

The Tragical History Of The Stuarts

From

The rise of that family in
the year 1086 to the death
of her late majesty Queen Anne, with whom
determined the name of
STUARTS



By D. Jones Gentleman

1717

**The
Tragical History Of The
Stuarts**

From

**The rise of that family in
the year 1086 to the death
of her late majesty Queen Anne, with whom
determined the name of**

STUARTS

By

D. Jones Gentleman

Originally part of

THE

SECRET HISTORY OF WHITEHALL

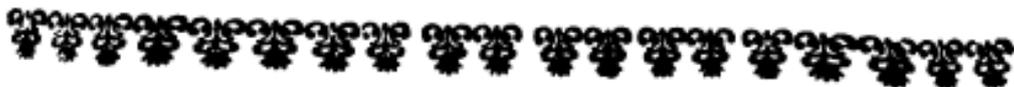


THE
TRAGICAL HISTORY
OF THE
STUARTS,

FROM

The first Rise of that Family, in
the Year 1086. to the Death of her
late Majesty Queen ANNE, with
whom determin'd the Name of the
STUARTS.

By *D. JONES*, Gent.



The Original Front Page to the History of The Stuarts



The Author of This Book



ONES, DAVID (fl. 1676–1720), captain in the horse guards, historical writer, and translator, born at Llwynrhys, in the parish of Llanbadarn-Odwyn, Cardiganshire, was the son of the Rev. John Jones of the same place, one of the earliest nonconformist ministers in that part of Wales.

He was educated at a school conducted by an elder brother, Samuel, near Richmond, Middlesex. According to Dunton, he was ‘designed for the ministry, but began to teach school, and from that employment turned author and corrector for the press’ (Life and Errors, ed. Nichols, i. 181).

He himself states that he went to France in 1675, and shortly afterwards was appointed secretary interpreter to the Marquis of Louvois (Secret Hist. pt. i. Pref.) He certainly entered the English army, and is said to have become captain in the 1st or royal regiment of dragoons soon after its formation, and to have been with that regiment in the battle of the Boyne in 1690.

He appears to have spent much of his time on the continent, where he acquired an accurate and extensive knowledge of modern languages.

The Chief Work Connected With His Name Is

‘The Secret History of White Hall from the Restoration of Charles II down to the Abdication of the late King James,’ 6 parts, London, 1697, 8vo. He also wrote ‘A Continuation of the Secret History, &c., to 1696 ... together with the Tragical History of the Stuarts,’ London, 1697, 8vo; a second edition of both volumes was published, London, 1717, 12mo, and another edition, Nassau, pt. i. 1813, 8vo. The history consists of a series of letters purporting to have been written by Jones to an English peer between January 1676 and February 1689, and professes to divulge the secret diplomatic transactions that had passed between the English and French courts during the previous twenty years. Little reliance can, however, be placed on these pretensions. From 1705 to 1720 Jones published annually ‘A Compleat History of Europe,’ which reached a total of eighteen volumes. A dedicatory epistle in vol. xvi. is subscribed ‘D. J.’ Volume vi. of the series is only another edition of ‘The Compleat History of Europe, from 1676 to 1697, written by a Gentleman who kept an exact Journal of all transactions for above these twenty years,’ London, 1698, 8vo.

Other Works by The Same Author are The Following:

1. ‘*The Wars and Causes of them between England and France from William I to William III, with a Treatise of the Salique Law.* By D. J., and revised by R. C., Esq.,’ 1698; reprinted in vol. i. of ‘Harleian Miscellany’ in 1744; another edition, London, 1808, 4to.

2. **'History of the Turks, 1655–1701,'** 2 vols., London (Bell & Harris), 1701, 8vo. The title-page has no author's name, but the dedication to John, lord Cutts, is subscribed by D. Jones. Another history of the Turks, by Savage, was issued almost contemporaneously, and an epigram on the two rival historians is preserved in 'Notes and Queries,' 3rd ser. x. 349.

3. **'Life of James II, late King of England, &c.,'** illustrated with medals, London, 1702, 8vo; 3rd edit., London, 1705.

4. **'Pezron's Antiquities of Nations,'** translated from the French and dedicated to Lord Halifax, London, 1706, 8vo.

5. **'The History of the House of Brunswick, &c.,'** London, 1715, 8vo. Jones also states, in his introduction to his 'Tragical History of the Stuart Family' (appended to his 'Continuation of his Secret History'), that he had revised and made additions to 'The Detection of Court and State of England by Roger Coke,' 2nd edit., London, 8vo, 1696 (cf. Dunton, *Life and Errors*, loc. Cit.)

According to James Crossley [q. v.], Jones was the author of separately published biographies of Sir Stephen Fox (London, 1717), of Dr. South, of the Earl of Halifax, and of Dr. Radcliffe (Williams, *Enwogion Ceredigion*, p. 122). A 'Vindication against the Athenian Mercury concerning Usury,' attributed by Watt to Captain David Jones, is a reply to a sermon of David Jones (1663–1724?) [q. v.], and there is nothing to show that the captain was its author.

[Introductions, &c., to Jones's different works; Notes and Queries, 1st ser. xii. 267, 4th ser. xi. 155; Williams's *Enwogion Ceredigion*; British Museum Catalogue.]

Republication Notes - April 2015

Because some pages of the original book were either missing, damaged or poorly printed, these were extracted from an earlier book titled "The Continuation of The Secret History of Whitehall" published by the same author in 1695. The section on Whitehall has been split off from this book and re-published as a separate book.

Additionally, because of the old style typeface and smudged print use had to be made of voice recognition software to dictate the contents, while on the better parts normal OCR software was used, hence there is a variability in spelling, some of the old words being retained while others have been converted into the modern spelling.

<36624015010013 **Left the original library stamp.**

<36624015010013

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek





The Tragical History of The Stuarts

By

D. Jones - Gentleman



THE reign of Duncane King of Scotland, (right) who came to the possession of the Scottish Crown upon the disease of his uncle Malcolm in the year 1040 while one Brancho, Thane of Lochaber (from whom the Stewarts the descended) was gathering the King's revenues, within the bounds of his own jurisdiction, and withal somewhat severely punishing such as he found to be notorious offenders; it caused a mutiny in the country, and a conspiracy was formed against Bancho, bio parcel of riotous and lawless fellows, who first spoiled his goods, and then assaulted his person, giving him many dangerous wounds, so that he had much ado to escape with his life.



But as soon as he found himself little recovered, and in a condition to travel, he determined to repair to court, in order to require satisfaction for the damages he had sustained; where, after he had made complaint to the King of the same, and of the indignities that he had been offered to him, he at length prevailed to have an Herald sent to the offenders, to cite them to make their personal appearance, to answer to such matters as should be laid to their charge.

But they, instead of complying with the summons, entertained the messenger first with all manner of reproaches: and when they had as despitefully used him, both in words and actions, as they could, slew him out right: and so entering into a Confederacy with their friends and kinsfolk's, as expecting to be called to a severe account by an armed power from the King, they chose one Macdonald for their captain, who readily enough embraced the command, and shortly after routed some troops, sent against them, under the conduct of the nobleman, whom they took prisoner, and afterwards slew; with such success they were not so little elated.

Precariousness of The Government Due Lawlessness

Hereupon the King called a counsel, to consult what to do, among whom Macbeth was one; who exclaiming much against the precariousness of the government, and the mistaken lenity of the King towards notorious offenders, did notwithstanding promise, that if they were pleased to leave that of their to his and Bancho's management, he did not doubt but in a very short time to give good account of the rebels.

Hereupon he and Bancho were joined in a commission to go against them, and in some time set out with a body of men towards Lochaber; the fame of whose approach struck the rebels

with such panic fear, that they dispersed in great numbers, leaving their captain Macdonald almost destitute, who notwithstanding, with the small remains he had left with him, adventurously gave him battle; but being routed, he fled for refuge to an adjacent Castle, and finding himself environed by his enemies on all sides, and no way left for his escape, the first slew his wife and children, and then laid violent hands upon himself, to prevent, as he dreaded, a severer punishment.

Rebellion Suppressed by Macbeth



This rebellion being thus happily suppressed by the good conduct and management of Macbeth and Bancho, another more dangerous storm, upon the neck of it, threatens Scotland; for Sweno, King of Norway, landed at Fife, with a puissant army, designing no less than to make an entire conquest of the kingdom.

Duncane, to obviate as much as might be the intentions of the enemy, raises forces with the utmost diligence, and next to himself entrusted the command of them with the two aforesaid chieftains, Macbeth and Bancho; who had that a little while before done him signal service against his rebellious subjects.

Near Culross the two armies engaged, and fought for a considerable time, with incredible obstinacy; but at last the Danes prevailed, and the Scots were totally routed, and Duncane fled to the Castle of Bertha, which Sweno laid close siege to forthwith.

Macbeth Raises an Army

Macbeth in the meantime rallies and raises more forces, to whom the King, by the advice of Bancho, sent word that he should not march to his relief till he had further orders.

The King in the interim entertains a feigned treaty of surrender with Sweno; and to elude the matter yet further, sent his army, as a donative, some provisions of ale and bread out of the Castle, but had first mixed both with the juice of banewort, a noxious herb; which did so intoxicate the Danish soldiers, who feasted a greedily thereon, that they generally fell all fast asleep; upon which Macbeth had orders sent him to march up without delay, and fall upon them; which he did with that success, that the whole army was slain, save the King, and about ten men more, who with great difficulty fled to their ships,

But the rejoicings made for this victory where scarce cold, when another Danish army sent by Canutus, to the assistance of Sweno, landed at Kingshorn, which were also encountered by Macbeth and Bancho and utterly routed.

Some time after this, as Buchanan, Boethius, and other Scotch writers relate, though in a different manner, as Macbeth and Bancho, without any other company, were going to a place called Forres, where the King resided; it fortuneed that they met three men upon the road, of a very strange aspect and habit; one of them saluted Macbeth, Thane of Angus, another of Murray, and the third, King of Scotland; with which kind of salutation they were both very much surprised, and Bancho said to the women, why so unkind to me, as to bestow nothing upon me, when you have assigned to my companion not only high preferments, but even the kingdom of Scotland? Nay, but replied the first of them, we have greater favours in store for thee; he shall reign indeed, but with an unhappy end, and leaves none of his posterity to inherit the crown: but of thee shall those be born who shall govern the Scotch nation by a long succession of continued descent.

And this I take to be the grounds of Dr Haylin's saying in his *Scotia*, that it was strangely foretold this Bancho, above three hundred years before it began to be fulfilled, that they indeed he should not be King, but that out of his loins should come a race of Kings, that should for ever rule Scotland.

This apparition, for so it was afterwards interpreted, made at first no great impressions upon the spirits even of the one or the other, so as that they made no rather use of it than to jeer each other ever and anon therewith; Bancho frequently calling Macbeth, by way of ridicule King of Scotland, and the other is often entertaining him with the appellation of father of many Kings: till such time, which happened not long after, that the Thane of one of the aforesaid places being condemned and executed for treason, Macbeth was bountifully of the invested by the King in all his lands, livings and offices; which being interpreted by him as a favourable presage and as it were a praludium towards the accomplishment of the aforesaid prediction concerning him, it raised his hopes mightily: and he begins to set all his wits on work, and to employ all his engines, among whom Bancho was chief, who gave all the assistance he could in his bloody designs, to attain to the Crown; which not long after, by a barbarous parricide (for a good King is father of his country) he accomplished having slain the King at Inverness, or (as others write) at Botgosvane, in the sixth year of his reign; and so was forthwith crowned at Scone.

Macbeth Passes Wholesome Laws to Ingratiate Himself with The People

Macbeth, to ingratiate himself with the people, without which no government, though ever so just, can long subsist, gets several good and wholesome laws enacted for the public weal; but this was an effect rather than of policy, than any natural disposition and good genius in him, as afterwards appeared: and as tyrants are always uneasy, he was never without dreadful apprehensions he should be served the same sauce himself, as he had done by his predecessor; and the prediction aforementioned did not a little contribute thereunto, especially that part of it that referred to the posterity of Bancho's attaining in time to the possession of the diadem.

And as nothing is more terrible to a wicked usurper than the thoughts of a successor, especially without his own line; former Confederacies, for the attainment of the supreme power, being now disregarded, and quite effaced with the cares to secure it; for indeed there is but little faithfulness to be expected from associates in villainy, and their mutual engagements ever so solemn: he makes it his whole business to cut off Bancho, who had been so instrumental to advance him, (the very practice of out Richard the third toward Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham) and therefore, in order to put his projected design in execution, he invites him, together with his son Fleance, to a supper, which he had prepared for them.

They suspecting no treachery in the matter, made no scruple to go, and feasted merrily; and when all was over, prepared to return to their own lodgings, but they were on their way thither, without the palace gates, to prevent the suspicion of the King's having any hand in it, assaulted by several ruffians, whom he had hired for that purpose, who slew the father outright, but the son through the favour of the dark night happily escaped; and being sensible of the danger he was in, if he stayed in Scotland, from the jealousy and malice of Macbeth, who, he was now fully satisfied, had contrive the murder of his father, though the other endeavoured all he could to suppress it, and make appear it was only a matter of chance, he fled into Wales.

He had not been there long, but that he grew into great favour and esteem with Trahern, Prince of that part of the country called North Wales, but into far greater intimacy, and even to an unlawful the familiarity with his daughter, so as that she was got with child by him; which at length coming to the ears of her father, he was so enraged with the dishonour done to his family by this fugitive, and so sensibly touched with his violation of the rules of hospitality, that nothing less would satisfy him and his glad, and his slew him.

The daughter he also severely used, who was at last brought to bed of a son, whom they named Walter; who, though but meanly educated by his grandfather's commandments, did notwithstanding prove to be a person of high resolution, and expert in business.

This Walter, having upon a time happened to fall out with one of his companions, occasioned chiefly by the others reproaching of him with his illegitimacy, and calling him bastard; he became so enraged thereat, that he flew upon him, and slew him outright; but bethinking himself immediately of what he had done, with the great danger he was in, if he stayed any longer in that country, he resolved to flee, and make the best of his way for Scotland, his father's native country; where he had not long arrived, but he happened into the company of some English gentleman, come thither to attend Queen Margaret, wife to Malcolm King of Scotland, and sister to Edgar Atheline, kinsman and lawful heir to Edward the Confessor; and behaved himself so orderly, and with such a winning conversation, that he became highly esteemed of them.

This by degrees made way for him to attain the King's favour, who entertained so good an opinion of him, that when it ends some time after tumults and some popular disorders had happened in the parts about Galloway, and the adjacent islands, he thought fit to entrust him with the care of that affair; and water was so successful in his enterprise, that he quickly suppressed the disorders, slew the captain and the ringleaders of those commotions, reduce that part of the country it into a very good decorum and order.

I do not find the King ever restored him to the inheritance of his grandfather Bancho, and the Thaneship of Lochaber; but however it was, he was so far satisfied with the conduct, and so fully sensible of the service he had done him, that he bestowed a new dignity upon him, which was that of steward of Scotland.

This was an English term; and the English frequenting that kingdom so much at that time, by reason of their concourse to, and attendance upon Queen Margaret, together with some other, concurring accidents, might be the occasion of the introduction of it.

It was no doubt a considerable power he was entrusted with, by virtue of this new office, but I do not think it much different as to the name of it, but only in respect of its extent, from that of Thane; which term in office annexed to it because so often mentioned already, and may perhaps more hereafter, I shall endeavour to explain, and I hope the reader will think it no impertinent digression.

The Origin of The Word Thane

Thane therefore this derived by some from the old Saxon word *Thegn*, which cometh of *Thenian* i.e., *ministrave alicui*, and to signify sometime a nobleman, some time a freeman; another while a magistrate, and sometimes an officer or Minister: Thus Mr Lambert, in his *Exposition of Saxon words*, interprets it. Vavafor's explication of it is much to the same purpose; but *Shene, de verborum significatione*, faith that is in the name of dignity, and appears to be equalled with the son of an Earl; and that *Thanus* was a freeholder, holding his lands of the King: hence *Thanagium Regii* signified a certain part of the Kings land or property, whereof the rouble and government appertain to him, who therefore is called *Thane*: he is of opinion it is originally a Dutch word, deduced from *Teinar*, a servant, and *Teinen*, to serve, and therefore may signify a servant: as an *Underthane* does an inferior *Thane* or *Subject*.

He further adds, that when a person was accused of theft, but not in the *Fang* (that is, as we say, with the manner of it) there being no sufficient proof brought against him, he was obliged to purge himself up by the oath of seven and 20 men, and of three thanes: and so much as shall suffice concerning the name and office of **Thane**.

To return therefore to our designed story, you are first to note by way of recapitulation the bloody foundation that has been late here, Bancho the grandfather conspiring with Macbeth to imbrue his hands in the innocent blood of Duncane, his lawful and rightful Prince; and that not long done, when the same fate attended himself, and that by the contrivance of his own bloody associate, as a just reward of his treason: Fleance the son upon this forced to flee his native country, there ungratefully defiling that Prince's daughter, who cherished him in his bosom; but now as a monster of ingratitude, Trahern rid his country and the earth of them at the same time, by a violent and tragic death: and lastly, Walter the grandson, but base born, was forced to the same shift as his father before him, though with a better fate; the one being under a necessity to forsake his native soil, to avoid being barbarously as well as injuriously murdered by a jealous headed tyrant, but they are other to shun the justice of his country, that cried out for vengeance against him for shedding of blood.

Walter being vested in the high office aforesaid, left his title and dignity for a surname to his family ever after; and from henceforward we find but little mention of him or his posterity, until the contest between the Bruces and Baliols about the Crown of Scotland which was above 200 years after.

We shall therefore only endeavour to give you the genealogy down to the said time, that our history may appear to be all of a piece and void of breaks as much as possible.

Walter therefore had a son named Alane, who, as they say, followed Godfrey of Bultogn into the holy land, in the year 1099. Alexander was his son, who begat Walter Stewart; he had issue Alexander, whose son was John, the father of Walter Stuart, that married the daughter of King Robert Bruce, and begat on her Robert Stuart, called in the Scotch chronology Robert the second King of Scotland; that he was the first Stewart that was advanced to the throne of that kingdom.

But before we can fairly come to give you an exact account thereof, who will be necessary to premise a short scheme of the contests between the said Baliol and Bruce, because somewhat interwoven with the affairs of this family.

Death of Alexander III

Upon the disastrous death of Alexander III, who broke his neck as he was galloping his horse at Kinghorn, over the West Cliff of the place near the seaside, and left no issue, but had only grandchild by his daughter in Norway, very young, and who died soon after; Scotland fell under an interregnum for the space of six years and nine months, as Buchanan computes it, for so long it was between the death of Alexander, and the declaring of John Baliol King of Scotland: and in the meantime you may be sure there wanted not pretensions to the Crown; and the case briefly was thus: William King of Scotland had a brother named David, the Earl of Huntingdon, and great-uncle to this Alexander III, which David had three daughters; Margaret, married to Allan, Lords of Galloway; Isabel to Robert Bruce, Lord Annandale and Cleveland; and Adda to Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon.

Now Allan begat on his wife Margaret a daughter, named Dornadille, married in process of time to John Balliol, the King of Scotland, and two other daughters. Bruce by his wife Isabel had Robert Bruce, the Earl of Cattrick (as having married the inheritor thereof) but as for Huntington, he had no manner of claim.

Now the question was whether Baliol, in right of the eldest daughters, or Robert Bruce, being descended of the second, but a male, should have the Crown; he being in the same degree and of the more worthy sex.

The controversy was tossed up and down by the by the governors and nobles of the kingdom for a long time; but at last, upon serious deliberation, it was agreed to refer the whole matter to the

decision of Edward I, King of England, which he was not a little glad of: for resolving to fish in these troubled waters, he stirs up eight competitors more, then he might further puzzle the cause; and at length with twentyfour councillors, half Scots, half English, and a great many lawyers, so handled the business, that after a great many cunning delays they secretly tampers with Bruce, (who was then conceived to have the better right of the business) that if we were would acknowledge to hold the Crown of him, he would, adjudge it in favour of him: but he generously answering, *that he valued the Crown at a less rate, than for the wearing of the same to put his country under a foreign yoke*; Edward turns about, and makes the same motion to Baliol, who did not stick to accept it.

Baliol having thus Scott Crown, as unhappily kept it; for it was no sooner invested with it, and done homage to King Edward, according to agreement, but they Abertheyne having slain Macduff, the Earl of Fife, he not only pardoned them for the fact, but gave them a piece of land that was in controversy between them; whereupon Macduff's brother being enraged, makes a complaint of him to King Edward, who sent for him, used him so, that he made him rise from his seat in Parliament, and go to the bar, and answer for himself.

He hereupon was so enraged at this manner of usage, that when King Edward sent to him for assistance against the French, he absolutely refused it, and proceeded so far as to renounce his homage to him.

This incensed King Edward to the quick, and so with an armed power he hastens to Berwick, where he routed the Scots, took and

And killed to the number of seven thousand of them,; among them most of the nobility of Fife and Lothian, and sometime after gave them also the great overthrow at Dunbar, which occasioned the surrender of the Castle of the said place into his hands.

After this, he marches to Montrose, where Baliol was brought to resign up both himself and his Crown to King Edward, all the Scotch nobility at the same time doing him homage; the consequence hereof was, that Baliol was sent prisoner to London, and from thence, after a year's detention, into France. But while Edward was processed of all Scotland, one William Wallace arose, who thought but a private man, bestirred himself in the public calamity of his country, and gave the English several notable foils.

This brought King Edward into Scotland again with an army, and falling upon Wallace, routs him (who was overcome with emulation and envy) upon which he laid by his command, and never acted after but by slight incursions; but the English army being beaten that Roslin, Edward comes in again and takes Stirling, and makes them all tender him homage.

Robert Bruce, son to the aforesaid Bruce, that contested with Baliol for the Crown, was in King Edward's court, and him the King had often promised to put in possession of the Crown; but Bruce finding at last that all those promises were illusory, and nothing but smoke, he enters into a Confederacy with John Cummin, surnamed the red, how he might get the kingdom; but being basely betrayed by him to King Edward, he had much ado to make his escape; and when he was got into Scotland, the first thing he did was to stab Cummin at Drumfries, and then got himself crowned King at Scone.

Never did any man come with greater disadvantage to the possession of the Crown, or underwent greater hardship for the sake of it. He was beaten over and over by King Edward's troops, forced to flee to the Highlands with one companion or two, and to lurk in the mountains in great mystery, as if we had been rather a beast of prey than a rational creature.

And while he was in this miserable state, it is storied of him by Fourdon, that in a morning lying down on his bed, in a little cottage, whither he was glad to retire, and make thus same his palace; he espies a spider striving to climb up into her web, which he had spun to the roof of the house;

but failing of her purpose first time, she attempts it the second and third time, and so on so the sixth and last, wherein she accomplishes it, and gets in.

The King who (as well as his companion) had all the while viewed the action, said: *now let's get up, and hasten to the lowlands, to try out fortunes once more; we have attempted it in five re-encounters already, but failed, but in the sixth we shall prevail.*

And so having gathered some forces as together, he advanced towards Stirling, where he gave Edward II, who was then King of England, such a defeat, as Scotland never gave the like to the English; and so continued the war with various fortune with Edward III, till at last age and leprosy brought him to his grave.

But some time before his death he got the Crown settled upon his son David, then a child: and for want of his having issue, upon Robert Stewart, his sister's son; and this by act of Parliament: and the nobles sware to it accordingly.

His son David, of between eight and nine years old, inherited that which he had with so much difficulty and danger obtained, and wisdom kept. He was in his minority governed by Thomas Randolph, the Earl of Murray, whose severity of punishing was no less dreaded than his valour had been honoured: but he soon after dying of poison, and Edward Baliol, the son of John, coming with a fleet, and being strengthened with the assistance of the English, and some robbers; the Governor the Earl of Mar, was put to the rout: so that Baliol makes himself King, and David was glad to retire into France.

Amidst these parties (Edward III backing of Baliol) Scotland was pitifully torn, and the Bruces in the manner extinguished: till Robert Stewart afterward King of Scotland, with the men of Argyle, and his own friends and family, began to renew the claim; and brought the matter into a war again, which was carried on by Andrew Murray, the government and afterwards by himself: so that David, after nine years exile, adventured to return, where making frequent incursions, he did at length in the fourth year after his return march into England and in the bishopric of Durham was routed, and fled to an obscure bridge, showed by the inhabitants to this day, where he was taken prisoner by John Copeland, and continued so for the space of June eleven years.

Soon after his releasement and return home, he calls a Parliament, wherein he enacted several laws for the punishment of such as had fled from him at the battle of Durham, and more particularly levelling Sir Robert Stuart, as being one of them, who had been the cause of the great overthrow.

He got that act passed in his fathers time, whereby the Crown was appointed, for want of issue of his body, lawfully begotten to descend to the said Robert Stuart, to be repealed; and John Sutherland, son of Jane, his youngest sister, made heir apparent in his stead, and the nobility swore to the observance of the said law.

King Edward I of England Involved in Deciding Inheritance of The Scottish Crown

This made Earl of Sutherland so confident of this matter, that he gave almost all his lands sway among his friends and acquaintances: but alas, he was wretchedly mistaken, for his son being afterwards one of those sent as hostages, into England for the security of the payment of King David's ransom, he died there of the plague; and Robert Stuart attained the Kings favour again and succeeded as heir to the Crown, being the first of the name of the Stuarts that ever swayed a sceptre.

But things did not: so smoothly with Robert Stewart upon the death of Sutherland, his competitor first, and of King David afterward; but that he met with another in on his way from William Earl

of Douglas who when the Lords were assembled at Lithgo about the succession, came with a great power, and urged he ought to be preferred before Stewart, as being descended from the Baliols and Cummins.

Robert Stewart, by the Name of Robert II though the First of The Stuarts was Crowned King of Scotland March 25 A.D. 1370



But finding at length that his own friends and particularly the earls of March and Murray, his brethren with the Lord Erskine (who all three were in great power, as being governors, one of Dunbritton, another of Sterling, and the third of Edinburgh) opposed him, he thought it most advisable to desist from his claim: and so Robert Stuart was crowned at Scone on lady day, in the year 1370 being the 47th year of his age.

But that Douglas might be a little soothed up under his present disappointment, and kept from disturbing the common tranquillity, the King bestows Euphemia, his eldest daughter, in marriage upon him.

Whether it were through an advanced age, all sloth, we find he did but little since his accession to the Crown; but his lieutenants and the English were perpetually in action during the course of his reign: which was, according to Buchanan, 19 years, and four and twenty days.

And though it's true we do not find his death to have been violent, all anyway accelerated by grief of heart, but natural in an old age, having lived seventy-four years: yet surely he laid the foundation for many parricides, fratricides, and other dreadful calamities that befell his posterity in a very great measure, by preferring his illegitimate children by Elizabeth Moor, his concubine, before those he had lawfully begotten on Euphemia Ross, his wife; and the case was briefly thus.

At the time of his attaining the Crown, the foresaid Euphemia, daughter to Hugh Earl of Ross, was his lawful wife, by whom he had two sons, Walter, afterwards created Earl of Athol and David Earl of Strathearn; but before he was married he kept one Elizabeth Mure (for so the Scotch write the name) as his concubine, and had by her three sons, John Earl of Carrick, Robert Earl of Menteith and Fife and Alexander Earl of Buchan, with several daughters. Now Queen Euphemia departed this life three years after her husband became King, who forthwith married Elizabeth Mure, his old paramour, either to legitimates the children he had by her (which seems was the manner in those days) will or else for old acquaintance; her husband Gifford (for you must know he had got her matched to cover her shame) dying about the same time as Queen had done.

This step drew on another; and there was no stopping now, but the children formerly begot on this woman in adultery must have the Crown entailed upon them by parliament, in prejudice to the other two; who by anything that appears in history, were finer gentleman, and fitter, as they had a juster claim, to govern, than either of these.

I know the Lord Viscount Tarbert in a late pamphlets has taken upon him to vindicate the legitimacy of Moors children against the authority of all the Scotch historians, who lived at or near those times, and ever since, who could not be ignorance of so material a thing as this; and to this end his cites several records.

It is not my business to answer his allegations, but I am sure the records would never have named John that afterwards succeeded *tanquam Haras*, if he had been true and undoubted heir; and so I leave anyone to judge, if the records do not thereby make much more against his legitimacy than it does for it: but right or wrong the slut's will must be gratified, and so John succeeds his father in the Scottish kingdom, but nor by the name of John, for that forsooth was ominous, for John King of France was a prisoner in England; but by the name of Robert.

It's true that there is no great matter in this thing itself, either one way or the other: for an alias, or a double name cannot prejudice an honest and virtuous man: and when judge Castiline took exception at one in this respect, saying, that no honest man had a double name, and came in with an alias; the party asked him what exception his Lordship could take to Jesus Christ, alias Jesus of Nazareth.

Robert III Alias John Stuart Began His Reign A.D. 1390



The father was scarce well cold in his grave, or the son warm in his throne, but his progeny, begot by him in the heat of his blood, began in their stations to act their tragical part.

This King in his father's lifetime had the misfortune to be kicked on the leg by an horse of Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, and so lamed his body, as he was lame in his intellectuals, being a dolt stupid man and unfit to govern; insomuch that he had but the name of King, the whole of administration being lodged in his brother Robert, the Earl of Fife, who did not a pleased with him and his, as you will see by and by.

Alexander the youngest brother, and Earl of Buchan, a man of a fierce nature, could not long contain it, but he began to disturb the government of his brethren, upon a slight displeasure conceived against the Bishop of Murray; and saying he could find no opportunity to kill him, he revengefully sets far to the cathedral church,

which was the stateliest pile of building in all the North of Scotland.

A son he had, whose name was Duncan or Dunach, ten times more proliferate, if it were possible, then himself, and guilty of the basest and most degenerate actions.

He, upon the death of his grandfather, let's the reins loose; and supposing now that there was room for rapine and villainy, heads a strong band of thieves, and comes down to the country of Angus, spoils and ravages the country, as if they had been a professed enemy; and being elevated by some petty success they had against Walter Oglilby, and Walter Lichon who opposed them, they proceeded to perpetuate greater villainies than before till at last being dispersed by the Earl of Crawford, many of them were pursued and slain, and the rest were taken and suffered condign punishment.

King Robert had now governed by his governor for the space of eight years, when a parliament was held at Perth; wherein to manifest his favour, he made his eldest son David, who was then eighteen years of age, Duke of Rothesay; and his brother the Governor, duke of Albany: virgin titles, that till this time had been unknown in Scotland,'s saith Buchanan, and which boded no good success to the masters of them, but generally proved very ominous.

About some three years after died Queen Annabella, and Walter Tralie Archbishop of St Andrews; the one while he lived keeping up the ecclesiastical discipline in the church, and the other the dignity of the court: so that the death of to such useful and illustrious persons, ushered in great calamities in the land, and such tragedy as can scarce be met in the records of time.

The Queen in her lifetime had had a particular eye over, and care of the education of her son David, Duke of Rothesay, and by a severe discipline retrained his boisterous and untoward nature in a great measure: but now the check was taken off, he gave himself over to all manner of licentiousness.

His fathers indulgence to him proved an incentive to his lust, and lack of authority despoiled him of that reverence that should have been paid unto him, and made his admonitions of none effect: so that at last he grew to that height of outrageousness and impiety, that laying aside all manner of fear and shame, he made it his business to defile men's wives, deflower virgins, nuns, and all other kinds of women; and where he found opposition, he made use of force and violence.



These tragedies could not go long and discovered, and therefore several complaints were preferred against him to his father; who at last perceiving it beyond his power to restrain those exorbitant courses, and that such violations would unavoidably bring both father and son to utmost contempt, and might have a very bad consequence to attend them; he writes to his brother the Governor, and now Duke of Albany, to take the young man into his own governance and keeping, till such time and in expectation he should be reclaim and brought to a better temper.

This was that which the governor for a long time had lacked, as thinking if he were once taken out of the way, his passage to the Crown might in time be made smooth and easy, (and therefore leaves no stone unturned to get him into his bloody clutches) at last he contrive the matter so, that he seized him upon the road near St Andrews, and conveyed him to the Castle of the said place, which he had taken into his own hands upon the death of the Bishop a little before, and of pretence of securing of it: and in a short time after he had removed him thence, into his own Castle of Falkland, making him their a close prisoner.

And now resolved to was to be rid of him, and he could think of no method more expedients to effect his devilish design, than by starving him.

But that life which the barbarous cruelty of the uncle had destined for a most miserable death, the compassion of two young women prolonged for a time; one of them was daughter of the Governor of the Castle, and who had the charge of the young duke, who as often as she had an opportunity to go into the garden's adjacent to the Castle, put into him some oaten cake folded up in a veil which she carefully wore on her head to keep off the sun, through a small chink rather than a window's: the other was a poor nurse, who through a long reed fed him with the milk from her own breasts.

When the young man's punishments as well as his life at by this hard shift been for some days prolonged, which rather served for the increasing than allaying of his hunger; the women were at last discovered by the spies they had every where about them, and were both villainously put to death, the father showing as much inhuman cruelty towards his daughter, as he had shown mercy to his Royal prisoner, bitterly cursing her perfidy (as he called it) as endeavouring thereby to show him faithful to a faithless brother, uncle and Governor.

The young man being thus deprived of all human relief, was constrained through the violence of hunger, not only to eat all such filth as it could find within his prison, but at last to set upon his own flesh, and to gnaw off his own fingers; and so ended his wretched life, and died, as I may say, a double death. This barbarous Act needs no comment; it bespeaks villainy to the height in every part of it.

Some time elapsed before this dreadful news of the prince's death came to the ears of the king, none adventuring to be the sad messenger unto him, of that which almost all knew of, but when he was advertised of it, and had also some secret intimations given him, his brother had had a deep, if not the sole hand in it (for none durst accuse so greater man openly) he grew very sad and melancholy that thereupon: and rather than that he had not power to take vengeance upon him, for the perpetrating of so barbarous a deed, and for doing him so irretrievable an injury.

However to make some semblance of knightly authority, he sends for the duke his brother to come to him, at least wise to expostulate with him about the fact.

The duke who knew the purpose of the message as well as himself, frames of a fair and specious story to excuse himself, as though he were an innocent of the fact as the child unborn; and for a farther proof of it, urges his care to seek out the perpetrators of that horrid deed, and that he had now at length made so far progress in the matter, that he did not doubt but if the King were very pleased to come to Edinburgh, he should be able to bring in all the offenders.

The King who was then at a palace called Bute where for the most part he ever resided, though he was very unfit to travel upon many accounts, and especially by reasons of very tedious fit of sickness he had laboured under; yet so great and eager a desire he had to see his son's death punished, that he made a hard shift to get in a chariot into Edinburgh.

When he was come thither, the governor convenes a council and orders the parties accused to be brought before them, the King himself being also present. The accusers (as the duke who was rather the guilty person, had before contrived it) stoutly charge them with the fact.

The King after they had imprecated vengeance from heaven, and the most dreadful curses upon them and their posterity, who had perpetrated so horrid an act being overspread with sorrow and infirmity of body, returns to Bute, from whence he came.

The duke, that he might colour the matter as much as might be, brings the supposed criminals to their trials, and by corrupt judges (such as the duke had provided for that purpose) they were condemned as guilty of his murder, whom in all their life they had never seen.

Though this matter was managed on the part of the Governor before the finesse and address imaginable; yet the King was not so satisfied in his mind, but that he retained still a great suspicion of the duke's having a hand in his son's death.

But forasmuch as he well knew the duke had all the kingdom of Scotland under his obeisance, partly by policy, and partly by virtue of his office of Governor, he does not show his resentment, nor attempt to call him to account for it; but was rather afraid on the other hand, lest having ambitious desires to possess himself of the Crown, he would also make it his business to procure the death of his second son James, and by that means take off the only rub in his way.

The King, I say, being thus solicitous of mind about securing that to his posterity which his unnatural brother was intent to deprive them of, consults with Walter Wardlaw, Archbishop of St Andrews, about his son's security.

Charles VI of France



After serious deliberation, they at last conclude it was no way say for Prince James to remain in Scotland; and therefore he resolved to send him over into France to Charles VI and old ally and real friend to the Scottish nation, knowing he could nowhere be more safely and liberally educated than there.

But considering the uncertain vicissitude of human things, and that no precautions for his future security might be wanting, the King delivers his son a letter, written to the King of England in his behalf, if it should be his hard fortune to fall into the hands of the English.

The King, in pursuance to the said resolution, orders things to be got in readiness for his passage, and appointed Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney to take care for the safe conveyance of him.

They took shipping at the Bass, and steered their course for the French shore; but when they were got as far as Flamborough Head, they were, as some say, taken by the English, who heard of their sailing, and laid in wait to intercept them.

Prince James Taken Prisoner

But others write, that the Prince finding himself extremely seasick, and not able to endure it desired he might be put on shore there, and so was taken into custody, and carried up to the English court, but however it happened, taken he was, in the ninth year of his age, A.D. 1406. Henry the fourth, was then King of England, to whose presence when the Prince was come, he delivered him his father's letter; which because of the rarity of it, as being writ in the Scottish dialect of those times, we have thought fit to insert it – see pages 16 and 17

When King Henry king henry had read this letter, he deliberated with his council what was most expedient for him to do upon this occasion: at last considering there were divers English rebels harboured in Scotland, he resolved to keep Prince James as his prisoner; but yet in such honourable state, that he could not have met with such treatment and advantages of a princely and liberal education in his own native country.

The immature and violent death of Prince David, as has been already noted, had sunk King Robert's spirits very low; but when the dreadful news of Prince James being made prisoner in England, reached his ears, which was as he sat at supper, he had like to have died in the arms of the standers by: his heart was so overpowered with grief and melancholy, as to admit of no manner of consolation; exclaiming against his hard fortune in marrying a woman of so mean a degree, to the disparagement of his blood, as was Queen Annabel, by whom he had these sons; which, as he took it in, was the only cause why foreign Princes, as well as his own subjects, had him thus much in contempt.

So being carried into his chamber, what with wilful abstinence and violent sorrow, he died in three days after, having reigned about 16 years, A.D. 1408.

Letter

Robert King of Scots to Henry King of England Greetings

THAT great Magnificence, Humility and Justice, are
right patent to us by thy Governace of thy last
Army in Scotland; howbeit, sike things had been un-
certein to us afore: for tho thou seemed as Enemye with
moost awfub Incurfions in our Realme, zit we found
mair Humanities and Plaisures than Damage (by thy
summing) to our Subdittes, specielle to yame that receivit
thy noble Fader the Duke of Longcastle, the time of
his Exile in Scotland, we may not ceis yair faire, while
we are on life, but ayl luyf and loif thee us maist noble
and woorthy Prince, to joys thy Realme; for yoch
Realmes and Nations contend amang themself for Con-
quest of Glory and Launds, zit na occasioun is amang
us to invade other Realmes or Lieges with Injuries, but
erar to contend amang our self, quhay shall perseve
other with maist Humanitee and Kindness. As to us
we will meis all occasioun of battell, quare any occurres,

at thy pleasure. Farther, bycause we have no lesse sollicitude in preserving our Children fra certein deidly Enemies, than had sometime thy noble Fader, we are constrained to seek Support at uncouth Princes hands. Howbeit, the Invasioun of Enemies is sa great, that small defense occurs against yame, without they be preserved by Amitie of nobill Men. For the World is sa full of perversit malice, that na crueltie nor offence may be devisit in erd, bot the samme may be wroucht be motion of Gold or Silver. Heirfore, because we know thy Hyeness full of Monie, nobill Vertues, with sike Puissance and Riches, that na Prince in our daies may be compared thairto; we desire thy Humanity and Support at this time.

We traist it is not unknowen to thy Majesty, how our eldest Son David is slain miserablie in Prisoun by our Brother, the Duke of Albanie, quhome we chesit to be Governor (quan we were fallen into decrepit age) to our Subdittes and Realme, besekound thy Hieness thairfore to be sa favarable, that this Bearer James, our secound and allanerlie Son, may have to liefe under thy Faith and Justice, to be some memory of our Posterity knowwand the unstable Condition of Man's Life sa sodanlie altered; now flourishand, an sodenlie falling to utter consumption. Forthir, believe well: quhen Kings and Princes hes na other beild bot in their owin folkes, thair Empire is caduke and fragill, for the Minds of common People are evir flowwand and mair inconstant than wind. Zit quhen Princes are robarat, be amited of othir uncouth Kings their brathix and neighboris, na adversitie may ocure to ejett thaim fra thair dignitie riall. Forthir, gif thy Hieness think nocht expedient (as Gad forbid) to obtemper to thir ower desires, zit we request any thing quhilk was ratifyt in our last trewes and condition of Peace, that the supplicatioun made be ony of the two Kings of Ingland and Scotland fall stound in manner of sause Conduct to the Bearer. And thus we desire to be observat to this ower allanerlie Sonne, and the gracions God conserve thee, maist nobill Prince.

He was a man of a mighty stature, but had not a heart proportionable to his bulk as appears manifestly by the circumstances of his death; which though not procured by violent hands, was sufficiently tragical: and herein he discovered himself to be far from the temper Seneca speaks of:—

Nihil tam acerbum ast que non, aquus animus folatium inveniate.

The death of King Robert introduced an interregnum in Scotland for the space of near 18 years, for so long a time was James detained a prisoner in England; and there was no way left but to confirm the old governor in his station again, who held it for the space of fifteen years longer, and at length died a natural death: but tis strange he should, that had been so unnatural to his own nephew, by famishing him to death and done so many barbarous actions to clear himself, and to palliate his horrid fact.

He was succeeded in his estate and honours by Morde, his eldest son, who was also chosen Governor of the kingdom; a man full of repugnant vices, and so unfit for the management of that high office he was entrusted with, that he was not capable to rule his own family.

He had three sons, Walter, James and Alexander, who abusing the leniency and foolish indulgence of their father, and playing many outrageous tricks, to the offence and prejudice of many; and one of them at length being displeased with his father, in that he would not give him a falcon he had for a long time greatly desired, he stepped unto him, and audaciously plucking the birds from of his father's fist, round his neck from his body before his face: whereupon, the father being somewhat enraged with such presumptuous doings of his son, said; Walter, for so was his name, seeing it is come so that pass, that thou and thy brothers will not be ruled by my soft and gentle government, I shall o're long bring him home that establish both you and me after another manner.

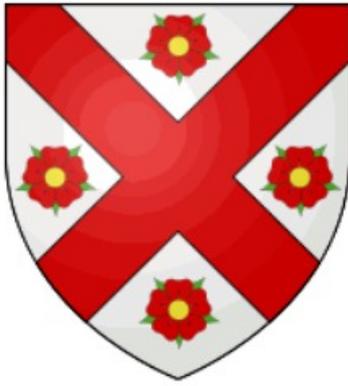
And from henceforward he made it his whole business to get King James redeemed from the hands of the English, and to set him on the throne. To this purpose he called a Parliament at Perth, where it was unanimously agreed to send a solemn embassy to the King of England, to demand the restoration of their King, and to offer terms for his release.

James Stuart I Began His Reign Actually A.D. 1423 Having Been a Prisoner in England Almost 18 Years



James had contacted some friends in England during his captivity, especially by the means of the lady Jane, daughter to the Earl of Somerset, whom he had taken to wife, so that in a short time terms for his liberty were agreed on, and he sets forward towards Scotland; where he was no sooner arrived, but he was encountered with divers complaints against several persons, and especially Walter Stuart, the son of the Governor aforesaid, who was sent to prison in the Bass; and in the next Parliament convened at Perth, Duke Mordo himself with Alexander, another of his sons, were arrested, and committed to safe custody, the duke to Carlaurock, and his Dutchess to a place called Tantalloun.

Not long after James, duke Mordo's third son (to hasten the fate of the Stuarts) being moved with great indignation, that his father and brethren were thus (as he conceived) unjustly imprisoned, came suddenly with a good band of men to the town of Dunbritton, sacks and burns the place, killing one Stewart more, to wit, John, surnamed the red, as Buchanan says, and the King's uncle, with two and thirty persons besides: but he was so straightened by the King's Arms, and pursued so close, that he was forced to flee into Ireland, and soon after died there in exile.



The Armorial Bearings or Crest
of the early Earls of Lennox

The same year the King called of Parliament at Sterling, wherein Mordo, with his two sons, Walter and Alexander, and Duncan Stuart, the Earl of Lennox (four of them in one clap) were convicted of high treason; and a two sons were the same day beheaded in the open place before the Castle, and next morning duke Mordo and Lenox run the same fate in the same place.

It is a constant fame, saith Buchanan, though I find it written no where, that the King sent the heads of the of the father, husband and children to Isabel, wife to the said Murdo, his cousin German, to try(a barbarous practice) whether she who was known to be the fierce woman, would (as mostly it happens) through excess of grief discover the secrecy of her mind upon such an occasion: but she, notwithstanding all that grievous and and unlooked for spectacle, did not inordinately break forth into any bitter words, but only said with a calm temper *“if the faults were through which have been laid to their charge, the king had done nothing but what was right and just unto them”*. As this Kings reign was in the time of the aforesaid troubles, it continued to be in a ferment upon other accounts and particularly for the great pension raised for his ransom, and for raising of other monies, which through the revenues were exhausted, was interpreted as no covetousness in him.

For in the 13th and last year of his reign, a sharp re-encounter happening between Henry Percy and William Douglas, the Earl of Angus, at a place called Piperden, in the kingdom of Scotland; James thinking himself injured thereby by the English, as the Scotch historians write, but Hall and Grafton charge him home with ingratitude therein, raises a great army, and lays siege to the Castle of Roxborough: but when, as the Scotch write, he had almost brought his work to perfection, and that the the besieged began to capitulate about surrounding of the place, the Queen in all haste came to the camp, and acquainted him there was a horrid conspiracy framed against his life, and conjured him to use all the precautions imaginable to secure himself: the King was surprised with the message, to provide for his better safety, though all of prevailed little.

'But that you may have a clearer idea of the whole matter, we must have a little look back, and tell you again that Robert the second had three sons by his concubine, whom he afterwards married, and so settled the Crown upon them, to the exclusion of his two legitimate sons by his Queen Euphemia Ross, who were Walter Earl of Athol, and David Earl of Strathearn.

Now these two, though they found themselves injured by such a preference of an illegitimate race before them; yet being inferior both in years and wealth, they dissembled their resentment for the present.

The death also of the Earl of Strathearn weakened their hands, who left one only daughter behind him, who was given in marriage to Patrick Graham, a noble youth, and a most potent and illustrious family as any in that age; on whom he begat Melissa Graham, whose parents did not long survive: and the child not many years after, being then a stripling, was sent into England among those who were hostages, till the money for the King's ransom were discharged and paid.

But Athol, though he were every ways inferior to the other faction, yet ever made it his business to take off his kindred, and did not lay aside his hopes of recovering the Crown; and because he was not capable of doing anything by open force, he craftily so discord among them, and so plied the matter, that, as has been already in some measure set forth, a very numerous family were reduced to a few, for the most part, by his counsel: for many were of the opinion, that it was by his contrivance that David, duke of Rothesay, King Robert's son, was cut off; neither had escaped his snares, unless he had spent the greatest part of his life in England, far from his reach: He would have encouraged the Earl of Fife to seize upon the kingdom, taxing his brother with

slothfulness, and fit to be taken off; and when the King, having now no children to succeed him (for James was then prisoner in England) and noxious to the pleasure of his brother, and suddenly died of grief, there was only the governor now that impeded his hopes.

But when Robert the governor was dead, and his son John killed at the battle of Vernole in France, he reassumed his former thoughts with greater vigour, and strung all his wits to compass the same; first, by getting King James released and then contriving Duke Mordo's and his children's death.

And since it was almost inconsistent that all these should subsist and be safe together, he foresaw that which soever fell of them, he was one degree nearer to the Crown; therefore when James at last returned to his country, he set all his engines on work to hasten Mordo's death, finds out fit tools to bear testimony against him, and set himself as judge upon him and his children, and when they also were cutoff, there was only King James, and a young son of six years old, that stood in the way; and when he by a conjuration of the nobility was once removed, the Earl did not doubt but himself, who was the only surviving person of the Royal's stem, should be advanced to the throne.

Athol therefore, I say, being night and day agitated with such considerations, did however keep all his designs close and secret, and through a counterfeit zeal for the King's welfare, made it his business to cut off his relations and friends, and more especially to advance his own estate by the misfortune and crimes of other men, and so to lessen his adversaries.

In the meantime, King James, to further his own misfortune, deprived Melissa Graham (who we have said was one of the hostages in England) of the Earldom of Strathern alleging it was bestowed on his grandfather of the maternal side, and his masculine line; and for want of such issue, to revert to the Crown.

The misfortune of the young man induced many to commiserate his case, but made Robert his Guardian almost stark mad; and so being more impatient of the injury offered to his kinsman, stuck not to accuse the King openly of injustice; and being cited to appear to make his defence, but did not, a sentence of banishment passed against him.

This did but enrage him more and more, and his whole business seem to be to engage others, who had been injured in their own persons or friends, to entertain the same sentiments of the King, in respect to his avarice and cruelty, as he had done; but it had been well if he had rested here.

The Murder of King James I of Scotland

You have heard before how the King was advertised of a conspiracy against him at Roxborough, and how the King, to obviate the same, retired home, and took up his lodgings in the convent of the Dominicans at Perth, and what designs Walter Earl of Athol had been hatching from time to time.

Now this Walter, the King's uncle, though he were principal author and contriver of the conspiracy, yet he did his utmost endeavour to put off all manner of suspicion of it from himself; therefore he privately sends for, and discourses with Robert Graham aforementioned; who, as being an active, bold rash man, and an hater of the King, upon account of his own imprisonment and banishment, and the injury done to his nephew, by divesting him of the earldom of Strathern, he thought to be a person most fit for his purpose: and with him he engaged his own grandson Robert Stuart, a stout hardy youth, who readily joined in the work.

He entrusts them what they were to do, assured them of his favour when the facts was perpetrated, not doubting but himself should be advanced to the throne. Having thus agreed and resolved



King James I

upon their hellish design, they advance secretly with their accomplices, whom they had drawn into the conspiracy, towards the Friars aforesaid, where the King then resided, and encouraged the King's porter, whom before they had brought over to their Party, to give them uninterrupted admittance; which he does, and they advanced into the gallery adjacent to the King's bedchamber, where he shews

them the door might be easily forced open, he himself having taken away the bolt.

Others think it was Robert Stuart aforesaid, Athol's Grandson, that let them into the Court: however it was, while they in the mean time tarried in the gallery, seeming to deliberate about breaking the door open, an accident made their passage the more easy; for Walter Stratton coming out of the chamber, having brought in some wine for the King a little before, and seeing armed men in the gallery, he endeavours to whip in again, crying out, **treason, treason;** but before he could get within the door to make it fast, they rushed upon him, and slew him outright.

While this was done, not without great bustle and noise, a noble maiden, named Catherine Douglas, married afterward, to Alexander Lowell of Bolunny, got to the door, and not finding the bolt, that had before been taken away (as you have heard) she thrusts her arm into the place where the bar should have been; but her arm was soon crushed and broke, and the ruffians forced their way into the chamber.

Such of the servants as were there, and made resistance, they dispatch forthwith, and then advanced towards the King, and fell upon him; the Queen did all she could to defend him, and received two wounds, and thereby was forced to give over the conflict : and so at last, the King having received to the number of eight and twenty wounds, and some of them to the heart, was slain by them.

Thus fell James I. King of Scotland, by violent and bloody hands, and seemed to entail a violent death upon all of his name that succeeded him; but because the execution of the conspirators was the most terrible that can be met with in history, we shall give you a short account of it; and the rather, because of the persons concerned therein.

The nobles of the kingdom hearing this unexpected news, assembled from all parts of the nation to Edinburgh, and made such diligent search after the conspirators, that they were soon after apprehended, tried and condemned.

The Execution of Robert Stuart

Walter Stuart, Earl of Athol, was charged as being principal actor in this tragedy, his crime exaggerated to the height, and was executed in this tremendous manner: on the first day, being stripped of all his clothes, save only his shirt, he was bound fast in a cart to an instrument of wood made like to a swipe, with ropes and pulleys to the same; by which means they sometimes raised him upon high into the air, that the people might see him, and by slackening of the rope all of a sudden, let him down with a swang, disjuncting all his body thereby; then they brought him to an open place, where all might be spectators, and crowned him with a red hot crown of Iron, with this elogium that he might be stilled the king of all traitors.

The reason of this part of the punishment was said to be this; that a witch had told him. that he should be crowned with great pomp and magnificence in the presence of the people; and that the prediction was in this manner either fulfilled or eluded.

On the second day he was drawn on hurdle through the high street of Edinburgh at an horse's tail: He was on the third day extended upon a board at the market cross his belly ripped up, and his bowels taken out, thrown into the fire, and burnt before his face then was his heart plucked out, and burnt likewise; and last of all, his head was chopped off, and fixed upon a long pole, and set upon the highest place of the city; his body divided into four quarters, and sent to the four principal cities of the kingdom.

The Execution of Robert•Stuart was not altogether so cruel as that of his grandfather, some respect being had to his youth; but as for Robert Graham who (as appeared) was the person that slew the King with his own hands, he was put into a cart, and that hand that did the deed fastened to a pair of gallows that was set up in the said cart; then were three persons appointed to thrust him through all parts of. his body with hot irons, beginning first, with those places where it was thought no hasty death would ensue, as with his legs, arms, thigh and shoulders: and thus was he carried through all the streets of the city, and tormented in a most horrible manner, and at last his belly ripped open, bowelled and quartered, as Athol was before. And thus was the cruel death of King James revenged in the most severe manner that ever was heard of, beyond all the bounds of humanity.

James Stuart II began his Reign March 17, 1437



You have seen the, dreadful effects of the interregnum, now the Kingdom falls under a worse administration, even under one of the woes of God Almighty himself; for this king was succeeded by his son James the second of that name, a minor of about six years old: and as the King was not yet able to govern himself, another must be chosen to govern both: him and the kingdom; and this fell to Sir Alexander Levinston and Sir William Creichton the chancellor; the former had the denomination of the governor, and the other had the King's keeping.

Never was the poor Prince more harassed till he came to maturity, which they say in Princes is at fourteen, through the jealousy and ambition of these two men, fomented also by others who were willing to fish in troubled waters.

The chancellor kept the king in Edinburgh castle, the queen Jane sides with the governor and resided at Sterling; Archibald Earl of Douglas, a powerful subject, kept within-his own territories, and would obey none of them all; by which discords, many evils ensued.

The Queen being intent upon advancing the governor's side and thereby, gratifying her own ambition, repairs one day a small retinue to the City of Edinburgh, and with aa womanish dissimulation won the chancellor to give her admittance into the castle to see the King, and to abide with him, whose company she so extremely longed for; but when she had been there three days, she feigns a pilgrimage one morning to the white Kirk, but first wheedles with the King to make his escape, which she easily brought him to, packed him up dexterously in a trunk, as if he had been a bundle of clothes, and sent him away by one of her trusty servants, laid upon a sumpter horse, into Leith; from whence he was conveyed by water to Sterling, and joyfully received by the governor, who highly extolled the Queen's conduct in deceiving so wise a man as the chancellor, and without delay raises forces, and besieges him in Edinburgh castle.

He perceiving the danger, had no other way left but to send to the Earl of Douglas for assistance; Douglas disdains them both, and would not be concerned. The chancellor seeing this, agrees with the governor, and he was still to keep the castle and his chancellorship.

Not long after died Douglas, and was succeeded by his Son William, who kept a greater port and retinue than his father. But things could not hold long in this state, for the chancellor disdaining that the governor should take the whole administration upon him, leaves him and the King at Sterling, (where he then was) and repairs to Edinburgh, and there employs all his wits how he might recover the King from, the governor; and after he had well thought of it, he rides one morning with four and twenty men in his company to the park of Sterling, where he knew the king was a hunting, and that the governor was absent at Perth. He found the King with a very small retinue, and saluted him very dutifully; and finding him in some surprise at the company, he exhorted him in a few words, as the time would permit, to be of good cheer, and fear nothing, that they were come to deliver him from his captivity, that he might be no longer under the government of another, but take the administration into his own hands; and much to the same purpose.

All which the King received with a pleasant aspect either because the motion pleased him, as desirous to rule, or to dissemble the fear he had of the chancellor, and so went with him to Edinburgh. The governor upon his return was horribly surprised at the news, but being now unable to remedy the matter, by the means of friends, he and the chancellor came to an accommodation again; and the result was, that the governor should still continue in his office, and the King remain in the keeping of the chancellor, as at first: so that the freedom before tendered to him, and with which he seemed to be well pleased, was now but a mere illusion, being as much a captive as ever.

And if the King was no better for this agreement; it proved fatal to the Earl of Douglass: both governor and chancellor dreading his power, now combine together to ruin him; And to that end a parliament must be called, where several complaints were made against Douglass and his followers. But, they two persuade the Parliament to send for the Earl in a friendly manner, and not as a delinquent, to take his place in that assembly; and by the Governor's Contrivance, honourable Letters were directed to him, in the name of them all, full of soothing expressions, intimating his own person was so far from being in any danger, by such his attendance in Parliament, that if any of his Friends or Family had chanced to be guilty of any disorders, all should be frankly remitted.



Creichton Castle

This bait took the young gentleman; and so with his brother David, and an handsome retinue, he sets forwards for Edinburgh: the chancellor, the better to cloak the treachery, rode out many miles to meet him, caressed and entertained him splendidly on the way at the castle of Creichton; and to blind him the more, there in the most friendly and tender manner in the world began to advice the

Earl in what concerned his duty towards his Prince, and the honour and glory of his family: and thus got him on to Edinburgh, though things could not be carried on so covertly between the Governor and chancellor in the management of this intrigue, but that some of the Earl's friends began to smell a rat, and advised him not to go to Edinburgh. But finding him quite averse to



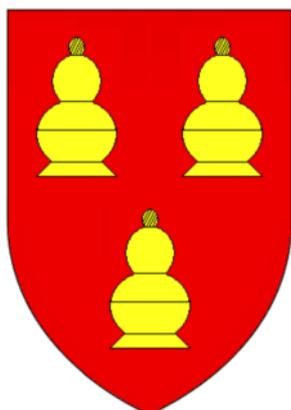
counsel, and void of all suspicion, they urged him to send his brother David back, to the end he might not hazard the whole family under the fortune of one stroke, his Father had before admonished him upon his deathbed but all in vain, and so to Edinburgh Castle they came, where the governor meets him and caressed him highly, and because he should now think his entertainment every ways suitable to the semblance made of it all along; he was set to dine at the king's table: but *latet Anguis in heba*, the Earl before he had well half dined, was

strangely surprised with the sight of a bull's head set before him, which in those days was a certain Sign of death; whereat being about to rise from the table; he and his Brother David were immediately seized by armed men set there for that purpose, carried into the courtyard, and there forthwith beheaded.

It was said the king, in whose presence this was done, and who now was entering into years of maturity and discretion, lamented his death bitterly, for which the chancellor severely rebuked him: but however it was in this case, it is most certain he afterwards most barbarously murdered one of this earl's successors with his own hands, as you will hear by and by.

This Earl of Douglass was succeeded in his estate and honours by his uncle James Douglass, Baron of Abercorn, who is succeeded by his son William; who, to prevent the division of the inheritance, married the only sister of the last William beheaded, who was stilled the fair Maid of Galloway.

This Earl flourishing in estate and honours, and finding the King take the administration of the government upon himself, came to sterling, and in a short time grew into high favour with him insomuch that through his persuasion the chancellor and governor were not only discharged from their offices, but put out of the council, and their friends banished the court, and themselves summoned to appear before the King, and upon default proclaimed rebels, so that now the tables are quite tuned; Douglass rules all, and the King suffers minority under him in his just age, as he really did under the others during his nonage; himself, and his kindred and friends possessing all places of profit and preferment in the Kingdom.



