



SIEGE
OF THE
CASTLE OF EDINBURGH

M.DC.XXXLIX



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The account of the Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, now presented to the Members of the Bannatyne Club, has been printed from a MS. formerly the property of Robert Mylne, writer in Edinburgh, and now preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. It contains, under the quaint title of the *Pourtrait of True Loyalty*, a genealogical account of the family of Gordon to the time of George, first Duke of that name, and concludes with a Diary of the Siege of the Castle, then under his command. A similar narrative, apparently derived from the same source, was printed by Grose in his *Antiquities of Scotland*; but the history in the "Pourtrait of True Loyalty" is considerably more minute in its details; and as its accuracy seemed to be sufficiently established by the documents in the Appendix, it appeared not to be inconsistent with the objects for which the Club was established, to take this opportunity of preserving the fullest account which probably now remains of an event, not altogether devoid of interest, though not perhaps of much historical importance.

The narrative affords sufficient internal evidence, that it was written by a person who was in the Castle at the time of the events which it records. It is not known who the author was. He does not himself say any thing which can lead to a satisfactory conjecture on the subject; but in the *History of the Family of Gordon*, published by Mr Wm. Gordon, of Old Aberdeen, in the beginning of the last century, it is stated that he was supposed to have been a Mearns gentleman, of the name of Burnet, and a Priest of the Romish Church; and in that history, as also in another short account of the family, published in London about the same time, reference is frequently made to the work under the name of the Burnet MS. There is some reason, however, to doubt the accuracy of Mr Gordon's information; for the dedication of the history to the Earl of Huntly, which is printed in the Appendix, is subscribed with the initials W. R., and the author himself says there was not one Popish Priest in the Castle during the siege. But even this is not conclusive against the supposition of his having been a Priest, or that his name was Burnet. He mentions by name and surname a

large proportion of the Garrison, and other persons who were in the Castle, and no clear notice occurs of any one who could have borne the initials W. R. It was a general custom with Roman Catholic clergymen to change their names on entering into orders, and it might not have been convenient for any of them to acknowledge having been in the Castle at that time, as many of the Garrison and other friends of the cause, including the Duke of Gordon himself, were apprehended in the following month, on account of alleged designs against the government. There are passages in the work, from which it might be inferred that the author was an Episcopalian; but, at all events, it is plain that he was not a Presbyterian, against which class of the reformed religion he appears, from many passages in the "Pourtrait," to have entertained great antipathy.

The whole of the narrative, as given by the author, is now printed; and as the account by Grose contains certain passages which are omitted in the "Pourtrait," it has been thought proper to insert these in the text between brackets; while a few paragraphs, which could not be introduced in that manner without injury to the continuity of the narrative, are added in foot-notes.

It is believed that no ground plan of the Castle exists nearer to the time of the Siege, than those of Gordon in 1647, and Edgar in 1742, both of them at periods too remote to convey any accurate idea of the state or appearance of the works and buildings during the siege. The frontispiece and vignette are taken from the accurate and nearly contemporaneous publication of Slezer.

The Appendix consists of a miscellaneous collection of documents, which support the general correctness and fidelity of the narrative. The extracts from the news-letter, containing the account by the besiegers of some particulars which occurred during the month of May, and the author's evident access to public documents, with the fair use which he has made of them, as evinced by the passages taken from the minutes of the Convention of Estates, are, in so far, proofs of this fact. The letter from the

Duke of Gordon and Captain Dunbar is curious, as coming from the party who had the charge of defending the Castle. The excerpts from the account of the Affairs of Scotland by Lord Balcarras, supply a few particulars, which appear to be of some value, from showing the spirit in which the Duke of Gordon's exertions were received and considered by the friends of the abdicated family. The short passage from Gordon's History, with the two letters from King James II, also taken from the same work, are given on account of the evidence they afford, that the "enemies," who are frequently alluded to in the "Pourtrait," must have used undue means to intercept or obstruct his Grace's communications, as he certainly had frequent opportunities of corresponding with his friends during the time of the Siege.

R. B.

27th June 1828.



SIEGE
OF
THE CASTLE OF EDINBURGH.

JAMES, the seventh of that name in Scotland, and second in England, succeeded to his royall brother, is no sooner seated on the throne of Great Brittain, then he lets the world see to its amazement, a rare prooffe of the candour and ingenuitie of his soule, by publickly professing, what he interiourly beleived; to witt, the Roman Catholick Religion; against which he knew, by very late experience of the attempted Bill of exclusion, the farr greater part of his subjects were most violently bent; and that the very shadowes and apprehensions of its prevailing in his dominions, had, ever since it was abolished by Acts of Parliament, rendered the reignes of his royal predecessors unquiet, and molested with seditious plots and rebellions. Yet so deeply engraven on his soule were the impressions of the lyfe to come, and so clear the conviction of that religion to be the only true one, and, consequently, the undoubted way to future happiness, that he thought it required not long deliberation whither he should hazard to losse earth for heaven, and temporall kingdomes for one that is eternal; a resolution, even then admired by the greatest amongst Christians, and which, in after ages, will be, in the esteem of all those who look beyond tyme as he did, more glorious to him than the conquest of as many more kingdomes as those he so generously resolved to hazard when put in competition with the kingdom of heaven.

Very shortly after he had declaired his sentiments as to religion, he is invaded by forces from Holland, both in England and Scotland, conducted

by the Duke of Monmouth, his nephew naturall into the former, and by the Earle of Argyle (whom his brother had restored to the Earledom and fortunes of that family, after all the treasons of his father, and his suffering death on a scaffold for the same,) into the latter, both expecting a generall revolt in the kingdomes they invade. But being frustrate of their expectation, their rebellious, unnatural, and ingrate attempt, was easily and in short tyme crushed. Argyle, not finding the Scots to ryse with him soe cordially and soe numerously as he had hoped they would, was forced to linger in that corner of the country where he landed, on the west of Scotland called Couwell, betwixt Lochfyne and Lochlonug; and in the meantyme, the king's modelled forces, conducted by the Earle of Diumbartan, are ordered to march against him: Another party of soldiers, under the command of the Marquis of Athole, is appointed to retard his progress untill the Earle of Dumbartan should draw nearer; and untill the Duke of Gordon (appointed Liuetennant of the North by a speciall commission daitted at Whitehall the 10th of June 1685), conducting the northern forces, should come to block him up on the other syde; in whose fidelitie the King declaired (to one who told it to me) to have a very particular confidence.

Nor could any person doubt of his eagerness in this expedition, considering he wes a young nobleman who had, without any obligation off duty, given sufficient proof of his courage in forraigne countryes, and would be glad now to make it appear for the service of his own Prince at this tyme when it required it; and his alleadgance obliged him to it, and his predicessors had always done: and that the streame of his families glory might not be interrupted in his person. And, moreover, that in so just and honourable ane occasion, he could have the more liberty to resent the unjust oppression of his family by the Earle of Argyle, who had soe many years possessed its revenues, as the reward of his own and his father's treachery and rebellion against King Charles the First and Second, whilst he, his mother and sisters had scarce decent food and rayment allowed

them. These things, I say, being considered, non could rationallie doubt of his forwardness in the execution of the orders given him in the expedition against Argyle.

Argyle himselfe seemed to be sufficiently convinced of it, since finding the Duke of Gordon was drawn near to him, he thought it not expedient to wait his comeing, and encounter ane adversary so animated with resentments of his Prince's and his own particular injuries; but rather to march away and try his fortune against the regular forces, conducted by Dumbartan; the sight of whom did so quell the courage of his rebellious crew, that they took the darkness of the night to cloak their retreat, leaving himselfe to fall into the hands of a country cloune, by whom he wes made prisoner and brought to the Earl of Dumbartan; from him sent to Edinburgh, where he suffered the punishment of his perfidiousness, by having his head severed from his body on a publick scaffold; as Monmouth had his cut of in England after his party was defeat, in as miraculous maner, with the same facility as that of the Earle of Argyle.

After this, it was most reasonable that the King should put some of his own profession in publick employments of the state and army, that, as ther principles led them to be faithfull to him, so these offices might enable them to be more usefull and serviceable to him: Yet in this he used great moderation, employing but very few, not to give occasion of murmure and sedition to the Protestants, who lookt upon Roman Catholics in publick employment as usurpers, becaus excluded from them by the standing lawes, made, at and after the change of religion, that the number of competitors for thos offices by that exclusion reduced to a lesser number, the greater might be ther own shaire of them: which very probably was no less, if not more, the motive for making thes lawes, and the so pertinacious repugnance to have them repealed, as the caire and zeale of the Protestant religion.

Amongst thes few who were put in publick offices in Scotland, the Duke of Gordon was one, to whom the King entrusts the Castle of

Edinburgh, the strongest fortress, and of greatest importance in the kingdome, where were kept the Regalias or badges of the Sovereignitie, the public registers or records of the nation, and the magazine of armes and ammunition for warr; ane employment of more honour than profit, and by which one of his quality could, in occassions of warr, better testifye their courage and loyalty, than augment their revenues or better their fortune in tyme of peace: And, at the same tyme, his Majestie made the same Duke of Gordon one of his Privy Counsellors, and one of the Lords of the Treasury.

Much about that tyme, ther being others of the nobility competing for more important and more lucrative offices of the state, and each competitor endeavouring to make a party at court to assist him to obtaine his pretension, the Duke of Gordon is solicited by those who thought they could, with better ground, crave and lay clame to his assistance. But he, regarding more the publick good of the country, and the peace and prosperity of the King's affairs, declyned to joyne with those who claimed his assistance upon private reasons, against the other competitor, of whose capacity and good intentions to serve the King he had sufficiently knowledge of; and particularly, that he would not let himselfe be reduced to follow such methods as the others did, which afterwards notably prejudged the King's affairs.

This, so rationally, conduct of the Duke of Gordon in this competition, did so disoblidge the other competitors that pretended right to his assistance, that they, coming to be preferred by the King to those offices, ceased not, while they continued in them to oppose the Duke's concerns in all occasions where any matter that regarded him came in their way; and more particularly in these of some of the lands of Lochaber, wherof the King had given him the gifts, and they made them be retrenched.

But this was not of so great importance, if they had not lyke-wise endeavovired to blast his honour, by misrepresenting him to his Prince, not as having any disloyall thoughts or inclinations tending to his Majestie's prejudice, but as not being endued with those qualifications required to

render him such signall services as that family had always rendered to his royall ancestors.

Envy, detractions, and back bytings are the ordinary guests that frequent courts; and princes, as they cannot in prudence shut their eares against all ill reports of ther subjects' inclinations and designes, least they might come to be surprysed with some treacherous contryvances, so they neid more than ane ordinary prudence to discern those insinuations that are made to them out of private animosities, jealousies, and interests, from those which proceed purely from the informer's care of the safety of ther person and authority, and the peace and prosperity of ther kingdoms.

Ther is non amongst thos kings of whom histories give particular accompt, who, with better ground, can be judged to have been indued with this extraordinary prudence of discerning true and disinterested informations from slanders and calumnies, then David, King of Israell, a prince so eminently furnished with all vertues, so much commended for the clearness of his judgement, the sharpness of his witt, the straightness of his justice, and a declared enemy to detractors (*detrahentem secreto proximo suo hinc persequer*, psal. 101, V. 5. ;) yet the sacred history bears, that he was imposed on in this point, and gave credit to a servant calumniating his master: He beleived Siba slandering Mephiboseth, the son of his faithfull and dearest friend Jonathan, and laying no less guilt to his charge then the affecting of the crown of Israell, who had never a disloyall thought; and all he grounds his accusation upon, is his master's not accompanying the King in his flight from Absalom, who had revolted the kingdom against him: And, in the meantime, this treacherous servant has rendered his master incapable to wait on the King in that occassion, by taking away his asse, which should have carryed him; not being able to go a foot as the King did, by reason he was lame: And for reward of this his peifidie to his master, and making his prince beleive a lye, he gets all the goods and possessions that belonged to Mephiboseth gifted to him to be possessed as his own: And even after IMephiboseth had discovered his

knavery and justified himselfe, instead of being punished, the King, by a new sentence, only takes back the halfe of the goods for the behoofe of Mephiboseth, and confirms the other halfe to Siba: which sentence, I find, interpreters strive not to excuse, because it seemes too palpably unjust.

This example lets us see that the most just and most prudent of kings may be imposed upon, and faile in discerning whither the insinuations made to them of their subjects fidelity and capacity to doe them service, or prejudice, proceeds from the care of the publick good, or from private interest, or animosity of those who makes them.

How farr the King gave credit to those misrepresentations made to him of the Duke of Gordon, I cannot determine it; but certane it is, they made some impression upon him, which the Duke found when he went from Scotland to court, in March 1688, by his being less noticed by the King, and not admitted so frequently to discourse in private with his Majestie as he used to be formerly; which was so much the more painfull and troublesome to him as that he could not offer to justify himselfe, as not being accused for doeing or designeing to doe any ill, but for not doeing the good services he had not yet the opportunity to doe. Wherefore, he was necessitate to bear the coldness of his prince with patience, and remaine constant in his fidelity to him (as a subject truly loyall is bound to doe,) content with the testimony of his own conscience.

But those who had given so disadvantagious a character of him, judged their credit concerned to endeavour to make it prove a true one, least they might be lookt upon as backbiters if it should prove false; and haveing represented him as less capable to doe the King service, to take away as much as they could from him, the meanes and opportunities to do it, as Siba did his master's asse, that he might not attend the King in his flight, because he had designed to accuse him for his absence as treasonable.

To this purpose an order is procured from court, to lodge the artillery company in the Castle, where the magazine of armes and ammunition of the kingdome were kept; and to dislodge the subalterne officers of the

garison, to give the best accommodation to those of the artillery, who were many of them strangers and Hollanders. And the master of the artillery, Lieutenant-Generall Douglas (no friend to the Duke of Gordon, and whose loyalty was even upon good grounds suspected by many to be such as it proved shortly afterwards) appointed to have free access to the magazine, (being commander in chiefe of the standing forces,) at any hour- he pleased to demand it, by day or night.

The Duke having turned out of office one Forbess, the master gunner of the garison, as a person whose fidelity he doubted of, and whose treachery afterwards shew the doubt was not groundless; and having put a Frenchman, a Roman Catholick, in his place, a particular order comes down from court, to turne out the Catholick and repon the Protestant, and to dislodge Ensigne Wincester, another Roman Catholick, (afterwards killed in the King's service at the Water of Boynd, in Ireland,) to give Forbess the better accommodation.

Before the Duke's time, the custome being introduced into the Castle, to let the soldiers touch no money of ther pay till the month's end, and in the meantyme to have as much bread, ale, brandy, wyne, as they needed, furnished to them by the lieutenant governor, who kept cellares and servants for that purpose, and at the month's end to give them of their pay what remained over the pryce of the bread or drink they had called for; or, if they exceeded far, calling for more than ther month's allowance amounted to, it was rebated off the first end of the following month's pay. This acconomy the soldiers repyned much at, but being a custome, they were forced to be content with it. Major Whyte, the liuetennant governour, happening to die, the Duke, to oblige the soldiers, bracke off that custome, and gives the halfe of ther pay weikly to manage at ther own pleasure, reserving the other halfe to defray the expences of the bread and drink they might call for from the cellar.

How soon another liuetennant governour is named to succid, ane order is sent from court recalling that method the Duke had taken, and

re-establishing the former acconomy, which did let them see how little the methods he used to winne his soldiers hearts, and to oblige them to stand by him in tyme of neid, were approved at court, and how myndfull his enemies were to endeavour to verifie the character they had given of him.

But this was not all. Whether it was upon the emitting of the order concerning the lodging of the artillery company in the Castle, that the Duke did remonstrate he could not be accomptable for its security, while the master of the artillery could command patent gates at his pleasure, and his company lodged within it; or whether it was to make the world suspect the Duke's loyalty, or if there wer any worse designe at the bottome of it, I shall not judge, but a new order comes from court, while the Duke was yet present at it, to remove most of the armes and ammunition from the magazine in the Castle of Edinburgh, and transport the same by water to the Castle of Stirling; which being surrendered at the very beginning of the Revolution, in the month of December 1688, the armes and ammunition so transported, were employed against the King, both in Scotland and Ireland, and against the Castle of Edinburgh itselfe.

The Duke meitting thus dayly at court with new effects of his enemies spyte, and finding all endeavours used to recover the good esteem of his Prince, wherof ther malicious insinuations had robbed him, to have no success, he offers to resigne his charge of the Castle of Edinburgh, and begs leave to retire beyond seas, since he was thought so little capable to do his Majestie any noticeable service at home.

In the meantyme the Prince of Orange, having made great preparations in Holland, of horse, foot, provisions for warr, and ships to transport them,—about the beginning of October, the report is spread that his intention was to land in Brittain, and his designe was to reforme the disorders of the government, and redress the grievances of the people on pretext of religion; they were noe more restrained, but had full liberty allowed them by the government to frequent meittings for ther devotions throughout the whole kingdome. Thes things being so obvious to every

one's consideration, rendered the Prince of Orange's designe against Brittain incredible. However, the Duke of Gordon, having so small satisfaction at court, and the Earle of Melfort, secretary of state for Scotland, telling him expressly the King would not permitt him to goe beyond seas, thought fitt to return to Scotland and attend his charge, wherof the offer of resignation was neather accepted of, nor did he judge it suteable and consistent with his duty and loyalty to his prince, notwithstanding of his coldness towards him, to be wilfull in giving over his charge of the castle, and retiring abroad in a tyme when his Majestie might have most use for his faithfull servants.

He returnes, therefoire, to Scotland in the moneth of October; and though such a formidable tempest threatened both king and kingdoms, yet this did not hinder his enemies to be myndful to find out new occasions of testifying their ill will against him. For, that his advice and vote myght not be needed in the affairs of the treasury, of which the king had formerly made him one of the number commissionatted to manage them, ane order comes from court, empowering the Lord Chancellour, together with any two he should think fitt to call to his assistance, to determine all matters regarding the treasury, and to dispose of the publick money as they three should find expedient for the Government.

After a person being apprehended as suspected, and a most unnecessary question being askt him by the Chancellour, and he either too timorous, or too scrupulous to answer the same, he is ordered to be sent prisoner to the Castle, without sufficient reason for restraint. The Duke of Gordon is ordered to shut him up. He, considering the man seized to be but of mean rank, and the Castle prisons being only for persons of quality that are found to be delinquents against the state, and this man being neather such delinquent, nor of quality, makes some demurre to admitt of him, alleadging, as was true, that he had his commission independent from the Counsall, and consequently, was not bound to obey their and the Chancellours orders only, as to prisoners, unless they were presented to

him by way of request, as they were wont to be to the governours of that Castle who had preceeded him; and immediately desires they should cause conduct him thither, and delyver him to any of the officers that should be present within the Castle; which was instantly done. And within few houres therafter, ther comes ane order againe from the Chancellour to set him at liberty, for fear the Presbyterians should raise a tumult in the city, the person seized being a zealot of that sect, lately come from Holland, and his name Charles Gordon. Within a fortnight after this comes ane order from court, enjoyning all the governours of forts and castles in the kingdom to obey thenceforth the orders of the Privy Council, or of a Committie of the Councill, or the Chancellour's own order, as to prisoners, notwithstanding of ther commissions from the king independent of them.

About the tyme this order is sent from court, the Prince of Orange is set to seas in prosecution of his designe, which now was no more doubted of to be against Brittain and Ireland. And, the 5th of November, he lands at Torbay in Devonshire, in England, with ane army of about 1300 horse and foot, being long before assured of the generall revolt of both kingdomes, how soon he should appear with a small army on British ground; which happened accordingly, the whole navy and chiefe leaders of King James his army forsaking him most ungratefully and treachearously, to their eternall infamy. And those officers and soldiers of the English, Scots, and Irish, who found themselves surprysed with this unexpected treachery, were in very sad circumstances amidst so many enemies.

The King finding himselfe thus abandoned by his navy and armies, and knowing what barbarous dealling his royall father, of happy memory, had mett with from his rebellious subjects, thought prudence oblidge him to send away the Queen and Prince of Wales, a chyld not full six months old, and afterwards to mak his own escape, in the maner known to every one.

