

T H E
L I F E

O F

Sir ROBT. COCHRAN,

PRIME-MINISTER

T O

KING JAMES III. of *Scotland*.

Fæx Hominum, Procerum pestis, Regumque ruina. HUME.



L O N D O N :

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AMONG the various Extracts from foreign Histories, and the inimitable Dissertations published, of late Years, upon our own, with the generous View of putting Mankind on their Guard against the Snares that may be laid to subvert their Liberties by desperate or ambitious Ministers; I do not remember, that *Scotland* has furnished its Share towards this important End; or, that while

Sweden, Muscovy, and Denmark, have been call'd upon for Help, we have had one Instance of the Fate of a Prime Minister, in the Northern Part of this Island.

Now, whether we consider the Nature of the *Scotch* Government, the Temper of the People, or their Affinity to us, no History, in most respects, but chiefly in this, will be found more worthy of our Attention.

Scotland, before the Union, was govern'd by a King and Parliament; the Crown Hereditary; the Officers of State had their several Departments, and like ours, were nam'd by the Sovereign.

No People were more remarkable for their Loyalty, and dutiful Regards to their Prince; but none were at the same time more jealous of their Liberties, or had severer and more frequent Struggles to maintain them.

A Prime Minister, inconsistent with their Constitution, often fatal to the Sovereign, always noxious to the Subject, was their utter Aversion; and their Temper, in a Word, as well as their Circumstances, in relation to Government.

ment, was intirely the same with ours.

Nor did the Union of the Crowns produce the least Alteration in their Character, in this respect. On the contrary, since that Period, we have often reap'd the Fruits of their seasonable Zeal for the Cause of Liberty.

The March of the *Scotch* Army to *York* put the first Stop to the Encroachments and Oppressions of *Charles I.* and their repeated and bloody Attempts to relieve that unfortunate Prince (as soon as he condescended to settle the Prerogative on a reasonable Foot) and to restore his Son during the Usurpation, are melancholly Proofs, that they were not guided by factious Views, but by a well regulated Zeal for the Welfare and Interest of both Kingdoms.

The forward Part they acted in the Time of King *James II.* and the Share they bore in the Revolution, are well known; and, without derogating from the Merit of any, with Truth it may be said, that the peaceable Execution of the Act of Settlement (the Fountain of our present happy Establishment) the Accession of the Royal Family to the Crown, with-

without the Hazard of a desperate and bloody War, was intirely owing to the disinterested Zeal, the Resolution and Address of a few Noble Families of *North-Britain*, who, without the Advantages of Places, Pensions, or Court-Favour; nay, possibly contrary to the secret Wishes of the Court it self, accomplished the Union of the Kingdoms, in despite of the Outrages of a furious, prejudic'd Populace, influenced by the Artifices of a powerful and numerous Party.

Such was the Alacrity, and Confidence of Success, inspired by the Prospect of securing to *Great Britain* the invaluable Blessings of the *Hanover* Succession, that a Handful of Men, in private Stations, were enabled to bring about an Event, which had formerly baffled the utmost Efforts of the Crown. And tho' they daily reap the Fruits of their Labours; tho' their eminent Services on that Occasion are, doubtless, duly rewarded; yet surely their greatest Enemies would not, at this Time, envy those noble Persons that Tribute of Gratitude and Praise, which is so justly due to them from the Publick.

But

But as we are thereby become One People, as our Fate must be the same; and as their Influence on our Measures cannot henceforth be inconsiderable; it will not, I hope, be disagreeable (I am sure it will not be unprofitable) to take a View of the Conduct of their Ancestors, in Times of Difficulties and Danger. We shall thereby be enabled, with more Accuracy, to judge what is to be expected from them, if by means of a Corrupt, Ambitious, an Ignorant, or a Desperate Minister, we should ever have the Misfortune of being plung'd into the like deplorable Circumstances.

This will appear from the following Pages, wherein I propose to give an Account of the Life and Character of a Person who, without the Advantages of Merit, Blood, or Fortune, stumbled into Power, and by accumulated Crimes and Corruptions, supported himself in the Possession of it; whose Want of Education, and a Genius suited to the high Stations he usurped, brought his Country into Confusion at Home, and Contempt Abroad; and so prostituted the Royal Authority, that, in the End, the King whom he served, at the Head of a powerful Army, was not able to protect

protect him from a shameful and ignominious Death.

Relations of this Sort are profitable to Men who aspire to high Stations, amusing to those who content themselves with the Enjoyments of a private Life; and give Offence to none but such as, through a Similitude of Character and Circumstances, feel themselves hurt, and, by their Censure, acknowledge they are guilty.

Sir *Robert Cochran* (for by the Collar he wore it appears he was a Knight) lived about the Time that the Ambition of Queen *Margaret*, and the Blunders of her detested Ministers, *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, accomplished the Ruin of *Henry VI.* and forced him with his Family, to take Refuge in *Scotland*.

History is silent as to his Birth, and it is from Hints only, that any thing is to be learnt concerning his Education. Some Writers tell us, he was bred a Mason, (*a*) and others, with greater Appearance of Truth, give him the genteeler Title of an Architect (*b*); but this Mistake may be owing to a more than ordinary Passion

(*a*) *Lindsay*, p. 77.
factus. *Buchan.* p. 231.

(*b*) *Ex Architecto Aulicus*

for building, or to something singular in the Edifice he erected for himself; for, till he enriched himself by the Spoils of the People, 'tis notorious that he had scarce a Hole to put his Head in. (c) By the same Rule it may be said, that he was originally a Huntsman, since his retaining, to the last, an Attachment to that Diversion, unbecoming his Station, and often inconsistent with the Load of weighty Concerns he had upon his Hands, and wherein he could suffer no Partner of his Labours, gave Occasion to the Saying of Sir Robert Douglas, upon pulling his Horn from him on the Day he was executed, "*Thou hast been the Hunter of Mischief too long.*" (d)

From his Ignorance, however, the Blunders he committed in the Execution of his high Trust (e) the mean Instruments he made Choice of for his Assistants, and for his Parties of Pleasure, (f) and from many other Circumstances, it is evident that his Education was narrow, and suited so ill the Grandeur he afterwards affected, that, under Heaps of Finery, of which he was ridiculously

(c) Lind. p. 79.
p. 231.
num. 154.

(d) Lind. p. 78.

(e) Buch.