The Coat of Arms of Ormond

But the Earl, having I know not what croquet in his brain, must needs go into Italy, and a noble retinue he had with him; but leaves his estate, during his absence, to be managed by his brother the Earl of Ormond.

His back, was no sooner turned, but his enemies let all their engines on work to put him out of the King's favour and good heart; and prevailed so far upon him, as to put out an unreasonable summons requiring the Earl to appear within forty days, or else he should be put to the horn; and so his lands were seized on to the King's hands.

The Earl being, advertised hereof, returns with all speed, and was again received into favour; but happening to go into England without leave, this incensed the King highly against him, yet upon submission was again reconciled. But there was nothing could reconcile him and the chancellor Creighton.

Envy; brought them to make attempts upon each other's life; and at last the Earl was so put to it, that he was forced to flee out of Edinburgh to save his own life; whereupon he enters into a

confederacy with his friends for his own security, which together with some depredations made in, the Lord Fortese's lands by some of the Earl's tenants, without redress from him upon complaint made thereof; enraged the King, to a high degree against him.

But soon disorders still increasing through the Earl's not punishing the offenders, at last Ferres makes an inroad. by way of reprisal into his Lands, was taken, and by the Earl's command was put to death, though the King by an herald commanded the contrary: so that upon serious deliberation, the King, finding his power insufficient for curbing him, had no other way left, than to send to him in a most courteous manner to come to him, who was then in Sterling castle.

The Earl, apprehensive of some design upon his person, refused unless he had an assurance of safe conduct under the King's Great Seal; which being granted, he came, and was received with a great semblance of goodwill by the King, who took him into a room by themselves, and there, after some other admonitions, expostulated with him about the confederacy he had entered into with the Earl of Crawford and others, and would have urged him to forsake the same; alleging it was no ways honourable for him, but hurtful, and though he took it very ill at his hands, yet he allowed him the liberty to disannul it, though himself had full power to command it.

King Kills The Earl of Douglas

Douglass was very obsequious in all things till this business of the League came in question, whereunto he did not answer distinctly, but would have put it off till he had discoursed with his confederates thereupon; neither could he well see at present what could be in that league which could be offensive to the King, that he should insist so much upon his breaking of it: whereupon the King, who it is likely had already determined to commit the perjured fact though his flattering courtiers would have his displeasure only to arise from the Earl's present stubbornness, said, if you will not, I will break it: and without any more ado, struck him with his dagger in his breast.

Those that stood at the door, hearing the bustle, rushed in, and dispatched him by many wounds. His brethren and kindred being at first surprised, and then exasperated at the horridness of the fait, and the faithless proceedings of the King towards the Earl; flew to their arms, and made no less than a civil war of it, which was waged between the King and them with various fortunes; at last the King prevailed, which brought great destruction and calamity upon that noble family of the Douglasses. And then it was that King James began to reign, as the historian says, their greatness having been hitherto a check upon him; but his civil broils were scarce ended, when he was brought to engage in the fatal controversy which happened in England between the Houses of York and Lancaster. He at first sided with King Henry VI, against Richard Duke of York, but afterwards placed about, upon the Duke's promise that Cumberland and other lands should be restored unto him, that had been in the possession of his ancestors, if the Duke prevailed; and so he assisted the Yorkists.

Having therefore raised an army, as he was entering into England, he was for a time diverted cunningly by an English gentleman, who took upon him to be the Pope's nuncio: his speech, habit and retinue were perfectly Italian; and to make the matter more plausible with the cloak of religion, he had a monk along with him, and so with the Pope's counterfeit letters they approached to the King, and charged him to proceed on no further; and threatened him, if a did, to curse him: for that the Pope, to the end the war might be carried on against the common enemy of Christianity with greater vigour, having now composed all differences in Europe, was set upon accommodating this matter in Britain; that they indeed were sent before to pre-admonish him, but that another legate would quickly follow, with an ample power to compose the civil discords in England, and to procure satisfaction for the injuries sustained by the Scots.

This bait took him, and so he disbanded his army; but alas nothing could divert this Prince's now impending fate, for being soon after advertised of the trick put upon him by the aforesaid counterfeit nuncio, he reassembles his army, and because he could not directly join with York's



forces, he marches to the siege of Roxborough, and having quickly mastered the town, lays close siege to the Castle, which made a brave defence.

The Duke and his companions having in the meantime prevailed, sent to give King James thanks for its assistance; desire him, now things were remarkably terminated, to return home, lest the English being incensed, they should be forced to march against the Scotch

army.

The King having received a message, asked those that brought it, whether the Duke of York and his friends said anything in relation to the promises they had made when he came to their assistance: but finding no satisfaction in that point, he proceeds with great fury to assault the castle, and batters the walls with cannon,

which began then to be matched used, as they were much dreaded; and being very forward and intent upon his work, one of his guns being overcharged, burst, and a piece thereof struck the King dead to the ground, and hurt no other besides himself; a strange fatality that brought him to his end, when he had lived twenty-nine years, and of them reigned twenty-four, A.D. 1460.

He left three sons behind him, James that succeeded him, Alexander Duke of Albany, and John Earl of Mar; who were are plagued to one another, while alive, and not one of them died a natural death, as we shall show in its proper place.

James Stewart The Third Began His Reign A.D. 1460

James third (a minor of seven years old, as his father before him,) came to the Crown at first fell under the care and Regency of his mother, as did the whole kingdom; a woman (after the decease of her husband James II) that led the scandalous life, keeping on Adam Hepborn, who was himself a married man, for her gallant: but death put an end to her lewdness and government together, about three years after.

Then he came into the hands of the Boyds who ruled the roost for a long time, but at last made a fatal catastrophe. He took to wife Margaret daughter to the King of Denmark and Norway, A.D. 1469 and about this time began to exercise the Royal power himself.

He involved himself at first with the affairs of the church, and not long after became miserably enslaved with predictions of astrologers and witches, to which he was strangely addicted: and which brought not only destruction upon his kindred, but also at last upon himself: which we shall now prosecute as they fell out, in order.

He was on a time, it seems, informed by some sycophant or other, that his kindred lay in wait for his life, and that he was in great danger; which agreeing with the saying of the witches whom he had consulted, and who told him, that the lion shall be devoured by his whelps, it made a very deep impression upon his suspicious minds: and so from a Prince who was very hopeful, and of great expectations, he degenerated into a monstrous tyrant.

So that now these suspicions having once possession of his mind, from henceforward looked upon his near relations, and almost all those of the nobility, as his enemies.



The nobility on the other hand finding none preferred by the King but those of base degree, were not a little dissatisfied, and began to alienate their affections from him; wherefore they met together upon this occasion to concert measures how they might urge the Court of those abject fellows and reduce it to its former state of grandeur.

The principal of this assembly were the King's two brothers Alexander and John; the latter whereof having discoursed of the irregularities and the present state of the kingdom somewhat frankly and liberally, and with less caution than the rest, he was suddenly taken by surprise in

his own house, by the court faction, and conveyed to a place called Cragmiller, and there imprisoned on the King's order; and not long after by the courtly crew was adjudged to die, and executed in the cannon gate, by cutting his veins and letting him bleed to death. And as they had thus brutally murdered his person, they proceeded also to murder the earl's fame; for they gave out that his crime was, that he had had secret consultation with witches about destroying the King: and to put as good a case as they could upon this unnatural act, though it were heaping iniquity upon iniquity, they brought several other witches and sorcerers to their trial for the fact, and burnt them at Edinburgh for the same that here is one of the three brothers dispatched, we will hear of the rest by and by.

Alexander the other, the Duke of Albany though he had neither acted or said anything that might justly disgust either the King's courtiers that were about him; yet as he was next of kin, so it seems he was next in danger: for these suckers mistrusting with themselves that they could never be safe as long as he was alive, got him suddenly seized and sent prisoner to Edinburgh castle.

He was kept close there by such as did believe his power might be fatal to them; and finding there was no way by his friends to pacify the King's displeasure, he had nothing to do now but to consider how he might make his escape he had none to communicate his design to, or to further him in it, but one only servant of his own that was left to be with him in his chamber; him he sent to. get a ship ready to attend him at the next port, at the time appointed, which he does effectually.

In the mean time, his persecutors, to plague him the more with their delusions, sent several messengers from the court, who feigned in the presence of his keepers (for he was not allowed to talk with any privately) that the King's anger began to be pacified, and that he might shortly hope for his liberty; but when the day appointed for his escape was come, he puts as good a mien as possible he could upon the matter, and begins to feign a belief in what. the messengers said in favour of him, and questioned not but to have a speedy and honourable deliverance: and to further the design, treats his keepers with a splendid supper, and drinks with them till it was late at night.

The King Escapes to France via Dunbarton Castle

But when they were gone and fast asleep, he falls to work, and makes a rope of the sheets of his bed long enough, as he thought, to reach the ground; and first, to make a trial thereof, lets down his man by it, by whose fall he finds it was shorter than it should have been. having therefore lengthened the rope as much as the present circumstance would admit, he follows his man, who in his descent had broke his leg, takes him up upon his back, and carries him about a mile to the seaside, and having got a favourable wind, set sail for Dunbarton, and from thence, having first well secured the castle, he sailed into France.

The duke was honourably received in France, and married the Earl of Bologn's daughter; but upon the death of his wife, who lived not long with him, finding affections cool towards him, he goes over into England, and was entertained by Edward IV. then King of England, who assisted him with an army to invade Scotland, under the command of his brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester. King James makes all the force he could to oppose them; but being governed by his former counsels, the nobility took it in high disdain, and therefore they met together in the Church of Lowder, where the King and his army then were, to deliberate what they should do in such a conjuncture.

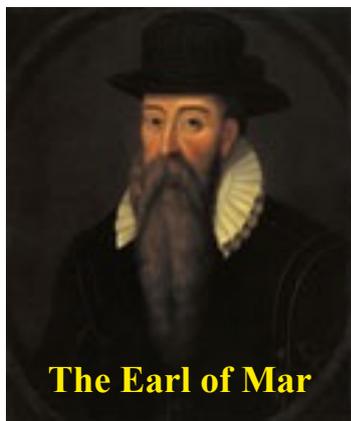
Where Archibald Douglass, Earl of Angus, takes upon him to set forth the occasion of their meeting, which he did in a very pathetic speech, and shewed at large all the enormities of the King's reign down to the present time; the danger they then stood in from a foreign army, and therefore exhorts them first to shake off the domestic yoke of servitude they were under, before they engaged with the enemy, etc.

This oration wrought so effectually upon their minds, that they were immediately ready to run headlong into the palace, without consideration of what they were to do. But the principal men amongst them appeasing the tumult, advised that a sufficient number should only enter in without any shew of Commotion, and take out the criminals, lead them to judgment, and punish them according to law.

In the mean time, while these things were in agitation, comes a rumour into the court, that the nobles held a consultation together before day in the church, the subject whereof was uncertain; but that it must be strange that such men should assemble together, without the King and his counsellors' knowledge.

The King hereupon being hastily awakened out of his sleep, enquires of those about him, what he had best to do; in the mean time he sends Cockram before to observe what was done, and to give him an account of all with speed. He with a few followers goes towards the church, and meets the chief of the nobility advancing toward the court; whom they no sooner espied, but Douglass laid hands on him, and catching hold of a large gold chain he had about his neck, squeezed him first a little, and then sends him to prison himself with the rest going directly to the King's bed chamber where, when they came, they filled all with astonishment so as there seemed to be a little pause upon the matter for the present.

But it was not long e'er they seized upon the King's evil counsellors that were about him, and sent them all away save only John Ramsey, a very young man, that clung to the King, who entreated for him that he might be spared. The rest were led to Judgment, and with the loud cries of the army calling for justice upon those miscreants, were hanged out of the way: And such forwardness was shewed to have them dispatched speedily, that when they wanted ropes upon such a sudden occasion every one was ready to offer his horse's halter, or the reins of his bridle for that purpose.

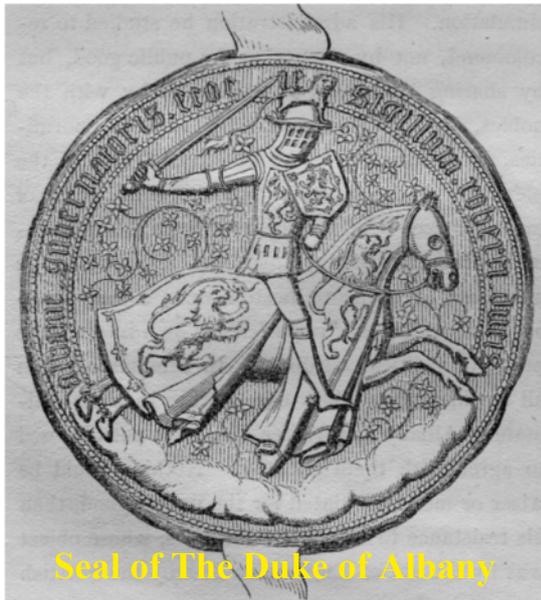


The Earl of Mar

These wretches were charged with many private injuries, and among the more public ones was, their advising the King to coin base copper money, which the common people, by way of reproach, called black-money; and that this was the principal cause of the scarcity that was in the land, the want of trade, and many other calamities

too long to be inserted.

To the King's charge was laid the unjust death of the Earl of Mar, his brother; his advancing of Cockram, a mason, to the said earldom; his practising of magic, and resolvedness to destroy his relations. This done they returned to Edinburgh, and appointed the King himself to be kept in



Seal of The Duke of Albany

the castle of the said city, by the Earl of Athol; and in the mean time they send to the English army for a cessation of arms for three months.

The Duke of Albany was honourably received into his country again, and had the castle of Dunbar, with the Earldoms of March and Mar, conferred upon him, and was withal proclaimed the King's Lieutenant-General.

While things were in this state, the English take the castle of Berwick, the town having been surrendered to them before; the Duke of Albany making a feint of relieving the same, but did nothing. At length the Duke accompanied with the chancellor, Archbishop of St. Andrews and others, went to Sterling to pay the Queen and Prince a visit, they had not been there

long when the Queen entering into a secret conference with the Duke (unknown to the rest) about the King's confinement and urging how noble and generous as advantageous an Act it would be to improve him for his releasement, he consents to King; and so returning to Edinburgh, besieged the castle and took it, removed the Earl of Athol and sets the King and all his servants at liberty: for this extraordinary favour, the King shewed him grateful of his affection, but they were not long lived,

remembrance of old offences are of greater significance in a degenerate mind than fresh kin.

And to foment his jealousies, he had always people at his elbow who never ceased to upbraid the Duke to the point of affecting too much popularity, and to construe this as an infallible sign of his intentions to snatch the crown whenever a fit opportunity presented.

The Duke, who was not ignorant of those jealousies entertained of him, and at last finding there was a group formed against him, of no less than taking away his life, and that (as appeared) by poison, withdraw evilly into Dunbar castle; and the King as cognisant of his evil doings, fearing the displeasure of his nobles, hereupon withdraws also into the castle of Edinburgh, where the earls of Angus, Buchan and others followed him and assisted the Duke.

But the King being affected still by his evil spirits (I mean) those vile fellows whom he had again placed about his person, he summoned the Duke and his adherents, to appear and answer for such treasonable as he had to lay to a charge, and withal prepared an army to besiege Dunbar, which the Duke having notice of, he flies into England: and after being accompanied with the Earl of Douglass and others was engaged to the master of his own country, but meeting with ill success, being checked by the King of England for his ill conduct, he grew sullen thereupon, and withdrew secretly in to France; where not long after, according to the usual fate of his family, running at tilts with Lewis Duke of Orleans, he was wounded with the splinter of a spear, and thereof died.

So that here are two of them gone, the fate of the third is now approaching, with winged haste: For the King having once got a peace with the English, and the castle of Dunbar into his hands, which seemed for some time to put a check upon his exorbitance, he returns to his old haunts, gives himself over not only to be guided by favourites and mean persons as before, who were his leeches to drain his subjects, to satiate his covetous desires, but to unlawful pleasure with lewd women.

Among the men favourites John Ramsey, saved (as you have heard before) by the King's importunity from an Halter, was chief. This Man having been advanced to the dignity of Lord Steward of the King's household, and endowed with many large demesnes, became so elated in

mind; that not being content with that large fortune, nothing would serve, but he must have an order that none besides himself and his companions should go armed in those places where the King resided; designing by this device to fortify himself and his faction against the nobility of the Kingdom, whom he found to go frequently armed themselves, and accompanied with such as were well provided for their defence.

But this edict procured him more hatred than it wrought fear in his enemies. In the mean time the King minded nothing so much as to gratify his mind with the blood of those, who were thought to be the authors of rebellion; and seeing he could not bring about his purposes, he endeavours to surprise them by cunning: for feigning to be reconciled to one of them after another, he entertained them with that gentleness, and in so soothing a manner, as came below the dignity of a Prince to do.



The First Duke of Montross

Others of them who excelled in riches and power, he accumulated with rewards and honours; making David Lindsey, Earl Crawford, Duke of Montross; and George Earl of Angus he would have frequently in his company; carrying it so, by communicating his secret counsels unto him, as if he were thoroughly reconciled.

But his rewards and blandishment had but little effect upon any of them, in respect to any opinion of his sincerity; for they who knew his disposition, doubted not but all that semblance of goodness and favour tended to no other end than either to surprise them, one after another, or to let them at variance one against another; which, when he had got the chief of the nobility to Edinburgh, did more clearly appear: for having sent for Douglass to him into the Cattle, he shewed him what a brave opportunity he now had to be revenged on them; for if he did but secure the heads of the factions and punish them, the rest would be quiet.

Xxxxxxxx 117

That if he let this Opportunity that presented itself, slip, he could never afterward hope for such another. Douglass, who well knew that the King's mind was as implacable towards him as the rest of them, cunningly discusses that rash and evil counsel; arguing with him what a base and flagitious offence all the world would look upon it to be, if he should, without due process of law, suddenly hale to execute so many illustrious persons, to whom he was reconciled, as having given his royal word for pardoning of what was past; and that not long since, and now secured with the public faith.

For the fierce and enraged minds of enemies, would not be broken with the ruin of a few; and coming once to despair of pardon, they would turn their wrath into fury, and the consequence of that would be, that they would grow more stubborn and obstinate, and less value the King's authority, and their own lives:

And if your highness will take my counsel, continued the Earl, I'll put you in a way, whereby to salve the King's honour and dignity, and that revenge may at the same time be prosecuted; for I having gathered my friends and tenants together, wilt openly, and in the daytime, lay hold of them; and then you may try them where you will, and punish them as you please: and this will be not only more honourable, but also more safe for the King, than, if they should be killed unawares in the night, as it were by thieves.

The King believing the Earl spoke what he thought (for he knew well enough that he was able to perform what he promised) he gave him many thanks for his advice, and dismissed him laden

with large promises of reward. The Earl having warned the peers to take care of their safety, and to withdraw from the imminent danger that hung over their heads, does himself also retire to a place of safety.

The King from hence forwards ending his secret counsels laid open, and not daring to trust any body, betook himself to the castle of Edinburgh; and from thence being conveyed by sea to the countries beyond the Forth, which still were obedient to him, did in a short time levy a good army: And now the Nobility, who before designed nothing, but that the King should amend in his male-administration, finding all accommodation with him desperate, and his evil disposition incurable, bend all their counsels to remove it.

A bad Steward (it's most certain) he had been, and now they are resolved to call him to a severe account for it. The great difficulty that stood in their way, and which they were deliberating to remove, was, whom they should appoint to be their captain; who, when the King were brought to a compliance, might be constituted Vicegerent of the Kingdom: it was adjudged highly necessary it should be a person that was pleasing to the commonalty, of an illustrious name, that the nation might not be oppressed and weakened out of an envy to his greatness.



And at last they had thought of one and another, they pitched unanimously upon the King's own son, the Prince of Scotland who being taken from his keepers and Governors of his tender years, was urged to a speedy compliance; for if otherwise, they resolved to transfer the Kingdom into the hands of the King of England's who would take care to root out him and his family, for the better security of it.

Now the King had passed over the Forth, and pitched his Tents at a place called Blackness, and the son's army prepared for battle, were not far off; but by the mediation of the Earl of Athol, the King's uncle, things were at last brought to an accommodation and Athol himself delivered as an hostage to **Adam Hepborn, Earl of Bothwell** (left), in whose custody he remained until the King's death, which was not too far off.

But the agreement between such who had an incurable jealousy of one a king, who did not last long, in the meantime couriers and negotiators passed continually between one another. Finally the lord gave a determinate answer, seeing the King acted nothing sincerely with an intention to perform, they adjudged it better to be engaged in a war, than a delusive treacherous peace.

The only hopes of agreement was, if the King would abdicate the throne, and have his son advanced in his place, if not, it would be to no purpose for them to frustrate one another with conferences.

The King to be wanting to himself in this desperate fortune, orders his ambassadors in England and France, to communicate this answer to those kings, whom he earnestly solicits to make use of their authority, or if need be their forces too in his behalf, for repressing the insolence of a few rebels, and reducing them to ruin; and their duty, to esteem his fortune common with their own, such as might be the contagion that will easily creep to other nations.



He also sent to **Sixtus IV, Pope of Rome** (left), to entreat him out of his eternal care and love to the Scottish name and nation to send a legate to Scotland to enforce his reign, according to his holiness's power and jurisdiction to lay down their arms and obey their King.

The Pope having one Adrian Castlean as his legate in England, a man of great learning and prudence and he writes to him to use his endeavour to compose the Scottish affairs and bring them to a settlement.

It happened that this came a day after the fair, for the Lords who knew well enough, that these proceeding of the King altogether were in agitation, and withal his mind was incapable towards them, resolved, before he should have an opportunity to augment the number of his forces, to try it out by Arms: and though they had the King's son with them, as well to manifest their authority to the common people, as to shew that they were not angry

with, or had no quarrel against their country, but a pernicious King, who would have ruined them; yet lest the minds of the people should be alienated by the cunning of foreign ambassadors, and other accidents that attend procrastination, they were busied night and day how to commit all to the hazard of a battle: but the King's timorousness was an obstacle to their eagerness. and haste, who because he had ordered considerable levies to be made for the augmentation of the troops he had on foot already in the northern parts of the Kingdom, did in the mean time keep himself close within the castle of Edinburgh.

But that he might precipitate his fate, he was brought by his followers, whether designedly or ignorantly is uncertain, to forsake wholesome counsel, which he looked upon to be safest for him; for they persuaded him, that by reason of the frequent tides there, which might cause delay and danger to them that were about to meet together; it were more advisable he should go to Sterling Castle, the best situated place of any for gathering of forces together out of all parts of the Kingdom.

That he would be as safe there as in Edinburgh Castle, seeing his enemies were unprepared of all things necessary for a siege; that his fleet also, which he had prepared to be an help to him at all adventures, might be at hand.

This advice did indeed seem to be sound and real, and had been safe enough in all probability in the event, had it not been that the Governor of the castle, being corrupted by the opposite faction, excluded him from admittance.

And, now all things conspire to his ruin, for the Lords were now at his heels, that he could not possibly retire to the Castle of Edinburgh again; and the forces raised by the Earls of Huntley, Errol, Athol, and divers other noblemen who stuck to him, and which they said amounted to the number of forty thousand men, being not yet come up, he would not stay for them, and so with those forces he had with him hazards a battle.

The battle was at first very fierce, and the first wing of the nobles army gave way; but the Annandalians and their neighbours, who inhabit the western parts of Scotland, pressed hard upon the King's forces, and with their huge spears, much longer than their adversaries, quickly broke the King's main body: who finding now it was in vain to stand it, and being injured with the fall of his horse, retires to a mill that was not far off from the place of battle, with a design, as was thought, to get aboard his ships which were not far off; where being taken with a few more he was slain.

It is not fully agreed who killed him, but pursued he was to the aforesaid place by Patrick Grey, Sterling Kerry, and a priest whose name was Borthick and who, it was said, being asked by the King for a confessor, roughly replied, that though he was no good priest yet he was a good leech: and with that stabbed him to the heart.

And. here you see how contemptible the majesty of a prince is, that is sullied with disingenuous actions; and there was this further ignominy affixed to his death, that it was enacted in the next sessions of parliament, that he suffered justly, and strictly forbidden that any who had bore arms against him or their descendants, should be upbraided therewith. Young he was, being about 35 years when he died, and of them had reigned near 28, in the year of our Lord 1488.



James Stuart IV Began His Reign 1488

The son who had headed this army, is now advanced to the father's throne, and known by the name of Jams IV. Being then about sixteen years of age. Wood, who commanded the ships before mentioned, was with great difficulty brought to submit, and afterward did this King great service; who it seems had some remorse for contributing so much to his father's death, for in token thereof he wore continually an iron chain about his middle all the days of his life, made frequent visits to religious places etc, all which methinks seems to have been put upon him by some crafty priests, though historians are silent in that particular.

But he had hardly been warm in his throne, when those nobles that were of his father's party sent their emissaries to all the parts of the kingdom, and excelled one another not to endure the present state of things; that so many brave men should not suffer such public parricides who had murdered one King, and kept the other in servitude so proudly to allude them, and to charge them with being guilty of high treason, who fought for the Kings defence and safety; but they should arrogate to themselves, who were violators of all divine and human laws, the title of being defenders of the honour and dignity of the Commonwealth, and preservers of their country, in whose hands the King himself was not free; as being enforced first to take up arms against his father and being, and having wickedly slain him, to prosecute his father's friends, and such as engaged in his defence, by an unjust and cruel war that was intolerable.

When many things of this nature had been bandied about amongst the common people, Alexander Forbes, to excite in the greater hatred towards the present administration, caused the dead King's body shirt to be hung up on a long pole, and exposed publicly at Aberdeen, and other places where there was great concourse of people; this being as it were a public edict to stir up all men to revenge such a deed. Nay many of them who engaged with them actually in the slaughter, finding that all things did not go as they would have it, now joined with these malcontents.

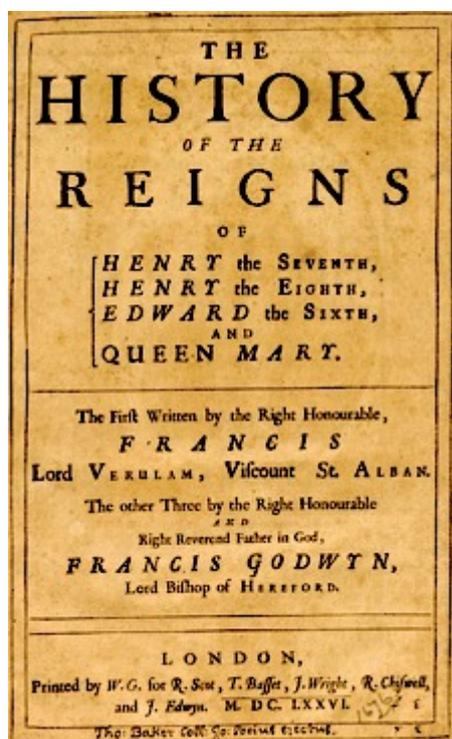
And as things were transacted in those parts about Aberdeen much to the new Kings prejudice, Matthew Stewart Earl of Levins, a popular and potent man in his country, summons all such as he had influence over to this side of the Forth, to come to him; and having raised a good body of men, finding a could not make its way over Stirling Bridge, which was guarded by the royalists, he hastens towards a ford, not far from the river head, at the foot of mount Grampias, with a design to join with his friends in those parts.

Now when John Drummond had notice hereof by Alexander MacAlpin his tenant, and who had joined the enemy, and found plainly, that all things were so careless and secure in the enemy's camp, that they dispersed themselves up and down as every one pleased, had no century nor

scouts, and were destitute of all military order and discipline; he immediately with the courtiers, and a few volunteers he had with him, sets upon them unawares, and in a manner all all asleep, which was in too many of them continued by death; the rest unarmed, run back headlong from whence they came, and many were made prisoners, but some known friends and acquaintances were let go; they were severe only upon such as wrote or spoke very continuously of the government.

And so this. Storm blew over, and not long after a parliament was called, wherein passed a general Act of Indemnity; so that now nothing was expected here but halcyon days: but a storm quickly arose, which terribly shook not only this, but the Kingdom of England also, by one Perkin Warback's pretending himself to be Richard Duke of York, and second son to King Edward IV. and so to have an undoubted right to the Crown of England.

He came over from France into Scotland, and possessed this King so far with a belief of his right, and the justice of his cause, that he not only gave him the Lady. Margaret, the Earl of Huntley's daughter, for a wife; but also raised an army to defend his cause, which took up some years of his reign, little enough to his or the kingdom's commodity and advantage.



At last a truce for some years was agreed on between him and the King of England, and the consequence of that was first orders for Perkin, of whom you may read at large in my Lord Bacon's *History of Henry VII.* to depart the realm of Scotland; then a marriage between King James, and the Lady Margaret, Henry VII's daughter; and lastly a peace between those Kings during their lives

This King's reign is remarkable upon many account; which being not the scope of this treatise, we designedly omit; but one passage I meet with in Lesley's history of this Kingdom, which- for the rarity of it. I cannot omit, and hope the reader will not think it an impertinent digression.

About this time, says the aforesaid author, the King (to tell you a business that to this day is remembered with great laughter among the Roman people) created a certain Italian, with whose wit and pleasant conversation he was much taken, Abbot of Tunland: this man, thinking to magnify hit own parts, did on a certain time persuade the King, that he was so well skilled in the secrets of nature, and more especially in the noble science of chemistry, that he could transmute any other metal into gold, if the King would please to bear the charges thereof: but after much time and treasure spent, and long expectation of this glorious effect, all proved abortive, and came to nothing; so that the vain Braggadocio fell into great contempt both with the King and people, which grieved him very sore: so that he sets all his wits on work how he might do somewhat that might regain his fame in the world, and at the same time recover the King's favour.

At last he gave out a report, that he would by flying, be in France before the King's ambassadors who were sent thither, and were, then actually under sail to pursue their voyage: And that this might not be all talk without any performance, he boldly appointed a day and place, which was Sterling, from whence to begin his flight; the noise whereof brought (you may be sure) a great concourse of. people together, among whom was the King himself.

When the time was come, the man gets up to the top of Sterling Castle, and having fastened the wings which he had made of the feathers of several fowls, to his sides, he lifts himself into the air, thinking to pursue his course; but alas, he came quickly down headlong to the. Ground, his

wings availing him nothing: whereupon the people, who knew not whether they should rather rebuke his presumption, or pity his misfortune, flocked about him, and asked him how he did: he made answer, that he had broken his thighbone, and despaired of ever flying any more; at which they all laughed their fill.

But this Icarus, to salve the matter, laid the fault of his flying wholly upon his wings, because they were not made of eagles feathers, and the like, but only of poultry, which were not fit to cut the air with flight, and which by a certain innate virtue, operating according to the nature of those fowl, drew the feathers downwards to the dunghill where those birds fed.



But to reassume the thread of our story; things continued in a tolerable state of tranquillity, till the death of **Henry VII.** (Left) the king's father in law; but Henry VIII. a young, ambitious, and active Prince, had not long mounted the English Throne, when he makes preparations to recover his right in the Kingdom of France.

The French King, to fortify himself as much as possible against the impending storm, required and of the King of Scotland, who, by his ambassadors, would have accommodated matters, and persuaded both Kings to a Peace: But King Henry persisting in his resolution, the Scot, won by French promises of money and ammunition, joins with them in league against England; and because the English commissioners appointed to accommodate the differences between both nations about some Irregularities and depredations committed upon the borders, would not come

up to their terms, James takes this occasion to send Lyon King at Arms to King Henry, by this time besieging Terwin, with letters of complaints, commanding him, for want of satisfying the contents of the said letters, to denounce war against England.

When Henry had read the letters, and advised with his council thereupon, he told the herald he would make him answer, if he would promise faithfully to declare the same to his master: Lyon replied, whatever his master commanded him to say to others, that he was obliged to do and would; but for the commands of others to his master, therein he desired to be excused: but added, your highness's letters that declare your pleasure I am willing to carry, though your answer requires doing, and not saying; I mean, that you should immediately return home.

The King sharply re-toned, I'll return at my own pleasure, to your damage, and not at thy master's summons: and so delivers him a Letter to carry to his master, importing he had received his full of frivolous complaints, which had been sufficiently answered before; sharply sets forth the baseness of the Scotch nation, but says at the same time, it was always their ancestors custom to invade his dominions in his absence, which they never offered, nor durst do while he was within the Land: but however, that he had taken caution for his security, and would not delay from his present enterprise, which the Scotch King had nothing to do with, as being no competent Judge (for so the Words are) of so high authority to require him in that behalf, etc.

But before the herald arrived, and the letters could be delivered, King James had precipitated his own fall at flodden field.

For having dispatched commissions for the raising of forces, he determines to put himself at the head of them before they were fully completed; but first goes to a place called Limuch, and there heard evensong, as they called it; where after he had entered the chapel, came an old man to him, whose Hair was somewhat of a yellow red, hanging-down over his Shoulders, his Forehead high with baldness, bare headed, clad in a bluish garment with a white girdle, and had a very reverend countenance, and said:

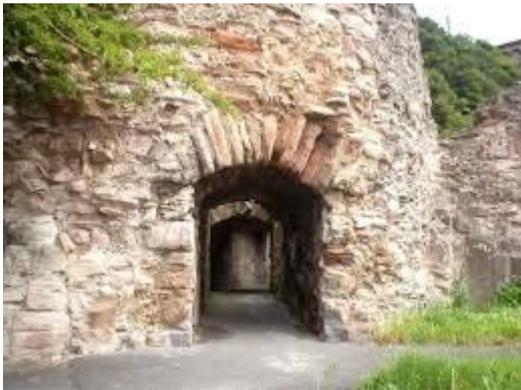
“King, I am sent to admonish thee that thou go not forward to the place which thou hast determined, which warning if thou dost despise, it shall succeed ill with thee, and all such as shall attend thee.

Further I am commanded to give thee intelligence beforehand, that thou eschew the familiarity and custom, or counsel of women; if thou do otherwise, it shall tend to thy dishonour and hurt.”

And when he had so said, he mingled himself with other company, and when prayers were over, and that the king sought for him, he could by no means be found; for he was never seen after the delivery of this message, which seemed the more strange, because that many who stood near him, and observing all he said, and intent to hear more from him, could not perceive his departure; of which number David Linsey, a person of known virtue and approved reputation, was one, who told me the same (saith Buchanan) of a most certain truth, or else I would have past it over for a fable, handed down to us by common fame.

But no premonitions from heaven, nor advises upon earth could divert the career of this wilful Prince, but on he goes towards Edinburgh, and there takes a review of his army, and hastily marches towards the English borders; takes in several lesser places, and ravages the highest parts of Northumberland.

In the mean time the King quite contrary to the premonition aforesaid being ensnared with the beauty of a noble captive, (she was Hern's wife of Ford) neglected military discipline, and his army lying idle, and in a barren country where provisions were very scarce; a great part of them



in discontent, disband and forsake the service; so that there were none but the nobles with their kindred and a few tenants that staid behind: For the greater part were of opinion, they should not tarry any longer in a Country that was so Poor, and withal, plundered, but rather to besiege Berwick, which they had left behind them; since the taking thereof alone would be much more honourable and advantageous than all the adjacent garrisons; and that the taking thereof would not be difficult, seeing the town and castle (left) were unprovided to make any considerable resistance.

The King who supposed there was nothing too hard for his arms, especially now the English were employed in the French wars, and being buoyed up by the flattery of his Courtiers, judged he could do that easily in his return; but while he lay loitering at Ford, came an English herald into his Camp, requiring him to appoint a day and place where both Armies might give battle; whereupon the King calls a counsel of war, wherein the greatest part were of opinion that it was most advisable they should return home, least they might with so small a force hazard the state of the whole Country, especially seeing they had already obtained sufficient renown, glory, and riches, and fully satisfied the league of friendship made with the French; neither could there be any appearance of reason, that they who were now so much diminished in their number, and so weakened with the fatigues they had undergone, should now be exposed to so great a multitude of English daily increasing with reinforcements; for it was rumoured then, that the Lord Thomas Howard was arrived in the English camp with six thousand old soldiers from before Turwin.

And for the further enforcing hereof, it was moreover added, that if the King did depart, the English army must necessarily separate, and could not be drawn together that year again, as being to march from the remotest parts of the Kingdom. But and if the King must needs fight, that then it were more advisable he should do it in his own Kingdom, keeping the appointment both of the time and place, always in his own power; But when the French ambassador and such

mercenary courtiers as took French pensions, opposed these arguments, the King, who was eager for Battle and to hasten his own ruin, was easily persuaded to wait for the enemy, in that place.

In the mean time when the English did not advance and engage at the day appointed by the herald; the Scotch nobility laid hold of the opportunity afresh to go to the King, before whom they laid the matter home again; Alleging, that the reason why they declined battle, was an artifice of the enemy only to gain time 'till all their forces were come together, while the Scotch dwindled away more and more; and therefore it was high time they should have recourse to the like policy, and since the enemy failed of their word, it was no ways disgraceful to the Scots either to return into their own country without giving them battle, or to fight within their own limits; of which counsel the first was infallibly the best, but if that were not approved off, there was abundant reason for to execute the latter.



For seeing that the River Till (left) was not fordable for some miles space, and could not be past by the Army but by one Bridge, there a few might be able to resist a great multitude; besides, if part of the English army were past the bridge, the same might easily be broken, by engines conveniently placed for that purpose, so as to obstruct the passage of the rest, to relieve them who of necessity must be cut to pieces.

But so was the King taken with his own conceit, that you had as good have talked to a dead Man as to him, upon this head; And therefore he slightly said, that if the English army were an hundred thousand strong, he would fight them, with which rash answer the nobility were very much displeased.

Whereupon Archibald Douglass, Earl of Angus, a man that far excelled the rest of the nobles, both in years and authority, endeavoured in a gentle oration to alter the King's resolutions, enlarges upon and shews the reasonableness and advantage of the former counsels given him by the nobility; for he made it appear, that the King had been punctual in the League with France and gratified their request, in that he had now turned the English arms before bent against the French, against himself, and against his own country; and had so ordered his own affairs, that those great armies should neither injure France, nor endamage Scotland, seeing they were not long able to keep the field in those cold countries and a barren soil, unfurnished of necessaries for the support of life through the calamity of the late wars, and which at best produced but little corn; but winter was drawing near which in those northern parts was felt betimes.

And (continued the Earl) as for the French ambassadors urging of us to come to a battle, I cannot think that should be looked upon as either new or strange by us, that a foreigner who hath no respect to the public good of this Kingdom, but to the private interest of his own Nation, should be so lavish of other men's blood:

And besides, his request is unreasonable and impudent; for he would have the Scots do that which the French King, a person of the highest prudence, thinks not fit to do for his own Kingdom and honour; neither should the miscarriage of this army be looked upon by him as a small loss, because they were not so numerous; for all those are here, who excel either in virtue, authority and counsel; and if these be once lost, the surviving commonalty will become an easy prey to the conquerors.

What, is it not at present safer and withal more profitable to protract the War? For if Lewis thinks that the English can either be exhausted by expenses, or wearied with delay, what can be better,

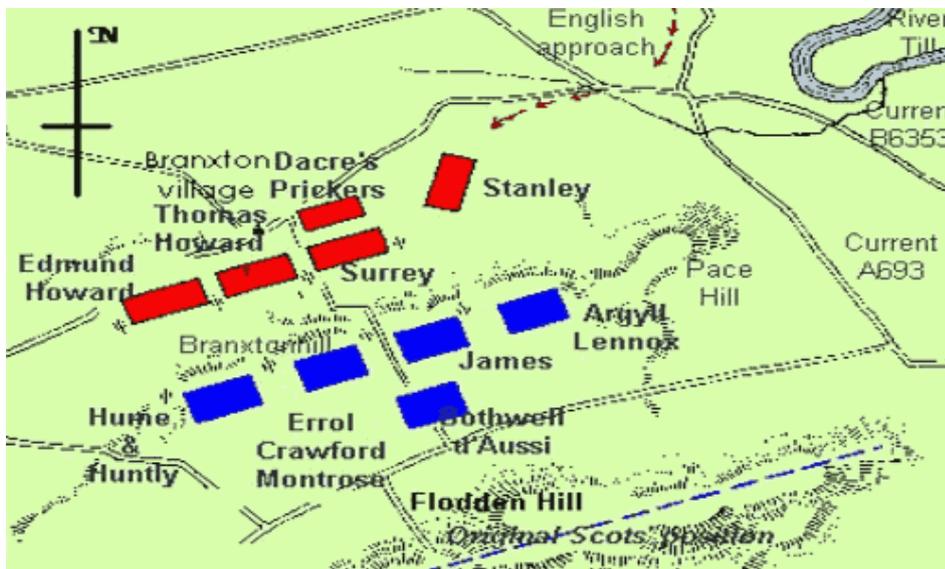
as to the present state of things, than for us to enforce the enemy to divide their forces, that we may keep one part of their Army to watch and look after our motion, making a continual shew of our readiness to make incursions, and by putting of them under a constant apprehension thereof, ease the burden of the French by our labour and vigilancy; and I think those men, who I fear, are more valiant in words than in actions, have sufficiently consulted for their glory and renown under which names they would couch their own temerity; for what could have been more honourable for the King, than to have raised so many strongholds, wasted all with fire and sword, and to carry away so great booty, that several years peace will not be able to reduce the country to its former state.

And what greater benefit can we expect from the war, than that amidst such clashing of armour and noise of war, we should enjoy rest with wealth and glory, to our greatest praise and commendation by refreshing our own soldiers, and to the ignominy and shame of the enemy?

For that sort of victory which is won more by counsel than by arms, is a property of man, but more peculiarly agreeable to the conduct of a great captain, in regard that the soldiers can claim no manner of share therein. Though all that were present discovered by their faces, their consent hereunto.

Yet it made no impressions upon the King, who had solemnly swore and was now fully bent to fight, and so he commanded Dowglass, if he was afraid of his life to return home. The Earl finding things thus precipitated through the Kings temerity, and foreseeing the dreadful event, burst forth into tears; and as soon as he was able to speak, said, if the former course of my life did not sufficiently vindicate my reputation from the opinion of cowardice, I know of no other reasons whereby to purge my self; I am sure while this body was able to endure the toils of war and other fatigues, I have never been sparing to employ the same, for the honour of my King

and good of my country.



But seeing my Counsels wherein alone I can now be useful, are despised, I'll leave my two Sons, who next my country are dearest to me, and the rest of my friends and kindred, as a certain pledge of my good will towards you and the public good; and I pray unto God

these my fears may prove false and abortive, and that I may rather be accounted a false prophet, than that what I fear and seem to behold should come to pass.

When he had thus spoken, he packs up his baggage and departs; the rest of the nobles seeing they could not draw the King to be of their mind, judged it ought to be their next care seeing they were inferior in number to the enemy (for they had learned by their scouts that the English army was six and twenty thousand strong was to fortify themselves by taking advantage of the ground, and so to pitch their camp on the adjacent hill, which was hard of access and which they fortified almost round with cannon; in the rear they had hills, from the foot of which to the east was a marsh that secured their left wing, and on their right they had the River Till, with high banks over which was a bridge, not far from the camp.

The English when they found by their spies, that there was no approaching of the Scotch camp without manifest danger, wheeled off from the River, and made as if they marched toward Berwick, and from thence straight to the adjacent part of Scotland to ravage the country, and a rumour of such a design increased the suspicion thereof.

Which rumour was some days before spread abroad, whether rashly or purposely feigned by the the English, that they might decoy the Scots from their strong holds down into the plains.

King James thinking that not to be endured, sets fire to his camp and marched; the smoke blinded the English so as that they could not discern the enemy marching; but at last both armies came to Flodden Hills almost unknown to one another. There the English march their artillery over the bridge and their army past the ford at Milford, and so draw up their army in battalia, as the situation of the ground, would admit, but in two bodies; seeming to have a design to cuff off the Scots provision.



In the first army the main body was commanded by the **Lord Thomas Howard, admiral**, (left) who not long before was come with a strong reinforcement to the army; the right wing by Edmund Howard, and the left by Marmaduke Constable.

The other body was so posted as if they had been for reserves, and also drawn up in a tripartite division, the right being commanded by Dacres, the left by Stanley, and the main body by the Earl of Surrey, who was general of the whole army.

The Scots made a fourfold distribution of their army, whereof the King himself commanded the main body, Alexander Gordon and Alexander Humes the right wing, Mathew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, Campbell, Earl of Argyle the Left: And Hepborn with the rest of the nobility of Lowthian, commanded the reserves.

Gordon begins the Battle and quickly routed the left wing of the English army, but returning from the chase he found the remainder of his wing almost cut to pieces. For the left wing commanded by Lennox and Argyle, being elated at their success, fell on Pell-Mell without keeping their ranks upon the enemy, leaving their ensigns behind them.

The French Ambassador doing all that ever he could to keep them back, as foreseeing, they rushed on headlong to their inevitable ruin; but the English stood the shock with undaunted bravery, and adding cunning to their valour, wheeled a body of their men about, which fell upon the rear of this disorderly rout and almost killed every man of them.

In the mean time the main body where the King was, with the reserves commanded by Hepborn, fought with great obstinacy, but at last were routed, but night coming on hindered the pursuit. Next morning the Earl of Surrey sent out Dacres with a party of horse to learn intelligence, who coming to the field of battle and finding the Scotch artillery without any guard up on them, and the greatest part of the slain un-stripped, he acquaints the general therewith; who sets his army loose to ransack the camp, and afterwards celebrated the victory with utmost joy.

And now we come to tell you of the King's fate himself: Our English historians generally agree that he was slain in this battle, the Scots for the most part oppose it; urging, that the body which was rifled in the field and taken to be his, was not so, but the body of one Alexander Elsinstone, a young gentleman resembling the King both in visage and stature, whom the King (that he might delude those that pursued him, and at the same time also with his own presence animate those

that fought elsewhere) had caused with all tokens of Royalist to be armed and appareled like himself.

But (says my English author Bishop Goodin) not to make use for an argument the great number of nobility that guarded their true King and consequently that their counterfeit ones fought elsewhere; Its manifest that his body was known by many of the prisoners, who certainly affirmed, that it could be no other than the King's, though by the multitude of his wounds it were very much disfigured; for his neck was laid open in the midst thereof with a long wound, his left arm almost cut off in two several places, could scarce hang to his shoulder, and had been besides



shot through several parts of his body with arrows; and this seems to have the greatest appearance of truth in it, though what Buchanan and others his countrymen, allege, is not improbable, viz. That after the King found the battle incline to the English without any hopes of retrieving it, he passed the **Tweed and near Kelso (left)** was slain by Humes's followers; it remaining uncertain, whether it was done by his command, or that these Ruffians thinking to gratify the humour of their Patron, were in hopes when the King was

once cut off, they might transact what villainy they pleased impunedly, but if he survived, they were in great apprehensions of being called to a severe account for their tardiness during the battle.

To which they also add other conjectures; that the very night after the battle, the monastery of Kelso was seized by one Carr a confident of Hume, and the Abbot chasheered, which, its likely, he durst not have attempted, if he had known the King had been alive: But these things are so uncertain, says Buchanan, that when Hume was afterward called to an account, and tried for the fact, by the Earl of Murrey, the King's base son; it came to nothing, they were not able to prove it upon him, but withal adds, tha Lawrence Faliser, a Person of integrity, but then a lad and spectator of of the action did often affirm to him, that he had seen the King on horse back pass the Tweed; and hence many took occasion to report (which lasted many years) that the King was alive, and would appear in due time, after he had paid his vow of going to Jerusalem to view the Holy Sepulchre.

But this savours too much like the legendary story of Arthur of old, and of Charles Duke of Burgundy not many years before, of whom they related such another tale; But to return and take for granted, that he died (as before noted) upon the place of battle, his body being enclosed in a sheet of lead was brought into England, and by the Kings Command laid in some bye vault or corner without any funeral rites, he saying,

“That it was a due punishment for one who had perjuriously broken his league; So that Death it self had not put a period to his misfortune;”

Though otherwise he was a Prince of great perfections both of body and mind, and endued with most of those Royal virtues that are necessary for the equal poise of a Sceptre, which caused that sharp, but true saying, to drop from the pen of a learned author upon, him that he perished:

Non suo, sed Stuartorum Fato.

The loss of James III. in this manner, seemed to carry with it the most dreadful presages of confusion and misery that ever threatened any country, for he left his Queen Margaret and two sons behind him, the eldest where of James V. that succeeded him in the Kingdom being not

fully two years old; most of the nobility who bore any thing of wisdom and authority before them, being slain in the aforesaid battle, and the major part of such as survived, by reason of their youth, or incapacity of their mind, very unfit to meddle with matters of state; especially in so tetchy a time as that was.



And those who were left alive of the better sort who had any thing of prudence, through ambition and covetousness, abhorring all counsels, tending to peace and concord.

However something must be done for the public weal and as the fittest expedient for a settlement, a parliament was convened at Sterling, who Proclaimed James V. King, and according to the diseased King's will; The Queen was constituted Regent of the Kingdom so long as she remained a widow; But she soon after marrying **Archibald Dowglass Earl of Angus** (left) a young gentleman, who for lineage, comeliness, and other accomplishments might be ranked amongst the prime nobility of Scotland, lost her office and authority, and this occasioned a great feud among the nobility.

The Dowglassian party endeavoured to have the Queen continued in the office; Alleging, that this was the way to have peace with England, which was not only advantageous, but highly necessary for them at that time, as matters stood with them: But the Humes, whereof Alexander Hume Warden of all the Marches and a very potent man, was head, making up the adverse faction, under pretence of public good, and that it was against the old laws of the Kingdom to have a woman, however otherwise dignified, to be regent, stiffly opposed the Queen and her adherents; so that at last after they had passionately struggled about the choice, either out of wicked ambition or secret envy;

They past by all that were there present and incline to choose John Duke of Albany son of Alexander, (of whom we have spoken before) Brother of James III. and who lived then in good repute in France, from whence soon after he arrived in Scotland.

The Duke was ignorant of the old customs of the country, as having been bred abroad all his days, which John Hepburn a crafty knave and one who had contested with Andrew Foreman, about the Archbishopric of St. Andrew's a little before, well observing, makes it his business to insinuate himself into the Regents favour, under pretence of informing him of the laws and manners of the land, but in truth and reality that he might advance himself upon the wrack and ruin of others.

And to this end he tells the regent, there were at that time three Factions in the Kingdom, the one headed by Archibald, Dowglass, Earl of Angus, the Queens husband, who was wonderfully popular, and upon the account of his alliance with England, and his own personal and hereditary merits, bore a spirit too big for a private man.

Alexander Hume was the next, whose power and interest was so great, that there was a necessity of repressing of him in time; foreman his former competitor was the third, who, said he 'twas true, was not to be feared upon the account of kindred and nobleness of descent, yet by reason of his great wealth he would make a great accession of strength to what party soever he inclined.

But to this last part the governor gave little heed, as knowing it to be an invidious accusation of Hepburn proceeding from the noted feuds between foreman and himself. But the suspicion of Hume sunk deeper into the Regent's mind, which the other quickly perceiving, he falls in for his own security with the interest of the Queen and her husband, and lamenting the danger the

young King might be in, if he should fall into the Regent's hands, who was next heir and bent to translate the Kingdom to himself; he persuades the Queen to retire with the King to her brother into England.

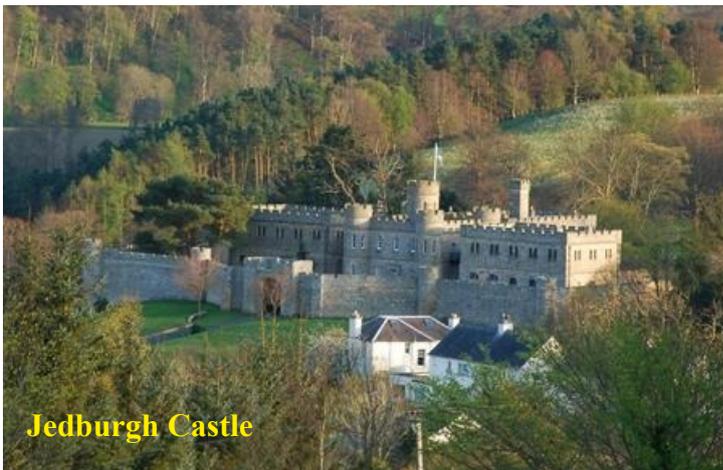
But these consultations were not so secretly carried on, but that the governor had notice thereof, who being an active man, hastens with all his forces to Sterling and quickly took the castle with the King and Queen in it; and so takes the poor King from the Mothers bosom, appointing him to be kept and managed as he pleased.



Upon which Hume and his Brother William flee into England, and the Queen with her husband soon followed them the Regent was concerned at their departure, sets all his engines at work to procure their return, which Douglass the Queen's Husband and the Humes soon after did; but Alexander Hume contrary to many large promises, being summoned to appear before the assembly of estates, refused to come, and thinking himself aggrieved, encouraged Tories to commit great outrages in the neighbourhood; for which being like to be called to an account by an armed power, he was persuaded to surrender himself, so was committed to the custody of **James Hamilton, Earl of Arran**, (left) his sisters husband, at Edenburg, with a charge that himself should be esteemed a Traitor if he suffered him to escape.

But Hume persuades Hamilton to make his escape with him, and to make a party so as to enter upon the government himself he being the next heir after the former King's children, in regard he was born of a sister of James III. and therefore it was more just he should enjoy the next place to the King then John, who, its true, was the son of a brother, but born in exile, and in all other things a perfect foreigner, and one that could not as much as speak the Scottish language.

With them joins John Stuart, Earl of Lennox, with many of his followers, but the Earl was soon after reconciled to the governor and it was not long before they had hard measure. The Regent having brought things into a tolerable state of settlement, constitutes seven deputies, whereof the Earl of Angus was one, and goes over into France where he staid five years, which were full of rapine, scuffles, and inquietude, but I do not find but that the young King continued all this while in the same hands.



Jedburgh Castle

But the Regent finding that in his absence the Douglasses had mightily prevailed, he in order to prevent further sedition, sends the Earl of Angus, head of that family into France, and another of the name to Rome, who died by the way; and next year, after his return, raised an army to invade England, in favour of the French. But the nobility opposed his design, and so he was forced to disband, and quickly upon that, goes

into France again.

The English army in the mean time enter Scotland, carry all before them, and take Jedburgh, and endeavour by their navy to intercept the Regent in his return, but herein they failed, and he with the followers he brought with him from France, completes another army, actually

invades England, and besieged the Castle of Work: But finding a vigorous resistance, and withal winter approaching, breaks up his siege.

The spring following, he calls an assembly of the nobles, tells them the causes why he must needs go again into France, but promised them a speedy return, yet he never did: For the young King upon advice from his mother, and most of the nobility, enters upon the government himself, and so vacates the Regent's power.

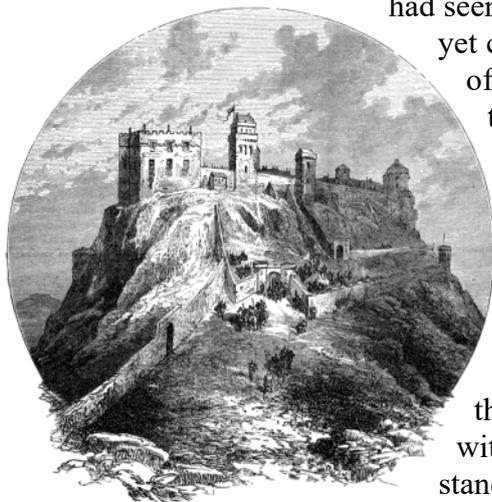
And now the mystery of iniquity begins to work, for though the King had assumed the Royal power, yet he and his Kingdom shall be subject to the will of others, as much and more than before.

You have heard how Archibald Douglass had been sent by the Regent into France, who hearing of this alteration at home, sent one Simon Penning, an active person and one in whom he confided very much, to the King of England, to persuade him, to let him to return home through his dominions, which was granted; for it seems King Henry was well enough pleased at the diminution of the authority of so active a person as the Duke of Albany, and at the change made in Scotland, so that the Earl was entertained by him in a very Courteous manner, and dismissed honourably.

But his return did variously affect the minds of the Scots, for seeing all the Public business now transacted by the conduct of the Queen and the Earl of Arran, a great many of the nobility, the head whereof were John Steward, Earl of Lennox, and Campbell Earl of Argyle, taking it in very ill part that they were not admitted to any part of the public administration, received the Earl of Angus with high expressions of joy, as hoping by his aid, either to gain over the power of the adverse faction to themselves, or at least to abate their pride.

On the other hand, the Queen, who was alienated from her Husband, was much concerned at his arrival, and sought by all means to undermine him: Hamilton also out of the relicts of his own hatred was none of his friend; besides he feared, lest Douglass, who, he knew, would not be content with a second place, should mount the saddle, and make him truckle under, so that he strained to maintain his own dignity, and opposed him with all his might.

They kept themselves therefore within **Edenburg (Edinburgh) Castle**, (life) and though they had seen very well, that many of the nobility affected alterations, yet considering in the strength of the place and the Authority of the kingly name, (a sorry defence) they thought themselves secure from all force. In the mean time the opposite party held a great meeting of the nobles, where they chose three of their own faction to be guardians both of King and Kingdom, and who should they be, but the Earl of Angus, John Steward Earl of Lennox, and Colin Campbell Earl of Argyle.



And using great celerity in their business, first they passed the Forth, and caused James Beaton, a shrewd Man, to join with them; who perceiving the strength of the party, durst not stand out.

From thence they went to Sterling, and conferred all public offices and employments upon such as were of their own gang only, and afterwards directed their march for Edenburg, which they entered without any resistance.

For it was not Fortified at all, and immediately fell to work with the castle, about which they cast a small trench and besieged it. The defendants who had made no provision for a siege

surrendered up both it, themselves, King and all. All were sent away but the King, who now had more especially three new masters before named, and who take the whole weight of the government upon their shoulders.

They agreed among themselves, that they would manage it by turns, each of them attending four months a piece upon the King, who was their prey: But this conjunction was neither hearty nor of long duration. Douglass, his turn was first served, who brought the King into the Archbishop of St. Andrew's House, and made use of all the Bishop's furniture and other accommodations as if they had been his own. (for he had a little before revolted from their Faction) and that the Earl might engage the King the more, he suffered him to wallow in all kind of sensual delights: But yet he obtained not his end neither, in regard the Kings dome sticks were corrupted by the adverse faction, headed by the Queen and the Earl of Arran.

It was not long e're Douglass outed his two colleagues, and assumed the whole Regency to his own hands, distributing civil and ecclesiastical preferments unto his kindred and followers at pleasure, to the injury of diverse others, who had no power to resist; The Earl of Argyle did indeed voluntarily withdraw himself from the triumvirate: And Lennox though he followed the King, yet finding the Douglasses share all beneficial offices amongst themselves, he gave many testimonies of his dislike, and that his mind was quite alienated from them.

But they confident of their power, slighted the reports and ill will of others. In the mean time the King, though he were used more indulgently then was fit for him, that so he might be the longer kept in subjection unto their wills, yet notwithstanding by little and little growing weary of their government, and being also alienated from them by the accusations of his own domestics, who charged them some times truly, and sometimes otherwise, always interpreting their doubtful actions in the worse sense; whereupon he held secret cabals with such as he could trust, concerning vindicating himself into his freedom and liberty.



And having understood the dissatisfaction conceived by the Earl of Lennox against the proceedings of the Douglasses, he stuck not to open his mind and make him privy of his designs; And while they were consulting about the time, place, and manner, of accomplishing the same; Douglass was making divers expeditions against the country, rovers but with no great success, so that at length about the end of July he resolved to carry the King into Tiviotdale as supposing his presence would be advantageous, to strike a terror into the

licentious.

Thus an assembly being held at Jedburg, all the heads of the chief families round about were called together by the Kings order, and commanded to apprehend those criminals every one within his own precincts, of which they had then a list given them: Thus, while the minds of all were merry and jocund, they who had a design to free the King from the pupilage of the Douglasses, thought that a good opportunity to effect it because one Walter Scot being not far from Jedburg, had great clanships in the countries thereabouts and had engaged in their interests.