Upon the King's retiring, and the Prince of Orange his approach to London, England lookt lyke the sea in a mighty tempest, wher the waves,

raised to a prodigious height and agitation, threatned present wrack to all that floated on them. Or it seemed the whole nation was become madd. The rabble, in rage and tumult, in city and country, rush furiously on all persons they thought favoured Popery or loyalty, ransacking ther houses, pillaging ther goods, destroying and burning what they could not carry away: A tempest in the state, so black and dismal lyke, that it frightened all the governours of strengths and castles in England to shrink from and abandon ther charges, and submitt to whatever kind of government was next to succed.

[Upon the King's first retirement from Whitehall, the English affairs seemed to be in a state of depraved nature; for not only monarchy, but all law and order appeared to be dead; and the rabble became executors in trust for his Highness the Prince of Orange. However, under this auspicious government, the nobility at that time in and about London, with the mayor and aldermen thereof, being convened, had the Tower of London (the magazine of England), with the crown and other relics of royalty, delivered into their hands, upon the first summons; and all the other forts in England, that had not before declared for the Prince of Orange, ingloriously submitted without a blow: so that, when he came to St James's, his consultations might be rather how to keep than take garrisons: and then peaceably ended the turbulent reign of the English Gentlemen Rabbity, as they were pleased to term themselves.

As for this kingdome, not only the rabble, but many persons of quality and interest, exactly followed the English example; and there wanted little to complete the parallel, when the siege commenced, but the surrender of Edinburgh Castle; for the Viscount of Dundee had not then got together any body of forces for his Majesty's service.]

The Duke of Gordon, notwithstanding the harsh usage he had met with from court, and the disadvantageous impressions his enemies had made of him upon his Prince's minde, would let the world see he inherited from his ancestors a glory which no malicious misrepresentation could rob him of;

that is, a loyalty which no disoblidgments from his Prince or country could extinguish, and therfoir he resolves to signalize his fidelity, in so generall a revolt and deficiency of his subjects.

Upon this resolution, he advyses the Chancellour and Council to have the Castle provyded with necessaries for the entertainment of the garison, consisting of 120 persons; and three months provisions is ordered for that effect (besydes 200 bolls of meall and 100 bolls of malt in the Castle before). But this order was so litle exactly obeyed, that ther was not a 5th part of the bisket, and not the 20th part of the beer appoynted, brought into the Castle.

As to ammunitions, ther was no more left after the transportation of the magazine to Stirling, except so much as was judged necessaiy for defence of the Castle three months; ther were but 17 bombs left; and besides many of the armes were embazelled by a private hand.

It being justly feared that Scotland would follow the example of England, and trace its footsteps in the overturning of the government, beginning with the tumults of the rabble, the Duke of Gordon, accompanied with Coll. Winram, the King's liuetenant under him in the Castle, went to the Lord Chancellour, (to whom the King had entrusted the chiefe caire of the government of the kingdom,) deliberate with him upon the measures were to be taken in the present circumstances of affaires; and at the same tyme instructions were given to Captaine Wallace how to carry in caise he sould be attacqued by the rable, viz. That it was most fitt he should place his men in the chappell windows, and in the windows of Duke Hamilton's apairtment, on each hand of the pallace gate, for barring them the entry into the same. This Captaine Wallace, a man of inflexible loyalty and courage, commanded a company of foot of the regular forces that was left behind foolishly to guard the King's pallace, after all the rest were called up to England, upon the certane notice had of the Prince of Orange his designe upon Brittain and Ireland.

Upon Sunday the 9th December, the Duke being informed there was a

tumult and uproare in the city, retired into the castle that he might not be surprysed, from thence he sent to advertize the Chancellour of the tumult, and that the town guards made no opposition to the seditious. But the provost had, sooner than was useuall, caused lock the citie gates, and put the keyes out of the way, so that the rable could not get out that night to attack the King's pallace, and the Roman Catholics, who lodged, for the most part, in the suburbs called the Cannongate.

Upon Mundaye, 10th December, the Duke of Gordon went doun from the castle to the pallace at the east end of the same suburbs where the Chancellour lodged, and advysed him to retire with him to the castle; but the Chancellour told him he had resolved to retire to his own dwelling in the country, fourty myles distant, finding he was not able to support the charge of the administration of affairs, in such a violent commotion of the subjects. But before he parted, he signed ane order to pay to the Duke 2000 crownes, to be employed as he should think fitt for the King's service; yet the receavers of the King's rents refused to pay the said soume, pretending they had no money at present in their hands.

The same day, some houres after the Chancellour was parted from Edinburgh, towards the evening, a multitude of young people assembling upon the feild without the city; that they might meit with no hinderance at the gates as the night preceeding, came without the walls, entred the Cannongate, marcht from that to the King's pallace, and set upon the guard at the King's pallace, commanded by Captaine Wallace, who had not followed the advyce given him the day before in posting his men in the windows within, but placed them on the piazza without the gate. The rable comeing forward, he gives orders to fire, and throw some hand grenades amongst them; which was done with so good success, that some of them being killed, and others wounded, they retired againe to the city with no less dilligence than they came doun: And this, very probably, had put ane end to the tumults of the rable, had not a quorum of the Privy Coimcil, being at the tyme in Blair's hous, the chiefe inn of the city, immediately

sent an order in write to Captaine Grahame, commander of the company which kept guard in the city, to goe down with his company and with the trained bands of the town, and beate off Captaine Wallace from guarding the pallace, that the rable might get their zeale against Popery contented, by destroying the ornaments of the tuo chapells the King had set up there at a great expence; which order was put in execution by Grahame and the trained bands, whose number Wallace, though he behaved as gallantly as a man could doe, could not long withstand, they being upwards of seven hundreth against his fyfty, besides many hundreths of the rable.

In the meane tyme of this, the Duke of Gordon sends one to the Provost of the toun, with a letter, desyreing to know the occasion of this tumult, and exorting him to repress it; offering his assistance to this effect if he thought it neidfull. The Provost returned answer that ther was indeed a tumult, but that he was hopefull to quiet it without the assistance of the castle.

At the same tyme he sent one to tell Captaine Wallace, that if he could not hold out against the multitude, he myght retire to the castle, and that he would send thence a detachment of his garrison to receive and conduct him on the way. But it was not possible for this messenger to come near Wallace, who being so surrounded with a multitude of enemies, was overpowered and forced to flie. After which, very shortly, he was apprehended and shut up in prison, where he continues to this day, for having done his duty in seiking to defend his master's hous and goods, which the rable and toun guard and trained bands enter, pillage, breake doun all the ornaments of the chapells of the Chancellor's lodging, not spareing the King's own gardrobb, robbing, and burning, and breaking, to the value of ten thowsand crounes and upwards; off all which tumult and insolence, the Duke of Gordon sent a particular accompt to the King.

The day following, being informed the rable were pillaging the Roman Catholics' houses, after they spoiled the chappells and pallace, he writes to the President of the Councill, (to whom joyntly with the Council belonged the care of the government in the Chancellor's absence), asking the

Councill's advyce, what was incumbent to be done by him in so troublesome a conjuncture. To which the President returned answer, that he had no more to doe but to keep himselfe upon the defensive part within the castle.

The same night thereafter, the Duke discovered, that most part of his garrison, being influenced with the humour of the tymes, were designeing a revolt, the secureing of his person, and the keeping of the castle for the government that was to be establisht; wherefor, he calls the Roman Catholick officers to consult upon measures to frustrate this designe. Coll. Winram undertook to watch all that night, and to give notice if any thing should happen that lookt ill. He made a part of the souldiers goe to bed in due tyme, and thought all was calme. Bot about midnight, one comes to advertise the Duke that a part of the garrison were come in tumult to the guard hall, and were dragging out of ther beds those who had lyen down to rest. Thither he goes in all haist; and speaking with awthority to them, he calms their mutiny, makes them goe to bed in his presence, both in the guard hall and in the hall near it, and made them put out all the lights.

The day thereafter he assembled the whole garrison, of which the soldiers were most part Protestants; and having understood that what inclined them to revolt, was ther apprehension that he would oblidge them by oath to maintaine the Catholick Religion, he assured them he had no such intention, and that he required no other oath of them than to maintaine the religion establisht by the lawes, and to be obedient to the King and their superior officers. The most part of the garrison renewed this oath, and those who refused it were disbanded and turned out of the castle. Some gave it for a month only, untill ther should come orders from the King, from whom the governour had received none since the landing of the Prince of Orange in England.

The Duke having, as is said before, resolved to hold out the castle to the last, and not doubting what came to pass, that many of his garrison would desert, he had ordered Francis Gardin of Midstrath (a gentleman of merit

who gave sufficient proofs thereof during the siege), to leavy fourty-five men of his own dependents in the north. to serve for a recruit. But their arryvall at Leith made so great a noise, and filled the people's heads with such apprehensions of his bringing down the Highlanders and Papists upon them, that he, being desireous to remove all jealousies that might arise amongst them, or from his conduct, commanded them to be sent home again.

Some dayes after the garrison had taken the oath, a catholick centinell gives a stroke with a bagonet to his comrad, being overtaken with drink, and his comrad lying a bed; which accident allarumed the Protestant soldiers, saying, they would not hazard to ly down to sleep least their throats should be cutt before they awakened. The governour made incontinently secure the delinquent, to be severely punished. Bot the protestant begged pardon for him, and he was casheered.

A person of quality who was intending to goe to London, came to the castle to give notice to the Duke, that it was proposed in Councill, to summnone him to render the castle as being a Roman Catholick; wherfoire, he writes againe to the King, by one who was to accompany this person of quality to London, and gives him ane accompt of the state of affaires, begging to know his Majestie's will concerning his deppartment in this juncture.

About the 20th of December, the Councill sent one to tell the Duke they were to depute some of their number to speak with him. And the same day the President and thrie Councillors came to the castle, and told the Duke that the Councill desired he would delyver the castle into their hands. To whom he returned answer, that he was bound to obey the King only, and justified the same by the reading of his commission; that he was not ambitious of keeping it for any other end than to doe his Majestie's service; and that he thought himselfe oblidgeed in conscience and honour to be faithfull to the trust reposed in him by the King, and knew no other way to exonerate him of it, but the commands of his Majestie, by whose

commission he acted, and who in justice might require a strict accompt of his procedure: Therefore, desired they would first give him tyme to receive his Majestie's commands, to whom he had written for that effect, and should doe accordingly; that as yit, he lookt upon himselfe as a friend, and though he were ane enemy, this wes the least they could doe.

Very few dayes after, a clerk of the Councill comes with ane order signed by the severall Councillors, by which the Councill ordered the Governour to delyver the castle to them; alleadging, they had made no step as yet, contrary to their obedience due to the King, in acknowledging the Prince of Orange. The Governour having, as yet, received no commands from his Majestie, and stryving to put of tyme in hopes of them; and, moreover, suspecting their intentions, by their authorizing Captaine Grahame and the trained bands to force Captaine Wallace from defending the King's pallace, that the rable might ransack it as they did; and by their having ordered to intercept the Chancellor, as he was goeing beyond seas, and shutting him up in prison (where he remaines as yet), he tells them nixt, that he hoped, they would, for his justification, signe what they required of him, which, after a litle deliberation, they did, and sent it to him. He, seing this, told them ther was yet something wanting; which was, that they should warrand him for so doing at his master's hands. This they refused, or could not doe, but still persisted in what they required. Then he desyred to know by what authority, or to what end, they required the castle. If by the King's, he desired to sie it. If they had a mynde to complement the Prince of Orange, he could doe that as weil as they.

While this is in agitation betwixt the Councill and the Duke, severall persons who called themselves the King's friends, and even some Catholicks, advysed him to yeild; yea, there were some who insinuated to him, that he might permit the garrison to mutiny, to the end it might seem he was forced to yeild, according as it had happened in England to severall Catholick officers; bot he rejected both those advyces with equal dislyke, as being full of weakness and voyd of sincerity.

After this, ther was a report raised, as if in the Duke's garrison ther were a company of Highlanders, papists, that were to fyre the city with bombs, and beat it doun with cannons; which report was raised of purpose to incence the people, and make them concurre more vigorously to force him to yeild the castle; which how soon he is informed of, he sends immediately for the provost and chiefe baillzies, and told them he heard ther were such reports raised, but assured them ther wes no such thing in reality; that they might remember he had alwayes bein a friend to the toun, and should be such still; so long as they behaved themselves kyndly, they should find nothing but civility from him. Upon which wyne was called for, and they drunk heartily, owneing the Duke's favours, and that they no wayes doubted the continuance of them. Nixt he sent for the toun officers of the trained bands, and did in lyke manner; so that when they were called for by some of the Councillors to have represented to them, and be made sensible of the danger they were in by a popish Governour in the castle, they declared they feared no such danger, and were as weell content with him as with any other.¹

Heire it may be remarked, that notwithstanding all this clamour about popery, ther was not the tenth man of that persuasion in the garrison; whereas a great many of those the Prince of Orange brought along with him, were publickly known for such; that Prince being not so bigot as

¹ Dec. 11. But by this time the noise of plots was spread abroad with such art and application (for ends best known to the promoters), that it bred an universal phrenzie in the heads of the inconstant and unruly mob. They could discern nothing truly; but implicitly believed, and readily acted, as they were taught; and thus (amongst other absurdities), when their teachers had represented to them a prodigious number of Irish incendiaries and cut-throats, actually burning and butchering without distinction of age or sex, and brought them the length of Dumfries, it was an easy matter for them to assign our Governor and garrison a part in the plot, namely, the burning the city of Edinburgh: And though a very short time clearly discovered the imposture of the Irish project, yet they endeavoured with great diligence to keep up the repute of their impudent forgeries, concerning his Grace and the garrison, though without great success; for many of the representatives of the good town declared to the Privy Council their satisfaction in both, and would not sign any address against him. And here it is very remarkable, that, notwithstanding the clamour against popery, there was not at any time above the tenth man of that persuasion among our soldiers, nor one popish priest, during the siege; whereas thousands of those that the Prince of Orange brought over, out of a wonderful care of the protestant interest, would not have been questioned by a Spanish inquisition.

prudent, since he trusted those he had found faithfull to him, and who had given him no ground to distrust them formerly. And he knew and experienced that ther principles or persuasion did not lead them to swear voluntarily fidelity to him, and then betray or desert him on pretext of religion.

After all this, news comeing from London that the Prince of Orange was absolute master of that kingdom; after the King had made his escape in the begining of January 1689, the Duke dispatcht ane express to London, with letters to the Dutches of Gordon, and others his friends, to know whether his Majestie had left any orders for him, not having receaved any from him since he returned from court to Edinburgh. To which he received answer, that the King had left no orders at all concerning him; only that they heard the King had said at his pairting from London to severalls of those who were in employments, that they might look to ther own safety. This oblided the Duke to write againe to his Majestie, entreating to have his pleasure made known to him concerning himselfe; and he was informed this letter came to the King's hands.

There happened nothing considerable in the castle for some weeks, untill some of the Scots who were at London, about twenty noblemen, and severall knights and gentlemen, to the number off about a hundred persons in all, many of whom had bein in King Charles' and King James' tyme forfeited for rebellion, many of them persons of no fortunes, but ther sword or ther pen, who by the lawes of the countiy could not have bein admitted to give ther vote for the election of a commissioner to Parliament in a shyre or county;—these, I say, taking upon them to represent the whole nation, meet together and form ane addresse to the Prince of Orange, offering to him the government of Scotland, and supplicating him to convey the estates thereof as he had done those in England; which he accepted of, and emitted forthwith a proclamation in generall, ordaining all Catholicks to quite ther charges, and surrender ther commission to the next subalterne protestant officer under them. This so puft up John Auchmutie,

Lietenant of the company that was in the castle, that he refused to obey any further the Duke's and the Lietenant-Governour's orders; yea, he was counselled to surpryse both, and secure ther persons. But the Duke did so prudentlie manage the humours of his soldiers, that this Lietenant returned to his duty.

After this proclamation of the Prince of Orange, the Governour was exposed to new dangers of being betrayed by a part of his garrison, and he had neid of all his courage and prudence to keep them in obedience. Severalls of the King's friends renewed ther advyces to him, perswading him to render the castle, which they judged he could not keep against the whole isle of Brittain; and certanely none but a person of more than ordinary loyalty could have resolved to doe it, having so many within the garrison of whom he had greater fear to be betrayed, then hope to be assisted from without; none in the two kingdomes appearing publickly to stand for the King. And besides having his garrison so ill provided with necessaries for its entertainment and defence. But above all, it seming that the King had generall thoughts of bussiness in Scotland; but he sends out a part of the furniture of his house, (at London then,) as lykewise the Lietenant-Governour sent out a part of his furniture. This gave occasion to a rumour that he was to render the castle; and during its being the amusement of the toun, he went out of the castle to sie his friends, after he had been two whole months shut up into it, as weil to keep his garrison from revolting within, as to keep himselfe from being surprysed and secured in the toune without.

Some days after this, he heares ther was one come from the King with his Majesties commands, whereat he was much rejoyced, not having had the honour of any orders from his Majestie since the beginning of the troubles. This man told the Governour, that he had sein the King part from Paris for Brest, and that his Majestie had commanded him to show his Grace the Duke of Gordon it was his pleasure he should leave the Castle in security, in the hands of the lietenant governour. Coll. Winram, and

retire himselfe to the north of Scotland, and there wait for new orders from his Majestie. The Governour answers the man who brought this message by word of mouth only, (whose name was Braddy,) that not having the good fortune to know him, he desired to see something in write, which might authorize his message, and render it credible to him. To which Braddy replied, that he was indeed to have brought a letter, but that the Secretaiy of State was in such haist to follow his Majestie to Brest, that the letter was lost. In which reply he was ingenuous, for the letter was indeed sent, but by another person, who told to me since, that at London, on his way to Scotland, he was forced to burne the letter for fear of being discovered. But however it was, certane it is that during the sex months the Duke of Gordon kept the Castle, after the Revolution, he received neather from the King, nor from any in his name, any order.

The Duke did not judge it prudent to give credit to a verball order, in a matter of such importance, brought by a person unknowen to him, considering besides he could not leave the Castle in security in the hands of the lieuutenant governor Winram; not for any distrust of him, whom he and all the nation knew to be a person of unstained loyalty, of undaunted courage, and who had been for many years shut up in severall prisons, at severall tymes, for his fidelity to his Prince; but because he knew the garrison had a great aversion against him, being, they judged him to have procured from Court the order by which the Governour was inhibited to give them weekly any of ther pay in hand, in detriement of the sutlery, (which order the lieuutenant governour protested he had no hand in procureing it,) and they had given severall evidences of ther dislike of his government.

Moreover, the Governour was very sensible of the ill offices his enemies had done him with his Majestie, and of the disadvantageous character they had given of him; wherefore, he might weel think they would not faile to improve all those malicious misrepresentations, if he should have left the charge of the Castle to the lieuutenant governour,

without an order in write from his Majesty, or from his Secretary of State.

Some days befor the first session of the Convention of Estates in Scotland, the Governour discovers a new conspiracy forming in his garrison, which obliged him to require a new oath of his soldiers: And foreseeing severalls of them would refuse it, he appoynted Henry Gordon to engage other soldiers for supplying ther places, especially those who had laid down armes since the Revolution, in and about the toun, and to choyce out amongst them, those for whose fidelity he could be answerable.

Then conveyeing the garison, and conceilling what he knew of ther bad intentions, he commended much ther fidelity, notwithstanding the ill example both nations had given them. Nixt he tells them he was certanely informed, ther were designes and endeavours useing to seduce them. Wherefore, that he might be without fear, he desired that all his soldiers would renew the oath they had already given, by laying ther hand on the Evangell, which was presented to them by Master Forrester, ther Protestant minister, who gave proofes of his loyalty dureing the whole siege. Many of the soldiers refused to renew this oath; and amongst others, a serjant, the master canonier, two under canoniers, asked tyme to deliberate on the matter. The chirurgion, who was gone out of the Castle, returned no more. The Governor made disarme those who refused to give the oath, and caused delyver ther armes to the new soldiers which Henry Gordon had engaged, turning those out of the Castle who refused the oath, having payed them all ther arriers, and made seure the master cannonier, untill he sould render accompt of the money he had received in the Duke's absence for service of the cannons.