(f) E contemptissimo genere homi-

fond, the Clown was constantly to be discerned : “ *His riding Apparel was*
 “ *of black Velvet ; the Horn he wore,*
 as a Badge, doubtless, of an Office belonging to the Chase, or his being Ranger of a Royal Park or Forest, *was*
 “ *adorned with Jewels and precious*
 “ *Stones, and tipped with fine Gold at*
 “ *both Ends (g) ; his Collar (which by*
 “ *the Earl of Angus’s reproachful Words*
 “ *was the Ensign of a Noble Order) by*
 “ *its Value, must have weighed, at least*
 “ *three Pounds (h).* How he disposed of the other curious Horns, mention’d by *Lindsay*, as Part of his Ornaments, or Marks of Distinction, is not so clear ; but in this all Authors agree, that his affected Magnificence, (i) in which there was always too much, and much wanting, served only to set forth his awkward Taste, and the mean things he had been accusom’d to in his Youth. Nor did Nature, to make amends for these Defects ; and in some Measure to entitle him to the Honours wherewith Fortune seem’d diverted to overload him, bestow upon him extraordinary Talents in their room. His Superiority consisted in a

(g) *Lind. p. 78.* (h) *Torque Aureo-Mag. Pond. Buch. p. 234.* A Rope wou’d become you better, *Lind. p. 78.* (i) See his Field Equipage, *Lind. ibid. and 79.*

matchless Impudence. He was abandon'd enough to undertake, and had Boldness to execute the most desperate and villainous Things, provided they contributed to the Advancement of his Fortune, or to strengthen his Interest; and these were the Qualifications that long supported him, in the high Station he attain'd, after he was accidentally taken notice of, and brought to Court by *James III. of Scotland.* (k)

The Courtiers, however, soon discover'd in him the Symptoms of a growing Favourite; for by the Labours of the Body he supply'd the Defects of the Mind. He bore with Patience the grossest Indignities, and, with Assiduity, executed the meanest Offices, (l) so that he quickly became important, and was judg'd worthy of the Alliance of a Person of Quality, at that Time, in great Favour at Court. But as the Name of that Noble Lord is never once mentioned in History, after Sir *Robert* got into the full Possession of Power, it is to be presumed that he supplanted him; (m) or treated him (as he did others) with so much Ar-

(k) Buch. p. 231. Whose chief Commendation was being impudently wicked and villainous, *Hume* p. 222. *Lind.* 73 and 74. (l) Buch. p. 231. (m) Buch. *ibid.*

rogance and Contempt, that he found himself under a Necessity of resigning his Employments, and retiring to the Country. Let this be as it will, the Lustre of so considerable an Alliance was the first Step to his approaching Grandeur, to which many other Circumstances concurred to pave the Way.

His Master's Passions were strong and undisguised, he could not brook Contradiction; and presuming to offer Advice, that clash'd with his Humours or Notions, was an infallible Cause of Aversion and Disgrace (*n*). Thus it became no easy Task to reconcile his Interest and Inclinations, and it required a masterly Head, and a delicate Turn to serve him faithfully, without forfeiting his Confidence and Favour (*o*). But to Sir *Robert* these were trifling Difficulties. He was not troubled with the foolish Qualms that startle scrupulous Statesmen; Wealth and Dominion were the Points he steer'd to, no matter what were the Consequences of the Methods he employ'd to attain them (*p*).

(*n*) Ingenio acri & præservido, Buch. 229. Effrænatos impetus, Buch. 237. Procerum incensendo resugerit libertatem, tales circa se habebat, qui non corrigerent sed approbarent sua decreta, Buch. 231. (*o*) Hume p. 282.

(*p*) Whether they were just or unjust, all was alike to him, *Lind.* 75.

Another thing, that contributed not a little to his Rise, and freed him from the Hazard of many Rivals, was the Fate of those who had signaliz'd themselves by adhering to the King in his younger Days. The Disgrace of some, the Neglect of others, and the slender Rewards that any of them met with, deterred all Persons of Merit and Fortune from aspiring to the Place they had possessed in his Favour.

“ Many, on that Occasion, considering
 “ the Inconstancy of Fortune, but the
 “ greater Number reflecting on the
 “ King's small Regard to past Services,
 “ that he repented soon of the Favours
 “ he bestow'd, whilst he was tenacious
 “ of Wrath, and irreconcilable in the
 “ Aversions, which, on very slight
 “ Grounds, he was apt to conceive. (q)

But the Fall of the Earl of Arran wrought the strongest Effect in this way.
 “ It not only astonished his Friends, but
 “ amazed even his Enemies. The Bright-
 “ ness of his Parts, his Magnificence,
 “ Generosity, and other eminent Vir-

(q) Buch. p. 229.

“ *tues, were above the Reach of Envy*
 “ *and Detraction. (r)*

He had serv'd the King from his Youth with Fidelity and Zeal, and the greatest Honours of his Country had, in Return, been conferr'd upon him. He acquitted himself of his Embassy with Honour and Applause; but, during that Embassy, his Enemies found Means to supplant him, (*f*) and the vile Abuses, the low Calumnies, the spiteful Malice where-with the Court ceased not to pursue him (even to spiriting from him a Wife of infinite Worth, who ador'd him (*t*) afford melancholy Ideas of the Times he lived in.

Sir Robert, however, and he indeed almost only, found his Account in them; and what by means of the Rupture in the Royal Family (*u*) (the Source of all the King's Misfortunes, as it occasioned the first Breach among his Friends) which by trumping up a foolish Prophecy, (*x*)

(*r*) *Laudata supra modum, etiam ab invidis & minus æquis, ejus virtute & splendore, opibusque ad quamvis magnificentium suppetentibus, Buch. p. 227.*

(*f*) *Ibi fraude inimicorum, & amicis parum prospicientibus, Ibid. Buch. Ibid.*

(*t*) *Insignem erga maritum amorem. Buch. p. 228.*

(*u*) *Lind. p. 73. and 74.* (*x*) *Eaque dictio cum maleficarum mulierum responsis consentiret, Buch. p. 231. Lind. 75.*

he, at length, accomplished, by his notorious Corruptions, and by an outward Shew of abject Submission to his Master, whilst, behind his Back, his Behaviour toward him was most ungrateful and indecent, (y) He gain'd such an Ascendant over the King, that not only no Reports to his Prejudice were hearken'd to, but all his Representations of Men and Things, however, false, found entire Credit. (z)

These were suited to his own Purposes, which seldom were consistent with the King's, and never with his Country's Interest. He treated as Enemies to both, and, unfortunately for himself, the King acted as if they had really been so, whosoever differ'd with him in Opinion, or presum'd to oppose his pernicious Schemes. (a)

Thus were Numbers drove from Court, who's Abilities, Birth, and Fortunes, entitled them to a Share in the Government, but disdain'd to purchase it by mean Submissions, or at the Expence of concurring in Measures destructive to their King and Country. (b)

(y) This false Flatterer, *Lind.* 74. He cared not the King's Honour, *Lind.* 75. *Hume* 221. (z) *Ibid.*

(a) Quicunque habet—potentiam ad audaciæ resistendum, hunc pro hoste numerat, *Buch.* 233. *Lind.* 75.

(b) *Vide* the Lords Remonstrance to the King, *Lind.* 76.

Thus was the Way paved for Sir Robert's present Grandeur; but he was not aware that, by these violent Proceedings, he laid the Foundation of inevitable Ruin, which overtook him in the Height of his imaginary Glory.

But having fatiated his Ambition, by worming out of Court, even to Kinsmen and Benefactors, all who had Power or Parts to controul him, it was now high Time to think of indulging another favourite Passion; and, while his Head was crowded with Funds and Projects to increase his Master's Hoards, he neglected not the necessary Means of raising to himself, from nothing, an exorbitant Estate (c).

Among these, the Sale of all Employments, Ecclesiastical and Civil, (for even Bishopricks were sold, *aut turpium voluptatum Ministris in premium cedebant*) made no small Figure (d), both on account of the Profits that, thereby, accru'd, and of the fatal Effects it produced; in propagating his Corruptions,

(c) *Lucri ostentata magnitudo, — eo facile perduxit, ut Regi suaderent, &c.* Buch. p. 227. and 229.

(d) *Rebus omnibus tam sacris quam prophanis in aula velut ad publicam nundinationem propofitis.* Ibid. p. 231.

in discouraging, Virtue, Learning, and Merit, and in laying Men in Office under a sort of Necessity of oppressing the Subject, and robbing the Crown. This was pushed to so scandalous a Height, during Sir *Robert's* Administration, that it prov'd a Source of infinite Discontent and Clamour against the Court.

