

MEMOIRS
OF HIS OWN LIFE AND TIMES

BY SIR JAMES TURNER.

M.DC.XXXII.—M.DC.LXX.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

PRINTED AT EDINBURGH.

M.DCCC.XXIX.

AT A MEETING of the COMMITTEE of MANAGEMENT
of the BANNATYNE CLUB, held at Edinburgh, on
the 11th day of June, 1828.

IT having been stated to the Meeting by the Vice-President, that
"THE MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER," from an original Ma-
nuscript in the possession of David Constable, Esq. Advocate, were
in preparation for the press, it was

RESOLVED, That One Hundred Copies of the Work should be
purchased for the use of the Club.

DAVID LAING, *Secretary.*

THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

M.DCCC.XXIX.

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The biggest Dimacoria, which kept out most
enough, till we storm'd a trench they had at the foot of the
hill, wherby they command'd the Stripod of water, that would
take. In the assault forty of them were put to the sword, we
left five or six, with Arziled Major. After this, Inexorable
Christ made them define a parole; I was order'd to speak with
them, whether could the Lt General be mov'd to grant any other
conditions, then that they should yield on D. Loubin, or Mercy. And
I found strange to me to hear the Lt General'd mis-differ-
ence, that they should yield themselves to the Kingdome's Mer-
cy, and not to his: At length they did so, and after they were
com'd out of the Castle, they were sent to the sword, as some
Method say, except one young man Mackont, as he's life
I beg'd to be sent to France with a kind of country fellow, whom
we had smelt out of a cave, as they were for Job. Who were given
to Captaine-Cambell, the Chancellors Brother.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE work here given, under the title of MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER, has been extracted from a volume of Discourses on various subjects of Philosophy and Literature, in the hand-writing of the author, compiled at different periods of his life ; and with the different portions of which he has connected a history of himself, down to the date of the manuscript in the year 1670. The relation of these biographical portions of the volume to its other contents, will best appear from a short analysis of the whole, which is subjoined to this Preface ; and on the part of the Editor it may be enough to add, that no liberty of the slightest kind has been taken with the author's composition, beyond that of separating these historical parts from the larger mass, and arranging them as a continuous narrative.

The hand-writing of Sir James Turner is sufficiently well known to place the genuineness of this manuscript beyond the possibility of a doubt ; and of its fate subsequently to the author's death, some slight

notices have been preserved. He was survived by his wife, to whose worth so many affectionate tributes are paid in these Memoirs; and after his death, Lady Turner resided in the family of Lieutenant Richard Turnbull, of the Scots Dragoons, (whose wife was probably her near relation,) first in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, afterwards in the Island of Arran, at the White House of Lamlash, where she died, as is supposed, about the year 1716. To Mr and Mrs Turnbull, she is reported to have left a considerable sum of money, and other valuable property; and, in particular, there can be no doubt that they retained the possession of Sir James Turner's manuscripts.

These papers did not escape the notice and inquiries of the indefatigable Mr Robert Wodrow; and, in the valuable collection of his Correspondence, lately purchased by the Curators of the Advocates' Library, there are several letters on the subject, addressed to him by the Rev. James Boes, minister of Campbeltown. On the 8th of July, 1723, Mr Boes writes,—“I have caus'd enquiry at Mr Turnbull anent Sir James Turner's Memoirs, and find he has them, but is not willing to part with them, being, as he says, pre-ingadg'd to the D. of Hamiltone not to part with them till he see them. I shall deall with the Arran ministers to use their interest with him for a sight of them, under what security he shall demand; and if so, ye shall have an account of them one way or other.” Again, on the 4th of February, 1724, Mr Boes reports to his correspondent as follows:—“I desired Mr Stuart, [minister of Kilbride,] in Arran, to procure a copy of Sir

Ja. Turner's manuscript, and particularly intreated him, which he promised to do. The person Turnbull who has it, tho' otherwise a discreet man, yet is at the heart strongly prelatical, and a Jacobite, as is his wife. However, if it can be procured, doubt not of its being sent to you." These attempts had proved unsuccessful; and, in answer to a letter from Mr Wodrow, March 2, 1724, "praying the continuance of his endeavours to get a loan of Sir James Turner's papers from Mr Turnbull, if he would not part with them," Mr Boes writes, on 3d of November, 1724,—“I have done all I could, both here and in Arran, to procure that manuscript of Sir Ja. Turner, but without successe. Mr Turnbull is dead, and his relict, who is but ill affected to our interest, refuses to part with it, saying, she knows not where it is. However, if I can possibly procure it, ye shall have at least a copy, tho' I'm told by such as perused it, that it contains but a narrative of what he did there, with his orders, and reflections on what he calls the stiff humor, and obstinat refractory temper of the people oppressed and persecuted by him, which was all he had to say in his own justification.”

After Mrs Turnbull's death, her effects passed into the possession of her nephew, William Wilson, a person of respectability in the island of Arran, who probably allowed the papers, so eagerly sought after by Wodrow, to remain undisturbed and uncared for. At the sale of his furniture, after his death in 1767, a strong box of nice and curious construction happened to attract the attention of Mr John Stuart, son of

the Rev. Gershom Stuart, minister of Kilbride, and grandson of the Rev. James Stewart, mentioned in Wodrow's Correspondence, then a youth of thirteen years old, and afterwards his father's successor. His importunities prevailed on his mother to purchase this box ; and on examining it, young Stuart discovered the manuscript in question, together with a considerable number of letters addressed to Sir James Turner; all of which, though perfectly legible, had suffered great injury from damp. When he afterwards went to College at Glasgow, he carried this manuscript with him, and placed it in the hands of Robert and Andrew Foulis, the celebrated printers of that University, with permission to print such parts of it as they might think fit. This, however, was declined, and the manuscript remained in the possession of Mr Stuart till about twenty years ago, when it was brought into notice by the publication of a few extracts in a provincial newspaper. It passed afterwards into the hands of a bookseller at Greenock, from whom, it is believed, it was purchased about ten years ago, by the late Mr Archibald Constable, whose intention it certainly was to have published the historical portions of the volume. The manuscript is now the property of David Constable, Esq. advocate ; and with his permission the present edition of these Memoirs has been prepared.

To the Memoirs are here added, in an Appendix, the Letters addressed to Sir James Turner, found in his strong-box or cabinet ; which, although not perhaps of very deep historical importance, throw some

scattered lights on the course of his life for several years after his removal from military employment, and will be found to exhibit some amiable contrasts to those darker impressions of his character, which have been too deeply, and, it is to be feared, too justly stamped on the contemporary history of his age, ever to be effaced.

At every period of his life, Sir James Turner appears to have been much addicted to literary composition. Besides his printed works, of which "*Pallas Armata*,—Essays on the Art of War," is the most considerable, he left various manuscripts; but among these, little of any value as a fit addition to this historical work has been found, excepting a few remarks on Bishop Guthry's Memoirs. These are valuable, as the testimony, in most instances, of an eye-witness, and have been, accordingly, introduced into the Appendix to this volume, printed from the original manuscript in the Advocates' Library.

In the same Library there is preserved a copy of another work, entitled "Buchanan Revis'd; or, Animadversions on the Historie of Scotland, and a Dialogue *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, both write "by Mr George Buchanan." This work is in its nature controversial, and intended to counteract the anti-monarchical principles of the writings which he undertakes to criticise; but in the Introduction, Sir James Turner has given some few additional notices of himself, which it has been thought worth while to quote in the Appendix.

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APPENDIX.

I. ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPT FROM WHICH
SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS HAVE BEEN EXTRACTED.

- P. 1. "*The Introduction to these Discourses, wherein are contained the most remarkable Passages of my Life, till my releasment out of Prison at Hull, in the Year 1649.*"
- P. 68. The following ESSAYS or DISCOURSES, are of—(1) DUTIES OF SOVERAIGNS AND SUBJECTS.—(2) THE SUPREME POUER IN ALL REPUPLICKS.—(3) MONARCHIE.—(4) ARISTOCRACIE.—(5) DEMOCRACIE.—(6) ORATORS AND PREACHERS.—(7) MAGICKS.—(8) THE JEWS CABALE.—(9) FRIENDSHIP.—(10) EXTERNALL EVILLS AND MISFORTUNES.—(11) IMPRISONMENT.—(12) ANGER.—(13) REVENGE.—(14) DUELLS.—(15) CRUELTY.
- P. 192. A Letter from Don Francisco of Quevedo to Philander of Sitmald, who wrote the Continuation of Quevedos Visions. Concerning some Discourses which passed in the Infernall Court betweene the late Vsurper Oliver Cromwell, the late Chancellor of Sweden, Axell Oxesterne, and the Lord Wilienstrome. Sent by the Post of Hell. In yeare 1659. Englished out of the Hie Dutche.
- P. 230. A Defence of some Ceremonies of the English Liturgie—to wit :
Bowling at the name of Jesus.
The frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer, and good Lord deliver us.
Of the Doxologie.
Of Surplusses, Rotchets, and Canonick Coats.
- P. 271. "*A full Narration of the Insurrection in Scotland towards the latter end of the Yeare 1666, and of my Misfortunes following thereupon.*"

P. 272. "In the Introduction are contained the remarkable Passages of my Life, from my releasment out of Prison at Hull, in 8^{ber} 1649 till 9^{ber} 1663. The rest are narrated in the Narration till the Year of God 1670."

P. 308. *The Narration.*

P. 387. The Concometancie of Joy and Griefe. (*in verse.*)

P. 389. Two Heroicall Epistles, supposed to haue beene writ by Mahomet the Great and Irene, the faire Greeke.

Composed before I was ane and twentie yeares of age.

P. 403. End of the two Epistles.

P. 404. Ane Elegie on the Death of the Earle of Lothian. Designed by William Douglas of Tofts

"The Argument.—It wants but a few yeares of halfe ane age since the Earle of Lothian's death made a great noyse in the world: The strange manner of it furnishing matter of strange discourses to people of all rankes and qualities. He was a person of a great spirit, endued with excellent parts. He had seene the most renoued places of Europe. Naturally curious he was, which perhaps made him studie Astrologie. He made choyce of William Douglas of Tofts to be his freend, his confident, and his *alter ego*. This was a gentleman of a good spirit, generous, and learned *in omni scibili*, especially in the Mathematickes, wherein he had attained to so great a perfection, that he had no equal in his oune countrey, perhaps few in Christendome. As intimate as he was with the Earle, it is cleare enough, by his oune complaints, that he was not entrusted with the secret of his death. He either finish'd, or intended to finish, the composition of ane Elegie on this sad subject. In the yeare 1662, I fortun'd to be in the Mers, wher I gave a visite to Archbald Douglas of Lumsden, brother to this Tofts, where he shew me this peece, pitifullie torne, mutilated, defective in most places, and writ with a very bad orthographie. He and I having long befor contracted a strict enough friendship in Germanie, he prayed me to look on it, and to take a litle paines to reduce it to some good order, at least to make it intelligible,

for the memory of his noble brother who design'd it. And certainly the original wanted his last hand to it, or that copie which his brother gave me was exceedingly imperfite. I tooke it with me to Edinburgh; foure days I spent before I could get it red, and foure more before I could vnderstand or guesse at the scope of it. At length I put it in that garbe in which it is now to be seene, and sent it to my friend."

P. 429. MISCELLANIES written at several times for DIVERTISEMENT.—THE PREFACE.
 —FRANCESCO PETRARCHA.—EDWARD THE THIRD, KING OF ENGLAND.
 —PHILIP THE SECOND, KING OF SPAIN.—LUCRETIA ROMANA.—LUCRETIA BORGIA.—LUCRETIA MARINELLA.—ORLANDO.—ENHARD and IMA, [i. e. EGINHARD and EMMA.]—JULIUS SCALIGER.—MARY STEUART, QUEEN OF SCOTS.—RAYMUNDUS LULLUS.—THE STRANGE EVENT OF A DISPUTE IN RELIGION.—CARDINAL MAZARINE.—THE KING'S EVILL.—WALLENSTEIN, DUKE OF FRIEDLAND.—GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAME.—MARY TOUTHER, QUEENE OF ENGLAND.—CHARLES GUSTAVE, KING OF SWEDEN.—CHRISTINA, QUEENE OF SWEDEN.

END.

II. EXTRACT FROM THE INTRODUCTION TO "BUCHANAN
REVISED," &c.

" I BEGAN to write these papers which follow, in the year of God 1643, in Ireland, but made no great progresse in them, being otherwayes imployed there, and afterwards in Scotland and England : Bot fyve years after that, being prisoner in Hull, in England, from September 1648, till November 1649, I had leasure and opportunitie enough to write ; and such was the civilitie of Colonell Overtoun, then governour of that towne, that he permitted the stationers to furnish me with any books I call'd for, the peruseall whereof I had at an easie rate per week ; nor did he hinder me to write any thing my fancie led me to ; and when I had gott my libertie mostly procur'd by him, he suffered not any of my papers to be search'd, though in severalls of them I had write my opinions very freely of the King's murther, and that of James Duke of Hamilton, and of the change of monarchy in a pretended commonwealth. There it was that I finish'd all I intended to say of Buchanans writings ; but my papers were all taken and destroyed by the Cromuelians, in the year 1651, when Dundee was taken, sack'd, and plundered by Generall Monck, who liv'd to doe more acceptable service to God and his Prince, and all the three kingdomes. I had car'd the lesse for the destruction of these papers, if I had not lost better moveables ; bless'd be God for his mercy in saving my wife from being kill'd by these furious plunderers. Four years after that, in the year 1655, I found myself in good enough leasure in Bremen, a towne in Germanie, to resume my former labour, which encouraged me to write over most of what I had said before on that subject ; and in the year 1659, I finished them at the Hagg, in Holland. All these papers lay by me almost in loose sheets, till the year 1669, a year after I had laid down my commissions, and then I had leisure more then enough to write them over in mundo ; and indeid they have lyen ever since in parcells by me, till in this year 1679, I was mov'd by a very accidentall emergencie, to cause bind them together in one book, as now you see them."

MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER;

PART FIRST,

WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED

THE MOST REMARKABLE PASSAGES OF HIS LIFE

TILL HIS RELEASEMENT OUT OF PRISON

AT HULL IN THE YEAR 1649.



SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS.

I WAS not seventeene yeares old when I left the schooles, where haveing lightlie passed thorough that courfe of philosophie which is ordinarlie taught in the univerfities of Scotland, I was commanded by my father and grandfather to commence Mafter of Arts at Glafgow, much againft my will, as never intending to make ufe of that title which undefervedlie was beftowed upon me, as it was on many others before me, and hath beene on too many fince. I stayd a yeare after with my father at Dalkeith, applying myfelfe to the ftudie of humane letters and hiftorie, in bothe which I allways tooke delight. I did reade alfo the controverfies of religion betweene us and the Roman Catholickes, (for the Prefbyterians at that time made litle or no noyfe,) wherby I might be enabled to difcern the truth of the Proteftant perfuafion and the fallacies of the Popifh one or any other, that fo I might not, in traverfing the world, be carried away with everie wind of doctrine. Bot before I attaind to the eighteenth yeare of my age, a reftles defire enterd my mind, to be, if not an actor, at leaft a fpectator of thefe warrs which at that time made fo much noyfe over all the world, and were managd againft the Roman Emperour and the

Catholicke League in Germanie, under the aufpicious conduct of the thrice famous Guftavus Adolphus, King of Sueden. Sir James Lumfdaine was then levieing a regiment for that service; with him, (my neereft freinds confenting to it,) I engaged to go over enfigney to his brother Robert Lumfdaine, eldest captaine; who fince that time was a generall major, and tuo days before the king was routed at Worcefter, was killed at Dundee, (where he was governour,) in cold blood, ane houre after he had got quarter.

It was about Lambes of the yeare 1632, that we came before El-fennure in Denmark, where we stayd three days, and therafter landed at Roftock in the Dutchie of Mecklenburg; from whence we marched to the Archbifhoprick of Bremen, where, whether with the change of aire or dyet, or by eating too much fruit, (wherof I faw that countrey abound more than my oune,) or all three, I fell grievouflic ficke. My fever keepd me fixe weeks, and by that time I was able to walke abroad, we were fent to reduce some obftinate countries to order, and force them to fubmit to the Suedifh yoake. This provd a hard and fevere winter to me and all of us, who knew not before what it was not to have tuo or three meals aday, and goe to bed at a feafonable houre at night.

The King of Suedens victories had carried him fo far up in Germanie, that we never came to fee him. At the time of our arriveall, his fortune beganne to decline; for at Nuremberg, trufting to that prodigious fucceffe which had attended all his former undertakeings, he fformed a well fortified campe entrenched on a hill, in which were tuo armies; the Imperiall under Wallenftein; and that of the League under the Elector of Bavaria. As this was a rash, fo it proved an unfor-

tunate; for beaten he was with the losse of neere foure thousand killed on the place, among whom were many brave and gentlemen. Neere fixe thousand wounded, so that all the hospitalls and lazarettos of Nuremberg were sufficientlie filld. Nixt November, this magnanimous king, endeavouring to save the Duke of Saxe his lands from the same Wallenstein, losd his life at the battel of Lutfen, which notwithstanding was wonne by the conduct and valour of Bernard Duke of Weimar. In Februaire 1633, a strong and veterane armie of the Sueds came to the Lower Germanie, under the command of George Duke of Brunfwick and Luneburg as generall, and Dodo Baron of Kniphausen as felt marshall, with which joynd Lumfdains Scots regiment, and one English one under the fame Colonell Ashton who was killed at Tradaff or Drogheda in Ireland, where he was governor, where all were put to the fuord by Cromwell in the yeare 1649.

With this armie I had a lamentable cold, wet and rainie march, till we layd siege to the strong toune of Hammelln, which held out, with the destruction of multitudes of our men, till the 28th of June, and till the two earles Merod and Grünfield, both Imperiall generalls, came with an armie of 20,000 men to relieve it. We broke up, and met them foure English miles from thence, and fought them. This was a battell wherin so much blood was shed, as was enough to flesh such novices as I was. We gained the victorie, which was a great one to be gained with so little losse on our side. Neere nine thousand of the Imperialists were killd in the place, three thousand taken, with eightene canon, and above eightie standards and collors. The toune yelded thereafter on articles. After this battell, I saw a great many killd in cold blood

by the Finns, who professe to give no quarter. The whole time of this siege, my best entertainment was bread and water, abundance of the last, but not so of the first; but this proceeded from want of money, for the leager was plentiful enough. The rest of this summer, next harvest and next winter, I was at the sieges of severall towns and castles, and at many brushes, encounters and; and all the time sufferd exceeding great want of both meate and clothes, being necessitated to ly constantly in the fields with little or no shelter, to march allways a foot, and drinke water; so that then I could verifie that which I had so often heard at schoole, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*. And indeed I was so hardend with fatigue, that thogh at first I longd to be backe at Scotland, yet being so well inurd to toile, I fullie resolv'd to goe on in that course of life of which I had made choyce, and I thought then I could have livd all my days on a very spare dyet, and without a bed too; so true it is that *Habitus est altera natura*.

In the beginning of the yeare 1634, our English and Scotch regiments, such as they were, came to be quartered at that Oldendorpe neere to which the battell was fought. I was lodged in a widows house, whose daughter, a young widow, had been married to a ritt-master of the Emperors. She was very handsome, wittie and discreet; of her, thogh my former toyle might have banished all love thoughts out of my mind, I became perfitlie enamour'd. Heere we staid fixe weeks, in which time she taught me the Hie Dutch, to reade and write it, which before I could not learne bot very rudlie from sojors. Haveing then the countrey language, I learnd also the fashions and customes of the Germane officers; and about this time was both regiments reduced to tuo companies; tuo captaine lieutenants, and tuo ensigneys, (wherof

I was one, onlie ordaind to stand; all the rest casheerd, and in great necessitie and povertie. The tuo companies were bot badlie used, tossed to and fro, in constant danger of aneemie, and without pay. Bot I had learnd so much cunning, and became so vigilant to lay hold on opportunities, that I wanted for nothing, horses, clothes, meate, nor moneys; and made so good use of what I had learned, that the whole time I servd in Germanie, I sufferd no such miserie as I had done the first yeare and a halfe that I came to it.

It was in this yeare that the Emperors Generalissimo Wallenstein, intending to betray his master, familie and armie, [was put to] death by Gordon and Leslie at Egar in Bohemia, by the way of fact, *per viam facti*, as they call it, because by the way of right, or *de jure*, he was so strong as he could not be proceeded against. The actors were well rewarded by the Emperour, especiallie Leslie. Ferdinand the Second entrusts the conduct of his forces to his sonne the King of Hungarie, who, with the help of the Cardinall Infant, brother to the King of Spaine, gave a total defeate to tuo Suedish armies, under the command of Bernard Duke of Weimar and the Suedish field-marshal Gustave Horne. Sixe thousand or therby, wherof our tuo companies made up some part, were on our march to Nordling, where the battell was fought, to have reinforced the Sueds; and were within a few leagues of Frankford du Mein when we heard of the rout, and so were countermanded to Westphalia. By this one blow the Sueds loofd more ground then they had gaind in a yeare before; and nixt yeare most of the Dutch princes made their peace with the Emperor.

Towards the latter end of this yeare, my fathers death calld me to Scotland to give my mother a visite, where I was forced to stay longer

then I intended; for the frost continued that winter universallie through Europe till the midst of March 1635. In the summer I returned, and being informed at my landing at Bremen, that some officers intended to goe from Hamburg to Persia, I resolvd to make one of that number, and upon that account went thither; where I found many of my countrymen, some English and some Germans, great with child of that expedition, wherein they promis'd themselves more gold then the philosophers stone can afford the alchymists. The matter was this. The Duke of Holstein Gottorff intended to set up a trade with Persia, for silks to be transported from Hircania thorough the Caspian sea, and then up the great river Volga, from thence to Riga, then to Holstein. The Sophi of Persia was contented ane embassador should be sent to treat with him concerning the traffique, but that the embassador should bring with him as many officers as possible he could, to traine the Persian foot, wherein he was farre inferior to the Turke. A number of us were to goe as members of the embassadors household and traine, because the Great Duke of Muscovy, being at peace with the Grand Seigneur, would not suffer us to goe otherwise; but the Ruffe hearing the designe, wrote to the Duke that he would not suffer his envoy to passe with such followers. After I had spent some of my moneys at Hamburg, and got a promise of the directors of that expedition, that roome should be kept for me if the voyage went on, I went to Osnaburg, where my colonell Sir James Lumisdaine was governour. The Persian expedition was bloune up by the perfidie of the Dukes embassador, who reveald the whole plot to the Turke; for which he had his head strucke off at his return from Persia, having deservd a more ignominious death. At my arrival at Lumsdaines garrison, I found my place was disposed to ane other, which

I lookd upon as no fair play, being done contrare to promise. I was forced to stay there. Sir James going away, and the Imperialists prevailing every where, Osnaburg is blockd up by the Marques of Grana. This blockado was coufine german to a feege; in the time wherof I came againe in employment.

Nixt summer the Sueds prevailed; old Leslie is made our fieldmarshall, (Knipphausen being killd,) and King his lieutenant generall; they beate away the Marques, who besiegd us in Osnaburg, joyns with the Landtgrave of Hessen, and with joynt forces beates Lamboy and some other of the Emperors generalls, who had besiegd the strong towne of Hanaw two yeares, and put fresh provision in it. Heere was Sir James Ramsay governour. After this Leslie joynes with Banier, and both of them fought with the Duke of Saxe, and ane Imperiall armie at Woodstocke, where they gaind a compleate victorie.

In the yeare 1637, I went with some commanded men, with Lieutenant Generall King, into the land of Hessen, to assist the Landgrave to beate some Imperiall regiments out of his territories, who indeed were making havocke of all among his poore subjects. Upon our approach they retired; but though we were two to one against them at least, and that Bigod, who commanded them, made a stand at Eschvegen, yet did we retire in great haste, though in good enough order, back to Cassels the Landgraves residence and capitall citie, and left the poor countrey to the mercy of ane enraged enemy, who had order by fire and sword to force the Landgrave to accept of the peace of Prague. Neither did Bigod spare to burn three faire townes, Eschvegen, Olendorpe and Vitsenhafen before our eyes. A mournfull sight it was, to see the whole people follow us, and climb the two high rockes which flanked us. Old

and young left their houses, by the losse of them and their goods to save their lives. Aged men and women, many above fourscore, most lame or blind, supported by their sonnes, daughters and grandchildren, who themselves carried their little ones on their backs, was a ruthfull object of pitie to any tender hearted Christian, and did shew us with what dreadfull countenance that bloodie monster of warre can appear in the world. Neither did our feare, (which often masks itself with reason of state, as then it did,) permit us to make any stay at Cassels, but poufd us with some haste to Westphalia. As we passd by a litle toun called Brokle, where lay ane Imperiall garrison, a great many of them had fallied out, lind the hedges and annoyd the Hessich, who that day had the vant; which when King saw, he commanded this Sir Edward Bret and me, with each of us fiftie musketeers, to beate them in; which we did, with a great losse to them, and of three or four of our oune men. Therafter finding no enemie in the field to oppose us, the Landgrave and King besieged the litle bot indeed strong toun of Vecht, in which was Luterfam, the Elector of Collens lieutenant generall. This siege we plyd so brisklie, that within eight days it yeilded on articles. From thence we runne to the siege of Furstanaw, which, when we had invested, the Landgrave, by the tolleration, perhaps advice, of the estates of Holland, broke up with his armie and marched into East Freezland, where nixt winter he dyed. Bot his armie, under the command of Lieutenant Generall Melander, quarterd there tuo yeares at least; wher they made themselves so strong, that therewith the brave Princesse Emilia, Landgraves, in the minoritie of her pupill sonne, of whom she was Regent, did these feates in opposition to the Emperor Ferdinand the Third, as hath made herselfe famous to the world, and much

enlargd the territories of that protestant prince. After this separation, Lieutenant Generall King was forced to breake vp the siege, and put his litle armie in guarrison. Nixt yeare he joynd at Statlone, in the bishoprick of Munster, with Prince Palatine, and besiegd Lemgo ; but the suddenn approach of Count Hatffeld with ane Imperiall armie obligd them to get them gone ; bot was overtaken by him neere Vlotho, and there rather shamfullie routed then overthroune, where Prince Rupert and the Lord Craven were taken, with many brave gentlemen more. Nixt spring I fell grievoullie sicke of a tertian, which keepd me full seventeene weekes.

It is not my purpose to relate all the great actions were done in Germanie during my aboade there, that being the subject of ane other storie ; or yet of all the occurrences befell myfelfe, that wold be tedious ; and therefore I shall say, that haveing passd thorough the severall charges of ensigney, lieutenant, captaine lieutenant, and captaine, after I had recovered of my ague, being discontented with my colonell, one Plettemberg a Courlander, for imposing too hard conditions of recruits on me, I tooke my leave of that service in the frontiers of Franconia, and went straight to Scotland, to look for some employment under the Prince Elector, who as I heard, by order of parliament, was to levie ten thousand men in that kingdome. Being arrivd I found indeed a parliament sitting in the yeare 1639, where E. Traquair was commiffioner ; but no word of levies for Germanie, but verie great rumours of civile warrs. I stayd bot one fortnight there. At my return to Germanie nixt winter, I engaged to raise a companie of Germans vnder one Colonell Burgsdorff, who past then vnder the reputation of a brave and honest cavalier ; bot I found he was more obliged to report than he

deserved; for he cheated me shamefullie by giveing up his capitulation, laying the blame on Felt marshall Banier having strengthened his regiment with five and forty men which I had levied on my owne charges, which could cost me no lesse than foure hundreth dollars; so many leviers there were for severall interestts, and so knavish the sojors.

This abuse obligd me to goe to Sueden, to complaine to these who were Administrators dureing the minoritie of Queene Christina. I went in companie with Sir James Lumfdaine, whose regiment I had left foure yeares before, and Colonell David Lesley, since Lord Neuuarke. We shipt at Lubeck, and after a fortnights toyle at sea, we landed at Stokholme the capitall citie of that kingdome; much beautified since with these sumptuous and magnificent palaces which the Suedish generalls have built, as monuments of these riches they acquired in the long German warre. There I saw one of the fairest castles, and of the greatest reception, of anie I ever lookd on, all coverd with copper, of which mettall that kingdome abounds. It stands on a prettie ascending hill from the sea; and under it, for most part, rides the navie royall, composd of great and tall ships, carrying some 50, some 60, some 70, and some eightie brasse guns. The Queene was then about fourteene yeares old, applying herselfe much to learne forreine languages, and to the studie of these sciences, which by the strength of her . . . naturall endowments she soone acquired, which has made her so famous all the world over. Her mother, a beautifull and vertuous princeffe, at this same time when I was at Stokholme, stole away out of Sueden, being necessitated so to doe by the rude entertainment given her by the five Administrators; bot within a few yeares brought backe with honor by her daughter, after she had tane the reines of the government in her

oune hands. Her coufine german, the Palsgrave Charles Gustav, since that time king, and famous enough for the short time of his raigne, was just then returned from his travells in Italie, France, England and Germanie.

I petitiond the Councell, and made my particular application to the renoued Chancellor Oxestern, who, as he had with admirable prudence and successe mannagd the warre in Germanie after the king his masters death, with the title of Director of the Evangelicke League and Plenipotentiarie Legat for Sueden, so I found that in Sueden it selfe, he governed all affaires of state both forreine and domestick. After sixe weeks stayer, they offerd me a letter to Field marshall Banier, to cognosce on the difference betueene Burgfdorff and me. But knowing well enough to what litle purpose I fould make so expensive and dangerous a journey to find out Banier, who in pursueance of his good fortune had enterd Bohemia, I desired my passe, which was granted me, and with it as much money as I suppose I had spent at that Court. Haveing signified my desire to goe to Gottenberg, and there to ship for Scotland, they gave me the Queens passe for free horses, meate and drink by the way; a custome much in use then, and very grievous to the poore countrey men, since justlie abrogated by a law.

I did well perceave the Administrators encouragd all my countrey men to goe home, old Generall Leslie being then to enter England with ane armie; and there is no doubt but that rebellion, whereof he was heade, was fomented by both Sueden and France; the late king in the yeare 1630, haveing made peace with Spaine, so much to the prejudice of the ambitious designes of these tuo crownes. I was no lesse then a fortnight in travelling to Gottemberg, thogh in August 1640; yet it is bot

fiftie Suedifh leagues, each wherof we can compute to be no leffe then fixe Englifh miles at leaft. At my arriveall there, I understood there were tuo fhips lying at Millstrand in Norway, three Suedifh miles from Gottemberg, one ane Englifhman bound for Hull, ane other a Dane bound for Leith.

I had fwallowed without chewing, in Germanie, a very dangerous maxime, which militarie men there too much follow; which was, that fo we ferve our mafter honneftlie, it is no matter what mafter we ferve; fo, without examination of the juftice of the quarrell, or regard of my duetie to either prince or countrey, I refolved to goe with that fhip I firft rencounterd. After tuo days neceffare ftay at Gottenberg, I hired a boat and went away in the evening; we rowed all night, and having pafd tuo Suedifh caftles, about breake of day we came neere Millstrand. Underftanding the wind blew faire for both fhips, I was advifd to ftep out, and goe a foot ftraight thorough the toune to the fhoare, it being the neerer cut, whill the boate went a greater way about with my fervant and coffer. I did fo, and came juft there as the Englifhman was hoyfeing his failes. I afkd him if he wold give me paffage to Hull, (a place I have fince beene too well acquainted with,) who told me he wold with all his heart, provided I wold presentlie ftep in. I befecched him to ftay till my fervant and coffer came, without whom I could not goe; bot no intreatie or prayer could prevaile with the inexorable flipper, for away he flew from me, as ane arrow from a bow. This onlie hinderd me to prefent my endeavors to ferve the King againft the Covenanters. I calld instantlie for the Dane who was bound for Scotland, refolving to ferve either the one or the other without any reluctance of mind; fo deeplie was that bafe maxime rooted in

my heart. The people pointed with their fingers to the ship, which had got a great way out from the shoare, and stayd there for a passenger whom the skipper had promised to carry to Edinburgh. He was ane old man, who at taking his farewell of his friends the night before, had drunke so much that he had slept his time. Immediatlie I clapt in fresh men in my boate, the others being overweariet with rowing, and so came to the ship; neither did the skipper make any scruple to ressave me, thogh at first he conceived his old man was in my companie. To the neglect of this old man, nixt to all ruling providence, may I attribute my goeing at that time to Scotland. On the sixth day after my embarkeing, we saw ourselvs not farre from Aberdeene. I was glad we were so farre north, because I had heard the kings ships were in the firth; bot I was mistaken, for they were gone; and no matter they had been gone sooner, for any good service they did the king there. The skipper set me ashore at a place called the Cove, from thence I hired horses to Edinburgh. This was in the month of September; and Generall Leslie haveing marchd into England, with a numerous armie at the Lambes before, and put my Lord Conway with some of the kings forces to a shamefull retreat at Newburne, had made himself master of Newcastle, and all the Bishoprick of Durham. I found this successe had elevated the minds of my countrey men in generall to such a height of vanitie, that most of them thought, and many said, they would quicklie make a full conquest of England; bot time hath shoune them since that they made their reckoning without their host, for the very contrare fell out.

After a short stay at Edinburgh, I rode straight to Newcastle, where I found all offices and charges of the armie filld up except one, which

was the majors place of my Lord Kirkkubrights regiment, which consisted of the men of Galloway, a place and a people fatal to me. The Earle of Rothes, father to this lord chancellor, professing very great kindnes to me, easlie perswaded the generall to bestow that charge on me; who otherwise bore me bot little good will, for some differences had beene betueene his brother and me in Germanie, where I accus'd him of eleven points of treason; bot the controversie betueene him and me was decided by a canon bullet, which tooke away his heade. In that charge I continued ten months in England, a cessation of armes being everie month renewed betueene the Royalists and Covenanters.

The blacke Parliament of England having strucke of Straffords loyall heade, imprisond the Archbishop of Canterburrie, and frighted all the statemen and courtiers who might oppose them beyond seas, they got the king to passe the bill for trienniall parliaments, and ane other for the present one to sit as long as it pleased. They had no more use for the Scots armie, and therefore after haveing given a brotherlie present of three hundred thousand pounds sterline, (a very kind and loveing compliment,) they sent them home to their oune countrey richer, I suppose, then when they came out of it. All this while I did not take the Nationall Covenant, not because I refused to doe it, for I wold have made no bones to take, sueare and signe it, and observe it too; for I had then a principle; haveing not yet studied a better one, that I wrongd not my conscience in doeing any thing I was commanded to doe by these whom I served. Bot the truth is, it was never offerd to me; everie one thinking it was impossible I could get into any charge, unles I had taken the Covenant either in Scotland or England.

The king, in his passing to Scotland, had viewd the Scots armie as

it lay quarterd in the Bishoprick and Northumberland. When we came home all were disbanded, except three regiments which had not at all bene in England. One was under Major Generall Monro, the second under Colonell Cochran, both which were quarterd neere Edinburgh. The third, consisting of fixe companies of Orkney and Cathnes men, was under my Lord Sinclar, and lay at Aberdeene. The Parliament of Scotland wold needs sit before the king came, for such was their pleasure; and when he came, it did what it pleased; my lord Argile, at that time created Marques, carrying all before him. He got a creature of his oune, and of his oune name, to be chanclor, to the disparagement of a farre honefter man, the Earle of Morton, Argiles oune father in law and benefactor. Heere the king gave way to his parliament to dispose of all offices of state, and of his forts, castles and militia, all of them undoubted prerogatives of the Croune. Ane act of oblivion wold not serve this parliament, for their takeing armes against the king; it must be ane act of justification, which passd with the kings consent. Presbiterian government is heere established, and Episcopacie abrogated by law; the king out of his goodnes granting all they desired, thinking thereby to gaine them; and indeed it was his constant fate and practice to impouer his enemies to doe him more and more mischief. This he felt before tuo yeares went about; and even then he might have seene their wickednes, when they wounded his honor irreparable, by makeing the people beleve he intended either to put Marques Hamilton and Argile aboard one of his ships, and send them prifoners to England, or to assassinate them in his palace of Halyroodhouse; which horrible calumnie these tuo lords seconded, by their counterfeit flight out of Edinburgh to Kinneil.

In the latter end of October 1641, came the lamentable news of the execrable rebellion of Ireland, in which so many thousands of innocent Protestants, both Scots and English, men and women, young and old; were put to cruell deaths by the barbarous and savage Irish. The parliament of England sent over present succours; that of Scotland offers ten regiments of foot, each consisting of one thousand men; to maintaine the Protestant interest in Ireland, bot to be entertained by England. The proffer is accepted, and old Leslie, newly created Earl of Leven, for his successfull rebellion against the king, is appointed to be generall of these 10,000 men, against the rebels in Ireland, who (had they not shed so much blood,) did no more against his majestie, then Leven himselfe had done.

Monro and Cochran are ordaind in the spring to goe over to Craigfergus with their regiments; the first hath a commission to be governour of the towne and castle of Craigfergus, and major generall of the ten regiments; the second is cashierd for offering to be loyall. My Lord Sinclars fixe companies are reduced to foure, and they ordered to go over with Monro, till my lord raised fixe more to make up his regiment compleate. The other seven regiments were to be transported so soone as they were levied. A litle before the report of the rebellion came to Scotland, my Lord Sinclars major dyed, whose place my lord was pleased to bestow on me; a favour (in regard he had then choyce of a hundreth more sufficient) I can never either remember or mention bot with much thankfullnes. His brother was his lieutenant colonell, with whom I staid at Aberdeene some part of that winter, and towards the spring marchd southwards. I found Generall Leven dissatisfied with my Lord Sinclars election of me, pretending his consent should have

been fought; but if it had, I am sure it had never been got, for that Excellence of his was constantly my very heavy friend. We came to the west country in 1642, and lay at Irwine, Aire, and Kilmarnock more than a fortnight, waiting for a fair wind; which making a show to offer itself, Monro embarked at the Largs, Home (who had got Cochran's regiment) at Aire, and we at Irwine. When we were at sea the wind turned contrary, and so all of us met at Lamfash, a secure bay on the coast of the Ile of Arran, where we lay a fortnight, if I remember right; and then the wind again offering to be favorable, one of the king's ships which was with us shooting a warning pece, all weighed anchor, hoysd sail in an evening, and next day were in Craigfergus loch, and landed that night. The English forces that were there, under the Lords Conway and Chichester, marched to Bellfast, leaving Craigfergus free for us. These two regiments, with those of the two Vicounts of Clancarty and Aird, and the two Colonel Steuarts further north, with some few others which afterwards were called, for distinction, the British forces, had preserved all that tract of Ulster which is nearest the sea from destruction; for the wild Irish did not only massacre all whom they could overcome, but burnt towns, villages, castles, churches, and all habitable houses, endeavouring to reduce, as far as their power could reach, all to a confused chaos.

After we had refreshed a little, Major General Monro left seven or eight hundred men in Craigfergus, and went to the field with the rest, among whom was my lieutenant colonel and I; my Lord Conway went along also with near two thousand English. In the woods of Kilwarning we encountered some hundreds of the rebels, who after a short dispute fled. These who were taken got but bad quarter, being

all shot dead. This was too much used by both English and Scots all along in that warre; a thing inhumane and disfavouable, for the crueltie of one enemie cannot excuse the inhumanitie of ane other. And heerin also their revenge overmasterd their discretion, which shoud have taught them to save the lives of these they tooke, that the rebels might doe the like to their prisoners. Then we marchd straight to the Neurie, where the Irish had easilie seizd on his Majesties castle, wherin they found abundance of amunition, which gave them confidence to proclaime their rebellion. The fortification of the toune being bot begunne, it came immediatelie in our hands; bot the rebels that were in the castle keepd it tuo days, and then deliverd it up upon a very ill made accord, or a very ill keepd one; for the nixt day most of them, with many merchands and tradesmen of the toune, who had not beene in the castle, were carried to the bridge and butcherd to death, some by shooting, some by hanging, and some by drowning, without any legall proceffe; and I was verilie informed afterwards, that severall innocent people sufferd. Monro did not at all excuse himselfe from having accession to that carnage, nor coulde he purge himselfe of it; thogh my Lord Conway, as Marshall of Ireland, was the principall actor. Our sojors (who sometimes are cruell, for no other reason bot because mans wicked nature leads him to be so, as I have shoune in my Discourfe of Crueltie) seeing such pranks playd by authoritie at the bridge, thought they might doe as much any where els; and so runne upon a hundreth and fiftie women or thereby, who had got together in a place below the bridge, whom they resolvd to maffacre by killing and drowning; which villanie the sea seemd to favour, it being then flood. Just at that time was I speaking with Monro, bot seeing a fare off what a

game these godles rogues intended to play, I got a horseback and gallopd to them with my pistoll in my hand; bot before I got at them they had dispatchd about a dozen; the rest I savd.

This execution had not the succeffe which Conway and Monro had promisd themselves; for instead of terrifieing the rebells from their wonted cruelties, it intraged them, and occasioned the murthuring of some hundreths of prifoners whom they had in their pouer. Sir Phelomey Oneale, the ringleader of the rebellion, hearing of the losse of the Neurie, in a beaftlie furie burnt the toune of Armagh, where he then was, and as much of the Cathedrall as fire could prevaile over, and then retir'd himselfe to the woods and bogs. This gentleman was not the plotter of this rebellion; that was done by men of soberer heads and deeper judgments; but he was the grand instrument, and appeared first in armes, most treacherouffie pretending his Majesties commiffion for what he did, (wherof the rebells in England and Scotland made good use.) He had counterfeited a warrand under the kings hand, and to the false parchment annexed his Majesties great seale, which was hanging at his great charter, as he confessed afterwards to many perfones of qualitie yet alive, and left it on record at his death; to which he was deservedlie put, by hanging and drawing and quartering, at Dubline, by rebells as wicked as himselfe, bot upon ane other account; for it was Cromwells partie that executed him.

My Lord Conway and Monro plunderd the Neurie, except a very few houses; most of the men that were left alive, Conway forced to carry armes under his oune regiment. This being done, Monro orders the toune and castle to be guarrifoned by my Lord Sinclars regiment, wherof onlie two hundreth were there with the lieutenant colonell

and myfelfe. We complaind, as we had good reafon, to be left in a place which our oune people had made deftitute of all things, bot in vaine. My lieutenant colonell ftayd at the Neurie, haveing got two hundreth commanded men added to his oune, till I fould bring up from Craigfergus as many of the regiment as were comd from Scotland. Accordingly I went thither with the armie; we tooke our march thorough the woodes and mountaines of Morne, where feverall rebells were killd, and many cows taken. I do remember that there we fufferd one of the moft ftormie and tempeftuous nights for haile, raine, cold, and exceffive wind, (thogh it was in the beginning of May) that ever I yet faw. All the tents were in a trice bloune over. It was not poffible for any matche to keepe fire, or any fojor to handle his mufket, or yet to ftand; yea feveralls of them dyed that night of meere cold. So that if the rebells, wherof there were 500 not farre from us, had offerd to beate up our quarters with fuch weapons as they had, which were halfe pikes, fuords and daggers, which they call fkeens, they wold undoubtedlie have had a cheap market of us. Our fojors, and fome of our officers too, (who fuppose that no thing that is more then ordinarie can be the product of nature,) attributed this hurrikan to the devilifh skill of fome Irifh witches; and if that was true, then I am fure their mafter gave us good prooffe that he was reallie prince of the aire.

I found about 500 of my Lord Sinclars regiment latelie arrivd at Craigfergus; thefe I fhipd, and haveing obtained fome wheate from the Major Generall, bot verie fparinglie, and fome leade, wherof we had none at the Neurie, I went aboard; and the wind being faire, nixt morning I caft anchor at Carlingford, where I found that man of warre who

had convoyd us out of Scotland. In the afternoone, I marchd in to the Nêtrie; pitifull quarters we had, and when the rest of the regiment came over, which that summer they did, we found we had not houses for the halfe of them; for we were necessitated to take down a great many houses, to make the circumference of our walls the lesse. Our own preservation taught us to worke almost day and night, till we had finishd the irregular fortification begunne by the rebels. This great fatigue and toile, a very spare dyet, lying on the ground, litle sleêpe, constant watching, Sir Phelemy being for most part allways within a days march of us, all these, I say, added to the change of the aire, made most or rather indeed all our officers and sojors fall seike of Irish agües, fluxes, and other diseases, of which very many dyed. These who recoverd, being inured to hardship and well traind, became excellent sojors and good firemen.

Monro made two more cavalcads that summer, in one wherof my lieutenant colonell was with him with 300 men; in the second, my selfe with the like number. In neither of them did he any memorable action, the rebels not dareing to face him, which made him conceave; because they did not then, that thereafter they neither could nor would. This opinion put him in danger nixt yeare, and four years after occasioned his totall overthrow at Blackwater. In one of these cavalcads, he layd siege to Charlemont, a strong castle, bot broke up a litle too soone, even when there was hopes of a surrender.

About Lambes in this yeare, 1642, came Generall Leven over to Ireland, and with him the Earle of Eglinton, who had one of these ten regiments, my Lord Sinclare, and Hamilton generall of the artillerie, better known by the name of *Deare Sandie*. Great matters were ex-

pected from so famous a captain as Leven was, but he did not anfuere expectation. One cavalcad he made, in which I joynd with him with 300 men, in which I could not see what he intended, or what he proposd to himselfe. Sure I am he returnd to Craigfergus without doing any thing. And the same game he playd over againe at his second march, except that he visited the Neurie; for which we were but litle obligd to him, being forc'd thereby to part with our hay, wine, beere, and breade; of which we were not very well stord. In this yeare beganne that fatall warre betweene the King and his rebellious Parliament, by which, among other bad effects, we fingered no pay the whole time I stayd in Ireland, except for three months.

The officers of this our Scots armie in Ireland finding themselves ill payd, and which was worse, not knowing in the time of the civill warre who should be their paymasters, and reflecting on the successfull issue of the Nationall Covenant of Scotland, bethought themselves of making one also; but they were wise enough to give it ane other name, and therefore christened it a Mutual Assurance; wherby upon the matter they made themselves independent of any except these who would be their actuall and reall paymasters, with whom, for any thing I know, they met not the whole time of the warre. The Generall was very dissatisfied with this bond of union, as he had reason; and at first spoke his language of striking heads off; but the officers sticking close one to another, made these threats vanish in smoake. And indeed it is like, ane active generall (who could have added policie to courage, and divided them,) might have made their union appear in its owne collors, which were even these of blacke mutinie. Bot the Earle of Leven, not being able to overmaster it, got himselfe ane errand to go to Scotland,

and so gave an everlasting adieu to Ireland. The most remarkable thing he did in the time of his stay was, that he tooke 2500lb. sterline to himselfe, which the Parliament of England had sent to the officers of his armie for wagon money. And trulie this Earle, who lived till he past fourscore, was of so good a memorie, that he was never knowne to forget himselfe, nay not in his extreame age. I can not say more of his deportments in Ireland then what my Lord Viscount Moore (who was killd next yeare) said to two of my friends, and it was this; That the Earle of Levens actions made not such a noyse in the world as these of Generall Lesley.

My Lord Sinclair stayd with his regiment in great scarcitie at the Neurie, till the next yeare 1643, and then fell dangerouflie sicke; being recoverd, he returnd to Scotland. In the time of his stay, we fingerd bot litle moneys; and meale so sparinglie as seldome we could allow our sojors above a pound a day; for this reason, whenever we had intelligence where the rebels were with their cows, either my Lieutenant Colonell or I fought them out, with a partie of three or four hundred foot and some horse, in most of which litle expeditions we were successful, bringing in store of cows, with the flesh and milke wherof we much refreshed the decayed bodies and fainting spirits of not onlie our sojors, bot of many of our officers also. Some losse of men sometimes we sufferd, bot seldome; many prisoners we tooke, on whom, if we did not set them at libertie, we bestowed some maintenance, bot made them worke at our fortifications. Not one officer or sojor escaped sickenes, except the Lieutenant Colonell. About Januare 1643, I fell grievouflie sicke of ane Irish ague, which brought me to deaths doore, bot it pleas'd God I recoverd.