The Governour haveing foirsein the straits he would be in by casheering the disloyall cannoniers, had some dayes before called in to the Castle, one Robert Dumbar, formerly a captaine of a ship, expert in artillery, very loyall, and who generously abandoned his wyfe and children to the fury of the rable, and proved most steadable afterwards in the defence of the Castle.

The Convention being assembled, the first thing resolved on was, that the Governour should be ordered in ther name to render up the Castle, and that he, with the officers of his profession, should withdraw themselves. Two members of the Convention came to intimate to him this order, bearing that he was to give his answear immediatly, and to obey the order within twenty-four hours. He asked time to give his answear, and thes deputed members returned without granting him tyme.

The same day, the Earle of Dumfermleing (who had the Governour's sister to wyfe) came and told him that he foresaw the King's enemies would be masters in the Convention; and that he was resolved to leave it and retire himselfe. And after some measures concerted betwixt them for his Majesties service, he returned home to the North, where he ordinarily resided. The Governour having given him a writing, wherby he entreated all his friends, and commanded all his vassalls, to joyne and obey his brother-in-law, in all occasions he should judge proper for the King's service, and keeping the country under his obedience. He lykewise gave him ane order to Master Innes, his Master of Horses, to deliver to the Earle of Dumfermling all the horses he should have neid of; which order Mr Innes obeyed, and followed the Earle, in company with the Earle of Dundie, together with about thirtie other gentlemen of the Duke of Gordon's vassals.

After this, the Duke had notice, by severall billets sent him, that the Convention was resolved to set a pryce upon his head, if he refused to obey them; and the nixt day tuo Earles came deputed from it to the Castle, to know the Governour's last answer concerning the delyvery of it.

He thought it best for his Majesties service to enter upon terms of agriement with them, and drew up some articles to be presented to them; and amongst others, a generall indemnity for himselfe and his friends, both Papists and Protestants, with liberty to goe where they pleased, without being called in question for what was past; and that all those who would go beyond seas should have pasports. The deputies carryed thes articles to the

Convention, and shortly returned to the Castle to know who were the friends the Governour spoke of in his articles; who told he should name them when the Convention had signed their consent to his proposals. After severall messages betwixt the Convention and the Castle, the Duke named all the clans of the Highlands, without specifying who were his friends or foes. This proposal did so offend one of the deputies, that he became very angry; and being returned to the Convention, would scarcely give account of his negotiation to the president and others of the assembly.²

² March 14. This day the Convention of Estates met, and the Earls of Lothian and Tweeddale came to the garrison, and required the Duke to deliver up the castle, upon an act of the Convention, to exoner his Grace, and other Papists there, as to all bygoners.

The Duke desired the message might be put in writing, and time allowed to advise; which being denied, his Grace sent the following answer to the Convention:

March 15. I am willing to comply with the commission I received by the Earls of Lothian and Tweeddale, as to my removal from the Castle of Edinburgh: though I cannot do it as a Papist, that being dangerous, and I not convicted; for I hope being in employment without taking the test (contrary to an Act of Parliament), is no conviction of Popery. I received, not long ago, a letter from the then Prince of Orange, desiring that I would leave the Castle of Edinburgh; which I promised to do, but expected certain reasonable time to be first granted to myself and garrison.

I hope I have not merited so ill of my country, as that I may not be trusted with the castle, until a return come to this letter, which I expect every hour. But if that cannot be granted, barely on my promising not to molest or harm any person, especially those of this illustrious assembly, I proffer hostages, or bail to the value of L.20,000 Sterling, for my peaceable deportment: Otherwise I expect, before my removal,

I. A general indemnity for myself and friends, both Protestant and Papist, as also absolute security for our lives and fortunes in time coming; with assurance that the same shall be ratified in the next ensuing Parliament.

II. A security for all Protestants of the garrison, who incline to stay in it, to continue in their employments; and for those who shall go out with me, either Protestants or Papists, to go beyond seas, or remain within the kingdom, as our occasion shall lead us.

III. That the garrison be completely paid off all bygone arrears, and have liberty to dispose of their goods within the castle as they please.

To which the Duke had this return:

The meeting of the Estates having considered the paper given in, and subscribed by the Duke of Gordon, in answer to their order do declare,—It is not the mind of this meeting, that the Duke, his officiating as governor of the castle, or of any other employment, or his quitting of his command at this time, shall import any acknowledgement or conviction against him, or those under him, of his or their being Papists.

It is also resolved, that the meeting of the Estates will not allow the Duke his keeping the government of the castle, either upon promise, bail, or hostages, for his peaceable deportment, until he get a return of the letter written by him to the then Prince of Orange. It is likewise resolved, that the indemnity offered by the meeting of Estates, shall only extend to those belonging to the garrison, and their servants, either Protestants or Papists;

Those very clans thereafter obtained more than the Duke desired for them, though they had done a great deal of prejudice to the kingdom in their marches and countermarches, which shews how little the Convention understood their business, and yet they durst forfeit their King.

Incontinently after, the Viscount of Dundie, did, by Cockburne younger of Lanton, a gentleman of quality and merit, advertise the Duke, that the Convention were instantly to give him a solemn and formal summons, by the heralds with their coats of arms: And the same hour came two heralds, two pursuivants, and two trumpeters sounding their trumpets, and approaching to the walls, read with a loud voice the summons, by which the Governour is ordained, with all other Papists in the garrison, to remove themselves thence immediately, upon pain of treason. At the same time was read a proclamation, discharging the subjects to converse with or assist the Duke, or any under his command, that should remaine in the garrison after that proclamation, whether Papists or Protestants; and promising a reward of six months' pay, with an indemnity, to the Protestants in garrison, on condition they should seize the Duke and Papist persons, and deliver them up with the Castle into the hands of the Convention. The Duke spoke to the heralds, and bid them tell the Convention from him, that he kept the Castle by commission from their common master, and that he was resolved to defend it to the last extremity. In end, he gave some guineas to the heralds to drink the King's good health, and all honest

and the persons who are to have the benefit of the said indemnity shall be expressly named, if the Duke desire it; and that the indemnity to be granted by this meeting shall contain a clause, that it shall be ratified in the next Parliament. As to the last article of the paper, that those of the garrison who please to retire with the Duke, shall have liberty either to go out of the kingdom or stay in it, as they think fit; and shall have liberty to dispose of their goods, and have safe conduct granted to them for that effect, the same being desired before the dissolution of the meeting of the Estates; but that they may not take out with them any arms, ammunition, or store, but what they shall instruct properly to belong to them. And, Lastly, it is agreed, that the officers and soldiers of the garrison shall have payment of their bygone arrears; but refuse to give them assurance of their being continued in employment. It had been moved, and agreed to in the Convention, that the Duke should have safe conduct to come there in person, but he went not; and refused to give up the castle upon the terms offered; however, he sent a letter to the Viscount of Dundee to be communicated to the Convention, in which he condescended to resign his command to the Earl of Airly, his father-in-law, but the overture was rejected.

men's in the Convention, which they promised to doe; and he advysed them, in drollery, not to proclame men traittors to the State with the King's coats on ther backs; or at least they might turne them.

After the heraulds were gone, the Duke called the garrison together, and caused the Ensigne publickly read the summonds to them, and then told them, they saw the danger they were to run; that for his own part, he would not be threatned from his duty to God and his Prince, and was resolved to keep the Castle for his Majestie's service; that those who were not willing to hazard themselves with him might goe where they pleased, and have ther full arrears payed them, which he did. Wherupon Will Cahoune and Andrew Ford, gunniers, went away, having refused to obey in generall all ther superiour officers, though they were content to swear obedience to the Duke's commands; which was not accepted of, because of the bad example it might give. And the day following, John Auchmonty lieutenant of the company, Arthur Forbess master gunnier, John Scot chirurgion, John Crichton and Thomas Hume serjeants, Alexander Kelman and John Cahoune corporalls, Oliver St Clair sutler, tuo drummers, and betwixt sixty and seavinty private centinells, left the garrison, notwithstanding ther oath few dayes befoir. They being gone, the Governour caused shut all the gates of the Castle, and disposed all things for defence.

The same day a gentleman out of Ireland came to the Castle, pretending to bring a letter from his Majestie, and assurances from the Duke of Tyreconnell to the Governour, that if he could keep the Castle six weeks, he should have ane army of 20,000 men at his command, then the Governour saw the letter, he found it was not directed to himselfe, bot to the Chancellour, and in his absence to the Archbishop, and in his absence to another; whereupon he made scrouple to open it. Bot one less scroupulous standing by, opened and read it, but saw no orders at all in it concerning the Castle. The gentleman who brought it was asked, if his Majestie was in Ireland when he came from thence, and he answered he

was not. Then the Governour sent him with the letter to the Earle of Balcarras and the Viscount of Dundie.

Dureing thes transactions, John Gordon of Edintore was frequently employed to advertize friends of the circumstances of the garrison, and what necessaries were wanting, and especially Sir James Grant of Davey, advocat, whose predecessors had still followed the family of Huntly in the King's service, during the civill warr in King Charles the first tyme, and shared with the same in sufferings on that accompt. Thir two gentlemen made it ther work to supply the Castle from tyme to tyme with those things they were advertised it stood most in need of; and though they did all was in ther power, yet any provisions came into the Castle during the siege were very inconsiderable. Francis Gairdin of Midstrath, John Innes, Henry Gordon, Andrew Ross, gentlemen, with some others, came into the Castle to remaine for its defence. And Sir James Grant, finding ane English lawyer, and afterwards Captain William M'Intosh of Borlum, goeing for Ireland, he gave instructions to each of them, representing exactly the condition of the Castle, and reasons why it could not be maintained longer than the beginning of June.

The garrison at that tyme consisted of the Governour, the liuetenant govemour, the ensigne, four Serjeants, of whom one was sick, and about six score centinells, but without cannoniers and enginier, or chirurgeon, or drogues, or carpenter, or money. The garrison was formerly divyded into three squadrons, viz. The Governour's, the liuetenant's, and the ensigne's; but now the Duke cast them into two divisions,—one was commanded by the ensigne, and the other by Mr Gardin [of Midstrath, under his Grace]. The principle posts were the high guard house, the low guard, and sally port. One entire squade mounted each night, consisting of the captaine of the guard, tuo Serjeants, tuo corporalls, and about 40 centinells, besides the gentlemen voluntiers. Ther wer 8 centinell posts in the day tyme, and 17 by night.

March 16. The Duke sent a line to the Earle of Twedale, entreating him

to call at the garrison, hoping what he had to communicate to him should not be disagreeable; but he came not.

The 17th day of March, one of the garrison deserted. The 18th, the Convention made place guards about the Castle, to hinder the entry of any provisions, and to intercept any person that should come forth of it with any message. The same day the Governour sent out his horses with his coachman, who was apprehended and imprisoned. The Governour went and visited the magazine of the Castle, and found only 8 score barrells of powder, in very ill order, and many of them not full; the generall or master of the artillery having removed all the rest, as is said above, and many of his company taking service under the enemies, (for himselfe did shortly afterwards,) made known to them the small quantity of ammunition left in the Castle, with which it could no longer hold out.

This day the Cameronians, to the number of about 7000, lately come to Edinburgh to take the guarding of the Convention, drew up in the publick great streets of the city. Thes Cameronians (so called from one Cameron, a preacher, or famous ringleader among them) are the worst kynd of Presbyterians, who confyne the church to a few of the western shyres of the kingdome of Scotland; disclaime all Kings (save King Jesus) who will not worship God after ther way; think it ther duty to murder all who are out of the state of grace, that is, not of ther communion; in a word, who take away the second table of the Decalogue, upon pretence of keeping the first; and who are only for sacrifice, but for no mercy at all.

The same day Donald M'Donald, and tuo gentlemen of the name of Grant, came into the Castle, and brought a letter to the Governour, shewing ther were severall conspiracies forming against him, and that the King had wrote a letter to the Convention, which was read, bot no regaird had to it.

The day following, the Governour, with a telescope, perceaved some horsemen appearing on the north side of the toun, and drawing towards the castle. It was the Viscount of Dundie, who, seing the convention had resolved to renunce all alledgiance to their lawfull soveraigne, and laid

asyde all kind of respect for him; he abandoned ther assemblie, and coming to the foot of the rock, the Governour spoke to him from the top of the wall, and then went out and discoursed with him. Hee told what had passed in the convention at the receaving of the King's letter, and the small impression it made upon the members of that assembly. The Governour askit a sight of the letter; but Dundie had no copy, and the Governour never saw it. Then Dundie parted from the Governour and returned to his own pairty of about thirty or fourty horse, and went away with them towards his own dwelling beside Dundie. After that tyme, the Governour never received any letters from him.

[March 19. The Duke having procured safe conduct for our ensign, sent him out this day with the following instructions:

I. You are to advise with Sir James Grant and Mr Thomas Gordon, my ordinary counsellor at law, and any other lawyer they shall think fit to call, how the officers and others in garrison can be secured in law, as to their lives and fortunes

II. It being altogether dangerous for me and my garrison to remove out of the castle, whilst the town is so crowded with vast numbers of strangers, who have already taken possession of posts formerly guarded by the town of Edinburgh, I desire the posts may be returned to the town, and the strangers removed.

III. Since so much aversion was expressed against some of the Highland clans being comprehended within the number of my friends, I am content to restrict it to twenty Protestants and twenty Papists, who are, or have been, in public employment; and this, besides those within the garrison.

IV. Since he was absolutely refused, that such Protestants as might incline to stay in the Castle, should be secured in their employments, I desire that such of them as are still here, shall have six months pay, besides what shall be due to them, for defraying their charges to any place, off or within the kingdom, whither their occasions shall lead them.

V. That after the place is given up, the Lieutenant-Governor may have

the use of his lodgings for eight or ten days, for clearing accounts with the garrison; and that my servants and others may have a competent time for dispatching affairs within the Castle.

VI. That the officers and others may have liberty for themselves and servants to carry their swords within the town, and make use of horses and ordinary travelling arms in the country; and so long as I shall stay within the kingdom, that they may have their abode in any place of it, according to their interest and convenience.

VII. That my officers and soldiers may have the disposal of the stores, or a competent gratuity on that head.

VIII. That I may have a pass to wait on his Majesty any time within three months, to give him reason for putting this place into the Estates hands, and to return safely.

IX. That I have a guard of forty horse, of my own chusing, to attend me home; and that I may keep them together while I am in the kingdom: the like being granted to my grandfather at the pacification of 1645 or 1646. This, with the first and last articles of my former propositions, which were granted. The Ensign returned with this answer:

March 19. The meeting of the Estates having considered the instructions given in and subscribed by the Duke of Gordon to Ensign Winchester, annent the surrender of the Castle of Edinburgh, they do agree to the following articles.

I. That the Duke's officiating in the government of the Castle of Edinburgh, or in any other employment, or his quitting of his command at this time, shall not import any acknowledgement or conviction against him, or any person under his command, of their being papists; but that the Duke, and those persons that are at present in the garrison with him, and their servants, as well Papists as Protestants, shall have a full indemnity from the Estates for any thing done by them at any time against the laws of the kingdom; and that the same indemnity shall contain the names of ilk one of the said persons, if they desire the same; and a clause, that it shall be

ratified in the next Parliament.

II. The Estates do allow that Mr Wincester do consult Sir James Grant and Mr Thomas Gordon, or any other lawyers they shall please to call, annent the security to be given to the Duke and his officers, soldiers, and others within the garrison, as to their lives and fortimes; the same being always done in presence of one of the members of the meeting.

III. That the Duke and those of the garrison that shall please to retire with him, shall have full liberty to go out of the kingdom, or to stay in it: and to dispose of their goods, which they shall instruct to belong to themselves, not being arms or ammunition, as they shall think fit; and they shall have safe conduct for that effect, the same being desired before the dissolution of the meeting of the Estates.

IV. That all the officers and soldiers of the garrison shall have punctual payment of their bygone arrears; and the Lieutenant-Governor shall have a secure place with a guard appointed for him to stay in the town for eight days after the surrender, for clearing accounts with the garrison; and that the Duke's servants, not exceeding three at a time, shall be allowed the liberty to go up to the castle and return as they please, for the said space of eight days, for carrying away their goods and dispatching their affairs in the Castle.

V. That the Duke, and those who are presently with him in the garrison, shall be allowed, during their abode in the town of Edinburgh, to carry their swords, and to keep their horses and ordinary arms, as any of the rest of the lieges are allowed to do by law.

VI. That the Duke shall have the guard of forty horsemen, to be named and commanded as the Estates shall be pleased to order; who shall be maintained upon the public charge, and shall have orders to carry the Duke home to the place of his ordinary residence in the country, and immediately to return; the Duke finding caution, that the said guard shall not be any way hindered or molested in their return.

VII. The estates do agree to give a gratification to the officers and soldiers in the garrison, according to the condition they shall find the

stores in, at the time of surrendering the Castle.

The Cameronians had now blocked up the Castle, and begun a small entrenchment in widow Livingston's yard, westward, very near the Castle; and taken up for posts the Weigh-house, the West Port, and St Cuthbert's Church.

This night another of our men deserted.

March 21. The Ensign (having safe conduct) was this day again sent to manage the treaty with the Convention; and brought back an account, that they agreed that the forty horse attend his Grace for fourteen days, to go home, and the Duke to name them, including his servants; but that they disperse within twenty-four hours after his homegoing. That they meet him on the other side of the Burnt Island Ferry, whether the Estates would conduct him. That they shall not join the Lord Dundee, &c. and the Duke to find surety for that effect. That, at the surrender of the Castle, the avenues thereof be guarded with the town guards, together with such of the Earl of Levin's Regiment as he shall appoint. That Gordons of Auchintoule and Glasturin be indemnified for acting in public employments; and five priests, now in prison, to be named by the Duke, to have passes, they finding caution to remove out of the kingdom within twenty days. That the commissionate officers carry their ordinary fire-arms, beside their swords; and the soldiers to be paid for their fire-arms by the Estates, &c.]

Sometyme after this, the Governour desyreing speach of some without. Captain Lawder, who commanded the blockade, was sent to him to know what his pleasure was. By him, he sent a lyne to the magistrates of the toun, intimating his desire to continow a good understanding with them; and that the Captaine sould show the convention, he desired a safe conduct to be granted for Mr Wincester, Ensigne of the Castle, a young gentleman of wit and courage, which being granted, he sent him to propose some articles of treaty with the Convention; and with him he writes a letter to the President Duke Hamiltoun, in these termes:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

The singular proofes your Grace and the States have bein pleased to give me of your kindness, would highten (if possible) the concerne I have alwayes had for the good of my country and countrymen Permit me, then, [most humbly,] to lay before your Grace and the States, the imminent danger to which this poor kingdom is exposed, to become very soon the theatre of the most bloody and irreconceallable warre that hes bein in Europe this age, if not prevented by extraordinary prudence. Permitt me likewise to represent, that of all the ancient nobilitie and gentry of which this illustrious assembly is composed, perhaps ther is not one whose selfe or predicessors hes not receaved reiterated marks of his Majestie's or ancestours bounties and clemency. Should we then, for the misfortunes of a four years reigne, forget the benefites we have receaved from one hundreth and ten Kings and Queins. For my own pairt, it's known to severalls of the Estates, and particularly to your Grace, the severe usage I have had thes three years from the court, yet, I wold lay down my lyfe to procure a good understanding between his Majestie and his subjects, as I most sincerely and affectionatly offer my endeavours for procureing it. And if the Estates sall think fit I shall wait on his Majestie, who is now in Ireland. I hope, as all Scotland will most dutifully assert the just prerogatives of the crowne, the King will be pleased to setle the property, religion, and liberties of the subject on such sure foundations, that they shall never be shaken by the avarice and ambition of evill ministers. May it please your Grace, I thought myselfe bound in conscience to represent to you and the Estates what this paper containes; and it is with much respect that I am your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant.

The Duke desired this letter might be recorded by the Convention, but it was refused; and not finding any rationall correspondence from them to his proposalls, he breaks of all farder negotiation with them, and makes bonfires in the Castle for the King's arryveall in Ireland, dischargeing all

the cannons thryce, in token of rejoyceing on that accompt.

[About this time the Cameronians had broken ground a little southward of their other trench.

We beat a parley; and a cessation for sometime was agreed to, which gave an opportunity to our men to cast up a work at the sally port, to secure them from the enemies' small shot, to which they had been greatly exposed.]