The Patent he obtain'd for coining of Copper, or Halfpence, (*e*) made no less Noise, and brought him in immense Sums. By Degrees, it would, as he had laid his Plan, have drain'd all the Specie, and would have utterly ruin'd the Trade of the Country it was granted for; and notwithstanding all the Opposition it met with, it did incredible Mischief. (*f*)

It is a Mistake to imagine, that *Wood* had any Concern in this Project; for tho' there is Reason to believe, that he continued in the King's Service during Sir *Robert's* Ministry, yet Sir *Andrew Wood* had a Soul above any thing so foul and infamous, as this Imposition of the

(*e*) The King gave him Leave to strike Money, call'd, *Cochran's Farthings*. Lind. p. 75. Monetæ æneæ. Buch. p. 234.

(*f*) Hinc orta omnium rerum caritas——sed ne omnino commercia cessarent, unum inventum est remedium. Buch. *ibid*.

Halfpence appears to have been ; (g) and tho' all the Historians treat fully of this Matter, I find no other Person of that Name made Mention of by any of them.

It is not my Intention to enter into a minute Detail of the Minister's Rapines. It would be endless. And, were I to relate all the Particulars reported, it might seem incredible, that one, who scrupled not to avow his Transactions and Jobbs of this sort in the publickest Manner, should be so long bore with in a free Country. I chuse, therefore, to close this Branch of his Character with *Lindsay's* Account of him, which is extremely to the Purpose ; and I flatter myself, that the evident Marks it bears of plain and unaffected Sincerity, will induce the candid Reader to pardon his uncourtly Style, and the unfashionable Expressions he makes use of. But I ought first to premise, that tho' the Minister was undoubtedly possess'd of the Profits of the Earldom of *Mar*, either by Grant, or under colour of collecting them for the King ; yet it is the general Opinion, that he had no Patent for the Title ; and most Historians, like our Author, treat

(g) *Lind.* p. 93. and 94.

Buch. p. 240.

him with so much Contempt, that they seldom bestow upon him a Designation more respectful, than barely that of his Surname. (b)

“ At this time, Cochran grew so familiar with His Grace, that nothing was done at Court without him; and all Men that would have their Business dress’d with the King’s Grace, came to Cochran, and made him Forespeaker for them, and gave him large Sums of Money to dress their Business. Therethrough he became so rich and puissant, and of such Substance, that no Man might strive with him. But he knowing the King’s Nature, that he was covetous upon Money, and loved them better that gave him Money, than those that took from him, he gave the King large Sums of Money, wherethrough he obtain’d the Earldom of Mar from the King, and ever clamb higher and higher in Court, till he had no Pier nor Comparison of no Lord of Scotland, Spiritual or Temporal, in the King’s Favour. Whatever was done in Court

(b) Negant Scriptores Cochran. Marriæ Comitem creatum, sed tantum fructus colligendi curam illi commissam. Annot. in Buch. p. 234. Regendum commiserat. *ibid.*

“ or Council with the King, nothing
 “ was done or concluded but by him;
 “ nor no Man durst say, that his Pro-
 “ ceedings were wicked or evil, or un-
 “ profitable for the Commonweal, but
 “ he would have his Indignation, and
 “ cause punish him for the same: For
 “ this Cochran had such Authority at
 “ Court, and such Credence of the King,
 “ that no Man got Credence or Audience
 “ of the King, but by his Moeyen. So
 “ all that would esteem him, or flatter
 “ him, or bribe him, their Matters
 “ were dress’d according to their own
 “ Pleasure, whether it were just or un-
 “ just, or against the Commonweal, all
 “ was alike to him; for he car’d not
 “ the Welfare of the Realm, nor the
 “ Honour of the King, so that he might
 “ have his own singular Profit, and
 “ Estimation at Court. So he abused
 “ this Noble Prince, that none was re-
 “ ceived in Court, nor no kind of Offices
 “ bestow’d, but on those that would obey
 “ him, and be of his Faction. So by
 “ this means the prudent Lords Council
 “ was refus’d, and their Sons were ab-
 “ sent from the King’s Service; for no
 “ Man durst come to serve the King,
 “ but he that was a Flatterer of Coch-
 “ ran, and thought all things well done
 “ that he counsell’d the King to do. By
 “ this

“ *this Way, the King lost the Hearts of*
 “ *many of his best Subjects, who fain*
 “ *would have serv'd the King's Majesty;*
 “ *but they could get no Place for this*
 “ *Cochran and his Company; and no*
 “ *Casualty could fall to the King, but it*
 “ *was disposed of by the Advice of this*
 “ *Cochran, and not by the Council of*
 “ *the Lords and Barons.*

In these Words does *Lindsay* set forth
 the Character of this All-Grasping,
 Power-Ingrossing Minister; so singular in
 its kind, that I question, if from any
 History yet extant, a Parallel can be
 produced. The *Suffolks*, the *Bucking-*
hams, and most of the unfortunate Prime
 Ministers, whose Actions have been re-
 corded; as they were of Noble Blood,
 so all of them had something Great in
 their Characters, which, in the midst of
 their Vices, commanded Respect. They
 valu'd themselves upon patronizing Me-
 rit, in some Shape; and studied to raise
 the Lustre and the Magnificence, and to
 improve the Politeness of the Courts
 they shin'd in. But to our Heroe this
peculiar Praise is due, That he fram'd
to a Conformity with his own Taste, a
polite Court, and reduc'd it to the Le-
vel of his own clownish Deportment.
His Jokes always noisy, often obscene,
became

became the Standard of fashionable Wit ; and such was the Influence of his riotous Behaviour, that the Forms and Decencies, essential to the Dignity of a Royal Palace, were banished, or ridiculed as stiff and antiquated Fopperies. (i)

But this was not all, nor the worst: Enforc'd by his Example, and nourished by his Practices, such a Torrent of Corruption diffus'd itself thro' the whole Kingdom, (k) as endanger'd the immediate Subversion of the Constitution. Nor was it confined to the meaner Sort. The Sentiments and Morals of Persons of the first Rank were debauch'd; and what was in former Days, if ever practis'd by Men of Figure, wrapt up in the Bowels of Secrecy and Darknefs, came, now, to be openly transacted, as well in regard to selling of Places in their Disposal, (l) as in making Merchandise of themselves and their Services to the Minister.

(i) They were not worthy to have been with a King — To rule a Court, or give Counsel to a Great Prince; but were fitter for Ploughmen, Shepherds, and Cow Keepers. *Vide* Lord Chanc. Speech. Lind. p. 87.

(k) *Tempora etiam corrupta.* Buch. p. 239.

(l) *Aulica factio* — A Rege impetrata aliis dividenda. Buch. 229.

For tho' he was detested by the Body of the People ; (*m*) tho' the Party which the publick Dangers, the Preservation of the King, and the Cause of Liberty, had united in a determin'd Opposition to his Measures, consisted of all the Great Men, remarkable for Parts or Virtue ; (*n*) yet he had some considerable in Titles, as well as Fortunes, who long adher'd to him, and blush'd not to justify his Conduct at the Expence of their Judgment or Characters. Of this Number was the Lord Chamberlain ; (*o*) a Man so little hamper'd by that unprofitable Companion call'd Principle, that he seems not to have understood the Meaning of the Word. He was Abject, Haughty, False, Selfish, Illiterate, and Conceited ; and his whole Merit consisted in an unwearied Assiduity in Attendance, and a Loo-bily Sort of Craft. (*p*)

He is said to have been the first Man of any Note who brib'd the Minister ; and this is not a bare Suspicion founded upon Want of Merit, but it is particularly recorded, "*That* by large Sums

(*m*) Tantum univerforum studio in eorum exitium. Buch. p. 234.