And thus they laid their project; Walter was to invite the King to his house, and there he was to remain with his own good liking till greater forces came in, at the noise of the thing: But their design by what followed seemed to have been discovered either by chance or some private intimation; whereupon the King was carried back to Mulross, yet Walter, was not discovered, but proceeded on strait in his Journey to the King.

When he was a little way off, the frightful News was brought to the Douglasses, that Walter was at hand, well armed himself and accompanied by a great troop of armed men; so that there was no question to be made, but he being a factions man, and withal valiant and audacious, did intend some mischief, insomuch that they presently ran to their arms.

Douglass though inferior in number, yet knowing what men he had of his own, were chosen ones, and that he had besides several valiant persons of the family of the Carrs and Humes in his train; with John Hume and Andrew Car their principals, he did resolved to give them battle.

When they were just ready to engage; Douglass commands George Hume to alight from his horse, and to manage his part in the fight, who answered, he would not: No not if the King himself commanded him. This struck some damp upon the Douglasses, however to make a virtue of necessity they fell on with very great fury, as men who had their King, and who was the price of the combat, to be spectator; the Earl of Lennox standing by the King all the while, and not striking a stroke.

At last Walter Scot happening to be wounded, his men began to give ground, and at length fled outright; but the loss of Andrew Car, a Person of singular eminency did very much allay the joy of the Douglasses for this victory, and the carriage of Lennox, heightened their jealousy of him, so that he thought it advisable to leave the court; and leave the King still a captive and without hopes of releasement.

The Douglassians perceiving themselves subject to the envy of many, endeavoured to strengthen their faction by the acquisition of more friends, and to that end, they prudently make up the old breach betwixt them and the Hamiltons, a family abounding in wealth, number, and greatness, and admitted them into a share of the government.

On the other hand the Earl of Lennox was highly in favour of most people, and having privately obtained the King's Letters to most of the nobility, who he thought would have kept his counsel, he mightily strengthened his party; wherefore in a convention of his faction at Sterling, where James Beaton and several other Bishops were present, he openly propounded to them the design of asserting the King to Liberty, which was unanimously agreed to, though the day appointed for mustering their forces was not yet come.



Yet hearing that the Hamiltons were assembled at Linlithgow to intercept their march, it was thought advisable to attack them, before they joined with the Douglasses, and accordingly Lennox with what present force he had with him marched directly towards them.

But the Hamiltons having got intelligence, that the Earl would march out of Sterling that day early in the morning, had called the Douglassians out of Edenburg to their assistance before: But the King to favour Lennox as well as his own liberty, as he thought, did, besides other obstacles, somewhat retard them, by pretending himself not well, so that he got up later out of his bed that day than ordinary. And besides, marched very slowly, and upon the way would often turn aside to ease nature, as if he had been troubled with a lask.

And when George Douglass had in vain flattered him to make more hast, at last he broke forth in these menacing words, saying, Sir, rather than our enemies should take you from us, we will lay hold on your body, and if it be rent in pieces, we will be sure to retain one part thereof.

Which words made such an impression upon his mind that when the Douglasses were banished some years after, and that he had some inclination to recall the rest of them, yet he could not endure to hear any body speak of a reconciliation with this George.



The Hamiltons betwixt fear of the enemies approaching, and hope of aid at hand, had set themselves in array at the bridge of the **River Aven (Avon - left)**, which is about a mile from Linlithgow, and placed a small guard upon the bridge to secure the pass, and drew up the rest of their forces at the brow of the hill, which they knew the enemy must pass: Lennox seeing that this passage over the bridge was stopped, commanded his men to pass over a small river, a little above by the nunnery, called Manuell, and so to beat the Hamiltonians from the hills,

before Douglass's forces had joined them.

The Lennoxians advanced towards the enemy thorough thick and thin, but were much incommoded by the others throwing of stones down the hills upon them, and when they came to handy strokes the word was given that the Douglasses were at hand; and indeed they from their march ran in hastily into the fight, and soon carried the day, so that Lennox's men were grievously wounded and put to flight.

The victory was used by the Hamiltonians with much cruelty, and among the number of the slain, was the Earl of Lennox himself, highly lamented by all persons, and more especially, by the King himself, who now saw no visible hopes of ever retrieving his liberty, and could not choose but see, how fatal his presence was to all that attempted it.

Now the Douglasses are Lords paramount and carry all before them, those that had taken up arms against their King, as they phrased it, for fear of a trail, were forced to compound with them for money, or to put themselves into the clanships of the Hamiltons or themselves; and such as refused they utterly ruined, yea and the Queen her self thought fit to retire to a place of secrecy least she should fall into the hands of her husband whom she hated.

But fury abating with time, and the Douglasses being severally intent upon other matters and concerns, and secure, as they thought as to the Kings departure from them, gave him at last an opportunity to gain his liberty, which all the former attempts of his friends could not effect for him.

They believed now, that his mind was fully reconciled to them by those blandishments and immoderate pleasures they had indulged him in, and besides, thought that if he were minded to remove, there was no faction strong enough to oppose them, neither was there any strong Garrison whither to retire but only to Sterling Castle, which was allotted to the Queen for her habitation.

And then it was deserted for a time by the Queens officers when she hid her self for fear of the Dowglasses, and when the tumult was a little appeased, 'twas somewhat fortified, but rather for a shew then any real defence.

The King having obtained some small relaxation, saw that this must be his only refuge, and therefore he deals privately with his mother to exchange that castle and the lands adjoining for other lands, as convenient for her; and providing all other requisites, as private as he could, the

Douglasses not being so intent, as formerly in their watch over him, he retired by night with a small retinue from Falkland to Sterling, whither he soon sent for some of the nobles to come to him, and others hearing the news came of their own accord, so that now he seemed sufficiently secured against all force.

Then he issued out a proclamation that the Douglasses should abstain from all the administration of public affairs, and that none of their dependants should come within 12 miles of the court upon pain of death. This proclamation was quickly seconded with an assembly of the nobles at Edenburg, where they had such terms offered them, as they would not accept, whereupon their offices were taken from them; and themselves summoned to attend the parliament at Edenburg.



But they knowing the danger, Endeavoured to seize upon Edenburg, and dissolve the parliament, but failed in the attempt. So that the Earl of Angus retired to his castle of Tantallon; and the Parliament proceeded in their business, and the Earl with his brothers, relations, and intimate friends were outlawed.

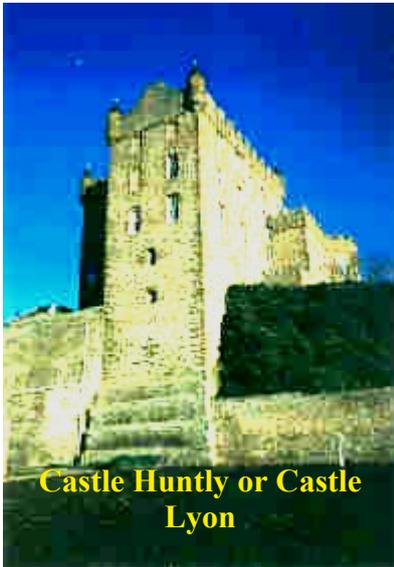
They on the other hand being enraged at these proceedings and seeing all hopes of Pardon cut off, betook themselves to open force, and committed all sorts of outrages upon the lands

of their enemies and with their horse advanced many times to the very gates of Edenburg, so that the city was almost besieged by them. The King thinking to un-roost them all at once, raises forces and lays siege to Tantallon Castle, but all that ever he could do, could not take it: At length the Douglasses finding the Hamiltons and the rest of their friends fail them, found it necessary to retire for their better safety into England, from whence came ambassadors shortly after about settling a firm peace between both Kingdoms and with the same labour to procure the restitution of the Douglasses.

King James was mighty desirous to have Tantallon Castle in his Power, and at the same time his mind as averse to the restoration of the Douglasses, and for that reason the matter was canvassed too and fro for some days, and no temper of accommodation could be found out: But at length they came to this; That Tantallon Castle should be surrendered to King James, a truce between both nations for five years, and the other demands in reference to the Douglasses he promised to grant under his signet. When the Castle was surrendered according to composition, the King failed of his Royal word, and not one of the Douglasses were permitted to return; which was foul prevarication in him, and a stain that will not easily be blotted off his memory, seeing this was a principal matter in the agreement and the equivalent for the castle.

The truce about half expired, was infringed by a war between both nations: which the French ambassador endeavoured to compose, and about the same time, James transacts with the French King and afterward with the Emperor about a match, which was like to endanger his life; For the Hamiltons almost confident of the succession, yet looking upon it a long way about to stay either for fortuitous or natural dangers to befall him, and fearful in case he married, he might have lawful issue of his own, studied to hasten his death by treachery, a fair opportunity was offered them to effect it by his night-walkings to his Misses, having but one or two in company, but however it were, they ne'er could put their purpose in Execution.

The Emperor's offers were rejected and at last he went over himself into France to seek him a Wife, and brings over along with him Magdalen daughter to Francis the French King, but she died soon after and had no issue. The Death of Magdalen did but whet his desires to get him another wife, and to that end he dispatched Cardinal David Beaton and others into France to treat of a match between himself and Mary of the House of Guise, widdow to the Duke



before her arrival in Scotland, John Forbes a young Gentleman of a great family, was accused of a design he had many years before to assassinate the King: it was believed to be a malicious prosecution of the Huntleys, but condemned he was, and lost his Head.

And a few days after came on another trial, which on the account of the family of the accused parties, the novelty of it, and the heinousness of the punishment, was very lamentable and tragical, and plainly shews the King's mind was cruel and implacable. Joan Douglass, sister to the Earl of Angus, of whom we have said so much, and wife to John Lyons Lord of Glames; also her son and latter husband, Gilespy Campbell, John Lyons, Kinsman to her former husband, and an old priest, were accused for endeavouring to poison the King.

All these, though they lived continually in the country far from the court, and their friends and servants could not be brought to witness any thing against them, yet were put on the rack, to extort a confession from them, and so were condemned and shut up in Edinburgh-Castle.

Joan Douglass was burnt alive, with great commiseration of all the spectators; the nobleness of both herself and husband did much affect the beholders: besides, she was in the vigour of her youth, much celebrated for her rare beauty, and in her very punishment she shewed a manlike fortitude.

But that which people were more concerned for, was, that they thought the Enmity against her brother, who was banished, did her more prejudice than her own objected crime. Her husband endeavoured to escape out of the castle of Edinburgh, but the rope being too short to let him down to the foot of the rock, brake almost all the bones of his body with the fall, and so ended his days.

Their son, a young man, and of greater innocent simplicity, than to have the suspicion of such a wickedness justly charged upon him, was for all that shut up a prisoner in the castle; and the accuser of all these, William Lyons by name, afterwards perceiving that so eminent a family was like to be utterly ruined by his false Information, repented when it was too late, and confessed his offence to the king: yet so so bloody was he (an instance I think hardly to be paralleled in all the records of time) that it did not prevent the execution of the condemned, or hinder their estates from being confiscated; and the aforesaid young gentleman was not discharged from his imprisonment, and restored to his inheritance, till after the King's death, which is now upon the wing.

But as we have given you the tragical part of his past life in all the circumstances of it, we shall depart unto you all the concurrent causes of his tragical and untimely death. And to that end, we are necessitated to recount some few things to you, that in order of time precede: and you must note, that King Henry VIII. having upon the account of his divorce from Queen Catherine, proclaimed himself head of the church, and utterly disclaimed the Pope's authority in England.

He thereby contracted great enmity not only from Rome, but also from Spain and the Empire: wherefore to strengthen himself against any combination that he expected to be made against him, he was desirous to entertain a strict amity with his nephew, James V of Scotland; and to that end directs ambassadors to him, inviting him to a conference at York, whither Henry offered to come and meet him: alleging, that by such an interview matters might be better concerted for the mutual interest of both Kingdoms. King James, after a serious deliberation, returns answer, he would attend his uncle at the time and place appointed; who thereupon made very great preparations to entertain him with utmost solemnity.

But the Scotch Clergy, apprehensive lest their King, through his uncle's persuasions and example, might be wrought upon to shake off the Pope's authority in Scotland, as he had done in his own dominions, resolve to do the utmost of their endeavours to prevent the intended interview: and so mustering up all their forces, by themselves and the King's minions and flatterers, acquaint him with the evil consequence of his going to England; shew how King James I. had been kept prisoner in England; how ill the French their old confederates and the Emperor would take it at his hands.

That King Henry was excommunicate; that a dangerous heresy had overspread not only the greatest part of that Kingdom, but had infected even the King himself; that many of his own nobility were favourers of the said heresy, which notwithstanding if he took care timously to suppress, it would be of mighty advantage to him, and he might very much increase his revenue by their estates; a list of whose names they presented to him, which he put in his pocket, thinking it a very profitable proposal, and therefore with all expedition to be put in execution.



The Lord Grange, (left) his treasurer, and who secretly favoured the reformation, was then much in his favour; and to him the King shews the aforesaid list, telling him what great advantage he would make of it; whereat the treasurer smiled, and withal desired leave to speak his mind freely; upon which the King drew his sword, and merrily said to him, I'll kill thee if thou speak against my profit.

Then the treasurer began to set before him at large the various troubles of his reign while in minority, and what a hand the clergy had in all the disorders; that he had not been long a free Prince, and that though his Majesty had done very much in the time, in settling the Highlands and the Borders, yet desired him to consider of what a dangerous consequence it might be if his nobility should get intelligence, that some greedy fetches had been insinuated to him under pretence of heresy, to despoil them of their lives and inheritances; and thereby endanger his own estate at the instance of those whose estates were in danger, and who would hazard him and his to have their own: I mean (continued the Treasurer) the prelates, who are afraid lest your Majesty, according to the example of the Kings of England and Denmark, and other Princes of the Empire, should make the like reformation among them; and therefore they are clearly against your having any familiarity with the King of England, or to have your affairs so settled, as to give you leisure to look into and reform the abuses of the church.

Then he went on, and shewed him how the revenues of the crown :were wasted, and the vast expenses of the clergy, their addictedness to the Pope, their sly carriage in insinuating themselves into all secrets of state; the wisdom of the Venetians in that particular, in excluding the whole Levitical order from their senate house ; the gross abuses of the Church of Rome; the scandalous lives of the Scotch clergy; and last of all, urged how dishonourable and dangerous it would be to his Majesty not to keep his word with the King of England, who was a valiant prince, and of an high stomach, and appeared for the time to have an upright meaning, his occasions pressing him thereto.

And that having but only one daughter, and being himself grown fat and corpulent; there were but small hopes of his having any more children, and that therefore it was his undoubted interest to hold a good correspondence with him, being his sister's son, nearest of blood, and ablest to maintain and unite the whole island of Britain,

That the detention of King James I. in England was a far different case, and desired him to consider what bad success the King his father had, in making war against the King of England,

his brother; that that was, but too manifestly felt by all the subjects, and that little better was to be looked for, if a new and unnecessary war were begun, by his refusing to be at the intended meeting at York.

This speech was sufficient to convince him, had not his stars inclined him otherwise, that his true Interest was to conform himself to the will of his uncle King Henry; however, for the present he was mightily pleased with it, and seemed resolved to follow the treasurer's advice: and at his first meeting with the prelates, who carried then a very great sway in the country, he could not contain himself any longer, when they came to him, hoping to find their plots put in execution; but after many sharp words and expostulations, that they should advise him to use such cruelty upon so many noblemen and barons, to the endangering of his own repose; he said:-

Wherefore gave my predecessors so many lands and rents to the Kirk? Was it to maintain hawks, dogs and whores for a company of idle priests? The King of England burns, the King of Denmark beheads you, I shall stick you with this whinyard;

—and thereupon whips out his dagger, which made them all scour out of his presence with trembling hearts; the King declaring himself resolved to keep his promise aforesaid with his uncle, esteeming it now both his honour and interest so to do.



This procedure of the King struck a terrible damp upon the prelates spirits, who found themselves now in a very desperate state; however, not to be wanting to themselves and cause, they began again to re-assume some courage, and enter upon consultation how to gain the King back again to their bow: and knowing that money was a bait that seldom failed, and would be very likely to catch him, they make an offer in the first place to pay him yearly out of the rents of the Church, the sum of fifty thousand crowns for the maintenance of some regular troops, besides the ordinary subjects which obeyed his proclamation, in case the King of England made war upon Scotland, upon the King's failure to

keep the appointment at York.

Yet they concluded, that unless the matter was proposed, and favourably interpreted to the King by such as had his ear, that would not do the business.

Wherefore they made very liberal gifts unto the King's familiar servants, with an additional promise to Oliver Sinclair, that they would procure him to be advanced to great honours, and made general of the whole army against England, in case King Henry intended to make war against their nation; which they affirmed he neither would nor durst do, having already so many irons in the Fire.

Having laid this project, they proceeded to put it in execution, and so communicated the fame to the minions of the court, which was cheerfully agreed to by them, who by their vile flattery obtained the greatest favour: But the chief bait they laid for the King, and wrought their Ends by, was by alluring of pretty women to him, each striving to be the first that should advertise him, whole daughter such a one was, and how she might be obtained. But the treasurer's presence, whom they feared and knew to be a man of resolution, very much obstructed their designs; wherefore a convenient opportunity was to be attended for in his absence from court, which happened not long after: for the King had given the ward and Marriage of Kelley in the County of Angus to his second son, and he went thither to take possession thereof.

Thereupon they fall to work, make their proposals to the King, which were stoutly backed by Oliver Sinclair, and such of the clergy as had best acquaintance at court, and especially at the time when they gratified his lust with men's wives and maidens, as before noted; and with all this oiling they found him at last pretty pliable, and this induced them to lay hold of the opportunity to ruin the treasurer, whom they suspected to be the only *remora* of their whole design; and therefore they lay before him how that he was turned heretic, and had always a New Testament in English in his pocket: and besides, that through his Majesty's favour he was grown so high and so proud, that there was no enduring of him; but withal so extremely covetous, that he was the un-fittest man alive for that office; and overbold for procuring of the King the ward of Kelley for his second son, which was worth twenty thousand pounds.

But to this the King answered:-



“that he looked upon his treasurer to be a plain honest gentleman; that he loved him so well as that he would give him again the said ward and marriage for a word of his mouth.”

The Prior of Pittenweem, a cunning fox, replies:-

“Sir, the heiress of Kelley is a jolly fair lass, and I dare venture my life, that if your Majesty will send for her presently, he will refuse to send her.”

But the King affirmed still the contrary, till at last they procured him to send actually for the young woman and the prelates and their faction contrived it so, that the laid Prior of Pittenweem should carry the letter, and conduit the young woman back to the King: but when he came, the treasurer, who knew him to be his deadly enemy, refused to deliver her, alleging the, said prior to have been all his days a vile whore-master, having deflowered several virgins; and so thought him unfit for such a charge.

This was what the prior wanted, and so very joyfully he returned with the answer to the King; to whom, together with his wicked associates, he handled the matter with that finesse and industry, that he rendered the treasurer very obnoxious to him; and so far as that he granted a warrant to commit him into custody within Edinburgh castle, which they forgot not to do as soon as ever he came to court.

But the treasurer, suspecting some evil practices against him during his absence, thought no way so proper and effectual for his security, as to get with all diligence into the King's pretence, which, notwithstanding all their conspiracies, he effected, and found him at supper: but when he came there, the King looked down, and would neither speak to him nor know him; whereat he was not a little concerned: however he would not put the matter up so, but advanced nearer the king's person, and said:-

“Sir, what offence have I done? who had so much of your favour when I parted from you with your permission.”

The King answered:-

“Why did you refuse to send me the maiden whom I wrote for, and gave despiteful language to him I sent for her?”

Sir, said he,

“there is none about your Majesty dare avow such a thing to my face: as for the maiden, I told the prior, that I was well enough to be the messenger myself to convey her to your majesty, but thought him an unmeet person, whom I knew to be a lover of women, and the greatest deflowerer of wives and maidens in Scotland.”

Then the King said,

“Hast thou then brought the gentlewomen with thee?”

“Yes Sir,” said he,

“Alas,” saith the King,

“they have told me so many lies of thee, that they have got a warrant from me to commit thee to prison; but I shall mend it with a contrary command.”

Then said the Treasurer lamentingly,

“My life or imprisonment is but a small matter, but it breaks my heart that the world should hear of your Majesty’s facility:”

—for he had heard, that during his absence they had caused the King to send to England, and to give over the designed interview at York.



The prelates having gained this point, they jog the King forwards to prosecute the reformed, and get James Hamilton, bastard brother to the Earl of Arran, (left) and a fit instrument for their purpose, to be judge in matters of religion. about the same time came into Scotland one James Hamilton; cousin German to the aforesaid James, who, after long banishment, at length got leave to return to his country for a time, to prosecute a lawsuit he had against the bastard James.

But when he found, after his arrival, what dangers himself and other true professors of the Gospel were in, he dispatched his son to the King, who was then going over to Fife, and having got to him before he was gone on board, he acquaints him tremblingly, who was by nature very suspicious, that it was a matter of great moment, and would prove dangerous to the whole Kingdom, unless the King would take care to secure Hamilton, and take away his, commission.

The King, who was then hastening to Fife, sent the young man to Edinburgh to the lords of the sessions; and orders James Lermouth, James Kennedy, and Thomas Aresky to meet, and charged them to give as much heed to what the messenger should declare, as if he himself were present; and sent them a ring, which they knew, from off his finger for a token.

These having let their heads together, secure James, who had just dined, and was ready for his journey, in his own house, and sent him prisoner to the castle: but when they learned by their spies, that the King, upon earnest application made to him on his behalf, was inclined to discharge him; and that besides the danger the public might be in, they themselves had reason to fear, left if so factious and powerful a man, and now provoked by so great an ignominy, did come off clear, he would, be sharply and severely revenged; they posted to court, and persuaded the King,

by laying the nearness of the danger, the wicked disposition, cruel mind, and wealth of the man, as much as possibly they could before him, not to discharge him without a trial.

The King therefore going to Edinburgh, and from thence to Seaton, commands him to be tried for his life, who having been convicted, lost his head. The crime laid to his charge was, that he had on a certain day determined to break the doors open, and to murder the King, and had secret cabals with the Douglasses, that were public enemies.

Strange proceedings those were, though the man died in a manner unlamented, as being obnoxious to most people, and having led a most wicked life; only the priesthood were much concerned at his fall, as having placed all the hopes of their fortunes in his welfare.

But however he might have been an ill man otherwise, by the sequel it was interpreted, that the King had done little less than murdered him; for from henceforth he was grievously afflicted with turbulent dreams, whereof amongst the rest this was one: He saw this same James Hamilton rush into his presence with a drawn sword, and first cut off his right arm and then his left; and when he had threatened to return in a short time, and cut off his head, he vanished.

The King when he awoke was in a great fright, and while he revolved with himself upon the event of his dream, presently comes news to him, that both his sons, one at St. Andrews, and the other in Sterling, were dead almost in the very same moment of time. This was black and ominous upon him; and now we come to shew you his exit which was violent, as well as the rest that went before him.



When Henry VIII. (Left) found himself thus barely disappointed by his nephew, he was not a little incensed thereat, and prepared an army to invade Scotland. There were near two years spent with nothing but incursions of both sides, there being neither a certain peace nor a just war between them: at length the army under the command of the Duke of Norfolk drew near to the Marches, the Scots encounter the Duke with an herald to expostulate concerning the motives of the war; and withal dispatched the Lord Gordon, with some small forces to defend the frontiers.

The herald was detained till the English army came to Berwick, to prevent his giving them intelligence of their strength; and in October the Duke entering Scotland, continued there ransacking the country, without any apposition, till the middle of November; by which time King James had levied a great army, and was resolved on a battle.

The nobility did all they could to dissuade him from it, and especially shewed a great unwillingness that he should any way hazard his own person; the loss of his father in like manner being fresh in their memories, and Scotland too sensible of the calamities that ensued upon it. The King proving obstinate they detain him by force, being desirous rather to run the risque of his displeasure than of his life.

This tenderness of him, in the language of rage and indignation, he terms cowardice and treachery; and threatened, when once he should get look, to fight the enemy with his own family: The Lord Maxwell seeking to allay him, promised with ten thousand men only to invade England, and with far less than the English forces to divert the war.

The King seems to content hereto, and being offended with the rest of the nobility, he gives the Lord Sinclair a private commission, which was not to be opened till such time as they came to give battle, wherein he made him general of the whole army. Sinclair, having decoyed five hundred English horse, commanded by Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir William Musgrave, on the

adjacent hills, he breaks his commission open, and commanded it to be publicly read before the army; which so distasted all of them, and especially the Lord Maxwell, that all things were presently in a confusion, and the army ready to disband.

The opportunity of an adjoining hill gave the English a full prospect into their army, and invited them to make advantage thereof; and so they fell upon the Scots with a furious charge, quickly routed them, slew a great number of them, and took abundance of prisoners, among whom Sinclair their general made one.

The news of this defeat was no sooner brought to the King, who was not far off but he fell into a great rage and fury, which terminated in sadness and heavy grief of heart; as Robert II. his great Ancestor did upon the taking of his son James by the England; and this brought him to watch and to be abstemious, disdaining to eat his victuals.

And coming to understand that the country was full of murmurings that the Kingdom should be thus endangered for the prelates pleasure, and knowing withal that such complaints were just and true, this made him burst out with some threatening and revengeful language against such as had given him such bad advice, and so hastened his untimely death:

For those evil counsellors had no sooner understood what he said, but they considered the danger they might be in, if he should survive, and fearing the effects of his displeasure, they poisoned him, (having learnt in Italy to make what they call an Italian posset) in the three and thirtieth year of his age, and two and thirtieth of his reign (See *Melvil's Memoirs*).



Cardinal Beaton, (left) who, tis supposed, had a great hand in his death, counterfeited his will; wherein himself and three more were appointed governors of the Kingdom.

He left one only daughter Mary, that succeeded him in his Kingdom and misfortunes, and was at her father's death but eight days old. He never saw her, and 'twas said, when he was informed of her birth, it did rather aggravate his sorrow, than exhilarate his mind, as foreseeing Scotland would one way or other fall under the government of the English Nation.

Mary Stuart Came to The Crown AD 1542

The King cut thus off in the flower of his age, the tumults of the former times were rather hushed up than composed; so that wise men foresaw such a tempest impending over Scotland, as they had neither ever heard before in the ancient records of time, nor had themselves seen the like.

For what from private animosities and dissension upon the score of religion, and from a war abroad with a puissant King, now enraged with the Scots prevaricating with him, there was reasonably to be hoped for little less than an utter desolation. However, something must be done, and the Cardinal according to his devilish subornation, takes the administration into his hands; but James Hamilton Earl of Arran being presumptive heir to the crown, and his friends as well as many others disdaining to be under the bondage of a mercenary priest, they encouraged him to assume the Regency, which the return of the prisoners taken in the last battle by the English (who were released by the King of England with the hopes, and upon promise of procuring their young Queen to be married to Prince Edward and thereby to have the two crowns United) did not a little promote, so that the cardinals forgery being in a little time detected he was cashiered and his kinsman Arran substituted in his room.

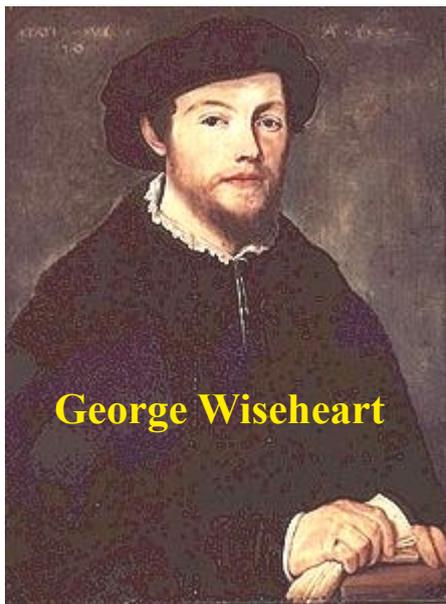
Not long after, came Sir Ralph Sadler, ambassador from King Henry into Scotland, to treat about the aforesaid match; but the Cardinal and his faction raise forty colourable pretences to affront him and elude his message, and to fortify themselves as much as might be, sent for Mathew Stuart, Earl of Lennox out of France, by whose interest they thought to balance that of the Hamiltons.

But soon after his arrival, finding the Regent and cardinal had joined Interests, and that himself was eluded in respect to the promise made him of marrying the Queen dowager and having the chief management of affairs; and withal misrepresenting his proceeding to the French King, he has recourse to arms; But not finding himself to have force sufficient to cope with the Regent, with the additional interest of the Queen and Cardinal, he makes some sort of accommodation with them.

But at last experimenting there was but little sincerity in all their actions, and that himself was oppressed and in danger of his life every moment, he made some faint resistance and in the end with drew into England, where he was honourably received by the King; who besides his other respects, gave him Margaret Dowglass in Marriage, who was sister by the mother's side to James V. last King of Scotland, begot by the Earl of Angus upon Margaret sister to Henry VIII. from which marriage sprung Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley husband to Mary Queen of Scots and father to James VI. of Scotland and I of England, of whom more here after.

The King of England in the mean time being highly affronted with the Scots violating of their faith with him in respect to the Marriage, resolves to call them to a severe account for their perfidity, and to that end invades their country with a puissant army, commits great ravages, and even pillaged and burnt Edenburg itself and then retreated.

The Scots with the assistance of the French, whose alliance they had preferred before that of the King of England, endeavoured to retrieve the loss by the invasion of the English borders but made little of the matter; so that things for a time seemed to hang in suspense between both nations; and the Cardinal with his cut-throat ecclesiastics had leisure to prosecute those that espoused the reformation, and because the civil power would not meddle with the matter, they take the whole into their own hands: And among others, put to death one George Wiseheart, burning him for an heretic, and who, when the Governor, who stood by, exhorted him to be of good cheer and ask pardon of God for his offences. He replied:—



“This flame occasions trouble in deed to my body, but it hath in no wise broken my spirit, but he who now proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place (pointing to the Cardinal) shall e're long be as ignominiously thrown down, as now he proudly lies at his ease.”

Which strangely came to pass, and which, because of the Tragicalness of the story we think will not be impertinent to insert in this place.

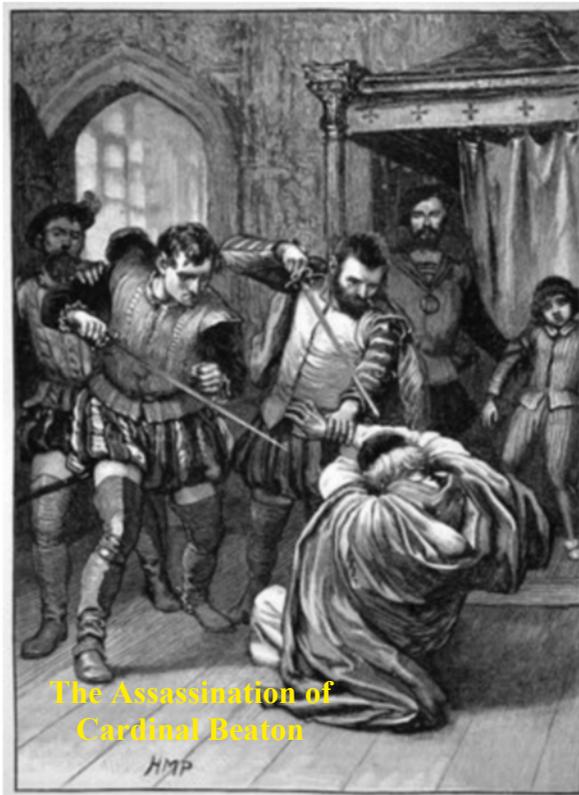
The Cardinal being on a time at St. Andrew's and having appointed a day for the nobility and especially those whose estates lay nearest the sea, to meet and consult what was fit to be done for the common safety, for their coasts were severely threatened by the great naval preparations of the English made against them: He determined for the more effectual execution of his design to take a strict view of all

the seacoasts, to fortify all convenient places, and to put garrisons into them. Among the rest of the noble men sons, who came into the cardinal, Norman Lesley, son to the Earl of Rothes, was one.

This same Person had done great and eminent services for the cardinal, but on a time there fell out a dispute concerning a private business which estranged them a while, one from another; but Norman upon great promises made to him, quitted his right in the matter contested for: But coming after some months to demand the performance of what was promised him; They fell from plain discourse to hot words, and afterwards to down-right railing, uttering such reproachful words to one another as became neither of them, and so they parted in great rage from one another.

The cardinal fancying, that he was not treated with that deference due to his eminency, and Norman full of wrath and fury as being circumvented by fraud; so that he returned home with thoughts bent upon revenge, and openly among his friends inveighed against the intolerable pride of the cardinal insomuch that they agreed to take away his Life: And that the matter might pass with the least suspicion, Norman with five only in his company came to St. Andrew's, and took up his usual Inn, that his intentions might be concealed, by reason of the paucity of his followers.

But there were ten more in the town privy to the conspiracy, who all in several places expected the signal to fall on. The days were then very long as being in the month of May, and the cardinal was fortifying the castle for his defence, for fear of any surprise in such great haste, that the workmen continued at work almost night and day.



So that when the porter early in the morning opened the gates to let in the workmen, Norman had placed two of his Men in ambush in an adjacent House, with orders to seize the porter; And when they had, by so doing, made themselves masters of the gate, they were to give the signal to the rest.

By this means they all entered the castle without any noise, and dispatched four of their number to watch the cardinal's door, that no tidings might be carried in to him, others were appointed to go to the chambers of the rest of the household, to call them up. (for they knew well enough both the men and the place) them they roused up half awake, and calling them by their names, threatened them severely to kill them without any more ado, if they made but the least outcry, so that they lead them all out of the castle in great silence without doing them the least harm. And now all the rest being put out, they alone remained masters of the castle.

Whereupon those that were posted at the cardinal's door knocked at it, and being asked by those within what their names were, they told them, and then were admitted; Having, as have some written, given their words, that they would hurt no body: But when they once got in, they dispatched the cardinal with many wounds.

In the mean time the rumour run about the town, that the castle was taken, insomuch that the cardinals friends half drunk, and half asleep, started out of their beds, and cried out arms: And thus they run to the castle, and called with menaces and reproaches, for ladders and other things necessary for a storm.

They within, seeing this, that they might blunt the present impetuosity of their minds and put some check upon their fury; Cried out to them and demanded, why they made such a bustle, for

the man was dead whom they thought to rescue, and with that threw out the cardinals dead body in the sight of them all, even out of that very place, where before he rejoicingly beheld the execution of George Wiseheart.

The English in the mean time pursue their expedition and make terrible havoc in the country; at last the regent with the assistance of the French, gave them some repulse, which was followed with a persuasive letter from the English to a peace: But the Regent with his regiment of popish priests about him, and with whom he consulted alone about it, rejected the proposals, and gives them battle, but receives a most terrible defeat, and the priests and monks paid the shot; For the English, who well knew, it was by their advice their generous offers had been refused, took terrible vengeance upon them, and gave them no quarter that bloody day.

But this and other successful expeditions that followed could not prevent the priestly faction to send their young Queen over into France, which was the thing the English mostly dreaded, as having a desire to have her married to Edward VI which would have united both Kingdoms. But now the French had gained that point, they grew very imperious and almost intolerable to the Scots themselves, and at last came to an agreement with the English to quit Scotland which was done, in May, 1550.

The Regent's proceedings had disgusted many, and he began to decline in his authority, so that he was brought at last by the French artifice to resign his office, which by the same interest was conferred upon the Queen dowager. But this was out of the frying pan into the fire, and almost all the time of her Regency was spent with furious contests between her and the reformed, who, at last with the assistance of the English, carried the day (though the young Queen was in the mean time married to the Dauphine of France) and the Queen regent at last was forced to resign her office by death, worn out with sickness and with grief that she could not accomplish her design.



After the Queen Regents Death, Peace was concluded between both Parties, and the French were to leave Scotland, a point the Regent would never yield to in her life time though often pressed unto it; and the death of **Francis the Queen** (left) of Scot's husband, now become King of France, occasioned her return into her own country, and the rather because she found her mother-in-law, who managed matters of state now somewhat alienated from her, and she could not endure to truckle to her.

Soon after her arrival she dispatched William Maitland, ambassador to Queen Elizabeth to confirm the peace lately made, but the chief of his errand appeared to be to press Elizabeth to declare her to be the next heir to the Crown of England; which motion, because Queen Elizabeth did not a little stomach, and I do verily believe had some influence upon Queen Mary's future calamity, we shall a little more particularly insist upon, together with the Queens reply to the ambassador upon it.

He began first to acquaint her how highly the Queen his Mistress was affected toward her, and how much she desired to maintain peace and amity with her; he also carried to her letters from the nobility, in which was mentioned a friendly commemoration of former obligations and courtesies; But one thing they earnestly desired of her that both publicly and privately, she would shew her self friendly and courteous towards their Queen, and being incited by good offices, she would not only preserve them in her ancient friendship, but superadded daily stronger obligations if possible hereunto.

As for their part it should be their earnest desire and study to preterit no occasion of perpetuating the peace betwixt the two neighbour nations, and that there was but one sure way to induce an amnesty of all past differences, and to stifle the spring of them for ever, by the Queen of England's declaring by an Act of Parliament confirmed by the royal assent, that their Queen was heiress to the Kingdom of England next after her self and her children, if ever she had any.

And when the Ambassador had urged the equity and reasonableness of such a law, and how beneficial it would be to all Britain by many arguments, he added in the close; that she being her nearest kinswoman, ought to be more intent and diligent than others in having such an Act made, and that the Queen his mistress did expect that testimony of good will and respect from her.



To which the Queen of England made answer to this purpose? I wonder she hath forgot how that before her departure out of France, that after much urging she promised that the league made at **Leith** (left) should be confirmed. She having faithfully engaged it should be so, as soon as e're she returned to her own country; I have, continued she, been put off with words long enough, now it is time, if she had any regard to her honour, that her actions should answer her words.

To which the Ambassador replied, that he was sent on that embassy but a very few days after the Queens arrival, before she had entered upon the administration of any public affairs; that she had been hitherto taken up in treating of the nobility, many of whom she had never seen before, who came from diverse parts, to perform their dutiful salutations to her; but that she was chiefly employed about settling the state of religion, which, how troublesome and difficult a thing it is, said he, yourself well know.

Hence he proceeded to shew that his mistress had had no vacant time at all before his departure, neither had she yet called fit men for her council to consult about various affairs: especially since the nobility who lived in the remotest parts of the north had not been yet able to attend her, before his coming away, with whose advice, matters of such public moment could, and ought to be transacted. which words somewhat incensed Queen Elizabeth, and said:-

What need hath the Queen to make any consultation about that which she hath obliged herself to under hand and seal? He replied, I can give no other answer at present, for I received no command about it, neither did our Queen expect that an account thereof would now be required of me, and you may easily consider with yourself what just causes of delay she at present lies under; and after some other words the Queen returned to the main point, and said:

I observe what you most insist upon in behalf of the Queen and in seconding the requests of the nobles, you put me in mind; That your Queen is descended from the blood of the King's of England, and that I am bound to love her by a natural obligation as being my near kinswoman, which I neither can, nor will deny; I have also made it evident to the whole world that in all my actions I never attempted any thing against the good and tranquility of her self and her Kingdom; those who are acquainted with my inward thoughts and inclinations are conscious, that though I had just cause of offence given, by her using my arms and claiming a title to my Kingdom, yet I could hardly be persuaded, but that these seeds of hatred came from others and not from her self.

However, the case stands, I hope she does not pretend to take away my crown whilst I am alive, nor hinder my children, if I have any, to succeed me in the Kingdom. But if any calamity should happen to me before, as she shall never find that I have done any thing to prejudice the right she pretends to have to the Kingdom of England, so I never thought my self obliged to make a



disquisition into what that right is, and I am of the same mind still, and so shall leave it to those who are skilful in the law to determine.

As for your Queen, she may expect this confidently of me that if her cause be just, I shall not prejudice it in the least. I call God to witness, that next to my self, I know none that I would prefer before her, or if the matter come to a dispute, that can exclude her; Thou knowest, said she, who are the competitors, by what assistance, or in hopes of what force, can such poor creatures attempt such a mighty thing?

After some further discourse, the conclusion was short; that it was a business of great weight and moment, and that this was the first time she had entertained serious thoughts about it, and therefore she had need of longer time to dispatch it.

Some days after she sent for the ambassador again, and told him, that she extremely wondered why the nobility should demand such a thing of her, upon the first arrival of the Queen, especially knowing that the causes of former offences were not yet taken away; But continued she, what, pray do they require? That I having been so much wronged should before any satisfaction received gratify her in so large a manner; This demand is not far from a threat: If they proceed on in this way, let them know, that I have force at home, and friends abroad as well as they, who will defend my just right.

To which he answered, that he had shewn clearly at first, how that the nobility had insisted on this hopeful medium of concord, partly out of duty to their own Queen, in a prospect to maintain her weal, and increase her dignity, and partly out of a desire to contribute and settle public peace and amity, and that they dealt more plainly with her then with any other Prince.

In this cause, proceeds, said he, your known and experimented good will towards them, and also upon the account of their own safety; for they knew they must venture life and fortune if any body did oppose the right of the Queen, or if any war did arise betwixt the nations on that account.

And therefore their desires did not seem un-warrantable or unjust, as tending to the eradicating the seeds of all discords and the settling of a firm and solid peace.

She rejoined, if I had acted any thing that might diminish your Queens right, then your demand might have been just, that what was amiss might be amended; but this postulation is without an example, that I should wrap my self up in my winding sheet while I am alive, neither was the like asked before by any prince; however I take not the good intention of your nobility amiss and the rather because it is an evidence to me, that they have a desire to promote the interest and honour of their Queen.

And I do put as great a value upon their prudence in providing for their own security, and of being tender of shedding Christian blood, which could not be avoided if any faction should arise to challenge the Kingdom, but what such party can there be, or where should they have Force?

But to let these considerations pass, suppose I were inclinable to assent to their demands, do you think I would do it rather at the request of the nobles than of the Queen herself? But there are many other things that avert me from such a transaction.

First, I am not ignorant how dangerous a thing it is to venture upon the dispute, the disceptation concerning the right of the Kingdom I always mightily avoided, for the controversy has been already so much canvassed in the months of many, concerning a Just and lawful marriage, and what children were bastards and what legitimate, according as every one is addicted to this or that that party; that by reason of these disputes, I have been hitherto more backward in marrying.

Once when I took the crown publicly upon me, I married my self to the Kingdom, and I wear the ring I then put on my finger, as a badge thereof, however my resolution stands, I will be Queen of England as long as I live, and when I am dead let that Person Succeed in my place which hath most right to it, and if that chance to be your Queen, I will put no obstacle to it.

But if another hath a better title, 'twere an unjust request to me, to make a public edict to his prejudice; If there be any Law against your Queen it is unknown to me, and I have no great delight to sift into it, but if there should be any such law, I was sworn at my Coronation that I would not change my subjects laws.

As for the second allegation, that the declaration of my successor will knit a stricter bond of amity betwixt us, I am afraid rather it will be a seminary of hatred and discontent; what do you think I am willing to have some of my grave clothes always before my eyes?



Kings have this peculiarity, that they have some kind of sentiments against their own children, who are born lawful heirs to succeed them. Thus Charles VII. of France somewhat disgusted Lewis XI. and Lewis XII. Charles VIII. and of late Francis ill resented Henry, and how it is likely, I should stand affected towards my kinswoman, If she be once declared my heir, just as **Charles VII. (Left)** was towards Lewiss XI. besides, and that which weighs most with me, I know the inconstancy of this people, I know how they loath the present state of things, I know how intent their eyes are upon a successor.

Tis natural for all men as the Proverb is, to worship rather the rising than setting sun. I have learned that from my own times, to omit other examples when my sister Mary was sat at the helm, how eager did some men desire to see me placed on the throne.

How solicitous were they in advancing me thereto; I am not ignorant what danger they would have undergone to bring their design to an issue, if my will had concurred with their designs: Now perhaps the same men are otherwise minded, just like children when they dream of apples in their sleep, they are very Joyful, but waking in the morning, and finding themselves frustrated of their hopes their mirth is turned into mourning.

Thus I am dealt with by those, who whilst I was yet a private woman, wished me so well; If I looked upon any of them a little more pleasant than ordinary, they thought presently with themselves that as soon as ever I came to the throne, they should be rewarded rather at the rate of their own desires, than of the service they performed for me.

But now seeing the event hath not answered expectation, some of them do gape after a new change of things in hopes of a better fortune, for the wealth of a prince, though never so great cannot satisfy the insatiable desires of all men:

But if the good will of my subjects do flag towards me, or if their minds are changed, because I am not profuse enough in my largesse, or for some other cause, what will be the event, when the malevolent shall have a successor named, to whom they may make their grievances known, and in their anger and pet betake themselves?

What danger shall I then be in, when so powerful a neighbour prince is my successor, the more strength I add to her in ascertaining her succession, the more I detract from my own security; This danger cannot be avoided by any precautions, or by any bands of law; yet those princes who have hope of a Kingdom offered them, will hardly contain themselves within the bounds either of law or equity: for my part if my successor were publicly declared to the world, I should think my affairs to be far from being settled and secured.

A few days after, the ambassador asked the Queen, whether she would return any answer to the letter of the Scottish nobility? I have nothing, said she, at present, to answer, only I commend their diligence and love to their prince, but the matter is of such great weight, that I cannot so soon give a plain and express answer thereunto, but when the Queen shall have done her duty, in confirming the league she obliged her self to ratify, then 'twill be seasonable to try my affection towards her; in the mean time, I cannot gratify her in her request without diminution to my own dignity.

The ambassador replied, he had no command about that affair, nor ever had any discourse with his mistress concerning the same; neither did he then propound the Queen's judgment concerning the right of succession but his own, and had brought reasons to enforce it; but as as for the confirmation of the league by her husband, it was enforced from the Queen of Scots without the consent of those to whom the ratifying or disannulling thereof did much concern; neither was the thing of such consequence, as therefore to exclude her and her posterity from the inheritance of England;

I do not enquire, said he, by whom, how, when, by what authority, and for what reason that league was made, seeing I had no command to speak about any such matter; but this I dare affirm, that though it were confirmed by her in compliance with her husbands desire, yet so great a stress depending on it, his Queen in time, would find out some reason or other, why it should and ought to be dissolved: I speak not this, said he, in the name of the Queen, but my intent is to shew, that our nobility have cause for what they do, that so all controversies being plucked up by the roots, a firm and sure peace may be established amongst us.



As this aggravated the Spirits of Queen Elizabeth, so it was no doubt a great mortification to Queen Mary; but truckle she must, and so she confirmed the league, resigning any pretensions to wear the Arms of England and Ireland during the others life; and some time after an interview between both Queens was appointed to be at York, but some accidents fell out that prevented it, and though the Queen of Scots was afterwards detained in England for so many years together, (the causes whereof we are now a going to shew you) yet they never saw one another all their days; and because the story of **David Rizzio (left)** has so great a connection with the misfortunes of this Queen, it will be necessary in this place to give you the Particulars of it.

This David Rizzio was born at Turin in Savoy, his father an honest poor man, that got a mean livelihood for himself and his family, by teaching the elements of music, and having no other patrimony to leave his children, he made them all, of both Sexes, skilful musicians.

David was one of the number, who being in the prime of his youth, and having an excellent voice, was by his skill in music raised up to the hopes of a better fortune; he went first to Nice, where the Duke of Savoy then kept his court, but meeting with no entertainment there conformable to his hopes, and contriving every way how to relieve him in his penury, he light upon one Morretius, who, by the Dukes command was then preparing to go for the Kingdom of Scotland, whom he followed thither but Morretius being himself a man of no great fortune, and looking upon his service as useless and unnecessary, David resolved to stay in Scotland, and try his fortune there, especially because he understood the Queen delighted in music, and was not ignorant of the rudiments thereof herself.

Whereupon to make way into her presence, he first dealt with her musicians, of whom many were French, to admit him to be one of their society, which they did; and having plaid his part once or twice, was liked very well, whereupon he was introduced to be one of their set or company, and he so complied with the Queen's humour, that what by flattering of her, and what by undermining of others, he grew into high favour with her, and into the extreme hatred of his fellows; neither did he content himself with this favourable blast of fortune, but he held his equals in contempt, and by sundry accusations wormed them out of their places, and began to treat about matters of state, and at last was made secretary, and by that means had private converse with the Queen apart from others.



The sudden advance of this man from a low and almost beggarly state to such power, wealth, and grandeur, afforded matter of discourse to the people; his fortune was far above his virtue, and his arrogance and contempt of his equals, and contention with superiors, did far exceed his fortune; and this vanity and madness of the man was much augmented by the flattery of the nobility, who sought his friendship, courted him, and admired his judgment, walked before his lodgings observing his egress and regress; but the **Earl of Murray (left)** alone, the Queen's base brother, but a man of virtue and sobriety, and such as had no dissimulation in his heart, was so far from fawning on David, that he gave him many a sour look, which troubled the Queen as much as David himself.

Now about this time, did Matthew Steward, Earl of Lennox, get leave of the Queen to return to Scotland, with his Son, Henry Lord Darnley, a young Nobleman of an high lineage, and most goodly Personage, being Cousin German to the Queen, who received him very courteously, and delighting daily in his Society, did at last resolve to Marry him. David therefore to make his party good against Murray, applies himself with great Adulation to this young Gentleman, who was to be the Queen's Husband, so that he came to be so familiar with him, as to be admitted to his Chamber and Bed side, and to secret Conference with him, where he perswaded him, out of his unwary Credulity and forwardness to compass his desires, that he was the chief occasion to make the Queen cast her Eye upon him; besides, he cast in Seeds of discord between him and Murray every day, as knowing, that if he were removed, he should pass the remainder of his Life without Affront or Disturbance; and there being now much talk abroad, not only of the Queen's Marriage with Darnley, and his secret Recourse to her, but also of the too great familiarity between her and David Rizzio, Murray by his downright dealing with her upon these accounts, got nothing but her Hatred, and so leaves the Court, that he might not be thought the Author of what was acted there; but the Queen finding that Murray was highly favoured of the people, was

so incensed against him, that she hastened his long before designed end, and the manner to accomplish it was thus: Murray was to be sent for to Perth, where the Queen was with a few attendants, there Darnley was to discourse him, and in the conference they all knew he would speak his mind freely, and then a quarrel would arise, upon which, David Rizzio was to give the first blow, and then the rest were to wound him to death.

Murray was made acquainted with this conspiracy by his friends at court, yet, come what would, he resolved to go; but as he was on his journey, being again advertised of the design by Patrick Ruuen, he turned aside to his mother's house near Loch Levin, and being troubled with a lask, excused himself, and staid there.



**Left: Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots,,
and her second husband, Lord
Darnley**

Thither some of his Friends came to visit him, whereupon a report was presently spread about, that he staid there to intercept the Queen and Darnley in their return to Edenburg; upon this, horsemen were sent out, but they discovered no men in arms, or sign of any force; yet the Queen made such haste, and was so fearful in this journey, as if some great danger had been at hand.

This hopeful plot was the prelude to the unhappy marriage that soon after succeeded, to which end a great part of the nobility were called together at Sterling, that so the Queen might countenance her will and pleasure with some pretence of public consent, most of those they sent

for were such as they knew would easily give their assent, or else, that durst not oppose many of those so congregated, assented to the motion provided always, that no alteration should be made in the then established Religion.

As for Murray he was not averse from the marriage, for he was the first adviser that the young man should be called out of England) but he foresaw what tumult it would occasion, if it were celebrated without the Queen of England's consent; besides, he promised to procure her consent, that so all things might go on favourably; but perceiving there would be no freedom of debate in that convention, he chose rather to be absent than to declare his opinion, which might prove destructive to himself, and no way advantageous to the commonwealth.

The vulgar also were very free in their debates about the freedom or not freedom of the Queen to dispose of her self in marriage, till at length came an English ambassador, who declared, that his mistress did much admire, that seeing both of them were equally allied to her, they should precipitate so great an affair without acquainting her with it; and therefore she earnestly desired that they would stay a while, and weigh the thing somewhat more seriously, to the great benefit, probably of both Kingdoms.

But this Embassy effected nothing, so that Queen Elizabeth dispatched Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to tell the Earl of Lennox and his Son, that they had a convoy from her to return at a set day into England, and that day was now past, and therefore she commanded them to return, which if they refused, they were to be banished, and their goods confiscated.

But this combination would not do neither, but they persisted in their purpose; and because the Queen of Scots would not be thought to marry a private man, she creates Darnley Duke

of Rothsay, and Earl of Ross; moreover, the predictions of wizardly women in both Kingdoms, did contribute much to hasten the marriage, who prophesied, that if it were consummate before the end of July, it foretold much future advantage to them both; if not, much reproach and ignominy; which predictions, how true, will appear by and by.

Besides, there were Rumours spread abroad of the death of the Queen of England, and the day mentioned before which she should die.

This marriage was no sooner consummate and proclaimed by an herald at arms in Edenburg, and elsewhere, but the people began to murmur grievously, and especially the absent nobility stormed mightily at it; and did not only rest there, but take up arms: but having no good correspondence one with another, they were soon dissipated and suppressed; and in some time after a convention of the estates of the Kingdom was indicted to be held, that so the goods of those who were banished might be confiscate, their names struck out of the nobility, and their armorial ensigns torn to pieces.



And the **Queen was continually solicited by David Rizzio**, (left) to cut off some of the chief of the faction, and to have a guard of foreigners about her person, (a project that is wont to be the beginning of all tyranny,) and because they should be the more at David's devotion, they must consist of Italians, his own countrymen; but because this must not be done barefaced, they were to come in from Flanders by piecemeal, one by one, and at several times too, which way of procedure was another step towards this Queen's ruin.

But as David's power and authority with the Queen daily increased, so the King grew into greater contempt with her every day; for as she had rashly precipitate in consummating the marriage, so did she as soon repent of it, and gave manifest indications of her alienated mind. For as she had presently after the celebration of the marriage, publicly proclaimed him King by an Herald, without the consent of the states; and that afterwards, in all her mandates, till that time, the King and Queen's names were expressed, now she changed the order, keeping both names in, but setting her own down first.

At length, the Queen, to deprive her husband of any opportunity to do courtesies to any, began to find fault with him, that whilst he was busy in hawking and hunting, many slight matters were acted unseasonably, or else were wholly neglected: and therefore it would do better that she should subscribe her name for them both, and by this means he might enjoy his pleasure, and yet no public business be retarded.

The poor King was willing to gratify her in every thing, and yielded to be dismissed upon such frivolous grounds, that so being remote from that council and privacy of public affairs, the obligation for all boons might redound to the Queen herself. For these were her thoughts, that if her husbands favour could do no good offices to any, and his displeasure were formidable to none, he would by degrees come to be contemned of all.

And further to increase the indignity, David was substituted, with an iron seal, to impress the King's name on proclamations: Being thus fraudulently cozened out of public business, lest he might also prove an interrupter of their private pleasures, he was dispatched away in a very sharp winter, to a place called Debly, with a very small retinue, far beneath the dignity of some private persons, for a prey rather than for any recreation,

At the same time fell such a quantity of snow, that the place, which was not very plentiful at best, and besides troubled with thieves, was enough to starve him, who was bred always at court, and used to a liberal diet: And he would have been in great hazards of wanting necessaries, had not the bishop of Orkney casually came thither, for he knowing the scarcity of the place, brought with him some wine, and other provisions for his use.

The Queen, not content to advance David, and as it were, to shew him to the people, from such an obscure Original, on the account before-mentioned, but she took counsel another way, how to clothe him with domestic honour; for whereas the Queen had for some months past permitted more company than usual to sit with her at table, that so David's place in the crowd might be less envied; she thought, by this shew of popularity to gain the point, that the un-accustomedness of the fight might by the multitudes of guests and daily usage, be somewhat alleviated, and so men's high spirits by degrees be inured to bear any thing.

But at last, it went so far, that none but he and one or two more fate at meat with her; and that the narrowness of the room might detract something from the envy of the thing, she would sometimes eat her junkets in a little parlour, and sometimes also at David's Lodgings; but the methods she thus used to lessen, did but increase the reflections, for this maintained suspicions, and administered occasions to add discourses.

Now were men's thoughts let loose, and they were influenced the more, that David, in household stuff, apparel, and number of brave and stately horses, exceeded even the King himself; and it made the matter look the worse, that all this ornament did not credit his face, but that rather his face spoiled all this ornament.

But the Queen not being able to amend the fault of nature, endeavoured by heaping riches and honour upon him, to raise him up to the degree of the nobles, that so she might hide the meanness of his birth, and the imperfections of his body too, with the vial of his lofty promotions; but care must be had that he should be advanced by degrees, least he might seem to be but a poor mercenary Senator.

The first attempt was made upon the account of a piece of Land, near the City of Edenburg, called by the Scots, Malvil, the owner of the land, together with his father-in-law, and others that were best able to persuade him, were sent for, and the Queen dealt with the present possessor to part with his inheritance; and she desired his father-in-Law and friends to persuade him to it.

But this matter not meeting with the desired success, the Queen took the repulse as a great affront to her, and which was worse, David took it very heinously also. These things being known abroad, the commonalty began to bewail the sad state of affairs, and expected that things would grow worse, if men, eminent for their families, estates, and credit, should be outed of their ancient patrimony, to gratify the lust of a beggarly varlet.



Yea, many of the elder sort called to mind, and told others of the time, when cockburn wickedly slew the Kings brother, and of a stone-cutter, was made **Earl of Marr, (left)** which raised up such a flame of a civil wthat could not be extinguished but by the death of the King, and almost the destruction of the Kingdom.

These things were spoken openly, but men did privately mutter much worse; yet the King would never be persuaded to believe it, unless he saw it with his own eyes; so that one time hearing, that David was gone into the Queen's bed-chamber, he came to a little door, of which he always carried the key about him, and found it bolted on the inside, which it never used to be:

whereupon he knocked, but no body answered, and so he was forced to go his ways, but conceived great wrath and indignation in his heart that he could not sleep that night.

From that time forward he consulted with some of his servants, (for he durst trust but a very few, many of them having been corrupted by the Queen, and put upon him rather as spies over his actions, than attendants upon his person) how to rid David out of the way:

His design they approved of, but to find out a probable way to effect it was the difficulty. When that consultation had been managed for some days, others of his servants, who were not privy to the design, suspecting the matter, and there being evident signs of it, went and acquainted the Queen therewith, and withal told her, that they would bring her to the place where they were, and they were as good as their words.

For to that end they observed and watched the opportunity, when others were shut out, and the King had only his confidants about him, and ordered it so, that the Queen, as if passing through his chamber to her own, surprised him with her partisans: whereupon she inveighed bitterly against him, and highly threatened his domestics, telling them all their plots were in vain, for she knew all their minds and actions, and would remedy them well enough in due time.



Things being brought to this desperate pass, the King thought fit to acquaint his father, the **Earl of Lennox**, (left) with his sad condition; and after some conference, they both concluded, that the only remedy for the present malady, was to reconcile that part of the nobility which were present, and to recall those that were absent.

But great expedition was required in the thing, because the day was near at hand, wherein the Queen had resolved to condemn the nobles that were absent, having appointed a convention of the States for that purpose, against the wills of the English and French ambassadors, who interceded in the case; for they well knew that the accused had not committed such heinous offences, and besides, foresaw the danger that would ensue thereupon.

About the same time did Queen Elizabeth send her a very obliging and long letter, full of good advice in reference to the present state of her Kingdom, and endeavouring to reduce her from a wrathful to a reconcilable temper. The Queen coming to understand that the nobility knew that such letters were come, and that they guessed at the contents of them, she counterfeited a civiler respect to them than ordinary, and began to read the letters in the presence of many of them.