In May, if I remember right, of the yeare 1643, Monro tooke the field with 1800 foot and tuo or three troops of horfe. When he came to Kirriotter, seven miles from the Neurie, he wrote to my Lord Sinclair to fend him 300 musketeers, and either his brother or me with them. Bot before this time, Owen Oneale, (who had beene Governor of Arras for the King of Spaine, and defended it gallantlie till he got honorable articles,) was comd to Ireland, and declared generall for Ulster, as Preston, (who had kept out Gennep house against the Prince of Orange) was for Munster. Oneale haveing brought some armes amunition and officers from the Spanish Netherlands, had in a short time reduced many of the natives to a more civill deportment, and to a prettie good understanding of militarie discipline, and at that time was not farre off with a considerable part of ane armie. That night Monros message came to the Neurie, by my Lord Sinclars appointment I rode to him. I found him a bed, and shew him in what good posture Oneale was, which, as he confest, he knew not before; bot it was not in my power to dissuade him from the opinion he had, that the Irish durst not stand and looke to him. After ane houres discourse with him, and the drinking halfe a dozen cups of sacke, I left him and returnd to the Neurie; and immediatly marchd to Armagh, where the Major Generall had appointed me to meet him, which was fixteene miles. I had causd everie one of my sojors carry twelve shot a peece, and had besides on horsbacke a centner of powder, with ball and match; for I had learnd of the Major Generall, that none of his men were provided with more then tuo or three shot; a great fault in a generall, or in any man, to have an overweening opinion of himselfe, and to undervalue his enemy. He gave me the vaun, in regard I had gone farre. We marchd from

Armagh foure miles further into the baronie of Loughgall, a very close countrey full of hedges and ditches. I had told the Major Generall, that undoubtedlie we wold find Oneale before us, and therfor desired that no horse should be permitted to goe before me, in regard they could doe no service in that countrey, but be ane hinderance to the foot. Yet Major Ballantine wold needs march before me ; but at a place called Anachthamrie, which was Generall Oneals oune house, he was shamefullie chased backe upon me, tuo of his horsemen being killd, three hurt, and the rest exceedingly terrified. The roade way being none of the broadest, and ditches on everie side, I was more troubled with these horsemen then I was with the Irish ; but having made way for them as well as I could, I advanced towards the enemy, whom I could not see, he having shelterd himselfe with 1500 fixe musketeers in enclosures ditches and hedges ; yet he made me quicklie know where he was, by a salve of 4 or 500 shot he made at me, at which some of my men fell. I then made a stand, and lyned the hedges on all sides of me, constantlie firing from them, and advanceing still on the hie way, thogh verie leisurelie. The bodie of Monros foot were a great deale farther behind me then either I thought, or Oneale fancied, otherwise. I suppose he wolde have left his post, as advantageous as it was, and advanced on me, being five to one against me. The dispute continued very hote about ane houre, and then Major Borthwick, since a colonell, and Captaine Drummond, since a lieutenant generall, came up with a great pace to my releefe, and endeavored to cut thorough the hedges, that they might march thorough the enclosures. Oneale perceaveing his men beganne to looke over their shoulders, resolvd rather to retire then flie ; and so he did to Charlemont. Thither did also runne the most part of the countrey people, with neere

3000 cowes, all which we had got if we had purfued our victorie. Owens houfe was immediatlie plunderd and burnt, and fo were many other fine houfes in that right pleafant countrey.

In this fkuffle, I loft thretteene fojors and a fergant, all killd on the place, and about eighteene I had wounded ; neither my felfe or any other officer being hurt. The Irifh confefd to have lofd about threescore. Monro committed heere tuo faults ; firft, for undervaluing his enemie ; nixt, for not purfueing him, after he had made him turne his backe ; for the difappointment he met with did fo quaile him, that he immediatlie marchd back to Armagh, full foure miles : A third he added, in fending, in the very time of the fight, a partie to the right hand to looke for cowes. There being fome diforder or indeed confufion among the hedges, when Oneale retir'd and Monro marchd backe, many followd that partie that did not belong to it ; yea, fo many, among whom were fome of my 300, that when we came to encampe in enclofurs at Armagh late at night, our bodie, which at beft was but litle, lookd exceeding weake and wearie too, and it was well the Irifh knew it not. Adjutant Generall Lesley fomewhat unadvifedlie ordaind me to be commander of the guards that night, never confidering in what condition I was. After I had gone the great round, I found myfelfe fo wearie after eight and threttie miles rideing and marching, befides the toyle of the skirmifh, haveing fleepd none in 48 houres before, that I was forced to tumble myfelfe doune in my tent, recommending the guards to the Adjutant Generalls care ; which when the Major Generall did heare, he taxd the Adjutant of indifcretion, and undertooke the oversight of the guards himfelfe. Nixt day our fcattering parties comeing in to us, we marchd to Tandergie, where Sir James Lockheart, purfueing fome of the rebels in a

wood, was mortallie shot in the bellie, wherof he dyed nixt morning. We buried him in the Neurie, in as honorable a way as we could. After Monro had given my lord Sinclare a visite, he returnd to Craikfergus, and left us at the Neurie.

Some other marches he made that summer, in one wherof we encamp-ed regularlie at Armagh, and fortified ourselvs ; and from thence sent men to beseege Charlemont once more, bot all to no purpose. At this leager, the Marques, now Duke of Ormond, signified by a trumpet to us the cessation he had, by his Majesties appointment, concluded with the Irish for a yeare, and required Monro, in the kings name, to observe it. Bot he refusd to accept of it, because he had no order for it from his masters of Scotland. Heere was strange worke ; a man not able to profecute a warre, yet will not admit of a cessation. It cost us deare ; for since the king's restoration, all our arrears were payd us, by telling us we were not in the kings pay, since we refused to obey his commands ; and very justlie we were so served.

Towards the latter end of this yeare 1643, our guarrifon at the Neurie fell in extreame want of all manner of provifions, both for backe and bellie. For this reason, by Monros toleration, I had a meeting with ane Irish colonell, one Thurlo Oneale, sent by Sir Phelomey. We met at Kirriotter, each of us tuentie horse, and after ane hours discourse, and the drinking some healths in Scotch aquavitie and Irish uskkiba, we concluded a cessation of armes with them for our oune guarrifon. Bot this did not supply our wants ; for no monie came to the armie, either from England or Scotland, and very little meale came from Craigfergus to us. Wherfor my lieutenant colonell and I resolved that I fould goe speedilie to Scotland, and procure ane order to the regiment to march

to the Airds and Clandeboy, there or fomewhere else to quarter as the rest of the armie did ; and that immediatlie after I was gone, and that a ship with some meale which we hourlie expected was arrivd, he fould ship in his amunition, baggage and ficke men, and then march straight to the Clandeboy. The Neurie was to be deliverd to the English ; for I had gone to Dundalg, and agreed so with my Lord Moore. This was presentlie put in execution ; for I went to Craigfergus, and tooke my leave of the Major Generall, telling him dounright what my errand was to Scotland ; bot conceald from him the resolution, that the regiment fould be with him before my returne.

At my comeing to Scotland, in the beginning of the yeare 1644, I found the generall had marchd in the dead of winter into England, with ane armie of neere 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, to joyne by vertue of the solemne League and Covenant with the rebellious parliament of England, against our oune soveraigne lafull and native lord and king. I followd him on post horses, and found him hide bound at Neucastle ; for he was stopd there by the toune and river, so that he could not get farther fouth. I represented to him not onlie the condition of my Lord Sinclars regiment, bot of the whole Scots armie in Ireland so feelinglie, that he found himself obliged to relate it to the Committee of Estates, (wherof the Marquis of Argile was president, by appointment of the usurped parliament of Scotland.) I am calld before them, and to them I represented so passionatlie the miseries of that armie, that they passd ane act for the transportation of it to Scotland, provided the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh gave their joint consent. I got likewise ane order to approve our delivering the Neurie to the English. My Lord Sinclare is appointed to goe to Ireland with that order of transporta-

tion, and to see it put in execution ; I having assur'd the committee, that all the Scots armie wold be willing to leave Ireland, except perhaps the Major Generall, and a few others whose dissent, I said, wold not prove materiall.

Whill I was heere, I lookd upon the posture this armie of Scots (of which the parliament so much boasted) were in. I found the bodies of the men lustie, well clothd and well monneyd, bot raw, untrai'd and undisciplin'd ; their officers for most part young and unexperienc'd. They had divid'd themselvs in severall bodies, and in severall quarters, everie one or any one of which might with a resolute sally been easilie beate up, and then, in my opinion, the rest wold have runne. There was fixe thousand men of Newcastle's armie within the toune, and Lieut. Generall King, then Lord Eithen, with them. I admir'd then, nor could I wonder enough since, that he never endeavour'd to give his countrey-men a visite. He was a person of great honor ; bot what he had sav'd of it at Vlotho in Germanie, where he made shipwracke of much of it, he los'd in England. The Scots maine care was, how to get over Tine, never careing to possesse themselves of a passe on that river for their retreat, so much did they trust to their oune valour and successe. Whill I was there, they indeavord one night to bring boats from the glasse houses, or above them, to the river, and so to make a bridge. Bot fearing the Kings forces shoud fall out upon them that were at worke, Argile and his committee sent over Colonell Steuart, with 1200 foot, to stand betweene the workmen and the toune. They had bot a litle narrow bridge to passe in their going and comeing, and if 2000 had fallen stoutlie out of the toune on them, they had kill'd and tane them everie man, for retire they could not. Argile heareing this was my opi-

nion, which was seconded by others, askd Deare Sandie, Sir James Lumfdaine and myfelfe, what was best to be done. We were unanimous that false alarums should be given about the whole town, to divert the enemy from falling too strong upon Steuart, for the townes utter guards of horse had certified them within of his approach. I was sent with this message to the Generall, whom I found going to supper. When I returned, I was ashamed to relate the answer of that old Capitaine ; which was, that he feared the brightness of the night (for it was moonshine) would discover the burning matches to those on the walls. I told him, the moonshine was a prejudice to the designe, for it would hinder the matches to be seen ; for the more lunts were seen, the better for a false alarme. However, the alarums were made in severall places, which were taken so hotly where I was beside the workmen, that though I called often to them, it was our own people, yet some great persons, whom I will not name, called eagerly for their horses, and when they were on them rode away. The work was left undone, because it was neep tide, and Steuart returned safely, to the great disgrace of these within. The Scots got over the river afterward, and by peccable made Newcastle's army almost as strong as their own, and farre better fojors, moulder away, and the relicks of it take sanctuary within the walls of Yorke. Such was the Kings sad fate, and the infatuated stupidity of these under him. I have often made myfelfe merrie with that nights worke, first to consider how the Committee of Estates, especially their president Argyle, who was a good seaman, did not advert it was neep tide, before they attempted the removeall of the boats : secondly, how they adventurd to face a town wherein there was fixe thousand horse and foot, with 1200 men, and no way for them to re-

treate : thirdlie, of Generall Levens impertinent anfuer to my message ; fourthlie, to see men affrayd at their oune shadow, men runne away for ane allarme themselves had cauld make ; and for a farce to the play, to heare my old Colonell Steuart, when he was returnd to his quarters, vapour and bragge of the orderlie retreat he had made without the losse of a man, when there was not so much as a foot boy purfueing him.

My Lord Sinclare and I went post to Scotland, where we found my Lord Chancellour and the Committee of Estates there very averse from that transportation, fearing the bad consequences of it. Whill things are a debateing, my Lord Sinclars regiment lands at Portpatrik. The Laird of Lauiers regiment follows, and after him the Earle of Lothians ; so wold all the rest, bot they wanted shipping. The occasion was this. After I had left Ireland, my Lieutenant-Colonell haveing ressavd some supply of meale, shipd in tuo field peeces, his amunition, his baggage, sicke men, and all the meale except so much as the sojors carried on their backes, and marchd by land to the Airds, haveing deliverd the Neurie with the castle to these were appointed to ressave it by the Marques of Ormond, lieutenant of Ireland, as we had formerlie agreed to doe. Upon this the field officers of the whole Scots armie met at Craigfergus, and seeing no appearance of my returne, unanimouslie concluded to goe all over to Scotland ; and because they had not vessells enough for all, sent these three regiments first away. This alarumd the Committee at Edenburgh exceedingly. They dispatch my Lord Sinclar west to see the regiments well quarterd, no hurt to be done to the countrey, bot most of all, that the Covenant ressavd no prejudice. I went post with my Lord to Aire, where we found our regiment.

The Committee haveing well considerd the danger might ensue, if the

other seven regiments came to Scotland, send Sir Frederick Hammlton and the Laird of Lauiers over to Ireland, with ten thousand pounds sterline, and seven thousand futes of clothes for the sojors, and some private instructions, to conjure them to remaine in their old duellings; to which the officers consented, notwithstanding the oath of their Mutuall Assurance, which was then broke and cancelld with as much formalitie, bot with a great deal of more reason, then it was made.

Thus was I at toyle and trouble enough for the space of two yeares in Ireland, haveing got no more in the employment then what maintaind me. Yet I had a purchase in it of that I value more then any worldlie riches, that was of my deare wife; Mary White, with whom I was first acquainted and then enamourd at the Neurie. She was comd of very good parents; her father being the second sonne of a knight, and her mother of ane other good familie of the Whites. She was thought by others, much more by me, to be of a good beautie. For the qualities of her mind, I have had such experience of them as they have renderd me happie amidst all the afflictions hath befallen me since. I did not then marry her, because at that time she was tenacious of the Roman Catholick persuasion, which was verie hatefull to our leading men of Scotland; neither indeed, in the condition wherein I was then, could I maintaine her in any good fashon.

The Marques of Huntley makeing some bufling in the north, thogh to litle purpose, the Committee orders my Lord Sinclars regiment to march to Stirlin, and Lothians to St Jonston; that of Lauiers lay in countrey villages. I had then lookd a litle more narroulic in the justice of the cause wherin I servd then formerly I used to doe, and found I had done well enough in my engagement against the bloodie

rebells in Ireland. Bot the new Solemné League and Covenant (to which the Committee of Estates requird an absolute submiffion) fummond all my thoughts to a ferious confultation ; the refult wherof was, that it was nothing bot a treachèrous and difloyall combination againft lauffull authoritie. Some captaines of my Lord Lothians (who were well enough principld, and had got good information of the defignes of the prime covenanters from the late Lord Chancellor, E. of Glencairne,) and I communicated our thoughts one to another, and then I broke the matter firft to my Lieutenant Colonell, and then to my Lord Sinclare. All of us thought it our duetie to doe the King all the fervice we could againft his ungracious fubjects ; and therefore refolvd not to take the Covenant, bot to joyne with the Marques of Montroffe, who had the Kings commiffion. In the meane tyme, we made faire weather with the Committee of Estates, till we got one thoufand pound, and tuo hundreth fterline money for each regiment, and a fute of cloths for everie fojor. The Committee preffd much the figning of the covenant, with many letters, meffages, and meffengers. We wavd it with many pecious pretences ; efpeciallie we defird fixe weeks time to advice with our confciences, a thing they had granted to all other fubjectes ; hoping before the end of that time to be in a capacitie to fpeake plainer language.

Meane while my Lieutenant Colonell and I had our feveral confultations with my Lord Erskine, my Lord Napier, the Master of Napier, the Master of Mederdie, and Laird of Keir, all of them very loyall perfons, with whom we concluded it was fit to fend tuo, one from them and another from us, to Montroffe, who was then in the border, to invite him to come to Stirlie, where he fould find caftle, toune and regiment at his devotion, and St Jonfton likewise. And leaft he might

thinke we meant not honnestlie, in regard there had been no good understanding betueene him and my Lord Sinclare formerlie, his neece the Ladie Keir sent him a well knowne token with Harie Steuart, who was the man we sent, and this he reffaved. The messenger they sent was young Balloch Drummond, then very loyall, whatever he was afterward. I beleve he got not to him. Bot Montrosse having a litle too soone enterd Scotland, and met with a ruffe neere Drumfreis, and upon it retir'd to England, it seems he thought it not safe with so inconsiderable troops to hazard so farre as to Sterline, perhaps not giving full trust to our promises; and most, because the Committee had appointed a second levie, which then was farre advanced, under the command of the E. of Callander, who with the deepest oathes, even wishing the supper of our Lord to turne to his damnation, which he was to take nixt Sunday, if ever he should engage under these or with these Covenanters, had perswaded me in his owne house of Callander, and upon a Lords day too, that he would faithfullie serve the King;—I say, by Montrosse his neglect, and Calanders perfidie, was lost the fairest occasion that could be wish'd to doe the King service. For if that levie had bene suppress'd, as very soone it should, and Montrosse have com'd to Stirlie, and joynd with our two regiments, as easilie he might, he would with the assistance of Huntley in the north, and these Irish who soone after came over from Antrum, have reduc'd Scotland without bloodshed to their duetie and obedience, or els the Scots armie had bene forc'd to have left England, and march'd home to oppose us; upon whose retreat, it was more than probable most of England would have embrac'd the Kings interest; the reputation of the Scots armie at that time keeping up the English parliaments interest. Bot the inauspicious fate

and difastrous destinie of the incomparablie good King wold not have it to be so.

A litle before this, Sir George Monro, Colonell Hammilton, and some other officers of the armie in Ireland, had comd over to deale with the Committee of Estates for their oune maintenance, and E. Calander requiring an adjutant generall for his new forces from the Committee, they fought the opinion of these officers, who they thought sufficient for that employment. They were all pleasd to name me to be the man fitting for it; upon which ane act of Committee was made, without acquainting me with it; that I should have that charge, and continue likewise major as I was. This offer being made to me when I expected Montrosse, and was with good reason dissatisfied with Calander, I refused it, pretending I could not undergoe both charges. It was given to Major Douglas, a sonne of the Sheriffe of Teviotdail, who was afterwards a colonell, and killed at Worcester fight. Notwithstanding of all this, Calander did not give over to give me all imaginable assurances that he wold act for the King, and that the greater pouer he was invested with, the more vigorouflie and vigilantlie wold he show himselfe active and loyall for his Majestie. This put me in some hopes I might be instrumentall under him to doe the King some service. Withall, I knew I was vehementlie suspected by the Committee of Estates, and if I had denuded myselfe of all imployment, which was my greatest securitie, I had runne the hazard of imprisonment, if not worse; for now they had declared the supream pouer to be in themselves, and therefore all was acted against them must be no better then treason. Upon these grounds my Lord Sinclars regiment marchd into England, and I with them, and made a fashion (for indeed it was

no better) to take the Covenant, that under pretence of the Covenant we might ruine the Covenanters; a thing, (thogh too much practis'd in a corrupt world) yet in itselſe diſhoneſt, finfull and diſfavouable; for it is certaine that no evill ſould be done that good may come of it; neither did any good at all come of this, for Calander all along provd true to his own intereſt and gaine, and falſe to the Kings, never laying hold on any opportunitie whereby he might, with ſmall difficultie, have done his Majeſtie ſignall ſervice. After he enterd England, I wold have undertaken to have made moſt of his new levied forces, which were about 5000, declare for the King, and forc'd theſe who wold not to fly from the armie. Upon this Northumberland and Biſhopricke (whoſe gentrie was ſtill loyall,) wold have riſen with us; and thogh ſhortlie after that Prince Rupert was beaten at Longmeſton mure, yet he haveing brought away neere 4000 horſe with him, we wold have beene able to have made him up a gallant armie. *Bot non voluere fata.*

Having croſſ'd Tyne at Neuburne, Calander inveſts Neucastle on the other ſide of the river; haveing firſt got aſſurance that the Prince was defeated at Long Meſton by Generalls Leven, Mancheſter and old Fairfaxe, all which three had ſhamefullie left the field and fled; but Leven fled furtheſt, for he did not draw bridle till he was at Wedderbie, four and twentie miles from the place of battell. There was reaſon he ſould take the ſtart of the other tuo, becauſe he had furtheſt home. Calander lys doune before Hertipoolé, a very tenable litle ſea toune, wherin was a garrifon of 300 men for the King; and had it unworthilie yeelded to him without ſtroake of ſuord by Sir Edmund Carew; and Stokton Caſtle likewise, before which not one man of ours had appeared, for which he was afterward queſtion'd.

A litle before harvest in this yeare 1644, Leven came with all his armie and beseegd Newcastle on Northumberland side; which was well enough defended eight or nine weeks by Sir Johne Morley, mayor of the toune; bot at length he haveing foolishlie refused articles, which he might have made at his pleasure, the toune was taken by storme, with no great losse on our side, and with very litle bloodshed of the royalists. My Lord Sinclars regiment were the first that entered the toune, the first partie of them of tuo hundreth being led by my selfe, being very well seconded by my Lieutenant Colonell. One of my Captains, Sinclare, foolishlie running contrar to my command straight to the market place, was ther killd. It was well for these of that side within the toune that we entered so soone, for we gave very good quarter, my Lieutenant Colonell and I clearing the wall all along till the nixt port; there we tooke tuentie gentlemen on horseback, and 200 foot sojors, and so made easie way for my Lord Levistons, now E. of Lithgows brigade, and Lieutenant Generall Baillies to enter, being before pitifullie beate of; neither did we kill one man within the walls. In the approches our regiment lost very prettie men, bot in the storme onlie three. Immediatlie after the plunder of this toune, (wherof I had not one pennie worth) the armie is put in winter quarters. Whill we beseege Newcastle, Calander is sent with some regiments to Scotland to oppose Montrosse, who, with a handfull of Irish very ill armed, had beaten the Lord Elcho and his armie at Tippermure. Calander stayd not long, neither had the leaders of the Covenanters better lucke than Elcho, for beaten they were by Montrosse at Aberdeene, and the third time at Innerlochie, where Argile savd himselfe soone enough.

Nixt summer of the yeare 1645, Montrose did these feats which hath

renderd his name immortall. Against him were severall regiments sent the second time from the armie in England. With the rest Leven marcheth southward; and at Nottinghame, some well meaning officers of the armie made a motion to present a petition to the King, according to the laudable custome of both the first and the second Covenanters, before we enterd in any act of hostilitie against him. This had given a stop to the advance of our armie, which the English royalists so much feared. I was desired to draw the petition, which after some refuseall, (apprehending Calanders jugling,) I at length did. Bot he not onlie refused to signe it himselfe, but to let the Committee see it, (without whom it could not be sent to the King) thogh never so many officers wold subscribe it. And so these honest officers were deceavd and abusd, as I had fortold them. On our march to Gloucestershire, we had the sad news of the Kings overthrow at Nasebie, after which never any of his forces made a stand. Whill the Scots army invests Hereford, news comes that Montrosse had gaind the battell of Killfyth, so entirelie that all the covenanting Lords were fled to Berwick. Lieutenant Generall Lesley upon this is sent away to Scotland, with most of the cavallerie, to oppose succesfull Montrose, whom he had the good fortune, as he thought it, to beate at Philiphauch; where Major Generall Middleton, now Earle, was very active against, thogh since very active for the King. After some weeks stay at the seege of Hereford, upon a rumour of the Kings approach with some forces, we broke up and marchd north, and that harvest quarterd in Yorkshire; and in the beginning of winter, helpd the English forces to blocke up Neuarke on Trent, from whence a litle before his Majestie was gone with 500 horse to Oxford. Heere old Generall Leven left us and went to Neu-

castle, forced therto by order of the Parliament of Scotland. I am very fure, fore against his will he parted with a command wherby he could have put abundance of money in his pocket, which Lieutenant Generall David Lesley could not choose bot doe. We past that winter with very much cold, bot very litle bloodshed; bot so did they not at St Andreus, where the pretended parliament dyed some scaffolds very red, with the loyall blood of many of his Majesties faithfull subjects.

In the summer of the yeare 1646, the Kings fate driveing him on to his neere approching end, he cast himself in the Scots armes at Neuarke. There did E. Lothian, as president of the Committee, to his eternall reproach, imperioullie require his Majestie (before he had either drunke, refreshd, or reposed himselfe,) to command my Lord Bellasis to deliver up Neuarke to the Parliaments forces, to signe the Covenant, to order the establisment of presbiterian government in England and Ireland, and to command James Grahame, (for so he called Great Montrosse) to lay doune armes; all which the King stoutlie refused; telling him that he who had made him ane Earle had made James Grahame a Marques. Barbaroullie used he was, strong guards put upon him, and centinells at all his windows, that he sould cast over no letters; and at length Neuarke by his order being given up, he is carried with a very speedie march to Newcastle, where he was well enough guarded. At Sherburne I spoke with him, and his Majestie haveing got some good character of me, bade me tell him the fence of our armie concerning him. I did so, and withall assur'd him he was a prisoner, and therefor prayd him to think of his escape, offering him all the service I could doe him. He seemd to be well-

pleas'd with my freedome; and the griefe I had for his condition; bot our conversation was interrupted very uncivillie (for I was in the roome alone with his Majestie) by Lieutenant Generall Lesleys command, wherein he made use of two whom I will not name, because the one is dead, and I hope the other hath repented; neither was I ever permitted afterward to speake with him; yet he namd me, as one of five fitting to carry his commands to Montrosse, bot the Committee made choyce of a man by Lothians perswasion, fitter for their purpose. Most of that winter, till neere Candlemas, was spent in quarters, which were allotted us in some places of Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland all over; meane time goes Argile to London.

When I perceavd things in this troublesome condition, not knowing what might be the issue, whether I might not be necessitated to fly beyond seas, (for the Committee and Generall entertaind very ill thoughts of me,) and not dareing to goe to Irland, least they shoud thinke I went about more serious affaires, I sent and desird her who was to be my wife, to be at the trouble to come to England to me, which she willinglie did. This both shew her affection to me, and the trust she reposed in mine; leaveing her parents, her friends, countrey and all that was deare to her, upon my word. And indeed she found me but in a bad condition, and it was well it was no worse; for haveing drunke at one time too much at parting with a great person, rideing home I met one Colonell Wren, betueene whom and me there was some animositie. He was a foot, and I lighted from my horse; drinke prevailing over my reason, I forced him to draw his suord, which was two great handfulls longer then mine. This I perceiving, gripd his suord with my left hand, and thrust at him with my right; bot he stepping

backe avoyded it, and drew his fuord away, which left so deepe a wound betueene my thumbe and formost finger, that I had almost losd the use of both, unles I had beene well cured. Ane other hurt I got in my left arme. The passengers parted us ; bot I could never find him out after, to be revengd on him, though I fought him farre and neere. This was ane effect of drinking, which I confesse, beside the sinne against God, hath brought me in many inconveniences. This was the first time ever my blood was draune, though I have hazarded it and my life very often, not onlie in battells, skirmishes, rencounters, sieges, sallies, and other publick duties of service, bot also in severall private duells. I was not well recoverd, when she I lovd best came to England. Shortlie after, we were married at Hexame, in presence of ane honourable companie, on the tenth of November, 1646. Many sad storms and blafts of adversitie hath she patientlie stood out with me since, and both of us have reason to blesse our good God, who hath graciouslie deliverd us out of them all.

In Februaire 1647, the Committee haveing receaved 200,000lb. sterline, for the arrears of the armie (for so it was calld), the King is shamefullie deliverd over to the Commiffioners of the two Houses of England, and that by a vote too of the Parliament of Scotland, to the eternall disgrace of the whole nation. He is first carried to Holmbie House ; and after the armie had chaced the eleven Presbiterian members of the House of Commons beyond seas, they take his Majestie to Hampton Court, and after many jugling tricks of Cromwell, he is carried to Carisbrok Castle in the Isle of Wight, out of which he never came till he was led to his arraignment. The Scotch armie marcheth to Scotland and is modelled in seven regiments of foot, thretteene troops of horse, and

three companies of dragoons. All the rest are disbanded. My Lord Sinclars regiment is orderd to goe backe to Ireland. They - - - - by the way at Peebles, and some runne away. Quarters are appointed for them, and E. Lothians regiment in Galloway, till I went over to Ireland, to try whether Monro and his officers (for that armie was then governd by a councell of officers, wherof the Major Generall was president,) wold make us welcome or not, I found the coast guarded with sojors to barre our landing, which I lookd on as a bad omen. At my comeing to Craigfergus, the officers are calld together. I deliverd them a letter from the Scots Parliament, and endeavord to perswade them to reslave us as antient members of their bodie; telling them that we were to bring such provissions with us, that we sould not be burthen-some to them. Bot I harangud them in vaine, for I found, thogh they wold not speake it dounright, they wold not admit us at all; for thogh they had beene well beate by Owen Oneale the yeare before, yet they fancied they sould then receive ten thousand pounds sterline for everie regiment, and they thought if our tuo regiments joynd with them, we might occasion a diminution of the soume. Upon my returne, and the burthen Galloway had of us, order comes to us from the Committee of Estates, to disband, which was accordinglie done. This was the end of my Lord Sinclars regiment, which indeed was composed of prettie men, stout and loyall, both officers and sojors, to which I had beene serjeant major full five yeares.

Shortlie after, Lieutenant Generall Lesley having reduced the North to the obedience of the Committee of Estates, by takeing all Huntleys houfes, and chaceing himselfe and his party to their hieland shelters, marched fouth, being to goe into Kintire. I met him at Dumblaine,

where he, the late Marques of Argile, and Major Generall Holburne, easilie perswaded me to accept of the Adjutant Generalls place of the armie, then vacant; for indeed I thought it duetie to fight against these men who first had disfered their Generall Montrosse, as E. Aboine and Sir Alafter Macdonnald had done when he stood most in need of them, which mainlie had occasiond his irreparable losse at Philipshauch; and nixt had absolutlie refusd to lay down armes at the Kings oune command, carried to them by Sir James Lesley. I was necessitated to stay for some baggage a day or tuo, and thereafter met the armie at Inverrary, Argiles chiefe houfe. From thence we marchd to Kintire, which is a peninfull. Both before and at the entrie to it, there were such advantages of ground, that our foot, for mountains and marshes, could never have draune up one hundreth in a bodie, nor our horfe above three in breast; which if Sir Alafter had prepossessd with these thousand or 1200 brave foot which he had with him, I think he might have routed us, at least we shoud not have enterd Kintire bot by a miracle. Bot he was ordaind for destruction; for by a speedie march we made ourselves masters of these difficell passes, and got into a plaine countrey, where no sooner he saw our horfe advance, but with little or no fighting he retir'd; and if the Lieutenant Generals foot had been with him to have given the enemy a salve or tuo, which would have disorderd him, I beleve none of them had escap'd from our horfe. Alafter, like a foole, (for no sojor he was, though stout enough,) put in 300 of his best men in a house on the top of a hill, calld Dunavertie, environd with a stone wall, where there was not a drop of water but what fell from the clouds. Then leaveing Kintire he went to Yla, where he playd just such ane other mad prank, leaveing his old father, commonlie

called Coll Kettoch, with neere 200 men in a castle, called Dunneveg, where was no water either bot what the heavens afforded. The rest of his men he carried with him to Ireland, (ane excellent Generall Major) where he was killd in a battell fought by those with whom he joynd against my Lord Taffe, now Earle of Carlingford. We besiegd Dunavertie, which keepd out well enough, till we stormd a trench they had at the foot of the hill, wherby they commanded tuo stripes of water. This we did take in the assault. Fortie of them were put to the fuord. We losd five or fixe, with Argiles Major. After this, inexorable thirst made them desire a parley. I was orderd to speake with them; neither could the Lieutenant Generall be movd to grant any other conditions, then that they fould yeeld on discretion or mercy; and it seemd strange to me to heare the Lieutenant Generalls nice distinction, that they fould yeeld themselves to the kingdomes mercy, and not to his. At length they did so; and after they were comd out of the Castle, they were put to the fuord, everie mothers sonne, except one young man, Mackoull, whose life I begd, to be sent to France with a hundreth countrey fellows whom we had smoakd out of a cave, as they doe foxes, who were given to Capitaine Cambell, the Chancellors brother.

Heere it will be fit to make a stop till this cruell action be canvafd. First, the Lieutenant Generall was tuo days irresolute what to doe. The Marques of Argile was accusd, at his arraignment, of this murther, and I was examind as a witness. I depond, that which was true, that I never heard him advice the Lieutenant Generall to it. What he did in private I know not. Secondlie, Argile was bot a Colonell there, and so had no pouer to doe it of himselfe. Thirdlie, thogh he had advisd him to it, it was no capitall crime; for councell is no com-

mand. Fourthlie, I have severall times spoke to the Lieutenant Generall to save these mens lives, and he allways assented to it ; and I know of himselfe he was unwilling to shed their blood. Fifthlie, Mr Johne Nave (who was appointed by the commiffion of the kirke to waite on him as his chaplaine,) never ceas'd to tempt him to that bloodshed ; yea and threatened him with the curses befell Saull for spareing the Amalekites, for with them his theologie taught him to compare the Dunavertie men. And I verilie beleeve that this prevaild most with David Lesley, who lookd upon Nave as the representative of the Kirk of Scotland. Lastlie, there is no doubt bot the Lieutenant Generall might legallie enough, without the least transgression of either the custome, practise, or law of warre, or his oune commiffion, have usd them as he did ; for he was bound by no article to them, they haveing submitted themselves absolutlie to his discretion. It is true, on the other hand, *summum jus, summa injuria* ; and in such cases, mercy is the more christian, the more honourable, and the more ordinarie way in oure warres in Europe. Bot I reallie beleeve, advise him to that act who will, he hath repented it many times since, and even very soone after the doeing it.

From Kintire we went by sea to Yla, and immediatlie invested Dunneveg. I must remember, by the way, that we carried bot about fourscore horses with us after we left Kintire, the rest of the troopes being left in Lorne, under the command of Colonell Robert Montgomerie, since Generall Major, who blockd up the house of belonging to Mackoull in Lorne, whose clan was, as I said, extirpated very neere at Dunavertie. Dunneveg, after a stout resistance, for want of water, came to a parley. I am appointed to treat with one Captaine

Oneale and one Donald Gorum, who came out of the house on the Lieutenant Generalls word. Life was promised to them ; all the officers to goe where they pleased ; the soldiers to be transported to France, and given to Henry Sinclair my old Lieutenant Colonell. The articles I saw couchd in writing and signd by both Argile and Lesley. This capitulation was faithfullie observed. A little skurvie ile in the end of Yla was kept by a bastard sonne of Coll Kittoch, which we left to its fortune. Bot before we were masters of Dunneveg, the old man Coll, coming foolisshlie out of the house, where he was governour, on some parole or other, to speake with his old friend the Captaine of Dunstaffage Castle, was surprisid and made prisoner, not without some stain to the Lieutenant Generalls honor. He was afterwards hangd by a jury of Argiles ssheriff depute, one George Cambell, from whose sentence few are said to have escapd that kind of death.

From Yla we boated over to Jura, a horride ile, and a habitation fit for deere and wild beafts ; and so from ile to ile till we came to Mull, which is one of the best of the Hebrides. Heere Maclaine savd his lands with the losse of his reputation, if ever he was capable to have any. He gave up his strong castles to Lesley, gave his eldest sonne for hostage of his fidelitie, and, which was unchristian basenes in the lowest degree, he deliverd up fourteene very prettie Irishmen, who had bene all along faithfull to him, to the Lieutenant Generall, who immediatlie causd hang them all. It was not well done to demand them from Macklaine, bot inexcusable ill done of him to betray them. Heere I cannot forget one Sir Donald Cambell, a very old man, fleshd in blood from his very infancie, who with all imaginable violence presd that all the whole clan of Macklaine should be put to the edge of the sword ; nor

would he be commanded to forbear his bloody fute by the Lieutenant Generall and the tuo Generall Majors, and with some difficultie was he commanded silence by his chiefe the Marques of Argile. For my part I said nothing, for indeed I did not care though he had prevailed in his fute, the deliverie of the Irish had so much irritated me against the whole name. As we were going to Mull, Major Generall, since E. Middleton, (who had with tuo regiments of foot and some troops of horse ruined the relics of Huntleys partie,) came to us. With him I had some conferences concerning the Kings condition, who at that time was at Hampton Court. Then first I found he beganne in earnest to oune his Majesties interest. Great jealousies there were then of all parties both in England and Scotland. Argile and Leslie thought fit to separate me from Middleton, and so sent me to Edinburgh to give the Estates an account of our successes, and to desire quarters to be provided for the armie against our descent to the low countrey. Thither I went, and after Leslie had taken in an old castle in Knoggard or Moggart, I know not which, I met him on his march to Stirling, ten miles on the other side of that towne, bringing with me the quarters ordered for the severall regiments and troops; which being divided, every one went straight to his owne.

The Committee of Estates, and consequentlie the visible soveraigne power of Scotland at that time, is divided between the Duke Hamilton and the Marques of Argile. The last kept stronglie by the church, and had it for him; and for feare that did not his turne, he kept the armie, at least Leven and David Leslie for him, as knowing, *omnia sunt gladii pedisequa*. Yet the Hamiltons had gained much on Middleton, who had a strong influence on the armie. Hamilton, to beat Argile out of his strongest fortresse, propones the dif-

banding the armie as very ufeles now, and which was worfe, very burthenfome, all the enemies of the ftate being rangd to their duetie. This was not onlie a plaufible pretext, bot ane unanfuerable argument ; bot marke the reply of the other partie. “ Never fo great danger as now ; the Kings perfon, which they were bound to defend by the oath of their Covenant (obferve, there was no former ty on them,) being in the hands of the Independents, who were fuorne enemies to his facred perfon and to prefbiterie, and carying now all things before them in the Englifh Parliament, were become very formidable.” So impudentlie could thefe hipocrites make ufe of the fafetie of the King, to fupport their power, by the ufurpation wherof they had brought him to that low condition, and whofe deftruction they ftill defignd. To this they adde a ridiculoufliie palpable ly, that the Marques of Huntley was ftrong and marching fouthward, waxd numerous, and to ufe their oune words, grew great like a fnow ball ; that poore Marques, in the meane time, hideing himfelfe in holes and caves, out of which he is about that fame time draune, and carried to Edenburgh and caft in the tollbooth, out of which he never came till he was brought to a fcaffold. The matter of the armies difbanding is referd to the meeting of a great Committee, whofe members are fummond by Argile and the kirk to come from the remoteft places of the kingdome, and when they meet, they vote the armie to ftand. By this favour they obliged many officers, to eafe the kingdome forfooth, to quite a third part of their pay voluntarilie ; for which fimplicities the kirk cryd them up for good patriots ; and this was enough to put thefe fimpletons in the full poffeffion of a fools paradife.

Bot before all this was done, E. Lainrick, brother to Duke Hamil-

ton is made one of these commissioners which they called the Committee of both kingdoms. The Chancellor and he went to London, and from thence, by the Parliaments permission, to the Ile of Wight, where they had severall conferences with his Majesty. Many concessions they obtained from him against Poperie, Arminianisme, Socinianisme, Libertinisme, Erastianisme, and I know not what els, and many promises they made to him, and so returned to Scotland. A Parliament is called, which either consisted of the royall or purlie Hammiltonian partie; Argiles being the least of the three, the election of the members was so dexterously carried. Bot in the Commission of the Kirke, Argile carryd all before him. And now the scene is changd. The King is in no danger; the Parliament of England, though independent, and Scotland are good friends; they must not fall out; the union of the two kingdoms must be preserved; the King in his concessions had not taken away Prelacie, and therefore all the rest of his grants were hipocriticall; neither were the Scots bound to defend his person by vertue of the Covenant; bot in the defence of the true religion, which, according to their glosses, is presbiteriall government; and therfor no armie must be raised for his releasment or restoration, onlie the English Parliament wold be desired to suffer them to treat with the King, whose person, according to promise, should be kept in honor, freedom and safetie. Heere yow see ane armie necessary and not necessary, for one and the same cause. Yow will thinke that strange, bot I will unriddle yow. Necessary for the Kings defence, and to withstand the power of the Independents, so long as old Leven and David Leslie commanded it; not necessary for these or any other causes, if Duke Hamilton and Earle Calander had the conduct of it. Whether the great sommes of money the English Commissioners brought

with them, had ane influence on the leading men of the state, the kirk and the armie, Sir James Stewart, once Provost of Edinburgh, yet alive, can well enough tell. This rent betweene the usurped state and the usurped kirk, was the first step to the ruine of the whole designe of the yeare 1648 ; for in the time of this furious dif our levies were retarded, and time given to Fairfaxe and Cromwell to destroy all the Kings partie in England. At length the raising of ane armie is carried in spite of Argile and the kirk. Duke Hammilton is declar'd Generall ; E. Calander, (who once more appeard to oune the Kings interest,) Lieutenant Generall of the armie ; Middletone Lieutenant Generall of the horse, and Baillie of the foot.

Bot before this was done, a petition is draune up by Argile and his friends, (the Chancellor playing fast and loose with both parties,) which is calld the petition of the armie, which was to secure religion (for these were the kirks words) and the kingdome of Christ, before any forces were raised for the Kings releasment. It is sign'd privatlie by Leven, Da. Leslie, Major Generall Holburne, Sir Johnne Broun, Colonell Scot and some others, and then presentedit to the rest of us, thinking we could not, being sojors, refuse to follow our leaders. Bot they found themselves mistaken ; for Major Generall Middletone, and the honnest part of the officers of the armie told them, that such a petition, which lookd so like mutinie, could not be presentedit to the Parliament without incurring the dishonour which Fairfaxe, his armie had draune upon itselfe, to impose on the Parliament of England. To oppose this petition, Middletone was pleas'd to make use of me ; neither was I, indeed, unwilling to contribute all my endeavors for the destruction of a paper which, if it had bene red, wold have spoke with

fo loud a voyce, that many of the members, who were bot indifferent, wold have spoke Argiles language very plainlie. The busienes was fo handled that it was never presented.

Innumerable allmost were the petitions that came from all places of the kingdome, against the raising of forces for his Majesties releasment. Glasgou being a considerable toune, was most refractorie to this Parliament; for Mr Dick, whom they lookd upon as a patriarch, Mr Baillie, Mr Gillespie and Mr Durhame, all mightie members of the kirk of Scotland, had preachd them to a perfite disobedience of all civill power, except such as was authorisd by the Generall Assemblie and Commiffion of the Kirk; and fo indeed was the whole west of Scotland, who cryd up King Christ, and the kingdome of Jesus Christ, therby meaning the uncontroullable and unlimited dominion of the then kirk of Scotland, to whom they thought our Saviour had deliverd over his scepter, to governe his militant church as they thought fit. For this reason, I am sent to Glasgou to reduce it to obedience, with three troops of horse, and Holburns regiment of foot, which a litle before that had mutind in the Links of Lieth; (their colonell, lieutenant colonell, and all their captains haveing deserted them,) bot the mutinie was with some difficultie comeped by myselfe, and that regiment brought by me the length of Cramond, in its march to Glasgou. In Glasgou were many honnest and loyall men, the prime wherof wer the Cambells and the Bells; and indeed I had good helpe of Coline Cambell, James Bell and Bayliffe James Hamilton. At my comeing there I found my worke not very difficill; for I shortlie learnd to know, that the quartering tuo or three troopers, and halfe a dozen musketeers, was ane argument strong enough, in two or three nights time, to make

the hardest headed Covenanter in the toune to forsake the kirk, and side with the Parliament. I came on the friday, and next day sent to Mr Dick, and desired him and his brethren to say nothing next day in their pulpits that might give me just reason to disturb the peace of the church. In the forenoone he spoke us very faire, and gave us no occasion of offence; but in the afternoone he transgressed all limits of modestie, and raild malitiously against both King and Parliament. This obliged me to command all my officers and sojors to goe presently out of the church, because I neither could nor would suffer any under my command to be witnesses of a misdemeanor of that nature. At the first Dick was timorous, and promised if I would stay, he would give me satisfaction; but I told him I would trust him no more, since he had broke his promise made in the forenoone. Seeing I intended no worse but to remove, he continued his sermon, and next day went to Edinburgh to complain; but sent one that same night to make his grievance to the Duke, who was comd the day before to his palace of Hammilton. Thither I went next morning. His Grace approved of all I had done; and there was reason for it; because I had done nothing but by his own order, and his brother E. Lainricks advice. This was that great and well neere inexpiable sinne which I committed against the sacred soveraigntie of the kirk; for which all members were so implacable and irreconcilable enemies to me afterward.

Finding my Glasgow men grown prettily tame, I tenderd them a short paper, which whoever signed I promised should be presently easd of all quartering. It was nothing but a submission to all orders of Parliament, agreeable to the Covenant. This paper was afterward by some merry men christend Turners Covenant. It was quickly signed

by all, except some inconsiderable persons; and so soone as Duke Hamilton had caus'd read my letter in Parliament, and the sign'd papers sent to the Clarke Register, I was orderd to march to Renfrew, to reduce that shire to obedience. I left the Generall of the Artilleries regiment, which was not very strong, at Glasgow, and march'd with my owne (for the Parliament had given me that of Holburns, and my Lord Duke had plac'd me himselfe at Glasgow) and eleven troops of horse; for still as they were levied in the east, they were sent west to me. I lay at Paislay myselfe with my regiment, and quarterd my troopes round about. Bot the people from severall parishes came so fast to me, offering their obedience to the Parliament, that I knew not well how to quarter my present men, much lesse these troops, and Calanders regiment, which were on their march westward.

Meantime a pettie rebellion must be usherd in by religion, yea, by one of the sacredest misteries of it, even the celebration of our Lords supper; so finely could these pretended saints make that *vinculum pacis*, that bond of peace, the commemoration of our Savieours sufferings and death, that peace so often inculcated, and left as a legacie by our blessed Lord to his whole Church; so handsomelie, I say, could these hypocrits make it the simbole of warre, and bloody broyles. Whill I lay at Paislay, a communion, as they call it, is to be given at Machlin church, to partake wherof all good people are permitted to come; bot because the times were, forsooth, dangerous, it was thought fit all the men shoud come armed. Nixt Monday, which was their thanksgivinge day, there were few lesse to be seene about the church then tuo thousand armed men, horse and foot. I had got some intelligence of the designe before, and had acquainted the Duke with it; who orderd me expresse not to

fturre till Calander and Middletones coming; who accordinglie on the Saturday before the communion came to Glasgou, where I met them, and then went fraight forward to Paflay. A rendezous is appointed by Calander to be of horfe and foot at Steuarton hill nixt Monday. From thence Lieut. General Middleton is fent with fixe troopes of horfe to Machlin moore, where the armed communicants were faid to be. I intreated my Lord Calander (bot to no purpofe) not to divide, bot rather march with all his forces, then hazard the overthrow of a few, which might endanger the whole. We advanced with the reft, as the foot could march; bot it was not long before we heard that the communicants had refused to goe to their houfes; and having reflaved a brifke charge of Middletons forlorne hope, had worfted it; and that himfelfe and Colonell Urrey comeing up to the refcue, were both wounded in the heade; which had fo appalld their troopes, that if they loffd no ground, they were glad to keepe what they had, and looke upon the faints. Thefe unexpected news made Calander leave my regiment at Kilmarnock, and take his horfe with him up to Middletone. I intreated him to march at leaft at a great trot, if not at a gallope; bot he would be more orderlie, and therefor marchd more floulie. We met numbers of boys and bedees, weeping and crying all was loft; bot at our appearance the flafhing communicants left the field, the horfe trulie untouchd, becaufe not fiercelie purfued. About fixtie of their foot were taken, and five officers. The minifters that came in our power, who had occafiond the mifchiefe, were nixt day difmifd. Nixt day we marchd into Aire, where a court of warre is appointed to be keepd about the prifoners. The country fellows of them are pardoned; the officers fentenced to be hanged or fhot; bot therafter were par-

dond ; to which I was very instrumentall, thogh I had bene president in the court of warre. Lieutenant Generall Middletons wound, and Colonel Urreys sufferd them to ride abroad within foure or five days. We knew not well what to doe, for Lambert was on the Border with a strong part of the English armie, and in a manner keepd Sir Marmaduke Langdail blockd up at Carlile. Our west countrey was not at all settled, bot very readie for new commotions. Upon this E. Calander desires a conference with the Duke, who then was at Edinburgh, to be at his oune house of Hamilton, to which the Duke readily assented.