(*n*) These Proceedings mov'd the Lords, &c. to sail from the King, and set their Intenr to find a Remedy. Lind. p. 76.

(*o*) Lind. p. 72, 73, 74, 86, and 90.

(*p*) Believed with such crafty Means to use the same—Lind. 73. *Vicio temporis ab literis inculto*, Buch.

“ he purchas’d Sir *Robert’s* Support in
 “ the Possession of a Province (as *Buchan-*
an usually stiles it) of which he had
 “ the Government in the late King’s
 “ Time. (q)

In Return, by the Access his Place at Court gave him, and his gross Flatteries, (r) he contributed not a little to deceive the King, and fortify the Minister in his Favour, (s) partly by confirming his false Suggestions, and sometimes insinuating by way of Threat, *That His Majesty would be irretrievably undone, the Moment he put the Management of his Affairs in other Hands*: Yet no sooner did this zealous Friend perceive the Tide run too strong, and the Minister in real Danger, but he turn’d Tail, and was one of the first in proposing the ignominious Part of his Execution. (t)

But the Contagion of the Minister’s Corruptions raged no where with greater Violence than among the Clergy; and the arrantest Tools, the thoroughest Flatterers his Power procur’d him, were

(q) Gave *Cochran* great Gifts of Gold and Silver. *Ibid.*

(r) He flatter’d the King and Courtiers. *Lind.* 74.

(s) The Fortifier of *Cochran* in that Cause. *Ibid.*

(t) *Lind.* 77.

the Bishops; (u) infomuch, that we read but of one of those Holy Fathers, who, during his Administration, had the Virtue to act a Part becoming the Dignity of his Order, and the Courage to make a Stand in Defence of the Liberties of his Country. (x) The Hopes of Translations, the Lust of richer Benefices, and the late Regulations, with regard to the proper Methods of being recommended to them, is assign'd by *Buchanan* as the Source of this Evil. (y) “ *For tho’ Luxury and Avarice* (says that learned Author) *had long been predominant in the Members of the Church; yet, while Virtue was encourag’d, and Learning rewarded, they retain’d the Appearances, at least, of their Primitive Character.*” But no sooner was this new Road to Preferment chalk’d out, when Flattery and implicit Submission came to be the only necessary Qualifications requir’d, all was resolv’d into the Arbitrary Will of One, and *they soon became a mere dead Weight, without Liberty, or Choice; united in-*

(u) Inter hos Aulæ mores Ordo Ecclesiasticus nihilo sanctius agebat. Buch. p. 229.

(x) Unus velut sufflaminabat. *Ibid* — Episcopi reliqui. 230.

(y) Potestatem designandi quos vellet — Inde enim non defuturum, unde & contumaces reprimeret, & dubios retineret, & bene meritis gratiam referret — Adulatoribus sedebant, Buch. p. 229. & 231.

deed, but not to seek or serve, or defend Truth, or Justice, or Right, but to promote the Designs of those who serv'd them, and favoured their Attempts of establishing a Spiritual Tyranny. (z)

A flagrant Instance of this (I mean the Minister's playing to the Bishops Hands, as they constantly did to his) was the cruel and inhuman Usage which that venerable and worthy Churchman, *Peter Graham*, met with. And tho', in Times like the present (when Meekness, Charity, Self-denial, and Brotherly Love, are the distinguishing Qualities of the Pillars of our Church) it will hardly be credited, that *so violent a Spirit could be stirr'd up against an innocent, inoffensive, benevolent Man; against whom no Vices, no Immoralities, no Infidelity, could with any Justice be objected. (a)* Yet, as the Story is well attested, and is thought worthy of being set forth in all its Circumstances, by a very concise and judicious Historian, I hope a summary Account of it will not be disagreeable to the curious Reader; especially, as it furnishes a convincing Proof of the Truth of an old Saying, *That you may*

(z) Continuo nova rerum facies. *Ibid.*

(a) Vir nullius sceleris compertus, doctrina & virtute nemini sui temporis inferior. *Buch. p. 231.*

as well oppose the Rage of the Sea in a Tempest, as the Fury of a Priest intoxicated with Power.

This worthy Prelate was nam'd by the Pope to the See of *St. Andrews*; but, to his Misfortune, without previous Application to the Minister and the Knot of Priests in Combination with him.

Unwilling to countenance, and unable to reform the Conduct of his Brethren, he had some time before retir'd to *Rome*, where, his Piety, his Wisdom, and Christian Deportment, easily procured him, besides his Bishoprick, a Commission as Legate.

However agreeable it was to the Body of the Clergy, that a Charge of such Importance was intrusted in the Hands of so good and so learn'd a Man, (*b*) his Power and his Character alarm'd equally, the governing Prelates, and those whose sole Pretensions to Church Preferments consisted in a slavish Submission to them; (*c*) and no sooner was his Nomination heard of, but a detesta-

(*b*) A minoribus quidem sacerdotibus satis æquo animo est auditus: gaudebant enim munus tam necessarium viro bono & erudito commissum. Buch. 23c.

(*c*) Fremebat ea factio———*Ibid.*

ble Conspiracy was form'd to disappoint and destroy him. (*d*)

Heaven and Earth were moved for that Purpose, and no Means, however wicked and unfair, were left unpractis'd; so that their Clamour, (*e*) and the Apprehensions of the Minister, who's tottering Condition made him dread the Effects of their Resentment, soon procur'd a Resolution at Court to suspend him from the Exercise of his Functions, till the King was duly inform'd of the Truth of the Facts laid to his Charge. (*f*)

The first Objection, against his Admission was,— That he was an Enemy to the Constitution. (*g*) “ *His Commission containing a Power to reform.* (*h*)

The Second,— That he was a Heretick; “ *having said Mass thrice in one Day; whereas no Bishop in the Kingdom perform'd that Office above once in three Months.* (*i*)

(*d*) Hi omnes, conjuratione facta. *Ibid.*

(*e*) Maledictis Patricium onerant, & in Regiam collecti queruntur. *Ibid.*

(*f*) Ne ullam sui muneris partem attingeret, donec Rex, de queremoniis adversus eum ad se delatis, cognosceret. *Ibid.*

(*g*) Vetusta majorum jura——violari. *Ibid.*

(*h*) Diploma——ad Ecclesiast. ordinandum. *Ibid.*

(*i*) Quod uno die ter missaret, dum vix reperiebatur Episcopus, qui ternis mensibus semel id munus obiret. *Ib.*

Another

Another Set of Arguments were urg'd against him, from the manner in which he was recommended. (*k*). And the last and most powerful was,—— That the Administration must unavoidably be overfet, and his Majesty expos'd to imminent Danger, if a Person of his Principles, so obnoxious to the Clergy, was promoted. (*l*)

No sort of Proof was at first offer'd in Support of these weighty Charges; but after they were sufficiently spread, and every honest Man was astonish'd at the Method of Aspersion, the Authors of these Infamies pretended, that publick Fame was a good Foundation for Suspicion, and that the Party, so suspected, must be presum'd guilty, unless he clear'd himself to the World. (*m*) But this he had a Soul too great to stoop to; he disdain'd such mean and idle Endea-
vours.