The 25th March, the Cameronians were releived by General Major Mackayes men, sent from England, being three regiments, twelve companyes in each regiment. The Cameronians had the thanks of the Estates, and a publick act passed acknowledging their good service.

With Mackay came cannons, provisions, armes, and ammunition, and he caused furnish store of packs of wooll, to make his approaches in order to the siege of the Castle. He had formerly served in the King's army, and had a pension of his Majestie before the Prince of Orange's coming to England; but some months before, he declared to the King that he could serve him no longer, wherupon his pension was stopped; yet thes of his clan or trybe had given good prooffe of ther loyalty during the troubles of the Covenant. He had bein formerly the Duke of Gordon's friend, and therefoir the Duke wrote to him, shortly after his arryveall, proposeing a conference with him, to try if he could induce him to returne to his Prince's alledgeance. To which Mackay answered, that he could not accept of that conference without tuo privy councellours were present at it. The Governour replied, he would discourse with him alone only, and that he might judge his party did not confide in him, since they would have him accompanied with tuo witnesses.

[John Gordon having been sent out of the garrison to bring in a surgeon and carpenter (for as yet we had neither) one Thomas, an English surgeon, did undertake; but approaching the Castle, in order to be received at the sally port, his courage failed him, and so he returned back to the

town.]

The penult of March, the Governour being advertised that the enemies were casting up ground on the west side of the Castle, came with officers in the night tyme upon the rampart that lookt that way; and by the light of some squibs throwne perceaved ther approach e: Wherefore he made place the cannon in battery, and discharge upon the works to destroy them, which had good effect. He continued fireing upon them the nights following, which retarded ther labour; but this continuall fire did consume much of his ammunition. The Castle was so ill furnished of things necessary, that the Governour was obliged to send out seaven men under Mr Gardin's command to make some provisions; upon which a party of the besiegers deserted their posts in the trenches, and Mr Gardin returned safe with his men, bringing with them some loads of straw, wherof ther was need, to charge the cannon; wherfore the besiegers would thenceforth permitt no kind of provisions to pass near the Castle into the city.

[A parley was beat to send in some packs of cards, but denied. They now began to play upon us with bombs they had brought from Stirling Castle, but we received no great damage by them.]

Upon the 3rd of Apryll some of the besiegers were perceaved to be lodged about the old towne of Cottis on the west; and severall great guus were fired upon them, which beat doun ane old wall, and did execution. About this tyme, John Gordon brought in a brewar, and tuo Irish gentlemen, and lykewise on John M'Pherson, son to Kylyhuntlie, one of the Duke's vassalls in Badenoch, a very smart, ingenuous, and darring young man, who rendered good and faithful service in this siege. [As we perceived them coming, we fired warmly upon the besiegers' guards at the west port, and freed them from that post.

Sir George Lockhart, Lord President of the Session, having been barbarously assassinated on Easter Sunday, by one Cheesly of Dalry, a parley was this day beat by the besiegers, for a cessation during his interment in the Greyfriar's church, and readily granted.]

6th of Apryll. The besiegers had now, with the losse of men, finished a battery at the Castle of Collops, ane old ruined tower south of the garison, and planted thereon two cannon, 18 pounders; but in a few hours they were both dismounted. Captaine Dumbarr fired tuo of the seaventein bombs upon the besiegers' battery, but without success.

[This day we had an account that John Gordon (who had been sent out with letters) was made prisoner, but that he had dropt the letters he had in custody, and so they fell not into the enemy's hands.

His Grace caused cut a part of the bridge at the entry to the garrison.]

11th day. On Mr Scott went in publickly to the garrison in this maner; he brought the besiegers' advanced centinell along the Castle-hill with him upon pretence of speaking to a gentleman in garison about important bussiness, and to returne immediatly. Wlen they were come near the Castle gate, Mr Scott called for the Ensigne, and before they tuo had exchanged many words, he bid the centinell fairweell, and was received in at the gate. The centinell was invited to follow him because of his danger in returning, but the poor fellow, being drunk, went to his post, where he was immediatly seized, and hang'd tuo dayes after.

[A carpenter having undertaken to serve in the garison this day, we perceived him coming with five Irishmen, and put ourselves in a posture to secure them, in case any of the besiegers appeared; but the carpenter, treacherously or timorously, went back, and delivered himself prisoner, discovering those who had engaged him: upon which some were secured and others fled.]

The same day the garrison heard a great noise in the toun, mixt with the sound of trumpets, and thought the heralds were coming with a new summons to the Governour to render the Castle; but afterwards it was found to be on the accompt of the proclamation of the Prince of Orange, in quality of King of Scotland.

Some persons, who have no good will to the Governour, took occasion

to blame him for not fyreing upon the toun, att the tyme of this proclamation, but it is easy with reason to refute this objection, though envy and malice will still be barking:

1mo. Neather the Governour, nor officers of the Castle, knew certainly before, what was the ground of this solemnity.

2do. The place of the toun, at the cross, where the proclamation was made, was out of sight of the Castle, and covered from it by the Tolbooth, or common prison; and a great many other buildings stand in a right lyne betwixt the Castle and the Cross, so that the cannon bullets could not touch any person about the cross.

3tio. The Governour's duty being to defend the Castle the King had entrusted to him, he could not judge it prudent to consume to no purpose the powder, wherof he had so small quantity.

4to. Although he had known what wes the occassion of the solemnity, he might have judged he could not be blamed in following the example of Generall Ruthven, who had formerly defended the Castle of Edinburgh, dureing the Rebellion against Charles the First, and was made Earle of Forth and Brentford for his good and faithfull service. He sustained the siege a whole year against the toun, and yet did not fyre upon the buildings, nor upon the Parliament House, dureing the siege; and his conduct in this was approved severall years afterwards by the Duke of Lawderdale, then High Commissioner for the King in Scotland.

5to. His fyreing on the toun could not hinder the proclamation, much less the occassion of it, and it might have done prejudice to those who were no less sorry at it than he was; for the rable had threatned from the beginning of ther commotion, that if the Popish Duke, should fire on the city, during ther insolencies against Papists, they should leave non of that profession alyve in and about the toun; which was a very easy matter for them to execute: And the pillaging of ther goods and houses, and insolencies, upon the persons of those that had misfortune to fall in ther

way, gave too much ground to believe they would have made good their threatenings upon such a provocation.

Soe that those who blame the Duke of Gordon for not fyreing on the toun at this occassion, would be puzled to assigne any rationally motive that might have oblidgeed him so to do, or exeemed him from the censures of prudent men if he had done it: All they could alledge would be, that he should have showen his just indignation and horroure at the Convention's procedure in prejudice of his Sovereigne; but could that demonstration of his displeasure have brought any advantage to his prince's cause or affaires; or could any judicious person have thought it of such weight, as to be put in the ballance with the prejudice and trouble, many of the King's weil-wishers would have sustained; and might not the Convention justly have flouted at him with the poet's words, *vana sine viribus ira*.

[The passage by the sally port, that we had formerly made use of for sending out and receiving intelligence, being now closely blocked up by the besiegers, we shut up the entry, and filled it with earth; and we had by this time discovered a new passage, more safe, from the gate of the Castle over the north loch. When any person was to come in to us (of which we generally got exact information, sometime before, by a sign in a window of the city from Mrs Ann Smith, grandchild to Dr. Atkins, late Lord Bishop of Galloway), or went out, we sent a party of six men, commanded by a gentleman, to conduct them over the loch; and when got in safe to the garrison, we gave the signal to Mrs Smith, by firing a musket off the half-moon.]

About the 20th of Apryll, Mr Smith, the Duke's chirurgeon at Gordon Castle, being sent for by his Grace, came into the Castle of Edinburgh to the great comfort of the garrisons, being a man Weill skilled in surgery, in artillery, and both very loyall and courageous.³

³ Some days after, John Gordon obtained his liberty, there being no proof against him, and returned to the garrison with three Irishmen and Mr Smith (the Duke's surgeon), to the great comfort of all therein; for though providence had hitherto protected our men

The 29th, Henry Gordon having been sent out for intelligence, returned after two days with Lieutenant James Hay, John Macky, and one Launders ane Irishman; having by reason of the darkness of the night, lost other three of their company, who had designed to serve in the garrison. The besiegers drained the Loch on the north side of the Castle and town, to divert the springs from the wells in the Castle; but their designe took no effect.

The 9th of May, the Castle fired some great guns upon a house near the enemies battery, having discovered soldiers in it; and, artillery we were informed killed severalls in it. The enemies began to cast up a battery northward of the garrison, at the Multrasie-hill. [This was the day they had appointed for a public thanksgiving; but we could perceive no great demonstrations of joy amongst them by bells or bonfires.]

The 11th of May, William Urquhart came into the garrison and went out againe for some necessaries, and returned after four days with John Falconer, bringing with them, by Sir James Grant his moyen, a rope for mounting the cannon, which came very seasonably, for they had been necessitate to make use of the well rope; so ill was the garrison provided of things necessary for its defence. They informed that the besiegers' great bombs were arrived from England, and that their shells weighed above a hunder weight. That Sir James Grant above mentioned, was made close prisoner, for corresponding with the castle. The said W^m. Urquhart was killed with Ensigne Wincester afterwards, at the water of Boyn in Ireland, in their Prince's service.

While the enemies carried on their works and their approaches, the Governour beat down the parapets, which were but two foot high, that he might put his batteries in security against the enemies cannon. And having no cannoniers, he choysed twelve of the most vigorous of the soldiers to be employed in the service of the cannon, under the direction of Captaine

from wounds, they did not fancy themselves invulnerable; and many of them had sickened by this time.

Dumbar, who knew most of artillery of any in the Castle.

All the artillery the Castle had, was a peice of 42 pound ball, one of 36 pound, four of 24 pound, one of 18, and tuo of 12; all these of brass, and besides them, severall of iron, of 24, of 16, of 12 pound balls, but not much worth. Ther were lykewise some litle feeld peices, and a mortar peice of 14 inches of calibre, and 15 bombs. The Castle was not in a condition to make a sally, by reason of the small number of soldiers, a part of whom had no inclination for the service, and would have laid hold on that occasion to desert; and [those] that were faithful happening to be killed, the Governour would have been left to the discretion of mutiniers, who, finding themselves the stronger party, would have undoubtedly betrayed him.

About this tyme the Governour received letters from the Earle of Dumfermling, who was in the north with the Viscount of Dundie, showeing they had about 100th gentlemen on horse with them; and that at St Johnstone, they had surprysed, and seized the Lairds of Blair and Pollock, with some other officers of the enemies, while they were making their levies; and had got also some litle money in hands of the collector of the publick impositiones; and were, with the prissoners and the horses they took, returned againe to the mountaines, where they had neid of some orders from the Governour; who gave a returne to the Earle of Dumfermline's letters, and satisfied all his desires, to the end they might be in a condition to send releefe to the Castle before the first of June, judging he could hold out no longer without he got succours. He gave the same advertisement to the rest of his friends who adhered to the King's interest, and all this with advyce and concurrance of the Lieutennent Governour.

The 17th of May the Governour caused sound the wells, and found the high well only 10 foot deep, and the other wells were dry.

[May 18. This night Mr Macpherson and one of the Duke's footmen were sent out. We now kept no men at the high guard house, which had been hitherto our main guard; for all were posted at the sally port and low guard.]

On Sunday 19th, the enemy having got their new artillery planted, about 10 a'clock at night they began to fyre upon the Castle with their great bombs, from a battery they had raised from the west corner of the town wall. They had planted two mortar peices, and threw the bombs in pairs; but all of them went over the Castle, or fell short of it at the West Port, not without damage to the houses of the town; or splite upon the top of the wall of the Castle, where there was a centinell, who brought some fragments of it to his comrades. [I cannot say whose work the besiegers were about, but they never failed to ply it hard on the Lord's day: upon which one of our Highlanders observed, that, though he was apt to forget the days of the week, yet he well knew Sunday, by some mischief or other, begun or hotly carried on by our reformers.]

Upon their firing, the Castle gave them several great guns pointed to their bomb battery, but without success, the mortar peices standing very low, and not requiring ports, whereupon the garrison thought best to spare their powder on that occasion.

The Governour ordered all in the garrison to remove their lodgings to the vaults, and took himselfe to one likewise; and about the same tyme he became sickly, and continued so for some days: Notwithstanding wherof, the same night, when the besiegers began to play with their bombs, he went with Captaine Dumber and others to the sally port, where he discoursed over the wall with one of the enemies centinells, but could learne little from him. [However, some of our men would daily divert themselves in drolling the besiegers; and there were amongst them those that seemed to favour the King's interest, and would often begin discourses to that purpose, in Irish, with some of the Highlanders, but frequently were interrupted by their commanders.]

20th May. About one a'clock in the morning, when they had ceased from firing their bombs, there fell much snow, which, notwithstanding the season of the year, did ly a great part of the day two foot high. The soldiers gathered the snow, and put it into veshells, which served them for water,

the very unwholsome, for fear the wells would faile. [Thus nature seemed to suffer at this unnatural bombarding of his Majesty's fort with his own bombs, and by his natural subjects too.

This day they fired no bombs by reason of the storm.

This night Mr Macpherson and the Duke's servant returned.]

21st May. About 10 a'clock at night the besiegers fell to work againe with ther bombs, and continued till after 12 a'clock, having fired about 16. One of them ruined the stair of the church; another falling on the rock at the back of the lower guard hous, tumbled down whole on the soldiers upon duty, and one Duncan Grant thinking the danger past, went near to look to it. It broke beside him, but he sustained no more prejudice by it save a litle of his hearing for 24 houres.

After this the soldiers became better acquainted with the bombs, and could judge by ther elevation wherabouts they would fall: Some of them did break in the aire, others were smothered in the earth, wherewith the parapets were only backt, six of which they digged for and found whole. The Governour appointed a centinell on the Hauke hill, to give notice so soon as he saw the mortar peice fyred, and before the bomb was at its elevation, the word, viz. a bomb, would be thorough the garison, one takeing it instantly from another, so that every one might be on his guard before it fell.

22nd May. Some of the besiegers from the Castle hill, the West Port, and other advanced posts, as also from the windows in the toun, fired upon the soldiers in the garrison, which provocked them to fyre at the besiegers, when they perceaved them in the streets; killing a centinell at the Castle hill, and casually wounding some persons not concerned. The Duke had alwise given strict orders not to fyre towards any part of the toun, but only at the batteries, trenches, and guards, without the toun, wherby the Castle was block up; and at such as were perceaved going to or comeing from the said batteries, guards, or trenches. Yet contrary to his knowledge, these his

orders were sometymes transgressed, especially meeting with provocatione of fyreing from the streets and windows of the town.

By this tyme ther was much timber work in the Castle brocken by the bombs, and many of the soldiers being halfe naked, it fell out very seasonably, to be fire[wood.] The Governour had caused gather the splinters of the bombs to returne upon the besiegers in caice of ane assault.

23 May. A gunner's wife falling in labour, the Governour caused beat a parley to send in a midwyfe, which was refused; [but the gentlemen authorised to treat, proposed to send the woman out, to be taken care of. But this being so nearly related to the known jest of one, who finding himself too near a warm fire, proposed to remove the chimney, we did not suspect them to be in earnest. However, the poor woman was safely brought to bed.]

The Governour having observed a work cast up the night befoir on the street about the weigh hous, proposed a parley to speak about the removall of it. The besiegers pretend it was done by the touns-men to secure them from shott. His Grace demonstrated, that any defence ther could not save the toun, though it were sex story high, and declaired he knew not of any firing that way; and promised, that upon removeing ther work, ther should be no ground of complaint thenceforth upon that head; otherwayes, not knowing the designe in it, he would be oblided, in defence of the garrison, to fire at any work were cast up within the reach of his cannon; so that by ther fault the toun might suffer against his inclination. But the besiegers were so little concerned for the toun, that they would not condescend to demolish it, nor permitt the toune major to speake with the Duke, though he was seen comeing up the Castle hill for that purpose. After they had gone and returned severall tymes, and nothing concluded on, ther were people perceaved throwing it doun, and ther was no further trouble about it.

Whilst the Duke and ther officers were treating about this at the Castle gate, the besiegers fyred thrie bombs towards the low guard at the same

gate; wherupon a gentleman in garrison said to some without, I judge we are in greater danger by your faith (broken by fyreing under parley) than by your works, (alluding to the work cast up, then under debate.) Att this parley, they told the Duke they had ane engineer could throw 100th bombs at once upon the garrison. Wherunto he replied. He should be very glad it were put in practice, for at that rate he should be soon rid of them.

This night they fyred about 20 bombs, some falling within the court, and one within the great magazine; two upon a brasse gun, which only broke her wheile.

[About eleven this night a soldier's wife in garrison was sent out.]

24th May. The besiegers began first to fire their bombs in the day time, when they were the more dangerous, because not so easily perceaved as in the night. About 8 a'clock at night, a bomb split in the low halfe moon, amongst the soldiers, rankt in order to be releevd, but without any hurt.

[This night the soldier's wife returned.]

25th day. They had now got the elevation of the Castle exactly, and severall bombs were throwne into the place, which defaced most of the upper rounes, as also the church, magazine, &c., and severall small armes were broken.

[This afternoon we discovered a fleet of Dutch doggers making up the Frith, and concluded they were chased by the French fleet, but it proved a mistake.

About eleven at night Henry Gordon was sent out.]

Sunday 26th day. The besiegers having finished their new battery northwards of the Castle, began early this morning to fire with three cannon (two of them 24-pounders) upon the pallace and gun-ports of the high halfe moon. They beat down the balcony of the top of the wall: Most of the balls split in pieces; nor were they sparing of ther bombes on the Lord's day, especially in tyme of divyne service, as much bent to doe ill, as the Scribes and Pharisees were to hinder the doeing good on the Sabbath. But

the church in the garrison being ruin'd by the bombes, the soldiers heard sermon in a vault, [under the room which was the powder magazine before the siege.]

27th day. They fyred briskly both from the north and south batteries with ther cannon, but threw no bombes; and the garrison burned very litle powder in exchange, designed to save some barrells for the solemnity of the 29th.

About this tyme the Governour had communicated to him the contents of a letter, from a persone worthy of credit, from Ireland, which deprived him of all hopes of succours from thence; att which he was so much the more surprysed that the French fleet had beat that of England at Bantry Bay; which victory made the King's friends in Scotland hope for a speedy supply.

28th day. Tuo bombs fell thorow the leads, and split in the store-house, where thrie or four soldiers were receaving ther allowance off drink, but did no other damage, save the losse of the ale, which oblided the garrison to drink water for some dayes, till more ale was brewed. The same afternoon, a bomb haveing fallen into the rouse where the publick records were kept, occassioned the beating of a parley in the garrison. And the Duke sent a letter to the Lord Ross, giveing him ane accompt of the accident that had happened, threatning losse to the kingdome in generall, and desyred to speak with his lordship about the matter. The Lord Ross would not come, but a Captaine was sent from Duke Hamilton, to whom the Governour proposed the removeing of the records to another rouse, at the sight of some comissionated by the Estates. He told the Captaine lykewise, that he was to put out the royall flag, but hoped no body would be surprysed at it, being only on accompt of the solemnity enjoyned that day, by a standing Act of Parliament, for the restoration of the royall lyne after Cromwell's usurpation.

Inmediatly after the captaine was gone for the 2nd tyme about the matter of the records, the enemy fyred tuo cannons from the north batterie.

The Duke a litle befoir had caused draw out the ball from most of the great guns, and had fired them with powder only for the solemnity. But upon the unexpected breaking of the parley, the balls were put in again and discharged at the besiegers batteries: So the publick records of the nation lay still where they were, att the wilfull hazard of the besiegers bombes, notwithstanding all ther pretensions for the publick good.

[This night Henry Gordon returned, and brought an account, that one of the besiegers mortar-pieces had split; and that the great leaders in the Reformation, upon appearance of the Dutch doggers, got together horses, attendants, arms, &c., and made vast preparations, as if they had been to fly to, or for the King's host.]

29th May. The garrison observed the solemnity of the day with bonfyres and some fyre works; when the besiegers threw bombes, the Castle returned them squibs, and chearfully drank .a health to the King, Quein, and Prince of Walles, in a mortifyeing liquor. The besiegers with their bombes ayimed cheifely at the bonfires of the Castle, which seemed to them a publick upbraiding of their disloyalty. But at other occassions they ayimed at the pallace, which gave occassion to the Governour to say, they medled too litle with the walls, if they resolved to take the Castle by assault, and too much with the lodgings, if they intended to get and keep it long upon capitulation.