I had left my wife at Glasgow, and therfor desired libertie to goe there, and bid her good night, and accordingly went thither. Within two nights came E. Calander, and Lieutenant Generall Middleton, and with them I went to Hammilton, takeing my leave of my deare wife, whom I did not see againe till she saw me prisoner at Hull.

At Hammilton, we could not bot with much regret and displeasure consider, that Sir Marmaduke and his Lieutenant Generall Sir Philip Musgrave, both gentlemen of untainted loyaltie and gallantrie, had not onlie unseasonable, and contrare to the advices given them, raisd above 3000 foot and horse, bot had marchd with them into Lancashire, and therby had given a just pretext to the Parliament to send Lambert with a more considerable power, to give a stop to their further proceedings ; which he did so vigorously, that Langdale was glad to shelter himselfe under the walls of Carlile. This exposd him to a certaine and present ruine, unles he were succourd. To marche to his reliefe, were to leave the halfe of our forces in Scotland unleavied, and anemie behind our hand, ourselvs in a very bad condition, without money, meale, artillerie, or amunition ; to suffer him to perish was

againſt honor, conſcience, and the reaſon both of ſtate and warre. It wold have given our enemies occaſion to inſult; wold have brought the Dukes honor (rudlie enough dealt with [by] ſome before) to an ever-laſting loſſe, and wold have given ſuch juſt apprehenſions of jealousies to the royaliſts in England, that never one of them wold have joynd with us, or ound us. The further debate of this buſienes is delayd till the Duke, Calander and Middletone went to Edenburgh to adviſe with the Committee of Eſtates, for the Parliament was then diſſolv'd. Bot in the meane time Colonell Lockheart is ſent to command ſome brigads of horſe at Anan, and I orderd to goe preſentlie to Drumfreis, to take the command of fixe or ſeven regiments of foot, which were to be ſhortlie there. Our neernes to Carlile was thought might give Lambert ſome ombrages of both a ſtronger and a neerer approach. Neither were we miſtaken in our conjecture; for ſo ſoone as we began to rally there, he drew his troops neerer together, and ſo Sir Marmaduk got aire, and with it ſome meate for himſelfe, and graſſe for his horſes.

In this poſture did Lockheart and I ſtay about a fortnight, twelve miles diſtant one from ane other, till (Sir Marmaduks reliefe being concluded on at Edenburgh as purlie neceſſare,) my L. Duke, E. Calander, and Lieutenant Generall Middletone and Baillie, with many, bot weake regiments of horſe and foot, randevouſed at Anan. There I met them with my litle infantrie, amunition and a great deale of meale, which had beene ſent to me from Edenburgh and other places. Nixt day we advanced into England, order being given for all the regiments of the whole kingdome to haſte after us, except ſuch as were orderd to ſtay for defence of the countrey againſt our hidden enemies; and theſe were to be commanded by E. Lainrick, as commander in chiefe

at home. Our advance obligd Lambert to retire. Some skirmishes we had with him for a day or tuo, bot to litle purpose. At length he got to Steinmure, where he beganne to fortifie himselfe. The Duke is necessitated to stay ten or twelve days at Kirbie-thure, to resseve those regiments were marching from Scotland, which did not exceed the halfe of their numbers they sould have beene, all newlie levied, raw and undisciplind; and that summer was so excessivlie rainie and wet, that I may say it was not possible for us to keepe one musket often fixd, all the time we were in a bodie in England. Adde to this that we had no canon, nay not one field peece, very litle amunition, and not one officer to direct it. Deare Sandie being groune old and doated; had given no fitting orders for these things. Whill the Duke lyes at Kirbie-thure, Sir Marmaduke beseegeth the castle of Applebie, in which Lambert had left a guarrifon. I am sent with tuo brigads to ly neere him, for feare Lambert sould face about upon him. Within a few days the castle yeilded.

Heere I will set downe ane accident befell me; for thogh it was not a very strange one, yet it was a very od one in all its parts. My tuo brigads lay in a village within halfe a mile of Applebie; my own quarter was in a gentlemans house, who was a Ritmaster, and at that time with Sir Marmaduke; his wife keepd her chamber readie to be brought to bed. The castle being over, and Lambert farre enough, I resolvd to goe to bed everie night, haveing had fatigue enough before. The first night I sleepd well enough; and riseing nixt morning, I misd one linnen stockine, one halfe filke one and one boothose, the accoutrement under a boote for one leg; neither could they be found for any search. Being provided of more of the same kind, I made myselfe

reddie, and rode to the head quarters. At my returne, I could heare no news of my stockins. That night I went to bed, and nixt morning found myselfe juft so used ; miffing the three stockins for one leg onlie, the other three being left intire as they were the day before. A narrower fearch then the firft was made, bot without fucceffe. I had yet in referve one paire of whole stockings, and a paire of boothofe greater then the former. Thefe I put on my legs. The third morning I found the fame ufage, the stockins for one leg onlie left me. It was time for me then, and my fervants too, to imagine it muft be rats that had fhard my stockins fo equallie with me ; and this the miftrefs of the houfe knew well enough, bot wold not tell it me. The roome, which was a low parlour, being well fearchd with candles, the top of my great boothofe was found at a hole, in which they had drawne all the reft. I went abroad, and orderd the boards to be raifed, to fee how the rats had difpofd of my moveables. The miftrefs fent a fervant of her oune to be prefent at this action, which fhe knew concernd her. One boord being bot a litle open, a litle boy of mine thruft in his hand, and fetchd with him foure and tuentie old peeces of gold, and one angell. The fervant of the houfe affirmd it appartaind to his miftres. The boy bringing the gold to me, I went immediatlie to the gentlewomans chamber, and told her, it was probable Lambert haveing quarterd in that houfe, as indeed he had, fome of his fervants might have hid that gold ; and if fo, it was lafullie mine ; bot if fhe could make it appeare it belongd to her, I fould immediatlie give it her. The poore gentlewoman told me with many teares, that her husband being none of the frugalleft men (and indeed he was a fpendthrift) fhe had hid that gold without his knowledge, to make ufe of it as fhe had oc-

caſion, eſpeciallie when ſhe lay in ; and conjurd me, as I lov'd the King, (for whom her huſband and ſhe had ſufferd much) not to detaine her gold. She ſaid, if there was either more or leſſe then foure and tuentie whole peeces, and two halfe ones, it ſould be none of hers, and that they were put by her in a red velvet purſe. After I had given her aſſurance of her gold, a new ſearch is made, the other angell is found, the velvet purſe all gnawd in bits, as my ſtockins were, and the gold infantlie reſtord to the gentlewoman. I have often heard that the eating or gnawing of cloths by rats is ominous, and portends ſome miſchance to fall on theſe to whom the cloths belong. I thank God I was never addicted to ſuch divinations, or heeded them. It is true, that more miſfortuns then one fell on me ſhortlie after ; bot I am ſure I could have better forſeene them myſelfe then rats or any ſuch vermine, and yet did it not. I have heard indeed many fine ſtories told of rats, how they abandon houſes and ſhips, when the firſt are to be burnt, and the ſecond dround. Naturaliſts ſay they are very ſagacious creatures, and I beleeve they are ſo ; bot I ſhall never be of the opinion they can forſee future contingencies, which I ſuppoſe the divell himſelfe can neither forknow nor fortell ; theſe being things which the Almighty hath keepd hidden in the boſome of his divine preſcience. And whither the great God hath preordained or predeſtinated theſe things, which to us are contingent, to fall out by ane uncontrollable and unavoidable neceſſitie, is a queſtion not yet decided.

My Lord Duke marcheth on with this ill equipd and ill orderd armie of his, in which I being Colonell of a regiment, I officiated alſo as Adjutant Generall, or rather indeed doing the duetie of Major Generall of the infantrie, ſince there was none namd for it. To relieve

Langdale at Carlile, brought us out of the roade, and truelie we never came in the right way againe ; fo true is the old faying, once wrong and ay wrong. At Hornbie, a days march beyond Kendall, it was advifd whether we fould march be Lancashire, Cheshire and the western counties, or if we fould goe into Yorkfhire, and fo put ourfelvs in the ftraight roade to London, with a refolution to fight all wold oppofe us. Calander was indifferent ; Middletone was for Yorkfhire ; Baillie for Lancashire. When my opinion was askd, I was for Yorkfhire, and for this reafon onlie, that I underftood Lancashire was a clofe countrey, full of ditches and hedges, which was a great advantage the Englifh would have over our raw and undifciplind mufketeers ; the Parliaments armie confifting of experienced and well traind fojors, and excellent firemen ; on the other hand, Yorkfhire being a more open countrey, and full of heaths, where we both might make ufe of our horfe, and come fooner to pufh of pike. My Lord Duke was for Lancashire way, and it feemd he had hopes that fome forces would joyne with him in his march that way. I have indeed heard him fay, that he thought Manchester his oune, if he came neere it. Whatever the matter was, I never faw him tenacieous in any thing during the time of his command bot in that. We choofd to goe that way, which led us to our ruine. Our march was much retarded by moft rainie and tempeftuous weather, wherof I fpoke before, the elements fighting againft us ; and by ftaying for countrey horfes to carry our little amunition. The vanguard is constantlie given to Sir Marmaduke, upon condition he fould constantlie furnifh guides, pioneers for clearing the ways, and which was more than both thefe, to have good and certaine intelligence of all the enemies motions. Bot whither it was

by our falt or his neglect, want of intelligence helpd to ruine us ; for Sir Marmaduke was well neere totallie routed, before we knew that it was Cromwell that attackd us : *Quos vult perdere, hos dementat Jupiter.*

Befide Preston in Lancafhire, Cromwell falls on Sir Marmadukes flanke. The English imagine it was one Colonell Ashton, a powerfull presbiterian, who had got together about 3000 men to oppose us, because we came out of Scotland without the Generall Assemblies permission. Marke the quarrell. While Sir Marmaduke disputes the matter, Baillie, by the Dukes order, marcheth to Ribble Bridge, and passeth it with all the foot, except tuo brigads. This was tuo miles from Preston. By my Lord Dukes command, I had sent some amunition and commanded men to Sir Marmaduks assistance ; bot to no purpose ; for Cromwell prevaild, so that our English first retird and then fled. It must be rememberd that the night before this sad rencounter, E. Calander and Middleton were gone to Wigham, eight miles from thence, with a considerable part of the cavalrie. Calander was comd backe, and was with the Duke, and so was I ; bot upon the rout of Sir Marmaducks people, Calander got away to Ribble, where he arrivd safelie by a miracle, as I thinke ; for the enemy was betueene the bridge and us, and had killd or taken the most part of our tuo brigads of foot. The Duke with his guard of horse, Sir Marmaduke with many officers, among others my selfe, got into Preston toune, with intention to passe a foorde below it, thogh at that time not rideable. At the entrie of the toune, the enemy pursued us hard. The Duke faced about, and put tuo troops of them to a retreat ; bot so soone as we turnd from them, they turnd upon us. The Duke facing the second time, charged

them, which succeeded well. Being pursued the third time, my Lord Duke cryd to charge once more for King Charles. One trooper refusing, he beate him with his sword. At that charge we put the enemy so farre behind us, that he could not overtake us so soone. Then Sir Marmaduke and I entreated the Duke to haist him to his armie; and truelie he shew heere as much personall valour as any man could be capable of. We found the river, and so got to the place where Lieutenant Generall Baillie had advantageously lodgd the foot on the top of a hill, among very fencible inclosures.

After Calander came to the infantrie, he very unadvisedly sent fixe hundred musketeers to defend Ribble bridge; for the way Cromwell had to it was a descent from a hill that commanded all the champaigne, which was about an English quarter of mile in length betuene the bridge and that hill where our foot were lodged; so that our musketeers having no shelter, were forced to resseve all the musketades of Cromwell's infantrie, which was secure within thicke hedges; and after the loss of many men, were forced to runne backe to our foot. Here Claud Hammilton, the Dukes Lieutenant Colonell, had his arme broke with a musket bullet. The bridge being lost, the Duke called all the Colonells together on horsebacke, to advise what was next to be done. We had no choyce bot one of two, either stay and maintaine our ground till Middleton (who was sent for), came backe with his cavalrie; or els march away that night, and find him out. Calander would needs speake first; whereas by the custome of warre, he should have told his opinion last, and it was to march away that night so soone as it was darke. This was seconded by all the rest, except by Lieutenant Generall Baillie and myselfe. Bot all the arguments we used, as the impossibilitie of

a safe retreat from aneemie so powerfull of horse, in so very foule weather, and extremelie deepe way, our fojors exceeding wet, wearie, and hungrie, the inevitable losse of all our amunition, could not move my Lord Duke by his authoritie to contradict the shamefull resolution taken by the major part of his officers. After that the drumles march is resolvd on, and bot few horse appointed to stay in the reare of the foot, I inquired what should become of our unfortunate amunition, since forward with us we could not get it. It was not thought fitt to blow it up that night, least thereby the enemie should know of our retreat or rather flight. I was of that opinion too, bot for ane other reason; for we could not have bloune it then, without a visible mischief to ourselves, being so neare it. It was ordaind it should be done three hours after our departure, by a traine; bot that being neglected, Cromwell got it all. Nixt morning we appeared at Wiggam Moore, half our number lesse than we were; most of the faint and wearie fojors haveing lagd behind, whom we never saw againe. Lieutenant Generall Middletone had misd us, for he came by ane other way to Ribble bridge. It was to be wishd he had still stayd with us. He, not finding us there, followd our tracke, bot hotlie pursued by Cromwells horse, with whom he skirmishd the whole way, till he came within a mile of us. He lost some men, and severall were hurt; among others Colonell Urrey got a dangerous shot on the left side of his heade, wherof, though he was afterward taken prisoner, he recoverd. In this retreat of Middletons, which he managed well, Cromwell lost one of the gallantest officers he had, Colonell Thornton, who was runne in the breafe with a lance, wherof he dyed. After Lieutenant Generall Middletons coming, we beganne to think of fighting in that moore; bot

that was found impossible, in regard it was nothing large, and environd with enclosures which commanded it; and these we could not maintain long, for want of that ammunition we had left behind us; and therefore we marchd forward with intention to gaine Warinton, ten miles from the moore we were in; and there we conceavd we might face about, haveing the command of a toune, a river, and a bridge. Yet I conceive there was bot few of us thought we might be beaten, before we were masters of any of them. It was towards evening, and in the latter end of August, when our horse beganne to march. Some regiments of them were left with the reare of the foot; Middleton stayd with them; my Lord Duke and Calander were before. As I marchd with the laft brigad of foot through the toune of Wiggam, I was alarmd that our horse behind me were beaten, and runne severall ways, and that theemie was in my reare. I faced about with that brigad, and in the market place ferrd the pikes together, shoulder to shoulder, to keepe up any fould charge, and sent orders to the rest of the brigads before to continue their march, and follow Lieutenant Generall Baillie, who was before them. It was then night, bot the moone shone bright. A regiment of horse of our oune appeared first, riding very disorderlie. I got them to stop, till I commanded my pikes to open, and give way for them to ride or runne away, since they wold not stay. Bot my pikemen being demented, (as I thinke we were all,) wold not heare me, and tuo of them runne full tilt at me. One of their pikes, which was intended for my bellie, I gripd with my left hand; the other run me neere tuo inches in the innerfide of my right thigh; all of them crying, that all of us were Cromwells men. This was an unseasonable wound, for it made me after that night unfervicable.

This made me forget all rules of modestie, prudence and discretion. I rode to our horse, and desired them to charge through these foot. They, fearing the hazard of the pikes, stood. I then made a cry come from behind them, that the enemy was upon them. This encouraged them to charge my foot so fiercely, that the pikemen threw down their pikes and got into houses. All the horse galloped away; and, as I was told afterwards, rode not thorough, but over our whole foot, treading them down; and in this confusion Colonel Lockheart was trode down from his horse, with great danger of his life. Though the enemy was neere, yet I beat drums to gather my men together. Shortly after came Middleton, with some horse. I told him what a disaster I had met with, and what a greater I expected. He told me, he would ride before and make the horse halt. I marched, however, all that night, till it was faire day; and then Baillie, who had rested a little, intreated me to goe into some house and repose on a chaire; for I had slept none in two nights, and ate as little. I alighted, but the constant alarms of the enemies approach made me resolve to ride forward to Warinton, which was but a mile; and indeed I may say I slept all that way, notwithstanding my wound. I thought to have found either the Duke or Calander, or both here, but I did not; and indeed I was often told that Calander carried away the Duke with him, much against his mind. Here did the Lieutenant General of the foot meet with an order, whereby he is required to make as good conditions for himselfe and those under him as he could; for the horse would not come backe to him, being resolved to preserve themselves for a better time. Baillie was surpris'd with this, and looking upon that action which he was ordered to doe as full of dishonor, he lost much of that patience of which naturallie he was

maſter ; and beſeechd any that wold to ſhoot him thorough the head. At length, haveing ſomthing compoſd himſelfe, and much ſollicitd by the officers who were by him, he wrote to Cromwell. I then told him, that ſo long as ther was a reſolution to fight, I wold not goe a foot from him ; bot now that they were to deliver themſelvs priſoners, I wold preſerve my libertie as long as I could, and ſo tooke my leave of him, carrying my wounded thigh away with me. I met immediatlie with Middletone, who ſadlie condold the irrecoverable loſſes of the tuo laſt days. Within tuo hours after, Baillie and all the officers and ſo- jors that were left of the foot, were Cromwells priſoners. I got my wound dreſſd that morning by my oune ſurgeon, and tooke from him theſe things I thought neceſſare for me, not knowing when I might ſee him againe ; as indeed I never ſaw him after.

That unhappie day we met with Cromwell at Preſton, ſome regi- ments of horſe, and our Iriſh auxiliaries under the command of Sir George Monro (who were fiſteene hundreth good foot and three hun- dreth horſe, and were appointed, againſt all reaſon of warre, to be con- ſtantlie a days march behind us) all of them, I ſay, finding the enemie had got betweene us and them, marchd ſtraight backe to Scotland, and joynd with E. Lainricks forces. Bot ſo ſoone as the news of our de- feate came to Scotland, Argile and the Kirks partie roſe in armes everie mothers ſonne ; and this was calld the Whiggamer rode. Da. Leſlie was on their heade, and old Leven in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, can- nonading the royall troopes when they came in view of him. Yet might they have been all verie ſoone conjurd to be quiet, if the royaliſts had not ſuffered themſelves to be cheated by a treatie, by which they were obligd to lay down armes, and quite their power in civill and

militarie affaires. Bot the principall men of them, particularlie the Earles Lauderdale and Lainrick, Sir George Monro, Dalryell and Drummond, and others, found it not faife to trust the Saincts too much, and therfor crofd the seas, to take sanctuarie in Holland. Cromwell at Warinton sends Lambert with a sufficient cavalrie after us, and follows Monro with the strength of his armie to the Border, and there is invited by the Presbiterians to enter Scotland. He gets Berwick and Carlisle baselie yeilded to him; and in one of them a number of English gentlemen who had servd the King; ane infamous act! He is feasted by old Leven, (peerès of one tree) in the Castle of Edinburgh; which within tuo yeares after he made his oune. These men, who courted him, were so faithfull to the Covenant, that if fame wrong not some of them, they agreed with him in my Lady Homes house in the Canongate, that there was a necessitie to take away the Kings life. Now, for the good intertainment the Presbiterians had given this Arch Independent, at his returne to England, he left Lambert, (who had dispatched us before) with foure regiments of horse, to defend them against the Malignants (for so were honnest men called), till forces of their oune were raised, which was soone done. And then Acts of State and Kirke are made, to incapacitate all who had beene in England with the Duke, all who had abetted that engadgment, or had consented to it, from any office, charge or employment in State, Church, or Militia; and numbers of honnest Ministers, upon that same account, turned out of their benefices and livelihoods.

To returne to the Duke in England. At night, after I left Warinton, when I came to him, all the resolution I found taken was, to march forward a day or tuo, and then by a turne to endeavour to get into

Scotland; for there was then no visible partie for the King in England to joyne with; Cromwell having, before he came to us, routed and broken all these who rose in Wales, and hangd many of the principal gentlemen of them. And Fairfax had broke all these who rose for the King in other counties, first under the Earle of Holland, and then under the Earle of Norwich, chaceing him and the remainder of them into Colchester, which, after a sieg, was surrendered to him on discretion, as I thinke. Heere Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lile were cruellie dealt with, having bot two houres given them to prepare for death; and after that short time, by the instigation of wicked Ireton, Cromwells sonne in law, mercilesse shot dead.

The first day, then, of the Dukes march from that place where I found him, was to Whitechurch, (in what countie I do not remember.) There a great number of the countrey traird bands appeared against us, bot were quicklie put to flight by Middleton, without bloodshed. That day we marchd many miles, and at night most or all the horse lodgd in the field, where their horses fed well. Some officers went to houses; bot I lodgd at a hedge, and sleepd there so sound, that at break of day the trumpets could not waken me; that being the fourth night in which I had sleepd none, except on horsebacke. Nixt day we made a long halt at a countrey toun, I thinke in Staffordshire, called Stone. Heere, because we had not enemies enough to take our lives, a trooper killd his oune Ritmaster, one Patrick Grey, who had beene a captaine under me in my Lord Sinclars regiment. The trooper was in the place shot dead, by my Lord Dukes command; who, to speake truelie, was too spareing in taking lives, his clemencie occasioning the keeping very bad discipline the whole time of our march in England.

A litle after we had removd from that place, Lieutenant General Middleton making good the reare against some of the countrey militia troopes, was taken; his horse having fallen under him. He was carried to Stafford; and indeed, after that, we might trulie have said we were all prifoners; for I am sure enough, if he, or rather we, had escapd that misfortune, such unhappie accidents had beene prevented by him, which shortlie ruind us. And I know not bot he keeping us united, might not at a long runne have brought himselfe and most of us to Scotland. We came at night to Uxeter, in most tempestuous, windie, and rainie weather. Nixt morning, when we were on our march, a great unwillingness in the horfemen, and some of their officers to march further; the wearines of both man and horse, ane irresolution whether to goe, and most of all, a fatalitie which pursud us, made the Duke turne backe, and take up his quarters in the same toune. Neither that day nor nixt night was any thing resolvd on, bot to rest and refresh man and horse, and then either treat with these forces that had surrounded us, or fight them and march away. Sir Marmaduk Langdale, and these few English who were with him, had left us at Uxeter. He was taken afterward, bot savd his life by escapeing out of prifon. The Duke and Calander fell out; and were at very hie words at supper, where I was; each blameing the other for the misfortune and miscarriage of our affaires; in which contest I thought the Duke had the better of it. And heere, indeed, I will say, that my Lord Dukes great fault was in giveing E. Calander too much of his pouer all along; for I have often heard him bid him doe what he pleased, promising to be therwith well contented. And therfor Calander was double to be bland, first for his bad conduct, (for that was inexcusable,) and nixt for

reproching the Duke with that whereof himfelfe was guiltie. To fill up the meafure of our miffortunes, our troopers mutine againft the Duke, Calander, and all their officers. Whether this proceeded of their oune wickednes, or by the intigation of fome of their oune commanders, (which I then fhrewddie fufpected,) is uncertaine. The Duke and Calander are keepd prifoners, with ftrong guards of the mutineers, all nixt night in the Dukes lodgeing, with many other officers, and among others myfelfe. Nixt morning, fo foone as I could fee, I cald over the window of the Dukes bedchamber to them, and afkd them, if they were not yet afhamed of the bafe ufage they had given their Generall, and of that contempt they had fhown of all difcipline, and of the ignominie of this action; and requird them, if for no other reafon, yet for their oune fafetie from the common enemie, to returne to their duetie, and goe home to their lodgings. Immediatlly they removd their guards, and went to their feverall quarters, curfing in generall words thefe who had prompted them to the mutinie; which augmented my former fufpition, but it was no time to make a ftrict inquire in the bufinefs. Shortlie after, Calander went away with as many as would follow him; which indeed were more than the halfe of thefe were in toune. No intreatie of the Duke or mediation of the officers could prevaile with him. I dealt particularlie with him, bot in vaine. He ufd many arguments to move me to goe along with him, bot I told him, if I keepd my life, I wold be one of the laft men fould ftay with the Generall. I heard that not long after he was deferted by all that went with him, as he had deferted my Lord Duke. Yet he had the good fortune (which I believe no other officer of our armie had,) to get fafe to London in a difguife, and from thence to Holland.

I must remember heere, that the day after we returnd to Uxeter, there came some gentlemen of Staffordshire with a trumpet from the governour of the toune to my Lord Duke, who shew his Grace, that in the time Middletone had servd the Parliament in the qualitie of Major Generall, he had done many good offices to both the town and the shire; and therefor to witnes their thankfulnes, they were comd to intreate his Grace to permit them to carry Middletons servants, horses and baggage to him at Stafford. This was readilie granted by the Duke, with his heartie thankes to the gentlemen for their so seasonable kindnes. Standing by the Duke when this passed, I bethought myfelfe of sending some moneys in Middletons coffers. There was a hundredth and fiftie pounds sterline of it, which one of our commissaries had intreated me to cause some of my servants carry, because in our tumultuarie march after Preston, he knew not what to doe with it. Lieutenant Generall Middletone haveing taken 500 lb. sterline from some other commissaries, upon that same account, I dealt with Middletons secretarie and his valet de chambre, to take my money with them; bot they both rudlie and obstinatlie refusd it, till I conjurd the uncivill humour out of them, with the pouerfull charme of tuentie pound sterline, and then they found roome for the rest of the money. Some of this I gave afterwards to our sojors, who were prisioners at Stafford, and much I lent to indigent officers, and tooke notes from them for it, which I got occasion to send to my wife in Scotland, who got thankfull payment afterward of much of it.

Calander being gone, there was ane absolute necessitie imposed on the Duke to capitulate with the Governor of Stafford, who had about 3000 of the countrey militia with him, with which we were furround-

ed. Sir James Foullis of Colinton, Colonell Lockheart and myfelfe are namd and commiffionated by my Lord Duke to treat. We met with the governour and fome of the principall gentlemen, three miles from Uxeter, at a very pleafant houfe in Staffordfhire, where, as they had told us, Mary Queene of Scots had beene long keepd prifoner. This with fuperftitious people wold have lookd ominous for us, who were of that nation. In our treatie, we found them very civill and rationall, and fo much friends to monarchie, that we had reafon to expect no bad conditions from them. Bot Fortune had not yet made peace with us. We are interrupted by a meffenger fent by Lambert, to acquaint both them and us that he was comd within tuo miles of that place, and that, if we wold treat, it muft be with him. Thefe were no good news, yet we prefentlie horfd and went to him. We found him very difcreet, and his expreffions civill enough. He appointed three principall officers to treat with us, wherof Lieutenant Generall Lilburn was one. After much difcourfe, they offerd to us, if we wold redeliver Berwick and Carlile to the Englifh Parliament, we fould be permitted to goe; nay, we fould be convoyd backe to Scotlande. We told them we had no pouer in our commiffion to fpeake of thefe tounes; and fo other articles were agreed on by us, bot not fignd till I fould goe firft to the Duke and fhew him, if he wold furrender thefe tuo touns, he and all with him fould have their libertie; if not, we were by the articles all prifoners. He abfolutlie refusd to engagè for the deliverie of thefe places, as a thing he faid was not in his pouer; juftlie fufpecting the Deputie Governors of the touns wold not obey his orders in the condition he was; and fo with many forrowfull expreffions difmiffd me. Upon the way as I returned, I met Lambert, with fome troops,

who told me he was goeing to save my Lord Duke from my Lord Grey of Groobie, who was marching towards Uxeter on the other side of the toune, which, I knew before I came from the Duke to be true. He desired me by all meanes to hast the signing the articles, which he promised to ratifie. At my returne, I told my comerads what reason we had to make haste ; and haveing reported the Dukes answer to the English officers, we all immediatlie signed the articles, which, indeed, if they had been malicious, they might have wadded ; for whill we were about it, one Major Gib, an officer of our owne, came very unmanerlie into the roome, belching out his folly in these words : “ Gentlemen, what doe ye dooe ? The Duke and all who are with him are my Lord Greys prisoners.” Yet the commiffioners signed for all that ; and indeed my Lord Duke was by that time prisoner, but Lambert tooke the protection of him ; for our agreement was ratified by him, and by the Duke too, for he was not to be esteemed a prisoner, because taken in the time of a cessation and treatie, against custome of warre. Our first article was for the Duke, that he should onlie be a prisoner of warre, nor should his life ever be questioned or in danger. He should keepe his George ; fixe of his servants, such as he should choose, should be permitted to attend him, and fixe of his best horses likewise ; that in his prison accessse of all persons to him should be allowed ;—conditions good enough, but very ill kept. The summe of the rest of the articles was this : That all of us, both officers and souldiers, should be prisoners of warre, but civillie used, till we could procure our libertie by exchange or ranfome ; that all of us should keepe the cloths we had on us, and all the gold and money we had about us, all other baggage, armes, and horses, should be bootie and prise to the victor. We three

who had capitulated, were orderd to be carried to Stafford, where Middletone was. The captain who conducted us thither got our horses and armes. As we rode thorough Uxeter, we made a stand at the window of the Dukes chamber; and he looking out, we tooke our eternall farewell of him, with sad hearts parting from him we were never to see againe. He spoke kindlie to us, and so we left him to act the last and worst part of his tragedie.

At Stafford, where were very many prisoners, we stayd, I thinke, seven or eight days; and then came a Ritmaster (who had beene a glover, and still keepd both the mine and manners of a mechanick,) with fortie horse, and ane order from Lambert to cary my Lord Cranfton, Lieutenant Generall Middletone, Colonel Lockhert and myfelfe, to Kingfton upon Hull. One Major Craford, with much importunitie, got leave to goe along with his cousine Lockhert. We tooke our leave of our fellow prisoners, and of the governour, who had beene very civill to us; and so had all his officers, and the touns people likewise. This Ritmaster was a fellow of low qualitie, weake intellectualls, a violent Independent, a mortall enemie to the King, his familie and all monarchie; a perfecutor of Presbitrie. For the rest of his endowments, we found him not ill natured; neither will I wrong him much if I bestow upon him the title of a foole. He furnisht horses for ourselvs and servants. My Lord Cranfton had tuo servants allowd him; so had the Lieutenant Generall, Collonell Lockheart and I, each of us one. The Ritmaster and his litle troope was but ill mounted, and therfor gave us ease enough on our journey; neither was it unpleasant, except when the sad remembrance of our oune condition, and that of all honnest men, mixd too much water with our wine. On

the fifteenth of September, if I remember right, we arrivd at Hull. Our Ritmafter left us at Yorke, to whom, becaufe he was not very un-civill, we gave tuentie five pounds sterline in gold, wherof my share was five. And heere I muft make a litle ftop, (for indeed I did fo, ftaying there long enough,) and looke backe a litle.

It is a true faying, " Man propones, and God difpofes ;" neither is it in the pouer, or within the reach of the wit of weake man, to project a bufinefs with fo much caution, or profecute it with foe much induftrie, prudence or courage, bot it may be blafed from Heaven, and renderd unfucceffull by thefe contingencies which can neither be foreene nor prevented. The truth of this we found in this unhappie expedition. What was intended for the Kings reliefe and reftoration, pofted him to his grave. His fad imprifonment calld for affiftance from all his loyall fubjects, which as a duetie the laws both of God and man feemd to impofe on them. Our hopes of fuccefs were great, grounded on the equitie of our juft undertakeing, the prevailing of the royall partie in Ireland, the returne of moft of the navie to their duetie and obedience, under the then Prince of Wales, now King ; the numerous and loyall rifeings of many fhires in England and Wales; againft that ufurped pouer which keepd his Majeftie in reftreint, and upon our oune ftrength ; for our armie was intended to have bene tuentie thoufand foot, and fixe thoufand horfe and dragoons. Bot we never amounted to fourteene thoufand in all. Thefe were honneft and faire motives for that loyall and well intended engadgment of ours ; bot,

Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus.

The heavens brings things unto ane other end,
Then that, for which blind man did them intend.

The Almighty in his inscrutable will had orderd matters otherwise, and refusd a blessing to that unhappie armie; for the ruine and destruction wherof did contribute, as second causes, the mischievous retardment and obstruction Argile and his kirke so vigorouslie made, which hinderd us to come time enough to joyne with the fotherne counties; Langdales unadvifed and too suddē levies, and his unseasonable march to Lancashire, which obliged Lambert to come against him, and chace him to Carlile; which imposd a necessitie on the Duke to march to his releefe, before he was halfe readie; the weaknes, rawnes, and undisciplindnes of our sojors, our want of artillerie and horses to cary the litle amunition we had, the constant rainie, stormie and tempestuous weather which attended us, which made all hie ways impassible for man and beast, our want of intelligence, our leaveing our Irish auxiliaries so farre behind us, and our unfortunate resolution to wave Yorkshire, and march by Lancashire; all which, being hinted at by me before, made us a prey to Cromwells veterane armie. Hence followd the alteration of the government in all the three kingdomes; the Kings execrable murther, who was brought from Carisbroke Castle to Westminster, is arraignd, impeachd, condemnd, and hath his heade strucke off in the sight of the sun at noontide of the day, at the gate of his oune palace of Whitehall; and the death and totall ruine of most of the royall partie.

Bot to returne to Hull. Colonell Robert Overton was governor there; a great Independent, who hath since had his share of imprisonment, both under the Ufurper Oliver, and under his present Majestie; so it wold seeme he hath beene aneemie to monarchie, whatever name it had, whether King or Protector. Civill and discreet he was,

had been at ane Inns of Court, was a schollar, bot a litle pedantick. He made us wellcome, and lodgd us tuo months in tuo severall inns, where we were well enough used for our money, and well enough guarded withall. Before the end of that time, my Lord Cranfton, by the mediation of his father in law Generall Leven, was first carried away from us to Néucaſtle, and thereafter ſet at libertie. At the end of theſe tuo months, Middletone and Lockheart, by the interceſſione of their friends, likewiſe were carried to Neucaſtle; bot Major Craſurd was not permitted to goe with his couſine Lockheart. After that, Middletone got libertie to goe to and ſtay at Berwick, till his ladie was brought to bed there; when that was done, he made his eſcape to Scotland, which wold have coſt him deare three years after, if he had not playd the ſame game, and eſcapd out of the Toure of London. Lockheart might have been releaſd for ſome money; bot whether it was to ſpare that, or to enjoy the too acceptable ſocietie of Paul Hobſone, he knows beſt. After they were gone, I am put in the Provost Marſhalls hands, and Major Craſurd to beare me companie. I had, notwithstanding that I was in the common priſon, which formerlie had beene the Houſe of Correction, ane indifferent good chamber, and a good bed for myſelfe, and ane other for my ſervant. I was very ſtrictlie guarded, and no leſſe than five centries keepd conſtantlie about me. I learnd the alteration of my uſage afterward, and the cauſes of it.

After Cromwell had left Lambert in Scotland, he marchd to Pomfret Caſtle; which Lieutenant Colonell Morris had ſurprized, and keepd then for the King, for which they hangd him afterward at Yorke. Whill I was priſoner at Hull, Cromwell beſiegeth it, and ſends for Overton to command in that ſervice nixt to himſelfe. In the meane

time, Argile and the Kirk being able to stand on their oune legs, dismissed Lambert with many thankes. He had beene very well entertained in Scotland, which made him so desirous to returne to it two yeares after. So soone as he came to Pomfret, Cromwell thought he spent his time not well in takeing a castle from the King, when he intended to take the heade from the King; left Lambert to reduce Pomfret, sends Overton back to Hull, and marchd directlie to London with the rest of his forces, to murther the best of Kings.

At the governors returne to Hull, he required me to plight my faith to him, by a revers under my hand, to be a faithfull prisoner, and not goe without the walls of Hull without his libertie. He brought me this message himselfe. I told him I was readie to doe it, provided he removd his guards from me; which he refuseing to doe, I shew him that if he tooke my parole or faith, he was obliged to trust me; for, *fides et fiducia sunt relativa*; and if he tooke my word for my fidelitie, he was obliged to trust it, otherwise it was needles for him to seeke it, and in vaine for me to give it; and therefore I beseechd him, either to give trust to my word, which I sould not breake, or to his oune guards, who, I supposed, wold not deceive him. In this manner I dealt with him, because I knew he was a schollar. He acknowledged all I said to be true, bot withall he told me, I must either doe all he desired of me, or doe worfe. I prayd him to tell me what was that? He said he had order from his Lieutenant Generall, meaning Cromwell, to keep me in irons; bot he thought the severenes of that command proceeded from the care he had I sould not escape. The Governor himselfe conceavd, if he keepd me so well that he might present me to the Lieutenant Generall when I was calld for, he had made choyce of a way for it

more tolerable for me. He promised to befriend me as much as he could, without his own prejudice, and so indeed he did; but afford me any rough usage I received or might receive, came out of Scotland. I then gave him what he demanded, with many thanks for not putting his order in execution. I could not then but reflect upon the kind recommendation that Argyle, or some of that party, had given to Cromwell of me; and I make no doubt but if greater matters had not chased the remembrance of me out of Cromwells mind, and some misunderstandings that arose betwene him and his friends in Scotland, that they could not conveniently put him in mind of me, some greater mischief then imprisonment had befallen me. Most of all these prisoners of warre that were in the common goale with me, were shortly after released one way or other, and so was Major Craford also; but in all their rooms came Colonell Boynton, who had persuaded his brother (though a great Independent) to declare himself and the Castle of Scarborough, wherof he was Governour, for the King. A fine young gentleman this was, had studied in one of the universities, was travelled, and well seene in historie and in the present state of Christendome. He and I were constantly guarded with twentie musketeers. The Marshall who had the principall government of us, was one Watfone, who had bene an Alderman and wooll merchant in Dublin, and had broke for 25,000 lb. sterline; he was afterward Marshall Generall in Scotland. He was civill enough to us, and after the Kings restoration, I chanced to doe him some favours at Edinburgh. He had a depute under him, one Lindale, one of these we call good honest men, or if you please, a simple fellow. Under him there was a third, called Standfield; he was since a regiment marshall at Aire, and lives now at Newbottle in

Scotland. He was our turnkey, and lockd us in our severall chambers everie night. We dieted with him for eightene pence a meale for each of our selves, and eight pence for each of our servants. I payd for neere a twelvemonth a shilling sterline every night for my oune bed, and a groat for my mans ; a shilling everie day for coales, and a groat for candles, summer and winter. I had much comfort in Boyntons companie so long as he stayd, which was full six months ; and then he got his libertie on bond.

In the month of December, 1648, my wife came out of Scotland to me. I was extreamlie glad to see her, thogh very fory she fould have made so long a journey in so bad a time of the yeare. She had obtained in Scotland ane order from Lambert to Overton, to send me to Newcastle ; bot he excusd himselfe, in regard he had a later order from him who commanded over Lambert. Yet my wife, much against my will, wold needs goe to Lambert at Pomfret, where he ressavd her civillie, bot said it was not in his power to contradict his Lieutenant Generalls order. She returnd, after getting bad entertainment and lodgeing at Pomfret, and after a pitifull journey of threescore miles, in deepe and allmost unrideable way, and in most stormie and rainie weather. She stayd about a month with me, much to my comfort ; and fore against her will returned to Scotland, whether I would have her goe to looke to our particular affaires. It is to be supposed we parted forroufullie, and so indeed we did ; yet not without hopes to see one anoether joyfullie againe, as it pleased God we did a twelve month after.

Haveing accustomd myselfe all my life over to be sometimes solitarie and retird, wherin I ever tooke much delight, I did not take my restraint so greevoullie as these would doe, who either will not or can-

not live without companie. And haveing the use of bookes, paper, pen and ink, I deceavd the longnes of the time with readeing and writing. Withall, the Governour permitted me not onlie to goe to church, bot to walke sometimes on the toune walls, with one of my marshalls and tuo musketeers with me; some honnest royalists of the toune were permitted also to give me visites. Yet for all these comforts I came to the knowledge of some things (for I had the reading of all the Gazets and Diurnalls) which made my restraint more bitter and heavie to me than otherwife it wold have beene; for not to speake of the cruell usage I had in Scotland, men looking where any money of mine was to be got, and immediatlie feizd on, the difertion I met with of all my friends, yea my neereft relations, for these concernd onlie myfelfe; first, I heard how mercilefslie the present Committee of Estates, who had usurped the government, had used men of all ranks and qualities, who had given bot the least occasion to suspect their honestie and loyaltie; secondlie, the banishment of the peers of England out of the Upper House, and the extrusion, or as they calld it, the exclusion of the honnest members of the House of Commons, by Collonell Pride, at Cromwells command; which portended, thirdlie, the Kings execrable murther the 30th of Januare, 1649; fourthlie, the taking Duke Hamiltons heade of on a scaffold at Westminster in March after. They beheaded him as Earle of Cambridge, and so a Peere of England, without haveing any regard at all to the articles he had for life; bot in this I suppose Cromwell did nothing without advice from Scotland. Heere I can not bot bewaile the fate of that misfortunate Lord, who was a person of excellent qualities, of a great understanding, and good expressions, curteous, affable, humane; so mercifull that he was bot a bad

Justitiare, which I thought was a blemish in him; one of the best masters to vassalls and tenants that our kingdom afforded. His constellation had inclined and appointed him to be a good statesman, and to be happy in the enjoyment of his Prince his favour, the *summum bonum* of courtiers, but to be unfortunate in all his military employments both by sea and land. Most unhappy he was in his honour, which was branded most part of his life with foule aspersions of disloyalty and treachery; neither will venomous tongues suffer his ashes to lie quiet, but cast dust upon them as if he had dyed as a fool. I had only the honor to know him when he was my general, and I believe he was faithful to his sovereign all his life; but in the time he had the conduct of that unfortunate army, I dare swear the deepest oath for his fidelity and loyalty, and that he intended nothing but the full restoration of the King, for whom he dyed a martyr. Immediately after him were beheaded on that same scaffold, E. Holland and the brave Lord Capell. Fifthly, as I was glad to hear of Lieutenant General Middletons escape out of Berwick, and that he was upon the head of a royal party in the north of Scotland; so it was grievous to me to hear that, in his absence from that party, most of it was routed and beaten by Ker and Strachan, and himselfe forced to be contented with an assurance that he might live at home in peace; so little did that rising contribute to the present Kings service. Sixthly, I could not but be exceedingly grieved to hear all the canons about the walls of Hull shot, and see bonfires made in the streets, for joy of that victory. Colonel Michael Jones had got, by a desperate sally out of Dublin, of the Marques of Ormond and all his numerous army, even when he was absolutely master of all Ireland except Dublin, Dundalk, and Londonderry; and

at that time too when Cromwell was readie with ane armie at Milford haven to croffe over to Ireland, to purfue that victorie, and reduce that kingdome to the Parliaments obedience, as he did. Seventhlie, I was forry to heare, that any thing might have been done for the King in Scotland, was totallie obftruded by the irreconcileable animofities betueene Duke William Hamilton and the Marqueffe of Montroffe at the Haag, where they were both with the King; as alfo that his Majestie, in fteade of going to Ireland, which might have been preferved, was perfuaded to goe fee his mother in France; from whence he went to Jerfey, where he winterd in the yeare 1649, till ane addrefse from the governing partie in Scotland brought him out of it to Breda, there to treat with his Scots Commiffioners. I confeffe that all thefe fad intelligences comeing on the necke of other, did much afflict my fpirit, yet not fo much bot that I ftill hopd to live and fee ane alteration; for after a great ftorme, of neceffitie a calme muft follow.

Overton had promifd, that fo foone as Cromwell went out of England, he wold propofe fome way for my libertie. So foone, then, as he was arrivd in Ireland, I put my Governor in mind of his promife. He advifeth me, in regard Watfone my marfhall was going to London about his oune affaires, I fould give him fome moneys, for which he wold oblige him to agent my bufines according to his direction, which was this. A friend of his, one Colonell Nidam, was killd in the Parliaments fervice, and had left his wife very poore. She fould petition the Parliament to give her a prifoner, for whofe libertie fhe might get fome money. He faid there was no doubt bot the Parliament wold referre the petition to Generall Fairfaxe, and then he wold deale with Mr Clerke, (who was then Fairfaxes fecretarie under Rufhworth,

since knighted by the King, and killd at sea,) that I should be the man, if I would satisfie the widow. I humbly thankd him for this very kind proffer, and readily accepted of it. The Governor writes to London with Watfons, who stayd ten weekes, mostly at my charges. The Governor had cast up a right account; for a letter is obtained to him from Fairfaxe to set me at libertie, I giving my paroll to goe beyond seas, and not to returne to any of the three kingdomes for a yeare, but not one word of money. I am presently taken out of my prison house, my guards removed, and I accommoded in that inn where first we were lodged when we came to Hull; the best inn of the town.

The next day I went to Overton, both to give him my real thanks for this superlative favour, as also to know what he would appoint me to give the widow and Mr Clark; for though there was mention made of none of them in his Generalls order, yet I intended not to be ungrate, or omit to pay that duety I owed to both. He askd me what I would bestow on each of them? I told him, fiftie pounds on the widow, and ten on Mr Clark. He replyd it was too much, and therfor he would save me fiftene pounds of that soume; for the widow should have but fortie, and Mr Clark five. This I presently payd; neither would Overton suffer me to present either himselfe or his ladie with any token of my thankfulness. This was the most courteous Independent I ever met with. My marshall and his deputies I satisfied so well, that they did not complaine of me. Moneys were furnishd me not onlie for this, but for all my charges the whole time of my imprisonment, by one Master Key, who that yeare was shrieve of the town. They were repaid to him by David Wilkie, a merchant of Edinburgh, they two having beene well acquainted together in Spaine. Mr Key and

some other honnest Royalists of the toune had given me severall visits, when I was in the Provost Marshalls companie, bot there we might not speake bot before one of my keepers ; bot when I came to lodge in the inne, they and I conversed freely together, to both our great satisfactions.

I resolvd to be gone with the first ship went from Hull, whatever place of Christendome she was bound for, feareing I might be stopd by some new order. Sixe weeks after, a cloth ship made saile for Hamburg with a convoy of threttie guns. In the convoy were some merchants belonging to that staple, all men for the new Commonwealth. I wold not goe with them, but went in the cloth ship, where one Master Robbiesone was master, ane honnest and well principld man. We went doune the Humber, at the mouth wherof we met with a very faire wind, which in foure dayes time put us in the mouth of the Elve ; and as we went up that river, I found a gret change since the time I was there before, about Geluctstad, a toune of the King of Denmarks ; his block houses there, whereby he had exacted toll of all ships that passd, being demolishd, by vertue of ane article of the peace he had made with Sueden, after foure yeares unfortunate warre. That article was made by the instigation of the citie of Hamburg, which had notable assisted the Sueds against their lord and protector the King of Denmark. Tuo days after, we arrivd and landed at that rich and flourishing citie.

Among other favours I reffavd from Colonell Overton, Governour of Hull, this was not the least, that he permitted me the use of all the bookes the stationers of that place could afford, for which I payd them money weeklie ; and, which I valued more, he allowd me the use of pen,

paper and inke; which were tuo very comfortable and profitable divertifements to me in that affliction. Heere it was where I wrote fome collections of the ftate of Europe, from the yeare 1618, that the dreadfull comet appeared, till the year 1638, that the Scots Covenant appeared in the world, which produced as fad and lamentable effects as that comet did. Heere I wrote alfo [fome] effays and difcourfes, and that with fo much confidence and freedome, as if I had beene at my full libertie, that I am fure if Overton had perufd them, he had found fo much fpoke to the difadvantage of his mafters of the new Commonwealth, that he wold have given a ftop to my releafment. Bot he fufferd me to cary all my papers with me untouchd and unfeene by himfelfe or any other. And fo I tooke my leave of him, and of Hull alfo, in the beginning of November 1649, after I had beene prifoner fourteene months or thereby.

MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER;

PART SECOND,

WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED

THE REMARKABLE PASSAGES OF HIS LIFE
FROM HIS RELEASMENT OUT OF PRISON AT HULL,
IN OCTOBER 1649, TILL NOVEMBER 1663.

SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS.

WHEN I arrivd at Hamburg out of Hull in November of the year 1649, I found a number of Scotch gentlemen who either had servd the late King, or intended to serve the present one, attending the orders and motions of the famous Marquesse of Montrose ; who haveing trusted too much to Vlefeld the Great Steuart of Denmarks promises of assistance, found himselfe disappointed by that faithles minister of estate, who afterwarde went faire to betray both his prince and countrey. This obliged the Marques to retire himselfe to Gottenburg in the Suedish dominions, where he was underhand supported, bot very inconsiderable, by the great Queene Christina. If I had beene provided then with moneys, without which I could put myselfe in no equippage, I had runne the hazard of goeing to Scotland with the rest who accompanied the Marquesse, shorthlie after, in that last misfortunate and fatall expedition of his. Bot I could be master of no money till I came to Holland ; and therfor by my letter offerd my service to my Lord Marques, which the Lord Napier was pleasd to send under his couvert, and to which I had a very favorable returne, and invitation from the Marques to come to him, writ with his oune hand.

I went by land to Holland, accompanied with Colonell Sibbald, who carried letters from Montrose both to Scotland and Ireland. From Roterdame I wrote with him to my wife at Edinburgh, to furnish him with a considerable peece of money, (for he was not well stored,) which she did; and he had his heade chopd of not long after at the Crosse of Edinburgh; so I losd both my friend and my money. My wife, in a stormie and tempestuous winter, gave me a visite in Holland; and having furnishd me with what I most stood in need of, returnd with much trouble and danger to Scotland. I pasd the rest of the winter in visiteing the best places in Holland; and in March of the yeare 1650, went to Breda to attend the treatie betueene the King and his Scottish subjects; the issue wherof was a gracieous condiscendence of his Majestie to all or most of their demands; and with them he went to Scotland, accompanied with severall Lords, who after his arriveall were removd from him, and himselfe so used as I wish posteritie may never know.

I then put on a resolution to goe to Sueden, and under a notion to seeke some arreares were due to me, to see the glorie of the Suedish Court, and the magnificence of Christinas coronation. I arrivd at Elsfennure, where finding the wind turne contrare for some days, I alterd my resolution; and having seene the King of Denmark and his Court at Copenhagen, his statelie palace of Frederichsburg, and his strong castle of Cronenburg, I returnd to Holland, after I had endurd a horrible tempest at sea. I intended then to have gone to France, bot the late Earle of Southeske, then Lord Carnegie, perswaded me to accomanie him to Scotland. We landed the very night before Cromwell beate the Scottish armie at Dumbar. My Lord and I found, that the persecution of these who had assented to, or acted in Duke Hammiltons engadgment,

as it was calld, was as hote as ever; which obliged us that very night to depart the toune, and take up our lodgeing with a gentleman six miles from Aberdeene, where we had landed. My Lord and I parted at his fathers house of Kinnaird.

I went privatlie to Fife, where I had the comfort to meet with my deare wife, who haveing put her best things in the Castle of Edinburgh, and left the rest to their hazard, came and livd with me that winter at Difart.

About this time, the monstros Remonstrance was hatchd; and if Lambert had not, by good fortune to us all, beaten Colonell Ker at Hammilton, I beleve the King had beene just as safe at St Jonston, as his father was at Westminster. The desperate condition of affaires movd some of the best naturd of the Presbiterian cleargie to thinke of some meane, to bring as many hands to fight against the publike enemie as was possible; and therfor, notwithstanding all their acts of Assemblies and Commissions of the Kirk to the contrare, they declared all capable of charge in State or Militia, who would satisfie the Church, by a publike acknowledgment of their repentance for their acceffion to that sinfull and unlawfull Engadgment. The King commanded all who had a mind to serve him, to follow the Churches direction in this point. Heerupon Duke Hamilton, the Earles of Craufurd and Lauderdaill, with many others, were admitted to Court, and numbers of officers refaved and put in charge, and entrusted with new levies. My guilt in affronting the Miniftrie, (as they calld it) in the person of Mr Dick at Glasgou, and my other command in the West, retarded my admiffion very long; bot at length I am absolved, and made Adjutant Generall of the Foot; and after the misfortunate rencounter at Innerkeithen,

had once more Lieutenant Generall Holburns regiment given me by his Majesties command.

Behold a fearfull sinne! The Ministers of the Gospell reffavd all our repentances as unfained, thogh they knew well enough they were bot counterfeit; and we on the other hand made no scruple to declare that Engadgment to be unlauffull and sinfull, deceitfullie speakeing against the dictates of our oune consciences and judgments. If this was not to mocke the allknoweing and allfeeing God to his face, then I declare myselfe not to know what a fearefull sinne hypocrisie is.

The defeate of that part of the armie at Innerkeithen, Cromwells march with most of his forces to St Jonston, whereby he cut of all succourse of men and meate from the North, obliged the King; with the advice of the Committee of Estates, to lay present hold on occasion to leave the rebell behind him, and march with his whole armie from Stirling into England. The horse and dragoons might be about foure thousand; and the foot, as I reckond them that day we marchd from Stirling parke, were upwards of nine thousand. A traine of artillerie of some field peeces and leather canon we had, with futeable amunition, under the conduct of Sir James Wemis Generall of the Artillerie. We got quicklie to English ground, bot with a great deale of mischief to all these poore Scotch people by whose dwellings we marchd, robbing and plundering being used by the sojors, even to admiration and inhumanitie. Neere to Carlile, the King is proclaind King of England and Ireland, with the great acclamations of the armie; and severe commands made against all other robberies, plunderings and exactions; which being put in execution by hanging tuo or three, were well enough observed, and very good order and discipline keepd the whole march,

I will not amuse myfelfe to relate all the particulars, circumftances, or mifcarriages of this unfortunate expedition, my intention being to fpeake of what befell myfelfe till this prefent yeare of God. In that armie I was Colonell of foot, and Adjutant Generall; and with no better fortune then I had when I exercd thefe charges in the yeare 1648.

Lambert and Harriefone being beaten from Warinton bridge, and all their Cheshire foot chaced away from them, the King declind to march ftraight to London, from which upon his approach it was thought the Parliament wold have removd to Windfor; and fo we went ftraight to Worcefter, where we lay till Cromwell came and faced us; and after three or foure days refpite, in which time he gathered a great bodie of the countrey trained bands, to the number of five and tuentie thoufand at leaft, befides his veteran armie; and then he forced us to fight on the third day of September, with a great deale of difadvantage both for ground and numbers, bot with much greater miffortune.

Heere was the gros of the royall armie routed; fome great officers efcapd, and three thoufand horfe with them; which bodie might have, no doubt, made a fecond warre in Scotland, bot falling in peeces by bad conduct, they came everie mothers fonne in the pouer of the enemy. His Majeftie, by the good hand of God, efcapd fafely, and was prefervd to be a bleffing to his three kingdomes. The manner how; and what way he got out of England to France, notwithstanding all the means the rebells ufd to get him in their pouer, may be feene in the hiftorie of his life written by Edward Philips.

Many thoufands were carried away prifoners to London, to give

the people ane assured demonstration of Cromwells unquestionable victorie. Among the rest I was one. At or neere Oxford, the Marshall Generall (who indeed was as civill as a man of his charge could be,) exacted from the Lords, Officers and Gentlemen, who were prifoners, a parole and revefe fignd with their hands, to be faithfull prifoners, which most of all willinglie did ; bot Generall Dalyell, and Lieutenant Generall Drummond knowing I intended to endeavour my escape, refused to signe, least I, being the onlie person that wold not subscribe it, might have beene the worfe used. The second night of our stay at Oxford, with the helpe of our hoste, a barger, a barbour, and a shoemaker, I got out of the top of the house, and thorough ane other voyd house, escapeing all our guards both of horse and foot, not without obstructions and some merrie passages, the memorie wherof was afterwards pleafant, thogh then I runne tuice the neere hazard of breakeing my necke. I lay tuo days and nights in the garret of a new house, which had neither doore nor window in it. The search, which was not very strict, being over, and the prifoners with their guards prettie well advanced towards London, I creepd out of my retreat, and in a very pitiefull disguise, accompanied with halfe a dozen of watermen, (who had all served the late King as fojors,) tooke my journey fraight to London. The first day I walkd afoot to Morley, which was tuentie miles from Oxford ; but my feet were so spoiled with the clouted shooes which I wore, and myself so wearie, that my companions were forced to carry me almost the last tuo miles. Lustie, strong and loyall fellows they were, bot extreamlie debauchd. They misd not one alehouse in the way, and my paying for all the ale and beere they dranke (for I thanke God they wold drinke no wine,) did not at all

trouble me ; but it was a vexation to me to drinke cup for cup with them, els they fould have had no good opinion of me, and to them I was neceffitated to reveale myfelfe, my honneft barger going before us all the way a horfebacke, and fo ferving us for a feout. At Morley I hird ane old carkaffe of a horfe from a knaveifh old fellow, who made himfelfe exceeding merrie with me, jeering me verie broadlie ; and indeed I was in fo wofull a plight that I was ridiculous enough, neither could any man have conceavd that ever I had beene ane officer in any armie of the world. On horfebacke I came from Bramford, thretteene miles from Morley, and feven from London, and rode thorough at leaſte tuo hundreth red coates that had convoyd my countrey-men to Titlefield ; bot was well ſecoded in paſſing them by my truſtie comerades, the watermen. At Bramford I tooke oares, and in the night time landed at Weſtminſter ſtaires, which I had never ſeene ; for I came in ane evill houre to London, where I had never beene before. I was lodgd that night with ane honneft Welchman, to whom my barger reveald what I was ; that he might make me knoune to ſome of the Royal lpartie, for I had no acquaintances in that great citie.

After I had reposed myfelfe tuo days, wherof I ſtood in great need, ſome clothes, linnens and a litle money, were ſent me by three honneft men, and brought to me by my hoſte. The clothes I accepted, bot refuſd the money, and nixt night I was brought by water to the citie, to the three gentlemen who had ſent me ſo ſure tokens of their kindnes, and whom I had never ſeene all my life before. Three loyall perſons they were, who, after they had made themſelvs knoune to me, they deſired a particular rehearſeall of the King's miſfortunate expedition, and his loſſe at Worceſter ; which they heard with as grievd hearts

as I related it. They thought it fit to lodge me in a publike inne within the citie, and entrusted me to the care of the drawer, who was both ane honest and ane understanding fellow. That house I changed, and so did I many others, till I lighted on the house of ane honest widow, who had no creature in the house with her bot her oune daughter; and there indeed I was as secure as if I had beene in my mothers house. Severall appointments were made betweene my three noble friends and me, and all punctuallie keepd. Their kindness I can never forget, unles I intend to accuse myselfe of the higheft ingratitude. They entrusted me with a message to the King, wherin his Majestie was neerlie concernd, which I faithfullie deliverd to him at Paris.

Immediatlie after the first time I had spoke with these three Royalists, I went back to Westminster, to take my leave of my honest barger and watermen, who had by that time ended their busieness; for the watermen were led as witnesses of a ryot, alledged to have beene committed by the barger, and if the matter was referd to their oath, I need not doubt bot he was affoyld, let his guilt be what it wold. I was given out all the way from Oxford to be a witnessse also; I was borne in a countrey village in Oxfordshire, where I had never seene or learnd any good manners or breeding; and I was called Richard, or Dicke; bot I changed that and five or six more names before I got out of London. After I had drunke a dozen of beare with them, I offerd everie one of them a tuentie shilling peece of gold as a token of my thankfullnes, bot I could not for my heart persuade any of them to take it; onlie I movd each of them to take half a crowne, wherwith they said they wold drinke my health in their returne to Oxford; and so after many embraces we parted. The like honestie I met with at Oxford before;

for neither my barbour nor shoomaker wold, for any intreatie of mine, take either gold or moneys from me; bot they tore away all the ribbands that were on my clothes, and said they wold weare them till the Kings restoration, which they said they were sure wold be nixt yeare. Colonell Prides sonne haveing given me faire quarter when he tooke me, I had savd some of my gold; and when I made my escape, Generall Dalzell had lent me ten peeces, one wherof I gave to my hostesse at Oxford, when she lighted me to the garret of her house; ane other I gave to the bargers wife as a token. Sixe I spent in my tuo days journey to London; the rest maintaind me well enough till I was supplyd out of Scotland.

When I went abroad, I did it either by coach or water; for the streets were full of Scotsmen, especiallie sojors, who might have wrongd me with unseasonable kindnes. For the most part I keepd my chamber; and then I had time and leifure enough to reflect on the deplorable condition of the King and all the Royall familie, of the three kingdomes, especiallie my native countrey of Scotland, now reduced to a province by the most insolent of Rebels. But, *proximus esto tibi* is so true a saying, and so agreeable to mother Nature, that
 and therefore I feriouflie considered the evill aspect of my oune particular affaires, the many tryalls and afflictions I had met with in the course of my life, and what a great one I had now to wrastle with, my wife haveing beene in Dundee when it was taken, a world of blood spilt in it, the toune sackd and plunderd. This I knew at Oxford, but did not, nor could not, learne what had becomd of my deare wife, till three weeks after my comeing to London; and then I was certainlie informed that she had savd nothing of all she had of moneys,

clothes and mooveables, except the cloths ſhe had upon her ; bot that her life wes ſaved, and that ſhe was returned on foot to Difart. I was exceedingly comforted to heare that her life was given to us as a prey, for which mercy I bleſſd God. The miſfortune of dolefull Dundee fell on the firſt day of September, and ours in England on the third therof. My wife and I, by our mutuall letters, underſtanding of each others wellfare, I recommended her to the divine Providence, who in his oune good time wold bring us together againe.

I durſt not hazard to goe out of England, till it was knoune that his Majeſtie was ſafelie arrivd at Paris. The ſearch then not being ſo ſtrict, I reſolved to be gone either for Holland or France. I had kept a conſtant correſpondence with Lieutenant Generall Middletone, then priſoner in the Toure, by Major Strachan, now Sir John Strachan. I ſtill affurd him, for my intelligence by my English friends was very good, that his life wold be taken, ſo ſoone as he was cured of a ſhot he had reſſavd in his bodie ; and therfor had layd doune three ways for his eſcape ; one of them being by a falſe key to open his chamber doore (whill Strachan ſould be drinking with the keeper in ane alehouſe,) and diſguifed in a blacke ſute of apparrell, with a periwig of red haire, to walke at all leiſure out of the Toure, accompanied with Captaine Hay, (who was bot ſlenderlie rewarded for this faithfull ſervice,) and ſo ſould goe to the lodgeing I had provided for him. This way, I ſay, was that wherby he obtaind his libertie. The pretence they had to put him to death was, that he had broke his parole in eſcapeing out of priſon at Berwick, as they alledged. He pretending not to be guiltie of this alledged crime, his neereſt friends not feareing his life, prevaild with him not to hazard the loſſe of his eſtate in Scot-

land, which wold be affuredlie forfeited if he broke out of prifon. Upon this advice he fent me a meffage by Major Strachan, fhewing me his refolutions, and defird me to put myfelfe to no further hazard for him, bot be gone as foone as I could to the King. He fent me a memoriall of what I was to fay to the King from him, as alfo to all his friends at Paris. I was trulie forry to fee him fo easilie perfuaded to put his life in fo needles a hazard ; bot feeing my ftay was to no purpofe, I prepard to make my efcape out of England, as I had done out of Oxford. To this did exceedinglie help me, a paffe which one Mr Harrie Knox, ane expectant minifter, had got by the Counteffe of Devonfhires meanes, from the pretended Councell of State. He altering his refolution of goeing to France, gave me the paffe ; and after I had ftayd three or foure nights with a fifter of mine in Kentfhire, I came to Dover, accompanied with one Mafter Simfone, a brother of my brother in laws. I was more ftrictlie lookd to and examind then was ordinarie ; and one James Tours, a Scotfman duelling there, was brought to fee and fpeake with me. He was like to undoe me with queftions. I found it was neceffare to try his honeftie ; for imprifonment was the worft could befall me, haveing never broke either word or writ ; for I thinke faith fould be keepd to the worft of men. Whill the Governour Colonell Temple was boweing his heade to fpite, I gave Mr Tours a figne wherby he might foone know I was not the true Mr Harrie Knox. He provd ane honneft man, and indeed favd me, by not putting me to anfuere any more hard interrogatories. In a word, Colonell Temple could find me neither gentleman, minifter, fojor, or merchand ; bot a fervant to the old Earle of Morton, which James Tours knew well enough to be a ly.

The matter was this. Middletone had escapd out of the Toure the day before, and these at Dover haveing never seene him, and tuo hundredreth pounds being offerd to any that could find him out, wold needs have me to be him. Bot being cleard of that very grosse errour by Mr Tours, I was sufferd to passe with the packet boate. My Ladie Middletone haveing found by some discourfes with Sir Arthur Haselrig, and Lamberts ladie, the truth of that I had so often averd, that they intended to put her husband to death, advisd him to fly and save his life; which he did, as I shew a litle before. I had acquainted Major Strachan with the mistres of my house, and she promisd to make the gueft I entrusted to her very wellcome; and safe enough he was all the time he staid in London, thogh the searck was strict enough was made for him. He passd under the name of Master Anderfone, and Major Strachan was at that time Andro Reid. I had entrusted none bot him, my brother in law, and the mistres of the house with the secret.

I had a letter to the King from the imprisond ministers, Middletons Memoriall, and some other papers of concernment, all which I clofd by way of packet in a sheet of paper, and gave them to James Tours to put in the boxe. They were directed to "Jacques Broune à Calais;" for I was to have that name at Paris, and all letters to me to be directed so. Nixt day when I arrivd at Calais, I went to the post house and paid eight sours for my owne packet. I had imparted to Mr Simfone Middletons escape, what hand and concern I had in it, conjurd him to haste to London, assureing him he wold find him at my old lodgeing; and withall I gave him my passe to carry him, which might serve Middletone to good use, provided he did not touch at Dover, which I beseechd him not to doe. Master Simfone went away

that night, after he had feene me boated, found Middletone in the appointed place, and did him very great service; and indeed was the man that lodgd him at his fathers house in the countrey, five or fixe days, till he had agreed with a boate to carry him to France. Bot the mafter having got foure pounds in earnest, cheated them; yet Master Simfone prepar'd and agreed with ane other vessell, the mafter wherof proveing honnest, landed Middletone and Major Strachan safelie in Normandie.

I made short stay at Calais, goeing with the first messenger, day and night, in a pitifull cold season, to Paris; where, having kiss'd the Kings hands, I deliverd all my messages to him. I was graciousslie reffav'd by his Majestie, and wellcom'd by all my friends and acquaintances. Not long after, Lieutenant Generall Middletone arriv'd, who sent for me before his comeing was knowne. I stayd a night with him, and nixt day brought my Lord Neuburgh to him, and the day after that, he went to Court at the Louver, where he had a most gracious reception from his Majestie, and a heartie wellcome of all attended him. The Marques of Ormond, and Sir Edward Hyde, then Chanclor of the Exchequer, made up a knot of friendship with him, which I believe be yet to unty. This was displeasing to many who lov'd none of those tuo; for even then was this litle Court divided into factions and fractions.

Within a few weeks after his comeing, I retir'd to a private house in the fauxbourg or suburbe of Saint Antonie, from the companie of all my countrey-men, that I might learne some French; the readeing, writeing, and understandeing which language I had, without any other helpe bot that of a grammar and dictionarie, studied during my impri-

sonment at Hull in the yeare 1649. Heere I stayd ten or tuelve weeks, till both the King of France and the Prince of Condes armies drawing neere that place where I lodged, made me retire into the Citie; bot not before I saw the Prince his forces, after a stout resistance, beaten into the Port of Saint Anthonie; which being shut, they had in all probabilitye bene sacrificed to Cardinal Mazarinis just revenge, if the Duke of Orleans had not forced the gunners of the Bastile to discharge all their canon against his master and nephew the King of France, who was personally present with his armie; and that his daughter Madamoiselle, had not, with her viragolike presence and eloquence, cajold the burgesse guards so well, that without consent of the magistrats, they opened the port, and suffered the Prince and the forces he had with him to march thorough the citie, and crosse the river of Sein at the New bridge.

Before this, the Archduke Leopold, taking his advantage, whilst the King of France his suord is draune in his owne defence against the neereft Princes of his blood, marchd to Estampes, five leagues from Paris, yet did no great feats. Charles Duke of Lorraine marchd also with a flying armie of ten thousand men to Charenton, tuo leagues from Paris, with a resolution to joyne with the Princes. Him Marshall Turenne faced; bot whilst they prepare to fight, the King of Great Britaine mediats a truce, and obtaines it, by which the Duke was obliged to march speedilie out of France, and not to returne to it for fourteene days; and so the Lorrainer marchd backe againe, plundering all before him according to his custome. This good office done to the French King, procurd to ours the evill will and hatred of his neereft kinred; for indeed it ruind the Prince of Conde, and it stirrd

up againſt his Majeſty the populace, who breathd nothing ſo much as the deſtruction of Mazarini; even ſo farre as it was not ſafe for the King to entruff himſelfe longer in the Louver, or for his followers to ſtay longer in Paris. The Palace of St Germans in the Lay is by the King of France his command provided for him. Thither he goes with the Queene his mother, and his ſiſter Princeſſe Henrietta; for the Duke of Yorke before that, had gone to Mareſhallé Turenne to look after adventures, and perſite the ſkill he allreadie had in the militarie art. Moſt of theſe who attended the Court followd him; and I accompanied thither General Middleton. We went by boate, and in great danger of robbers and voleurs, the river being but narrow, and the tuo armies on both ſides of it. He had, a litle before that, got a commiſſion to be Captaine Generall of all his Majeſties forces in the kingdome of Scotland; and he was to haften to Holland and other places, where he might expect any aſſiſtance of moneys from well affectionate Scotsmen, wherwith to provide armes and amunition for theſe who were allreadie afoot for the King in the Hiellands.

I was appointed by him to goe to the Low Countreys before him, and waite his comeing at the Haag; bot I was neceſſitated to ſtay till the true Maſter Harie Knox (who had beene ſent with letters to the King from the priſoners in the Touer) was diſpatchd; and that could not be done in a ſhort time, being ſome of the priſoners, and the Chiefes of theſe who were in armes in the hills, wold be ſatiſſied with no letters bot ſuch as were all writ with the Kings oune hand. He being diſpatchd, and I haveing kiſd the Kings hands, Sir Johne Keith, brother to the Earle Marſhall, David Ramſay, Mr Knox and I, made a pleaſant journey in the beginning of September 1652 to Rowen, where I had a

care to see Mr Haries papers so well packd up in shoes and slippers, that they were bot in small hazard of any discoverie. He went for England, and deliverd all his letters and instructions, many of which were sent to the hills, bot neither in one place or other did these papers, which the King had writ with so much trouble, produce the wished effect of union, bot in the contrare disunited men of one interest; which may be imputed to the perfidieous wrong superscriptions, interlineings and misdeliveries of his Majesties letters; all which the late Chancior of England, the Earle of Clarendon, did in the yeare 1660, a little before the King was proclaimed in England, in a long discourse with me at Breda, lay at my Lord Balcarris doore, how trulie, I shall not judge.

Sir Johne Keith and I went from Rouen by land to Diepe, from that by sea to Calais, where finding a little vessell readie bound for Flushing, we embarked that night. Nixt morning, passing by Dunkirke, we were examin'd by ane Admirall of a Spanishe fleet, which kept that toune blockd up by sea. There we saw tuo great guns fire often from a batterie at land against the toune; for Leopold haveing taken Graveline, had besiegd Dunkerke also, then kept by the French. It was not long after surrenderd to him, wherein the English were very instrumentall; for the Duke of Vendosme being sent by the French King with a strong navie, in which he carried recruits of men, moneys, victualls and amunition, the English, farre too strong, set upon him, and carried his fleet to England; and after Dunkirk had yeelded to the Spaniard, they releas'd the ships, and landed all their men in French ground.

Sir Johne Keith and I being dismis'd by the Spanishe Admiral, landed

that night at Flushing. From thence we went to Roterdame, where we found my Ladie Middletone with much longing expecting her husband. She had her brother with her, Major Durhame, afterwards a titular Colonell, Sir Alexander Durhame, and Lyon King of Armes. When I was at Amsterdame about some particular busienes, my Ladie had a meffage from Breda, that her husband the Generall was arrived there, very fick of a tertian. She went thither; and not long after, I came to him at that same place. Within a month he was in a capacite to make dispatches; and I was sent with a commiffion from him, and many letters from the King, to some places in Low Germanie, to seeke the affiftance of such Scotch gentlemen as I had formerlie been acquainted with in the German warre. In all these journeys, I was my oune purfemafter; and spending my oune, I found myfelfe countable to no man. I began my journey the first of November, 1652; a very bad time of the yeare to travell day and night with a poste. In Februare nixt I returnd to the Generall, bringing with me fifteene hundreth dollars. In Aprile 1653, I was sent backe to some other places; and that summer I reffaved three thousand foure hundreth dollars, which I sent to the Generall by bill of exchange, retaining for my charges so much as he was pleas'd to allow me. What I had done encouragd him to send his brother in law, Durhame, to Sueden; where our countrymen contributed for the Kings affiftance about seven or eight thousand dollars, besides what was got in Holland from well-affected Scotfmen there, and five thousand guldens which the Princeffe Royall advanced.

That summer I desird my wife to give me a vifite in a strange land-
once more, and to meet me at Bremen, which she readilie did, and in.

June arrivd safelie there ; the which meeting, after all theſe traverſes, was exceeding comfortable to me. I could not learne what keepd the Generall ſo long in Holland ; waiting whoſe orders, I ſtayd ſtill at Bremen with my wife, not onlie all that ſummer and harveſt, bot nixt winter alſo. I had adviſd him to give no commiſſions till he came to the hills, that everie mans merite might be cognofed on. This he faithfullie promiſd, bot forgot it ; for he gave bot too many, and among others, one was ſent to me, to exerce the ſame charges I had at Worceſter, which I accepted.

In Februare 1654, the Generall made ſaile from Amſterdam to Cathnes, accompanied with my Lord Napier, Sir George Monro, Generall Dalyell, and Lieutenant Generall Drummond, and many other gentlemen ; and though he had promiſd to ſend for me, that I might goe along with him, yet he did it not, bot wrote to me to follow him. In Aprile nixt I entrusted myſelfe to ane honneſt ſkipper, who livd in Bremen, bot had beene borne in Scotland. I reſolvd to goe with him to Norway, where he was to take in a loadeing of timber, and from thence to Fife ; and ſo caſt myſelfe on Providence, it not being poſſible for me to forſee how I could get to the hills from that place. After tuentie days tempeſtuous voyage at ſea, we arrivd at Norway ; and after a months ſtay there, we went againe to ſea, and on the ninth day came to the coaſt of Fife. I went aſhore beſide Enſter, in the night time, being then in June. I ſufferd the ſkipper to take all my clothes, piſtolls, carabines and ſaddles with him, all which he burried under ground at Culros. After ſome privat ſtay in Fife, I was furniſhd with tuo indifferent good horſes ; by tuo noble and loyall gentlemen ; and haveing got moſt of my things with great hazard and diffi-

cultie out of Culros, and meeting with five or fixe officers of the armie, (for so they calld themselvs) I went to the hilles as farre as Locherne, where I met with some others, who pretended to a great desire they had to be with the armie. I encouragd them much to so loyall ane action, bot found it was not their earnest; for they did bot leade me up and doune the countrey, without ever draueing neere the armie; which they might easilie have done, it being then at the heade of Loch Tay, from whence it removeing, and Monck follouing, it was never possible for me afterwards to come to it.

A guarrifon of English, both foot and horse, lying at Drummond Castle, I lurkd some time about Locherne, with very much danger; and at that time, I had the bad fortune to see numbers of horsmen which belongd to the Kings armie passe that way, seekeing to get to their severall homes; haveing taken a libertie to themselvs to disband, after ane unhappie rencounter at Lochgarie betueene Generall Middleton and Morgan, wherein the royall partie was worsted, bot with the losse of very few men. I spoke with most of these horsmen, and found they were all willing to continue in the service, if their horses were put in case, who were all pitifullie beaten, and that they had put themselvs in some better equippage, which indeed I saw to be as bad as could well be imagind. Upon consideration heerof, I wrote to the Earle of Glencairden, who haveing done some handsome things before Middletones arriveall, had acquird the affection of both the countrey and foldierie, bot upon some disaffaction given him, had left the Generall, and retir'd himselfe with some Lords and Gentlemen, to the Ile of Makfarlen. I sent my letter (a copie wherof I keepd, and yet doth) by a trustie hielander. In it, I adjurd his Lordship by all that was

or could be deare to him, to appoint a rendezvous for these dispersed troopers, if he pleas'd, three weeks after the date of the letter ; assuring him they wold punctuallie keepe it, as men who were very readie to obey all his orders ; and withall offerd my service in it, or any thing els wherin he conceavd me able to advance the grand designe of his Majesties service. I reffus'd his anfuere, which did not at all please me ; for by it my Lord told me, he could doe none of these things I desird him ; being he was layd aside as ufeles to the King or his service ; with some other expressions of resentment of the injuries had bene done him. This made me sensible that the Kings affaires in that countrey were all out of frame, and made me conclude it necessary, that he who was most concernd ought to know his oune condition, and that it could be represented to him by no fitter person than my selfe, who I found could doe him no good where I was. And heerupon I put on a resolution to get out of Scotland as soone as I could.

To this purpose of mine, a faire occasion offerd itselfe. One Menyies, a lieutenant of horse, had about eightene or tuentie troopers, and a trumpeter, with him ; and these five officers who came with me out of Fife, stucke still close to me. All of them haveing intelligence that there was 200 paire of pistolls in a house of Kircaldie, they had some thoughts of goeing thither to make a purchase of them. When they had communicated the matter to me, I fullie perswaded them to give it the hazard. On our second days march, we came to an alehouse in Glendeven, where they conferd the command of the partie on me. There being good ale there, I caus'd them all drinke lustilie, and payd for the breuvage, a thing not usuall at that time in these parts. Haveing given the word and signe, I march before with my five officers,

and my fervant, inverting the ordinarie custome of *enfants perdus*, or forlorne hopes, and orderd Menyies to follow at a litle distance with the rest. It was towards the evening, and I had not rode a full mile, when I discovered a partie of above threttie well mounted men of the enemie, Scots and English. By providence I had on both my hands tuo litle riseing hills, betweene which I tooke my place with my officers, the enemie being below me in no good rideing ground. I resolvd to ressave his charge; bot I sent my fervant immediatlie to Menyies, commanding him to gallop up with his partie, and to cause his trumpet sound a charge all the way. The enemie and I had trifled away the time with inquireing for whom we were, thogh both of us knew we were not one for ane other. At length, when I heard our trumpet, I bid one of my officers tell we were for God and King Charles, and cryd aloud myselfe, that English fould have quarter, bot Scots none; and so charged. On our side no pistoll was discharged bot mine, all the rest being unfixed; on the other, one carabine and a pistoll, which last was shot at me. The enemie ranne baselie, and my partie pursued eagerlie, Menyies being a man stout enough and well mounted. After we had pursued by the helpe of the moone about a mile and a halfe, I could find a retreat. Sixe of the enemie were kild, and foure taken; to one wherof, Jonston, a Scot, bot borne in Ireland, I had given quarter, Menyies unworthilie kild in cold blood. He cravd me pardon for it; I desired him to beg Gods pardon for so unchristian ane action, and so passd it, because I durst not challenge it. The mischief was, he made his peace shortly after with the English governour of Sainct Jonston, and suore to him that he had kild that poore man by my order, haveing said no Scot fould have quarter; for which the English

vowd to cut me in peeces where ever they found me. That night, we refresht in the wood of Kincairden ; neither did I thinke it at all fitting for my partie to pursue their designe of Kircaldie, or me my intention to get into Fife. I was that night divested of my command ; neither could I by any intreatie move Menyies to march quicklie to the hills, knowing these of Falkland and Brunt Iland wold be quicklie after us, and these of St Jonston might be before us. The truth is, he had a localitie therabout, and looking more after money than men from the countrey people, he protracted the time so long as the English gave us the chase. Menyies wold have bene at killing the other three prisoners, whom partlie with intreatie, and partlie with horrible threatnings of ane after revenge, I saved ; they crying still to me to keepe parole to them, and had learnd well enough, thogh against my will, both my name and charge.

After this, I shifted myselfe from these plundering fellows, and having put away both my horses and my arms, except one short sword, I resolvd to get into Fife all alone, sending my servant away a foot clothd as a countrey fellow. The first night I was kindly entertaind at supper by my Ladie Breko and her sonne. He went to take up his bed, as he used, in the mos ; and I went on in my travells with a guide. The second night, the moone being eclipsed, I never in all my life felt or saw so sad and so heavie a raine, nor so palpable a darke night, thogh in the midst of August. My poore guide, who was honest enough, mistakeing his way, as it was no wonder, brought me in a mosse, in which he, my horse and I were well neere dround. After much tumbling, we got out ; bot he, who at best was scarce halfe witted, grew almost distracted with feare, not apprehending the true reason

of fo great a darknes and raine. My feare was, that his feare fould make him difert me, and therfor I comforted him, ever and anone putting a fhilling in his hand, and promifeing him greater matters. My confidence brought him a litle to himfelfe; bot I was glad when I movd him to laugh, by telling him that he needed not feare the white collar of my horfe, which, when I met with him, he faid wold make me difcernable in the night time; "for," faid I, "the moffe hath made him, you and me fo blacke, that we may paffe for blackamores." The poore fellow brought me at length to ane honneft mans houfe, and there he left me, after I had, to his oune thinking, overrewarded him for his nights fad turmoile. This honneft man brought me, a litle before day, to a friends houfe, where I defird to be. There I repositd tuo days; and after ten days longer fojourning with fome others, I got to Enfter, where I found ane honneft fkipper bound for Oftend. After I had lurkd foure days at ane honneft mans houfe in that litle toune, I embarkd, and with a faire wind in three days time arrivd at Oftend; being as glad to get out of Scotland as I was three years before to get out of England.

After I had viewd that strong place, famous for the three yeares fiege it ftood out againft the Archduke Albert, I went by Bruges and the Sluce of Flanders to Vlufhing, and from thence to Travers, where I was informed by that loyall gentleman, Sir Patrik Drummond, that the King had beene, with his fifter the Princeffe Royall, at the Spaw waters, and was then at Aken, the firft and antienteft Imperiall toune of Germanie, the ordinarie refidencé of Charles the Great, and famous for its hote bathes; the citie and many places about it, ftanding above immeafurable, and almoft incredible fubterraneous fulphu-

reous hote waters, wherby many infirm, lame and diseased persons are cured. I went by Dort to Gorcum, from thence to the Busch. There I took waggon, and passed through the land of Liege to Mastricht. From that strong toune my nixt days journey was to Aken, paying money all the way to the Spanish fojors for my life. I arrivd there the 20th day of September, and rested that night.

Nixt day I addressd myselfe to the Vicount of Neuburgh, who was very loth to beleve the bad news I told him. Hovever he brought me to the King, to whom, after I had kisd his hand, I shew that the losse of men at Lochgarie was not at all considerable; yet, for all that, the condition of his affaires in that countrey was bot bad, if the troopers disbanding and discontent of some of the Lords were rightlie considered. The last of these tuo seemd strange to him, as haveing heard nothing of it before; bot I offerd to make it appear to him by my Lord Glencairns oune letter. His Majestie seemd to be well satisfied with my freedome, and orderd me to bring the letter to him after dinner, which I did; bot feareing he wold keepe it, I tooke a perfite copie of it, which I have yet by me. I was admitted to the bedchamber, and none else bot my Lord Neuburgh. So soone as the King lookd upon the letter, he said it was all my Lord Glencairns oune hand. Many discourfes he had with me; he said he wold shortlie send armes and amunition to his Generall; he commanded me to waite on my Lord Neuburgh and Chancellour Hide nixt day, and give them ane exact and particular account of all I knew concerning his affaires in Scotland. He told me withall, he wold keepe Glencairns letter, thogh written to me. I told his Majestie, the letter was in the right hand, he being most concerned in it; and so I was dismisd.

Nixt day in the afternoone, I met the Chanclor and Vicount Neuburgh at a convent of Franciscan fryars, and gave them that account the King had commanded me to doe. I found it was good for me I had Glencairns letter to produce, a copie wherof, and of mine to his Lordship, I gave the Chancellor to reade; for without them, these tuo were apt enough to question the truth of that part of my relation, concerning the misfunderstanding betueene the Generall and Glencairne. They wold have it to be onlie betueene that Lord and Sir George Monro. I told them that indeed it beganne betueene these tuo, bot did not end there. The Chanclor then askd me, if I wold not goe where the King thought fit to send me. I replyd, at the Kings command I wold goe to Japan. He merrilie anfuered, Japan wold be out of my way. I told him it could not be out of my way if the King sent me there. Bot perceiveing his designe was to send me back to Scotland with letters, I said I was readie to go, bot it was fit to let his Majestie know before hand, I was a very improper person to employ in ane accommodation of tuo persons, to neither of which I was acceptable; for Middleton had shoune how small respect he had for me in severall particulars, which I wolde forbear to speake of. Glencairne, and the other Lords, wold looke on me as a fojor, and so one of those who they thought had cabald together to suppress the nobilitie. This was no excuse, bot a certaine and reall truth. After this free language, I was no more desired to goe to the Highlands. A choyce was made of Colonell Borthwick, to carry the Kings pleasure and letters to his Generall, Glencairne and the other Lords. Bot his negociation did the King litle good, and proved exceedingly misfortunate to himselfe, as his foure yeares imprifonment at Bruges can too well testifie.

I stayd a month in that toune, partlie to see my old acquaintances, whom I knew not when I fould see againe; partlie to cure myself of a difeafe which is epidemicall allmoft in the place from whence I brought it, the Hielands; I meane the ich or fcab, the hote bathes of of that citie being excellent for it. Then I got his Majefties paffe to goe to Bremen, bot not to leave his fervice. Haveing kifd his and the Princeffe Royalls hands, and taken my leave at Court, I left Aken the very fame day. His Majeftie went to Collen, and went backe to Maftricht, with Colonell Borthwick, and George Arnot, at that time page to his Majeftie. From thence we went doune the river Mafe by boate, to Rurmond and Venlo, and fo to Gennep houfe. There we tooke waggon and went to Nimmeghen, where, after a nights ftay together, we parted. I crofd the River of Wall, and by land went to Utrecht, and from thence to Roterdame. I ftaid fome time in Holland, and went to the Hag, to give the Queene of Bohemia ane account of my summers expedition; and I found it fit to doe fo; for a report had come to her eares, that in my difcourfes at Aken I had reflected on Generall Middleton; and fhe being a Princeffe who had a kindnes for all Scotfmen, did not love to heare that we fould doe one ane other any bad office.

It was now winter, and in the midft of November, when I beganne my journey from Amfterdame to Bremen. I had a cold and troublefome paffage of it; bot God be praifd arrivd fafelie there in ten days time. There I had the comfort to find my fueet wife in good health, having myfelfe paffd the yeare 1654 with as much trouble and anxietie of mind, fatigue of bodie, and danger both at land and fea, as any yeare I ever paffd in my life. A litle before I went to Scotland, the citie of Bremen had commenced a warre with Count Konighsmark the

Suedish generall in these parts, and had continued it whill I was in Scotland, with varieous succeffe; bot at the long runne, they were forced, shortly after my returne, to accept of a disadvantageous peace, after a very chargeable warre. In it they surpris'd a sconce called Burg, which the Sueds had taken from them, where Colonell Forbes my thrice noble friend was killd. He was brother to the Lord Forbes, Governour of Stade, a gentleman of much honor, gallantrie and integritie.

I had time enough to rest myfelfe the whole nixt yeare, 1655. It was then that Charles Guftave king of Sueden, broke the peace with Pole, fixe yeares before the expiration of it, and invaded that kingdome with a prodigious succeffe. A passe was sent me by one of his Field Marshalls, Count Wittemberg, at the sollicitation of some of my friends, and ane invitation to come to him, who then had enterd Polonia Major. Bot I knew how displeasing it wold be to the King, that any professing loyaltie to him, should serve a prince who had allied himselfe so strictlie with Cromwell. I excus'd myfelfe for not goeing, bot kept the passe, which yet I have by me. In the summer 1655, Generall Dalyell came over to Bremen from Scotland in a disguise. He told me Lieutenant Generall Drummond was gone to Holland, and that all being los'd in Scotland, Generall Middleton would shortly be with the King; and so he was, and whill he was at Court, severall letters past betueene him and me. After Dalyell had stayd three or foure days with me, he went with the poste to Amsterdame; neither did I see him againe, till his returne from Moscovia, which was not till ten yeares after.

Nixt harvest, my wife, intending for Scotland, went a boord of a ship, and was full seven Dutch leagues on her way from Bremen, when the wind proveing contrarie, by Gods good providence, I alterd my re-

folution, and went doune the river of the Weser, and brought her backe, that I might enjoy her company the ensuing winter. This was a great mercy; for that ship wherein she was to goe, after fixe weeks tempestuous tossing at sea, was glade to get backe to the river, pitifullie spoyld, and three of her men dead. Not long after, a very heavie and grievous concatenation of diseases feazed on my wife, which keepd her seven full months; and indeed I had reason to feare the worst; bot by the goodnes of God she was at length restored to health, to my exceeding great joy. In the nixt Spring of the yeare 1656, we found there was a necessitie for me to looke somewhere for a subsistence, and so for us to part for a time. This was a griefe to us both; bot it was our duetie to submit to Gods good pleafure. We resolvd therfor to goe first to Holland, and advice there further; and accordinglie came by sea to Amsterdame, in the beginning of May.

There I found Generall Middletone, who the yeare before had benee gracieousslie ressaved by the King at Collen. He was then comd to Holland about some affaires. A little before my arriveall, Dalzell and Drummond had shipt for Riga, in order to their journey to Musco. I found the Generall civill enough to me, and after some faire expostulations on both parts, we were, as I thought, very good friends. The King keepd then his court at Bruges. A kind of league betueene him and the King of Spaine (who had enterd in a mortall warre with the Ufurper) being clapd up, many great things were promisd by the Spaniard, few of them performed; yet under him, the king and all his followers had shelter. Thither Middletone went, and I promisd to follow very soone after.

Finding no passage from Amsterdame to Scotland, I tooke my wife

from thence to Roterdame ; and after a months stay there, and the Haag, I found a good vefsell bound for Leith, and in it my wife embarked. William Bruce, now Sir William, and Baronet and Cleark of the Bills, was likewife a paffenger ; at which I was glad, knowing he wold doe my wife all the good offices he could. I went with her below the Briell, where with a very fad heart I tooke my leave of her ; finding then how fenfible and touching a forrow it is, to part with a beloved yoakefellow. I thought this feperation of mine from her did too neare refemble death ; for I had no vifible ground for any hope to fee her againe ; I not being permitted to come to the countrey whither fhe was going, and there being bot fmall probabilitie that I could expect any fortune fo foone as might invite her to come and take a fhare of it. Bot

Aftra regunt homines, fed regit aftra Deus :

The ftarres above governeth men below,
Bot the Allmightie rules the ftarres, we know.

We put our truff in God, and He, who never deferted thefe who put their confidence in him, did not difappoint us. She landed fafelie, notwithstanding of a ftorme, and a great many Spanifh capers at fea. I had provided my wife, on all hazards, with his Majefties paffe, which ferved well enough againft the Spaniards.

I hafted to Bruges, where having kifd the King and Duke of Glocefters hands, (for the Duke of Yorke was not yet comd from France, though dailie expected,) I found the defigne to fend Generall Middleton to Dantzick and Pole very farre advanced ; and in the beginning of October his difpatches were readie. Great foumes were promifed to be

sent to him from Bruxells, for leavieing ane armie there. The King of Poles affection to our King, in hatred to Cromwell, was not to be doubted ; bot assistance of moneys from Scotch merchands in Pole, was bot a speculation. It could not in reason be lookd for, after they had beene so well fleeced foure or five yeares before, by Master Crofts now Lord Crofts. I was appointed to attend the Generall thither ; who tooke also along with him his brother in law Colonell Durhame.

Before we went from Flanders, the King, by permission of Don Juan of Auftria, raisd three regiments, one of English, under the Earle of Rochester, formerlie Lord Wilmot ; the second of Scots, under Generall Middletone ; the third of Irish, under Ormond. Two more were added after, and all were put under the command of his Royall Hienes the Duke of Yorke. All the Captaines were to be Lords, Knights or Colonells ; at least fixteene Captaines were ordered to be of the Scots, wherof I was one. Bot being commanded away with the Generall, I never saw my companie, nor reapd benefite by it, except a hundredth and fiftie guldens.

A little money was advanced to the Generall at Court, which was all well neere spent before we got out of Amsterdame. We stayd so long there that my Lord Neuburgh was sent to haste us away. Sir William Davidstone, now Conservator, agreed with a vessell to transport us. It was loaden with Renish and French wines. He put in also abundance of provisions for our voyage ; and so on the tuelfth of November we embarkd, and were a full month at sea in very cold weather, before we got to Elfennure. Five days did scarcelie bring us from it to Coppenhagen, thogh it be bot five Dutch leagues ; and there we were frozen in till the midft of Januare. The Generall livd in that

place incognito, which the Spanifh Embaffador tooke not very well. A thaw comeing on, in three days time we landed at the Mund, a very ftrong place in the mouth of the Weichfell, a German league from Dantzick. There we found the Suedifh Generall Konighsmark clofe prifoner, who had beene taken at fea, not without fufpition of foule play of fome of our countreyemen under his command. At Dantzick, fome of the Scots merchands, efpeciallie Mafters Dumbar and Gallenden, made us wellcome. Numbers of my Lord Cranftouns regiment came over to us, whom we too foone entertaind, haveing libertie from the Magiftrats, (who wellcomd and entertaind the Generall with all imaginable civilitie,) to levie privatlie. Seven days before our arriveall, the King of Pole, to our great grief, was gone from Dantzick, where he had winterd three months. The Generall fent his Majefties letter to the King of Pole, by a convoy which was goeing to him. The great Chancellor of Pole wrote to the Generall, and invited him to come to his Mafter, where he affurd him he fould be very wellcome; the letter was in Latine. A faire occafion was offerd us of a convoy of five hundreth foot that were to march to the King; bot the Generall wanting money, we were forced to ftay. He wrote fome formall excufes to the Chancellor. I was defird to pen the letter in Latine, (for I was all the fecretarie he had both for that and the Hie Dutch languages,) and it was fhoun to tuo Polonian fenators, before it was fent away.