But when she was got about the middle, David stood up, and bid her, read no more, she had read enough, she should stop; which strange carriage of his seemed to them rather arrogant than new, for they knew how imperiously he had carried it towards her heretofore, yea, and sometimes how he would reprove her more sharply than ever her own husband durst do.

At that time the cause of the banished lords was hotly agitated in the Parliament House; some to gratify the Queen's humour would have the punishment due to traitors past upon them; others stiffly contended, that they had done nothing worthy to be so severely used, but David in the mean time went about to all of them, one by one, to feel their pulses, what every man's vote would be concerning the exiles, if he was chosen president by the rest of the convention; And he told them plainly, the Queen was resolved to have them condemned, that it was in vain for

any of them to struggle against it, and besides, who ever did, should be sure to incur the Queen's displeasure thereby his aim herein was partly to confound the weaker minds betwixt hope and fear, and partly to exclude the most resolute out of the number of the judges select, or lords of the articles, or at least that the major part might be of such a gizzard as to please the queen; and this audacious procedure and wickedness in so mean a fellow, was feared by some and hated by all.



**Patrick (Ruven) Ruthven, 1st Earl of Forth
and 1st Earl of Brentford (c. 1573 – 2
February 1651)**

Whereupon the King, by his father's advice, sent to James Douglas and Patrick Lindsey, his kinsmen, the one by the father, and the other by the mothers side, who advise with Patrick Ruven, an able man both for advice and execution, but he was brought so low with long sickness, that for some months he could not get out of his bed.

However they were willing to trust him, amongst some few more, in a matter of so great a concernment, both by reason of his great prudence, as also because his children were cousin-Germans to the King.

But here the King was told by them, what a great error he had committed before in suffering his kinsmen and friends to be driven from court, in favour of such a base rascal as Rizzio; yea, that he himself did in effect thrust them out of the court with his own hands, and so had advanced such a contemptible mushroom, so as that now he himself was abashed and despised of him.

They had also much other discourse concerning the state of the public, and the King was quickly brought to acknowledge his fault, and to promise, to act nothing for the future without the consent of the nobility.

But those wise and experienced counsellors thought it not safe to trust the verbal promises of an uxorious young man, as believing that he might be prevailed upon in time by his wife, to deny this capitulation, to their certain ruin, and therefore they thought it advisable, to draw up the heads of their agreement in writing, to which he willingly and forwardly subscribed.

The substance whereof was, that religion should be established as it was provided for at the Queen's return into Scotland; that the persons lately banished should be recalled, because their country could not well want their service; and that David must be destroyed, for as long as he was alive the King could not maintain his dignity, nor the nobility live in safety; having all set their hands to this schedule, wherein the King professed himself the author of the homicide; they presently resolved to attempt the fact, both to prevent the condemnation of the nobility that were absent, as also lest delay might give an opportunity to discover the design; and therefore, when the Queen was at supper one evening, the Earl of Argyle's wife, and David, sitting with her, and that in a narrow private room, and that there were but a few attendants about them, for the place would not hold many, James Douglas Earl of Morton, with a great number of his friends, were walking in an outward chamber, their faithful friends and vassals were commanded to stay below in the yard, to quiet the tumult, if any should arise.

The King comes out of his chamber, which was below the Queen's, and goes up to her by a narrow pair of stairs, which were open to none but himself; and was followed by Patrick Ruven armed, with but four or five companions more at most, and entering into the closet where they were at Supper, and the Queen being somewhat moved at the unusual appearance of armed

men, and also perceiving Ruven in an uncouth posture, and meagre by reason of his late illness, but yet in his armour, asked him, what was the matter, for the spectators thought that his fever had disturbed his head, and put him besides himself; but they were soon convinced of that mistake, for he immediately commanded David to rise and come out, for the place where he sat was not fit for him.



The Murder of David Rizzio, Painted in 1833 by William Allan

The Queen presently got up, and sought to defend him by the interposal of her body, but the King took her in his Arms, and bid her be of good cheer, they would do her no hurt, only the death of that villain was resolved on; and thereupon they haled David into the next room, then into the outer-room, and there those that waited with Douglas made an end of him with many wounds, which was against the mind of all those that conspired his death; for they had resolved to hang him up publicly, all knowing it would have been a grateful spectacle to all the people.

There was a constant report at that time, that one John Damiot a French priest, counted a conjurer, told David once or twice, that now he had feathered his nest, it was time for him to be gone, and withdraw himself from the envy of the nobles, who would at length prove too hard for him, and that he should make answer.

The Scots were greater threateners than fighters: He was also warned a little before his death, that he should take heed of a bastard, to which he replied, that as long as he lived, no bastard should have so much power in Scotland, as that he had need to be afraid of him; for he thought his danger was predicted from the Earl of Murray, (left) the Queen's natural brother; but the prophecy was either fulfilled or eluded, by George Douglass's giving him the first blow, who was a base begotten son of the Earl of Angus; after he had began, then every one rushed in to strike him, either to revenge their own particular grief, or the public concern.

This was the end of the so highly honoured David Rizzio, whose original and profession we have given you an account of before, and to which last, with some other of the now recited passages, no doubt of it, Henry IV. of France afterwards alluded, when one in his presence, taking occasion to extol the wisdom of King James, and calling him by the name of Salomon, he said, Well he might be termed so, seeing he was the son of David the fiddler.

David was no sooner killed, but a tumult arose all the house over, for the Earls of Huntley, Athol, and Bothwell, who were together at supper in another part of the palace, were rushing out, but they were kept within their chamber by those who guarded the courts below, and had no harm done them: When Ruven, (who you see, was a prime manager of this affair, and who did as it were give David his death's wound, by commanding of him out of the Queen's presence as aforesaid) went out of that privy-room into the Queen's bed chamber, where not being able to stand, because of his weakness, he sat down and called for something to drink.

Whereupon the Queen fell upon him with such words, as her present grief and fury suggested to her, calling him a perfidious traitor, asking him, how he durst be so impudent as to be in her presence, sitting, whereas she herself stood; this he excused, as not done out of any contempt or want of the sense of his duty, but out of the weakness of his body; but gravely and wisely advised her, that in managing the affairs of the Kingdom, she would rather consult the nobility, who had a concern in the public, than vagrant rascals, who could give no pledge of their fidelity, and who had nothing to hazard, either in estate or credit; neither was the fact then committed without a president;

That Scotland was a Kingdom bounded by laws, and was never wont to be governed by the will and pleasure of any one man, but by the regulation of the law, and consent of the nobility; and if any former King had done otherwise, it is certain he had smarted severely for it. Neither were the Scots at this day so far degenerated from their ancestors, as to bear not only the government, but even the servitude of a stranger, who was scarce worthy to be their slave.

This speech did enrage the Queen more than before; whereupon the company departed, having placed guards in all convenient places for fear any tumults should arise.

In the mean time what was transacted flew all over the town, and as every ones disposition was, right or wrong, they took arms, and away they went to the palace, where the King shewed himself unto them out of a window, and told the multitude, that he and the Queen were safe, and that there was no cause for their tumultuous assembly; for what was done, was done by his order, and what that was should be known in due time, and therefore at present every one should go to his own house; upon which command they withdrew, except some few that staid to keep guard. next morning, the nobles that returned from England, taking the opportunity, offered to come to their trial in the town hall, being ready to plead their cause, for that was the day appointed, but none appearing against them, they openly protested it was not their fault, for they were ready to submit to a legal trial, and so every one returned to his own lodgings.



The Queen, under these perplexities, sent for her brother Murray, and after a long conference, gave him hopes that she would for ever after commit her self to her nobles; hereupon the guards were slackened, though many thought that her clemency did presage no good to the public, for she gathered together the soldiers of her old guard, and went through a back gate by night, with George Seaton, who attended upon her with 800 horse, first to his own **castle (left)**, then to Dumbar.

She also carried the King along with her, who for fear of his life, was forced to obey. When she came thither, she hastened to gather forces together, and pretending a reconciliation with those

that were lately returned from banishment, she turned her fury upon the slayers of David, and put out a severe proclamation against them; many of them that were accused were banished, some to one place and some to another; some were fined, but they that were most innocent, and therefore thought themselves most secure, were put to death; but the principal contrivers of the fact were fled, some to England, and others to the Highlands.

And such as were least suspected to have an hand in it, were dispossessed of their offices and employments, and their enemies put into their places, and to colour her rigorous proceedings against the rest, a proclamation was made by an herald, in such a public sorrow, not without laughter, that no man should say, the King had any hand in, or was privy to David's slaughter;

But what was stranger than all the rest, was, that she caused David's body, which was buried before the door of a neighbour church, to be removed in the night, and placed in the sepulchre of the late King and his children; which gave occasion to ill-favoured reports for the blemishing of her honour; for what greater confession of adultery with him could she well make, than as far as she was able, to equal such an obscure fellow, who was neither well brought up, nor had deserved well of the public, in his last funerals, with her father and brothers?



And to increase the indignity of the thing, she put the varlet almost in the arms of **Magdalen de Valois, (left)** the late Queen: As for her husband, she threatened him, and obliquely in her discourses scoffed at him, doing her utmost endeavour to take away all power from him, and to render him as contemptible as she could.

But the time of her delivery now drawing nigh, she was reconciled to the Earls of Murray and Argyle, and retired to Edinburg Castle, where on the 19th day of June 1566. a little after 9 in the morning, she was brought to bed of a son, afterward called James the sixth of Scotland, and the first of Great Britain.

After her delivery she received all other visitants with kindness enough, suitable to the occasion of a public Joy, but her husband, to whom she should have been most kind but his presence was disdained, and his company unacceptable. And now the Earl of Bothwell is the man, it is he that managed all affairs, and the Queen was so inclined to him, that she would have it understood, no suit would be obtained from her but by his mediation; and as if she were afraid her favour to him were but mean, and not sufficiently known, she took on a certain day one or two with her, and went down to the haven called New Haven.

And her attendance not knowing whether she intended, she went aboard a small vessel, prepared there for her, by some of Bothwell's creatures, who were pirates of known rampancy with this guard of robbers, she ventured to sea, to the admiration of all good men, taking none of her honest servants along with her, and landed at Alloway, a Castle of the Earl of Mar's, where she demeaned her self for some time, (saith Buchanan) as if she had forgot not only the dignity of a Queen, but even the modesty of a matron; but these joys will one day turn sharp and sourer.

The poor King when he heard of her departure, followed her by Land as fast as he could, his designs and hopes, being to be with her, and so enjoy conjugal society, as man and wife; but he, as an importunate disturber of her pleasures, was bid to go back from whence he came, and had hardly time allowed him for his servants to refresh themselves.

A few days after, when she returned to Edinburgh, she would not go into her own palace, but took up her lodgings, where the annual convention called the exchequer court was then held; for it seems David Chalmers, a creature of Bothwell's, had a house near it, whose back door was



contiguous to the Queen's garden, through which Bothwell might pass in and out to her at his pleasure; and the King in the mean time, finding no place for favour, and being tired with impeads, retired after her in discontent; a while after, the Queen went to Jedburgh, to hold a convention, and Bothwell in some time to **Liddisdail**, (left) where he was wounded by a highway pad, and so was carried to Hermitage Castle, in great danger of his life.

But when the news was brought thereof to the Queen, then at Barthwick, though the winter was very sharp, yet she flew in hast, first to Melrose, then to Jedburgh, and though she received certain Intelligence there, that Bothwell was alive, yet being impatient of any delay, and not able to forbear, though in such a bad time of the Year, notwithstanding the difficulty of the way, and the danger of robbery, she put her self on her journey, with such an attendance, as hardly any honest man, though he were but of a mean condition, would trust his life and fortune to.

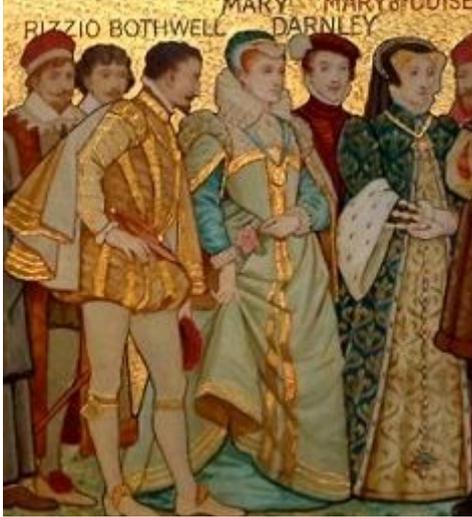
From thence she returned again to Jedburg, and made great and diligent preparation, that Bothwell should be brought thither; but here it was that she fell into a sore and most dangerous sickness, so as no body expected she would have lived; but she recovered it, being designed for a worse Fate; when the King heard of her illness, he posted to Jedburgh, both to give her a visit, and to testify his observance, by all the good offices he could do; and also to incline her to a better course of Life, hoping she might now repent for what she had done, as persons in great danger are wont to do.

But she on the contrary, gave him not the least sign of a reconciled mind, but gave a charge, that no body should rise up nor salute him, as he came in, or to give him any entertainment so much as for one night; but at the same time suspecting the disposition of the Earl of Murray, as courteous and civil, tampered with his Wife, to make hast now to fain her self sick, and go immediately to bed; that so under colour of that sickness, the King might be excluded from thence; yea, she made it her business to enforce him to be gone, for want of lodging, which he had plainly been necessitated to do.

Had it not been for one of the family of the Humes, who for very shame pretended a sudden cause for his departure, and so left his lodgings free for the King next day: in the morning, he was commanded away from thence to Sterling again, which order for his return, was the more reflected on, because at the very same time Bothwell was carried out of the place where he lodged, to the Queen's lodging.

In the face of all the people; and though neither of them were well recovered, she from her sickness, and he from his wounds, yet they journeyed, first to Kelso, then to Coldingham, and next to Cragmillen, not caring for the reports, that were spread of them by the way; and it was observed, that the Queen in all her discourse, professed, that she could never live, unless she were divorced from the King, and ever and anon said, a divorce might easily be obtained, if the Popes bull were recalled; whereby leave was given them to contract the marriage against the papal laws. But seeing this matter was not like to succeed, as she expected, she left of other methods, and applied her mind wholly to his murder.

And as a manifestation of her affections to Bothwell, and her hatred to her husband, when a little before winter, the ambassadors of England and France, came to be witnesses at the baptism of the Prince; she strove both by pecuniary and all other industrious ways, that Bothwell should appear the most magnificent of any among all her subjects and guests at the entertainment; whereas her lawful husband at the Baptism, was not allowed necessaries; yea, was forbid to come in sight of the ambassadors; his servants also appointed for his daily attendants, were taken from him, and the nobility forbid to pay any observance to him.



But in her present carriage, and comportment in times past, by how much the more implacable she was towards him, by so much the more did the people pity him, by seeing a young and an harmless gentleman thus reproachfully used, and yet not only to bear it patiently, but even to endeavour to appease her rage by the servilest offices he could perform, that so he might gain some degree in her favour.

As for his apparel and dress, she threw the fault upon the embroiderers, goldsmiths, and other tradesmen, though it was but a false shameless pretence; For it, was well known to every body, it was her doings.

Whereas for Bothwell's ornament, she wrought many of them with her own hands; besides the foreign ambassadors were advised, not to enter into any conference with the King, though they were in the same castle together, for the most part of the day.

The young gentleman being thus un-courteously used, exposed to the scorn of all, and his rival honoured before his face, resolved to retire to his father to Glasgow, who as some conceived, had sent for him; and that nothing might be wanting on the Queen's part to shew her accustomed hatred at his departure, she took away all the silver plate which he had used ever since he was married, and put pewter in their stead;

Besides, she gave him poison before his departure, that so the evil might be more secret, if he died when absent from the court; but the poison wrought sooner than those who gave it supposed it would; for he had scarce been gone a mile from Sterling, when such a grievous pain took him all over his body, that it was very apparent, his disease was not usual, but fraudulently designed;

But he no sooner came to Glasgow, but that the mischief did manifestly discover itself, for there arose blue pustules all over his body, with so much pain and torment, that there was little hope of his life; and when James Abernethy, an able, faithful, and experienced physician, was consulted about his distemper, he made present answer, that he had taken poison.

Hereupon he sent for the Queen's domestic physician, but the Queen would not suffer him to go, fearing lest his skill might cure him, and she was not also willing that many should know of his being poisoned.

When the ceremonies of the baptism were over, and the company by degrees gone home, the Queen was private with Bothwell, and scarce any other company at Drummond and Tullibardin, a nobleman's house, where she spent some days about the beginning of January, and so returned to sterling, and pretended daily to go to Glasgow, but at the same time expected to hear every minute of the Kings death.

And to prevent the worst, she resolved to have her son in her own power, and that her design might occasion no suspicion, they began to find fault that the house wherein he was kept was inconvenient; that in such a moist and cold place he might be subject to Rheums;

But the true cause of his removal was far otherwise: for it was very plain, that the place whither he was carried, was far more obnoxious upon the aforesaid account, by being situated in a low marshy ground, having a mountain betwixt it and the sun rising; whereupon the child, scarce seven months old, was brought in a very sharp winter to Edenburg; but when she there heard, that the King was recovered, as having overcome the poison by the vigour of his youth, and strength of his natural constitution, she renewed her plot to destroy him, acquainting also some of the nobility therewith.

In the mean time news was brought her that the King designed to fly into France or Spain, and that he had spoke about it to the master of an English vessel which was then in the Firth of Clyde:

Hereupon, some thought that an opportunity was offered her to send for him, and if he refused to come, to kill him out of the way; yea, some offered to be her agents in the thing, and all of them advised that the fact should be privately committed, and that it should be hastened before he was perfectly recovered of his Illness.

The Queen having already gotten her son into her possession, that she might also have her husband in her power, though not as yet agreed in the design how he should be made away, resolved to go to Glasgow, having, as she imagined, sufficiently cleared herself from his former suspicions, by many kind letters she had lately sent him; but her words and deeds were not both of a piece, for she took almost none with her in her retinue but the Hamilton's, and other hereditary enemies of the King.



Borthwick Castle - Home of The Bothwells

In the mean time she commits to Bothwell's care to do what was contributory to the design at Edenburg, for that place seemed most convenient for them to act this hellish tragedy, and also to conceal the fact when it was perpetrated.

For there being a great assembly of the nobles, the suspicion might be put off from one to another, and so divided between many. And now when the Queen had tried all the ways she could to dissemble her hatred, at last by many chidings, complaints and lamentations, she could yet scarce make him believe, that she was reconciled to him; but comply he does, and so, though hardly yet recovered from his sickness, was brought in a litter to Edenburg, to the fatal place designed for his mother, which Bothwell, in the Queen's absence,

had undertaken to provide.

And that it was an house that had not been inhabited for some years before, near the city walls in a lonesome solitary place, beneath the ruins of two churches, where no clamour or outcry could be heard, thither he was thrust with a few attendants only: for the most of them (being such as the Queen had put upon him, rather as spies than servants) were departed, as foreknowing the approaching danger; and those that remained could not get the keys of the door from the harbingers that provided the lodgings.

The Queen amidst all this impiety, was mighty solicitous to have all the suspicion thereof averted from herself, and her dissimulation had proceeded so far, that the King was now fully persuaded there was a firm reconciliation between them; so that he sent letters to his father, who stayed behind sick at Glasgow, giving him great hopes and assurance, that the Queen was now sincerely his, and commemorating her many good offices towards him, he now promiseth himself there would be a change of all things for the better.

And as he was writing these letters, the Queen came in on a sudden, and reading of them, she gave him many kisses and kind embraces, telling him withal, that sight mightily pleased her, in that now she discerned there was no cloud of suspicion hovering over his mind.



Falkland Palace St. Andrews

Things being thus well secured on that side, her next care was to contrive, as much as possible, to cast this guilt upon another; and therefore she sent for her brother the Earl of Murray, who had lately got leave, and was going to St. Andrews, to visit his wife, who lay there (as he heard,) dangerously ill; for besides the danger of child-bearing, she had pustules, that rose all over her body, with a violent fever. The cause of her detaining him she pretended to

be, that she might honourably dismiss the Duke of Savoy's ambassador, who came too late to the Princess's baptism; but though this seemed a very mean pretence to take him off from so just and necessary a duty, yet he obeyed; in the interim, the Queen every day made her visits to the King, and reconciled him to Bothwell, whom she, by all means in the world, desired to be out of gunshot, of any the least suspicion.

She made him large promises of her affections for the future, which over officious carriage, though suspected by all, yet no man was so bold as to advise the King of his danger, in regard he was wont to tell the Queen all that he heard, to Insinuate himself the more into her favour; only Robert the Queen's brother, moved either with the horridness of the fact, or with pity to the young gentleman, took the boldness to acquaint him of his wives plot against him, but on this condition, that he would keep it to himself, and provide for his own safety, the best he could.

But the King did for all that reveal it to the Queen, according to his Custom, whereupon Robert was sent for, but he stoutly denied it, so that they gave one another the lie, and were laying their hands on their swords:

Now the queen was glad to see, that her designs were likely to have so good a conclusion, and therefore she calls for her brother James, as if he were to decide the controversy, but the truth was, that he also upon that accusation, might be cut off there was nobody else present but Bothwell, who was so far from keeping of them from going together by the ears, that he would rather have killed him, that had the worst of the combat, as plainly appeared by his saying, there was no reason James should be sent for, in such hast, to keep those from duelling, who, whatsoever they pretended, had no such inclination to it.

When this stir was quieted, the Queen and Bothwell were wholly intent, how to perpetrate the murder, and how to do it too, with all imaginary secrecy, and that the queen might dissemble both love to her husband, and a forgiveness of all old offences, she caused her bed to be brought from the palace, into a chamber below that of the kings, where she lay after she had sate up late with him in discourse, for some nights.

In the mean time, she devises all manner of ways to cast the odium of the fact, when committed, upon her brother James, and the Earl of Morton; for she conceived, if those two, whose esteem and authority she most feared and hated, were taken out of the way, all other things would fall in of themselves; she was also invited thereunto by letters from the Pope, and Charles cardinal of Lorraine for the summer before, having by her uncle desired a sum of money of the Pope, for levying an army to disturb the state of religion in Britain.

And the Pope more cunningly, but the cardinal more plainly, had advised her to destroy those who were the greatest hindrances to the restitution of popery, and especially those two Earls by Name, if they were not taken off.



Mary I - Queen of Scots (left)

They promised a mass of money for the war, but the Queen thinking some inkling hereof had come to the ears of the nobility, did therefore, to clear her self from any suspicion, or the least inclination to such a thing, shew them the letters; but these villainous designs so subtly laid, as they thought, were somewhat disturbed by frequent messages from the Earl of Murray's wife, how that she had miscarried, and that there were but small hopes of her life.

This message was brought to the Earl on the Lords day, as he was going to Church, whereupon he returned back to the Queen, and desired leave of her to be gone, but she very much urged him to stay one day longer, to hear certain news, alleging, that if he made never so much hast, his coming would do her no good; but if her distemper did abate, to morrow would be time enough; but the Earl was fully bent on his journey, and went his way.

Now the Queen had deferred the murder till that night, and would seem then to be so jocund and dissolute, as to celebrate the marriage of Sebastian, one of her music, in the very palace; and when the evening was past in mirth and jollity, then she went with a numerous attendance, to see her husband, spent some hours with him, and was merrier then formerly, often kissing him, and giving him a ring, as a token of her Love.

But after the Queens departure, the King with the few servants that were about him, recollecting the proceedings of the past day, amongst some comfortable speeches given him by the Queen, he was much concerned at the remembrance of a few words she had uttered; for she, whether not able to contain her joy arising from the hopes that the murder would now be perpetrated; or whether it fell from her by chance, cast a word, that David Rizzio was slain the last year about that time.

This unseasonable mention of his death, though none of them liked it, yet because it was now late at night, and that next morning was designed for sports and pastimes, they went speedily to bed; in the meantime gunpowder was placed in the room below, to blow up the house, and all other things were craftily and cautiously transacted; yet in a small matter, they left a tract, whereby to be discovered.

For the bed in which the Queen used sometimes to lye, was taken away, and a worse put in the room of it, as if, though they were prodigal enough of their credit, yet they would spare a little money; but before the Queen had left the King one Paris, a Frenchman, and a partisan in the conspiracy, entered into the King's bedchamber, and there stood still, yet so, that the Queen might see him, and that was the sign agreed on betwixt them, that all things now were in a readiness.

The Queen, as soon as she saw Paris, as if Sebastin's marriage had come into her mind; she began to blame herself, that she had been so negligent, as not to dance that night at the wedding, as it was agreed on, and to put the bride to bed, as the manner is; whereupon she presently started up, and went home to her Palace, whither when she came, she had a pretty deal of discourse with Bothwell, who being at length dismissed, went into his chamber, changed his clothes, put on soldiers habit, and with a few in his company, passed through the guards into the town;



Two other parties of the conspirators, came several ways to the appointed place, and a few of them entered into **the King's bed-Chamber (left)**, of which they had the Keys, (as I said before) and whilst he was fast asleep, they took him by the throat, and strangled him, and one also of his servants who lay near him.

When they were slain, they carried their bodies through a little gate, which they had made on purpose in the walls of the city, into a garden near

at hand, and then they set fire to the gunpowder, which blew up the house from the very foundation, and made such a noise, that it shook some of the adjacent houses, yea, those that were fast asleep in the farthest part of the city, were awakened and frightened at the noise, when the horrid fact was done, Bothwell was let out by the ruins of the city walls, and so returned to the palace, through the guard, by another way, then that he came; this was the common report of the King's death, which held for some days, and which you'll find a fuller confirmation of in due place.

The Queen had sat up that night to wait for the Event, and hearing the Tumult, called together those of the nobility who were at court, and Bothwell amongst the rest, and by their advice, sent out to know what was the matter, as if he had been ignorant of all that was done; some went to inspect the King's body, which had only a linen shirt on the upper part of it, the rest lay naked, and his other clothes and shoes lay near him.

The common people also in great multitudes came to see him, and many conjectures there were upon it yet they all agreed, (sorely against Bothwell's mind,) that he could never be thrown out of the house by the force of the gunpowder, for there was no part, broken, bruised, black or blue about his body, which, in a ruin by gunpowder, must needs be; besides his clothes lying near him, were no ways singed with the flames, or covered with any ashes, so that it was impossible it could have been thrown thither by any casualty, but must be placed there on purpose, by some bodies hands; so Bothwell returned again, and as if he had been in great admiration, brought the news to the Queen, of the sad disaster, whereupon she went to bed, and lay secure, soundly sleeping a great part of the next morning. Sir James Melville says, he himself came that same morning to the door of the Queens chamber, where he met the Earl of Bothwell, who told him, her Majesty was sorrowful and quiet, (a likely matter,) which had occasioned him to come forth; and also added, that the strangest accident had fallen out, that ever was heard on, for thunder had come out of the sky, and had burnt the King's house and himself was found dead, lying at a little distance from the house, under a tree; then desired Sir James to go to see his Body, and said there was not any hurt nor a mark on all of it; but when Sir James had been up to see him, he had been taken up into a particular room, and kept by one Alexander Durham, so as that he could not get a sight of him.

In the mean time, the parricides, to add villainy to villainy, did spread reports abroad, and which were carried by daylight, to the very borders of England, that the King was murdered by the design of the Earls of Murray and Morton, yet every body thought privately with themselves, that the Queen most needs be the author of the murder; neither was the Bishop of St. Andrews free from suspicion; for there were shrewd conjectures against him, as the high and cruel enmities between the families; that he was never well reconciled to the Queen, before she hatched that wickedness in her mind; and that of late, when he accompanied her to Glasgow, he was made acquainted with the utmost of her projects.

And men's suspicion were increased of him, because, at that time, he had retired to his brother's house, the Earl of Arran, which was nigh to the house where the King was slain; whereas, before he always used to live at some eminent part of the city, where he might conveniently receive visits, and curry favour with the people by feasting them; and besides lights were seen in his house, and a watch all that same night, from the upper part of the city, and when the designed powder clap was given, then it was observed, the lights were put out, and his vassals, many of whom watched in their arms, were forbidden to go out of doors.



But the true story of the matter of fact, which broke out after some months, gave occasion to people to look upon those things, as certain indications, which before were but suspicions only. when **the murder** (left) was committed, the conspirators (as before hinted, presently dispatched messengers into England, who were to report, that the King was cruelly murdered by his own subjects, especially by the contrivance of the Earls of Murray and Morton;

And the news did so enflame the English to a hatred of the whole Scotch Nation, that for some days, no Scotch man durst walk the streets, without running the risque of his life; and though many letters past to and fro that made some discovery of

the secret contrivance of the design, yet the people would hardly be appeased. In the mean time, the King's body was left for a time, as a spectacle to be gazed on, and a great concourse of people continually flocked to see it; the Queen having ordered that it should be laid upon a form or bier, turned up side down, and brought by porters into the palace, where she her self viewed the body, which was the most beautiful and comeliest of the age.

The nobles that were present desired, that a Royal and magnificent funeral should be made for him. But she, good woman, caused him to be carried out by bearers in the night, to be buried in no manner of state; and that which increased the indignity the more, was, that his grave was made near David Rizzio's, as if she had designed to sacrifice the life of her husband, on purpose to appease the ghost of that base varlet.

There were two surprising prodigies happening at that time, which are worthy of relation, and were construed, as being very ominous to that poor prince; one of them a little preceded the murder, and thus it was; one John Londin, a gentleman of Fife, having been sick for a long time of a fever, did the day before the King was murdered, about noon, lift up himself a little out of his bed, and as if he had been in great astonishment, cried unto such as stood by him, with a loud voice, go help the King, for the parricides were just now going to murder him.

And a while after he called out with a mournful tone, now it is too late to help, he is already slain; and the person himself died soon after; the other did accompany the murder it self. There were three of the familiar friends of the Earl of Athol, the King's cousin, who were men of reputation, for their valour and fortunes, that had their lodgings not far from the King's, who when they were asleep about midnight, there seemed a man to come to Dugal Stuart, who was next the wall, and to pull his hand over his beard and cheek, so to awake him, saying; arise, they are offering violence to us, upon which he presently awakes, and considering of the apparition with himself, another of them cries out presently in the same bed.

Who kicks me? Dugall answered, perhaps it is a rat, which used to walk about in the night; whereupon the third, who was not awake, got up presently out of his bed, and was a going to run away, asking, who was that had given him a box on the ear?

Which words were no sooner spoke by him, but that one seemed to go out of the house by the door, not without some noise. While they were descanting together on what they had heard and seen, the noise of the King's house, that was blown up, drove them all into a great fright.

The Earl of Athol highly resented the King's murder, and so did Murray, which put both of them in danger of their lives; nay, Bothwell understanding that Murray was sick at his own house of the gout, did under a pretence of visiting him, design to murder him, as he had done before; but Murray had removed a little before to his brother Robert's house, and so escaped and now the Queen and Bothwell are as un-separable as their shadows, and take a full swing of their pleasures; but the arrival of the French ambassador, and his insisting how infamous the King's murder was among strangers, put some damps, upon their enjoyments; besides, they were not a little solicitous, concerning the rumours spread of Bothwell, being concerned in the fact, and how to avoid the danger, and clear of all suspicion, was now become the main head of their consultation.



There was a Design laid before, to have him tried and acquitted; for presently upon the King's death, Bothwell and some of his accomplices came to the **Earl of Argyle**, (left) who was hereditary capital judge in criminal causes, and first pretended, they were wholly ignorant of what was done, and wondered at it all as a new, unheard of, and incredible thing; then they proceeded to the examination of it, and to that end summoned some poor women out of the neighbourhood.

But they stuck between hope and fear, being uncertain, whether they ought to speak, or hold their peace; but though they were very cautious in their words, yet, uttering more then was expected, they were dismissed as having spoken nothing upon any certain ground; and as for their testimony, it was easy enough to dispute it; whereupon some of the King's servants, whom the fire had not destroyed, were sent for, and being interrogated concerning the ingress of the assassins, answered, that the keys were not in their power; and it being urged on them again, in whose power then?

They replied the Queen, whereupon the further examination was put off, as they pretended, but indeed was quite suppressed, for they were afraid, if they went any further, the court secrets would become all publicly known.

And yet to set a gloss upon the matter, a proclamation was published, and a pecuniary reward was offered to the discoverers of the King's murder, but who durst be so bold, as to impeach Bothwell, seeing he was to be the impleaded, the judge, the examiner, and the exacter of the punishment too.

Yet this fear which stopped the mouths of divers single persons, could not bridle the multitude, for libels were published, pictures made, and night-hawking and cries were uttered, whereby the parricides might easily understand, that their whole design was discovered, who projected the wicked fact, and who was assistant to put the same in execution; and the more the people were forbidden, the more did their grief make them speak; and though the conspirator seemed to

despise these things, yet they were so inwardly pricked and touched, that they could not dissemble their sorrow.



Bothwell and Mary (left)

And therefore committing the Examination about the King's death, in which they ought to have proceeded; they fell more severely and in earnest upon another guest, and that was against the authors of libels, or, as they called it, the calumniators of the Earl of Bothwell; and this they so severely prosecuted, that they spared no pains nor cost the•e; and made it capital, not only to sell, but even to read those libels, when they were sold; but they who endeavoured to bridle the tongues of the people, by threatening capital punishments to them, were not satisfied with the King's death, but still retained their hatred against him, though now in his grave.

For the Queen gave her husbands goods, arms, horses, apparel, and other household-stuff, either to his fathers enemies, or to the murderers themselves, as if they had been forfeited into her exchequer.

And as these matters were openly acted, so many did as publicly inveigh against them, so that a tailor, who was to fit some of the King's clothes for Bothwell's body, was so adventurous as to say, now he saw the old country custom verified, that the executioner had the clothes of them that suffered by his hands.

But though these things wrought no small disquietude to the parricides day by day, yet nothing stuck so close to them, as the daily complaints of the Earl of Lennox, who, though he would not adventure to come to court, by reason of Bothwell's power, accompanied with the highest luxury, yet he so earnestly solicited the Queen by letters, that she would commit Bothwell to prison, who without doubt, was the author of the King's murder, till a day might be appointed to bring him to a Trial; that she, though eluding his desire by many stratagems, yet seeing at last, the examination of so heinous a fact, could not be avoided, designed to have it carried on in this manner.

The meeting of the assembly of the estates was nigh at hand, and she was desirous before that time, to have the matter decided, that so Bothwell being absolved by the votes of the judges, might be further cleared by the suffrages of the whole Parliament.

This hast was the cause that nothing was carried in an orderly manner, or according to the ancient custom in that judicatory process, for the accusers, (as is customary,) ought to have been cited, with their kindred, as wife, father, mother, son, either to appear personally, or else by proxy, within 40 days, for that is the time limited, by the law; but here the father was only summoned, without summoning any of his friends, only his own Family, which at that time was in a low Estate, and reduced but to a few; whereas in the mean time, Bothwell flew up and down the town, with a great many troops at his heels, so that the Earl of Lennox thought it not advisable for him to come into a city full of his enemies, where he had neither friends nor vassals, to secure him; and supposing there was no danger of Life, yet there could be no freedom of debate; but Bothwell appeared at the day appointed, and came into the town-hall, being himself both plaintiff and defendant too.

The Judges of the Nobility were called over, most of them being Bothwell's Friends, and none daring to appear on the other side to accept against any one of them; only Robert Cunningham, one of Lennox's family, put a small stop to the proceedings, for he having liberty to speak openly, boldly declared, the process was not according to law nor custom:

Where the accused person was so powerful, that he could not be brought to punishment, and the accuser was absent for fear of his Life; therefore whatsoever should be determined there, as being against law and right, was null and void; yet, they persisted in their design notwithstanding.



And the Issue of the whole was, that they declared, they saw no reason to find Bothwell guilty; yet if any man hereafter should lawfully accuse him, they gave a caution that this judgment should be no hindrance to him; and some thought the verdict was wisely given in by them, for the indictment was conceived in such words, that the severest Judges could ne'er have found **Bothwell (left)** guilty upon it, for it was laid against a murder committed the 9th of February, whereas the King was slain the 10th.

Thus Bothwell was acquitted of the Fact, but not of the infamy thereof, suspicions still increasing upon him, and his punishment seemed only to be deferred; but any pretence whatsoever, though a shameless one, seemed good enough to the Queen, who made haste to marry him; but as a surplusage to his absolution, there was a chartel or a challenge, posted on the eminentest part of the court, declaring, that though Bothwell was lawfully acquitted of the King's murder, yet to make his innocence the more appear, he was ready to decide the matter in a duel against any gentleman, or person of honour, that should dare to lay it to his Charge:

Next morning there was one who did as manfully post up an answer to this bold challenge, provided the place of combat were appointed, wherein without danger he might declare his name: but I do not find the matter proceeded any further.

At the same time the Queen was very urgent to hasten the marriage, and yet with all she desired by any means to procure the public consent, that she might seem to act nothing but by the suffrage of the nobles; And Bothwell too, to credit the marriage with the colour of the public authority, devised this stratagem.

He invited all the nobility of the highest rank, that were then in town, as there were divers of them, one night to supper; and when they were jocund and merry, he desired they would shew that respect to him for the future, which they had always done heretofore; but at present, his only request was, that whereas he was a suitor to the Queen, they would subscribe to a schedule which he had made about that matter, and that would be a means to procure him favour with the Queen, and respect with all the people:

The lords were all amazed at so sudden and unexpected a motion, and could not dissemble their sorrow, neither yet durst they refuse or deny him; whereupon a few, that knew the Queen's mind, began first, and the rest, not foreseeing that there were so great a number of flatterers there present, suspected one another, and at last all subscribed; but the day after, when they had recollected what they had done, some of them as ingenuously professed, they would never have granted their consent, unless they thought the thing had been acceptable to the Queen; for besides that the matter carried no great face of honesty, and was prejudicial to the public too, so there was danger, if any difference should arise (as it came to pass between her and her former Husband) between her and Bothwell also; and if he were rejected, it might be laid in their dishes that they had betrayed the Queen to a dishonourable Marriage;

And therefore before they had run too far, they resolved to try her mind, and to procure a writing under her hand to this purport, that she did approve of what they had done in reference to her

marriage; which scroll was easily obtained, and by a joint consent of them all, delivered to the Earl of Argyle to keep.

Next day all the bishops in the town were called into court, that they might also subscribe; this care being over, another succeeded, which was, how the Queen might get her son into her power; for Bothwell did not think it safe for him to have a young child brought up, who in time might revenge his father's murder, neither was he willing that any other should come between his children and the crown;

Whereupon, the Queen, who could deny him nothing, undertook the task herself to bring the child to Edenburg; but when she came to Sterling, the Earl of Mar suspected what was a brewing, and therefore shewed her the Prince, but would not let him be in her power: The Queen seeing her fraud detected, and not able to cope with him by force, pretended another cause for her journey, and prepared to return; but on the road, either by reason of her overmuch toil, or for anger that her designs, which the authors thought craftily laid, were unsuccessful, she was taken with a sudden illness, and was forced to retire to a poor house about four miles from Sterling, where her pain somewhat abating, she proceeded on her journey, and came that night to Linlithgow; from thence she wrote to Bothwell, by Paris, what she would have him to do about her surprise;

For before she departed from Edenburg, she had concerted with him, that at the Bridge of Almon he should surprise her in her return, and carry her whither he pleased as it 'twere against her will; the censure of the commonalty upon this matter was, that she could not altogether conceal her familiarity with Bothwell, nor yet could well want it, nor could she openly enjoy it as she desired it, without the loss of her reputation;

It was too tedious to expect his divorce from his former wife, and she was willing to consult her honour, which she pretended to have a very great regard unto, yet she would provide for her lust also, of which she was very impatient, and therefore the device was thought to be very pretty; that Bothwell should redeem the Queen's infamy with his own great crime, the punishment whereof he did not yet fear at all; but there was a deeper reach in the projected design, as came afterward to be understood; for whereas the people did every where point at and curse the King's murderers, they to provide for their own security, by the persuasion, as it is thought, of John Lesley Bishop of Ross, devised this attempt upon the Queen.

It is the manner in Scotland, when the King grants a pardon for offences, that he that sues it out expresses his great offence by name, and the rest of his crimes are added in general words; accordingly the King's murderers determined to ask pardon for this surprise of the Queen by name, and then to have added in their pardons by way of overplus, and all other wicked facts;



In which clause they persuaded themselves, that the King's murder would be included, because it was not safe for them to name themselves authors of it in the pardon, neither would it be creditable for the Queen so to grant it; neither could it be well added in the grant of pardon, as an appendix to a lesser crime; another offence, less invidious, but liable to the same punishment was to be devised, under the shadow whereof the King's murder might be disguised and pardoned; and no other did occur to their view but this pretended force put upon the

Queen, whereby her pleasure might be satisfied, and Bothwell's security provided for too; and therefore, he, with 600 horse, attended her coming at Almon Bridge, and carried her, by her own consent, to **Dunbar (above)**;



Where they had free converse one with another, and a divorce was made betwixt Bothwell and his former wife, and that in two courts: First, she was cited before Judges publicly appointed to decide such controversies; and after that, before the officials, or Bishops Courts, though they were forbid by a public statute, to exercise any part of magistracy, or to intermeddle with any public affair; so that Madam Gordon, Bothwell's Wife, was compelled to commence a suit of divorce, in a double court before the Queen's judges; and what must the accusation be, but that her husband was guilty of adultery, which was the only just cause of a divorce amongst them, and this before the papal judges, who though forbidden by the law, yet were empowered by the **Archbishop of St. Andrews (left)**, to determine the controversy:

Her Allegations against him were, that before their marriage, he had had too much unlawful or incestuous familiarity with her kinswoman: The witnesses and judges made no delay in the case, for the suit was commenced, prosecuted, adjudged

and ended all in ten days.

On these emergent occasions a great many of the honest nobles met at Sterling, and sent to the Queen, desiring to know of her, whether she was kept willingly, or against her will? If the latter, they would levy an army for her deliverance.

It was observed she received the message not without smiling, and answered them, that it was true, she was brought thither against her will, but was so kindly treated ever since, that she had little cause to complain of the former injury:

Thus was the messenger eluded; but yet, though they made all the haste they could to take off the reflection of the force, by a lawful marriage, yet there were two rubs still in the way; one was, that if she married while a prisoner, the marriage might not be accounted good, and so easily dissolved; and the other difficulty was how to have the usual ceremonies performed, that the bans should be published three Lord's days in the public congregation, of a marriage intended between James Hepburn and Mary Stuart, so that if any one knew a lawful impediment, why they should not be joined together in matrimony, they should then declare the same, that so it might be decided in the church: to bring this matter therefore about, Bothwell gathers his friends and dependants together, resolving to bring back the Queen to Edenburg, that so under a vain shew of their liberty, she might determine of their marriage at his pleasure;

To this end his companions were all armed, but as they were on their journey, a fear seized on some of them, lest at one time or other it might turn to their prejudice to detain the Queen as yet a prisoner; and if there were no other ground for it, yet this was enough, that they accompanied her in an armed manner, when all things were in peace and tranquillity, upon which scruple they threw away their arms, and so brought her in a seeming more peaceable posture to Edenburg castle, which was then in Bothwell's power.

Next day they accompanied her into the city and courts of justice, where she affirmed before the judges, that she was wholly free and under no restraint at all; but as to the publishing of the marriage in the church, the reader, whose Office it was, wholly refused it, which was a new mortification; but upon his refusal, the elder deacons and ecclesiastics assembled, as not daring to resist, and commanded the reader to publish the banes according to custom;

But the man was so bold, as plainly to tell them, that he himself knew a lawful impediment, and was ready to declare the same to the Queen or to Bothwell when ever they pleased to command him; whereupon he was sent for to the Castle, and the Queen remitted him to Bothwell, who, with all he could do, either by fear or favour, could not divert him from his resolution, and yet he durst not commit the matter to a dispute;



Yet on he went to hasten the marriage, and there was none to be found besides the **bishop of Orkney (left)** to Celebrate the same, it was he alone that preferred court favour before truth; the rest being utterly against it, and producing reasons, why it could not be a lawful marriage with a person that had two wives yet living, and had lately confessed his own adultery, and had been also divorced from a third; yet though all good men did loath this way of procedure, and that the commonalty cursed it, and even the Earls own kindred, by letters dissuaded him from it, while it was in prosecution, and abhorred it when done;

There were some public ceremonies dissemblingly performed, and married they were for all that: those of the nobility there present (which were but few, and they Bothwell's friends and creatures too, the rest being gone to their homes) were invited to supper, and so was Crocke the French ambassador, who, though he were of the Guisian faction, and did besides dwelt near the place, yet absolutely refused to come, as thinking it suited not with the dignity of that person he represented, to countenance that marriage by his presence, which he heard the common people did curse and abominate;

And indeed, the King of France, and Queen of England, did by their ambassadors declare against the turpitude of the thing; and though that was troublesome to the Queen, yet the silent sadness of the people did so much the more increase her fierce disposition, as things seen pierce deeper than things only heard.

As they both went through the City, none saluted them with wonted acclamations, only one said, and that only but once, God save the Queen, whereupon, another woman near her spoke aloud once or twice, so as the standers by might her, let every one have what his desert is, which enraged her still the more against the citizens, so that now seeing the danger she was in by the alienated minds of her subjects, she casts about how she might establish her power, and first of all, she determined to send an ambassador into France, to reconcile those princes, and the guises to her, whom she knew were offended with her precipitate marriage, and the Bishop of Dunblain was pitched upon for that purpose, whose instructions were politically framed, and long, and no great question made but they would do the business:

The Bishop, after his arrival in France, obtains a day of audience, (not knowing that by this time Bothwell was forced to fly, and the Queen taken Prisoner, as you will hear by and by) whereof the very same day the French King and his mother had received letters, one from Crocke the French ambassador in Scotland, and another from Ninian Cockerburn, a Scot, who had served as a captain of horse some years in France;

The Scotch ambassador being admitted into the King's presence, made a long and accurate speech, partly to excuse the Queen's marriage, without the advice of her friends, and partly to commend Bothwell to the skies, beyond all right and reason.

Hereupon the Queen interrupted the vain man by shewing him the Letters she had received from Scotland, how that the Queen was made a prisoner, and Bothwell fled, at which sudden ill news, the man was astonished, and held his peace, whilst those that were present partly jeered him, and partly smiled at this unlooked for accident, and there were none of them all but thought she suffered deservedly.

But to return to our domestic affairs, the way they projected for their security was, after they had fixed those by gifts at present, and promises for the future, who were either perpetrators or partisans in the King's murder, to make a combination of the greater nobility; and if that were once done, they might go on and undervalue the rest, or cut them off, if they remained obstinate; whereupon they assembled the nobility, and propounded unto them, the heads of those capitulations they were to swear to; the sum of the whole was, that they should maintain the Queen and Bothwell in all their actings, and on the other side, they were to favour and countenance the concerns of those of the confederates then present; a great many were persuaded to it before, and so subscribed; the rest perceiving it was bad to conspire, and as dangerous to refuse, subscribed also.

But the Earl of Murray, that his authority (which was great for his virtue,) might give some countenance to the thing, was sent for upon this occasion; but he after all the tampering with him that could be, absolutely refused to subscribe the said association, and thereupon got leave with much ado, to travel; so went through England into France, where we'll leave him for a time.

The riddance of whom, as being a free hearted and popular man, out of the way, did not a little please the Queen, who now also endeavours to remove the other obstacles to her harmony, and those were such as would not willingly subscribe to her wickedness, or were not like easily to acquiesce with her designs;



But she had a perpetual Hatred towards those, who perceiving her to be no better affected towards her son, then towards her former husband, had entered into an association at **Sterling (left)**, for no wicked design, but to defend the young prince, which his mother desired to have under the power of his father-in-law, who they were sure would not fail to make away with him; the chief of that combination were the Earls of Argyle, Morton, Mar, Athol, and Glenoarn, besides others, and some of an inferior degree, as Linsey, Boyd, with their friends and partners; but Argyl and Boyd were won over quickly

to the Queens party.

But all this would not do, for the families of the Humes, Carrs and Scots, living upon the English borders, and by their situation, as well as being otherwise powerful, became suspected by the Queen, to have a hand against her in this matter; and their power she endeavoured to lessen with all her might, and there seemed a fit occasion to be offered for that purpose; for Bothwell was preparing an expedition into Liddisdale, to make amends for the dishonour he had received there the Autumn before, and also to gain some reputation by his arms, to take off the envy of the Kings death;

All the chiefs of the families in Teviotdale, were commanded by the Queen, to come to the castle of Edinburgh, that there for so short time, they might be secure, as in a free custody, upon a pretence, that they might not be lead into an expedition, which did not seem likely to be successfully accomplished against their wiles, and they also, if at liberty, might disturb the design, out of envy, and in their absence, she might inure the clans, to the government of others, and so by degrees, wear off the love of their old patrons and masters; but they well imagining, there was some deeper project concealed under that command, went home by night, all except Andrew Carr, who was commonly reputed not to be ignorant of the king's murder, and another Carr at Seaford, an harmless innocent person.

This exasperated the rest, and Hume being often summoned by Bothwell to come to Court, refused so to do, as knowing what his thoughts were towards him; notwithstanding the design

for the expedition went forward, and the Queen stayed at Borthwick Castle, about eight miles from Edinburgh.

In the mean time, the prince's assassins, being not ignorant of Bothwell's design, towards him, thought it now necessary to proceed to action, not only for their own security, but also that by demanding justice upon the author of the King's murder, they might acquit the Scottish name, from the infamy, under which it lay among foreign nations; and therefore supposing the common people would follow their motions, they privily levied about two thousand horse, so that the Queen knew nothing of what was acted, till they came to Borthwick Castle, with part of the army, and besieged her and Bothwell therein.

But the other part of the Conspirators not coming at the time appointed, and she having not force enough to stop all passage, and was not so active neither as he might have been, because the rest had neglected their Parts.

First, Bothwell made his escape, and after him the Queen, and went directly to Dumbar; hereupon the associators proceeded to lay siege to Edinburgh Castle, with whom the citizens joined, but the governor James Balfour, though he seemed to have a disposition to come over to their party, and by surrendering the castle to make atonement for his former miscarriages.



Yet he did not so readily do it, but that some time elapsed first, which gave the Queen and her party opportunity to grow strong, so that they who were but a little before in despair, grew now bold, and thought to cope with their adversaries; and to that purpose marched to Leith with a slow pace, and taking time to distribute arms to the country people that came in to her by the way; at length, a little before night, they came to **Seaton (circled left - now known as Seton)**,

and because they could not be quartered there, they divided their numbers into two neighbouring villages, both called Preston; from whence a fearful alarm was brought to Edenburg before midnight, and presently the word was given,

To your arms; upon this they rose out of their Beds, and made all the haste they could into the adjoining fields, and there having gathered a good body together by sun-rising, they set themselves in battle array;

Thence they marched to Musselborough, to pass the River Eske, before the bridge and ford were possessed by the enemy, but meeting no body, and perceiving no noise at all, they placed guards and sentinels there, and went to refresh themselves with food:

In the mean time, the scouts seeing a few horsemen, draw them into the village, but durst not follow them further for fear of an ambuscade, so that they brought back no certain news of the army, only that the enemy was a marching, whereupon the vindicators of liberty marching out of Musselburg, saw the enemy standing in battle array upon the brow of a hill over against them, and that they kept their Ground;

The hill being so steep, that they could not come at them without prejudice, they drew a little off to the right, both to have the sun on their backs, and also to gain an easier ascent, that they might fight upon more advantageous terms, and this design of theirs deceived the Queen, who thought they had fled, and were marching to Dalkeith, a neighbouring town of the Earl of Morton's, and that the terror of her royal name was so great, that they durst not withstand; but

she quickly found, that authority, as it is acquired by good arts, so may be quickly lost by bad, and that majesty, destitute of virtue, is soon brought to nothing.

When they had refreshed themselves, and quenched their thirst, which much annoyed them before, as soon as ever they got a fit place, they divided their army into two bodies:



The Earl of Morton commanded the first, with Alexander Hume and his vassals; the second was conducted by the Earls of Glencarne, Marr, and Athol; and when they were thus ready to give the onset, the French Ambassador came to them, and by his interpreter, told them, how he had always studied the good and tranquillity of Scotland, and that he was still of the same mind, and therefore earnestly desired, if possible, the matter might be decided to the satisfaction of both parties, without arms or bloodshed, wherein he offered his service, alleging, that the Queen also was not averse from peace, and to induce them the more to believe it, he told them, she would grant a present pardon and oblivion of what was done, and faithfully promised, that they should all be indemnified, for taking up arms against the supreme magistrate; to which the Earl of Morton answered:

That they had not taken up arms against the Queen, but against the late King's murderers, who, if she would deliver up to punishment, or sever herself from him, then she should understand that they and their fellow subjects desired nothing more than to persist in their duty to her, otherwise no agreement could be made; and to this, Glencarne added;

That they came not thither to receive pardon for taking up arms, but to give; and so the ambassador seeing no good was to be done, craved leave to depart, and returned to Edenburg, *re infecta*:

In the mean time the Queen's army kept it self within the antient camp bounds of the English, and it was a place naturally higher than the rest, and besides fortified with a work and a ditch, from whence Bothwell shewed himself mounted on a brave steed, and proclaimed by an herald, that he was ready to engage in a single combat with any of the adverse party:

Hereupon James Murray, a young nobleman, offered himself from the other army, being the same person that had done so before by a cartel, but suppressed his name, (as has been already said) but Bothwell refused him, alleging, he was not a fit match for him, neither in dignity nor estate; then came forth his elder brother William, affirming, that if money matters were subdued, he was as powerful as Bothwell, but his superior both in antiquity of family, and integrity of repute, but Bothwell rejected him also, as being lately but made a knight, and so forth;

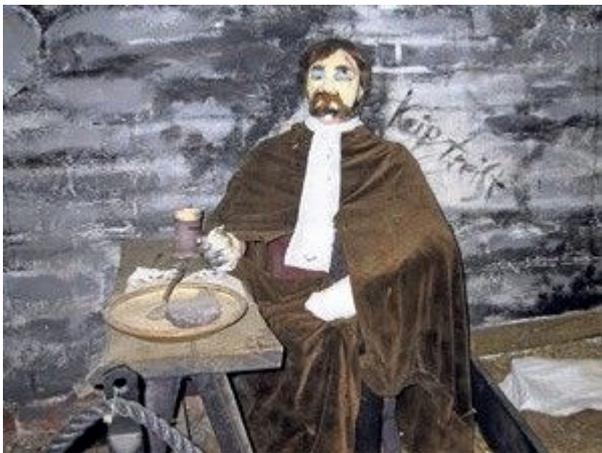
At last, Patrick Lindsey, a person of the first rank, desired as the only reward of all his labours, which he had undergone, to maintain the honour of his country, that he might be permitted to fight with Bothwell, but Bothwell, who in the main had no stomach to fight, excepted against him too, and not knowing how creditably to come off, the Queen interposed her authority, and forbidding the fight, ended the controversy;

Then marching through the army on horseback, she tried how they all stood affected; but to her great (disappointment and sorrow, she found no great disposition in the men to fight:

They said there were a great many brave soldiers in the adverse army, and that it was fitter for Bothwell, whose chief quarrel it was, to try it out in a single duel, than that her majesty's person, and so many men's lives should be hazarded upon the account, but that if she were fully resolved to fight, it was best to defer it till tomorrow, for it was said, the Hamiltons were coming with a body of 500 Horse, and were not far off, with the conjunction of whose forces, they might then the more safely advised about the main concern; for at that time the Earl of Huntley, and John Hamilton Archbishop of St. Andrews, had gathered their clans to Hamilton, and the day after were coming to the Queen; whereupon she gnashed her teeth, and fell to weeping, uttering many reproachful words against her nobles, and by a messenger, desired of the contrary army, that they would send William Kircadie of Grange to her, that she would discourse with him about conditions of peace;

In the interim, the army should not advance, neither did the adverse army proceed, but stood near and in a low place, so as that the enemies ordinance might not annoy them:

Whilst the Queen was conferring with Kircadie, Bothwell was bid to shift for himself, (for that was it she aimed at by pretending a conference) who made such fearful haste to Dunbar, that he commanded two horsemen that accompanied him, to return back again, such a load of guilt lay upon his mind, that he could hardly trust his own friends;



Bothwell lived his final decade chained to a pillar. The pillar can still be seen today, around which there is a circular groove he made there. Bothwell died in 1578 aged 44, in appalling conditions. No-one came forth to claim his body. Many have witnessed a ghostly funeral carriage that drives a coffin from the courtyard to the nearby Fårevejle church, where his mummified remains were displayed until only recently.

From whence he went to the Orcades, and for a time exercised piracy thereabouts, but being at last pursued by some Scotch ships fitted out for that purpose, he with much ado made his escape, and sailed for Denmark, where giving no good account of himself, whence he came, or whither he was bound, and afterward being known of some merchants, he was clapt up a close prisoner, where after ten years nasty confinement, and other miseries, he at last grew mad, and came to a death suitable to his base and wicked Life.

The Queen, when she thought he was out of danger, (though she shall ne'er see his face more) articulated with Kircadie, that the rest of the army should march quietly home, and so she came with him to the nobles, clothed only with a tunic, and that a mean and threadbare one too, reaching but a little below her knees, a sad spectacle;

Of the van of the army she was received, not without demonstration of their former reverence; but when she desired that they would dismiss her, to meet the Hamiltons, who were said to be coming on, promising to return again, and commanding Morton to undertake for her, for she hoped by fair promises to do what she would, and finding she could not obtain her request, she burst forth into bitter language, and upbraided also the commanders with what she had done for them, which they heard also with silence; but when she came to the second body, they all unanimously cried out, burn the whore, burn the parricide, and had withal a sad spectacle presented before her eyes, for the late King her husband was painted in one of the banners, dead, and his little son by him, craving vengeance of God for the murder; and this Banner was carried before her whithersoever she went:

She swooned at the first sight of it, and could scarce be kept upon her horse, but recovering her self, she remitted nothing of her former fierceness, uttering threats and reproaches, shedding tears, and manifesting other concomitant signs of women's grief.

In her march she made all the delay she could, expecting, if any aid did come from elsewhere, but none appeared:

At last, she came to Edenburg a little before night her face being covered with dust and tears, as if dirt had been cast upon it all the people running to see the spectacle:

She past through a great part of the city in great silence, the multitude leaving her so narrow a passage, that scarce one could go a breast; when she was going up to her lodging, one woman



of the company prayed for her, but she turning to the people told them, besides other menaces, that she would burn the city, and quench the fire with the blood of the perfidious citizens; having got into her apartment, she shewed her self weeping out of the window, and there was a great concourse of people without, some of whom did commiserate the sudden change of her fortune; but it was not long e'er the former banner was held out to her, whereupon she shut the window and flung in after she had been there two days, she was sent prisoner by the nobles order to a **castle situated in Laugh-Levin (left).**

But now the whole conspiracy against the late King comes out; for while these matters were thus agitated, Bothwell had sent one of his faithfulest servants into Edenburg castle, to bring him a silver cabinet, which had been sometimes Francis's King of France, as appeared by the ciphers on the out side of it, wherein were letters writ, almost all, with the Queen's own hand, in which the King's murder, and the things that followed, were clearly discovered, and it was written in almost all of them, that as soon as he had read them, he should burn them; but Bothwell knowing the Queen's inconstancy, and having had many evident examples of it in a few years, had preserved the letters, that so if any difference should happen to arise between them, he might use them as a testimony for himself, and thereby declare, that he was not the author, but only a party in the King's murder;

Balfour, the Governor, did deliver the cabinet to Bothwell's servant, but withal informed the chief of the adverse party, what he had sent, whither and by whom; whereupon they took him, and found in the letters great and mighty matters contained, which though before shrewdly suspected, yet could never so clearly be made forth:

but nothing could induce the Queen to separate her interest from him, and when she was urged to it with reasons to her advantage; she fiercely answered, that she would rather live with him in the utmost adversity, than without him in the royalist condition.