[Lieutenant Hay, being under some indisposition, had leave to go out this night; and the soldiers wife, (who had been sent out a few days before, and returned) was to have gone after him upon some message from the Duke; but she deferred her journey on pretence she was afraid of the bombs, of which they fired many this night.

May 30. This night the soldiers wife was again ordered out, but would not stir, pretending the night was too clear.]

May 31. About one a'clock in the morning, some of thes on the low guard heard the besiegers at work on the south syde of the Castlehill, and

shortly after they could perceave ground broken at a small distance from the low halfe moon: Upon which it was resolved to send out a party of fourtein men to beat the enemy from it. But a debate happening betwixt the gentlemen of the tuo squades, each pretending a right to be of the party, the Governour discharged the intended sally.

This night, Mr Ross went out, and with him Ochterlonnie's wife (who was [ordered] out tuo severall nights before, but both tymes deferred to goe, upon frivolous excuse). And at the same tyme one Joannet Cunninghame went upon some message from the Ensigne; and as the soldiers were bussied in seing them over the North Loch, one Robison a serjeant, a Papist, and Irishman borne, who had bein Serjeant in the King's service, had refused to serve under the Prince of Orange, and begged through all England to be quite of that service, and had come into the Castle on hazard of his lyfe; one Paterson, a corporall; one Ochterlouny, the woman's husband that was sent out, and tuo centinells, deserted. She had got 12 or 14. crounes to bring in drogues for the use of the garrison, who now perceaved she had bein accessory to the treachery, and that her delays from one night to another, on frivolous pretences, were only to watch ane opportunity till the deserters sould have the low guard; (for the souldiers changed posts every tyme they mounted,) and, consequently, all advantages of ane escape: For the corporall had altered the muster roll of centinells, to get the knaves packt together for ther game, and they could easily get over the wall wher ther post was, [and Robison had the custody of the key of the wicket of the outer gate, and actually carried it with him.]

This desertion did much discourage the garrison; for, besides the discovering of the secreit passages, correspondence, and weaknesses, it proved a great stmnbling block to those who understood litle, or had but a superficiall concerne in the cause or Governour. Wherefore, immediatly after the desertion, one Runcyman, the Governour's footman, was dispatcht to the toun, to give all correspondents notice, that they might abscond, and had orders to returne by the North Loch passage, against tuo

or thrie nixt afternoon.

The 1. June, about four in the afternoon, he was perceaved returning that way with his sword drawn; and the garison having planted some great gunes towards the besiegers guards, did with them and small shot fire so warmely, that they thought it most fit to let the footman returne safe into the Castle. He gave accompt that he had bein arreisted the night before be the besiegers' guards, and before he could get liberty, centinells were planted at the lodgings of Mistress Ann Smith, (grand chyld to the late Dr Atkins Bishop of Galloway), who corresponded with the garrison by signes, from a window looking towards it from the city; that Mr Hay was seized in his chamber, in the meane tyme he was there to advertise him of the danger; bot the footman passed for Mr Hay's servant, and escaped under that pretext; that the Governour's letters, and others from the garrison, were in the enemyes hands, bot most of them were written obscurely, and had fained or no subscriptions.

The footman returning safe to the Castle in sight of the enemies, [and they fancying he had some extraordinary message in charge,] did so picque them, that they fired incessently from four to 8 a'clock; and in that space did throw upwards of fourty bombs into the garrison. The gentlemen of the garrison had delayed ther dinner, expecting the footman's returne; and after his arryveall, the cloath being laid in a closet one pair of stairs up in the pallace, (where most of them had dyetted hitherto,) it was by meer accident removed to a vault; and before dinner was weell begun, a bomb burst in the closet, and tore to peices every thing therin. Another burst in the kitchen among the servants, without hurting any. One split on the top of the pallace, and broke the firelock in a centinell's hand, but himselfe suffered noe dammage; and another, falling through the leads into the roumes of the pallace, broke a door; and John Stewart of Bogs, a very stout and honest gentleman of the Duke's family, was sore wounded in the face, and lost ane eye by the splinter of it.

Before this, ther had bein no creature wounded in the garrison with all

the enemyes cannons and bombs, save only a cow of the Liuetenant Governour's by a musquet shot, which was great part of the fresh provision they had during the siege, whatever report went abroad about it.

The besiegers set up a flag of orange colour on their north battery as a signe of joy, conceived, from the notice given them by the late deserters of the weak condition of the garison.⁴

The Convention seized all those in town, who had kept correspondence with, and given intelligence of the garrison; men and women; the Lady Largo; Mistres Ogilvy; Joannet Cunninghame; but they were most cruelly bent against Mistres Smith and Mr Hay. This depriveall of correspondence with the town did discourage the garrison extreamly.

Att relieving the guards at night, the Governour spoke to the two squadres severally to this purpose: That his enemyes most acknowledge he had undertaken the defence of this place, and declared for the King, when all Brittain seemed to have abandoned his interest; and had done so, only upon a principle of conscience and loyalty: And as conscience determined him then to one act of justice, so it obliged him now to study the preservation of all those in garrison, which he reckoned another; and then addit, Gentlemen, let me assure you, I doe not use to breake promises to you; if we be not relieved in a competent tyme, I will capitulate, and every one of you shall have as good termes as myselfe.

[The whole garrison unanimously declared their abhorrence of the desertion, though they could not be ill pleased to get rid of the company of rogues and cowards; and that they were firmly resolved to live and die with his Grace in defence of this place, for his Majesty's service.

There were now some alterations made in posting our men. The main guard was kept at the sally-port; and six centinells, commanded by a

⁴ Whilst the besiegers were at the height of their fury, we perceived a large clout, of an orange colour, mounted on their north battery; and rationally concluded it to be the frolic of some young spark-errant, who had procured an old petticoat from his lady mistress, and kept in view to inspire him with courage to commence hero for her sake; rather than any emblem of terror to us, or right on the besiegers' side.

gentleman, were posted a little eastward. At the low guard we had two gentlemen, with a serjeant, corporal, gunner, and nine soldiers; one part of which were posted in the lower half moon, and the other in Crichton's yard; besides five centinels, commanded by a gentleman, at the portcullis.]

The beseigers discharged all further treating but by the white flag. About eleven at night Mr Ross returned safe, notwithstanding the search made for him upon the deserters' information. As he came towards the North Loch he perceived a small party of the besiegers, on the other syde, advancing towards the garrison to intercept him (the nights being then neir the shortest at the summer solstice, and the twilight continueing all night); but tuo of the garrison appearing on Wallace Tower, they retired to ther guards.

[We beat a parley, and his Grace seemed to entreat for favour to Robison and the other deserters, as if they had been sent out by order, and occasionally fallen into the besiegers hands, on purpose to procure them the harder measure; but it took no effect. And now they discharged all further treating except by the white flag.]

2nd of June. Sunday, [between 11 and 12] at night, the garrison wes allarumed, some hundreds of the besiegers being discovered in the corn feilds very near the Castle northwards; and upon misinformation of a boy in the garrison, that they had begun ane assault, the drums beate, upon which all the soldiers not upon guard ran towards the sally-port halfe naked, with ther armes, but without any command. Mr Gardine, being captaine of the guard, sent to advertise the Duke that ther was no danger: Bot he was abroad before the messenger arryved; and such was his care of the garrison, that he could not be perswaded for some tyme to returne to his lodging. The souldiers that were not upon duty, were ordered to attend in a vault until farther orders. The Lieuetennant-Governor took a halbert, and with the Ensigne went the rounds till morning; and Mr Gardine used such dilligence, that he wes not above halfe ane hour together from any post; and the very women appeared at the walls to defend them. The

garrison fired very warmly on the men of the besiegers with great and small shot, and they quickly retired.

3rd day. Early in the morning, they were perceived to have broken ground, where the garrison first discovered them; yet stayed not to make any lodgement; and the disorder could be conjectured by the great number of faggots which lay scattered, as if they had been sown, along the corn fields, where they had marched, or rather run away.

The same day the besiegers took up a post on the north side of the Castlehill, to obstruct all communication betwixt the garrison and its friends in the town; and the garrison dismounted both their cannon on the south battery; and the 4th day, shot grenades out of a hand mortar piece at their new post, on the north side of the Castle-hill. The Lieutenant-Governour proposed to send out a party of six men to beat them from it, but the Duke had all along declared his aversion of hazarding any of the few men he had, except upon more urgent occasions.

The garrison dismounted one of the besiegers' great guns on the north battery. They [kept a guard betwixt a wall, within pistol shot of the new post;] had broken ground in 13 or 14 places round the garrison, and fired this day 24 bombs and many cannon. [The same day Captain Dunbar dismounted three of their cannon.]

5th day. The garrison perceived some of the besiegers posted behind a wall near the West Church; and fired several great guns upon them, which made a large breach in the wall; whereupon they fled, and as was thought, left several dead and wounded. Therafter they were perceived throwing up earth at the back of the West Church, (one of their posts,) and the garrison called to them to make the hole large, supposing they had not a few to bury in it. This day they threw no bombs.

6th day. [At this time we had taken notice of a more than ordinary concourse of people coming from the west, and flattered ourselves with hopes that his Majesty had landed some forces there, and the rebels were

running upon the noise; but this only augmented the number of our disappointments.] They threw one bomb into the garrison, about two a'clock in the morning, [which was matter of conjecture to us,] and the garrison fired severall cannon upon their guards at the West Church, and at the back of the town, near the North Loch, which did execution; as also, whilst the Governour was at dinner, some great guns were fired, without his knowledge, upon their guards at the West Port.

7th day. [Colin Sutherland] a private centinell in the garrison, after a tedious sickness, dyed, and 8th day was buried, with three volleys of small shott.

9th day. Now the garrison had no manner of information from the town, and [our provisions being very near spent, and great part of the garrison sickly,] were longing much for intelligence. [But the besiegers, having understood from our deserters, the particular places by which our men got safe out and into the Castle, and having accordingly posted guards to interrupt them, it was reckoned a very difficult task. However] severall gentlemen and others offered to adventure out; and one John Grant being pitched upon, was conveyed over the wall opposite to the West Port. He promised to informe himselfe dilligently if there were any hopes of releefe for the Castle, and to give a signe at a place agreed upon, a mile distant, in case there were any hopes; and if there were none, he should give another different signe, and should retire himselfe to the north of Scotland, least he might be apprehended.

10th day. [Mr Grant gave us on this day a sign from the Long Gate that he was got safe out, and would return the next day.] The garrison observed the solemnity of the day for the birth of the Prince of Walles; and a litle after midnight,⁵ the besiegers began again to play with their bombes, having remained peaceable neighbours from the 4th day, save one they fired on the sixth.

⁵ About ten at night.

The same night Mr Gardine, with six men, sallyed out without the Duke's order, and chased their enemies from their posts on the Castle-hill.

11th day. John Grant appeared at the place appointed, and gave the signall, by which the Governour and the officers understood there was no hopes of succours. Wherefore not having received any letter from the King, or any that appeared for his Majesty, except that from Tyrconnell, when the garrison was first blocked up, and that not directed to him, nor any order at all in it regarding the Castle; and the messenger (probably out of his own head,) said only, that within six weeks Tyrconnell would send reliefe; and it was now three months since that promise, which, in reality, was never made: for when Tyrconnell went to St Germans, after the battell at the Boyne Water in Ireland, he denied to the Duke of Gordon himselfe that ever he promised any such thing, nor was he truly in a condition to send him such forces as could relieve him. And it was about a month afterwards that only 500 Irish, instead of the pretended 20,000 landed in the Highlands, of whom the garrison knew nothing at this tyme, they not being yet embarked at Knockfergus.

2do. At the conference with the Viscount of Dundie, the Duke did not condescend how long he could keep out the Castle, tho' it is said Dundie promised reliefe within 20 days; and now after three months, neither he nor others who stood for the King were in a condition to give any reliefe at all.

3tio. The soldiers deserting so frequently, leaping over the walls; and the last deserters having given information to the enemies of the condition of the Castle, and of its scarcity of provisions and ammunition, which made them set up the Orange flag, and stop all correspondence from friends in the town.

4to. There were more as twenty men sick in the garrison, and their number was daily increasing, and scarce forty healthfull to do duty. From the first tyme the besiegers began to play with their bombs, there were not men sufficient upon duty to relieve the night centinells, so that some were best able to endure hardship, stood from 10 at night to two or

thrie in the morning; and besides ther were often men constantly employed in ditching, scoureing, raiseing, or removing batteries, as was thought neidfull.

5to. The water of the garrison was very bad, and a great part of the cause of so many sick men, which in short tyme would have disabled the rest, reduced to drink therof for want of better liquor.

6to. There were not victualls for 10 days, save bread and salt herrings.

7mo. The ammunitions were near spent.

8vo. All other things necessary were wanting; no coalls nor wood, save the wrack of buildings brocken doun by the bombes. Upon thes considerations it was judged fitt to beat a parley, in order to capitulate.⁶ About 6 a'clock the white flag was put out, and Major Somervell, with another of the besiegers officers, came to the draw-bridge befor the Castle gate, but made some scrouple to advance further. So the Duke stood at one end of the bridge with the Lieuetennant-Governour, and Major Somervell with ther officers at the other. The first thing proposed was as to the person with whom the Governour might safely treate, and who could give security for performance of articles. Duke Hamilton, commissioner for the Parliament (made up) of the Convention, or of the Convention transfigured into a Parliament, after the example of England) was named. But the Governour desired to sie his commission, he not being oblidge to know of that transfiguration. So the Major went for further instructions, and in a short tyme returned with Major-General Lanier, the Lord Colchester ane English nobleman, and Collonell Balfour. Then the exchange of hostages was under consideratione. They demanded the Lieuetennant-Governour, and offered Major Somervell, which the Duke would not condescend to, but offered Mr Gairdin for a gentleman of lyke quality and fortune.

⁶ About four this afternoon, we saw Mr Grant several times at the West Port, and were in readiness to receive him; but he did not offer to approach, and thereby occasioned various conjectures. Whereupon it was thought fit to beat a parley, expecting thereby to learn some intelligence how affairs went; but all treating without the white flag being denied us, about six o'clock at night the white flag was put out.

Whilst this was under debate, came a message from Duke Hamilton, nether to give nor to take hostages, but to treat without that formality. So the treaty ended this night, and lykewise the cessation; for incontinently the besiegers fyred thrie great guns on the Castle, which answered them with as many, and afterwards ther was warm fireing on both sides.

12th day.—This morning the treatty began againe [and before they entered upon any terms of surrender, the besiegers went for further instructions upon preliminaries]. But John Grant, takeing the opportunity of the cessation, came imprudently, contrary to his instructions, into the garrison, which made the Governour think he had gott some good newes since the tyme he gave the signall; but upon examination he could say no more than that ther were noe hopes of releeffe.

Major-Generall Lanier, knowing of his entry, and pretending it was a breach of the treaty, declared he would break off the same unless he were delivered up to him, which the Governour refused; and the treaty was brocken off, which made those of the garrison understand they should have but a very bad composition with the enemies.

Major Sommervell insisted, that the Duke ought to meet Sir John Lanier halfe way betwixt the toun and castle; but the gentlemen in garrison opposed it; and somewhat too hotly reflecting on the treachery of ther centinells. Major Somervell said, that Lanier would not break his word for sex tymes the value of the castle; and the Ensigne of the garrison replied, that he had brocken his word, and oath too, to a much better man than any upon the place (viz. the King), [and, for any thing he knew, for a less reward]. Then the major threatning man and child with the sword in caice the treaty held not, Mr Gairdin replied, that ther men must have greater courage, and those of the garrison less, befoir it came to that. Severall other tairt expressions were used, and then they parted; and shortly thereafter one of ther Ensignes came up and discharged any further treating. Then they condemned Lieuetennant Hay and Joannet Cunninghame to be put to

death, for corresponding with the Castle, and haveing bein in the same.⁷

The Governour, with Captaine Dumbar, proposed to Collonell Winram Lieuetennant-Governour, to Mr Wincester Ensigne, and Mr Gairdin Volunteer, a meane to eschew the cruelty of the enemyes; which was, to put themselves on head of thes soldiers in the garrison, who were vigorous and had courage to hazard; and, in the night tyme, to force ther passage to the sea side, not tuo myles distant, and ther to seaze some boat, and get over to the other side. For the example of Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange was not of so old date as it could not be remembered. This gentleman was Governour of the Castle of Edinburgh for Queen Mary, after her rebellious subjects had forced her to renunce the government, and threatned her with death and infamy, while they kept her prissoner in the Castle of Lochleven; and, having bravely defended it for the space of 33 days, against the continuall battery of 30 brass cannons, and frequent assaults of the besiegers, was at last forced to render the same and themselves to the mercy of ther enemyes, and of Queen Elizabeth of England, who willed Grange, his brother, and two citizens of Edinburgh, to be publickly hanged on the mercat place. However, that proposall of the Duke's to escape by the sea seemed too dangerous, and not to be put in practice unless the enemies refused to grant the safety of lyves.

About eight a'clock at night, the Governour having called the garrison together, told them, that according to his promise, he had begun a treaty of capitulation, which was unexpectedly brocken of; and desired, if any man's heart failed him, he might declare it, and he should have liberty to be gone: He put them in mynd how fyve rogues had lately deserted (last of May), and gone over the walls, when they might have had patent gates, and how infamous they were even with the enemy.

Wherupon all the garrison unanimously declaired ther resolutions of

⁷ In the mean time we were informed that Lieutenant Hay and Janet Cuninghame were both condemned, in a councill of war, to be hanged, by a new Dutch mode of military discipline.

liveing upon bread and water with his Grace. Then he added. Perhaps some may be ashamed to own ther fears before a company of resolute men; but if soe, let any man who hes ane inclination to leave the garrison tell me in private, and I will find out a passage for him; and, gentlemen, for you that will live with me, I shall be ready to dy with you, if it come to that, you may take my word on't; which was answered with huzzas.

The besiegers had, ever since the treaty was brocken of, fyred smartly on the garrison from all ther batteries and posts about it; and about eleven at night a body of them were perceaved advanceing towards it on the north syde of the Castle-hill; and when they were come near the ditch, thos from the Castle fired on them so smartly as that they were forced to a disorderly retreat. Their officers were heard calling out, Advance, dogs; and the garrison mocked them, saying, Ye dogs, will not you obey your officers? Then they were perceaved rolling packs of wool up the Castle-hill, with intention to place a battery midway betwixt the toun and Castle; and the garrison directed their shot to that place. All upon duty behaved themselves with great courage. Ther were but 19 men, commanders and commanded, upon the low guard, and they would have no reinforcement; and so litle was their fear of the enemies bombes, that they still returned them great and small shot while those machines of terrour were flyeing above their heads, and sung aloud at all posts, *When the King shall enjoy his oun againe*. Mr Gardine was Captaine of the guard this night; Henry Gordon commandit a post in the low halfe moon; John Falconer another at the centinell's box near the low guard-house; a Serjeant and corporall within Creichton's yeard, and John [James] Gordon of Edintore at the portcullice. The mutuall fireing continued from 12 a'clock at night till past tuo a'clock in the morning, and one of the gunners of the Castle was killed by a musquet shott thorow a gun-port.

13th day. The garrison fired warmly at the besiegers' men posted behind the wooll packs on the Castle-hill, till about sex a'clock, that they relented to menadge ther powder, having spent last night and the morneing 12 or 13

barrells of powder; at which rate in sex dayes they would not have had one barrell remaining.

One of the Governour's cooks was shot thorow the body, but yet not mortally wounded. The Governour, though indisposed, omitted not to visit the posts with all solicitude, and to observe what the enemies had done; and found ther lodgments advanced on the Castle-hill. Coll. Winram said to him, It were fitt to write a line to desire the enemies to renew the treaty. He answered, the nixt session of the Convention was to be expected, and that he would not beginne againe to treat till John Grant, who had been the occassion of the interuption, should be gone out of the Castle, least he should be oblidged to delyver him up. A short tyme after, the Governour is advertised that he was gone, and Collonell Winram renews the instance of writing, and offers to carry the letter. The Governour writes to Major-Generall Lanier; and Collonell Winram gives the letter to Captaine Moody, who commanded the besiegers' guards, and desired to speak with the Governour. He, after some difficulty, condescends, and the Captaine brings with him the Lord Colchester, at which the Governour was surprysed, finding them employ a stranger, wher they had so many countreyemen.

