying the Treaty, which he would do in a short Time, and send it to him.* But Sir *George* was no sooner gone from *London*, than King *Henry* caused seize all the *Scots* Ships there, and that without the least Provocation; which being an open Violation of the Treaty, it so incensed the whole Country against the King of *England*, that Sir *Ralph Sadler* complains, in his Letters to the Duke of *Suffolk* and others, that the Mob so insulted him, that he was not in Safety of his Life. However the pensionary Lords continued still in the Interest of the King of *England*.

The Governor now finding, that King *Henry's* Design was only to have the young Queen in his Custody; the Earl of *Huntly*, now at *Edinburgh*, deals so effectually with him, that he persuades him to quite the *English* Interest, and join with the Queen-Mother, and the Lords that were in the *French* Interest, which intirely disappointed *Lennox* of his Expectations; and so he (*Lennox*) changes Sides, joins

with the Pensionary Lords, and declares for the *English Match*. King *Henry* now finding he was like to be disappointed in his Design of getting the young Queen in his Possession, by his Letter to the Duke of *Suffolk*, of the 14th of *September*, orders him with his Forces to enter *Scotland*, and to seize the Governor and the Cardinal, and burn the Town of *Edinburgh*.

He also writes to Sir *Ralph Sadler*, *That he would never have accepted of the Conditions of the Treaty, if he had not been in that Case assured by the Scots Ambassadors, that he would obtain whatever he desired.* And in the same Letter he desires him, *To put the pensionary Lords in Mind to get the Cardinal and Governor delivered up to him or deposed; and also to appoint 12 Persons to govern the Nation, and eight to have the Custody of the Queen, and to remove those about her, that he might the more easily get her into his Hands.* The pensionary Lords returned Answer by Sir *Ralph*, *That if the King of England would advance a convenient Sum of Money to them to hire Soldiers, they would do their Endeavour to bring both the young Queen and Cardinal into his Possession, tho' they said it would not be easily done.*

About this Time (a) arrived five Ships from *France*, with *L. 60000 Sterl.* of Money, and Arms and Ammunition, for *Lennox*. In those Ships came *Francis Contarini*, Patriarch of *Venice*, and Legate for the Kingdom, from *Pope Paul III.* and from the *French King*, *Mr. la Broche*, *Mr. Menager*, and *Mr. Anorat*; who noways doubting the Earl of *Lennox* was still in their Interest, delivered the Money, Arms and

(a) Lesly, Lib. 10. p. 468.

and Amunition to him, with which he immediately levied an Army; and being joined by the pensionary Lords, he marched to *Leith*; but by the prudent Conduct of the Earl of *Huntly* and others, there was an Agreement made betwixt him and the Governor, which the Earl of *Lennox* swore to; but within six Days thereafter, he went privately to *Glasgow*; and raised a new Army, and fortified the Town and Castle; upon which the Governour also raised an Army, march'd to *Glasgow*, and there, upon the Muir of *Glasgow*, after a sharp Conflict, entirely defeated *Lennox's* Army. After which the Governor call'd a Parliament, which solemnly annulled all that was done towards the intended Marriage betwixt the young Queen, and *Edward* Prince of *Wales*. Upon which the Earl of *Lennox* finding the Governor more powerful than himself, submits intirely to the King of *England*, and bound himself to very unworthy Conditions. *Vid. Appen. N. 19.*

Anno 1545 (a), Sir *Ralph Eure*, with an Army of 4000 Men, invaded the *Scots* Borders; but was met by the Governor, his Army defeated, himself the Lord *Ogle*, Sir *Brian Latton*, and other Gentlemen, and Soldiers, to the Number of 800 were slain, and about 2000 taken Prisoners, with their Artillery and Bagage. This Year died *William Stewart*, Bishop of *Aberdeen*, and was succeeded by *William Gordon*, Chancellor of *Murray*, and Uncle to the Earl of *Huntly*, which much offended the Earl of *Angus*, who intended it for one of his own Relations. *Lesly* and *Spottiswood* give very different Characters of this Pre-late. The first (b) calls him *Vir probus & eruditus*;

(a) Holinshed p. 337. Lesly, p. 400. (b) Lesly, p. 456.

the last (a) says, *That he was brought up in Letters at Aberdeen, and after that studied long at Paris; and, upon his Return, was first made Parson of Clat, and then promoted to the See of Aberdeen; and that at first he gave some Hopes of a virtuous Man, but afterwards turn'd a very Epicure, spending all his Time in drinking and whoring. He dilapidate the whole Rents, by feuing the Lands, and converting the Victual Rent into Money, a great Part whereof he wasted upon his base Children, and his Whores their Mothers, &c.*

These are two very different Characters of one and the same Man; we shall consider on which of them there is most Stress to be laid, whether on the Bishop's or the Archbishop's. The Bishop knew him well, was his intimate Acquaintance, was his *Official*, and lived in the Place a long Time with him; so that his secret Faults could hardly be kept up from him. If he had spent all his Time in drinking, he behoved often to have seen him drunk. If he had sacrilegiously dilapidated all the Rents of the Bishoprick, the Bishop's *Official* behoved to have known of it. Now is it probable in that Case, that a Man of Honour and Integrity, would have called him *Vir probus & eruditus*. On the other Hand, the Archbishop could know nothing about him but by Hear-say. Bishop Gordon died in the Year 1577, the Archbishop was born in the Year 1565, and so was but 12 Years old when Gordon died; and therefore could know nothing of him *ex propria scientia*. Nor gives he any Evidence for what he says. He says, *He gave away the Bishop's Rents to his base Children.*

'Ti

(a) Spottiswood, p. 107.

'Tis true he had two Sons, Mr. *John*, who bought a House, and lived in old *Aberdeen*, and Mr. *Walter*. Neither of them had Children, nor left any Memory of an Estate they got from their Father. He had a Daughter was married to the Laird of *Udny* of that Ilk; and 'tis probable he gave her a Portion. But what if he gave them all reasonable Portions? That was no great Matter for the Bishop of *Aberdeen* to have done at that Time, without doing Harm to the Revenue of the Bishoprick. The Archbishop gives the Character almost of Saints to some of those Gentlemen, who came in this Bishop's Time, and most sacrilegiously plundered the Cathedral of that Place, of all its rich and precious Furniture; nay tore the Lead-roof off the whole of that large and stately Building, and pulled the large and fine Bells out of its Steeples, and ship'd all at *Aberdeen* for Transportation, to be sold for their own private Advantage. He takes no Notice of these small Faults in these Persons, when he gives an Account of them in his History.

'Tis true Bishop *Gordon* did not want his Faults; he had his private Amours, which is not to be vindicated in any Man, much less in a Christian Bishop. That Fault was too common at that Time; and therefore I see no Reason why he should have been singled out, and get such a Character as the Archbishop is pleas'd to give him, when he knew that at that Time there was some of the best Families of the Nation match'd with the base Daughters of Clergymen. And I always heard of him, that laying aside that too common Fault, he was otherwise a Man of good Parts, and a fine Gentleman. *Willocks*, *Knock*, &c. were more guilty of Sacrilege at that Time, than

all the Bishops that ever were in *Scotland*, which I could easily make appear, were it my Province at this Time; but that not being my Purpose, I shall only now consider which of these Testimonies carries along with it the greatest Ground of Credibility. The Bishop was a Popish Bishop, and so, very ready to conceal the Faults of those of his own Order and Religion. The Archbishop was a Protestant, and zealous Reformer, and as ready to conceal, even grosser Faults of those who set up zealously for the Reformation (which I'm sorry to be obliged to take Notice of sometimes in the following History:) So, as yet, the Balance is equal. If we consider the Bishop and Archbishop to be Men of equal Candour and Veracity, and I know no Reason why we should not; then which ever of them had the best Means of Knowledge, to his Testimony certainly should we give the most Credit. Now that the best Means of Knowledge was on the Bishop's Side, I have made very clearly appear. He lived in the Place with him; his Office obliged him to be daily in his Company, and so he could not but know him thoroughly, and could not be deceived. The Archbishop was but a Child when he died; and therefore might be very easily deceived; and for these Reasons I am forced to give more Credit to the Bishop's Testimony, than to the Archbishops. As in Matters of this Nature, one *oculatus testis* is worth *decem auriti*; so I think every indifferent Person is obliged to give more Credit to Bishop *Lesly's* Testimony, than to Archbishop *Spottiswood's*.

On the 29th of *May* 1546, Cardinal *Beton*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, was murdered in his Bed-chamber by *Norman Lesly* and others; after whose
Death

Death the Earl of *Huntly* was made Chancellor. There continued frequent Skirmishes betwixt the *Scots* and *English* about the Borders, till King *Henry's* Death, which happened *January 28, 1547*: To whom succeeded his Son *Edward VI.* who being but Nine Years old, *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hartford*, the young King's Uncle was chosen Protector, and thereafter made Duke of *Somerſet*, who to force the Marriage betwixt King *Edward* of *England*, and *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, raises an Army of about 20000 Men (a), King *Henry* having left Orders with his Lords before his Death, to use all imaginable Means to procure that Marriage.

The Duke of *Somerſet* finding all other Means ineffectual, resolves to march forward to *Scotland* with his Army in this Order. He sent the Lord *Gray* and Sir *Francis Knolls* with 800 light Horse to provide Quarters for the Army. Then followed the Vanguard, consisting of 4000 Foot, 100 Men at Arms, and 600 light Horse commanded by the Earl of *Warwick*. The main Battle consisting of 6000 Foot, 600 Men at Arms, and 1000 light Horse was commanded by the Protector himself. The Rear, which consisted of 4000 Foot, 100 Men at Arms and 600 light Horse, was led by the Lord *Dacres*. On the one Wing was the Artillery, and the other was made up of Men at Arms and Demilances, and the Carriages consisting of 900 Carts besides Waggon, closed up the Rear; and in this Order did they march, till they came to *Preston* on the *Firth*. The Governor of *Scotland*, having got such an Army as he could in so short a Time, marched with them, and encamped on a rising Ground,

(a) Baker, p. 302.

Ground near to *Musselburgh*. The Armies being within two Miles of other, the Lord *Hume* commanded a Body of light Horſe, of about 1200, and about 500 Foot, that lay in an Ambuſh at the Back of a little Hill; with which Body of Horſe he came upon the *Engliſh*, but not in very cloſe Order. Upon which the Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Francis Brian* were appointed to encounter them. The *Scots* having advanced within a Stone-caſt of the *Engliſh* Army, were beginning to wheel about, when the Lord *Gray* with ſome Troops of light Horſe, charged them home, and was furthwith ſecoded by certain Numbers of Demi-lances, and both of them ſupported with 1000 Men at Arms. Yet the *Scots* bravely maintained the Fight more than three Hours, till in the End, oppreſſed with Numbers, they were put to the Flight, and chaſed almoſt to their Camp. *Baker* ſays (a), That my Lord *Hume* was killed by a Fall from his Horſe, and about 1600 more, and that his eldeſt Son, two Prieſts, and fix Gentlemen were taken Priſoners. *Holinſhed* (b) makes the *Scots* Loſs to be about 800, and that the Lord *Hume* was only wounded with the Fall, and carried to *Edinburgh*; but neither of them tell what Number was killed of the *Engliſh*: Only the laſt named Hiſtorian ſays, That there were ſeverals of the *Engliſh* taken Priſoners, and names Sir *Ralph Bulmer*, *Thomas Gower*, and *Robert Crouch*. *Leſly* ſays (c), That my Lord *Hume* was wounded and carried to *Edinburgh*, and that there were about 1000 killed on each Side.

The

(a) P. 303. (b) p. 342. (c) p. 362.

The next Day the Protector and the Earl of *Warwick* (a) rode to view the *Scots* Camp; and as they return'd, a Heralld and a Trumpeter overtook them: The Trumpeter said, *That his Master the Earl of Huntly, to eschew the Effusion of Christian Blood, would fight upon the whole Quarrel, either with 20 against 20, or with 10 against 10, or else try it betwixt the Lord General and himself.* In Answer to which, the Protector told him, *That as for the Number of the Combatants, it was not in his Power to conclude any thing: And as for himself, he being in publick Charge, it was not fit he should hazard himself against one in a private Condition; which Challenge he would most willingly otherwise accept.* The Earl of *Warwick* intreated Leave to accept of the Challenge, and said to the Trumpeter, *Bring me Word, that thy Master will accept the Combate with me, and thou shalt have 100 Crowns for thy Pains.* Nay (said the General) *bring me Word back, that thy Master will abide, and give us Battle, and thou shalt have 1000 Crowns.* And so when no Agreement could be made, a general Battle was agreed upon.

The Van-guard was commanded by the Earl of *Angus*, in which, *Baker* says, there were 15000 Men; *Buchanan* says 10000. The Battle was commanded by the Governor, in which there were 10000. And the Rear was commanded by the valiant *Gourdon* Earl of *Huntly*, as *Baker* calls him (b), in which there were as many. They had no *Hack-lutters*, nor Men at Arms; and only about 2000 light Horse, then call'd *Prickers*. The Earl of *Angus* with the Van-guard being defeat, and the Governor

(a) *Baker*, p. 303. (b) p. 303.

vernor with the middle Body having fled, the Earl of *Huntly* (a) with the Rear-ward, which consisted mostly of Highland-men, advanced still forward, fighting with their Banners display'd, till the Chace was past by them: Yet in the End they were forced to flee as the rest had done. The Earl of *Huntly* was taken in the Pursuit, as was *Yester*, *Sinclair*, *Wemyss*, and many others. There were kill'd betwixt 8 and 10000, and among those Mr. *Adam Gordon*, Uncle to the Earl of *Sutherland*, (which last very narrowly made his Escape) Sir *Alexander Gordon* of *Lochinvar*, Sir *William Gordon* of *Gight*, *Patrick Gordon* of *Craig of Auchindore*, *John Gordon* of *Cairnburrow*, with divers others of the Sirname of *Gordon* (b). This Battle was fought on the 10th Day of *September* 1547, an unfortunate Day it seems for *Scotland*; for on that Day, 34 Years before that, were the *Scots* defeat at *Flowdon*: Nay, it would seem that all that Month must be unlucky for the *Scots*, (if any such thing can be;) for since that Time their Armies have been twice defeat by the *English*, viz. at *Dumbar* and *Worcester*.

The Earl of *Huntly* fought in this Battle on Foot; for *Holinshed* says he was so taken; and being clad in gilt Armour enamel'd, was led to the Protector, and by him carried to his Camp at *Leith*; where pitying the Misery of many of his Countrymen that were wounded and taken, he became Surety for a great many of them, for the Payment of their Ransoms at a prefixed Day; or otherwise, that they should return again to Prison, and so procur'd their Liberation. But he himself was carried into *England* (c); and the next Year

(a) *Holinshed*, p. 343. (b) *Gordonston's MS. History*. (c) *Ibid.*

Year the Governor sent the Laird of *Carnegy* Ambassador to the Duke of *Somerſet* the Protector, to demand the Earl of *Huntly* to be delivered upon Payment of his Ranſom, as the Cuſtom is : Which if he could not obtain, to request for this Liberty, That his Wife and Children might be allowed to viſit him in *England*. Unto which the Protector answered, *That he would not ſet the Earl free, until the War was ended ; but he was content to allow his Wife Liberty to viſit him for certain Days, on this Condition, That he ſhould not withdraw himſelf by any Means from the Cuſtody of Sir Ralph Vane who had taken him in the Wars.* And upon the Ambassador's Return, *Huntly* was committed to certain Keepers, who ſhould carry him from *London* to *Morpeth*, 24 Miles from the Borders of *Scotland*.

While the Earl of *Huntly* was waiting his Wife's coming there to him, he bethinks himſelf how to make his Eſcape, and go to her ; for he had agreed with *George Car*, Father to Captain *Thomas Car*, that he ſhould on an appointed Night bring privily to him two of the ſwiſteſt Horſes that he could get, to make his Eſcape upon. Accordingly *George Car* came at the appointed Time with two Horſes, the beſt the Borders could afford for the purpoſe, the one being for the Earl, and the other for his Servant. The appointed Night, he prepares a good Supper for his Keepers, and invites them ſolemnly to it, and to play at Cards, to put off the Tediouſneſs of the Night. At length, as if he had been weary playing, he left off, intreating them to continue ; and going to the Window, did by a ſecret Sign obſerve, that all Things were ready for his Eſcape, tho' the Night was extremely dark. He began then to be doubtful,

ful, sometimes in Hope, and other times in Fear: At last, without thinking, he burst out into this Speech, *A dark Night, a wearied Knight; GOD be the Guide.* The Keepers hearing him speaking to himself, asked what he meant by that? He answered, That these Words were used as a Proverb among the *Scots*, and had their Beginning from the old Earl of *Morton*, uttering the same in the Middle of the Night when he lay a-dying. Whereupon, that his Keepers might have no Suspicion of his designed Escape, he sitteth down again to Cards; after which he suddenly rose from them (as he said, urged by a Looseness in his Belly to disburden Nature.) Upon which Occasion he went suddenly out with his Servant, found the Horses furnished by *George Car* ready; which he and his Servant immediately mounted, and on them with all possible Speed fled to the *Scots* Borders.

When he had pass'd the River of *Tweed*, and had refreshed himself a little in *George Car*'s House, he went the same Night, being *Christmass-Eve*, to *Edinburgh*, where he was joyfully received by the Queen-Mother, the Governor and his own Friends, with the universal Gladness of the whole People, saith *Holinsbed*. He is immediately restored to his Chancellor's Office, and to the Government of those Provinces he formerly enjoy'd. While he was Prisoner in *England*, the Protector and Nobility there, knowing how much Influence his Advice had on the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, sollicitd him to employ his Endeavours, that the Queen of *Scotland* should be given in Marriage to their King. But he, tho' their Prisoner, was so far from amusing them with a seeming Compliance with their Designs, or with Promise

of

of Endeavours to carry them on, that (somewhat like *Regulus* with the *Carthaginians*) he answer'd them like a true Lover of his Country, *That he was resolv'd to persist in his former Sentiments, and that the Queen should be given in Marriage to none, till she was come to the Years of Discretion, that she might be in Condition to choice for herself; and that tho' he should approve of the Match, yet he could not like their Way of Wooing.*

In the Year 1548 (a), the Governour call'd a Parliament to meet at a Monastery hard by *Haddington*, where it was unanimously resolv'd by the Three Estates, *That for the Preservation of the young Queen, who was now about six Years of Age, she should be sent into France, where she should remain till of Age fit to marry.* And accordingly she was delivered at *Dumbarton* by the Queen-Mother to the Lord *de Brezculing*, who was waiting there to receive her with a Fleet of *French* Ships; and even then, Mr. *Beague* says (b), *she was one of the most perfect Creatures the Author of Nature ever framed, for her Match was no where to be seen, nor had the World another Child of her Fortune and Hopes.* The Persons to whose Care she was intrusted, were the Lords *Erskine* and *Fleming*; and for her Governant, was appointed the Lady *Fleming*; and for her Maids of Honour, *Mary Livingston* Daughter to the Lord *Livingston*, *Mary Fleming* Daughter to the Lord *Fleming*, *Mary Seton* Daughter to the Lord *Seton*, and *Mary Beton* Daughter to the Laird of *Balfour*. And having escaped the *English* Fleet which lay waiting to intercept her, they landed safely at *Brest*, and
from

(a) *Lesly*, p. 493. (b) *Hist.* two Campaigns 1548 and 1549.

from thence were conducted to *St. Germans*, where the Court received her with great Honour and Splendor.

In the Beginning of *March 1550 (a)*, the Queen-Mother resolving to go to *France*, to see her Daughter, and about other Affairs, made Choice of some of the prime Nobility to go along with her; among whom were the Earls of *Huntly*, *Sutherland*, *Mari-schal* and *Cathness*. While the Ships are preparing for the Voyage, *Huntly* causes apprehend *William Mackintosh* Chief of the *Clan-chattan*, for a secret Conspiracy against him, being exercising the Office of the Queen's Lieutenant in the North; and having confiscated his Goods, caused strike off his Head at *Strabogie*. This offended so much the Earl of *Cassils*, and others, who favoured *Mackintosh*, that it was like to have come to a Tumult in the Kingdom, had not the Queen-Mother suppress'd for a while the secret Rancour of their Minds: For tho' some Years thereafter the Queen did rescind the Sentence of Outlawry given out by *Huntly*, and restor'd *Mackintosh's* Son to all his Father's Goods and Lands, and by so doing remov'd the greatest Cause of Hatred and Discord; yet the *Clan-chattan* and their Friends could not digest such an Affront on their Family, without endeavouring Revenge. Wherefore a Party entring by Craft into the Castle of *Petty*, they seized one *Lachlan Mackintosh*, whom they judged to have been the Instigator of *Huntly* against *William*, and put him to Death immediately with great Cruelty.

In

(a) Lesly, p. 484.

In the Beginning of *September*, *Leo Strozza* Prior of *Capua*, comes with 6 Galleys, and some War-Ships, to convoy the Queen-Mother to *France*, who going aboard, accompanied very honourably with a great many of the *Scots* and *French* Nobility, sails along the Coast of *England*, and arrives safely at *Diep* in *Normandy*, *October 14. 1550.* She carried along with her the Countess Dowager of *Huntly*, the Earl of *Huntly* and his Lady, *Alexander Gordon* Earl of *Sutherland*, and several other Persons of Quality (a). From thence she went to *Rouen*, where the King of *France* then was; who to shew how acceptable her coming was to him, among other Demonstrations of the same, he bestows signal Honours on the Nobles that attended her; and gave special Testimonies of his Favour and Esteem to *Huntly*, creating him one of the Knights of *St. Michael*.

The Queen-Mother, in a Conference she had with the King of *France*, proposed, *That the Governor being laid aside, she should have the Government of Scotland put into her Hands.* Which the King of *France* agreed to, providing the Governor could be induc'd tamely and (without Noise) willingly to demit: And she knowing that there was none had such an Interest with the Governor as the Earl of *Huntly*, to make him her sure Friend in that Affair, perswaded her Daughter, the young Queen of *Scotland*, to give to him and his Heirs the Earldom of *Murray*: (Upon which the Queen granted him a very honourable Charter of that Earldom, insert in the *Appendix*, N. 19.) The Management of which had been given to him after the Death of the late Earl,

(a) Lesly, p. 485.

Earl, natural Son to K. *James IV.* and the Earldom of *Rothsay* to his eldest Son, who was married to the Governor's second Daughter (*a*). And that the Governor, upon surrendring of his Office, should have the Gift of the Dukedom of *Chastelberault* confirm'd by the *French King*, and that his Son, the Earl of *Arran*, should be made Captain of the *Scots Soldiers* in *France*. And the other Noblemen of her Attendance had all of them new and special Marks of Favour bestowed upon them. The Queen-Mother having been about a Year in *France*, returns home by *England*. *Huntly* took Leave of her at *Haver de Grace*, and fearing the *English* might challenge and detain him, for making his Escape after the Battle of *Pinky*, if he should come in their Way, takes the nearest Way by Sea, with some other Noblemen, and arrives at *Montrose* in *September 1551*.

The Queen-Mother being returned to *Scotland*, (*b*) *Huntly* attends her assiduouſly, and assists her faithfully with his Advice and prudent Counsels, to quiet the Animosities among the Nobility, sprung from the Contention about Offices of State and Ecclesiastical Dignities, and perswades the Governor to surrender his Office in the Queen's Hands, which he (having in Parliament gotten an ample Pardon for all done by him during his Administration, and a Confirmation of his Dukedom in *France* under the Hand and Seal of the King of *France*) willingly does; and the Queen-Mother immediately takes the Government upon her, in the Parliament holden at *Edinburgh 1554*.

As

(*a*) Lesly, p. 485. Holinshed, p. 353. (*b*) Lesly, p. 474.

As it ordinarily happens upon Change of Govern-
 nors in a Kingdom, the Queen-Regent changes several
 Officers of State, turning out those who enjoyed these
 Offices under the former Governor, and establishing
 others in their Places, and particularly several of the
French that were about her, by whose Counsel she
 administred Affairs; admitting few or none of the
Scots Nobility into her private Deliberations. Which
 Conduct did much alienate their Minds from her
 Government, and gave no small Ground to them, to
 lay hold on the Pretext of *reforming Religion*, and to
 raise those Factions, Seditious and Broils against her
 as long as she lived, which are described at length
 by our *Scots* Historians (a). A little before this
 Time, about the Year 1551, died, at *Paris*, *Robert*
Wauchop, in his Return from *Rome*. He was born blind.
 He went abroad when young, studied *Theology* at
 that University, whereat also he was graduated Do-
 ctor, and taught with great Applause. He was
 employed in many Embassies by the Pope, and in
 these Affairs made many Journies from *Rome* to
Germany, *France*, &c. to the great Astonishment
 of all that knew him; and at last by the Pope was
 made Archbishop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, as the fittest
 Man to put a Stop to the Reformation that was begin-
 ning there (b).

Before the Queen-Mother assum'd the Regency, in
 the Year after her Return from *France*, she accom-
 panies the Governor, holding Courts through all the
 Kingdom for Administration of Justice, of purpose
 to gain all she could of the Nobility, to favour her in
 the Design of assuming the Regency; it being never

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before

(a) Lesly, p. 482. (b) Ibid. p. 475. Holinshed, p. 353.

before practised in *Scotland*, that a Woman, not Heirefs of the Crown, should bear the Office of Governor. In this Progress she and the Governor were splendidly entertained by the Nobility, all along their Progress, and by none more than *Huntly*, at his Dwelling-house at *Strabogie*, which he had, with a new stately and costly Building joined to the old Castle, rendred a very convenient Palace. Having rested some Time here, lest she should be too burdensome to her Host, she orders her Train to make ready to remove. *Huntly*, always most obsequious and dutiful to her, and much obliged by her, intreats she might stay some Time longer, assuring her that nothing should be wanting for her suitable Entertainment. And that there might be no Doubt thereof, he takes the chief of her Domesticks to Cellars and Places where Provisions were kept; which were found to be so plentiful, and to have so great Store of fresh Venison and Wild-fowl, that the *French* were astonished to see it, and demanding where he could have so much fresh Meat, and in such Abundance? He told them, *He had so many Huntsmen and Catchers of Wild-fowl in the Mountains and Forests far and near about him, who brought daily fresh Provisions in Plenty to his House.*

All this being made known to Mr. *d'Oiselle* the *French* Captain, who was the Queen's chief Counsellor; how soon he had Conveniency to discourse with her in private, represents to her, *That this Man (Huntly) was not to be tolerated in so little a Kingdom; That his Power exceeded so far that of his Equals, as might make the King himself apprehensive of Danger; That she might call to Mind the Insolency of the Douglasses, what Troubles they bred to the Kingdom,*

dom, and what Dangers they brought the Kings into in former Ages : And therefore Huntly's Wings were to be clipt, lest after their Example he should wax too arrogant.

This Remonstrance the Queen gave Ear to attentively, and kept in Mind, to make Use thereof when Occasion should offer. On how slender a Prop, which a little Breath may shake and overturn, does the Favour of great ones, and the Fortune of Man, depend ! Nor was it long before the Occasion offered ; for two Years thereafter (the Queen-Mother being made Regent, as is said above) she orders Huntly to go with Forces to *Abertarf*, to suppress *Ronald of Moydard* and his Accomplices, seditious Disturbers of the Kingdom ; who coming to the Place where he (the Earl of Huntly) was to fight, there arises a Tumult in his Army, most part deserting, being alienated from him for the Death of *Mackintosh*. He being thus abandoned, could not trust to the Fidelity of those that remained, is therefore forced to return home without Execution of the Queen-Regent's Orders : And this Occasion, by Advice of her *French* Counsel, she lays hold of to clip his Wings, as she intended to do, and as she had been formerly advised.

Wherefore he is imprisoned in the Castle of *Edinburgh* (a) ; and being thus over-clouded, his Enemies take Occasion to charge him with many false Crimes and calumnious Accusations, and Reports spread among the Vulgar, to destroy his Reputation. And so far did they push the Queen-Regent's Inclination to depress him, that he must be spoil'd

(a) Lesly, p. 482.

of the Earldom of *Murray* and the Lordship of *Aber-
nethy*; of the Administration of the Earldom of
Mar, *Orkney* and *Shetland*, and the Bailiary of
Strathdee: And the Regent appoints Officers to ga-
ther up the Rents of them, to be disposed of at her
Pleasure, and himself to be banished to *France* for
five Years; and some of her Council were for put-
ting him to Death.

While he is on the Point of leaving the Kingdom,
in Obedience to this Sentence, the Earl of *Cassils*
(*a*), the Chief of his Enemies, thought fit, for his
own political Reasons, to advise to change the Sen-
tence into a Fine or pecuniary Mulct only. *Lestly*
says (*b*), he was soon thereafter restored to his for-
mer Dignity by the Queen-Regent, and likewise to
the profitable Offices he enjoyed before. His Words
are, *Pristina dignitate, muneribus ac patrimonio frui
jubet Regina*; and he was a Man living in that Time.
Buchanan mentions nothing of his being reponed to
these Offices, but says, *That by the Mediation of his
Friends, having recovered the Queen-Regent's Fa-
vour, he was admitted to her most privy Councils*. But,
as I have noticed before, there is no Regard to be
had of what *Buchanan* says against this Earl of *Hunt-
ly*, he being his mortal Enemy, for the Reasons al-
ready mentioned. He deserved better Things from
the Queen-Regent. It was to him she owed her
Authority; for it was his Influence and Power with
the late Governor that made him demit, his Brother
and all the rest of his Friends being much against his
Demission.

Hitherto

(*a*) Buchan. p. 560 & 561. (*b*) p. 483.

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Hitherto the Loyalty of the Family of *Gordon* was unquestionably constant, signal and unstain'd: No remarkable Person of the Name of *Gordon* being mentioned in our History to have carried Arms in any Army, Faction or Party, opposite to the supreme Authority, whether sway'd by the Kings themselves, or managed by Regents during their Minority. And this Loyalty, as it was glorious to them, so it was likewise profitable to the Increase of their Wealth and Power, to that Degree, as to render that Family the Object of the Envy, and consequently of the Malice of others of the Nobility.

But its Loyalty being so easy hitherto, because so amply rewarded with Honour and Wealth, it could not be discerned whether it was sincere and disinterested, flowing from Honour, Conscience and Conviction of a Subject's Obligation to his Sovereign, or from being fomented with so profitable and honourable Encouragements. But the Persecutions it has suffered by its envious Fellow-Subjects to this Day, on the Account of its constant Adherence to the Royal Family: Its sharing with them in their Adversities: Its being depressed and raised up with them: Its Ruin being still endeavoured as one of the chief Props of the Royal Authority, by those who conspired to overturn the same, puts the Matter out of Doubt, and lets all impartial Persons see, that its Loyalty proceeded from a Principle of Honour, Conscience and Sense of their Duty, to their Prince; and not from that of Interest and Advantage.

For notwithstanding that this Earl of *Huntly* had his Wings so severely clipt, by the Suggestion of the *French*, for a Fault that was only his Misfortune, and not his Intention, as to be deprived of so great

Emoluments which these Offices above-mentioned yielded to him ; yet he continues dutiful and obsequious to the Queen-Regent who had dealt so harshly with him, so long as she lived, and assisted her with his prudent Advices in those Difficulties she was straitned with all her Time from the Subjects of the Kingdom, who owed her Respect and Obedience. Many of the Nobility then being both poor and factious, laid hold upon the Pretence of reforming Religion, to raise Troubles, and sacrilegiously share the Revenues of the Church, the Abbacies and the other religious Houses, among them ; and they that were forwardest were sure to have the best Share ; and among those there was none out-did *James Stewart*, natural Son of King *James V.* (a) and most unnatural Brother to Queen *Mary*, whose Views went a little higher than the rest, he aiming at nothing indeed less than the Crown. He was a Monster of Ingratitude ; for tho' she took the Earldom of *Murray* from the Earl of *Huntly*, her constant, faithful and loyal Subject, and gave it to him, yet there never was a Prince so barbarously used by a Subject as Queen *Mary*, tho' his Sister, was used by him ; as we shall have Occasion to take Notice of hereafter.

The Nobility having the Church Revenues in their View, run with open Mouth to devour them, and were much encouraged thereto by their Preachers at that Time, particularly *Knox*, *Willocks*, &c. *Knox* had indeed found out some new Point of Divinity unknown to the Christian Church in the best and purest Ages of it, " That even in hereditary Monarchies it was contrary to the Laws of God for Women
" men

(a) *Cambden*, p. 44. *Buchan. passim.* *Lesly passim.*

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“ men to reign; and that if the Sovereign did not
“ reform the Abuses in Religion, the Nobility might;
“ and if they did not do it, then it was the People’s
“ Duty to put their Hands to so religious a Work:
“ And that it was in the Power of the People to de-
“ throne and judge their Sovereigns.” And to make
good this new Doctrine of their’s, they adduced ma-
ny Texts of Scripture, pitifully perverting them.
And that Unchristian deposing Doctrine of their’s
has brought on much Misery, and occasioned the
shedding of much Blood in this Nation since that
Time. If it were my Province here to enter upon
that Question, I think it would be no hard Task
to make it appear, That it would have been better for
the Nobility that the Church Revenues had continued
as they were; for they were still a sure Portion for
their younger Sons or nearest Relations, and they
would not in that Case have been guilty of that hai-
nous Sin of Sacrilege, which has been such a Moth
in many of the most considerable Families of *Britain*
since that Time, that it has quite consumed them:
Whereas others who had no Share in these Spoils,
remain in a flourishing Estate to this Day; as is made
clearly appear by many learned Men who have writ
upon that Subject, and to them I shall refer the Rea-
der, and return to the History in hand.

At this Time the Wars breaking out betwixt *Scot-*
land and *England*, the Queen-Regent committed the
chief Command and Charge on the Borders to the
Earl of *Huntly*, ordering some Troops of Horse and
Foot to be conducted by him for molesting of the
English Borders; who marching speedily to *Dun-*
in the Mers, begins with Diligence to execute his
Commission, and orders the Lord *Hume*, Warden of

the East-Borders, and his Vassals of the Lands of *Huntly* and *Long-Gordon*, to make Incursions into *England*, which he performs, spoiling the Country and Villages, and bringing away much Booty. Immediately thereafter, with a considerable Body of *Scots* and *French*, *Huntly* with Fire and Sword (a), invades the *English* Borders, and returns home loaded with Spoil; no armed Men of the *English* appearing to oppose him, save only some out of *Berwick*, with flying Skirmishes. And that *Huntly* might not want Soldiers to defend the *Scots* Borders, the Queen appointed a certain Number to wait by Turns upon his Orders, till the Month of *October*, that the Army of the Kingdom should be gathered together.

Which being assembled at *Kelso*, the Queen, who had caused denounce War, and raise this Army against *England*, to oblige the *English* to desist from sending an Army against *France*, (as they were then doing to assist *Philip* King of *Spain* against the *French*;) does her utmost Endeavour to persuade the *Scots* to invade *England*. They passing over the River of *Tweed*, take the Affair into more mature Deliberation, whether it were expedient or not, for the Kingdom's Good at this Time, to invade *England*? And after long Consultation, the Duke of *Chastelherault* General of the Army, the Earl of *Huntly*, and others of the Nobility, give their Advice to the Queen (b), *That the Army should remain on the Borders so long as they could be furnished with Provisions, and that England was not to be invaded; since upon the Event or Success thereof, the whole Fortune of the Kingdom depended.* And as to the *Scots* their Fidelity

(a) Lessy, p. 490, 491. (b) Ibid. p. 491.

lity or Good-will to the *French*, they judged they had given sufficient Proof of, by the Damages and Desolations made on the *English* Borders the Preceeding Months. The Queen finding them averse from her Design against *England*, thought it needless to keep the Army on Foot any longer ; and therefore dismissed it.

The Year following, upon the 24th of *April* 1558, the Marriage of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, with *Francis* Dauphin of *France*, is solemnized in the Church of *Nostre Dame* at *Paris*, in Presence of the King and whole Court of *France*. Among those of the Nobility and others, that were sent for from *Scotland*, to be present at the Marriage, was *James*, Prior of *St. Andrews*, natural Brother to the Queen, who begs of her the Gift of the Earldom of *Murray* ; the Administration of which, how soon it fell into the Crown, had been given to the Earl of *Huntly* : And some Years ago, when he went to *France* with the Queen-Dowager, he got the heritable Right of it disposed to him and his Heirs, as is before mentioned. The Queen, instructed by Letters and Advices from her Mother, exhorts him to hold on that Course of Life, to which his Father had applied him, and promises she would endeavour to get him promoted to some Bishoprick and good Benefices, both in *France* and *Scotland* ; but he having other Projects in his Head, undervalues all her Promises, and takes the Refusal of his Suit so ill, that he conceives an implacable Hatred against the Queen-Mother, which he found the Occasion to exercise afterwards, both against the Mother and the Daughter ; both of whom he never ceased to molest, till he got the one turned out of the Regency, and the other out of the Crown
and

and Kingdom, as shall be accounted for hereafter in their proper Places.

After the Queen's Marriage was solemnized in *France*, it was demanded by the *French* King of the *Scots* Nobility that were there, that the matrimonial Crown should be sent to the Dauphin. They replied, That their Instructions from *Scotland* gave them no Power to treat in that Matter, but that upon their Return, they should lay it before the Parliament of that Nation, who would deliberate about it, and give their own Answer. This Proposal of the *French* was chiefly opposed by the Earls of *Rothes* and *Cassils*, the Lord *Fleming*, and the Bishop of *Orkny*; all of them Men of great Esteem in their own Country; and they dying before their Return, it was given out that they were poisoned by the *French*: But whatever Truth was in that, this is certain, that the Reformers made a Handle of it, to irritate the Populace against the *French*.

The remaining Commissioners being safely arrived at *Leith*, a Parliament was called, which met at *Edinburgh*, in *November*, where all the Proceedings of the Commissioners in Relation to the Queen's Marriage, is approved of; but when they came to consider the *French* Proposal of sending to the *Dauphin* the matrimonial Crown, there arose great Debates about it. The Duke of *Chatelherault*, gave in a Protestation against it, as tending to prejudice his Right in Case of the Queen's Demise without Children; which Protestation bears Date at *Edinburgh*, 26th of *November* 1558, and subscribed by these Witnesses, *John* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, *George* Earl of *Huntly*, *George* Lord *Gordon* his Son, *George* Commendator of *Dumfermling*, *John* Lord *Borthwick*,

wick, and Mr. *Andrew Oliphant* (a). Notwithstanding which, the Parliament agreed to the sending over the matrimonial Crown to the Dauphin; and the Earl of *Argyle*, and the Prior of *St. Andrews* were appointed to carry it. But the Lords of the Congregation knowing them to be useful Men for their Purpose, dissuaded them from going; and in their own Names, gave in a Petition to this Parliament, desiring that all Acts of Parliament against the Protestants should be abrogated or suspended, till a lawful general Council should decide the Controversies betwixt them. The said Petition contained a great many other Clauses in Favours of the Reformers, as may be seen in *Dr. Mackenzie's Life of Queen Mary*.

To this Petition, the Parliament returned no Answer, upon which the Lords of the Congregation protested, *That since they could not obtain a Reformation by the Laws of the Land, it should be lawful for them to exercise their own Religion, according to the Purity of the Gospel; and that none of them should suffer for this in Lands, Goods, or Lives, by Virtue of former Acts of Parliament, made in favours of their Adversaries; That whatever Tumults or Disorders should happen betwixt them and their Adversaries, should not be imputed to them. And, lastly, Since they had nothing but Religion in their View, they should not be esteemed as factious, or seditious, but as dutiful and loyal Subjects.* This their Petition they desired to be entred in the Records of Parliament; but that was refused, and they were declared Rebels; and from that Time the Nation was involved

(a) *Dr. Mackenzie's Life of Queen MARY*, Vol. 3. p. 249.

volved in an intestine War, which carried utter Ruine and Devastation along with it, and at last the murdering of their lawful Sovereign, and all under the specious Pretext of Religion.

In this Year 1558, *Alexander Gordon*, Brother to *George Earl of Huntly*, was made Bishop *Galloway*; he joined in the Reformation, and kept his Bishoprick till his Death, notwithstanding which, he continued dutiful and loyal to the Queen, and was imployed by her, when Prisoner, in divers of her Negotiations with Queen *Elizabeth*, and her rebellious Subjects in *Scotland*. The Laird of *Strathloch*, speaking of him in his History of the *Gordons*, says, *Tota Gordoniorum familia Reginae semper adhæserunt*. I shall have Occasion to give a fuller Account of this Bishop *Gordon* and his Posterity hereafter, when I come to take Notice of his Son Mr. *John Gordon*, made Dean of *Sarum* by King *James VI*.

I have mentioned before, the Bishop of *Orkney* his dying, in his Return from *France*, after the Queen's Marriage. *Spottiswood* says (a), *Robert Reid* (which was his Name) was a Man of excellent Wit, great Experience, and employed in divers Legations. He was a great Favourer of the Family of *Mackay*, and obtained from the Queen a Gift of *Mackay's* Land in *Strathnaver* (b), falling into her Hands by the Bastardy of *Donald Mackay*, the Father of *T. Mackay*; which Gift Bishop *Reid* took in his own Name, but for *Mackay's* Use. But that Gift being obtained in the Queen's Minority, was not good in Law; and therefore the Earl of *Huntly*, when the Queen came to be of perfect Age, applied and procured another Gift of these Lands

(a) P. 112. (b) Gordonston's MS.

Lands of *Strathnaver*, which the Earl thereafter gave to *Mackay*, retaining the Superiority thereof to himself and his Heirs. This good Bishop left a great Sum of Money for building a College in *Edinburgh*; but that wicked Man, the Earl of *Murray* when Regent, forged Crimes against the Bishop's Executors, and prosecuted them, till he made himself Master of the Money, which he most sacrilegiously converted to his private Use.

November 17th 1558, *Mary* Queen of *England* died at St. *James's*, and was succeeded by her Sister *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Henry VIII.* by *Anna Bullen*, who in her Father's Time had been declared incapable to succeed by Act of Parliament. Whereupon, by Advice of the King of *France*, *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, and her Husband in her Right, as nearest Heir to the Crown of *England* in all her publick Deeds and Letters, assumes the Title of (a) *Francis and Mary, by the Grace of GOD, King and Queen of Scotland, England and Ireland*, and put the Arms of the three Nations upon her Palace-plate, &c. And this not only laid the Grounds of a War betwixt *England* and *France*, but created such a Hatred in Queen *Elizabeth* towards Queen *Mary*, that she could never forgive her, till she most barbarously made her Blood atone for it. Not long after this, *Henry II.* of *France* dying, the Dauphin and she were proclaimed by the Title of *Francis and Mary, King and Queen of France*, &c.

The Lords of the Congregation, as they now called themselves, after their forementioned Protestation, began now to act more openly; and having got
over

(a) Cambden, ad An. 1559.

over to their Interest the Duke of *Chatelherault*, and his Son the Earl of *Arran*, they first threaten the Queen Regent by a Letter, dated from *Hamilton*, September 29. signed by the Duke, *Arran*, *Argyle*, and many others Lords and Barons : And thereafter, October 21. 1559, without the least Shew of Authority, either from Queen or Parliament, they, by a publick Deed, discharge her of her Regency ; but before this, they had laid aside both divine and humane Authority, most barbarously and sacrilegiously destroyed the religious Houses, with their rich Furniture, in all Places where they had Power, as at *Perth*, and elsewhere. Whereof the Queen Regent being informed, she hastens thither to repress their Insolence. They retire to *St. Andrews*. The Regent follows, leaving 600 Men to defend the Town of *Perth*. They offer Battle to the Regent's Forces near *Cowper*, but it is diverted by the Duke, and the Earl *Marisbal*, who persuade her to go to *Edinburgh*, and convocate the Nobility, for putting a Remedy to these Disorders of State.

While she is going seriously about this, the Earl of *Argyle*, and the Prior draw out their Forces to besiege *Perth*. The Queen sends *Huntly* to dissuade them from so unjust and impious an Attempt. But they finding themselves strong, refuse to desist. They take the Town, then march to *Scoon*, beat down the Walls of the Monastery, burn the Church, carry away the Spoils, march to *Stirling*, then to *Linlithgow*, exercising their Fury every where on Churches, and religious Houses. The Queen understanding from *Huntly*, that they designed for *Edinburgh*, retires to *Dunbar* : But she is scarce two Hours gone, when they enter the Town, deface all the religious Houses, pillaging all that

that could be useful to themselves, not only out of these Houses, but likewise out of the Queen's Palace, the publick Treasury of all the Money coined and uncoined, and proclaimed the Administration of the Government, to be in the Hands of those whom they had chosen, and stiled Lords of the Congregation: And all this is declared to be done for the Extirpation of Popery, and the *French* out of the Kingdom; and for the better effectuating of which, they address Queen *Elizabeth* for her Aid, by *William Maitland* of *Ledington*, then Secretary (a). And indeed she was so religious a Woman, that she never lent a deaf Ear to the Rebels of her neighbouring Princes, especially to the Rebels of her nearest Kinswoman, the Queen of *Scots*.

While this is preparing, the Queen Regent informs the King of *France* of the present State of Affairs in *Scotland*, and intreats a new Recruit of Forces might be sent to her Assistance, under the Command of experienced Captains. In the mean Time, by the Advice of severals of the Nobility, she thinks fit to try the Event of a Battle with the Seditious; and therefore orders the *French* Captains to march towards *Edinburgh*, and expel the Rebels out of that City, or fight them in the open Fields; and they being animated with the Presence of *Huntly*, *Bothwell*, *Seton*, and many others of the Nobility, with their Attendants, first possess themselves of *Leith*, and then range their Forces in Order of Battle. The Reformers finding themselves not strong enough, commits the composing of Differences upon reasonable Terms to the Earl of *Huntly* (b), who was taking

(a) Cambden ad An. 1559. (b) Lesly, p. 510.

ing great Pains betwixt the two Armies to bring them to an Accommodation without Bloodshed ; and in the End brings the Matter to this, That two of the Nobility on either Side should meet to draw up the Articles of Pacification ; which was done accordingly ; and the Queen returns from *Dunbar* to *Edinburgh*, permitting *Huntly* and the rest of the Nobility to go to their own Dwellings.

This being done, the *French* Soldiers fortify *Leith*, to serve as a Refuge upon Occasions, and to secure Entry to the Auxiliaries and Ammunition that were expected from *France*. The Reformers being jealous of this, desire the Queen to cause cease from carrying on these Fortifications : Which she refusing, they take Occasion thence of drawing their Forces towards that Place. Whereupon the Queen enters her self into it, and furnishes it with a strong Garrison of *French* and *Scots*, commanded by *Kennedy* and *Drummond* ; and shortly thereafter her Garrison making an Eruption, kills some of the Enemy, and drives them from *Edinburgh* (a), whither the Queen returns and passes the Winter. In the mean Time the *French* (b) drive the Reformers out of *Glasgow*, and returning by *Stirling*, pass over into *Fife*, and holds them daily in Exercise with light Skirmishes, wherein not a few lost their Lives : And the Earl of *Sutherland* being sent by *Huntly* to the Queen, happening on his Way to be a Spectator at one of these Encounters, loses the Use of his Arm, by a Wound he received in it (c).

In the Year 1560, the *English* Naval Army comes to the *Firth* ; and the *French* Soldiers from *Fife* and elsewhere

(a) Lesly, p. 518. (b) Idem, p. 519. (c) Idem, p. 520.

elsewhere, on Sight thereof, retire with all Diligence to *Leith*. The Reformers now having every where destroyed or defaced the religious Houses, some Barons of the *Merns*, excited partly by Hatred to the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and partly by Hopes of Spoil, set upon the Convents of the *Dominicans* and *Carmelites* at *Aberdeen*, and raze them; and were about to demolish those of the *Minorites* and the *Trinity*, when the Baron of *Balquhain*, by *Huntly's* Order, stops and suppresses their Fury; and the Bishop, who was *Huntly's* Brother, together with *John Lesly*, then Official, and afterwards Bishop of *Ross*, hinders them from demolishing the Cathedral at this Time, tho' thereafter these very Barons returned and demolished the whole Cathedral, took all the fine Vestments, costly and rich Furniture out of it, pulled the Bells out of the Steeples (of which there were 14, all of them large, but three of extraordinary Bigness) and Lead off the Roof, with which it was all covered, and shipped them all aboard a Ship in the Harbour of *Aberdeen*, in order to send them to *Holland*, to be sold there for their proper Accounts. But by Tradition we have it, That the just Judgment of God reached both Ship and Cargo in the Road of *Aberdeen*, where Ship and all in her perished, and are there lying in the Botom of the Sea, to this Day.

The *English* Army being joined by the Reformers, layes Seige to *Leith*; and the Queen Regent, tho' afflicted with Sickness, ceases not by Letters and Messengers, to solícite the Nobility to lay aside their Animosity, and to restore Peace to the Kingdom. The Earl of *Huntly*, whose Prudence and Pains she had mostly made Use of in this Negotiation, by Writing, solíciting, perswading and advising, finding

his Labours could take no Effect, and despairing of Matters, returns to the *North* from whence he had come. In the Time of this Siege, the Queen Regent's Sickness increasing, puts a Period to her Days, the 10th of *June* 1560 (a). She was a Lady endowed with singularly good Qualifications, a great Lover of Justice, helpful to all she thought indigent. She kept a wonderful Gravity in her Court, tolerating no Licentiousness. As for the rest of her Character, I shall leave it to *Spottiswood*, and her most Christian Behaviour at her Death to Doctor *Mackenzie*, in the *Life of Queen Mary*.

How much the Nation suffered by the Queen Regent's Death, soon appeared; for it was no sooner known, than the whole was in Confusion. There was then a Discord betwixt the Earls of *Huntly* and *Athole*, which occasioned great Disorders in the *North*; so that there was taking of Prisoners, and overthrowing of Houses on both Sides (b). Great Preparations were made, and Armies put in Readiness to invade each others Countries: But this Controversy was made up by the prudent Mediation of *Alexander Gordon*, Bishop of *Galloway*, Mr. *John Lesly*, Official of *Aberdeen*, and *William Lesly*, Laird of *Balquhain*, who agreed all their Differences, and intirely reconciled them. In the mean Time, there came to *Scotland*, Ambassadors both from *France* and *England*, to treat of a Peace, which after several Debates with the Lords of the Congregation, was concluded, and passes under the Name of the *Pacification of Leith*. *Q. Mary* so obstinately refused to ratify it, That for the

Reader's

(a) Spottif. p. 146. (b) Gordonson's MS.

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Reader's Satisfaction I thought proper to insert it in the *Appen. N. 19.*

About the End of November 1560, *Francis II.* King of *France* and *Scotland*, dies in the 18th Year of his Age, of an Impostume in his Ear, at *Orleans*; to the great Satisfaction and Joy of the Lords of the Congregation. Queen *Mary*, now her Husband being dead, resolves to return to *Scotland* (a). She was indeed so much afflicted with the Loss of her Husband, that she once resolved to have spent the rest of her Days in a Monastical Retirement; but from that she was dissuaded by her Uncles the *Guises*; who advised her to return to *Scotland* with a good Army, which they promised to provide her with. Queen *Elizabeth* being apprised of this by her Ambassador, whom she had sent over with a Complement of Condolence, immediately dispatches an Express to the Lords of the Congregation, to acquaint them of the Advice their Queen had got, and desired them to send over immediately one of their Number, to dissuade her from taking any such Advice, but should return without any Forces, relying intirly upon the Duty and Affection of her Subjects. Queen *Elizabeth's* Advice was always more sacred to them than their Sovereign's; and therefore in Obedience to it, they furthwith dispatch to her the Prior of *St. Andrews*, her natural Brother; as the Man among them fittest to insinuate himself into her Favour.