No money being fent from Flanders, and the Generalls and mine being exhaufted, we borrowd from the Magiftrats, and private perfons alfo, more than is yet well payd. That being fpent alfo, we were forced to difband our fojors, and recommend them to a German Baron, who was levieing for the King of Denmark. Not long after that we were ne-

ceffitated to leave the inne where we lodged, and take up houfes apart, where we keepd bot a very forrie menage. Our credite was gone, our moneys were ſpent, and all we had except our wearing clothes was impauned; and in that pitifull condition, we breathd rather than livd three months. Many confolotarie letters were writ to the Generall from the Court, bot becaufe in ſome of his he had expoſtulated a little for his bad uſage, a countreyman of mine did me the good office to informe Chancellor Hide, that I had ſtird up the Generall to be diffatified with the whole Court. This was moſt malitieouſlie done; for I could not have beene ſo wicked as to blame any about the King for our wants, in regard the Spaniſh miniſters not keeping promiſe to the King, it was impoſſible for him to ſupply us. Middletone endeavored to keepe me from knowing this; bot not haveing ſhoune me the laſt poſtes letters, a thing he did not uſe, I began to ſuſpect there was ſomething in the wind, and I handled the matter ſo with Durhame, that I got it out of him; which the Generall knowing, he gave me the letter to reade. I told him I wold write to the Chancellor; and beſeechd him, by his letter, to vindicate me of a crime, he knew beſt of any man, I was never guiltie of. He promiſd to doe it fullie, and was as good as his word. I wrote to the Chancellor, a letter faire enough, yet ſo tart, that he might ſoone know, I was ſenſible enough of the injurie was done me; to which letter of mine I reſſaved a very faire anſuere, when I was at Coppenhagen; and in effect, finding himſelfe abuſd by his informer, he aſkd me pardon; for ſuch are the very words of his letter. After that, I gave him a weeklie account of all the occurrences of Denmark.

After this paſſage, I repreſented to the Generall, how ufeles I was to

him, being all hopes of doing that we came for, were evanishd, and what time I lofd, being the most of Christendome were in action; I therfor desird him to permit me to goe and offer my service to the King of Denmark. This he granted me, and gave me a very ample testimonie of my faithfullnes and diligence, which I have yet a keeping. About this time, Sir William Davidfone had advanced me fiftie dollars, a person who owd me tuentie haveing payd me them, and old Mr Gallenden lending me tuentie more, (which fixe weekes after I honnestlie repayd,) I found myselfe in a condition to supply some wants at Dantzick, and make my voyage to the Sound. I tooke my leave of the foure burgomasters, to all of whom I was very particularlie obligd; bot I told them I was goeing to Flanders, for further directions to the Generall from his Majestie. The Generall dismisd me with exceeding great kindnes, and many embraces; and being convoyd to the Mund, by Colonell Durhame, I embarkd for Denmark. Sixe days storme I stood out, and on the seventh, haveing a good wind, I landed towards the evening at Elfennure. There I learnd from the postmaster, who was a Scotsman, the condition of Danish affaires, which was bot bad. I knew before I left Dantzick that the King of Sueden had forsaken Pole, and left Ragofki, the Transilvanian Prince, to his future fortune, and was on his march thorough Caffubbia, Pomerania, Meclenburg, and the territories of Lubeck; and by that time that I came to Denmark, he had got into Holstein, where, of ane armie of Danes, consistng of fixtene thousand men, not one facd him the whole way; the Sueds, in derision of the Danes couardise, hanging out lanternes over the steeples of all the villages, to know if therby they might see any to oppose them, since with daylight they could see none. To

Copenhagen I went, where I was made wellcome by the Count of Ribelledo, the Spanish Embassador at that Court, and by him recommended to the Great Stewart, the second person of that kingdome. Bot he having gone at that time with the King to Jutland, where both his oune and the enemies forces were, I was forced to travell the whole length of the Ile of Zeland, the greatest of that kingdome ; to crosse the great Belt, a river foure Germane miles broad, which gives the name to the Baltick Sea, and to goe into Funen, where tuo yeares after, the Dane, with the helpe of the Hollander, gave the Sueds a totall defeate ; and at Odenfee, the principall toune of that Ile, I found the Court. This Great Stewart, or Grand Maistre, as the French call him, or Reichs Hofmeister, as the Germans name him, made me wellcome, and recommended me to the Secretarie of Estate for Denmark, (for there is ane other for Holstein,) with whom I guided the matter so well, that at the Kings returne to Coppenhagen, I was brought to his prefence. I kisd his hand without kneeling, and offerd him my humble and faithfull service against all his enemies. His Majestie reffavd my compliment gracieousslie, and bad me expect my anfuere from his Secretarie of Estate, whose name was Erich, or Henrie Krag. At this time, the Embassadors of all Christendome were at that Court ; the Imperiall, Spanish, Brandenburger, Polonian, and Muscoviter, folliciting a vigorous profecution of the warre against their common enemy ; the Sued, the French, English and Hollander, mediating ane accommodation.

Tuo months after my comeing, about the end of October of the year 1657, Ulefeld, a Danish Generall in Skonen, being killd, Henrie Lindanaw, one of the Noblesse in that province, was designd to succeed him. To him I was sent, with the Kings order to have a free squadron of

dragoones, and to be Adjutant Generall of his armie. I had the Kings passe for free quarter and wagons. Takeing some Scotch officers along with me, and arriveing at Christianstat, (a skirvie litle toune, bot exceedingly well fortified,) where Lindanaw was governour, I deliverd him the Kings letter. He orderd a double centrie to be put to the doore of the inne where I lodged, and causd his toune major give me the word. Nixt day he invited me to dinner; and after he had well entertaind me with boules of wine, according to the custome of that countrey, he tooke me aside, and serieousslie askd me, if I thought that these at Court who sat at the helme of affaires were all in their right wits. I told him it was so strange a question, that, if I offerd to answere it, he might trulie say, I were out of mine. He said, if they had been so wise as they pretended to be, they wold never have offerd to give him a commission to be a Generall, who had never had a hier charge then that of a Ritmaster, and this he wold shortly declare to the King himselfe, as indeed he did. He gave me notwithstanding free quarters to these officers I had brought with me, and keepd them with him, and so dismissed me with much kindnes.

At my returne to Zeland, I met with Major Generall Montgomerie at Elfennure, who had brought recommendatorie letters from our King, and the Queene of Bohemia, to the King of Denmark. He was graciously reffavd, and the levieing a regiment of foot offerd to him; which he refusd, his desire being to command a regiment of horse. I tooke my leave of him there; he recommended to me two of his followers, both Montgomeries, whom I shortly after got accommoded in a troope; and so the Major Generall shipd for Holland, and I returnd to Copenhagen.

At my coming, the Secretarie of Estate told me, that he had learned from Lindanaw himselfe, how needles a journey I had made to Skonen; bot said withall, that the King intended to give me the levieing of a foot regiment, for the scene of affaires was altered in my absence. The Sueds had by storme made themselves masters of Fredericks Ode, a strong place in Jutland, where they killed and tooke sixe thousand Danes, the reliques of the Holstein armie; and with them was taken the Fieldmarshall himselfe, very fore wounded, wherof he dyed a few days after; yet neither his wounds nor his death were able to wipe away the aspersions cast on him of treason. In that toun, the Danes lost above a hundreth brasse canons, and a considerable magazine of amunition and victualls. This considerable losse, and the evill neighbourhood of so stirring anemie, wakend the Danish King and his counsell out of their dreame. They finding they had bot litle reason to trust the natives, farre degenerated from the vigour and courage of the antient Danes, resolved to levie strangers. To that effect, sixe commissions were given out for levieing sixe foot regiments, each of a thousand men, wherof the King bestowed one upon me. I knew well enough how difficult a thing it was to levie men at that time; bot perceiving I could not in reason looke for any other employment, I accepted the commission. Bot intending to raise the halfe of my regiment in Dantzick, I wold only ressave the halfe of my levie moneys in Holland, then which I never committed ane act of hier follie. Thretteen dollars for each sojour were allowed us, for levie armes and transportation. His Majestie caused give me a hundreth and fifty duckats, to defray my charges the time of my attendance, not to be reckoned in my levie money, which I was to ressave at Amsterdame. It did not

pay the halfe of my expence; yet it was a gratuitie to which he was not obliged, and therfor reffavd by me with all thankfull acknowledgement. Haveing courted the Secretarie of Eftate, as a man of his qualitie fould be, I kifsd the Kings hand, and tooke my leave of the Great Mafter and Treaforer, who were my noble friends; then I went to Ribelledo, the King of Spaines Embaffador, and returned him my humble thanks for his civilities. I left him in a bad condition; for he was fo plagud with ane univerfall gout, that, as he told me himfelfe, he could fturre no member of his bodie bot tuo, that was his eye and his tongue. I tooke my leave of tuo Jefuits who attended him, who were my good friends, wittie men, and jollie companions. I embarkd at Elfennure in the midft of December, in a vefsell bound for Harking in Freifland. A very cold paffage I had, bot not very stormie; and in ten days time I landed at the Uly. From thence I had fome difficultie, becaufe of the ice, to get up to Amfterdame.

Letters of recommendation were offered me from the King to the Danifh Court, bot I refusd them, not out of vanitie, bot out of pure loyaltie; for I faw Sir Philip Medows, Cromwells pretended Embaffador, reffavd at Coppenhagen with fo much ftate and magnificence, (which fhows that England muft be courted, be mafter of it who will,) that I had juft reason to feare his Majefties letters fould have beene bot litle regarded. From Amfterdam I went ftraight to the Haag, where I fhew my commiffion, capitulation, and orders to Monfieur Rofemving, the Danifh Embaffador with the Generall Eftates, and with fome difficultie I procurd from him the halfe of my levie moneys. I capitulated with a Major and three Captaines, and gave them commiffions; but I gave them onlie a third part of my levie money. Whill

all of us are busie setting forward the affaire wherwith we were intrusted, behold, the King of Sueden, in Februarie 1658, passeth his whole armie, horse and foot, over the Belt that separateth Funen from Jutland. The ice was so strong on the whole Baltick coast that winter, and continued so long, that on the 19th day of March thereafter, the same King of Sueden carried his whole armie and his great guns over the Sound, over against Malmey in to Skonen, on the ice. Being in Funen, he beats the Danish armie there, with very litle opposition. He pursues his victorie, passeth over the Ile of Langeland, from thence to Laland, and at last to Zeland, the ice serving him for a bridge all the way. There did the English and Holland Embassadors meet him, who knowing their masters wold not willinglie see Charles Gustave master of the Sound, partlie by entreaties and remonstrances, partlie by threatnings, movd the victorious King to grant peace to the Dane; who bought it by a perpetuall resignation of the faire province of Skonen or Scandia, the Ile of Borholme, the strong castle of Bahouse, and some other places. Assuredlie the King of Sueden repented himselfe afterwards that he did not march straight to Coppenhagen, wherof at that time he could have made himselfe quicklie master; where he might, without stroake of fuord, have got all the magazines of the kingdom, the whole fleet, which was frozen in, and the King with his Queene and whole familie, if they had not fled over the ice to Skonen, and so to Norway. Bot God had determind otherwise.

The Estates of the United Provinces were very angrie with the King of Denmark for makeing that peace, which pure necessitie had forced him to, without their consent, and therfor they discharge our leavies under paine of death, arrests our ships, sets our men ashore, and give-

ing each of them halfe a dollar, bad them goe where they pleased. Such a miserable end had that misfortunate leavie of ours ! Affuredlie in this the Eftates did the Danish King a very shreud office ; for if they had sufferd us to finish our leavie, we had carried over 6000 men to Denmark, which undoubtedlie had moved the Sued to quit his resolution of invadeing that kingdome, as nixt summer he did ; for this martiall King falls with a strong armie before Lambes in Zeland, and at one time befeegeth Elfennure and Coppenhagen. The first, after a stout resistance, he takes by accord ; from the other he is beaten with an exceeding great losse. The Hollanders then perceaves their error, and to make ane amends, they send a strong fleet with their Admirall Opdam, who fights thorough the Suedish navie in the Sound, and victuals Coppenhagen. Nixt yeare, they send ane other fleet with De Rutter, and 2000 foot sojors, under the command of Colonell Killigrew, who assisted the Danes puerfullie to beate Prince Palatine Sultzbach and his Suedish armie at Neuburg in Funen. The King of Sueden did not long outlive this misfortune, and it is reported, that he was heard say frequentlie on his death bed, “ Funen, Funen, tu m’as tué ;” Funen, Funen, thou hast kild me ! So dyed Charles Gustave, who in the short time of his raigne had beene the Boutefew and Incendiarie of Christendome, haveing kindled the flame of warre in a great many parts of it.

Then it was that I found how foolish I had beene in takeing bot the halfe of my levie money ; for my comerads, the other Colonells, who had got all theirs, were never brought to any account at all. It is true, I demanded it from Rosenwing, and he refusing to pay it, I protested the Kings capitulation with me was broke and violated. We

were entering in a sute of law, bot comeing to tearmes of agreement, we gave it over ; and I requiring my passe from the King, tuo were sent me in haste, one in Danish, the other in Hie Dutch. In the beginning of the yeare 1658, I desired my wife once more to crosse the seas, and come out of Scotland to Holland ; which she readilie doeing, we met happilie, praise be to God for it, at Roterdame, and therafter livd tuo yeares together at the Haag with much content.

Generall Middletone staid all that winter, after I left him, at Dantzick. Nixt spring as much money was sent him as the King could well spare, wherwith he payd some of his most pressing creditors (for all his debts he could not pay), and bought some horses, and accompanied with Major Murrey, brother to Pomais, and one servant, he travell'd thorough severall places of Germanie, and visiting the tuo Electors of Brandeburg and Saxonie, at their oun Court, he came to our master the King, at Bruxells, where he was gracieousslie reffav'd. He was pleas'd to write to me so soon as he came. In the harvest therafter he left the King, upon what occasion I know not, and went to Amsterdam ; there he staid all the nixt winter. About that time, his Scottish regiment was given to the Vicount of Neuburgh, Don Juan haveing commanded, that none should have charge bot these who attend'd it. My companie in that regiment had beene given away, long before that, by the Duke of Yorke, without any injurie to me ; for I could not both attend a companie in Flanders, and a regiment in Denmark. In the summer following of the yeare 1659, Middletone is recall'd to Court, many great riseings of the Royall partie in England haveing beene projected, with greate hopes of successe. Bot the time which God had appointed to finish soe great a worke not being comd,

they were all blasted ; and Sir George Booths partie, which was the most confiderable, being beaten by Lambert, the King with a small traine went to Bayonne, to attend in person the iffue of the greate treatie of peace betueene France and Spaine, which that yeare was concluded. The tuo great Minifters of State, Cardinall Mazarini and Lowis de Harø, meeting in the Ile of Phefants, to caft that great affaire in a right mould, and therafter at the ftatlie enterview of the tuo Potentates themfelvs, a full conclufion was made, and the peace ratified, by the confummation of a marriearge betueene the King of France and the King of Spaines daughter. Bot obferve, that what fould have cemented the agreement betueene thefe tuo crounes tuo yeares agoe, did diffolue it ; the French King, to vindicate the Queenes right, invadeing the Spanifh Netherlands ; to fo litle ufe fervs humane prudence and policie, when a bleffing from Heaven is denyd to it. Nothing was done for our King at that treatie ; which made him returne to Bruxells, where he found greater grounds of hopes from his own fubjects, then he had reafon to expect from ftrangers.

A kind of a warre haveing beene begunne betueene Monck and Lambert, the loyall Lords of Scotland defird Mr Bruce, now Earle of Kincarden, to goe in their names to the King, (fince he was to goe to his wife in Holland houfoever), to repréfent to him their loyaltie, to defire his affiftance of armes, bot above all, to intreate his Majeftie to impart his royall commands to them, how they fould demeane themfelvs in fo great a concerne and exigent. And if they did not in plaine tearmes defire it, yet their expreffions feemd to import, that they wifhd his Majeftie wold be pleafd to name fome other Generall for them then Middleton. Mafter Bruce told the Lords, he could not agent their

busienes openlie at Court, without running a vifible hazard to loofe his eftate in Scotland, which was confiderable ; bot with their permiffion wold imploy me, who he conceavd was faithfull, and had nothing to loofe at home. They were fatiffied with his choyce, and after he was comd to the Haag, he broke the matter to me, and found me readie enough to goe about the busienes, bot very fhie to propone any thing to Middletons prejudice. My wife fell ficke in the meane time ; bot being told by a doctor that there was no danger, (which yet did prove otherwife) I went to Bruxells and deliverd Mr Bruce his credentialls to the King and Chanclor Hide, who was then Lord Chanclor of England. I found the King well enough fatiffied with all the defires of the Scottifh Lords, except that of a new Generall. He fpoke long to me on that fubject. I offerd in their name to affure his Majeftie, that fince he had a mind to continue him in his commiffion, none wold oppofe him. Meane while the King prepares privatlie for Breda, and commanded me to goe before him there, and attend him. There he came within three days after, and made wellcome by his fifter, the Princeffe Royall, and his nephew, the Prince of Orange. It was there where I fpoke at full length with my Lord Chanclor concerning Scottifh affaires ; who told me many ftories, and gave me full affureances of his affection to all Scottfmen, whatever had beene faid of him to the contrare, and of his particular kindnes to myfelfe ; bot withall complaind of the unfaithfullnes and falshood of fome of my countrey men, as I have touched before. I told his Lordfhip I wold not ftay a minute longer, unles I knew the King wold approve of my ftay at Court, in order to my inftructions. He faid, he was confident the King wold approve of my negotiation, and that his Majeftie had much truft for

me ; bot could not wonder enough, what prejudice the Scottifh Lords had againft Middletone. Nixt day the King calld me, and told me full as much as my Lord Chancellor had faid, and wrote much of it to the Earle of Glencairden in a letter, which he commanded him to communicate to the reft of the loyall Lords.

Bot there was litle need of any agenting any thing at Court, or of a new Generall for the Scots, or yet of armes to be fent to Scotland ; for the Kings reftoration, and the means tending to it, were carried on in fuch a way, and fo faft, as himfelfe could neither wifh nor expect the bufienes to be done better. He is proclaimd in all his three kingdomes ; is complimented by the Embaffadors of the United States at Breda ; invited to the Haag by the provinces of Holland ; is there royallie and magnificentlie wellcomd and entertaind ; is congratulated by the Embaffadors of all the Princes of Chriftendome who were at that Court ; his oune fleet is fent to bring him home, with Commiffioners from both Houfes of Parliament. He embarkes in it, and nixt day lands at Dover, and enters his capitall citie of London triumphantlie, on his birthday, where, at his Banquetting-houfe, both his Houfes made their humble Addreffes to him. And all this was done in leffe then tuo months time.

At my returne to the Haag, I found my wife bot weaklie recoverd of a heavie fickenes ; and that obligd me to ftay in Holland with her, till it pleafd God fhe was perfittie well. Generall Middletone had once more fallen ficke at Breda of a tertian, bot it was of no continuance, fo that it hinderd him not to accept of the grace the King offerd, to take him along with him in his oune fhip. If he did reffent any thing was movd to the King, to put ane other in his roome, he did not well

to revenge himfelfe on me; for not only my Lord Chanclor, bot the King himfelfe cleerd me of haveing any hand in it; and if himfelfe harboured any evill thoughts of me, he difsembld deeplie, for he profed otherwise.

At my coming to London, I found his pouer greater, bot his kindnes leffe; I fpeake this trulie, thogh I intend not to defcend to particulars. His Majeftie had defignd him to be Earle, his Hie Commiffioner at his enfueing Parliament of Scotland, Captaine Generall of his forces there, Captaine of his Caftle of Edinburgh, Extraordinaire Lord of the Seflion, and to have a troope of horfe for his guard. No act of grace or favour conferrd on any Scot, but what paffd either thorough his hands, or the Earle of Lauderdale; and thogh formerlie thefe tuo had beene very intimate friends, yet then the feeds of jealousies betueene them were founed, which brought forth fruits therafter of implacable animofities. Ambition will have the uppermoft roome; great Pompey will endure no equall, and greater Cæfar will acknowledge no fuperior.

I petitiond the King to remember my faithfull, thogh fmall fervices His Majeftie bad me tell, to whom I defird he fould have referd the confideration of my bufines. I namd the tuo Earles of Lauderdale and Middleton. Lauderdale promifd, whatever Middleton wold project for me in Scotland, he fould get it paid by the King in England. It may be; and I beleeve it, he wold have beene as good as his word; bot he was never put to it; for, though, befides all other former fervices of my oune, my Lord Chanclor of England had, by a letter, very ferieouflic recommended me to Earle Middleton, yet did he never doe, act or propone any thing for me. Tuo things I projected for

myfelfe, which fo foone as I told him of them, he obtaind a grant of them both to other tuo gentlemen. When I kifd the Kings hand at my parting from Whitehall, in prefence of fome of the greateft men in England, (except thefe of the blood), his Majeftie exprefd himfelfe very gracieouflic towards me, and told me, he had orderd his Commiffioner to provide for me. He conferd Knighthood on me, ane honor trulie never either defervd or defird by me.

I ftayd in that condition till Auguft 1662, and then it was that my Lord Commiffioner, by his Majefties exprefse command, orderd Colonnell Urrey and myfelfe, to raife each of us a companie of foot; the third the King had ordaind for my Lord Clermont, Middletons onlie fonne; bot his father takeing on him to be his tutor, gave the companie to Major Thomfone. Shortlie after, the Duke of Lennox raifd a companie for Dumbarton, and the Earle of Mar ane other for Stirlie Caftles. All five marchd in September to Glasgou, where my Lord Commiffioner comeing in his progreffe to the weft, he appointed the Earle of Linlithgow to be Lieutenant Colonnell of his Majefties guards of foot, and me to be Sergant Major. For what reafon this was done, will be to litle purpofe to tell. I had no commiffion till, a yeare and a halfe after, the King fent me one.

In the yeare 1663, his Majeftie being difpleafd with fome of E. Middletons doeings, appointed E. Rothes to fucceed him, and to be his Hie Commiffioner at the third Seffion of Parliament, at the clofe wherof, E. Middletons troop of horfe was cafheered. Towards the latter end of the yeare, the King tooke from him his commiffion of Captaine Generall, which he gave to none at this time; as alfo his commiffion of Captaine of Edinburgh Caftle; that, he conferd on E. Lau-

derdaill ; and bestowd likewise his place of extraordinarie Lord of the Session on the Archbishop of Glasgow. And this may sufficientlie let us see the lubricitie of Court favours and preferments, the mutabilitie of all sublunar things, and the truth of that a noble French author writes, “ *la montée aux prosperites, est de verre, la cime, tremblement, et la descente un precipice ;*” the ascent to prosperities, sayth he, is of glasse, the top wherof trembles, and the descent is a precipice. It verieth also, what the Italian poet, Torquato Tasso, sayth,

A gli voli troppo alti et repentini,

Sogliono i precipitii esser vicini.

Sudden and hie advancements, frequentlie

By precipiteous dounfalls followd be.

Yet the King professed still kindnes for him, which he hath witnessed was reall since, in makeing him Governour of Tanger, ane honorable command.

I stayd at Glasgow, quietlie attending my charge, till the yeare 1663; and from it I beginne the narration of what has since befallen me.

MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER;

PART THIRD,

CONTAINING A FULL NARRATION OF THE

INSURRECTION IN SCOTLAND

TOWARDS THE LATTER END OF THE YEAR 1666,

AND OF HIS MISFORTUNES FOLLOWING THEREUPON,

TILL THE YEAR 1670.

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SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS.

IN the beginning of the yeare 1663, ane unhappie quarrell arose betweene the Minister and some of the people of Kirkcubright. It signified bot litle; bot makeing a great noyse, the Privie Councell orderd some Lords to goe thither, and some forces with them, under the command of the Earle of Linlithgow, my Lieutenant Colonell, to examine the matter, and to imprison such as they found guiltie of the tumult. Some women were carried to Edenburgh, and keepd some time in the tollbooth; bot by the charitie and bountie of these who were of their persuaasion, returnd richer home than they came from it. One Ewart, who had bene Provost, was banishd out of Scotland, not because he had any accession to the commotion, bot because he did not appease it. By the Kings clemencie, his Act of Banishment was taken of. This inconsiderable and almost ridiculous tumult, made a great noyse at Court, as if the whole Scots were readie to enter England, with a numerous armie, on the account of the Covenant; wherof some great persons thought to have made their severall uses.

In the latter end of September of that same yeare, one Mr Alexander Robertstone, (who was afterward hangd for rebellion) ane expectant minister, tooke on him to open the doores of the church of Anwith,

neere that fame toune of Kirkeubright, and preach there to a very great audiorie. Bot thogh upon fummons he appeared at Edenburgh, yet the Privie Councill, to prevent fuch illegall meetings, thought fit to fend me to that fteuartrie, with threefcore men, to be added to the hundreth, whom my Lord Linlithgow had left there under the command of Captaine Ratray, at that time Lieutenant of my companie. Before I came, the Captaine had quarterd fome fojors on the moft obftinate oppofers of the conforme minifters, in the parifhes of Corfphairne and Balmaclellan; and at my comeing, upon bonds for future obedience, the fojors were a removeing. Neither was any fine exacted. If any ceffe money was taken by the Captaine, or thefe he impoyed, I know not, bot I am fure it was not complaind of. At the earneft follicitation of the minifters of thefe tuo parifhes, who were both of them exceeding weake brothers, I cauld the bonds of their parifhoners to be given to them, and they upon faire promifes of the parties, very fimplie redeliverd them; and this act of follie gave fome ground for my returne to that unhappie countrey. At the defire of the Bifhop of Galloway and his finode, I fent threefcore of my fojors with Ratray to Stranraer, commonlie calld the Chappell, being the people there were very diforderlie. After I had ftayd till neere Candlemes of the yeare 1664, the minifters complaining no more, I left that countrey, as I thought, in a reasonable good way to conforme; and in Aprile nixt, the whole partie was commanded backe from Kirkeubright to Glasgou; ane act of the Privie Councill being made to give me thankes for the fervice I had done.

In the month of March 1665, I was the fecond time commanded to that fteuartrie, with a partie confifting of one hundreth and tuentie

foot and threttie horſe, to put the laws concerning Church ordinances in execution; the people havinge beene extreamlie outragieous to their miniſters, and diſobedient to diſcipline. I ſtayd about tuo months in that countrey, and reducd it to ane indifferent good order, by ceſſing on ſome, and by both ceſſing and fineing others, and by faire meanes prevaileing with many; ſo that moſt of the Miniſters thought, if I had beene permitted to have ſtayd longèr, they might have had ſome comfort in their charges, by a tollerablie good compliance of their pariſhioners. Some money I exacted, ſparinglie, from thoſe of whoſe obedience I had hopes; bot from ſuch as the miniſters and I judged obſtinate, I tooke ſome money, and bonds for all they were found to be dylie owing, as 20s. ſcots for everie Lords day they had abſented themſelves from their pariſh churches. The bonds were all in Maſter Keith his name, under cleark to the Privie Councell. I affurd the perſons who gave the bonds, that upon teſtificates from their ſeverall Miniſters, of their frequenting the church, and diſhaunting conventicles, it was probable their bonds wold be returnd to them for litle or no money at all; and this I thought fit to ſhow them at parting. After tuo months ſtay there, I was orderd to returne to Glaſgow with both horſe and foot, to be employed therafter for diſarming ſome people in the weſt; it being my fate that nothing was intended to be done, that was diſpleaſing to that countrey, bot wherin I was made instrumentall. Immediatlie after I arrivd at Glaſgow, I am orderd with both horſe and foot to march to Aire, Irwine and Kilmarnock, to aſſiſt the Earle of Glencairden as Sheriffe of Aire, and the Earle of Eglinton as Bailiffe of Cuninghame, for diſarming all, except theſe who were entrusted with publike charges.

When this was done, I rode straight to Edinburgh, and gave the Earle of Rothes, then Lord Commiffioner, an account of both my negociations. I gave my Lord a paper of what moneys I had reffaved, what I had disbursed, and what I had by me. He fhew the paper to the tuo Lords Archbifhops, and a litle after, all I had done was allowd and approvd as good fervice, and I commanded to deliver up the bonds to Mafter Keith ; the fuperplus of the money wherof I had not difpofed being allowd me, as I conceavd, for the charges mentioned in the paper, I had beene at, in three yeares before ; as alfo for my expences in the fteuartrie, in the yeares 1663 and 1665. The bonds I accordingly deliverd to Mr Keith, and tooke a note of reffait of them from him, figned with his hand, which yet I keepe by me. The money I retaind, which was one hundreth and fiftie pound fterline or thereabout.

Bot the people of Galloways minds being whollie efranged from the prefent government of the Church, and haveing beene bot terrified to ane exterior obedience, and, by reafon of my parties fhort ftay, not at all fetled, they foone furnifhd their minifters with new occafions of complaints, which were fo loud, that they were brought quicklie to the eares of the tuo Archbifhops ; and they prefentlie acquainting my Lord Commiffioner with the great contempt of the laws, in order to Church Government in that countrey, fo that a refolution was taken to fend me the third time there, as alfo to Nithdail, where the people were likewife become diforderlie. It was intended I fould have gone in the beginning of Januare 1666, but fome things occurd, to which my oune backwardnes to that journey contributed, for indeed my mind prefagd me little good, which retarded my journey till the month

of March. I had againe a hundreth and tuentie foot allowed me, and threttie horſe were appointed to follow me, for bringing in the Parliaments fines, as they were called ; and indeed I very little meddled with theſe horſe, except that I quarterd ſome of them, on ſome deficiencies, in tuo or three pariſhes, in the months of September and October after, when I lay myſelfe at the toune of Drumfreis.

I was ſufficientlie impouerd, with orders and inſtructions from my Lord Commiſſioner, for ceſſing, quartering on and fineing perſons diſobedient to church ordinances ; neither had I at all any order to cite or proceſſe formallie the contemners and diſfrequenters of churches, and theſe who married and baptiſed with outed miniſters ; all which perſons could not be dilated to me by the conforme miniſters, for they knew leſſe than I, which of their pariſhoners frequented conventicles. They might indeed miſſe them out of their churches, bot could not tell where they were. I was commanded to make inquirie after ſuch, and to beſtow liberallie upon intelligence, both to find them out, and the fugitive miniſters, (whom I had order to apprehend) and to find out ſuch who harbourd them, and to quarter on them, and fine them. And by this meanes, I was more able to informe the Biſhop and Miniſters of theſe diſorderlie meetings, and who were at them, than they could informe me.

In May, if I remember right, a Sinod was kepted at Kirkcubright ; where to eaſe the phanaticks for ſome time of ceſſing, at my very earneſt deſire, ane Act was paſd for a bond of future obedience, to be ſubſcryved by all who had payd no fine that yeare ; with promiſe that after ſigneing and obſerveing the bond, nothing ſould be demanded of them for bygone tranſgreſſions ; if not, they ſould be ceſd on, not for

refuseing to signe the bond, (for that was a wicked calumnie) bot for the fines they owd for former delinquencies. Many subscrivd the bond, and so payd no fine at all; many refusd it, and so by my order were quarterd on for their bygone fines. A fortnights time was allowd them to advice, and in that time I went to Glasgou, from whence I had a call from my Lord Commiffioner to come to Edenburgh, where I reffavd new instructions. At my returne to Galloway, I cesd on such transgressors as had neither paid their fines, nor wold signe the bond. Bot making haist to Nidfdail, becaufe of a letter from my Lord Commiffioner, I exacted the fines of very few, bot caufd them pay the cefse to the sojors, promiseing once more, if they wold yet keepe the church, they fould pay no fine at all; if not, though I was going from them, I wold not faile to fend horfe to quarter on them.

In July, if I mistake not, I came to Drumfries, where I tooke the same course I had done in the steuartrie of Kirkcubright, and shire of Galloway. I dealt as favourable as I could with these who were averse from Church government. And heere I shall take leave, once for all, to write ane undoubted truth, which is, that I was so farre from exceeding or transgressing my commiffion and instructions, that I never came the full length of them; sometimes not exceeding the fixth part of the fines, sometimes not the third, and seldome the halfe; and many fines I never exacted at all, still upon the parties promises of future compliance.

In all the places where I came, the number of the deficientes, and the Ministers feares, that I fould be calld backe before the busienes were done, was so great, that I was often necessitated to quarter my whole partie on delinquents, and scarce keepe any by me, except my oune

servants ; this may be cleare by this demonstration, that though I stayd in that countrey full eight months, yet when I was taken, I had the deficiencies of seven or eight parishes, whose names had beene given me long before, to quarter on. And this my order led me to doe, being appointed to cesse and quarter with my partie, and not to keepe any post, place or guarrifon ; for if it could have been expected that the people of that countrey wold have risen against me, my partie when it was strongest, wold have beene too weake to have enterd there ; and after I had enterd, it had beene madnes in me to have cessd or quarterd upon any delinquent ; for necessitie of selfe defence, wold have obliged me to have keepd my whole partie constantlie together, yea, and to have fortified myselfe against hostile attempts.

Three months before my takeing, the halfe of my foot were tane from me to goe to Leith, the warre being hote with Holland ; and in the latter end of October, my horse were sent for by their superiors ; so that I had not in my partie full seventie men, and all these, except twelve or thretteen, quartered on deficiencies in the countrey. In this posture were my affaires and myselfe, when, upon the fifteenth day of November, a partie of phanatikes both horse and foot, to the number of a hundreth and fiftie or therby, surrounded the house where I lodged, and made me prisoner. I was sicke at that time, and had beene so for most part all that summer ; it being weell knowne that, betweene the first of March and November, I had let blood seven times. I can not bot regrate all my lifetime that misfortune, which I could not prevent unles I could have forseene it. Tounes, castles, citadells, strong forts, well guarrifond, yea and some armies too, have beene surprisid in our oune days ; and yet they had reason to expect the attempt of aneemie.

and therfor were obliged to keepe good guards and watches ; wheras I had no reason to looke for any fuch thing, from a people professing all kind of obedience to the King, and from those who had declared no warre or hostilitie. And indeed none could speake more for me then his Majestie, when he heard of it, expreffing himselfe gracioullie in these words: “ What hath befallen him, might have befallen the best man of the world.” What followed after my takeing, till the overthrow of these who tooke me, is fet doune at large in my Relation to the then Lord Commiffioner, a true copie wherof follows.—

A RELATION of the late Rebels their motions from the time of their rifeing, till their overthrow, made to his Grace his Majesties His Commiffioner, by Sir James Turner, Anno 1666.

May it please your Grace,

If it were onlie these of the phanatick partie that blamd me for being accessorie to the late Rebellion; I fould not be much troubled at it; bot it is no small greife to me to heare, that some who professe to be of ane other persuasion are apt to trust these misreports, without either heareing me, or examineing the truth, especiallie at a time, when my imprifonment renderd me uncapable to ansuer for myselfe.

I thinke I may safelie avouch it, that malice itselfe could not have abused me, and that partie under my command, with more horride, unchristian and inhumane crimes, then a nameles libeller hath done, in ane infamous paper disperfd against me. And since I have ansuerd it, and all its corollaries, grievances, aggravations and instances, I

ought in justice to expect that my anfuere be beleevd, till the libeller affixe his name to his paper, and undertake to prove it.

I thinke I have juft reason to defire all, of what perfuafion foever they be, to beleeve that the Rebellion was a hatching, long ere I commanded thefe parties which the libeller mentions; and that none of my actions, which he calls oppreffions, gave any rife to that infurrection. And if they will not beleeve me, they will, I hope, give trust to the worft of papers, I meane that infamous Declaration of the rebels themfelves, wherin all may fee that their takeing armes, aimed at no leffe marke then the fetting up of their dagon the Covenant, the restoration of their Remonftrance, and fuch a Prefbyterian government reeftablifd as futed with the protefters braines, and the totall abolifhing of the prefent ecclefiaticall, and confequentlie civill government.

My Lord, it will be impertinent for me to tell your Grace all the paffages, dureing the time of my imprifonment, betueene the Rebels and me. Upon that fubject, I fhall be ready to doe it when you command me; onlie give me leave to fay this much, that they confefd to me, that three or foure of their pretended grieveances, wherof they faid my oppreffion was one, did not at all give ground for their rifeing, bot onlie did accelerate it. Bot let it be fo, that my oppreffion occafioned this infurrection, why did thefe of the fhyles of Aire and Clidfdail rife, on whom I never quarterd one foldier? fure thefe men can pretend no oppreffion of mine. If my oppreffion gave a rife to this Rebellion, why did Maxwell of Morith, Maclellan of Barfckob, Maclellan of Balmagaghen, Mr Robinfone the minifter, Gordon of Holme younger, all of them commanders in this infurrection, and all of them profefling that I had done them feveral favours; why did they, I

fay, rife? Nay, why did Wallace, who at length commanded in chiefe, take armes, whom I had not feene in three and tuentie yeares before? Bot I fhall fay no more on this fubject, bot haften to give your Grace a relation, (fo farre as I know), of what pafsd from the time the rebells enterd in armes; till they were routed.

About the 12th or 13th of November 1666, a gentleman of the fteuartrie of Kirkcubright, fent one to acquaint me, that tuo men were comd from the north of Scotland, to follicite feverall perfons, (who they conceavd, were either diffatified with the prefent government, or otherwise discontented,) to rife in armes, promifeing them great affiftance from their countrey: As alfo, he informed me, there was a report, the phanatikes intended to feize on the Citadell of Aire, now called Montgomeries toune, and to repaire it. Bot becaufe the gentleman could averre, neither the one nor the other to be a certaine truth, he defired me to fufpend my beléefe, till he fent a neare friend of his oune to make a more particular inquire of the whole matter, which I beleeve he did; bot I was made prifoner, before he could give me any further account.

On the 14th day of the fame month, about fixe of the clocke at night, a corporall of mine, (who had beéne quartered 18th miles from Drumfreis), was brought to me on horfebacke, fhott in the bellie by Maclellan of Barfkob, accompanied with 18th or 20th men in armes; and this was done, as the corporall affirmed to me, becaufe he refusd to figne the Covenant. This did fo alarum me, that I refolvd, (thogh at that time I was right ficke,) to march directlie to the place where the ryot was committed, fo foone as I could get any of my fojors together; for my inftructions being, as your Grace knoues, to cefse fojors perfonallie

on these who refused to give obedience to church ordinances, it came often to passe that I had few or none with me, and at that time, I had not above thretteene with me in toune. This made me immediatlie write orders to most of these who were cessed in the countrey, with all diligence either to come to me, or meet me on the way. I wrote also to the Steuart Depute, and desired him to meet me at the parish of Dalry, where the formentiond corporall was wounded; so being resolved to march, with as many of my soldiers as could be brought together the next day, I ordered these few who were present, to come next morning at nine a clocke to my lodgings, and reffave powder, match and ball.

Next day, being the 15th of the month, I rose about fixe of the clocke, and when I was almost cloathd, I found myselfe so indisposd that I was forced to goe to bed againe. Betueene eight and nine I arose once more, and haveing onlie my night gounè upon me, the rebels entered the toune, and surrounded my lodgeing. I went to a window, from whence I calld to them, and inquired what they intended. Several of them, especiallie Neilson of Corsock, told me that, if I pleased, I should have faire quarter. My answer was, I needed no quarter, nor could I be prisoner, being there was no warre declared. Bot I was answered, that prisoner I must be, or dy; and therfor they wished me quicklie to come doune staires, which I choosd rather to doe, (notwithstanding the opposition of my servants,) then be murtherd in my chamber, for some of them had allreadie entered the house. I went to the streets in my gounè, where many pistolls and fuords were presented to my head and breast, till Captaine Gray, (who commanded the whole partie,) made me get on horsebacke, and wold have carried me un-

cloathd out of toune, promifeing therafter to fend for my cloathes. Bot at length he was perfuaded to goe with me to my chamber, and to permit me to put on thefe clothes I wore the day before. In the meane time, this Captaine feazd on a coffer of mine, where fome bags of money, fome linnens, and fome papers were. Bot his fojors got more, in ane other chamber, then he; neither could I make him or his officers fenfible of their oversight, in fuffering the rebels to cary away fo much money with them. Before I could get myfelfe in doublet, breeches and bootes, (and hafte enough I was commanded to make,) I could fee myfelfe robd of all the papers, moneys, armes, horfes, clothes, and linnens I had, thogh the Captaine often promifd, that not any thing belongd properlie to myfelfe, fould be imbecelled, and I as oft calld out to them to take all and onlie fave my papers; this was faithfullie promifd to me, bot faithleflie broken. Some few of my fojors were taken in their lodgeings, for nine a clocke, at which houre I appointed them to meet, was not yet comd. They lookd for Mafter Chalmers, the Perfon of Drumfries, bot found him not, yet did they bring away his horfe; neither did I heare of any thing els they plunderd at that time. The Captaine mounted me on his oune horfe, and there was good reafon for it, for he mounted himfelfe on a farre better one of mine, befides thefe he difpofed of to others. Some gentlemen, out of affection, followd me out of Drumfries; one wherof was ruddie commanded backe, and tuo others were carried eight miles further, almoft as prifoners. Yet I had the opportunitie to tell one of them, that fo foone as he returned to the toune, he fould immediatlie poft away a fervant of mine, (whom he knew I trusted,) to my Lord Archbifhop of Glasgou, to acquaint him with all had paffed. It was a great addi-

tion to my griefe, to know that my Lord at that time, because of a feaver wherof he was not recoverd, might fall in a relapse, and so not onlie endanger his life, bot render him incapable to pay the King and the Church that service, which otherwise I knew he was both able and willing to doe ; yet I thought it more fitting he should have it from my seruant, then from any other, who could not perhaps have given him so right an information.

That night I was lodged at the ministers house of Glencairne, bot the rebels did not let me stay long there, being frighted from thence by a misintelligence they had, that the Earle of Anandaill, and my Lord Drumlanrig, were following them with a strong partie of their friends and vassalls. I found it was in vaine for me, to offer to persuade the Captaine, that it was purlie impossible for these Lords, in so short a time, to get so many men together as could rencounter his partie, which consisted of above ninescore men, more then the halfe wherof consisted of horsemen, indifferently well mounted, with suords, pistolls and carabines ; the rest were afoot, armed with muskets, pikes, suords, sithes and forkes. When they had carried me away from thence, they put a strong guard upon me, and with much difficultie I was permitted to speake to the Captaine, who a litle before had dismissed tuentie of my sojors, whom he had taken in the countrey ; telling them, they should have no quarters heerafter, if they served the Prelats any more. They had kild one Hammilton, a sojor of my oune companie, the night before, because he would neither take the Covenant, or cared for their quarter. I did pleade, I could be no prisoner of warre, and therfor desired I might be set at libertie, which was refused me with much scorn and contempt.

Then I desired he would leave me in some place, till I convalesced, which I hoped would be within a day or two; and then I would not fail to come to him upon my parole, which I promised not to break. But the wicked wretch told me, that he was so farre from believing my word, that he would not trust the King, my master, if he were there; and uttered such horrid speeches as are not fit for any loyal subject to rehearse. I then told him, he might now dispose of me as he pleased, for after these expressions of his, it did not become me to make any further applications to him. Most part of that night was spent in riding, in regard my indisposition constrained my guards to march but slowly. Once they took me in to refresh at a place called Castell-fairne; the honest woman of the house was but shrewdly used, because by her pitiful looks she did show she had commiseration of my condition. There was one of my guards, called Canon of Barnshalloch, who entertained me the whole night, with discourses of death, by order, as I imagined, from the Captaine. He told me, he believed it was concluded I should dy, and therfor wished me to prepare for it, and to repent of all my heinous finnes, especially of that crying one, of my persecuting Gods people, who made conscience to keepe the Covenant, to which all my actions shew me to be a mortall enemy. It is needles to trouble your Grace with any more of his language, or my answers to him; let it be enough to say, that I endeavored to learne from him, whether my death was to be delayed till more of their forces were comd together; his answer was, it was probable it might be delayed.

On the sixteenth day of the month, we came to the old Clachan of Dalry, where their number increased to two hundred and fiftie. Master Hugh Henderstone, late minister of Drumfries, who lived neere that

houfe, obtained leave of Gray, that I might dine with him at his houfe. And though he and I be of different perfuafions, yet I will fay, that he entertaind me with very reall kindnes, and defird the Captaine to fet me at libertie; whose anfuere was, that he could not difpofe of me, till he came to the fhire of Aire, where he was to reffave further orders from his fuperiors. At this place, Major Steuart of Monwhill gave me a vifite, and thogh he be a Prefbiterian, yet in plaine enough language, he called them both fooles and knaves. It was reported to me, that Captaine Graye did heere offer to refigne his command to this Major Steuart, and that he abfolutlie refused it. I had often enquired what this Captaine Gray was, and by what authoritie he did command thefe gentlemen he had never feene before; bot I was anfuerd by them all, that they knew no more of him; bot that he called himfelfe Captaine Gray, and that he had brought ane order with him, to them all to obey him. I tooke much pains to learne from whom that order came, whether from one man, as a Generall, or from more men, as a councill, a committee, or junto; bot could never yet, by any means I could ufe, come to the knowledge of it.

At night, the Captaine lodged me with himfelfe, at one Mr Chalmers of Waterfide his houfe, who entertaind me with much curtefie and civilitie. Bot fo did not my Captaine; for he being againe alarmd with a report, that Anandaill and Drumlanrig were feene with a bodie of horfe neere a foord of the water of Ken, he got himfelfe on horfe-backe, and calld inceffantlie to mount the prifoner, for now I had lofd my oune name, and pafft under that of the prifoner. And becaufe I was not fo foone mounted as he would have had me, he entertaind me with very rude language, and threatned me with death. This alarm

provd false, though it was most true that these Lords were very buſie raising men, to pursue the rebels. I was permitted to goe into the house againe, but not permitted to stay long in it, for about eleven or twelve of the clocke at night, I was againe set on horsebacke. Very dark it was, it rained pitifullie, the wind was loud, and the way exceeding bad; yet sicke as I was, I was forced to ride eight miles to Corfphairne, where the Captaine lodgd me in a countrey house, with sixteene horsemen to guard me. I spent the rest of the night till day, in that poore house, as well as I could. But my Captaine rested but little, for the day before he had sent away the money, and other baggage, which he had got from me, and thinking he had sped well enough, resolvd to retire himselfe, before the fire grew hotter; and accordingly did beginne his retreat that very night, which he managd so discreetlie, that he was never seene since by either me, or any of his oune partie.

I have often thought since of the follie of this poore fellow, who since he was not so absolutlie wicked as to take my life, and that it was money he was looking after, why he could not be so absolutlie good to himselfe as to take me with him, who, no question, wold have bought my libertie from him with all the moneys I could be master of.

The seventeenth day of the month was spent in their quarters, under the command of Barskob, Corsock and Robinſone the minister, who past then under the name of Captaine Robinſone. At night they enlarged their quarters, in that same parish of Corfphairne; and I was sent to the house of one Gordon of Knockgray, who was himselfe in prison at Kirkcubright, but his sonne did entertaine me very kindlie, for some favours I had done to his father, but he was forced likewise to entertain threttie horse, who were sent to attend me,

The eighteenth day of the month, being the Lords day, we marchd to Damellintoun, to which place Mr John Welch was comd from Edinburgh, with Maxwell of Morith, Maclellan of Balmagachen, and three or foure gentlemen more, who all of them became officers immediatlie. The first halfe of that way, I was guarded by civill enough men; bot haveing spent one houre at a pitiefull alehouse, I was deliverd to another guard, the commander wherof did entertaine me the length of foure miles, with all the insolent and outrageous words that he could invent, and affurd me, that dy I must, and dy I should. My anfuere was, that my life was not so deare to me, as that I wold seeke it from him. When we were comd to their body, I perceavd the commander, whom I knew not. Somthing pussed with marshalling his disorderlie rable, he presentlie commanded tuo of the wickedest of his guards to cary me forward to the other side of a litle hill; and spoke some thing els privatlie to them, which I did interprete to be a command to dispatch me; which conceit of mine was corroborated by the inhumane language of these tuo who conducted me, who told me, it was just both with God and man, to put me to death on a Sabbath day; in regard, said they, I had forced many pretieous Christians to transgresse the Sabbath, by hindering them to heare their lawfull pastors in hills and woods, and forcd them to goe to church, to heare dumbe dogs, for so they qualified conforme ministers. I desird them to doe with me what was commanded them, and not to stirre up my passion, which might choak these better thoughts and meditations that were fit for me to entertaine at that time. Bot I found thereafter, that their wickednes proceeded meerlie from themselves, for I was sent to that place, onlie that I sould not see the diforders of their new troops.