To them he gave the articles, which were drawn up the day before, with consent of all the officers, in the following termes. The Duke of Gordon hath so much respect for all the Princes of King James the Sixth's line, as not to make conditions with any of them for his own particular interest: so he renders himselfe entirely on King William's discretion.

Imo. That Collonell Winram, Lieutennant-Governour of the Castle, shall submitt himselfe to King William's pleasure, his lyfe being secured; and all the rest of the garison shall have ther lyves, libertyes, and fortunes secured; and lykewise passports shall be granted to those who will take oaths not to bear armes against the present government.

2do. The garrison shall be allowed to march out with ther swords and bagage belonging properly to themselves.

3tio. That all the gentlemen, voluntiers, servants, and others within the garrison, shall have the same capitulation with the rest of the garrison.

4to. That all maner of persons shall have the benefite of the first article, who have kept correspondence with the Castle, and who have not been in armes; and being at present in Edinburgh, or in the same county, shall be indemnified, and have the benefite of this capitulation.

5to. That sick soldiers shall have liberty to dispose of themselves as they shall thinke best, they behaveing themselves as becometh.

6to. That all officers, gentlemen, servants, and others, shall have the same benefite which other lieges have, they living peaceably.

7to. A considerable post within the Castle shall be immediatly, after security is granted to the garrison for the above written articles, put in possession of the forces under Major-General Lanier. That the garrison should march out with drums beating, and displayed banners, which is an ordinary article in capitulation, the Duke thought not fit to require it; that being only used in countries where the soldiers of the capitulating garrison may march with a guard of ther enemies to another garrison of ther own Prince; which could not hold in this caice. And, besides, it had happened in former tymes at the surrendering of this Castle, that the garrison therof marching doun the streits in that maner, the rable insulted over them, and this occasions slaughter and effusion of blood, which was to be evited.

He professed a particular respect for King James the Sext of Scotland and First of England, because of the particular affection that King had for his family. For although the Kings before and after him had still lookt upon it as the most faithfull and steadable friend to the Croun, yet the affection King James had towards it was more than ordinary, and most endearing. For finding the reformers of religion too imperiall and impertinent pedagogues for a King, he made use of the Marquis of Huntly to keep them within some bounds, whose power and following could help much to counterpoise theirs; and whose zeale for the royall interest would spare

nether lyfe nor fortune to obey his commands, which were intimate to him by private letters, written with the King's own hand in a most oblidging straine.

About thrie a'clock in the afternoon, the Lord Colchester returnes to the Castle gate, where the Duke and the Lieutenant-Governor received him. He rendered to the Governour the articles he had received from him in the morning, and at the same tyme delyvered to him other articles drawn up by Major-Generall Lanier, which were very disadvantageous, and by which he would have the Governour and Lieuettendant-Governour to remaine prissoners of warr. Colchester went away after he had given these new articles to the Governour; and within a short tyme thereafter returned, and brought word, that all the volunteers and soldiers of the garrison should not losse a penny, and might retire themselves to any place of the kingdome they pleased; that the Lieuettendant-Governour sould have lyfe and fortune safe; and as to the Governour, since he would make no conditions for himselfe, he sould remaine prissoner of warr at the discretion of the Prince of Orange.

The garrison had difficulty to part with the Castle upon any terms, much like one who losses a suite at law by the sentence of the supream judicatory: Although the evidences and grounds of the sentence convince all unconcerned persons of the justice therof, yet he cannot hinder himselfe from regrateing the losse of what he wes desireous and hopefull to retaine; so, these stout and loyall gentlemen and soldiers found the surrender of ther Castle very unpleasant to ther spirits, and ther frettings and regrates gave occassion to some of the Duke of Gordon's enemies, to blame him for the surrender of it; and not knowing why he would not make any conditions for himselfe, to suspect his loyalty. But all impartial and equitable persons will easily justify him, if they consider, that although he and his garrison might have for a short tyme kept in their lyves with water instead of drink, and coarse oatmeale for bread, and old salt herrings for all kynd of kitchin; and even therof they had no quantity to last long; yet not

having powder for 8 dayes of so hott service as the last day, wherin they spent betwixt 12 and 13 barrells; and not having men sufficient to furnish all the posts, nor sure of the fidelity of a great part of thes they had; when that powder should have bein spent, which the enemies nearer approaches and constant fireing would have made be very soon, they might have remained incapable to hinder the besiegers from comeing over ther walls, and ther persons and lyves had been at the disposeall of ther mercy.

Common prudence, therfoire, not allowing the Governour to let matters come to this extremity, he thought fitt to accept of the conditions brought by the Lord Colchester, and so all acts of hostility ceased. These articles being signed by both parties, the Privy Councell ratifies them by ane authentick act in thes termes— His Majestie's High Commissioner, and the Lords of his Majestie's Privy Councill, having seen and considered the articles of agriement and capitulation betwixt the Duke of Gordon, Governour of the Castle of Edinbm'gh, and Sir John Lanier, Major-Generall of his Majestie's forces, agried and condescended to anent the surrender of the said Castle; his Majestie's High Commissioner and the saids Lords of his Majestie's Privy Councill do hereby ratify and approve of the said capitulation, in the hail heads and articles therof; and declares that they will interpose with his Majestie to be favourable, and shew that kyndness to the said Duke of Gordon as to indemnify, and secure him for his lyfe and fortune, and the fortune of his Liuetenant-Governour, which they have entirely submitted to his Majestie by the said capitulation; and will also humbly intreat his Majestie to allow the saids articles and capitulation to be ratifyed in this present Parliament. This act was signed by Duke Hamilton and the Earle of Crawford.

The garrison having now a frie cominication with the besiegers' forces, these acknowledged to have sustained a considerable loss the night preceeding, and that many of ther men had deserted upon that accompt. About 10 a'clock at night, Major Somervell marched with 200th men into the Castle, and had all the posts therin delyvered to him, except the high

guard hall, and great court, which those of the garrison kept. Afterwards, the Governour haveing drawn them up in the court, he told them that he must own they had served him faithfully, and he knew not wherin he had been unkynd to them; but, if he had wronged any, he desired them to speak, and they should have reparation; and entreated them not to make any disturbance with the other soldiers now come into the garrison, for they were too few to conquer, and too many to be made a sacrifice. He gave each of the centinells some money to bear their charges home. This night Capitaine Dumbar, Mr Scot, and some others who had more particularly incurred the displeasure of the rable, went privatlie to the toun.

14 June. Three full months after the siege began, the garrison marched out, but not in a body, that they might be the less noticed; yet some of them were very ill treated by the rable; and Major-General Lanier took possession of the gates of the Castle, which the Duke of Gordon had kept, in obedience to his lawful Sovereigne, after all Great Brittain had renounced it, save a few that appeared for him with the Viscount of Dundie. There were left in garrison 59 barrells of powder, but ther were only fyve of them entire, and all the powder together would not have exceeded fourty full barrells, whereof a great part was useles, being spoiled with water; sex bolls of malt, which would have scarce given drink for sex dayes; one barrell of salt beife entire; about tuo stone weight of cheise, tuo stone weight of butter, with meale, some bisket, and salt herrings, which being very bad, had already wronged much the soldiers' health, so that in four or fyve dayes tyme they would have been reduced to live upon meale and water.⁸

⁸ Here the narrative printed by Grose mentions that "the surrender at this time was loudly talked of, to the Duke's disadvantage. But it were very hard measure (it is added) to condemn his Grace;" and then, after adverting to the reasons assigned at pages 69 71, it concludes with assigning this further motive, "That by reason of that unhappy accident of Grant's coming in to us in time of treaty, they had declared, they thought not themselves obliged at any time thereafter to keep faith with us; and we had but too just grounds to believe them. And this last (upon the strictest observation) appeared to the Relater the main argument of our sudden sturender, after his Grace had resolved to undergo the last extremity.

It has been objected to the Governour, that he should have given lesser portions to the soldiers from the beginning of the siege, to have made his provisions last the longer; to which its answered,

1. That he could not keep his garrison in its obedience to the King, but by the hope he gave them of his Majestie's speedy returne to Scotland, which could not be made agrie with that sparing œconomy of victualls, whereby they would have judged his returne was not to be lookt for so soon.

2. The Governour and other faithfull servants of the King expected lykewise this returne, and that his Majestie would not make long stay in Ireland.

3. The Governour not having a farthing of the King's money, and very litle of his own, which he had spent upon his garrison, and upon other urgent occassions, it hade been very dangerous to have diminished the soldiers portions while they got no pay, and while he was oblided to give them frequently money to drink for their encouragement, and to strengthen them against the continuall toyle and labour they endured.

To those may be added, that in soe generall a defection of subjects from their duty to their Prince, as was in Brittain at that tyme, it could hardly be expected that comon soldiers would have so much honour, or so vigorous a loyalty, as for the repute of them to suffer to be so long pinched in their bodyes, exposed to constant duty and fatigue, with so small prospect of releefe or recompence for their sufferings.

After the surrender of the Castle, there happening some passionat words betwixt the Lieuetennant-Governour Collonell Winram, and some of Lanier's officers, he was not permitted to goe out, but detained prissoner in the Castle. Sir John Lanier and the Lord Colchester conducted the Governour to Duke Hamilton, President of the Convention, who keep him

“Now this being jointly considered, with our want of provisions of all sorts for ten days' defence, which was well enough known to our enemies, and the other circumstances before represented, the whole is left to the censure of the unbiassed world.”

to dinner, and told him that he might come out of the Castle, upon condition he would give his parole not to goe out of Edinburgh without permission, which the Duke consented to and gave him. At night he was had back to the Castle, and upon the morning thereafter he went to the town to lodge, and fell sick.

About the beginning of July, the President of the Convention suspecting the Duke of Gordon had some thoughts of making his escape, made place an officer in his chamber all night, and centinells at the door and windows. And upon the morrow thereafter sent him prisoner to the Castle, where he had the liberty to be attended by his own servants, and visited by his friends. But this liberty was taken from him, upon the news of the Convention's forces being defeat in Athole by the Viscount of Dundie, who was killed at that occasion. The Duke of Gordon proposed to Major-General Mackay to be exchanged with prisoners made in that encounter; but it was refused him.

Sometime after, a part of the prisoners were set at liberty upon surety, and others remained still in prison, amongst whom were the Duke of Gordon, the Earle of Dumnoire, the son to the Marquis of Athole, the Viscount of Oxford, the Collonells Winram and Wilson; these were detained still prisoners, but a little more liberty.

Shortly after this the Duke wrote to his friends at London, entreating them to know of King William how he intended to dispose of him his prisoner of warr; and they answered, that he would very shortly declare his will concerning him. And accordingly, after some tyme, he sent order to the Councill of Scotland to set the Duke of Gordon at liberty on his word of honour. The Duke hearing of this order, entreated that it might not be presented to the Councill till he should have tyme to write once to London, to obtaine from King William ane order to release him upon caution, as they had done to other prisoners. But this favour was refused him, and so he was obliged to come out upon his word of honour, or remaine still prisoner in the Castle.

Therefore, upon the 24th of January 1690, he was conducted to the Council, where the President having intimate to him King William's order, told him that he would accept of his word of honour, (without obliging him to give any thing in write,) bearing promise to act nothing against the government, nor against King William, until he should present himselfe personallie before him. The Duke thanked the President, and told him that a person of honour would never promise any thing which he would not give in write, and that for himselfe, he loved rather to give in write what he promised, then to give word, because its not so easy to add to or diminish from the one as the other. To which the President having given no reply, the Duke promised to doe nothing against the present government, nor against King William, till he should present himselfe to him, which satisfied the Council, and he returned in liberty to the Castle, where he set down in writing what he had promised to the Council, and shew it to severalls of his friends, and to some of the prisoners in the Castle, who might bear witness of it afterwards. He remained some dayes thereafter in town, though pressed dayly to goe to London to present himselfe to King William.

Wherefore, towards the beginning of February, he began his voyage thither, having before written to his friends in the countrey at home, to whom his surrender of the Castle upon no conditions for himselfe, and the bad constructions his enemies had put, upon what accompt they at a distance could not know; to whom, I say, all thes had bred no litle anxiety concerning him, he writes that they might be assured, that one who acted upon those principles he conducted himselfe by, would not let himselfe be tempted to change or to faile in his loyalty. Being come to London, he wes necessitate to put himselfe in the phisitian's hands, because of the indisposition he had contracted during the siege of the Castle, which had not left him since, but was augmented by the fatigue of the journey.

Being recovered, he was conducted and presented, without a sword, to King William, as being his prisoner, and as such, kissed his hand, not as

his subject, never having acknowledged him in quality of his soveraigne, though the civilities he had mett with formerly from this Prince while he wes in his travels, oblidge him to show him all respect which was not contrary to his duty to his master. Upon the day following, the Duke appeared with his sword, because he was disengaged from his word of honour, having done nothing till that day against the present government or King William. Thenceforth he designed to get over into France, of purpose to goe from thence to Ireland, where his lawfull soveraigne was for the tyme, and to give him new prooffes of his fidelity and zeale for his service.

Whilst he is waiting and tryeing for ane opportunity in execution of this designe, which prudence oblidge him to conceale under the greatest secrecy, least the court should suspect him to have any thoughts of the lyke project, he goes, as the custome is, and attends sometymes at court; he waits, perhaps twyce or thryce, on the Prince of Orange his ryseing from bed in the morning. The Scots ministers about court being earnest to have the Prince his determination concerning him, knowing he would be solicited to side with his Highness; which if he should refuse, measures would be taken to keep him from acting any thing against him.

This attendance of his on the Prince, (which his present circumstances, and the civilities he had many years before met with from him, oblidge him to, according to the rule of comon prudence and gratitude,) joyned with the surrender of the Castle upon no conditions for himselfe, but with ane entire submission to the Prince's discretion, and the bad construction his enemies had put upon it, as if he designed to make his court to his Highness, by complementing him with the Castle, gave occasion to his enemies at home and abroad, to proclaime him to all as a person not only disloyall, but who was not ashamed to appear so to the world; so unrelenting was their revenge and malice against him, and so much were they galled with so singular evidence of his duty to his master, to whom they had represented him as unfitt to doe him any service.

APPENDIX.

I.
TITLE AND DEDICATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT CONTAINING
THE FOREGOING ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF THE
CASTLE OF EDINBURGH.
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.

*Justum et tenacem propositi virum.
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida.*

Hor. Od. 3, lib. 3.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARLE OF HUNTLY.

MY LORD,

I heire present to your Lordship the Pourtrait of True Loyalty, drawne from the best copy I could cast mine eye upon in the Isle of Brittain. That is from the family yow are descendit of in a right lyne, and which yow may come one day to represent, if God think fit for his glory and your salvation to give yow lenth of dayes. I say the best copy I could cast mine eye upon in the Isle of Brittain, for I may give any person the defyance to find out and pitch upon a family so eminent in rank and power as yours hes been, that can boast of so constant and uninterrupted, so unstained and disinterested loyalty, as yours can doe;—a family of more as six hundreth years old, in which there is not one of the representatives or heads can be said to have carryed armes against his prince, or to have syded with any party or faction that opposed his royal authority.

What moved me to attempt, though unskilful, the draught of this Pourtrait, was first the love of truth and justice, finding your noble and loyall father the Duke of Gordon (whom God long preserve) so unjustly dealt with, by the ignorant and malicious aspersions cast upon him, not only in Brittain, but in all the countries about it where I had occasion to travell; as if he had degenerated from his ancestorea loyalty by his surrendering the Castle of Edinburgh in the month of June 1689, when he had kept it sex months in obedience to his lawful soveraigne, after all Great Brittain had disowned his authority, and when he could not, without the censure of impudence or madness, have kept it a month longer, having no other provisions to preserve his soldiers' lives, nor ammunition to defend the walls from being leapt over by the enemies. Wherefore I have, for his vindication, set doune the particulars of that siege at greater length then my purpose otherwayes required; which was

The second motive that inclined me to the forsaid draught, that is, to sett before your Lordship, now in your tender years, the patterne yow are to imitate, the steps yow are to trace, and the place or rouse yow are to fill up

when the Divine Providence shall think fitt to rank yow in the same.

The tuo first principles your noble father caused yow imprint on your memory (so soon as your tongue could pronounce the words that expresses them) were: Ayez Diew, Honorez le Roy—Love God, Honour the King; or be a good Christian and a good subject. The words I conceive yow will never forget; and as to the practice and performance of what they signifye, those who are entrusted with your education will take care of the first, that you be a good Christian, and will make it their chiefe work to bring to maturity those early blossomes of piety which appear so fresh and fragrant in this spring tyme of your age.

For the second, of honouring the king, I thought there could be none more efficacious incitement to yow than the setting before yow the examples of your predecessors, who have honoured their kings with their blood, lives, fortunes, valour, learning, prudence, labours, patience,—in a word, with all what nature, education, and prudence had bestowed on them, that your Lordship, reflecting attentively on their loyalty, might conceive a noble and generous resolution to come short of none of them in that duty.

These were the motives induced me to look into such histories and manuscripts as I could find, and collect from them the following sheets. They containe matters of fact, attested by the best historians that they write of the tymes and countries they were acted in. If the style be rude and unpolisht, I may be excused, it being the best I could frame; if meate be wholesome and savoury, some like it better without sauce; if truth be clear and uncontroverted, some love it better in its native beauty, than in the extrinsick ornaments of phrases and language, which oftymes rather blunts than Lightens the pleasure and delight the mynde does relish in it. However the stile be not suitable to the subject, the subject may seem for matter capable and worthy of a better forme and dresse to be put upon it by one who is more expert in the language, and has no less zeale for the honour of your Lordship's family than I have. And I hope your Lordship

will look upon my endeavours, in collecting those sheets, as a testimony of the sincerity of my respect and affection to yow and your family. Its all the acknowledgement I pretend for my paines; and I subscribe myself,

My Lord,

your Lordship's most humble and

most obedient servant,

W. R.

Penult of September, 1691.

II.

CONCLUSION OF THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF GORDON.

Heire is then the Pourtrait off True Loyalty compleet, such as I described it in the beginning of thes sheets. Heire is a truely loyall person, who hes few or none to bear witness of his loyalty but his own conscience, who finds himselfe on its accompt, exposed to all kinds of ill in his person, fortune, and reputation. In his person and fortune, from his Soveraignes enemies, who was both at their mercy; and in his reputation from those whom his Soveraigne lookt upon as his friends, (though by their unfortunate counsels they had brought his person and dignity to the condition they are in at present) who with the flatterers of their ambition and revenge endeavour to blast it most maliciously and calumniously.

But his loyalty is true, not counterfit, grounded upon conscience, not interest; and therefore prooffe against all thes ills and temptations. *Ab honesto nulla re deterribitur ad turpia nulla spe irritabitur.* He satisfies himselfe with the testimony of his own conscience. *Ipsa quidem virtus sibimet pulcherrima merces,* as the poet has it; and exposes his fortune to the will of those enemies, when his compliance with them could have secured it, if not bettered it to a great degree of advantage, and which compliance were it excusable in any, much more were it in him who had met with such disoblidgments. He suffers as passengers doe the bawling of currs, the aspersions on his reputation, by those who durst not venture to spread them abroad, unless they were in some manner or other sheltered from being made accountable for what they say, until he should find out ane occasion, to put his person out of the enemies power, and be in fredome to make those envyouy detractors ashamed by letting the world sie new prooffs of his unchangeable loyalty.

He mett with many difficulties and dangers before he got passadge, and was oblided to disguise himselfe and remaine lurking sometymes in

the countrey, sometymes in the city for more as tuo months, till at last he happened upon a favourable occasion of goeing to Flanders, from whence he went to Paris, their to receave the Queen's orders, designing to have gone to Ireland to wait upon the King, who not long after him came from Ireland (after the defeat of the Boyne Water) to St Germans, where he now attends his Majestie, waiting for his commands. This penult of September 1691.

III.