But that was not so privately done, but it came to the Knowledge of the Earl of *Huntly* and others of the Nobility: Upon which the Earls of *Huntly*, *Crawford*, *Sutherland*, *Athole*, the Bishops of *St. Andrews*, *Aber-*

(a) Mackenzie, V. 3.

deen, Murray, and Ross, with many others of the Nobility and Clergy, send *John Lesly* Official of *Aberdeen*, to salute her in their Names, and to assure her of their Obedience. The Prior had not made very great Dispatch, but had staid sometime at *Paris*, but *Lesly* went straight to *Vitry* in *Champaign*, where he found her in *April 1561*, before the Prior came to her, and represents to her from the foresaid Nobility and Clergy, *That she should beware of the Prior, who was already at Hand, whose chief Design was to dissuade her from bringing any Guard of French Soldiers along with her, but that she should intrust the whole Burden of the Government to him, that by these Means he might the more easily abolish and root out the Catholick Religion which he had begun already so vigorously to oppose, by heading and animating the Reformers; and that tho' he pretended the Reformation of Religion, yet the Crown itself was his secret Aim.*

Wherefore, if she would look to her own and the Kingdom's Peace and Safety, she would take Care to keep him in France, till her self should be at Home and settle the State of the Kingdom. If not, at least she should land in the North at Aberdeen; and for this Effect was come along with him, from those her faithful Subjects, James Cullen, Huntly's own Kinsman, a Man both experienced by Sea and Land, to conduct her safe to that Port, where all the Northern Nobility would be attending her Arrival, ready with 20000 Men to conduct her to Edinburgh, and secure her against all the Attempts, Insults, and Machinations of the Seditious. Wherefore he beseeched her most earnestly, in the Name of the Earl of Huntly, and all the rest of the Nobility who had sent him, That she
would

would not put her self as a Prey in the Hands of the Prior, from whom, as their Source, all the late Seditious, which had rendered her Mother's Life so uneasy, and hastened her Death, did take their Arise.

Lesly having thus acquit himself of his Commission, the Queen orders him to stay by her till she should return to *Scotland*; and, in the mean Time, to send Letters to those of the Nobility and Clergy who had sent him, to advertise them of her coming and assure them of her Favour.

The Day following the *Prior* comes, and makes his first Compliment to her, with all Promises and Assurances of Fidelity, Care and Diligence, protesting he should make all *Scotland* most obsequious to her, without the Help of one Company of foreign Soldiers. And after much Discourse to this Purpose, he renews his Petition for the Earldom of *Murray*, which the Queen promises to satisfy him in, when she should be arrived in *Scotland*. He finding her sufficiently kind to him, after some Days takes his Leave for *Scotland*, to prepare, as he pretended, the People for her more welcome and honourable Reception; and taking his Way by *England*, he admonishes Queen *Elizabeth* secretly, that if she would provide for the Security of her self, and the reformed Religion, she should endeavour by all Means to intercept Queen *Mary* in her Return to *Scotland*. The same Advice did *Maitland* of *Ledington* give the Queen of *England*. Having thus advised Queen *Elizabeth*, in Prejudice of his Sovereign and Sister, (as a very unnatural Brother) he leaves her, and arrives in *Scotland* before any others in the Beginning of *May*.

Queen *Mary* having settled her Affairs in *France*, and taken Leave of the King and her Friends, embarks at *Calais*; and favoured by a Fog, escapes the *English* Fleet put out to intercept her (a), and, in Six Days, safely arrives at *Leith*, before the End of *September*; which the *Prior* hearing of, he made no great haste to bid her Welcome, tho' he was not far off. But the Duke of *Castelherault*, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Athole*, *Crawford*, *Marischal*, *Rothes* and others, with many Nobles and Barons, come with all haste, and offer their Respect to her, with a ready and chearful Mind. She immediately calls a Council, and to remove all their Fears and Jealousies, she most graciously condescended, *That there should be no Alteration made as to their Religion, only desired That they would not take it amiss, That she should retain her own Religion in her Family.* This was so modest and so rational a Proposal, That none in Council had the Confidence to oppose it, except the Earl of *Arran*, who said, *That he could never agree to have the Mass tolerate, either publickly or privately*; no Doubt set on to it by the Ministers who preached then to the People, *That unless the Idolatrous Worship of the Church of Rome were rooted out of the Nation, they could expect nothing but GOD's Wrath and heavy Vengeance upon them*; and that *Priests of the Romish Religion ought to be punished with Death, according to GOD's Laws against Idolaters.*

Camden says of her, *That she used all possible Clemency to her Subjects, and began to govern the Kingdom by wise and excellent Laws.* Notwithstanding

(a) *Camden*, ad An. 1561,

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 199

standing which, the Ministers Preachings so prevailed with the Mob, that the next Day, as the Queen was going to Mass in her Chapel, they fell upon the Servants, who were carrying the Candles to the Altar, and broke the Candles; and had they not been overpowered, they would have put the Chapel in Flames. The Queen was highly offended with this insolent Treatment (and it was no Wonder;) and had she taken the Earl of *Huntly's* Advice, she had sufficiently revenged her self on the Ministers; and if they, for this barbarous Insolence had at this Time been punished as they deserved, it would have put a Stop to their Carrier, and so have prevented much Trouble that they brought upon her and the Nation afterwards. But she being of a most merciful Temper, her base Brother the *Prior* (who was at the Bottom of all the Mischief that ever happened to her) came to her, and promised, That for the Future he would engage they should not preach Sedition; and so she was pacified: But how contrary they acted to this Promise is known to every Body.

After the Queen had staid sometime at *Edinburgh*, she made a Progress through the Country, and was splendidly entertained in all the Places she went to; but as she was returning to *Edinburgh*, the Provost *Archbald Douglas*, caused publish a Proclamation, discharging all Drunkards, Adulterers, Fornicators, Mass Priests, and obstinate Papists, to enter the Town of *Edinburgh*, under the Pain of highest Penalties; by which the Queen herself was prohibited to enter the Town; for she had always owned herself to be as much Papist, as any other Person in the Nation. It was also a manifest Usurpation of

the Royal Authority, and so an insolent Affront put upon the Queen; for which she caused him be imprisoned: And it being about the Time that they yearly chose their Magistrates, she ordered them to make Choice of any other they pleased in his Place, which they obeyed. But then the Ministers, notwithstanding the *Prior's* Promise, not long before, fell to their old Trade, from their Pulpits, stirring up the Mob, by publickly telling them, *That the Queen was not only an open Protector of all avowed Papists, but likewise of all Fornicators, Drunkards, and profane Persons.* And this was the Return those Saints made to that merciful Princess, for her late Lenity towards them. There then was, and since has been a Sect of People sprung from them, in this Nation, whom no Concessions can please, nor no Favours oblige.

Now the Queen's base Brother the *Prior*, a Man of unlimited Ambition, having (to her great Misfortune) gotten an absolute Ascendant over her, is made one of her Privy Council, and Warden of the Borders. But that not satisfying him, she makes an Offer to him of the Earldom of *Mar*: But that he had appointed for his Uncle, the Lord *Erskine*, who had a Claim to it, and to whom he procures it, and to himself the Earldom of *Murray*. The Queen also yet to make him greater procured for him in Marriage, Lady *Agnes Keith*, Daughter to the Earl *Marischal*. These Preferments of the *Prior's* disobliged many of the Queen's Friends; and none more than the Earl of *Huntly*, who presented a Memorial (a) to her out of his own Hand, wherein he

told

(a) Dr. Mackenzie's Life of Q. MARY.

told her, *That he aimed at no less than the Usurpation of the Regal Authority; That his Mother was often heard say, That she was privately married to King James V. and that while she was with Child of him, she dream'd, That she had a Dragon in her Belly, who encompassing the Head of a Lion, overcame and kill'd him. And the Lion being the Scots Arms, they no-wise doubted but that he would sometime or other attain to the Crown: And therefore he humbly intreated her Majesty, That she would rather trust to her ancient Nobility and known Friends, than to her Bastard Brother, who had such bad Designs against her. But she gave no Ear to this, esteeming it all proceeded from Malice.*

Murray, now by his Preferments, having procur'd many Enemies; to secure himself in his present Fortune, and make the Way more secure to carry on his future Designs, by removing Impediments, whomsoever he knew were offended with his Dealings, or being prejudiced by him, might endeavour to get Redress; he makes it his Business to rid himself of their Trouble; and taking the Pretext of some Delinquency against the Laws, (for he would seem to do all Things out of Love to Justice, and by the Royal Authority,) some he banishes, others he imprisons, and some he causes be put to Death: Imitating the old Roman his Advice, adumbrated in smiting off with his Staff the Heads of the Poppies that were remarkably eminent above the rest of the Herbs in the Garden where he walked. So did this Politician with those of the *Scottish* Nobility who were of greatest Power or Prudence, whom he judg'd not to favour his Ways; in so much, that the Queen now manifestly perceived her Error, in neglecting the Service of

Huntly,

Huntly and others, sent her by *Lesly* before she came from *France*. But it was too late. The Net she had entangled herself in was too strong for her to break, and the Burden too heavy for her Weakness to shake off, *Gravis enim erat ejus potentia Reginae*, tho' she used some Endeavours to do it, as *Buchanan* mentions in his History.

Among those of the Nobility whom *Murray* lookt upon as his Enemies, and whose Ruin he was resolv'd to effectuate one Way or other, the Earl of *Huntly* was one of the chiefest, as being one to whom he had given greatest Grounds of Enmity; what by his overthrowing the *Romish* Religion, and his Abuse of the Royal Authority, or rather his transferring the Use of it from its natural Channel (the Queen) into his own Hands, and for his own Designs; both which *Huntly* and his Predecessors had constantly and vigorously maintained: And what by his importuning and obtaining from the Queen the Earldom of *Murray*, which *Huntly* had possessed for several Years; and there is no Doubt the preceeding Memorial given in to the Queen, against him, by *Huntly*, stuck deep in his Stomach.

And as upon these Accounts he knew how much *Huntly* was incens'd against him, so he was the more apprehensive of his Power and Capacity to oppose his Projects; for (as *Buchanan* is forced by Evidence of Truth to acknowledge) by his own and his Predecessors manifold Merits and Services done to the Kings in former Times, he was grown to be the most considerable of any of the Subjects in *Scotland*: *Ob multa majorum suorum in Reges merita, omnium Scotorum longe opulentissimus. Jacobo Stewarto, Jacobi Quinti fratre, sine liberis defuncto, procurationem Moraviae*
ab.

ab iis, qui in summo magistratu erant, adeptus; se quasi hæredem gerebat, quibus opibus, eò magnitudinis crevit, ut æmulatione depositâ, omnes qui propinquas ei regiones incolebant, in ejus auctoritate conquiescerent, & prope in ditionem concederent (a).

We have before hinted, that *Huntly* was highly offended at the barbarous and insolent Treatment the Queen met with, in the Rabble's publickly breaking the Candles that her Servants were carrying to her Chapel, before she went to Mass. *Buchanan* tells us, That *Huntly* fretting to see her so unjustly dealt with by her Subjectts, takes Occasion from thence to address himself to the Queen's Uncles, of whom three had accompanied her from France, and were not yet returned; and after discoursing with them about the Affairs of the Kingdom, he offers to them to reduce to the Catholick Religion all those Parts of Scotland that lye on the North-side of the Caledonian or Grampian Hills. They doubting thereof, and fearing to raise a new Tempest without any Advantage, in case his Offer should take no Effect, or being loath to exasperate the Earl of *Murray*, who had both the Queen and Government in his Hands, not only neglect his Offer, but discover the same to the Earl of *Murray*; which incited him the more to contrive the Ruin of *Huntly*, whom he saw resolved to oppose his ambitious Aims at the Crown.

For he could not contain this Passion and Design (says *Camden*) within the Secret of his own Breast, but now and then would let it appear in his Expressions to his intimate Friends, regretting that the warlike Nation of the *Scots*, as well as the *English*, was subjected

(a) Buchan. p. 611, 612.

subjected to the Empire of a Woman: And from *Knox* his Doctrine, whom he looked upon as his Patriarch, he would frequently argue, *That Dominion and Kingdoms were due to Virtue, and not to Succession or Blood; That Women were to be excluded from the Succession of Kingdoms, and that their Sovereignty was monstrous.* He made likewise his Friends deal with the Queen, that she would substitute four of the Royal Family of *Stewart*, who should succeed one another in the Kingdom, in case she herself should happen to die without Children, without having Regard in that Number, either to lawfully or unlawfully begotten; not doubting but himself should be one of them, since he was Son to the King her Father, tho' unlawfully procreate. The Queen, for several Reasons, waves it, and answers, *She would maturely deliberate with the States of the Kingdom.* And that she might by her Bounty and Liberality oblige him the more, bestows on him the Earldom of *Murray*, and procures him an honourable Marriage with the Daughter of the Earl *Marischal*; little knowing in the mean Time, that he by giving himself out to be lawful Son of *James V.* did aim to set the Crown upon his own Head: To which, that he might make the Way the more easy, he oppresses and ruins, by the Favour he had with the Queen, the most noble Family of *Gordon*, of which he was afraid, as opposite to himself and the Reformation; the Duke of *Chastelherault* he excluded from Court, imprisoned the Earl of *Arran*, banished *Bothwel* into *England*; and whosoever he judged might withstand him in his ambitious Projects, he depress'd them, that they might be less able to do it: And the Queen herself he kept in his Power as a Tutor does his Pupil,

pil, being above all most solicitous, that she should not conceive any Thoughts of taking a Husband. Hitherto *Camden*, and I thought it not amiss to take the Portraiture of that Earl from that ingenious and candid Historian, who for his Parts and Probity is esteem'd by all those that know any thing of History; and who being a Stranger, cannot be suspected to have had any Byass, tho' *Buchanan* and others would needs make *Murray* a Saint. For

Buchanan and other Writers of his Principles, that they may diminish the Horror and Detestation of the Earl of *Murray* his Dealings with the Queen and *Huntly* particularly, which the reading of the History of that Time might imprint upon Posterity; They are industrious to represent the Earl of *Murray* as a Saint and an Innocent, and the Queen and *Huntly* as notorious Sinners; him as a Man adorned with all Virtues, and them as deformed with all Vices (a). And to excuse his persecuting them both even to Death, they pretend that both designed to take away his Life; and accordingly they make up sham Plots, and Contrivances of their own, for that Effect; as, that the Borderers wasting and destroying the Country, *Murray* is authorised to repress them; not so much out of any Intention to honour him, as to expose him to Dangers, that the Queen might be freed of him; for his Power was become too heavy and troublesome to her. Then he tells us (b), *That Huntly set some armed Men to kill Murray, as he should be coming from the Queen, late at Night, to his own Lodgings; Which he having Notice of, takes some few of his trusty Friends in Company, and goes*
to

(a) *Buchan.* p. 609. (b) *Id.* p. 614.

to try the Verity of this ; which he (innocent Man that could suspect ill of no Man) could not believe, unless his Eyes were Witnesses of it: Nec is, nisi oculis foret subjecta, crediturus esset, (says his good Friend Buchanan ;) and groping with his Hands in the Gate of the Court, he finds one or two of Huntly's Men with Arms. The Matter being delated to the Queen, and Huntly called, he said, That some of his People intending to go home, had taken their Arms, and were delayed upon some Emergency ; and there was no more of the Matter.

Now if (as Buchanan says) Huntly had really intended any Harm to Murray, he might have had a greater Number than *unum & alterum* to perform the Matter, and these more resolute than to have neglected the Execution, when Murray groping with his Hands in the Dark, did touch them so near as to find that they were armed. Here if they had such an Intention, might they not easily have dispatched him in the Dark, more easily than when he should be coming from the Queen with a Lantern to his Lodging, at least, if Flambeaus were not then in Use, and attended by his Domesticks, and probably some of his Clients. But because this forged Plot will not go down, Next

Buchanan tells us, That besides the three most potent Families in Scotland that were bent for his Ruin, the Queen's Uncles, the Guisians, conspired against him likewise ; for they being earnest to have the Catholick Religion restored again, and judging this could not be done so long as Murray was alive, they set all their Wits a-work to rid the World of him one Way or other : And among other Things which gave them Hopes of Success, the French who had conducted the
Queen

Queen being returned home, extolling much the Power, Courage and Conduct of Huntly, what Offers and Promises he had made for restoring the old Religion, did seem to favour their Design; the Matter being then much agitated in the Court of France. In end, this Method was resolved to be fallen upon for doing of it, they write to the Queen to flatter Huntly with Motions and Insinuations of taking his Son Sir John Gordon to her Husband; that being blinded with this Hope, he might be pushed whither they would. Buchanan says, *Scribunt ad Reginam ut Gordonii vecordiam promissis alat, Johanni ejus filio spem suarum nuptiarum magis ostendet quam promittat, ut hac spe occæcatus, quò vellent impelleretur.*

Before I go further, 'tis fit to consider this Piece of Buchanan's Story, and what may be said against the Probability of it. First then, by what is said of this Earl of Huntly, 'tis manifest he was a Man of a most piercing Wit, of refined Prudence in State Matters, of great Courage and Conduct in military Affairs; in so much, as I have said above, that the French lookt upon him as the *Wisdom of Scotland*, and Baker, the English Historian, calls him the *valiant Gordon*, and the *Terror of England*; and Knox, the great Reformer, says, *The Realm had not produced such an one in three Ages before.* King James V. going to France about his Marriage, left him Lieutenant of the Kingdom in his Absence, being but 28 Years of Age; and how well he acquit himself of that Charge, is said above. In a word, his whole Conduct hitherto, and the Trust and Confidence the Queen-Regent had in him, and his assisting her with Pains and Advice, even in her last Sickness, shews evidently that he was not a Man to be befool'd with
meer

meer Shews, or mentioning of a Marriage; and he was too well known in *France* for them to think so.

Next, he tells us, *The Guisians sent to the Queen a List of those they would have dispatched, together with Murray; That she received Letters from the Pope and the Cardinal of Lorrain, in Answer to these she had writ to them, craving Money to make War against the Abettors of the new Religion; That the Pope wrote more obscurely, but the Cardinal more plainly, That Money for that War should not be wanting, those being once out of the Way whose Names were in the List. These Letters, says he, the Queen shew'd to Murray and others destined for the Slaughter; whether she thought they had got Notice of their Contents any other Way, or to give them Assurance of the Sincerity of her Heart, and of her Resolution not to separate in secret Councils and Designs from them.*

This Piece of the Plot seems to be the worst Contrivance that can be, not carrying along with it the least Shew of Probability. For the Queen was esteem'd a most prudent Woman. *Camden* stiles her, *Mulier prudentissima*; and *Buchanan* himself, in the Dedication of his *Latin Paraphrase of the Psalms*, gives her this Elogy,

*Quæ sortem antevenis meritis, virtutibus annos,
Sexum animis, morum nobilitate genus.*

And either she design'd to be rid of *Murray*, as *Buchanan* maintains she did, or she had no such Design: If she had, then by shewing these Letters to him, she did what no Person (except one destitute of common Sense) would have done. If she had not, then she did neither as a prudent Woman, nor a Person of Honour

Honour and Conscience, to betray her Uncles Contrivances, and to animate *Murray* against *Huntly*, who had done her much good Service, and was giving her no Trouble, but still ready to do her all the Services in his Power. But 'tis no matter to *Buchanan* how improbable this Plot of his seems to be to reflecting Persons, providing it does his Business to breed in simple Readers a bad Opinion of the Queen and *Huntly*: And be this Plot real, or a Sham, only contrived for that End, to diminish the *Odium* of the Earl of *Murray* his Dealings against them; it never brings the least Stain of Disloyalty upon that constantly loyal Family of *Gordon*. *Buchanan* does not pretend that *Huntly* was against the Queen, but on the contrary, the only Instrument she judged proper to free her from the Slavery of her Brother the Earl of *Murray*, *Gravis enim erat ejus potentia Reginae*, (says *Buchanan*) that the Royal Authority might run in its due Channel.

Wherefore (continues he) *all Things being in Order for the Execution of the Design against Murray, which he knew very well by her Uncles Letters and those of the Pope and Cardinal; the Queen makes a Pretext she had a Desire to visit the North Parts of Scotland: And this her Desire was fomented by Huntly's liberal Promises. And Murray, fearless of any Danger, accompanies her.*

She comes to Aberdeen, where the Countess of Huntly comes to salute her, and to try the Dispositions of her Mind, and ply it to her Purpose, knowing well how changeable the Resolutions of Princes happen to be.

Buchanan (a), to colour his sham Plot the better,

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and

and to make his Patron seem to be innocent, will have the Queen to have hated *Huntly* no less than she did *Murray*, and anxious which of them to be first rid of. But he has forgot what other Persons of Note and Power she had contriv'd with to rid her of *Huntly*; as he invents she had contriv'd with *Huntly*, to be rid of *Murray*: For since (as he pretends) she was anxious which of them to dispatch first, as hating them both, it seems the Plot against *Huntly* should have been on the Wheels no less than that against *Murray*. And what was the Cause of her Hatred against both of them? One Cause in both was their Power. *Murray* his Power was heavy to her, *Gravis erat ejus potentia Reginæ*: *Huntly's* Power, tho' it was not troublesome, yet she fear'd it, *Gordonii potentiam metuebat* (a). Besides this Cause of her Hatred common to them both, each had a very different Cause besides, *to wit*, she could not endure the Innocency of *Murray*, as opposite to her Licentiousness; *Moraviæ innocentiam licentiæ suæ adversam graviter ferebat*. In *Huntly*, she hated his Treachery, first toward her Father, and then towards her Mother; which she knew well by many Proofs. But if she knew so well by many Proofs, could not he, who was employed by his Patron to write the History, and his Dialogues, as an Apology for his Patron's Rebellion, come to the Knowledge of some of these Proofs, and insert them in his History? Which would have rendred the Fiction of his Plot against *Murray* a great deal more probable, and have rubb'd no small Stain upon *Huntly*; which every Reader sees he wanted not sufficient Inclination to

(a) Buchan. p. 616.

to do. Or might not some other *Scots* or *English* Historian, who wrote of these Times, and made so honourable Mention of *Huntly's* Actions, have given (for the Truth of History's sake) some transient Glimpse of that Treachery of his, or of some of these many Proofs of it? Yet no such thing is found in any of them, nor any one of those Proofs in his own discredited History; unless that he would not fight the *English* at *Kelso*, conducted by *Northfolk*, which the King her Father was so much bent to do. But if this was treacherous, then the far greater part of the Nobility there present were no less treacherous; for they all unanimously refused at that Occasion to hazard the Loss of the King and Kingdom upon the Event of a Battle. And should *Huntly* have complied with the King's Humor, hazarded his Royal Person, and the whole Kingdom's Safety, contrary to the Will of all the Nobility? Yea, tho' he should have so complied, what could he hope to do with 10000 against 40000? And altho' this spiteful Author says he did nothing, not so much as skirmish lightly with the *English*; yet since his Spite against *Huntly* is known, he must excuse the World to trust more to more sober Historians, who tell us (a), *That Huntly at that Time did so restrain the English great Army, that they could not enter two Miles in Scottish Ground; and pressed so hard in their Rear in passing the Tweed, that they sustained Loss, and that not small.*

And as to his Carriage and Dutifulness to the Queen-Mother, her making Use of his Counsel, Advices and Pains, even till and in her last Sickness,

(a) Holinshed, Speed, Garden, Drummond, Lesly.

The History of the

(as I have said above) shews sufficiently, that she did not esteem him such as this Author basely flanders him. And as to his Power, she had less Ground to be afraid of it than of any of her Subjects whatsoever. No Memoirs of bygone Times ever mentioning, that the Power of the Family of *Huntly* was ever employed, or their Sword drawn, against the Prince, his Authority or Person.

But altho' the Queen (as *Buchanan* goes on with his Story) hated *Huntly*, and would gladly have been rid of him, yet the Pope's and her Uncles Letters pressed hard to dispatch *Murray* first. *Huntly* perceiving her thus in Suspense, renews again to her (by his Lady) the Promises he had formerly offered of restoring the old Religion: Which the Queen accepts of willingly, but tells her, there was yet one not very great Impediment to be remov'd before she could give her Consent to put an End to the Plot; and it was this, *That it did not consist with her Dignity to be reconciled to Huntly's Son* (*Gordonston* calls him *Sir John Gordon of Findlater*) *who some Days ago had escaped from Prison, into which he was shut up, for wounding the Lord Ogilvy in a Scuffle on the Streets of Edinburgh.* The *Sieur Du Bois* (as lately translated) says (a), he was imprisoned in the Castle of *Stirling*. It was not there; it was in *Edinburgh*. If it had been there, the Earl of *Mar*, *Murray's* Uncle, would have taken Care to have kept him, unless he would surrender himself Prisoner in the Castle of *Stirling* to remain there some Days. And this the Queen (says *Buchanan*) would have done, not so much for her Honour, as she pretended, but that

(a) p. 42.

that *Murray* being dispatched, she might have all Things at her own Disposal; and the Spouse being absent, she might not be forced to Marriage with him. *Huntly* was very desirous to satisfy the Queen, but he was no less reluctant to put his Son as an Hostage in the Hands of his Enemy, *Murray's* Uncle, who was then Governor of *Stirling* Castle, especially not being assured to what Side the Queen would incline after the Deed should be done.

Things being thus (says he) by mutual Suspensions, suspended at *Aberdeen*, the Queen resolves to continue her Progress. Being invited by the Baron of *Balquhain* to lodge at his House some twelve Miles North of the Town, the *Gordons* thought this Place proper for executing their Plot against *Murray*: But *Balquhain*, who was one of *Huntly's* Clients, diverts it, intreating his Patron he would not bring that Reflection on his Family, to have been thought accessory to the Death of a Man so near related to the Queen, and nowise his Enemy.

Observe how this Author had just now said, that the Execution of the Plot was suspended, and not resolved on, because of the mutual Suspensions betwixt the Queen and *Huntly*: Which Suspensions he is not only silent of their being removed before this pretended Resolution to execute it at *Balquhain*, but he tells (as we shall see presently) that they were again agitated betwixt the Queen and *Huntly*, two Days afterwards. And their not agreeing about the removing of them, makes the Plot altogether vanish against *Murray*, and *Murray's* real Plot against *Huntly* (as I shall shew from an Author of unstained Credit) draw near to its Execution, and *Huntly's* Death.

Buchanan proceeds then, saying, That the Night after that at *Balquhain*, she passed over very quietly at *Rotbemay*, the Dwelling-house of the *Abernetbies*, being to lodge next Day at *Huntly's* Castle of *Strabogie*, three Miles distant from *Rotbemay*, the Place destinated for the Slaughter of the Earl of *Murray*, where all Things were at the *Gordons* Command. Wherefore by the Way the Queen and *Huntly* discoursing long together, in end he presses earnestly for Pardon to his Son, who being a young Man unskilful in the Laws, had escap'd or broke out of Prison, into which he was cast for no Crime, but for a little Bustle or Tumult, whereof he was the Occasion only, and not the Author. The Queen, on the other hand, pretended her Authority was contemned, unless his Son should return to some Prison at least more large, and for some Days; that thereby in a manner expiating his former Fault, he might be the more honourably set at Liberty.

Huntly, tho' he was loath to let slip so fit an Occasion of accomplishing the contrived Design, the Matter being but small that was required of him; yet he obstinately refuses it, either because he apprehended the Queen might transfer the Fault upon his Son, in case she should not dare to approve of the Slaughter: Or, if it should be committed with her Connivance, and his Son absent and in Custody, he might remain still an Hostage. This Obstinacy of *Huntly's* (says he) was so offensive to the Queen, that when she was near in Sight of his House, she turned aside another Way: And so the Matter was delayed for that Time, till they should come to *Inverness*, where *Huntly* was Sheriff, and the whole Country

Country about full of his Dependents or Clients ; and alſo Maſter of the Caſtle.

Here 'tis proper to be conſidered, that (according to this Author) *Huntly's* Power was ſo great, that it was an Object of Fear, not only to *Murray*, but to the Queen herſelf, as he pretends. Beſides, he tells a little before, That *Huntly's* Son (*John*) having eſcaped out of Priſon, had got 1000 choſen Horſemen together ready for any bold Enterpriſe, who were not far off ; That *Murray*, who was ſtill at the Queen's Elbow, was but ſlenderly guarded, *Et ſi non optimè comitatus eſſet, nec interim Reginae admodum conſideret* : Yet for all this he goes fearleſs from *Aberdeen*, by *Balquhain* and *Rothemay*, towards *Strabogie*, the Center of the *Gordons* Power, and from thence marches through their whole Country to *Inverneſs* ; and all along there is not the leaſt Attempt made againſt him. If *Huntly's* Power was ſo great, and his Guard ſo ſlender, and the Queen not his Friend, but rather glad to be rid of him, as *Buchanan* patches up his ſham Plot ; Might not a Man of ſo great Power, of ſo refin'd Prudence, and of ſo undaunted Courage, as not only all *Scotland*, but other Nations, knew *Huntly* to be : Might he not, I ſay, at leaſt ſecure himſelf of the Perſon of *Murray*, and kept him, till he ſhould ſee what the Queen would pleaſe to determine concerning him ? Yet he never offers the leaſt Sign of any bad Intention againſt him, in ſo many Opportunities ſo favourable for that Effect, and even when there was nothing to hinder him.

But to draw to an End of this tedious malicious Fiction, the Queen being come to *Inverneſs*, and thinking to lodge in the Caſtle, the Lieutenant reſu-

ses her Entry: At which she begins at last to be afraid, being constrain'd to lodge in the unfortified Town; while in the mean Time *Huntly's* Son had 1000 chosen Horsemen, besides the promiscuous Multitude of the Country near about in Arms. But the *Clan-chattan* finding themselves to be led against the Queen, desert *Huntly*, and come in to her; as does also a great Number of the ancient Gentry round about, especially the *Frasers* and *Morroes*. But 'tis a Wonder the *Clan-chattan* were so well-natur'd as to rise in Arms to follow *Huntly*, who not many Years before had caused cut off their Chief's Head before his Gate at *Strahogie*; the Highlanders not using to lay so soon aside their Desire of Revenge, and which these very same *Clan-chattan* did so eagerly insist upon long after this against this Earl of *Huntly's* Grandchild, the first Marquis of that Family. Well then, the Queen being now strong, begins to take the Castle by Force; which neither being tenible of itself, nor provided with Necessaries for Defence, is immediately yielded, and the Chief of those that were within it hang'd; and the fourth Day afterward she returns to *Aberdeen*. *Huntly* in the mean Time with all his Power and his Son's Men, Horse and Foot in Arms, never stirs nor draws near to offer the least Violence, nor to interceed, that those who had been so impudent as to refuse Entry to the Castle at the first Demand should have a milder Sentence, since they yielded at the first offering of Force to it.

At *Aberdeen*, the Queen, (says the Author) being now out of Fear, is vehemently inflamed against *Huntly*; and being prone to Revenge, she betakes herself again to her Brother *Murray*, as her only Friend,

Friend, with all Ostentation of Favour towards him, and feigning to depend wholly upon him, she endeavours to persuade every one, That her Safety is inseparably conjoined with his.

Huntly seeing the Face of the Court changed as to him; and that he had proceeded so far, as that there was no Place left for Pardon, betakes himself to precipitant Resolutions, *ad præcipitia se consilia convertit*; and to get the Queen into his Power, whom yet he knew he should highly offend by so doing, (*Buchanan* pretends so.) But it may be said with more Probability, she would have been no less gladly in *Huntly's* Power, and free of her Brothers, *which was too heavy for her*, than King *James II.* would have been before the Battle of *Breckin*, when the Power of the *Douglasses* was too heavy for him. Yet he hoped, by Obsequiousness, Courtesy, and his Son's Marriage, whereof her Uncles were believed to be the Authors, to pacify with Time her womanly Mind; wherefore consulting with his Friends, he resolves to dispatch *Murray* any Manner of Way. But all his Projects for this End, are detected, by the intercepting of the Earl of *Sutherland* and the Baron of *Balquain* their Letters to him. (Why might not the Copies of these Letters been insert in *Buchanan's* Story, to render it more probable?) And hereupon he thinks of betaking himself to the Mountains; but having many Friends among the Nobility, that had assembled about the Queen, trusting much to their Promises, he changes that Resolution, and purposes to expect the Event of a Battle, in a Place where the Ground was naturally strong. (It seems *Murray* was pursuing him then, and not he *Murray*, nor the Queen

Queen, since he thinks of defending himself with the Help of strong Ground.)

But (continues *Buchanan*) many of the People hearing that *Murray* was coming against him, with Forces far above his Number, fled away from him in the Night Time, and left him with about 300 Horse only. *Murray* (says the Author) had scarcely an hundred Horse, besides those of the Nobility that were there, who were following up; and about 800 Foot gathered out of the neighbouring Country, mostly pre-corrupted by *Huntly*; and rather inclining to draw *Murray's* Party into Ruin, than to yield any Relief in Danger to it; (but the Event shew'd they were ready to side with either Party, to whom they should see the Victory incline.) *Murray* approaches, and sends some Parties of Horse before to secure two Passes of the Marish, that *Huntly* should not escape; and follows at Leisure with the Gros of his Army. It seems he trusted sufficiently to those 800, or had better Assurance of them than *Huntly* had, since his own scarce 100 Horse, had been too few to spare Detachments from, to secure the Passes of the Marish against *Huntly's* Escape.

Being come to the Place where *Huntly* was, he goes up with his Horse to an Eminence, whence he had a View of the Marish, and stood there, in Order for Battle. The rest of the Army put Heaths in their Hats, to be a sign they were Friends to *Huntly*; but they deceived him basely; whereupon he (*Murray*) assaults them: And *Huntly* unadvisedly, not suspecting their Deceit, and thinking the Day was his own, bid his Horsemen throw away their Spears, and break in on the Enemy with their Swords. *Murray* seeing this, commands his Men to stand close together, and bend their

their Spears, and suffer none to enter among them : Which those with the Heath-Sign finding, pass out betwixt them on the Right and Left Hand. *Huntly's* Men, who thought themselves Victors, seeing that *Murray's* stood close with their Spears bended, so as they could not come near them with Swords, betook themselves to Flight, which the Heath-Men seeing, that they might make amends to *Murray* for their Fault in the Beginning, they return and pursue *Huntly*, and made all the Slaughter that was that Day, to wit of about 120 Men ; and there was about 100 Prisoners taken, among whom were the Earl of *Huntly* himself, two of his Sons, Sir *John* and *Adam Gordons*, *George Gordon of Cocklarachy*, and several other Gentlemen of that Name. This Battle was fought *October 28. 1563.* *Buchanan* says; *That he was old, corpulent, and short breathed, and that he was smothered in the Crowd, after they had made him Prisoner.* But if he could have found in his Heart to speak the Truth, he would have told, That he was murdered after he was made Prisoner by the express Order of the Earl of *Murray*, as the Author of the *Innocence de Marie*, more justly relates. And I have had the same Story from several old Gentlemen, who told me; their Fathers, who were living then, told them so. It is no Manner of Way probable, that he could have been smothered by the Crowd, in so open a Forest as *Corrichie* is, where this Battle was fought, and where *Murray's* Army would take but little Bulk. He was far from being old, scarce entred into his declining Age, being 54 or 55 Years old at most. He had been all his Lifetime in continual Toil and Business, and therefore could not have been so corpulent as *Buchanan* says. Nor hath he so little Presence
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of Mind, as not to know what to do with himself when Prisoner. He had been in that State before, when taken at *Pinky*: And it is not unmannerly to say, that *Murray* was capable of such a Villany; for in the succeeding Year he designed to have murdered his Son, the next Earl of *Huntly* in the Castle of *Dumbar*, as I shall hereafter make appear. *Buchanan* was never very careful to make his Forgeries feasible. I have given already a sufficient Account of his Character; and so shall say no more about it; but shall here insert what a very fine and learned Gentleman writes of this Affair.

Sir *Robert Gordon* of *Gordonston*, one of the politest Gentlemen of *Scotland* in his Time. - He was second Son to the Earl of *Sutherland*, Bed-chamber-Man to King *James VI.* and *Charles I.* and Vice-Chamberlain of *Scotland*. He was Grandson to that Earl of *Sutherland*, who was with *Huntly* at this Time in *Aberdeen*, and thereafter banished by *Murray*, and so could not but be well informed in every Circumstance relating to this Affair. In his MS. History of the Families of *Gordon* and *Sutherland*, he says,

It seemeth strange unto me how any could be so maliciously partial as Buchanan, (a Man otherwise of Learning) sheweth himself against the Gordons, the Hamiltons, the Murrays and others, that were faithful to the Queen, but chiefly against the Gordons, as in many Places of his History, so also in describing this Conflict at Corrichie, with the Causes and Circumstances thereof. For there is not almost one Period in him touching this Purpose, free from some notable Lye; where he relateth many Things, which divers Men of good Fame and Credit, with whom I have conversed, have certified me to be meer Untruths, to their

their Knowledge. But who seeth not, That the whole Scope of Buchanan's History of his own Time, together with his Treatise, De Jure Regni apud Scotos, doth tend only to advance and maintain the Earl of Murray his tyrannical aspiring to the Crown: And therefore these his Treatises were justly condemned by the Estates of this Kindom for Libels and Lies. The true Occasion of this Conflict at Corrichie, and of all these Troubles which happened to the Gordon's, were the sincere and loyal Affection that they had to the Queen's Preservation; and it is most certain, That the Earl of Huntly gathered these Forces at her Majesty's own Desire to free her from the Earl of Murray's Power. As to this George Earl of Huntly, against whom Buchanan railleth at his Pleasure, and following him Thuanus, I desist to commend or Praise him, since Lesly Holinshed, Francis Thin, and divers others have given him due Praises and Commendations, answerable to the Virtues and good Parts wherewith he was indued. Now I think the Testimony of a Gentleman of so great Honour, as the forecited Author, is sufficient of it self to refute all Buchanan's forged Calumnies.

After the Battle, the Earl of Huntly's Body was carried to *Aberdeen*, with his two Sons, Sir *John* and *Adam*, where the Lady *Forbes* his Daughter covers his Body with a Piece of Arras Tapestry, saying, *What Stability is there in human Things? Here lies he who Yesterday's Morning was esteemed the wisest, the richest, and the Man of the greatest Power in Scotland. Upon whom, says Spottiswood, and on whose Greatness all the Queen's Party had placed their Hopes.* By the Earl of Murray's Order, his Body was transported from *Aberdeen* to *Edinburgh*, where he

was

was forfeited by a packt Judicatory of the Earl of *Murray's*, as is to be seen by the Procefs yet extant in the publick Records of the Kingdom. His Body was first buried in the Church of the *Blackfriars, Edinburgh*; and afterwards when the Family was restored, it was translated to *Elgin*, and buried in the Cathedral Church, in the Sepulchre of his Fathers.

This *George Earl of Huntly*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, married Lady *Elizabeth Keith (a)*, the Earl *Marschal's* Daughter, by whom he had Nine Sons and three Daughters. *Alexander Lord Gordon*, who married the Duke of *Chastelherault's* eldest Daughter, died without Issue. *George* the second married another of the said Duke's Daughters, and succeeded his Father. Third, Mr. *William*, who was designed Bishop of *Aberdeen*, and died at *Paris*, in the College of *Bons-Enfans*. Fourth, Sir *John Gordon*, Laird of *Findlater*, and Knight of *Deskford* was beheaded at *Aberdeen*, and buried in *St. Nicolas's* Church in *Aberdeen*, in the South-side of the Isle of *Cocklarachie*, or *Our Lady's Altar*. Fifth, Mr. *James Gordon*, a Jesuite, who died at *Paris* Anno 1626. Sixth *Adam Gordon* of *Auchindown*, died at *St. Johnston*. Seventh, Sir *Patrick Gordon*, who was slain at the Battle of *Glenlivet*, Anno 1594. Eighth, Mr. *Robert Gordon*, who died at *Crichie*, and was buried in the Kirk of *Fyvie*. Ninth, Mr. *Thomas Gordon*, who died at *Edinburgh*, and was buried in *St. Giles* Church betwixt the Earl of *Athole*, and the Earl of *Murray*, Regent. His eldest Daughter married to the Earl of *Athole*; Second, *Margaret* married *John Lord Forbes*. Third, *Jean*, first married to *James Earl of Bothwell*,
was

(a) Gordonston's MS.

was divorced from him, and married *Alexander Gordon* Earl of *Sutherland*; and after his Death she married *Alexander Ogilvy* of *Boyne*. Before I shall give an Account what became of Sir *John Gordon* and the other Prisoners taken at *Corrichie*, tho' I be much wearied of *Buchanan*, and I think have sufficiently satisfied every impartial Reader, of his Partiality in relating what Concerns the Family of *Gordon*, yet I must return to him for a while, and take a little more Notice of his History of this Affair, in respect there are not a few, who having not sufficiently inquired into the History of this Nation, give an implicate Assent to all that he says: And indeed he has also led astray several foreign Historians, who have copied after him too often.

Buchanan goes on, saying, The Queen being returned to *Aberdeen*, was *Vehementer in Gordonii odium inflammata & in vindictam prona*. But why was she so incensed against him? He gives no other Reason, but *Huntly's* refusing to dispatch *Murray* till his Son should be pardoned for his escaping out of Prison, who the Queen would needs have return to Prison. If she had a real Design to be rid of *Murray*, as he would have his Readers believe, it seems altogether incredible a Woman of her Wit would have neglected and let slip so many fair Opportunities of compassing her Design, as offered all along the Way in her Journey betwixt *Aberdeen* and *Inverness*, which is 70 Miles, and all that Country then in *Huntly's* Power; and that for a Matter of so small Consequence, as Sir *John Gordon's* returning to Prison or not, in which her Honour was no Manner of Way concerned, nor her Authority in any Manner contemned, since he was imprisoned for no such Contempt,

tempt, but only for an occasional Quarrel betwixt him and another Gentleman. And she could not but see, that his Presence and Assistance with his Father was of much greater Importance for the Success of her pretended Design, than his returning to Prison for Fashion's Sake only (as he says) was necessary for the preserving her Dignity from Contempt.

Well, 'tis true, all this was but a meer Pretext, as *Buchanan* confesses. For, says he, the Queen, being peremptory on the Point of Sir *John's* Returning to Prison, not so much for that Reason she feigned, *Non tam ob eam quæ simulabatur causam*, but that she might have all Things at her own Disposal when *Murray* should be dead, and might not be forced to marry, while she had taken such Measures to keep the pretended Spouse Absent. Here is then, according to him, the true Cause of the Queen's vehement Indignation against *Huntly*, because he would not dispatch *Murray*, his Son being in Prison under *Murray's* Uncle the Earl of *Mar*, lest the Son (according to the Justice of the Time) should suffer for his Father's Fault.

The Queen, according to this Author, had no Intention for that Marriage. Who told him so? Authors of good Credit say, That it appeared she had no Aversion to him; and *Arran* grew jealous of him, thinking the Queen gave more Countenance to Sir *John* than she did to himself; and indeed many others did think so. But whatever may be in that, it might have proved more for her Good, and of no more Disparagement to her, than that with the Lord *Darnly*. The Families of *Huntly* and *Lennox* were indeed of equal Quality, but that of *Huntly* of vastly more Power. And as to
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the Persons of the two young Gentlemen (if *Spotiswood's* Character of Sir *John* be just, and all others who write of him give him the same) he seems to have had the Advantage of both *Arran* and *Darnly*, and to have been endued with some Qualifications that are necessary in one who is to share in a Royal Bed, in a more eminent Degree than either of them; and probably, if the Queen had been pleased to have honoured him with a Share of it, it might have prevented much Trouble and Mischief that happened to her and the Nation afterwards. But whether she ever did entertain any such Thought or not, I shall not determine. If we will believe *Buchanan*, she made only a sham Ostentation of it, to engage *Huntly* to free her from the Tutorship of *Murray*, which she found so heavy and painful to her, and when *Murray* should be taken out of the Way then to make Use of the Service he had done her to ruin him and his Family. So damnable a Dissembler and cruel a Politician, does he forge this mild, pious and virtuous Princess to have been; and all to make his Patron a Saint, and put some kind of Colour upon his hellish Contrivances, and barbarous Dealings towards her, till Death removed him to the other World.

I shall insist no longer to observe the Fictions with which he stuffs up his Pages to patch up this Romance concerning the Queen and *Huntly's* Plot to take away *Murray's* Life. I have given you his Character from Sir *Robert Gordon*, to which I shall only add the Character given of him by other two Historians of great Learning and Credit, the one an *Englishman*, and the other a *Scotsman*. The famous *Camden* (a) says, *He oftentimes regrated with Sighs to*

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(a) P. 110.

King James (whose Pedagogue he was) that he had so dipped his Pen in Gall against so virtuous a Queen. And, on his Death-bed, wished to have lived a while longer, until he might either by his Blood, or by declaring the Truth, wash away the Stains which his virulent Tongue and Pen had so falsely and calumniously aspersed her with: But now, said he, it would serve to no Purpose, since the World would judge he was dotting for Age.

The Scots Historian is Robert Johnston, who writes of the British Affairs under the Reign of King James VI. In the Character he gives us of Buchanan, he says, (a) That for his Poesy he was commended highly by the Learn'd, but not so for his History of the Time he lived in, of which there is more of Dignity and of Eloquence, than Truth and Sincerity: For being discontent with Queen Mary, out of Anger and Envy he had to her, he laid many base Things to her Charge, with much Bitterness, forgetting the Verses he had not long before composed in Commendation of her Vertues; being additied to Murray, and obliged to him by many Benefits, he extolled him to the Skies. Differences arising betwixt the Queen and Murray, how equitable a Judge he was in that Matter, let the Readers judge, who may gather and be convinced of the Iniquity of the Writer; from the small Probability of the Proofs, from temerarious Suspicions, and a scurrilous Talkativeness, pleasing indeed to his Patron, but abominable to all other Men. And speaking of his Dialogues, *De jure regni*, he says, No Man born in a free Republick, did ever more maliciously and basely inveigh against the Right of Kings. Before he died, his Heart

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(a) Hist. Rerum Britannicarum, lib. 3. p. 81.

was stung with Repentance too late for his petulant Tongue and its immoderate Liberty, either by Fault of his Nature, or by ill Custom; and desired his Book might be burned as it deserved; but for the Love and Neatness of the Stile, it was preserved and concealed. It is confuted by Blackwood and Barclay Scottish Lawyers, with solid Arguments and Examples. Thus we have his Character from three eminent Historians, and I could bring the very same Character of him from the learned Mr. Robert Gordon of Straloch, who says in his Account of our Historians, That *Conviciatorem agit, non Historicum*, and others. But what I have already adduced from Authors of the greatest Credit and Reputation, may satisfy any Person that his History should be cautiously read, and that it deserves not that Credit it meets with from too many.

The Reason that makes me so prolix on this Romantick Narration of his, is, because some People are either so stupid as to think that all narrated by him is true, being careless to consider attentively the History, or so envious against the Family of Gordon, as to judge and pretend that this Earl of Huntly in fighting at Corriche, carried Arms against the supreme Authority, to wit against the Queen, and consequently 'tis an Instance contradictory to my Assertion of the uninterrupted Loyalty of the ancient and noble Family of Gordon.

Buchanan himself, the professed Enemy of that Family, for the Reasons already given all along says, That all his Forces which he and his Son had attending them during the Queen's Progress in the North, was designed only to execute the Plot, pretended to be contrived betwixt the Queen and Huntly, to kill the Earl of Murray, and noways against the Queen her self. The most he says, is, That the Queen be-

ing returned to *Aberdeen*, was incensed with Hatred against *Huntly*, for not obliging his Son to return to Prison, and then dispatching of *Murray*. But he does not say the Queen declared *Huntly* Rebel, or contumacious against her Authority, nor sent the least Insinuation by Word or Writ to him to lay down Arms, and come to answer before her for what he should be accused of. Not a Syllable of this in *Buchanan*. On the contrary, he says he had not so much as any Intention either against the Queen's Person or Authority, even in his *precipitate Resolutions* (as he calls them :) All he says is, *That finding he had proceeded so far, as to leave no Place for Pardon, &c.* If *Buchanan's* Readers have Sense, they will find none here. For what had he done hitherto against the Queen? Nothing, but refused to oblige his Son to return to Prison, or to kill the Earl of *Murray*. Was the refusing of either of these unpardonable Crimes? And unpardonable by a Princess of so mild a Nature to such an obsequious Subject, as would hazard on so dangerous an Enterprize for her Liberty? Who sees not here that there is no Sense in this? But perhaps *Buchanan* means, that *Huntly* had gone so far in the Design against *Murray*, that there was no Place left for Pardon from him. This is indeed some better Sense; supposing it true that there had been such a Design: But in that Supposition it makes nothing against *Huntly's* Duty or Respect to the Queen, but rather commends it, in that he would proceed so far as to render *Murray* (who ruled the whole State as he pleas'd) his implacable Enemy, only to free her from his Power, which was *too heavy for her*.

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But *Buchanan* says, He betook himself to rash Resolutions, and found no other Means to eschew the imminent Dangers, but by getting the Queen any Manner of Way into his Power. Well then, suppose this to be true likewise, What then? Was it to be so uneasy a Tutor to her (as *Camden* says) *Murray* was? *Buchanan* says no such Thing, but only, Tho' he knew it would offend her greatly (but it is more probable he knew the contrary, that it would please her extremely) yet he was confident, by his good Offices, dutiful Carriage, and his Son's Marriage, to win her Favour. This is all *Buchanan* says *Huntly* intended against the Queen; and he only forges him to have had this Intention; or if he had, it was the Queen's Intention likewise, to be rather in his Power than in that of *Murray*. But if she intended it, why might he not have assembled greater Forces? Did all the 1000 chosen Horsemen his Son had got together some Days before, desert him the Night before the Fight, or if they were not come up, might not he have waited for them, and sent Orders to them to have come in all Haste to him? If he intended to get the Queen into his Power, why should he not have gone where she was at *Aberdeen*, where the Town was open; the Citizens either obliged by his Favours, or bound to him by Kindred and Alliance, or not daring for Fear to oppose him, (says *Buchanan*) and many other Circumstances favouring the Execution of his Purpose: Yet he lets all those pass, as if he had no such Intention, and waits with 300 Horsemen, till *Murray* comes 15 Miles, to get him in his Power, sending out detached Parties before to secure the Passes of the Marsh against his Escape. Never did a wise Man, as *Hunt-*

ly was by all known to be, project a Matter, and contrive more unfit Methods to make it succeed.

This lets us see in this Particular the Injustice of *Buchanan*, from the Unlikelyhood of his Arguments, and the Temerity of his Suspicions or Conjectures, as *Johnston* says of him; and that it is a strange Want of Equity, and too much Stupidity, to judge *Huntly* disloyal for an alledged Intention of getting the Queen into his Power, without any Harm or Diminution to her Authority, and no exterior overt Act manifesting this Intention; and, at the same Time, to judge *Murray* loyal, who usurped all her Authority, and held her (as *Camden* has it) as a Tutor does his Pupil, and persecuted her Reputation, with the utmost barbarous Cruelties and basest Calumnies while he lived.

But further, *Huntly's* Lieutenant refused the Queen Entry into the Castle of *Inverness*. What then? Sure he had not his Master's Orders to do so; for no Master of the meanest Prudence would have bid his Lieutenant keep a Place which was neither strong of it self, nor provided with Necessaries for Defence. In Testimony whereof, in the Queen's Return from thence, when the Castles of *Findlater* and *Auchindown*, were required in her Name to be delivered, *Huntly*, to shew Respect to her Authority, (though abused by *Murray*) caused the Keys of both to be presented to her by his Servant Mr. *Thomas Ker*. These Castles were much stronger, and no Doubt better provided; and being near to his ordinary Residence, he could have more easily kept them, if he had had a Mind to do it; or could surrender them more easily at the first Requisition, as he did.

Another Objection may perhaps be, *That this Earl of Huntly's Son George got a Remission from Henry and Mary in the Year 1566, for having had Art and Part, (as they call it in their Terms) in the treasonable Convention of the Leiges, or Subjects in Arms and open Field at Corrichie.* These are the Words of the Remission, as is pretended. I shall not be positive, either to affirm or deny, that there ever was any such Remission; this I can say, That I have seen all the Papers in his *Grace* this Duke of Gordon's Possession, but could find no such Remission among them. And when I come to write of him, I shall make it appear that he had no imaginable Use for any such Remission; and that some Years before that, he was restored to his Estate, Dignity and Honours, even according to *Buchanan* himself. But giving, tho' not granting, that such a Remission was procured; I answer, That no Person, who has even but small Knowledge of the Intrigues of Government, will think this of any Weight, or argue from it any Disloyalty either in Father or Son.