At Damellinton I was quarterd at the principall inne, where I had often lodged before ; my hofte and hofteffe made me very wellcome ; and though both of them wer Prefbiterians, yet did they professe their diflike of the infurrection, and my imprifonment. Sufficentlie well guarded I was, for three, (whom they calld gentlemen,) ftayd in the chamber with me, three others at the chamber door, and the reft below ftaires. After my guards had fupped, at my charges, Mr Welch fent one to enquire of me, if I wold reflave a vifite from him ; my anfuere was, he was a perfon I was lookeing for thefe tuo yeares bygone, bot I had found him now in a wrong time ; however, he might come when he pleafd. When he came, he enterd in a tedious difcourfe of the Covenant, which, as he faid, had made Scotland glorieous in the eyes of the nations. He held out to me, how great ane enimie I had beene to that Covenant, and how much I had endeavord to fupport Prelacie, by fuppreffing and oppreffing the people of God, who loved not that government. He wifhd me to meditate much on death, which, as he faid, I knew not how foone might overtake me. That, though perhaps I might anfuere before men for all I had done, yet it wold be hard for me to anfuere all before the tribunall of Jefus Chrift, where it was like I might fhortlie compeare. He confidentlie offerd to affure me, that the Lord had revald it unto them, that this was the time appointed by God, for the deliverance of his faints and people, from the perfecutions and tirannies of thefe who had vilipended and contemned the Covenant. And then he told me, that though a ftrict guard was ftill to be keepd over me, yet it was the falvation of my foule that they fought, and that they refolvd to endeavor to gain me, and that I needed not to apprehend death ; bot added thefe words, “ I meane,” faid he, “ not fo foone.” I

anfuerd particularlie to everie part of this long discourfe. Among other things, I told him, that revelations and miracles were ceafd; that it was not probable that he or his partie could fet up their Covenant, with fuch inconfiderable numbers as either they yet had, or were like to get, againft the Kings ftanding forcès; the which, in all probabilitie, were on their march againft them. I wifhd they wold more maturlie confider what they were doeing, and give over in time, goe home to their houfes, and fubmit to the Kings clemencie; whofe former acts of grace might give them confidence to beleeve, that they had to doe with a mercifull prince, who would pardon their errors, and take their grie-vances to his royall confideration. Bot by thefe discourfes I prevailld as much with him, as he did with me by his. I calld for a cup of ale, purpoflie that I might heare him fay grace. In it, he prayd for the King, the reftoration of the Covenant, and downfall of Prelacie. He prayd likewise for me, and honord me with the title of Gods fervant, who was then in bonds. He prayd for my converfion, and that repentance and remiffion of finnes might be granted to me. After this, the conference broke up, at which were prefent as many as the roome could well hold.

On the nineteenth day of the month, about fourè of the clocke in the morning, when I was makeing readie, eight or nine of the rebells horfmen, commanded by Mr Robinfone the minifter, rod thorough the vil-lage tuice or thrice, ey crying aloud, “ Rander your prifoner, rebells, rander your prifoner, or you fhall all dy.” I instantly conjecturd, that this was done on purpofe to try what countenance I wold fhew, and therefore I affurd my guards, (who were indeed ignorant of the defign,) that it was their own people, for it was impoffible for any of the Kings

forces to be so neere. One of them went doune stairs, and at his return told me, I had conjecturd right ; bot, said he, when first I heard the cry, I doubted whether to kill you, or goe doune staires first. I askd him, if he had any such order, to which he and his comerads answered with silence. It was then that one of my intelligencers (for tuo I had gaind among them,) told me, they were resolvd to dispatch me, so soone as they met with any opposition ; bot this resolution was afterwards alterd. My guards were changd that morning, and after all the new officers had given me a civile visite, we marchd, and about tuo of the clocke in the afternoone, I was quarterd beside the church of Torbolton, and their horse in the parish ; the foot lodging in the church and church-yard. That afternoone many joynd with them, both from the shire of Aire and Cliddfaill, infomuch as they spoke of nothing bot marching to Glasgou the next day. Bot being informed that night, that My Lord Duke of Hamilton and Generall Dallyell were both comd to that toune, and that next day the whole forces wold be there, they betooke themselves to their second thoughts. Towards the evening, Mr Robbifone and Mr Cruksbank gave me a visite ; I calld for some ale, purposlie to heare one of them bleffe it. It fell Mr Robbifone to seeke the blessing, who said one of the most bombastick graces that ever I heard in my life. He summond God Allmightie very imperiouflic to be their secundarie, (for that was his language ;) “ and if,” said he, “ thou wilt not be our secundarie, we will not fight for thee at all, for it is not our cause, bot thy cause ; and if thou wilt not fight for our cause, and thy oune cause, we are not obliged to fight for it. They say,” said he, “ that Dukes, Earls, and Lords are comeing with the Kings Generall against us, bot they shall be nothing bot a threshing to us.” This

grace did more fullie satisfie me of the follie and injustice of their cause; then the ale did quench my thirst. That night, they sent severall parties abroad, who brought many horses to them. One partie they sent to the towne of Aire, which brought out of the tolbooth all these armes, which E. Glencairne and I had taken from the countrey people the yeare before.

The next day, being the twentieth of the month, about eleven or twelve of the clocke, the rebels marchd straight to Aire, and so farre as I could well perceave, their numbers were encreased to above seven hundreth; bot they gave it out, that there were five hundreth for them, at such a place; and sixe hundreth at ane other place, and that their brethren of the north had crossd Forth at the heads. This they told, with many more lyes; for to speake untruths was a veniall sinne with these persons. While we were on our way, one Major Lermond accosted me, and usd me with many insolencies, telling me, he had knowne me before; "and at that time," said he, "you were a gentleman, bot now you are not; for you are a persecutor of Gods saints, and hath made yourselfe a slave to Prelacie, and the instrument of their tyrannie." I told him, thogh all his language were true, yet he had timd it very ill. Master Gabriell Semple tooke him away from me, and did himselfe enter in a discourse with me, of Episcopacie, Presbiterie and the Covenant. I was very free with him, in declareing my mind concerning all the three. Then he enquired of me, whether I thought vice and sinne were not more punished in the time of Presbiterie, then it was now in the time of Episcopacie. I answered, that thogh I could grant that to be true, yet wold it militate onlie against the Bishops persons, and not at all against their functions. Bot that he

might see that I wold not grant him that either, I told him, I never saw either publike or private sinne more abound then in the years 1643 and 1644, when the Solemne League and Covenant was subscribed by many. He pursued that discourse no further, but told me, I was in disgrace with the King, deserted by the Bishops, and threatened with death by the Generall; and that I might easilie rid mysele of all these difficulties, by signing the Covenant. But when he saw that did not prevaile, he had a large discourse of death, on which he desired me to meditate, and so parted civillie with me. That night I was lodged at Aire in ane inne, three of their gentlemen in the chamber with me, and a guard of horse and foot below staires. Severall of my acquaintances were permitted to see me, but not to discourse in private with me. Yet Colonell Robsone, ane English gentleman, who lives at Montgomeries toune, found meanes to tell me quietlie, that my death was resolv'd on, so soone as the rebels did once see the Kings forces. At this place I borrowed a little money from a friend of mine, for I had beene master of none since I was made prisoner. I cannot omit to tell, that on our march to Aire, Major Mackulloch, who was since executed at Edenburgh, in my hearing, praised God for that happie day he had now seene; and, said he, "Magnified be thou, Lord, for thou hast done thy oune worke thyselfe." One of his partie, and my guards, rejoyned in this language; "Bide you yet, sir, the worke is not halfe done, the play is bot beginning." I look'd immediatlie to him, and smild on him, and so did he upon me. Then I resolv'd, if possible, to make a strict acquaintance with him, and to that purpose entered in a discourse with him; but by it, I found he was a person not fit to be entrusted with secrets, and therfor tooke no more notice of him.

On the twentieth and one day of the month, my guards were changed; halfe a dozen wherof came to the roome where I was, and pulld me out of it with much rudenes and insolence; neither wold they give me time to subscribe a note for some moneys I owed to my landlord for my supper, a hat, and some linnens, his wife had prepared for me. And when they had brought me doune staires, and found no horse readie for me, they made me walke afoot allmost out of toune, till the gentleman who commanded my guards the day before, came and carried me backe to the inne, where I had time to satisfie my host, and take my morning draught. And then the same gentleman saw me mounted on such a horse as they had allowed me. Heere a spurre, which they had permitted me to weare before, was taken from me; and then I was carried out of toune, where they were drauing up their companies. He who commanded my guards, did most insolentlie revile me; he told me, I was a greater persecuter of Christians, then any who was ever mentiond in historie. He said, I was the author of all the mischiefes that had befallen either the Covenanters, or the Covenant itselfe. Nay, the foole averd, that I was the man that had both presented and admitted the ministers in severall parishes, insufficient fellows, that came in by my meanes, without the peoples consent, with much more stuffe to this purpose. He was so extravagant, that I entered in some passion with him, which made me tell him, it was below me to anfuere his insolent follies, and that he might say what he pleased, for I wold take no more notice of his language then of the barking of a dog; at which the ridiculous fellow requird the rest of the guard to be his witnesses, that thogh there was a great alteration in my condition, yet my heart was not at all changed, bot hardend in wickednes,

in fo farre, that I had compared him, who was a good Christian, to a dog. Bot Maſter Crukfchanck the miniſter, haveing heard of this dialogue, came and gave him a very fevere reproofe, and told him, thogh ane idolatrous king had ſaid it, yet it was truth, that he who puts on his harnesse, fould not boaſt, as he who puts it of. Neither, ſaid he, does any of us know, bot that before night, we may be in the ſame condition that this gentleman is, or a worſe. From Aire, the rebels marched tuo miles, and paſſed the water at Aſton Bridge, and then drew up in a field. My ignorant guard carried me up to their van, where I preſentlie began to number them, bot was ſoone interrupted by ſome of their officers, who under a ſhow of civilitie, deſired me and my guards to goe to the nixt alehouſe and reſreſh a litle.

Heere they ſtayd about tuo houres and a halfe, and as I was told, placd ſome officers both of horſe and foot. Immediatlie after, they re-paſſed the ſame bridge, and marchd in to the pariſh of Colton. Bot by the way, I was commanded to alight from the horſe I did ride on, becauſe they alleadged he was too ſuiſt, and mounted I was on ane other, who wold not goe without ſtroakes. And to make ſure worke with me, they tooke away a ſpurre from me, which that ſame wicked fellow, who had abuſd me ſo much that morning, (to make ſome amends for his uncivilitie,) had lent me. I was very deſireous to have keepd the ſpurre, bot Major Lermond told me, that the committee had orderd it otherwiſe. “What,” ſaid I, “have they brought the buſienes that length, as to a committee? perhaps the firſt act of it hath unſpurd me.” They likewiſe appointed one Callhoone, a bankrupt merchant of Glaſgow, in whom they much truſted, to command my guards; which he did tuo days together very ſtrictlie, yet with very much reſpect and civilitie.

Heere Lieutenant Colonell Wallace came to me, in a long cloake, his muntero draune over his face, and his beard very rough. His deportment was civill; he askd me, how I had my health, and if I knew him. I told him, I knew his face, but could not so soone remember his name. He immediatlie told me who he was, and profesd to be sorry to see me in that condition; and after that, I had constantlie exterior civilities from him. We lodgd that night disperfdlie in that parish of Coltoun, where we had some alarums. And after the word "horfe, horfe," was given, (for that was all their trumpet;) the nixt word was constantlie, "mount the prisoner," which many times was given in such haste, that I had litle time alloud me to pull on my bootes; which made me resolve in time coming not to pull them of at all, thogh it provd exceeding troublesome to ride, walke, sit and ly constantlie in them.

On the tuo and tuentieth day of the month, we marchd to Ochilltree, where Master Johne Welch, (who went from Damellintoune to Galloway to fetch fresh forces,) met us with his armie, (for so some of the rebels wold needs have it called). I saw them afarre of, and reckond them to be neere one hundreth ill armed foot, and some fiteene or sixteene horfe. I was lodged that night at the principall alehouse of the toune, where I was indifferentlie well used, and visited by some of their officers and minifters. Most of their foot were lodged about the church and churchyard, and order given, to ring bells next morning; for a sermon to be preachd by Mr Welch. Maxwell of Morith and Major Mackulloch, invited me to heare that phanatick sermon, (for soe they merrilie calld it). They said, that preaching might prove an effectuall meane to turne me, which they heartelie wishd. I answered them, that I was under guards, and that, if they intended to

heare that fermon, it was probable I might heare it likewise, for it was not like my guards wold goe to church, and leave me alone at my lodgeings. Bot to what they spoke of my conversion, I said, it wold be hard to turne a Turner. Bot because I found them in a merry humour, I said, if I did not come to heare Mr Welch preach, then they might fine me in fortie shillings Scots, which was duoble the soume of what I had exacted from the phanatikes. Bot there was no fermon, which undoubtedlie I would have heard, if there had beene any. It was told me, that Mr Welch had a short speech to their officers, at Sir Johne Cochrans house, where most of them, and their ministers were quarterd; bot his lady was so farre from makeing them wellcome, (Sir Johne himselfe being then with the Generall), that she would not be seene by any of them. And I suppose, we were all of us deare enough guefts to Sir Johne, for I am confident, his servants were forced to entertaine neere a hundreth of their horses, among whom were sixteene of my guardes, if not more.

On the tuentie third day of the month they broke up from Ochiltrie, about eleven of the clocke in the morning, and marchd to Cumlock. Once I thought the rebells intended for Sanquor, to pay there some of their relligious vowes; one wherof was, to ruine my Lord Drumlanrigs castles and lands, because he was active against them, and, as they were informed, had hangd tuo of his vassals or tennents, because they had faild to be at a rendes-vous which he had appointed. Bot the saints were wise in their anger, and delayd their revenge till a more fit oportunitie. Upon their march to Murekirke, they had intelligence that the Kings forces were marchd the day before from Glasgou to Killmarnock, which provd to be true. The way to that church was

exceeding bad, a very hie wind, with a grievous raine in our faces. The night fell darke before we could reach the place where the foot were quartered, with no meate or drinke, and with very litle fire. I doe confesse, I never saw luftier fellows, then these foot were, or better marchers; for thogh I was appointed to stay in the reare, and notwithstanding these inconveniences, yet I saw few or none of them stragle. Major Lermond, (who endevord to make some amends for his former incivilities), gave order to quarter me in the best alehouse neere the church. Bot threttie of their foot came likewise, and quartered themselves with me, in spite of my horse guards.

On the twentieth and fourth day of the month, about nine of the clocke of the morning, they rendezoufd at Murekirke; where I was permitted to buy tuo litle nags, one for myselfe, and one other for a drummer of mine, who had stayd constantlie with me, and for both I payd no more bot twelve dollars; it will be easilie granted I could doe no great feates on horses of that price. It was from this place, or from Douglas, that they sufferd Mr Welch his servant to carry one open letter of mine to my wife at Glasgou, for they wold not permit me to write to (who, they said, was at London), or to my Colonnell the Earle of Linlithgow, or to Generall Dallyell. We began our march about ten a clocke, and spent most of the day ere we could get to Douglas, the way being rough and mountanous, and the weather rainie and boisterous. Here it was told me, by one of my intelligencers, that they intended to march to Hammilton, and from thence, (if they could give the Generall the goeby,) to Glasgou. We made a stand at Douglas till quarters were made, and in that interim, I was accosted by one Mitchell, whom I had never seene before, a preacher, bot no

actuall minifter, who spared not to raile fufficientlie againft all authoritie both fupreame and fubalterne. He feemd to be moft offended with the gentlemen of the long robe, who, as he conceavd, had beene the contrivers and penners of thefe laws, either in Parliament or Councell, which did uphold the prelatie government. Nixt to them he furieouflic blamd me, for oppreffing men in their confciences and eftates, by putting thefe unjuft laws in execution. He faid, I had oppreffd men who had fhowne more loyaltie to the King, in the time of ufurpation, then any of thefe who had pend thofe laws. I told him, fharplic enough, if both my confcience and judgment had not gone along with the juftice and equitie of thefe laws, no worldlie advantages fould ever have made me undertake the execution of them. He feemd to commend my ingenuitie, bot enterd on ane other difcourfe, which paffd all prefcriptions of modeftie. That night, Wallace beganne to command their forces, which power, with the title of colonell, as I was told, was given him by their committee; in which alfo it was debated, what fould be done with me, bot nothing concluded on the matter.

On the tuentie and fifth day of the month, being the Lords day, they broke up from Douglas, and marched neere Lefmahego; haveing beene informed, bot not trulie, that my Lord Duke of Hammilton, onlie with his oune troope, and fome of the countrey gentlemen, which made them fpeake of beateing up his quarters; which gladlie they wold have done, being much incenfed againft my Lord, becaufe he had forced, under all hieft paines, the gentrie and communalitie to goe with the Generall, againft both their confciences and judgments, as they pretended. At this place they ftayd about tuo houres, haveing fent a partie of horfe to Lanrick to make quarters. I was taken into a contrey houfe, under

pretence to refresh, bot it was, that I fould not looke upon their armie, (for so they were pleasd to call it,) till they had marshald it rightlie. At length I was mounted, and led along the reare of both horse and foot, and therafter I was brought to the front of the battell, where I did not let the opportunitie slip to reckon them. I found their horse did consist of foure hundreth and fortie, and the foot of five hundreth and upwards, besides the partie of horse which was at Lainrick, and some other small parties which they had sent abroad to plunder horses; a Sundayes exercise proper onlie for phanaticks. The horse men were armed for most part with suord and pistoll, some onlie with suords. The foot, with musket, pike, sith, forke and suord; and some with staves, great and long. There I saw tuo of their troopes skirmish against other tuo, (for in foure troopes their cavallerie was divided,) which I confesse they did handsomlie, to my great admiration. I wonderd at the agilitie of both horse and rider, and to see them keepe troope so well, and how they had comd to that perfection in so short a time. The foot were not exercisid at this time. At length they marchid to Lanrick, the horse crossing the river of Clide by the foord, and the foot by the boate, for there was bot one.

The principall Bayliffe of the toune was willing to have lodged me at his oune house, bot he was onlie permitted to shew his kindnes to me, by presenting me with a cup of ale in his oune chamber, (all the rest being taken up for their officers), and by giveing me a visite at ane other lodging preparid for me. Heere Commissarie Lockheart came also and saw me, and profferd very kindlie to lend me any gold or silver I stood in need of, wherof I did not accept, yet I borrowed a change of linnens from him. The toune was searcd for armes and

amunition, and onlie fourteene partifanes, and three or foure pound of powder were found, and taken out of the tollbooth. That night a councell or committee was keepd, where it was concluded, that nixt morning the Covenant fould be renewd, and fuorne. And the queftion was, whether immediatlie after, they fould put me to death ; they who were for it, pretended ane article of the Covenant obliged them to bring all malignants to condigne punifhment. Bot it was refolvd, that I fould not dy fo foone, bot endeavors fould be ufed to gaine me. All this was told me by one of my intelligencers, before tuo of the clocke nixt morning. Yet I have heard fince, that it was formallie put to the vote, whether I fould dy prefentlie, or be delayed, and that delay was carried in the councell, by one vote onlie.

Let now all people of impartiall judgments determine, whether this armie of pretended faints fpend this Lords day, as Chriftians ought to doe ; and thefe who make Sabbath breakeing a crying finne, how will they excufe this crue of rebellious hipocrites, who began that dayes worke in the morning with ftealeing a filver fpoone and a night gounne at Douglas, and fpend the reft of the day, moft of them in exercifeing, in a militarie way, and the reft in plundering houfes and horfes, and did not beftow one houre or minute of it, in the Lords fervice, either in prayers, praifes or preaching ? Bot they made a good amends at night ; for omitting the dueties of the day, by paffing one act for renewing the Covenant, and ane other for murthuring me whenever they fould thinke it fitting. This I fhall fay, they were not to learne to plunder, and that I have not feene leffe of divine worfhip any where, then I faw in that armie of theirs ; for thogh at their rendevoufes and halts they had opportunitie enough everie day for it, yet did I never heare any

of their minifters, (and as themfelves told me, there was not fo few as tuo and threttie of them, wherof onlie five or fixe converfd with me,) either pray, preach, or fing pfalmes ; neither could I learne that it was ever practifd publiklie, except once by Mr Robbifone at Corffairne, ane other time by Mr Welch at Damellinton, and now the third time by Mr Semple at Lanrick, where the laufull paftor was forced to refigne his pulpit to him. What they did in feverall quarters, I know not; perhaps they had fome familie exercife there. I am fure in my quarters, my guards neither prayd nor praifd, for any thing I ever heard; and being for moft part in one room together, it is to be fupposed I muft have beene a witnes to their devotions. Bot I confefse I was more overwearièd with the tedioufnes and impertinencies of their graces before and after meate, then I was either with the fearfnes or badnes of my meate and drinke.

It was now Monday morning, the tuentie fixth of the month, when one of their minifters did reade the Covenant on the top of the ftaires of the tollbooth, which was fuorne by all the affiftants. Bot neither I nor any of my guards were invited to that morning exercife. When moft of them were marchd out of toune, I was calld out of my lodging, and Major Lermond wold needs convoy me himfelfe, for feare, forfooth, that the toune people fould ftone me. Bot I am fure none of them offerd fo much as one injurieous word to me; yet I heard many poore people curfe them for takeing free quarter, (I haveing paid my hoftè for all my guards and I dranke; for meate he wold take nothing, for which he witneffed his thankfullnes in holding my ftirrop, when I got on horfebacke.) It was ane ordinare thing for any of them all, to call for any thing was neceffare for either horfe or man, and fay

they wold pay it when they came backe. This was bot a peccadillo in both officers and sojors, for a great sinne it could not be in such faints, who, say they, have the onlie true right to the creature. Bot one houre was not past, when I could tell Major Lermond what made him so officious as to convoy me that morning. There was a certaine persone, who shall be nameles, who desired to see me led as a prisoner, enviroind with a number of draune fuords, to satisfie whom, the Major led me out of the way round about the tollbooth, before a hie window where that persone stood. There were many signes of joy, and much laughter passd betuixt him and the Major, yet he endevord to keepe himselfe so within the window that I fould not see him, bot in vaine, for I saw him well enough. It was a ridiculous action of that foolish Major, to satisfie any mans curiositie, by abusing himselfe, and the charge he then exerced. And to the other, I shall say, it was below a gentleman, and unbeseeming a good subject, to desire to glut his eyes with the sight of the low condition and captivitie of one who professd loyaltie to the King. Heere at Lanrick severall fellows joyned with the rebels, to the number, as I thinke, of fortie or fiftie; bot they were not able to arme the halfe of them. And now the rebels were in their greatest strength, which I avow never to have exceeded eleven hundredreth horse and foot, (if ever they were so many,) for thogh in everie place some came to them, yet some likewise diserted them, among whom were some of their ministers, particularlie Mr Alexander Pedden. Without the toune, in sight of their armie, for so they wold have it called, Major Lermond, Mr Robbinson, and ane other minister whom I knew not, with tuo or three officers more, came to me; and the Major embracing me, said, that I was in greater safetie with them then I

could be with the Kings forces, in regard the Generall intended to put me to death; and that some great person had, and would stop all ways for me to enter in the Kings favour; that I had best consider my oune condition, that my persecuteing the Covenant was the ground of the controversie betueene God and me; and if I would take the Covenant, as they had done that morning, besides the good I should doe to my oune soule, I should be eminent enough in the eyes of the world. Much to this purpose did he and the rest of them harangue to me. My answere was premeditated, and such as proceeded from one resolvd to dy. First, I wishd that Mr Semple had bene there, to whom I had at large related, on what grounds I had taken that Covenant three and tuentie yeares agoe; as also how I had repented for doeing it; what were the grounds that movd me to that repentance, with a resolution never to enter into it againe. I told them, I lookd upon the present condition of affaires with a sorrowfull heart; and that I foresaw, that he, whom they calld their enemy, (meaning the Generall,) would engagde them within eight and fortie houres, which I wishd I might prevent with the losse of my life; which I was heartilie willing to sacrifice, if therby I might expiate these offences, wherwith I was unjustlie charged, conditionallie no more blood might be shed, and that they would goe home to their houses and implore his Majesties pardon, who is both readie to forgive for time bygone, and readie to heare their grievances in time to come. "And now," said I, "gentlemen, you may perceave, by what I have said, how little the terrors of death are like to prevaile with me;" and to what I have said, I tooke God to be my witness, who, said I, in all probabilitie will shortly be my judge. And to Master Robbinsons (who spoke something to me of death,) I said thus; "Mr

Robbinfone, I know you, and to you now I speake. The house of death hath many doores, and thorough one or ane other of them we must all enter ; for me, I resolve to endure the most severe stroake of the Kings justice, rather than cary a fuord against him or his authoritie. If," said I, " a man enjoy the inward peace of his mind, it is no matter whether a feaver, a pistoll, a fuord, a dagger, a hatchet, or a halter, usher him to his grave." They were pleas'd to say that I had spoken generoullie, bot averd that all of them were as much for his Majesties person and authoritie as I was, or any other that carried his commiffion ; and added, they wold give me time to consult with God and my conscience, which I accepted, and so we parted.

They had marchd now about a mile and a halfe, and enterd in a moras, when one came and told them that the enemies forepartie was seene on the other side of the river ; and that Mondrogat, who commanded a partie of theirs at the foord, had either dround or broken the boate. Lermond was sent thither, to see in what condition their affaires stood, their body marching on. Bot within one houre, or therby, the Generall had passd the river with both his horse and foot ; the Earles of Linlithgow and Kellie shewing their foot companies good example by wading the river first themselves. Upon this intelligence the rebels fact about, and drew up as formallie as the ground could permit. And certainlie if the Generall had comd up that length and attackd them, he had done it with a notable seene disadvantage, the moras being so deepe, and the way so narrow, that hardlie the foot, much lesse the horse, could do any great service. When they heard the Generall had made his quarters at Lanrick, they marchd on. A little before this, Mr Laurie of Blackwood was brought to them ; what his errand was

I know not, bot if it was to intimate the proclamation and act of grace, he did it with so little noyse, and to so few, that not all their officers, much lesse their foldiers, knew any thing of it; neither did he so much as give me any hint of it, thogh he and I rode a full houre together.

In this march, Wallace had severall discourfes with me, particularlie of the strength of the Kings forces. I told him, I conceavd the troopes of horse to consist of fixe hundreth, and the tuo regiments of foot neere tuo thousand. Bot he replyd, that he had latelie beene in Edenburgh, and had privatlie seene all the foot companies, when they went out to exercise, and that he conceavd them to be below that number I spoke of. He said, he was informed that the Generall had left tuo troopes of horse, and fixe companies of foot behind him, bot where, or for what reason, he had not yet learned. He said likewise, that the speedines of the march, the foulnes of the weather, and the badnes of the way, must of necessitie have lessened the Generalls numbers much; and concluded, he could not be above foure hundreth horse, and eight hundreth foot. And withall he told me, that many that were with the Generall, wold wearie of the fatigue of the march, and wold importune him to leave his foot, and follow with his horse, which the said Wallace protested, he wold looke upon as a great advantage to his cause. I shew him he entertained such hopes in vaine; for neither could the Kings forces be so much diminishd, or was it probable, the Generall wold separate his horse and his foot; "a certain demonstration wherof," said I, "you have just now learnd; for you have heard that he hath causd his whole foot wade thorough that foord, which yesternight with some difficultie you passed on horseback. Bot if he wold have left his foot behind, it was his time to doe it on the other side of the river, and then have followed

you with his horſe." Moreover, I told him, it was like, the Lords who were with the Generall, were accompanied with numbers of the countrey gentlemen, with their friends and vaffals. At this he ſmild, and did infinuate, that theſe I mentioned were not like to doe him very great hurt, for he looked not on them as enemies to him or his cauſe. To this I anſwered, that all the gentlemen of the weſterne ſhires who were of his perſuaſion, had opportunitie and time enough to have joynd with him, before the Generall came the length of Kilmarnock. And ſo we parted for that time.

They came neere to Calder with daylight; and againe, I muſt ſay, that I have ſeldome or never ſeene luſtier foot then theſe they had. They kept rank and file on that miſerable way and weather, even to admiration, and yet outmarched their horſe, and got to the van of them, either thorough neglect or miſunderſtanding of their officers. Bot Maxwell of Morith and Lermond rode up, and reduced them to their former order. Neere to Calder, I ſaw halfe a dozen of farmers meet with Maſter Semple, who told him, as I was informed, that a good number of his perſuaſion had that morning kept a private rendezvous, of purpoſe to joyne with him, bot having heard that the Covenanted armie had marchd towards Glaſgow, they had diſbanded. Mr Semple employed theſe fellows to be guides to their armie. When Wallace came up to us, he orderd his forces to march to Bathket, which was a litle out of the roade way to Edenburgh; this, I confeſs, made me doubt whether he intended for Edenburgh or Glaſgow. He increaſed my doubt, by asking me, whether I did not think that when Generall Dalyell heard that he, the ſaid Wallace, was at Bathket, he wold not imagine, that he had turnd head to Glaſgow, and therfor wold endea-

your to get between him and it. He smild when he askd me this question, hugging himselfe (as I found afterwards) with the fancie, that he had, by that turn of his, cast the Generall a whole days march behind him. I told him, there was no question bot the Kings Lieutenant Generall could not readilie resolve, whether to follow him straight to Edenburgh, or intercept his passage to Glasgou, for I myselfe, who was with him, did much doubt which of the tuo places he intended for. This doubt of mine made him laugh with open mouth, for it was no small joy to him to think he had puzzled me; and this gave me occasion to meditate a whole houre after, how vaine a thing man is.

Haveing well enough perceavd, notwithstanding this frolicke of his, that he still imagin'd the Kings forces were at his heels, and therfor wold not stay long in one place, I desird him to permit me, with my guards, to goe to some house, where I might repose a litle. My desire was civillie granted by him, and he seemd to regrave very much, both my condition and indisposition. My guards, (wherof David Scot, a weaver, was Captaine,) carried me straight to Bathket, and tooke up for my quarters the best alehouse; and there some countrey gentlemen of my acquaintance had beene undoubtedlie unhorfed, if I had not usd some dexterous means, not perceivd then by my blockheaded guards, to make them understand their danger, and escape it; for which some of my guards, forry to have loosed such a prey, complaind afterwards to Wallace, bot he tooke litle or no notice of it. After I had refreshd a litle, Mr Semple, and their pretended Generall Quartermaster, came to the house, and made quarter for the armie; bot so, that none of their horse were to lodge one mile beyond that place. When they

had done, and that Mr Semple, and I had discourf'd a litle, I caft myfelfe on the top of a bed, and fleepd till Wallace and the reft of his officers came. He and they made their fupper at my lodgeing; I was invited to it, bot pretended want of fleepe for my excufe. About tuelve of the clocke at night, " Horfe, horfe, and mount the prifoner," was proclaimd. All was readilie obeyed, and the march went from thence fraight to Edenburgh; bot the raynie and boyfterous weather, the darknes of the night, and deepnes of the way, occafiond a moft diforderlie march; for after they were three or foure miles on their way, moft of them, both horfe and foot, went into houfes on the hie way, and by my perfuafion, fo did my guards too. We ftayd in a poore houfe, till daylight fummond us to horfebacke. That night fortie horfe were too many to have routed them all. Bot feldome doth one enimie trulie know what ane other is doing. Nixt morning, about ten of the clocke, they rallied well enough at the new bridge, five miles from Edenburgh. They drew up in tuo fquadrons of horfe, and one of foot. In the numbering of all the three, I could find few above one thoufand.

At this place, I neither heard prayers, pfalmes, or preaching; yet one of their minifters, (and they faid, it was either one Guthrie, or one Oglebie,) made a fpeech to them, which, if his caufe had beene good, had not been evill. He defird them to remember that Covenant and oath of God, which they had fuorne the day before, and that they were obligd to cary themfelves not onlie pieouflic to God, bot civillie and difcreetlie to man. He affurd them, their friends were readie to reflave and embrace them with open armes, and furnifh them with all neceffaries for backe and bellie, as alfo with all things might render them able to encounter their enemies; armes and amunition affuredlie

he meant. "Bot," said he, "you must not stop there, for to be civill to those who are good to you, deserves neither thanks nor reward. Bot I intreate you," said he, "to use all imaginable discretion to those who are not of your persuasion; endeavor to gaine them with love, and by your good carriage, stop the mouths of your adversaries." This speech, though it was not unworthie a Christian, (thogh a rebell,) yet did it not at all please me; for by it I perceavd the minister conceavd the toune of Edenburgh to be his oune. Bot before he sleepd, I was disapusd, and he was disapointed.

It was now the seven and twentieth day of the month, and threteenth of the infurrection, when the rebells marchd from that bridge to Collinton, tuo miles from Edenburgh. In some places of the way, they were in view of the Castle, bot at such a distance that the guns of it could not reach them. The place where they quarterd, by reason of a church and churchyard, a stone bridge, the water, because of the great raines, unfoordable, was defencible enough against infalls. My guards and I were lodged in the best inne, and about the evening, Wallace and most of his officers gave me a visite. He told me that he was more troubled for me than for himselfe; for he found it wold be convenient for him to stay in the field most of that night, which he thought wold not be fit for me to doe; and therfor askd me, if I wold not stay in my lodgeing with my guards. Bot I apprehending my guard might have order rather to dispatch me, then suffer me to be taken from them, told him, I wold rather choose to goe to the field with him. While we were speaking thus, the noyce of tuo pistolls gave ane alarm; Wallace presentlie left me, bot left order with my guard to keepe me in my lodgeing till his further direction. After a

little time he returned, and told me it was boysterous and rainie weather, and that he had resolv'd to let ane evill night kill itselfe; and that I might goe and take some rest if I pleas'd.

Bot the above mentioned Laurie of Blekwood his coming to that place, with Mr Richard of Barskemmine, who was sent from the Generall, made me resolve not to sleepe till I knew both their errand and their anfuere. And because I found I was not concern'd in my oune particular in any of them, I resolv'd to be the more free both in it and their generall message. Both of them gave me a visite, and I found Mr Laurie did not deceave my expectation of him. They had met with Wallace and his officers, before I saw them. Barskemmine came alone without Laurie; he was follow'd by Mr Robbifone and two other phanaticks, who were to beare witnes what pass'd betueene him and me. I dare assure your Grace, Barskemmine acted his part very handsomlie. He intimated to all he could either meet or speake with, (without any feare of the rebels,) his Majesties act of grace, and the Privie Councells proclamation; which did produce so good effects, that it diminish'd their number at least one hundreth, before nixt morning. He and I both endevord very much to speake one word in private together, bot Mr Robbifone wold by no means permit it; yet we mannagd the busines so well, that under the notion of some dollars, (which he offer'd to lend me,) I told him the true number of the rebels, and as much of their designs as I either knew or could guesse at. At our conference, one of my guards said, there was a fleet of fortie men of warre of Hollanders neere the coast of Scotland; to which Barskemmine replyd, that whoever trusted to the Hollanders, leand on a broken reed; and this I seconded, which put Mr Robbifone in so great

a passion, that he did with much impudence avouch, that he and the rest of his partie were as ready to march against the Hollanders, in defence of his prince and his countrey, as either Barskemmie or I, though I had my libertie. And then it was that I did declare to him, in presence of Barskemmie, that I was readie to performe the promise I had made at Lanrick, of sacrificing my life, to shunne the effusion of more blood, which I did too well perceave wold be shed. And it was then likewise that Mr Robbifone declared, that nothing wold satisfie their partie but the dounfall of Episcopacie, and the restoration of Presbiterian government.

Before Barskemmie came, I asked Wallace how it came to passe, that neither wine, good bread, nor strong waters, were brought from Edenburgh by his futlers. He answered me, that the provost of that citie had taken such a strict course for keepinge all so well within the toune, that nothing could be brought out of it; and that the same provost had appointed strong guards, with . . . fielding peeces, at everie port, and had cast up a very strong worke at the Westport, which I interpreted to be a barricado. He told me also, that he was of the opinion that the provost wold receive no message or address from him. By this ingenuous discourse, Colonell Wallace did exceedingly comfort me; for I had reason to imagine that the rebels made an account to get strong supplies out of that citie, if not to be absolute masters of it. About two or three of the clocke in the morning, the rebels quarters without Collinton were beaten up by some loyall gentlemen, under the command of my Lord Ramsay, as I suppose, who quartered then in the Canongate with some of the gentry of Lothian, wherof he was Sheriffe. What number was kild or taken I did not

much inquire, bot they said themselves that a stout resistance was made.

That night, I was told by one of my intelligencers, that one of the rebels had undertaken to carry a message into Edinburgh, and bring an answer out of it from their friends. And so he might, for I knew the undertaker to be an Edinburgh merchant. Next morning the same person told me, that the messenger was returned, bot with what news he could not tell. "We shall," said I, "know that quickly by their motions." And it was as I said, for immediately they marched southward, dispaireing of any good from the citie.

It was the twentieth eight day of the month, and the fourteenth and last of the rebellion. At first, when they began their march, I imagined they intended for Dalkieth, and so to Tiviotdaill. Bot when I saw them leave that road, and take the way of Linton, I knew not what to thinke, and perhaps the rebels knew not what to doe. Some foure or five miles from Edinburgh, at a place called the Gallow Law, (an ominous name,) they made an halt, bot did not draw up, waiting for their reare, for many had stayd behind lookeing for their breakfasts. Some wherof, and these not a few, I saw go into Fulford, not to plunder, (for that was an odieous word in the eares of the faints,) bot only to enquire how Sir William Purves his cellars were provided. His servants can tell if these pious people did offer any drinke money for what they ate, drunke, or tooke. At this place, one of my guards made me a proffer of some bread and cheefe, which he said he had got at a curats house; for now the worke of reformation went so strongly on, that all gentlemen, and countrey farmers, who had any thing that was useful for the faints, paid under the name of curats. I told him,

I was readie to accept his offer, (and indeed, I was not so hungrie the whole time I was their prifoner,) if I could be affurd of a cup of ale, which he promisd to bring from the nixt alehoufe. In the mean time came Wallace, who feeing me a foot, lighted from his horfe, and began to enter in a difcourfe with me. Bot whill I endeavord both to heare him, and make ufe of my well purchacd vittails, one of my guards pointing at ane hie hill, cryd, " There comes the enemy;" . . . ane other of them cryd, " It is a partie of our oune." We lookd presentlie that way, and whether Wallace was ftartled at this fight or not, I know not, bot I am fure I was fo alarmd that I forgot my breade and cheefe. When I faw the partie appear numerous, I presentlie apprehended it was the Generalls forpartie, or forlorne hope, especiallie when I calld to mind that Barfkemmine had told me, that the head quarter the night before had been at West Calder. It provd to be as I thought, which, as I was afterwards informed, was commanded by Lieutenant Generall Drummond himfelfe. I faid to Wallace, " Sir, be not furprifed, for this may prove to be a partie of your oune, which I faw ride up ane other hill a little while agoe." His anfuere was this; " They are tuo blacke," meaneing many, " to be a partie of ours; fy, fy, for ground to draw up on." To which I replyd, " You had beft look for it elfwhere, for heere there is none." Both of us got presentlie on horfebacke, and fince that time I never faw him. This I fhall fay of him, (rebell as he is,) he was conftantlie civill to me, and I have charitie to beleeve, if he had not beene over ruled by others, the restraint of my libertie wold have beene the greateft hurt I might have expected from him. He tooke all his people, horfe and foot, round about the Gallow Law, and drew them up in that order as firft Lieutenant Generall Drummond,

and thereafter Generall Dallyell saw them. I shall not offer to give your Grace an account of the skirmish which the Kings Major Generall and his forepartie had with the rebels, and the successful issue of it, or how long he stood with his partie after that skirmish, before the cavalerie came up to him; onlie this I may assure your Grace, that it was very comfortable to me to see him keepe his ground. Nor shall I trouble your Grace to tell you, how long it was ere the foot could come up . . . the horse, though all possible diligence, even to extremie, was used by the Earles of Linlithgow and Kellie to bring the infantrie up. And though these noble lords, and all under their command, could not bot be so long and so arduous a march, (for though I was not with them, yet I went almost foot for foot before them,) in most stormie and tempestuous weather, and very bad way; yet at night, after the fight, I found both their lordships, and all under them, not only readie to prosecute the victorie, bot if need had beene, to have followed that night the rebels, if they had endeavored, without fighting, to have made their retreat. Neither shall I offer to trouble your Grace with the errors the Rebels committed at this their last tryall, or with the success of that unhappie encounter, being I know all this hath beene sufficientlie done by his Majesties Lieutenant Generall and Major Generall. I shall onlie presume to give your Grace an account of what they did not see, and what I did see.

After the encounter which the Major Generall had in the morning, I saw seven or eight of the Rebels horses come backe upon their squads, without riders; which, when thirtie or fortie of their horsemen (who were bot coming up from the reare,) did perceave, they keped on the high way to Linton, at a faire and full trot, without offering to turne

the hill to joyne with their brethren ; so much did selfe preservation prevaile over selfe denyall with these Covenanters. At which fight, three or foure of my guards askd me, what that flight meant. I dealt ingennousslie with them, and told them, that these who fled, did like wise men and good subjects, in embracing the Kings Act of Grace ; and in obedience of the Kings proclamation, were goeing home to their houses ; and if my guards were wise, they would do the like, for they wold find it wold prove their safest course. I found I had spoke more honestlie than prudentlie, for one of them told me I wold doe well not to use such discourageing words, and that he esteemd these who had diserted their partie were base, perjurd, and cowards ; this taught me to be more wary afterwards. I was shortlie after that brought to the top of a litle hill, where I might see all was done. When the foot of his Majesties forces were joynd with the horse, my guards seemd to be somthing sollicitous of their oune safetie, which movd me to take the opportunitie to tell them, that they shoud suffer none of their oune armie to joyne with them, except these who were appointed to guard me, otherwise it might fall out that their guards, growing numerous, might be calld doune by Wallace to fight ; to which I perceavd they had bot litle stomacke. This advice they punctuallie followd. Then they desird me to use freedome with them, and tell them what my opinion was wold be the issue. I did not intend in this to satisfie their curiositie, for I thought my possessing them with vaine hopes, or dejecting them with fears, might prove equallie dangerous to me. I told them that the Kings Lieutenant Generall had stayd so long on the hill, that it was not probable he wold engage with them that night ; and that he was lodged in so strong a ground, that it was not

possible for the Covenanters to attack him, with any hopes of success.

Not long after this, the Lieutenant General drew down from the hill in very good order. This my guards and I saw with equal joy, but with farre different thoughts; for they told me they conceived he would march to Edinburgh, but I had reason to be of another opinion. I was exceeding glad to see the matter brought now to a trial, at so great odds. I prayed heartily for victory to his Majesties forces, wherof I made no kind of doubt. I knew the odds of my particular condition might be this; if the Rebels were beaten, I might probably be sent to another world that very night; but if they were victorious, it was like I might be permitted to breathe a day or two, and then put to death with some pretended forme of justice. We saw two gentlemen of the Kings armie try the ground on which they drew up afterwards, which they seemd to do exactly. I understood thereafter, that it was the General himselfe, and Muster master General Arnot. Both of them came so neere the Rebels that they could speake with them, and as I afterwards understood, the General was qualified by them with the title of Episcopall rogue, and the General Muster master with that of faucie fellow.

Whill the Kings forces were takeing up their ground, I was carried by my guards behind the little rising of a ground, which hinderd me to see any thing. One Dandilling, a gentleman whom the Rebels had kept prisoner with me fixe or seven days, came and told me, that Mr Cruikshank the minister, and one Thomas Maclellan, (a young gentleman who had done me severall good offices,) had bene both kild in the morning skirmish; and that he conceived the General was endeavoring

to gaine the wind from the rebells. This was fecounded by the report of tuo or three more of my guards. I defird I might be permitted to goe a litle from that place, and looke upon the Kings forces, affuring them I wold tell them my opinion freele; this they granted. I faw the infantrie and left wing of the horfe take up their ground, for the right wing had done it before. I rejoyced to fee them fo numerous; and then I told my guards, that the Generall would force them to fight that very night, and that he intended to give them faire play, for he had taken onlie the halfe of the wind to himfelfe, and had left the other halfe for them; for the wind blew from the weft.

When both parties were readie to advance, (for the rebells had changed their ground,) one Vetch, who was their pretended quarter-mafter, came and told my guards, that it was thought fitting that they and I fould come from the hill, and ftand behind their bodie, onlie, as he faid, to make a fhew. We did fo, bot by the way we met with Mr Welch and Mr Semple, who were goeing to take that advantage of ground which we formerlie had; and by doeing fo, I thought both of them had provided indifferentlie well for their oune fafetic. I ftayd a litle with Mr Semple, who faid to me, "Now, Sir James, that which we have beene difputting with you this fortnight bypaf, fince you were our prifoner, fhall be decided in a very fhort time." "It is too like," faid I, "bot whom blame you? If you had followd my advice, no blood bot mine had beene fhed." We had fome more difcourfe, not needfull now to rehearfe.

When I faw the encounter wold be inevitable, and that my guards were doubtfull of the event, I thought it hie time to propone that to them which I had long premeditated, and which none of them could

at that nick of time reveale without their oun danger. My friends, said I, bruklie, "the day will be either yours or ours. If yours, I am still your prifoner, and I beleve I shall not be long troubled with you after your victorie. If the day proves ours, your lives and mine are in equall danger. If then the Kings forces gaine the victorie, defend you me from the violence of your partie in the flight, and I shall assure you of your lives."

To this proposition the eight who were with me, (for the other eight had left me to my fortune,) readilie assented. "Then," said I, "put your fuords in your left hands, and hold up your right hands to heaven, and let both you and me sueare the performance of our mutuall promises." This was presentlie done; "And who will now say," said I, "that I am not a Covenanter?" Not long after this, we might heare Mr Welch and Mr Semple cry out very loudlie and very often, "The God of Jacob, the God of Jacob," without adding any more. This was, because they saw our commanded men give some ground; my very latlie fuorne guards echoed the same words, "The God of Jacob, the God of Jacob." I askd them what they meant. They answered, Could I not see the Lord of Hostes fighting for them? I told them then very passionatlie, that they understood not their oun condition, for they might see that party, which they thought was beaten, rally and stand. They could not bot see the whole bodie of our foot, and left wing of our horse, advance with much courage and in very good order, with trumpets founding, and drums beateing. "And in one word," said I, "if your partie doe not reele, runne and fly within one quarter of ane houre, then I shall be contented you pistoll me." It fell out so, that thogh the rebells, for their number, fought desperatlie enough, yet it pleased the

Lord that they were beaten, and their horse fled apace. Whill I thought to make use of this opportunitie, came Canon of Mondroget, bleeding very fast, for wounded he was. He had professed kindnes to me formerlie for some curtesies I had done to some neere friends of his; bot he told me then, that I must goe with him. I answered, that I was so piti-fullie ill mounted that I could not ride up with him; besides he knew I had no spurre allowd me, wherby I might helpe my nagge to runne. Bot he replyd, it was probable some of their officers might be made prifoners, and that I might helpe by exchange to relieve them; therfor forward I must goe, for he neither could or would leave me behind him, and tooke God to witnes, it was much against his will. I told him, that since sure it was he could not get me forward with him as I was mounted, and his partie being routed, and himselfe wounded, it wold be no advantage to him to kill a person who had never done him any injurie, whatever other crimes were layd to his charge; and with that I lookd over my shoulder, (for my guards still forced me to ride after him,) and saw our horse pursueing eagerlie enough, and were not farre from us. Then I calld to Mondroget, and advisd him to looke about, and see who was pursueing him, telling him it was now more time to save his oune life, then to seeke after ane other mans. This advice he followd by galloping away. Foure more of my guards had left me out of feare; the other foure were soone perswaded to turne with me. I then commanded a drummer of mine, who had waited constantlie upon me, to tell any officer he met with, that I was there. He rencounterd with Alexander Cokburne, a fervant of my Lord Duke Hammiltons, who was well armd and mounted. He came to me with much kindnes, and gave me and my prifoners, (for such were now

my guards,) the word and the signe, and conducted me to my Lord Duke. His Grace was pleas'd to resseve me with much civilitie and favour, and entertaind me with expreffions of so much kindnes as I doe reallie acknowledge not to have deserved. He gave order likewise that my prifoners shoud be kindlie used, till nixt day they were deliverd to the foot guards ; and not long after, upon my humble supplication, had their lives and liberties granted them.