In the mean while, the Faction, that oppos'd him, bethought themselves of

(*k*) Recentia Regum edicta violari, ac multa universo Regno damnosa per Romanenses adagitari. *Ibid.*

(*l*) Regem brevi in ordinem redactum iri. *Ibid.*

(*m*) *Ibid.*

an infallible Expedient to facilitate the Work, an Argument of greater Weight than any they had hitherto made use of: A large Sum of Money was collected, and presented at Court by the Bishops, (n) "*That they might not seem ungrateful to so kind an Administration.*" Upon the Credit of this, a new Scene was open'd.

The Objections against this irreproachable Man, were at first pretended to be founded only upon his general Character, but his Life and Actions were afterwards scann'd and commented upon, (o) his familiar Conversations, from his Youth upwards, were sifted into; and, in the end, a Couple of infamous, spiteful Clergymen (the one a profest Fortune-Teller, the other a pitiful Schoolmaster) (p) were spirited up as Actors and Informers against him. Among other groundless Calumnies they suggested, that he was mad, an Epithet then given by the Courtiers to every thing that look'd like Virtue or publick Spirit; but tho' the whole

(n) *Episcopi reliqui* ——— *Ibid.* 230.

(o) *De vita & moribus anquirerent.* Buch.

(p) *Severius igitur ingenii acrimonia, & scientiæ astrologiæ jactatione, & aulica gratia florens* ——— *communicato consilio cum Johanne Locco scholarum publicarum rectore machinas omnes ad eum subvertendum admovent.* *Ibid.*
Homines ex inferiore ordine ——— *contemnit.* *Ibid.*

Charge amounted to no more than a Number of *Trifling, Ridiculous, and Incredible Tales*; yet such was the Inveteracy and prevailing Influence of his Opposers, that an Inquisition (it cannot be call'd a Tryal) was held upon the Integrity of his Life and Character; and *Schyves* his Accuser, and mortal Enemy, appointed Judge for that Purpose. *There* (says our Author) *by the iniquitous Sentence of a partial Judge, supported by the Testimony of suborn'd Witnesses, he was compell'd to spue up or renounce the Bishoprick.*

Nor was this sufficient to satiate the Malice of his Adversaries; but, envying the Magnanimity, the Temper and Resignation, wherewith he submitted to a Torrent he was unable to withstand, they ceased not to persecute him, till Age and Sorrows put an End to his Life.

So far'd it with this Exemplary Prelate, under the Scourge of this unexampled Administration. (q) Ador'd by the People for his generous and upright Sentiments, (r) he was inferior to none of his Cotemporaries in Learning and Know-

(q) *Paucis infimæ fortis nebulonibus. Ibid.*

(r) *Ut favor populi erga Patricium clanguesceret.*

ledge. “ *His Fate* (continues the above-
 “ *mention'd Author)* *affords a lively*
 “ *Image of the Misery of the Times he*
 “ *liv'd in; and one may easily judge*
 “ *what Hardships and Oppressions the*
 “ *Subjects of inferior Note groan'd un-*
 “ *der, when a Man of his noble Extra-*
 “ *ction, eminent for all manner of Vir-*
 “ *tues, a Friend to the King, allied to*
 “ *his Family, and supported by the Fa-*
 “ *vour and good Wishes of Persons of the*
 “ *first Rank of the Kingdom, was thus*
 “ *cruelly abandon'd, by a profligate Mi-*
 “ *nister, to the Insults and Persecution*
 “ *of his Enemies.* (s)

But Sir Robert was become desperate; and the publick Marks of the People's Indignation (which broke out in all Parts of the Kingdom, upon his notorious Attempts to extend and perpetuate his Tyranny) exasperated him to such a Degree, (t) that he seem'd determin'd to involve the King and Country in his Ruin, since he found it inconsistent with his Safety to resign his Power. (u) But Providence, and the Vigilance of his

(s) Buch. p. 231.

(t) Qui, quod omnibus jure se invisum intelligit, omnes oderit. *Ibid.* 233.

(u) Lind. 76. Nihil eminens aut excelsum superesse vult. Buch. *Ibid.*

Opposers, disappointed, in some measure, his wicked Purposes; and the Accession of the Lord High Chancellor to their Party, did greatly contribute to facilitate their Success. His Abilities, Judgment, Prudence, Resolution and Integrity, had acquired him universal Esteem, and he was almost adored by those of his Profession (x). Whilst he adhered to the Court, his Reputation gave Credit to their Counsels; (y) but finding it in vain to oppose, in private, the pernicious Schemes that were pursu'd; and that what he recommended or advised, was but little regarded, he entered into Concert with those who were united in Defence of the Constitution, and labour'd to preserve the King, by separating his Cause from the Minister's. (z)

How he came to be continued in his Office, at a Time, when differing with the Minister in the most trivial Points, was attended with immediate Disgrace, is not mentioned in History; but it is certain, he was one of the Select Committee, who concerted the Method of seizing him at *Lauder*, and, as Lord Chancellor, assisted at his Tryal. (a)

(x) Crawford Vit. L. Eyendal.

(z) Lind, 76. and 77.

(y) *Ibid.*(a) *Ibid.* 77.

Besides, it appears by his remarkable Speech to the Duke of *Albany*, after the King's Retreat to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, that he had been of the Number of the Patriots, long before that Event, and had loudly disapprov'd his Majesty's Choice, both with regard to Men and Measures. (*b*).

But, to counterbalance the growing Power of the Country Party, and ward against the Vengeance wherewith their Increase daily threaten'd him; no Methods were left unpractis'd by the Minister, to strengthen the King's Hands, as well as to fill his Coffers. Some Instances of his Ingenuity, in forming Projects to plunder his Fellow Subjects, we have already seen; but as the Funds for Corruption were not very extensive in these Days, and the Government could not be carried on without Parliaments, he contrived a frugal Expedient to render these Parliaments dependent on the Crown, and secure to himself a certain Majority of Voices. For this Purpose, we are told by a learned Antiquary, (*c*) a sufficient Number of Men, of low Rank,

(*b*) See his Speech Lind. 81.

(*c*) Crawford,

and particularly of the inferior Clergy, were in this Reign brought into Parliament, who had no other Right to sit and vote there, but being call'd by the King's Writ. How this secur'd a Majority for the Court, is obvious; but Two Things are necessary to be explain'd — That the Lords and Commons made but one House, and that Persons so call'd by Writ had no Title to sit in subsequent Parliaments. But as this Power had never been practis'd in former Reigns, and was soon put a Stop to, it was, doubtless, an unwarrantable Stretch of the Prerogative; more dangerous than the Abuse of creating a Number of Peers for a Job, but much of the same Nature.

This unprecedented Method of raising the Power of the Crown, of which the *Scots* were always extreamly jealous; this infallible way of reducing Parliaments to an absolute Dependency, by over-powering its ancient Constituents; with a corrupt Crew, who were gaping for small Preferments, had an Effect quite different from what the Minister propos'd. It render'd, indeed, all Endeavours of bringing him to Justice, in the usual Forms, impracticable; but as it frustrated the very In-

tent of Parliaments, as it made the Constitution subservient to the Evils it was calculated to prevent, it united in a closer Concert against him, all who breath'd the Sentiments of Liberty, and envigorated their Resolutions of pulling down a Man whose constant Business it was to forge new Fetters for his Country; (*d*) so that the only Adherents he had left, were a Medley of pusillanimous or necessitous Slaves, who, when his Day came, had not the Soul to shew their Face in his Defence. (*e*)

These Inconveniencies; this obvious Hazard, one would think he could not be so blind as not to foresee; but it is possible, at the same time, to imagine, that his Crimes laid him under a Necessity of forming desperate Designs, however wretched his Conscience might make him in the Execution of them. This appears plainly to have been Sir *Robert's* Case.