For it is no rare Thing for Princes, either by Reason of their younger Years, or their mild and gentle Disposition, to be over-ruled, and their Authority notably abused by some State-Minister about them. Histories of all Nations furnish us with many such Examples; and we need not go further for Instances thereof, than that of our own Country; and no clearer Instance can be, than that of the Earl of *Douglas*, his abusing the Name and Authority of King *James II.* to the lamentable Detriment of the Kingdom, and Ruin of some of his most faithful Subjects; and among the Subjects of that Prince, none were more signally faithful than *Alexander Livingston* Go-

vernor, and Sir *William Crichton* Chancellor, during that King's Minority. *Ob summam prudentiam, fidei- que singularem erga Regem, ad ultimum usque vitæ diem constanter cultam, maximum bonis omnibus sui desiderium reliquit,* says *Buchanan*, speaking of this Chancellor's Death.

The King being come to the Age of 14 Years, and taking the Government of the Kingdom into his own Hands, the Earl of *Douglas* insinuates himself into his Favour, so far as to sway all Affairs at Court; and finding the King, because of his Age, unexperienced and unwary, destitute of the Council of his old faithful Friends, whom he had taken Care to remove from him, he perswades the King to call the late *Governor* and *Chancellor* to account for what might be laid to their Charge in the Administration of their Offices during his Minority. His Design was, if they appeared, to oppress them with the Power of his Faction; and, if they refused to compear, to get them, under the Pretence of the Royal Authority, (covering his private Resentments) spoiled of all their Estates and Goods, declared Rebels and Enemies to the Publick: For they are rarely to be found, who are ambitious of the highest Rank in their Prince's Favour, with no other Intention, but to do their King and Country good Service. Their chief Aim is either to make or mend their Fortunes, or satisfy their Passions of Envy or Revenge, in persecuting those whom they look upon as capable to do their Prince greater Service, or as having opposed their Preferments, or not assisted them in attaining to it, or to have done them or theirs any Wrong, real or interpretative, tho' being bound to do it for Justice Sake, and the Country's Good.

The Governor *Livingston* and Chancellor *Crichton*, while they administred the Government, finding the Predecessor of the Earl of *Douglas* so intolerable an Enemy to the Good and Peace of the Country, (as the Histories narrate) they executed Justice upon him to Death. And his Cousin, this Earl, having got the Place in this young King's Favour, resolved to be revenged on them for that Cause. They refusing to compear, because all that were to be their Judges were pre-occupied by the Power and Bribery of their Enemies, and all the Ways beset with arm'd Men, begg'd to be excus'd of their Prince; not for shunning a Trial of their Administration, but to shun and save themselves from the Violence of their Enemies, and preserve their Lives, till better Times, wherein they might make their Innocency known to the King and to all good Men. Upon this Refusal, *Douglas*, in a Parliament held at *Stirling*, causes denounce them Rebels, and confiscates their Goods; then with armed Force waistes and destroys their Lands. Chancellor *Crichton* does the like to his and his Adherents Territories, with great Detriment to the Country betwixt them. *Crichton* keeps himself in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; *Douglas* blocks him up therein several Months, and by his Instigation causes the King write to him, requiring him to render up the Castle (a). He refuses, alledging it could not be demanded of him till the King should be come to mature Age; whereupon Forces are sent to seize *Crichton's* Castle. After nine Months, both the Besiegers and Besieged being wearied, the Castle is yielded on these Conditions, *That Crichton should have*

(a) Lesly, p. 297.

have a Remission of all that could be pretended he had done against the King, and go safe with all that were with him where they pleased.

Not long after this *Crichton* recovered the King's Favour and the Office of Chancellor, to the great Contentment of all good Subjects: Yet he kept himself at as great a Distance from Court and publick Affairs as his Office could permit him, hoping that with Time the Face of the Court might change to the better.

Douglas finding he could not satiate his Revenge on *Crichton*, sets upon *Livingston*, and bringing him and his three Sons, *James*, *Robert* and *David*, and three of his Friends, *Robert Bruce*, *James* and *Robert Dundasses*, before the Parliament at *Edinburgh*, causes forfeit the Father and the two *Dundasses*, shutting them up in Prison in *Dumbarton*, and the other four he causes put to Death, for no Crime I find mentioned by Historians. Thus *Douglas* tyrannised over the King's most loyal Subjects, in the King's own Name, and to the Abuse of his Authority; until that some Years after, the King being sensible of his Villanies, and finding him leaguings against him and incorrigible, he dispatch'd him with his own Hand at *Stirling*, as is said before.

In this Instance, and many others like to it which I could adduce from our own Histories, it is evident how the Name and Authority of the Prince is oft-times abused, to persecute the most faithful of his Subjects and Friends; and they must seek and sue for Remissions, tho' they have done no greater Faults than to endeavour by Force to defend themselves and their Lives against the Malice and Spite of their Enemies, abusing the Royal Authority to satisfy

fy their private Revenge, or to make the Way more easy for their ambitious Designs.

How many loyal and dutiful Subjects were forfeited when *James IV.* was young, by those prevailing Rebels who had rebelled against and murdered his Father; and that for no other Reason, but only because they had (according to their Duty) fought for King *James III.* against those who had risen up in Rebellion against him: And to give some Countenance to their Rebellion, they forced his Son King *James IV.* out to their Army; and those loyal Gentlemen were forfeited for their being in Arms against their Sovereign, tho' in the mean Time for his Father, against his rebellious Subjects. But how soon the King came to be at his own Liberty, he thought fit to have them acquit of all Crimes alledged against them, and restored in Parliament, *per modum justitiæ. Rex trium ordinum concilium sexto die Octobris Edinburgi indicit: in quo omnibus, qui sub patris sui signis contra se pugnarunt, impunitatem proponit. Eorum quoque, qui cum patre in prælio ceciderunt, hæredibus bona, prædia, fundos liberè indulget,* says *Lestly(a).*

From this Instance the Reader may see how it has happened, that honest, brave and loyal Subjects may need Remissions even for their Loyalty and Duty to their Prince, as those Lords and Barons needed for their Fidelity to King *James III.* And were it true what *Buchanan* pretends, that the Design of the Earl of *Huntly's* appearing in the Field with an Army, was to remove *Murray* from the World, as the Queen had desired him to free her of *Murray's* Slavery, in reality he needed as little Remission for so doing as
the

(a) P. 317.

the aforefaid Lords and Barons did for affifting King *James III.* againft thofe other Lords who cloaked their Difloyalty with the Prefence of his Son, and fpecious Pretext of publick Good *Fraudi occultæ; honesta nomina prætexentes*, fays *Buchanan*. And indeed in this Cafe both Sides thought fit to fhew for Pardons; for *Lefly* in the forecited Place tells us, *Ipse filius & reliqui omnes, qui cum illo contra patrem erant, omni crimine foluti frequentiffimo fenatu declarantur*. Befides, there are none who knows any thing of the Tranfactions of State Matters, but muft know that fometimes Subjects muft have Remiffions for doing what they had exprefs Warrants or Commissions from the King himfelf to do. In which Cafe the Remiffions are fo far from tainting them with Difloyalty, that on the contrary, they are certain Proofs of a Loyalty more than ordinary, and of a Zeal and Courage to do him Services, which every loyal Subject would not hazard upon.

It is now Time to come to the true and genuine Account of the Ruin of this Earl of *Huntly*, which *Buchanan*, and thofe of his Gang, has fo diffigured with Lies and Fictions; and it is what I mentioned before out of *Camden*, who lived at that Time, and who gives a fincere and compendious Relation of *Murray's* Contrivances againft Queen *Mary*, and all thofe who adhered to her, in 13 whole Pages, viz. from p. 109 to p. 122; which, he fays, he learned, partly from the Writings of others which were published at that Time, but quickly fuppreffed in England, out of Favour to *Murray* and Hatred to Queen *Mary*; and partly from the Letters of the Ambassadors and other Perfons worthy of Credit: And profefles to declare

clare all, without any Prejudice or Partiality springing either from Love or Hatred to any.

He tells us then, That the Earl of *Murray*, aspiring to the Crown and supreme Authority, and having the Queen in his Power as a Tutor has his Pupil, made Use of her Name to undermine herself, first by destroying the noble Family of *Gordon*, which he apprehended would be the greatest Obstacle to his Aim and Design: And therefore, *Huntly's* Son, Sir *John*, having in a private Quarrel wounded the Baron of *Ogilvy*, which occasioned a little Bustle on the Street of *Edinburgh*; *Murray*, who was watching all Opportunities against *Huntly*, takes quickly hold on this, pretending the Queen's Authority was concerned, That the Delinquent was to be secured and prosecuted according to Law. Whereupon he is apprehended and put in Prison. Then *Murray*, taking the Queen with him, who durst not gainstand (no more than her Son afterwards, when he was in the Power of the *Gowrian* Faction, durst refuse to go and to do what they pleased) goes towards the North Parts of the Kingdom, where *Huntly's* Residence was, not doubting to find Occasion of Quarrel against him, and so ruin him under the Shadow of the Queen's Authority. In the mean Time *Huntly's* Son, *John*, knowing what was the Design of this Northern Progress, made his Escape from Prison, and came to his Father, who began to guard himself against this Tempest, by sending away his eldest Son to the Duke of *Châstelberault* his Father-in-Law, that he might be more remote from the ensuing Violence of it. (*Buchanan* never mentions him to have been with his Father all the Time that the Queen was in the North, but sneakingly says, *That after his Father and Brother's*

ther's Death, despairing of his Affairs at home, he went to his Father-in-Law; either to lurk beside him, or to obtain Pardon by his Intercession.) The Queen being come to Aberdeen, Huntly sends his Lady to salute her, and excuse his Absence; for that it was not safe for him to be at Court, where his mortal Enemies were so powerful. To this the Queen, by Murray's Instruction, replies, *That first he should send his Son back to Prison, and then to come himself to answer to what he should be accused of.* His Lady having acquainted him with this, he comes prepared to repel any Violence, in case it should be offered to him. Being come, all are commanded to accompany the Queen to *Inverness*, which he among others does, at least most part of the Way. At *Inverness*, the Entry to the Castle is refused, by the Imprudence of his Lieutenant; but at the first Offer of taking it by Force, it is yielded, and the Lieutenant, with the chief Men within, presently hanged. Huntly finding Matters come to such a high Degree of Violence against him, retires to the strong Ground in the Hills to save himself there, till at last he came to *Corrichie*, where he was murdered, as is said above.

Now we shall compare his Circumstances with those of Chancellor *Crichton's*. Both were Chancellors, both most dutiful Subjects, and had done most notable good Services to their King and Country. Both were most prudent and courageous Noblemen, and had given clear Proofs thereof on many Occasions, neither had done the least Offence against their Prince; yet both are persecuted under the Name and Shadow of their Prince. Both endeavour to defend themselves against Force. *Crichton* refuses the King the Castle of *Edinburgh*; the principal Fort of the Kingdom,

Kingdom, and keeps it nine Months after the King had required him, by Letters signed by himself, to deliver it up. Not *Huntly*, but his Servant refuses the Queen a Dwelling-house, not a Castle or Fort of any Strength; and immediately surrenders it upon the Offer of Force, which it could not resist. *Crichton* renders not the Castle, till he got Remission of all his pretended Offences, and Security for himself and Friends. *Huntly*, not so fortunate, is betrayed by his Friends, overcome in the Field by his Enemy, and murdered on the Place.

Crichton was persecuted by the Passion of Revenge in the Earl of *Douglas*, and *Huntly* by that of Ambition in the Earl of *Murray*. *Crichton* was pardoned for all that he had done, and *Huntly's* Son had also a Remission for having been accessory (as is pretended) to his Father's Guilt. What strange Want of Equity, or rather Rationality, is it then to judge *Crichton* loyal to his last Hour, *constanter ad ultimum usque vitæ diem*, and think *Huntly* disloyal, whose armed Forces did Harm to none (a); whereas *Crichton* did considerable to the Subjects that depended on the Earl of *Douglas*. Why needed they Remissions then! Their Remissions, and such as theirs, are no more in Reality but a Déclaration of their Innocency, and Security against the Malice of their Enemies. What I have said on this may seem enough, if not too much, to inform the Ignorant, and stop the Mouths of the malicious Enviars of the singular Glory of this noble Family's uninterrupted Loyalty, and shall proceed to shew the rest of *Murray's* Endeavours for its Ruin.

After

(a) Buchan. p. 376.

After the Battle of *Corrichie*, *Huntly's* two Sons, *Sir John* and *Adam*, were brought Prisoners to *Aberdeen*, as also *George Gordon* of *Cocklarachy*. *Murray* being come to the Queen, among the mutual Congratulations and Rejoycings of many, she neither shew'd a chearful Countenance, nor express'd one Word that could be a Sign of her being pleas'd at the Event. In a few Days after, *John Gordon* is sentenced to die, and *Murray* was so cruel as to force the Queen to witness his Execution. *Buchanan* says (a), *Regina mortem ejus cum multis lachrymis spectavit*. And indeed it was no Wonder: He was in the Prime of his Age, and adorned in Body and Mind with all the Gifts of Nature; and that which excited in all the Beholders no less Indignation against *Murray*, than Compassion towards him, was his being cruelly mangled by the Executioner. The Author of the Life of Queen *Mary*, lately translated by *J. F.* says (a), *He had even the Cruelty to force her to the Window to see young Gordon pass by tied with Ropes as a common Malefactor. This Spectacle produced the desired Effect; the sudden Change of Fortune; the handsomest Man of Scotland in Fetters, and the deplorable State the Person was in, who had once raised his Thoughts to her Bed, brought Tears from her Eyes, &c.* This added Fuel to that Fire of Jealousy *Murray* had raised in *Arran's* Breast, in making him to believe, that *Gordon* had more of the Queen's Favour than he had; and by these Means did he induce *Arran* to be assisting with him to persuade the Queen to consent to *Gordon's* Death, to which at last she gave Way. *Murray* forced her to go

(a) Buchan. p. 621. (b) p. 50, 51.

go to a Window opposite to the Scaffold; *Gordon* appears in the Habit of a Person who was shortly to suffer, and that only for loving her too well, and then fell upon his Knees, looking stedfastly upon her. This was more than the Queen could bear. She was already melting in Tears, which gave a Joy to *Murray*, and which he was content to purchase even at the Expence of the inexpressible Grief of the whole Spectators, who could not abstain from sharing in the Queen's Compassion, or being grieved at the Misfortune of the handsomest Gentleman of his Age. But (further adds that Author) this was nothing to what followed; for when he was to be beheaded, either by Chance, or by *Murray's* Instigation, the Executioner was so awkward as to wound him several Times before he struck off his Head. In that Moment the Queen, who did not expect to meet with so great a Trial of her Resolution, was abandoned by it altogether, she fainted away; and thereby authorises the Calumnies of those who did not stick to publish, *That she lov'd Gordon most passionately*. Whether ever the Queen design'd to make him Sharer of her Royal Bed, or not, is a Question not now to be resolv'd. All I shall say about it is, That to me, for what yet I have been able to discover, it appears she at least had no Aversion to him; and to prevent his Happiness, if any such thing was ever intended by her, and to do some further Mischiefe, he (*Murray*) hastned his Execution as much as in him lay. *Spottiswood* tells us (a), *That the Day after the Prisoners were brought to Aberdeen, their Council considered what was to be done with the Prisoners; and that the*

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Day

(a) p. 187.

Day following, upon a Scaffold erected in the Street of Aberdeen, John Gordon was publickly executed. He says, His Death was much lamented, not by Friends only, but even by Strangers and Persons unknown: For he was a Youth of most brave and man-like Countenance, of a valorous Spirit, and one who by his noble Behaviour had raised great Expectation of himself, &c. The tender Age of his Brother Adam pleaded Pardon for him, but George Gordon of Cocklarachie was executed with him. All the rest of the Prisoners were fined according to their Wealth; and the meaner Sort banish'd. Murray having no more to do in the North, carries back the Queen to Falkland, and from thence to Perth.

GEORGE GORDON, fifth Earl of Huntly.

THither the Duke of Chastelberault comes to plead for his Son-in-Law, George Gordon now the fifth Earl of Huntly: But it was to no purpose; for he is forc'd to deliver him up, and he is sent Prisoner to the Castle of Dumbar: And the Year following, 1563, he is brought to Edinburgh, and a packt Jury of Murray's Creatures being call'd, as yet can be seen by the Records of the Kingdom, he is condemned of Treason, and sent back to the Prison whence he came, to be strictly kept there till Murray should find the proper Time and Manner of executing what he had resolv'd concerning him; for he would not only have the Family of Gordon weakned, but totally destroyed. Buchanan tells us nothing of the Crimes he is condemned for; only he says, *he was guilty of Treason*, but tells nothing of the particular Proofs of this Guilt. He makes no Mention of his being in Arms with his Fa-

ther,

ther, or any publick Act by which that Crime could be made out against him; yet this would seem to have been necessary for the History, and to make the Justice of his Patron appear to the Readers. But in Truth he had no other Crime in Reality for which he is condemned, save only, that he was to represent that Family, of which the Earl of Murray resolv'd to be rid, as a great Impediment to the Success of his ambitious Designs.

Murray's Power was come to such a Height, that it was heavy and intolerable to many; and his Favour with the Queen, whose Name and Authority he abus'd, to the Ruin of her best Subjects, began to be much diminished (a). But finding she could not see a present Remedy, she conceals her Resentments of his Conduct, and carries fair with him. He on the other hand, knowing the Inconstancy of Women, and conscous of his own unkindly Dealing and ill Designs against her, thought fit to secure himself against any Changes that should happen: Wherefore among many Papers, for the Dispatch of publick Affairs, that were daily presented to the Queen, to be authoris'd by her Subscription, he shuffles in one, whereby the Laird of *Craigmillar*, Captain of the Castle of *Dumbar*, is commanded immediately upon Sight thereof, to separate *Huntly's* Head from his Body. This Order being sent with all Expedition to the Captain of the Castle, is read by him with Amazement and Compassion, and intimated to the Prisoner, who being reduced to this Extremity, is not dejected, but says, *That this was Murray's Contrivance*

Q 2

trivance

(a) Gordon's MS. Hist. Straloch's MS. Hist. Innocence, &c. fol. 50.

trivance to destroy him, by surreptitiously getting this Order signed by the Queen, of whose good Will he was assured; and therefore intreats him, that first he would do him the Favour and good Office as to know from the Queen's own Mouth, what he was to do in a Matter of so great Importance. The Captain very humanely condescends to his Desire, and immediately posts to *Edinburgh*, arrives late at Night; and being known to the Keepers of the Gate, gets Entry into the Palace, and shews the Waiter at the Queen's Bed-chamber Door, that he had Affairs of Consequence to impart to her Majesty. She being in Bed, commands him to be brought in. Being admitted, he tells her he had obey'd her Majesty's Orders. She wondering, asked, *What Orders?* He replied, *For striking off Huntly's Head.* She falls a-weeping and crying. He shews her the Order. She cries out, with Tears gushing from her Eyes, *This is my Brother's Malice, who without my Knowledge or Consent has abused me in this and many other Things.* It is good, says the Captain, I was not too hasty in such a Matter, being resolved to know your Majesty's Will from your own Mouth. Whereat she being overjoyed, rents the Mandate, and gives him another, and bids him *Keep the Prisoner safe till she should resolve what should be done; and that in the mean Time he should give no Credit to any Paper concerning Huntly, but only to her own Word, immediately from her Mouth, to his bearing.* This Passage the Baron of *Pitlurg*, in his Manuscript-History of the Family of *Gordon*, says he had from his Father, who was a very fine Gentleman, and much employed in many of those Matters of Importance that regarded his Chief the Earl of *Huntly*, and had it from *Huntly's* own Mouth.

Mouth. The Author of the *Innocence de Marie*, &c. (a) tells the same Story, and adds, *That the Queen gave Orders to the Captain to treat Huntly as a Subject that she had a particular Regard for.*

About the Beginning of *Autumn*, Anno 1563, the Queen recals from Banishment the Earl of *Lennox*, and he returns to *Scotland*, *January* 1564. *Camden* says, *This Gentleman was of the same Family with the Stewarts, the Royal House of Scotland, and had Royal Blood in his Veins.* For *Mary* the Daughter of *James II.* bore to *James Hamilton* a Son, *James* first Earl of *Arran* of that Line, and a Daughter *Mary*, Wife to *Matthew Stewart* the first Earl of *Lennox* of that Name. *James* Earl of *Arran* divorced his first Wife, and married in her Lifetime *Fanetta Beton*, Aunt to *Cardinal Beton*, by whom he had *James* Duke of *Chastelherault*, whom his Enemies hence would have to be illegitimate. *Mary*, the Earl of *Arran's* Sister, bore to *Matthew*, *John* Earl of *Lennox*, who being slain by the *Hamiltons* while he was endeavouring the Enlargement of King *James V.* left this *Matthew Stewart* (whom we are now speaking of) a Person in very high Esteem with that King. But *Matthew* after the King's Death, when all pass'd through the Hands of the *Hamiltons*, withdrew into *France*; from whence he was sent back into *Scotland* by *Henry II.* the *French* King, to secure his Interest in the Kingdom, against the Designs of the *English* Faction then prevailing in it: But being a frank and open-temper'd Person, he fell into the Snare laid by *Cardinal Beton* and the *Hamiltons*, and in a little Time

Q 3

lost

lost the *French* King's Favour. And when it came to that pass, that there was no staying at home, nor returning to *France*, he came into *England*, and put himself under the Protection of *Henry VIII.* who frankly received him as a Person whose Interest was considerable in the West of *Scotland*. And tho' the *Hamiltons* condemned him, and made Sale of his Estate, yet King *Henry* acknowledged him next Heir to the Crown of *Scotland*, after Queen *Mary* then an Infant, and gave him *Margaret Douglas* his Niece (by his eldest Sister) to Wife, with an Estate in *England* to the Value of 1700 Merks per annum: And this Agreement he made with him, That he should deliver into the King of *England's* Hands the Castle of *Dumbarton*, the *Isle of Bute* and the Castle of *Rothsay*. Which tho' he resolutely undertook, yet the Success did not answer. [The Reason why I have made this short Digression, is, because of the near Relation the Family of *Gordon* had to that of *Lennox*; *George* first Marquis of *Huntly* marrying a Daughter thereof.] Upon the Earl of *Lennox's* Arrival in *Scotland*, he is immediately restored to his Estate and Honours; and in *February* thereafter, his eldest Son *Henry* Lord *Darnly* comes to salute the Queen, and meets with a very favourable and courteous Reception.

The Queen was much wooed by the Emperor for his Brother, and by the King of *Spain* for his Son; but she was earnestly dissuaded from both by the Queen of *England* and the Earl of *Murray*. They indeed had very different Views. The first knew her own Title to the Crown of *England* to be but precarious, and that Queen *Mary's* was clean, and no Objection to be made against it; and that if she should be married

ried to any potent foreign Prince, Queen *Elizabeth's* Crown would be but in a very uncertain and tottering State. The Earl of *Murray* again, full of ambitious Designs, and doubting not but at some Time or other to accomplish them; and so at last to make himself Master of the Crown, was against these foreign Matches, pretending the *Scots* Liberty neither would nor could endure a Stranger or foreign Prince, and that whensoever it happened the Sovereignty to fall to a Female, they never used to marry any other than of the *Scottish* Nation. But when he saw all the Subjects of the Kingdom were earnestly desirous she should marry, and finding her inclin'd to *Darnly*, he was puzzl'd how to divert this Marriage, pretending the Danger the Reformation would incur thereby, *Darnly* being *Roman Catholick*.

But the Nobility, excepting those that were of *Murray's* Faction, were not so bigot on this Point as to be repugnant to the Queen's Inclinations (a); and she being weary of *Murray's* severe Tutorship, suspicious of his Designs, over-aw'd by his Power, and knowing by many Experiments she should have no more but the bare Name of *Sovereignty*, so long as he could hold her as a Pupil; First of all, to extricate herself, she takes *Huntly* out of Prison *per modum justitiæ*, cancels his Forfeiture, restores him to his Titles and Estate, and honours him with the Dignity of Chancellor, which his Father had enjoyed before: And this, with the Consent of the Nobility, assembled in Parliament at *Stirling*, where they gave their Consent to her Marriage with *Darnly*. She

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(a) Straloch's MS. Hist. Gordonston's MS. Hist. Buchan. p. 493.

recalled also out of Banishment *John Gordon* Earl of *Sutherland*, *Huntly's* faithful Friend; and on that Account banished by *Murray* after the Battle of *Corrichie*.

I must here take Notice of another Mistake *Buchanan* is guilty of, and that for no other End but to put a Reflection upon *Queen Mary*. In that infamous Libel called the *Detection of Queen Mary*, to give an Air of Probability to his Calumnies, he affirms, *That the Lord Gordon* (as he calls him) *was not restored to his Father's Estate and Honours till sometime after King Henry's Murder, and about the Time of the Queen's designing to marry Bothwel, that he might be instrumental in the Divorce that was carrying on betwixt his Sister (who was then married to Bothwel) and her Husband.* The Author of the *Remarks on the Life of Queen Mary* has taken Notice of this gross Error in *Buchanan*, and has made the contrary appear from the Author he translates, and the *Innocence de Marie, &c.* (a) viz. that *Huntly* was restored to his Estate and Honours, before the Queen's Marriage with *Darnly*: But he has forgot to take Notice, that *Buchanan* in that Matter even contradicts himself. For in his History he says (b), *Huntlæi comitis filium è custodia e ductum, priori dignitati & loco restituit*; and this was (he acknowledges) before her Marriage with the Lord *Darnly*. He should have corrected those infamous Brats of his own Brain, and made them agree better together. But the Truth is, he was never very anxious about the Truth or Falshood of Matters of Fact, if they could but serve the Purposes of his unworthy Patron; for *Huntly* was certainly restored at the Time and Place I have said, from

Vouchers

(a) fol. 49. (b) p. 43. Edin. Edit. Anno 1720.

Vouchers of more Credit than *Buchanan* deserves, or his Friends can expect from any Person known in the History of this Nation. I have seen a principal Bond, which is yet in the Earl of *Traquair's* Hand, of the Date, that proves the Earl of *Huntly* was Chancellor before the 3d of *June* 1566 Years, *Vide Append. N. 20.*

The Marriage betwixt the Queen and the Lord *Darnly* being solemnized, *July 6. Anno 1565*, and he proclaimed King, the Queen revokes the Donations (a) made to *Murray* and others in her Minority; whereupon he, and those who had refused their Consent to the Marriage, take Arms against the King and Queen, upon Pretext, that the King was Enemy to the Protestant Religion, and that the Marriage was contracted without the Consent of the Queen of *England* (their constant Ally and Friend.) *Stranguage* says, *The Queen did so fiercely pursue them, that she made them fly into England before the Bands of Englishmen promised unto them could come: But the Queen of England did covertly give a lurking Place to Murray, who was wholly addicted to the English, and secretly maintained him with Money by Bedford until he returned into Scotland (b).*

Murray remaining in *England*, deals by Letters with his trusty Friend *Morton*, a most crafty and subtle Man; that since the Marriage could not be impeded, he should at least endeavour by secret Intrigues to sow Discords and Aversion betwixt the married Persons. Our Countryman *Blackwood* says (c), *That Murray and Morton were only made Use of*

(a) Camden p. 113. (b) *Stranguage*, p. 24. (c) *Martyre de la Reyne d' Escots*, cap. 5. p. 75.

of by the English Court for that End ; and that the exil'd Lords having renewed their Addresses to Queen Elizabeth for Assistance, as she had promised them, a Cabinet Council was called to consult of the properest Methods for satisfying them ; and several Methods for doing the same being propos'd and reject'd, lest they should cause an open War break out betwixt the two Nations ; at last these two great Statesmen, Secretary Cecil and Sir Thomas Randolph propos'd that the Apple of Discord should be thrown betwixt the Queen and her Husband, by fomenting Jealousies betwixt them, that so one or other, if not both, might become a Prey to them ; which was agreed to : And Morton, their faithful Correspondent, whom the Queen and King had the Misfortune to put too much Confidence in, was employ'd to manage this bellish Plot. For the full of this Story, I shall refer the Reader to the afore-cited Author, or, in short, to the Notes on Queen Mary's Life lately translated (a).

Morton soon found a fit Occasion for his Purpose ; for the Queen being perplexed with intestine Factions, to restrain her young Husband's haughty Spirit (for he was not past 20 Years of Age) and preserve the Royal Prerogatives entire to her self, had begun, in publick Acts, to postpone his Name to her own ; and in the coyning of Money, to omit it altogether. He had also often desired of the Queen, That she would be pleas'd to bestow on him the matrimonial Crown, and she had as often put him off with Delays, which he attributed to the Counsel of Rizzio. The Earl of Morton, skilful in kindling of Jealousies, and sowing of Discords, catches

ches hold of this Opportunity, and with Flattery assaults the young King, perswading him to set the Crown of *Scotland* upon his own Head, whether the Queen would or not, and to free himself from Subjection to a Woman, it being their Part to obey, and Mens to command. By this Advice he hoped not only to make the Queen displeas'd with him, but also the Nobility and Commons. On the other Hand, that he might alienate the Queen's Affection from her Husband, he incites him by several base Calumnies to the Murder of *David Rizzio*, lest he being a sagacious Man, should frustrate their Designs; and in the mean Time suggests to the Queen, that her Husband was of a haughty insolent Humour, and ought to be kept within Bounds.

This *Rizzio* was an *Italian*, and by Profession a Musician; he came over with *Moret* the *French* Ambassador, and was taken in to the Queen's Family amongst her other Musicians; then, for the Sharpness of his Wit, was employ'd in writing her *French* Letters, and Consultations in the Secretaries Absence: And to put the Top-stone upon his Villany, he (*Morton*) suggested to the youthful King, That he was too familiar with the Queen, and that he was as much his Rival in his Marriage-bed, as at the Council-table; and that he need never expect to have that Interest with her, which was due to him, or obtain from her what he desired, so long as *Rizzio* was near to her; and that there was no Way of Removing him from her, but by taking his Life one Way or other. Thus did that wicked Man calumniate and abuse his innocent Princess (a) in her most tender

(a) Martye de la Reyne, cap. 6.

tender Part, to serve his own and his Associates abominable Purposes. Never was there a Story indeed so maliciously contrived, or so wretchedly vouched. *Blackwood* tells us (and he was well acquainted with him) that he (*Rizzio*) was old, lean, and extremely deformed. Now, can one be thought so void of Sense, or so wickedly malicious, as once to think that one of the finest Princesses, & the most consummate Beauty in the World, should choose such a Gallant as he is described to be? She was in no such Strait: If she had been of a wandering Appetite, she lived in the Court of *France* from the Age of 6 to 21 Years, ador'd as much for her chaste Behaviour, as for her unparalleled Beauty. If there she could in her younger Years, when youthful Passions boil up to their greatest Height, and Wisdom is not come to its full Maturity, resist the Charms of that Court, so famed for Gallantry, and crowded with her Admirers, both in a single State, and when married to the Dauphin, who was equally weak in Body and Mind; which were Temptations too great for a Virtue below hers: Is it to be thought that now when she was espoused to the handsomest Prince of his Age, young and vigorous, she would throw her self into the Arms of an old deformed Fellow? This would require a Faith stronger than (I think) any reasonable Man can have, that is not so wretchedly perverse as *Morton* and his Accomplices were.

The young King was taken with the Bait, and by *Morton's* Advice immediately meditates *Rizzio's* Murder (a). The Lord *Ruthven*, the greatest Actor in this Tragedy gives us the best Account of it

(a) Mackenzie's Life of Lord Ruthven,

it (as he well could) which his Lordship says, *he did for the Glory of God, and the Advancement of the Protestant Religion.* He tells us, That the King being firmly resolved to be revenged upon *Rizzio*, who had offended him in several Things, and lately in diswading the Queen to give him the matrimonial Crown, which she had often promised him, sent his Cousin *George Douglas*, Son to the Earl of *Angus*, to him (*Ruthven*) to ask his Advice, as the only Person in the Nation he put most Trust in: But his Lordship told Mr. *Douglas*, That he would give the King no Advice, because his youthful Temper was such, that he was capable of receiving none, in such an important Affair: For several of the Nobility having formerly given him Advices tending to his Honour and Interest, yet the first Thing that he had done, was to reveal them to the Queen, for which they were disgraced: So that before he gave him Counsel or Advice in that Affair, he behoved to have some Proof of his being capable of keeping a Secret. Mr. *Douglas* having reported this Answer to the King, he called for a Bible, and swore upon it, That he should never reveal my Lord *Ruthven's* Advice to the Queen. *Ruthven* being apprised from Mr. *Douglas* of what the King had done, yet for eight Days refused to give any Advice, tho' often desired to do it by Mr. *Douglas*, even three or four Times a Day; but never any the least Insinuation of the Queen's Familiarity with *Rizzio* was then mentioned in any of these Messages, or in his Lordship's whole Account. At last he was prevailed upon (he says) to give his Advice, on Condition that the King would consent to the Recalling the Earls of *Argyle*, *Glencairn*, *Murray* and *Rothes*; the Lords *Boyd* and *Ochiltree*

Ochiltree, the Lairds of *Pittarro* and *Grange*, and others then banished for the Word of G O D, (for so his Lordship was pleased to term their Rebellion.) Thus poor *Rizzio's* Blood was to seal their Pardon, put the Diadem on the King's Head, and satiate *Morton's* Revenge. His Familiarity with the Queen, was no more but a gilding Pill to make it go down with the more Ease. The Articles at length agreed upon betwixt the King, *Morton*, and *Ruthven*, are to be seen in the forecited Author, and in the Notes upon Queen *Mary's* Life (a).

Matters being thus made up, and the Articles signed, the only Difficulty that remained, was the Method of dispatching *Rizzio*. *Morton* and *Lindsay* were for impeaching him before the Parliament, not doubting but by their Interests to get him hang'd. But the King propos'd murdering of him; and if they would not do it, he told them, he would do it himself, if it were even in the Queen's Bed-chamber; which the Lords easily yielded to, it being what they wanted most, to have it done there: And the King signed a Bond, dated the first of *March*, indemnifying them and all others to be concerned in it, and taking the Guilt upon himself. And thus with Deliberation did they contrive his Death, so as that Nine Days intervened betwixt the Perpetration of the Murder, and the Date of the Bond. So *Rizzio's* Death being agreed upon,

The 9th of *March* 1566, was the Day appointed for his Murder, and the Queen's Closet for the Place to perpetrate it in. He was a Man of a piercing Wit (b), diligent and honest, but notoriously

(a) p. 80. (b) Crawford's Memoirs, p. 5, 6, 7.

toriously proud and haughty, despising his Enemies, and undervaluing the Assistance of his most constant Friends, as if he had scorned to owe his Greatness to any Thing but the Favour of his Princess, and the Merit of his own Conduct. At the same Time her Secretary, *Maitland* of *Lethington*, a Man of great Parts, well versed in all the Intrigues of the Court, and Inclinations of the People, singularly cunning, bold and eloquent, but prone to Changes; and so fond of being great in whatever Party he was of, that no Ties of Honour or Friendship could bind him to his Sovereign or Country, but as it suited with his Ambition. He could bear with no Rival or Equal, and therefore had often endeavoured to render *Rizzio* suspected to the Queen (but in vain:) And therefore joined himself under-hand with the Discontented factious Party, of which *Murray* and *Morton* were the Heads (a). *Murray*, with some others of the Nobility, were then Exiles in *England* for Rebellion; a Parliament was summoned, and they charged to answer for the Crime of high Treason; and would undoubtedly have been forfeited. And it was feared by *Morton*, (who was their trusty Agent at Home) That this Parliament intended to recal some exorbitant Grants obtained from the Queen during her Minority. In both these *Rizzio* was active for the Interest of the Crown, and Safety of the Queen, by prosecuting the Rebels. This made their Favourers uneasy at home, and put them upon their Shifts how at once to put a Stop to this Meeting of Parliament, and make a Change at Court. *Lethington* being consulted in that Matter, soon gave them Ease, by

(a) Camden, B. 1. p. 91. Spottisf. B. 4. p. 194. Melvil, p. 64.

by proposing the killing of *Rizzio*, who managed the Process with some Heat. *Crawford* says, *That it was likely he was to be made Chancellor in Morton's Stead.* But in that he was in the Wrong; for *Huntly* was then Chancellor, and not *Morton*. The Proposal was received; the only Difficulty was, how to put it in Execution, and secure themselves from the Punishment the Law inflicts upon Murderers. But for this *Morton*, *Leithington*, *Lenox* (the King's Father) and *Ruthven* find a *Salvo*, a Remedy indeed that had two Handles, and served at once to ruin the Queen, and remove ther Enemy.

They send for the young King, who was weak irresolute and credulous; and after a smoth Preamble of Affection for his Person and Interest; inform him, That of late he was become a Cypher at Court, despised by his Wife, and neglected by the People; and all this by the Artifices of *Rizzio*; and that the only Way to retrieve his Honour, was, to remove that incroaching Villain, without which nothing was to be done. The King was soon prevailed upon; and that all might be safe on their Side, Articles were immediately drawn up, to which they perswaded him to put his Hand, and acknowledge himself the Author of the Murder. Having thus far gained their Point, to make a double Advantage of their Crime (tho' they could have killed him in any other Place) the Queen's Clofet was pitched upon as the fittest Place; *1st*, to conceal the true Cause and Design of his Death: And *2dly*, To fasten a Reproach upon the Queen's Honour, by making her Husband the prime Agent in the Execution of the Murder, as if he had suspected her Virtue, and had ingaged in the Business on that Score alone; and to prepare the Way for this Part

of the Plot; it was whispered about in every Corner, that *Rizzio* was more than a common Favorite (a).

But these were not all the Advantages proposed by the Murderers, in the Choice of the Place; for the Queen being then gone near six Months with Child, Abortion was expected, as a Consequence of that Fright the Murder would put her into. They had also a Venture for the Death of the Queen, as the Result of an Abortion, and by this Means would have been freed from a Sovereign, as they had been for a good many Years before; and it would seem, that the weak young King was very easy what came of her, too much trusting to the third Article of the Agreement betwixt him and *Morton, Ruthven, &c.* where, *They bind and oblige themselves (sailing Heirs of the Queen's Body, to maintain his just Title to the Crown of Scotland, with their Lives and Fortunes, as he should command them (b).* One Thing however, tho' all these should fail (besides the Safety of their Friends) they were assured of, and that was, by this severe Injury and Affront upon the Queen, they would alienate her Heart from her Husband, and her Subjects from her.

And so all Things being thus prepared, and the Parliament being to meet on *Monday* the 11th of *March 1566, Saturday's* Night was agreed upon as the fittest Time for the Execution of this hellish Project (c). The King went a little before them into the Queen's Closet, who was at Supper, and the Countess of *Argyle* with her (*Rizzio* being in the same Room at the By-table, where he usually sat when in
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(a) Melvil p. 67. (b) Mackenzie p. 67. V. 3. (c) Camden. B. 1. p. 94.

waiting;) and in a few Minutes thereafter, (about Six a-Clock at Night) *Ruthven, Douglas,* and others, completely arm'd, rush'd in at the same Door, with so much Haste and Precipitation, that they overturned at once the Table Dishes and Candlesticks. The Queen, surprized to see Men in Armour, suddenly cried out, *What is the Matter!* And the King answered, *Only the Death of the Villain Rizzio is resolv'd upon;* who, in the mean Time, seeing no Possibility of escaping, fastned his Arms about the Queen's Waste, in Hopes they would pay some Respect to the Person of their Sovereign, and have listned to her Entreaties on his Behalf, he himself begging aloud for Mercy, and crying out, *Giustitia,* (a) *Giustitia.* But all was in vain; for in this very Posture, *Douglas* pulled out the King's Dagger, and struck it so home into him, that he was forced to leave it in his Body. This Blow made him redouble his Cries; but for Want of Strength, letting go his Hold of the Queen, they dragged him to the next Room, and, with many Wounds, finished the Murder they had so barbarously begun.

The Author of the Life of Queen *Mary*, says (b), *That they struck at him even over the Queen's Shoulders, while the King was holding her, and that his Blood spurted upon her Clothes.* And that some Reported that *Ruthven's* Son had the Insolence as to hold a Pistol to the Queen's Breast, and threatned her with Death, if she continued any longer to shew her Resentments, by the Complaints she was making against so horrid a Crime, and all to make her miscarry, which probably was their Aim; for if it was not

(a) Life of Q. M. p. 24. (b) *ibid.*

so, they might with more Ease have murdered him the Day before, when he was playing for several Hours with the King at Tennis. The Author (a) of the *Innocence*, says, *It was not Ruthven's Son that presented the Pistol, but Andrew Ker of Adinside, first Cousin to the Lords Ruthven and Home. Blackwood calls him Andrew Ker of Fadownside (b).* Morton and his Followers all this While guard the Palace below Stairs, but not so strictly as to hinder *Huntly Athole* and *Bothwell*, who were Supping in another Apartment, from leaping over a Window and escaping; for being ignorant of the Plot, they knew not how many, or who were to be murdered. The Reason why I have been so prolix on this Affair, is because, from this barbarous Murder, as a Source, did all the Mischief that thereafter happened to the King, Queen, and Nation flow.

If this barbarous Plot of theirs had succeeded in all its Parts, then *Murray*, the chief Contriver, had a fair Prospect soon to arrive to that Height that his Ambition prompted him to; for the Place and Time they made Choice of will allow of no other Construction, than that they expected the Fright the Queen would be put into, would undoubtedly occasion an Abortion, and would probably cost her her Life. They made it as terrible to her as it was in their Power to do, when they threatned to murder herself, if she shewed any Manner of Displeasure at what they were doing.

This Murder (c) was committed the Night before the Day appointed for *Murray* to appear in Judgment to answer for the Crime of Rebellion. He

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(a) Fol. 19. (b) p. 81. (c) Camden, 109.

keeps the Day, contrary to every one's Expectation, (except those who were in the Plot with him) and when in such a Disorder and Confusion of Things, no Person appeared to accuse him, the Slaughter being hastened on Design for *Murray's* Safety and Security, yet the Queen, at her Husband's Entreaty, received him graciously, and trusted him as formerly.

After this they enter into a Consultation with the King (a), the Earl of *Morton*, and their other Accomplices about their future Procedure with the Queen. Some gave their Opinion to go on with the Tragedy, and dispatch her at any Rate, giving this for their Reason, That their Offence was of so high a Nature, that it precluded them from any Hopes of Pardon; and so their only Safety was in her (the Queen's) Death; and that for their own Vindication it was necessary for them to publish, That they had surpris'd the Queen in the Act of Adultery with *Rizzio*; which they took to be a plausible Reason for appeasing the Fury of the People, and to prevent the Repentments of her Friends Abroad; and to bring the King to condescend to it, they faithfully promise to him to acknowledge no other Authority but his after her Death. They had her in their Power; she was guarded by their own Accomplices, so they could do with her what they would; and they were ready to perpetrate that abominable Parricide, when it was discovered thus.

The Earl of *Murray* (as I have said before) being reconciled to the Queen, without acquainting the King, addresses himself to her, and intreats *she would be pleas'd to pardon the Murderers of her Secretary,*

(a) *Life of Q. Mary*, p. 88.

in regard that they being so numerous and so powerful, it was not safe for her to render them desperate, lest they should be thereby provoked to commit a greater Crime. The King, who had always been jealous of *Murray's* coming to the Knowledge that he had been in private with the Queen, being conscious of his own Guilt, and knowing nothing of *Murray's* Business, and observing him very thoughtful after that; for she had told him, That tho' he knew she never desired either the Life or Estate of any of her Subjects; yet she being under Restraint by the Guards they had put upon her, could do nothing for them in that Condition, that would hold valid in Law; and therefore before she could grant any Remission that would be of Use to them, she behoved to be at her full Liberty. He being ignorant of all this, entertained a Suspicion, that *Murray*, to ingratiate himself with the Queen, was plotting something against him; and being anxious to know what *Murray's* Business was with her, he went to wait upon her. He was no sooner entred the Room, without allowing him Time to speak, than she thus accosts him, *Is this the Reward, Sir, I was to expect at your Hand, for setting the Crown of Scotland on your Head? If I have merited Death, what Crime has your Infant that I bear about with me committed, upon whom your Ruin or Preservation depends? Reflect upon it, that these seditious Lords are pushing you on to overthrow the Tree, with no other Design but to destroy the Fruit, and crush you under the Weight.* She spoke it so charmingly, and with such a Grace, that the King was no longer able to stand it; but breaking forth in a Flood of Tears, in the humblest Manner begs Pardon for his former Offences; which,

(Good Lady) she readily granted. Upon which he not only ingenuously declares, That it was *Murray* and *Morton*, who were the Persons and Authors who engaged him in that execrable Murder, but also laid open before her the Whole of the Plot they had engaged themselves in, to take away her Life; of which (he said) he had always an Abhorrence, notwithstanding the fair Promises they made him. He told her also, That they had agreed to strick off the Heads of many of the Prime Nobility, and to drown her chief Maids of Honour, that none might be left to contradict the Calumnies which they designed to spread upon her.

The Queen upon this Information, understanding they resolved not only to deprive her of her Crown and Life, but also of her Honour; she bethought what was fittest for her to do in this critical Juncture, where there was no Time to be lost; and therefore desires the King to return to the Conspirators, and assure them, that he had found her in a Disposition of granting every thing they could ask; but that her present Condition was dangerous; that there was little Hopes of her living that Night, if her Guards, that had most barbarously treated her, were not removed, and her Houshold Officers, and Ladies of Honour permitted to attend her; and her Weakness of Body being so great, he could easily promise for the Security of her Person. The Conspirators were impatient to know the Success of his Negotiation; and when they came to know it from him (he having concealed what privately past betwixt him and the Queen) they divided among themselves. Some were for putting their Plot immediately in Execution; others, partly out of Fear of an Insurrection a-

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gainst them, and partly believing it not improbable, that the Fright they had put her in (she being in the Sixth Month gone with Child) would cause an immediate Abortion, which might prove fatal to her, were for delaying it, at least till she should sign their Pardon ; and being thus divided, they came at last to agree, That for that Night her Guards should be removed, and the King should have the Custody of her Person ; that so she being at Liberty, might sign those Articles they had proposed to her for their Security.

This was no sooner granted (a), than that very Night, she, with the King, made her Escape to *Dumbar*, and that with all imaginable Haste, notwithstanding of her big Belly, *March 12.* by the Assistance of *Arthur Erskine* Captain of her Guard, and Seven other Persons. The News of which reaching the Conspirators Ears, and that the Earls of *Huntly* and *Botbwell* had raised an Army, with which they were marching to *Edinburgh* for her Relief, they depute the Lord *Semple* to go and require their Majesties to sign the Articles they had drawn up. But she being now at her Liberty, refused to pardon any of the Conspirators, and issued out a Proclamation, *Commanding all her loving Subjects in the adjacent Country, to meet her at Hadington, upon the 17 and 18 Days of March for the Defence of her Person.* And Orders were sent to the Lord *Erskine*, Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, to fire upon the Town, if any of the Conspirators staid there ; and a Proclamation was made over the Cross of *Edinburgh*, declaring the King free of the Murder ; and upon the 22d of *March*

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(a) Mackenzie, V. 3. p. 74.

the Queen caused summon to appear before her Privy-Council upon six Days, under the Pain of high Treason, the Earl of *Morton*, the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindsay*, the Master of *Ruthven*, the Lairds of *Ormiston*, *Calder*, *Hatton*, *Ersilton*; *Andrew Ker* of *Fadownside*, *Alexander Ruthven* Brother to the Lord *Ruthven*, *Patrick Murray* of *Tippermuir*, *Douglas* of *Whitingham*, Mr. *Archibald Douglas* his Brother, *George Douglas*, *Lindsay* of *Preston*, *Thomas Scott*, the Laird of *Cambusmubat*, *Douglas* of *Lochlevin*, *James Jeffrey* of *Sheirball*, *Adam Erskine* Commendator of *Cambuskenneth*, the Laird of *Moncrief*, the Fiar of *Kerse*, *Patrick Wood* of *Bonnington*, Mr. *James Macgill* Clerk-Register, and their Accomplices. The Conspirators now finding their Party too weak for the Queen, *Huntly*, *Bothwel* and *Athole* having joined her with a considerable Body of Men, fled, some of them into *Argyle* Shire, and others of them into *England* (a), a sure Sanctuary for *Scots* Rebels; and the Queen with her Army came to *Edinburgh*.

The Time of the Queen's Delivery drawing nigh, the Council appointed the Castle of *Edinburgh* to be the Place where she was to be brought to Bed; and the Earl of *Arran*, who being esteem'd frantick, had been kept sometime Prisoner there, to be removed to *Hamilton*; the Earls of *Murray* and *Glencairn* being Sureties for his returning to Prison when required. And she being convey'd thither, upon the 19th Day of *June* 1566, betwixt 9 and 10 a-Clock in the Morning, was deliver'd of a Son, to the great Joy of all her Subjects. And immediately Sir *James Melvil* was dispatch'd to notify the same to the Queen of
England

(a) Mackenzie, Vol. 3. p. 74.

England. And the General Assembly having met upon the 25th of *June*, sent the Superintendent of *Lothian* to congratulate the Prince's Birth, and in-treat he might be baptized according to the Form us'd in the reformed Church.

After this, the Queen having recovered some of her Strength ; to recreate herself, goes by Water to *Alloway*. *Murray* now having regain'd the Queen's Favour as much as ever (a), and become her sole Confident ; and the King taking that hainously ill, resolv'd to treat him as he had done *Rizzio*. But the Heat of Youth not letting him conceal his Thoughts, and his Respect to the Queen not letting him dare to execute them, he takes an Opportunity again to represent to her the whole Contrivance of *Rizzio's* Murder, and that it was all owing to *Murray* ; and that unless he and his Accomplices were treated after the same manner, neither of them were sure of their Lives : And therefore he resolv'd to dispatch him, as being the only thing that could conduce to the Safety of the Kingdom and Royal Family. The Author of the *Innocence* is positive (b), that after *Rizzio's* Death, *Murray* got himself so far into the Queen's Favour, that she trusted him with the intire Management of her Affairs ; and that the King took this very much amiss, and dreaded that she would sometime or other complain to her natural Brother of his Want of Gratitude to her, and by so doing provoke *Murray*, whom he knew to be a disloyal and revengeful Man, to murder him, for revealing the Secrets of the Cabal, and accusing *Murray* and *Morton* as the Authors of the whole Conspiracy

(a) Mackenzie, Vol. 3d, p. 280. (b) fol. 21.

racy against her and her Secretary: And for these Reasons he endeavoured to procure the Queen's Consent to his killing of *Murray*. But she, struck with Horror at the Proposal, terrified him even with Threatnings from such an Attempt, telling him at last, *That unless he abandoned all such wicked Designs, he could expect no Share in her Favour.* And not to render him altogether desperate, she put him in Hopes of reconciling *Murray* and him together. Now the Reader may consider here, if this merciful Queen (as *Buchanan* forges) could ever have harboured a Design to cause the late Earl of *Huntly* kill *Murray*, when she could not even now hear of it without the utmost Abhorrence, altho' he had provoked her to a great Degree often since that Time.

The King still persisting in his Resolution to kill *Murray*, the Queen thought proper to shun his Company, wherever she went, for some Time, thinking thereby to reclaim him; which her Enemies attributed to the Hatred she had conceived against him for killing of *Rizzio*. And the King, on the other Hand, impatient of Delay, and perceiving that the Queen by no Means would be induced to go into his Measures, communicated his Design to some of his Trustees, whom he esteem'd more faithful than they were; and by that Means the whole of his Plot came to *Murray's* Ears, which he seem'd to take no Notice of. And in the first Place he, by the Advice of *Morton*, tho' absent, and *Lethington*, another then of his trusty Friends, resolved as far as was in their Power to create in the Queen an utter Abhorrence of her Husband; and they took the first Opportunity of putting this their hellish Plot in Execution.