The Hamilton's, who were very powerful, made some stir yet on her behalf in opposition to the Adverse Party, who were now going to advance her son, though an infant, into her throne, which she was forced to submit to, and to name him governor, whereof the Earl of Murray, though absent then beyond sea, was one, who returning soon after, was chosen sole regent of the kingdom, and confirmed in the same by the authority of the parliament that succeeded;

But about the Queen they differed in their opinions; for it appearing by many testimonies and proofs, especially by her own letters to Bothwell, that the whole plot of the bloody fact was laid by her, some being moved with the heinousness of the thing, and others being afterwards made

acquainted therewith by her; lest they themselves should be punished as accessory to so odious a crime, to remove her testimony out of the way, voted, that she should suffer the utmost extremity of the law; but the major part only sentenced her to be kept a prisoner; but though she escaped now, the time came wherein she lost her head for but attempting a fact of the like nature with this she was now charged with.

In the mean time, the Hamiltons, with whom the Earls of Argyle and Huntley joined themselves, with some others, were solicitous about the Queen's restoration and liberty; and the Queen, not to be wanting on her part, to promote their endeavours, having won some of the regents relations, and bribed the master of a vessel, and taking occasion to send her other companions about frivolous errands, was secretly by him conveyed out of the Lough where she was kept:

Her escape being told those who were then at dinner in the castle, they made a great stir but to little purpose, for all the boats were haled ashore, and their loop holes to put out their oars, were all stopped up, that so no speedy pursuit might be made:

She was no sooner got out of the Lough, but that there were horsemen ready on the other side to receive her, who carried her to the several houses of the partisans in the design, and the day after to Hamilton, a town 8 miles distant from Glasgow, and and at the noise thereof many resorted to her, and in a short time she gathered an army of about 6500 men:



In the mean time the Regent was not idle, but got together what force he could at Glasgow, yet not enough to equal their number; however, understanding that the enemy designed to march by Glasgow, and to leave the Queen in **Dunbarton Castle**, and so either to fight or lengthen out the war as they pleased; or if they found him to be so bold as to stop their passage, which they believed he durst not do, they resolved then to fight, and were confident they

should beat him; and the Regent, (I say) understanding this, resolved to be before hand with them, and to urge them to fight as soon as ever he could, and to that end drew out his men into the open field before the town, the way that he thought the enemy would march, and there for some hours waited for them in battle array;

But when he saw their troops pass by on the other side of the river, he presently understood their design, and commanded his foot to pass over the bridge, and his horse to ford over the river, which they might do, it being low water, and so to march to Langside, which was a village by the river Carth, where the enemy were to pass, situated at the foot of a hill to the south-west;

The passage on the east and north was steep, but on the other side there was a gentle descent into a plain, thither the Regent and his army hastened with such speed that they had near Possesst the hill before the enemy, who aimed at the same place, understood their design, though they marched thither by a nearer cut; but there were two things that did very much contribute to the advantage

of the Regent and his party, as they were no less a disadvantage to the Queen and her followers; for the Earl of Argyle, who on the Queen's part commanded in chief, fell suddenly down from his horse, sick, and by his fall much retarded the march of his party;

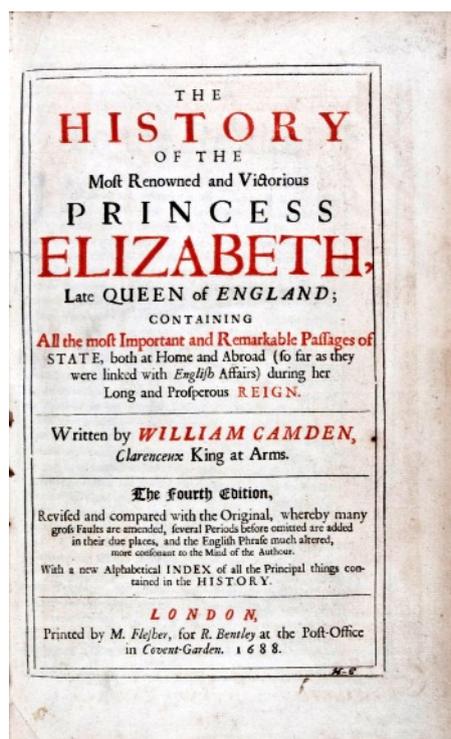
The other was, that their forces being placed here and there in little valleys, could never see all their enemies at once, whose paucity (as indeed they were not many) made the other despise them, and the disadvantage of the place to:

At last, when the Queen's forces drew nigh, and saw the ground they aimed at taken up by the enemy, they advanced to another little hill over against them, and there divided their party into two bodies; so did the other party into two wings, placing their musketeers in the village and gardens below, near the highway.

Both armies being thus marshaled in battle array, the Queen's cannoneers and foot were driven from their posts by the Regent's forces; on the other hand the Regent's horse, being fewer in number, were beat back by the enemy; and when they had performed that service, they endeavoured also to break the battalions of foot, in order whereunto they charged directly up the hill, but were beat back by the archers placed there, and by some of those who after their rout, had rallied again, and joined with the rest of their body:

In the mean time the left wing of the Enemy marched by the highway, where there was a rising ground, lower down into the valley, where though they were galled by the Regent's musketeers, yet passing by those straits, they opened and ranged their body: here it was the two battalions held out a thick stand of pikes, as a breastwork before them, and fought desperately for half an hour, without giving ground on either side, insomuch that they whose long pikes were broke, threw daggers, stands, pieces of pikes, or lances, yea, whatever they could come at, into their enemies faces;

But some of the hindermost ranks of the Regent's forces beginning to fly away, (whither for fear or treachery is uncertain) no doubt their flight had much disordered those who stood to it, unless the ranks had been so thick, that the foremost did not well know what the hindmost did; then they which were in the second battalion, taking notice of the danger, and perceiving no enemy coming to charge them, sent some whole troops to wheel to the right, and to join with the first, whereupon the adverse party could not bear their charge, but were wholly routed and put to flight; but the Regent, upon the pursuit, forbid the execution.



The Queen stood about a mile from the place to behold the battle, and after the discomfiture, fled with some horsemen of her party, who had escaped out of the battle, towards England, (from whence she shall never return to see her native country more) being arrived at a place called Workinton in the county of Cumberland, she dispatched away a letter to Queen Elizabeth, full of complaints of hard usage in Scotland, and craving her assistance and protection, and leave to come to her; but the Queen denied her access, and ordered her to be conveyed to Carlisle, from whence she wrote again to the Queen, which brought her case under the deliberation of the English council, who at last resolved to detain her in England; till such time as she should give satisfaction for usurping the English arms, and answered for the death of the Lord Darnley her Husband for Darnley's mother, the Countess of Lennox, had of late grievously complained to Queen Elizabeth about it, and earnestly

besought her to call her to a trial for the Murder of her son, as Mr. Camden in his *History of Queen Elizabeth* (left) has it.



But because her detention in England might appear to be just in all foreign courts, secretary Cecil, and others of the council prevailed with Murray the Scots Regent to come into England, to accuse her before such commissioners as Queen Elizabeth should appoint, and the place of meeting was to be York; and to that end the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Sussex, with several other counsellors, went to York to hear the Regents accusation:

It was observed, the Duke delayed to receive the accusation, but at last speaks to Secretary Lidington, that before that time he had ever esteemed him a wise man until that time he came before strangers to accuse the Queen his mistress, as if England were judge over the princes of Scotland, but continued the Duke, how could you find in our heart to dishonour the King's mother, or how could you answer afterward for what you were doing, seeing it tended to hazard the King her Sons Right to England, intending to bring his mother's honesty in question;

It had been rather the duty of you her subjects, to cover her imperfections, if she had any, remitting to God, and time to punish and put order thereto, who is the only judge over Princes:

Lidingtown shewing his innocence and desire to have the accusation suppressed, the Duke asked if the Regent could keep secret, and being thereof assured by Lidington, he took occasion next day to enter into a conference with the Regent, and after some preliminary discourse, spoke to him to this effect:

That he would be very faithful to the Queen his mistress as long as she lived, but that she was too careless what might come after her, about the peace and welfare of her country, though it was the interest of the Kingdom of England to take greater notice thereof, by determining the succession, to prevent troubles that otherwise might ensue, that though they had divers times essayed to do something therein at every parliament, yet their Queen had evidenced great discontent thereat, shewing thereby that she cared not what blood was shed after her for the right and title of the English crown, which consisted only in the person of the Queen and King of Scotland her son, which had been put out of doubt ere now if matters had not fallen out, so unhappily at home, and yet he and other noblemen of England, as fathers of their country, were minded to be careful thereof, watching their opportunity.

But that they wondered what could move him to come there and accuse their Queen; for albeit she had done or suffered harm to be done to the King her husband yet there was respect to be had to the Prince her son, upon whom he and many in England had fixed their eyes, as Mr. Melvill, who had been late ambassador there could testify he therefore wished that the Queen should not be accused, nor dishonoured for that to her son's sake and for respect to the right both had to succeed to the crown of of England, and further the Duke said:

I am sent to bear your accusation, but neither will I, nor the Queen my mistress, give out any sentence upon the accusation, and that you may understand the verity of this point more clearly,

you shall do well the next time that I require you before the council, to give in your accusation in writing, to demand again my mistress's seal and hand writing, (before you shew your folly) that in case you accuse, she shall immediately convict, and give out her sentence according to the proof of the matter, otherwise that you will not open the pack; which if her majesty shall refuse to grant unto you, which doubtless she will do, then assure your self that my Information is true, and take occasion hereupon to stay from further accusation.

This discourse caught the Regent, and he promised to comply therewith in every part, and so at the next meeting with the Council, demanded the aforesaid security from the Queen, before he would give in his accusation, hereupon they sent post to court to know what to do, and the Queen's answer was, that being a true Princess, her word and promise would be abundantly sufficient.

Cecil and Wood (the Regent's secretary) were amazed at this manner of procedure, and therefore it was advised to desire the lords on both sides to come from York to court, where the Queen was able to give more ready answers and resolves:

In the mean time, the Duke, Regent, and Lidington, put their heads together, and agreed, that the Regent should by no means consent to accuse the Queen, and that the Duke should obtain to him the Queen's favour, with a confirmation of the Regency, and so would go on as sworn brethren, the one to rule Scotland, and the other England, &c.



When the Regent was arrived at **Hampton Court (above)**, where the Queen then resided, he was daily pressed to give in his accusation, especially by those about him, who thought it strange, that he should be so slow, until at length they were advertised by one of the Lords of the Queen's action, of all that had past between the Regent, and Duke of Norfolk, for the Duke had secretly given the Queen of Scots notice of what he had done, she to one of her confidants, who advertised the Earl of Morton of the whole;

Morton took it very ill that the Regent should engage in any such thing without his knowledge, but before either he or his friends would take upon them to know any thing of the matter, they consult together and resolve to get Mr. John Wood to acquaint Cecil with the whole, desiring him to press forwards the accusation, wherein of himself he was abundantly eager; They left nothing and one for their part to effectuate the same, putting the Regent in hopes one while, that the Queen would give her Hand and Seal, that she would Convict the Queen of Scots if he accused her; others of the firmest of them persuaded him that she would ne'er give it under hand and seal, designing thereby to distract him, to see what he would do in case he obtained his desire: Mr. Wood said it was fit to carry in all the writs to the council, and he would keep the Accusation in his bosom, and would not deliver it till the thing demanded of the Queen was first granted.

The rest of the regents, Lords and Councillors, had concluded among themselves, that as soon as the Duke of Norfolk as chief of the council, should require the accusation, they would all with one voice persuade the Regent to give it in; Lidington and Sir James Melvill pressed the Regent

to remember his engagements to the Duke, who replied, he would do well enough, and that it would not come to that length; and being accordingly brought before the council, the Duke demanded the accusation, the Regent required assurance from the Queen for the prosecution, in case he gave it in to this it was answered as before, that the Queen was a true Princess, and that her word was sufficient, and all the council cried, would he distrust the Queen, who had given such proof of her friendship to Scotland?

The Regents council chimed in with them, and said the same thing; whereupon Cecil asked, If they had the accusation there; yes, says Mr. Wood, and with that plucked it out of his bosom, but I will not deliver it says he till her Majesty's hand and seal be delivered to the Regent for what he demands; he had no sooner said the words, but the Bishop of Orkney snatched the paper out of his hand, saying, let me have it, I'll present it, Wood ran after him, as if he would have taken him, but up gets the bishop to the council board, and gives in the accusation, which made the Lord Chamberlain of England cry out:



Well done bishop, thou art the frankest fellow among them all, none of them will make thy leap good, meaning his former leaping out of the **Lord Grange's** (left) ship to save himself; but Lidington seeing the Regent's inconstancy, rounds him in the ear, that he had disgraced himself, and put his life in danger by the loss of so good a friend as the Duke of Norfolk, and that he had lost his reputation for ever.

The Regent soon repents his folly, and desires to have the accusation again, alleging he had some more to add thereto; but was answered, That they would keep what they had, and were ready to receive any addition he should please to give in: The Duke of Norfolk had much ado to keep his Countenance.

Wood tipped the wink upon Cecil, who smiled upon him again; the Regent's company were laughing, only Lidington had a sorrowful heart, and the Regent himself left the Council with tears in his eyes, and retired to his lodgings at Kingstown, and continued there for a long time in great displeasure and fear, without money to spend, or hopes to get any from the Queen. In the mean time, the agreement between the Duke and Regent was told the Queen: for Morton caused one John Willock to declare what had past between them to the Earl of Huntingdon, who caused the Lord Leicester to acquaint the Queen therewith.

The Duke finding how all things stood, thought to out-brave it, and stuck not to tell the Queen herself, while he lived he would never offend her, but serve and honour her, and after her, the Queen of Scots, as in his opinion, truest heir, and the only means for saving of civil wars and much bloodshed that might fall out; which words were as a Dagger to the Queen's Heart, though for the time she dissembled her Displeasure; but to further this great man's fall, though Sir Nicholas Throgmorton seemed to mean honestly, he got the Duke and Regent reconciled again, and then the Duke declared to him, that he was resolved to marry the Queen of Scots, his mistress, and that he would never permit her to come into Scotland, nor yet that she should ever rebel against the Queen of England during her time, and also that he had a daughter who would be a fitter match for King James than any other for many reasons, and so procured the sum of two thousand pounds from the Queen for the Regent, for which himself became security, and was forced afterward to pay the same:

When the Regent had got the money, he was easily induced by some about him, to acquaint the Queen with all that had past between the Duke and himself, and withal engaged to transmit back

unto her all the letters which the Duke should write to him when he came into Scotland, which was done accordingly:

The Duke was then the greatest subject in Europe, he ruled the Queen, and all those that were familiar with her, and was courted by all factions, both protestants and papists, both paying him a very great deference, and at that time commanded all the north of England, and it was in his power to have set the Queen of Scots at liberty if he had pleased;

But when the Queen had had his letters from Scotland, she sent for the Duke to come to court, whereupon he first posted in haste to secretary Cecil, on whose advice and friendship he much relied, who told him, there was no danger, he might come and go at his pleasure, no man would, or durst offend him, and so the Duke only with his own train came to court, Cecil in the mean time informed the Queen, that the necessity of the time obliged her not to omit this occasion, but to take the matter stoutly upon herself, and forthwith command her guards to lay hands upon the Duke, or else no other durst do it, which if she did not at this time, she would endanger the safety of her crown:

The Queen embraced the advice, and so orders the Duke to be secured, when he thought all England was at his devotion, who after a long imprisonment, was executed, ending his life, (as Sir James Melvill says) devoutly in the reformed Religion.



From, **Carlisle (left)** this forlorn Queen was removed to Bolton, under the custody of Sir Francis Knowles, and from thence to Tutbury, under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and in whose custody she remained for the space of fifteen years; but the many attempts made for her liberty, and other more dangerous suspicions increasing against her, caused her to be committed to the keeping of Sir Anias Pawlet, and Sir Drue Druery, where she solicited with more greater importunity than ever, the

bishop of Rome, and the Spaniard by Sir Francis Inglefield, to hasten what they had in hand with all speed against the Queen of England, whatever became of her; and at length, holding correspondence with Babington and the rest of the conspirators against Queen Elisabeth's Life, which you may read in Camden's *Elizabeth at large*;

This drew on the fatal day, whereon she was to be called to an account for what she had done; and to this end it was agreed to have her tried upon the late statute made against such as should attempt any violence against the Queen's person, &c. and 24 Lords, and others of inferior degrees were commissioned by the Queen's patent for her Trial, who met October 11. 1586. in Fotheringham Castle in the County of Northampton, where the Queen of Scots was then in custody, and next day sent Sir Walter Mildmay and others to her, with the Queen's letter about her crimes and trial;

which when she had read, she complained of her ill usage, excused her carriage, and seemed to question the commissioners authority, but they justify their authority, and advise her to appear to her Trial; but she excepted against the new Law, and required to have her protestation admitted, which was denied;

at length she is brought on the 14th day to appear, to whom Bromley the chancellor made a speech, how Queen Elisabeth their sovereign being informed of her conspiracies against her life, she

was now called upon to answer for the same, and to clear her self if she could, and make her innocency appear to the world;

Here she would have urged her protestation again, of being no subject of England, but a crowned head, but that being again rejected, she submitted her self to a trial, and after a long hearing, and several proofs made of her being privy to the design against the Queen's life; and of her intention to convey her title and claim to the Kingdom of England, to the Spaniard, &c.



The court adjourned till the 25th of October, to the **star-chamber at Westminster (left)**, at what time Wacee and Curle her Secretaries, did *viva voce*, voluntarily, and without hope of reward, avow all and every the letters and copies of letters produced at the trial to be true and real, upon which, sentence was pronounced against her, and ratified by the seals and subscriptions of the commissioners, in these words:

By their unanimous consent they do pronounce and declare this judicial verdict, and say, that after the end of

the said parliament (specified in the commission) viz. after the first of June in the seven and twentieth year of the Queen, divers matters were compassed and imagined in England by Anthony Babington and others, with the privity of Mary Queen of Scots, pretending title to the crown of England, tending to the hurt, death and destruction of the Royal person of our sovereign lady the Queen: and furthermore, that after the said day and year, and before the date of our commission, the said Mary, hath compassed and imagined in this Kingdom of England, divers matters tending to the hurt, death and destruction of the Royal person of our said Sovereign, against the form of the statute specified in the said commission.

Soon after a parliament was called, wherein the house of peers, by the chancellor, petitioned the Queen, that the sentence might be promulgated; and withal, besought her majesty for the safety of her person and Kingdoms, to execute justice on the Queen of Scots; the Queen in her answer, shewed a great reluctance to cut her off; but concluded with her thanks for their care and advice;

But in a case of so great consequence, said, she would not be rash, but consider, and some twelve days after desired the parliament to consult some other way of safety, and to spare the Queen of Scots, but they persisted in their former advice, so that some time after the sentence was proclaimed throughout London, and all the Kingdom:

King James upon the news, sends one Kieth to Queen Elisabeth, to intercede on his mother's behalf, and after him came the master of Gray, and Sir Robert Melvill, to whom she said, she was sorry no way could be found out, to save their King's mother, and secure her own life; they offer pledges of the Scots nobility for her security; and wondered what should move any man to attempt any thing against her majesty for Queen Mary's sake;

Because, said Queen Elisabeth, they think she shall succeed me, and she a papist; they to salve this proposed, that the right of succession might be made over in King James's person, and this would cut off the hopes of the papists, and they were sure Queen Mary would readily resign all her right to her son; but Queen Elisabeth urged, she had no right, being declared un-capable of succession, though the papists would not allow her declaration, and this brought them again to

press the resignation, but the Earl of Leicester, who stood by, objected, that Queen Mary being a prisoner, she could not deny it:

The Scots answer, that it being made to her Son, with the advice of all her friends in Europe, in case Queen Elisabeth should miscarry, none will partake with the mother against her son, &c.

Here the Queen misunderstanding the ambassador's meaning, was told that the King would be in his mother's place;

Say you so, said she,

“So death, that were to cut my own throat; he shall never come to that place and be party with me; and added, well, tell your King what I have done for him to keep the crown on his head, since he was born, and for my part, I shall keep the league betwixt us, and if he break it, it shall be a double fault, and in passion got away;”



The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots

Melvill followed her, praying respite of execution; not an Hour, said she, and so they parted. Some time after she signed a warrant for a mandate fitted for the great seal, for her execution, and entrusted the same with Davidson, one of her Secretaries, to be in a readiness in case of danger; but he too hastily got it to pass the seal, which some said, she would afterwards have recalled, but was prevented by the earnest prosecution of Beal, clerk of the council, who was sent by them to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby and Cumberland, to take care of her execution, unknown to the Queen;

For it was said, that she should tell Davidson at that instant that she was resolved of another way then by death; the Earls arriving at Fotheringham castle in Northamptonshire, where she was detained, gave her notice on Monday, Feb. 6. 1586. to prepare for death the Wednesday next following, but one; when the fatal day came, she was clothed in black, had an *Agnus Dei* about her neck, a pair of beads at her girdle, with a golden cross at the end of them, and so passed through the hall, and mounted the scaffold, raised two foot high, and twelve broad, railed about, with a low stool, a cushion, and a block, all covered with black;

Being set down, the Lords and the sheriffs of the county stood on her right hand, Sir Annias Paulet and Drewry on her left; the two executioners, one the common hangman of London, and the other of the county, standing before her, and the knights and gentlemen placed round about without the rail;

Silence being made, the clerk of the council, having read the commission for her execution, the people shouted and cried, God save our Queen; then Dr. Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough standing before her, gave her several Godly exhortations, as preparatory for her death, but she little regarded him, and at last interrupted him, saying he needed not trouble himself, that she was a Roman Catholic, and so forth, then the Earls offered to join in prayer with her, that she might be enlightened in the true faith;

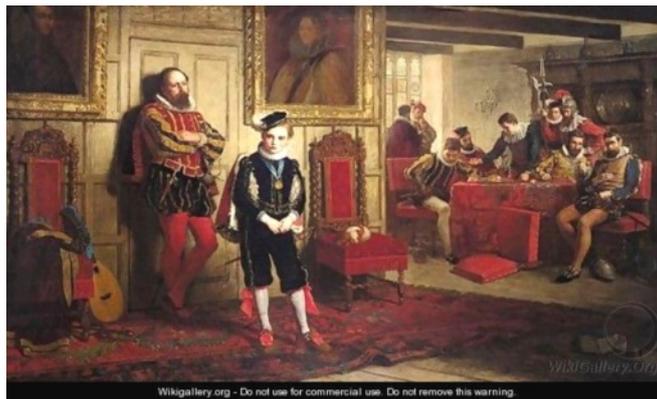
But that she refused to do, saying, she would use her own devotions; then they required the dean to pray, who did it with an audible voice, the Queen all the while sitting on her stool, with a Latin prayer book in her hand, a crucifix and a pair of beads, and not minding what he said; when the

Dean had done, the Queen with her own people, all in tears prayed aloud in Latin, and concluded her self with an English prayer, professing to be saved by Christ's blood, and thereupon kissed the crucifix; then her women begun to undress her, and one of the executioners taking from her neck the *Agnus Dei* tied behind, the Queen laid hold on it, gave it to her women, saying, he should have money; but she suffered them and her women to take off her chain and apparel in some haste, always smiling, and put off her strait sleeves with her own hands, hindering the fellow who rudely offered at it, to do it; and now being in her petticoat and kirtle, prepared for death;

She crossed and kissed her women, who were lamentably shrieking and crying, and crossed also her men servants who stood without the rails, and then kneeled upon her cushion, saying in Latin the whole Psalm,

In te Domine confido, ne eoufundas in aeternum,

—and groping for the block, laid down her head, putting her chin over the block with both her hands, and held them there, which might have been cut off with her head, had they not been timely espied: being thus fixed, while one of the executioners gently held her down, the other, with two strokes with the axe, severed her head from her body, leaving only a little gristle uncut, without the least stir or motion of the body; and lifting up her head, said, God save our Queen; her lips moved for about a quarter of an hour after, and her head-clothes falling off, her head appeared as grey as if she had been seventy years old, whereas she was but forty six.



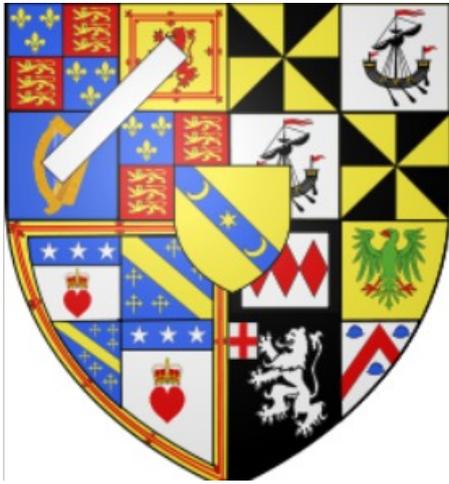
James VI of Scotland

Having thus brought this unhappy Queen to her fatal catastrophe, we now return to her son James VI. who notwithstanding afterward his vain boast of his inherent birth-right, when he came to be King of England, during her long captivity in England, being above 18 years, possessed her throne in Scotland; he was born on the 19th of June, in the year 1566, and about fourteen months after crowned King in his mother's stead, she being forced by the nobles to resign to him.

The Kingdom, during some part of his minority, was governed by the Earl of Murray, as Regent, but he being murdered basely by one Hamilton at Lithgow; Matthew Stuart Earl of Lenox, the King's grandfather was advanced into his room; during whose Regency two factions continued as before, the one for the young King, and the other for the deposed Queen: but by the means of Sir James Melvill and others, the Queen was brought upon the point of agreement with the Regent; but the Earl of Morton returning to court, he and Randolph the English ambassador suspecting the probability of such an apparent agreement, which had been kept secret from them, they fell a plotting which way to obstruct the same, and resolved, as the most probable means to have a parliament convened, and therein got all the Queens lords fore-faulted, whereby the Regent should utterly ruin the ancient families of the Hamiltons; and this would afford a bait to every one of the King's lords, seeing they should be made sharers of the spoil, and every one of them get wealth enough;

Mr. Randolph for their encouragement, gave them assurance from England, so as they needed not fear any resistance from their adversaries; and Morton to clench the nail, first represented in council, that the Queen's lords had an intention to re-establish popery;

Upon which allegation he knew he would make them odious to the generality of the people, and upon their being fore-faulted, that each of them should have a share of the said lord's estates, which brought the council readily to consent to a parliament, to be held at Sterling to the same purpose.



The Present Coat of Arms of The Duke of Buccleugh (Buccleuch)

The Queen's Lords to be even with them, held another parliament at Edenburgh, at the same time, and with the same design of fore-faulting, as the King's lords; in the mean time the laird of Grainge was highly concerned at those violent proceedings, wherefore he sent for the laird of Fer in haste, and Buccleugh, to come to him one evening to Edenburgh with a good guard along with them, and tell them, according to the projection had already devised, that that same night after they had supped, and fed heir horses, they should ride with them to Sterling, so as to be there early in the morning,

before any of the Lords who held the parliament were out of their beds, hoping by the intelligence he had received, assuredly to surprise them before they could be advertised thereof:

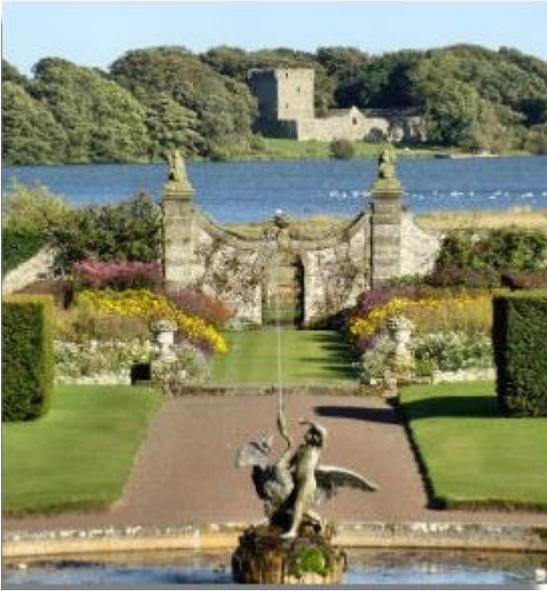
The project they all readily agreed to, but they would not allow Grange to go along with them, for fear any disaster should befall him, who was the Life of them all, and so on they march, under the leading of the Earl of Huntley, and some others, and were got to Sterling by four next morning, where into they entered by a little passage, being conducted by a townsman, one George Bell; which entry of theirs, was immediately after their night watches had retired to their rest;

They divided their men into several parties, and appointed such as they thought meetest at every Lord's lodgings; leaving one body under Capt. Hackerston at the market-cross, to see good order kept, and to prevent any spoil to be committed; only they ordered the stables to be searched, and all the horses in the town to be carried away, which was punctually executed;

But because Captain Hackerstoun did not come in due time with his company, to attend at the market-cross according to appointment, a company of unruly servants broke open shops, and run up and down to take what spoil they could get; in the mean while, after they had taken out all the lords from their lodgings, and were leading of them prisoners down the steep causeway of Sterling, on foot, intending to take their horses at the nether-gate, and to ride to Edenburgh with their captives; those within the castle hearing the noise of the Townsmen crying out, because of the plundering of their Houses, and considering what a disgrace it would be to them, if they did not shew themselves men upon such an occasion; they sallied out boldly, and perceiving the disorder of the enemy, rescued all the prisoners saving the Regent, whom one shot in the back, at the command (as was alleged) of the Lord Pachey; he died of the wound some days after.

The next Regent was the Earl of Mar, the discord still continued: his government held not long, for being one day invited to dinner by the Earl of Morton, he returned home and sickened, died soon after, not without vehement suspicion of having been poisoned at his banquet.

Morton came in after him Regent, the division between the Lords not yet made up, some Overtures of an Accommodation were made, but the Queen's lords finding the Regent not sincere in all respects, refused the agreement, and were at last besieged in Edinburgh castle by an English army, which they surrendered upon articles that were basely broke, and most of them executed:



The King now growing up, began to hate the Regent, he being aware of it, led those about him to infuse in him a good opinion of him, but in vain, and so a council was appointed at Edenburg, wherein it was agreed to depose him, Morton thereupon retires to the House of Lochleven (left), within the Lough for his greater security; but while he was there his head was continually a plodding how he might again become master of the court then at Sterling, which he accomplished in the dead of one night, in this manner.

When he came to the gates of the Castle, they were opened to him by the two abbots, and a faction they had drawn in there with them, though the master of Mar and Earl of Argyle made what resistance they could; yet Morton prevailed, but handled the matter

so discreetly and moderately as possible he could, that the alteration might not appear to be over sharp or violent;

But the Lord Aubonie, about that same time coming into Scotland from France, which lord was afterward created Duke of Lennox, and was brother's son to the late Earl of Lennox:

He and James Steward of Oghiltrie, did in a short time gain the ascendancy over the King's affections, who was like a tennis ball tossed from one favourite to another, all his days, they framed an accusation against Morton, and got him committed to Edinburgh Castle, from whence in a short time he was brought to his trial and condemned, for having an hand in the Lord Darnley, the King's father's murder; that he was privy to the same he did not deny at his execution, and withal confessed, that he had a design to send the young King into England for his safety;

And so there's another governor gone, who was the fourth and last, and every one whereof died a violent death: and now the King assumes the government himself, and if he was unhappy during the time of the regency, I think it will appear it was no better with him ever after, for he himself was as much governed now by his favourites and sycophants, as the Kingdom had been by a Regent; and the first into whose hands he fell, was Aubonie, now created Duke of Lennox, and a papist, and the aforesaid James Steward, who assumed to himself the style and title, and then the Earldom of Arran;

These two led him by the nose at their pleasure, and carried all things with an high hand, lording it over the rest of the nobility, and aiming at their estates, which made them begin to look about them, and concluding after serious consultation, that from two such counsellors no wholesome advice could proceed for the peace of the country, and establishment of religion, but rather, if they were suffered to go on still, both the one and the other would be endangered. They resolve to remove them.

The King was at that time designing to go from Athol to Dumfermling to take his usual divertisement of hunting, where the lords designed to encounter him with a supplication full of complaints, against the Duke and Earl, with pressing instances for the removing of them; and least their supplication should miscarry, they backed it with strong forces which could not be resisted;

The King had but a very few attendance at Dumfermling, for Lennox staid at Dalkeith, and Arran at Kinweel, and several of the council were gone to hold the assizes in divers shires of the country; Sir James Melvill was at Edinburgh, whither a gentleman one morning came to his bedside, and told him, that he had formerly done him several kindnesses, which till then he was never able to

recompense, but that now he would make him an instrument of saving the King his master out of the hands of those who were upon an enterprise to take and secure him;

Melvill replied, he could hardly believe such a thing, but that he feared the Duke of Lennox might be in danger, who was gone to Glasgow, because of the hatred that was bore to him by the nobility;

The Gentleman subjoined, they will lay hands first on the King's person, and then the Duke, and Earl of Arran dare no more be seen, their insolence being looked upon as the cause of almost all the disorders of the nation; and when he had so said, he desired the King might be acquainted with the matter, but to have his name concealed from him, for he said, that design would be put in execution in ten days time, and as Sir James started up to put on his Clothes, he slipped out at the door with a short farewell.



Dalkeith Palace

Sir James upon this Information rides with all the expedition imaginable to Dalkeith, where the Duke of Lennox then was, and laid the whole matter open before him, and advised him withal to lose no time, but to ride to the King to give him notice, that he might make timely provision for his own security; but the Duke chose rather to dispatch a gentleman with all possible diligence to the King upon that occasion, and wished Sir James to write to the Earl of Gaury about the same, for it seems the gentleman that gave him the first information of the plot, had not named Gaury with the rest of the Lords to him, either out of forgetfulness, or else because he had been but lately won over to the party by the land of Drumwhafel, who had assured him that Lennox had resolved to kill him wherever he met him, and used this as a convincing argument to embark the Earl in the same cause;

But however matters fell out, the lords receded from their first resolution of presenting their supplication as aforesaid, and would not tarry, the King came to Dunfermline, but they surprised him at Huntingtown House, which was the Earl of Gaury's, its uncertain whether it were not done with a design to embark the Earl more deeply in their bond, or that fearing least the design was discovered, they made the greater haste to execute the same, by seizing the King there, which was afterward called the road of Ruthven:

The King is once more a prisoner, and the lords conduct him to Sterling castle, where he is kept for a time: In the mean while, the French King and Queen Elizabeth by their ambassadors, make instances for his liberty, and condole his misfortune; but so hen-hearted was he, that he ordered their ambassadors to declare to their respective princes, that he was well satisfied with the lords that were about him, that they were his own subjects, &c.

And when the Lords called a council to resolve what course to take, he agreed with them to form an Act, declaring, that what they had done was good service to himself, the Kirk, and

commonwealth; though Mr. Carey, who I think was afterward created Earl of Monmouth, whispered him in the ear, and desired him to tell the plain truth, which he engaged to conceal from all others whatsoever, and only acquaint the Queen his mistress therewith, he told him his Heart was full fraught with grief and displeasure at his misfortune.

The lords having thus effected their purpose, as having now rid the court of the Duke of Lennox, who fled into France. and the Earl of Arran, whom they committed to the custody of the Earl of Gaury, most of them withdrew from the court to their respective homes, whereupon the King retaining a displeasure still in his heart towards them, takes occasion to appoint a convention to be held at St. Andrews, whereunto by missive letters he invited some of the nobility, but none of the lords that had lately left him, designing thereby to get loose out of their hands, and to retain about him such lords as he had written for;



And notwithstanding some about him endeavoured to divert him from the said resolution, alleging the fresh jealousies that would be created in the absent lords by such a procedure, and with all the power they had to be revenged of the conceived affront, he rejected the advice; wherefore for the better management of his design, it was thought expedient, that he should go a few days to St. Andrews, before the convention was to meet, that being once there, a proclamation might be issued out to forbid any nobleman whatsoever to come to the said convention without express orders from the King so to do, and to this end, it was contrived, that the **Earl of March** (coat of arms left) should give him an invitation to be at the place two or three days before the time, under pretence, that the preparations he had made of wild meats, and other things, for his reception, would be spoiled, if he came not somewhat sooner than the appointed day, (a silly excuse) but on he goes contrary to the advice of some about him, who were sensible of the inconveniences that might attend it, especially

since the lords, whom he had summoned could not be there so soon, and when he arrived at St. Andrews, he took up his lodgings at an old inn, whose greatest security was the yard dykes, of little consideration;

Melvil, who saw the vanity of such doings, goes to the provost to see what force he could make for the Kings security, in case he were exposed to any danger, who answered very few, and those not to be relied upon, but returning to the King, and believing, that the proclamation had been made, that no Man should come to the convention unsent for; he found the Abbot of Dunfermline, and the Earl of Marshal there;

The abbot, who was of the contrary faction, yet did by his wit and dissembling practices, so manage the King, that the proclamation was not only stopped, but missive letters sent to the rest of the nobility to come, but under the restriction that each nobleman should come attended with no more than two persons;

Some of his adherents, who foresaw this would unravel the whole design, reminded him of the danger, and advised him to retire into the castle, which they could not persuade him to do till after supper:

Next day, all the lords, as well written as unwritten for, came to St. Andrews, the latter strongly armed, and the others not:

The abbot, who was with the King in the castle, pretending all manner of zeal for his service, advised him to let none of the lords come within the castle accompanied with any more than twelve persons, which (though he were now in a place of security, if well managed) had like to

have brought him again into a state of captivity; for the next morning the castle was full of men, and the contrary party being well armed, had already possessed themselves of the stair head and galleries, resolving a second time to be masters of the King and all his followers;

But the Earl of March, his gentlemen, with the provost's men, and some others, got thither with such diligence, that the design was rendered abortive for that time, so that next day the King for fear of a further surprise, gave them fair words, promising all alike there of his favour and protection, which for the time seemed to give contentment to all the parties.

In the mean while the Earl of Arran got the Favour to be confined in his own house at Kinneall, from whence he sends to congratulate his majesty's safe deliverance, begging leave to come to court to kiss the King's hand, which for the time was denied, but he still persisting in his solicitation, by the help of some friends, and promising to make no manner of stay, but to withdraw again to his habitation;

The King, whose affections were still towards him, and born it seems to be ruled by others, though he could not chouse but know he was obnoxious to the whole Kingdom, and had been a principal cause of the King's former confinement, grants him leave; the Earl had no sooner access, no more thought of his promise, but staid not only at court, but in a short time altered all the ways of procedure, with a design to draw the management of all public affairs to himself, as before;

This was a great mortification to many about the King, and colonel steward resented it highly, saying, that if his majesty suffered that villain to remain at court, he would yet again undo all; but at last they were reconciled and became great friends, and from henceforward the Earl managed the King, council, and all other affairs of the Kingdom, as despotically, as if he had been grand seignior, or mayor of the palace in France, the King was easily induced by him to spend most of his time a hunting, and to be content with whatever relation he gave him of the public affairs; and when he had gained this point, he bent his whole force for to ruin the Ruthwen Road lords, notwithstanding the public faith given them for their indemnity;



Queen Elizabeth about this time sent to King James a sharp letter concerning his mismanagement of his affairs, and promised to send **Sir Francis Walsingham** into Scotland, by whom, she said, she intended to deal with him as an affectionate sister, and one from whom he might see he should receive honour and contentment, with more safety to himself and Kingdom, than by following the pernicious councils of those crafty dissembling advisers about him;

but there was nothing could stop the career of this mighty favourite Arran, who obtains the government of Sterling castle to the rest, and banished several noblemen, as the Earls of Mar, Angus, &c. and by his insolent behaviour, drove the noble Earl of Gawry, and almost all other honest men from court at length Walsingham arrived, who after he had been with the King, and pursued his instructions, prepared to return home;

Arran would fain have entered into a familiar conference with him, but Sir Francis disdained to speak with him; the other enraged with the conceived affront, and finding no other way of revenge, but what must bring great dishonour upon the King, (a poor fool to suffer it) gave orders that the captains of Berwick, and several worthy gentlemen who came to convoy secretary Walsingham, should not be suffered to enter into the King's presence-chamber; and not content

herein, when the King had ordered a rich diamond, to the value of 700 Crowns to be given to the secretary;

Instead thereof, the Earl puts a scornful present upon him, of a ring with a crystal stone set therein only; a presumption undoubtedly, that Henry VIII would have punished with the loss of his head, had the Earl been his subject: but this way of procedure was so far from exciting the King to vindicate his own honour, which was abominably blemished hereby, that when he was determined to go to Edenburg to call a convention of the estates, more honours must be put upon the Earl;

For to that of the government of Sterling castle, already in his hands, was added that of Edenburg castle, the two most important fortresses in the Kingdom; and least a military power was not yet sufficient both for his greatness and security, he gets himself declared Lord chancellor, and so head of the civil power in the Kingdom; and now he triumphs, making the whole subjects tremble under him, and by daily seeking out, and inventing new crimes against others, to get their Lands and possessions, several of the nobility he banished, but more especially, shot directly at the Earl of Gawrey's life and estate; but the Earl could not be content to domineer as he pleased, over the King's natural Subjects, but he must mock and deride with the ignorant multitude, the Danish ambassadors also, and use them with all the despiht imaginable; for it seems, they knowing his former meanness in Swedeland, made no great court to him, which raised his fury;

This was quickly perceived by some about the King, whom the Earls practices and insolence had disobliged, and who failed not to let the King know it; and for all the Earls ascendancy made him somewhat to decline in favour, which another accident gave a helping hand to, for Sir Francis Russell, upon some disorders that fell out upon the borders, happening to be slain of the English side;

Mr. Wotton the English ambassador, who stood in competition with the Earl for the King's favour, took occasion to lay the blame upon him, alleging that the Laird of Fernihast, who was warden of the Scots borders, had Married the Earl of Arran's brother's daughter, and that the said Earl had caused the slaughter to be committed, that the borders might break loose:



Wotton was seconded by others in this complaint so effectually, that the Earl was committed prisoner to the **castle of St. Andrews (left)**, where having remained for a few days, he got by the intercession of the master of Gray, whom he won with fair promises to be his friend, (it's strange he should find any, who had disobliged every body) leave to retire to his own house; and here the King played a noble prank, but whether he used it as *Lex talionis* for the sham-ring Arran had put upon Walsingham as aforesaid, and which he durst not otherwise punish,

I am not certain:

But it looks like his little tricks, which notwithstanding he dignified with the name of Kingcraft; for when the Earl was upon his journey homeward, he sends to him with all possible diligence, for to lend him a great gold chain, which he knew he had got from Sir James Belfour, which weighed 57 Crowns, to be given to the Danish ambassadors, which if the Earl had refused to do, he would (it's likely) have lost the King; and in delivering of it he lost his chain.

Arran being thus retired, makes several attempts to recover his former station; and the King, it was observed, retained a favour for him, and would have been content to have himself and Kingdom still governed by him, he was once again admitted to court, but others had stepped in, and the King had not power to remove them; so that the Earl after long retirement and discontent, was surprised at last by James Douglass at Parkhead, and slain by him, in revenge of the death



of the **Earl of Morton (left)** his uncle; and but little care taken to punish the same, many thinking it indeed strange, that he should be permitted so long to live, who had carried it so arrogantly and insolently towards all men, in the time of his ascendancy at court, but several other accidents intervened before the Earls exit.

The next man that had the chief credit and management of affairs, was Mr. Wotton the English ambassador, but though the King begun now to be governed by a favourite, and a foreigner under this character, yet it did not end here, as you shall hear by and by when the scene is transplanted into England, Wotton knew as well as any man alive, how to humour him in his pleasures, and such familiar access had he at all times to his person, that he attempted to have brought in the banished Lords, (whose Interest he had espoused, not without the direction, to be sure, of the English court) secretly into his presence in the parish of Sterling, at

such a time as they should have so many friends at court, that he must have remained once more at their devotion;

But all things did not so concur, as to put this enterprise in practice; so it was laid aside, and Mr. Wotton essayed a second, but more desperate attempt, which was to kidnap Jemmy out of the aforesaid park into England, see Sir James Melvill;

But Sir Robert Melvill coming to a timeous knowledge hereof, took measures to prevent it, which made the English ambassador withdraw home, without bidding of them once a good night; the Lords for all this enter the borders, being assisted by the lords Hamilton, Maxwell, Hume, and several others, and advance to the number of three thousand men towards Sterling, entering the town without any opposition, where they were no sooner arrived, but there appeared two factions with the King in the castle, the one favouring the lords, whose part the King took, as if he had really desired the lords should have come thither in this manner to tear his minions from his heart;

And so once more the King is in their power, which they exercised with great moderation, only a few were committed for the present, to the custody of some noblemen, and so a parliament was called, as the best expedient to heal all their breaches.

Things continued in some sort of concord for a little while, and the convicting and beheading of the Queen his mother, in England, seemed to possess all their minds with amazement at the fact, for the present, though I do not find, he did at all resent it; but this was no sooner over, but there appears a new faction at court, headed by the Earl of Huntley, whose aim was at the removing of the master of Gray, and Maitland the chancellor, with their adherents, but finding it was not so easily to be effected, Huntley, Bothwell and others contrived to seize the King's person, and to keep him in their custody; but this proving abortive, the noise of the Spanish invasion, which was dreaded in Scotland, as well as in England, seemed to lay all animosities aside for the present;

But this blowing over, the King's thoughts seemed to be taken all up about marrying, the sister of the King of Denmark was the lady proposed, and Queen Elizabeth consulted with thereupon, who dissuaded him therefrom, and said she had Interest with the King and Princess of Navarr, and that she would employ the same for effectuating of a marriage between him and the said Princess, but the King was bent upon the former, and because he found the chancellor and some others oppose it, he could not, or would not be seen openly to control them, but dealt secretly with some of the deacons of the craftsmen of Edenburg, to form a mutiny against the chancellor

and some of the council, threatening to kill them; in case the marriage with the daughter of Denmark were hindered, or any longer delayed;

Whereupon the Earl of Marshal was sent thither with Power to Treat about the said Marriage, but withal, in so stinted and limited a degree, contrived by the craft of the chancellor, and his faction, that he was necessitated to send the lord Dingwall back from thence, to desire either liberty to return hence, or to have sufficient power to conclude the treaty;

When he came, he happened to find the King at Aberdeen without the chancellor, &c, so that what he could not do while he was present, he was able to effect, with much ado in his absence; surely never was any King so ridden as he, and the messenger returns with full power, which brought the treaty quickly to a conclusion, and so the Queen with a goodly train was sent away towards Scotland; but stay a little, she did not so soon arrive as you may think for, you'll be apt to enquire the reason of it, pray take it along with you; and think it not a digression:



It seems the admiral of Denmark, who had the charge to convoy this royal bride, happening to strike one of the bailiffs of Copenhagen, whose wife was a witch, she consulting with her associates in their black art, concluded, in order to be revenged on the admiral, to raise a terrible storm, which lasted for several days, and drove their ships with great danger and violence upon the **coast of Norway (left)**, where they were forced to stay, because of the continuance of the said tempest for a long time; and a Scotch gentlewoman, whose name was Jane Kennedy, and sent before in a vessel to meet the Queen,

by the King's orders, was drowned about the same time in a storm on the Scotch coast, raised by two Scotch witches, who confessed the fact, as Sir J. Melvill says:

It's like there is a sympathy in witchcraft, as well as in some other things; and now you shall hear of the most valiant act that ever King James was guilty of; for being very impatient and sorrowful that the Queen was so long a coming, this knight errant resolves to commit himself to the raging seas, to encounter shipwreck, storms, witchcraft, and what not, so he might set free, and enjoy his beloved Lady:

And who should wind himself into his favour, and become his errant companion in this voyage, but the chancellor, the only man of all others who most opposed the match, and whom he himself a little before would have got murdered because of that, and none but such as the chancellor pleased, must be made privy to this expedition; and that the adventure might appear to be brave at all points it must be undertaken the beginning of winter; which was ordinarily the most perilous season of the year;

Storms they met with throughout, and the last day of the voyage was more terrible than all the rest; but at length the witch was laid, and they arrived safely in Norway, where the marriage was consummated; but the Kingdom of Scotland might have been spirited up into the second region of the air, or laid with a spell into the bottom of the deep for that winter; for no arguments could persuade him to return before next spring, from Norway he went by land to the Danish Court, where, during his abode, he was constantly infested with the janglings of his courtiers, who were divided into two factions, headed by the Earl of Marshall, and the Chancellor, who strove for precedence, but the chancellor prevailed here, as he did upon the King's return hence, carrying all before him, appointing who should, and who should not come to court;

And in short, so handled the King and all his affairs, that his majesty quite forgot upon his return, the promise he had made in the high Kirk of Edenburg, that he would become a new man, and take the government, into his own hands; and now comes another piece of witch pageantry that menaced his majesty's life;



The story was as followeth;

There were some women taken up in Louthian, which they called witches, and among others one Amy Simpson, who it was said, charged the Earl of Bothwell, as being concerned in some vile practices to bewitch the King, and that she in company with nine more of their gang, met one night at a place called **Preston-Pans (left)**, where the Devil being present, and standing in the midst of them, a body of wax was formed by the said Amy Simpson, wrapped up in a linen cloth, which she delivered into the hands of of his Devilship, who after he had pronounced his verdict, delivered the same back again to the said Amy Simpson, she to her next neighbour, and so to every one round, saying:—

This is King James the sixth, ordered to be consumed at the instance of a nobleman, Francis Earl of Bothwell; some time after they met again by night, in the church of North Berwick, where the Devil in a black gown, with a black hat upon his head, came and preached to a great company of them out of the pulpit the scope of his discourse tended to what mischief they had done, how many they had got to their opinion since the last meeting, what success the melting of the picture had, and so forth; and because an old silly poor ploughman among them, whose name was Gray Meile, happened to say, that nothing ailed the King, God be thanked, the Devil gave him a great blow, and when they all reasoned, and marvelled, that their practices had no better effect upon him;

The Devil answered in French, *Il est un homme de Dieu*. certainly he is a man of God. when he had finished his admonitions he came down out of the Pulpit, and as a further instance of his authority, and good manners, he caused all the company to come and kiss his arse, which they said was cold as Ice, his body hard like Iron, his face very terrible to behold, his nose like an eagle's beak, with great burning eyes, his hands and legs were hairy, having claws upon both hands and feet like a griffin, and spoke with a low voice.

Some of these hags further deposed, that there was one Richard Graham who had a familiar spirit, who could both do and tell many things, chiefly against the Earl of Bothwell, whereupon the said Graham was apprehended, brought to Edenburg and examined before the King; the fellow owned he had a familiar spirit, but said he was no witch, and did not frequent their company, but when it was answered that Amy Simpson had declared, that he had caused the Earl of Bothwell to address himself to her, he granted that to be true, and farther confessed, that the Earl coming to the knowledge of him by the means of Elfe Machallowan, and Barbary Naper, two Edenburg women, he sent for him, and required his assistance to make the King love him, and to the effect, gave him some herb or drug, with which he willed him at some convenient time to touch the King's face, which practise not meeting with the desired effect, the Earl would have engaged the said Graham, by his art, to destroy the King, but that he alleged he could not do that himself, but recommended it to the aforesaid Amy Simpson, who was a notable witch, and could gratify his desire therein:

Hereupon the Earl was committed to Edenburg Castle; from whence, after he had solicited in vain to come to his trial, alleging that the Devil was a liar from the beginning, and ought not to be credited, nor yet the witches who were his sworn servants;

He at length makes his escape over the castle wall, and retired to Caithness, where being strengthened by other male-contents, who were desirous to fish in troubled waters, he attempts to surprise the King, and to kill the chancellor his inveterate enemy, and to that end enters the King's palace one night late about supper time, by the passage of an old stable, not without secret intelligence of some about the King's person; as soon as they had got within the close of the palace, they cried justice, justice, a Bothwell, a Bothwell, and had infallibly been masters of the whole, had it not been that James Douglass, who was one of them, after he had taken the keys from the porters, entered into the pastry lodge to relieve some of his servants, who were detained there, upon suspicion of having an hand in the slaughter of his father, the old laird of spot, where the porters made some resistance, which occasioned a noise and tumult sooner than the enterprisers had designed: the King, chancellor, and others were horribly alarmed at this, and knew not what to do;



Bothwell with Mr. John Colvill and others, made directly to the **Queen's chamber** (left) door, where they supposed the King to be, but the door was valiantly defended by Harry Linsay Of Kilfans, master of the Queens household; but the Earl prevailing at last, broke open the doors with hammers, and Colvill brought fire to burn it; the King in the mean time was conveyed to the tower above the said chamber;

The chancellor who was in his hall at supper, when he heard the first noise, sled unto his chamber and made the door fast upon him, shutting out Sir Robert Melvill who supped along with him, and who was forced to retire to another empty house, where he continued all the while out of harms way, and the chancellor with his servants, that continually shot out of the windows, made such a resistance, as that the assailants were forced to retire;

Melvill says, that when they first entered into the palace, he was at supper with the Duke of Lennox, who immediately took his sword in hand, and would have rushed upon the enemy, but having no company, and finding the place already full of the enterprizers, they were forced to fortify their doors and stairs, with tables, forms and stools, and be spectators of all that hurly burly for the space of an hour together, hearing and beholding by torchlight out of the Duke's gallery, their reeling and rumbling with halberds, clashing their culverins, and pistols, the blows of their malls and hammers, and crying continually for justice;

Now there was a passage between the chancellor's chamber and the Duke of Lennox's, by a pair of stairs, by which the chancellor came up and desired admittance in to the Duke; the Duke, by Sir James Melvill's advice, told the chancellor, that for himself he was welcome to enter in, but desired he would cause his men to stay at the nether door, and resist as long as they could;

This the chancellor took in ill part, and so retired again to his own chamber, but in the mean time, while all these things were in agitation, word was brought to Sir Andrew Melvill, master of the King's household, of the enterprise and danger the King, and chancellor was without speedy relief, who procuring all the succour that the time would permit, from the cannon gate, and knowing there was a secret passage through the Abby into the palace, entered with his men by the same in Armour; whereof when the Earl of Bothwell and his followers had notice, they stole silently through the galleries, unto that part where they first entered the palace; and chancing in their retreat to meet with John Shaw the King's master stabler, they slew him and his brother, being in a rage, that their enterprise had met with such bad success; however, some of them were taken by Sir Andrew, and executed the day following.

The King almost dead with fear, would stay no longer at Dalkeith, but in all haste gets to Edinburgh, where continual plots were laid to surprise him, and such enmity arose among the courtiers, and more especially among the Duke of Lennox and the chancellor, that it must have a King of other guess courage than King James for to reconcile and compose them; the chancellor one while being forced to retire, but brought in again and ruled the roast afresh, but it was not long before private animosities engendering public calamities, had like to have brought the King into greater danger than any wherewith he had been hitherto menaced, for the Earl of Huntley was at variance with the Earl of Murray, the Earls of Caithness and Sunderland, together by the earls, and the Lords Hamilton and Angus at great strife; which discord was chiefly occasioned, because most of them had obtained commissions with large privileges over other lands as well as over their own; and this at last terminated in an open hostility:

When the council was advertised hereof, they set a day, wherein first the Earls of Murray and Huntley should appear, there being a gentleman of the name of Gourdon shot by the Earl of Murray, out of the House of Farnue, both parties came strongly attended, and for fear of mischief, were ordered to keep their lodgings lest any tumult should arise; the chancellor who now managed all affairs, advised the King to require security from both the Earls for their good behaviour for the future, to keep them both asunder, by detaining the one at court for a time, and sending the other home;

But Sir James Melvill was for a present agreement between both parties, and judged the King might easily effect it; but the chancellor taunted so at Sir James for his advice, that he was forced to give way, and so Huntley according to the chancellor's project, was sent home, who now wanting his competitor, so triumphed, and took so many advantages over the Earl of Murray's land, as gave him just occasion of complaint, but meeting with no redress to his grievance, he retired from court, and grew so discontented, that he fell in with the designs of the Earl of Bothwell, who was still a hatching of mischief.



Huntley came no sooner to know that his adversary was an outlaw with the Earl of Bothwell, but he returned again to court, with a design to gain some further advantage over him; but the Lord Ochiltrie, with the King's consent, endeavoured to accommodate matters between them, and make them Friends; and so Murray was brought to a place called **Dunibirsil (left)** as being near at hand, for the better effectuating of an agreement; Huntley hearing of his arrival applies himself to the King for a commission to pursue the Earl of Bothwell, and all his adherents with fire and sword, which the King grants him;

And being armed with this power, the first thing he does, was to murder the Earl of Murrey his adversary, at the aforesaid place, which it seems was his own house; this horrid fact was generally regretted, and the granting of such a commission, was justly interpreted to be a breach of faith in the King, and himself to be charged with being author of the said murder; but none resented it so highly as the Lord Ochiltrie, who took such despite that his friend should be slain, during a time of treaty, that he solemnly declared he took part with the Earl of Bothwell, and divers others in revenge of his quarrel, encouraging the said Earl to assassinate the King within his palace of Falkland, having several at court, familiar enough with the King, who guided him at pleasure, to favour the said conspiracy;

But things could not be carried with that secrecy, but that some about him got intelligence of the design, and advised him for his own safety to pass over to Coupar, and with all expedition to assemble the barons of Fife for his own safety;

But such as had contrived his ruin, persuaded him to stay, alleging that the Earl of Louthian would not come from Louthian till such a day, though he kept to his time, and came to Falkland two days sooner, according to appointment;

And this they did with a design to have surprised the King before he could either have entered within the tower of Falkland, or making any tolerable provision for his own defence, and because



they knew Sir James Melvill and his brother Sir Robert, might be some obstruction to the design, they advised the King to send them home to their houses the very same night, that they understood the Earl of Bothwell purposed to be there; but before the brothers departed, they advised the King to ride quietly to **Bambrigh (Bamburgh left)**, that from thence he might when he pleased take boat and go over to Angus, where he would have leisure to assemble forces out of Perth and Dundee with the adjacent countries, but this

advice was also rejected;

Sir Robert upon the road homewards had notice given given him by one of Bothwell's gang, that he was already got as far as Fife, and would be in Falkland about supper time, who forthwith dispatched his gentleman, whose name was Robert Aufleck to acquaint his Majesty therewith, and to desire him to go into the tower with all expedition; but they called him fool, and laughed him to scorn for his pains, and so he left them in great discontent, but upon his return he met Bothwell and his followers upon the height of Lammonds, it being by this time dark night, and so struck in with them, as if he had been one of the gang, and used great diligence to get first to the King, shutting the court gate after him; upon his entrance he urged the King to get into the tower with utmost expedition, which at length he did, and so for this time escaped also;

For though Bothwell came well provided of all things for forcing the palace, where he thought to surprise the King, and though it was alleged some shot paper only out of the culverins in the tower upon Bothwell's men, yet others shot bullets, which together with the fear he was in lest the country might come, caused him to retire and flee, none pursuing them.

The assassination failing, this terminated in open rebellion. Bothwell associating himself with the popish lords, the more to strengthen his party, who for a time prevailed, but at last were necessitated to go beyond sea, and Bothwell several years after died at Naples; but no sooner was one fear over, but comes on another, but of a different nature: the King, (you have heard before) plaid the knight errant, rather than be without a wife, who was Anne, sister to the King of Denmark, a lady that bears a fair character in the annals of time, though I find one say of her, that she was a person he heard little of saving that character, which Salust gives Sempronia, that she could saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae.

She had about two years before bore him a son, Prince Henry, to whom the King assigned the Earl of Marr governor;

Now the Queen, it is not known upon what design, nor well by whose agency and promotion, laid a project in the King's absence, to surprise the prince and take him out of the Earl's hands; but the King's sudden arrival from Faulkland to Edenburg, and taking the Queen away along with him to Sterling, rendered the project abortive;

However it were, the very projection put King James into no small bodily fear, as appears by the following letter he writ to the Earl of Marr upon that occasion, which is recited by Sanderson in his *Life of King James*.

My Lord of Mar,

Because in the security of my son, mine is conserved, and my concredit of his charge to you, upon trust of your honour and honesty; this I command, (as singly and solely of my self, being in company of those I like not) that upon any charge or necessity that possibly come from me, you shall not deliver him; and in case that God call me at any time, see you that neither for the Queen, nor for the estates pleasure, you deliver him out of your hands, till he be 18 years of age, and that then he command you himself,

James Rex.