But whilst the Stings of a guilty Conscience pursued him, and filled his Imagination with the Horrors of the Punishment he deserv'd; while foreboding Apprehensions

(*d*) Buch 233.

Hume 223.

(*e*) Buch. 234.

of his approaching Fate interrupted his Slumbers, and the Day was spent in blocking up his Master, and watching, against the Approaches of Truth, his Royal Ear; whilst he strove to delude himself, and divert his gloomy Thoughts with mistaken Proofs of imaginary Security, and vainly fancied he struck Terror into others, by repeating injudicious Instances of his absolute and irresistible Power at Court; whilst the Minister's Head, I say, was thus distracted, the Interests of his Master, with regard to foreign Powers, lay totally neglected; or, like the domestick Affairs, were sacrificed to his private Views, which now center'd wholly in his own Preservation. (*f*) But the many curious and unforeseen Circumstances that occur'd, in relation to the Situation at Home, and seem'd worthy of Notice, has already swell'd this Paper to such a Bulk, that, like the Minister, I shall pass slightly over the foreign Concerns.

Notwithstanding the Troubles in the Beginning of King *James* II's Reign, by his prudent and manly Conduct, and keeping Faith religiously with his Allies, he brought his Kingdom to be respected

abroad, and his Friendship was courted by foreign Powers.

A strong Proof of this we see in that remarkable Speech (g) of *Edward IV's* Ambassadors, entreating his Assistance and Support: And these Regards were rather encreas'd than diminish'd, during the Administration of Archbishop *Kennedy*, and the *Boys* in *James III's* Minority. (h) But, under Sir *Robert's* Administration, partly thro' Folly, and a beastly Ignorance of every thing that related to these Matters, and partly by his Perfidy, in not fulfilling his Engagements with foreign Princes, (i) the Nation came to be held in the utmost Contempt abroad; and when the King's Distresses fell upon him, however he might flatter himself before, he felt, when it was too late, that he had not one Ally left. (k) Of these I shall give but a few Instances, but they are strong.

Lewis XI. was about this Time, says *Spotswood*, upon the Point of dissolving

(g) Lind. p. 59.

(h) Legati Anglorum auditi petentibus induciæ in annos 25 datæ. Buch. 224.

(i) *Edward* and his Council refused to assist the King, because they had often, without Success, required the Succours stipulated by the Treaty of 1464 and 1472. Lind. 80. Buch. 232. Rhymer ad annos suprad.

(k) Buch. 238.

the ancient League with *Scotland*. And surely it must have been a masterly Blunder in a *Scotch* Minister, or a sovereign Contempt of his Administration, that could provoke a *French* King to think of, renouncing an Alliance, in all Ages, of such signal Use to his Predecessors. The Minister had, at the same time, acted so foolishly, or falsely, or both, with *Edward IV.* that, by Advice of his Council, he determin'd to break off the Match between his Daughter and the Prince of *Scotland*, tho' Matters had gone so far, that Part of her Portion was actually paid. But such were the Dispositions in *Scotland* toward the Administration, and so obstinately did the King persist in supporting this obnoxious Minister, that it was apprehended in *England*; says *Buchannan*,
 “ *That James and his Posterity would*
 “ *be drove out of the Kingdom; (l)* and so indeed, in all Probability, it would have happen'd, had not his Son, afterwards *James IV.* taken the Measure he did in putting himself so seasonably at the Head of the Country Party. (m)

(l) *Edwardus de concilii sententia, sensuit que de nuptiis pactus erat, irrita fieri, magis e re Anglica esse: quod, in tantis intestinis dissidiis, metueret ne Jacobi posteritas regno pelleretur.*

(m) *Hume 229. Buch. 238. Lind. 88.*

Yet, in order to amuse the World while he work'd his own dirty Jobs, Treaties and Negotiations were much in Vogue in Sir *Robert's* Days. Such was his famous Treaty of 1474 for Matches and mutual Guarantees of Succession, introduced with the pompous Preamble, "*of promoting the Wealth, Peace, Honour*" "*and Interest of this noble Isle* ; but concluded, as the Event plainly shews, with the upright Intention of TRICKING *Edward* into Compliance with the Execution of some of his pernicious or ridiculous Projects ; for he never executed one Article of this Treaty, tho' the Succours stipulated were often required, and strenuously insisted upon. (n)

Such were his fruitless Embassies and Commissions to put a Stop to the Clamours of the Merchants who, in Time of Peace, had suffered immense Losses by the Depredations of the Inhabitants of the Low Countries (o). But had he meant honestly, which 'tis much doubted he ever did, is it to be imagin'd, that Negotiations should prove successful, supported by so impotent an Administration, and conducted by such Heads.

(n) Lind. p. 80. *Fœdera Ang. Tom. II. p. 824.*

(o) Eod. Anno Legati——— ad sedendas mercatorum querelas missi———rebus infectis reversi.

The main Instrument he made Use of in these Transactions, was one *Roger*, a low dirty Fellow, whose chief Talent consisted in Lying and Buffoonry (*p*). His first Appearance in the World was in the Retinue of an Ambassador, and by his Impudence, his singing lewd (*q*) Songs, and an awkward Drollery, he thrust himself in among his Betters, and bufsled into Court at so lucky a Season, that he rose to great Honours, and is represented as the second Person of this glorious Ministry (*r*). Whether or no he was any ways related to Sir *Robert*, I have not been able to discover, but as they lived in great Intimacy, in their Fate they were Brothers, for they were both hang'd over the same Bridge.

Long were the necessary Effects, the inevitable Consequences of the Measures of these two extraordinary Ministers fore-

(*p*) *Rogerus Anglus Cantor*, qui cum regis Angliæ legatis in Scotiam ingressus, postquam semel & iterum Regi auditus placuit, ab eo retentus, & divitiis auctus, brevi in equestriam ordinem est ascriptus——

E contemptissimo genere hominum sol. auda. & improb. commend. Buch. 231.

(*q*) *Roger*, an Inticer to Lewdness. *Hume* 222.

(*r*) On these two he repos'd the Burthen of his Affairs. *Hume Ibid.*

seen ; often were they foretold, that the Injuries, the Affronts, their Conduct had drawn from all Quarters of the Kingdom, were only the Forerunners of greater Evils ; that as Trade, Riches, and the Authority inseparable from a flourishing Nation, were acquir'd by Force, they must be maintain'd and defended : But, till an Invasion was actually attempted, their slavish Advocates impudently asserted, that it was politick to wink at trifling Disgraces, as they term'd them, and that the artful Negotiations, the superior Abilities of the unprecedented Ministers, would extricate the Nation from the Dangers that threaten'd it, with less Expence, and greater Safety, than the Hazard wherewith violent Measures is constantly attended (s).

But these were mere Pretences. The real Cause of the Minister's Backwardness to engage in a War was, that he saw his own Ruin inseparable from it (t).

He could not expect chearful Supplies from a People whose Destruction he had projected, and gone far towards accomplishing: He had suffer'd the Merchants,

(s) Lind. 76.