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The Queen being informed of great Disorders committed upon the Borders (a), design'd to go thither herself and hold Justice-Courts, how soon she had recovered Strength enough to travel ; and in the mean Time she sent the Earl of *Bothwel* to *Liddisdale* with a Commission to suppress the Insolencies of the Borderers. But they despising his Commission, attacked him with such Resolution, that he hardly escaped with his Life, being dangerously wounded by *John Eliot* of *Park*. The Queen being informed of her Lieutenant's Misfortune, went and paid him a Visit at the Castle of *Hermitage*, where he then lay to be cured of his Wounds, where she staid about half an Hour, and then posted that same Night to *Fedburgh* ; where, by the Fatigue of her Journey and the Sharpness of the Air, she was seized with a violent Fever ; and during the first two Days of her Illness she was much out of Order ; but upon the third, recovering the Use of her Reason, she called for those who waited upon her, and with a serene Countenance, tho' feeble Voice, she told them, *That she believed a few Hours would remove her from this to a better Life ; and that tho' she had hitherto been fond enough to live, yet now she found it nothing hard to resolve upon Death.* She said a great Deal more to them, recommending her young Son to their Care. All which is to be seen in the last cited Authors, which for Brevity's sake I omit to set down here.

The King, who was then in the West Country with his Father, being informed of the Queen's Sickness,

(a) Crawford's Memoirs, p. 2. Spottiswood, Book 4. p. 196. Mackenzie, p. 281, 282.

ness hasted to *Jedburgh* to see her; and finding that she inclined to have more Satisfaction, as to his Design against *Murray*, than he resolved to give her, he made but a short Stay, and returned to *Stirling-Castle*, the Place appointed for the Prince's Baptism. The Queen being recovered of her Indisposition, in her Way to *Edinburgh*, staid some Time at *Craigmillar*, where the Earls of *Argyle* and *Murray*, and Secretary *Lethington*, proposed to her Majesty a Divorce from her Husband, not doubting but this Proposal would relish well with her. But she was no less surpris'd with the Extravagancy of this Proposal than with the Horridness of her Husbands Designs against some of them; asking them, *How that could be done without bringing a Stain upon her Honour?* To this they replied, That there was no Difficulty in that, upon two Accounts; *First*, they could prove that he led a dissolute Life, by making Use of other Women. *Next*, they could prove him the Author of *Rizzio's* Murder, providing she would call home the banished Lords. The Queen answered them, *That as to the Debauchedness of her Husband, he was but young, and might be reclaim'd; and that if he was led into ill Measures, it was to be attributed to the Easiness of his Temper, and the Influence of bad Company. But to recall the Conspirators to his Ruin, was a Thing she would never comply with: So let Matters stand as they are till it please GOD to amend them.*

The Time of the Prince his Baptism approaching, the Queen goes to *Stirling* (a). The Day appointed for the Solemnity was the 15th of *December 1566*:

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(a) Spottiswood, Book 4. p. 197. Crawford, p. 11.

He was baptized after the Manner of the Church of Rome, by *John* Archbishop of St. *Andrews*. The Font was of Gold, a Compliment from Queen *Elizabeth*, weighing about 333 Ounces. The God-fathers were the King of *France* by Monsieur *la Crote*, the Queen of *England* by the Earl of *Bedford*, and the Duke of *Savoy* by the Count of *Briane*. His Name JAMES-CHARLES was thrice proclaimed by the Heralds with Sound of Trumpet. The rest of the Day was spent in Justing, and most of the Night in other Divertisements. The Feasting and triumphal Sports were kept several Days with much Magnificence; and there was nothing wanting to complete the Joy but the Presence of the King, who tho' he was in *Stirling*, was so far from appearing in Publick upon this solemn Occasion, that he went privately off for *Glasgow*. And the Reason for this certainly was (a), that the Queen of *England* had given express Orders to the Earl of *Bedford* her Ambassador, *That neither he, nor any in his Retinue, should own the Lord Darnly as King of Scotland*. So it was thought proper that before the Solemnity he should retire, since he could not appear in the State that was requisite.

Upon his going to *Glasgow* he was seized with a dangerous Illness; and the Queen's Enemies, with their wonted Charity, gave it out, that this Sickness was occasioned by Poison, and that not without her Knowledge (b). It is horrid even to imagine that that innocent Queen, who but a little before could not so much as hear of a Divorce from him, could now consent to the poisoning of him! And it is surprising to see Archbishop *Spottiswood* so credulous as to believe

(a) Camden, p. 104. (b) Buchan. p. 505.

lieve that and many other of their abominable Forgeries. But Bishop *Lesly*, if he be the Author of the *Vindication of Queen Mary*, under the Name of *Morgan Philips*, says, *That the Disease was the French Pox*; and he was well acquainted with the King, and present at the Baptism. And if it was true what *Lebington* advanced of him to the Queen, when he was perswading her to a Divorce, 'tis not improbable but that he might get that Disease. The Queen was no sooner acquainted of his Indisposition, than she as soon as possible hasted to *Glasgow*; and laying aside the Memory as well as the Resentment of the past Injury, was extremely mov'd to find him in so bad a Condition, and with all imaginable Care and Affection, administering every thing appointed for him out of her own Hand, waited on him for the Space of 10 Days, till he was able leisurely to come to *Edinburgh*; and if there was any Poison given to him, I think there is little Doubt to be made but that it was by the Contrivance of *Murray* and *Morton*, with their Accomplices. For,

A little before this Time, *Morton* and *Lindsay* were recalled, at the Intreaty of the Earls of *Huntly* and *Argyle*; says *Spottiswood* (a), others at the Intreaty of *Murray*, and pardoned by the Queen at the Intercession of the Queen of *England*, by her Ambassador the Earl of *Bedford*. And now having all Things appointed for acting the last Part of this their execrable Tragedy in Readiness; *Murray* reconciles himself to *Bothwel*, and associates him in the Plot, by proposing to him the Hopes of a Divorce from his own Lady, and of Marriage with the Queen.

Camden's

(a) p. 197.

Camden (a) and *Blackwood* are positive, as the Author of the *Apology*, &c. is, That Indentures were drawn up betwixt *Murray*, *Morton* and *Bothwel*: And *Blackwood* affirms, that *Alexander Hay* Writer in *Edinburgh* (thereafter promoted to the Office of Clerk-Register) wrote them; and he was living at the Time that *Blackwood* published his Book. And the same was confirmed by *John Hepburn*, a Servant of *Bothwel*'s, at his Execution, (as shall be noticed hereafter) and they were signed with the Subscriptions of all the three. *Morton* and *Murray* assuring themselves, if the Plot should succeed, at one Stroke to cut off the King, to blast the Queen's Reputation with the Nobility and People, to destroy *Bothwel*, and, as the Fruit of all, to get the Government into their own Hands.

Bothwel, a Man stubbornly stout (b), of a wicked and profligate Life, blinded with Ambition, and consequently apt to attempt the most horrid Villanies, snatches greedily at the Bait proposed to him. When the King came to *Edinburgh* (being not perfectly recovered) he was lodged in the *Kirk of Field*, a convenient Lodging in the Suburbs, where the Air was good, either to shun the Noise of the Court, or to discountenance those who had used him as a Tool of their Ambition and Revenge in the Murder of *Rizzio*, and 'tis more than probable by the cunning Contrivance of those who design'd his Death, which soon after followed. *Dr. Mackenzie* says from *Camden* and *Blackwood* (c), That the King was no sooner arrived at *Edinburgh*, but the three Earls, viz. *Murray*, *Morton* and *Bothwel*, met, and resolved with all Expedition

(a) *Camden*, p. 111. (b) *Crawford*, p. 13. (c) Vol. 3. p. 284.

Expedition to put their Plot in Execution ; and having agreed on the Manner and Method of it the Day before the Murder, the Earl of Murray went to the Queen, and told her, That his Lady was very sick, and begged Leave to go to the Country to see her ; yet he could not refrain himself from saying to the Lord Hennis, That ere To-morrow he should hear strange News, which that noble Lord afterwards upbraided him with to his Face, before the English Commissioners at York.

The Day of the Murder being appointed, the 10th of February 1567, (*Crawford* calls it the 9th) the Queen, according to her Custom, having parted with her Husband about one of the Clock in the Morning, met, as she was going to her Palace, a Servant of *Bothwel's*, whom she asked where he had been, that he smell'd so strongly of Gun-powder. He made some trifling Answer, and no more Notice was taken of it. About Two-a-Clock in the Morning, the House in which the King lodged, was blown up ; which made such a terrible Noise, that not only the Queen, but the whole City was alarmed with it ; and none seem'd more than the Earl of *Bothwel* then with the Queen. He was sent with some others to see what the Matter was ; and, upon his Return, seem'd so concern'd, that he could hardly tell her the Story ; but at last got out with it, and told her, That it seem'd there had been some Powder lodged in the House where the King was, which had accidentally taken Fire, blown up the House, kill'd his Majesty, and the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, then in waiting, who were all found dead at a considerable Distance from the House, in an Orchard,

hard

hard by the City Wall. Upon this the Queen retired to her Clofet, where she wept bitterly.

Spottiswood says (a), That he and his Gentleman were first strangled, and then carried to the Fields, and the House blown up afterwards; for not one Bone of his Body was either broken or bruised; nor was there the least Stain upon his Shirt or Body, which must have been after such a prodigious Fall, if he had been blowen up. And this, he says, was done by Bothwel. Sir James Melvil says (b), That he was taken out of his Bed, and brought down to the Stable, where they suffocated him, by stopping a Napkin into his Mouth. Sir Robert Aston an English Gentleman, who lodged in the King's Chamber that Night, being one of the Bed-chamber then attending, says That the Earl of Dumbar and he having smelt the Fire of a Match, they leapt out of a Window into the Garden, and that the King catching hold of his Sword, and suspecting Treason, not only against himself, but the Queen and the young Prince, who was then at Holy-rood-house with her, desired him to make all the Haste to acquaint her of it; and that immediately armed Men rushing into the Room, seized him single and alone, and stabbed him, and then blew up the House. And this Account Sanderfon gives in the Life of Queen Mary (c). But which of these different Reports is truest, I shall not take upon me to determine. One Thing I take for granted, That Bothwel was actually in the Murder; and if he was with the Queen when she was alarm'd with the Noise of the blowing up of the House, the King must have been murdered sometime before the House

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(a) P. 290. (b) P. 78. (c) P. 48.

was blown up, there being a pretty good Distance between the Place where the House stood and *Holy-rood-house*. And I'm hopeful to make it appear by sufficient Proofs, That this abominable Murder was committed by *Murray, Morton* and *Bothwel*, with their Accomplices, and that the Queen was intirely innocent of the same.

The Author of the *Innocence de Marie*, who was an Eye-Witness of what is here related, is positive, that *Murray, Morton* and *Bothwel* contrived the King's Death at *Craigmillar*, where they had several Meetings; and that the Day before their wicked Project was put in Execution, *Murray*, in his Journey to *Fife*, told a Confident of his own, (who afterwards confest it) in exprefs Terms, *That this very Night before Day break, the Lord Darnly will die. And if he will deny that,* says my Author, *we have sufficient Proofs; Witness my Lord Hennis, who is still living, and who upbraided him with it publickly at Table to his Face.* He adds, *That tho' he was superlatively wicked, his Cowardice might have been one Motive to his Retreat, he never having been seen in Action in the Field, or where Danger appeared.*

The next Proof (a) I shall adduce is, *John Hepburn*, a Servant of *Bothwel's*, *John Hay* younger of *Tallow*, *Mr. Powrie*, *Mr. Paris*, and *Mr. Dalgleish*, all Servants of *Bothwel's* whom *Grange* had taken in the *Orkneys*, and who were execute at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *January 1568*. He, the said *John Hepburn*, openly confessed, when going to suffer Death, *That as he should answer to the Great G O D, Murray and Morton were the principal Authors, Counsellors and*
Assisters

(a) Spottis. B. 5. p. 214. Blackwood, cap. 10.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 275

Assisters with his Master, of this execrable Murder; and that his Master not only told him so, but that he had seen the Indenture that was interchanged betwixt them; wherein it was agreed, That he who had the first Opportunity to kill the King should do it. All the rest gave Murray and Morton for the Contrivers of the Murder. Now there is no less than six concurring Witnesses all at one Time (a). Captain William Blackader, who, upon Suspicion, was seized, and with great Expedition tried, and condemned by a Jury; the Judges resolving to find him guilty, a great many People flocked to his Execution, expecting by his Confession or last Speech, to find a new and ample Discovery of the whole Matter. But instead of that, after he had begged of Heaven Forgiveness of all his Sins, pardoned those who had unjustly sought his Death, and had sought the Assistance of the Prayers of the Standers by, in his Behalf, he protested solemnly before God and his Angels, That he was wholly innocent of the Crime for which he was to suffer, and that he believed the Earls of Morton and Murray were the Authors of it.

Now there is half a Dozen dying Witnesses who knew they were immediately to enter in upon Eternity; and 'tis not to be supposed that so many would go to Death with a Lye in their Mouths. If there was no more for it, this is alone sufficient to vindicate the Queen, and to fix the Guilt of that abominable Murder on *Murray and Morton*. But further *Bothwell* himself, when expiring in the Castle of *Meling* in *Denmark*, before the Duke of *Berries*, Governor of the Castle *Pierrie Braw*, Governor of the Castle

(a) Crawford, p. 41. Strangue, p. 27. Blackwood, p. 139.

of *Nesuell*, Monsieur *Guilliam Strance*, Governor of *Sentesha*, the Bishop of *Shonen*, and four Bailiffs of the Town, declared, *That the Queen never gave Consent to the King's Death, nor was privy thereto, as he should answer to the eternal GOD!* And when he was asked who were the Contrivers, answered, *Murray the Bastard was the first Contriver, Morton laid the Plot, and I accomplished it*; for which he asked *GOD's* Pardon, and then expired. Of this Declaration the King of *Denmark* advertised the most of the Princes in *Europe*, and particularly *Queen Elizabeth*; and the Original subscribed by the above Persons, is still extant in *St. James's Library* at *London*. *Murray* and his Accomplices gave it out that *Bothwel* died distracted, to invalidate this Testimony of his. But if that had been true, is it to be supposed that the King of *Denmark* would have exposed himself to ridicule in most of the Courts of *Europe*, by sending them the Declaration of a distracted Man.

Camden (a) in his *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, inserts a Protestation, which he says he saw in that Queen's Hands, of the Earls of *Huntly* and *Argyle* whom he calls, *Inter Scotiæ Proceres facile principes* (which from him, and in his Words, I have inserted in the *Appen. N. 21.* where they say, *We, out of the inward Testimony of our Consciences, do hold it most certain, That Murray and Lethington were the Authors, Contrivers and Perswaders of this Regicide, whosoever were the Actors of the same.* And even *Morton* himself, in his Confession to *Mr. Lawson*, the Minister who attended him in Prison before his Execution,

(a) P. III.

ecution, and thereafter upon the Scaffold, vindicated the Queen from having any Knowledge of the Murder. And now I think I have made good beyond all Exception, that *Murray* and *Morton*, with their Accomplices, were the Authors, Contrivers and Perpetrators of that abominable Murder; and that the innocent Queen was not so much as in the Knowledge of it. *Blackwood* says (a), *That next Morning after the Murder was committed, Robert Dury, arrived from Marseilles, sent by the Archbishop of Glasgow, with Letters to the Queen, acquainting her of a Plot laid against her Life, her Sons and Husbands, but who the Conspirators were, he had not yet learned. And that there were various Conjectures among the People, who were the Murderers; some naming Murray and Morton, and others Bothwel.*

King Henry's Character from *Crawford* (b) is, *He was one of the handsomest Men of the Age, tall and extremely well shap'd. He had very fine Hair, and a winning Grace in most of his Actions. A most dexterous Horseman, and the best skill'd in warlike Exercises of any in his Time; but with all was so very easily gained upon, that there was no Difficulty to persuade him to the Belief of the hardest Things; nor could invincible Ties of Honour and Interest oblige him to conceal even Secrets of the greatest Importance.* Here I'm obliged to take Notice of another Forgery of *Buchanan's* against the Queen. He says (c), *She caused him to be buried in no Manner of State, but caused him to be carried privately in the Night Time to his Grave by Porters; and that which increased the Indignity, the Grave was made near by*

(a) P. 112. (b) p. 15. (c) p. 599.

Rizzio's, as if she had designed to sacrifice the Life of her Husband to the Ghost of that filthy Varlet. True it is, he was buried privately, there being then a Law against burying after the Manner of the Church of *Rome*; so she was necessitated to bury him privately, or disown the Rites of that Church, of which she was a Member; and yet not so privately, but that he was conveyed to his Grave, by the Justice-Clerk, Sir *John Stewart* of *Traquair*, then Captain of her Guard, and severals of the Nobility, and interred in the same Vault in the Church of *Holy-rood-house*, where her Father King *James* lies, whose Corps, with those of his beloved Queen *Magdalen*, and Lord *Darnly's* take up the whole Breadth, and that of the Countess of *Argyle*, his natural Daughter, takes up the whole Length of the Vault, it lying a cross at their Feet; so that his two little Sons lay above the other Coffins for want of Room, as may be seen to this Day. And Bishop *Lesly* in his Answer to *Buchanan*, declares that *Rizzio* was buried in the Church Porch.

Murray and *Morton* having so far succeeded in their hellish Plot, their next Step was to render the Queen odious to the People, and for that End *Murray* returns to Court; and tho' he had caused his Associates whisper about privately that *Bothwel* had murdered the King; yet he and they extoll him before the Queen with high Encomiums, from the Splendor of his Family, for his martial Bravery against the *English*, (a) from his constant and known Loyalty; and as a Person worthy of her Affection, recommends him to her for a Husband, suggesting to her, That all alone she could not settle and compeſce the Tumults and

(a) Camden p. III.

and Factions that were kindled in the State, nor escape the Snares laid for her, nor support the weighty Burden of the supreme Authority; and therefore advised her to admit of him into the Society of her Bed, Dangers and Counsels, as one who could, would and durst oppose all that might molest her, holding him out as the fittest Man in the Nation, both for Power and Courage, to support her Authority, and protect her Person against her Enemies of whatsoever Rank or Quality they might happen to be. In a Word, they so earnestly prest the Matter, that she being already affrighted with two so barbarous Murders, and advertised from *France* of a Conspiracy against her own Life and her Son's; and being mindful of *Bothwel's* constant Fidelity to her Mother and her self; and having none she could trust to more than her own Brother; his Importunities at last forced a Consent from her to marry *Bothwel*. Strange Excess indeed of good Nature in her, that after so many Experiments of her Brother's imposing upon her, would not yet begin to distrust his Counsels: But yet greater Excess of diabolical Malice in him, to deal so cruelly and unnaturally with a Lady of so mild and gentle a Nature; one that had been so clement, so kind and so liberal to him, confiding so much in him; yea, even with his own Sister and Sovereign. But all moral Tyes are weaker than a Cobweb, to restrain the Impetuosity of a violent Ambition which raged in him.

The Queen clogged this extorted Consent she gave to that unhappy Marriage with these Conditions, *That above all Things the Safety of her Son should be taken special Care of; That Bothwel should be vindicated from the King's Murder,* (which

now the factious Clergy thundered out from their Pulpits.) And lastly, *He should be found not to be bound with the Ties of Marriage to his Wife the Earl of Huntly's Sister, whom he had married, 20th of February 1566.*

To remove the first Impediment, upon the Day of *March 1567(a)*, he surrenders himself willingly a Prisoner, and desired he might be brought to a publick Trial, the 28th of the same Month: But thinking that too sudden, and wisely foreseeing, that it might be objected by his Enemies, that in so short a Time they could not furnish all their Evidences, he prevailed with the Justice General, to prorogue the Court to the 12. of *April*. When the Day approached, the Earl of *Lennox* made Haste to *Edinburgh*, in order to accuse him, and approached the City with a numerous Attendance completely arm'd. The Queen sent him Word, either to dismiss or disarm some of his Followers; but he thought fit to obey neither. The Trial went on; and *Bothwell* being assisted by *Murray* and *Morton*, who not only in all Companies declared him innocent, but even solicited the Justices and Jury in his Favours; and when he was brought to the Pannel, *Morton (b)* assisted him in it as his best Friend *(c)*. He was acquitted of all Suspicion as well as Action of Murder, not so much as one probable Instance being adduced against him. The Jury consisted of the following Persons *(d)*, *Gilbert* Earl of *Cassils*, *George* Earl of *Gaithness*, *Andrew* Earl of *Rothes*, *John* Lord *Hamilton*, *Lawrence* Lord *Oliphant*, *John* Lord *Hervies*, *James* Lord *Ross*, *Robert* Lord *Semple*, *Robert*

(a) Crawford, p. 16, 17. *(b)* Camden, p. 113. *(c)* Innocence, f. 25.
(d) Spottis. B. 4. p. 201.

bert Lord Boyd, John Master of Forbes, Lochinvar, Barnbugle, Boyne, Langton, Cambusnetham. The Judges were, the Earl of Argyle Justice-General, and to him were join'd, Robert Pitcairn Abbot of Dumfermling, the Lord Lindsay, Mr. James Macgill, and Mr. Henry Balnaves, all Senators of the College of Justice: The most of which were commissioned afterwards, actually went, and most falsely and barbarously, with Murray, accused the Queen at York, for employing Bothwel, whom they had formerly assoilzied, to murder her Husband.

A little after this (a), the Parliament met at Edinburgh, where, by Murray and Morton's Interest, he was likewise acquitted, and carried the Royal Sceptre to the House. The next Step was to have him divorced from his Wife Lady Jean Gordon, Sister to the Earl of Huntly (b); and to effectuate that, a Process of Divorce was raised at his Instance before two different Courts: In the first sat, by Commission from the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Robert Bishop of Dunkeld, William Bishop of Dumblain, Mr. Archibald Crawford Parson of Eglesham, Mr. John Manderston Canon of the Collegiate Church of Dumbar, Mr. Alexander Crichton and Mr. George Cook Canons of the Church of Dunkeld (c). In the other, the Judges were, Mrs. Robert Maitland, Edward Henryson, Alexander Syme, and Clement Little. The Business was soon decided; Murray and Morton, with the rest of that Faction, having secretly used their Interest to have it dispatched, Sentence was pronounced in both Courts: In the Archbishop's,
upon

(a) Crawford, p. 17. (b) Idem, p. 20. (c) Spottiswood, Book 4. p. 202.

upon the Head of *Consanguinity*, they being related in the fourth Degree, and no Dispensation having been obtained from the Pope for their Marriage; and in the other, for *Adultery* committed by him.

Now they having got *Bothwel* absolved from the Murder, both before the Justice-Court and Parliament, and divorced from his Wife before two other Courts; the next Thing to be done was to have the Marriage solemnized. *Murray* found the Queen refractory to it: But having gain'd a great many of the Nobility to favour their Project, they all met at one *Ainsly's* House, a Vintner in *Edinburgh*, where after a splendid Entertainment, they drew up and subscribed a Bond, wherein they represent to her Majesty the Danger of a single Life, and that if she would be pleas'd to marry *Bothwel*, they promise for themselves and all their Followers to maintain, assist and defend them against all their Enemies, with their Lives and Fortunes, to the uttermost of their Power: And if they failed in this, they desired to be held in repute as having no Honour or Honesty in them, and at all Times hereafter to be accounted as unworthy and faithless Traitors. And this Bond was subscribed by the Earls of *Huntly*, *Murray*, *Argyle*, *Cassils*, *Morton*, *Sutherland*, *Rothes*, *Glencairn* and *Cathness*; the Lords *Boyd*, *Seton*, *Sinclair*, *Semple*, *Oliphant*, *Ogilvy*, *Hacket*, *Carlile*, *Herries*, *Hume* and *Innermeith* (a), and is to be seen in the Cotton Library at London. *Murray* after this went to the Queen, shewed her the Bond, and told her, *That since most of the Nobility had sworn to stand by*
Both-

(a) Spottiswood, Book 4. p. 202. Camden, p. 113. Life of Q. Mary, p. 123.

Bothwel, if she did not comply with their Proposal, he did not know where it might end. The Queen, weeping most bitterly, returned for Answer, says *Blackwood (a)*, *How can I comply with marrying a Man who is divorced from his Wife upon the Score of Adultery, and has been stained with the Murder of my Husband! How will Posterity look upon this Action! And what Contempt will it bring upon me by all the Princes of Europe!* This had no Effect upon that unnatural Man; for he still urged the Necessity she lay under, and told her, *That tho' he was stain'd with the Murder of her Husband, yet he had clear'd himself of it to the Satisfaction of all the Nation; and his Adultery was a meer Calumny.*

The Queen being thus straitned by her Brother's Threats and Importunities; not knowing well what to do, resolved to act a cautious Part: And being satisfied of the constant Loyalty of *Bothwel* both to her Mother and herself, and knowing how useful his Services might be to support a Throne like her's (b) environ'd with Cabals and Faction, wisely endeavour'd to keep him rather afraid of losing her Esteem, than assured of gaining her Consent. This Method proved not so successful as it was reasonable; for he being blinded with Ambition and Love, having the most beautiful Queen in *Europe*, and Sovereignty in his View, despising the bad Opinion the common People had conceived of him, and the Clergy's Hatred, throws away all the blind Submission he had hitherto professed, damns every short Delay, and encouraged with the subscribed Assurance of the Nobility,

(a) Chap. 9. p. 127. — (b) Crawford, p. 19.

lity, resolves to be at all or nothing (a). He therefore pretending an Expedition to *Liddisdale*, (being then Warden of the Marches) musters up no less than 800 Horse, with them marched to *Almond-Bridge*, and without any manner of Resistance suddenly surpris'd the unwary Queen, as she was coming but slightly guarded from *Stirling* to *Edinburgh*, and conveyed her, with the Earl of *Huntly* and *Lethington* then in Company, Prisoners to the Castle of *Dumbar*.

This surpris'ing of the Queen and-hasty Management of his Divorce, was expounded by every Body as they stood affected; and the Queen's Enemies did not fail to give it out, that it was by her own Consent that she was seized; and it afresh rouz'd the common Story, that *Bothwel* had murdered the King, and the unfortunate Queen fell under the same Censure. For being thus kept close from her few Friends, of whom she was not allowed the Liberty of asking Advice in a Matter of so great Importance, relying on the Earl's Power and Conduct, and minding his past Services, and not forgetting too that she was in his Hands, and that no Body during her ten Days Imprisonment had attempted her Relief: But above all being encouraged by that Forwardness her Brother *Murray* (whom she ever trusted) had expressed for the Match, and the Address of the Nobles already mentioned, she shuts her Eyes against all future Events and Hazards, and blindly throws herself into his Arms; by this one Action, the most unfortunate in her Life (b), at once strengthening her Enemies,

(a) Mackenzie, p. 288. Vol. 3. (b) Crawford, p. 22.

mies, increasing the Aversion of the common People, and sealing her own inevitable Ruin.

Bothwel now having thus far gain'd his Point, by having obtained her Consent, to remove the Objection of Force ; lest it should be afterwards urged to invalidate the Marriage, if she should chance to perceive her Error, dismiss some part of his Followers, and with a small Guard brought her to *Edinburgh* ; and thus he marched till he came to a narrow Pass as he entred to the City, where fearing to be surpris'd by the Inhabitants, he suddenly took hold of her Horse's Bridle, and carried her to the Castle of which Sir *James Balfour* (a Creature of his own) was Governor. All her Friends were sorry to see her thus insnared, and about to be wedded to one who would involve her in his own Ruin, and make her equally a Partner in his Faults and Misfortunes. Her Enemies were no less glad to find, that by these miserable Mistakes (tho' the Effects of their repeated Advices) she advanced their Designs, and hastned her own Destruction as fast as they wished it : For in three Days after her Arrival at *Edinburgh*, *Bothwel* with great Ceremony was created Duke of *Orkney* and *Zetland*, and upon the 15th Day of *May* they were solemnly married by *Adam* Bishop of *Orkney*, and that same Night some Body chalked on the Palace Gate,

Menſe M—— *Maio nubere vulgus ait.*

Those of the Nobility, who were Enemies to the Queen, as they had privately condemned all her Actions, so they publickly disprov'd of this one ; yea even those who had set their Hands and Seals to the Marriage, complain'd as much of it now, as if they had

had at first solemnly protested against it. Among these were the Earls of *Morton*, *Argyle*, *Atbole*, *Mar*, *Glencairn*, the Lords *Lindsay* and *Boyd* (a), who met at *Stirling*, and subscribed a Bond or Association for Defence of the young Prince, who (as they pretended) was in Danger of being murdered by his Mother and Father-in-Law. *Camden* says (b) the Meeting was at *Dunkeld*, and that there they conspired to exauctorate the Queen and destroy *Bothwell*. His Words are, *Occultis coitionibus Dunkeldiæ, in Reginae abdicationem & Bothwelli exitium, statim conspirarunt*. The Queen could not miss to expound this as it was meant, and being willing early to suppress this growing Rebellion, and to know her Friends from her Foes, proposed a Counter-Association, for the Defence of her Person and Dignity, together with the Safety and Security of her Husband; and this was signed by all to whom it was offered, the Earl of *Murray* only excepted; who easily seeing from so early Beginnings what would follow, and for that he needed no long Head, being himself the main Spring that moved all their Counsels, resolved not to have so plain a Proof of his Treachery to upbraid him with afterwards. The Queen notwithstanding repented not this Piece of ill Nature and Disloyalty, and was so far from suspecting his Honesty or Affection for her Interest, that she yet continued to look upon him as her most faithful Friend.

Murray now began to consider, that having first thrown the Scandal of the King's Murder upon *Bothwell* and the Queen, and by their Marriage the Credit of the Aspersions infallibly supported, the People's

Hearts

(a) Spottiswood, Book 4. p. 203. (b) p. 113.

Hearts alienated (a), the Clergy dissatisfied, and all Things tending to a Rupture; nay, the Revolution he intended fairly begun by his Friends associating at *Stirling*: He thought it high Time to retreat for a little, it being impossible for him to stay any longer, and not declare himself to all the World (having hitherto acted in Disguise) either for the Queen or the Associators. He therefore tells her Majesty, *That all Things being in Peace at home, and that her Affairs at present not requiring his Presence or Advice, intreated that she would allow him the Liberty of going abroad for some Time; which Favour he would look upon as a Reward of his past Services.* He obtain'd her Consent with some Difficulty, as a Friend with whom she was unwilling to part; and to put all manner of Jealousy out of the Queen's Mind, he intrusts the Care of his Affairs in his Absence to her and *Bothwel* (b), and posts immediately to *England*, and from thence to *France*; where, by Letters secretly conveyed to *Scotland*, he instructed his faithful Friend *Morton*, who wanted no Master how to blow up into a Flame the Fire they had kindled.

But the Fears of the Court still increasing (c), she sent the Bishop of *Dumblain* to *France* to acquaint her Friends there with the State of her Affairs; and in his Instructions, which are to be seen in the *Cotton Library* at *London*, among other Things she says, *That when Bothwel seized her at Almond-Bridge, he shew'd her a Bond subscribed by the Nobility, desiring her to marry him; which mightily surpris'd her.* And adds, *that this was the only Motive that made* her

(a) Crawford, p. 24. (b) Camden, p. 113. (c) Mackenzie, Vol. 3. p. 290.

her comply with the Match. She made also Choice of new Counsellors, such as, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Earls of Huntly, Crawford, Errol, Cassils, Morton, Rothel, Athole, Marischal, Argyle, Cathness; the Lords Oliphant, Boyd and Herries; Alexander Gordon Bishop of Galloway, and John Lesly Bishop of Ross. These two Bishops differed in Religion, the first was Protestant, and the last was Popish; but they still agreed in that Christian Principle, of being steady and loyal Subjects, and were both of them often employed by the Queen in her most important Affairs, and the last always to her dying Hour. The greatest Part of these Counsellors being Associators, she thought by this Means to remove their Jealousies and Discontents: And to take away all Shadow of Excuse, she emits a Proclamation, revoking all Writs obtained from her, allowing Papiests the Exercise of their Religion, and declaring them to be void and of no Effect; she being resolved not to encroach upon the Laws made in Favours of the Reform'd Religion.

In the mean Time there being many Disorders committed in the Borders, lest she should be tax'd with Neglect of the Common-wealth, she puts out a new Proclamation, ordering (as the Custom was) her Subjects to accompany her thither with their Arms and 15 Days Provision. This her good and just Design was also by the seditious Lords misconstrued, pretending that these Forces were to be employed against the Earl of Mar, and those who kept her Son out of her Hands. The Queen much grieved to be thus misrepresented, and finding they intended to make the same Use of her Son as they had done of her Grandfather, that is, to rebel under the

Pretence of Loyalty, and fight against what they pretended to preserve; gave over her intended Expedition, and emitted a third Proclamation, *Assuring her People, that she never design'd to alter their Laws; nor to act without Advice of her Council. And as for her Son, as she had intrusted him in the Hands of a good Governor, so her motherly Care and Affection for his Safety and good Education should appear manifest to all the World;* and then retir'd to the Castle of *Borthwick* with her ordinary Retinue. Any reasonable Person might have thought that these gracious Concessions and Assurances might have settled the Minds and satisfied the Desires of the People. But it had the quite contrary Effect, and the Number of Favours she granted put the Minds of the seditious Lords upon the Rack, how to ask for more. Having gone so far, that they thought it impossible to retreat with Safety, they are forced, for their own Security, to overturn that Power; which at least a good many of them at first only meant to humble; tho' there's no Doubt but that *Murray* and his *Privado's* had it in their View from the Beginning quite to overturn the Queen's Authority: For with less it was impossible to satisfy him in what he aim'd at, to wit, the Crown.

The seditious Lords seeing the Queen secure, and slightly guarded (a); but fearing she might gather an Army, which, if headed by *Bothwel*, might crush them in the Bud, resolve to be before-hand with her, and raise very privately what Forces they could, and with them march to *Borthwick-Castle*, in order to surprize the Queen (b), whom they knew to be
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(a) Crawford, p. 28. (b) Innocence, f. 51. Buchan. p. 522.

there not provided with a Force sufficient to resist them. And their Attempt had almost proved successful; for the Queen was obliged to make her Escape in Man's Apparel (her Husband having got out before) and shelter herself in the Castle of *Dumbar*, where she might be safe till her Friends should come to her Assistance: And the Rebels thus unexpectedly disappointed of their Royal Prey, retire to *Edinburgh*, there to fortify themselves, as in a fit Place: For having the seditious Clergy on their Side, they judged themselves sure of the most part of their Hearers. Nothing was then preach'd but Rebellion and Revenge. King *Henry's* Murder was the common Theme; and the Associators having made that the Pretence of their unnatural Rebellion, (tho' they themselves had assoilzied him from the least Ground of Suspicion of it, and also entred into a Bond to maintain his Marriage, which was the chief Motive that induced the Queen to go into it;) yet now to such a Height of Wickedness had they arriv'd, that they made it be inculcated hourly in the Ears of the implicite Rabble, *That the Queen had acted in Concert with the Duke of Orkney, to make Way for the Marriage now consummated between them.* There was also a secret Treaty on Foot betwixt them and that perfidious Man Sir *James Balfour* Governor of the Castle, for the Surrender of the same; which was of so much Importance to them, that without that they could not have staid in Town.

In the mean Time a great many loyal Subjects resorting to *Dumbar*, for the Defence of their Queen, the Rebels fell seriously to Work; and they begin with a *Manifesto*, wherein at length they narrate the King's Murder, protesting, *That they have nothing*

in View but the Good of the Country and Honour of the Queen, and that they had taken Arms for no other End, but to bring the Regicide Bothwel to a fair Trial [whom they themselves had tried and assolizied before: O the Height of Impudence!] *who had laid violent Hands on his Sovereign, and forced her to marry him, and now design'd to destroy the young Prince, to secure the Succession to his own Children.* Of these, and such like Falshoods, was their *Manifesto* made up; and for these Reasons they charged all the Lieges to join with them upon three Hours Advertisement, and such as would not, to depart from the City in four Hours. And this their *Manifesto* they caused proclaim at the Market-Cross with Sound of Trumpet, *June 12th.*

These plausible Pretences of Loyalty and Religion, tho' utterly false in Fact, had the desired Effect with the unthinking Mob. They were huzza'd as they walked the Streets, and in two Days found themselves able to cope with their Sovereign, and to oppose by Force what Troops she or her Friends could get in so short a Time together. The principal Persons concerned in this Rebellion were (a), *James Earl of Morton, the Earls of Mar and Glencairn, Secretary Lethington, the Lords Sempie, Sanquhair and Lindsay, with the Barons of Drumlanrig, Tullibardine and Grange.* It is certain they owed not their Success to their Numbers; for if either the City or Castle had opposed them, it would have been impossible for them to have mustered any considerable Number of Men; but, as I have said, the Inhabitants were generally debauch'd from their Allegiance

(a) Crawford, p. 31.

legiance by their Preachers, of which the zealous Mr. Knox was the most active ; and his Disciples has never let slip any Opportunity since to tread in his Footsteps. The Queen began to be afraid, that in Time the Infection might spread too far to be rooted out, and therefore thought it expedient to take the Field assoon as possible, lest their growing Numbers should discourage her Friends ; and rashly, tho' not without the Consent of those about her, says Crawford (a) with a very small Company, much inferior to that of the Enemy, left Dumbar Castle, and came forward that Night to Seton, and the next Day to Carberry-hill ; and there at the Head of that little Army, a Proclamation was read, narrating, **THAT** the Rebels having in vain endeavoured to seize her Person at Borthwick, had retired to Edinburgh, and there published a most seditious Paper, pretending, That they meant no more than the revenging of her late Husband's Murder, and to relieve her out of the Hands of the Duke of Orkney, to whom she was now married, and whom they unjustly affirmed to be the Author of the said hainous Crime, and one who intended to commit the like on the Person of her Son : Whereas their Intention could be no other than by making a Buckler of the Royal Infant, they might with some Shew of Loyalty make War against their Sovereign, that having dethroned her, they might rule the Nation at their Pleasure. She told them, Her Husband's Innocency appeared, by his willingly submitting to a fair Trial, where he was acquitted both by the Judges and Jury, and thereafter by the Meeting of the Estates in Parliament. As to her Marriage,

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(a) P. 32.

Illustrious Family of GORDON. 293

all the World knew it was contracted and solemnized publickly, and that with their Consent, and by their special Advice and Intreaty under their Hands and Seals, yet extant, as a Testimony against them: And so not doubting of the Assistance of her good Subjects, and the Courage of those with her, she promised to each of them who killed in Battle an Earl, a 40 Pound Land, and those who killed a Lord, a 20 Pound Land, and so downward.

The Associators in the mean Time being apprised of her March from *Dumbar*, and that she was advanced as far as *Carberry-hill*, hastily muster their Troops, and upon *Sunday* the 14th of *June*, they leave *Edinburgh*, with the Advantage of the Sun upon their Backs, the Weather being then excessively hot. As soon as they came in View of the Queen's Army, *Mr. la Crotte*, the *French* Ambassador, came to meet them; and being desirous to bring Matters to an Accommodation, assured them, *That the Queen was peaceably inclined, and disposed to forgive the present Insurrection, and to forget all past Offences.* *Morton*, who was the chief Leader of the Rebels, and accessory to that Murder he pretended to revenge, answered with a very haughty Air, *That not having taken Arms against the Queen, but the Murderer of the King, no Peace could be made, unless she delivered him into their Hands, to be punished according to his Merit.* *La Crotte* nevertheless persisted in his Endeavours, till at last that Earl insolently told him (a), *That they had come to the Fields not to ask Pardon for any Offence they had committed, but*

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(a) Buchan. Lib. 18. p. 524. Spottiswood, Book 4. p. 207.

to give Pardon to those who had offended them. Upon which he gave over all Hopes of prevailing on their Obstinacy, and returned to Edinburgh. Crawford says (a), *Their Army was much superior to the Queen's, and that they were well provided with Abundance of good Wine, and all other Necessaries: While the Queen's Forces being fewer in Number, overcome with Heat, and having nothing to quench their Thirst, sbrunk so away, that half of the Number that came into the Field did not remain.* The Author of the Life of Mary, &c. says (b), *That if she had come to Action, 'tis highly probable that the Queen, who appeared at the Head of her own Forces, would have gained the Victory. But the Conspirators, distrusting the Fate of a Battle, chose rather on this (as on all other Occasions) to have Recourse to Fraud; for after they had call'd out for a long Time, That they had no ill Designs against the Queen, whose faithful Subjects and Servants they were, but only against Bothwel, the Assassine of their King, and Ravisher of their Queen, [O villanous Hypocripsy!] who intended to have the young Prince in his Power, also to treat him with the same Barbarity he had treated his Father.* They then deputed the Laird of Grange, whom they knew the Queen had Confidence in. Blackwood says (c), *That the Queen sent for him: But whether she sent for him to come to her, or the Rebels sent him to her, I shall not determine. One Thing is sure, that he came to her; and Pierre Guilbert says, That he begg'd her to separate her Interest from that of an execrable and infamous Traitor, who had brought a Stain upon her Honour; and adds, That*

(a) p. 34. (b) p. 133. (c) p. 130.

That some Authors say he shewed her some Papers which fully convinced her of Bothwel's Guilt; and upon this Conviction, a Horror arising in her Breast against him, she that Moment discharged him ever again to appear in her Presence; which he obeyed.

When he came to her, *Crawford* says, that in a very calm Manner she bid him (*Grange*) remember, "That there were Punishments inflicted in the other World upon the Rebellious in this, and that all indifferent Men would look upon the Pretence of King *Henry's* Murder as a very bare-fac'd Pretence, since they themselves had not only voted him innocent, but press'd her to marry him; and if now by Force they thought to disannul that Marriage, it was unjust before **GOD**, and unreasonable before Man. That she knew they aim'd at nothing but her Ruin; that during the long Minority of her Son they might be absolute Masters of all Things. But that Heaven could never smile upon an unjust Cause; and tho' she was now too weak to resist, yet she had some constant Friends at home and abroad who would resent their Treachery. That nothing could ensue from Rebellions but Wars and Tumults, he himself having as good a Title to govern as any of the rest. That for her Part, as she had ever been indulgent to her People, so she still continued in the same Mind, and would not only intirely forget what had past, but consent to such Laws as might secure the established Religion to them and their Heirs from all just Apprehensions of Danger, not only from Papists, but even from Popish Influence, by discharging for the future from her Service all such as were of the *Romish* Faith."

Grange, who knew well both what and when to speak, replied, *That no Man could bear a greater Affection than himself did for her Royal Person and Government. That all those Lords with whom he was engaged, and whose Measures he had espoused (as in his Opinion consonant to the strictest Rules of Duty) were her Majesty's most faithful and most loyal Subjects, and had only taken up Arms for her Safety and Service; that she was now in the Hands of her most dangerous Enemies, Men of flagitious Lives, whose very Breath infected her Reputation, and whose Advices had ruined her Authority, by putting her upon such Acts as were meerly despotick, and had alienated the Affections of the common People, who dread nothing more than Popery and arbitrary Sway. That the Duke of Orkney, if guilty, was unfit for the Honour of her Majesty's Bed; and if innocent, he might safely enough submit himself to a new Trial, and by that Means, for ever remove the Scandal, which was but shrewdly covered by Judges reputed brib'd, a Parliament overaw'd, and a Fury believ'd pack'd for that Purpose. That he could answer not only for himself, but for all those in Arms; that nothing was designed but the Establishment of the Government, on the Foot committed to them by their Ancestors, and the Satisfaction of the common People; who now being jealous of her Intentions towards them, seem'd universally prone to a Change; to prevent which they would stand by her with their Lives and Fortunes.*

The easy and innocent Queen, the best of her Friends being absent from her, desirous of Peace, and relying upon her own Innocency, hoping to be generously used, willingly forsook her Followers, and

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went along with *Grange* (a). When he came to the Queen, 'tis said, That he took *Bothwel* by the Hand, and in a very friendly Manner advised him to retreat, assuring him, that he should not be disturbed in it, and that none should be sent in Pursuit of him: Which Promise he relyed upon, and it was faithfully kept to him. For all the Noise they made about him, it was not him they wanted: They would have been very sorry if he had fallen into their Hands, for Fear, that (if he had been put to it) he had reveal'd the whole Contrivance of the King's Murder, as their after Conduct clearly evinced. They wanted to have the Queen in their Hands, and *Bothwel* out of the Kingdom. As soon as she came to the Front of the Army, she made them this Compliment, *I am come to you, my Lords* (b), *but not out of any Fear I had of my Life, nor despairing of Victory, if Matters had gone to the uttermost; but because I abhor the Shedding of Christian Blood, especially that of my own Subjects. 'Tis for that Reason I freely yield unto you, and will hereafter be ruled by your Counsels, trusting you will use me as a Princess, and one that was born your Queen.* How they used her, and how they kept their Word to her, will anon appear.

About Seven-a-Clock at Night they bring her to *Edinburgh*, where, instead of allowing her the Use of her own Palace, they shut her up in the Provost's House, which fronted the high Street; and, as she entred the City, covered with Tears and Dust, as if her Face had been laid over with Puddle (c), and in a Garb equally below her Birth and Merit, they not only

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(a) Innocence f. 67. (b) Spottis. B. 4. p. 207. (c) Buchan l. 18. p. 526.

insulted over her themselves, crying, *Burn the Whore, burn the Parricide (a)*, but animated and suffered the Mob to revile and affront her. All this she bore, and suffered with that Fortitude of Mind that's becoming a Christian and a Queen, her only Language being in Tears. But next Morning when she opened her Windows, and beheld below not only strong Guards placed before the Entry to the House, but their Banner displayed and fixed in the Street; on which was painted her dead Husband, King *Henry*, lying beneath the Shade of a Tree, with the young Prince by his Side, with this Motto (*b*),

Judge and revenge my Cause, O LORD.

She burst out in Tears and loud Complaints against the Treachery and Malice of her Enemies, begging of the People who gazed upon her, to take her miserable Life to satisfy their Cruelty and Malice, or to relieve her from the Hands of such inhumane and perfidious Tyrants. The best Sort among the Citizens, stung with Remorse and Pity, crowded to the Place, and had certainly set her at Liberty, if the Conspirators, who too well knew the good and honest Temper of the Queen, had not immediately run up Stairs to the Room where she staid; and with well feigned Grief, protested they were heartily sorry they had given her any Cause of Complaint; that they never had a Design of robbing her of her Freedom; and would instantly restore her to her Palace of *Holy-rood-house*, and that Authority over them she had hitherto possess'd. This produced the desired Effect;

(a) *Crawf. Mem.* p. 38. (b) *Melvil.* p. 84.

Effect; for she now appearing to the People calm and easy, they were soon dispersed; and in the mean Time, to prevent the Danger of her Rescue for the future, and the better to varnish their real Intentions, they carry her that Evening to the Palace; where being all convened, it was without any Manner of Dispute concluded, That she should be immediately sent to the Castle of *Lochlevin*, there to remain in close Prison during Life, and the Royal Authority to be established in the Person of her Son, by that Means (as she had very well foreseen) to get the Management of Affairs in their own Hands.

The Reason why this Place was pitched upon for her Imprisonment, seemed to be, that *Balfour* had not then surrendered the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and this in *Lochlevin* was surrounded with Water, being at least half a Mile from the nearest Point of Land. The Governor and Owner thereof was a near Relation to *Morton*, and Brother by the Mother to *Murray*; and she (*Murray's* Mother) staid in the Castle, and often very barbarously used the Queen, upbraiding her to her Face, That she was King *James V's* lawful Wife; and that the Queen's Mother was nothing but his Whore; and that the Crown was unjustly kept from her Son *Murray*. She was also the Earl of *Mar's* Sister; all which being considered, they thought they could be no where surer of the Queen than there. However all these Reasons were like to come to nothing; for *Douglas* the Laird and Governor of the Castle at first refused the Charge of the Prisoner; yet they conveyed her from the Palace thither but weakly guarded by the Lords *Lindsay* and *Ruthven*. They mounted her, as is said (a), upon a work Horse

(a) Blackwood, p. 134.

Horfe, clothed in a fordid Habit, after they had robbed her of all her Jewels and Cloaths; (but ſhe certainly concealed ſome of her Jewels, for we ſhall find her making Uſe of them hereafter) and made ſuch Diſpatch with her, that they got her into the Boat, before the Lords *Seton*, *Teſter*, and *Borthwick*, the Lairds of *Waughton*, *Baſs*, *Ormifton*, *Blackader* and *Langtoun* could come up to her Reſcue, who had ſuddenly muſtered ſuch Forces as they could for her Relief. The Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, and the Earl of *Huntly* were likewise coming up to her Relief; but her precipitate and ſudden Surrender, rendered their Endeavours ineffectual.

The Queen now being in their Cuſtody, to blaken her Reputation, they publickly charge her with the Murder of her Husband; and for to ſerve them in that, the Miniſters, their aſſured Friends, exerted themſelves to the utmoſt of their Talents with the Populace. Upon which the Earls of *Huntly* and *Argyle*, to vindicate the Queen from ſo horrid an Imputation, emit a Proteſtation in Writ, and ſend the ſame to Queen *Elizabeth*, which *Camden* ſaw in her Hands, (as I ſaid before) *vide Appen. N. 22.* And now they make a ſham Search for the King's Murderers, to make the People believe that the Queen had hitherto hindered it. They ſeize two Men, the one *Sebastian de Villars* a Frenchman, and Captain *William Blackader*; and, upon Suſpicion, they are committed to Priſon. The firſt had the good Fortune to make his Escape, the other was executed. I have taken Notice of his Execution and Confefſion, and ſhall not repeat it here. But in the mean Time there was no Notice taken of Mr. *Archbald Douglas*, *Morton's* Friend, whom he knew to be concerned in it,

as he (*Morton*) confessed at his Death, and others that were well known to have had a Hand in it. That Day the Captain was apprehended, there was another Piece of Pleasure done to their beloved Mob, by the Earl of *Glencairn*; who, accompanied only with his own Domesticks, entred the Queen's Chapel of *Höly-rood-house*, and not only demolished the Altar, but broke the Pictures, and all the other Ornaments of the same, without Regard to Price or Workmanship; and for this Piece of Sacrilege, he was cried up as a Saint by the Ministers.

In this Month landed Monsieur *de Villeroy*, Ambassador from *France*; but the Conspirators not allowing him Access to the captive Queen, he suddenly returned Home again.

The Lords being now sure of the Queen, they were divided among themselves what was next to be done with her. Some of the most moderate of the assoiciated Lords, who were not let into the Depth of *Murray* and *Morton's* Plot, but had been only blinded with the fair Pretext of Religion, and revenging the Murder of the late King; such as the Earls of *Mar*, *Athole*, Secretary *Lethington*, and the Laird of *Grange*, who were highly incensed at their barbarous Treatment of, and Breach of Faith to her their Queen. Especially *Grange*, to whom the Queen, trusting to his Honour, had surrendered her self, was mightily enraged at her barbarous Treatment. (But we know by many Instances, that 'tis rare for Rebels to keep Faith to their Prisoners.) These therefore were for restoring her, if the Murderers of the King should be punished, the young Prince safely provided for, *Bothwel* divorced, and the
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Protestant Religion secured. Others (a) were for perpetual Imprisonment; (b) others for perpetual Banishment (c); others for strangling her in her Bed, and spreading the Report that she had done it her self: And lastly, some were for executing her publicly. And this *Udal* says (d); was the Opinion of *John Knox*; and probably it was, being very consonant to his Sentiments, who says (e), *If Princes be Tyrants against GOD and his Truth, their Subjects are freed from their Oaths of Obedience. 'Tis not Birthright or Propinquity of Blood that makes a King lawfully to reign above a People professing Jesus Christ. 'Tis the Duty of Nobles to bridle the Rage of wicked Men, whether Kings or Emperors. It is lawful to depose the Queen from her Government.* And his Friend *Buchanan* says (f), *That the People have the same Power over Kings, that Kings have over any other Man.* This was the Doctrine taught by the Saints in those Days, which their Disciples since that Time have improv'd upon, and too much practised, and thereby more than once turn'd the Nation into a Field of Blood. The Conspirators thus differing in their Opinions, it was, in fine, proposed, That all Matters should be delayed until *Murray's* Arrival from *France*, which at this Time the Majority agreed to. Now how these Propositions of the Confederate Lords agree with the Terms of her Surrender, let the Reader judge.

The Associators, (as I have noticed before) being much out of Countenance by *Blackader's* Confession, *Morton* emitted a Proclamation to apprehend the Duke

(a) Camden, p. 114. (b) Life of Q. M. p. 77. (c) Blackwood, p. 135. (d) Knox's Admonitions to S. and E. p. 78. (e) Idem, p. 77. Hist. p. 272. Idem, 372. (f) De Jur. Reg. p. 50.