King James VI

This court juggle and jealousy was followed by a more dangerous one from the presbytery, who met at Edinburg to treat of their ecclesiastical affairs, and some other matters that came under their consideration; but the King's sentiments and theirs were as remote as east and west, which produced such heats and factions, that the King dissolves the convention, they stand stiffly to it, and meet for all that, several Lords espouse their cause;

At last the King truckles, and was willing to come to an accommodation; but to shew the image of authority first, asked, who they were that durst convene against his proclamation?

But his mouth was quickly stopped by the lord Linsay's reply, saying, that they durst do more than so, and would not endure destruction of religion, and by the nobles crying out, arm; others, bring forth Haman, and some the sword of the lord and of Gideon;

It made the King and his council flee from Edinburg to Linlithgo, but fury by degrees began to cool, and some concessions of all sides introduced a little tranquillity in the state, and some remissions of the Kings fears;

But the revolution of about two years, ushered in that memorable conspiracy of the Earl of Gowry, which because not foreign from the scope of the present treatise, and by reason of the barbarity and tragical circumstances thereof, as well as it has been the subject of the discourse of many, but hardly a man to be met with that can give the true state of it, I shall endeavour to oblige the reader with a distinct and impartial narrative of the same, even according to what the court party and King's favourites have related concerning it.

Sanderson, in his life and death of King James, says, the surname of the Earls of Gowry was Ruthven, and a family of small account till AD 1568. when the chief of them, among other confederates, endeavoured to imprison Mary Queen of Scots; that his son William was created Earl of Gowry in King James's minority, and two years after fell into actual rebellion at Dundee, for which he was beheaded at Sterling in 1584.

But Sir James Melvill, who had as good an opportunity to know this affair as any man, says, the Earl of Gowry was related to the King in high favour, and by the villainous contrivance of a court faction, cut off for little or no fault, and seems to censure his hard fate, and not to excuse the King himself in his proceedings against him.

The Earl's eldest son, named John, was not long after restored in blood, and had leave to travel; and Sanderson said, he had a manuscript, containing, that the Earl at Padua, caused an hand and sword, aiming at a crown, to be used for his device;

And that the Earl of Argyle acquainted King James, that he found a prophesy at an house in Orleans in France, where the Earl of Gowry had had lodgings, that he should with too much love, fall into melancholy, have great power and rule, and die by the sword:



After his return, that he carried himself very haughtily, and being too big for court observance, retired to his family, leaving his brother Alexander, who was made gentleman of the King's bedchamber, to play the courtier, and cloak the design; and thus, according to Sanderson's relation was the conspiracy formed; The Earl sent his brother Alexander from St. Johnstown, where he lived, to the King at **Faulkland (left)**, to entice him to come thither with as much privacy as could be, and commands one of his servants, Andrew Henderson by name, to go with his brother and one Andrew Ruthwen to the court, which they

in the morning did, being the 5th of August 1600. and as the King was putting his foot into the stirrup to go a hunting, Alexander informed him, that he had apprehended one lately come from beyond seas with much gold about him, and several suspicious letters to some popish lords, advising his majesty to receive the money and the letters, and to examine the person, who was in safe custody at his brother the Earl's house, but ten miles off, and this with as much speed and privacy as could be; to which the King assents, and that he would go at noon, while his attendants were at dinner;

Alexander hereupon dispatched Henderson to give the Earl notice that the King would be there about noon, and that the business took so well with him, that he had clipped him about the neck, that he had but a slender retinue, as the Duke of Lennox, Sir Thomas Erskin, and about a dozen more:

Well said the Earl, get on your plate sleeves, for I must take an highland robber: The King staying at his sport of hunting somewhat longer than was expected, the Earl had half dined, when Andrew Ruthen aforesaid came in haste, and acquainted him, the King was hard by, and presently after came in Alexander and Bloire, who withdrew, to consult, and sent Henderson for the Earls Gauntlet and steel bonnet; the King quickly followed, and was received by the Earl, who conducted him into dinner.

In the mean time, Alexander bids Henderson fetch the Keys of the Chambers from one Rynd, and presently after one Cranston calls Henderson to come to the Earl, who commanded him to do whatever his brother Alexander should bid him, which was to be locked up in the round chamber, and to stay there silently till his return:

When the dinner was near over, and the King eating some fruit, and the Lords and other attendants gone to eat, Alexander begs of him to make use of that opportunity, and withdraw to dispatch the business, and up he leads him through four or five rooms, locking every door as he passed behind him, until they came to the round chamber, where Henderson stood armed:

They were no sooner entered, but Alexander pulls out Henderson's dagger, held it to the King's breast, and said with a stern countenance, now, Sir, you must know I had a father, whose blood calls for revenge, and you must die, (surely if this had been true, the very fright must have killed King James) but to proceed, the King seeing his danger, deals gently with his fury, excuses himself from the guilt of his death, by his then infancy, advising him not to lay violent hands on the sacred person of his sovereign, pleading the laws of God and man, and his merits in restoring his brother to his estate and honours, by breeding his sister the nearest in the Queen's affections,

and by his reception of himself, to be of his bedchamber, and withal, promising pardon for all that was past;

Which so wrought upon Alexander for the present, that he left the King in Henderson's custody, until he returned back from his brother, having first taken an oath of the King not to stir nor cry out, and so locks them both in; Alexander being gone, Henderson in the mean time relented, and swore he would not kill him;

But presently Alexander returns with a string in his hand, and said, Sir, there is no remedy, by God you must die, and so strives to bind him;



Nay, says the King, I was born free, and will not be bound, and so struggling together, Alexander got the King's head under his arm, and clapped his hand upon his mouth, which the King bit by the thumb, and dragging him to the window, had Henderson open it; where the King cried out to the back court, treason, where the **Duke of Lennox (left)**, Earl of Mar, and others, were in pursuit of him, it having been given out that he was gone the back way into the park.

As soon as they knew it was the King, they ran to the chamber where he dined, but could find no entrance:

In the mean time, John Ramsey, groom of the bedchamber, and Sir Thomas Erskin, endeavoured to get up by the turn-pike backstairs, being directed thither by a boy of the house, who saw Alexander ascend that way, and forcing one door open, found them panting, Ramsey immediately draws his falchion, and run Alexander in the belly, (being bid to strike low, for the King found him armed with a coat of mail) and so with the assistance of Sir Thomas Erskin, Doctor Herres, and one Wilson, quickly dispatched him, whilst Henderson slipped out of the way; but the danger was not yet over, for perceiving by the noise of unlocking the doors, that the Earl himself was coming to assault them, they advised the King to withdraw into the lobby, but first cast the King's Coat over the Dead Body; which was no sooner done, but the Earl enters by his double keys, attended with seven of his Servants, the foreway, and his case of rapiers, and his usual arms ready drawn, to whom Erskin, to divert him from his purpose) earnestly said, what do you mean, my Lord, the King is killed, and points to his brother's covered body bleeding on the floor; at which Gowry stoops, dropping the points of his weapons, when suddenly Herres assaulted him with his sword, and being seconded by Ramsey, struck him to the heart, yet not so readily, but that the Earl thrust him into the thigh, assisted by Cranston, who wounded Erskin and Herres in the hand, and they him through the body, and lived only long enough to be hanged and quartered:

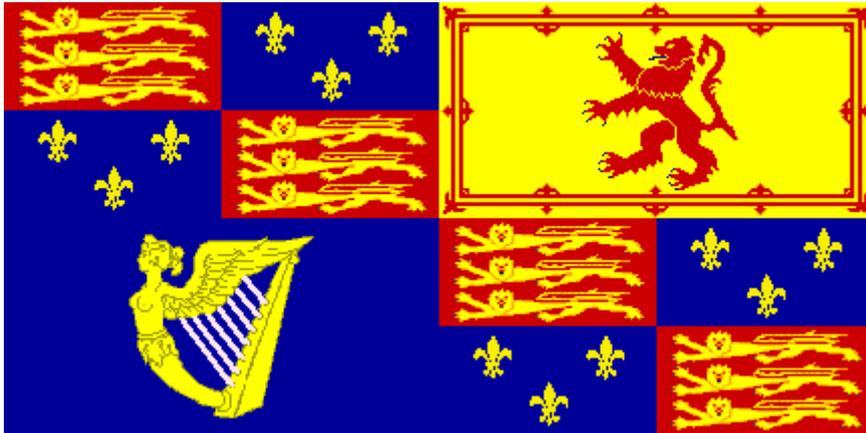
Then came in the Lords and the rest of the company, and after having surveyed the Earl's Body, they found it did not Bleed, till a parchment was taken out of his bosom, with characters in it, and these Letters, which put together, made Tetragrammaton, having been told, as the story went, his blood should not be spilt as long as he had that spell:

This is the substance of the Conspiracy.

I will not descant upon the many absurdities and incoherent Circumstances couched under this relation, but will leave it to the readers censure, and tell you only that most authors that have mentioned it, seem to turn the tables to lay the assassination at the King's door, and one I find,

(Sir J. H.) saying, he blasphemed God for his pretended deliverance once a year all his life after; but Mr. Wilson is a little more modest, who expresses himself hereupon to this purpose:

King James VI of Scotland Becomes James I of England



King James VI of Scotland, Becomes James I of England & France Above The Royal Standard for That Period

This year, August 5. (being the first of the King's Reign in England) had a new title given to it, the King's delivery in the north must resound here, whether the Gowries attempted upon the King's person, or the King upon theirs is variously reported;

It may be he retained something of his predecessor, and great parent, Henry VII. that made religion give way to policy, oftentimes cursing and thundering out the churches fulminations against his own ministers, that they might be received with the more intimate familiarity with his foreign enemies for the better discovery of their designs;

I will not say the celebration of this holy-day had so much profaneness, for fame may be a slanderer, but where there is a strength of policy, there is always a power of worldly wisdom that manages and sways it.

King James gaped after the crown of England several years before Queen Elizabeth died, and his custom was several summers to come upon borders with as great a retinue as he could have. This at length being disliked by the Queen, she one day after she had been at chapel, beckoned to Sir William Grey, who was one of the Gentlemen of the band of pensioners, to follow her into her closet, where she took notice to him that the King of Scots had for summers past approached the English frontiers, and that Sir William, now his time of attendance at court was over, she supposed designed shortly to go down to his seat in Northumberland.

Sir William taking the hint, when he came to his castle of Werk, and understood when the King was to make his progress into that part, he ordered the neighbouring gentlemen and militia to be in readiness, but under a covert; and as soon as the King and his retinue appeared on the other side of the Tweed, he fired a saker (cannon) only with powder, and soon after another which frightened the King and his company exceedingly, the English militia at the same time appearing in sight of him.

Sir William hereupon, attended with some gentlemen on horseback, fording over the Tweed, and making a compliment to the King, and his majesty in a fright asking him the meaning of all this; Sir William told him, the Queen hearing intelligence that he frequently came upon her borders with numerous followers, to the disquiet of her subjects, she had expressed her dislike of it to him.

Upon which he made or the protestations imaginable and confirmed them with execrable oaths that he never meant any hurt and had not harboured at any time the least disrespectful thought of her majesty, but wished her all length of days and happiness.

And so parting with marks of great esteem for Sir William, he hasted home,, and never after, as long as the Queen lived, came near the boarders.

James Stuart I Began His Reign Britain 24th March 1602

Now we are to transplant the scene into the southern part of the British Isle, for our bright occidental star, Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, having for the space of above forty four years, shined in our British horizon, and darted out the rays of her renown to the remotest parts of the habitable globe, and now exchanged an earthly for an heavenly diadem, King James succeeded her in all her dominions; who being both a Protestant and a pacific King, diverted the fears of the English, and made some allay of grief in their hearts, for the lost of their nursing mother and Sovereign Lady, who, though she were glorious and happy, almost in all her affairs, during the course of her long reign, yet she may be truly said to have been much more celebrated after her death; for the vices of others, and male-administration of this, and the succeeding reigns, erected a more lasting monument of renown, and contributed a more indelible lustre to her fame, than any of the worthiest achievements of her life, so that it may be as truly said of her, as it was of old, by Suetonius concerning that brave Roman, Germanicus:—

Auxit gloriam desideriumque defunctae insequentium temporum atrocitas.

Here for a time we are to expect nothing but shows, pageants, creations of honours, (of which King James was never no niggard) and all manner of jollity; but the advancement of some so far disgusted others, who thought themselves neglected, that it produced him a conspiracy, as the authors of that age know not what to make off;



It was apparent the muddy waters were stirred, but it was with such a mixture, that little could be visible in it; for Sir Walter Rawleigh, the Lords Cobham and Grey, were Protestants, Markham, Baynam, and the two Priests, were Popish: the charge was, that they had endeavoured all in conjunction to introduce popery, to seize the King and prince, and to set the crown up the head of the Lady Arabella Stuart, younger brother to Henry Lord Darnley, both sons to Matthew Earl of Lennox, by his wife Margaret, daughter by the Earl of Angus to Margaret the mother of James V. and daughter of Henry VII.

But this was a sorry foundation to go upon, and so the superstructure thus huddled together, could not last long, wherefore the execution of some, and

Imprisonment of the rest, quickly dissipated this cloud, and all was serene again, and halcyon days:

But here give me leave to say somewhat, as well in vindication of the memory of that true Englishman, and noble gentleman, Sir Walter Raleigh, who was condemned for this conspiracy, and beheaded many years after, (when he had been general by the King's commission, and had by that, power over the lives of many others, contrary to the civil law, which says, he that hath power over the lives of others, ought to be master of his own;) as to shew the perversion of justice



in that reign, and the poorness of the King's spirit to be gulled at that rate by his ministers, in this, as well as other particulars: **Sir Walter (left)** was tried at Winchester, and made a brave defence;

All the material evidence brought against him, was, the Lord Cobham's accusation, which he only desired might appear, (*viva voce*) and he would yield without any further defence; but that would not be granted, for they knew full well, Cobham would not, or could not accuse him, you must know, Wade, then lieutenant of the tower, and a great creature of the Earl of Salisbury's, had tampered with Cobham about

the aforesaid accusation of Raleigh, knowing Cobham's weakness, but that would not do, and therefore he circumvented him one day, by getting of him to set his name in a blank piece of Paper, and so filled up the accusation himself;

Salisbury, Raleigh's great enemy, being thus armed against him, urged Sir Walter several times to yield upon the producing of his accusation under Cobham's own hand; Sir Walter answered, he knew Cobham's weak judgment, and did not know how far he might be imposed upon, but was confident he would not accuse him to his Face, and therefore would not put his Life upon that hazard; and thus the Trial held till nine at night; at last, his Fate carried him against his reason, and he yielded upon the producing his Hand, which was immediately done, (and it was in truth his Hand) but none of his Act.

It happened some years after this, that Queen Anne fell into a desperate and it was believed, incurable fit of sickness, and when the skill of all her physicians had failed, Sir Walter, by his long studies, having arrived to an admirable perfection in chemistry, was sent to, who undertook and performed the cure, for which he would receive no other reward, but that her majesty would procure certain Lords to be sent to Cobham, to examine him, whether he had accused Sir Walter Raleigh of treason at any time under his hand.

The King, at the Queen's request, as in justice he could do no less, sent six lords, viz. the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Salisbury, Worcester, Suffolk, Sir George Carew, and Sir Julius Caesar, to interrogate with Cobham upon the said head;

Cobham protested he never did nor could accuse Sir Walter, but said, that villain Wade, after a long solicitation so to do, but not prevailing, got him by a trick to write his name upon a piece of paper, which he dreaming of no harm, did, so that if any charge came under his hand, it must have been forged by Wade, by writing something above his name, without his consent or privity;

The lords returning to the King, made Salisbury their spokesman, who elusively said, Sir, my lord Cobham hath made good all that ever he said; and so the matter rested, Sir Walter being no ways relieved hereby, but the King further possessed with his guilt; but surely the baseness of those Lords, and the King's credulity, were unpardonable crimes.

Soon after this hodgepodge of a plot, the King and Queen were crowned in great pomp at Westminster;

And the same year a conference was managed at Hampton Court, between the prelatical and puritan party, the latter conceiving great hopes, that because of the King's education in the Scots discipline, he would be of their side, but they mistook quite their mark, for he was by that time become heart and soul episcopal, and to give evident demonstration of his entire conversion,

issues out a proclamation, (of which no Prince was ever so prodigal, and which at last, as naturally happens, were as little regarded) for uniformity in religion according to law established;

Then at length comes a parliament, between whom and the King, notwithstanding some mutual caresses for a time, arose several jars and jealousies, but the discovery of the gunpowder treason attributed to the King's wisdom and foresight, seemed for a time to heal all the breaches; which hellish contrivance against the King and Kingdom, will fall pertinently enough to be noted in this place.



The Gunpowder Plot

The Popish party finding their petition for a toleration of religion rejected, grew enraged thereat, and now nothing would serve but the destruction of King, Prince, and the representative body of the whole nation in parliament; and to that end they hid 36 barrels of gunpowder under the parliament house; the principal contriver whereof was Robert Catesby, a gentleman of a plentiful estate, who made choice of Thomas Piercy, Winter Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, (I am told, the ancestor of the late Ambrose Rookwood executed for conspiring the death of our renowned sovereign King William) Wright, Tresham, Sir Everard Digby, and others, who are all bound to secrecy by those sacraments which are the greatest ties upon the soul, and St. Garnet, the Jesuit, was their confessor:

Piercy was to hire the cellars under the parliament house, to lay wood and coals in for his winters store, and Guido Faux, a desperate ruffian, (who was to give fire to the train) was appointed to be his man to bring in wood and coals;

The gunpowder bought in Flanders, was brought in the night from Lambeth, covertly laid under the wood, and every thing made ready against the 7th of February, whereon the parliament was to meet; but the parliament being providentially prorogued to the 5th of November following, this dispersed the conspirators for the present, and made them almost at their wits end;

But reassuming again their former courage, they resolve to carry on their villainy, and to bear up with patience till the day came;

They were sure the King and prince must perish with the blow, as for the Duke of York, Piercy undertook to dispatch him, but the Lady Elizabeth they resolved to save, that under her minority and innocence, they might the better establish their bloody principles of piety and policy, and to that end they appointed a great hunting match to be at Dunsemore Heath in Warwickshire, to be

nearer the Lord Harrington's house, where the Lady Elizabeth then was on the 5th of November aforesaid;

Thus solacing themselves in this bloody expectation, and thinking all cocksure, one tenderhearted murderer among the rest, writ a letter to the Lord Monteagle, wishing him to have a care of himself, and to forbear his attendance at that parliament, for God and man had concurred to punish the wickedness of the time, and they should receive a terrible blow, and yet not see who hurt them;



The Lord Monteagle (left) thinking there might be something in the letter of dangerous consequence, though he understood it not, carried the same to the Earl of Salisbury, who also could not tell what to make of it; but upon the King's coming to Whitehall from Royston, where he had been hunting of a hare, he shewed him the letter, who being naturally of a fearful temper, and suspicious mind, ordered the Earl of Suffolk, and Lord Monteagle, to make a search about the parliament house, who entering into the cellar, and observing the stores as aforesaid, enquired of the wardrobe keeper, Mr. Winyard, (who was also house-keeper) whose they were; Winyard replied, he had let the cellar to one Thomas Percy, and close in a corner there stood Faux, who being asked, who he was, said, Percy's servant:

The Lords for the present left all things as they found them, but departed full of suspicion; the Lord Monteagle assuring himself, the aforementioned letter must come from Percy, for there were some little intimacy between them; and gave the King and council a relation of their proceedings, who resolved that night to make a further search, and committed it to the management of Sir Thomas Knevet, a gentleman of approved fidelity, and who with a suitable assistance, coming to the cellar about midnight, met Faux at the door, on whom he presently seized, and proceeding in his search, pulled out the core of all that horrid contrivance; whereupon Faux confessed all, being only sorry it came not to perfection, and saying, God would have concealed it, and the Devil only discovered it:

In his pockets they found a watch, (which were not common then) and a tinder-box, engines to minute out his time to strike the fatal blow:

The conspirators finding all detected, hastened for all that to the hunting match aforesaid, furnishing themselves with Horses by breaking open several Stables, and taking their choice, but the sheriffs of Warwickshire and Worcestershire pursued them so hard, that at last they were forced to earth themselves at Littleton's house at Halbech, where Percy and Catesby were slain with a few more, and the rest taken prisoners, and afterwards hanged:

This happy deliverance was celebrated with great joy, and foreign princes, though popish, would congratulate the discovery, and the parliament made an Act for the perpetual solemnizing of the day of deliverance with public thanksgivings.

So things continued for a time, and the King of Denmark, the Queen's brother, coming over to visit the King and his sister, the Summer following added a greater gust to the recreations and pastimes of the court, now wallowing in all sensual pleasures, as if the Devil was quite laid, and ne'er more storms to be feared from any quarter; but the parliaments stiffness to supply their court extravagancies in time of peace; and rejection of the King's much desired proposal to unite

both nations by a naturalization of the Scots, without they would come under the English laws and government, was some allay to his delights;

At last, an accident broke out, which wrought in him no small disquiet, as you have already heard, while King James was only King of Scotland, that he was entirely at his favourites devotion, which as has been related had many tragical effects; you must know, he was become no changeling now he was King of England; and among others, one Robert Carr, a young man, of no fortune in the world, and who it seems had been formerly one of his pages in Scotland, coming to court in a good garb, and being a comely person, was taken notice of by the King, and in a short time was knighted by him, made gentleman of his bedchamber, Viscount Rochester, and at length Earl of Somerset, and overtopped all the rest of his favourites abundantly, even to cope with the Prince himself, who disdaining to be thus bearded by an upstart of yesterday, would not afford him a good look, nor speak to him;



And some said, that some love jealousies, the Prince being now in his puberty, increased the emulation between Carr and him. The Countess of Essex, then a top gallant lady in the bloom of her years, and disdaining the company of the noble Earl her husband, being the bane of contention between them; but be this as it will, the countess was enamoured on the favourite, and cast her love-anchor there;

But I should think the Prince above all these thoughts, by the following passage; for being on a time dancing among the ladies, and the countesses glove falling down, it was taken up and presented to him, by one that thought he did him acceptable service, but the Prince refused to receive it, saying publicly, he would not have it, it was stretched by another, meaning Carr, then Viscount Rochester.

This King before his accession to the Throne of England had taken an affection to one Balmerino, whom he made his secretary. This person continuing still in his station and country, and an assembly of the clergy being held at Linlithgow in 1608, whose proceedings did not please the Chancellor of Scotland; the secretary was sent to court to obviate those courses:

But, unhappily to him, Cardinal Bellarmine at that juncture had published an answer to the apology of King James, and therein charging him with inconsistency, objected a letter which he had sent to Pope Clemens VIII while he reigned in Scotland; wherein he had recommended the Bishop of Vais's son to his holiness for obtaining the dignity of a Cardinal, that so he might be the more able to advance affairs in the court.

This treatise coming into the Kings hands, and slyly pretending his secretary had surreptitiously got its name to some such letter to the Pope, he interrogates him about it at Royston. Balmarino apprehending no danger, confessed that such a letter had been written by his privity and consent: but perceiving the King grew angry, he fell upon his knees and begged for mercy, alleging his good intentions and design to procure the Pope's favour, which at that time might have advanced his title to the Crown of England.

The King then putting it in mind of the bitter expostulation of Queen Elizabeth in 1599 about writing the said letter; and how being at that time questioned thereupon, he had not only denied any knowledge of it himself, but had likewise engaged Sir Edward Drummond, who carried the letter to the Pope, to return to Scotland, and abjure the same:

The Lord Balmarino answered, he did not think the matter would have been brought upon the stage again; and that fearing his displeasure, he had denied the letter, and had persuaded his cousin, Sir Edward, to do the same;

But that he now saw that what he had done out of policy, and with an intention to serve the King, turned to his reproach: and then begging pardon with tears in his eyes, the loon told him, the crime was greater than he apprehended; and the business was so aggravated against the secretary in Council, that all the ingenious excuses he made, availed him nothing, so that being sent back into Scotland, he was there tried for its life for the faults of his master, and condemned to death; which in all probability he must have cruelly suffered, had not the justice and good nature of the Queen prevail with the King to spare him.

King James having caught the fifth, I mean the Crown of England, would have his new subjects believe he was the farthest of any man from having to do with the Pope; and as well by proclamation as at the counsel board, and in his letter to the Scotch Council, expressed his abhorrence of corresponding with him, for giving him the title of holiness.

But behold the levity of the man! For some years after he made no scruple about it, on the business of the Spanish March: and there is still a letter in being from him to the Prince and Buckingham at Madrid, wherein having acquainted them with his sending over two chaplains, with ornaments for the Prince's Chapel, whom he had fully instructed how to demean themselves there;

He adds, "that so their behaviour and service may be decent and agreeable to the primitive church, and as near the Roman form as can be lawfully done, for it has ever been my way to go with the church of Rome *ufque ad Aras*". By which it is presumed he meant the exclusion of the mass only, all sacrifice of the alter.

But things could not continue long in this state, for as the court were full of rejoicing upon the Palsgrave's arrival in England to Marry the Lady Elizabeth; there was a damp struck upon the hearts of all true Englishmen upon the sudden immature and I doubt, violent death of the noble Prince Henry in the flower of his years;



Sir A. W. says, his death had been foretold by one Bruce a famous Scotch Astrologer, for the which the **Earl of Salisbury (left)** caused him to be banished, who left this farewell with the Earl; that it should be too true, but that his Lordship should not live to see it;

The Earl dying in May, and the Prince in November following, to the infinite grief of all but Somerset, and the family of the Howards, who by his death thought themselves secured from all future dangers; for he being an open Prince, and hating all baseness, would often say, he would not leave one of that family to piss against a wall. I do not know why Sir Anthony might not have put the King himself into the aforesaid number; I am sure he shewed but small symptoms of Sorrow at his death, which happened (as was said) but then in November, by his commanding no man should appear at court in mourning

in the Christmas holidays following, the jollity, feasting, and magnificence whereof must not be laid aside upon any account whatsoever;

It is certain that the prince's court was frequented more than the King's, and by another sort of men; so that the King, upon seeing of him once at a distance in the park, with a far more numerous train than himself, was heard to say, what will he bury me alive, jealousies is like a fire that burns

all before it, and that fire is hot enough to dissolve all bonds that tend to the diminution of a crown;



Don Carlos, Prince of Spain, and Henry's contemporary, not long before this, for wishing himself but one day in his father's throne, fell soon after into the hard hand of an immature fate;

However, it were the manner of the Prince's death was variously rumoured, some saying he was poisoned with a bunch of grapes, others with the venomous scent of a pair of gloves presented to him; and some again, that a French physician gave him poison; and it was observed, that poison was never more in fashion than at this time;

But surely there was something black enough in it; for when Sir Thomas Mouson, a long time after, who was one of the Countess of Essex's agents in the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury had past one days trial at Guildhall, the Lord Chief Justice Coke vented some expressions, as if he could discover more than the death of a private person, saying, God knows what is become of that sweet babe Prince Henry, but I know somewhat;

And blessing himself at the horror of such villainies as came to his knowledge; and it was believed, that in searching the cabinets, he had lighted on some papers that spake plain in that which was ever whispered; and what strongly increased the suspicion was, that Monson's trial was laid aside, he quickly set at liberty, and the chief justice's wings clipped for ever after.

And no less jalousie did something relating to the Earl of Somerset's trial for the said murder of Overbury, create in men's minds about this matter; for when the lieutenant of the tower, according to custom, gave Somerset notice of his trial next day, he absolutely refused it, saying, they should carry him in his bed, that the King had assured him, he should not come to any trial, neither durst the King bring him to any; this was an high strain, and a language not understood by Sir George Moor the lieutenant, and though otherwise esteemed a wise man, it reduced him to his wits end;

After some pauses, he at last resolves to go to the King, then at Greenwich, as late as it was, being twelve a clock at night; he bounced at the back stairs as if he had been mad; to whom Jo. Leveston, one of the grooms came out of his bed, and enquired the reason of that unseasonable distemper;

Moor tells him he must speak with the King immediately, Loveston answered, He was quieted; meaning in his Scottish dialect, he was fast asleep, but Moor said he must awake him, and so was called in and left alone with the King in his bedchamber, where he tells him those passages that happened between Somerset and himself, and desired to be directed by the King what he should do; for he was gone beyond his reason to hear such bold and undutiful expressions from a faulty subject against a just sovereign; hereupon the King falls into a fit of tears, and said, On my soul, Moor, I wot not what to do, thou art a wise man, help me in this great straight; and thou shalt find thou dost it for a faithful master;

With other sad expressions to the same purpose; Moor leaves the King in that agony, but first assured him, he would strain his wits to the utmost for to serve his majesty, and was really rewarded with a suit worth 1500 pounds, though he was cheated of one half by a true Scot that pretended great friendship to him;

He returned to Somerset about three next morning, which was the day he was to come to his trial, and told him, he had been with the King; found him a most affectionate master, and full of grace in his intentions towards him;

But said for to satisfy justice the earl must appear, though to return again instantly, without any further proceedings against him; and that thereby he should come to know his enemies, and their malice, though they should have no power to hurt him; with this device he allayed the Earl's fury, and got him quietly about eight in the morning to the hall;

Yet fearing his former bold Language might revert him again, and that finding himself thus brought within the Toyle by this trick, he might be more enraged to fly into some strange discovery; he took care to place two servants on each side of him; every one having a cloak on their arms, and gave them a positive command,

If Somerset did any way fly out against the King, that they should immediately hoodwink him with the cloak, take him by force from the bar and carry him away, for which he would not only secure them from any danger, but they should be sure of a bountiful reward; but the Earl finding himself overreached; recollected a better temper and went on calmly in his trial, where he held the court till seven at night;

But he that had seen the King's restless motion, and concernedness of mind all that day, by his sending to every boat he saw landing at the bridge, and cursing all that came without tidings, would have easily judged, all was not right, and that there were very good grounds for Somerset's boldness; but at last having word brought him that he was condemned, with the particulars of the trial, all was quiet.



You may judge of the story as you please, but my author Sir A. W. says, he and another gentleman had it from Sir George Moor's own mouth in Wanstead Park; and it is very remarkable, that though the King made the most direful imprecations that could be to Sir Edward Coke at **Theobalds (left)**, upon the discovery of Overbury's murder, he would pardon any thing of them, yet he gave both the Earl and Countess (as deep in the suds as any) a lease of their lives,

allowed the Earl £4000 per Annum, and kept correspondence with him by letters, almost every week to his dying day.

I shall not enter upon any further narration of Overbury's death, of the Countess of Essex divorce, and her marriage with Somerset, how the discovery was made, how the King was made a pimp (as he told Sir Edward Coke) to carry on their bawdry and murder, as being not pertinent to the present design;

But acquaint you that the Lady Arabella Steward (whose genealogy we have already given you) dying about this time in the tower, sets men's tongues and fears at work that she went the same way;

She had been married some years before to Sir William Seymour, Son to the Lord Beauchamp, and grandchild to Edward Earl of Hertford, and both of them being at some distance allied to

the crown, such a conjunction would not be admitted in the Royal almanack, so dreadful is every apparition that comes near princes' titles, especially if they light upon jealous and weak minds.

Sir William was for the marriage committed to the tower, and the lady Arabella confined to her house at Highgate; but both of them after some imprisonment, concluded to make their escape together beyond Sea, appointing to meet at a certain place upon the Thames:



Sir William leaving his man in his bed to act his part with his keeper, got out of the tower in disguise, and came to the place appointed; she dressed like a young gallant in man's clothes, followed him from her house, but staying somewhat longer than the limited time, it made him suspicious of her interception, so that he went away, leaving notice if she came, that he was gone away before for **Dunkirke (left);**

The poor lady thus desolate, fraught with fears, and lugging in her slight was apprehended, and sent in her husband's room into the tower, where she ended her sorrowful days, somewhat too early,

as was generally believed, though no clear proof thereof could ever be made;

It's certain the King was very jealous of his title to the crown, which at times made him very uneasy, though besides actual possession, he had apparently the best of any title in the world, and the free speeches of his subjects upon that head, did not a little contribute to that uneasiness, as was that of Tobie Matthews Bishop of Durham, who being at law with the King about some Privileges, which he claimed in his Bishopric; and having one day stated the case before some of his friends, and they seeming to approve of it, yes, says the Bishop, I could wish he had but half as good a title to the crown.

But one hydra's head is no sooner cut off, but up starts another; one of the judges for Wales being about this time holding the general assizes at Pembroke, there was among other malefactors brought to the bar to be tried for murder, one whose name was plantagenet, a name that for some hundreds of years had swayed the English sceptre, from the time of Henry II. down to Henry VII. the judge hearing of the name, deferred the man's trial, and sends to acquaint the King with it, who upon the news, was in no small tiff, but dispatched away orders immediately to bring the man up:

When he was brought into his presence, cousin, said he, how do you do? The poor man in a trembling amazement, made no ready answer; but at length recollecting his spirits, replied, he knew of no relation he was to his majesty; nay, but, said the King, if thy name be Plantagenet, thou must be my cousin; and so entering into another communion with him, engaged him, for a considerable reward, to change his name into that of Steward, from whom, as I have been credibly informed, the family of the Stewards, late of the county of H. but now extinct, were descended.

It was now the fifteenth year of the King's reign, when he goes to visit his native country of Scotland, accompanied with Buchingham, now prime favourite; but upon his return, some of the looser bishops, pretending recreations and liberty to servants, and the common people (of which they craved to themselves too much already) procured the King to put out a book to permit dancing about maypoles, churchyards, and such debauched exercises upon the Lords Day, after

evening prayer, wherein all ministers were enjoined to read it to their parishioners, and those that refused, were brought into the high commission, which was plague sufficient;

But this brought him some disquiet, and particularly one time the King being to go from London to Theobalds on a Monday morning, his carriages must go through the city on the Sabbath-day before, with a great deal of clutter and noise in the time of divine worship, which coming to the ears of the Lord Mayor, he commanded them to be stopped, and this carried the affairs of the Carriages with a great deal of violence into the Court, and having represented the business to the King, with as much asperity as men in authority, crossed in their humours, could express the same; it put the King into a great rage, swearing, he thought there was no more Kings in England but himself; but after he was a little calmed, he sent a warrant to the Lord Mayor, commanding him to let them pass, which he obeyed, with this answer:

While it was in my power, I did my duty, but that being taken away by a higher power, it's my duty to obey; which the King upon second thoughts took so well, that he thanked him for it and now the troubles of his daughter and Son-in-law, by assuming the crown of Bohemia, come on apace; which ended, not only in the loss of that crown, but even of his own patrimony the Palatinate; and together, with the match with Spain for his son.

Prince Charles perplexed the remainder of his reign, and wrought him continual trouble, having spent more treasure upon embassies; when the former then would have raised and maintained a sufficient army to recover his son-in-law's patrimony, owning in his speech to the parliament, Jan. 20, and the eighteenth year of his reign; that my Lord Doncaster's journey upon that account had cost him three thousand five hundred Pounds:

But he was very modest, and minced the matter, being indeed ashamed to tell the whole sum, which amounted to a far greater proportion, and may be guessed at by the following relation:

When he landed at Rotterdam, his expenses the first morning before he went to the Hague, in the inn where he lay, came to above two hundred pounds; now this splendid and expensive living coming to be known by the inn keeper of the Peacock at Dort, &c. (hoping he would make that place in his way to Germany) made great preparations for him of his own head, without any other order;



But my Lord taking his way by **Utrecht**, (left) the Inn-keeper followed him, complaining heavily, how he was balked in his expectations, and what charge he had been at to provide for his Lordship; which at length coming to the Lord's ear, he commanded his Steward to give him thirty pounds, and never tasted of his fare; and it was credibly assured by some of his retinue, that his very carriage could cost no less than threescore pounds a day, for he had abundance of young nobles and others in his company, so that upon a modest computation of the whole expense of his journey, it could amount to no less

than fifty or threescore thousand pounds;

While he was at the Hague, some advised old Maurice, Prince of Orange, our King William's great uncle to feast him;

Yes, yes, said the Prince, Bid him come; when the Steward had notice hereof, how the Prince took no farther notice of the matter, he attended the Prince, and told him, there would be great preparations expected, for the ambassadors ordinary meals were feasts, and he had a very numerous and splendid train of nobles and gentry, that did accompany him;

Well, said the Prince, prepare me a dinner, such as I used to have, and let me see the bill of fare; when the Steward brought the bill, the Prince liked it very well, but the Steward said, Sir, this is but your ordinary diet, now you should have something extraordinary, because this is an extraordinary ambassador; the Prince thinking what the steward said to be something reasonable, and finding but one pig set down in the bill, commanded him to put down another pig, and that was all the additions he would make;



For knowing the ambassador to be a Scotch man, and that they generally hate swine's flesh, it seems he thought nothing a fitter entertainment for him than a couple of pigs; but the King's mincing of these matters, his many caresses, huffs and protestations would not do with the parliament; for there was such a multiplication of grievances, and infringements of the peoples liberty, and such a backwardness from the court for the redress of them, that at length they were dissolved in displeasure, and this set every man's tongue loose upon him, that though the King loved hunting above all other exercises, and had many good hunters about him, yet all these, and the strength of a proclamation to forbid talking of state affairs, could not refrain them from

mouthed it out, that Great Britain was become less than little England, that they had lost strength by changing sexes;

And that he was no King but a fiddler's son, otherwise he would not have suffered so many disorders at home, and so much dishonour abroad; and the story of David Riccius, (saith Wilson) written by Buchanan the King's own tutor, had been like to die in every Englishman's opinion, if it had not had a new impression by these miscarriages.

These domestic troubles, together with the many delays, and dissatisfactions he received from Spain and Rome, about the Spanish match, begot him so much trouble and vexation of Spirit, that pressing upon his natural temper, it wrought some fits of melancholy in him, which those about him with facetious mirth, would strive to mitigate;

And having exhausted their store, or not making use of such as were more pregnant, Buckingham and his mother, instead of mirth, fell upon profaneness, thinking thereby to please him, and perhaps, (says Wilson) they were only mistaken in the un-seasonableness of the time, being not then suitable to the humour; for they caused Mrs. Aspernham, a young gentlewoman of the kindred, to dress a pig like a child, and the old countess like a midwife brought it into the King in a rich mantle;

And then Turpin, who had married one of the kindred, (whose name was renowned for a bishop in the romances of the Emperor Charlemaigne) was dressed like a bishop in a satin gown, lawn sleeves, and other pontifical ornaments; who with the common prayer book, began the words of baptism, one attending with a silver basin of water for the service:

The King hearing the ceremony of baptism read, and the squeaking noise of the brute animal, which he most abhorred, turned about to see what pageant it was, and finding Turpin's face,

which he very well knew, dressed like a bishop, and Buckingham, whose face he most of all loved, stand for God Father, he cried out, away, for shame, what blasphemy is this; and turning aside with a frown, turned all the sport and jollity they expected, to a cold damp of Spirit:

Neither did the Prince's going into Spain any ways mend the matter, but made it every way worse and worse, for instead of consummating, he and Buckingham quite broke off the match, which King James had so much set his rest upon, but what was worst of all, the Duke did so wind himself into the affections of the Prince, that he governed the son now as despotically as ever he had done the father, and this had another misfortune attending of it, that the rising sun was now worshipped, and the old King neglected, which yet he had not power to redress, and which no doubt hastened his fate, as we are now just ready to relate unto you.

The King, who was the most impatient of all men, to be told of his faults, was so out of love with parliaments for that very reason, that by his goodwill he would never have called another; but dire necessity, which has no law, brought him once more to it, and so a parliament was summoned to meet on the twelfth of February, AD 1623;



But that same morning, as a kind of presage of his own destiny, the King missed the **Duke of Richmond's (left)** attendance, who being a constant observer of him at all times, the King did now as it were want one of his limbs to support the grandeur of his majesty at such a solemnity; and calling for him with great earnestness, he dispatched a messenger to his lodgings in all haste, where the King's command, and the messenger's importunity, made the Duchess his wife somewhat unwillingly go to his bedside, when drawing the curtain, she found him dead in his bed, the sad news whereof was carried with that violence to the King, that he would not Adorn himself that day to ride in pomp to the parliament house, but put it off till the nineteenth of February, dedicating some part of that time to the memory of his dead servant.

The parliament sate at the time appointed, and upon Buckingham's fine narration about the Spanish match, advised the King to break off the treaty with Spain, which the King himself seemed forward to promote, being now got quite into the Prince and Duke's toll, and sets a treaty of marriage on foot with France.

But before the entire Consummation of the same, as the Duke of Richmond was the long, so now the Marques of Hamilton was the short forerunner of the King's death; both which, it was believed, were forwarded by the same hand.

The Marques died with very presumptuous symptoms of being poisoned, his head and body swelling to an excessive bigness, and the body being all over full of great blisters, with variety of colours; the hairs of his head, eye-brows and beard, came off with a touch, and brought the skin with them; great clamour there was about it in the court, so that doctors were sent for to view the body, but the matter was huddled up, and little said of it; only Doctor Eglisam, a Scotch man, was something bitter against the Duke, as if he had been author of it:

It is certain, that the Marques's unwillingness, that his son should marry the Earl of Denbigh's daughter, the Duke's niece, made a difference between them, with some other concurring accidents, which however did not in this King's time break out into a Reflection upon the Duke, being bound up close, more (as it was thought) by his power than his innocence.

Not long after this, the King going to his last hunting journey, to wit, the last of the year, as well as of his life, he fell sick of a tertian ague, which if we believe the proverb, is not dangerous in the spring, and had a few fits of it;

Having this ague upon him, the countess of Buckingham, who trafficked much with mountebanks, and whose Fame had no good savour, tampered with him in the absence of the doctors, and the Duke her son, when in the judgment of the physicians the ague was in the decline, did apply plasters to the King's wrists and belly; and did also deliver several quantities of drink to him, and told him they were approved medicines, though some of the King's physicians did disallow thereof, and refused to meddle further with the King till the said plasters were removed, which the King much complained off, and was glad to have it pulled off, though with part of the skin along with it;

It's certain the King found himself much worse after the said application, and that an high fever, droughts, raving, fainting, and an intermittent pulse followed thereupon; and it is manifest he was himself suspicious of foul play upon him, for when one of his faithful servants saw him in one of his fits, and to comfort him, said, courage, sir, this is but a small fit, the next will be none at all.

He answered, ah, it is not the ague that afflicts me, but the black plaster and powder given me and laid to my stomach by Buckingham: and he would often say to Montgomery, whom he trusted above all men in the time of his sickness, for God's sake look I have fair play.

When he was near the point of death, as Buckingham entered the King's chamber, one of his honest servants said to him, ah, my Lord, you have undone us all his poor servants, although you are so well provided for you need not care:

With which words the Duke was so stung, (for where there is guilt it will quickly appear) that he kicked at him, who caught his foot, and made his head first come to the ground; where presently rising, he ran to the King's bedside, and cried, justice, sir, I am abused by your servant, and wrongfully accused:



At which the poor King mournfully fixed his eyes upon him, as if he would have said, not wrongfully, yet without speech or sense;

But before his departure he called for the Prince his son, who rising out of his bed, something before day, and presenting himself before him, the King roused up his spirits, and raised himself up, as if he meant to speak to him, but nature being exhausted, he had not strength to express his intentions; but soon after **expired (left)**, being upon Sunday morning the 27th of March, 1625, at Theobalds, in the eight and fiftieth year of his age, and the two and twentieth of his reign complete, there being more than a presumption, that he run the same destiny with his ancestors, whose deaths were violent as well by father, as mother's side, which we have more particularly noted; for Henry Stuart Lord Darnley, his own father, was strangled, and carried out of his house, and set under a tree, and then his house blown up with gunpowder; his grandfather Matthew Stuart Earl of Lenox, was

shot at Sterling, of which wound he some days after died; and his great grandfather John Stuart

Earl of Lenox was slain near Linlithgow, in a conflict he had with the Hamiltonians and the Douglasses, about the enlargement of James the Fifth.



Court of King James I

The Duke, it is true, did afterward endeavour to purge himself from the aforementioned application, by alleging, he had received both the drink and plaster from doctor Remington at Dunmore in Essex, who had often cured agues and such distempers with the same; yet they were arguments of a complicated kind, and not to be easily unfolded; considering, that whatsoever he received from the doctor in the country, he might apply what he pleased to the King at the court; and besides, had the medicine been the best in the world, the act was daring, and no ways justifiable in him, because he wanted the consent of the King's physicians thereto:

And one of Buckingham's great provocations was thought to be, that the King now being weary of his too much greatness and power, was about to set up Bristol, his deadly enemy against him to pull him down:

The application of this medicine was one of the 13 articles charged afterward upon the Duke by the parliament, who rarely accuse upon false rumour, or bare suggestion; and surely he will have work to do that takes upon him to excuse the King, his successor, in this matter for dissolving the parliament, to preserve one that was accused by them for poisoning his father; especially if it be considered, that the commons had then voted him four subsidies, and four fifteenths, which they had not time to pass into an Act.

What did farther increase men's suspicions, was, one doctor Lamb (a fellow of a most infamous conversation) his frequenting to, and being much employed by the countess and her son, which did at length so incense the people against him, that finding him in the streets of London, AD 1628. they set upon him with stones and staves, and knocked out his brains; as also one butler an Irishman, that pretended to be a chemist, and was very intimate with the aforesaid company, I mean the Duke and his mother; and indeed, the story of his death (as was then reported) is a very convincing evidence of some secret machination betwixt the Duke and him, which made the Duke be desirous to be rid of him:

For mischief (says Mr. Wilson) being an ingrosser, is unsecured, unsatisfied, when their wares are to be vented in many shops. This man was, by the Dukes means, recommended, upon some plausible pretence to some Jesuits beyond the seas, where he was entertained with a great deal of specious ceremony and respect in one of their colleges; and at night being attended by them into his chamber, with much civility,

Which was hung with tapestry, and had tapers burning in stretched out arms upon the wall; when they gave him the goodnight, they told him, they would send one should direct him to his lodging; and they were no sooner out of the room of death, but the floor, that hung upon great hinges on one side, was let fall by artificial engines, and the poor vermin Butler dropped into a precipice, where he was never more heard of.

If the Duke had either the left hand, or indeed the least thought to hasten the King's death, he must have been the most ungrateful man that ever lived, for never was there a greater favourite than he, and no man's rise can scarce paralleled to his:



There are many letters still in being, wherein the King called him for the most part his dear child and gossip, and his dear child and gossip Stenny; and subscribes himself his dear dad and steward; and once when he sent him partridges, his dear dad and purveyor.

And in those of the Duke to him, he calls him for the most part, his dear dad and gossip. And sometimes as, dear dad, gossip, and steward, and subscribes, your majesty's most humble slave and dog, Stenny.

Now not to blot paper with the nasty bawdry that is in some of the King's

letters to Buckingham, I shall only observe, that such was the familiarity and friendship between master and servant, that in one of them he tells the Duke, he wears Stenny's picture under his waistcoat next to his heart; and in another, he bids him, his only and sweet dear child, hasten to him to Birely that night, that hiss white teeth may shine upon him.

And yet this is the prince whom some pernicious and vile sycophants have cried up for the Solomon of the ages.

It was not long before King James's death, that the Duke procured an impeachment to be formed the House of Commons against the Earl of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer. The Duke had indeed preferred him to that great post; but the Earl, during his absence in Spain, having appeared not very forward in transmitting bills either to supply the unlimited expense the prince and Duke were at, they both became enemies and prosecutors.

The King, to defend his faithful minister, first in great choler said to the Duke:—

“By God Stenny, you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly, and find in this fit of popularity you will be making a rod, which you will be scourged yourself”.

Then turning in some anger to the prince, told him:—

“I may say almost prophetically, he will have his belly full of Parliament impeachments; and when I shall be dead, you will have too much cause to remember how much you contributed to the weakening of the crown, by two precedents you are now so fond of:”

Meaning, the engaging of parliament in the war and prosecuting the Earl. But now his authority was so little, that neither of them would desist from the prosecution.

But to return and conclude:

King James was learned, and had fine notions in conception, but could bring but few of them into action, though they tended to his honour and safety; for this was one of his apothegms, which he made no timely use of:

Let that Prince that would beware of conspiracies, be rather jealous of such, whom his extraordinary favours have advanced, then of those whom his displeasure hath discontented; these want means to execute their pleasures, but they have means at pleasure to execute their desires.

But a late Learned author has expressed as much contempt of his learning, as Ben Johnson did of his poetry, saying, It was a scandal to his crown (meaning his writings against Bellarmine and Perrone, about their King-killing, and King-deposing Doctrines) and it seems Henry IV of France had not a much better opinion of the same; who, when he heard some men celebrating of him with these attributes, answered truly enough, that he was a fine King indeed, and wrote little books.

Charles Stuart I Began His Reign Over Great Britain March 27 1625



King James was succeeded by his son Charles, in all his dominions, but much more so in all his misfortunes, for this was one of the unhappiest princes that ever swayed a sceptre. There is little remarkable concerning this prince in his infancy, only he was noted (as Lilly says) to be very wilful and obstinate, by the old Scottish lady his nurse, and even by his own mother Queen Ann; who, being told on a time, he was very sick and like to die, said, he would not then die, but live to be the ruin of himself, and the three kingdoms, through his too much wilfulness.

And it seems the symptoms of his forefathers destiny appeared in his very face; for his picture having been presented to the then Duke of Tuscany, the first sight and inspection thereof made him start, and say, he saw something in it that presaged a strange and violent exit.

Moreover, if what the said author says be true, that laud, at his coronation at Westminster, altered the old coronation oath, and framed another new one for him in the room of it; This, if true, was a bad beginning.

What Sir Robert Atkins, Lord chief Baron, says in his speech to Sir William Ashurst, when he was sworn Lord Mayor in 1693, is indeed a kind of corroboration of it; and his words are these:

"The striking out of that part of the ancient oak in King Charles I's time, at his coronation by Archbishop Laud (that the King **should consent to such laws as the people should choose**) and instead of that inserting another Bury unusual, **saving the Kings Royal prerogative**, was an open betrayal of his country."

And afterwards he adds:

"I could tell you of something more that kind since, at the time of the Coronation of the late King James, when there was much more struck out of the Coronation oath; which might be well worth the enquiring how it came about."

It rarely happens, and I think but very few instances can be given, that one and the same person proves a favourite to two princes together;



But, it seems, nothing could resist the charms of the glorious **Buckingham (left)**, who now governs the son more despotically than ever he had done the father, and put him upon those very expeditions, that, with other concurring mismanagement, made shipwreck of his honour at home, procured him scorn and contempt abroad, and hastened those calamities, which, at length, resolved in his own sad catastrophe and ruin.

But surely it argued a very mean and poor spirit in him, to take him into his bosom, and to be governed by one, that had twice, in his father's time, so highly affronted and disdained him; the first at Royston, before many people, by bidding of him, in plain terms, kiss his A —.

And the second time at Greenwich, in the sight of about 400 persons, when lifting up his hand over his head with a balloon brasser, and saying, in most undutiful terms to him, By G ___ . it shall

not be so, you shall not have it;

The Prince answered, “what, my Lord, I think you intend to strike me.”

It's true, to have forgotten, and never to revenge such injuries when he had been King, had been worthy the noble mind of a Prince; but it also became him never to have suffered him to come near his Court, to be upbraided with the sight of so much scorn, that had been so publicly offered him: and some critics at court at that time, did not stick to read his future destiny.

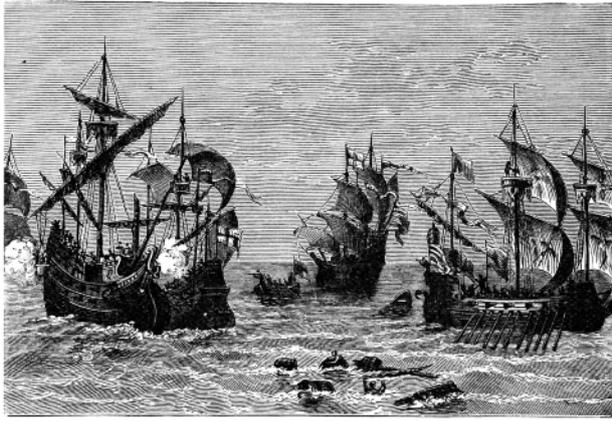
At King James's death the nation was rent into four factions, viz. the prerogative, popish, puritan, and country party, which, in a short time, was reduced into two, the two former uniting their force against the other two; and one should have thought, it had been the business of the new King to have composed those first, rather than make war abroad:

But King James his body was scarce cold, when Buckingham put King Charles upon a War with Spain. Both of them, when in that Kingdom, had received so many civilities from his Catholic majesty, that they now resolve to invade his country with a powerful fleet, and a land army, under the command of my Lord Wimbleton;

But in their passage they met with a furious storm, which so scattered the fleet, that of eighty, no less than fifty ships were missing for seven days. But this was but the beginning of the misfortunes of this miserable expedition, for the confusion of orders was such, as the officers and soldiers scarce knew who to command, or whom to obey; so that when they came to Cadiz, a conquest which would have paid the charge of the voyage, and to the honour of the English, offered it self; for the Spanish shipping in the bay lay unprovided of defence, so as the surprising of them was both easy and feasible;

But this was neglected, and when the opportunity was lost, Sir John Burroughs landed the army, and took a fort, but was forced to quit it because of the disorder and intemperance of the soldiers,

who upon that returned on board again, and sailed away for England *re infetta*; which occasioned no small clamour from the people, and especially in that none was punished for mismanagement:



But how dishonourable soever this expedition was, the King and his minister lost much more reputation, by lending a fleet to the French King, to beat that of the Rochellers under Monsieur Sobiez, the Great Duke of Roan's brother, whereby a foundation was laid to ruin the protestant interest in France, and which all the power that ever they could afterward make, when the tables were turned, could not relieve,

though the Duke himself (who was much sitter for the delicacies of a court, than the toils and stratagems of war) was at the head of it, and perished by the hands of Felton at Portsmouth, just as he was ready to embark the second time in person for that purpose.

It's true, the design was pursued by the Earl of Lindsey, who several times attempted to force the Barricadoes of the river before Rochel, but all in vain; or if he had, it would have been to no purpose, for the victuals wherewith they should have been relieved, were all tainted, and all the tackle and other materials of the fleet defective, so that they could not stay long there.

The many and unheard of violations of the privileges of the subject by loans, benevolences, ship-money, coat and conduct-money, &c. with the continual jars between this King and all his parliaments during his reign, so as that there has been scarce three days of mutual harmony between them throughout, (which cannot be said of any other King since the conquest how bad soever) his imprisoning, fining, and banishing of the members, and his riding the nation for above fifteen years together by more than a French government, because they are noted else where, I think no where so well as in *the history of the four last Reigns*, written by that learned gentleman, and my worthy good Friend when alive, Mr. Roger Coke; I shall not recite the same in this place, as not falling exactly under the notion of this treatise:

Though I am to inform you these were the things, together with the imposing the service book upon the Scots, where the quarrel was begun by an old woman casting her stool at the priest, when he was reading of it, as they said; that were the foundation of those dreadful wars waged so many years within the bowels of the three Kingdoms, (which do not fall under our present consideration neither) and of the King's subsequent destiny, the particulars whereof, with some other concurring and intervening accidents we shall give you at large.



The Covenanters (memorial left) soon after this prepared for a war, and wrote a letter to the French King, desiring, as the court alleged, his protection and assistance; but being not willing to come to extremities, the King granted them leave to send some of their number to London, for their own vindication; and the Earls of Lowdon and Dumfermline arriving there accordingly, Lowdon was presently committed to the tower on the account of the said letter, but the earl handsomely vindicated himself, for that the letter was not finished, and had neither date nor direction; the superscription, *Au Roy*, being added afterwards, and by another hand; that it was writ before the pacification, and so buried by the act of oblivion ; that it was never sent, and that it was

designed only that France should interpose and mediate for them.

Upon all which, he offered himself to a strict trial by his peers in Scotland; adding, that being sent by the states of the country, and come upon the King's warrant, he ought first to be returned free thither, and then accused and tried.

This violent Pace of the King, was most highly, as well as most justly relented by the Scotch peers, as a violation of the law of nations. Dr. Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, in his memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton, adds, that some ill Instruments about the King advised him to proceed capitally against Lowdon, which was believed went very far;

but that the Marquis (after Duke) of Hamilton vigorously op-poled it; assuring the King if that was done, Scotland would be for ever after lost; that then the Scots would have a very plausible pretence against as much as petitioning and treating: besides, that it was against the laws of Scotland to proceed against a Scotch peer for a crime committed in Scotland, but by the peers of Scotland.

But that after all, Lowdon continued a prisoner some months before he obtained his liberty, and not before he came into engagements to espouse the court interest.



This is the account that Dr. Burnet (left), afterward Bishop of Salisbury, gives us of this knotty affair, in his memoirs of the Hamilton family. but others have made a much blacker story of it, and affirm that the King was so incensed against Lowdon, and so arbitrary in his nature, that he sent a warrant to the lieutenant of the tower, for the execution of the Earl the next day after he received it within the tower, for fear any disturbance might happen, if it should be done openly upon the hill.

The lieutenant as soon as he received the warrant, went immediately and shewed it to his lordship; who told him, that the warrant was against the law of England, and even the law of nations, and that if he put the same in execution, his own head would likely one day or other pay for his, and therefore he ought to be well advised of the matter before he proceeded any further; and more particularly he engaged him to show the warrant to the Marquis of Hamilton, who was of the cabinet, and Prime Minister for the Scotch affairs;

And particularly to tell him, that the Lord Lowdon desired him to remember that he was a Scotchman, and that whatever Injustice was done to him, the Marquis must answer for it to his country.

It seems it was so contrived on purpose, that the Marquis should that day dine with a nobleman in the country, from whence he did not return till late at night. However the Lieutenant being now very sensible how much his own life and the welfare of his family were interested in this affair, tarried to see and inform him of it the Marquis took him immediately along with him to court, and desiring admittance upon a business he laid was of the highest importance to the King;

The answer was, that the King and Queen were in bed, and had given positive orders that no body should be admitted that night. The marquis having for some time insisted upon his right in vain, and the danger of denying it, laid to the lieutenant that he had a right by virtue of his place, especially when he had any state prisoners in his custody to have access to the King at all times, and bid him knock at the bedchamber door; which he did accordingly, and was admitted, and producing his warrant, which he said he had no reason to mistrust but was signed by his Majesty's

own hand, that yet the business being of the highest importance, wherein the prisoner's life and his own too might be concerned, he was desirous to know whether his Majesty might not have changed his mind;

But he saying in a passion, and aloud, he had not, and that Lowdon must die; the marquis knocked at the door, was admitted; and beginning humbly to expostulate with the King upon that extraordinary pace; the Queen expressed her displeasure at his intrusion; but the marquis took her up short, and when he had said she was but a subject as well as himself, and that the business he came about was of the highest concernment to the King, to the whole nation, and to himself, he addressed himself to his Majesty, and using such arguments as he thought proper on that occasion to no purpose, he added, if the King persisted in his resolution, no Scotchman would ever after draw a sword in his defence;

Thy King nevertheless swore twice by God, Lowden should die; upon which the marquis craving leave for one word more, said:—

“Sir, I desire your Majesty would forthwith take care to provide for another habitation, for in four and twenty hours time there will not be one stone of White Hall left upon another.”

This calming the King's fiery temper, he called for the warrant, tore it, and dismissed the marquis, and the lieutenant; who undoubtedly were both well pleased with the success which at last they met with. A Friend of mine taking occasion some years ago to relate this story to the late Duke of Hamilton, he owned to him, that it was true in thee main, and that there were some memorandums of it still in the Family.