I was told here, that the rebells had rallyd, and that Lieutenant Generall Drummond was calling for the troopes to advance to him, and the foot to follow. I was easilie perswaded to beleve these news to be true, and therfor resolv'd to impart them to E. Linlithgow, whom I could easilie find out by the burning matches of his regiment, for now the day was spent. My lord was afoot, and it was some time before the kindnes of his officers and sojors did permit me to salute him. His lordship wellcomd me very affectionatlie, and I found he had draune up his regiment on the other side of the hill, where the rebells formerly stood, and was there attending the motions of a partie of men, which he saw on the top of a hie adjoyning hill. Bot when I had given his lordship assureance that these he saw could be no other bot countrey people, in regard I knew the rebells had no reserve ; he marchd with his regiment straight to the Lieutenant Generall, with much cheerfullnes and alacritie, and was immediatlie followd by E. Kellie. Bot the Lieutenant Generall haveing told me, that upon his advance with the horse theemie was disperfd, both horse and foot went to quarters that night. Nixt day I had the good fortune to meet with the Generall, Lieutenant Generall, and many lords and other persons of qualitie, who all of them did with much kindnes and hu-

manitie congratulate my well neere dispaire of libertie ; which was very refreshing to me, after a short but sad tryall of the vicissitude and instabilitie of humane affaires ; for all which I give to God the praise and the glorie to whom it duely belongs.

End of the Relation made to the Earle of Rothes, His Majesties
His Commiffioner.

The Narration continues.

HEERE was an end of the Rebellion and my imprisonment, but not of all my misfortunes. Thogh at my returne to Edenburgh, I found persons of all ranks and qualities professe kindness to me, and seemd to be glad I had escapd so eminent a danger, yet everie man is not to be taken at his word ; the thoughts and designs of men are knowne to none but to him who hath keepd it as his prerogative, to know the heart. The King haveing bene perswaded before, that no insurrection was, or wold be intended against the present established government, was easilie induced to beleieve that my severitie, or at best my undiscreet zeale, had occasiond the commotion. Bot yet it was not time to lay this at my doore ; something els must be done before.

It must be rememberd, what I fould have spoke of before, that about the month of August 1666, his Majestie haveing open warre with three dangerous enemies, France, Denmark and Holland, had, for the defence of his kingdome of Scotland, cauld his regiment of foot guards be

made up ten companies, each to consist of one hundred men; besides his castles, over whom he appointed E. Linlithgow to be Colonel, myselfe to be Lieutenant Colonel, and Colonel Urey to be Sergeant Major. He appointed also Generall Dallyell to raise a foot regiment of ten companies; and his pleasure was, that ten troopes of horse, besides the two which were allreadie raisd, should be speedily levied, over all which forces he orderd the same Dallyell and Lieutenant Generall Drummond to command, the first in qualitie of Lieutenant Generall, and the second of Major Generall.

So soone as I came to Edinburgh, I intreated Generall Dallyell to call a councill of warre, wherein my deportment in these places where I had beene, might be impartially examined; and if I were guilty of these crimes that were publickly talkd of, I might accordingly be sentenced and punishd; if not, that I might have an approbation of what I had done. This was denyd me severall times, in regard there was no complainer, accuser, or accusation against me. Heerupon I addressd myselfe to the Privie Councill, my Lord Commiffioner not being returnd from Court, and humbly beseechd their Lordships to heare and cognosce on any thing was said, or might be said against me. About this time, a libell was scatterd up and doune against me, wherein what blacke malice could invent or disgorge against myselfe, or any of these parties which had beene under my command, was set doune in the darkest dy. I answerd it, and all its parts, and in all its dimensions, as I have allreadie said in my Relation. I intreated the Privie Councill, since there was none that appeard against me, except a *fama clamosa*, and that libell, to which none could be found to affixe his name, that the libell itselfe, and my answer to it, might be examin'd; and

that thereafter, their Lordships wold come to a sentence of approbation or condemnation of my proceedings. Upon this, the Councell appointed three of their number, to wit, my Lord Bellenden, my Lord Renton, and Sir Robert Murray, late provost of Edenburgh, to examine the whole matter, and make a report to them. This was accordinglie done; and after my Lord Commissioners returne, the report was made, that till the libeller did prove his paper, I was to be justified in all I had done. Now the libeller, even when a yeare thereafter I was brought on the stage, and that he had a faire time offerd him to play his game above boord against me, never appeard personallie or by proxie, by word or by writ, directlie or indirectlie. And thogh Naphtali, in his infamous booke, hath set doune that libell almost verbatim, and will persuade his reader that it was a true relation, and that my anfuere to it consisted onlie of negatives and denyalls, yet let any peruse my anfuere, (and many copies I have given of it,) they will find Naphtali as great a liar in that, as he is in most of the passages of that booke which he wrote against all that are in authoritie, from the lowest to the hiest; for there are many things in the libell, which in my anfuere I acknowledged to be true, and that the actors of them were punished by me, as haveing done things without my warrand. Many things I acknowledged to have beene done by myselfe, for which I was warranted by my instructions. Many things, indeed, I absolutlie denied, because I knew them, *ex certissima scientia*, to be lyes and calumnies. Many things were alleadged in the libell to have beene committed which, thogh true, could never have reflected on me, in regard I never heard either the actors or the crimes complaind of, till I red them, first in the written libell, and then in printed Naphtali.

By example, where was my fault, if any unchristian horfman under my command, gave the remainder and crums of their dinners to their dogs, not alloweing any of them to the children of their landlords? Or if any barbarous fojors (who fould have beene at church themfelvs,) did beate fome countrey men, whom they found praying among the rockes, on the Lords day? Or if any prophane and godles trooper said, he wold recommend his camerad, who was a dying, by his letter to a friend of his who was in hell, to provide him good winter quarters; how could these, I say, reflect on me, who never heard of them? Indeed, if complaints had beene made to me, and I had neglected to have punished such offenders, I had deservd to have beene banishd out of all Christian societie for ever. Bot these things are not so much as mentiond in all these depofitions which the yeare after were taken, and upon oath too, from all the people in Galloway and Niddfdail, where I had quarterd; and it is not at all probable such complaints wold have beene smotherd, where not onlie the people had a libertie, bot ane encouragement, to speake what they pleasd against me. Bot well may the nameles libeller, and shameles Naphtali write what they please, so long as they conceale their names, which I never did, nor intends to doe, from any thing I ever wrote in my life.

Bot the libeller is more to be excused than Naphtali, for the first had vented his libell before I was prifoner, and therefore knew not what the Rebels knew afterwards, when they had red my commiffion, instructions, and all my papers at Damellintoun; where they confesd I had not done so much by halfe as by my orders I might have done. They then acknowledgd, I nor my partie had not got the fourth part of the money wherwith I was charged. This the libeller, I say, did

not know, when he wrote his libell. Bot Naphtali could not bot know it before he wrote that impudent booke of his, being he could not bot have learned it from the rebells, his deare correspondents. Yet wold he choose rather against truth and his oune conscience, to grope after the libeller in the darke, then make use of the light he might have borroud from his oune beloved partie. What a monstrous soume did they make up, no lesse than seventeene thousand pounds sterline, that I and my parties had got in moneys, meate, quarterings and bonds; yet the depositions of all those that ever I had cesd or quarterd on, being exactlie taken on oath in the end of the yeare 1667, declares them impudent and shameles lyars; for it is yet to be seene in the councell office, that all which was pretended to have beene taken in three yeares time in cesse, quarter, meate and drinke, moneys and bonds, yea, and irregular actions and plunderings, did not exceed tuo thousand seven hundredreth and fiftie pounds sterline, not the fixth part of the libeller and Naphtalis soume. Bot they knew themselvs that wrong account is no payment; bot to speake truth, I thinke I have duelt too long with such false accountants.

After this, I petitiond my Lord Commiffioner and the Councell for ane approbation. Severall lords preffd it with strong reasons, bot most said, that the Councell haveing given me no commiffion, could not judge whether I had walkd according to my instructions or not. Bot notwithstanding that, I was put in hopes to obtain my desire at that time; yet he who had given me the commiffion by which I had acted, did nothing at all for me.

After I came out of prifon, so soone as convenientlie I could, I petitioned the Councell for these prifoners who had beene of my guards,

as is fet doune in my relation. The Councell referrd the matter to the Generall, who, at my interceffion, and their takeing the declaration, gave them their lives and liberties, and his paffes to goe home, and I gave each of them a litle money to carry them to their houfes. One more, who had beene my intelligencer, my Lord Commiffioner, at my humble fute, favd from hanging at Aire, and therafter gave him his libertie.

After fo pitiefull a toyle, I was adviced to purge; and this hinderd me to goe weft with my Lord Commiffioner, when he marchd with the forces to reduce that countrey to order; bot I followd him foone after, and waited on him at Glasgou when he came backe from Aire. Some fixe and threttie or therby of the rebels were hangd at Edenburgh, Glasgou and Aire. The reft, who were above a hundreth, efcaped one way or other. And now I appeale to Mr Naphtali himfelfe, if any of thefe fixe and threttie ever mentioned my name in their fpeeches at their executions, or blamd me for oppreffion, or directlie or indirectlie infinuated that I had occafiond the infurrection. None knows better then Naphtali, who hath very carefullie collected all their testimonies, (as he calls them,) perhaps pend the moft of them.

Generall Dalryells foot regiment lay a while at Aire, I thinke till June 1667. The regiment of guards was appointed to march to Edenburgh; fixe companies lay in the Canongate, and I with foure more did ly at Lieth. It was dureing the convention of eftates, who, by his Majefties command, were affembled to find out meanes to entertaine the late levied foot and horfe, which were not to be a militia very long. Upon the eleventh of Februare, at twelve of the clocke at night, I was calld away in hafte to Glasgou to my wife, who had taken both a fud-

den and a dangerous disease, which was indeed the effect of that melancholie she had contracted for my imprisonment ; for thogh her carriage dureing that affliction was that which became both a sober and a christian woman, yet grieffe had got so deepe ane impressiõ in her heart, that she could not overcome it, no not with my restoratiõ to libertie. I stayd three weeks with her ; and indeed all the crosses that had ever befallen me, and the last one too, which was one of the greatest, seemd no thing to me in comparisõ of that I then sufferd, by the sad apprehension I had to be separated from so deare and so precieous a yoakefellow. It pleasd God she betterd, and the phisitians assuring me there was no more danger, I returnd to my charge at Lieth. Bot the very nixt day after my comeing, I was advertisd that she was fallen in a dangerous relapse. I returnd to Glasgou, haveing first causd shew my Lord Commiffioner, the Generall, and E. Linlithgow, the cause of my sudder departure. At my arriveall at Glasgou, I found her heavilie sicke ; some intervalls of ease she had, bot both few and short. I stayd three weekes with her the second time, till it pleasd the Lord to better her condition so farre, that the phisitians once more thought my longer stay needles. This mercy comforted me more than my late misfortune had afflicted me.

When I came to Edenburgh in Aprile, I found the regiment of guards was removd to Fife, to defend that coast against forreine invasion. Everie companie had a toune allowed for quarter, and mine had St Andrews. I lookd on all the companies in passing, before I came to St Andrews, the Archbishop wherof I found very sicke of a tertian. Nothing past that summer in Scotland, of acts of hostilitie worthie remembrance, except that Van Gent, one of the Vice-admiralls of Hol-

land, with tuo and threttie gallant men of warre, came up the Firth ; who, having spent to no purpose, above one thousand shot of canon at Burnt Iland, and killd onlie one fisher at the Weims, returnd that same night, haveing both wind and tide to carry him away. In Burnt Iland were my Lord Commiffioner himfelfe, E. Linlithgow, and tuo companies of foot ; a troope of horfe comeing to them fhortlie after. At Kircaldie, was Colonell Urrey with tuo foot companies more ; the other fixe companies were with me at the Eli, a place most fit for them to land at. Trulie, if that Hollander had put it to the hazard to have landed his foot, which in so many vessells could be no fewer then three thousand, at any place bot where we were, I thinke in all probabilitie he might have plunderd and burnd the most, if not all the touns of that coast, the countrey not being in any kind of posture of defence. Bot the same Van Gent, as they say, behavd himfelfe more advantagouslie for his masters, and more misfortunatlie for England that same summer at Chattum. Many other alarms we had, bot they provd all false ones, and it was well so ; for if we had bene handsomlie attackd, we might have had just reason to have had more then the halfe of the feare.

About Lambes of the yeare 1667, his Majestie haveing concluded a firme peace with all these neighbours of his who had made warre against him, to ease his kingdome of Scotland of the great burthen lay on it, for the maintenance of so great a militia, he orderd all his troopes of horfe except tuo, to be disbanded, and Generall Dallyells regiment of foot likewise. In the beginning of September, he commanded three companies of the ten wherof his regiment of guards consisted, to be sent to France, the Captaines therof haveing belonged formerlie to

Lord George Douglas in that kingdome. The fifteenth day of September was appointed for them to march from Enfter to Burnt Iland, to reflave what was oweing them, and then to goe a fhipboord. Bot moft of the fojors haveing ane averfion from the French fervice, and preying on the Captaines weakenes, who were Melvill, Ritherfurd and Lieth, mutined, refufing to march, and calling imperiouffie for their pay. If the Captaines had beene either wife or liberall, they might have engaged moft of all their fojors to goe with them to France, by giveing each of them a croune or tuo at moft, in hand, as levie money, and fo both have prevented the mutinie, and carried over their companies; for the King had declar'd he wold force none of them to goe. Bot as avarice is the root of all iniquitie, fo it provd heere; for the narrow hands of the Captaines loft them both their livelihoods and reputations. Neither did they take any courfe befitting militarie men, to compefce the mutinie. Tuo of them fled, the third was detaind in the qualitie of a prifoner, never one of the three ever offering to draw a fuord. The reft of the officers fhifted for themfelvs. The tuo that thought they had fped well by haveing efcapd, ftayd at Leven and refrefhd themfelvs and horfes, at all leifure, without fo much as acquainting the Earle of Rothes, who was Captaine Generall, or E. Linlithgow, who was their Colonell, though the firft was at Balgonie within four miles of them, the fecond at Edenburgh; or did they ever offer to fend to me, who was their Lieutenant Colonell, though they knew well enough where I might be found. They went therafter to Kircaldie, and after a breathing, one of them went to Edenburgh, and the other to my Lord Chanclor. Mellvill rencountering by chance with a fervant of mine, wrote to me, in what condition he had left Enfter; this letter came to

a gentlemans house where I was, about tuelve a clocke at night. I wrote instantlie to Colonell Urrey, to bring E. Linlithgows companie from Kircaldie, and his oune from Difart, with him to the Eli, where I fould, God willing, meet him. I wrote also to Saint Andrews, for my oune companie to march with all hafte thither.

Nixt morning I rode to the Eli, where I found Sir George Curror ficke and bedfast, bot his companie in armes and in good order, as was also Captaine Whites at Pittenweim. I fent Lieutenant Levifton of Westquarter, who belongd to these mutinous companies, to tell the mutineers that I was come to heare and redresse their grievances, and therfor requird them to meet me without the toune in the field. They returnd me anfuere, that for severall reasons they could not leave the toune, bot I fould be very wellcome to come in to them. I did so, and was met at the entrie by threttie musketeers, for my honor, said they, to convoy me to the shore, where I found them all in armes, with their collors flying. I was enviroind round, and so close, that I could not get my horse movd from the place where I stood. I perceavd the mutinie had comd to a great heighth, for they had chofen their officers and speakers, and presented me with a petition directed to E. Linlithgow, and in his absence, to me. I harangud them, and demonstrated to them the ouglines and follie of this action of theirs; I cryd up their former loyaltie and services, and advifed them not to staine the reputation of them by this tumultuarie and unadvifed rashnes of theirs, which I wold not tearme mutinie, wherof I knew so gallant men could not be guiltie. I did not faile likewise to show them, that I knew how to force the most difobedient of them to duetie, bot hopd they wold be wifer as to put a necessitie on either me, or these above me, to make use

of our pouer. I rallied and made merrie with some of them, and they made sport with me ; and in end, after many discourfes, I promisd they fould be payd at Burnt Iland all was duellie oueing to them, and that none of them fould be forcd to goe a fhipboord againft his will. They defird to be payd and difbanded there where they were ; this I wold by no meanes grant. Their mufkets were chargd with tuo balls at leaft, many with three ; fome of the mutineers gave fire upon the houfes over my head. At length I commanded drums to beate, and crying, " God fave the King," which they likewife did, I orderd the colours to follow me ; and without more noyfe, carried them fairlie to Leven, feven miles from the place where they were, and the nixt day to Burnt Iland, where they were all difarmd and difbanded.

So foone as my Lord Chancellor knew of the mutinie, he wrote to E. Linlithgow to come over out of Edenburgh to appeafe it. Strange and very ftrange it was, he wold not write to me, who, he knew, was within foure miles of him. And as ftrange it was in E. Lithgow, to thinke that I wold be fo tame as to fit ftill and doe nothing till he came ; for fo foone as he arrivd at Burnt Iland, he wrote to Saint Andrews, (thinking I was there,) for me to meet him at Enfter. His letter I got on the 16th of September, at night, when I was quartering the mutineers at Leven. A drummer, who was ane Englifhmen, and feven or eight more, who had beene the ringleaders of the mutinie, were feizd on at Burnt Iland ; for I had promisd indemnitie to none of them, neither indeed did ever any of them feeke it from me. Bot by a private advice from the Privie Councell, I fuffered them all to make their efcapes, a month or therby thereafter, out of the tolbooth of Leith.

A month and more before this mutinie, Generall Dallyell acquainted me, that E. Kellie had told him, that there was a resolution to take my charge from me, and to give it to him. I beleeve his Lordship got a very rough reprimend from some of his friends, for not keeping his oune secrets better. I was apt to beleeve there was such a designe, and therfor resolvd rather to goe out, then to be thrust out. I made a proffer of my charge to my Lord Kellie, provided I might be Major, and Colonell Urrey eldest Captaine, as we had formerlie beene. My Lord had good reason to thanke me for so kind ane offer. In the meane time, I movd my Lord Chancellor to write something of it to E. Lauderdale; who returnd him anfuere, that he had never heard of any such thing before.

Sir Robert Murray, Privie Counsellor and Commiffioner of the Treasurie, told me, much about that time, that the King haveing heard some grievous complaints of me, intended to order his Privie Councill to examine the matter. I told him, I wonderd any complaint fould come to the King of me, since none was made to the Councill, to whom it properlie belonged, to take notice of such affaires; it not being ordinarie to runne directlie to the King, *per saltum*, in contempt of that authoritie which he had established in Scotland. He anfuerd, the King did in these things as he pleasd. I said, I thought it very strange, I was not brought sooner on the stage, it being now neere a twelve-month since I came out of prison. He gave me indeed a reason, which hugelie increasd my admiration. So long, said he, as the armie stood, you were too strong for your accusers, neither durst they be seene against you; bot now, that the forces, for most part, are disbanded, the Councill may take notice of you with lesse trouble. I replyd, that

then I had beene mistaken formerlie, in thinking that the armie wold rather have affistid justice to be administerd, then have given any obstruction to it ; and with that we parted.

Meane while E. Kellies friends thought it fit he fould gett me to ratife under my hand the proffer I had made him, which, they thought, being bot verball, I might avouch or deny as I pleafed. I refolvd they fould fee I was a man of my word ; and therfor immediatlie, by way of letter, made my former offer, and that without any hesitation. My letter was fent to Court, and infantlie his Majesties order came to the Councell, to fee E. Kellie admitted Lieutenant Colonell, and Colonell Urrey and myfelfe returne to our former charges ; which was accordingly done, in prefence of my Lord Bellenden and Sir Robert Murrey, in the fands of Lieth, the 2d of November, 1667.

I thought, by this addresse of mine, I had conjurd away the storme prettie well ; bot I had caft up a wrong account, for a letter from the King, of the date of the 17th of November, came to the Councell, in which, among other things, he commands their lordships to call me before them, to examine my departments ftrictlie, and what moneys I had exacted, and make a report of all to his Majestie. The Councell appoints a committee of nine of their number, which confistd of the principall councellors, foure or five wherof were of the long robe. At this time, neither my Lord Chancellor nor E. Tweeddaill were comd from Court. I am brought before this committee, and once I intendd to have pleaded, that I could not be accusd of any thing I had done dureing the time I was Lieutenant Colonell, being his Majesties conferring the new charge of Major upon me infinated a pardon of any crime I formerlie could have beene guiltie of ; bot I refolvd not to clafh

with the King in any thing, much leſſe to quible in a buſineſs which concernd myſelfe ſo very neare.

The Committee was civill to me; the Prefident of the Seſſion being choſen Prefident, cauſd offer me a chaire, which I abſolutlie refuſed, being, I ſaid, I was before them in the qualitie of a defender, and they were the repreſentatives of my judges. They inquired, which of the tuo I thought moſt convenient to be done, in order to his Majeſties commands; whether to referre the matter to my oune relation, which they hopd wold be ingenuous, or if they ſould ſend one of their oune chooſing to Niddſdail and Galloway, to aſſiſt ſuch gentlemen of that cuntry as the Councell ſould impouer, to take depositions againſt me. I freelie told them, the ſhorteſt way wold be to take my oune relation, which I promiſd ſould be a faithfull one; for I wold acknowledge the reſſaít of as much as all the depositions they could get wold amount to; and after the concluſion of the whole buſineſs, they both found and acknowledged that to be true, what I then told them. Bot at this time they reſolvd both to take my relation, and ſend one from themſelvs alſo; for it ſeemes they thought it was good to be ſure. Mr James Thomſone, a commiſſare and ane exchequer man, was deſird to goe; bot he refuſed the employment, ſaying he wold not ſo badlie requite the favours he pretended to have reſſaved from me. Bot ane other was quicklie found, for fiſteene ſhillings ſterline *per diem*, one Buntein, ane under cleark of the exchequer. Him they diſpatch with all neceſſare orders and inſtructions. This act of counsell, to invite, deſire, nay, conſtraine men to complaine, hath had, for any thing I know, bot few or no precedents. My firſt compeareance was on the 27th of November, and Buntein was orderd to returne againſt the firſt of Januare 1668.

I defird libertie till then, to goe and stay at Glasgow with my wife, who was then sicke, which was fairlie granted me. Nixt day I rode thither, where indeed I found my deare wife, (who had had bot litle health all that summer, and whom I had not seene in eight months before,) sicke of a lent feaver. About Christmas, she being somewhat convalesced, I tooke my leave of her, and returned to Edenburgh, there to waite for Buntein, of whose motions, actings and practises against me, I had sufficientlie good intelligence; and both he, and these who sent him, did find I was not so hated as they had fancied, bot had acquird the affection of the best and honnestest of the gentry, who faild not to let me know all that passd wherin they conceavd I might be concernd. At my comeing to Edenburgh, I found by the committee of the councell, that Buntein pretended he had not yet done all his busines, thogh the time prefixed to him was well neere expired. It is like he defird the continuation of his daylie salarie of fiftene shillings sterline; and I found the committee was not averse to allow him it for a longer time, perhaps thinking the longer time they gave him, the greater feats he wold be able to doe against me. Bot his strength was spent, and he came backe in the beginning of Januare. I must not forget to tell, how the gentlemen, who were deputed by the Councell for takeing depositions against me or my partie, did examine all or most on oath; a thing in itselpe illegall, at least seldome or never practisd, for a mans oath in his oune cause proves nothing; yet this these gentlemen did, not without my private assent, for I found a benefite by it; the malice of many of the phanaticks being such, as they wold have declard any thing against me, or these under my command, if they had not bene restraind by the dreadfull awe of ane oath.

After the Committee had seene and perused all the declarations and depositions which Buntein had brought, one of them (whom I need not name,) drew up fifteene grieveances of illegall and difavourable proceedings of mine, all of them grounded, as they said, upon these declarations. This monstrous paper of grieveances was a month a hatching; then I was sent for, and desired to answer them. I told the lords, that these declarations, on which the grieveances were pretended to be grounded, must be all legallie proven, els they could doe me no hurt. Bot least their Lordships should thinke, that I tooke advantage of the impossibilitie of that probation, (for no witnesses could be led against me bot these who were *socii criminis*,) I was readie to take the paper and answer it, provided they gave me time, and I desired a month. Bot Sir Robert Murrey told me, that it being now in Februare, and the Lords to goe to the countrey in the beginning of March, the ordinarie time of vacancie, so long a time could not be allowed me; yet all or most consented to a fortnight. I desired to have the declarations or depositions given me, that I might see how cleerlie the grieveances were deduced from them; bot I was told, I should have access to the Councill Chamber where these papers were kept, bot they could not suffer them to be carried elsewhere. I thought this was severe, not to give it a worse name; bot I did not value much this refuseall, for I had a perfite copie of them all sent me by my friends, which I ressavd before Buntein arrivd at Edenburgh with the principall.

Before the fortnight came to ane end, E. Tweeddaill returned from Court; his Lordship was appointed to be ane additionall member of my committee. The time prefixd to me being expird, I appeard; where I found E. Tweeddaill, after debate, voted to preside. He did not for-

bear to exerce that charge with vigour enough, yet with very much discretion and civilitie, which sweetned the bitter pill I knew I was to swallow ; for I perceavd that thogh by not acknowledging my selfe guiltie, I could save my reputation a litle, yet in the end I must succumbe ; for the promise of my charge to E. Kellie told me I was precondemned. I gave in my answers, which were read and heard attentivelie enough ; bot some of them relating to my commiffion and instructions, I was desired to shew them to the Committee. I told them, that which was true, that I had neither of them, for when the rebels tooke my selfe, they tooke also them and all my other papers. And indeed, when I was first questiond, I was not master of them, thogh afterwards, with much paines and trouble, and the powerfull mediation of moneys, I got them againe in my hands. The reason I wold not shew them was, that I feard matter of complaint might be pickd out of them, which wold not at all save me ; and this I was sensible enough of, that the shewing them might wrong my Lord Chancellor, and doe me no good ; for I was told that I was lyable to punishment for giving obedience to illegall commands. I was questiond thereafter about some particulars of my written defences, as also concerning two written declarations given in against me by two malititious and infamous persons, not without the instigation of my Lord Cochran; one of my committee, and consequentlie one of my judges ; which declarations I might easilie have repeld, by telling the Lords that I wold answer none of them, till the base accusers undertooke to prove them, which was purlie impossible. Bot to them and all other interrogatories, I gave such returns as were interpreted, even by these who were none of my best friends, to be moderate, submissive, ingenuous and can-

hide ; and indeed I was informed, some of them said I had given a full demonstration I was not the man I was characterd to be, proud, passionate, hastie and furieous. And yet I confesse, my humour never was, nor is not yet, one of the calmest ; when it will be, God onlie knowes ; yet by many sad passages of my life, I know that it hath beene good for me to be afflicted. By this testimonie of theirs I was a gainer, thogh I losd my charge. I was desird to tell them extemporarlie, how much the free quarter, meate and drinke, bonds and money, exacted by me and my parties, the three severall times I was in Galloway, might extend to. I told their lordships, I knew well enough that the depositions of all parties concerned, in which were set doune plunderings, did not exceed three and threttie thousand pounds Scots ; of that I could abate, even in their oune judgments, five thousand pounds ; neither was I bound to acknowledge the rest, for it could never be made out against me ; yet to ease their lordships of further trouble, and shew them my oune ingenuitie, I wold charge myselfe with threttie thousand pounds. They openlie declard that they thought I had spoke so ingenuouflie, that more could not be chargd upon me. Where are then the seventeene thousand pounds sterline wherwith the infamous libeller and nameles Naphtali charge me ? Haveing beene keepd by the Committee above foure houres, I was dismisd ; and indeed I will say, that the whole time of my tryall I was dealt with as a gentleman ; for they never offerd to imprison, arrest or bayle me, or yet did ever command me to forbear the exercise of my charge, for I on my command, till the very last minute that I layd doune my commiffions.

My busienes now drauing neere a close, a report was draune up, to be sent to his Majestie by one of the members of the Committee, (whom

I need not name ;) and as to the rest, some of them got some harsh words expunged, and made the report something smoother, as indeed at best it was not bad enough. The day it was to be read in the Privie Councill, I petitioned their lordships that I might be permitted to see it, before it was sent to the King. This many of the Lords thought very modest and most reasonable; others would not hear it, alledging, it was to lay the Committee and me in a balance, and to make them my party, and consequently send them all to the barre as well as me. The matter for a while was well enough debated, but carried in the negative, and declared I should not see the report till it was sent away. Not to please me, they ordered, after it was off, a copie of it to be given me, and so indeed there was one next day in the afternoon, when I believe the post of the principall was the length of Morpeth. Before I proceed further, it will be fit to give a true copie of the Report, by which the fifteene grieveances, wherwith I was formerly charged, are not onlie set doune in base characters, but are convoyd to the King with fixe more to accompany them.

A true Copie of the Report sent to his Majestie concerning me, from
Edenburgh the nineteene of Februaire 1668.

The Lords of his Majesties Councill did no sooner receive his Majesties commands, in his gracious letter of the twentieth one of November last, for taking exact examination of Sir James Turners department in the west, but they ordered and impouerd a Committee of their number to inquire diligently into them; and by their Report it appears, that,

upon information from the Stewartrie of Kirkcubright, given in upon oath of parties, or their masters, or their neighbours, many illegall exactions have beene made, and disorders committed. Such as, Firft, quartering of fojors for levieing fines and impositions. Secondlie, Exacting cefse for quartering money for more sojourns then were actuallie present, somtimes for double the number or more, (and that besides free quarter for these present,) somtimes 8 pence, somtimes twelve pence, somtimes 16 pence, and somtimes more, for each man. 3°. Cefse exacted for diverse dayes, somtimes for eight, ten, or more, before the partie did actuallie appeare. 4°. Imposing of fines, and quartering, without any previous citation, or heareing of parties. 5°. Fineing without due information from ministers. 6°. Fineing such as livd orderlie, as appeares by ministers testificates. 7°. Fineing and cessing for causes for which there are no warrands from acts of parliament or council; as first, baptiseing of children by outed ministers; secondlie, baptiseing by neighbouring ministers, where the parish church is vacant; thirdlie, for marrying by outed ministers; fourthlie, for keeping conventicles. 8°. Fineing for whole years preceeding his comeing to the countrey, and that after they had begun to live orderlie. 9°. Fineing fathers for their daughters baptiseing children by outed ministers, thogh forriffamiliate six months before, and liveing in another parish. 10°. Fineing without proportionating the soume with the fault. 11°. Fineing whole parishes promiscuouflic, as well those that lived orderlie as these that did not. 12°. Fineing whole parishes where there was no incumbent minister. 13°. Fineing one that lay a yeare bedfast. 14°. Forcing bands from innocent people. 15°. Cessing of people that were not fyned. 16°. Takeing away cattle and other goods. All these acts

are illegall misdemeanors. Of other kinds there are, 17°. Agreeing for cefse and fines both in one foume, wherby accounts were confounded. 18°. Not admitting complainers who were cefd upon, to come to his prefence; alleadged to have beene his constant custome. 19°. Permitting his fervants to take money for admitting people to him, and yet accefse denyd. 20°. Increafeing the number of quartering fojors after complaints. 21°. Exacting of moneys for removeing of fojors after cefse and fynes were payd.

Everie one of the forgoeing articles is made out by information upon oath, which yet doth not amount to a legall prooffe; which, in most of these cafes, will be difficult if not impossible to obtaine, in regard that no witnesfes can be had that are not lyable to exception, unles by examineing officers, fojors and fervants, which wold take up much time and labour.

Sir James Turners defences as to fuch of the forgoeing articles as he acknowledged, are commiffions and instructions from the then Lord Commiffioner, for quartering to raife fines, for fineing fuch who forbore going to church, or married or baptifed by outed minifters, or keepd conventicles; and that upon the delation of credible perfons, and to preferre them to these of minifters. Bot he doth affirme, all his commiffions and instructions were taken by the rebels, when he was made prifoner, and fo hath nothing to show for his vindication. And for all the other heads above written, he either denys matter of fact, afcribes the tranfactions to others, or pleades ignorance.

The foumes of money reflaved for fines and cefse, and bonds taken, he acknowledged to have amounted to be threttie thousand pounds fcots. The foumes charged on him by the countrey, besides quartering,

comes to about threttie eight thousand pounds Scots ; wherin is not reckond what was exacted from any of those who rose in rebellion, and some parishes in Galloway from whence no information was returned.

And as to his surprisall, he sayth, Firft, he had bot fixtie fixe foot in these parts under his command. Secondlie, that they were all disperfed throw the countrey about the fines, so that there was not so many left with him as to keepe guard at his lodgeing, nay, not so much as one, some nights before. Thirdlie, that he had no order to keepe a guard about him, or to fortifie himselfe, thogh there be a strong house within the toune called the Castell, to which he might have retired with some thretteene sojourns that came in that night before he was taken. Fourthlie, that he had intelligence there was a rising in the countrey ; and that a corporall of his was shot, who told him that there were divers persons got together, who had intelligence from the north of a rising there, with ane intention to march to the citadell of Aire, and to seize it and the armes which had bene taken from the countrey. Fifthlie, that about midnight, he wrote to George Maxwell of Munches. Sixthlie, he sent orders to some more of his sojourns to meet him the next morning, intending towards Newgalloway, where the rising was reported to be. Seventhlie, that he rose about fixe of the clocke that morning, bot being indisposed, lay doune againe, and being up in his gounne about eight a clock, he was surrounded and taken.

This is all that can be expected for his Majesties present information concerning Sir James Turner. As to what further concerns the money he intromitted with, it may be lookd after, according to the way his Majestie shall appoint.

End of the Report.

The sending away of this Report to the King without permitting me to see it, was the hardest measure I met with the whole time of my tryall, and perhaps is ane action that wants a precedent. I wrote ane anfuere to that Report, and everie article of it, and that so ingenuoullie and candidlie that I could, to verifie the truth of it, goe to death. Bot finding it was in vaine to shew it to the Councill, now that the busines was out of theirs, and in the Kings hands, and feareing, if I fould send it to Court, either no use, or a bad use fould be made of it, I onlie shew it to some of my friends. The copie of it follows.

My Anfuere to the Report.

The Report which the honourable Committee made to the Lords of his Majesties Privie Councill, and which their Lordships sent to his Majestie concerning me, had nothing in it on their parts bot truth, neither enterd it ever in my secretest thoughts to question the veritie of it; I meane still, on their part; for they bot reported these things that were alleadged against me, and many of them fuorne by the parties. Bot because their lordships in that Report affirme, that no legall proove was got, or could possiblie be obtained, I shall beg libertie shortlie, bot verie ingenuoullie, to anfuere everie article of that Report.

1°. The first I acknouldge to be true, and was warranted for it by the fourth article of my instructions, dated the 6th of March, 1666.

2°. I absolutlie deny, that I ever gave order, permitted or connivd at any such exactions, neither was there ever any complaints of that nature brought to me; and the contrare of this, I say, will never be provd. My anfuere to the 7th and 8th grievances cleers it fullie.

3°. I deny that ever any such thing was done by my order or connivence; and if it was done at all, it hath beene by secret tranfactions betueene the parties and the fojors, without my knowledge; neither was ever any such thing complained of, as is more fullie containd in my anfuere to the fixth grievance.

4°. The fourth I grant to be true, as being obliged to it by my orders, as appeareth by the formentiond fourth article of my instructions. Neither, indeed, was it possible to use any such previous citation or formall proceffe, nor was it needfull, the most of the parties acknowledging guilt.

5°. Ministers could not give due information of conventicle keepers; and I was obliged by my commiffion to cesse upon, and fyne such without the ministers, the thing being made cleere to me otherwise, as more fullie appears in my anfuere to the third and fifth grievances.

6°. It neither can or ever will be provd, that I fynd or cesd on any that livd orderlie. As to the ministers testificates, tuo instances were given in the grievances, the one of Keirick parish, which perhaps may be true, thogh I do not at all remember either the thing or the parish. The other is of Irongray, to which I shall speake in my anfuere to the ninth article. To both I say now, I was not obliged to regard testificats from neither minister or other man, after subscribed lists were given me, as appears by the fourth article of my instructions.

7°. The seventh article is subdivided in foure. To the first I anfuere, I granted I did so, and was warranted for it by the first article of my orders, dated the 9th of May, 1666. To the second I say, it is a meere calumnie, for I exhorted all who had no minister of their oune, to goe to the nixt adjacent church, both for heareing the word, and getting

the benefite of the sacraments ; and never hinderd or discharged any, provided the minister who officiated was conforme ; if not, I could not permit it, being orderd to the contrare in the formentiond first article of my orders, dated the 9th of May, 1666. The third I grant, being warranted to it by the formentiond articles of my instructions. The fourth I grant, being warranted by the third article of my instructions, dated the 6th of May, 1666.

8°. I grant I did so with some wicked, malititious and obstinate contemners, whom the bishops and ministers gave me in their lists, for I was to be rul'd by them for the time when I beganne to cesse. Bot assuredlie I find none whom they declared to have begunne to live orderlie ; for they thought it not enough that some, at my approach to them, declared they wold keepe the church afterward. Bot with whom the ministers were satisfi'd, so was I too. Bot neither they nor I were satisfi'd with the hipocriticall carriage of one of the worst of men, Steuart of Cullgruff, for whose sake this article is foysted in.

9°. The honorable Committee hath put in this article, upon a most unjust and false information. It is the busines of Irongray. First, it was no baptisme, bot a marriage. Secondlie, the woman was not forriffamiliated. Thirdlie, she livd in her fathers house, and not in any other parish. Fourthlie, the wedding dinner was kept in her fathers house. Fifthlie, she was married by a nonconformist, haveing refused to be married by two conformists, who livd neerer her father then the other did. And this I was not to suffer, by the whole series of my instructions ; yet that there was some severitie used in that busines, I doe ingenuously confesse.

10°. To the tenth I say, if I did not proportionate the soume to the

fault, it was done in favour of the partie, in not exacting so great a fine as his fault deserved ; that ever I exceeded, is a groundles calumnie will never be proved, the contrare being acknowledged by the phanatikes themselves ; and it is knowne, that at most, I never from the greatest transgressor exacted the halfe of the fines.

11°. This eleventh article was the first grievance, and the two instances of the parishes of Kirkcunzon and Anwith, will be so farre from proving it, that they demonstrate the contrare. And the Earle of Niddsdaill, who had once the greatest share of the first, and Sir Alexander Mackulloch, who hath the greatest interest in the last, will testify the contrare. I quartered indeed on severall persons of these parishes, bot upon none bot deficient, as more fullie appears in my answer to the first grievance.

12°. I never find a whole parish, bot I grant I find some deficient in severall parishes where there were no incumbents ; because they went not to the next churches where conforme ministers were, which they were bound to doe by the Act of Councill 1662.

13°. If the threteenth article be provd, I shall acknowledge myselfe to be voyd both of christianitie and of humanitie ; I have spoke to it fullie in my answer to the eleventh grievance.

14°. I never forced a bond from any, much lesse from innocent people ; if any have accused me of it, they were bound by law to prove it, which is purlie impossible

15°. I acknowledge I celd on many whom I find not. It was upon promise of future obedience, and this I had power to doe by the third article of my instructions, dated the 9th of May, 1666. Bot I had no power to abate any thing of the sojors cesse, which the Councill had

alloued them ; bot, good God ! could any man have thought, that any favour I did these people, wold have appeared against me under the notion of a grievance.

16°. Such things were never done by my order, and when I knew the sojors had done it, I restored the cattle and punished the sojors.

17°. This was sometimes done, at the earnest intreatie of the deficient, as an ease to them ; nor were accounts thereby confounded, for I payd the sojors their cesse due, and keepd the rest for fine, as is more fullie set doune in anfuere to the eighth grievance.

18°. I never all my life refusd to admit people to me who had bufines with me, unles I have beene sicke. And my indisposition that summer was so frequent, that it is well enough knoune that, betweene the 20th of March and the middle of November, I was seven times let blood ; and so this grievance signifies litle, besides that it is false.

19°. I remember, some complaind that my servants tooke money to admit people to me ; bot I beleve, never one of them said that I permitted them to doe so, so the article is very ill worded. Besides, if my servants did so, they had neither command, permission or connivance from me. I onlie shall say, it will be hard, if not impossible, for any man that is in publick trust or charge, to anfuere for all their servants escapes of that nature.

20°. If the article be meand, that the more obstinate the deficient was, the more sojors I quarterd on him, then it is true ; if otherwise, it is most false, neither will it ever be provd true ; in that fence the article holds it out.

21°. If this last article be provd, I shall be infamous ; yet such things being so frequentlie spoke of in the depositions, and chargd upon some

under my command, bot never upon myfelfe, I am apt to beleve that fome under me have abufd both the people and me, bot none ever haveing complaind of it, I could not redrefse it.

As to what is fpoke in the Report of what I faid for my oun justification, I wifh all I faid to everie grievance had beene mentiond, as well as what I was accufd of. They are yet extant in the Councell Chamber.

The Report fayth, I acknouedgd 30,000 lb. Scots for quarter cefse moneys and bonds, and fo I did. It fayth, moreover, that 38,000 lb. was charged on me by the countrey for cefse moneys and bonds, befides free quarter. Heere I am bound to animadvert to tuo things. Firft, there is a fallacie, for 38,000 lb. was chargd on me in the firft examination by the Mafter of Herreis and Baldoun ; which was fo groffe and ouglie, that the Councell thought it not fitting to take up their meafures by it, bot examinnd me, upon the fecond report brought in by Buntein, which exceeded not 33,000 pound Scots, in which alfo was fet up the fojors plunderings. Secondlie, that which the Councells Report calls free quarter, the countrey people calls cefse ; and fo free quarter and cefse are all one, which the Report feems to diftinguifh very difadvantageouflie for me. As to what I tooke from thofe that were in the rebellion, it was bot litle ; bot it was not forgot to be given up by their friends to Buntein, which is obvious in many places of his papers.

For my furprifall, I have no more to fay bot what I have faid all-readie ; bot the penner of the Report hath miftaken himfelfe in thefe particulars. I never faid I could fortifie myfelfe in that ftrong houfe, (as he calls it) or Caftle of Drumfries. If I had had intelligence of the rebells comeing, I wold have endeavord to defend the bridge, and not

a house, which could not be made defensible but in a long time. Secondly, I had no intelligence that there was any rising in the country, otherwise I would not have stayed in Drumfries. The shooting of my corporall only alarmed me. Thirdly, my letter to Munches, was, that he, as steward depute, would look after these rogues who had shot my corporall; this is in my defences, but omitted in the report. Fourthly, the intelligence I had of a rising in the north, was not at all to be trusted till further inquiry; neither did I ever say, that I had heard the north country people intended to have taken the citadell of Aire. That could have been done by the west country men, if by any.

So ends my Answer to the Report.

Ten dayes, if I remember right, after the Report was to Court, namely, on the seventh of March, my Lord Chancellor arrivd at Edinburgh. He was met with hundreths of the nobilitie, gentrie, burgeses and foldierie. E. Linlithgow orderd me to receive the word from him. He gave it me very publickly, without any ceremonie, which made many thinke the King had continued him Captaine Generall; but my next nights seeking it from him cleared the matter, for he told me that he was obliged to thanke my Lord Linlithgow for his civilitie, and that he had accepted of it the first night, in regard he knew it was done to honor him; but having layd doune his commission of Generall at Court, he would not pretend to give the watch word any more.

That very night my Lord Chancellor came, arrivd a post who brought a letter from the King to the Councell, in which he orderd them to call me before them, and in his name to command me to lay

doone his commiffions which he had given me, and to call me to an account for what moneys I had reffaved ; and what I was found to be juftlie owing, to take it from me, and to put it to fuch pieous ufes as they thought fitting. This was the refult of the Report. On the tenth of March, a macer was fent to the withdrawing roome privatlie, to defire me to goe into the Councell ; for the Lords were pleafd to ufe me with fo much respect, as not to fuffer the macer to call publickly for me, or to fuffer any to enter with me, though both in fuch cafes be ordinarie. Being at the barre, my Lord Chancellor told me what his Majefties pleasure was. I had fullie refolv'd before with myfelfe, to vindicate his Majefties juftice by takeing fome guilt upon me ; for befides that I thought all loyall fubjects fould doe fo, I had reason to imagine, if I fould plead not guiltie, I might be ufd feverly enough. I had therefore premeditated what to fay, which I utterd in thefe, or the like expreffions.

My Speech to my Lord Chancellor, and the Privie Councell, when I layd doune my Commiffions, the tenth of March, 1668.

My Lord Chanclor,

If ever it had beene in my pouer, as it was allways in my defires, to have done the King any acceptable peece of fervice, I fould never have beene fo vaine as to have valued it at a hier rate, then the paying a part, and bot a part, of that duetie I owed to his Majeftie. Yet let my endeavors be what they wold, they provd ftill unfucefffull. Bot a greater miffortune then that hath befallen me. I have done the King difservice, for which I have deferv'd a fevere cenfure ; and certainlie

my crime is so much the greater, that I have offended so good and so gracious a master ; yet, my lord, give me leave to say, that I never wickedlie, malicieouſlie, or intentionallie wrongd his ſervice. Some things were irregularlie done by theſe under my command ; bot becauſe I did not know them all, I could not advert to them all. Bot ſome things were done by myſelfe, which I do not offer now to juſtifie, bot I ſhall acknowledge that his Majeſtie might have proceeded with much rigour againſt me, and yet not have exceeded the bounds and limits of juſtice. Bot he hath beene gracieouſlie pleaſd to incline rather to clemencie than ſeveritie.

My lord, I am not indeed now ſo able to ſerve the King in any militarie imployment as formerlie I have beene. My bodie with yeares and toyle is become craſie, and my ſpirit with ſome ſad croſſes and afflictions is brought low ; bot in what condition ſoever I ſhall heer-after be, my loyaltie to the King ſhall accompany me to my grave, and it ſhall be my inceſſant prayer to heaven, that his Majeſtie may live long, to raigne with his accuſtomd goodnes glorieouſlie and happilie over us.

My lord, ſome foure yeares ſince, his Majeſtie gave me a commiſſion to be a Major of his guards of foot ; a yeare and a halfe agoe, and ſome more, I got a commiſſion to be Lieutenant Colonell of theſe guards. In November laſt, the Earle of Kellie was appointed to be Lieutenant Colonell, and I againe Major ; for this laſt charge I had no commiſſion, bot acted by vertue of the Kings letter to the Councell. The tuo commiſſions are heere ; which, as I reſſaved with much joy and gladnes, as teſtimonies of his Majeſties undeſerved favour towards me, ſo I doe now moſt willinglie and cheerfullie, without any reluctancie,

yet with all imaginable submission and humilitie, returne them backe.

So ended my Speech.