Duke of Orkney as guilty of the King's Murder, and 1000 *Lib. Sterling* is promis'd as a Reward to those who should bring him to Justice. But before this, they had allowed him a sufficient Time to provide Ships for his Escape; and they were sure he was gone. *Buchanan* in that impudent Libel of his, entituled, *The Detection of Queen Mary*, says, *That after Bothwel's Retreat from Carberry, he sent a Servant of his, one Dalgleish, to bring from Sir James Balfour, a Silver Cabinet he had left in the Castle of Edinburgh, in which was contained all the Letters the Queen had wrote to him at any Time, which Sir James delivered to Dalgleish; but at the same Time acquainted the Lords of what he had done, and both Dalgleish and his Cargo were seized by their Order.* By which they boasted, that the Whole of the Intrigues that ever had been between the Queen and the Earl of *Bothwel* were detected. And since *Murray, &c.* had the Impudence to lay these Letters and Papers before the Queen of *England's* Commissioners, I hope I will not be blamed to take some Notice of them here, tho' others have done it before me, in respect that notwithstanding all that's said for her Vindication, there are not a few yet continue to be so misled by that false Man *Buchanan*, that even *Morton*, and others of the Regicides his Associates, their dying Words in her Vindication, will not convince them of the Innocency of that abused Princess. But I must acknowledge, That these obdurate Persons (as far as I know) are only to be found amongst that Sect of People, who continue to be as blindly led astray by their Teachers now, as their Fore-fathers and the Regicides were by their Teachers then.

Buchanan, as I have formerly observed, was seldom very careful to make his Forgeries feasible (a); and the Forgery of these Letters is a very pregnant Instance of it. These Letters were stuff'd with Copies of Love-Verses in obscene Language, which, *Murray* said, the Queen wrote to *Bothwel* with her own Hand. I am sure 'tis very hard to suppose she could have been guilty of so much Folly, and it requires a most clear and distinct Proof to fix them upon her. Dr. *Mackenzie* says, She made Poems in *French, Latin and Italian*, but none of them were of such a Strain. There were also among these Papers three different Contracts of Marriage betwixt her and *Bothwel*, one during the Life of her late Husband, the other immediately after his Death, and the third at the Time of their Espousals. What was the Use of these three Contracts of Marriage? If these Things were true, then certainly she far exceeded in Folly and Wickedness the worst Woman we find recorded in History. *Causin*, in her Life, gives her another Character; he calls her, *That excellent Lady to whom Grace and Nature has given Chains to captivate the Heart of the most barbarous; That great Princess whom the Sun did see her almost to be a Queen as soon as a living Creature; She that was born to Empire, as Empire seemed to be made for her.* These Contracts could not have been without *Murray's* Knowledge. He was the Queen's sole Confident at that Time, and *Bothwel's* Bosom-Friend; and it was the Queen's greatest Weakness, that she put too much Confidence in him. If he knew of these Pre-contracts, 'tis not to be supposed that he would

(a) Pierre Guilbert Edin. Edit. p. 188.

would have been at so much Pains to persuade the Nobility to advise the Queen to the Marriage, and enter into a Bond to maintain the same, and himself even to threaten the Queen to consent to it. But, in my Opinion, *Morton's* dying Declaration puts the Matter beyond all Controversy. If she entred into the Pre-contract with *Bothwel* before her Husband's Death, and that for no other End but to persuade *Bothwel* to murder him: What should have hindered him to ask her Consent, when he was to put her own Commands in Execution? Women of so much Wickedness, as they make her, are seldom, or almost never, very cautious: And yet *Morton*, who was upon the Plot with him, declares, *That he (Bothwel) could procure no Consent to it from her*; which certainly would have easily been got, if the Pre-contract was true. And *Lastly*, What was it worth, being not signed with the Queen's Hand? None of them having her Hand at them. But yet further,

Can it be supposed that *Balfour*, who had now changed Sides, and had betrayed his Trust both to the Queen and to them, would have delivered that Cabinet with these Papers, and not rather have kept them, to make a Compliment of them to his new Friends with whom he had so lately taken up? Or would *Dalgleish*, who was conscious to himself of being accessory to the Murder, venture upon such an Affair, and risk his Life in the Hands of Persons who were making so much Bustle to apprehend and bring to Punishment him and his Accomplices. Nay this same *Dalgleish*, who was seized in the *Orkneys*, when he came to suffer for the Murder upon the Scaffold, protested solemnly before God, that

he never saw that Cabinet, nor any of those Letters or Papers that he was said to be the Bearer of. There was no Mention made of these Letters while the Queen was at *Lochevin*, nor after, till her Enemies had been foil'd in the Trial at *Tork*, and then found themselves necessitated to rake for more Scandal against her; and even not then, any of her Domesticks or Maids of Honour were adduced, either to prove the Carrying, Delivery, or any other Circumstance about them. They were neither sealed nor dated, nor any Mention of the Bearer. The Queen, upon her Honour, denied them; and Bishop *Lesly* her Ambassador, and *Lethington* her Secretary, when they were produced before Queen *Elizabeth's* Commissioners, offered to swear upon the Holy Evangelists, that they were none of her Writ; and none could know it better than they did: And *Lethington* confessed (a) that he had often counterfeited her Hand. And Lastly, *Charles Ker* of *Tor*, in his Memoirs says (b), *That a young Lady confessed to a Friend of his, that she had, at the Sollicitation of Murray and Morton, wrote these Letters, protesting, that whatever was there said of her Majesty was false, forged, and full of Calumny: But he was obliged to conceal her Name, for Fear it might cost her her Life. And Blackwood says, That there was one of her Maids of Honour that could counterfeit her Hand so exactly, that it was hardly to be discovered. Tho' Queen Elizabeth was content how much Dust they would cast upon Queen Mary, and Buchanan cloath'd those Brats of his with the finest Dress in his Power; yet the English Commissioners regarded them no other-*
wife

(a) Crawford, p. 114. (b) Innocence, fol. 101,

wife than as meer Forgeries, and he, and those who put him upon it, got no Credit by it.

They as yet durst do no more with the Queen; but keep her in close Prison, where she was daily insulted by her barbarous Governant, *Murray's Mother*; for as in that Matter they were divided among themselves, so she had the Earl of *Huntly*, the *Hamiltons*, and many other powerful Friends in the Nation, who were firm and faithful to her Interest. They only wanted Money now to carry on their Work; and tho' it was obvious that the Queen of *England* made it her Business to foment their Rebellion in *Scotland*, yet she supplied them with so small Sums of Money as only would keep them in a close Dependence upon her, but far short of what was necessary for maintaining their Forces. And therefore these good *Associators*, who would stop at nothing, and believed they had Right to all Things, to supply their Want of Money, confidently seize their Sovereign's Plate, which they converted into current Coin, melting down at once no less than 256 Pound-Weight of Silver, to arm themselves against her with her own Weapons.

During these Transactions (a), *Murray* being informed in *France* of every thing that had passed, by the Assistance of the *English* Ambassador, to whom Queen *Elizabeth* had sent a Courier, commanding *Murray* to return to *Scotland*, as he had also been desired by his Associates at home: He return'd Answer, *That they should first dispatch the Queen, he being resolved not to set Foot in the Kingdom while she was alive.* But *Morton*, and the other Conspirators,

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would

(a) Pierre Guilbert, p. 144. Edin. Edit.

would not engage in the Commission of a Crime of that Nature, which would incense the whole Kingdom against them. In the mean Time Queen Elizabeth sends down her Commissioner Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton*, a cunning Man, with the outward Shew of settling Differences in *Scotland*, but really with no other Design but to add Fuel to the Fire already kindled there. For tho' in publick he gave *Morton* and his Associates all the ill Names they deserved, yet in his private Meetings with them he told them, *They could not be secure hereafter from being called to an Account for their past Actions towards the Queen, if they did not now oblige her to resign the Government in Favours of her Son, and name such a Regency as they should think proper; which if they did, he promised in his Mistris's Name, that she would protect them in it.* This indeed was the only Reason why he was sent down to *Scotland*. For Queen Elizabeth's Title to the Crown of *England* being very precarious, and Queen *Mary's* (she being laid aside) indisputable, she wanted only to have *Scotland* embroil'd, the Crown put on the Head of an Infant, and the Administration of the Government in the Hands of her own Creatures, whom she well knew how to manage, so as to fear no Disturbance from that Quarter.

Morton and his Associates, at the same Time, to remove *Murray's* Scruples, and to please the Queen of *England*, whose Money and Assistance they wanted to maintain their Rebellion, and so to kill two Dogs with one Stone, went snaply in to *Throgmorton's* Advice. They draw up a formal Surrender of the Crown in Favours of the Infant Prince her Son, under the Regency of the Earl of *Murray*:
And

And in Case of his Refusal (a), (which they were sure he would not) to make this bitter Pill go the better down with their oppress'd Queen, they name the Duke of *Chastelberault*, the Earls of *Lennox*, *Argyle*, *At hole*, *Morton*, *Glencatrin*, and *Mar*, jointly to govern, as says the above cited Author. But I think he is in a Mistake ; for I find none of these Lords Names insert in the Resignation as it stands in the Act of the Parliament holden at *Edinburgh*, *December 15. 1567.* To shew their Villany, I shall here insert the Narrative of it, which runs thus ;
MARY, by the Grace of GOD, Queen of Scots ; To all Our Lieges, &c. FORSAMEIKLE as after lang, great and intolerable Pains and Labours taken by Us since Our Arrival within Our Realme, for Government thereof, and keeping of the Lieges of the same in Quietness, We have not only been vexed in Our Spirit, Body and Senses thereby, but als at length are altogether so wearied thereof, that Our Hability and Strength of Body is not able langer to endure the same. Therefore, &c.

The Framers of this Surrender say for Her here, *That the keeping the Lieges in Quiet vex'd her Spirit :* This is true with a Witness ; for indeed these rebellious Conspirators laid themselves out continually to vex her, even as far as *Satan* was capable to suggest to them. But what follows is as notoriously false, *That she was altogether wearied of the Government, and that her bodily Strength was not longer able to endure it.* She was then in the 25th Year of her Age, and blest with as healthful a Body, and as serene a Mind, as any Lady in *Europe* : And there was no-

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thing

(4) Crawford, p. 45.

thing but Fear of immediate Death made her resign ; for first *Throgmorton* went to her, and then Sir *James Melvil* was sent to her from the Earls of *Athole* and *Mar*, Secretary *Leibington* and *Grange*, who were thought to favour her, and both of them advised her to sign it, telling her, “ That it would be the Way to procure her Liberation, and that when at Liberty she might easily revoke it ; for it being obtained from her *vi & metu*, in Construction of Law it was of no Force.” She very resolutely answered them both (a), *That she would never comply with such a Demand. That having a Right to the Crown during Life, she was resolved not to quite with the one, but by losing the other.* The Conspirators thereby being put to their last Shifts, *Morton* employs the Lord *Lindsay*, whom *Guilbert* (b) calls the *rudest Man in his Age*, to force her to it. *Blackwood* tells us (c), *That he had the Figure of a Man, and could speak ; but for any thing else he was so stupidly brutal, that he differed in nothing from that Animal, of which Marcus Varro speaks, which had a Soul given it in Place of Salt to keep its Carcase from putrifying.* This accomplished Gentleman, says he, accosting the Queen, without using the accustomed Civilities due to a Gentlewoman, told her, *She must resign the Crown in Favour of the young Prince, and constitute the Earl of Murray her Brother, Regent during his Minority.* The Queen with a serene Countenance calmly endeavoured to convince him of the Unreasonableness of the Proposal : But when she was speaking, he discovered his Dissatisfaction by his Grimaces and knitting

(a) *Blackwood*, p. 134. *Innocence*, fol. 54. *Crawford*, p. 45.
 (b) p. 146. (c) p. 143.

knitting of his Brows, no longer being able to master his Passion, and his Eyes sparkling with Fire, he broke out into the rudest Expressions, swearing, *That if she would not immediately sign the Resignation, he would with her Heart's Blood.* Upon which, being in Fear of immediate Death from the Hands of that cruel Man, she calls for the Paper, and without looking into it, or asking what Provision they had made for her self, (and indeed there is no Provision made for her in it,) she signed it with Tears running down in Abundance from her Eyes (a), at *Lochevin, 24th July 1567, Regni 25.* And here do our Parliaments and publick Records end the Reign of that unfortunate Lady, MARY Queen of *Scotland*; the Parliaments being called, and the Government administred hereafter in the Name of her Son King *James VI.* a Child of one Year, one Month and five Days old.

I have now gone through at large the short and unfortunate Reign of that beautiful Lady, (I mean from her returning from *France.*) She was esteem'd and honour'd by all who knew her, or heard of her Character, except those rebellious Subjects of her's, who were obliged both by the Laws of GOD and Nature to have obeyed her. One Part of her Misfortune, and from which the rest did flow, was, That she lived co-temporary with Queen *Elizabeth*, whose Title to the Crown of *England* was disputable. The Popish Princes abroad, and her own Subjects at home of that Religion, did not believe it good; tho' the first lived in Correspondence with her, and the last (tho' then very numerous) in Subjection to her:

(a) Spottiswood, Book 4. p. 211.

Neither of them could dispute Queen *Mary's* Title to that Crown with any Shew of Reason. And of all this Queen *Elizabeth* was sufficiently apprised, who wisely foresaw, that if she at any Time should happen to be attacked by Popish Powers from abroad, or by her Popish Subjects at home, they would make their Application to the Queen of *Scotland*, as the undoubted Heir to the Crown of *England*; and that in that Case, her Title (as I have said) being doubtful, her Crown would sit but very totteringly upon her Head. She had not forgot that *Q. Mary* had once assum'd the Title and Arms of *England*, and that tho' she had then laid them aside, yet she was afraid that if any good Occasion should offer, she might reassume them; and therefore judg'd it her greatest Security to embroil Queen *Mary's* Affairs at home.

Queen *Elizabeth* was a good Judge of Men, as may be seen by the Council she always had about her. She was well acquainted with the Earl of *Murray*, and soon perceived him to be a wickedly ambitious Man, and so a fit Tool to be in the Projects she had form'd against the Queen of *Scotland*. And indeed in that she was not mistaken. Nothing under the Crown of *Scotland* could satisfy his Ambition. If less could have done, the Queen did what was in her Power to have done it. She at his Desire took the Earldom of *Murray* from the Earl of *Huntly*, the most constant and faithful Subject either her Mother or she had in *Scotland*, (as she owns in the Charter granted to him of that Earldom, *Vid. Append. N. 23.*) and gave it to him her unnatural Brother. She also at his Desire gave to his Uncle the Lord *Erskine*, the Earldom of *Mar*, of which he (*Huntly*) had the Administration. In fine, She gave him whatever his

Ambition

Ambition could suggest to him, and refused him nothing, nay even contrary to the repeated Advices of her best Friends. His Cunning so far prevailed upon her, that she intirely trusted him, and lookt upon him as her surest and best Friend: And as this was her *Feible*, so at last it ruined her.

When she came from *France*, he advised the Queen of *England* to intercept her. And after she came to *Scotland*, as she was a Match, for the Beauties both of her Body and Mind, to be desired by the highest of humane Race, so was she courted by the greatest Princes of *Europe* (a). The Prince of *Spain*, Arch-Duke *Charles* of *Austria*, the King of *Sweden*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Prince of *Conde*, all of them made their Addresses to her. And he (the Earl of *Murray*) to serve his own Ambition and Queen *Elizabeth's* Interest, terrified her from marrying any of them, by telling her, *That the stubborn Humour of the Scots would never suffer a Stranger to reign over them.* And in that he served Queen *Elizabeth* very faithfully; for it would not have been for her Interest, that she had married any of them: And she was so afraid of her Match with the Arch-Duke, that she caused her Ambassador propose herself as a Match to him, to perswade him to break with the Queen of *Scots*.

Next, to prevent a foreign Match, he himself proposed the Lord *Darnly* to her. Against this Match Queen *Elizabeth* made a little Bustle; but it would seem she was not much concerned about it, knowing that it would bring no Accession of Power to the

(a) Pierre de Orleans, p. 338.

the *Scots* Queen to disturb her. Yet how soon *Murray* perceived the Queen to have an Inclination to it, (tho' it was of his own proposing) he started up against it, knowing that her marrying any Body would be a Stop to his ambitious Projects, and raised Forces to have intercepted her and the Duke of *Albany* at the Kirk of *Beth* (a), in her coming from *Pertb* to *Edinburgh*, with a Design to have murdered the Duke of *Albany*, and to send the Queen Prisoner to *Lochlevin*; [it seems that was the Place they always destin'd for her.] But in that he was disappointed, and fled to his sure Patroness Queen *Elizabeth*, and it may be he had never returned, if *Rizzio* had not been murdered; but upon that Night he returned, and the next Day was received by the Queen with open Arms, and not only pardoned for former Treasons, but admitted into her greatest Confidence; and in that State did he keep himself with her, till he had murdered her Husband, vindicated his Associate *Bothwel* in that barbarous Murder, and forced the Queen to marry him. Then indeed, that he might seem innocent in what was yet intended, he went abroad; but took Care to leave his trusty Brother in Iniquity (*Morton*) behind him, sufficiently instructed to finish what he had projected, *to wit*, publickly to charge his Sister and Sovereign with undue Correspondence with *Bothwel* in her Husband's Time, and to have at last contrived his Murder, so to make her odious among the People. And they fail'd not to obey his Orders, never ceasing to prosecute her, till they brought her to her Prison at *Lochlevin*, made her

(a) *Melvil's Memoirs*, p. 56. *Martyre de la R. Eccoss*, p. 65.

her resign the Crown in her Infant Son's Favours, and appoint him (*Murray*) Regent. And yet all that did not satisfy him, for he never left of prosecuting her and her Friends both at home and abroad, till his untimely Death (tho' not what he deserved) put an End to it.

I have been fuller upon this Queen's Reign, I acknowledge, than the Brevity I propos'd to my self does well allow. I hope to be excused; for I think it the Duty of a Christian to vindicate the Innocent, and of a loyal Subject that of a Sovereign, even tho' dead. And I hope I have sufficiently vindicated that Princess from those horrid Crimes her Enemies would fix upon her, and that from unquestionable Vouchers, to the Satisfaction of any impartial Reader that will allow an open Ear to the Truth; and for others, I shall pity their Case, but am little concerned about them. *Buchanan*, her mortal Enemy, can expect no Credit in this Affair by any indifferent Person that has search'd into the History of this Nation, tho' I know he is blindly followed by too many both at home and abroad. Arch-bishop *Spottiswood* has followed him too implicitly in several Things, which I have and will be obliged to take Notice of. *Sir James Melvil*, who lived at that Time, and was often employed by her, his *Memoirs* seem to be writ with a Design rather to make a great Man of himself, and some other of his near Relations, than any thing else; and as he changed Sides, which he was sometimes guilty of, and as he affected, so does he write. If I have been obliged, in the just Vindication of that abused Princess, to put the Saddle on
the

the right Horse, and to give every thing its own proper Name, I expect not to be quarrell'd for it. It is better the Guilty suffer than the Innocent. As far as I know, I have observ'd what *Cicero* commands,

Ne quid falsi audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.

I esteem this no Digression from the *History of the Illustrious Family of GORDON*, which is the main Design of this Work, they being so much concerned in all the Transactions of this Reign, and firm Adherers to their Sovereign in her Well and her Wo, in her best and in her worst Condition; and so, without any further Apology, shall return to find her where I left her.

On the 26th of *July* the pretended Resignation was publickly proclaimed at the Market-Cross of *Edinburgh*; and all Things being prepared on the 29th of *July* 1567, the Infant King was crowned in the Parish-Church of *Stirling*: He was anointed by *Adam* Bishop of *Orkney*, and crowned by *John* Earl of *Athole*, conform to the Tenor of the Commission they had extorted from the Queen. As they returned from the Church to the Castle, *Athole* carried the Crown, the Earl of *Morton* the Sceptre, the Earl of *Glencairn* the Sword of Honour, and the Earl of *Mar* the young King; and to sanctify all, their Apostle *John Knox* preached the Coronation Sermon. (a). At this Coronation the *Hamiltons* protested, that the same should nowise prejudice their Right of Succession against the Family of *Lennox*: And Queen
Eli-

(a) Camden, p. 116.

Elizabeth, that she might not publickly approve of what she had in secret encouraged, prohibited her Ambassador to be present at it.

This Solemnity was scarcely over, when the Earl of *Murray* landed in *England* (a); the Arch-bishop of *Glasgow*, who was the Queen's Ambassador in *France*, had inform'd that Court, that he was at the Bottom of the Plots that were contrived against his Mistress, and so desir'd he might be stopt. Of which he being advertis'd, went and ask'd Permission from the King (b), and told him and the Queen's Friends of the House of *Guise*, *That he would set the Queen at Liberty, and settle all Things as formerly*; and solemnly promised and swore before GOD to it: Upon which he was dismiss'd with many rich Presents. But upon further Information, there was a Messenger sent after him to stop him; but he either having got Notice of it, or suspecting the same, made such Dispatch, that he was sail'd from *Diep* before the Messenger could arrive there. Upon his coming to *England*, he immediately address'd himself to his sure and old Patroness Queen *Elizabeth*, by whom he was kindly received, and in a long Conference sufficiently instructed, and promised 4000 *Lib. Sterl.* yearly to be distributed as he thought proper (c).

So having solemnly engaged to serve her against his Sovereign, he takes Journey, and was met at *Berwick* by Sir *James Melvil*, and one or two more with him, to acquaint him with what was done. They brought Letters likewise from some of the mildest of the Conspirators, advising him not to proceed against the Queen with Heat and Resentment. He seem'd very

(a) Guilbert, p. 148. (b) Blackwood. (c) Idem.

very well pleased with the Advice given him, tho' he made no Answer to it; but seem'd averse from accepting of the Government, tho' there was nothing he more desir'd (a). Upon the 11th Day of *August 1567*, he came to *Edinburgh*; and after he had been visited, welcomed, and had consulted with his Friends, he very easily was perswaded to accept of the Regency. In in the mean Time he wrote flattering Letters to the Loyalists, shewing how much it was against his Inclination to take the Burden of the Government upon him, and that there was nothing but the Preservation of the young King that could induce him to it, and therefore desired that as good *Scotsmen*, they would be pleas'd to assign a Place of Meeting, where they might unanimously resolve upon such Methods as should be found necessary for the Support of the Government in the State it was now in.

The next Thing he did was to visit the Queen at *Lochlevin*, whom he used most barbarously, notwithstanding the Advice that was given him: And to add to her Miseries, he charged her before all those who waited upon him, with the Crimes of *Adultery and Murder (b)*; and, like a ghostly Father, bid her remember, *That all those Ills she suffered were the Effects of her Sins against GOD, and but an Earnest of future Punishments.* The afflicted Princess heard this and a great deal more to the same purpose, and only begg'd in Tears, as a Brother, he would spare her Life and Reputation. *That*, replied he, *is already lost; and for your Life, the Parliament*

(a) Crawford, p. 47. Melvil, p. 87. (b) Crawford, p. 49
Melvil, p. 87. Blackwood, p. 153.

liament must look to that, and so flung out of the Room. Was ever a Lady, so beautiful a Lady, a Sovereign by a Subject, a Sister by a Brother, so inhumanely used ! And she least expected this from him of any Man living: For when his Mother used to boast to her Face, that she was King James V.'s lawful Wife, and that her Son was true Heir to the Crown, she always replied, He's too honest a Man to say so himself.

Immediately thereafter he was proclaimed Regent at *Edinburgh*, and the first thing he took Care of was, to have the Castle of *Edinburgh* in his Possession; which was by Sir *James Balfour* (placed there by *Bothwel* the Governor) surrendered upon the following Conditions, *viz.*

I. *That he should have an ample Remission for all Treasons, particularly for being Art and Part in the Murder of the late King.*

II. *The Gift and Donation of the Priory of Pittenweem.*

III. *To his Son an heritable Pension of out of the Revenue of St. Andrews.*

IV. *To himself the Sum of 5000 Pounds Scots.* And how soon the Money was paid the new Regent entred the Castle, and lay that Night, being the 24th of *August*, in the same Room where the Queen not long before was brought to Bed, and where that good Princess had generously refused to imprison him, at the Request of the Earls of *Huntly* and *Bothwel*, for his Treasons. Thus we see that good Regent, who makes such a Bustle about the late King's Murder, can freely pardon it for that Castle; yea, and even can give away *sacrilegiously* a good Deal of the Church-Lands, to the boot, to one of the Murderers.

Yet

Yet that he might continue the Noise about the King's Murder, he sends out his then trusty Friend *Grange* to seize *Bothwel* in the *Orkneys*. He mis'd him, but took some of his Servants, [of which I have already taken Notice, that when they were brought to the Scaffold, all of them declar'd that *Murray* and *Morton* were the Authors and Contrivers of the King's Murder.] He at that Time sent through the Country a Bond to be subscribed by all Noblemen, Barons and Free-holders, bearing (a), *That the Queen being wearied of the Government, had willingly demitted the same in Favours of her Son, requiring all Persons whatsoever to own him as their lawful and undoubted Sovereign; and that all those who should not subscribe the said Bond betwixt the 25th of July and the 19th of December, should be declared Traitors, and their Estates forfeited.* Upon which a great many lost their Estates. This Bond was published, from the Original, by Sir *James Dalrymple* (b). And now to make all sure, *Murray* made Sir *William Kirkaldy* of *Grange*, for his signal Services, Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh*; and he prov'd just as faithful to him as his Predecessor *Balfour* had been to *Bothwel*.

Upon the 19th Day of *December* the Parliament met, in which *Murray's* Regency was confirmed, as was every thing done by him or his Order since his Entry to the Exercise of the Government. There was also another Act made, condemning the Queen to Imprisonment during Life in the Castle of *Locklevin*. This is omitted among the printed Acts, and so marked (c). The Duke of *Orkney*, who before had

(a) Camden, p. 118. (b) At *Edinburgh*, 410, with other Writs.
 (c) Acts of Parl. *Edin.* 1682.

had been voted innocent by that honourable House when most of the Members were present, is now, when most of them are absent, proclaim'd a Traitor. Dr. Mackenzie says (a), *That the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, the Lords Innermeith, Borthwick, and several others, were present; and having entred a Protestation against their Proceedings, they left it.* I cannot find from what Authority he says it. He cites Melvil (b), but the Edition of that Book by me [Lond. 1683] says no such thing. Nor do I think that Huntly, whom of all the Men in Scotland Murray hated most, would have trusted himself where he (Murray) was in so much Power. And the Loyalists indeed at that Time had very well foreseen what Height of Authority this sham Meeting would pretend to, and what head-strong Methods they would pursue: And hoping by their Presence to ballance Matters before-hand, they sent to Murray one of their Number to acquaint him (c), *That being desirous of Peace, and, as good Scotsmen, having a just Concern for the Welfare of their Country, they were unanimously resolved to attend the Parliament, where every Thing should be determined by a Majority of Voices; providing in the mean Time they might have any reasonable Security for their Persons, which was absolutely necessary, when the Nation was in an Uproar, and the City possess'd by their Enemies, whose Followers were numerous and arm'd.* This Proposal, howsoever reasonable, was rejected; which makes me conclude, that the above-nam'd Persons never were in that Parliament.

X

Upon

(a) p. 302. Vol. 3. (b) p. 88. (c) Crawford, p. 19.

Upon which Refusal the Loyalists, at least the chief of them, met at *Hamilton*, and subscribed the following Bond (a), *FORASMUCHAS* considering the *Queen's Majesty* our Sovereign to be detain'd at present in *Lochlevin* in Captivity, therefore the most part of her Majesty's Lieges cannot have free Access to her Highness; and seeing it becomes us, of our Duty, to seek her Liberty and Freedom, We Earls, Lords and Barons under-subscribing, promise faithfully to use the utmost of our Endeavours, by all reasonable Means, to procure her Majesty's Freedom and Liberty upon such honest Conditions as may stand with her Majesty's Honour, the Common-weal of the whole Realm, and Security of the whole Nobility who at present have her Majesty in keeping; whereby this our native Realm may be governed, ruled and guided by her Majesty and her Nobility, for the common Quietness, the Administration of Justice, and Weal of the Country. And in case the Noblemen who have at present her Majesty in their Hands, refuse to set her at Liberty upon such reasonable Conditions, as said is: In that Case, We shall employ our selves, our Kindred, Friends, Servants and Partakers, our Bodies and Lives, to set her Highness at Liberty, as said is; and also to concur to the Punishment of the Murder of the King, her Majesty's Husband, and for sure Preservation of the Person of the Prince, as we shall answer to *GOD*, and on our Honours and Credit, and for that Effect shall concur every one with other to our utmost Power. And if any shall set upon us, or either of us, for the doing as aforesaid: In that Case, We promise faithfully to espouse one another's Interest, under Pain of Perjury

(a) Crawford, p. 60.

Perjury and Infamy, as we shall answer to GOD. In Witness whereof, we have subscribed these at Hamilton [Melvil says (a) it was at Dumbarton] the 25th Day of December 1567.

St. Andrews.	Galloway.	Stirling.
Huntly.	Rofs.	Kilwinning.
Argyle.	Fleming.	William Hamilton of
Aberbrothock.	Herries.	Sanquhair, Knight.

This Association among those loyal Peers, made Murray very uneasy; for he immediately by Proclamation ordered all the Subjects to attend him in Arms, under Pretence of suppressing some disorderly Thieves in the Borders; and he went to Glasgow to hold Justice Courts, where, by his Sentences, he too well informed the Nation of his Disposition to Cruelty. April 22d 1568 arrived from France Mr. Beaumont Ambassador, and on the 27th had Audience from the Regent at Glasgow. His Business was to put Murray in Mind of his Promise to the King his Master when in France, of setting Queen Mary at Liberty, upon his Return to Scotland; of which he expected now the speedy Performance, since his Accession to the Regency had put it in his Power, and that now having the most considerable Forts of the Kingdom in his own Hands, he could do it without Hazard. Murray answered, That he was so far from being able to perform his Promise, that indeed he could hardly give him a distinct Answer concerning a Business of so much Intricacy and Importance. That she being now the Parliament's Prisoner, there was no Power now left to him in that Affair; nor could he

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(a) p. 88.

now call a new Parliament, since they had met so lately. And as to what was urged concerning the Easiness of the Matter, because some Forts were in his Hands; it did avail little, this not being a proper Season to attempt any thing in her Behalf, because a much longer Time was absolutely necessary to blunt the Edge of that Malice the common People had conceived against her. This the Ambassador saw was meer Shifting, and Murray was as well pleas'd to have thus fobb'd him of, being unwilling to break with France, till he had better secur'd England to his Interest. But while this was a-doing, on the 2d of May (which was but the fifth Day after Beaumont's Audience) the Queen luckily made her Escape (a), she not having been a full Year their Prisoner, after the following Manner:

By frequently conversing with George Douglas, Brother to the Baron of Lochlevin (b) she easily found out his weak Side; and that of all his Failings, his excessive Love to Money was the chief. By slow Degrees she had long smooth'd the Way, and not obscurely hinted what she wished and expected from him. George seem'd always pleas'd with the Subject, and scrupled not to say, *That no Reward was too large for him, and to relieve the distress'd, betray'd his Friends.* The Queen readily embraced such an Opportunity as this, of driving the Nail to the Head, and frankly offered not only the best Part of what she had about her in Gold and Jewels, but promised him a far greater Sum, to be paid to him after her Freedom. The Queen having thus secur'd him, it was easy for her to write to her Friends; and the Gentleman she intrusted with her Letters

(a) Melvil, p. 90. (b) Camden, p. 133. Crawford, p. 64

was one *John Beton*, a Person of unblemish'd Loyalty, to whom *Douglas* faithfully deliver'd them, and he still past unsuspected betwixt *Lochlevin*, *Hamilton* and *Seton*. The Day (already mentioned) being pitched upon as fittest for the Execution of their purpose, the People being generally within Doors, and at their Devotion, *George Lord Seton* and *James Hamilton* of *Rusbank*, with a few Attendants, well chosen, resolute and completely arm'd, came by several Roads to the Place appointed for their Rendezvous, and lay about half an Hour in a little obscure Bay, impatiently longing to see the Boat coming from the Castle; which at last appear'd, and gave the Signal condescended upon, to let them know the Queen was in it. As soon as she came to Land, to prevent a Surprise, they mounted her on Horse-back, and rode a good round Gallop to *Niddrie*, an House belonging to my Lord *Seton*, where having but staid three Hours, they made the same Haste to *Hamilton*, and were there received by the Earls of *Argyle*, *Cassils*, *Eglinton* and *Rothes*; the Lords *Somervell*, *Tester*, *Northberwick*, *Livingston*, *Herries*, *Maxwell*, *Sanquhair* and *Ross*, with their Friends and Followers, to the Number of 1000 Men.

Before I go further, I must take Notice of some more of *Buchanan's* Falshoods. He says (a), that the fore-mentioned Parliament of *Murray's* was so frequent, that the like had not been seen in the Memory of Man, *Tanta frequentia celebratus, quanta nulla ad eum diem homines meminérant*. What Impudence is this! 'Tis notoriously known that the most part of the Nobility and chief Barons were on the Queen's

(a) P. 529.

Side, and could not be there: And truly it was no more but a packt Parliament of *Murray's* own Creatures, and no others could in Safety be there, as I have already shew'd. The next Falshood he advances is (a), that *Huntly* and *Argyle* favoured the Queen, yet none of them were ignorant of her Wickedness. No Doubt he means her undue Correspondence with *Bothwel*, and the Contrivance of her Husband's Murder. His Words are, *Quod neuter scelerum inscius putabatur*. There needs no more to refute this Calumny than the fore-mentioned Protestation of these two Noblemen, which they emitted on *Soul* and *Conscience*. I need say no more about him, for his Story of that Princess is one uninterrupted Lie.

The Queen being now among her Friends, it was by them thought expedient, that some of their Number should be sent to *Murray*, who was still at *Glasgow*, to desire him in a peaceable Manner to resign the Regency, and repone her to her Authority. But that, by the Advice of those about him, he flatly refused to yield to, telling the Commissioners, whom he detain'd Prisoners, *That to the last he would defend the King's and his own Right against all his Enemies whatsoever*. This positive Answer soon taught them what Measures they were to pursue. Both Parties prepare themselves for War, and Proclamations are emitted for that Effect, by the Queen at *Hamilton*, and by the Regent at *Glasgow*. The Queen having called a general Council, and solemnly declared (b), That her Resignation of the Government was extorted from her by Force, it was unanimously determined, that she should take Possession of the Castle of

Dum-

(a) Buchan. p. 531. (b) Crawford, p. 66. Innocence, f. 66.

Dumbarton, and there remain till her faithful Subjects should come to her Assistance, and a Parliament should be called to rescind the illegal Acts of the former. *Melvil* says (a), *That the Arch-bishop of St. Andrews intended (if the Queen should gain the Victory) to cause her marry the Lord Hamilton, and that she fear'd it; which made her the more earnest to be at Dumbarton, there to stay in Safety till her North-Country Friends should come up to her Assistance.*

In Prosecution of which Design, she march'd from *Hamilton* May 13. But the Regent, who resolv'd to give no Time to his Enemies, lest that might open the Eyes of the common People (b), whom he had hitherto blinded with the specious Pretences of Religion, Liberty, and the Revenge of the King's Murder, post-ed himself conveniently in her Way, at a small Village called *Langside*, some 7 or 8 Miles from *Glasgow*. His Army consisted of 3 or 4000 Men, and the principal Officers were, the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencairn*, the Lords *Hume*, *Semple*, *Ruthven*, *Graham*, *Ochiltree*, and Secretary *Lethington*. The Queen's Army consisted of between 5 and 6000 Men, and the principal Leaders there were, the Earls of *Cassils*, *Rothes*, *Eglinton* and *Argyle*; the Lords *Claud Hamilton*, *Seton*, *Herries*, *Somervel*, *Fleming*, *Boyd* and *Ross*, with many Gentlemen considerable for the Number of their Followers; as, the Sheriff of *Air*, Sir *James Hamilton* of *Crawford-John*, &c. *Murray* placed his Men very advantageously, so that it was hard to beat them out of their Ground. Nor was the Fight long doubtful; for the Van of the Queen's Troops, consisting mostly of the Gentlemen

(a) P. 91. (b) *Crawford*, p. 68.

of the Sirname of *Hamilton*, falling in unluckily among some Ditches, were on both Sides severely gall'd by the Enemies small Shot; and being but badly seconded by my Lord *Herries*, who should have supported them, were forced to shrink back. This hasty Retreat disordered the Rear, and every Man fearing an Ambuscade, or that there was some Treachery in it, made the best of his Way from the Field. This Battle was fought on the 14. of *May* 1568. On the Queen's Side 220 were said to be killed; and, which was very remarkable, on the other Side there was but one Man killed, and none of Note wounded, excepting the Lords *Home* and *Ochiltree*. 'Tis strange to conjecture how so many brave Gentlemen on the other Side employed their Time!

The Regent having pursued his Victory some Miles, the Prisoners by far exceeded the Account of the dead; among whom were the Lords *Seton* and *Ross*, the Masters of *Cassils* and *Eglinton*, the Sheriffs of *Air* and *Linlithgow*, Sir *James Hamilton* of *Crawford-John*, Sir *James Hamilton* of *Evandale*, *Alexander Hamilton* of *Innerweik*, *James Hamilton* of *Garren*, *John Hamilton* of *Nether-Garren*, *James Hamilton* of *Kinkavel*, *James Hamilton* of *Bothwel-haugh*, *Alexander Baillie* of *Littlegill*, the Lairds of *Lauchop*, *Waughton*, *Lochinvar*, and *James Heriot* of *Trabrown*. *George Earl* of *Huntly* and the Lord *Ogilvy* were coming up to her with a considerable Army of their Friends and Clients; but hearing of the Queen's Defeat and Flight, they returned. If the Queen had waited till they had come, then *Murray* must either have attacked her at a Disadvantage, or have divided his Forces; and in that Case 'tis not improbable but *Huntly* might have had the Honour

at this Time to have done her Majesty as good Service as an other Earl of *Huntly* had the Honour to do to King *James II.* when he relieved him from as formidable a Rebellion, by defeating the Earl of *Crawford* at *Brichen*. And her not waiting makes me incline to be of Sir *James Melvil's* Opinion, That the *Hamiltons* push'd on the Battle for their own Ends.

The Queen, who was upon a rising Ground, about a Mile from the Battle, how soon she saw it lost, fled towards the *English* Border; and the learned and ingenious Historian, *Camden* says (a), *That that Day she travelled 40 Miles, and never halted till she arrived at Dundrennan; and from thence she resolved to fly into England for Protection.* The Lord *Herrics* wrote a Letter to the Deputy Governour of *Carlisle*, to know if he would receive her kindly; who returned for Answer, *That he could do nothing in that Matter, because the Governor, my Lord Scroop, was at London, but that he should write to him to know Queen Elizabeth's Mind in that Affair.* After which she called a Council of such Friends as were about her. Some were for her staying in some strong Hold in *Scotland*, till another Army should be raised for her; others were for her going to *France*. She told them, If she took her self to a strong Hold, her Enemies would besiege her; and to go in a single Ship to *France* was disgraceful, and therefore she resolved to go to *England*, and cast her self upon *Q. Elizabeth's* Friendship (b), of which she said she had no Doubt; and to satisfy them she added, *I have here a Diamond Ring she sent me as a Token of her Friendship;*

and

(a) *Camden*, p. 133. (b) *Camden*, *ibid.*

and by Letters she has assured me, That if my rebellious Subjects should prove too powerful for me, if I should be pleased to shelter my self in her Dominions, upon the sending of this Ring, she would meet me her self in Person upon the Borders, and assist me with all her Power. When those about her understood this her Resolution (a), they all earnestly diswaded her from it; and particularly the Archbishop of St. Andrews, in an excellent Speech, laid before her the great Hardships her Predecessors had often suffered, when they unhappily fell into the Power of England, and begged she would take Example by them, and not throw her self precipitantly in Queen Elizabeth's Power. But nothing being able to perswade her to the contrary, she immediately dispatched John Beton with the Ring, and a Letter wrote with her own Hand in French, to Queen Elizabeth, which Camden (b) inserts from the Original. Crawford (c) says it was Sir Robert Melvil she sent; and not waiting the Messenger's Return, taking a small Vessel at Kirkcudbright, attended by the Lords Herries and Fleming, and about 20 Persons more, went to Sea, and landed at Wirkington in Cumberland, and endeavoured to conceal her self till her Messenger's Return.

While the Queen was in Galloway (d), Murray issued out a Proclamation, commanding all the King's Subjects to meet him at Bigger, in Order to pursue the Queen; but being informed that she was gone, that he might get something for his Pains, he returns by Hamilton, plunders that Castle; and all the Plate he found there he brought in to Edinburgh, and

(a) Vide M'kenzie, p. 306. Vol. 3. (b) p. 134. (c) p. 70. (d) Crawford. p. 75.

and lodged it in the Castle. He also went through the whole Country, took up the Escheats of all those who had been at the Battle, caused cast down divers of their Houses, and distributed their Lands among his Servants and Dependens (a).

The Queen, as I have said, endeavoured at first to conceal her self; but finding that impracticable, the Gentry thronging from all Parts of the Country to wait upon her, she removed to *Carlile*, where she was honourably received by the Deputy Governor: And Queen *Elizabeth* was no sooner advertised of it, than she wrote to him to treat her with all Manner of Civility; but with all to keep her in Custody as a Prisoner at large; and ordered him to write to the Lady *Scroop*, the Duke of *Northfolk's* Sister, to repair, with such Ladies as she should think proper, to wait upon her: And the very same Day she ordered the Lord *Scroop* and Sir *Francis Knolls* to post straight thither to assure her of her Love and Friendship. But how she kept these Promises will very soon appear.

I have followed that unfortunate Princess, as closely as I was capable, through all the Steps of her short and troublesome Reign, I mean since her Return from *France*; and now being banished her Native Country, which by the Laws of GOD, Nature and Nations belonged to her, and obliged to seek Shelter in a foreign Country among the ancient Enemies of *Scotland*, driven thither by her own barbarously rebellious Subjects, I shall be obliged to be a little more brief in relating her Misfortunes in *England*.

If

(a) Melvil's Mem. p. 93.

If the Earl of *Murray* her unnatural Brother, could in the Station of a Subject have satisfied his boundless Ambition, she out of her innate Goodness and Affection, had heaped such Honours and Riches upon him, that in such a State he might have lived even as his Heart listed ; nay, if what she had already bestowed on him was not sufficient, she was ready to bestow more ; for she never knew what it was to refuse what he asked. But nothing under Sovereignty could satisfy him ; and to obtain that, he went on in an uninterrupted Course of Rebellion from his Youth to his Grave (as I have already related.) When he got the Queen in Prison, and had forced her to resign her Government, and nominate him Regent, he thought his Work was almost done : But after the Battle of *Langside*, where he defeated the Strength of many of her considerable Friends, then he thought he had little or nothing to do ; there being nothing in his Way but a poor Infant Prince, who was in his Power, and with whom he designed to make easy Work. But finding himself not able to make good as yet his Mother's Marriage with *James V.* he caused publish by Persons he had suborned, That the Prince was not the Son of *Henry Lord Darnly*, but of *David Rizzio*, begot on the Queen in Adultery, and therefore no Allegiance was due unto him (a) ; for it seems he had set *Richard III. of England* before him as a Pattern to follow. But the Queen being once in *England*, he soon found his Mistake ; and that he who before would not live as a Subject under his natural Princess, and affectionate Sister the Queen

(a) Guilbert Hist. of Q. M. p. 150.

of *Scotland*, must now live as a Slave and Tool to a Foreign Princess the Queen of *England*. For Queen *Elizabeth*, while the Queen of *Scots* lived at Home (for the Reasons I have already narrated) being extremely jealous of her, encouraged all the Rebellions *Murray* and his Associates raised against her. She not only assisted them with Money to carry them on; but when they miscarried, afforded them a safe Retreat in her Country, and sufficient Subsistence while they were in it, still carressing them with Promises of further Assistance. But now that Queen *Mary* was in her Possession, the Game was changed. She had no further Regard for them now, than first to encourage them to accuse their Queen of the blackest Crimes Hell could suggest, and of which themselves only were guilty, that she at least might have some Shew of Excuse for detaining a free and independent Princess, her nearest Cousin and presumptive Heiress, who had fled to her for Shelter, in Prison, contrary to all the Laws of Hospitality: And then, upon Occasion, to assist them with such small Aids in Men or Money, or both, as was able to preserve them from being defeated by the Queen's loyal Subjects: And those Aids she so managed, as to keep the Balance betwixt the Loyalists and the Rebels in as equal a Poise as possible, sometimes allowing the Loyalists to have the upper-hand, that the Rebels might find her Friendship indispensably necessary for their Support; and whenever she perceived in them the least Averseness to dance, as she pleased to pipe, then she had no more to do, but to put on an Air of Compassion or Justice towards their oppressed Sovereign, which immediately put them in
such

such a Phrensy of Fear, that in that instant they became absolute Slaves to her Will, be what it would.

I have said, That when Queen *Elizabeth* had got the Thing in the World she wanted most, the Queen of *Scots* in her Hands, she sent and promised her Love and Friendship, there by *stroaking Cream over her Mouth*. The innocent Queen doubting nothing but that all this was sincerely meant, immediately dispatched the Lords *Herries* and *Fleming* to return her Thanks, and a Letter, desiring, *That she might be brought to London, there to confer personally with her, and that my Lord Fleming might be allowed to go to France, to acquaint her Friends there of her Condition*. Both which she denied, telling her in Answer, *That it was not consistent with her Honour to allow her to come to her Presence, till she had vindicated her self from the Aspersions laid to her Charge by her Subjects*. Nor was it consistent with her Safety, to allow her to call her French Friends to her Assistance. Sir *Francis Knolls* having delivered this Letter to her, she could not forbear from crying out; (a), *And does the Queen of England then believe indeed that Mary Queen of Scots is an ill Woman, because her rebellious Subjects have represented her as such, to excuse their own Crimes?* But before this, as I have hinted, *Londor*, Deputy Governor of *Carlile*, had conveyed her to the Castle of *Carlile*, where she being kept as a Prisoner, now began to perceive what would be her Fate, having sufficiently discovered Queen *Elizabeth's* Hypocrisy. For my Lord *Herries*, by his Mistress's Orders, addressed the Queen
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(a) Camden, p. 135, Spottisf. B. 5. p. 297. Crawf. Mem. P. 84.

of England the second Time, desiring, *That since she would not allow her a personal Conference, that at least she would allow her to return to her own Country, and not detain her as a Prisoner, since she had come voluntarily there, in full Confidence of her Friendship often promised and confirmed, as well by Letters as by repeated Messages.* Yet this modest and reasonable Request was rejected as the former: And then she began, tho' too late, to perceive her Error, in rejecting her Friends Advice at *Drumfries*. And I shall for some Time take Leave of that innocent and oppressed Lady, in the Hands of that hard hearted and merciless Princess *Queen Elizabeth*, and return to her suffering Friends in *Scotland*.

While the Queen was kept in the Castle of *Carlisle*, a great many of her loyal Subjects from *Scotland* repairing thither to wait upon her, the Governor became afraid that they might have some Design both of surprising him and the Town, he acquainted *Queen Elizabeth* of it, who immediately ordered her to be removed from *Carlisle* to *Bolton*, a Castle belonging to the Lord *Scroop*, where she arrived, 16th July 1568; at which her loyal Subjects being much alarm'd, raised what Forces they could, in order to attempt her Relief (a). The Earl of *Argyle* stood up as her Lieutenant in the West, tho' it was loudly talked at this Time, That his Commission was but a pretended one. He had indeed the Misfortune to be suspected after the Battle of *Langside*, either as not an honest Man, or at least not a good Soldier. But I see no other Ground but meer Suspensions, which the best of Men cannot prevent. However it be, at
this

(a) *Crawf. Mem.*

this Time he got together about 13000 Men (a). The Earl of *Huntly* was Lieutenant for her in the *North*, and caused proclaim his Commission at *Aberdeen* (b); and the same is yet extant: And he, with the Assistance of the Earl of *Crawford*, and the Lord *Ogilvy*, raised an Army of 6000 Men. The Lord *Claud Hamilton*, the Earls of *Cassils* and *Eglinton* had another Army with them. On the other Hand, the Regent raised all he could; but being much inferior to the Loyalists, who had appointed their Rendezvous at *Glasgow* (c), *Huntly* carrying all before him in the *North*, *Argyle* closely besieged the Castle of *Glasgow*, the Regent by this Means being put to his last Shifts.

And now not having a sufficient Force to resist both, he throws off the *Lyon's Skin*, and clothes himself with that of the *Fox*, and immediately dispatches some of his surest Friends to Queen *Elizabeth* (who openly pretended not to be very well pleased with his Conduct) to lay his Straits before her, and inform her, *That upon his Return to the Kingdom he found all Things in Disorder, the King murdered, the Queen married to the Murderer, the Laws inverted, Religion in Danger, the young King threatned with the Fate of his Father.* And then tells, *how he had foregone the Pleasures of a peaceable and quiet Life, and undertaken the Dangers of War, and all for the Good and Preservation of his King, Religion, and native Country, which notwithstanding he was not able to preserve without her Assistance, which he entreated she would please to grant him, against those Men who had risen in*

(a) Blackwood, p. 185. (b) Penes D. of Gordon. (c) *Crawf.* Mem. p. 78.

in Arms, pretending it was only for the Restoration of Queen Mary; whereas it was their chief Aim to introduce again the Idolatries of the Church of Rome. And with this common Cant did he varnish his Rebellion, as many others following his Example have done since. This Representation, he was confident, would have the desired Effect; and he was not mistaken: For Queen Elizabeth no sooner received his Letters, than she dispatched a Gentleman to Queen Mary, with a Letter, in which she gives it as her Opinion, That it was for the Good of her Subjects and Kingdom, to prevent a Civil War amongst them; and that if she would command her Friends to lay down their Arms, she would oblige Murray and his Army, either by Reason or Force, to return to their Duty to her, as their only lawful Sovereign and Queen. The innocent Princess suspecting no Trick in this insidious Advice, immediately sent her Commands to her Friends to lay down their Arms upon their Allegiance; which they obeyed, being afraid, that if they did otherwise, she might meet with some harsh Treatment, tho' they were convinced in the mean Time, that the Queen of England designed her Ruin (a).

At the same Time Queen Elizabeth wrote to Murray to disband his Army, and to call a Parliament, with Instructions to him, to propose in it an Accusation against Queen Mary for murdering her Husband, for to give a Colour to her keeping the Queen of Scots in Prison, against the Remonstrances of all the other Princes in Europe (b). Murray now seeing all the Queen's Friends dispersed, took that Opportunity of marching with his Army through the

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(a) Blackwood, p. 185; Guibert, p. 167. (b) Camden, p. 2378

Country, plundering and destroying the Lands of the Queen's Friends wherever he went : And having called a Parliament, some he punishes with Death, others he banishes, and forced a good many to go and seek Shelter from his Fury in foreign Countries. He ravaged now as he listed, thinking himself secure by the Informations he had got from his Friends in *England*, That it was now determined in Council there, That the Queen of *Scots* was to be kept in Prison, for having assumed the Arms of that Kingdom, when she was married to the Dauphin of *France* (tho' she was forced to that Action, and laid them aside immediately after his Death) and till she should answer for the Death of the Lord *Darnly*, who was a Native and Subject of that Country.