I shall not accompany the King in his progress to Scotland; but while he was there, one of the most tragical events of his reign happened:



The Irish Massacre and Rebellion Bann Bridge 1642 (left)

For the Irish massacre and rebellion now broke out, and the rebels published and declared that they had the King's authority for all they did, alleging they had a commission under the Great Seal, dated at Edinburgh, October. 1st, 1641.

The King's friends afterwards affirmed, that the Irish confessed the whole was a trick that they forged the commission, and affixed a broad seal to it, which they had taken off from an old patent.

The parliamentarians all along maintained the contrary: and so the matter stood till long after the death of the King, and the extinction of the monarchy; but after the restoration of his son to the throne, a certain memorable particularity helped to set this affair in a true light.

The Marquis of Antrim, who was a noted man among the Irish rebels, having had his estate sequestered, thought fit to sue for the restitution of it. The Duke of Ormond and the Irish Privy Council gave it against him, as being one of the rebels whereupon he appealed to the King in England, and that what he did was by his father's consent and authority.

The King referred the business to the examination of some worthy members of his council, who reported, that they found he had the King's consent, or letters of instruction, for what he did, which indeed amazed many.

Hereupon Charles II wrote to the Duke of Ormond and the council to restore him to his estate, because it appeared to those appointed to examine it, that what he did was by his father's order or consent. The Lord Mazarine and others in Ireland, being not fully satisfied with this, thought fit so far to prosecute the matter, that the Marquis of Antrim was forced to produce in the House of Commons a letter from King Charles 1, by which he gave him orders to take up arms; which being read in the House, produced a general silence. The whole Account, with a great many surprising Particulars, were published in a pamphlet.

After the King's return to London, where he was received in great triumph, it's scarce to be imagined that within less than (even weeks he should be obliged to leave it on. the account of tumults, never to see it again but as a prisoner, to die upon a scaffold. Indeed many things now concurred to widen the breach between him and the parliament, and nothing indeed so much as his going with a guard into the House of Commons, to demand the five members he had ordered his Attorney to impeach of high treason, for freedom of speech in parliament.

So that both parties soon after had recourse to arms, and the King on the 22nd of August, 1642. let up his standard at Nottingham: concerning which his own friends observed some presages and among others, that the standard was blown down the very same night it had been set up, by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again in a day or two, till the tempest was allayed.

It came now to an open and avowed war between the King and his parliament; which, besides what has been already mentioned, nothing forwarded so much at the difference between them about settling the militia.

The Parliament never thought the Nation secure under a Prince, at least of his temper, as long as it remained in his hands; and the King, on the other hand, was so tenacious of his opinion, that he swore by God he would not part with it for an hour, and that he would sooner part with his wife and children.

It is not my business to enter, upon the particulars of this war, the history of which has been writ by many able pens. It may be worth remarking in this place, that the King ordered Sir Edward Walker to write an account of it as it went; which manuscript the King from time to time thought fit to peruse, and frequently interlined words and phrases in it, that were much harsher than those Sir Edward used, though the farthest man then alive from being inclined in favour of the cause of the parliament.

A copy of that manuscript and interlineations I have seen in the hands of a person, who had a great deal of reason to know the truth of what I here affirm ; but whether that history, which was since put into print, be exact, and from that copy, I cannot determine.

After the war: had been managed between the King and Parliament with various Fortune for some time, of all the Treaties that had been set on foot between the contending Parties, that at Uxbridge was most likely to have effect; the King, who was then at Oxford, being persuaded to yield to the necessities of the times, by giving his assent to the most material propositions of the Parliament, the next morning was appointed for signing a warrant to his commissioners to that effect.

And so sure were they now of a happy end of all differences, that the King at supper complaining his wine was not good, one merrily told him, he hoped his majesty would drink better before a week was over at guildhall with the Lord Mayor. but so it was, that when they came early next

morning to have the warrant signed, he had fatally changed his mind, and in those points was become inflexible.



The business was, he had a few hours before received a letter from the Marquis of Montrose, giving him an account of his great success at the battle of **Inverlochy, fought on the 2nd of February, 1644 (left)** and after having expressed his utter aversion to all treaties with his rebel parliament in England, as he called them, and advised him not to enter into terms with his rebellious subjects, as a thing unworthy of a King; he assured him, that he doubted not but in a few months he should be able to march into England to his assistance, with a brave army.

There was some secret fatality in respect to this Prince in the whole matter. It's scarce to be imagined that a letter writ on the 3rd of February, in the furthest north corner of Britain, should come so soon to Oxford, considering the length of the journey, the badness of the roads at that time of the year, especially through the mountainous parts of Scotland; together with the parliament's and Scotch armies and, garrisons that were posted all along the road:



The Crown And Treaty House. This is an Elizabethan Building. Notice the old bricks and tall chimneys. In 1645 there was an attempt to bring the civil war to an end, and Royalist and Parliamentary representatives met here to try to come to an agreement, (being quartered in lodgings on opposite sides of the High Street.) However, they failed, and no treaty was ever signed.

And yet it came through all these dangers and inconveniences in a very few days for it was delivered to the King during the treaty of Uxbridge, which began on the 30th of January, and ended the 22nd of February: and it must have been delivered before the 19th of February, because the King took notice of it in one of his of that date to the Queen, found among others at Naseby, at last came the fatal day wherein the quarrel came to be decided between them at Naseby in Northamptonshire, which was on Saturday June 14. 1645.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was the parliament's general, and the King commanded his own army in person; who in the beginning of the fight prevailed, for Prince Rupert routed the parliaments left wing commanded by Ireton, but pursuing to far left the Kings left wing open to be charged by Cromwell, who falling furiously on, and the rest rallying, obtained a most absolute victory.

But among the vast number of prisoners and horses taken with arms and ammunition, that which was even a greater loss to the King then the Battle, was, that one of his coaches, with his cabinets of letters and papers fell into the parliament's hands, whereby his most secret counsels with the Queen, which were so contrary to those he declared to the Kingdom, were discovered:

For in one of his letters he declared to her, his intention to make peace with the Irish, and to have 40,000 of them over into England, to prosecute the war there: In others he complained, he could not prevail with his mongrel parliament at Oxford (so he was pleased to call those gentlemen

who had stuck to him all along) to vote that the Parliament at Westminster were not a lawful parliament:

That he would not make peace with the rebels (the Parliament) without her approbation, nor go one jot from the paper she sent him; That in the Treaty at Uxbridge he did not positively own the Parliament, it being otherwise to be construed, though they were so simple as not to find it out, and it was recorded in the notes of the King's council, that he did not acknowledge them a parliament.

Which papers the members took care to print and publish to the world, and shewed by a public declaration what the nobility and gentry who followed the King might trust too, and I dare say, this stuck so close in the minds of many, that nothing contributed more to his ruin, then this double dealing of his.

Now the King's garrisons surrender by heaps, Oxford was the last, which being blocked up by the parliament's forces, the King thought himself in no security in it; for the parliament refused to admit him to come to London, unless he signed their propositions, wherefore the French ambassador in the Scots quarters advising him to throw himself into the Scots power, it was Hobson's choice, one even as good as the other, and so being accompanied by one Hudson a Minister, and Mr. John Ashburnham, he threw himself into the Scots hands; who having got him into their power, resolve to make a double bargain of him, viz. to have him to order Montross to disband his army and retire into Scotland, and then to sell him to the Parliament for as much money as they could get for him.



The first is no sooner asked but granted; but the bargain for the sale of him (and surely never was any King in this world so unhappy as to be sold by his own subjects before himself) being a mighty business to the Scots, it lasted from the 5th. of May 1646 to January following, when being concluded, the parliament who now had a full right to him, after they had bought him, confine him to **Holdenby House, an house of his own in**

Northamptonshire (left) under a select guard of their own choosing:

So that as Mr. Cook observes, he that before had sifted the worthy members of parliament from one prison to another, that they might not have the benefit of their *habeas corpus's*, and the constables of Hertfordshire from one messenger to another, is himself sifted prisoner from one place to another without any hope of an *habeas corpus*:

And as he before by his absolute will and pleasure, would without any law seize his subjects goods and commit them to prison, as also raise ship money in an arbitrary manner, so he cannot now enjoy his own estate in his own house, nor has one ship to command.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX291

While the King was with the Scotch army at Newcastle, he thought of making his escape by sea, but whither is not known; the design was thus laid: Mr. Murray had provided a vessel by Tinnmouth, and sir Robert Murray was to have conveyed the King thither in disguise. The thing proceeded so far, that the King had actually disguised himself, and went down the back stairs with Sir Robert; but then apprehending it was scarce possible to pass through all the guards

without being discovered, and judging it indecent to be caught in such a condition, he changed his resolution, and went back. Thus though he escaped from Oxford to get into the snare in the Scotch Army, he could not deliver himself out of it, when he apprehended the danger he had got into.

Soon after the King was at Holdenby House, the parliament and army began to be jealous of each other; and the latter having no face of authority to recur unto, the Presbyterian members in both houses being three to one, what do they do but send Cornet Joyce with a party of horse on the 4th of June 1647 to take the King out of the parliaments commissioners hands and to keep him in the army; which however he might take it, was not designed for his advantage, though they seemed to lament the hard conditions the members imposed upon him not only in his liberty, but in keeping him from his children and friends;

And now they allow him both, professing they would never lay down Arms until they had put the sceptre into his hands, and procured better conditions for his friends: and in order hereunto, they seem to join the King's interests with their own, and in their declaration for redress of grievances, declare for the King and people, that the members prefix a certain time for their sitting, and charge eleven of the leading members that had been most forward to establish the covenant with being guilty of high treason, and most of them fled for it.



The Covenanters (Left) could not but see whither these proceedings tended, and therefore they had upon the 4th of May settled the militia of London in the hands of the Presbyterians, but upon a letter from the general or the 10th of June to the Parliament, that the militia of London might be put into the hands of persons better affected to the army, the commons tamely submitted to it, and repealed the aforesaid ordinance of the 4th of May.

But the city men in common counsel petition the commons against this, insisting

upon their own right to dispose of the militia:

The lords upon the reading of the petition revoke the ordinance of the Commons of July 23 and confirm that of the 4th of May, according to the cities desire, and kept back some of the Commons till the members within had agreed to it, and enforced the speaker to pass a vote that the King should come to London, and so both houses adjourned for four days.

In this interval the members who favoured the army, and the speakers of both houses went to the army, and there complained of the violence put upon the parliament; and the houses after the expiration of the four days adjournment, meet, and chose new speakers, and voted:

1. That the King should come to London.
2. That the militia of London should be authorised to raise forces for the defence of the City.
3. That power be given to the same militia to choose a general.
4. And that the eleven members impeached by the army should take their seats in the parliament.

The citizens hereupon proceed to raise forces, which, though numerous, yet being raw and not fit to cope with an old experienced and victorious army, they were forced to come to terms and comply with the army in their demands; so that in short the speakers and members returned again, and rescinded all that was done since the 26th of July, and voted several lords guilty of high treason, and the Lord Mayor with several other citizens were committed prisoners to the tower upon the same account.



The King could not but conceive some hopes from these broils, that might tend to his advantage, and indeed both parliament and army seem to court him now, and the parliament sent propositions of peace to him at **Hampton Court (left)**; but Cromwell was as fearful the King should agree with the parliament as the King was unwilling to agree to them, and therefore Cromwell gave the commissioners instructions, that if the King would assent to propositions lower then those of the parliament, that the army would settle him again in his throne;

Hereupon the King returned answer to the parliament, that he waved now the propositions put to him, or any treaty upon them, flies to the proposals of the army, and urges a treaty upon them, and such as he shall make; professes he will give satisfaction, to settle the protestant religion, with liberty to tender consciences, to secure the laws, liberty and property and privileges of parliaments, and as for those concerning Scotland he would treat apart with the

Scots commissioners.

Upon reading of the King's answer, a day was appointed by either house to consider of it, and in the mean time they ordered the same to be communicated to the Scotch commissioners. It was affirmed in those times that Cromwell had made a private article with the King, that if the King closed with the propositions of the army, Cromwell should be advanced to a degree higher than any other, as Earl of Essex and Vicar-General of England, as Thomas Cromwell in Henry VIII time was.

But it seems he was so uxorious that he would do nothing without communicating it to the Queen, and so wrote to her; that though he assented to the armies proposals, yet if by assenting to them he could procure a peace, it would be easier then to take of Cromwell, than now he was the head that governed the Army.

Cromwell who had his spies upon every motion of the King intercepts these letters, and resolved never to trust the King again, yet doubted that he could not manage his designs, if the King were so near the parliament and city at Hampton Court; Therefore Cromwell sent to the King that he was in no safety at Hampton-Court, by reason of the hatred which the adjudicators bore to him, and that he would be in more safety in the Isle of Wight.

There is great probability that all ads may be true: but that which I am now going to relate is founded upon uncontestable authority, though scarce ever taken notice of by any of our histories: And I do the rather choose to relate passages of this kind, because of the fatality of the disappointments that almost ever attended his endeavours to save himself:



While he was at Hampton Court being allowed to hunt about **Nonsuch (left)**, the Earls of Lauderdale and Lanerick came thither, under pretence of waiting on him, with fifty horse, and told him they were come to rescue him from his captivity, and untreated him to make his escape; but he told them he had engaged his honour not to leave the army till he had freed himself from that engagement.

But the Leaders of the army growing now weary of him, and wishing he were in some recite place under a guard, gave out reports, which were carried to him, that the levellers had a design against his life; upon which calling Lauderdale and Lanerick to him, he told them he was free from his engagements, and desired their advice what to do.

The first desiring to hear what his Majesty would suggest, the King spoke of his going to Scotland; but Lauderdale told him, except he resolved to comply with their desires about religion, he was to expect no better usage from the Kirk party than before at Newcastle.

The King thereupon moved his going to London; the Earl answered, that that formerly had been a safe course, but that now the city was overawed by the army, he durst not advise him to trust his person to them, and that tumults would grow undoubtedly there upon his coming.

The King said, if he came, was he lure of the Scotch commissioners, that they would slick to him in the name of the Scorch nation? The Earl answered, that all of them to a man should wait upon him, and own his service at all adventures, but without instructions from Scotland they could do nothing as commissioners, but only in their own names as his subjects; and they had great reason to fear that the Kirk party would not own him, nor order them to do it.

The King in the last place spoke of going to Berwick, upon which Lanerick, who had been silent all the while, begged him to follow that motion: for if he left England, the army would pretend he deserted his Kingdom, and so depose him; but Berwick was a strong place, and at that time un-garrisoned, and the country about it generally well affected to him: so that he might easily get a good garrison into it, and thereby would be near Scotland, for the encouragement of those who resoled to serve him.

This was also backed by Lauderdale, and the King seemed fully resolved upon it; but his fate hurried him to alter his resolution, and the next news was his being got into the Isle of Wight for on the 11th of November at night made his escape, having post-horses, and a ship provided for him at Southampton to that purpose.

But when he came to the Island he was secured by Colonel Hammond, who gave the parliament notice of it, from whence the King sent to the members for a personal treaty of peace at London, which after much debate was agreed to upon four preliminaries, which the King utterly rejected,

and so incensed the houses that they voted, that they would make no further applications or addresses to the King;

That no other presume to make any application to him without leave from both houses; That whoever transgressed in that kind should be guilty of high treason; that they would receive no more messages from the King, and that none presume to bring any message from him to either or both houses of parliament or any other person.

These were hard lines to this unfortunate King, who now had no more to do then patiently to submit to what time produced;

But how pleasing soever these votes were to the army, the Scots and diverse parts of the English nation were not content with them, and so they rise in arms in Essex, Kent, Suffolk, Norfolk, Wales and the North, and declare for the King and people: Part of the fleet also revolted to Prince Charles, but all these revolts were quelled by a victorious army in a short time.

But while the army was busied abroad, the members having gotten possession of the fleet, and the City of London being well affected to them, they join with the Scottish commissioners and rescind the votes of the non-addresses to the King, and appointed a conference with him at Newport in the Isle of Wight to continue for forty days, and to that purpose take him out of prison, and allow him the liberty of the island; and the King upon the matter with reluctance enough, grants the Scots, and the members, their own demands.

But no endeavours of his subjects, nor the joint desires of the Scots and members, could protect this unhappy Prince from his approaching ruin; for the army now every where victorious over the Scots and royalists, draw together, and make a remonstrance against all peace with the King, that justice might be done upon him, the crown land and church land might be sold to pay their army, and that the present parliament be dissolved, and another called:

But the members were intent upon the King's answer to their propositions, and laid aside the armies remonstrance, which they take as a slighting of them, and then seized the King in the Isle of Wight, and make him a prisoner in Hurst-Castle, an unhealthy place, and march to London, putting garrisons in noblemen's houses and Whitehall, and post themselves about the palace yard.

But the members for all this met upon the first of December. 1648. and voted the King's concessions to be a sufficient ground for a peace, and then adjourned for a week: yet when they were to meet again, they found all the avenues to the house beset with soldiers, who excluded all that were not of their faction from entering the house, which were not one fourth part, and made the residue prisoners:



Cromwell dissolves the Long Parliament. After a contemporary Dutch print.

This junta, called afterward the **rump parliament (left)**, having in this manner purged the house, assume to themselves the supreme power of ordering the English affairs, confirm the votes of non-addresses, and raze the votes of having a conference with the King, and the declaration that the King's concessions were a sufficient ground for a peace, out of the journals of the house; and vote:

First, That all power resides in the people.

Secondly, That the power belongs to the peoples representatives in the House of Commons.

Thirdly, That the votes of the Commons have the force of a law, without the King.

Fourthly, That to take up arms against the representatives of the people, or the parliament, was high treason.

Fifthly, That the King himself took up arms against the parliament, and therefore was guilty of all the blood shed in the civil war; and ought, by his own blood, to expiate the same:

But the ordinance for the King's trial being sent up to the lords for their concurrence, they rejected it January the 2nd, and adjourned for 10 days; but first sent back that they would give answer:

Whereupon, the commons search the lords journal book, and find these votes:

1. To send an answer.
2. That their lordships do not concur to the declaration
3. That their lordships reject the ordinance for trial of the King:

But the commons for all that go on, and vote the lords dangerous; Order the King to be brought to London under a guard, read and engrossed the ordinance for his trial on the 6th of January, and the manner was referred to the commissioners who were to try him; and, to that end, to meet in the painted chamber on Monday, January the 9th. who resolved, that proclamation should be made in Westminster Hall; that the commissioners were to sit again to morrow, and that all those who had any thing to say against the King should be heard.

In this manner, Mr. Denby, who was sergeant at arms to the commissioners, rode into the hall with his mace, and some other officers all bare, attended with six trumpets on horseback, who sounded in the midst of the hall, the drums of the guard, in the mean time, beating without in the palace yard, at the old exchange, and in Cheapside;

The Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, petitioned the House of Commons for justice against the King; to settle the votes, that the supreme power was in them; and the City resolved to stand by them to the utmost: and because nothing should obstruct the intended work, Hillary term was adjourned for fourteen days, and proclamation made thereof in the Cities of London and Westminster, and other market towns;



But that this poor Prince might have some glimmering of hope, the Scots parliament begun January 2nd. understanding what was done at London, in reference to the King's trial, dissent from the said proceedings, and direct some papers, to **William Lenthall Esquire, speaker of the House of Commons (left)**: which the house took as an affront and denial of their authority, and so thought not fit to read them, but yet voted to send commissioners into Scotland, to preserve a good correspondence between both nations:

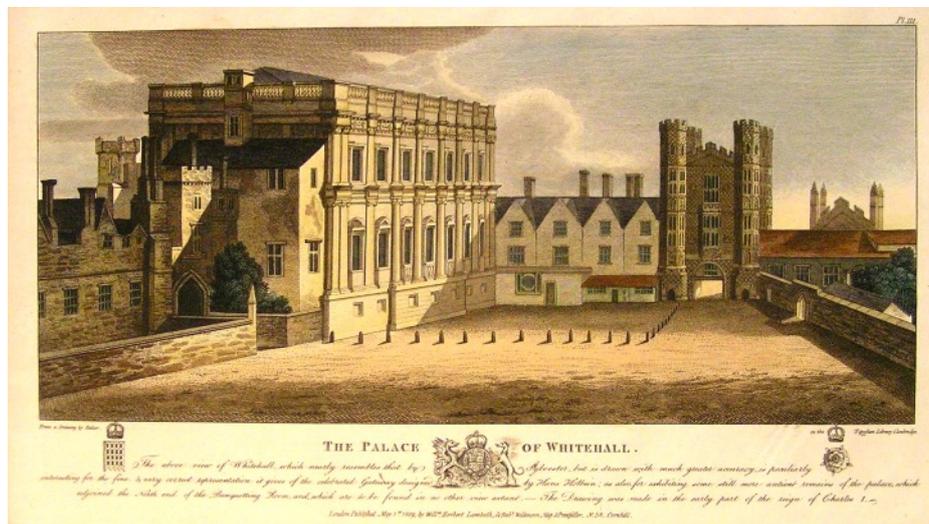
Several ministers, from their pulpits, declaimed also against the proceedings against the King's person; some of the nobility offered themselves pledges in his behalf: and January 19, the Scottish commissioners delivered some papers, and a

declaration from the parliament of Scotland, wherein they express a dislike of the present proceedings; and declare, that the Kingdom of Scotland had an undoubted interest in the King's person, who was not delivered to the English commissioners at Newcastle for the ruin of his person, but for the more speedy settlement of the peace of his Kingdoms;

That they extremely dissented, and declared against the trial of him, in regard of the great miseries that were like to ensue thereupon, and desired leave to make their personal addresses to him.

The like papers were also presented to the general, but all signified nothing; for the commissioners for the trial proceeded to make all things in a readiness; and to that purpose ordered, that the sword and mace, though they had the King's arms thereon, should be brought into the court at his trial, and the King to be brought from St. James's, where he was then a prisoner, to Sir Robert Cotton's house at Westminster.

They erected a tribunal, called, The High Court of Justice, over which was appointed one hundred and fifty judges, at the upper end of Westminster Hall, the courts of chancery and King's bench, being ordered into one; and these judges were empowered to convent, hear, Judge, and execute Charles Stuart King of England.



Whitehall Palace

All things being now fitted up, the King on Saturday the 20th was brought from St. James, through the park in a chair to Whitehall, and from thence carried by water under a guard to Sir Robert Cotton's house at the back end of Westminster Hall. the judges in the mean time met in the painted chamber, attending upon their president serjeant Bradshaw in his scarlet robe, who had the sword born before him by Col. Humphrey, the Mace by serjeant Denby, and twenty men with partisans for his guard.

When they came into the Court, the President sat him down in a crimson velvet chair of state, fixed in the midst of the court, with a desk before him, and a cushion of crimson velvet thereon; and the seats on each side of him were benches covered with scarlet cloth:

And after silence made, the great gate of the hall was set open for any to enter in; after which Col. Thompson was commanded to bring forth the prisoner, who was conducted with twenty partisans, and other guards, and was by the serjeant with his mace received to the bar, where was a red velvet chair set for him.

He looked sternly upon the court, and up to the galleries, then sat him down, but presently got up again, and looked downward on the guard and multitude of spectators, not shewing the least regard to the court all the while; then was the Act of Parliament read over, for the trial of Charles

Stuart King of England, by the clerk, who sat on the right side of the table, covered with a Turkey carpet placed at the feet of the president, upon which lay the sword, and mace; and the several names of the judges in the roll were called over, and eighty answered to their Names.



Trial of Charles I in The Great Hall of Westminster

When that was over, then the King's charge was brought, wherein he was accused in the name of the people of England, of treason, tyranny, murders, rapines, &c. and more especially for levying War against the Parliament. And the President stood up and said:—

“Sir, You have heard your Charge, containing such matters as appears in it; and in the close it is prayed, that you answer to your charge, which this court expects”.

The King replied,

“By what authority did they bring him to a trial, who was their King, against the public faith so lately given him, when he commenced a treaty with both Houses of Parliament?”

Urged them to shew what lawful authority they had to call him to an account, which if they did, he would readily answer, otherwise advised them to avert the judgments that might hang over their heads for such their proceedings against him.

The president rejoined that he was called to an account by the people of England, by whose election he was admitted King: The King here insists upon his inherent birthright, and that the Kingdom was hereditary for above a thousand years; and that he stood more apparently for the liberty of the people of England by rejecting an unlawful and arbitrary authority, than the judges or any other whatsoever did by asserting of it;

That no lords appeared there, who to constitute a parliament should have been present, and some King also; but that neither the one nor the other, nor both the Houses of Parliament, nor any other judicature on earth had any authority to call the King of England to account, much less, some certain judges, chosen by his accusers, masked with the authority of the Lower House, and the same percolated.

However he wills them again to produce their authority, and he would not be wanting to his defence, for as much as it was the same offence with him to acknowledge a tyrannical power as to resist a lawful one:

But the president made answer:—

“That he was not to question the jurisdiction of the court, that they were satisfied with their authority, as it was upon God's authority and the Kingdom's, in doing of justice, and that this was their present work.”

To which the King said:—

“That it was not his own nor their apprehensions neither, that ought to decide it”,

And so the president ordered the prisoner to be taken into custody, and then the court adjourned till the Monday following, being the 22. of January, to the painted chamber, and from thence to the same place again, and the King was carried back in the same manner as before to St. James's.

The Court accordingly met on Monday in the painted chamber, and there considering the King's resolution to deny the jurisdiction of the court, or of that which did constitute it, of which debate they had no proper cognizance, nor could they being a derivative power which made them judges, from which there was no appeal;



The Trial of King Charles I Continues

They therefore order, that if the King offer to dispute the same again, the president should tell him, that the commons of England assembled in parliament, had constituted that court, whose power might not be permitted to be disputed by him, and that if he refused to answer, it should be accounted a contumacy to the court, that if he answered with a salvo his pretended prerogative

above the court, he should be required to give a positive answer, yea or no, that he should not have a copy of his charge till he owned the court, and declared his intentions to answer.

This being concluded on, the King is again brought to the bar in the same manner, where the solicitor Cook moved that the prisoner might make a positive answer, or that the charge might be taken *pro confesso*, and so the court proceed to justice; and the president did briefly repeat the passages of the last day, and commanded the King to answer to the articles of charge, unless he had rather hear the capital sentence given against him.

But the King still persisted to interrogate concerning their authority; that he had weighty reasons why he should not acknowledge this new form of judicature; that they had no law for it, and that they could not have an extraordinary authority delegated from the people, seeing they had not consulted so much as every tenth man in that matter.

But the president put him in mind of his doom, and told him the court was abundantly satisfied of their authority; nor were they to hear any reasons that should detract from their power. And when the King urged to give in his reasons in writing, it would by no means be admitted; and so the president commanded the prisoner to be taken away.

The third days trial, which was Tuesday, was in effect the same as the last mentioned, in respect to the court's demands, and the King's answer, so that the court adjourned till next morning at ten of the clock; but the examination of witnesses, and other intervening business prevented their then sitting, so that it was Saturday morning January 27, before they assembled, and 68 of the Judges answered to their names.



King Charles I Trial and Execution

As the King was brought into the court the soldiers cried for justice and execution; and the King desired to be heard a few words, and so goes on to shew how a sudden judgment could not be soon recalled, &c.

But the president magnified the patience the court had had towards him, advised him now at length to submit, otherwise he should hear the sentence of death resolved on by the court against him; but he still refused to plead, and desired he might have liberty to say some things for the good of the people before both houses;

But the President said this would but delay and retard justice. But the King answered, that he had not sought occasions of delay, else he would have made a more elaborate contestation of the cause, but that there could be no hurt in a delay of a day or two, rather than precipitate judgment, which might lay the nation under perpetual miseries, and so desired to withdraw, and the court to consider.

The King was carried to cotton house, and the judges withdrew to the court of wards, and in half an hour returned; and when the King insisted still that he might be first heard before his parliament, and not prevailing, the president went on and shewed how contumacious he had been; how hateful his crimes were, and asserted the parliamentary authority, producing examples both domestic and foreign, especially out of Scotland, wherein the people had punished their Kings, and then affirmed that the power of the people of England was not less over their King:

That the guilt of this King was greater than of all others, as being one who according to Caligula's wish, had attempted to cut off the neck of the Kingdom, by waging War against the parliament; for all which he was in his charge called tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public enemy to the commonwealth, and that it had been well if that any of those terms might have been spared.

At which words the King said, how Sir; but the other went on, and argued that *Rex est qui bene regit, Tyrannus qui populum opprimit*, and so lodged arbitrary government on him which he sought to put upon the people;

That his treasons were his breach of trust to the kingdom, as his superior, and was therefore called to an account, *Minimus majorem in judicium vocat*; that his murders were many, as being guilty of the blood shed in the war between him and his people, which could not be cleansed, but by the blood of him, who shed that blood; he wished him to have God before his eyes, and called God to witness, that the court came merely out of the conscience of their duty to that place and employment, which they were resolved to effect, and called for God's assistance in his execution.

Here the King made a motion to speak, but was told his time was now past, and his sentence was coming on, which the president commanded to be read under this form:—

Whereas the Commons of England in Parliament, have appointed them an high court of justice for the trial of Charles Stuart King of England, before whom he had been three times convened, and at the first time a charge of High Treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of England, &c. as in the charge, which was read throughout; to which charge he the said Charles Stuart was required to give his answer, but he refused so to do; and so expressed several passages at his trial, in refusing to answer; for all which treasons and crimes this court doth adjudge that the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, shall be put to death by severing his head from his body.

And then the president said, the sentence now read and published is the act, sentence, judgment and resolution of the whole court; to which the Members of the court stood up and assented, by holding up their hands.



Then the King was taken away, and the court broke up. As the King was lead along some of the mob carried it very rudely and un-Christianly towards him; and that night which was Saturday, January 27 he was lodged in Whitehall, next day the Bishop of London preached before him in his chamber; and the same day the president, and all the members of the high court of justice fasted in the Chappel at Whitehall. On Monday Morning he was conveyed to St. James's, and in the mean time Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Harrison, Colonel Dean, Commissary **General Ireton (left)**, and Col. Oaks were to consider of the time and place for execution; and the president and Judges met on Monday morning, Jan. 29. in the painted chamber, who together with the committee resolved that the open Street before Whitehall was the fittest place;

That the King should be there executed on though next day between ten and two a clock upon a scaffold covered with black.

The King who was now apprehensive of the approach of his fatal end, expressed his desires by a member of the army;

That in regard sentence of death was past upon him, and that the time of execution might be near, that he might see his children, and so receive the sacrament, and to prepare himself for death, and that the Bishop of London might pray with him in private in his chamber; all which was granted him.

When the fatal day appeared, which was Tuesday, Jan. 30. about ten of the clock in the forenoon, he was called upon to come forth from St. James Palace, now his prison, and was conducted on foot over the park to Whitehall, guarded with a regiment of foot; part whereof marched before,

the rest behind, with colours flying, and drums beating, his private guard of partisans being next him; Dr. Juxton Bishop of London on the one side, and Col. Tomlison on the other;

They went up by the stairs to the Park Gallery, and so into his cabinet chamber, where he continued at his devotion, and refused to dine; only about twelve a clock he eat a bit of bread, and drank a glass of claret.

From thence he was conveyed into the banqueting house, and the great window enlarged, out of which he ascended the scaffold, the rails whereof were hung round, and the floor covered with black, with the block and axe set in the middle, and the executioners wearing vizards standing by:

He looked round about upon the people, who were kept a considerable distance off by the thick guards and troops of horse that beset the scaffold, and turning to the officers, and more particularly to Col. Tomlison, begun with what necessity there lay upon him to say somewhat, lest his silence might be made an argument of his guilt, and with a protestation of his innocence in reference to any design he had to retrench the just privileges of parliament; yet acknowledged

his punishment to be just from God, and instanced only in his giving way to the death of the Earl of Strafford; appealed to the Bishop of London, (who stood by) for his forwardness to forgive his enemies, yet professed a great concernedness for the weal of the Kingdom; shewed how the then managers of the state were in the wrong to think to govern by the sword, advised them to restore his son to the inheritance of his ancestors, and the people to their rights, and due liberties, to the abrogating of which by the enormous power of the sword, because he could by no means be induced, he was brought thither to undergo a martyrdom for his people.



Then he prayed, and being minded by the Bishop to satisfy the spectators as to his religion; he said, that he had deposited the testimony of his faith with that holy man, meaning the Bishop:

That his life and profession had been well known, and that now he died in the Christian faith according to the profession of the Church of England, as the same was left him by his father of blessed memory:

And then turning about to the officers, and professing the hopes he had of his salvation, he began to prepare for the circumstances of death. The Bishop put on his night-cap, and unclothed him to his sky coloured satin waistcoat; he delivered his George to the Bishop's hands, and charged him to remember to give the same to the Prince, and having prayed again, he stooped down to the block, and had his head severed from his body at one blow about two of the clock in the afternoon, the day aforesaid, in the year 1648. dying the same death as to kind as his grandmother Mary Queen of Scots had done sixty two years, and eight days before at Fotheringham Castle in Northamptonshire, and I think was no whit inferior to her in the misfortunes of his Life.

And to note a few, his three favourites, to wit, Buckingham, Laud and Stafford, undergoing a violent death, and the two latter falling by the axe, as forerunners of his own destiny.

And as to his own personal errors; when Bristol was cowardly surrendered by fines, had he then marched to London, as he might have done very well, all had been his own, but loitering to no purpose at Gloucester, he was soon after well banged by the Earl of Essex.

When he had worsted Essex in Cornwall, he neglected the like opportunity of getting to London. guilty he was of the same oversight in not commanding the Duke of Newcastle to march Southwards toward the Metropolis of England, before the Scots entered the English Borders; and in not doing the like himself, after he had taken Leicester; for there was nothing then that could have hindered him to become master of the City.



The Execution of Charles I

The same ill success he had as to his treaties about being restored: And in short, he was generally unfortunate in the world, in the esteem not only of his enemies, but in some sort of his friends too, for as the later were never pleased with his breach of faith, so the former would say, he could never be fast enough bound; and the blood that some years before dropped upon his statue at Greenwich, and the falling off of the silver head of his cane at his trial, were interpreted as dismal presages of his disastrous fate.

His head and trunk after the execution were immediately put into a coffin, and conveyed to the lodgings in Whitehall, and there embowelled: His head was sewed on to the body by two surgeons, one of whom was Mr Trapham, an eminent surgeon at the time in London; but afterwards became surgeon to Oliver Cromwell, and attended at the fight of Worcester against King Charles II.

This done, the corpse was wrapped up in lead and then removed to St James. Mr Herbert, who had constantly attended the King, and had never heard him mention anything in relation to the place of his burial, applied to the powers then in being, that he might be interred in Henry VII's Chapel, out of whose loins he was lineally descended; but his request was denied for this reason, that is burying there would attract infinite numbers of all sorts of persons thither, which as be times went, was not judged safe and convenient.

Mr Herbert acquainting the Bishop of London with this answer, they resolved to bury the King's body in the Royal Chapel of St. George, within when so Castle; both in regard he was a sovereign of the Order of the Garter, and that several Kings have been there interred, namely, Henry VI, Edward IV, and Henry VIII.

Upon which the committee of Parliament being addressed to a second time, they after some deliberation authorise Mr Herbert and Mr Anthony Mildmay to bury his corpse there, which they accordingly carried thither from St James on 7 February, in a hearse covered with black velvet, drawn by six horses, with about 12 gentleman more, most of them being such as attended on the King in Carisbrook Castle, and other places since his going from Newcastle.

Mr Herbert having showed the order to Col Whichcot, the governor, they carried the body into the dean's house, which was hung with black, and after to his usual bedchamber within the Palace.

After some time employed in viewing the Chapel, and considering of the most proper place to deposit the corpse, they pitched upon vault where King Edward IV had been interred being on the north side of the choir near the altar.

But as they were opening the vault, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, earls of Southampton and Lindsey and Dr Juxton Bishop of London, came thither, having licence from the Parliament to attend the King's body to the grave.



Charles I Funeral Cortège at St. Georges Chapel Windsor

They brought with them the copy of the two votes passed that morning, whereby the ordering of the Kings burial was committed to the Duke's care, provided the expenses exceeded not five hundred pounds.

The Lord's hair upon viewing the tomb house and choirs; and one of the Lords beating gently upon the pavement with his staff, perceived the hollow sound, and thereupon ordering the stones and the earth to be removed, they discovered a descent into a vault, where two coffins were laid near one another, the one very large of an antique form, and the other little.

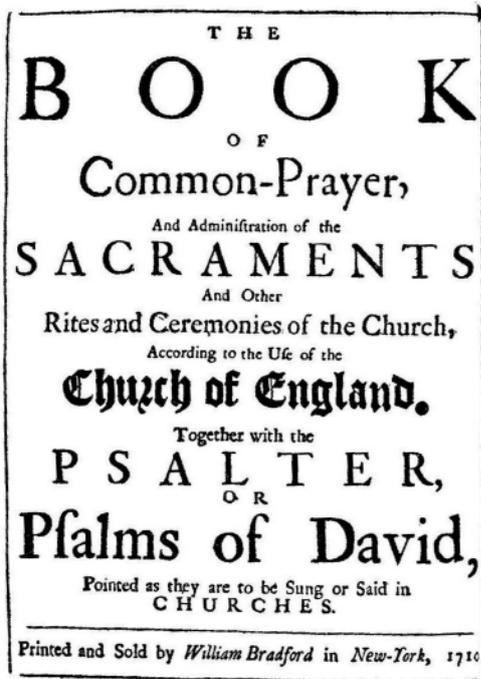
Some pleased themselves with the notion that those where the bodies of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour, his third wife, though before this it was usually said, the particular place of Henry's burial was unknown to any.

The Lords agreeing the King's body should be there deposited, ordered his name and the year he died, to be cut in lead, and the girdle or circumscription of capital letters put about the Coffin had only these words:—

King Charles, 1648

Some then observed that at such time as the body was brought out of St George's Hall, the sky was clear and serene, but presently it began to snow, and the snow fell so fast, that by the time the corpse came to the West End of the Royal Chapel, the pall was all white, being thick covered over with snow; which I presume was to them and indication of his innocence.

But this is left entirely to the judgement of those who impartially read the history of the civil wars, and the causes that introduced it.



The body being set down their the burying place, the Bishop of London stood ready with the service book in his hands, to perform the service according to the order and form of burial of the dead, set forth in the *Common Prayer Book*, but the governor would not suffer him so to do, by reason of the directory, to which he said, he and others were to be conformable.

And thus the use of those prayers, which he valued so much in his lifetime, where now denied after his death; which happened in the 49th year of his age, being his climacterical, and the 24th of his reign.

A modern author says, this Kings remains, notwithstanding the Commons had voted in 1669 the sum of £50,000 for the charge of taking it up, a solemn funeral for it, and a monument to be erected to his memory, yet it lay neglected, as if it had been blasted by fate, King Charles II's son, they say, forbidding it.

The true reason indeed was, the King's body could never be found; for those then for afterwards in power, had carried it away to some other place: and whether they gave it a second interment is uncertain..

The Earl of Clarendon speaks softly of this matter (**pages 306-307 missing**)

It was said that the King was much concerned at this augury, which indeed in most parts of it was very much suited to his destiny: Princes for the most part have been esteemed weak, and proved unfortunate, who have showed themselves fond of predictions and auguries; and that this Prince may be ranked amongst them will appear from the following passage related by Lilly:

"The Kentish men having rose up in arms under the Lord Goring, while the King was prisoner in Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight, and there being a good disposition towards him in the citizens of London; his Majesty laid a design to make his escape, by sawing the iron bars of his chamber window; a small ship in the meantime being provided, which anchored not far from the Castle, to carry him to Sussex; and horses were also provided to carry him through that country into Kent, to head the army, and from thence immediately to march to London."

Lilly says, the lady Whorewood came to him, to acquaint him therewith, and that he got G. Farmer, the most ingenious blacksmith, that dwelt in Bow Lane, to make a saw to cut the iron bars asunder, and got *aqua fortis* besides; that the King in a small time did his work, the bars giving him liberty to go out; that he was out with his body till he came to his breast, but then his heart failing, he proceeded no further.

When this was discovered, which soon happens, he was so narrowly observed, that no opportunity after that could be devised to enlarge him.

He goes on and says, that the Parliament about September sent their commissioners with proposals to him in the Isle of Wight, William Lord Say being one of them; that the lady Whorewood came to him again from the King, or by his consent, to be directed.

He told her, after he had perused his figure, the commissioners will be there such a day; that he elected a day and hour of when to receive the commissioners and their proposals, and as soon

as the proposals were read, the King should sign them, and hastened with the commissioners to London, the army being then far distant from it, and the city enraged against them.

That the King promised to be would do so; that night the commissioners came, the King and Lord Say had a private conference till one in the morning; that the King acquainted him with his intention, but that is Lordship dissuaded him from signing the proposals, telling him they were not fit for him to sign; that he had many friends in the house of lords, and some in that of the Commons.

But this is not the only instance of the King having an opinion of vain astrology: Mr Lilley adds, that while his Majesty was at Windsor, walking one day upon the leads, he looked upon Captain Wharton's almanac, quoth he, speaks well as to the weather: one William Allen standing by, said, what faith Mr Lilly his antagonist?

I do not care for Lilley, replied the King, he has always been against me, and he became a little better in his expressions: Sir, said Allen, the man is an honest man, and writes but what his art informed him; I believe it, said his Majesty, and that Lilley understands astrology as well as any man in Europe.

But to proceed: the person who cut off the Kings head was generally as much unknown as the place of his last interment, if they had any. There was indeed one tried and condemned for it after the son's restoration; but the court not believing, it seems, he was the man, he was not executed.



Charles I Executioner - Lieutenant Colonel Joyce?

Lilley's history of his life and times lately published as given us the greatest light into this affair of anything yet extant; he tells us, that the next Sunday but while after the King was beheaded, Robert Spavin, at that time secretary to Cromwell, invited himself to dine with him, and brought one person and several others along with him.

Their principal discourse all dinnertime was only who it was that beheaded the King; that one said it was the common hangman; another, Hugh Peters; others also were named, but none concluded on: that Spavin, as soon as dinner was over, took Lilley by the hand, and carrying him to the south window, said;

"these are all mistaken, they have not named the man that did the fact; it was Lieutenant Colonel Joyce: I was in the room when he fitted himself for the work, stood behind him when he did it, and when done, went in again with him. There is nobody knows this but my master Commissioner Ireton and myself."

Does not Mr Rushworth know it? Said Lilly; no, he does not know it, said Spavin. Lilley adds, that Spavin had often related the same thing to him afterwards, when they were alone.

This was the same Joyce who took the King out of Holdenby Castle, and carried him against his will, and the parliaments commissioners, to the army, about eighteen months before his execution; and his being a creature of Cromwell's rise from a corner in so short a time to the post of Lieutenant Colonel, and the man is dazing temper, seems to give further countenance that he was the person who did the bloody work.

But this is not so strange is that the man should ten years after the restoration be a housekeeper at Rotterdam, and that notwithstanding King Charles II by his ambassador in Holland, should deal with the states to have been seized, and send a yacht over on purpose to carry him back into England; all the interest he had could not get his fathers executioner delivered up to him: but in all probability Joyce peaceably ended his days in that country.

His friends, and those generally who had adhered to him, suffered much both before and after his death. As for the bishops and clergy whom he most favoured, and wholly advanced, and occasionally ruined, he lived to see their Bishoprics sold, the bishops themselves despise and the whole clergy of his party and opinion quite undone; the Scots, his countryman, on whom he had bestowed many favours, he lived to see in arms against him, to sell him for money, and themselves routed and sold as slaves into Spain; with which he had no perfect correspondence since his being there, and after he suffered the fleet to perish in his havens; and last of all after he received an embassy from Portugal, the Spaniards ever upbraided him with falsehood and breach of promise.

He had no good amity with France, both Protestants and papists disliking his conduct; Denmark could not enjure him; the Swede extremely complained of him, for not performing some secret contracts between them; the Portuguese had little to do with him; the Dutch neither loved or cared for him in his prosperity, nor pitied him in his adversity.



In a words, he was generally unfortunate in the world, and the esteem of all men; and as he was baulked in his intended escape out of **Carisbrooke Castle (left)**, so he was in surrendering his Crown to the Prince, his son, before his death.

A physician that made inspection into the dissection of the body, related that nature had designed him above the most of mortal men for a long life, but providence ordered it

otherwise; for he was cut off in the forty ninth year of his age, being his climacteric, and twenty fourth of his reign; leaving six children behind him, three sons, Charles Prince of Wales, James Duke of York, and Henry Duke of Gloucester, whereof the two elder were exiles; and three daughters, Mary Princess of Orange, Elizabeth a virgin, who not long survived him, and Henrietta Maria born at Exeter.

A book was published in the King's lifetime, and under his name, called "Icon Bastlike" concerning the genuine author of which, many tracts have been written. One party ascribing the work wholly to the King, and the other to Dr. Gandon, either of which is perhaps entirely true.

The controversy, has been carried to that height, and the former stickled so much for it, as if they would have believed it to be part of the canon of Scripture, while the other would make it all together spurious and apocryphal.

That both his sons, Charles II and James II when Duke of York, told Arthur, then Earl of Anglesey, that the father never wrote it; and that the same was written by the Earl upon the book found in his library after his death, is, I think, beyond all dispute: but why they did so, cannot easily be accounted for, much less the more remarkable silence of the Earl of Clarendon, in his

history of the rebellion, concerning this work, which he would have scarce forgot, if he had believed it to be the genuine production of his Royal master, who so much celebrates upon all occasions, unless it be where Mr Hyde, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer's advise had not been followed by him.

Charles Stuart II Assumed The Title of King Upon His Father's Death January 30th 1648



Charles his Eldest Son (Left), who was then at the Hague, when he heard of his Father's disastrous fate, assumed the title of King of England, &c. though an exile, and without any Kingdom to command. He was born at St. James's May 30. 1630, it was said a star appeared over the place where he had been born, in broad day, which in those times was interpreted to prognosticate his happiness, but the eclipse of the sun which happened presently after was no less a presage of his future Calamities.

There was little remarkable in him, or concerning him, till the year 1639, when the unhappy disaster of breaking his arm befell him; and that not long after he was afflicted with a violent fever, accompanied with a little of the Jaundice; but having at length recovered his perfect health, and the fatal differences begun long before, but now daily increasing between the King his father and the people, he accompanied him into the North of England; where he was a spectator of that dismal cloud, which though small at its first gathering, yet was pregnant with that dreadful storm, which in a short time spread it self, over him, his father, and three nations: for going to take possession of Hull, as they thought, they were by Sir John Hotham denied entrance, and forced to wait several hours at the gate all in vain.

From this time forward the war increasing between the King and Parliament, he was first spectator of that successless battle to his father's arms at Edgehill, staid some time after at Oxford; from thence returning to the field, and the King's forces in the west, under the command of the Lord Hopton, of which the Prince was nominally general, being routed by General Fairfax, he was necessitated to retire to the Isle of Sicily, and from thence betook himself into France:

To whom his Father, now deprived of command himself, sent a commission of generalissimo of those few Royalists that survived the late unhappy overthrows, and this brought him to the Isle of Guernsey; where he possessed himself of some vessels that lay there, and having joined them to those he had brought with him out of France, he sailed from thence into the Downs, where he seized several rich merchant ships, and expected some land forces from Holland, raised by the Prince of Orange for his service.

But alas, he was as unfortunate now in his warlike attempts, as his father had been before, and was still in his treaties of peace; for Poyer and Langhorn, who made a rising in wales were soon beaten, so were the Surrey, Essex and Kentish forces, without any reinforcements from him as was designed; and when he landed some forces for the relief of Deal Castle, they were vanquished almost as soon as landed.

This with the taking of Colchester by Sir Thomas Fairfax, sent him back again to his sister the Princess of Orange to the Hague. Here it was that he was first entertained with the horrible news of his father's tragical death, and then saluted by the name of King, but a forlorn man, and without any subjects to govern; for now the Rump Parliament ruled the roost in England, and had assumed to themselves the supreme power of the nation, by the name and title of the Commonwealth of England;

But this procedure of theirs did not relish well with the Scotch Covenanters, and especially now they found, that those persons in the English Parliament, that had been most forward in establishing the solemn League and covenant between both nations, were not only laid aside, but clapped up into nasty PRISONS.

Wherefore being willing to lay hold on any twig; the Scots resolve not to put up the supposed injury tamely, but to try their fortune with the rump by arms, and to that end agree to invite the King over to take possession of his ancient Kingdom of Scotland, but yet tie him so by virtue of the treaty with him, to take their solemn league and covenant, as a testimony of his sorrow for his father's sins, and to banish all those out of his court who would not take the covenant, or bare arms for his father.

But they could not have found a plant (as Mr. Coke observes) more unlikely to produce the fruit of repentance or to establish Presbytery than himself; however, over shoes over boots, prepare he does to waft himself over for Scotland.

To be a King in fact, he desired above all other things, and in June 1650, landed at the Spey in the North, having escaped a scouring, for some of the rump ships lay in wait for him as he passed the Sea, and narrowly missed him. In some time after he was solemnly crowned at Scone, but alas it was no long lived dignity, and he had but little joy of his crown;



For **Cromwell had entered Scotland (life)** with the English Army, and having beaten the Scots in several smaller re-encounters, did at last upon the 8 of September utterly overthrow the much more numerous Kirk army at Dunbar, commanded by old General Lesley, killing 3000 of them in the battle and pursuit, and taking 9000 prisoners with all their baggage and ammunition, with above 200 Colours.

To augment these miseries, the King who was very squeamish in religion, and could not submit to the rigid discipline of the Kirk, runs from Scone towards the Highlands, after whom ran Montgomery, promising, if he would return, the Kirk would remit part of the discipline, and so he came to St. John's Town:

But here was no lasting tranquillity for him, for though in this time he raised a very numerous army, yet the Kirkmen being beaten at Dunbar as aforesaid by the English, began to rail bitterly against those who had called the King in too hastily, before he had given true signs of Repentance, and they assumed the Kingly authority so far, as to make such generals of the Kirk army as they thought fit.

But Cromwell in the mean time prevails in his conquests, and though Scotland were a cold climate yet he made it too hot for the King and his army to hold long there, and therefore he slips with them to England by the way of Carlisle, but was followed close at the heels by Lambert and Harrison, and soon after by Cromwell himself with the main army.

But he arrived at Worcester City with little opposition, and there Cromwell came up with him, where they joined Battle, but as all his attempts before in his father's cause had proved succesless, he met with no better fortune now he fought in his own cause, nor indeed hardly ever did in all his life time by arms; for here his army was utterly routed by Cromwell, (that very day twelve month, he had beaten the Scots at Dunbar) 3550 whereof were killed with Duke Hamilton, and General Forbes and 5000 taken prisoners, of which number were the Earls of Rothes, Kanworth

and Kelly, the Lords Sinclaer, and Montgomery, General of the ordinance; and soon after David Lesley, who fought not or but little in the battle, was routed by Colonel Lilburn, and together with Lauderdale, the Lords Kenmoure and Middleton taken Prisoners.



The poor King seeing all now irrecoverably lost, about six in the evening marched out at St Martin's Gate, leaving all that was valuable but his Life behind him, as a prey to the Enemy; and being come to a place called **Barbon-Bridge (left)**, he consults with the few followers he had with him, what to do, among whom it was resolved he should endeavour to get back into Scotland, and one walker, who belonged to the Lord Talbot's troop was made choice of to be his guide Northward:

But Walker being at a loss when he came to Kinver Heath and not knowing which way to go, the King consulted with the Lords yet about him, whither he might repair with most safety to take a few hours rest, in regard he found himself quite worn out and spent; whereupon the Earl of Derby advised him to go to Boscobel, where in his flight from Wiggan to Worcester, he met with a trusty person, and where there was great convenience of concealment.

This being agreed to, Mr. Gifford who knew the way best, was appointed to conduct him thither; but he proposing to carry him first to White Ladies, a house about half a mile from Boscobel, where he might repose himself a while, and then take farther resolutions, this was consented to, and thither they immediately repaired, and were readily entertained by George Pendrel the youngest of the five brethren.

By this time the King found himself extremely hungry and very much tired with his long and hasty march, and here it was that he rubbed his hands and face with the foot of the chimney, had the locks of his hair disorderly cut off, and was stripped of his blue ribbon, buff coat and other princely ornaments, which to prevent a discovery were buried under ground, and his case now was not imparallell to his great ancestor Robert Bruce King of Scotland, who for fear of Edward I. King of England, was forced to skulk in the Highlands, and there to live for a time more like a brute beast than a man, much less a prince, as we have noted towards the beginning of this history.

The Kings fine shirt was also exchanged for a course canvass one borrowed of one Martin, and a suit of clothes answerable to it, of Richard Pendrells put on by him; and then he assumes the name and employment of a woodman, and so with Richard, with a bill in his hand he went into the wood, while the other brothers went out to scout.

It was not above an hour after his going into the wood before a troop of the parliament's horse came to White-Ladies to look after him; But being told by the townsmen that a party of horse had been there about three hours before, but hastened away, they made no stay but went upon the pursuit; which being told to the King he would not adventure to come into the house out of the wood all day, where he was miserably wet with the heavy rain that fell, and where about noon Richard's sister brought him a mess of milk, mixed with eggs and sugar, in a black earthen dish, and the King guessing it to be milk and apples, said he loved it very well.

In the evening he left the wood, and with the brothers and Francis Yates their brother-in-law went to Richard Pendrell's house, under the name of one William Jones a wood cutter, newly come thither for work, where he had bacon and eggs for supper. When he had refreshed himself

a little, he departed that night to Mr. Wolfs at Madeley with Richard only in his company, the rest of the brethren taking their leave of him; and Yates supposing he wanted money offered him thirty shillings, which was all he had, of which the King took only ten.

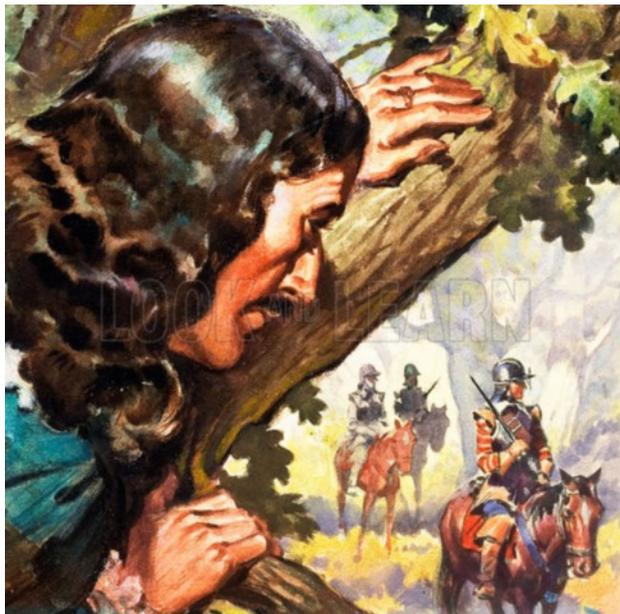
As they journeyed on towards the aforesaid place he met with an odd encounter, which put them into no small fright at a place called Eveling Mill; for the Miller, who, as it afterward appeared, was a Royalist, had then in his house, some considerable persons of the King's army, that had sheltered themselves there in their flight from Worcester, and being alarmed by Richard's suffering a gate to clap, through which he passed, and boldly demanding who was there; Richard fearing he had pursued them, quit the way in great hast, and waded through a little Brook, and the King thereupon doing the like, followed him only by the rattling of his leathern breeches, by which means they escaped the miller, who not knowing but they were enemies, was as glad to be rid of them, as they were to shun him.

When they came to Mr. Wolf's house, the family was a bed, but upon Richard's knocking, the Daughter came to the door and they were admitted in; and some refreshment the King had here, but the fear of his enemies would not let him rest in this house, and so he retired to an adjacent barn as to a place less liable to the danger of a surprise.

During his stay there, he consulted with Mr. Wolf about his going into Wales, but finding upon enquiry the strict guard that was kept every where, he was advised to retire to Boscobel house, as the most retired place in all those parts, which he did the night following; But in the mean time his hands and face not appearing sufficiently discoloured, Wolf bathed them in a decoction of Walnut leaves, as the readiest expedient for that purpose.

When Richard and he came to Boscobel, which was about three next morning, the King was left in the wood, while Richard went in to see if there were any soldiers there, and finding none but Colonel Careless, who was fled thither from Worcester fight for shelter, he tells him of the King's arrival, who went immediately out to conduct him in; where he fed heartily on coarse bread and cheese, and a Possit, which as a rarity was made by William Pendrell's wife, of thin milk and small beer; and after supper, his feet being extremely dirty and very much galled with travelling, he was forced to wash them, and for want of shoes to wear, whilst his own were dried, they were

necessitated to put hot embers into them, to dry them a little whilst his feet were a washing.

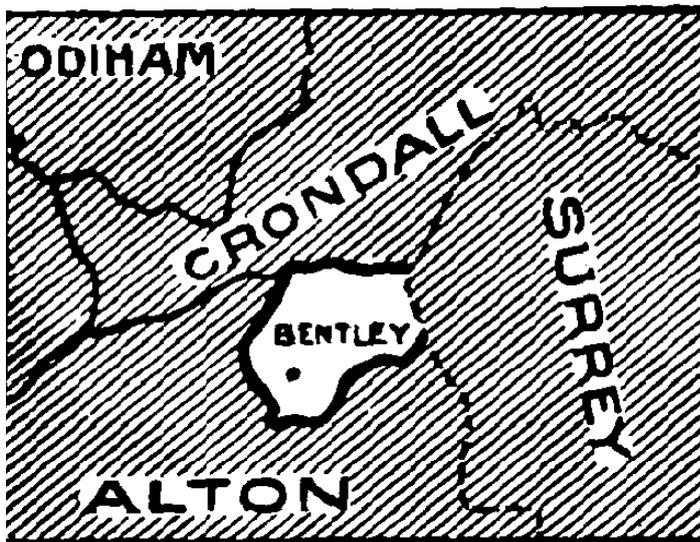


After the King had refreshed himself, he was advised by the Colonel to retire to the wood again as the safest place, where he ascended together with the Colonel into an oak, thenceforward called the Royal **Oak (left)**, where he stayed most part of the day; but in the Evening he returned back into the House, and was conducted by William to the same place where the Earl of Derby had formerly been secured, which he liked so well, that he resolved during his stay there to trust to it only, and to go no more into the Oak.

But one of the Pendrells going on the Saturday following to Shafnall, he met with one of the Parliament Colonels, who was in search for the King, and who coming to understand where Pendrell lived, examined him strictly about it, laying before him the reward of a thousand Pounds, if he made a discovery, and also the penalty of concealing the King, which was death without mercy; all which Pendrell, upon his return at night, acquainted the King with, whereat he was not a little terrified.

But the Colonel and Pendrell, upon their assurance of his safety, did a little comfort him; and that night the King supped upon no common dainty, which was a dish of chickens, prepared by Dame Joan (as he called her) Richard's wife: After supper, when a little bed was put into the secret place where the King was to lye, the Colonel asked him, what he would please to have for dinner next day being Sunday; He told him, he could wish he had a little mutton; but this they found hard to come by, in that it was not advisable for to have any bought in the market, because Pendrell's neighbours knew he was not used to provide any such meat for his own eating.

But the Colonel next Morning early would go to Stanton's sheep coat, and having chosen out a good sheep, stuck him with his dagger, and ordered William Pendrell to carry him home; where being fleeced and quartered, and a leg brought to the King, he called for a knife and a trenchard, and having cut some of it into collops, called for a frying pan, and cooked some of them himself; the Colonel in the mean time, by making the fire, and turning the collops in the pan, officiating as under cook.



But being informed by John Pendrell, that the Lord Wilmot was at Mr. Whitegrave at Mosle, he sent John thither to let him know he was safe, and would be there that night; but when John came, he found Wilmot was gone to **Bentley (left)**; however he acquainted Mr. Whitegrave and Mr. Huddleston that the King was at Boscobell, where he had but very ill accommodation.