NARRATIVE OF THE STORMING OF THE TALLAGE OF HOLYROOD-HOUSE, FROM THE EARL OF BALCARRAS'S ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

Before he (the Chancellor) went away, the rabble began to meet in companies upon the street, being encouraged by these Lords and Gentlemen I have already named: George Stirling and William Menzies, so soon as they saw them begin, made drums to beat through all the town, and when the inhabitants came running out to see what was the matter of so sudden an alarm, they had their friends posted in all quarters to tell them, that all the townsmen that were protestants, should immediately gather together for their own defence, for they were certainly informed, that a great number of Papists had got into the town and designed to burn it that night. This made an alarm through all the town, and few stayed in their houses. When they were all gathered together, and saw no appearance of any such thing, some who were called there of purpose proposed, that since there were so many honest men got together, it would be a pity they should part without doing something, and that they could not prepare a more worthy action, than to go down to the Abbey and pull down the Chapel. It was no sooner proposed, but immediately all cried Agreed, and in a tumultuous manner, men and boys marched away; Captain John Wallace, who was then in the house with six score men, raised a little before by the Council on that design, so soon as he heard they were coming, sent a Serjeant to desire them not to come near, other-ways he would be obliged to do his duty and fire; but, notwithstanding of his firing, they pressed on, and he gave them a volley of firelocks amongst them, which killed about a dozen, and wounded thrice as many. On the first fire they immediately run; and the noise was industriously spread by the gentlemen and lords sitting at the same time at their meetings, as if Wallace had made a butchery of the inhabitants; and, to make it inflame the more, there were few burghesses or people in town of any consideration, but was said to have children killed.

The first meeting was but the meaner sort and boys; but after this, the whole inhabitants got to arms, and the discontented meetings came out to the streets and offered their service to head them, which was gladly received. But as they were again going against Captain Wallace, one of them proposed, that what they were a going about might some time or other be challenged;

therefore he advised them, that, since they were sure of the Marquess of Atholle and some others of the Counsellors, he might be desired by some of their number to give them a public warrant for what they were to do, and likewise might order the concurrence of the magistrates. The advice was thought very reasonable, and deputies were sent to the Marquess; he immediately sent for the Earl of Breadalbane, Viscount of Tarbat, and Sir John Dalrymple: These four signed a warrant to the magistrates, that they should go down in their robes, and with the help of their trained bands, militia regiment, and town company, should assist the rabble against Captain Wallace, and force him to deliver up the house; and likewise, that they should carry down your Majesty's Heralds and Trumpets in their coats, to summon Captain Wallace in the King's name to give up the house.

The Provost of Edinburgh, Sir Magnus Prince, a timorous poor man, though very honest, obeyed their order, and went down, so soon as their affairs could be in readiness: First marched the town company, commanded by Captain Grahame, who a day before this was turned out of his imployment, but on his offer of service on that occasion, he was restored; next the discontented gentlemen, the chief of these were Sir James Montgomery, Houston, Greenock, Mochrum, Mr William Lockhart, Riccartoun, Drummond, William Drummond Clerk to the Artillery, Murray of Livingstonn, Swinton Lord Mersington the fanatick judge, with a halbert in his hand, as drunk as ale and brandy could make him; next the Provost and Magistrates, with a mob of two or three thousand men. When they came within distance of shot, the trumpets and heralds were sent before to command him to render: Captain Wallace told them, he was put in by the

Council, and would never deliver it up without the King or Council's command; that the order they produced was not by a quorum of the Council, so he absolutely refused to obey; at which they began to fire straggling shots at one another, which made all the Magistrates and others draw behind stairs and down lanes, and left Major Grahame, the trained bands, and his company, with the rabble, to dispute the matter. Captain Wallace had certainly been able to defend the house, if he had kept his men within the court and fired out at the windows; but he left the house, and posted himself in the outer court; which when Captain Grahame perceived, he marched out at the town port with his company, and came in by the back court, and so got behind them; which when Captain Wallace heard, he slipped aside without telling his officers and soldiers, and left them to shift for themselves. When they knew he was gone, they laid down their arms, and begged quarter. The gentlemen and rabble, when they saw all hazard over, ran in upon them, killed some, and made the rest prisoners, and sent them to prison, where severals of them died for want and of their wounds; then all the rabble rushed into the house, pulled down every thing they could find in the private chappell and in the abbey, which was but furnished some days before; next they fell upon the house where the Jesuits lived, and almost pulled it down; then they broke into the Earl of Perth's cellars and myne, and made themselves as drunk with wine as they were before with zeal; for two or three days thereafter they rambled up and down the town, searched and plundered what Roman Catholicks houses they could find, which were very few, except some Catholick ladies whom they used villainously, nor did the Council any thing to hinder these disorders.

IV.

LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF GORDON AND CAPTAIN DUNBAR,
11TH DEC^R 1688.

Edinbr: Castle, 11 Decr. 88.

MY LORD,

I would not have omitted to vreat to y^r Lo: by the servant you had last in toune, but y^t he never did cum neir me, notwithstanding I had called for him several tymes; now you will certainly have your Elms from this bearer, I haiving delivered it to the gardiner in a seald paper, and backt for your Lo: which I vish you may receive in mor saiffitie, as your friends ar for the present in this toune. Sundays night last, there begud a tumult in toune, about five a clock at night, (after sume litle gatherings, without hurt, for two or three days before,) which lasted till after 12 at night; but the ports being shut, few off the rable could cum that night to the Cannegat or Abay; so, save sume tumultuous crys, ther was no hurt donne. My Lord Chanc^r: being frighted therby, went away for Drummond yesterday, at 12 of the clock, on hors back, accompanied by a troupe of the militia hors and sume gentlemen, and my Ladie Perth and Ladie Marie an hour after, in ther owin coich, accompanied by sume hors: but in such heast as that the hous was left as usuall. Yesternight, the tumult begoud againe, at five a clock, and befor seven of the clock at night they possest the Nather Bow, and went doune to the Cannegat, breaking several houses, plundering and spoyling; and after went in a great crud, not of boys, as formerly, but off all sort of men, armed with staves, swords, guns, pistels, and all sort of arms. Captⁿ. Wallace, who had the gaird of the Abay, after having desyred and intretted they might retir, did fyir upon them, whereby, its said, 3 or 4 ar killed, and mor wounded; which mad them retir to be reinforsed, as it is said they war by the toune militia, and Captⁿ. Gram's companie, who, as they say, attack the gaird back and for, so y^t the Captⁿ. and his men wer forst to flie. After which the tumult entred the Abay, destroyed all that was in the Abay Church and Chappell, and brak up all doirs in the wholl Abay; and plundered and destroyed all that was within the Chanc^{rs}: hous, uppe and doune, without, as they say, living any thing; beds, hingins, books, picters, cabinets, and all other things rifled and brunt; but I believe mor, that his silver plate is gone. And as for my Ladie Huntly, I blis God they did her no harme, nor any thing of hers, though they entred her hous, from whence I came to the Castle 3 hours before. Yesternight the tumult lasted till tuo in

the morning; and this morning, by 8 of the clock, its said they war gone, at lest a great manie, to Wright hous and Nethrie. This is abundance of the goodness; God knows what will cum after. Time permits no mor, but that I am_

(What follows is in the Duke of Gordon's hand.)

Mr Dombar's newes is literally trew, and mutch off this by the Chancelor going outt off town, and not calling the judicatorys after him to Stirling. I send yow his Maj: letter to the cunsell. Melford, his Ladey, and Craige, ar gon beyond seas. I cannot guess what things may com too; but pray advertis mee iff anny thing extraordinary falls out, and I'll order my frinds to veatt off yow. Adieu, my dear Lord. My deuttys to the Countess.

GORDON.

(In another hand.)

My blissins to my Dr. Ladie. This most serve in answer to her letter; wee have kept the bearer to to long, till this day at on of the clock.⁹

⁹ From the Leven MSS This letter, which has no direction, in all probability had been intercepted, and put into the possession of Lord Melville. The Elms mentioned at the beginning seems to be a term used for concealment.

V.

LORD BALCARRAS'S ACCOUNT OF THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIEGE OF THE CASTLE.

The first that came down of either parties was the Viscount of Dundee and myself: When we came to Edinburgh about the end of February, we found that city very quiet, and generally well affected.

The College of Justice, to free themselves, after the Marquess of Atholle left his government, armed themselves, and made up a battalion of very good men, which kept all the disaffected in greate awe; but Duke Hamilton believing they would not be for his purpose, got an order sent down with Commissary Monro to disband them. On our first coming, we waited on the Duke of Gordone, who was capitulating to render up the Castle of Edinburgh. At our entry to the Castle, we met the Duke's furniture coming out, which gave us small hopes of his keeping it; but we had the good fortune to convince him, that it would be so much for your Majesty's interest, and his own honour, that he promised to keep it out until he saw what the Convention would do. I say not this in the least to disparage any thing that he did, for I saw him have very great inclinations to do for your interest; but his never having orders from you, and his hearing all other forts and places had given up, discouraged him extremely. He had likewise a great temptation; for the Prince of Orange, wrote to him a very obliging letter, with full assurance of indemnity and protection; but notwithstanding of that, and of severals advices of such as he believed wished him well, and who haunted him constantly to get him to deliver up the Castle, yet he resolved to hold out. But the great error he committed, (tho' several others were laid to his charge which were not true), was, after he had resolved it, that he did not get it provided; for then the City of Edinburgh would not have denied him any thing, or if they had, he could easily have compelled them.

VI.

LORD BALCARRAS'S ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST SUMMONS TO THE DUKE OF GORDON.

The first thing they (the meeting of the Estates) took into their consideration, after the house was thus constitute, was the getting the Castle of Edinburgh into their hands. That which pressed them most to it, there was two pretending to have the government of it, the Earl of Lothian and the Earl of Leven; likewise it being the first of any consideration in Britain holding out, the Prince of Orange was very desirous to have it reduced. The Earl of Tweeddale and the Earl of Lothian were sent up to capitulate with the Duke of Gordon, who promised them he would comply with their desire, and give it up next day at ten a'clock. So soon as the Viscount of Dundee and I heard them give this answer to the Convention, we were mightily allarmed, and sent up one immediately to remember his Grace of his engagement to us, and to lay before him the ruin of your affairs, if once they got the Castle into their hands. As irresolution was the cause of his promise to them, so what arguments were used to him on our side, meeting with his desire to serve you, brought him about again. His greatest obstacle then was how to come fairly off: The Earl of Tweeddale, with his flattery and insinuating way, had got him to go too great a length; for that it was advised that next day, when they came to demand the Castle, he should tell he would willingly give it up; but he could not see how he could be safe himself from the rabble of the town, and those that were brought into it. But to free them from all fear he should give the Convention any disturbance, to offer them bail for twenty thousand pound to live peaceably in it; but, though he was very well satisfied with this advice, yet that night he grew again irresolute, and sent to tell us, that except we came immediately to him, he would not keep his word. This was impossible to do, for they having placed the town companies of Edinburgh upon the Castle Hill, suffered none they suspected to go up; yet one ventured to him to know what he had to say to us. He sent us word that,

notwithstanding of all was past, he would deliver it up, except we both gave it under our hands, that it was of absolute necessity for your affairs that he should not delyver it up, which we both did that night; and next morning the Viscount of Dundee got into the Castle, and confirmed him absolutely in his resolution of keeping it out, by telling him the resolutions were taken by your friends of leaving Edinburgh and setting up at Sterling; so the next day, when they expected to have the Castle at the hour appointed, he refused again, and hostilities went on.

VII.

EXTRACTS FROM PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION OF ESTATES, 14TH AND 15TH MARCH 1689.

Edinr. 14 March 1689.

The meeting of the Estates of this kingdome, considering that the Duke of Gordoun and some others of the Popish religion under him, intrusted with the keeping of the Castle of Edinburgh, are not qualified by the law of this Kingdome, they grant warrand to the Earles of Louthian and Tweeddale, to repair immediately to the Castle of Edinburgh, and to require him and others of his persuasion ther, in name of the Estates of this Kingdome to remove out of the said Castle, within twenty-four hours after this intimatione, and to leave the charge therof to the nixt commanding officer, being a Protestant. And he and they doing the same, the Estates give assurance that he and they are, and shall be, exonered and secured as to any thing they have acted in that or any other statione, coutrair to law as being Papists.

The Earles of Lothian and Tweeddale haveing made report that they had intimate to the Duke of Gordoune the forsaid warrand of the Estates, it was ordered that he should give his answer in write to-morrow against ten a'clock.

Edinr. 15 March 1689.

The Earles of Louthian and Tweeddale did produce a paper signed by

the Duke of Gordone, in answer to the order granted yesterday by the meeting of the Estates, wherof the tenor followes:—

I am willing to comply with the commission I received by the Earles of Lothian and Tweeddale, as to my removeall from the Castle of Edinburgh, though I cannot doe so as a Papist, that being dangerous, and I not a convict; for I hope being in imployment without taking the Test, contrair to ane act of Parliament, is no conviction of Poperie.

I received a letter not long agoe from the then Prince of Orange, desyring that I would leave the Castle, which I promised to doe, but expected certain reasonahle things to be first granted to myself and garrison.

I hope I have not merited so ill of my country, as that I may not be trusted with the Castle, untill a return come to this letter, which I expect every hour, but if that cannot be granted, barely on my promise, not to molest or harme any persone, especially those of this illustrious assembly, I proffer hostages or bail to the value of twenty thousand pound sterling for my peaceable deportment.

Otherwise I expect befor my removeall, (1°) A general indemnity for myself and my friends, both Protestant and Papist, as alwayes absolute securitie for our lives and fortunes in tyme comeing, with assurance that the same shall be ratified in the nixt ensueing Parliament. (2°) A securitie for all Protestants in the garrisone, who incline to stay in it to continow in ther employments, and for my selfe, and those who shall goe out with me, either Protestants or Papists, to goe beyond seas, or remaine within the Kingdome, as our occasions shall lead us. (3°) That the garrisone be compleitlie payed of all bygone arrears, and have liberty to dispose of ther goods within the Castle as they please.

GORDON.

The meeting of the Estates haveing considered the paper given in and subscryved by the Duke of Gordoune, in answer to ther order doe declair. It

is not the mind of this meeting that the Duke his officiateing as Governour of the Castle, or in any other employment, or his quitting his command at this tyme shall import any acknowledgement or conviction against him, or those under his command of his or ther being Papists.

It is also resolved, that the meeting of the Estates will not allow of the Duke his keeping the Government of the Castle, either upon promise, baile, or hostages for his peaceable desportment, until he get a returne of the letter, written by him to the then Prince of Orange.

It is likewyses resolved, that the indemnity offered by the meeting of the Estates shall only extend to these belonging to the garrison, and ther servants, either Protestants or Papists, and that the persones who are to have the benefite of the said indemnitie shall be expressly named, if the Duke desyre it, and that the indemnity to be granted by this meeting shall containe a clause, that it shall be ratified in the next Parliament. As to the last article of the paper, it is agreed that these of the foresaid garrison who please to retire with the forsaid Duke, shall have libertie either to goe out of the Kingdome, or to stay in it as they think fitt, and shall have libertie to dispose of ther goods, and have safe conduct granted to them for that effect, the same being desired befor dissolutione of this meeting of the Estates, but that they may not take out with them any armes, amunition, or store, but what they shall instruct to belong properly to them. And lastly. It is agreed, that the officers and souldiers of the garisone shall have payment of ther by gone arrears, but refuses to give them assurance of ther being continowed in employment.

Which resolves of the Estates being signed by the Lord President, were delyvered to the saids two Earles to be intimate to the Duke of Gordon, and warrand was given to them, to offer him safe conduct to come doune to the Parliament house, or some house near the same, for facilitating the treaty with him incaice he acquiesce to the resolutiones of the meeting.

The Earles of Louthian and Tweeddale having reported that the Duke of Gordon refused to obey the order sent him, and to acquiesce to the

resolutions of the Estates, upon the paper given in by him they granted the order following.

The meeting of the Estates of this Kingdome doe hereby give order and command to two Heralds with ther coates of armes displayed, and two Pursevants with two Trumpeters to repair to the Castle of Edinburgh, and after sound of trumpet to require the Duke of Gordoun, and any officers and souldiers under him of the popish religion to remove immediately out of the Castle of Edinburgh, and to leave the charge therof to the nixt commanding officer, being a Protestant, under the paine of treason. And incaice of his refuseall, they require the Protestant officers and souldiers in the Castle to endeavour to secure the garrison, and grants assurance to them in that caice of six moneths pay as a reward for ther service, and incaice they cannot secure the garrison, that they remove themselves out of the Castle, under the foresaid paine of treason.

The Estates did lykwayes emitt the Proclamation following.

Forasmuch as the Estates of this Kingdome have, by the heraulds, pursevants, and trumpets, in the ordinary forme, required George Duke of Gordone and other Papists within the Castle of Edinburgh, to remove out of the said Castle, which he and they do now possess against law: They have therfor found it necessar, likas they have directed these presents to the Lyon and his brethren heralds and pursevants, &c., to pass to the mercat cross of Edinburgh, and ther in the ordinary way, after sound of trumpets, to discharge and prohibite all the subjects of this Kingdome, to converse with, abbette, or assist the said Duke, or any remaining with him within the said Castle, at any tyme after the proclamation herof, under the pain of treason, and ordaines the heralds and pursevants to make publication hereof accordingly, for the which these presents shall be their warrand.

The meeting of the Estates doe give order, and warrand to the magistrates of Edinburgh, to sett guards to the avenues leading to the Castle of Edinburgh, and posterne gates therof, that no persones may go into the said Castle.

VIII.

ORDER OF THE CONVENTION ON LORD DUNDIES INTERCOMMUNING WITH THE DUKE OF GORDON.

18 March 1689.

Information being given of the Lord Dundies being at the head of a pairtie of sixtie horse, and of his intercommuneing with the Duke of Gordoune over the Castle wall, the following order was given.

The meeting of the Estates of the Kingdome of Scotland doe order and warrand the Earle of Levine to cause beat drums, and call together all persones, who will assisst him and joyn with the train bands, to secure that no men be put into the Castle of Edinburgh, and no persone be suffered to sallie out therof, and to dissipat any persones who may be together in armes, without warrand of the Estates, and to secure the peace of the toune.

IX.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION OF ESTATES, 19TH AND 20TH MARCH 1689.

19 March 1689.

Ordered that upon the Duke of Gordoun's desire a safe guard be given to James Wincester, ensigne of the Castle Company, for speaking with Sir James Grant, and Mr Thomas Gordoun in the Session House this day, in presence of one of the members of the meeting. But to be safely sent back once this night, and ane warrand given to the Earle of Leven and Captain Lawder for that effect, and the warrand formerly given by the Lord President to Skermorlie, Captain Lawder, and Captain Marshall, to speak with the Duke of Gordon was approven by the meeting.

Mr Wincester being called, gave in the instructiones he had from the Duke of Gordoun anent the surrender of the Castle of Edinburgh in writ, as followes:—

1. You are to advyse with Sir James Grant and Mr Thomas Gordon, my ordinary counsellors in law, and any other lawiers they shall think fit to call, how the officers, souldiers, and others within the garison, can be secured in law, as to their lives and fortunes.

2. It being altogether dangerous for me and my garisone to remove out of the Castle, whilst the toun is so crouded, with such numbers of strangers, who have already taken possession of posts formerly guarded by the toun of Edinburgh, I desyre the saids posts may be returned to the toun, and these strangers removed out of it.

3. Since so much aversione was expressed against some of the Highland clanns being comprehended in the number of my friends, I'm satisfied to restrict it to the number of twenty Protestants and twenty Papists, who are or have bein in publick employment, either at my desire or procurement, without taking the test or other oaths, established by act of Parliament, and this besydes those within the garison.

4. Since it was absolutly refused that such Protestants as might incline to stay in the Castle after my departure, should be secured in their employments, I desire that such of them as are still here may have six moneths pay, besydes what shall be due to them, for defraying their charges to any place off or within the kingdome, whither their ocasioness may lead them.

5. That, after the place is given up, the Lieut.-Govemour may have the use of his lodgeings for eight or ten dayes for clearing accounts with the garison, and that my servants and others may have a competent tyme for dispatching their affairs within the Castle.