Queen *Elizabeth* (a) however pretending to be displeas'd with his Management upon this Account, and sent to him one *Middlemore*, to acquaint him, *That it was dangerous for Princes to suffer Rebellions in their neighbouring Estates, it being of bad Example; and that she was resolv'd not to see Royal Authority trampled under Foot : And if any in Scotland had forgot their Duty to their Sovereign, she would let them know what Offices of Friendship were due from her to a Queen, and to her Kinswoman in Distress, assuring him, if he did not come or send sufficient Deputies to answer to the Crimes objected against him, and give Reasons for what he had done against the Queen, she would not only restore her to her Liberty, but assist her to the utmost of her Power against all her Enemies.* Those big Words were no more to *Murray* than Cracks of distant Thunder, that brings more Noise than Danger

(a) *Idem.*

Danger : And that Queen *Elizabeth* wanted nothing more, than to have the Queen of *Scots* Reputation thoroughly blackened, and her supposititious Crimes proved against her at any Rate, that she might with the better Countenance excuse her self for detaining her Prisoner. The most judicious of *Murray's* Friends were against his Resolution of going into *England*, to make himself the Tool of that Court ; and that thereby he would incur the irreconcilable Hatred of the Queens Friends, both at Home and Abroad, by bringing her Reputation in Question before Strangers, the old and professed Enemies of the *Scottish* Nation, who laughed at our Miseries and Divisions, proposing to heighten both, with no Design to decide the Matter in Favours of either Party. These Remonstrances, however reasonable in themselves, had no Weight with him ; his Malice to his Sister and Sovereign overcame his pretended Regard for his native Country and Royal Nephew ; and his slavish Dependance on Queen *Elizabeth* to maintain his usurped Authority, made him without further, resolve to obey her Commands.

A Commission immediately past under the Great Seal, dated *September 18th 1568*, in the King's Name, to *Murray, Morton*, the Bishop of *Orkney*, the Abbot of *Dunfermling* and the Lord *Lindsay* (a), empowering them, or any Three of them, to convene with the Deputies of the Queen of England, at the City of *York*, or any other Place they should think convenient, &c. To these above-named Persons were added as Assistants, Mr. *James Macgill* and Mr. *George*

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(a) Crawford, p. 88. Camden, p. 138. Spottiswood, Book 5, p. 218.

Buchanan, and they were accompanied by the Bishop of *Murray*, Secretary *Lethington*, Mr. *Nicolas Elphinston*, the Lairds of *Pittarro*, *North-Berwick* and *Cleish*, and the factious Mr. *Wood*, *Murray's* Secretary. Some of them went to use their Endeavours, with the Assistance of the Queen's Friends in *England*, to try if they could dissuade *Murray* from proceeding in that Affair, who made so much Haste, that he was at *York* the 5th of *October*. Much about the same Time came thither the Duke of *Northfolk*, the Earl of *Suffex*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Commissioners from the Queen of *England*, with Power to hear and determine (tho' they had private Instructions against this last Clause) all Questions, Controversies, Debates and Contentions betwixt her Sister the Queen of *Scots*, and the Subjects adhering to her Interest, and the Earl of *Murray* and others refusing to acknowledge her Authority, and adhering to the Prince her Son, &c.

A few Days after arrived likewise as Commissioners for the Scots Queen *John Lesly* Bishop of *Ross*, *William Lord Livingston*, *Robert Lord Boid*, the *Lord Herries*, *Gavin Hamilton*, Commendator of *Kilwinning*, *John Gordon* of *Lochinvar*, the Lairds of *Kirling*, *Roslin* and *Garntully*. Both Parties being met, and their Commissions produced and read; an Oath was tendered to each of them by the Judges, That they should proceed sincerely in the Conference or Treaty; not out of Malice or Affection, or any other worldly Respect; nor advance any Thing they did not in their Consciences believe to be Truth, or conceal any Thing that might give Light to the Subject in Debate. God knows what Regard *Murray* and his Associates had to this Oath; for he and the

the most of them were conscious that the Queen was free of all those Crimes they loaded her with, especially the King's Murder; and they themselves guilty of it, as one of them, *Morton*, was forced to confess, when he looked Death in the Face.

Before the Oath was taken by either Side, the Queen's Commissioners protested, and desired the same might be recorded, lest she or her Posterity should suffer in their Sovereignty by the present Proceedings, *That tho' at present she was pleased to have the Differences betwixt her and her rebellious Subjects considered and redressed by her Sister the Queen of England, or by the Commissioners authorised by her, yet she acknowledged not her self subject to any Judge on Earth, she being a free Princess, and holding her imperial Crown of GOD alone.* The English Commissioners, on the other Hand, protested against this, in Behalf of their pretended Sovereignty over *Scotland*: And this was all that was done the first Day of the Meeting. Next Day the Commissioners for *Q. Mary* gave in a Declaration, complaining on *Murray* and his Associates, for the Injuries done the Queen, which I have already mentioned. The Papers that were given in here to Queen *Elizabeth's* Commissioners by those deputed by the Queen of *Scotland* on the one Side, and by *Murray* and his Associates on the other, being too long to insert here; but being absolutely necessary for understanding of the History, and clearing *Q. Mary* from the Crimes charged upon her by *Murray* and her other rebellious Subjects, I have inserted them from *Camden* and *Crawford*, in *Appen. N. 24.*

The long and just Reply for this injured Princess, put *Murray* and his Associates to their Shifts, and made

them very tardy in preparing and giving in their Answers; nor were any of her Friends better satisfied with their being thus straitned, than the Duke of *Northfolk*. This great Man as he had ever favoured her Title to the Succession of *England*; so he now found that she was intirely innocent of those Crimes, maliciously laid against her; and that there was nothing else aimed at by this Method they were following, but to brand her with Infamy, thereby to exclude her and her Son from their just Right. It was said at this Time, that *Q. Elizabeth* was resolved to determine in that Affair; and now if the Duke should determine against the Queen of *Scots*, he acted against his own Conscience; and if for her, he inevitably drew upon him the Hatred of his own Sovereign, he not having any Mandate from her for that Effect. He also at the same Time entertained a Project of marrying Queen *Mary*, and thereby resolved to embrace this Opportunity of gaining *Murray* to his Side, and to effectuate that, he thought the fittest Way was to employ *Lethington*, whom he knew to be an intriguing Man; and having one Day opportunely met with him as it were by Chance, frankly told him (a), *That he always thought him a Man of good Sense; but that his present Conduct did not agree with that good Opinion he formerly had of his Discretion, in accusing his Sovereign before a foreign Judicatory, which tacitly subjected Scotland to England: And for his Part, he did not see how hereafter they could answer to the Son for bringing his Mother's Honesty in Question, by which they endangered his Title to the Crown of England: With a great deal more to this Purpose.* *Lethington*

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(a) Crawford's Memoirs, p. 107. Melvil, p. 94.

replied in his own Vindication, *That he had strenuously opposed Murray's Proceedings in this shameless Manner against his Sovereign; but he (surrounded with a Pack of Sycophants, Slaves to Avarice and to England) could not get him dissuaded from it: But hop'd his Grace would not believe him (whom he had been pleas'd once to honour with a Place in his Esteem) rashly guilty of a Crime, which he not only had abhorred himself, but faithfully endeavour'd to reform in others.* The Duke asked him, if the Regent was a Man of Honour, and could keep a Secret; and being answered in the Affirmative, said, *I shall try him To-morrow.*

A secret Meeting was easily procur'd (a), and Murray having solemnly sworn Secrecy, the Duke began with the same honest Freedom he had us'd with *Lethington*; and told him, "That he would ever make it his Business to approve himself a faithful Subject to his Queen; but was heartily sorry to find her so much regardless of her People's Happiness after her Death, in not determining the Succession, tho' often prest to it, not valuing what Blood might be shed in disputing the Title to the Crown, when she could no longer wear it. That he knew the same undoubtedly belonged to the Queen of Scots; and that even tho' she had really suffer'd Violence to have been done to her Husband, that he should nevertheless think it unreasonable to expose and dishonour her in *England*, to the certain Prejudice of her Right of Succession, and the Exclusion of her Son, upon whom himself and many *Eng-*

(a) Melvil, ibidem.

“ *glisb* had already fixed their Eyes as their future
 “ Sovereign; and assuring him, That he could not,
 “ nor would Queen *Elizabeth* determine any thing
 “ for or against Queen *Mary*, whether she appeared
 “ innocent or guilty; and if he pleased to ask the
 “ Commissioners, if they in that Case had full Power
 “ to pronounce a definitive Sentence, he would be
 “ easily satisfied in the Truth of what he informed
 “ him.”

This Propofal was much for *Murray*'s Interest,
 and so readily embraced by him, for he feared that
 for a second Time Queen *Elizabeth* would only
 make her own Use of him, and make his Rebellion
 only a Tool for her own Purposes. Besides he found
 it impossible to make up any Charge against the
 Queen, and put a Face of Probability upon the
 Crimes he was to charge her with; and therefore
 the next Day when the Commissioners had assem-
 bled, and the Duke had required him to give in his
 Answers to the Reply that had been made by the
 Queen's Commissioners. He craved first to be in-
 formed, *If his Grace, and the other Commissioners had*
full Power, in the Case of the Queen of Scotland, to
pronounce guilty or not guilty. If proved guilty, if
she was to be detained in England, or delivered to
him, &c. It was answered, “ That their Commis-
 “ sion did not extend so far, as to enable them to
 “ dispose of the Queen of *Scots*, or to answer every
 “ Article he proposed, but that Queen *Elizabeth*'s
 “ Royal Word and Promise was sufficient.”
Murray replied, “ That his Life and All was at
 “ the Stake; and tho' he doubted not of her Affe-
 “ ction

“ction to the young King and her good Intentions
 “towards him, yet he thought it necessary for the
 “Security of both, to have these Questions he now
 “asked, positively and fully resolved, and to see no
 “less than her own Hand and Seal for the Perform-
 “ance of what he required.” This cautious pro-
 ceeding of his appeared mysterious to *Morton* and his
 other Associates, and all of them lookt upon it as a
 Contrivance of *Lethington*’s, of whom they had still
 a Jealousy; and in the mean Time they were oblig-
 ed to delay till they should get Queen *Elizabeth*’s
 Answer, to whom her Commissioners had sent a Co-
 py of the Papers given in, and an Account of what
Murray had demanded. During this Interval of Bu-
 siness, the Duke was not idle with *Murray*; whom he
 found as complying as he could wish. At this Time
 the Duke propos’d no more, than that they should
 keep a faithful Correspondence together, and jointly
 use their Interests in *Scotland* and *England* for the
 Service of their Sovereigns, and the Good of both
 Kingdoms (a). But Queen *Elizabeth* not being well
 pleas’d with their Conduct at *York*, she calls her
 Commissioners to *London*, and having suspected the
 Duke of *Northfolk*, to ballance his Interest, she added
 to the Number of her Commissioners, the Earls of
Arundel and *Leicester*, *Clinton* Lord Admiral, and
 Sir *William Cecil* Secretary of State. *Murray* with
 his Associates were oblig’d to trudge up to *London*;
 and he, how soon he came thither, was press’d to pro-
 ceed in his Accusation. He answer’d as at *York*,
 which much gravell’d all his Friends, *Lethington* ex-
 cepted, who only was in the Secret, and knew that
 he

(a) Crawford, p. 112.

he had solemnly engaged to *Northfolk* not to accuse the Queen. But, as 'tis said (a), the Intrigue betwixt *Northfolk* and *Murray* being discovered to *Morton* by some of the Queen's Servants, he and his Associates, and the Queen of *England's* Commissioners, press'd *Murray* to give in the Accusation against Queen *Mary*; which *Murray*, contrary to the solemn Oath and Promise he had made to *Northfolk*, caused to be drawn up and given in; altho' *Lethington* and Sir *James Melvil* put him in Mind how contrary that was to that Oath and Promise he had made (b). But these were Things that he never much regarded; for he and his Associates appearing before the *English* Commissioners, the Duke of *Northfolk* asked for the Accusation, and Secretary *Cecil* asked, *If they had it there?* To which Mr. *Wood*, *Murray's* officious Secretary, answered, *They had*; and with that pluck'd it out of his Bosom, but said, *He would not deliver it, till her Majesty's Hand-writing and Seal were delivered to my Lord Regent for what he demanded.* Then the Bishop of *Orkney* snatch'd it out of his Hand, and, stepping forward to the Council-table, gave it in. Upon which the Lord Chamberlain said, *Well done, Bishop, thou art the frankest Fellow among them all.*

Murray, by this sham Way of delivering the Accusation, thought to excuse himself at the Duke of *Northfolk's* Hands: But *Lethington*, whispering in his Ear, told him, *That he had sham'd himself, and put his Life in Danger, by losing so good a Friend as the Duke of Northfolk; and that he had lost his Reputation for ever.* This Accusation was drawn up in the

(a) Crawford, p. 113. (b) Melvil, p. 97.

the most invective and malicious Terms imaginable ; which, after a long Preamble, excusing the Novelty of this Way of proceeding against a crown'd Head, was made up of some Articles meerly conjectural, Decrees made in a tumultuary Assembly of the Estates, and those Love-Letters and scurrilous Verses I have already mentioned. Tho' they enforced this Accusation with all the Rhetorick in their Power, yet it obtained no Credit with the Queen of *England's* Commissioners: Tho' that Princess was well enough pleased to know, that so many confident Aspersions cast upon the *Scots* Queen, would infallibly leave some Stain behind them not to be easily wash'd out again, and to furnish her (Queen *Elizabeth*) with Arguments, tho' lame ones, to excuse her constant confining Queen *Mary*, to the Ambassadors of foreign Princes ; notwithstanding which, the Queen of *England* lookt upon *Murray* as the worst of Men, who at once defam'd his Sister, his Queen, and the Mother of his Prince, and one whom in his Conscience he could not but believe innocent. He met with such Treatment at that Court (a) that might easily have convinced him, that Princes, tho' for their own Ends they *love the Treason*, yet they *bate the Traitor*.

The Queen of *Scotland's* Commissioners, tho' surpris'd to find so many evident Falshoods muster'd up as undeniable Truths, were nevertheless ready a second Time to give in their Answers (b). But that Princess, by the Advice of some Lawyers in *England*, found she might justly recall her Commissioners, in respect that Queen *Elizabeth* had recalled her first Commission to the Duke of *Northfolk* and others therein nam'd

(a) Melvil, p. 97. (b) Camden, p. 145.

nam'd, and added to her second some who were more her Enemies, and that she might demand a personal Audience for her own Vindication, and that the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors might be added in the Commission, and that *Murray* might be detain'd, whom she was to accuse as the Contriver of the King's Murder: These Things being denied her, she recalled her Commissioners. Yet Queen *Elizabeth*, to dissemble still the more with her, sent incontinent a Message to comfort her, praying her to look on herself in a better Case, albeit for a while restrained of her Liberty, than to be in *Scotland* among so unworthy Subjects, who had accused her falsely and wrongously, as she was assured (a).

Thus all Things went on with *Murray*, yet he was inexpressibly uneasy. He had no Money to pay his Charges homeward, nor the *English* Debts he had contracted. He was also afraid of the Duke of *Northfolk's* mighty Interest in the North, from whom he expected no less than Death upon the Road, in Consequence of his Resentment for the Injury he had done him. Sir *James Melvil* says (b), *That he once had ordered the Earl of Westmorland to way-lay them in their Return, but upon their second Agreement he recall'd it; and that upon the Road he appeared to them with a great Body of Horse, to shew them that they were in his Power.* *Morton* (his trusty Brother) he knew had revealed to Queen *Elizabeth* all that past betwixt him and *Northfolk*: And this, as it put him in Despair ever to be reconciled to that great Man, so he found it had increased the Coldness of that Princess towards him; who, tho' she was often acquainted

(a) Melvil, p. 97. (b) P. 99.

quainted with his Difficulties, would not advance him one Shilling, but suffered him to continue under the mortifying Disease of an empty Purse.

Letbington being wholly innocent, had still Access to the Duke; and, by the Interest of Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton*, so far prevailed upon him, as to be again Friends with *Murray*; who, upon their Meeting, after a short Apology which the Duke assisted him to make, he was as profuse of his Oaths and Promises as at first; Nay he so far carried on his Deceit, that to gain intire Credit from the Duke, he proposed a Marriage betwixt him and the Queen of Scots, upon the following Conditions (*a*), viz.

That she should attempt nothing which might be prejudicial to the Queen of England, or to the Children born of her, in the Succession to the Crown of England.

That she should enter into a League offensive and defensive betwixt the two Kingdoms.

That she should establish the Protestant Religion in Scotland. And

That she should receive those who were her Enemies into Favour.

And to make the Duke yet surer, he writes to the Queen a Letter (*b*), assuring her of his utmost Assistance to accomplish so reasonable a Match. Upon which the Duke no further doubting him, and being unwilling to see his Friend in Want, procured from Queen *Elizabeth* to him 2000 *Lib. Sterl.* and bound himself for it; and was obliged thereafter to repay it.

Murray

(*a*) Camden, p. 160. (*b*) Ibid. p. 146. Crawf. p. 116.

Murray had the Money no sooner in his Hands, than he spreads a false Report against his Sister, that she had made over the Crown of *England* to the Duke of *Anjou*; and goes straight to Queen *Elizabeth*, and informs her of all that had past betwixt him and *Northfolk* in relation to the Queen of *Scots*, to irritate the Queen of *England* the more against her; and further promis'd, when he was in *Scotland*, whatever Letters he got from the Duke, in Cyphers or otherwise, he should send them to her by Express (a); which he punctually performed thereafter by his Secretary *Wood*. Of all which the Duke being intirely ignorant, writes to the Queen of *Scotland*, *That now her Brother had sincerely repented of all his former Faults, and that she might confidently trust him*. But the Duke being thus betray'd by that Arch-traitor, he was seized by Queen *Elizabeth's* Order, and afterwards lost his Head for his generous Affection to that distress'd Princess. About this Time the Duke of *Chastelherault* arrived from *France* in *England*, and claims the Regency during the King's Minority, as of Right belonging to him by Proximity of Blood: But it is determined by Queen *Elizabeth* in *Murray's* Favours against him. Arch-bishop *Spottiswood* here says (b), *That before Murray came from England, the Queen of Scots Commissioners declared, That they knew nothing that could make Murray, or any of his Associates, suspected of the Murder of the King*. I'm sure that good Prelate could have that from none but *Buchanan*, by whom he is too often led astray, and in whose Account of these Transactions in *England* there is more Falshoods than Pages. The Author of
the

(a) Melvil, p. 99. (b) Book 5. p. 226.

the *Innocence de Marie* (a), and others to the quite contrary, says, *That the Lord Herries (who' was alive when he wrote) upbraided Murray at the Council-table to his Face, That he had contrived and consented to that Murder, and sent him a Trumpet with a Challenge upon that same Head* (b). But that Story of *Spottiswood's* carries so little Shew of Reason along with it, that I shall take no more Notice of it.

Queen *Mary* now came heartily, tho' too late, to repent of her leaving *Scotland*, and trusting herself to the Queen of *England's* Generosity. She had seen what a powerful Army the Earls of *Huntly, Argyle* and others, had raised for her Relief immediately after she went into *England*. Nor was the Number of her Friends lessened; the sad and deplorable State she was in had rais'd their Compassion and increas'd their Number, as may be seen by a Meeting they kept at *Hamilton, May 8. 1568*, where they signed a Bond, *Obliging themselves to stand by one another with their Lives and Fortunes, in Defence of her Majesty's just Right and Title*; which Bond is yet to be seen in the *Cotton Library* in *London*, signed by 9 Earls, 9 Bishops, 18 Lords, and near 100 Knights and Barons; among whom are the Earls of *Huntly* and *Sutherland*, with several others of the Name of *Gordon*: And not to deprive any of these noble and loyal Peers and Gentlemen of that Honour which duly belongs to them, I have insert all their Names in the *Appendix, Numb. 25*.

Upon the 2d Day of *February*, the Regent arrived in *Scotland*, as did the Duke of *Chastelherault*, the Commendator of *Kilwinning*, and the Lord *Herries*,
upon

(a) fol. 33. (b) Crawford, p. 137.

upon the 20th of the same; and very soon there-
 after there is, by Mediation of the Arch-bishop of St.
Andrews, a Treaty carried on betwixt the Regent
 and him, which at last was brought to this Conclu-
 sion, *That the Duke and the other Lords with him on
 their Part were hereafter to recognize and acknow-
 ledge the King's Authority, and on the other Part they
 were to be restored to their Estates, Honours and Digni-
 ties. The Regent was to give his Word of Honour to
 perform his Part, and the Lords to give in immedi-
 ately sufficient Pledges for the Performance of what they
 had obliged themselves to; for the Duke, one of his
 Sons; for the Earl of Cassils, his Brother; and for
 the Lord Herries, his eldest Son (a).*

The Duke included the Earl of *Huntly*, who was
 his Son-in-Law, in this Treaty: But he being the
 Queen's Lieutenant be-north the River of *Forth*,
 and having reduced all that Country to her Obe-
 dience, refused as yet to treat with the Regent, and
 kept up his Army. By an Article in the fore-men-
 tioned Treaty, the Regent was obliged to such Ar-
 ticles as might be for the Queen's Honour, Advance-
 ment and Commodity, providing they be not to the Pre-
 judice of the King's Sovereignty. And on the 10th
 of *April* the Duke came to *Edinburgh* to conclude the
 Treaty, and having met with the Regent, he drew
 out a Schedule, and with an imperious Air asked the
 Duke, *If he would instantly subscribe an Acknowledge-
 ment of the King's Authority or not?* He modestly
 answered, *That he and his Friends had laid down their
 Arms conditionally, and were not obliged to subscribe
 Allegiance to the King, but upon Condition that the*
 Re-

(a) Crawford, p. 124.

Regent at the same Time should grant what might be reasonably demanded in Behalf of the distressed Queen, the King's Mother; and therefore hop'd he would not proceed to Acts of Force or Fraud, since both they and their Hostages were in his Hand. That they had religiously observ'd their Part, and came to him unarm'd as to a Friend, trusting to his Honour. The Regent made no Reply; but, contrary to all the Laws of Honour, he sent him and the Lord *Herries* Prisoners to the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

In *May* following he went to *Stirling*, and there, for a Proof of his Zeal for the Reform'd Religion, he condemned four Priests of *Dumblain*, for saying Mass, to be hang'd: But again, for the Proof of his Mercy, he pardoned them; only caused chain them to the Cross, with their Vestments, Books and Chalice (where they were barbarously used by the Mob) for the Space of an Hour, and then had their Vestments, &c. burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman. From that he went to *St. Andrews*, where those who came under his Hands escaped not so easily. One *Nick Neven* a Sorcerer, or so reputed, was burnt: *Paris*, a *Frenchman* who had formerly escaped, but was now retaken, was hang'd for the Murder of the late King, tho' he denied it to his Death. In this Place *William Stewart*, Lord *Lyon*, fell unluckily into his Hands, by relying too much upon his own Innocence, and was hang'd for some doubtful Points of Necromancy and Witchcraft that were but lamely proved against him. His true Fault was, he was a true Loyalist, and having been before tried at *Stirling*, for an alledged Conspiracy against the Regent's Life, he had then escap'd for Want of Probation: But the Regent had resolv'd he should not so escape now.

About this Time the Queen was removed a little further in from the *Scottish* Border, and confin'd to *Coventry*, under the Custody of the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Huntington* (a). The Loyalists seeing now no Hopes of Assistance from *England*; and *Hamilton*, and others from whom they expected Assistance, being imprisoned; *Huntly* (who had not as yet disbanded his Troops, but stood still out, expecting better Terms than others had got, at least a full Pardon for himself, Vassals and others who had assisted him as the Queen's Lieutenant) now begins at last to think upon capitulating for himself and them: And *Murray*, who had often found Slight more for his Interest than Force, agreed to all the Conditions required. But no sooner saw he *Huntly's* Friends dispersed, than he immediately hastens to *Aberdeen*, where he instantly summoned all his Friends to appear, and there obliged them to compound for their Rebellion, as he term'd it, and exacted such extravagant Sums of Money from them, as ruined the most of them. *Argyle* compounded at the same Time, but got much better Terms than *Huntly*, at least they were more honestly kept; which trump'd up the Story again, of his not doing honourably at the Battle of *Langside*.

Murray by this Time had rendred himself odious to the most of the Nation, by his Cruelty and Exactions. (b) He had invented a sham Plot against *Lethington*, and imprisoned him in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, who soon brought over to his Side the Laird of *Grange* Governor of the same. He also imprisoned the Lord *Seton*. And *Huntly* knowing by Experience what he might expect from his implacable Enemy, resolves to
leave

(a) Crawford, p. 131. (b) Id. p. 141.

leave the Kingdom, and retire to *France* (a), there to preserve himself to better Times; and putting himself in Order for this Voyage, gets a Ship ready at *Spey-mouth*, in which he was to go aboard in 5 or 6 Days: But in that Time he got the News of the Regent's Death, which stopt him.

The Regent, who having now depress'd all who opposed him (b), thought to enjoy in Security the Fruits of his wicked Contrivances. But GOD in his Providence ordering otherwise, disappoints him: For on the 23d of *January* 1570, while he is passing on Horse-back through *Linlithgow*, he receives a Wound in his Belly by a Bullet shot by *James Hamilton* of *Bothwel-haugh*. This Gentleman was one of those loyal Persons who being taken after the Battle of *Langside*, was sentenced to be hanged, but made his Escape. He had married the Heiress of *Woodhouslie* (c). After the Battle she abandoned her Husband's Estate, and retired to that of her own, thinking it could not be affected for her Husband's Crimes. But *Murray* being informed of it by Sir *James Ballander* Justice-Clerk, and a great Favourite of his; to whom he had given that Lady's Estate, sent some Officers to take Possession of the House, who not only turned the Gentlewoman out of Doors, but stript her naked, and left her in that Condition in the open Fields, in a cold dark Night, where before Day she became furiously mad: And from that Time her Husband resolved upon *Murray's* Death, which he at last effected, and thereafter fled to *France*; where (as *Thuan* tells us) he was sollicitated to do the same to Admiral *Coligni*;

(a) Burnet's MS. Hist. (b) Camden, p. 174. (c) Spottis. B. 54 p. 233. Crawf. p. 141.

but could not be perswaded to it, saying, *That indeed he had satisfied his private Revenge for the Wrongs he had suffered from Murray, for which he now repented; but to be the Revenger of another's Wrongs or Resentments, he would not be induced either for Intreaties or Rewards.* Murray's Body was carried to *Edinburgh*, and interr'd in *St. Giles's Church*. And thus ended that wicked great Man. When the News of his Death came to the Queen his Sister, she was so far from rejoycing at it, that with Tears she protested, *She was sorry he was so suddenly taken away, before he had by a serious Repentance expiated his Sins against GOD, his Sovereign, and his Country.*

I shall not trouble the Reader with his Character; it has been given by severals, and is easily to be gathered from the Account I have given of him. I must only beg Leave to say, that I'm surpris'd at the Character Arch-bishop *Spottiswood* gives of him, who says, *That above all his Virtues, which were not a few, he shin'd in Piety towards GOD; &c. A Man truly good, in whom there was no Wickedness to be seen, and therefore deserv'd to be reckoned among the best Governors.* If Murder, Sacrilege, Rapine, Rebellion, Ingratitude, and Perfidy, be Virtues to make a Saint, indeed in these he abounded, as I have made appear from unquestionable Vouchers. But that good Prelate's Zeal for the Reformation often hindred him from seeing the Faults of those whom he thought forward Promoters of it.

The News of the Regent's Death being spread abroad, those who stood for the Queen take Heart, and conceiving Hopes of recovering their depress'd Cause, meet and consult on the Measures to be taken for that Effect. The captive Queen sends *Huntly* a

Commission to be her Lieutenant be-north the River of *Forth*, and to *Hamilton* and *Argyle* for the other Parts of *Scotland*, (*Huntly's* Commission is still extant) and they were to have the chief Conduct in all her Affairs. And in the mean Time, by the Mediation of the Queen of *England*, several Proposals of Peace are made, but all to no purpose: The Loyalists demanded that the Queen might be restored; but *Morton*, who was now the Head of the other Party, always rejected it, having nothing else in his View but to protract Time till he got Things into some Order. And to ingratiate themselves in some measure with the Loyalists, they set at Liberty the Duke of *Chastelberrault* and the Lord *Herries*.

Upon which the Duke, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Crawford* and *Cassils*; the Lords *Hume*, *Fleming*, *Boyd*, *Seton*, *Tester*, *Somervel*, *Oliphant*, *Ogilvy*, *Borthwick*, Secretary *Lethington*, and Sir *James Balfour*, meet to advise together what Measures they were to take; and first they go and possess themselves of *Edinburgh* with Consent of the Citizens. Upon which Queen *Elizabeth* sends the Earl of *Suffex* with an Army into *Scotland*, at *Morton's* Desire, to overaw the Loyalists; and upon that another Meeting is kept at *Dalkeith*, but to as little Purpose: And both Parties prepare what Forces they can for their own Defence. The Associators put out a Proclamation discharging all the King's Subjects to assist such tumultuous Persons under the Pain of Death, (for so they term'd the Loyalists.) And they on the other hand issued out Counter-Proclamations, commanding all the Queen's Subjects in her Name, under the Pain of Death, to attend the Duke and the

Earls of *Huntly* and *Argyle*, as her undoubted Lieutenants:

Thus Matters continued in Suspence for some time, till Queen *Elizabeth* sent down the Earl of *Lennox* (a), accompanied with Sir *William Drury* and some Forces, and him they constitute Regent. And with these Troops, to begin, he marched West, took the Castle of *Hamilton*, burnt the same and the Town of that Name; as also destroyed all the Lands and Houses that belonged to any of the Name of *Hamilton*. Neither did the Houses and Lands of the Lords *Fleming* and *Livingston* escape better. In the mean Time the Earl of *Huntly* is besieging the Castle of *Aberbrothock*, and *Lennox* sends the Earl of *Morton* to raise the Siege with such a Number of light Horse as he thought sufficient: But *Morton* thinking himself not strong enough to raise the Siege, stopt at *Pertb* till he got a Reinforcement of Foot; and while there, being inform'd that the Earl of *Crawford* and the Lord *Ogilvy* were fortifying *Brechin*, there to wait for the Earl of *Huntly* (b), he march'd against them. But these two Lords judging themselves too weak for him, marched off, leaving only two Captains, *Cowles* and *Wemys*, conveniently posted in the Church; who, upon the Earl's Approach, ordered their Men to fire smartly upon him. They knew his Soldiers to be raw and undisciplin'd; and thought thereby to discourage them. And they were not mistaken; for this Fire having laid 13 of them dead upon the Spot, the rest could never thereafter be perswaded to come within Musket-shot.

Upon

(a) *Crawf.* p. 163. (b) *Id.* p. 168.

Upon which the Regent, to save his Friend's Honour, marches North with what Forces he could raise. Upon whose Approach, the Captains being discouraged by the Number of the Forces now against them, and having no Provisions to sustain a Siege, surrendred at Discretion. *Morton* being highly offended that they had not surrendred to him, so far prevailed upon *Lennox* (of whom he had the absolute Management) that he ordered *Cowles* and his whole Company, being 75 Men, to be hang'd in View of the Town: And *Wemys* had run the same Fate, had he not been rich, and bought his Life and his Men's with the best part of his Estate. This Cruelty did much disgust the common People against the Regent.

The Nation continued very much divided. The Loyalists posselt *Edinburgh*, having the Castle upon their Side, the Governor thereof declaring openly for the Queen; and the Associators kept *Leith*. Betwixt them there happened frequent Skirmishes with various Success, but not great Slaughter. During which Time the Regent, by a Stratagem, surpris'd the Castle of *Dumbarton*, and in it took the Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*, who was very soon thereafter condemned to be hanged as a common Felon, notwithstanding his Birth and Character.

In the preceeding *October*, the Queen of *England* wrote to the Associators, complaining (or seemingly so) of what they had done, and desiring them to send up some of their Number to justify the Regent's or their Rebellion against their Queen. Upon which they sent up for them the Earl of *Morton*, and the Lord *Glamis*; and from the Loyalists were sent

Alexander Gordon Arch-bishop of *Athens* and Bishop of *Galloway*, and the Lords *Boyd* and *Livingston* (a). This sham Treaty had no better Effect than others of that kind before; for the Queen of *England* had nothing further in her View, but to get some Shew of Excuse to make to the Ministers of foreign Princes, when accosted by them for detaining the Queen of *Scotland* unjustly so long in Prison. I must now make a Digression, and give an Account of this Bishop of *Galloway*, because of his Relation to the Family of *Huntly*.

This *Alexander Gordon*, Arch-bishop of *Athens*, was Son to *John* Lord *Gordon*, who was Son to *Alexander* third Earl of *Huntly*, and died before his Father, at the Abbacy of *Kinloss* in *Murray*, 8. of *October* 1517, and was buried in that Abbacy. His Lady, the Bishop's Mother, was *Margaret*, Daughter to King *James IV.* by *Anna Drummond* Daughter to the Baron of *Drummond*. He was bred up in his Youth by King *James V.* after whose Death he was made Bishop of *Cathness*, after that Arch-bishop of *Glasgow*. But being obliged to go to *Rome* for Confirmation in it, in his Absence there happened a Dissention betwixt the Queen Dowager and the Earl of *Arran*, for the Government of the Nation during the Minority of Queen *Mary*. Bishop *Gordon* was of the Queen Regent's Party; and *Arran* getting the Government, dispossessed him of the Arch-bishoprick of *Glasgow*, at the Instigation of *John Hamilton* Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*, the Regent's base Brother; in Recompence whereof, he was made Bishop of the *Isles* and Abbot of *Inchaffray*. And that he might not

(a) Camden, p. 189.

not lose the Title and Dignity of Archbishop, which he once had, the Pope did institute him Arch-bishop of *Athens*; and afterwards, by the Queen Regent, Anno 1558, he was translated to *Galloway*, and so continued to his Death Archbishop of *Athens*, Bishop of *Galloway*, and Abbot of *Inchaffray*.

He continued a loyal and dutiful Subject to Queen *Mary* to her Death, and was imployed several Times in *England* for her, during her Captivity. *Straloch* speaking of him, says, *Tota Gordoniorum familia Regina strenue adhaeserunt*. He was one of the first Bishops of *Scotland* that went into the Reformation. He married *Barbara Logie*, Daughter to the Laird of *Logie*, by whom he had Sons, *Laurence Gordon*, Lord of *Glenluce*, *George Gordon*, *John Gordon*, and *Robert Gordon*, slain in *France* in a Duel, then in the Service and great Favour of *Margaret Queen of France*. He had a Daughter *Barbara*, married to *Anthony Stewart* Laird of *Clarie*. All of his Sons died without Issue, except *John*, whom he sent to *France* to prosecute his Studies, Anno 1565, by the Appointment of *Mary Queen of Scotland*, who gave him for his Maintainance out of her Dowry there, a yearly Pension. Before he went abroad, he had finished his Courses in Philosophy, and other Sciences, in *St. Leonard's College* in the University of *St. Andrews*.

After he went to *France*, he for some two Years plyed his Studies very close in the Universities of *Paris* and *Orleans*. After that he entred in the Attendance of the Prince of *Condé* that was killed at *Brisack*. Afterwards coming to *England*, he attended the Duke of *Norfolk* in his Prosperity, and after that served Queen *Mary* in her Captivity, by whom
he

he was sent back to *France* with Recommendations ; and being a witty and comely Gentleman, and fitted for a Courtier, he entered into the Service of K. *Charles IX.* of *France*, as Gentleman ordinary of his Privy Chamber. After whose Death he served his Brother *Henry III.* and after his Murder, *Henry IV.* in the same Station, having before served him when King of *Navarre*, by the Appointment of *Charles IX.* And from every one of these Kings he had 400 *French Crowns* of Pension. Anno 1574, he had a publick Disputation in the City of *Avignon*, before the Archbishop of that City, and seven other Bishops, with the principal Rabbi of the *Jewish Synagogue* there, call'd *Rabbi Benetrius*, which being for the most Part in *Hebrew*, was printed, and much esteemed in *France*, *Germany* and *Italy*.

Anno 1576, he married a noble and rich Widow called *Anthoiette de Marolles*, who had divers Children to him, who all died in their Infancy. By her he got the Lordship of *Longormies*, and most of the other Possessions he had in *France*. She died Anno 1591. In 1594 he married *Genevien Petaw*, Daughter to Mr. *de Maulet*, first President of the Parliament of *Britany*. By this Wife he had *Louyse Gordon*, born Anno 1597. Anno 1601, he, with *Tilenus du Moulin* had a publick Disputation in the City of *Paris*, with Cardinal *Perron*, and divers others of the Popish Religion, by the Appointment of *Henry IV.* to perswade his Sister the Dutches of *Lorain* to change her Religion: Which Intention was cross'd by the Learning of *Gordon* and *Tilenus*; and the Lady continued constant in her Religion to her Death. He was called to that Disputation by the Intreaty of that Lady.

After

After King *James* went to *England*, *John Gordon* was called out of *France* by him; and after his Arrival, the King made him Dean of *Sarum*, in *October 1603*, where he had an Episcopal Jurisdiction over 80 Parishes. He was present at the Conference of *Hampton Court*, *January 1603* (*English Stile*) betwixt the Bishops and some of the dissenting Preachers; and is mentioned in a Treatise made of that Conference by *William Barlow* Dean of *Chester*, printed at *London*, *Anno 1624*, in these Words, *The Doubt was cast in by the Dean of Sarum, whom his Majesty singled out with a special Encomium, that he was a Man well travelled in the Antients, &c.* He was made Doctor of Divinity in the King's Presence at his first Entry into the City of *Oxford*. His Lady *Genewien Petaw*, at her coming to *England*, was appointed to attend her Grace Lady *Elizabeth* in her Bed-chamber to instruct her in the *French Language*, and their Daughter was bred with her till her Marriage.

The Lordship of *Glenluce* fell to the Dean of *Sarum* after the Death of his Brother *Laurence*. It was erected in a Temporality by the King, and confirmed in Parliament, *Anno 1606*. He was a great Advancer of the Protestant Religion both at Home and abroad, and a Man of great Learning, and well known in all the Eastern Languages. He died in his triennial Visitation at *Lewson* in *Dorset-shire*, 3d *September 1619* aged 75 Years, and was buried in the Quire of the Cathedral Church of *Sarum*, before the Dean's Stall. He mortified a part of his Books (of which he had picked up a very curious Collection in his Travels) to that Cathedral. He also appointed a Stock of Money, but how much my Author does not tell, to be given by his Executors, to the Mayor and Alder-

Alderman of that City, the Interest whereof to be employed yearly by the Dean and Chapter, as they shall think fit, among the Quirister-boys, who after they have served their Time, shall think fit to go into other Employments. He left his Lady his Executrix, who after his Decease, built a fine Monument upon him of Brass and Marble.

Sir *Robert Gordon*, second Son to the Earl of *Sutherland*, married his only Child *Louyse Gordon*, and succeeded to a plentiful Estate he had at Home and abroad. This Sir *Robert Gordon* was a very fine Gentleman. He was of the Bed-chamber to K. *James VI.* and *Charles I.*, and Privy Counsellor to the last for *Scotland*. He was by his Patent made the first Knight Baronet. He was made Vice-Chamberlain of *Scotland*, July 13th 1630. He wrote an excellent History of the Families of *Gordon* and *Sutherland*; and it is a great Loss it is not published, for it contains many very remarkable Transactions, especially in the *Highlands*, not to be found in any printed History. This Sir *Robert Gordon* of *Gordonston*, who represents him, is his Great-Grandson by his eldest Son, as is this Mr. *Robert Gordon* of *Clunie* Advocate, in the same Relation to him by his second Son; and from him it was that I was favoured with that excellent Manuscript-History, which I have occasion often to mention. He has been pleased to honour me with his Friendship, which I very much esteem, he being a Gentleman of great and excellent Learning. I have brought this short Account of these worthy Gentlemen all together in this Place, that I may be free from any other Digression about them hereafter; and so I return to the Thread of our History where we left off.

About

About this Time *Argyle* and *Boyd* desert the Queen, and join with the Regent. The last had always been so active and loyal, that his Desertion surpris'd the most of People: But the latter had been by most of the Loyalists suspected since the Battle of *Langside*, but more especially after his last Treaty with *Murray*.

The Earl of *Huntly*, who had still kept up his Forces, marches with them to *Edinburgh*, to stop the assembling of the Parliament, which the Regent had appointed. The Castle having now declared for the Queen, resolves to hold the Parliament in the *Canongate*, but not finding that safe enough, he appoints the same to meet the 28th of *August 1571*, at *Stirling*. Queen *Elizabeth* makes a sham Proposal of a Peace; which the Regent would not hear of, and that she well knew. To counterpoise the Authority of the Regent's Parliament at *Stirling* the Loyalists hold a Parliament at *Edinburgh*. The Loyalists being superior in Strength, and successful in some Skirmishes about *Edinburgh*; and being thereby animated, resolve by one bold Stroke to put an End to the War; and that was, by surpris'ing the whole of their Adversaries now at *Stirling*, lying there in Security, without any Guard (a):

Wherefore *Huntly*, accompanied with *Claude Hamilton* and *Walter Scot* of *Bucclough*, with 200 Horse and 300 Foot; they sent before *George Bell* and *George Calder* with 80 Foot. *Bell* being born in *Stirling*, and well acquainted with every Lane in it, performed the Part of a most faithful Guide. They pretended they were going to the Borders, to compose

(a) *Crawford*, p. 230. *Spot. B.* 5. p. 256.

pose a Difference betwixt the Town of *Jedburgh* and the Laird of *Pbernyberest*; and so to amuse their Enemies in *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, while they were in Sight of the Town, they marched southward: But being once out of the Sight of it, they immediately turned West, and came to *Stirling* about four-a-Clock in the Morning, *September 4th, 1571*, where all were in such profound Silence, as if there had not been a Dog awake in the Town. Captain *Bell* who led the Way, and knew the Town, assigned to every Man his Post. The Regent, *Morton, Glencairn*, &c. had their Lodgings in a Minute surrounded. The Stable Doors were broke open; and to keep all Things quiet, some of the Foot were posted in the Market-Place, who briskly fired upon those who were so bold as to open their Windows; and in less than half an Hour's Time, the Loyalists were in Possession of no less than Eleven Noblemen as Prisoners, *viz.* The Earls of *Lennox, Morton, Glencairn, Argyle, Cassils, Eglinton, Montrose* and *Buchan*; the Lords *Semple, Cathcart & Ochiltry. Glamis* with some others escaped. The Earl of *Mar*, Governor of the Castle, hearing the Bustle, goes out at the postern Gate to his own Lodging in the Town, from whence he fires sharply upon those in the Market Place, who finding no Means to come at him, retire in Disorder; and by this Time the Regent's People had assembled, to the Number of 700, besides of Citizens 500, who assaulting their Enemies, beat them out of Town, recover the Prisoners, and make Prisoners of some of their Guards. And Captain *Calder* seeing the Day lost, resolving to make sure of one, he shoots the Regent, and the Laird of *Wormiston* both; to whom
the

the Regent having surrendred, that Gentleman would have fondly saved his Life.

Huntly and the rest, finding they could stay no longer, having had six of their Number killed, and about 26 made Prisoners, retire toward *Edinburgh*, none pursuing them for Want of Horse: Among the Prisoners, those of most Note were, *Bell* and *Calder*, and the Laird of *Buccleugh*. The Rebels lost 38, among these the Regent, who died of his Wounds that Night. *Alexander Stewart* younger of *Garleis*, and *George Ruthven*, Brother to the Lord *Ruthven* were the only Persons of Note. And thus ended that bold Enterprize, scarcely to be paralleled in History, when we take it altogether. Thus died *Lennox* the second Regent after he had possess'd that Title about 14 Months, and was buried in the Chapel of the Castle of *Stirling*.

The Regency being now vacant, there stood up for Candidates, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Morton* and *Mar*, and the last was preferred to it; who immediately marches to *Edinburgh*, and with Nine Canon carried from *Stirling*, he batters the South Side of the Town-Walls: But those within still repairing the Breaches, he finds his Labour in vain, and therefore retires to *Leith*, where both Parties so near to other, pass the Winter with frequent Skirmishes, sometimes Horse, and sometimes Foot, with various Success.

But these being of small Importance to the settling of the Kingdom, the Regent who had few or none that sided with him in the North; encourages the *Forbeses* to rise up against the Earl of *Huntly*, to oblige him to return home, for the Protection of his own Country.— They were pretty numerous in *Aberdeen-Shire*

Shire, and wanted not among them bold and resolute Men; and being the most powerful Name in that Country; and living in the Neighbourhood of the *Gordons*, there often happened (according to the Custom of the Nation then) Feuds and Differences among them. They had gotten a great Part of their Lands from the Earl of *Huntly*, for the Assistance they had given him at the Battle of *Brechin*; and which Lands they held in Vassalage of that Family; notwithstanding which, (as is said) they had not dealt so honourably with him at the Battle of *Corrichie*, and since that Time had been always in Opposition to him, tho' by the Tenure they hold their Lands, they are obliged to perform to him military Service, when required. And these Matters made considerable Feuds betwixt the *Gordons* and them at that Time.

Of which the Regent being well apprised (a), he excites the *Forbesses* against *Huntly*, of purpose to divert his Forces, and oblige him to return home to look to the Safety of his own People. Upon this the *Forbesses* arm and assemble in great Numbers at *Druminnor*, now *Castle-Forbes*, some 6 or 8 Miles distant from *Strabogie*, the ordinary Residence of the Earl of *Huntly*. Sir *Adam Gordon*, Brother to the Earl of *Huntly*, whose tender Years had procured him Pity and Exemption from the Slaughter which the Earl of *Murray* inflicted on his Brother Sir *John* at *Aberdeen*, after the Battle of *Corrichie*, now being come to Manhood, and inferior to none in Courage and Resolution, vigilant to lay hold on Occasions, diligent and speedy in the Execution of

(a) Crawford, p. 238. Gordonston's MS.

of Enterprizes ; being now plac'd by his Brother, Lieutenant in the North for the Queen, had assembled some Forces to march to his Assistance. He gets Notice that the *Forbesses* (their Enemies) were waiting to stop him in his Way : Yet fearless he marches on ; and coming near where they lay, he sends to tell them, That he was going about his own Affairs, and was to do them no Harm. But they distrusting, deny him Passage, and put themselves in Order to hinder the same by Force of Arms. The *Forbesses* were commanded by *Arthur Forbes*, Brother to the Lord *Forbes*. He knowing the *Gordons* to be coming against him, entrenches himself, dividing his Army into two Parties. *Arthur* takes the Command of that which lay nearest his Enemy. Sir *Adam* divides his Army in two also, giving the Command of the one to his Brother Mr. *Robert*, and takes the other to himself ; and with great Fury and Resolution attacks *Arthur Forbes* in his Trenches, as his Brother did the other Party with the same Resolution and Courage : And after a sharp Conflict, *Arthur Forbes* being killed, they are intirely routed, and above 100 of them killed. This Battle was fought at *Tulliangus*, not far from *Castle-Forbes*, according to *Gordonston*, in the Beginning of 1572 ; but *Crawford* says it was on the 9th of *October* 1571. *Arthur Forbes*, commonly called *Black Arthur*, was said to be killed by Mr. *William Gordon*, a younger Son of the Laird of *Lesmore*, and Predecessor to this Laird of *Terpersie*. There was none of Note killed in Sir *Adam's* Army but *John Gordon* of *Buckie*, Predecessor to this Laird of *Buckie*.

Sir *Adam Gordon*, knowing the *Forbesses* would reassemble their Forces, delays his intended Journey to

his Brother *Huntly*; and they immediately advertise the Regent of their Misfortune, who writes Letters to them, comforting and encouraging them not to desert the Cause, and sends them 200 disciplin'd Soldiers [*Gordonston* calls them five Companies of Foot, and some Horse] under the Command of Captains *Chisholm* and *Wedderburn*, with Letters to the Gentlemen in the North to assist them. The Loyalists sent also a Reinforcement under the Command of Sir *James Kirkaldy*, to Sir *Adam*, who, not standing in need of Officers, allowed Sir *James* to go from *Aberdeen* to *France*, to inform that King of the Condition of the Queen's Affairs, and crave his Assistance.

The *Forbesses* being encouraged with the Recruits sent them, raise all the Forces in their Power, and march straight to *Aberdeen*, where Sir *Adam* then lay with his Forces; whom, upon the Approach of the Enemy, he drew out of the Town, and by Sound of Trumpet discharged the Citizens to meddle in their Quarrel: Only 3 would needs accompany him to the Action. The *Forbesses* advance boldly with their Foot in the Front, commanded by *John* Master of *Forbes*. Sir *Adam* placed an Ambush, in a hollow Ground which the Enemy was to pass by, of 100 Musketeers, commanded by Captain *Thomas* *Cliv*, whom he commanded to ly close, till the Armies were engaged, and then to attack them with their Fire close in the Rear. He also sent about a By-way some *Sutherland* Men, most of them Archers, to attack them in the Flank; and he and his Brother Mr. *Robert*, with the rest of the Army, went forward to a Place called the *Crabstone*, to wait the Enemy. The Enemies Foot taking no Notice of the
Ambush,

Ambush, fire upon Sir *Adam's* Horse at a Distance, so often, till they had spent most of their Shot: And then the Ambush breaking out, assaults them briskly, breaks and disorders their Ranks with much Slaughter, the Captains being killed, and few escaping. In the mean Time the Horse on both Sides join Battle with great Eagerness and Obstinacy; sometime the one gaining Ground, and sometimes the other. One of the *Forbesses* having his Horse killed, takes a big Stone, and casting it with all his Force, strikes Sir *Adam* on the Helmet, and beats him down from his Horse, and made him faint: Which his People seeing, and thinking him killed, redouble their Fury to revenge his Death, break the Enemies Ranks, and make great Slaughter. In the mean Time one pulling off his Helmet, how soon he breathes the Air at Freedom, he recovers his Spirits, calls for his Horse, mounts, and shews himself to his Men; and now there was no more fighting, but flying with Slaughter.

In the Chace, which lasted 4 Miles (a), 200 of the Rebels were taken, and among them *John* Master of *Forbes* their Commander; 300 were killed, among whom were Captain *Chisholm* and 15 Gentlemen of the Name of *Forbes*: And I can find none of Note killed upon Sir *Adam's* Side. He was extremely civil to the Prisoners. He carried the Master of *Forbes*, with the rest of the Prisoners, to *Strabogie*, and there, upon their swearing never to carry Arms against the Queen, he dismiss them. This Fight, called the *Battle of Crabstone*, was fought Anno 1572; and by this Victory of the *Gordons*, all be-north the River of *Dee* were subjected to the Queen's Authority:

(a) Crawford, p. 238. Gordonston's MS:

ty. For the *Forbesses* Courage being abated, and their Arms laid aside, none else had the Boldness to attempt any thing against those who stood for her. *Crawford*, after his Account of this Battle, observes how the Northern People in Arms differ from those of the East and South; since in all the little frequent Battles at *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, there was not so much Blood spilt; and the Number of the killed and taken, when put together, amounted not to 500, which were in this one killed and taken. And indeed there would have been many more killed, if Sir *Adam* had not prevented it; for in the Chace (*Gordonston* says) his Cry was, *Take, take; Spare, spare.*

The Regent being troubled at this Loss of his Friends in the North, gathers Forces of Horse and Foot, well furnished with Arms and all Necessaries, and gives the Conduct of them to the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lords *Ruthven*, *Glamis* and *Keith*, eldest Son to the Earl *Marischal*, to march against Sir *Adam Gordon*, who was doing in the North what he pleased. These Lords had raised all the Forces of *Angus* and *Mearns* (a). *Crawford* says (b), *That the Command of this Army was given to Robert Douglas Earl of Buchan.* Sir *Adam Gordon* having taken in all the strong Places in the North, and garrison'd them for the Queen, had now entred the *Mearns*, and was besieging the House of *Glenbervy*; and he being advertised that these Lords with their Army were come to *Breckin*, a little Town situated upon the River of *Southesk*, and only some 10 Miles distant from him; designing there to stop him from marching further South, they having sent a Party to secure the Bridge upon the River of *Northesk*, a Pass 4 Miles distant

(a) *Gordonston's MS.* (b) *Crawford, p. 257.*

stant, and betwixt them & Sir *Adam*, thought they might rest there securely. But he resolving to disappoint them, leaves his Foot in their Trenches to continue the Siege, and, without Noise or Sound of Trumpet, marches off with his Horse; and having taken or killed all those who guarded the Bridge, that those in *Brechin* might get no Notice of his Approach, he marches forward: And when he was within two Miles of the Town, he acquainted his Troops with his Design, and ordered 300 of the best mounted among them to pass the upper-way, and enter one End of the Town, resolving himself with the main Body to make an Attack on the other End: But these either losing their Way, the Night being dark; or thinking the Service too dangerous, retired home without doing any thing (a). Sir *Adam* in the mean Time knowing nothing of this, and trusting to their Assistance, came furiously on; and forcing his Entrance, his Trumpets in the Streets first awak'd his careless and secure Enemy.