Whereupon they went with him to Bentley, and the Lord Wilmot sent John back to acquaint the King with his resolution to meet him that night about twelve or one of the clock, in a little

grove of trees, not far from Whitegraves; to which end the King prepared to set forth:

But having not yet recovered his late foot journey to Madley, it was concluded he should ride upon Humphrey's mill horse, a sorry jade, and a saddle with other accoutrements answerable, and was conducted thither by the five brothers, four whereof were only scouts, while the fifth attended upon his person.

When they were come to Penford mill, his guides desired him to alight, and walk the remainder of the way on foot, which was about two miles, by reason the footway was the safest: Whereupon Humphrey and George returning with the horse, the rest waited on him to his journeys end, where, when they were arrived, the King was conducted by Huddleston to Whitegrave's house; the Lord Wilmot being gone thither before him, in regard he staid somewhat longer then his time; where, having viewed the secret place, wherein he was to be concealed, he went into Wilmot's chamber, and sitting down upon the bedside, his nose fell a bleeding, which made him pluck out of his pocket an handkerchief, which was both very coarse and dirty, but suitable to the rest of his apparel:

For he wore a leathern doublet, a pair of green breeches, and a jump coat of the same, a pair of his own stockings, with their tops cut off, because they were embroidered, a pair of shoes cut and slashed to give ease to his feet, an old grey greasy hat, without a lining;

His face and hands being answerable thereunto, made of a rusty complexion, by the help of the Walnut leaves.



Huddleston observing that his shirt, which was very coarse, was troublesome to him, and hindered him to rest, he furnished him with a better; and plucking off his shoes and stockings, and carefully drying his feet, he found that some body had innocently put white paper betwixt his feet and his stockings, which, with his travelling on foot from **Penford mill (left)** to the house, was so rolled together, that it served rather to increase, than assuage the former soreness of his feet.

But not thinking it convenient to tarry there long, he sent John Pendrel to Colonel Lane to Bentley, to desire him to convey the Lord Wilmot's horses thither that night, about 12 of the clock, in order to his putting in execution the resolution he had taken, of going westward, under the protection of a pass Mrs. Jane Lane had procured for her self and her man to Bristol, supposing, that the Enemy would, in all probability, Pursue him northward, without entertaining any suspicion of his going into the west.

Lane brought the horses according to order, and so conveyed the King to his house at Bentley, from whence, in pursuance to his resolutions, he rid before Mrs. Lane to Bristol, Wilmot attending him at a distance; but finding himself somewhat incommoded with his cloak, he complained to his supposed mistress, that it wearied him; which made her desire Mr. Lastell her father, who also rode along with them, to carry it for him.

But they had not rid far, before she met with her brother-in-law, who asked her, if her father must carry her man's cloak; to which she made answer, that it was so big, that it often endangered the throwing her down, else she would not have been so uncivil.

But they were no sooner got out of this danger, then they fell into a far greater; for being to pass through a town, where a troop of the enemies horse was drawn up, as if on purpose to oppose their passage, the King was put into an horrible fright; but the captain thinking no otherwise of them then honest travellers, proved very civil, and commanded his troop to open to the right and left, and permitted them quietly to pass forward; being come to a gentleman's house at Leigh, he met with a double rencounter, one whereof, though he were surrounded with so many misfortunes, made him smile at the conceit of it, as much as the other terrified him with the apprehensions of the danger he might be in:

Being there left in the kitchen, under the notion of a serving man, the maid happening to enter into some discourse with him, enquired where he was born? What trade he was? How long he had lived with Mrs. Lane? and several other the like questions suitable to a kitchen wench's curiosity; to which he made answer, he was born at Brumingham, was a nailor's son, and had lived with Mrs. Lane about a twelve month.

But the Jack being down, she desired him to wind it up; he being unskillful therein, went the wrong way to work, and was like to have spoiled the Jack; whereupon the maid highly offended, vented her passion in Billingsgate language against him, asking him, where he was bred? and saying he was the most ignorant fellow she ever saw in her life, and much more to the same purpose, which made him withdraw out of the room smilingly:

But the King finding the gentleman's house to be a place of great resort, to prevent a discovery, feigned himself sick of an ague, and so kept his chamber all day, and came down only at nights, and it being the nature of that distemper to occasion thirst, that his pretence might seem real, he sometimes desired the butler to give him a glass of wine; who not only gratified him therein, but

did one evening, when he found him below, invite him into the cellar, and there forced him to drink two or three healths, one to his majesty, another to his mother, &c.

But at length, by some thing he discovered in him, he began to suspect him to be the King, notwithstanding his disguise; and thereupon falling on his knees, begged his pardon, and protested he would be faithful to him in whatever he should command him, of which (though he was terribly surprised) he took little or no notice; but having drank up his wine went his way:

Whereupon the butler's suspicion increasing, he went up and asked Mr. Lastel, how long he had had that servant? who being angry at the Butler's inquisitiveness, demanded of him the reason of it? upon which the Butler whispered him in the ear, and told him, He believed him to be the King.

This passage made the King very uneasy, and therefore he resolved to hasten his going to sea as soon as possible; but though there lay a little bark there, that was looked upon very fit for the purpose, yet the master could not be prevailed upon to transport a single person, which did not a little perplex him, and made him take another resolution of going farther westward, where he was concealed at a gentleman's house about eight or ten days, in which time preparation was made for his passage into France.

But coming to the place where the Vessel was provided, he chanced to dine with a Colonel of the parliaments army; and therefore fearing his embarking singly might work some suspicion in him, he chose rather to defer it, and so returned to the place whence he came, and from thence, after three weeks longer concealment, was conveyed through byways, to a gentleman's house in Sussex;



Where having concealed himself till the search for him was pretty well over, he was, at last, provided of a small ship, that took him in at **Shoreham (left)**, a little creek in that county, and set him on shore near Havre de Grace in Normandy, from whence he went to Dieppe, and so to the French court, and from whence he stirred up the Dutch, by the means of his sister the Princess of Orange, to make war upon the rump in his favour.

But all that he got by it was, an entire disappointment of his hopes that way, and they to be so beaten, as they were never before nor after by the English fleet. Oliver Cromwell sometime after assuming the supreme power by the Title of Protector, he and Mazarine grew so gracious one with another, that France began now to be too hot to hold King Charles; so as, he was necessitated to retire thence to the Elector of Cologne, and afterwards into the Spanish Netherlands; where he ordered the English, Scots, and Irish, in those parts, which amounted to between four and five thousand men to join the Spaniards to attempt the relief of Dunkirk, then besieged by the French and English.

But herein he was as fatal in his Arms as he had been all along before; for the Spanish Army were utterly routed, and this defeat broke his whole design, so that he never after made use of arms to recover his inheritance, but retired to Bruges; where he stayed to see the event of things.

Charles Stuart II Restored to His Dominions AD 1660

The death of Oliver Cromwell, together with the many changes of government that happened thereupon in England, gave new life to his hope, and made him go in person to the Pyrenean

Treaty to promote his interest; from whence he returned through France to Brussels. But coming to understand that Sir George Booth, and the Cheshire men were suppressed by Lambert, it did not a little damp his hopes, and made him return again to Brussels, from about St. Malo's, where he privately lay in readiness to take shipping for England, upon the first good event of Sir George and others undertakings for him.

But his Crown was not to be recovered by War; how then came he to be restored? A grand step towards it was the Rump Parliament's jealousy of Monk, and his jealousy of them again; But what contributed most to it was the unsettled state of the nation, under the many vicissitudes of government that had been introduced since the death of the King his father, which made the people very uneasy, and long for a settlement upon any terms; and therefore the convention when they met in order to it on April 25. 1660. did hand overhead without any preliminaries of asserting the rights and liberties of the English, so manifestly violated by his father and Grandfather, restore him without any contradiction; which did not a little contribute to the succeeding uneasiness of his reign, as well as the nations trouble.

But restored he was, as aforesaid; and on May 25, following landed at Dover, and was received every where with utmost demonstrations of joy. About October following came over the Queen Mother, seemingly to treat about a marriage between Mounsieur of France and her fair Daughter Henrietta Maria;



But it's like the marriage between the King and the **Infanta of Portugal (left)** was no less designed, which was after consummated, and wherein he was as unhappy in respect to procreation by her, as he was fruitful in what ground soever else he sowed his seed, which he was prodigal enough of.

But there was yet somewhat else of far more dangerous consequence to poor England, and more dishonourable to the King, that brought the Queen-Mother over, and that was the sale of Dunkirk to the French, whose agent she was in that fine spot of work. If the King's arms, whilst an exile, in conjunction with the Spaniards, were so unsuccessful in the relief of Dunkirk, then besieged by the joint force of English and French; he was much more unhappy in the sale of it afterward for £400,000 (where of one moiety was detained for the portion of Henrietta Maria his Sister) and not to the Spaniards, who were kind to him in his adverse fortunes, and

had most right to it;

But to the French, who had done all they could by their Ambassador Bourdeux to hinder his restoration, and on whose side the balance then lay; which it had been his business to have kept even as his predecessors the Kings of England were wont to do, and particularly Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth:

This action I think was us unparalleled as any can be found in our English annals. It was indeed a charge against Mary Queen of Scots, that she would have transferred her right of succession to the English Crown to the then King of Spain Philip II but that if true, was giving away what was not in her power to dispose of; and much such another donation as that of the Pope's to the Emperor Charles, of the Kingdom of Mexico, though with a different fate to both nations; but here was neither donation, force, nor any visible necessity, but a voluntary act in King Charles to the inestimable damage of England, as has been but too sensibly felt to this very day.

You must note that the gazing world stood a little while amazed at the strange revolution in England by the King's easy and pacific restoration, and with what transports of joy he was

received by the nation, then in a most warlike posture, and as much dreaded by our neighbours, and particularly by the French, who had formed designs for an universal Monarchy:



But now they were put to a stand to see what such a mighty power, and apparently lasting settlement in England would produce; yet finding at length that here all thoughts of military glory and extension of dominion seemed wholly to be laid aside, and all the severity of the preceding times, daily degenerate to the luxuries of an effeminate reign; they began to reassume their former design, and to prosecute the foundation **Cardinal Richelieu (left)** had laid for them.

But that they might make sure work on it and see that they made a true judgment of the English affairs, they resolved to try such an experiment as would thoroughly decide the matter, and what must that be but overtures for the buying of Dunkirk; which succeeding as aforesaid, according to their wishes, raised their hopes higher than ever of attaining their ends. And because they knew well enough that the English were a powerful people by sea, and that while they retained the sovereignty of it, it would be a hard rub in their way, they join their strength with the

Dutch to dispute the dominion of it with us; but the Dutch were as unfortunate in their alliance in the first Dutch war, as the English were in the second, when they joined with them against the Dutch;

For excepting the time that the English fleet was divided in the first war, and that base business of burning the ships at Chatham, so much to the King and nations dishonour; the Dutch came by the worst of it in all the rest of the engagements; and it was much the same luck the English had by their conjunction in the second war, the French both times standing aloof as looking on, and no doubt laughing in their sleeves, to see the two most potent nations in the world by sea, weaken and destroy one another whilst they in the mean time not only saved their own stake, but learned how to fight, and doubted not but in time to run away with the prey from both of them.

Before the end of the first war with the Dutch, the Lord Chancellor Clarendon was disgraced, impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours, and forced to fly into France for refuge, where some years after he died:

Many attributed his misfortunes to his counterming the King in the design he had formed to be divorced from Queen Catherine under pretence she had been pre-engaged to another person, and had made a vow of chastity before Marriage, and was incapable of having children.

The person designed to fill her place was one Mrs. Stuart, a young beautiful Lady; but the chancellor sending for the Duke of Richmond, and pretending to be sorry a person of his merit and near relation to the King should receive no marks of his favour, advised him to marry that Lady, as the most certain way he could take to advance himself.

The Duke being ignorant of the King's intentions, soon accomplished it; for which he and his Duchess were for a while banned the Court. As the King thought himself unfortunate in this disappointment, he proved no less so afterwards in the unlawful advances he made to gain the affections of the same lady, who was proof against all temptation.

It was generally believed the King's youngest sister Henrietta Maria Stuart, Duchess of Orleans, who came into England in 1670 was the instrument that broke the triple league between England,

Holland and Flanders, for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands, and the balance of power in Europe; and engaged her Brother in a new one with France, to destroy the Dutch:

But however it were, she did not long survive after her return to the French court. That she believed herself to be poisoned, and that there was one tragical death more in the family, is very manifest by the conversation she had with the Lord Ambassador Montague a little before her death, as appears by some letters of his printed at the end of those of the Earl of Arlington; but whether by the contrivance of her jealous Husband, as commonly affirmed there, remains some doubt. However this is remarkable, that when Sir Thomas Armstrong was dispatched by his Lordship to the King with an account of her death, he said, Orleans is a rascal but prithee, Tom, say nothing of what he has done.

One article of the secret league between our King and France, was, if the Abbot Primi may be



believed, who was employed by Monsieur Colbert de Croissy, the French Ambassador at London, to write of the second Dutch war; to secure to our King an absolute authority over his parliament, and re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in his three Kingdoms: but upon the complaint of the Lord Preston, our envoy in France, it was and the Abbot thrown into the **Bastille (left)**; where he was kept a whole week, to shew what satisfaction Charles might expect from his friend Lewis, for suffering a Book

to be published, which was the surest way in the World to lose him the affections of his People.

The People of England were no more satisfied before with their imaginary happiness in the King's restoration; but they were now, upon the ill management of affairs, the much treasure that had been spent to so little purpose, and more especially upon our conjunction with the French, to the manifest hazard of the Protestant religion, as well as the civil rights of Europe, as much uneasy and suspicious of the court proceedings

And what increased it the more, was the speech made by the Lord Treasurer Clifford for establishing a perpetual fund for the war, which being unexpectedly opposed by the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Shaftesbury, who smartly answered his speech from the beginning to the end; (the King and the Duke being present in the House of Lords to awe the Debate) the Duke grew so angry, that he whispered the King, saying, what a rogue you have of a Lord Chancellor! the King replied, what a Fool you have of a Lord Treasurer!

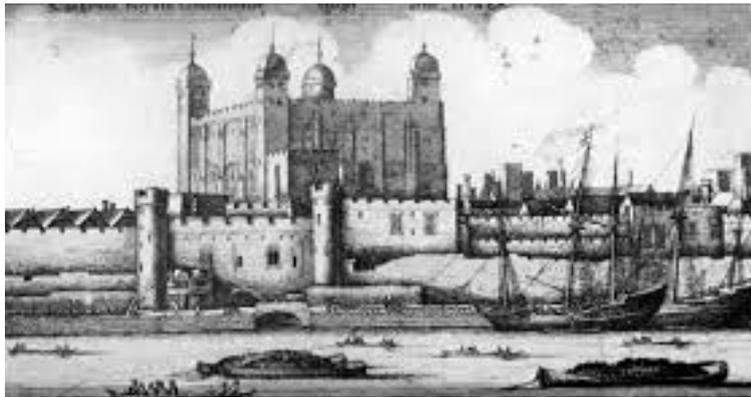
Clifford hereupon quitting the white-staff, the people in general by this time were not a little incensed that the French made such a progress in Flanders, and got all by Land, while we got nothing but blows at sea; and therefore the House of Commons on the 31st of October 1673, voted, that considering the present state of the nation, they would not take into further consideration any aids or charges upon the subject, except it appeared that the obstinacy of the Dutch did render it necessary nor before the Kingdom should be effectually secured from popery and popish couple's, and other grievances be redressed. which Procedure thunderstruck the King and his Frenchified council, so that a peace with the Dutch.

And it did not a little incense them that the French made such a progress in Flanders, and got all by land, while we got nothing but blows at sea; and therefore the House of Commons on the 31st of October 1673, voted that considering the present state of the nation, they would not take into further consideration, any aids or charges upon the subject, except it did appear that the obstinacy of the Dutch did render it necessary, nor before the Kingdom should be effectually secured from

popery and popish counsels, and other grievances redressed: which procedure thunderstruck the King and his Frenchified council, so as that a peace with the Dutch was quickly huddled up;

And so he then set up for a mediator of peace between the rest, and the treaty spun out to a very great length at Nijmegen; and was at last concluded after some years conferences without King Charles consent by beverning the Dutch agent; which spared him a labour of entering into an actual war with France, as the Parliament would have had him; and to which he was as unwilling as he had been before forward in his engaging against the Dutch, a Protestant State.

The remainder of his succeeding reign was as uneasy to himself and to the nation, upon the account first of the popish plot, the many endeavours to stifle it, the Bill of Exclusion, and the division of the nation into Whig and Tory hereupon;



Then that called the Presbyterian plot, both plots they said against his life, (which if true, he was the more unhappy) for which last the noble Lord Russell suffered, and the great Earl of Essex had his throat barbarously cut in the **Tower of London (left)** the King's prison, and King Charles had the unhappiness to be there that day, where he had not been hardly in twenty years before.

And last of all the forfeiture and seizure of Charters (which though carried on with great fury in his Reign, that thereby he might have a Parliament of his own choosing, as Cromwell had, and so do what he pleased) yet he did not live to complete his designs.

Though the censures upon the manner of his death are various, yet most are agreed (says the author of the introduction to King Charles II. character) there was some fraud in it, some ascribing it to the intrigues of France, who as they undid his father by a wife, ruined the son by a mistress;

And therefore allege that the French King being weary of feeding him with pensions, and dreading his natural parts, if upon any disgust he should come to unite with his parliaments against France; he thought it his interest to take him off, and make way for a successor, who as he made open profession of his own religion, would be more pliable to his dictates:

Then as touching the method of effecting it, they say, that the Duchess of P***** who bewitched him with her amours, and had not only drained the substance of his body, but likewise the substance of his purse; either of which being once accomplished, the love of a St—et to her paramour vanishes, so that having a mind to change gallants, or seeing no more hopes of former advantages, she gave him such provocative's as made him act beyond his natural strength, and threw him into those apoplectick Fits which carried him off:

There are others who ascribe his death to the Romish faction, who being angry at his having so often deceived them, and impatient till they came to a trial of skill for establishing their religion, while Lewis XIV. was in the height of his power and glory, did therefore administer the fatal dose, which sent King Charles II. a packing, and brought his brother to the throne, under whose auspicious conduct, they made no question of restoring the church of Rome to the full possession of all she had formerly enjoyed in these three Kingdoms.

It's certain there were some accidents fell out some time before the King's Death, that raised some jealousy in the breast of the Romanists; who thought by that, he would, upon the presenting

of the first opportunity face about, as they found by experience he had more then once done, and fall in with the Interest of a party, he now for some years, by their instigation had been endeavouring to destroy and root out of the world:

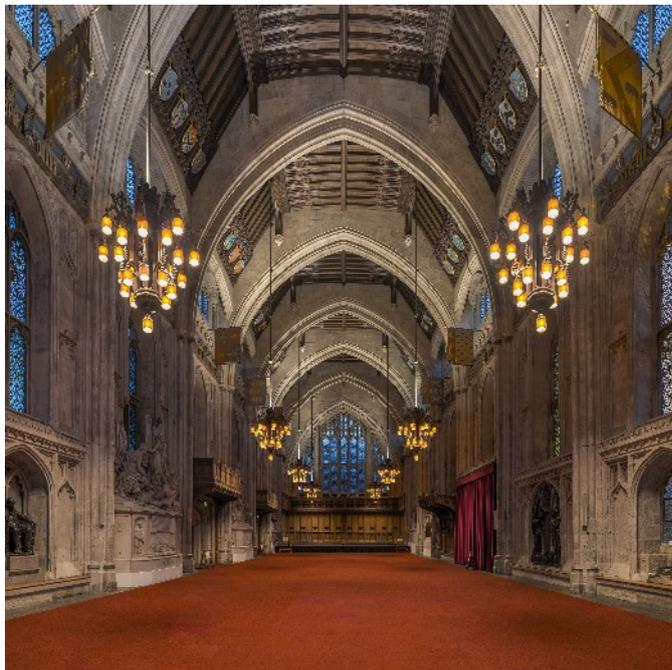
And what rendered their suspicions of him the more incurable, was, that a pamphlet having been spread abroad, a little before Christmas, 1684. setting forth, that the Earl of Essex had not cut his own throat, but had been murdered by Russians set on by the papists, &c. the King upon the hearing of it, should say, well, I am resolved to examine Essex's cause once more.

And that he might meet with no obstruction in the way, he ordered the Duke his brother to prepare to go for Scotland; which the other, whether smelling the design, or that the train to blow the King up was already laid by him, absolutely refused to do: this occasioned high words between them; insomuch that the late M. of H. who was well known to be a great favourite, coming on the Sunday before the King died to wait upon him after evening service, he found him in his closet alone under great concern of mind, puffing after a more then ordinary rate, and looking pensive with his ace towards the ground, which the M. observing, made him stand still, till the King looking up, asked hastily, how now my Lord, how do you do? To which the M. answering, the better to see his Majesty well, and so forth;

The King returned again to his former posture; but at length, broke forth into these words; My Lord will you be ingenious with we, and answer me one question? To which the Marquess replying, he would if he could:

Then (said the King) I charge you upon your allegiance to tell me how I stand affected with the people of England: The M. after some pause answered, Sir, you have been always ranked among the merciful and clement Princes, and have given evident testimonies of your being so upon various occasions;

But I must tell your majesty, that of late your government has been somewhat uneasy to your people:



Well, said the King, one thing I am resolved on, I'll once more throw my self upon the people of England, and to that end will go this week into the City, and I will call a parliament at the **Guild Hall (left)**: The M. was somewhat surprised at these words, and said; Sir, if that be your Resolution, I pray God to bless it; but let me beg of your Majesty never to let it go out of your own breast any further, till you put it in execution:

Which when the King had promised to do, they parted. The King that night supped at P. lodgings; where he seemed to be very merry, and in the close drunk a dish of chocolate, prepared by a wise lady, of which he complained again and again that it tasted hotter than ordinary; but he sipped

it off, and thence went to his rest.

Next morning which was Monday he was taken very Ill, which, no doubt, was the effect of the last nights entertainment, however they might call his distemper; and so continued till the Friday

following in extreme misery and anguish, when he died, most people suspecting he had foul play:

And many that saw him during his illness believing it to be so, and particularly (says the author of his character) the most knowing and deserving of his physicians doctor short, did not only believe him poisoned, but thought himself so too, not long after, for having declared his opinion a little too boldly in the case.

And as the manner and contrivance of this King's death was the work of darkness, so were his funeral obsequies; for never any King, who died possessed of a crown, was so obscurely and contemptibly buried, being hurried in the dead of the night to his grave, as if his corps had been to be arrested for debt, and not so much as the bluecoat boys to attend it.

James Stuart II Came to Crown 1684



King Charles was no sooner gone, but **James Duke of York (left)**, his only surviving Brother, ascends the English throne by the style and title of James II. And made open Profession immediately of the popish religion, for which some in his brother's reign were severely punished for but saying he was such, or so inclined; and not only so, but ordered his brothers dying in the communion of the church of Rome, and before his death his receiving his viaticum and other ceremonies of that church, and attested by father Huddleston, to be printed, and also the papers taken out of the King's strong box, shewing;

That however, he outwardly appeared otherwise in his life, yet in his heart he was sincerely a true Roman Catholic. He made profession in his speech to the council the day of his brother's death, that he would preserve the church and state of England as by law established, and as he would never depart from the just Rights and prerogatives of the Crown, so he would never invade any man's property;

But how ill he conformed himself hereunto, is but too manifestly known to all the world. For the very first week he took both the customs and the excise granted only for his brothers life, before they were given him by parliament; and for the church, I think no man so audacious as to deny the design of his whole, though blessed be God, short reign, was to overthrow it by the introduction of his own monkish religion in the room of it:

But if he was unhappy first in making such a promise of adhering to both church and state as then established, contrary, no doubt, to the designs he had framed before of ruining them; he was much more so in the methods he took to bring his ends about, which terminated at last in a fatal abdication, yet so as that he remains to this day naturally alive to be a living monument and confessor of his own egregious folly:

And the loss of the button of his sceptre that day he was crowned, which, as far as I could hear, was never found, was I remember then, interpreted by some, as a presage of no lasting connection between him and the nation.

His petty success against the Duke of Monmouth and his adherents did not a little elate his spirits, which gave him an opportunity to keep a standing army, and put such officers into it as were of

his own stamp; and so being backed with this armed power, he proceeds barefaced to dispense with the laws by granting liberty of conscience to all that dissented from the Church of England; thinking hereby, and by a timely regulating of corporations to gain such a parliament as would quite repeal them.

XXXXXXXXXX 340

And that in the mean time he might curb the church and the universities, he puts his high commission upon their backs, thinking by it to worry them into a compliance. And because my Lord of London would not comply with his arbitrary proceedings, Jeffery's with this popish Bull (I mean) the high commission, roared him into a suspension.



And because the fellows of **Magdalen College (left)** would not (contrary to their statutes and oaths) choose a president to the King's mind, he first entertained them with a dish of Billingsgate, and then by virtue of the same commission, sent them a grazing into the countries, to make room for his own popish seminaries, and cutthroat Jesuits.

But among all the actions of this King's diminutives reign, that of sending the bishops to the tower, (not for refusing to take care to have the declaration of indulgence read in their respective dioceses) but for petitioning of him in a regular and dutiful manner, wherein they gave their reasons why they could not comply with his order, together with an introduction of a Prince of Wales into the world, as a new miracle to the legend, the next day after their commitment; was the rashest, most inconsiderate and maddest thing he could be guilty of.

Surely when he did this, he wanted some body to pray over the poets wish for him:

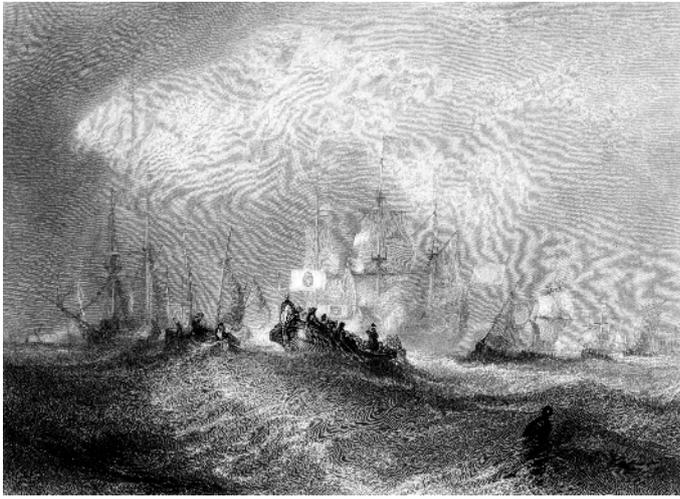
—**Dii te damasippe Deaeque
Donent Tonsore.**—

For it was most apparent by the universal joy expressed throughout the nation at their acquitment, how they resented their commitment and trial:

And if the King did before decline in the affection of the people day by day; I may truly say, this was a concluding act, and lost him England. For now all the Eyes of the People are turned from him towards Holland, where the Prince of Orange was arming to come to their relief.

The King would not at first believe that the vast preparations in Holland concerned him, though the French King had given him notice of them the 26th of August before; but being at length convinced by the states manifesto of the truth of the matter, he undid in one day all that he had been doing since his first coming to the crown; as dissolving his commission for ecclesiastical affairs, **restoring the City of London to all its Ancient Franchises and Charters, as fully as before the *quo waranto***, and giving order for the resettling the expelled fellows of Maudlin Colledge, in their places again:

He made also great preparations both by sea and land for to defend himself; but though he be naturally still alive, and he above knows, who knows all things, what his end may be; yet all these precautions and windings against the grain, were so far from preventing, **that they did now but concur to precipitate his civil death**, which we shall now briefly relate unto you.



The Prince of Orange having on November the fifth landed his army in Torbay (left), he presently published his declaration, setting forth the cause of his coming. Upon which some of the nobility and gentry joined him, and others made preparations in the remoter parts to declare for him.

King James upon the news of the Princes landing, ordered his army to march westward with a resolution to follow in person; But before he went, he thought it requisite to provide for the safety of his

darling Prince of Wales, whom the Prince of Orange in his manifesto spread about the Kingdom some days before, declared upon just and visible grounds, that both himself and all the good people of England did vehemently suspect not to be born of the Queen's body. Wherefore several persons were summoned (who were present at the pretended birth) to declare the truth upon oath, and to have the same registered in chancery; but the King not daring to trust to the validity of these affidavits, which the nation had all the reason in the world to suspect, he ordered the Yorker to be sent away with a strong guard to Portsmouth, that if things went ill he should be conveyed over into France.

In the mean time the Prince of Orange prospered in his army, and advanced as far as Exeter, and was joined, among multitudes of others that flocked in to him daily out of the adjacent countries, by the Lord Cornbury with three regiments along with him, which he carried off from the King's army.

About this time the Prince received also intelligence that the Lord Delamere had declared for him in Cheshire. King James being informed of all these things, was horribly dismayed, and uncertain whether he should go to the army, or no:

However at length he took up a resolution of going to Salisbury, where he began to bleed violently at the nose, which together with the many ill adventures that befell him there, as his being forsaken by his own daughter the Princess Anne, Prince George, the Duke of Grafton, the Lord Churchill, and many others who went over to the Prince then at Sherborn;

All of them dangerous limbs to be lost by him, he returned November 26th in the evening to London; where for an accumulation of the rest of his misfortunes he received an address from the fleet for a free parliament: So that thinking London, nay all England now too hot to hold him; he first sent his Queen and pretended son into France, and quickly after followed himself.

In order thereunto he put himself aboard a small smack, commanded by one Captain Saunders, but was forced for shelter to put into Eastwall, the eastern part of the Isle of Sheppy, in order to the taking in of ballast; where the inhabitants of Faversham being abroad to pick up Jesuits, and other suspected persons, met this vessel; and having seized it, found this wretched Prince attended only by Sir Edward Hales, and Mr. Labady therein; who not being at first known, were all of them but cowardly handled by the mobility, more particularly the King himself, who was rifled of what gold and jewels he had about him, and had his clothes rent and torn in the searching of him.

When the Lords at London had notice of his being at Feversham, they sent some persons to attend him, to move him to return; but they had in the mean time made their application to the Prince of Orange, for to assist them for the security of the Protestant religion; and sent some of their number with four aldermen, and eight commoners to attend him at Henley.

The King who was detained at Faversham, till the aforesaid orders came from London, did December 15th remove to Rochester, and from thence next day being Sunday returned to Whitehall, attended once more like a King of England, with a troop of Grenadiers, and three troops of the lifeguard.

But it was only pageant greatness, for a set of boys only followed him through the City, and made some Huzza's, but the rest of the people silently looked on: And here he found the popish religious houses laid as flat to the ground as his own heart was now sunk deep in his body. Upon his Arrival at London, and finding there no ease, he desired the Prince that he might return to Rochester again, which being granted readily, he took his final farewell of the City, and went to the aforesaid place, where he staid till the 23rd of December, when about one or two in the morning, he privately withdrew, taking only Mr. Sherdon and Delabady along with him, with whom he went to Dover, and there embark in a vessel that lay ready for his transportation to France;

So he went out like a snuff in England, but still retained some glimmering light in Scotland and Ireland, in the last of which he arrived in person the March following. But his light in Scotland did not long burn, for the convention there as well as in England, rejected him as the violator of all their rights; and Dundee falling by the sword the July following 1689, together with the surrender of Edenburg Castle, and other misfortunes quite extinguished his hopes there.

But in Ireland he had a name to live as King, till about a year after, when his army being totally routed at the Boyn by our brave King William, he made as much haste to get over into France, as if he had been to go to take possession of a crown, instead of running away from one.

Various struggles he made still to recover a regal life, but he prosecuted his ends by such villainous methods and instruments, and more especially by setting his vile assassins on work to murder the best of Kings, and bravest of men, our lawful and rightful sovereign King William III as are not to be mentioned but with utmost horror;

But through the goodness of heaven, they have met with as little success as the practices have been foul and clandestine; and so we leave him to him that made him, and withal wish him a far greater proportion of rest and happy tranquillity in the future world, then he hath found of unrest and disquietude here; and a much speedier translation into that state, then the hast himself hath made to precipitate his own abdicated fate.

William of Nassau III and Mary Stuart II Began Their Reigns February 13th 1688



The abdicated throne was filled up by the advancement of a Prince and Princess to it, that England was never blest with the like before; one in religion, and one in Interest and affection with the nation; our King hero like fighting our battles abroad, (and pray think it not a small thing, for England has not enjoyed such a blessing these hundred and fifty years; and it has scarce ever been well with us, when our kings did not go in and out before our people) and our Queen, as wisely and gently swaying

the sceptre at home, to the gladdening of all our hearts; and in all her excellent comportment, choosing to rule in the love and affections, rather than the fears of her people.

Here we promised our selves a lasting tranquility, and many happy days to come, under the benign influence of her reign; but alas, alas! our hopes quickly vanished, our Joys faded, our hearts failed us for fear, and sable clouds of despair overshadowed our whole Isle, by Her unexpected, by her early, I say, by her early, though natural transition from a corruptible to an Incorruptible diadem:

Her gain it was, but our loss; she though young, yet ripe for ineffable joys above; and we, though long inured to trial, unripe for to sustain the loss of her here below; And surely no prince ever departed this transitory life, that was so unfeignedly lamented by his subjects, as this incomparable Queen; as was apparent by our universal mournful weeds without, a demonstration of the blackening sadness of our hearts within.

The last she was, and incomparably the best, of the Stuarts that wore a Crown, and the Second of that number that went to Her Grave in Peace; as Robert II. who was the first of the Stuarts that ever was King, was the only other of the Kingly Race that did so:



Her singular eminence above the rest of this royal race will require some enlargement upon her character: her understanding was clear and steady, it reached both to the greater things of religion, and the lesser of economy, and it was perpetually improved by reading, discourse, and meditation; her books were many and well chosen, and as well studied and remembered; her memory being great, and properly exercised by books of history, and particularly she much valued father Paul's celebrated *History of the Council of Trent* but the Scriptures were the oracles she chiefly consulted.

She troubled not herself or others with such curious questions, which the prudent neither ask, nor think themselves concerned to answer; neither was she wrought up to bigotry in any unnecessary opinions:

She knew good things, in order to the doing of them, her wisdom in governing of time was very remarkable; her hours were so adjusted to the several affairs of her own and others, that notwithstanding the multiplicity of them, she found a season for everything.

As to her administration of public affairs, she conducted them with wisdom, temper and unwearied application: she had a due sense of secret difficulties when they occurred, but such a command of her passion, that there appeared few signs of trouble, and none of dejectedness in her countenance; that the friends of the government might not be disheartens, nor its enemies encouraged.

It's true, she was neither a Boadicea nor a Zenobia, but it was because she understood the decencies of her sex better; she was a Princess eminent for piety, and her very retirements could not pass wholly unobserved, she being constant and devout in all acts of public worship; her Christian charity was as great as her power, and as discrete as it was great, both generous and unconstrained, denying nothing that was sit to be asked; and in granting, an air of satisfaction appeared in her countenance.

When supplies were not at hand, it was a grief to deny, but the manner was obliging; authority, majesty and humility met together in her, and such an aversion she had to flattery, and even to praise, that she said of a book addressed to her, that she had read it and liked it, but much the better because the epistle was a bare dedication.

She had a remarkable smoothness of demeanour, and it was attended with such a good ort of familiarity, that bred rather veneration than contempt. The more she was understood, the more she was admired; and those who knew her belt could not but most esteem her. She was an

incomparable wise, and yet had all the duty in the world for other relations, which she judged consistent with her obligations to God and her country.

A patroness indeed she was of religion and learning; a true and certain friend, and a Christian mild and merciful to her enemies.



I know Mr. Coke says in his Character of King Charles II, that none of his name hereafter was ever like to have a stone to cover his grave as King of England; but that I will not say, as not pretending to know what is laid up in the womb of futurity. But if you please, after all this mournful entertainment, I'll tell you a story;

“The lion, on a time, called to the sheep, and asked her, if his breath smelt? she innocently said, Ay; which made him bite off her head for a fool: then he called to the wolf, and asked him, who replied, no: and his head he bit off for a flatterer; last of all he put the same question to the fox; but the Fox truly for his part desired to be excused; for he had a cold upon him, and could not smell.”

The paternal descent of King William III from the illustrious house of Nassau, does not properly allow me to include him in this history; not that I am of the opinion of a certain Tory gentleman, in the late Queen Anne's time, who (tickling very much for an indefensible hereditary right, and being thereupon asked what we should do with the reign of King William, answered, we should put it within a parenthesis:

But he being an alien to the surname of Stuart, I shall touch no more upon it, than what will connect the remainder of the history with the preceding part of it. By his advancement to the throne, our religion and liberties were once more secured from popery and arbitrary power, which had been too much countenanced by our kings of the Stuart Line; the nation roused out of its lethargy; our naval strength and glory much improved and advanced; our military discipline by land revived; a check given to the overgrown greatness of France, and that monarch's ambition for universal monarchy; liberty of conscience established, triennial parliaments fixed; and after many battles fought, and sieges undertaken in a long and expensive war, the common enemy was brought to conclude a peace at Ryswick in 1697, honourable to his majesty, whose title was acknowledged to these kingdoms, exclusive of King James his competitor.

To secure further blessings to Europe, and perpetuate the peace, he and his allies entered into the treaties of partition of the Spanish monarchy, after the death of King Charles without issue; and upon the decease of the Duke of Gloucester (whose surname, if he had any, was Oldenburg) King William having happily limited the Protestant succession, after the Princess Anne and her issue and his own, to the House of Hanover; the perfidy of France first in owning the title of the pretender to these realms, and then setting the Duke of Anjou upon the throne of Spain, pursuant to the will of that monarch, contrary to solemn treaties, engaged our King in new alliances to preserve the balance of power in Europe, now manifestly broken; who when he had successfully concerted all proper methods to engage in a necessary war to that effect, settled our naval affairs upon a good basis, and made my Lord Marlborough General by land, departed this Life on the 8th of March, 1701-2. full of fame and glory; and made way for the advancement of one Stuart more to the throne, whole reign is now ripe to be exposed.

Queen Anne Comes to The Throne March 8, 1701-2

The death of this glorious prince made way, not by hereditary, but by the Parliamentary Act of Limitation, for the Princess Anne of Denmark, the last of the Stuarts, to ascend the throne.



(Left) Queen Anne and Her Consort Prince George of Denmark

She was the second Daughter of King James II. and born at St. James's, on the 6th of February, 1661. Her Father was at that time a concealed papist, and her mother became one also in about four years after: however, she was, by the direction of King Charles her uncle, brought up a Protestant, and in 1683. married to a Protestant Prince, George only brother to Christian V, then King of Denmark; the Prince of Hanover, now our gracious king, who some time before came into England to see her, it seems, disliking her person, which some people had ill nature enough to affirm she never forgot.

The Death of Charles II. on the anniversary of her Birthday in 1684-5. brought her father to the throne, and her self a degree nearer to the crown; of which she had a reasonable prospect, her blest sister, the Princess of Orange, having never had a child in all this time, and her father then none alive by his second Marriage: but the ushering of a pretended Prince of Wales into the world, in 1688. while she was absent at the bath, postponed her hopes for the present; and the expedition of the Prince of Orange into England some months after, involved her in difficulties, by her husband's deserting King James at Salisbury, and the necessity she was put under, in order to avoid the displeasure of her father, and perhaps of being carried a prisoner into France, of fleeing from London to Nottingham, and thence to Oxford.

But King James and his family soon retiring into France, it was with reluctance she contented that the Prince of Orange would be advanced to the throne before her: and with as great regret that her allowance of £50,000 per annum. was not settled upon her by Act of Parliament; but that the Commons contented only to address the King yearly to pay her that Sum.

The quarrel which some time after ensued between her and her sister Queen Mary, cost the latter many a tear; her stubbornness being such as would not admit of a reconciliation, as long as the life of that excellent Queen lasted.

This having brought her a step nearer than ever to the Crown, she could do no less than write a letter of condolence to the King upon that melancholy occasion, whose goodness thereupon inclined him to recall her out of her retirement to the Palace of St. James's; where she lived with splendour and magnificence, till visited with the immature death of her only child the Duke of Gloucester in 1700.

This was the more disastrous and tragical, because her constitution was become such, as afforded little hopes she would have any more children; especially that were likely to live. The death of her father in exile in a little more than a year after, it must be supposed to have affected her much less than that of her son; since she could with the more decency mount the throne he had

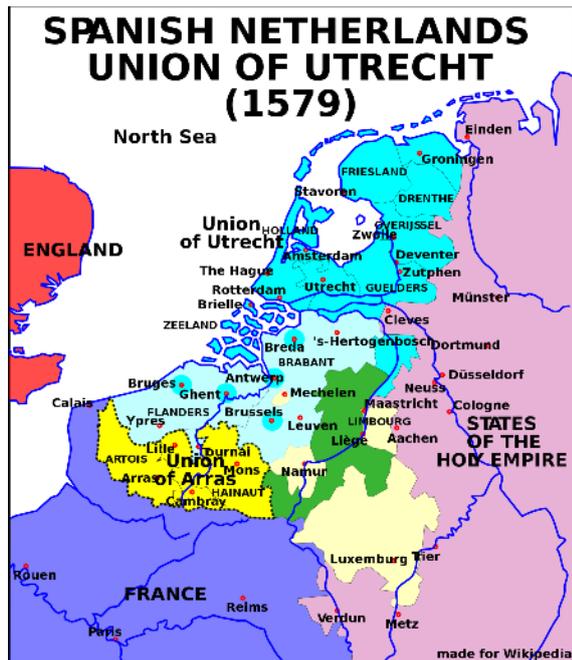
abdicated; though it's not to be doubted but that she would have done it without hesitation or scruple, if he had survived King William, who died in less than six months after.

King James in his first speech to his Parliament, told them he had a true English heart; how little he shewed it by his partiality to France, and the little regard for preserving the balance of power in Europe, and their religion and liberties of his own subjects, which are very dear to Englishmen, he manifested to all the world; and is what has been briefly touched upon, in the account given of his reign and subsequent conduct.

It was unlucky that his daughter in hers to them, should touch upon the same string, that her heart was entirely English. It's granted, it was intended for a reflection upon her predecessor, who was a native of Holland; but it was ungrateful, since it is more than probable, if it had not been for him, she had never ascended the British throne;

But in the event it had like to have proved as fatal to England and all Europe as the other. However, the greatest part of this Queen's reign was as glorious and successful as any age or history can parallel; and even exceeded that of our famous Queen Elizabeth, whose motto of *Semper Eadem* (ever the same), Queen Anne assumed.

Whether she believed any thing of the villainous report that King William had concerted some measures for putting her by the succession of the crown, is uncertain: The House of Lords sufficiently cleared him from that scandal; and prosecuting his scheme in respect to the operations of war which ensued, the success in the main answered her expectations.



The greatest difficulty she had for the present to struggle with at home, was about continuing the parliament of Scotland, the legality of which the Hamiltonian party disputed very much; and though indeed it was originally but a convention which King William transubstantiated into a parliament, and died with him, yet it was now revived, and the court gained all the points it aimed at by it. Not to mention the success of her allies in Germany, the recovery of the **Spanish Gelderland (left)**, and the town and citadel of Liege out of the hands of France, was glorious to her arms.

And though the expedition against Cadiz in Spain unhappily miscarried, the success we had in taking and destroying the Spanish silver fleet, and the French squadron at Vigo, with the wealth got by it, stopped any inquiries in Parliament into the former.

That this Queen was High Church, both by education and principle, no body that I know of ever doubted; and that the amendments made by the Lords to the commons bill against occasional conformity, made the other reject the whole Bill, must needs be mortifying to her. so was the ill success she had at first in accomplishing an union between England and Scotland.

The campaign of 1703. was none of the most remarkable in her reign; but the address of her ministers and her allies in bringing over the Duke of Savoy and King of Portugal into the common interest, was very advantageous: And her people shewed all manner of alacrity to repair the prodigious damage done to the Royal Navy by the most tremendous storm that ever happened in any man's memory in November the same year. Before the end of which, she entertained the

new King of Spain, Charles III at Windsor, with Royal magnificence, who would do her the honour to hold the napkin when she washed after supper.

Another occasional conformity bill being afterwards rejected downright by the Lords, which caused some misunderstanding between the Houses of Parliament, wrought some uneasiness in her, who in the beginning of 1704. revived the ancient order of the thistle; and who to please the clergy, remitted the arrears of the tenths to the poor ones, and granted them the first fruits and tenths by act of parliament or ever.

The Lords representations to her about mismanagement in the navy, which in some sort reflected on the Prince her husband, as Lord High Admiral, soured her a little: so did a sort of a Scotch plot; now examined into, and calculated in favour of the pretender.



If the **Naval fight in 1704. off Alicantes (left)**, in the Mediterranean, did not prove decisive; those of Schellenburg and Blenheim raised the glory of her arms to as high a pitch as any of her predecessors. The ministry was now grown Whiggish, which so very much soured the Tories, especially in a reign wherein they expected with reason to have an entire ascendancy, that they spared not the Queen herself, either in private conversation or in print:

And in their memorial of the Church of England, plainly owned, that nature would rebel against principle. Insomuch that the more successful her arms were abroad, and the steadier her counsels were at home, she had the misfortune to be the more despised and vilified by them, whom in reality she most admired.

And her beloved University of Oxford so far ridiculed her Motto of *Semper Eadem*, that they had the audaciousness to put it under their weathercock. however the Whigs or the present made her in and out of parliament speak their language and sentiments, which went the easier down with her, because of the wonderful successes of her arms, in the unparalleled reduction of Catalonia, and the unexpected battle of Ramillies in 1706. whereby all the Spanish Netherlands upon the matter were recovered out of the hand of the enemy, who now sued to her general or a peace in vain.

It was under the same administration that the incorporating union between England and Scotland, which could not be brought about in a hundred years before, was happily accomplished, and which she esteemed to be the peculiar happiness of her reign; which however in some time after was somewhat disturbed by an intended expedition of the pretender into Scotland, upon a presumption of the great discontents of the people there by reason of it. The design was happily prevented; but whether she was well or ill pleased, that the invader made his escape back into France, has been variously reported, and is what I am not yet able to determine.

The French having been driven quite out of Italy, by the great victory obtained at Turin by the Duke of Savoy and prince Eugene; and the latter in 1708. Joining the Duke of Marlborough with the imperial army in the Netherlands, the victory at Oudenard and the taking of Lisle were new and unexpected triumphs.

But the Death of her consort Prince George before the end of that year was a most sensible grief to her, and in the opinion of many, the source of her declining fame and glory; which however did not yet begin. But whoever confiders what attempt was made in the beginning of this year



to work a change in the ministry; and that secretary Harley with the heifer he ploughed with was at the bottom of it, they will find it was the firmness of the Duke of Marlborough that kept in the **Lord Treasurer Godolphin (left)** and his friends, and the Tories out, and no advice of the prince, nor inclinations of the Queen.

It is certain the Prince had an aversion to the Lords Somers, Orford, Wharton, and other Whig Lords, who were both sedulous and zealous from time to time in representing mismanagement in the admiralty, and that they came not into play till after his death: though the majority of both houses of parliament, and the ministry had been Whiggish a good while before.

Now it was that the French monarch thought it high time to sue to the Queen and her allies or a peace; and these her ministers knew his artifices so well, that they would tie him down by such preliminaries as to the evacuation of Spain by his grandson to the house of Austria, and the surrender of such strong places before the conclusion of a general treaty of peace, that he could not possibly recede from it.

But that Prince refusing to ratify what his Ministers had agreed to, the Queen's Captain General acquired new laurels in the reduction of Tournay, the victory of Blaregnies, and recovery of Mons.

But the winning of great and almost impregnable towns and glorious victories over the avowed enemy of England, and the protector of the competitor to the crown, became now most despicable things in comparison of the pretended danger of the Church; which but a few years before she had declared to be out of danger, and express her resentments that any should think it to be so during her administration.

A great many people vainly imagined that the great change which happened in 1710, was owing to the incendiary Sacheverel; but it was much more owing to the lady's own inclinations and choice, and would have been effected, if that sermon at St. Paul's had never been preached, or the author prosecuted and convicted of high crimes and misdemeanours.

Now it was that she courted her own declension in good earnest, and took that to redound to her glory, which became the reproach of her reign. My Lord Treasurer Godolphin, in his letter to her from Newmarket, of the 15th of April, told her very plainly, that she suffered herself to be guided to her own ruin and destruction, as fast as it was possible for them to compass it, to whom she seemed so much to hearken. Then having expressed his concern that she should resolve to make the Duke of Lord Chamberlain, who had declined a considerable post in the beginning of her reign, for reasons then given, that did not recommend him now much to her service; he said it was his business to let her see things as they really were; and to bring him into her service and her business at that time, just after his being in public open conjunction in every vote with the whole body of the Tories, and in private constant correspondence and caballing with Harley in every thing, what consequence could that possibly have, but to make every man that was in her cabinet uneasy, and run from it as they would do from the plague?

He left it to her to judge, what effect that entire change of her ministry would have among her allies abroad, and how that war would be like to be carried on, in their opinion, by those who had all along opposed and obstructed it; and would like any peace better, the more it left France at liberty to take their time of imposing the pretender upon her Kingdoms.



Then having expressed his apprehensions lest the Dutch should run into a separate peace with France, whereas indeed the event shewed it was the Queen and her new ministry, with Harley, afterwards created **Earl of Oxford, Lord Treasurer (left)**, and Knight of the Garter, at the head of them, that broke a hundred treaties at once, entered into secret measures with France, and at last forced the Dutch into a peace without their other allies; he added, it would make her Majesty lose all the honour and reputation her arms had acquired by the war, and made the Kingdom lose all the fruit of that vast expense which they had been at in that war, as well as all the advantage and safety which they had so much need of, and had so fair a prospect of obtaining by it.

Nothing under the heavens can be truer, than that we lost the reputation of our arms by it; nay, the Tories were so far from allowing we had acquired any, that they ridiculed the successes of the following campaign, in taking the strong Towns of Doway and Bethune from the enemy, giving them no other appellations than knocking men's brains out against stone walls.

And though the Duke of Marlborough, in the Campaign of 1711. outdid even himself, in the stratagem of passing the French lines without the loss of a man, formed the siege of **Bou-chain**, and carried it on and finished it with unexampled conduct, diligence and difficulty; by the taking of which a passage was opened into old France; the conquered town was called a pigeon hole, and all the actions of that great man vilified to the last degree.

Then as to the fruits the Kingdom was to receive for the vast expense we had been at, the peace put us in most respects upon a worse foot than we were in reference to our commerce before the war; and we mull have been ruined this way, had not his present majesty, by wise management and great interest, procured us more advantageous terms by new treaties and alliances.

I shall take the freedom to add a few lines more out of this excellent letter of his lordship in these words:—

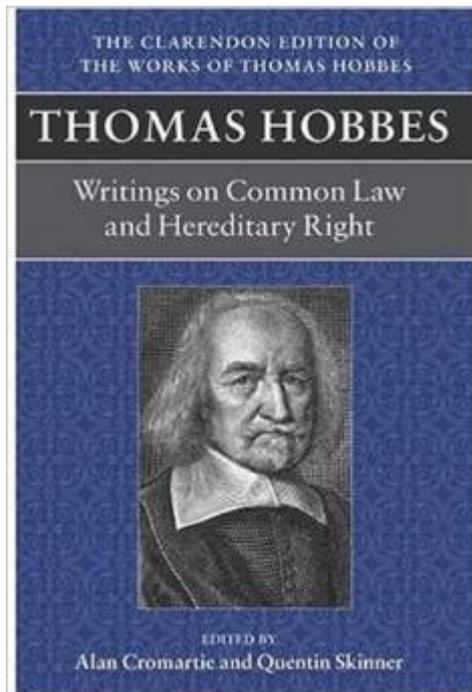
“Can anybody imagine that after so great a disappointment to the Kingdoms, there will not be an enquiry into the causes of it, and who have been the occasion of so great a change in your majesty's measures and councils, which had been so long successful, and gotten you so great a name in the world? I am very much afraid your majesty will and, when it is too late, that it will be a difficult task for any body to stand against such an enquiry.”

And so in all probability it would have been, if the Queen, now so unlike Elizabeth, whose motto she had assumed, that was of sparing of her honours, had not before the end of the year 1711. created twelve new peers at once in time of parliament, in violation of that part of the legislature, and to put a negative upon the House of Lords, who were resolved to examine prior about his negotiations in France; upon which the prime minister would have found it very difficult to escape the tower, and by this means the whole scheme might have been unravelled and spoiled.

But though justice to this very time has had leaden heels, the time may approach when she shall make use of iron hands, to the confusion of those who had laid the foundation of our ruin; which had it not been for the interposition of the divine providence, in timorously bringing his present majesty to the throne, had been before this time completed.

Those who had the easiest access to the rolls, to the paper office, and to the libraries of public ministers, were the author of an ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, chiefly of England, in two volumes in folio, and a professed non-juror; and another, of the hereditary right of the crown of England asserted, by a gentleman, folio.

These two performances were calculated the most of all others to (often popery, and to bring in the pretender, and consequently tyranny in Church and state; and therefore managed in a way suitable to those designs, with the utmost air of authority, and yet with the turn off prejudice and party-study.



How this Queen stood affected to the principles of the *Hereditary Right Book* (left), is manifest by the reception she gave it; it being an uncontested truth, that one of the first presents made of it, and splendidly bound, was to her own person at Windsor, by the very gentleman, Mr. Nelson, who was supposed to have the greatest hand in it; a gentleman who never took the oaths to her, who a little before would not have gone to the chapel with her, and by principle could never pray for her: and yet that gentleman upon, and after the publication of that book, had frequent accesses to the Royal closet and by his own application and Interest obtained a hasty discharge of great part of the penalty inflicted by law on a nonjuring divine, for transmitting those papers to the press, correcting the sheets, and being found guilty of printing and publishing them.

It's not unworthy of observation though this Queen upon her accession to the throne, first allured the Council, and then the parliament, which had been called by King William, and was a Whiggish one, that she would maintain the succession in the protestant line; that in the next called by herself soon after which was Toryish, there was not a syllable said by her from the throne about it in the several sessions they made, till the dissolution of them in 1705.

In the next, which was Whiggish, *The Regency Act* was made for better securing the Hanover succession; and after this there was scarce a speech of hers in any session of parliament, whether high or low, but something or other came from her touching the same succession; and other laws were likewise made in favour of it: but how far her words; and if not hers, her ministers actions, concurred with these laws and professions, is manifest to all the world.

If we consider the reception of a medal of the pretender's from a popish Duchess, and the depositing of it with ceremony among their rarities by the faculty of advocates in Scotland with impunity, the slight put upon the Hanover envoy's memorial about a peace in agitation, the prosecution of those that printed it, and other circumstances; if we consider the indignities offered to the minister of the first crowned head in Europe, the desertion of our allies by the separation of the army under the Duke of Ormond, which was the occasions of knocking on the head and drowning thousands of brave fellows at Denain all our underhand treating with France, and making the first overtures of the advantageous terms granted to France, fixing the duke of Anjou upon the throne of Spain, the precariousness of the renunciations, the disadvantages and fallaciousness of the treaty of Utrecht, the exile of the duke of Marlborough, depressions of the dissenters, and a hundred particulars more, which need not be enumerated here.

Nobody ever doubted but the negotiation of the Abbot Gaultier in England was on the account of the Pretender, and that his reception was exceeding favourable; nay, the Bishop of Bristol was so ingenuous in this respect, that giving an account of a conversation with some ministers of the

allies, he said Monsieur Consruck took it for granted, the great design of our management was to bring in the Pretender.

It cannot be forgot what weight was said in removing that person out of France, and then from Lorain; it was what the nation expected, and what the Queen declared should be the security of the Protestant succession; the Parliament addressed for it, and the Queen answered, she would repeat her instances on that head.



The House of Lords relented the duke of Lorain's protecting him, contrary to the Queen's approbation; but his residing there plainly appeared to have been not only by the approbation, but even the direction of her ministry: and must not this be construed to be her own act? Is there anybody after all this can well doubt of the pretender's being afterwards incognito with the Duke d'Aumont in **Somerset House (left)?**

Can there be a greater proof of her favourable dispositions towards him, than what he said himself in his declaration after her decease, in these words; Yet contrary to our expectations, upon the death of the princess our sister, of whose good intentions towards us we could not for some time past well doubt, (and this was the reason we then sat still, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death) we found that our people had proclaimed a foreign prince to our prejudice, contrary so the fundamental laws of hereditary right, which their pretended flits of settlement can never abrogate.

I desire to know what the expectation of the good effects of the Queen's intentions towards him could mean, but either the resignation of the crown to him in her life time or so to secure the succession to him, that he could not well miss of it after her death, had she lived but a little longer to establish it?

Can any body believe after all this, that she had not some time before writ a letter of kindness to the Pretender in Lorain, the particulars of which indeed have not yet appeared, but may in due time? Mr. Charles Bernard, serjeant surgeon to her person, who had an opportunity frequently to converse with her, being some years before her exit asked by a friend of his and mine, whether she believed the Pretender to be her brother, swore by G_____ she did to, his knowledge.

The Lord G_____, often owned to his intimates the difficulties he had to keep her steady to the Protestant succession; and that it's likely was the main reason of his being displaced, to make room for others more disposed to comply with her inclinations in this respect. When any of us, in the latter part of her reign, expressed our apprehensions to our Tory acquaintance, that things tended to the bringing in of the Pretender, they usually made very slight of it, and treated our notions with contempt; but we have seen almost all of them since, to our sorrow, become either active or passive Jacobites.

The reason why the popish party drove on so furiously in her father King James's time, arose from a confederation of his advanced age, and the apprehensions they had lest death should overtake him before they could accomplish their designs in the overthrow of our religion and liberties.

But now it was not so much the age, as it was the declining state of his daughter's health, that excited the conspirators Jehu-like to act the same part. The fits she had at Christmas at Windsor in 1713. were so severe, as gave them most terrible alarms; but though she in part weathered that illness, the so far lost her complexion, that thenceforwards she painted to disguise it.

But nothing being able long to repair the craziness of her constitution, this, together with the struggle made by the friends of the House of Hanover to assert and make good its right to the succession, but more especially the variance which arose between her ministers, so wrought upon the weakness of her mind, as well as the ill habit of her body, that about the end of July, viz. Thursday 29. being seized with fresh fits, she languished till the morning of August 1. and then being not a little neglected, departed this Life, unsuspected of any violence offered to her, at Kensington, in the 50th Year of her Age, and 13th of her reign. It was the day on which the Schism Act was to take place; and she was buried at Westminster on that commonly called black Bartholomew, upon which her uncle King Charles the second turned two thousand pious ministers out of their livings.

Her death put a final period to the reigns and Royal name of the Stuarts, after they had governed Scotland 331 years, and Great Britain, including the interregnum from the death of Charles I to the restoration of Charles II. but exclusive of the reign of William III of the House of Nassau, near 100 years.

The vault wherein her body was deposited, and in which those of King Charles II Queen Mary, King William III. and Prince George of Denmark were buried, was closed up with brick, there being no more room left or any other to lie there.



Queen Anne Signs The Acts of Union which Took Effect on 1 May 1707

**On this date, the Scottish Parliament and the English Parliament united to form the
Parliament of Great Britain,**





DAVIDJAMESBOSTON.COM

AUDIO RESTORATION
VIDEO RESTORATION
PHOTOSHOP DESIGN



MY 15TH ALBUM
AVAILABLE NOW
DEDICATED TO YAHWEH



The Story Of Gog
And Magog

Parts One to Twelve

From Attila to The New World
Order

The series on Gog & Magog is now in video format, thanks to the work of David James (see his advert on top of this page) and can be viewed on You Tube at:

<https://www.youtube.com/user/SuperElectricChannel/videos>



**THE NEW CHRISTIAN CRUSADE
CHURCH**

CALLING THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN

At last the bible makes sense!

At last we know its meaning.

Its the book of the RACE

**"For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the
Word of the Lord from Jerusalem"
(Isaiah 2:3)."**