(t) Buch. 232.

with Impunity, to be plunder'd; he had plotted the Disgrace of all the great Men, and in depressing them consisted his Safety; how could he hope for Support or Continuance from either? And so thoroughly was he in the End deserted, that, however they might rub on in peaceable Times, he had not Men to serve under him, who were equal to the Dispatch of common Business, in case of a War. Nay, farther, there was not a Man in the Kingdom to whom his jealous Pate (even before his Situation became so ticklish) would venture to entrust the Command of an Army.

He saw he was undone if the King went abroad without him, and he felt, at *Lauder*, the fatal Effects of attending him in his Expedition. "*These Up-starts,*" in fine, says *Buchanan*, who had rais'd themselves upon the Ruins of all that was Great, and respected in the Kingdom; who, from Beggars had enrich'd themselves by the Losses and Calamities of Thousands of their Fellow-Citizens; whose Conduct, in a Word, and weak Counsels, had occasion'd the War, dreaded nothing so

“ *much as bringing an Army into the*
 “ *Field* (u). And rather than expose
 their Persons and Estates to these evident
 Hazards, they resolv'd to behold, with
 Tranquillity, the Execution of Schemes
 which evidently tended towards dethro-
 ning the King, and the Ruin of the
 Country.

For Men who bragg'd so much of their
 “ *Dexterity in getting into the Cabinets*
 “ *of Princes,*” could not be ignorant of
 the Duke of *Albany's* Sollicitations in
France, and his Intrigues at the Court of
England, and that *Edward*, led by
 Interest and Inclination (x) had long
 waited a proper Opportunity, and was,
 then, actually making Preparations to
 send him home with a powerful Army,
 in order to place him on the Throne.
 Yet no Steps were taken to defeat these
 Intrigues, no Measures enter'd into to
 create a Diversion, nor a serious Thought
 of putting the Nation in a Posture of De-
 fence, till the Enemy was in the Country.
 Nay, some Passages of these Times give
 Ground to suspect that, by his Agents

(u) *Homines enim nuper egeni, & qui ex aliorum calamitatibus creverant, Regique impotentium conciliorum auctores fuerant, metuebant, scil. Bellum——Inviti exercitum inducunt, Buch. 232.*

Loath were these new Men to the Work. *Hume 223.*

(x) *Ford. Aug. Tom. 12. p. 156. 160. 161.*

Abroad

'Abroad, the Minister intended to make Terms with the Duke ; and, in Hopes to screen himself from Justice, by the Interest of so considerable a Party, that he was resolved to be himself the Instrument of dethroning his Master (y): But such a Scheme required an abler Head than his to carry it into Execution ; and, if it was his Intention, the Fact is, that he bungled it, as he did most other Things.

But whatever Motives the Minister was guided by, the Patriots were not wanting in their Duty ; and notwithstanding the many fruitless Remonstrances they had already made, they resolved, now, to make a last Effort. “ *To that End, they deputed a wise Man,* (as Lindsay writes) *to represent to the King the fatal Consequences of the Discontents that daily encreas'd throughout the Kingdom, and the imminent Danger to which his Majesty exposed himself, by entrusting the Administration of his Affairs, and the Defence of the Nation, to Persons who had nothing in View but their particular Profits. To conjure his Majesty to lay aside all Jealousy and Suspicion of their Loyalty and Zeal, and to*

(y) Buch. 234. Hume 227.

“ assure

“ assure him, that by hearkening to their
 “ faithful Counsels, he would quickly
 “ regain the Affections of his People,
 “ and restore his Kingdom to the same
 “ flourishing Condition wherein his
 “ Royal Father left it.

“ But, if contrary to their earnest
 “ Wishes for His Majesty's Safety and Ho-
 “ nour, He still persisted in suffering
 “ himself to be deluded by these perverse
 “ and selfish Counsellors: They humbly
 “ begged Leave to protest that they should
 “ be held guiltless of the Misgovernment
 “ of the Realm, before God and Man;
 “ and whatever Mischiefs might ensue
 “ must lie at his Majesty's Door.” (z)

This zealous Protest or Remonstrance
 of the Patriots incensed, but did not
 convince the King. The Substance of
 his Answer was, That he lik'd those he
 imploy'd, and would not “ turn a Man
 “ forth of his Company for their Plea-
 “ sure.” And seeing that farther En-
 deavours of that Nature were to no
 Purpose, they determin'd to wait a pro-
 per Season of attempting a Remedy
 more effectual.

(z) Lindsay 76.

Thus;

Thus, while the Minister went on Projecting, Negotiating, Blundering, Trembling, Blustering, Disgracing and Corrupting; and the unwearied Patriots Remonstrating, Computing, Opposing, Protesting and Watching; the Opportunity long look'd for at last offer'd, and they were too quick-sighted to let it escape them.

Their Neighbours invited by their intestine Discord, (*a*) the universal Discontent, and the Weakness of the Administration, judg'd it a proper Juncture to invade them; and all Things were ready for the Execution, before the Courtiers would acknowledge there was any such Design.

Some Counties the Minister had, with his usual tender Regard for the Publick Welfare, already suffer'd to be laid waste by the Enemy; (*b*) but Treaties, Negotiations and Congresses were become Thread-bare Tales; even *Roger* blush'd! to mention them, and their Store of pa-

(*a*) Alexandro — Magna auxilia conventura, & nobilitatem cum rege discordem suam fore, Anglus pollicebatur. Buch. 234.

(*b*) Quamquam res Scotiæ, vastatis aliquot regionibus, pejore in loco erat, tamen ——— inviti. Buch. 232.

cifick Expedients was now quite exhausted. So that Self-defence, the Cries of the Oppress'd, (c) and the Tumults of the People, compelled them at last to take the Field, and the King with his Cabinet-Council, at the Head of 50000 Men, advanced toward the Enemy. (d) As their consummate Wisdom had brought the Nation into these Difficulties, they were judg'd, no doubt, the ablest, the most proper Heads to extricate it, and with them alone, did the King continue to consult even with Regard to his warlike Operations (e).

This Conduct, if it did not quicken the Resentment of the Patriots, it serv'd, at least, to justify their Proceedings to the Multitude, and facilitate their Success; and as they perceived these favourable Dispositions, they resolv'd to improve them in as quiet and regular a Manner as the Nature of their Design would permit (f). For this purpose, after the second Day's March, they appointed the Earls of *Angus* and *Argyle*,

(c) Lind. 77.

(d) Hume 223.

(e) Rex nihil de superiorum temporum ratione omittebat, nobilitate enim diffusus omnia per domesticum concilium transigebat. Buch. 232.

(f) Buch. *Ibid.* Hume *Ibid.*

the Chancellor *Evendal*, and some others; of the most considerable of the Party, to consult what was proper to be done, and prepare Matters for a general Meeting, which was, accordingly, held at Three next Morning, in the Church of *Lauder*. (g)

I shall not trouble the Reader with a Translation of the Earl of *Angus's* Speech; (b) it contains a Recapitulation of the Grievances already mentioned. He laid before them, in moving Terms, the State of the Nation, and in particular, the unhappy Circumstances of the Nobility, the chief of them being thrust into Disgrace, and their Country depriv'd of their Services, because they disdain'd to concur in dirty Jobbs, and act contrary to Conviction and Conscience. (i) He lamented the Condition of the King, a Prince of infinite Worth, and such Qualities, as would render his Kingdom perfectly happy, were he not intangl'd in the Snares of the Minister, who held him in a sort of Captivity, even in the Sight of his Enemies Camp. " *What Arts*, continu'd he, *has not this*

(g) Lind. 77. Hume 224.