He killed or knocked down those he found on the Streets; and the rest half asleep, start out of their Beds; and affrighted with the sudden and unexpected Alarm, run out half naked at the postern Gates, and endeavour to save themselves by the Nimbleness of their Legs, protected by the Darkeness of the Night. And had not the unnecessary sounding of the Trumpet awaken'd them from their Sleep, he had made them all Prisoners. There were here killed 49, a great Number wounded, and 190 taken Prisoners, most of them Gentlemen. This happened upon the 5th of July 1572, and is called the *Bourd*, i. e. the *Fest of Brechin*. The affrighted Rebels left

(a) Crawford, p. 257.

their Horses, Arms, &c. behind them ; which was a seasonable Supply to Sir *Adam's* Soldiers, who in the Morning, when the Affair was over, called all the Prisoners before him, and made to them the following Speech, which I shall give in the original Stile. *Good Countrymen, Ye know that all Victory lyes in the Hands of GOD, to quibais haly Name be all Laud and Honour for ever. Ye be now by his good Pleasure all under the Will of your Adversary ; but Vengeance doth not become a Christian Man. For albeit ye have thir many Days bygane made stubborn Resistance to the Queen's Majesty's lawful Power, and We her Lieutenant ; yet will I not use any Severity against you at this Time, for any evil Example offered unto me by the Tyranny used by the Regents : But be the contrare, I will offer you all Humanity I may, providing that frae this Day forth ye will behave your selves as respectful Subjects to the Queen, and never come in the contrary. Whilk I beseech you to do, and promise here unto me as ye will answer to GOD, —* As he uttered the last Words, every Man held up his Hand, and echo'd them back again ; and all of them promising unalterable Loyalty for the future, and each becoming bound for the good Behaviour of the rest ; they were all dismiss'd without Ransom or Exchange. He being resolv'd to push his Fortune before his acquired Laurels should wither, march'd with his small Army of Horse to *Montrose*, a City 5 Miles distant from *Breckin*, situated on the Mouth of the same River of *Southesk*, and which being a convenient Sea-port, might be of great Use to him. When he approached the Town, the Magistrates frightned to see a conquering Enemy so near their Gates, call a general Council, and sent two of their Number to ask, *If he came as*

a Friend or a Foe? Sir Adam, who expected they would have address'd him in more submissive Terms, would not see them; but ordered one of his Officers to give them the following Answer, and sent them back with a Safe-Guard.

I. *That they should acknowledge him as the Queen's Lieutenant.*

II. *That they should never oppose themselves in Word or Deed against the Queen's Authority, but should fortify and assist her and her Lieutenant with all their Might.*

III. *That for observing and acknowledging of these Premisses, they should give up some of their Burgesses to him, to remain with him as Hostages. And*

IV. *Because they had offended in Time bygone, they should offer him a certain pecunial Sum, in Recompense of their Remission to be granted for the same.*

These Articles were not long disputed. They were heartily satisfied to own the Queen's Authority, and him as her Lieutenant; only intreated he would not demand Hostages. And as for the Money, begg'd it might be such a moderate Sum as could be chearfully paid without ruining their needful Families. Sir Adam's gentle Nature being easily overcome with the mortify'd Manner of their Address, past from the Demand of Hostages, nam'd a very modest Sum of Money; which being instantly paid, he returned to finish the Siege of *Glenbervy*.

The Regent in the mean Time finding the *Forbeses* and all his other Friends in the North intirely subdued; resolv'd to raise the Siege himself, and made what Haste he could to the North. But not being joined as he expected by the People of the Country whom Sir Adam's Generosity and Success had fully

conquered, he was forced to return without attempting any thing: And to cover his Weakness, gave out, that he was obliged to wait on the French and English Ambassadors; and Sir Adam made himself Master of the House of *Glenbervy*, and from thence marched forward into *Angus*; which Country he also brought to own the Queen's Authority: And now there was no Enemy to her durst appear in all the North of *Scotland*, on the North of the River *Tay*. And all this done by the Conduct of this one brave Gentleman, assisted by his Friends; which brought the Queen's Affairs into a more prosperous Condition than they had been at any Time since her Captivity. Yet this notwithstanding,

By the Mediation of the *French* and *English* Ambassadors a Treaty of Peace was set on Foot; and in the mean Time a Truce and Abstinence was agreed to by both Parties for two Months, to commence from the 31. of *July* 1572, the Terms are to be seen in *Crawford* at large (a); and immediately the Loyallists quitted the Town of *Edinburgh*, and the Rebels took Possession of it. These two Months being expired, it was renewed for other two Months, the Treaty of Peace still going on. In the Mean Time the Earl of *Mar*, having had so bad Success in his Regency, and no Prospect of better; (for when any Enterprize proved successful, *Morton* had the Glory of it; and when it miscarried, *Morton's* Emisseries put the Blame of it upon him;) being oppressed with Grief, he dies at *Stirling* 28. of *October* 1572, having in his Sickness appointed his Brother *Alexander Erskine*, and the Laird of *Tillibardine*, Governors for

(a) P. 263.

for the young King, and Keeper of the Castle of *Stirling*. In the Month of *November* also died *John Knox*, that rebellious and seditious Preacher, whose Enthusiastms were looked upon as Oracles by his Party.

Three Regents being thus removed in three Years Space, by Death, as if Heaven seem'd thereby to revenge the unjust and barbarous dethroning of their lawful Princess; by the Favour of Queen *Elizabeth* a Fourth is set up, who tho' he sat longer in that Chair of Iniquity than all the rest, yet his End was more tragical than any of theirs; and this was the Earl of *Morton*, the Associate and great Counsellor of *Murray*, in the contriving and carrying on of the long Chain of Miseries that the oppressed Queen and Country suffered.

The Negotiation of Peace being continued by the two Ambassadors of *France* and *England*; the new Regent foreseeing that his Authority would not be much respected in a Kingdom so much divided into Factions, and that the Prince growing to Age, the Change of Times and Persons could not but follow; and that for all the Pains he might take, and all the Hazards he might run, he perhaps might meet with Blame, rather than Commendation. All these Things being duly considered, made him heartily incline for Peace. And on the other Hand,

The Earl of *Arran* and *Huntly*, who were Heads of those who stood for the Queen, found themselves every Way straitned. The Exercise of their Religion (which was Popish) not being tolerated; and *Morton*, on his Entry to the Regency, in a Parliament having enacted, *That any who should desert the reformed Religion, and embrace the Popish, should be declared infamous*

famous and incapable of any publick Office or Dignity; that those who should contumaciously withstand the Protestant Doctrine (a) should enjoy no Privilege of Subjects; and those who should be excommunicated by the Church, should be looked upon and dealt with as Rebels. The Queen her self was shut up in more close Prison for endeavouring her own Liberty, by intending a secret Confederacy with the King of Spain (b); for which also the Kindness of France waxed cold; and shortly thereafter a League betwixt England and France is concluded at Blois (c): So that there were no more Hopes of Assistance from thence. All the Court of England were profess'd Enemies to her and her Adherents, and Forces were ready to be sent against them, when it should be thought expedient.

Besides these Considerations, an imminent Danger threatned both Parties at Home; viz. A Famine, which following upon the not tilling of the Ground, occasioned by the long War, would constrain both Parties to lay down their Arms. The Queen's Party thought there could not be a more proper Time for them to accept of Peace than this, wherein by their late Victories they were become formidable to their Enemies. If they should let this Opportunity slip, and if Fortune should change upon them, they might look no more for Peace on reasonable Terms, or any other but the Victor's Discretion, that is, Proscription, Banishment, Confiscation of Goods, and the utmost of Severities against their Lives and Fortunes. Wherefore by the Mediation of the Ambassadors, the Peace is concluded on these Conditions,

(a) Johnston, p. 2. N. 5. (b) Idem, p. 4. N. 50. (c) Udal, p. 233.

ons. They are set down at large by *Crawford (a)*, *That those who stood for the Queen, should acknowledge the Religion by Law established, submit themselves to the King, and Morton as his Regent, and to his Successors in the Regency, renouncing the Authority of all others, accounting them as Traitors that should attempt any Thing against the King, Religion or Regent. That the Sentences of Forfeiture or others, against the Gordons or Hamiltons, should be repealed, mutual Wrongs and Losses mutually forgiven; and all Soldiers disbanded, except four Companies, which the Regent should keep as long as the Parliament should think needful for the publick Good. To which Conditions Grange Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, the Lord Hume, Lethington, and the Bishop of Dunkeld refusing to consent or agree; the Castle is besieged, and after 33 Days Siege is forced to surrender, and those in it delivered up to the Regent; who, contrary to Capitulation, hanged the Captain, his Brother Sir James and some others, but spar'd Lethington, Hume, and some others at the Entreaty of Queen Elizabeth. Lethington was sent to Leith, where he died, not without Suspicion of Poyson. Some since that Time have blam'd the Loyalists for concluding this Peace, the Queen's Affairs being then so prosperous. 'Tis true indeed, Sir Adam Gordon had conquered for her all the North of Scotland, Lord Claude Hamilton was successful in the West, as the Laird of Pberiberst was in the South; yet the Earls of Arran and Huntly, who had their Healths broken with the Fatigues of a long and troublesome War, easily perceived the Queen of England*

gland was resolved not to part with *Queen Mary*, and that she was a ready and sure Help for the *Scots* Rebels. For tho' she suffered them sometimes to get Rubs from the Loyalists, yet she was always sure to extricate them out of their Difficulties, either by Force or Fraud: So that she would never suffer them to be utterly deprest, tho' she permitted them sometimes to be low, to keep them still in a slavish Dependence on her. These Things being duly considered, I don't see why these noble and loyal Gentlemen, are to be blamed for going in at last to this Peace, that they might in some Measure repair the Ruines of their private Estates.

This Peace being concluded, the Earl of *Huntly*, after all those Broils and Tempests of State he had been tossed with, from his younger Years, retires home, to collect the Wrack of his domestick Affairs; where living quietly for three Years, in End, being struck with an Apoplexy, he dies at *Strabogie*, Anno 1576. His Lady was Daughter to the Duke of *Chastelberault*, who bore to him three Sons, *George*, who succeeded him, *Alexander* of *Strathdown*, and *William*, who became Ecclesiastick in *France*; and one Daughter *Jean*, married to the Earl of *Caitness*. He was a brave and loyal Gentleman, and adhered closely to the Queen's Interest during Life. He was buried in the Family Burial-place in *Elgine*. His second Son, Sir *Alexander Gordon* of *Strathdown*, was married to the Countess of *Errol*, by whom he had a Son, *Alexander Gordon* of *Danquinty*, who sold *Strathdown* to *George* Marquis of *Huntly*. He married a Daughter of *Patrick Grant* of *Balindallock*, by whom he had *John* and *Alexander Gordons*. He was killed in the Forest of *Strathawen*, with his eldest

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deft Son *George*, at the Stalking, or lurking to kill Deer, Aug. 19. 1633; and for what I know, there is now no Heir-male extant of him. This Year 1576, died *Alexander Gordon*, Archbishop of *Athens*, and Bishop of *Galloway*, of whom before; and in the next Year died *William Gordon* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, of whom before also. Two Years before this, in the Beginning of 1574, not long after the Peace was concluded, Sir *Adam Gordon* of *Auchindown* (a), (with Sir *George Gordon* of *Gight*, and six other Gentlemen) went over to *France*, either for his Recreation, or to eschew the exorbitant Authority of the Regent, who was a violent Enemy not only to him, but to all the Name of *Gordon*; or for both these Reasons. He was very kindly received, and honourably entertained by *Charles IX.* King of *France*. At that Time there was one *Arthur Forbes*, Son to the Lord *Forbes*, who had vowed to kill *Auchindown*, for his killing his Uncle, called *Black Arthur*, at the Battle of *Tilliangus*; and to accomplish his Vow, he goes over to *Paris*, where he did associate himself with some debauched Ruffians (then called *Enfans de la mat.*) Men ready to enterprize any kind of Villany; and with those did he engage to murder *Auchindown* in the Night Time, promising them as a Reward certain Chains of Gold, which Sir *Adam* and his Friends did usually wear. For that Purpose *Forbes* and these desperate Fellows did ly in wait in the University of *Paris*, not far from the Port of *St. Jacques*, under Silence of the Night, as he was to return to his Lodging, from the Archbishop of *Glasgow's*, then Ambassador in *France*, his Lodgings. They discharged their Pistols at
Auchin-

(a) Gordonston's MS.

Auchindown, as he past by them, and wounded him in the Thigh; and immediately fled, thinking they had slain him. His Servants pursued, but could not catch them. They only found by good Chance *Forbes's* Hat, wherein was a Paper, where the Name of the Place of their Meeting was written; and *John Gordon* of *Longormes* (of whom before) who was then a Gentleman of *Charles IX's* Bed-chamber, getting instantly Notice of it, immediately acquainted the King, by whose Command *Le grand Provost de Hostel* was directed to go forthwith, with his Guard, in Company of *John Gordon* and *Sir Adam's* Servants, to the Place of their Meeting, to apprehend them; and coming to the House where they were, *Sir Adam's* Servants being impatient, with Violence rushed into the House, and kill'd *Forbes*, but his Associates were all apprehended, and thereafter broken on the Wheel alive, as he was also tho' dead. *Sir Adam* soon recovered of his Wounds, and returned to *Scotland*; and after his Brother's Death, had the Care of his Children and Estate entrusted to him.



APPEN-



APPENDIX.

N^o. I. *Carta Adæ de Gordon, filii Adæ de Gordune, de quadam terra apud Gordune per certas divisas.*

OMNIBUS sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis, has literas visuris vel audituris, Adam, filius Adæ de Gordun, salutem. No- veritis me, ex assensu & voluntate Anabillæ, Uxoris meæ, & hæredum meorum, dedisse, concessisse, & hac meâ cartâ confirmasse Deo, & Ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de Kalcho, & Monachis ibidem Deo servituris, in liberam, puram & perpetuam Elemosinam, pro salute animæ meæ, & omnium antecessorum & successorum meorum, totam

totam terram quæ continetur inter has divisas, *viz.* à vado, quod dicitur Bradford, ascendendo per rivum de Edene, usque ad novum fossatum, quod factum fuit in marisco versus Aquilonem eadem die donationis meæ; & sic à novo fossato in transversum per mariscum versus orientem, usque ad antiquum fossatum extentum usque ad divisas de Home, quod fossatum innovatum fuit eadem die: Et ab illo fossato in transversum versus austrum per mariscum usque ad divisas de Home; & sic per divisas de Home descendendo per mariscum versus occidentem usque in Edene, & sic per Edene usque ad prædictum vadium, tenendam & possidendam de me & heredibus meis in liberam & perpetuam elemosinam. Et præterea dedi præfatis Monachis, & concessi pasturam in marisco meo, quod dicitur Weststrocher, XXXta vaccis & earum exitui, sive bobus, cum animalibus meis, usque ad annum completum. Anno vero elapso, exitus earum de prædicta pastura amovebitur. Itaque prædictæ XXXta vacce sive boves, ut prolocutum est, communicabunt ubique in prædicta pastura cum animalibus meis, & mea cum suis ibidem in perpetuum. Ut autem prædicti Monachi totam terram infra divisas prænominatas contentam, sine alicujus communione in illa habenda: & pasturam prædictam ita integrè, liberè, quietè, plenariè & honorificè de me & heredibus meis in perpetuam elemosinam teneant, & possideant, sicut aliqui aliam elemosinam liberius & quietius plenius tenent & possident: presenti scripto sigillum meum in testimonium apposui. Et ego & heredes mei omnia ista prænominata prædictis Monachis warrantizabimus & defendemus. Hiis testibus.

N^o. II. *Carta Ricardi de Gordun, super terrâ
à Cimiterio Ecclesiæ de Gordun usque ad
Lipstane.*

UNIVERSIS sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis & fidelibus,
Richer de Gordun, salutem. Noverint om-
nes præsentis & futuri, me dedisse & concessisse, &
hac cartâ meâ confirmâsse Ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de
Kelchou, & Monachis ibidem Deo fervientibus, & Ec-
clesiæ Sancti Michaelis de villa mea de Gordun, in
liberam & perpetuam, & puram elemosinam, totam
terram à cimiterio, usque ad Lipeltane Sacerdotis,
& inde usque ad terram Sacerdotis, & inde usque ad
fossam quandam, quam Walterus Clericus de Gordun
fecit per crostam Roberti Rikelot usque ad Gateyech,
& sic per Gateyech usque ad viam quæ venit de
Gordun, & per viam illam sursum usque ad Handich,
& de Handich versus austrum usque ad unum mag-
num lapidem, & ab illo lapide usque ad alium mag-
num lapidem, & sic ad fossas repletas lapidibus, &
sic usque ad extremitatem curiæ Alexandri, & sic per
curiam ejus usque ad aliam extremitatem curiæ suæ,
& sic ascendendo usque ad cimiterium, & unam
acram terræ super Todelaue, & unam acram de pra-
to in Hundleistrower : ut prædicti Monachi prædi-
ctam terram ita libere, plenariè, & honorificè in libe-
ram, & puram, & perpetuam elemosinam teneant &
possideant, sicut aliquam aliam elemosinam in regno
Scotiæ, liberior, plenius & honorificentius tenent &
possident. Concessi etiam Capellano eorum, quem-
cunque in prædicta Ecclesia de Gordun ponere vo-
luerunt, communia aisiamenta cum hominibus meis

in pastura, in bosco, in plano, in mora & petaria, & in omnibus aliis communibus assyamentis villæ meæ de Gordoune. Hiis testibus.

N^o. III. *Confirmatio Thomæ de Gordun, filii Ricardi de Gordun, super donatione patris sui prædicti in villa de Gordun.*

OMnibus sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis & fidelibus, visuris vel auditoris has literas, Thomas filius Ricardi de Gordun, salutem. Sciatis, me concessisse & hac cartâ meâ confirmasse Deo & Ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de Kelchou, & Monachis ibidem Deo fervientibus, omnes donationes & conventiones, quas pater meus eis fecit, tam in terris quam in aliis, sive perpetuò, sive ad firmam tenendas & possidendas, ita & quietè, plenariè & honorificè, sicut in cartis ipsius Ricardi patris mei continetur, & sicut cartæ ipsius testantur & confirmant. Ad hanc autem conventionem fideliter & sine malo ingenio tenendam manu affidavi, & terras & alia omnia quæ in cartis patris mei continentur, contra omnes homines, prædictis monachis warrantizabo, & justè defendam. Hiis testibus.

N^o. IV. *Carta Thomæ de Gordune junioris.*

OMnibus sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis & fidelibus, ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, Thomas de Gordun, filius Thomæ de Gordun, æternam in Domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra, me Divinæ pietatis intuitu, & de assensu & voluntate Marjoriæ uxoris

uxoris meæ, dedisse, concessisse, & hac cartâ meâ confirmasse, Deo, & Ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de Kelehou, & Monachis ibidem Deo fervientibus, & in perpetuum servituris, in liberam, puram & perpetuam Elemosinam, totam terram, quæ continetur inter istas divisas, cum terris, cultis & non cultis, cum pratis, pascuis, petariis, moris, marefuis, aquis, piscariis, & cum virgis intus istas divisas crescentibus, & omnibus aliis assumentis adjacentibus; videlicet, à vado de Faireforde, per viam quæ tendit versus Gordun, usque ad quendam magnum lapidem juxta viam positum, juxta terram arabilem, & ita ab illo lapide versus austrum in directum, usque ad fuleum aratri, & sic semper per illum sulcûm versus austrum usque in fossatum, quod fecit Ricardus Flandrensis, & sic per illud fossatum versus orientem usque in rivulum qui descendit a fonte Sancti Oswaldi, & de Harewelle, & sic per illum rivulum usque ad fossatum factum subtus villam, & sic ab illo fossato usque in rivulum qui currit inter mariscum & petariam, usque ad viridem mussam, & per illum rivulum descendendo versus austrum, usque ad hoc quoad mariscus & petaria se dividunt, ascendendo versus aquilonem, & sic semper sicut se dividunt usque ad fossatum factum versus aquilonem, & sic ab illo fossato usque ad rivulum qui descendit de Faireforde, & per illum rivulum ascendente versus aquilonem usque in vadum de Faireforde. Et præterea duas bovatas terræ propinquiores petariæ, jacentes inter prædictam petariam & crostum Henrici de Hoga. Tenebunt verò dicti Monachi de me & heredibus meis, dictas duas bovatas terræ, & omnia alia prænominata, quæ continentur inter divisas prænominatas, cum libero exitu & introitu, & satis largis à predictis terris usque

ad pasturas, ita libera & quieta ab omni servitio intrinseco & extrinseco, & exactione, & honore, & ab omnibus aliis quæ aliquo tempore per aliquem possunt peti; sicut aliquam aliam Elemosinam in regno Scotiæ liberius & quietius tenent ac possident. Nec aliquis communicabit, infra prædictas divisas, cum Monachis prænominatis, sed facient commodum suum de terris, pratis & aliis prænominatis, quocumque modo voluerint melius, vel potuerint, tam in ædificiis construendis, quàm in aliis. Præterea concessi & confirmavi dictis Monachis omnes donationes, concessiones, & confirmationes, quas Prædecessores mei, sciz. Ricardus avus meus, & Thomas pater meus fecerunt eisdem & concesserunt, sicut in cartis eorum plenus continetur. Ego verò & heredes mei omnia ista prænominata contra omnes homines warrantizabimus & defendemus in perpetuum. Si vero ego, vel heredes mei, contra donationes, concessiones & confirmationes prædictas aliquo tempore contravenire præsumpserimus; subijcimus nos jurisdictioni Archidiaconi Laodoniæ, & Officialis; ut ipsi, omni Appellatione remota, possint compellere nos per censuram Ecclesiasticam ad omnia ista fideliter observanda. In cujus rei testimonium, &c.

Nº. V. *Carta domini Thomæ de Gordune junioris*

OMnibus sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis & fidelibus, ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, Thomæ de Gordune, filius Thomæ de Gordune, æternam in Domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra, me divinæ caritatis intuitu, & de assensu & voluntate Marjoriæ

joriæ uxoris meæ, dedisse, concessisse & hac præfenti
 cartâ meâ confirmasse Deo & Ecclesiæ beatæ Ma-
 riæ de Kalchou, & Abbati & Monachis Deo ibidem
 fervientibus, & in perpetuum servituris, pro salute a-
 nimæ meæ, & prædictæ uxoris meæ, & filiarum me-
 arum, & pro animabus omnium antecessorum & suc-
 cessorum meorum, in liberam, puram & perpetuam
 elemosinam, quandam partem pettariæ meæ, quæ
 vocatur Brunmos, in territorio de Gordune; illam
sciz. partem quæ jacet contigua illi Stroch, quod
 pater meus dedit prædictis Abbati & Monachis, ex
 parte occidentali villæ meæ de Gordune, quæ dicta
 pars pettariæ continetur infra istas divisas; *Viz.* à
 fossato, quod factum est subtus locum qui dicitur
 Todeholes, in directum recto tramite versus austrum,
 usque ad fossatum factum juxta rivulum de Blake-
 burn, qui rivulus dividit inter territorium de Faunes
 & de Melocstan, & territorium de Gordune; & ita
 à fossato eodem per eundem rivulum versus ori-
 entem, usque ad rivulum qui descendit de Faireforde,
 & sic per rivulum illum versus aquilonem, ascenden-
 do usque ad sicam, quæ vocatur Witchelethe, & ita
 per sicam illam versus occidentem, usque ad præ-
 dictum fossatum subtus Todeholes. Dedi etiam &
 concessi eisdem octo percatas terræ in latum, à ter-
 ra eorundem, quæ sciz. fuit terra quondem Patricii
 Burnarde, ad faciendum liberum & largum ingres-
 sum & egressum sibi & hominibus suis, & animalibus,
 usque ad prædictam pettariam; & ut faciant
 commodum suum infra ipsas octo percatas terræ, mo-
 dis omnibus quibus melius sibi viderint expedire, sive
 pettas siccando, sive domum vel sepem construendo
 ad pettas, vel fossata faciendo ad terram siccandam.
 Volo etiam & ut animalia sua pascantur liberè, tem-

pore cariationis, ubique super terram meam proximam extra bladum & pratium: & licentiam dedi eis faciendi pontem pro voluntate sua, usque ad prædictam petariam, & accipiendi de bosco meo maremium sufficienter ad ipsum pontem faciendum & reparandum in perpetuum cum defecerit, per quem liberè possint pettas suas cariare. Dedi etiam eisdem licentiam fodiendi quantum necesse habuerint in petaria, quæ dicitur pettaria Alani, donec prædictum pontem fecerint. Volo etiam & concedo eisdem, ut licenter & liberè in perpetuum, sufficienter accipiant de bosco meo Stoch & Ramail, tam de quercu quam de bule ad firmandum stagnum suum de Kalchou, & (quum necesse fuerit) perpetuò reparandum. Præterea dedi eis, & concessi prædictis Abbati & Monachis, totam terram illam, quæ continetur infra istas divisas, cum terris cultis & non cultis, cum pratis, pascuis, pettariis, moris, maresis, aquis, piscariis, & cum virgis infra ipsas divisas crescentibus, & omnibus aliis aiffamentis adjacentibus, viz. a vado de Faireforde per viam quæ tendit versus Gordune, usque ad quendam magnum lapidem juxta viam positum, juxta terram arabilem, & ita ab illo lapide versus austrum in directum, usque ad sulcum aratri, & ita per ipsum sulcum versus austrum, usque in fossatum, quod fecit Ricardus Flandrensis, & per illud fossatum versus orientem, usque in rivulum qui descendit a fonte Sancti Oswaldi, & de Harewelle, & sic per rivulum illum usque ad fossatum factum subtus villam, & sic ab illo fossato usque in rivulum qui currit inter mariscum & pettariam, usque ad viridem mussam, & per illum rivulum descendendo versus austrum, usque ad hoc quoad mariscus & petaria se dividant, ascendendo versus aquilonem, usque in vadum

dum de Faireforde. Et præterea dedi eis duas bovatas terræ propinquiores pettariæ, jacentes inter prædictam pettariam & croftum Henrici de Hoga. Dedi etiam & concessi eisdem Monachis, totam moram & terram in territorio de Gordune, infra istas divisas; videlicet, incipiendo apud Brademedue, quod dominus Thomas pater meus dedit eis, usque in Edene, & ita per Edene ascendendo usque in vadum, quod dicitur Carterforde, & ita de Carterforde ascendendo per Cartergate usque in Blakeburne, & de Blakeburne descendendo per Blakeburne usque in Edene, cum omnibus ad easdem moram & terram, per dictas divisas, tam subtus terram quam supra, pertinentibus: ita quod nec ego, nec heredes mei, nec homines mei, vel homines heredum meorum, vel alius omnino aliquis, in dictis mora & terra, cum dictis Monachis aliquo modo communam habeant. Dedi insuper eisdem licentiam & libertatem in perpetuum, vellendi bruerium ubicunque voluerint tam in territorio de Thornedich, quam in territorio de Gordune, & tam infra dominicum meum quam extra, ubicunque melius sibi viderint expedire; habituri in perpetuum liberam & plenam potestatem, bruerium suum, ad quemcunque locum voluerint, infra terram meam, aut extra terram meam & moram cariare, & commodum suum pro voluntate sua modis omnibus facere: Ita quod nec ego, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis hominum meorum, aut homines heredum meorum impediemus eos, quin possint liberum habere introitum & exitum, ubicunque in territorio meo, ad colligendum bruerium suum & cariaandum, nec aliquid ab eis propter hoc exigetur. Præterea dedi & concessi eisdem omnes donationes, concessiones, confirmationes & libertates, à Ricardo avo meo, & Thoma

patre meo eisdem collatas, prout in cartis eorum plenius continetur. Hæc autem omnia prænomina- ta, tam in terris, quam moris, pettariis, piscariis, & omnibus aliis supradictis, dedi & concessi, & præ- senti cartâ confirmavi prædictis Abbati & Mona- chis, tenenda & possidenda in perpetuum, in liberam, puram & perpetuam Elemosinam, de me, & heredi- bus meis, adeo liberè, quietè, plenariè & honorificè, & integrè, cum liberis & largis ingressibus & egressi- bus, ad omnes prædictas terras & pasturas, & ad omnia prædicta aisiamenta, sicut aliqua Elemosina in regno Scotiæ liberius, plenius & melius ab aliquibus viris Religiosis tenetur & possidetur: Liceatque eis de omnibus prænominatis, commodum suum absque ullo impedimento facere, quomodocunque sibi me- lius viderint expedire. Ita quod nullus omnino ho- minum, intra omnes præscriptas divisas, absque eo- rum licentia & voluntate possit jus aliquod vel com- munam vendicare. Ego verò & heredes mei præ- dictis Abbati & Monachis, omnia supra scripta con- tra omnes homines & foeminas warrantizabimus in perpetuum, & defendemus; nihil ab eisdem pro præ- dictis omnibus, præter solas orationes ad animarum salutem, exigentes. Et si contigerit, quod ego vel heredes mei contra donationes, concessiones, & con- firmationes prædictas aliquo tempore contravenire voluerimus; subjicimus nos & omnia bona nostra mobilia & immobilia jurisdictioni Archidiaconi Lao- doniæ & Officialis, qui pro tempore fuerit, ut ipsi, omni appellatione & contradictione cessantibus, pos- sint nos per censuram Ecclesiasticam compellere ad omnia prænominata fideliter observanda. Et scien- dum est, quod cum per voluntatem Domini conti- gerit, me viam universæ carnis ingredi, corpus meum

meum lego Deo & beatæ Mariæ in cimiterio de Kalcho, à præfatis religiosis Abbate & Monachis de Kalcho, fratribus meis in Christo, prout eis libuerit, sepeliendum. Et ut omnia prænominata perpetuam & inviolabilem firmitatem obtineant, præsens scriptum sigilli mei munimine roboravi. Hiis testibus, &c.

N^o. VI. *Carta Domini Thomæ de Gordune junioris de Pettario quod vocatur Brun-Moss.*

OMnibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris Thomas de Gordune, filius Thomæ de Gordune, salutem. Noveritis me, assensu & consensu Margiriæ uxoris meæ, divinæ caritatis intuitu, & pro salute animæ meæ, & prædictæ uxoris, & filiarum mearum, & pro animabus omnium antecessorum & successorum meorum, dedisse, concessisse, & præsentem cartam confirmâsse Deo & Ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de Kelchou, & Abbati & Monachis ibidem Deo fervientibus, & in perpetuum servituris, in liberam, puram & perpetuam Elemosinam, quandam partem petariæ meæ, quæ vocatur Brun-Mosse in territorio de Gordune, illam sciz. partem quæ jacet contigua illi Stroth, quod pater meus dedit prædictis Abbati & Monachis ex parte occidentali prædictæ villæ meæ de Gordune: quæ pars continetur infra istas divisas, viz. à fossato quod factum est subtus locum, qui dicitur Toddeshole, in directum recto tramite versus austrum, usque ad fossatum factum juxta rivulum de Blakeburn, qui rivulus dividit inter territorium de Fauhnes & de Melocstane, & territorium de Gordune: & ita à fossato illo per eundem rivulum versus orientem usque ad rivulum qui descendit de Fairesorde,

&

& sic per illum rivulum versus aquilonem ascendendo, usque ad ficam quæ vocatur Wyteleche; & ita per ficam illam versus occidentem, usque ad prædictum fossatum subtus Toddesholes. Concessi etiam eisdem octo percatas terræ in latum, à terra eorundem; quæ sciz: terra fuit quondam Patricii Burnard, ad faciendum liberum & largum ingressum & egressum sibi & hominibus suis, & animalibus, usque ad prædictam petariam, & faciendo commodum suum infra ipsas octo percatas terræ, omnibus modis, quibus sibi melius videbitur expedire; sive petas siccando, sive domum vel sepem faciendo ad petas suas, vel fossata ad terram siccandam. Concessi etiam ut animalia sua pascant liberè tempore cariationis ubique super terram proximam, extra bladum & pratum. Præterea dedi & concessi prædictis Abbati & Monachis licentiam & libertatem faciendi pontem pro voluntate sua, usque ad prædictam petariam, & accipiendi de bosco meo marremium sufficientem, ad ipsum pontem faciendum & reparandum in perpetuum, cum defecerit; per quem liberè possint cariare petas suas. Dedi & eisdem licentiam fodiendi, quantum necesse habuerint, in petaria, quæ dicitur petaria Alani, donec prædictum pontem fecerint. Præterea dedi & concessi eisdem licentiam & libertatem accipiendi sufficientem de bosco meo Stoc & Ramail, tam de quercu quam de bule, ad firmandum stagnum de Kalchou, & ad reparandum in perpetuum. Hæc autem omnia prænominata dedi, concessi, & prædictis Abbati & Monachis præsentem cartam confirmavi, tenenda & possidenda in perpetuum de me & hæredibus meis, adeò liberè, quietè, plenariè & honorificè, sicut aliqua elemosina in regno Scotiæ liberius, quietius, plenius & honorificentius ab aliquibus viris religiosus tenetur & possidetur; Liceat eis de omnibus

omnibus prænominatis, commodum suum facere, quomodocunque sibi melius viderint expedire. Ita quod nullus hominum infra divisas suas, sine eorum licentia, possit jus vel communam vindicare. Ego vero & hæredes mei omnia prænominata prædictis Abbati & Monachis contra omnes homines & fœminas warrantizabimus in perpetuum, & defendemus. Et sciendum, quod cum per voluntatem Domini contigerit, me viam universæ carnis ingredi, corpus meum lego Deo & beatæ Mariæ in Cimiterio de Kelchou, à præfatis viris religiosis Abbate & Monachis de Kelchou, fratribus meis in Christo, prout libuerit, sepeliendum. Et ut omnia prænominata perpetuam & inviolabilem firmitatem obtineant, præsens scriptum sigilli mei munimine roboravi. Hiis testibus, &c.

N^o. VII. *Confirmatio Thomæ de Gordune junioris super omnibus donationibus Antecessorum suorum.*

UNiversis sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis & fidelibus præsentibus literas visuris vel auditoris, Thomas filius Thomæ de Gordune, salutem. Noverit universitas vestra, me, intuitu caritatis, & pro anima patris mei, & matris meæ, & antecessorum & successorum meorum, concessisse, & præfenti cartâ confirmasse Deo, & Ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de Kalchou, Abbati & Monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, & in perpetuum servituris, omnes concessiones & collationes, quas prædecesores mei, sciz. Ricardus avus meus, & Thomas pater meus fecerunt eisdem & concesserunt, viz. in terris cultis & non cultis, pratis, pascuis & pasturis, mussis & mariscis, aquis & petariis, boscis & planis, viis & semitis, stagnis & molendinis, cum omnibus liber-

libertatibus & aisiamentis, quæ in instrumentis prædictorum antecessorum meorum continentur, tenendas & possidendas de me & hæredibus meis, liberas & quietas ab omni consuetudine & exactione, & seculari demanda in perpetuum. Ego vero & heredes mei omnes prædictas concessiones, donationes & libertates, contra omnes homines perpetualiter sine malo ingenio warantizabimus. In cujus rei testimonium, præsentis scripto sigillum meum apposui. His testibus, &c.

Nº VIII. *Conventio inter nos & Dominum Adam de Gordune Militem super quadam dicta carucata terræ.*

PAteat universis Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsentis pervenerint; quod cum orta esset materia contentionis inter nobilem virum, Dominum Adam de Gordune Militem ex parte una, & religiosos viros Abbatem & Conventum Monasterii sanctæ Mariæ de Kälchou ex altera, super quadam carucata terræ, quam iidem Abbas & Conventus dudum habuerunt, & possiderunt, cum libertatibus & aisiamentis spectantibus ad eandem, in territorio de West-Gordune, ex dono bonæ memoriæ Domini Andreæ Frazer Militis jam defuncti: Demum die Veneris proximè post festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra, Anno gratiæ MCCCVII. in Ecclesia prædicti Monasterii, amicis communibus intervenientibus, dicta contentio inter dictas partes conquievit, in forma quæ sequitur, viz. quod iidem Abbas & Conventus pro bono pacis, & jure dicti Domini Adæ mediante, unanimiter assenserunt & concesserunt dicto Domino Adæ & hæredibus suis, vel
suis

fuis assignatis, quod liceat eidem Domino Adæ, & hæredibus suis, & assignatis, à tempore confectiõnis præsentium, habere oratorium in perpetuum, ubi sibi placuerit, vel placuerint, infra parochiam de Gordune : Ita quod liberè possit habere sibi & hæredibus suis, vel suis assignatis, oblationes quæ fuerint ab ipso, & hæredibus suis & assignatis, & eorum libera familia, ac ab aliis fervientibus ibidem, salvo jure matricis Ecclesiæ in omnibus aliis. Et non minus concesserunt iidem Abbas & Conventus dicto Domino Adæ & hæredibus suis, vel eorum assignatis, pro omnimoda inquietatione & molestatione, quæ eis in posterum poterit fieri quoquomodo, super dicta carucata terræ cum pertinentiis, de cætero evitanda & amovenda, à prædicto Domino Adæ & hæredibus suis, vel suis assignatis, duas Marcas Sterlingorum, in perpetuum ab ipsis Abbate & Conventu & eorum Monasterio annuatim percipiendas, ad duos anni terminos, viz. medietatem ad Pentecosten, & aliam medietatem ad festum Sancti Martini in hyeme ; termino primæ solutionis incipiente ad Pentecosten Anno Domini Mcccix. Ad quorum solutionem suis terminis fideliter faciendam, ut prædictum est, iidem Abbas & Conventus, eidem Domino Adæ & hæredibus suis vel assignatis, omnia bona sua in prædicto tenemento de Gordune inventa, tan- Ecclesiastica, quam mundana, sive sint de decimis dictæ parochiæ, sive de aliis rebus (quotiens fuerit in solutione earundem cessatum) capienda, & ad voluntatem dicti Domini Adæ, hæredum suorum, & assignatorum rationabiliter distringenda, & juxta quantitatem debiti communi æstimatione levanda, obligant per præsentem. Dicitus vero Dominus Adam, pro se & hæredibus dat, & quietum clamat in perpetuum, Deo & beatæ Mariæ de Kalchou, & Monachis ibidem Deo fer-

servientibus & servituris, omne jus & clamium quod habuit, vel aliquo modo habere potuit, in prædicta carucata terræ, cum pertinentiis in Westir-Gordun, ut teneant & habeant prædictam carucatam terræ, cum pertinentiis, & cum omnibus communibus aiffamentis, infra dictam villam & extra, ita liberè & quietè, plenariè, & pacificè & honorificè in omnibus, sicut eandem liberius ac quietius aliquo tempore tenuerunt & possiderunt in liberam puram & perpetuam elemosinam, nullo jure aut servitio dicto Domino Adæ, aut hæredibus suis, vel suis assignatis, de eadem carucata terræ, cum pertinentiis suis, præter orationum suffragia pro se & suis, in posterum, reservato. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto duplicato, parti viz. penes dictum Dominum Adam residenti, sigillum commune Capituli Monasterii de Kalchou est appensum; parti vero residenti penes eisdem Abbatem & Conventum sigillum dicti Domini Adæ apponitur. Actum & datum loco & die antedictis. Hiis testibus, &c.

N^o. IX. *Carta Aliciæ de Gordune filiæ Domini Thomæ de Gordune, super donatione Antecessorum suorum.*

OMnibus Christi fidelibus præfens scriptum visuris vel audituris, Alicia de Gordune filia & heres quondam Domini Thomæ de Gordune Militis junioris, salutem in Domino. Noverit universitas vestra, me, in legitima viduitate mea, mere & sponte, Divinæ caritatis intuitu, & pro salute animæ meæ, & animarum patris mei, & Adæ de Gordune quondam sponsi mei, & omnium antecessorum & successorum meorum, dedisse, concessisse, & hac præfenti cartâ meâ, pro me &

& hæredibus meis vel assignatis, confirmasse, in liberam, puram & perpetuam elemosinam, Deo & Ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de Kalchou, & Monachis ibidem Deo fervientibus, & in perpetuum servituris, omnes terras, redditus, aisiamenta, libertates, jura, & possessiones omnes & singulas, dictis Ecclesiæ & Monachis à Domino Ricardo, proavo meo, sive à Domino Thoma quondam avo meo, sive à Domino Thoma quondam patre meo, qualitercunque, ubicunque & quodocunque concessas & confirmatas, prout instrumenta ipsorum, super præmissis confecta plenius, liberius, & melius testantur; & specialiter illam particulam terræ, quæ jacet inter viam quæ ducit apud Spottiswode & Dominium de Dedrig in latum, & viam quæ ducit apud Hunteley & Huplongflach in longum, quam Dominus Thomas pater meus prædictis Ecclesiæ & Monachis extremò contulit. Quare volo & concedo, & confirmo, pro me & hæredibus meis vel assignatis, ut dicti Monachi omnia & singula præmissa, in terris, cultis & non cultis, in boscis, pascuis, petariis, moris, marefcis, aquis, piscariis, & in omnibus aliis libertatibus & aisiamentis, absque omni impedimento, contradictione seu gravamine mei & hæredum meorum, sive assignatorum meorum, liberè, quietè, plenè & integrè, prout melius videbitur eisdem Monachis expedire, habeant, teneant & possideant, & commodum suum pro voluntate faciant in perpetuum, solas orationes pro omnibus reddendo. Ego vero dicta Alicia, & heredes mei vel assignati, omnia & singula præmissa in instrumentis dictorum Dominorum Ricardi, Thomæ senioris, & Thomæ junioris contenta, memoratis Ecclesiæ & Monachis warantizabimus, tuebimur, acquietabimus & defendemus contra omnes homines & foeminas in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium præ-

præsenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, &c.

N^o. X. *Confirmatio super Ecclesiam de Gordune.*

Richardus Dei gratiâ, Episcopus Sancti Andreae, universis sanctae Ecclesiae filiis & fidelibus, salutem. Noverint omnes tam posteri quam praesentes, me concessisse, & Episcopali auctoritate confirmasse Ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae de Kelcho, & Monachis ibidem Deo servantibus, Ecclesiam de Gordune, cum integritate parochiae suae, sciz. de Gordune & de Spotrifwode, quam habuit eo die quo cimiterium ibi feci, ad petitionem Abbatis & Monachorum praedictorum, & cum omnibus aliis ad ipsam Ecclesiam justè pertinentibus, in liberam & perpetuam elemosinam. Concedo etiam, ut quamdiu Abbas & Conventus de Kelcho voluerint, homines de altero Gordune, sciz. Adae, ibi sacramenta percipiant Ecclesiastica, & sepeliantur corpora eorum, & iterum quando voluerint revertantur ad matricem Ecclesiam suam de Hom. Hiis testibus, Magistro Andrea Archidiacono Laodoniae, Magistro Jo. nepote Episcopi, Alexandro Capellano, Magistro Roberto de Hedune, Gaufrido Dapifero, & aliis.

N^o. XI. *Confirmatio super Ecclesias de Gordune & de Home in perpetuos usus.*

Omibus hoc scriptum visuris vel auditoris, Garmelinus permissione divina, Ecclesiae Sancti Andreae

dræ Minister humilis, æternam in Domino salutem. Cum univerſorum ſubjectorum utilitati teneamur paterna ſollicitudine providere; ad eorum tamen utilitatem procurandam ſpecialius obligamur, qui, quæ ſua ſunt, ad ſuſtentionem hoſpitem, pauperum, & peregrinorum effundunt, & in religionis augmentum penitus convertunt. Hinc eſt, quod cum domus Kalchoenſis pauperibus & peregrinis ſe exhibeat hoſpitalem; nos tranquillitati Monachorum ibidem Deo ſervientium providere cupientes, providâ deliberatione ordinamus & ſtatuímus, ut prædicti Monachi Eccleſiis de Gordune & de Home, quas eis ad uſus proprios in perpetuum dāmus & concedimus, & Episcopali auctoritate confirmamus; non per Vicarios ſed per honeſtos Capellanos, qui nobis & ſucceſſoribus noſtris de ſpiritualibus respondeant, & per Clericos ſufficientes faciant, in perpetuum deſervire. Ipsi autem Monachi omnes fructus dictarum Eccleſiarum in uſus ſuos perpetuò convertant, nec ad Vicariorum præſentationem teneantur. Ut autem hæc donatio noſtra & confirmatio perpetuum robur optineat, præſens ſcriptum ſigilli noſtri munimine fecimus roborari. Salvis Episcopalis nobis & ſucceſſoribus noſtris. Datum apud Sanct. Andream die Martis, infra octabas Aſcenſionis, Anno gratiæ milleſimo ducentefimo ſeptuageſimo.

By theſe Charters we find, that the firſt of the Family of Gordon who mortified Lands to the Abbacy of Kelſo, is called *Adam filius Ada*. This Abbacy was built by *David I.* and 'tis probable that this Mortification was made at or near the Time of the Erection of it; and that *Adam* the Father, mentioned in the firſt Charter, was the firſt of the Name of *Gordon* that came into *Scotland* in *Malcolm III.*'s Time. To the ſecond *Adam* (and the firſt Mortifier) ſucceeded his Son, *Richard de Gordon*, whom we find mentioned in the ſecond

Charter. To him succeeded *Thomas* the elder, named in the third; and to him *Thomas* the younger, named in the Scrolls of these Charters. He was succeeded by his only Child *Alicia Gordon*, who married her near Cousin *Adam Gordon*; (She had an Uncle, *Sir William Gordon* of *Coldingknows*, of whom hereafter in the 2d Vol.) and this *Adam* was succeeded by his Son *Sir Adam*, who got the Lordship of *Strabogie* from King *Robert I.* He was the first that settled his Residence in the North of *Scotland*, and with whom I begin this History: For as we have nothing almost recorded of a great many of our ancientest Kings but their Names, so I can find nothing of Moment recorded of the Actions of the fore-named Gentlemen, and only has their Names from the above Charters.

Rym. Fæd. Angl. Vol. I. p. 92.

DE Fortunato de Gordon sic erit, quod si idem Rex Angliæ, poterit probare per sacramenta viginti vel triginta legitimorum hominum, quod duo castella, scilicet *Casians* & *Peril*, tenuisset idem Rex Angliæ, per unum annum & unum diem & amplius, &c.

This should have been insert N^o. 1.

N XII. *Rym. Fæd. Angl. Vol. 8. p. 55. Anno Dom. 1398,* In a Meeting of the Wardens of the *Scots* and *English* Marches, *Adams Gordon* is mentioned in these Words:

*O*Wtane that *Adam* of *Gordon*, *Willame* the Bard, and *Adam* *Franche*, ar lattin to *Borgh* to the said *Comissaris* of *Scotland*, for til appere at the next Day of *Metyng* of the great *Comissaris* of baith the *Reaumes*, under the *Payne* of thre *M. Pounds*.

Ibid.

Ibid. p. 58. Anno Dom. 1398, Anno 22. Rich. II.
De Appunctuamentis super Treuga ante dicta.

At Clochmabanstane the 6 Day of November, the Yere of Grace MCCC nynty and aucht; Bettwex Sire Willame of Borthwick Knycht, and Roger of Goudon Sqwiere, Comissarez of the hey and mychty Prince the Kyng of Scotlande, on the a Parte, and Sire John Buffie and Sire Henry Grene Knychtez, Mr. Willame Firby Clerc and Lawrence Drewe Sqwiere, Comissairez of the hey and mychty Prince the Kyng of Englande, on the tother Parte; it is accoadit in the manere efter following; &c.

Ibid. p. 536. Anno Dom. 1408.

Super Hostagiamento Comitis de Douglas.

Alexander Gordon Lord of Stichel, is one of the Hostages for the Earl of Douglas, that he should retorne to Prison in the Castle of Duresme, or where John Duke of Lancaster should appoint upon Pasch-day next to come. Upon which he gets a Safe-conduct to go into England to enter himself Hostage, p. 537. This Indenture is dated at Mortlake, 19. June 1408.

N^o. XIII.

ROBERTUS, Dei gratiâ, Rex Scotorum, omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ suæ, Clericis & Laicis, salutem. Sciatis, nos dedisse, concessisse, & hac præfenti cartâ nostrâ confirmasse dilecto consanguineo nostro, Johanni de Gordon, omnes & singulas terras de Strathbolgy cum pertinentiis, infra

Vicecomitatum de Aberdene, quæ fuerunt ejusdem Johannis; & quas recolendæ memoriæ, Dominus avus & prædecessor noster, Dominus Robertus illustris Rex Scotorum, quondam Adæ de Gordon, Militi, proavo dicti Johannis de Gordon hæreditariè dedit & concessit. Ex eo quòd dictæ terræ præfatum Dominum avum nostrum tunc temporis contingebant, ratione forisfacturæ, quondam David de Strathbolgy, existentis ad tunc ad pacem & fidem Regis Angliæ contra ipsum. Et quas terras de Strathbolgy cum pertinentiis, idem Johannes de Gordon, pronepos præfati quondam Adæ de Gordon, non vi aut metu ductus, nec errore lapsus, sed merâ & spontaneâ voluntate suâ nobis per fustem & baculum sursum reddidit ex causa, ac purè & simpliciter resignavit, ac totum jus & clameum, quod in dictis terris cum pertinentiis habuit, seu habere potuit, pro se & hæredibus suis, omni modo quietum clamavit in perpetuum. Et licet idem quondam David de Strathbolgy, tempore, quo quondam Andreas de Moravia Miles, fuit Custos regni, avunculo nostro Regi David in remotis agente, fuerit ad fidem & pacem ejusdem Domini Regis David per ipsum quondam Custodem receptus, & ad terras suas reconciliatus, ex causa quod quondam David de Strathbolgy, postmodum à fide & pace dicti Domini avunculi nostri recidens, & ad fidem & pacem Regis Angliæ iteratò rediens, & in fide ejusdem Regis Angliæ diem claudens extremum, tanquam publicus hostis Regis & regni, præfatas terras cum pertinentiis forisfecerat: iterato nos tametsi & in quantum dictæ terræ ad nos pertinent, seu pertinere debent, ratione ultimæ forisfacturæ ipsius quondam David de Strathbolgy, sic contra fidem & pacem Regis & regni defuncti, ex habundanti, & ut omne vitium ultimæ forisfacturæ

facturæ hujusmodi, in nostra infeodatione purgetur, penitus & ex toto, ipsas terras de Strathbolgy cum pertinentiis, eidem Johanni de Gordon, tenore præsentis cartæ nostræ, ut præsens, concedimus atque damus, tenendas & habendas eidem Johanni de Gordon, & hæredibus suis, de nobis & hæredibus nostris, in feodo & hæreditate, per omnes rectas metas & divisas suas, in unam integram & liberam Baroniam, in boscis & planis, pratis, pascuis & pasturis, moris, marefiis, viis, semitis, aquis, stagnis, molendinis, multuris, & eorum sequelis, aucupationibus, venationibus & pasturis, bondis, bondagiis, nativis & eorum sequelis, cum tenandriis & servitiis liberè tenentium, ac advocationibus Ecclesiarum, cum furca & fossa, soke & sake, tole & theam, & infangand theif; nec non cum omnibus aliis & singulis libertatibus, commoditatibus, aisiamentis & justis pertinentiis quibuscunque, ad dictas terras spectantibus, seu justè spectare valentibus in futurum, adeo liberè & quietè, plenariè, integrè & honorificè, in omnibus, & per omnia, sicut dictus quondam Adam, aut aliqui prædecessorum dicti Johannis, dictas terras cum pertinentiis, aliquo tempore justè tenuit seu possedit, aut justè possidere debuit & tenere, seu justè tenuerunt & possiderunt, vel possidere debuerunt, aut tenere. Faciendo inde nobis & hæredibus nostris dictus Johannes & hæredes sui, servitium duorum militum in exercitu nostro. In cujus rei testimonium, præsentis cartæ nostræ nostrum præcepimus apponi sigillum: Testibus venerabili in Christo patre, Willielmo Episcopo Sancti Andrea, Johanne primogenito nostro, Comite de Carrick Senescallo Scotiæ, Roberto Comite de Fyfe & Monteith filio nostro dilecto, Willielmo Comite de Douglas, Johanne de Carrick Cancellario

nostro, Jacobo de Lindesay nepote nostro, Hugone de Eglintoun, & Roberto de Erskine Militibus. Apud Perth, sexto decimo die mensis Junii, Anno regni nostri sexto.