6. That the officers and others may have liberty for themselves and servants to carry ther swords within tounes, and to make use of horses and ordinary travelling armes in the countrey, and so long as they shall stay within the Kingdome, that they may have their abode in any place of it, according to their interest or conveniency.

7. That my officers and souldiers may have the disposall of the stores, or a competent gratitude on that head.

8. That I may have a pass to waitt on his Majestie any tyme within these three moneths, to give him account of my reasones for putting this place in the States hands, and to return safely.

Lastly, That I may have a guard of fourty horse, with officers conforme, of my oune choseing, to attend me north, and that I may keep them together whilst I am within the Kingdome, the lyke being granted to my grandfather at the pacificatione 1645 or 1646.

This, with the first and last articles of my former propositiones, which were granted.

GORDON.

To which the Meeting of Estates returned answer as followes:

1. That the Duke's officiating in the government of the Castle of Edinburgh, or in any other employment, or his quitting of his command at this tyme, shall not import any acknowledgment or conviction against him, or any persone under his command, of their being Papists; but the Duke, and these persones that are at present in the garison with him, and the servants, alsweill Papists as Protestants, shall have a full indemnity from the Estates for any thing done be them, or either of them, at any tyme against the lawes of the Kingdome; and that the said indemnity shall containe the names of ilk one of the saids persons, if they desyre the same, and a clause, that it shall be ratified in the nixt Parliament.

2. The Estates doe allow, that Mr Wincester consult Sir James Grant and Mr Thomas Gordoun, or any other lawiers they shall please to call, anent the securetie to be given to the Duke, and his officers and souldiers, and others within the garrisone, as to their lives and fortunes, the same being alwayes done in presence of one of the members of the meeting.

3. That the Duke, and these of the garisone who shall please to retire with him, shall have full libertie to goe out of the Kingdome, or to stay in it,

and to dispose of their goods, which they shall instruct to belong to themselves, not being armes or amunition, as they shall think fitt, and shall have safe conduct for that effect, the same being desired befor dissolutione of the meeting of the Estates.

4. That all the officers and souldiers of the garison shall have punctuall payment of their bygone arrears; and the Liuetennant-governor shall have a secure place, with a guard appointed for him, to stay in the toune for eight dayes after the surrender, for cleiring compts with the garisone. And that the Duke's servants, not exceeding three at a tyme, shall be allowed the liberty to goe into the Castle, and to return as oft as they please, for the said space of eight dayes, for carrying away their goods and dispatching their affairs in the castle.

5. That the Duke, and these who are presently with him in garisone, shall be allowed, dureing their abode in the toune of Edinburgh, to carry their swords, and to keep their horses and ordinary armes, as any of the rest of the leidges are allowed to doe by law.

6. That the Duke shall have the guard of fourty horsemen, to be named and commanded as the Estates shall be pleased to order, who shall be maintained upon the publick charge, and shall have orders to convey the Duke home to the place of his ordinary residence in the countrey, and immediatly to returne; the Duke finding cautione, that the said guard shall not be any way hindered or molested in the returne.

7. The Estates agree to give a gratification to the officers and souldiers in the garisone, according to the condition they shall find the stores in at the tyme of surrendering of the castle.

20th March, 1689.—A warrand given for a safe conduct to Ensign Wincester to come furth of the Castle of Edinburgh at 10 a clock to-morrow, and to returne befor night in the termes of the former warrand.

X.

ANSWER OF THE ESTATES TO THE PROPOSALS OF THE DUKE OF GORDON.

21st March, 1689.

The meeting of the Estates having considered the proposals made this day from the Duke of Gordon. As to the first proposall, anent the remitting the posts and avenues unto the toune's guards, the Estates doe agree, that the posts and avenues be remitted to the toune's guardes, and the Earl of Levine's regiment that day, wheron he shall come out of the Castle.

To the second, anent his retinew, the Estates agree, that the Duke shall have what retinew he pleases, to attend him for fourteen dayes after he goes from this toune, not exceeding fourtie in number, he finding baile, that he and his retinew shall demeane themselves peaceably in their journey homeward; and that he shall dissmis those who are not his servants, within twenty-four houres after he comes to his oune house.

As to the third, anent the indemnitie, the Estates doe agree, that Gordon of Auchintoule, and Gordone of Clostirran, shall be indemnified as to ther acting in publict employment, being Papists. As also they declair, that they will grant passes to any Papists, being churchmen, that he shall condescend upon to remove out of the kingdome, they finding cautione that they shall remove within twenty dayes.

The Estates doe allow the Duke of Gordon, and all the Papists in the garisone under his command, not prohibited by law, to live wher ther estates are, or their ocasioness necessarily call them, they behaving themselves peaceably.

The Estates doe agree, that those of the garisone may take their goods out of the castle, they doing the same in the day tyme; and that the garisone shall not be burdened with instructing what goods were theirs. But if other persones shall challenge any of the goods as belonging to them, and instruct the same, they must part with them.

The Estates doe allow the Liuetenant-governour and ane servant to remaine eight dayes in his lodgeings of the Castle, after surrendering it, for clearing his affairs.

As to ther carieing out armes properly belonging to themselves, the Estates doe allow the commissionat Officers and Gentlemen to carrie out ther own ordinary fyre-arnes; but as to others in the garisone, the Estates will not allow it, bot will pay them for the fyre-arnes properly belonging to them. And declairs, that the Duke may carry his own wearing armes, as others of the leidges.

Incaice the Duke of Gordoun acquiesce to thir articles, the Estates nominate and appoynt Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorly, Sir John Dalrymple, and Mr William Hamiltoune, to meet with Sir James Grant and Mr Thomas Gordoune, to see the articles extended, and the treaty to be at an end to-morrow bee ten a clock in the forenoon.

Ordered, that upon the Duke of Gordoun's giving up the Castle to the Estates, the inter-communing against him and the garisone be taken away.

XI.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF CONVENTION.

22nd March 1689.—The Lord President did intimate to the meeting, that the Duke of Gordoun had returned his answer, that he would not give up the castle upon the terms offered to him by the meeting of Estates.

27th March, 1689.—It is ordered by the meeting of the Estates, that upon the Duke of Gordoune's beating of a parley, Major-General M'Ky give warrand to parley with him from tyme to tyme, as he shall see cause, and to report to the meeting.

XII.

LORD BALCARRAS'S ACCOUNT OF THE DUKE OF GORDON HAVING REFUSED TO FIRE UPON THE TOWN, [APRIL 4, 1689.]

I have given this account the more full, because it was insinuated, after

my Lord Dundie went to the Highlands, that severall of your friends broke their engagements to him, and did not go along, but was so far from being in any such engagements, that they would have disobeyed you if they had gone; for your positive commands were sent with George Hay, that if we saw there could be nothing done in the conventions, then we should quit it, and keep as quiet as we could till farther orders, and until you could send us assistance from Ireland; but the design of going to Sterling made the one go for the other; so when that was ruined by the faint-heartedness of the Marquiss of Alholle and some others, all that knew your commands endeavoured to retire home and save themselves; nor did even the Viscount of Dundie resolve to meddle until he had your orders, except he had been obliged to save himself from a party that came to apprehend him. Notwithstanding of the difficulties your friends had met with, some of them did not give over hopes of breaking the designs of the Convention, and get another to meet in some safe place. That which gave rise to this was the coming down of the Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Dunmore. The Duke, from the noise of the invasion, had appeared sincerely in your interest, and I must do him justice to say, I never saw any man more concerned than he was for the steps his son had made in England after your Majesty was gone. He joyned in all the meetings we had for your service, and employed what interest he could to get commissioners for the shires he was concerned in chosen as we wished; nor could anything be complained of him but his too long stay at London; for if all your friends had appeared (as they promised) the first day of the Convention, they had by far been the strongest; and if Scotland had then declared for you, when you was almost master of Ireland, the Prince of Orange had but passed his time ill in England, considering he had France to deal with on the other side. This made us extremely concerned, since that we could do no more in that Convention, either to get another to counteract them, or to get them forced from Edinburgh, which would have made a great delay before the time they could have had another Convention established, and which they intended to have set up at Glasgow, if they had been forced from

Edinburgh. The only way could be thought of by all your friends to get this done, was to engage the Duke of Gordon to fire upon the town, which certainly would have broke the Convention, for they always expected some design of forcing them from Edinburgh. In this resolution, no man seemed so forward as the Marquiss of Atholle; for it was of great concern to have him so; for after the Earl of Mar had entirely quitted us, and by that they had got Sterling in their hands, there was no man in the nation (considering how well affected his Hyghdanders were) could be so useful, if your friends had retired northwards, as was intended, till they had received your orders from Ireland; and that which made us depend on him (for all the escapes he had made) was the great influence the Earle of Dunmore had with him; and he applied all his endeavours to keep him to his duty, and acted in all your concerns with as much zeal and affection (till he was made prisoner) as any ever served you.

The Countess of Erroll, who had kept intelligence with Duke Gordon, from the time the Castle was blocked up, undertook to let him know our advice, which accordingly she did; but he absolutely refused to do any thing but defend himself until he had your Majesty's orders; so our whole designe was broke, for since there was no way found out to make them leave Edinburgh, all of us seeing that there was no more to be expected either from the Convention or from those that pretended to be our friends, left the town and returned home.

XIII.

ORDER OF ESTATES DENOUNCIXG THE DUKE OF GORDON AND THE GARRISON OF THE CASTLE REBELS, MAY 15, 1689.

The Committee of Estates, considering that the Duke of Gordoune, and the officers and souldiers under him, of the Popish Religion, being charged by Heralds and Pursevants, after sound of trumpet, to remove out of the Castle of Edinburgh, and to leave the charge thereof to the next commanding officer, being a Protestant, under the paine of treason,

conforme to a warrand granted be the Estates of this kingdome, of the ffyfteenth of March last, they have most contemptuously disobeyed the said charge. Therefor the Committee of Estates doe declaire the said Duke of Gordoune, and other persones aforesaid, rebels and fugitives, and grants order and warrand to Heralds and Pursevants to passe to the Market Croce of Edinburgh, and other places needfull; and there, after sound of trumpet, to denunce the said Duke of Gordoune, and other persones foresaid, rebels, and put them to the home, and ordaine ther goods to be escheate and inbrought to his Majesties use, and also that they prohibite and discharge all persones whatsoever to converse or correspond any wayes with the said Duke of Gordoune, or those remaineing with him in the said Castle of Edinburgh, under the paine of treason.

XIV.

EXTRACTS FROM A NEWS-LETTER PRINTED AT LONDON, JUNE
7, 1689, ENTITLED AN ACCOUNT FROM SCOTLAND AND
LONDONDERRY, OF THE PROCEEDING AGAINST THE DUKE OF
GORDON IN THE CASTLE OF EDINBURGH.

On Tuesday the 21st May, there were a great many bombs thrown from the south battery; seven of which fell into the Castle; one fell at the guard-hall; another on the half-moon; a third dismounted a cannon; all the rest fell within the Castle: but as yet we cannot give any account what loss they had by them. All this was done betwixt ten and twelve at night.

The same night the Castle hath shot very many shots against the batteries, and they against them.

Wednesday, 22.—The Castle, about three a'clock in the morning, put out two flaggs, and a little after that fired three canon; two of which were towards the south battery; one of which broke through a house that is next to the battery, and a centinel that was standing near to that house had only his hands a little hurt by the broken glass that came from the windows. The other was shot toward the north-east battery, which did no harm.

The same day, in the forenoon, the Castle fired many small shot down to the Town, which only killed one woman, two men, two horses, and a dog; upon which the citizens were very much irritat, and in the night time they did make up a battery of woolpacks, dung, and many other things necessary for that use; and it was from one side of the street to the other, above a man's sight, in one night's time; which being seen by the Duke next morning, he caused two parleys to be beat; at the second, the Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay and one of the Magistrates went to know his meaning; which was, that they should remove that battery that was made in the street, and he would not shoot any more down upon the town. So they asked him, Why he shot yesterday? He answered. That as he had got no sleep this two nights before, he being sleepy went to rest, and it was unknown, and without order of him, that any shot should have been sent down upon the town. Upon which the Magistrate and the Colonel took his word of honour, and so pulled down the battery.

Yesterday there were several bombs thrown against the Castle, five of which went into the Castle; one of them fell into the top of the big house, which sunk down through three storys; another fell into their well. If it had not been for the greatness of the rains and snow, I could have given you a greater account, for there can be no canon placed near to the batteries, by reason of the sappiness of the ground.

Thursday, 23.—At 12 o'clock at night, the south battery went in agitation against the Castle, which was performed extraordinary well, to wit, the battery sent in seven bombs within the wall, five of which fell upon the principal house; some of them are asserted to have fallen into the crown chamber, the fire being seen to come plainly out of the windows; but what damage at that time was more done, we cannot give an exact account of. They continued playing yesternight till 12 a'clock, which mightily allarms the besieged; and it is confidently reported, that there has one made his escape out of the Castle, who says, since the first night of their casting their bombs there are fifteen or sixteen killed; and there are several

of their houses demolished, that they were forced to retire to their vaults.

This day, about three a'clock in the morning, the bombs fell a playing again, and after they had done some damage, by breaking down their balcony, with the stance of the centry, they gave over; and soon after that, the great guns that are upon the north battery fell a playing upon the Castle, and the Castle back upon them, which continued for the space of four hours; no hurt being done all this time to the battery, but they disabled several of the guns in the castle.

On Sunday, 26th, the batteries play'd upon the Castle the whole day, and hath done a great deal of damage by their battering of the walls, but more particularly by the bombs, there being a great many shot, and many of them fell into the principal house, and dismounted several of their guns; but they fired little out of the Castle, which makes us believe that he hath spent most part of his ammunition. There are several of his men come out, and amongst them there are one Dumbar, a pretended gunner, and Mr Charles Foster, their minister, who did as much execution as any of them; and their report is, that the most part of them left behind would be content to be out too, saving only some of the Duke's friends and servants, who waits upon him now, he being very ill, and in great sickness, for he is forced to ly in vaults, for the principal bouse is sadly beat down on some parts with the bombs and the great canon on the north battery, which does fire both night and day upon him.

Just now, since the writing of the last line, I was an eye-witness, within the battery, where there was fourteen bombs cast in two hours time, four of which fell into the principal house, and broke down the flag-staff; all the rest, excepting one that fell short, were all within the Castle. The execution must needs be great.

May 29.—The Duke of Gordon kept King Charles's birth-day, and put out his flagg and fired many of his great guns, and made a great bonfire in the Castle, and they all seemed to be very merry and joyful, and they solemnized the whole day very heartily, with great acclamations and

drinking of healths.

Ditto.—There were one or two bonfires made in the streets here, where several disaffected persons gathered together, who had the impudence to drink the healths of King James, the Duke of Gordon, and the Viscount of Dundee, and wished them prosperity in all their actions; upon which the Magistrates ordered the guards to disperse them; but a great rabble getting together, they could not till a greater company come down, where were several of the rabble taken and put in prison, who continue there as yet, and it is thought they will be severely punished; but they are not yet called in to give their reasons why they did it.

There is another new battery made on the north side of the Castle, which by all appearance will do more hurt than all the rest, it being the highest, and as well fortified as any of them.

May 30.—The batteries this night hath play'd very hard upon the Castle, and the Castle upon them. The loss of the persons that are in the battery is nothing, as none being killed; but what is in the Castle we cannot give an account.

XV.

EXTRACT FROM WILLIAM GORDON'S HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF GORDON, vol. ii. p. 604.

On the 7th of June, John Grant appeared at the place appointed, and gave the signal that there was no hopes of succour; wherefore the Duke, having never received a letter nor orders from the King ever since he went into the Castle, though he had written often to his Majesty; and this I know, *ex certa scientia*, to be true, that there came from the King when in Ireland, either five or six letters, and were safely delivered to a Lady of quality at Edinburgh, all of them superscribed by the King, and subscribed by Melfort. The Lady had many occasions to have sent to the Duke, yet she kept all of them up; whether out of ill-will she bore to the Duke, or out of obedience to some secret orders she might have received from the

secretary, I shall not determine; but one of them it must be, since she had so many opportunities of delivering them: Nay, they were concealed from him after he came out of the Castle, and he never heard a word of them to his dying hour, nor did ever his son, this present Duke of Gordon, hear of them until the year 1724, that I was in a person of quality's, and he told me of them, and that he yet had two of them by him; and that the rest were lost or fallen by hand in the year 1725, when the papers of that noble family were in some disorder; and these two letters yet extant did Mr William Fraser of Fraserfield and myself see delivered to this present Duke of Gordon, by that person of quality, in the Duke's garden at Gordon Castle, in the latter end of October 1724; and till that time, none of the family of Gordon ever heard of them.

There were some, and still are, who blame the Duke of Gordon for staying in the Castle at that time, and not going to the north and raising his friends, vassals, and followers there, for the King's service: But these men must be of very scanty knowledge, who think that he either in honour or safety could leave such an important place, committed to his trust, without the King's express orders for so doing: And the King, in the last of these letters, heartily thanks him for the resolute defence he had made of that Castle; desires him to stay there, and appoint such deputy-lieutenants in the north as he should be answerable for; renews his Commission of Lieutenancy; and promises him relief in a short time.

XIV.

COPIES OF THE TWO LETTERS ABOVE-MENTIONED FROM KING
JAMES THE SEVENTH TO THE DUKE OF GORDON
WHEN IN EDINBURGH CASTLE, 1689.

JAMES R.

Right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, We greet you well. Upon the informations we have had of your excellent deportment in our service. We sent you our royal thanks from St Germans

some time ago; but now since our arrival into this our kingdom, we have been again informed of the continuance of your zeal for Us, and your despising the malicious threats of that illegal Convention, and their wicked and unjust attempts against you, that yet you are resolved to stand firm to our Royal interest; which, as it is an action worthy of your Family, so eminent in their constant services to and sufferings for the Crown, so it is worthy of our Royal esteem and most hearty thanks at present: And whenever it shall please Almighty God to put us in a condition, shall oblige us to make our rewards equal your services, of which you may rest most assured.

We think it fit for our service, that our Castle of Edinburgh be kept from the power of the rebels as long as may be; and we assure you, we shall not be very long of bringing such a force into that Kingdom, as shall quickly retrieve it; but we leave absolutely to you to stay there, or to go to the north to your interest, to put them in arms for our interest; which that ye may the better do. We are resolved to send you our commission of Lieutenant, as you had it before, so soon as We have a safe conveyance for it. In the meantime, it is our express will and pleasure, that the last commission of Lieutenancy you had be revived, to all intents and purposes, during our royal pleasure, with express orders to all whom it concerns, to obey you as our Lieutenant aforesaid. And you are hereby empowered, to act according to the tenor thereof, and powers therein contained, to suppress all who shall rise in arms against our authority, within the limits of your jurisdiction; and to send such troops as you shall think fit for our service, to the assistance of others.

We do nowise doubt, of your acting for us in this conjuncture, as becomes yourself; and therefore We shall add no more to this, but to require you to send us your advice, what you think may be best for our service, in all the branches thereof. And so assuring you of our royal favour, and declaring this to be a sufficient warrant for what ye shall do in our service, we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Dublin Castle,

the 29th day of March, 1689, and the fifth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

MELFORT.

Directed, To our right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin and
Counsellor, George Duke of Gordon.

JAMES R.

Right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, We greet you well. Sometime ago we wrote a letter to you, a duplicate whereof is here inclosed; but that we are informed fell into the hands of our enemies, together with the officer that carried it to you. We do still find more and more reason, to approve of your exemplary loyalty and service to us, shown in the defence of that our Castle, of which, whenever it shall please God to put it in our power, you shall reap the benefit due to your merit.

And since we do not now think it fit, that you should leave our said Castle, (where your presence is so necessary for our service,) so long as you are in a condition to defend it, we do hereby empower you, to make choice of one or more persons, such as you shall think fit, to be your depute-lieutenants, within the whole bounds of your last Commission of Lieutenancy, with power to them to act, as if you yourself were present, that thereby our service may suffer as little prejudice as possibly can in your absence. And for doing all that is above said, this shall be to you and all others a sufficient warrant and authority. So hoping that you shall have good success in all that is relating to our service, we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Dublin Castle, the 17th of May, 1689, and in the fifth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

MELFORT.

Directed, To our right trusty, and right entirely beloved Cousin and
Counsellor, George Duke of Gordon.

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