(b) Buch. 233.

(i) Principes Nobilitatis, in exilium puls, aut pati intoleranda, aut nefaria facere coguntur.

“ Man put in Practice, to ruin and op-
 “ press you? And does not his Guilt lay
 “ him under the Necessity of persevering
 “ in them? He knows he is with Justice
 “ detested of all Men, and is therefore
 “ become a publick Enemy. He is con-
 “ scious of his own Want of Merit, and
 “ will suffer none that has Parts or Vir-
 “ tue to approach the Throne. Whosoe-
 “ ver has Riches to satiate his Avarice,
 “ or Power to oppose his pernicious
 “ Schemes, him he ranks among the
 “ Number of his Enemies; and in these
 “ perplex'd Circumstances are we by his
 “ means involv'd in a foreign War. But
 “ which are to be esteem'd the most dan-
 “ gerous Enemies, those who arm you
 “ against their Hostilities by a publick
 “ Declaration of War, or the Traitors,
 “ who, within your Walls, lay in Ambush
 “ to surprize and destroy you? Who alie-
 “ nating His Majesty's Affections from
 “ His real Friends, betray him to his
 “ Enemies, and leave you depriv'd of a
 “ Leader, expos'd to continual Alarms.
 “ If you are overcome, though you may
 “ escape Death, Slavery and Shame
 “ (worse than a thousand Deaths!) must
 “ be your Portion; and should we have
 “ the good Fortune to conquer, shall we
 “ thereby acquire Honour to the King;
 “ who is already detain'd a Prisoner?
 “ Shall

“ Shall we purchase the Comforts of
 “ Peace to our selves, whose Ruin the
 “ Minister is hourly plotting? Shall we
 “ preserve the Liberties of our Country,
 “ which he is perpetually devising Pro-
 “ jects to enslave? No!——To perpetu-
 “ ate that Minister’s Tyranny——To se-
 “ cure him Impunity for his past Crimes—
 “ To increase the Servitude in which by
 “ his Artifices he holds the King, is to
 “ be the Price of so much Noble Blood;
 “ and, instead of delivering us from
 “ Troubles abroad——Victory, as Mat-
 “ ters now stand, will serve only to in-
 “ crease our Miseries at home. My
 “ Opinion therefore is, in a Word——
 “ That we ought to shake off our dome-
 “ stick Fetters, and rid our selves of in-
 “ testine Foes, before we engage with a
 “ Foreign Enemy. If you act otherwise,
 “ you must become Slaves to the Lust and
 “ Ambition of a few; you will strength-
 “ en the Hands of your most dangerous
 “ Enemy, and thereby become Traytors
 “ to your King and your Country.

“ What you determine I pray God
 “ to prosper.

The Earl of *Angus*’s Speech had all
 the Effects he could have wish’d; and
 nothing was to be heard in the Church

but a confus'd Noise of *Traytors! Justice! publick Enemies!* (k) This the Lord Gray interrupted with the Fable of the Mice, (l) who having met to consult about the Methods to prevent their being surpriz'd by the Cat, resolv'd, that tying a Bell about her Neck would infallibly answer that End; but when it came to the Execution, they were all silent, and none of them seem'd fond of the Office. The Earl understood his Meaning, and boldly reply'd, "*I will Bell the Cat; and what you resolve upon shall not lack Execution*" (m). Upon which, it was unanimously agreed, that the Minister and his Accomplices should be forthwith seiz'd, and brought to Judgment. And that their Resolution might be executed with the greater Decency, a few Lords only, with a sufficient Number of their Friends, were deputed to Court for that Purpose. (n)

In their way to the King's Tent, they met Sir *Robert*, who, with a numerous Attendance came to enquire the Reason of their assembling at so unusual an Hour; (o) but, by their Behaviour, his

(k) *Malos male perdendos.*

(l) Hume 225. (m) *Ibid.*

(n) Hume *ibid.* Buch. 223.

(o) Hume 224. Buch. 234.

Followers seem'd to have been better Flatterers than Fighters; fitter for a Levee than a Camp. For, when the Earl of *Angus* deliver'd him Prisoner to one of his Servants, and, pulling the Collar from about his Neck, told him, "*He would take Care to provide him in one that would become such a Fellow better;*" the Levee dispers'd in the usual manner, without presuming to give the least Disturbance.

As soon as his Creatures and Accomplices were apprehended, he was Try'd in the usual Form, without Tumult, Mob, or Disorder; and, pursuant to his Sentence, he was, to the inexpressible Joy of all that were present, hang'd over the Bridge in a Hair Tether. (*p*) This, it seems, was made choice of, to check his ill-tim'd Magnificence, in begging to be tuck'd up in a silken String, of which he offer'd to provide them.

How many of his Associates suffer'd at the same Time, is uncertain; no body is nam'd but poor *Roger*: But, by the Historian's Account, the Number must have been considerable; for it is said, "*That none of these wicked Counsellors,*

(*p*) Lind. 78. Above the rest of his Complices. Lind. 79.

" *his*

“ his Accomplices, escaped, except a
 “ Stripling of a good Family, who, to
 “ save his Life, got up behind the King’s
 “ Chaise, (q) and at his Majesty’s De-
 “ sire was forgiven.” What Station he
 was in seems very doubtful ; for the same
 Writers call him sometimes “ A Coun-
 “ sellor, sometimes one of the Minister’s
 “ Cabal, always one of the guilty, and
 “ sometimes a Page.” (r) This, indeed,
 may be owing to a Smock Face, to his
 Youth, or possibly to his getting up be-
 hind the King ; but, by all I have been
 able to gather from the best Accounts,
*He was something Amphibious, between
 a Page and a Privy-Counsellor.*

“ Thus, says a judicious Writer, (s)
 “ they did remove these Men, whom the
 “ Good of the King, of the Nobility,
 “ and of the whole Country, requir’d
 “ necessarily to be remov’d from their
 “ Prince. Yet it was done with as
 “ great Respect to himself, as it could
 “ be in such a Case, where Matters
 “ were to proceed contrary to his Mind.
 “ They offer his Person no Violence ; they
 “ do not misbehave themselves in Words.
 “ They are careful it be not done in a

(q) Lind. *ibid.*

(r) Hume 222.

Euch. 234.

Lind. *ibid.*

(s) Hume 226.

“ tumultuous Way, and therefore come
 “ accompanied with the smaller Num-
 “ ber. They grant his Desire, when he
 “ interceded for one of the Guilty;
 “ which shews how willing they would
 “ have been to have granted the rest
 “ also, if it could have been done with
 “ Safety. A very remarkable and rare
 “ Instance of Carefulness of the Common-
 “ wealth, join’d with all Modesty, Love
 “ and Duty towards their King. Their
 “ Behaviour was just such as Lawyers
 “ prescribe in such Cases, who account-
 “ ing the Person of the Prince sacred,
 “ and not to be touch’d on any Account,
 “ do allow that their wicked Counsellors
 “ and Abusers should be taken Order
 “ with, where the Good of the Country
 “ inforceth it.

E R R A T A:

P A G E 42. in some Copies, add, after *acquir’d by*
Force, by Force they must, &c. P. 48. for Hands
 read Heads.

Pag. 53. for Chaise read Horse.