The foregoing Charter, with a former Charter of Confirmation granted by King David to the said John Gordon, of the Lands of Strathbogie, are registred in the Books of Council and Session upon the 15th of September 1713, and the Extract signed by

JO. ALEXANDER.

This Charter is an unquestionable Evidence for the Legitimacy of Robert III. Here he is designed *Johanne primogenito nostro, Comite de Carrick, Senescallo Scotia.*

All our Historians since *Boethius's* Time implicitly following him, have been guilty of a most egregious Mistake, in denying that *Elizabeth Muir* was *Robert II.'s* first and lawful Wife, and so of Consequence that *Robert III.* was his eldest lawful Son. If they had looked into the Registers at that Time in *Scotland*, they could never have been guilty of so gross a Mistake. However, that Affair has been of late put into a true Light by the late Earl of *Cromarty* and the learned Author of the Preface to *Hawthornden's* Works; and the Legitimacy of *Robert III.* put beyond all Exception, from unquestionable Records. But the clearest Proof of his Legitimacy that can be, is a Charter belonging to the Hospital of *Old Aberdeen.* In the Beginning of it, while his Father was only Earl of *Strathern*, he is designed, *Johanne Senescallo, Domino de Kyle, primogenito nostro*; and in the End of that Charter, in the third Year of his Father's Reign, he is designed, *Joanne Comite de Carrick, Senescallo Scotia, primogenito nostro.* There is also to that Charter three of his Brothers subscribing Witnesses, viz. *Robert* Earl of *Fife* and *Monteith*, *Alexander* Lord of *Badzenach*, and *David* Earl of *Strathern.* This is so absolute and undeniable a Proof of the Legitimacy of *Robert III.* that I thought it proper to insert it here.

ROBERTUS

ROBERTUS, Dei gratiâ, Rex Scotorum, omnibus probis hominibus, — S. Cum dudum tempore claræ memoriæ Domini avunculi & prædecessoris nostri Domini DAVID illustris Regis Scotiæ, nos ad tunc Senescallus Scotiæ, & Comes de Strathern, dedimus & concessimus Roberto de Erskine, Militi, dilecto consanguineo nostro, & Domine Christianæ de Keith, Sponsæ suæ, terras nostras de Nesbyt, & de Edynhame infra Vicecomitatum de Roxburgh, tenore qui sequitur, Omnibus — Robertus Senescallus Scotiæ Comes de Strathern, Sal. — Nos dedisse Domino Roberto de Erskine, & Domine Christianæ de Keith, terras nostras de Nesbit & Edinhamè, — Testibus venerabilibus in Christo patribus, Dominis Willielmo, & Patricio tunc Cancellario Scotiæ, Ecclesiarum Sancti Andreae & Brechinen. Dei gratiâ Episcopis, reverendis & religiosis viris Dominis Joanne, Willielmo & Joanne de Dunfermling, de Sconâ & Insulæ missarum, eadem gratiâ Abbatibus, nobilibus viris Joanne Senescallo Domino de Kyle primogenito nostro, Roberto Senescallo filio nostro Domino de Monteith, Dominis Thomæ Bissat, David de Grahame, Archibaldo de Douglas, Hugone de Eglinton, Joanne Senescallo fratre nostro, David Flemyng & Thoma de Fawside Militibus, Joanne de Erth, Joanne de Roose, Hugone de Roose — Noveritis, nos super hoc diligenti tractatu præhabito cum prædictis Roberto & Christianâ, nostrâque in hac majore utilitate pensatâ, dedisse, concessisse, & hac præsentî chartâ nostrâ confirmâsse iisdem Roberto de Erskine & Christianæ sponsæ suæ, centum libras Sterlingorum de firmis Burgi nostri de Abirdene nobis debitis

annuatim in excambium prædictæ Baronæ de Edinbame, — Testibus venerabilibus patribus Willielmo Sancti Andree, Michaele Dunkelden. Alexandro Abirdonen. Alexandro Moravien. Patricio Brechinen. Alexandro Rossen. Malcolmno Cathanen. Dei gratiâ Ecclesiarum Episcopis, primogenito nostro Joanne Comite de Carrick Senescallo Scotiæ, Roberto Comite de Fyffe & de Menteith, Alexandro Domino de Badzenach, David Comite de Strathern filiis nostris charissimis, Willielmo de Douglas, Georgio de Dunbar Marciæ, Joanne de Dunbar Moraviæ Comitibus, dilectis consanguineis nostris Joanne de Carrick Canonico Glasguensi Cancellario nostro, Waltero de Biggar, Rectore Ecclesiæ de Errol Camerario nostro, Jacobo de Lindsay nepote nostro, Arch. de Douglas, Willielmo de Keith Marefcallo nostro Scotiæ, Hugone de Eglintone & Duncano Walais Militibus, in pleno parlamento nostro apud Sconam tento, die tertio mensis Aprilis, Anno Regni nostri tertio.

Transcribed from the original Charter among the Papers belonging to the Hospital of Old Aberdeen.

N^o. XIV. Declaration JAMES IV. to Alexander Earl of Huntly.

JACOBUS, Dei gratiâ, Rex Scotorum; Omnibus probis hominibus suis, ad quos præsentem literæ pervenerint, salutem. Noveritis, quia nobis clarè constat, quod diversæ cartæ & evidentæ spectantes dilecto consanguineo & consiliario nostro Alexandro Comiti de Huntlie, Domino Gordoun & Badzenach, ex subitaneo incendio contingente in sua camera, infra palatium

tium nostrum juxta Monasterium nostrum sanctæ Crucis prope Edinburgh, jam nuper combustæ & distructæ erant, inter quas una extitit carta super terris forestarum de Aynze & Boyne, facta per quondam prædecessorem nostrum bonæ memoriæ Regem David Brusè cuidam prædecessori prædicti nostri Consanguinei. Quam cartam fatemur nos vidisse & intellexisse, & declaramus quod dictæ terræ forestarum de Aynze & Boyne per tenorem ejusdem cartæ datæ erant in una libera foresta, & ut una tenandria, tent. per servitium wardæ & relevii, & non fuerunt singulæ tenandriæ, sed unum feodum datum cum potestate reducendi easdem ad culturam & seminationem granorum. Et hoc omnibus & singulis quorum interest declaramus, & notum facimus per præsentés. IN CUJUS rei testimonium magnum Sigillum nostrum presentibus apponi fecimus. Apud Edinburgh, decimo septimo die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo sexto, & regni nostri decimo octavo.

N^o. XV. *Letter, LEO X. to the King of England.*

WHEREAS JAMES late King of Scotland, in a Treaty he had made with Henry VII. King of England, confirmed by Pope Alexander VI. had articulated, That if at any Time he should act contrary to the Tenor of that Treaty, or in Breach of it, he would incur the Sentence of Excommunication, as was specified by proper Instruments of the said Pope; and that King James afterwards, upon his Marriage with the King's Sister, renewed and established the said

said Treaty, and submitted to the same Censure, if he infringed that Treaty: And notwithstanding in Violation of so many powerful Ties, had broken the Peace; and for that Reason had been declared and pronounced excommunicate by Christopher Archbishop of York Cardinal; in Virtue of full Powers granted to him for that End by Julius II. And that dying in the Field of Battle, upon the Borders of England, his Body had not been interred in sacred Ground. Therefore, in Consideration of the Dignity of his Character, his Alliance to the King, and common Events of Life, and his personal Virtues, the King had been induced to desire that his Body might be carried to London, in order to be interred in the Cathedral Church of St. Pauls, according to his Royal Dignity: And the Pope being moved with so pious and laudable an Instance of Zeal in his Majesty; and studious of giving all proper Testimonies of his Regard to him, and being further charitably perswaded, that the said King James, in his last Moments, might exercise some suitable Acts of Contrition, such as the Circumstances of the Time would admit; he therefore granted a Licence to his Majesty, to remove his Body, and cause it to be buried in the said Cathedral, with such funeral Rites and Solemnities as his Majesty should think requisite and becoming; and that his Majesty might appoint the Bishop of London, or any other Bishop, before his Interment, to absolve him, by Virtue of the Pope's Authority, from all impediments or Difficulties on Account of the Censures past against him; provided withall, That his Majesty, in Name of the deceased King, should himself undergo some convenient Penance, notwithstanding any Rules or Constitutions to the contrary. Rymer, Tom. 13. p. 385.

N^o. XVII. *Dialogue betwixt King James V. and Sir Ralph Sadler Ambassador of England, from his Letters, Page 39.*

SIR Ralph Sadler was sent Ambassador to King James V. in February 1539-40, to dispose King James to resume the Abbay Lands for the Encrease of his Revenue, and to perswade him to it, loaded the Monks and Religious of both Sexes with Incontinency, and those other Crimes that Henry VIII. pretended they were guilty of in England, when he destroyed the religious Houses there. King James heard all he had to say very patiently, and then gave him a very resolute and pious Answer.

I thank the King's Grace, mine Uncle, for his Advice; but, in good Faith, I cannot do so; for, methinks its against Reason and God's Law to pull down thir Abbays and religious Houses, which have stood thir many Years, and God's Service maintained and kept in the same. And (*quoth he*) what need I to take them to increfs my Livelihood, when I may have any Thing that I may require of them. I am sure (*quoth he*) there is not an Abbay in Scotland at this Hour, but gif we mister any Thing, we may have of them whatsoever we will desire that they have; and so what needs us to spoil them. *Notwithstanding which the Ambassador went on, charging the Monks with Idleness, that they lived upon the Labours of the Poor; that they were guilty of those Crimes charged upon Sodom and Gomorrhah, saying, That if the Monks and Nuns of Scotland were not more holy than those in England, there reigneth*

no more Carnality, Incontinency, Buggary, Sodomy, and Letchery and other Abominations, than is used in Cloysters, amongst Monks, Chanons, Nuns and Friars, which could never appear, so long as the Visitations of those Houses were intrusted to the Bishops and Clergy, whom he charges not only with cloaking their Crimes, because they would not have their own to appear. Whereas Doctor Fiddes, no Friend to Popery, in his Life of Cardinal Wolsey, makes it appear that the Bishops then, were Men both of great Piety and Learning. He does not scruple to compare Fisher Bishop of Rochester, to the most pious of the primitive Bishops. Then he says, That tho' the Monks pretended wilful Poverty, your Majesty will bear me Record, That they may be said to be rather wilfully rich, than wilfully poor. And as for Obedience, (he says) they were obedient to none but their Captain (as he calls him) the Bishop of Rome, and claimed by their Bulls to be exeemed from their Obedience to the King; and that he could not see that they do in any Point observe any Part of their Profession.

To which the King replied, " Oh, God forbid, that
 " if a few be not good, that for them all the rest
 " should be destroyed. Tho' some be not, (quoth he)
 " there be a great many good; and the Good may be
 " suffered, and the Evil must be reformed, as ye shall
 " hear that I shall help to have it redressed in Scot-
 " land by God's Grace, if I brook Life. Sir (quoth
 " he) I must do as Christ saith, Omnis plantatio
 " quam non plantavit pater meus cœlestis eradica-
 " bitur. " Upon which the Ambassador replied.
 In Truth then you must weed them all up by the Root,
 as your Uncle the King's Grace hath done. No, Sir,
 said the King, I'm sure mine Uncle will not desire
 me

me to do otherwise than my Conscience serveth me. And refused absolutely to comply with the King of England's Advice in that Matter.

N^o. XVI.

It is statute and ordanit, That it sal be lesfull to all our Soverane Ladyis Leiges to haif the hally Writ, to wit, the New Testament and the Auld in the vulgar Young in Inglis or Scottis, of ane gude and trew Translatioun; and that thai sal incur na Crimes for the basing and reding of the samin; providing alwayis, that na Man dispute or bald Opinizeonis, under the Painis containit in the Actis of Parliament. The Lordis of Artiklis beand avisit with the said Writing, findis the samen resonable, and therfor thinkis that the samin may be usit, amangis all the Leigis of this Realme, in oure vulgar Young, of ane gude, trew and just Translatioun, becaus there was na Law shewin or producit in the contrar, and that none of our Soverane Ladyis Leiges incur ony Crimes for basing or reding of the samin, in Form as said is, nor fall be accusit thairfore in Time coming. And that na Personis dispute, argou, or bald Opinionis of the samin, under the saidis Painis containit in the foresaidis Actis of Parliament.

Gubernator,

Clerk of Register, It is Oure Will, and Wee charge you, That ze gar proclaime this Day at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, the Actis maid in our Soverane Ladyis Parliament, that suld be proclaimit and gi-

winforth to hir Liegis, and in speciale the Act made for having of the New Testament in vulgare Tounge, with certane Additionis; and thereafter gif furth the Copyis thair of autentick as effeirs to all thame that will desire the samin. And inserte this our Command and Charge in the Bukis of Parliament, for your Warrant; subscrivit with Our Hand at Edinburgh the xix. Day of March, the Zeir of GOD jaivc. and xlii Zeris.

Signed JAMES G.

N^o. XVIII. Instructions to the Imbassatouris to be send to the King of Inghland, for contracting Peice and Mariage, &c. to be extendit at large.

ITem, The Commissioun for contracting of the said Marriage, beand amplay consavit, and read to the King of Inghland, or his Commissaris, it is supponit they will desyre certane Poyntis, and Securitie, for keiping of the said Contract; to the quhilks it sal be answerit be the saidis Imbassatouris, and sal be desyrit be them on the Pairt of Scotland, as after followis.

And first, Give it be askit on the King of Inghland's Behalf, That the Quenis Grace our Sovereane Lady be deliverit to him, or in Inghland to be kepit quhill the compleiting of said Marriage, it is to be answerit, That it is an ryte hie and ryte grete Inconvenient to the Realme of Scotland, to grant thereto, for sic Refons and Causis as the Imbassadouris has hard declarit be the Counsale of Scotland, and as thai can schew particularlie be thamselvis, not belevand that the King of Inghlandis Majestie is of sic
hie

hie Wisdome, that he will nevir desire the samin. Tharefor it cannot be granted, be Refoun, bot that hir Grace may remane and be kepit in this Realme, quhill sche may be abill to complete Mariage.

Item, As for the keeping of our said Soverane Ladyis Personne within the Realme of *Scotland*, it is devisit and ordainit be the thre Estatis of this Realme in Parliament, That hir Personne be kepit and nurist principallie be hir Moder, and four Lordis of the Realme, that are lest suspect and chosen thareto.

Item, In cais it be desyrit for the Part of the King of *England*, That sum *Inglismen* or *Inglis* Ladyis be present with our Soverane Lady, &c. To that it is to be answerit. That it fall be lesful to put honourable Knyts of *England*, ane or twa, with als mony Ladyis of Honour, with thair Servandis, Men and Wemen, to remane for the mair suir keeping of our said Soverane Ladyis Personne, and to remane uponne the King of *Englandis* Expenses: And in cais that our said Soverane Ladyis Moder deceis or depart furth of the Realme of *Scotland*, there sal be chosen sum of the maist nobill and virtuis Ladyis of that Realm to remane with hir Grace.

Item, Gif it be desyrit for the Part of *England*, That Securite be maid, for delivering of our said Soverane Lady within *England*, at hir persite Aige, abill of the Law to be maryit, and for fulfilling of the said Contract in all Poyntis. And first, Gif thai desyre our said Soverane Ladyis Personne, it fall be answerit as is afore-writtin. And gif thai desyre ony Strenthis of the Realme in Pledge and Securite, or uthir Pledges, sic as Baronis or Nobillmen of the Realme; it fall be answerit to that Artikle, like as for
the

the delivering of the Quenis Persoune, and be sic Refons as the saidis Imbassatouris can schew.

Item, In Caiss the Contract of Mariage pass fordward, and beis concordit with sic Condesions as is before writtin; it is to be desyrit for the Part of *Scotland*, That the Realme stand in ther awin Liberte and Fredomes, as it is now and hes bene in all Tymes bigane, and to be gidit and governit be my Lord Governour that now is, quhill our said Soverane Ladyis persite Aige, bot ony Stope or Impediment to be maide to him be the King of *England* or his Succesfouris, and that the said Lord Governour sal take up and intromet with all and fundrie the Rentis, Profitis and Emolumentis baith of Properte and Casualte, to be disponit be his Grace as he fall think expedient; without ony Compt to be maide be him or his Succesfouris thereuponne, as wele in Tymes bigane sen he was declarit Governour; as in Tyme to cum.

Item, The Quenis Grace being of persite Aige, and mareit in *England*, it is to be providit for the State, Rycht and Liberte of the Realme, and how all fould stand and be gydit at all Tymes thereafter, whidder our said Soverane Lady haif Successioun of hir Persoun or nane: Tharefore it fall be desyrit as efter followis; that is to say, That this Realme sal evir haif and beir the Name of *Scotland*, and to broke the auld Liberte, Priviledges and Fredomes in all Estatis, as it has bene in all Tymes bigane, and fall be gidit and governit under ane Governour borne of the Realme self, and fall be gidit be the awin Lawis, and sal haif ane continuale and perpetuale Sete and College of Justice, sittand in the Tolbuith of *Edinburgh*, sicklyke as it is statute and ordainit be the Kingis Grace, quhom G O D assolzie, and
sal

fall haif all Sheriffis, Stewartis and utheris Officiaris sicklyk as thair ar now at this Tyme, without ony Appellation, Reclamation, or seking ony Remeid of Law upon the Court furth of the Realme of *Scotland*.

Item, That our Souerane Lady, induring hir Lifyme, nor hir Successouris, Kingis or Quenis of *England*, fall not call or summond ony of the Realme of *Scotland*, to ony the Parliamentis or Courtis, except to the Parliamentis or Courtis to be haldin within the Realme self.

Item, That in Caifs the Quenis Grace our Souerane Lady cummis to perfite Aige, and passis furth of the Realme, it is to be desirrit that my Lord Governour, that now is, remane Governour of thys Realme for all the Dayis of his Lif; and efter his Deceifs, that the narrest lauchful of his Blude, abill to succede and to exerce the said Office, fall be maid Governour of the Realme, be our said Souerane Lady and her Successouris, succedand to the Crone of *England*, be large and ample Commission, of the quhilk the Forme is to be desirrite.

Item, Gif it happens our said Souerane Lady to be maryit, as said is, with the Prince of *England*; It is to be desirrit, that in caifs it fall happen the said Prince deceifs before hir Grace, without ony Airis lauchfull to be gottin betuix thaim, our said Souerane Lady fall be deliuerit agane be the King of *England* and his Successouris in the Realme of *Scotland* for unmareit to ony other Man, or of ony other Band, baith of hir Personne, and of hir Realme.

Item, In Caifs it fall happin our said Souerane Lady to haif Airis and Successouris lawfullie to be got-

tin of hir Body, betuix hir and the said Prince *Edwart*, gif it happens thame or thair lawful Successioun lineallie descendand of thaim to falze in ony Maner of Wayis; than and in that Caifs, the narrest and lawfull Air to our said Souerane Lady and hir Airis and Successouris forsaidis into this Realme, be the Lawis of the famin fall haif full Rycht and Regrefs to the Crone and Realme; and fall broike and joifs the famin, with Rycht, Liberteis and Fredomes, sicklik as it has bene in Tymes bigane, without ony Impediment, Clame or Rycht that may tuich ony Properte or Possessioun in ony Maner of Wayis, in all or Part to be askit thareto be the King of *England*, or the Successouris to our said Souerane Lady.

Mem. To ask Landis to be gevin to our said Souerane Lady in Dowre, extending be Zeir to X. M. *lib. Strineling* fre of all Charges, and lyand nixt the Boundis of *Scotland*.

Item, Gif it happins the said Contraict of Mariage to be complit, and our said Souerane Lady deliverit into *England*, notwithstanding all the Strenthis of *Scotland* fall remane in the Handis of the Nobillmen of the Realme, as fall pleis my Lord Governour ay and quhile there be lawful Successioun gottin betwix the saidis Prince *Edwart* and our said Souerane Ladyis appearand to succede to the Crone of *Scotland* and *England*. *Publick Records.*

N^o. XIX. *Indenture, Henry VIII. King of England, and the Earl of Lennox, &c. June 18. 1544. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 15. p. 29.*

Between the Right Honourable *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox* on the one Partie, and the Right Honourable Sir *Thomas Wryothesley* Knight, &c. Chancellour of *England*, *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, &c. and Sir *William Paget* Knight, &c. nominated and deputed by his Majesty for the Things ensuing.

* Witnesseth, &c. That it is agreed between the said Parties, in the Manner and Form following; that is to say;

First, The said Earl ratifieth the Agreement made by the Earl of *Glencairn*, &c. at *Carlisle*, *May 17. 1544*, in all the Heads and Articles thereof.

2do, The said Earl doth covenant, That with the uttermost of his Power, he shall faithfully serve the King of *England* as his faithful Servant and Subject, in such Sort as his Majesty shall appoynt, against all Princes, Estates, Powers and Potentates, whatsoever they be that shall impugne his Majesties Right, Title, and Authority in *Scotland*, &c.

3tio, He covenanteth to surrender into his Majesty's Hands, or any to be commissioned by him, the Castle and Territory of *Dumbarton* in *Scotland*, &c.

4to, To deliver to the King of *England* the whole Isle of *Bute*, with all the Profites and Revenues of the same, &c.

D d 2

5to, The

5to, The said Earl obligeth himself, That when he shall be Governour, to call no Parliament, no act, nothing of any Moment, without the Advice and Consent of the King of *England*.

6to, That he shall endeavour to get the infant Queen in his Possession, and then deliver her to the King of *England*, &c.

N^o. XX. *Charter Queen Mary to George Earl of Huntly, of the Earldom of Murray.*

MARIA, Dei Gratia, Regina Scotorum, Omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ suæ, Clericis & Laicis, salutem. Sciatis nos cum avisamento, consensu & autoritate charissimi nostri Consanguinei & Tutoris Jacobi Araniæ Comitis, Domini Hamiltoun, regni nostri Protectoris & Gubernatoris, pro bono, fideli, honorabili & gratuito servitio quondam charissimo patri nostro bonæ memoriæ (cujus animæ propitiatur Deus) per prædilectum nostrum consanguineum & consiliarium Georgium, Comitem de Huntlie, Dominum Gordon & Badzenach, &c. regni nostri Cancellarium, ac in ejusdem partibus Borealibus nostrum Locum-tenentem, illustrissimique ordinis sancti Michaelis Archangeli in Gallia Equitem auratum, tam in pacis quam belli temporibus impenso, præcipue in justiciæ & tranquillitatis in regni nostri partibus universis inter subditos nostros, dum idem noster Pater charissimus apud Galliam remaneret, ipso nostro consanguineo ejusdem regni nostri Regente capitali ac generali locum tenen. tunc extante, observatione, ac in dicti regni nostri & libertatis ejusdem, adversus veteres nostros Angliæ hostes,

hostes, in vita nostri patris prædict. tutione, ipso Comite, tempore sui obitûs, Locum-tenen. generali Regni sui existente: Nec non pro bono, fideli & honorabili servitio, per eundem Comitem nobis & præfato nostro Governatori, nostro nomine, in Regni nostri defensione adversus veteres nostros Angliæ hostes prædict. & subditorum nostrorum in partibus Borealibus sub sua curâ Locum-tenentis commoran. ob justiciæ debitam administrationem, in pace & concordia inter seipfos, ac firma autoritatis nostræ obedientia, regimine ab hinc impenso; in consideratione etiam quòd sæpe fatus noster Consanguineus nec subditi nostri sub cura sui officii prædict. nullam unquam cum hostibus nostris hujusmodi intelligentiam habuere, nec cum ipsis amicitiam ullam in nostrorum Regni & subditorum læsionem aut damnum contraxere, sed semper eorum opinioni ad vires restiterunt, cum nonnulli alii Scoti contrarium perpetrârunt; & propterea quod servitia tam fidelia & necessaria per dictum nostrum Consanguineum impensa, per nos minimè oblita remaneant, sed potius illa (ut ex officio nostro reginali tenemur) remunerare & recompensare, volen. Dedisse, concessisse & hac præsentî cartâ nostrâ confirmasse hereditariè dicto nostro Consanguineo, Georgio Comiti de Huntly, suis heredibus & assignatis, omnes & singulas terras, Comitatum, Dominium, officium & Baroniam subscript. viz. Terras & Comitatum de Murray, cum annexis, pendiculis, connexis & dependentiis earundem; nec non firmas burgales & custumas Burgorum nostrorum de Elgin & Forres, ac Castrum & Fortalitium de Derneway, cum foresta, parca, lie park, & silvis earundem, & aliis nostris castris, turribus & fortalitiis, & piscariis aquarum de Spey, Stewpule, Lossie

& Findorn, & custumis hujusmodi aquarum, una cum tenentibus, tenendriis, & liberè tenentium servitiis, advocacione, donatione, & jure patronatus Ecclesiarum, Capellaniarum, & hospitalium dict. terrarum & Comitatus, & omnibus suis pertinen. jacen. infra Vicecomitatum nostrum de Elgin & Fores. Ac etiam officium Vicecomitis hujusmodi Vicecomitatus nostri, cum feodis & pertinentiis ejusdem, terras & Dominium de Abernethy, cum castro, turribus, fortaliciis, maneriis, annexis, connexis, molendinis, silvis, piscariis, pendiculis, lie outsetts, tenentibus, tenendriis, & liberè tenen. servitiis, advocacione, donatione, & jure patronatus, canonicatus, & præbendæ infra Ecclesiam cathedralem Moravien. Rectoriæ Ecclesiæ parochialis de Duchel, nuncupat. & suis pertinen. jacen. infra Vicecomitatum nostrum prædict. terras & Baroniam de Petty, Braichly & Strathern, cum castro & fortalicio de Halhill, terris dominicalibus, lie mains, molendinis, piscariis, silvis, partibus, pendiculis, toftis, croftis, annexis, connexis lie outsetts, tenentibus, tenen. & liberè tenen. servitiis, advocacione, donatione & jure patronatus Ecclesiæ parochialis de Pettye & aliarum Ecclesiarum & capellaniarum earundem jacen. infra Vicecomitatum nostrorum de Inverness, &c. IN CUJUS rei testimonium, huic præfenti cartæ nostræ magnum sigillum nostrum apponi præcepimus, testibus reverendo in Christo patre, Johanne, Episcopo Dunkelden. & Thesaurario nostro; dilectis nostris consanguineis, Archibaldo Comite Ergadiæ, Domino Campbell & Lorn; & Wilielmo, Domino Ruthven, nostri secreti Sigilli custode; dilectis nostris familiaribus, magistris, Johanne Bellenden de Auchnoule, nostræ Justiciariæ Clerico, & Alexandro

Alexando Livingstoun de Donypace, nostræ Cancellariæ directore. Apud Edinburgh, Decimo tertio die mensis Februarii, Anno Millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo octavo, & regni nostri septimo.

N^o. XXI. *A short Abstract of the Treaty at Leith, from Spottiswood's History, B. 3. P. 147.*

I. **T**HAT the *French* Men of War in the Town of *Leith* should be sent Home with Bag and Baggage; and for their Transport, to be furnished with *English* Ships, they giving Pledges for their safe Return.

II. That the Fortifications of *Leith* and *Dumbar*, should be demolished if the Lords thought fit; and that no new Forts should be built, nor no ruined ones repaired, without Consent of the Estates.

III. That a Garrison of 60 *French* Men should remain in the Castle of *Dumbar*, and as many in *Inchkeith*, until the Estates should find Means to maintain the said Forts upon their own Charges, they behaving themselves legally, and paying ready Money for what they are furnished with.

IV. That an Act of Oblivion should be made as to all Wrongs attempted or committed against the Laws of the Realm, since the 6th of *March* 1558, until the 1st of *August* 1560, which was to be ratified in Parliament, and confirmed by the Queen, with Consent of her Husband.

V. That a general Reconciliation should be made betwixt the Lords of the Congregation, and the other Lords of the Realm.

VI. That the King and Queen should not dispossess any of her Subjects, of the Benefices, Houses, or Estates which they enjoyed before; and that the Duke of *Chastelberault*, and the other Lords, should be repossessed of their Living and Benefices in *France*, as they did enjoy them before the said 6th of *March*.

VII. That where any Bishops, Abbots, or other Church-men, should alledge themselves to be injured in their Persons or Goods, the same to be considered in Parliament, and due Redress to be made; and in the mean Time, no Man to stop them to enjoy their Rents, or to do any Hurt to their Persons; and if any Person should act contrary to this Article, he was to be pursued by the Lords as a Disturber of the Common Wealth.

VIII. That in Time coming, that the King and Queen should depute no Stranger in the Administration of Justice, nor bestow the Offices of Chancellor, Treasurer, Comptroller, &c. upon any others than born Subjects of the Realm; and that the Office of Treasurer or Comptroller, should not be given to any Church-man, or any other Person not qualified by the same; and that they should dispose of none of the Casualties, without Consent of the Council. But this Article not to be constructed to hinder the King and Queen to bestow what they pleased, and upon whom they thought fit.

IX. That a Parliament should be called by the King and Queen, to sit *August* next.

X. That for the better Government of the Realm, a Council should be chosen to consist of 12 worthy Men of the Kingdom, of which the Queen should choose 7, and the Estates 5.

XI. That

XI. That the King and Queen should make neither Peace nor War, but by the Advice of the Estates according to the Custom of the Country, as it was observed by their Predecessors.

XII. That none of the Nobility of *Scotland* should make Convocation of Men of War, except in ordinary Cases, approved by the Laws and Customes of the Realm; and in Case any of them had Occasion to take Arms, the same first to be communicate to the Council, and then by them to the King and Queen.

XIII. That the Lord *David*, Son to the Duke of *Chastelherault*, detained Prisoner at *Bois de Vinemes*, should be put to Liberty, and suffered to return to *Scotland* at his Pleasure.

XIV. That with the *French* Men no Artillery to be exported; but such as were brought in since the Death of *Francis I.*

XV. That the Army of *England* should return home immediately after the embarking of the *French*, and that all *Scots* Men of War should be licensed to depart.

XVI. That for the Articles concerning Religion, the Commissioners would not meddle with it: But a certain Number was to be chosen next Parliament to go to their Majesties, to lay before them those Things that should be thought needful in that.

Lastly, That the Queen of *Scotland* and King of *France* should not hereafter usurp the Titles of *England* and *Ireland*, and should delete the Arms of the same out of their Scutcheons and Household-Stuff.

By those named Lords in this Treaty, are to be understood the Lords of the Congregation, (those who stood up for Reformation
of

of Religion were then so named.) Queen *Elizabeth* often pressed Queen *Mary* to ratify this Treaty, but she could never be brought to do it. She thought it wronged her Title to the Crown of *England*, and that in several Articles it deprived her of her Prerogative, as no doubt it did; particularly (not to mention more) the Eighth Article restricted her in appointing the chief Officers of State, the Tenth in naming of her own Council, and the Eleventh, the sole Power of making Peace; falsely insinuating, that it had not been the Prerogative of her Predecessors to make Peace and War, without the Consent of the Estates.

Nor did the Lords observe it; for they, contrary to the Seventh Article, did most sacrilegiously demolish the Abbays and Monasteries, and unchristianly rob the Church and Churchmen of its and their Revenues.

N^o. XXII.

WEE understanding that our weille belovede Servitour John Stewart of Traquair Knight, Capitane of oure Gaird, at oure speciall Desyre become oblidged Cautionar conjunctlie and severallie with oure traist Cousin and Counsalour George Earle of Huntly oure Chancellor, to releife and keip skaithless Symon Preston of that Ilk and Alexander Hamiltone of Inverwick, at the Hands of Lawder of the Bass, of the Soume of Thre thousand Merkis Money of this Realme, lent be him to us; for Payment of the quhilk Soume the saids Lairds of Craigmiller and Inverwick are Soverties to the said Robert Lawder. Therefore we faithfullly promise in the Word of Princess, and also bindis and obleifs us, oure Airis and Successouris, to warrant, freith, releif and keip the said John Stewart skaithless of the said Soume of Thre thousand Merkis at the Hands of the said Robert Lawder, the Cautioneris above written, and all udris, be thir Presentis subscrivit with oure Hands, and given under oure Signet
the

the ferd Day of July the Teir of GOD, One thousand five hundred threscors six Teirs.

M A R I E R.

H E N R Y R.

The Principal is in the Hands of the Earl of Traquair.

N^o. XXIII. *The Declaration given in by the Commissioners for the Scots Queen.*

THAT James Earl of Mortone, John Earl of Glencairn, the Lords Hume, Lindsey, Ruthven, Sempill, Cathcart, and Ochiltree; and others their Assistants, had levied an Army in the Queen's Name against the Queen, taking her most Noble Person, (*I keep to the Words of the Paper*) used her in vile Manner, and thrust her into Prison in *Lochlevin*, and forcibly broken into her Mint-House, taking away the Printing Irons, with all the Silver and Gold coin'd and uncoin'd, which was in the House for the Time; and going to the Castle of *Stirling*, had made a Fashion to crown her Son the Prince, being then but thirteen Months old. That James Earl of Murray taking upon him the Name of *Regent*, had usurp'd the Royal Authority, and possess'd himself of the whole Forts, Castles, Munition, Jewels, and Revenues of the Kingdom. And when it had pleas'd G O D to relieve her out of that Prison (wherein she was so straitly detain'd for the Space of eleven Months, and none of her Friends and true Subjects once permitted to see her or speak with her) and that she had publickly declared by a solemn Oath, in Presence of divers of the Nobility at *Hamilton*; That whatsoever

was

was done by her in Prison, was extorted by Force, Threats, and Fear of Death. She, out of that Affection which she carried to her Realm and Subjects, did appoint the Earls of *Argyle*, *Eglintone*, *Cassils* and *Roths*, to agree and make a Pacification with the said Regent and his Partakers : But they were so far from admitting any peaceable Treaty, that they did invade her, in her passing to *Dumbarton*, with the Men of War whom she had hired with her own Money, kill'd divers of her faithful Subjects, led others away Prisoners, and banish'd some of * good Note, for no other Cause but for serving faithfully their lawful Princes ; and so after a great many Injuries, had forced her to fly into *England*, to request the Help of Queen *Elizabeth*, her dearest Sister, and in Blood the nearest Cousin she had in the World, for restoring her to her former Estate, and compelling her rebellious Subjects to acknowledge their due Obedience unto her Majesty, which they, in her Highness's Name; did most instantly intreat.

This Declaration was presented upon the 8th of October 1568, and on the 9th, the Commissioners for the Infant King (so they always stil'd themselves) gave in theirs, couch'd in the following Terms.

The Declaration given in by Murray and his Associates.

THAT King *Henry*, Father to their Sovereign Lord the King now reigning, being horribly mur-

* *Roths* after the Battle of *Langside* was sentenc'd to Banishment for the Space of three Years.

murder'd in his Bed ; *James Hepburne*, sometime Earl of *Bothwell*, who was known to be the chief Author thereof, entred into such Credit with the Queen then their Sovereign, that within two Months after the Murder committed, he openly attempted a Rape of her Person, and carried her to *Dumbar-Castle*, where he did keep her as Captive, a certain Space, causing a Divorce to be led betwixt him and his lawful Wife, and upon the Conclusion thereof, did suddenly accomplish a pretended Marriage with the Queen. Which insolent Proceedings, together with the shameful Report which passed in all Nations of the King's Murder, as if the whole Nobility had been alike culpable thereof, so mov'd the Hearts of a good Number of them, that they thought nothing could be performed more honourable to themselves in the Sight of all the World, than by punishing the said Earl who had committed the Murder, to free themselves of the vile Report spread every where, to set the Queen at Liberty from the Bondage of that Traitor, who had so presumptuously enterpris'd the Rape, and Marriage of her, whose lawful Husband he could not be ; and to preserve the innocent Person of the King from the Hands of him who had murder'd his Father : For which purpose they taking Arms, when the said Earl came against them with Forces, leading in his Company the Queen to defend his Wickedness ; they offer'd, for sparing the Blood of innocent Men, to decide the Quarrel in a single Combate, whereof himself by Cartel and Proclamation had sundry Times made Offer. But after many Shifts, he in the End directly refus'd the same ; and the Queen preferring his Impunity to her own Honour, that he might have Leisure to escape, came willingly to the Noblemen that

that were in Arms, and conferred with them a certain Space. After which they conveyed her to *Edinburgh*, informing her of the true Causes which moved them to that Form of Dealing, and did humbly intreat her Majesty to suffer the said Earl and others, the King her Husband's Murderers, to be punished according to the Laws, and the pretended Marriage wherein she was rashly enter'd to be dissolv'd, as well for her own Honour, as for the Safety of her Son and Quietness of the Realm and Subjects: But having received no other Answer but rigorous Threats against the Noblemen; and she avouching to be revenged upon all those that had shewn themselves in that Cause; they were driven by Necessity to sequestrate her Person, for a Season, from the Company of *Bothwell*, and the keeping of any Intelligence with him, until Punishment might be taken of him, as Murderer of the King her Husband. In the mean Time she finding her self wearied with the Troubles of Government, and perceiving by Things that had pass'd before that Time betwixt her and the People, that neither could she well allow of their Doings, nor they like of her Forms. Upon these and other Considerations, she voluntarily resigned her Kingdom, and transferred the same unto her Son, appointing the Earl of *Murray* (who was at that Time absent forth of the Realm) to be Regent during her Son's Minority; and in Case of the said Earl's Decease, or Not-acceptance of the said Office, divers other Noblemen, whose Names are express in the Commissions sign'd by her self, and sealed with the Seal of the Kingdom. The King hereupon being duly, rightly, and orderly crowned and anointed, and the Earl of *Murray*, after his Return, lawfully plac'd and admitted Regent; all these

these Things were ratified and confirmed by the Three Estates of Parliament, most of those who had withdrawn themselves from his Authority, being present, and giving their Consent to the same: Nevertheless when as Matters were thus established, and the King's Authority universally obeyed without Contradiction, certain Persons envying the publick Quietness, had, by their subtle Practices, first brought the Queen out of *Lochevin*, and afterwards by open Force against † their promis'd Fidelity, gone about to subvert the Government receiv'd; wherein, as they were proceeding, it pleased G O D to disappoint their Enterprize, and give unto the King, and those who stood for his Authority, a notable Victory on the 13th Day of *May* last. Wherefore their Desire was, That the King and the Regent might peaceably rule and govern the Subjects, according to the Authority they had received of G O D, and that the same might be conserved and established, against the Factions of turbulent Subjects.

The Commissioners for the Queen of Scots having seen and perused this Declaration, (still adhering to their former Protestation) gave in the following particular Reply.

The second Declaration for the Scots Queen, informing,

THAT the Pretence of taking Arms against the Queen, because *Bothwell* was in such Favour with

† The Lord *Boyd* alone abandon'd *Murray* after the Queen's Escape.

with her, could not warrant their Rebellion, since it never was made known to her Majesty, that he was the Murderer. But to the contrary, *Bothwell* being indicted and orderly summoned to undergo the Trial of Law, he was by the Judgment of his Peers absolved, and the same Absolution ratified by Authority of Parliament, where the Principals that now accuse him, and had withdrawn themselves from the Queen's Obedience, were present, and not only consented to his Purgation, but solicited her to take him to her Husband, as the most worthy to bear Rule of any other in all the Realm, giving their Bonds to defend him against all that should pursue him for the said Crime, as their Subscriptions would testify. And so neither before the Marriage with *Bothwell*, nor after, did they or any of them (which had been the Duty of true Subjects) so much as in Words utter their Dislike of it, or advertise her Majesty of the Suspicions that were taken of him, until they had drawn the Keeper of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and the * Provoft of that City to their Faction. Then secretly putting themselves in Arms, they suddenly under Silence of Night environ'd the Castle of *Borthwick*, where her Majesty remained; and after she had escaped to *Dumbar*, levied an Army under Pretence to defend the Queen, wherewith invading her Person in the Way betwixt *Dumbar* and *Edinburgh*, they did take her Majesty captive.

And whereas they alledge, *That her Majesty preferring the Impunity of Bothwell to her own Honour, made him to be conveyed safely away*; The same was most untrue, for they themselves sent the Laird of *Grange*

* Mayor.

Grange to her Majesty, desiring her to cause *Bothwell* pass out of the Field, as suspected of the King's Murder, till the same might be tried, and that she would go with them and follow the Counsel of the Nobility; which if she would do, they would honour, serve and obey her as their Princess and Sovereign: Whereunto her Majesty, for the Love she bare to her Subjects, and to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood, did willingly assent. In Verification whereof, the said Laird of *Grange* took the Earl of *Bothwell* at the same Time by the Hand, and willed him to depart, giving his Word, that no Man should pursue him. So as nothing is more clear, than that he passed away by their own Consents: For if they had been inclined against him only, would they not have pursued him, so long as he was in the Country? For he remained a great Space after that Time in his own House, and might more easily have been taken there than on the Seas, where they in a coloured Manner did pursue him. From whence all Men of sound Judgment might perceive, that they cared not what became of him, if so they might advance their own ambitious Purposes and Designs.

As to that Charge against the Queen, of having used them with Threats and Menaces, 'twas answered, That (if 'twas true) it could not be thought strange, considering their undutiful Behaviour, and the rude and vile Usage her Majesty suffered by them. For when the Earl of *Mortone*, at her Highness's first coming to them, had reverently, as it became him, said, *Madam, here is the Place where your Grace should be, and we will honour and serve you as truly as ever any of the Nobility of the Realm did any of your Progenitors in former Times*; ratifying thereby the Pro-

mise made by the Laird Grange, in their Names, to her Majesty: And that she trusting their Speeches, had gone with him to *Edinburgh*, they first lodged her in a Citizen's House; contrary to their Promises, did most rudely entreat her. Whereupon she sent *Lebington* her Secretary, and made Offer unto them, That for any thing wherewith they or any of the Subjects were offended, she was content the same should be reformed by the Nobility and Estates of the Realm, her Highness being present and permitted to answer for her self; yet would they not hearken once to the Motion, but in the Night secretly and against her Will carried her to *Lochevin*, and put her in Prison.

As to that Clause, of her Majesty's being wearied with the Toils of Government, and that she thereupon did voluntarily resign or abdicate the Kingdom in Favour of the Prince her Son, and appoint the Earl of Murray his Regent during his Minority; it was replied, That the Falshood thereof did many ways appear. For first, her Majesty is neither decayed by Age, nor weakned by Sicknes, but (praised be God) both in Mind and Body able to discharge the most weighty Affairs. As also the Truth is, that the Earl of *Atbole*, the Lairds of *Tillibardine* and *Lebington* (who were of their Council) sent *Robert Melvil* to her Majesty, advising her to subscribe the Letter of Resignation, and what else should be presented unto her to save her own Life, and avoid the Death which was assuredly prepared for her, if she should happen to refuse the same: And at the same Time the same Gentleman did bring to her Majesty a Letter written by Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Ambassador of *England*, requesting her Highness, for the Reasons aforesaid, to set her Hand to whatsoever they

they should desire of her. To whom her Majesty answered, That she should follow his Counsel; praying him to declare to her dearest Sister the Queen of *England*, how she was used by her Subjects, and that the Resignation of the Crown made by her was extorted by Fear, which her Highness doubted not but the said Sir *Nicholas* performed.

Farther, it is notorious that the Lord *Lindsay*, at the presenting of the Letters of Resignation unto her Majesty, did menace to put her in a closer Prison, if she refused to put her Hand to the same; adding, That in that Case worse would shortly follow, and that her Highness never looked what was in the Writings presented, but signed the same with many Tears; protesting, that if ever she should recover her Liberty, she would disavow that which he compelled her at that Time to do. And to testify that the said Resignation was made against her Will, the Laird of *Lochlevin*, who was then her Keeper, refused to subscribe it as a Witness, and did obtain a Certificate under her Majesty's own Hand, declaring, that he refused to be present at the said Resignation.

Neither can that Renunciation by any Reason be thought good, considering that no Portion of Revenue was reserved for her to live upon; neither was her Liberty granted, or any Security given her of her Life. All which weighed in the Ballance of Reason, will to Men of indifferent Judgment make manifest, that the alledged Dimission, so unlawfully procured, can never prejudice her Majesty in her Royal Estate: Especially considering, that at her first Escape out of Prison, she did revoke the same, and in Presence of a great part of the Nobility at *Hamilton*, by a solemn Oath,

Oath, declared, that what she had done was by Compulsion, and upon just Fear of her Life.

Concerning the *Coronation of the young Prince*, it was urged, That the same was most unorderly done; because there being in the Realm above an hundred Earls, Bishops and Lords, having Voice in Parliament (of whom the greatest part at least ought to have consented thereto, it being an Action of such Consequence) four Earls and six Lords (the same that were present at her Apprehension) with one Bishop and two or three Abbots and Priors, were only assisting. And of the same Number some did put in a Protestation, that nothing then done should prejudice the Queen or her Successor, by reason she was at that Time a Captive. Nor can any Man think, if the Dismission had been willingly given by her Highness, she would ever have nominated the Earl of *Murray* Regent, there being many others more lawful, and have better Right thereto than he, of whom some have been Governors of the Realm in former Times*, and during her Majesty's Minority had worthily exercised that Place.

To the *Ratification in Parliament*, it was replied, That the Principals of the Nobility disassented, and put in their Protestations both to the Lords of the Articles, and in the open Parliament, against their Proceedings, affirming that they would never agree to any thing that might hurt the Queen's Majesty's Person, her Crown and Royal Estate, farther than her Highness her self, being at Liberty, would approve.

Lastly, as to the Pretence, of being universally obeyed, and of all Things being justly administered; it was

* The Duke of Chastelherault.

was answered, Both these were equally untrue : For a great part of the Nobility never acknowledged another Authority than that of the Queen's, keeping and holding their Courts in her Majesty's Name. And for the Administration of Affairs, it is apparent that Wickedness did never reign more, and with less Controulment, in the Realm; Murder, Blood-shed, with Theft and Robbery every where abounding; Policy destroyed, Churches thrown down, honourable Families ruined, and true Men bereft of their Goods, for satisfying the Soldiers hired by them to maintain the Regent's usurped Authority, the like whereof hath not been seen nor heard for many Ages before. In regard whereof, They, in Behalf of the Queen of *Scotland* their Mistress, did earnestly request the Support and Assistance of the Queen of *England* her Cousin, for restoring her to her Crown, and for suppressing the Rebels that had attempted against her. *To these Reasons, the Commissioners thought fit to add (the Original being then in Queen Elizabeth's Hands) an attested Copy of a Protestation made by the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, immediately after King Henry's Death, and which ran in these Words :*

“ Forasmuch as *Murray* and others, to cloak their
 “ Rebellion against the Queen, whose Authority
 “ they arrogate to themselves, do openly calumniate
 “ her as guilty of the Murder of her Husband ; We
 “ do publickly protest and witness these Things fol-
 “ lowing ; In the Month of *December 1566*, when
 “ the Queen staid at *Craigmillar, Murray* and *Le-*
 “ *thingtone* acknowledged before us, that *Mortone,*
 “ *Lindsay* and *Ruthven* slew *David Rizzio*, to no
 “ other Intent than to save *Murray*, who was at that
 “ Time

“ Time to be proscribed. Therefore, that they
 “ might not seem unthankful, they much desired that
 “ *Mortone*, and the rest who lived in Exile for the
 “ Murder of *David*, might be brought home again.
 “ But this, they said, could not be effected, unless
 “ the Queen might be divorced from her Husband ;
 “ which they promised to bring to pass, so as we would
 “ give our Assent. Afterwards *Murray* promised to
 “ me *Huntly*, that my Inheritance should be restor-
 “ ed unto me, and that I should be in eternal Favour
 “ with the Exiles, if I would favour the Divorce.
 “ Then went we to *Bothwell*, that he might also
 “ consent. Lastly, we came unto the Queen, and
 “ *Lethingtone*, in Name of us all, earnestly entreat-
 “ ed her, that *Mortone*, *Lindsay* and *Ruthven*, might
 “ have their Banishment remitted. The King’s Er-
 “ rors and Offences against the Queen and the
 “ Realm, he aggravated with much Sharpness of
 “ Words, and shewed that it mainly concerned the
 “ Queen and State, that there should forthwith be a
 “ Divorce ; forasmuch as the King and Queen could
 “ not live together in *Scotland* with Security. She
 “ answered, That she would rather withdraw her self
 “ for a Time into *France*, until her Husband did ac-
 “ knowledge the Errors of his Youth ; for she would
 “ not that any Thing should be done which might
 “ be prejudicial to her Son, or dishonourable to her
 “ self. Hereto *Lethingtone* replied, We which are
 “ of your Council will look to that. But I command
 “ you (*said she*) that you do nothing which may ble-
 “ mish my Honour, or burden my Conscience ; let
 “ the Matter remain as it is, till G O D remedy it
 “ from above. That which you think will be for my
 “ Good, may perhaps turn to my Hurt. To whom

“ Le-

“ *Lethingtone* said, Leave the Matter to us, and you
 “ shall see nothing shall be done but what is just and
 “ approveable by Authority of Parliament. Here-
 “ upon, seeing the King was murdered by wicked
 “ Hands within few Days after, we out of the in-
 “ ward Testimony of our Consciences, do hold it
 “ most certain that *Murray* and *Lethingtone* were
 “ the Authors, Contrivers and Perswaders of this
 “ Regicide, whosoever were the Actors of the same.

N^o. XXIV. *At Hamilton, May 8th, 1569.*

THE Earls *Huntly, Argyle, Eglinton, Crawford, Cas-*
sils, Rothes, Montrose, Sutherland and *Errol*; *John*
Archbishop of St. Andrews, John Bishop of Dunkeld,
John Bishop of Ross, Alexander Bishop of Galloway,
Alexander Bishop of Aberdeen, Robert Bishop of Bre-
chin, John Bishop of the Isles, James Bishop of Ar-
gyle, and John Bishop of Murray. The Lords *Fle-*
ming, Livingston, Seton, Boyd, Somervell, Herries,
Ross, Maxwell, Ogilvy, Oliphant, Borthwick, San-
gubair, Hay of Yester, Drummond, Elphinston, Lord
Claude Hamilton, Sinclair and Carlile. Abbots, *St.*
Colm's Inch, Lindores, Glenluce, Holy-rood-house,
New Abbey, Dundrennan, Salside, Cross Regale,
Inchaffray, Pluscarty and Kinloss. Barons, *The*
Laird of Lochinvar, Sheriff of Tweddale, Bass,
Waughton, Roslin, Corstorphin, Johnston, Wemyss,
Balwery, Torry, Dalhousie, Fernieberst, Lamington,
Calderwood, Closeburn, Lanton, Traquair, Kirkaldy,
Clackmannan, Sauchy, Filliellan, Findlater and Bar-
bougil; Greenhead, Banff, Haddo, Rowallan, Drum-
melzior, Whiteford of that Ilk, Robert Boyd, Bade-

nus, Feriswood, James Johnston of Torry, Robert Johnston of Lochmaben, John Crichton of Richil, Sheriff of Air, Sir James Hamilton Knight, Sheriff of Clydesdale; Robert Master of Semple, Thomas Master of Boyd; The Laird of Bombie, Stirling Knight, Boyne, Boghall, Inverwick, Stenhouse, Dunwood, Craigiehall, Ainsburn, Kilbirny, Cockpool, Sir Neil Montgomery, Patrick Congalton of that Ilk, Pollock, Ladyland, Smeton, Preston Knight, Caldwell Knight, Master of Kenland, Cambuskenneth, Lauchop; James Stewart of Cardoual, Gauston, Balcairn, Ramorn, Cranston Knight, Newton of that Ilk, Badernoth, Belstames, Whiteford, Sir Andrew Ker Sheriff of Lintithgow, Gartly, Silvertown Knight, Hanning, Riccarton, Ardkinlass, Dalziel, Slamence, Lickprevick, Corehouse, Robert Lawson of Humby, Essilmont, Mackintosh, Gight, Crichy, Abergeldy and White-law.

The End of the First Volume.