My Lord Chancellour haveing given me a signe to remove, nothing els was said to me then; perhaps the lords thought there was enough said at one time. I was thereafter orderd to give in my accounts to the Cleark Register, Hatton and Nithrie, or any tuo of them; and the 8th day of Aprile (which was nixt Councell day,) was indulged to me to make them readie. I went to Glasgou, and at my returne a day or tuo ere the Councell met, I deliverd my accounts to my Lord Register and Nithrie. After they had perusd them in the Councellhouse, I was calld in and desired to signe them; which I did, and attested them to be true according to my best memorie and judgment; and so I was dismissed by them. When the Councell day came, I was inquired privatelie, whether I wold sweare that these accounts were just or not. This I peremptorilie refused, for, haveing losd my memorialls and papers, I might easilie erre in some particulars, and ane oatheould be taken in judgment, truth and righteousnes. Upon this anfuere, my Lord Register resolves to give them in to the Councell as they were. They were publikelie red there by their clearke; a copie wherof follows.

My Accounts given in to the Privie Councell the eighth day
of Aprile, 1668.

My Lords,

The accounts that are charged on me, and the severall parties of

horfe and foot under my command, by the fhyre of Niddifdail and ftuartrie of Kirkcubright, extended, as I reckoned, to nine and tuentie thoufand and fome odd hundreths of pounds Scots, thogh I know fome will have them to amount to 33,000 lb. Scots ; yet in my anfuere to the abbreviation of the Report, they did not exceed eight and tuentie thoufand pounds. Bot when I was defired by the honorable Committee of the Privie Councell, to declare ingenuouſlie what I thought the foldiers ceſſe, and the fines I exacted in bonds and moneys might amount to, my anfuere was, that they never could exceed thretie thoufand pounds ; and therfor I ſhall be contented the foume ſhall be calld ſo, thogh I am very ſure it will never be provd to be ſo.

I am now to divide that foume in ceſſe, in bonds, and moneys. As to the ceſſe, it wold be confiderd, that the ſecond time I was in Galloway, anno 1665, (for the firſt time I meddled with neither ceſſe nor fine) I ſtayd tuo months ; and the third time, which was anno 1666, I ſtayd full eight months, which makes in all ten months. It is impoſſible for me to give a preciſe account of what my foldiers reſſaved in ceſſe, which is, (as they call it there) 8d. *per diem*, and in meate and drinke, (which they call free quarter) 4d. *per diem* ; in all twelve pence *per diem* for everie foot fojor, and halfe a croune a day for each horſman. Bot I ſhall offer to your lordſhips confideration, that it can not be juſtlie or rationallie thought that the foot fojors exhausted leſſe then three pounds ſterline everie day, that is to ſay, allowance for threſcore men, which was bot halfe my partie of foot ; for thogh ſometimes I had none at all on ceſſe, which was bot ſet doune, ſometimes not above the third part, yet ordinarilie, I had the moſt of my partie quarterd on deficientes, and ſometimes all of them ; as it happend,

when I was surpris'd at Drumfreis; so that, *communibus diebus*, I may most justlie reckon the cesse of the foot soldiers to be three pound sterline a day; *Inde*, for ten months, upwards of nine hundred pounds sterline moneys; and it is undeniable, bot the cesses of the severall parties of the horse which I employed, extended to much more then one hundred pounds sterline. Let then the cesse, which the soldiers of horse and foot got, wherof I might not defraud them, (having had pouer onlie to qualifie the fines,) be reckond to one thousand pounds sterline, which I shall easilie prove to be farre below that, which they got in money, meate and drinke.

The bonds which I deliverd to Mr Alexander Keith, and some inconsiderable ones, which were taine from me when I was made prisoner, I reckon to amount to thretteene thousand mearks.

It will then inevitable follow, that I have reffavd of fines, no more in money then fourteene thousand mearks; and I doe averre, that more then that, if so much, was never reffavd by me, nor any in my name, and the contrare of what I now affirme shall never be proved. What is becomd then of all these monstrous sounes reffavd by me, or those under me, which have made so great a noyse?

I shall now offer to your lordships consideration, what became of these fourteene thousand mearks, and how they were disposed of by me.

1°. First, at my returne from Galloway in the yeare 1665, I deliverd a paper to the then Lord Commiffioner, which he communicated to the tuo Lords Archbishops, wherin I shew them what great expence I had beene at in three years before, for many incident charges in the Kings service, as also for my tuo journeys to Galloway, 1663, and

1665. Upon which I was orderd to deliver all the bonds I had taken to Mr Alexander Keith ; and haveing reffaved no command to deliver up the money which was then in my hand, I did conceive, and doe fo still, that upon the account of my formentiond charges, that monee was allowd me ; and confirmed I was in that opinion, because since that time, it was never fought from me, the soume not exceeding one hundreth and fiftie pounds sterline, for all these charges. A precedent of this was given by the Privie Councell in the yeare 1663, when they orderd one hundreth and tuentie pounds sterline to be given to E. Linlithgow, for the expence of his journey to Kirkcubright.

2°. In these forementiond yeares of 1665 and 1666, some minifters, on the account of some extraordinarie charges which they were at for the same busines wherin I was imployed, received from me fortie pounds sterline.

3°. Thogh Robert Glover, (who is fo oft mentiond in the long Report, and the abbreviation therof,) was not guiltie of fo many enormities as he is charged with, yet I may, of these fourteene thousand mearks, safelie charge fixe hundreth mearks, if not more, upon him.

4°. The severall officers of these parties under my command, at severall times, for their extraordinarie charges, (such things being ordinarlie practis'd in all warrs,) reffaved from me one hundreth and ten pounds sterline, and upwards.

5°. Lastlie, when I was surpris'd at Drumfreis, the rebells tooke from me, of readie money in the chamber where I lay, and the chamber above it where my clothes were, (which were all likewise lost,) about fixe thousand and fixe or seven hundreth mearks Scots.

My lords, you see that in this account, I have not at all mentiond

my particular losses, either of horses, armes, furniture, cloaths, linnens, or my servants goods, all which for one of my meane qualitie, were not inconsiderable ; bot refers the consideration of all these losses, and all the premisses, to your lordships pleasure and determination.

End of my Accounts.

These accounts being red before the Councell, a great Committee is appointed to cognosce of them, to examine my selfe in any difficultie might arise, and report their sence to the Councell against the sixth of May. The Committee consisted almost of these members which composed the former one, except that (if I remember right,) E. Linlithgow, and my Lord Renton were added. The first professing kindness to me, and the second being my reall friend, made me flatter my selfe with a fancy, that much severity was not intended against me ; neither did my hopes abuse me ; for, being called to the Committee a day or two before the Councell met, I was used with all imaginable civility. E. Tueeddaill being againe President, desired me to name the ministers to whom I had given the money mentioned in my accounts, which I did very readily. Then I was desired to name the officers who had got a share of that money, for which I was accountable. I prepared to doe it instantly, and had named one of the officers to the clerk ; bot E. Tueeddaill perceaving I was unwilling to particularise the persons, after he had spoke with two or three of the Committee with a low voyce, told me, the Committee haveing found so much ingenuity in me formerly, that they would take my word for this, and dispence with me in that particular ; and so dismissed me. The Report to the Councell was

favorable, and no doubt I had strong obligations both to E. Tueeddail, and Sir Robert Murrey, for their kindnes in the Report ; for thogh my accounts were true and just enough, yet if these tuo persons and the rest of the Committee had not beene favorable to me, what I gave either to ministers or officers, or the hundreth and fiftie pound sterline I had taken to myselfe without precept, had not beene allowed me. On the sixth day of May, the Committee made their report to the Councell, and both my charge and discharge were allowed by their lordships, without a contrare vote, except my Lord Cochran, whom the King hath since made Earle of Dundonnald. Ane act of councell was past for my exoneration, a copie wherof followes.

Act of Councell for my exoneration, at Edenburgh the
6th of May, 1668.

“ Forasmuch as the Kings Majesty haveing by his letter directed to the Lords of his Councill upon the third of March last, ordered them to call Sir James Turner to ane account for moneys and bonds levied and taken by him for church fines; and in order thereto, they haveing appointed a committee of their oune number to confider of the said Sir James his accounts, who, in obedience to the said order, haveing called and convened the said Sir James before them, and he haveing exhibit and given in a paper, bearing a charge and discharge of the bonds and moneys reffaved and levied be him ; and the said Committee haveing diligentlie perused and confidered the said paper of accounts, did make the report folloueing : First, as to the charge, that their humble opinion was, that seeing they conceived there wold be

difficultie to prove legallie the charge of threttie eight thousand pounds Scots or therby, given in against him by the countrey, that the charge of threttie thousand pounds Scots confessed be him, (wherin they thinke him very ingenuous,) be admitted without further inquirie. And as to the first article of the discharge, craving the alloeuance of one thousand pound sterline taken for quartering, that their opinion was that the same should be allowed, seeing it hath been the former custome to grant alloeuance of quartering upon such occasions. As to the second article, anent the bonds taken be him, and deliverd to Mr Alexander Keith, which amount to eight thousand one hundredth and fiftie one pound Scots, that Sir James should be exonerd of the same. As to the article of one hundredth and fiftie pound sterline, which he desires may be allowed upon the account of his charges for the severall times he went to Gallo-way ; they thinke the same should be allowed to him upon that reason, and upon the consideration of the losses he sustaind, by plundering of his horses, cloaths, etc. when he was taken prisoner. As to that article of fortie pound sterline given to some ministers, Sir James having made a particular condescendence who did relieve the famine ; they thinke the same ought to be allowed to him. That the article of fixe hundredth mearks relieved be Robert Glover be allowed, and some course be taken with him therefore. That the hundredth and ten pounds sterline given by him to officers under his command, for their extraordinarie charges be also allowed. And as to the last article of fixe thousand fixe hundredth mearks, which Sir James alledgeth he lost when he was taken prisoner ; the Committee noways doubting Sir James his ingenuitie, offerd it as their opinion, that the same should be allowed him. The Lords of his Majesties Privie Counsell having at length

heard and confiderd the forſaid account of charge and diſcharge given in by the ſaid Sir James Turner, together with the ſaid Report of the Committee therupon, doe approve of the ſaid Report, and exoners and diſcharges the ſaid Sir James of his intromiſſion with the fumes and bonds above ſpecified, conforme to the tennor of the forſaid Report.

Extractum per me,

Sic ſubſcribitur,

Pet. Wedderburne.

So ended the Act of Councell.

Having now at length comd to ane end of this tedious and troubleſome buſienes, wherin, in ſteade of ſome gratuitie from his Majeſtie, of which I was made to have great hopes, my livelihood was taken from me, not without ſome reflection on my reputation; and trulie things being repreſented ſo of me to the King, his Majeſtie might have uſd me worſe, better he could not; being, I ſay, at ane end of it, I tooke my leave of the Lords, thankfullie acknouledging the favours I reſſaved from ſome of them; and returning to Glaſgow, I found my wife very ficke of a feaver, and in a ſtrong apprehenſion of death; bot it pleaſed God ſhe recoverd, to be a comfort to me after theſe ſad tryalls.

Since then I have livd private, and though I profeſſe myſelfe no ſtoicke, nor have I indeed that apathie or inſenſibilitie of the ſtroakes of fortune and afflictions wherof they fooliſhlie boaſt, yet I may without vanitie ſay, that the Kings diſpleaſure with me being ſet aſide, I have beene bot litle movd with theſe changes of fortune that hath befallen me; nor have they brangled my reſolutions from looking on

prosperitie and aduersitie with ane equall eye, nor shall hinder me, so farre as God shall enable me with grace, to keepe a good conscience before God, ane unspotted loyaltie to my Prince, and faire and honnest dealeing with all men, at leaft in as hie a degree as man in the state of imperfection can reach to.

I am writeing this in the month of Februare, of the yeare of our Lord one thousand fixe hundreth three score and ten, and entring in the fixe and fiftieth yeare of my oune age, being in indifferent good health ; my bodie, confidering the fatigue of my life, not very crasie ; the intellectualls which God hath bestowed upon me, found enough ; and my memorie so good, that though I never used to keepe notes in writing, and that I have written within these four last monthes, the Introduction to my Discourses, and the Introduction to this long Narration with the Narration itselfe, in which are comprehended the most remarkable passages of my life ; yet all and everie one of them represented themselvs as freshlie to my remembrance as if they had beene bot the occurrences of yesterday. To God onlie wife, be glorie for ever. Amen.

END OF THE WHOLE NARRATION.

APPENDIX.

2000

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT

APPENDIX, No. I.

BISHOP GUTHRY'S OBSERVATIONS OF THE
LATE REBELLION OBSERVED.

AFTER haveing long fought for a manuscript of our late troubles, I have got a fight of it, and it beares this title : “ Obfervations upon the
“ rife and progreffe of the late rebellion againft King Charles the Firft,
“ in fo farre as it was carried on by a malecontented faction in Scot-
“ land, under pretext of reformation ; by Mr Henry Guttrie, Bifhop of
“ Dunkeld.” I have obfervd, in thefe Obfervations, fome paffages ma-
liciouſlie and falſlie written againft James Duke of Hamilton, and
others which I know to be meere lyes ; bot theſe laſt, not directlie
relateing to the Duke, I fhall onlie touch *en paſſant*, that the reader
may know the Bifhop to have bene a man not to be truſted in what
he writes, bot when the truth was knoune by more faithfull authors.

Page 17, [Pr. Mem. p. 40.] The Bifhop, ſpeakeing of Duke
James, then Lord Commiſſioner, writes :

“ Upon the morrow, theſe lords and miniſters returned to his Grace,”

(now these lords and ministers were Covenanters,) “ and found him
 “ more plausible in treating with them, even publickly before Rox-
 “ burgh, Southeske, the Treasurer Depute, the Justice Clerk and other
 “ Councillors that were present. Bot that which was most talkd of,
 “ was that which at parting he told them in private ; for having de-
 “ fired these Lords of the Councill to stay still in the chamber till his
 “ returne, himselfe convoyed them” (to wit, the Covenanters) “ thorough
 “ the roomes, and stepping into a gallerie, he drew them in to a corner,
 “ and there expressed himselfe as follows : My lords and gentlemen, I
 “ spoke to you before these Lords of the Councill as the Kings Com-
 “ missioner ; now there being none present but yourselves, I wold speake
 “ one thing to you as a kindlie Scotsman : if you goe on with courage
 “ and resolution, you will carry what you please ; bot if you faint and
 “ give ground in the least, you are undone ; a words enough to wise
 “ men.” The Bishop proceeds thus : “ This having bene spoke in pri-
 “ vate, I could not have mentiond it, if it had not comd to be publick ;
 “ and reports anent it were so different, that some made it better, others
 “ worse then it was. Bot that same very day, Mr Andro Cant told it
 “ to Mr Guild, as also to Master Dalgleis minister of Cooper, to Mr
 “ Robert Knox minister of Kelfo, and to Mr Henry Guttrie minister
 “ of Stirlie.”

Anfuere.

The Bishop, after so foule an aspersion, could have endeavored to
 prove his accusation by some more habile witnesses then Mr Andro
 Cant, yea or any of the Covenanters, not excepting the best of them ;
 for all of them were then partie, all of them knew bot too well that
 many publick affaires are carryed on by lyes, and the bufiness ordinarlie

done before the people be undeceived ; and therfor I doubt not bot they wold studie by all meanes, lauffull and unlauffull, to carry thorough their begun rebellion ; and what more plaufible way to encourage their oune partie, and get profelites to their caufe, then to perfuade not onlie the populace, bot even men of note, parts and understanding, that his Majefties Commiffioner was only for the King in an outward and difsembled fhew, bot in his heart was entierelie for the Covenanters and their caufe ? Bot the Bifhop himfelfe makes Mr Andro Cant the reporter of this tale, and confequentlie father of the ly ; and indeed he could not have told it to three fitter trumpeters, wherof this Bifhop was himfelfe one. Bot let this manufcript be examind, it will be found the Bifhop accuses the fame Mr Cant, in another cafe, to have made a concatenation of lyes in the pulpit to his audience in a fermon, and blaſphemous lyes in his prayer to God Allmightie. With what malice and impudence then can the Bifhop make ufe of the fame Mr Cant as a habile witnes againft James, then Marques, ſince Duke of Hamilton ?

This Mr Guild, (if it be he I meane,) was an honneft man at that time, and a royalift ; and therfor Cant hath purpofelie told this ly to him, that Guild being once perfuaded to beleeve it, might alfo labour to bring other honneft and loyall men to a diftruft of the Commiffioner, that they might provide for their oune fafetie, by leaveing him and joyning with the Covenanters ; Cant and all his crue knowing well enough, that when one is boldlie calumniated, fomthing will fticke and adhere ; and affuredlie their defigne at that time and long afterwards, was, to make honneft men jealous one of another, and particularlie of James then Marques of Hamilton ; wherin they were bot too ſuccefffull,

none contributeing more to it then the Bishop, the author of this manuscript.

Bot let us observe, what a poore and fillie kind of a man the Bishop makes the Marques to have beene. He convoyd the Covenanters out of the chamber where he was. Trulie I have knowne him keepe greater state when he was not the Kings Commiffioner. Bot he leaves the Privie Councillors, and convoys the Covenanters thorough severall roomes, and leads them to a corner in a gallerie, there to bluster out both treason and follie. James Duke of Hamilton had many and pouerfull enemies, who accusd him of treacherie ; bot this Bishop is the first, (for any thing I ever yet heard,) that accusd him of follie. Wold any bot a foole, or a mad man, have told out his treacherous thoughts to a number of men, of whom he neither had, or sought a promise of silence. Could he not have imparted these villanies onlie to one of the Covenanters, (suppose my Lord Lindsay, the Dukes brother in law,) that he might tell them to the rest of the conspirators ? Bot the Bishop will have the Duke to tell his treasonable cogitations to more then halfe a dozen of the violentest of all the Covenanters. The Dukes enemies never accusd him of follie, bot in the contrare of too much wit and policie ; nor did they ever accuse him to be open mouthd, bot, in the contrare, to be the most close and reserved person that ever followed a court. Bot this Bishops malice is so great, that he will have the Duke to have beene both a knave and a foole, none of which he was ever able to prove.

Bot how wickedlie and fallie the Bishop hath represented this storie, may appeare perfectlie by this, that he writes of the famous then Earle, since Marques of Montrose, as one who beleevd this ridi-

culous narration to be true. There is no doubt bot that noble perfon was fo wrought on to be Duke James his enemie, and was indeed fo to a hie degree; and if he could have put any ftrefse on this forgerie, it is to be thought affuredlie he wold not have omitted it, but wold certainlie have made it one of the chiefe articles of that accufation he and others gave againft Duke James, in the yeare 1643, in Oxford; and being he did it not, affuredlie he lookd upon it as a fable invented by Mafter Cant, with some additional notes by Bifhop Guttrie. You may reade thefe articles at Oxford, and Duke James his answers to them, in the Memoires of that Duke, and his brother Duke William, written by Doctor Burnet.

The Bifhop, page 23. [Pr. Mem. p. 56.]

“ Notwithftanding my Lord Aboine defird my Lord Marques of Hamilton to joyne the land forces he had on the Kings fhips with his, yet he did it not, bot lay ftill in the Firth, and did nothing at all.”

Anfuere.

The Marques might not, by his instructions, put all his land forces to the north. Aboyne got more then what he defired; for befide officers and amunition, the Marques gave him money, and the two firft were onlie fought; bot what ufe Aboine made of all, I had rather the Bifhop fould learne from others then me. Reade the Memoires.

The Bifhop, in that fame page.

“ The Lord Marques came out of his fhips, by boate, to the linkes of Barnbougall at midnight, where my Lord Loudon met him and had tuo hours conference with him; after which he returnd to his fhips, and the Lord Loudon to thefe who fent him.”

Anfuere.

These who gave in a charge against Duke James at Oxford, 1643, were not so punctually, and therefore more prudent than the Bishop, who particularises a meeting in Barnbouggall links with the Lord Loudoun, and limits the conference to two hours time; whereas the charge names not the Lord Loudoun at all, nor speaks not of one night, or two hours, but says indefinitely, the Marques kept several meetings in Barnbouggall lands and places next adjacent, with some who were most desperate leaders and promoters of the Covenant; for fraud and deceit lurks in generals. But since the Bishop is so particular, I think he was bound to have made good his assertion. If he could not produce habile witnesses, yet he was obliged to have named some spectators, or bystanders. Assuredly neither the Marques nor the Lord Loudoun came alone; and if the Bishop thought the Marques his attendants guilty of their lords treachery, and therefore not apt to reveal his secrets, yet he might have named these who waited on Loudoun, who were no hotter Covenanters than the Bishop himselfe was at that time. And if my Lord Loudoun did tell the Bishop that he had met that night with the Marques of Hamilton, what will follow on that, but that it was neither the first nor the last that lord had made, for promoting the holy covenant, and calumniating the Kings friends and servants, particularly the Marques; to make loyal persons jealous of him, as one who kept night meetings with his masters enemies, and therefore not to be trusted, and consequently to fall off to the Covenanters. Duke James fully answered that charge at Oxford, as you may read in his Memoires.

The Bishop, page 46. [Pr. Mem. p. 117.]

“ The Marques being come home, (viz. anno, 1642,) he and Argile
“ feasted daylie together, and spoke of a match betweene my Lord
“ Lorne and Lady Anne Hamilton ; so that in steade of reclaiming Ar-
“ gile to the Kings side, Marques Hamilton went along in Argiles way.”

Anfuere.

Marques James neither came doune from Court, or was sent doune by the King, to declare warre against Argile, or any of the Covenanters, bot to straine all the sinues of his wit to gaine all of them to his Majesties service, and especiallie to hinder them to joyne either forces or councells with the blacke Parliament of England, then in armes against the King. Could Marques James deale in this great affaire with Argile, (the then prime Covenanter,) and not speake with him ; and could he speake with Argile, and not seeme to use him kindlie ? How hath malice foold this Bishop, as not to make use of that reason God had bestowed on him ! Did not the Bishop know that marriages are oftner spoke of among great men then intended ; yea, often consummated, yet both the married couple and their parents sticking close and adhering to their former principles, both in matters of faith and state ? Reade the true storie of the tuo brothers deportment in the yeare 1642, in their Memoires written by Dr Burnet, which will cleare any unbyassed reader.

The Bishop, speakeing of Lieutenant Generall Leslies march to

Kintire, writes, page 92. [Pr. Mem. p. 243.]

“ From Inneraray on the 24th of August [May] they marchd to Kintire, “ where Alaster Macdonald was, whose strength was 1400 foot, and
“ tuo troopes of horse. On the 25th Macdonald skirmishd with them

“ from morning till night ; bot the nixt day, himfelfe and his Irifhes,
 “ (haveing boates in readienes) fled to the Iles, and from thence to Ire-
 “ land. The countrey people, whom Macdonnald had conftained to joyne
 “ with him, fubmitted, on quarters given them by David Leslie ; bot
 “ haveing renderd their armes, Marques Argile and a bloodie preacher,
 “ Mr John Nevoy, prevaild with him to breake to them ; and fo the
 “ armie was let loofe upon them, and killd them all without mercie.
 “ Wheranent it feemd David Leslie had fome inward checke, for whill
 “ the Marques and he and that Mr Nevoy were walking together
 “ over the ancles in blood, he turnd about and faid, Now Mr Johne, have
 “ you not once got your fill of blood !”

Anfuere.

I have not taken notice of feverall falshoods, wherby the Bifhop
 blemifhes and ftaines the actions of the noble Marques of Montroffe,
 even when he intends to cry them up. I might have let this paffe
 alfo, as being eccentrick to my obfervations, which I intended onlie
 concerning James Duke of Hamilton ; yet, to fhew how the Bifhop
 impofes lyes and contrivd fables on his readers, and does not at all
 make truth the fquare of his writeings, I fhall fpeake a litle to this
 laft paragraph, as knouing the ftorie as well as any man breathing.
 Firft, Macdonnald had good enough intelligence of Leslies march into
 Kintire ; and therfor, if he had beene a foldier, and not exceffivelie
 befotted with brandie and aquavitæ, he fould have poffed the paffes
 on this fide of Kintire, where one hundred well armd and refolute foot
 might have done David Leslie mifchiefe enough, and gone faire to
 have repelld his forces, efpeciallie his horfe. Nixt, that Macdonnald
 skirmifhd from morning till night is fo falfe, that I beleve that ro-

mance had its existence onlie in the Bishops oune braine, and no where els. After Leslie had gaind the passēs without reluctancie, very unadvisedlie rode with the horse feveral miles before his foot, and there found Alaster on his march, bot out of time, (like mustard after dinner,) to the passēs, particularlie to a house called Tarbot. Leslie made a halt, and offerd skirmish; tuo of Macdonnalds men were taken, and immediatlíe without more adoe he retird; and now it was farre afternoone, Leslie thinking Alaster had retird to some strength, returnd backe to his foot. Was this to skirmish a whole day, where Leslie had neither man nor horse killd, shot or wounded? Nixt day, Leslie pursued, bot found Macdonnald was fled to Ila, bot had left 300 men, and stout men they were, at Dunnevertie; which he did like a foole, neither that house nor Dunneveg in Ila haveing any water, which occasioned the losse of both places. A fearfull ly it was in the Bishop, to write that these Alaster had left behind him had quarter promised, and given them by David Leslie. A most false calumnie. The truth was this. The 300 men in Dunnevertie had faire conditions offerd them for their persons and baggage, if they wold give over the house; this they stífliē refused to doe, expecting releefe which Alaster had falslie promised. At length their lower trench being stormd and taken, and fortie of their men killd in it, want of water made them beg conditions which before they had refused; bot none were granted them, bot to come out on discretion, which they did, and so were put to the sword. Heere nothing was done against the laws and custome of warre, much lesse against faith or parole; for neither life nor quarter was ever promised them. Yet I shall not deny bot heere was crueltie enough; for to kill men in cold blood, when they have submitted to mercie, hath

no generositie at all in it. It is true, David Leslie hath confest it afterwards to severalls, and to myfelfe in particular oftner then once, that he had spard them all, if that Nevoy, put on by Argile, had not, both by preachings and imprecations insteade of prayers, led him to commit that butcherie. Houever, he broke neither word nor articles, as this Bishop fallie alleages. And is it not a prettie storie of the Bishop to say, that the Marques of Argile, David Leslie, and Nevoy waded over the ancles in blood? Certainlie they have beene horriblie delighted in blood, that wold walke in blood, where they might have walkd dryshod. Could the blood of 300 men, in a hote summer day, make such a poole of blood as to come over mens ancles? Bot this is so farre from truth, that David Leslie never saw these 300 men either dead or alive, or ever came neere them, say the Bishop what he will.

I cannot deny, bot there was some inhumanitie used in this action; bot if we will consider what a graceles and disobedient crue of desperados these were who sufferd, we must acknowledge they got no more bot what they justlie deservd. For, first, no request, no intreatie nor command of Marques Montrosse, could prevaile with Alaster, or with his Irish and Kintire men, to stay with him after Kilfith battell; bot to Kintire they wold goe, and to Kintire they did goe, and to that disobedience of theirs, and my Lord Aboyns leaveing him with his northerne horse, might Montrosse impute his losse at Philiphauch. Nixt yeare after that, the late King sent his commands to Montrosse to lay doune armes, which he did; the like orders did his Majestie send to Alaster and his Kintire men, by Sir James Leslie, which that mad man and his cracke braind companie obstinatlie and rebelliouslie refusd to obey. Beside, they had shed much innocent blood, which might well

have bene spared ; for tho Argile and many others were guiltie of capitall crimes, yet most of their vassalls and tennants were innocent ; and of them it might be said, what have these poore sheepe done ? Now, these unhappie men who would neither obey their oune Generall, nor their Sovereigne Prince, for whom they pretended to fight, bot wold needs stand on their oune legs, and who disdainfullie refused faire conditions when they were reduced to extremities, what quarters could they rationally expect from their professed and downright enemies, the Covenanters ? Yet, perhaps, their welldeserved punishment was inflicted on them by the wrong hand.

The Bishop, speakeing of Duke James his election to be Generall,
1648, page 100. [Pr. Mem. p. 267.]

“ There came onlie two to be talkd of, in reference to the hiest place
“ of command. The one was Duke Hamilton, whose friends contend-
“ ed, it should be settled on him. The other was the Earle of Calander,
“ very many being for it, that he should be the man, etc.”

Anfuere.

I beleeve, when the Bishop wrote this, he knew he was writeing a ly ; for he could not bot know, that the Duke and his friends were so farre from contending for that hie charge, that it was imposed on him against his will, by parliament ; and if he had not accepted, he had bene sent to the Castle of Edenburgh, if he had not met with harder measure ; nor did ever the Earle of Calander, or any for him, desire a hier charge then to be Lieutenant Generall under the Duke. See the Dukes Memoires.

The Bifhop, fpeakeing of the fight at Machlin, page 104.

[Pr. Mem. p. 278.]

“ The fight lafted not long, Middleton in an infant putting them
“ all to flight ; eightie of them being kild in the place, the reft taken
“ prifoners, except a few that efcaped by flight.”

Anfuere.

As fhort as this relation is, it has many groffe lyes in the bellie of it. Middleton did not rout thefe rebels in an infant ; they difputed the matter long, wounded both him and Colonell Hurrie with fuords on the head, which fhew they did not prefentlie fly ; and if E. Calander had not comd up with 8 troopes of horfe, Colonell Turners regiment of foot following faft, the bufines had beene worfe with Middleton. There were not ten of them killd, and not above fixtie prifoners. Now when the fight began, they were no fewer than tuo thoufand ; how could then the Bifhop impudentlie fay, that all were killd and taken except a few that efcapd by flight ; for moft of all, on Calanders appeareing, got away in a full bodie ?

The Bifhop, page 105. [Pr. Mem. p. 279.]

“ Generall Major George Monro had arrivd by this time from Ire-
“ land, with tuo thoufand foot, and one thoufand horfe, and marchd
“ ftraight after the armie to England.”

Anfuere.

In the unhappie tranfactions and Engagment in the yeare 1648, all along the Bifhop makes the Duke to drive on hidden defignes ; and when the too earlie rifeings in England, and Sir Marmaduke Langdales too fudden levies, forced the Duke allmoft unprepared to march,

the Bifhop maliciouſlie conceales the true reaſons of the Dukes march, as alſo how he was forced to march with halfe regiments, ill armd and worſe diſciplin'd, in the rainieſt ſummer ever Europe ſaw ; and with- all, to make the Duke more odious, he multiplies his forcès, as heere he doth Sir George Monros ; for he landed not in Scotland with above fifteene hundreth foot, and four hundreth horſe.

The Biſhop, page 106. [Pr. Mem. p. 283.]

“ The Scots armie made Preſton their hoff quarter, bot withall quar-
 “ terd ſo wide, that betueene the van and reare of their armie, there
 “ was neare eight and threttie miles, and withall ſufferd not George
 “ Monro and his forces to come up, bot keepd him allwiſe behind, to
 “ bring up the foots canon, which were in number five.”

Anfuere.

Malicious Biſhop! who, before the armie was raiſd, makes the Duke underhand play the ſame game which Argile and the kirk was play- ing above boord ; and after he was Generall, the Biſhop makes him act like a man who deſigned to get his armie deſtroyd, his maſter ruind, and himſelfe murderd. Biſhop, I wold not have beleevd one word of this laſt paragraph, tho I had heard you preach it in a pulpit. Preſ- ton was never the hof quarter, nor did ever any of Duke James his armie quarter in it. The Duke wold gladlie have had Sir George Monro and his forces come up to his armie, becauſe his men were traird and experienced ; bot in this, as ſeverall other things, he unhap- pilie ſufferd himſelfe to be overruled, nor did Sir George deſire to joyne. The Dukes Memoires will informe you. It was agreed on, that Sir George ſould ſtill be in the reare, not for bringing canon, for we

never saw any, but for bringing sicke and straglers. It was also agreed on that Sir Marmaduke Langdale should constantly have the van, for providing guides, but mostly for intelligence, the want whereof hastend our ruine; for Sir Marmaduke and some of the Dukes armie were routed, before we knew it was Cromwell that had done the feate. The day before Cromwell appeared, Calander and Middleton had perswaded the Duke to suffer them to goe with most of the cavallerie, eight miles from the head quarters to Wiggam; but notwithstanding that unhappie march, there was not sixteene miles from the van to the reare of all our forces, which this Bishop with his multiplying glasse makes up to eight and threttie.

The Bishop, in that same page. [Pr. Mem. p. 284.]

“ Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in his skirmish, sent to the Duke and
 “ Earle Calander for amunition, which was refused him. The next
 “ day, Generall Major Baillie rendered himselfe and ten thousand foot
 “ prisoners; the rest of them straggled northwards towards Monro. The
 “ Duke and Calander, and the rest of the generall officers, (except
 “ Middleton, who made the best appearance of any, and was taken on
 “ the place,) with three thousand horse, fled together in a body. Short-
 “ lie after, the Duke, with all the other generall persons, and all the
 “ bodie of horse, were taken prisoners, except Earle Calander, who in
 “ a disguise escaped to Holland.”

Anfuere.

In a few lines the Bishop hath couched a good many malicious lies. First, Sir Marmaduke got more amunition then could at that time be well spared, and more then he desired; and numbers of men were like-

wife sent to him; and, by his misintelligence, takeing Cromwell to be one Ashton, a presbyterian gentleman in Lancashire, he was instrumentall in his oune and the Dukes ruine. Nixt, Lieutenant Generall Baillie had not fifteene hundreth foot with him, when, at Warinton bridge, finding they could make no resistance, [he] renderd himselfe and them prisoners of warre. Thirdlie, Middleton made no greater appearance then the Duke himselfe did, nor was Middleton taken on the place; but tuo days after our first rencounter, he was taken in Staffordshire by tuo countrey troopes, his horse stumbling under him. Fourthlie, after our march from Ribble bridge, the Duke never saw eight hundreth of his horse in a bodie, which the Bishop, according to his custome, makes three thousand. And here the Bishop, with his accustomed malice, conceales that Calander left the Duke at Utuxeter, and tooke the halfe of the horse with him, leaving the rest so disheartend and discouragd, that they even put a necessitie on the Duke to treat for himselfe and them. And heere the Bishop, out of spite to the Duke, conceales this treatie, and therby seemes to justifie the blacke Parliaments murther of the Duke, being he mentions no previous treatie, wherein the Duke and all with him got faire quarters, and articles signd. Is not all this done like a reverend and devout father of the church?

The Bishop, page 108. [Pr. Mem. p. 288.]

“ Sir George Monro comeing neare the border of Scotland, acknowledged Lainrick for his Generall. Thither came also Sir Thomas Tillie with a thousand English horse, and offerd his service; but was refusd by Lainrick, saying, it wold be a meane to draw Cromwell into Scotland.”

Anfuere.

The Bifhop hath purfued Duke James till he left him imprifond with the bloodie fectaries, where he needed expect no good ufage ; and then the Bifhop returns to Scotland, to perfecute his brother Lainrick. Could any man have imagind, a Bifhop could have shaken a thoufand Englifh horfe fo foone out of his fleeve ; I never heard of thefe thoufand horfe before, and I beleeve never fhall heerafter. I knew Sir Thomas Tilflie very well ; a Roman Catholic he was, bot a very loyall perfon. I doe not remember ever I faw him with Duke James. I have heard he was to be Major Generall of Sir Marmaduke Langdales foot ; and fo had no horfe with him, bot thefe belongd to his oune perfon and his fervants. Very wellcome he wold have beene with a thoufand horfe before our defeate, bot how he got a thoufand horfe together fo foone after we were beaten, and marchd fo fpeedilie with them to the Scots border, is beyond all wonder ; onlie I fancy the Bifhop levied and tranfported them there, purpofelie that Earle Lainrick fould refufe their helpe, and fo fould pertake of his brother Duke James his treacherie.

What the Bifhop writes of his generall affemblies, and their committees and commiffions, may perhaps be true ; for he was for moft part a conftant member of them. Bot affuredlie when he wrote this paper, he might have fpent his time better to have written a homelie. And now, good Bifhop, I am fo perfectlie wearie of this moft malicious and lying pamphlet of yours, that I am readie to fueare never to reade any of your fermons after it.

APPENDIX, No. II.

LETTERS TO SIR JAMES TURNER.

1. FROM WILLIAM DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Hamilton, 22 No^r, 1672.

SIR,

I KNOW so well by experience what a trouble the paine of the sciaticke is, that I am very fory you should have it, and that it has at this time hindered me of your company ; but if your health or buffines can allow you to come here againe Chriffenmas, againe which time I intend to return from Ed^r, yow shall be most heartely welcome ; and if you will be pleased to send me a copie of these memoires yow have of the buffines, I shall take it for a very great [favour] ; and the peruseing of it before I see you, will enable me the more at meeting to talk with yow of that affair, and to let you know my designe in it ; knoueing how much both my famely and my self is oblidge to your good opinione of us ; which, when it is in my pouer other wayes to exprefs my fence of, you shall find me very really, Sir, your most affec^t friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

2. FROM DR GILBERT BURNET.

Glas: 1 May [1673?] 10 a cloke.

HONO^{LL} SIR,

THE enclosed you sent me for her [Grace] is, as every thing I ever saw [from your] pen, truly worthy of you. [Give me] leave to adde, that it was an overstretch of modesty that you referre the reading it, and judging how fitt it were to be sent to me, who will never presume to judge of any thing comes from you, being assured before hand that it must be excellent good. I shall seal and send your letter quickly, for a bearer is now in toune. I encline to follow your advice in the particular you mention, and cannot easily expresse how strong my Inclinations are on all occasion to approve my selfe, Hono^{ll} Sir, your most oblidge and faithfull servant,

GILBERT BURNETT.

I send you a book I lately had, supposed to be the D. of Buckingham's; but I have [reason] to apprehend it Cap. Titus his work. One sheet hath been left out in the binding of it.

For the Hono^{ll} Sir James Turner, at Gorbells.

3. FROM DR BURNETT.

Hamilton, 18 Aug. [1673.]

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

MY disappointment of many papers I was put in hope of, hath kept me all this while from performing the journey I designed when I

waited on you. I am now neerer a readines then formerly ; but, because the enclosed paper differs in some things from the accounts I had from you, I send it to you, to see if it can so refresh your memory, that all may be fully adjousted. This paper is of Liv^t Gen. Drumonds penning, as it is like you will know by the hand. The most considerable variation from your account is, that here you will find advertisements sent by Monro to the Generall of Cromwells forces at Skipton. He said, they knew not if these they sent came to the army, for they never returned to them ; but he is sure they sent many another thing. He tells of eight regiments of horse they found lying behind your army. It is true, he added, they were but of but 150 horse or 200 at most a peece.

I hope when you have perused this paper you will return it with such reflections as shall occurre, particularlie for clearing those things I have touched. I know your generous friendship for the memory of him you honour so much, will make you easy to me for putting you to so much trouble ; therefore, without any further apology, I break off, tho I shall never break off from being, Noble Sir, your most humble and most faithfull servant,

GILBERT BURNETT.

For the Right Worshipfull Sir James Turner, at Glasgow.

4. FROM R. HAMILTON OF DICKMONT.

Kenill, the [1673.]

HONORED S^r,

I DID not meit w^t my lord duck till he com east. I shew him your letter ; he sayes qn he comes west, which wilbe at furthest the nixt

week, he fd he refolued to haue yow at hamilton ; he fays y^t S^r will. lockart was spok to qn he was heir, bot his tym in this cuntrie was fhort ; he fd lykways y^t he wold caus the profeffor to wait on yow, in order to thos amendements, and to conffer w^t yow wpon y^t expedition.

I moft intreat yow to giue my lord a uiffit at hamilton, for I affure yow both his gr. and the dutches uiffes yow weall, and ar much your friend, and will tak your weiffit weri kyndlie. I told the generall y^t I had bein w^t yow, and of your ciwilitie and kynd remembrance of all your old acquaintance, and particularlie to himfelf. Houftoune hes his ferwice remembrit to yow ; he fays he hes toylled himfelf much to find out your age, and hes read not a few books and ancient records ; bot at laft he hes fund it out, y^t in quein marie of jngland her tym, ther was one Serjeant major turnor, a glant man, ferwed hir in the warrs, which directlie he finds was yow by feverall obferwations. S^r, I wiffe yow guid health ; I pray yow remember my ferwice to your ladie ; I haue nothing elfe to troubell yow w^t, bot y^t I am, Honored S^r, your moft humbill ferwant,

R. HAMILTON.

For his honord freind, Sir James Turner, at Glasgou, Thes.

5. FROM DR BURNET.

Hamil. 22 Aug. 1673.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

I SHALL not enter on a particular confideration of your laft, but fhall only tell you, you give in it fuch demonftrations of your noble friendship for the two Dukes, that you haue to a very high degree

obliged both Duke and Ducheſſe ; who comand me to return their very hearty thanks to you, and are reſolved on every occaſion to make appear what a ſenſe they have of their obligations to you. I now ſend you all I have written, both of the Ingagment and the buſines of Strivelin, and will expect your opinion of it. Yeſterday Dachmont was with me, and told me diverſe particulars were new to me ; the moſt conſiderable of them you will find added by my hand, but one thing I demurre on till I hear your ſenſe of it. He tells me, that being ſent by S^r George Monroe to the Duke, on the Fryday before Preſton, the Duke read to Douchel and him a letter he had from Langdale; telling how the enemy had rendevouſed at Oatly and Oatley-park, wher Cromwell was. This ſeems to vary from your account ; ſo I hope, when you have read the papers my man will give you, that you will favour with a return, Sir, your moſt humble faithfull ſeruant,

GIL. BURNETT.

For the Right Worſhipfull Sir James Turner, at Glaſgow.

6. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

28 Auguſt, 1673.

SIR,

ON monday Mr Burnet went from this on his way to London. If I do not follow him within a fortnight, I reſolve to keep my reſolution in ſeeing yow about the end of the herveſt ; and if you have not advertiſement before I come, I ſhall diſpence w^t your fare, if I have the good fortune to find yourſelf. I ſhall communicate yours to Mr Burnet before that book come abroad, for I thinke what yow ſay is

very rationall. If I go to London, and can do yow any service there, yow may be assured of it from, Sir, your obliged friend and fervant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner, at Glasgow.

7. FROM DR BURNET.

Hamilton, 22 Nov^r, (1673.)

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

I AM forry I came so soon out of Glasgow, since I thereby missed ane occasion of answering yours, and brought on you the trouble of sending your fervant so farre. The Duke of Hamilton goes in on Monday or Twesday, and sent for me, but I shall wait on you, please God, on Tuesday or Wednesday, and then we shall talk more fully.

Mean while, I shall tell you, I had not advised you to so humble a Confession as you made the Com^r; since your greatest crime was too implicit obedience to a Com^r, which certainly, in his account, should passe for a very veniall sin. I wish you had pretended sooner to Vrreys place, tho I think it is not too late till his successsor be declared; but I apprehend D. Laud. is so engaged, not only to Borthick, but also to Mr Stewart, who was made liv^t with a promise of the first captains place, tho Mr Drumond of Lundie was preferred, that I suppose D. Laud. will take ane occasion at once to oblige Borthwick, and to perform his promise to Mr Stewart; yet your pretending will at least doe you this right, that whatever follow, you have again offered your service to the King. You can expect nothing from D. Ham. mediation

with D. Laud, they are in so ill termes. How the Chancellor stands with the Com^r I know not, but your application to the Parliament would be well considered, for I know not how the lords of Councell will like the Precedent, since vpon the matter it will found a complaining of their vnjustice. But I wish you were at Ed^r, if your health could allow of it, for ther' you could take better meafures then any can at this distance. This is what occurs. I shall only adde, that at London D. Laud exprest to me a willingnes to promote your brother, which makes me think he hath no ill impressiō of you; but how farre E. Tweeddale would now choake or promote your busines in Parl^t, I cannot say. And now D. Ham. and he are closely vnited at this tyme. I am no more than I was, for I told the King plainly I would not be a Bishop, nor any great thing, but I am vnalterably, Sir, your most humble faithfull seruant,

GILBERT BURNET.

Ther came no newes to this place since Tuesday. The Duchesse here is your most faithfull friend, and remembers her to you very kindly.

For the Right Worshipfull

Sir James Turner, at the Gorbells.

8. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S^r,

I AM forie your Indisposition hindered me from your good company this day w^t your ladys, who my wife was very glade to see; but your thoughts of looking after things beyond the sea troubles me extreamly, and I hope, even the time you propose before you do itt, some thing may fall out that may give you ground to change your resolution. I

I shall not in this trouble you w^t my full thoughts of itt, hoping to see you before your resolutions be more determined ; onely I shall say, that your employing the cheife minister, in desiring so small a favor from his Ma^{tie} to you as a pass, can certainly not be refused or mistaken by any. Your observes are most rationall ; but how to help what Mr Burnets precipitant hast to bring these memoires to the view of the world, is the great question ; for it is that has occasioned these great errors, and what ground he had to make so much hast, I could never understand, and I did what I could to prevent itt, that they might have been a litle better digested ; and on this very account he and I are fallen in those terms that we do not correspond ; but at meeting we shall talke of these matters at more length ; and not having any news worth your trouble, I onely ade the assurance of my being, S^r, your affec^t friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

9. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

22 Sep. [1675.]

SIR,

THE uncertanty of my sons going, by the delay of the ships making ready, and the necessity that is on me to be present at the next Council day, makes me uncertane till my return here, wher and when I shall meet w^t L^t Generall Drumond. So soon as I can be positive in it, I shall lett you know. The B^p of Dumblane I expect to see here this day. I confes I the primats change to him ; but a

little time will discover many things, and shall that I am, Sir, your most affect friend,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

10. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Hamilton, Nou^{ber} 13, 1675.

S^r,

I RECEIVED yours of yesterday, and give you my hearty thanks for the kindnes it expreffes. My journey has been but resolu'd since I went laft to Edin^b; nor does it proceed from any call from the King, but the general desire, and frequent preffure, of all friends at Court; w^{ch} having communicated to our well-wifhers here, and finding their opinion to agree w^t the others judgment, I thought my self obliged to consent to fo unanimous a motion. In the mean time, if I may be ftedable to you in any thing at Court, assure your self my endeavors to ferue you shall be fuitable to the many civilities you have euident'd to S^r, your obliged friend and fervant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

11. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Hamilton, 19 March, 77.

S^r,

I PRAY yow give your brother my thanks for letting me hear from him anent a minifter to Borrowftones, and tell him his recomendation:

will have great weight w^t me, and I shall inform my self anent that man he recomends; that I did not present my self to some vacancies I have in this shire, but left it the Archbifhope, was becaufe I am apprehenfive, by the unruliens off that people, that whatever conform minifter come amongft them, his incouragement will be but fmall; and I had no will to imploy any, wher they might have fo litle fatisfaction. Att this junctur, it will be an ill time to recomend that relation off yours to be a Captane, for upon the takeing of 500 men off the recruits off my brothers regiment att fea, the King of France has broke ten companies off the regiment. Nixt winter will be more fitt, for then is the time he makes up any vacancies, and then you shall have all the affiftance I can give yow. I am forie to hear yow haue been fo ill off the Goutt. I intend to be fhortly in Glasgou, at which time yow shall fee your moft affec^t friend and fervant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

12. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

11 April [1677.]

SIR,

THER is no haft in your fpeaking to the Arch-Bifhope, and when yow gett his relation off that affair I fpoke of to yow, then hear iff he inclines to do me right wherin his informations had injurred me; it was I that fhuned liueing with him as formerly, which he wold willingly done, but till he do some what to right me wher he has done me wrong, I incline not to itt, and I fear fo long as he has his de-

pendancie wher he has, ther is litle that way may be expected from him, or trusted to him, promis what he will ; but I know your dif-creation and friendship for me fo much, that I leave itt to your ma-nagement, and am very really, your affec^t friend and fervant,

HAMILTON.

13. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

23 May, [1677.]

SIR,

AT my return from Anandale, I found yours of the 15 here ; my wife being to go to Glasgow this day will lett you know my thoughts as to the Chan. and the reason of the difference betuixt him and the Precedent, and what ar my conjectures of his fending up his son, and will impart to you all I know more, wherby you will find a litle time may produce feverall revolutions. So honest men had need to be well and feriously advifed ; and putting great confidence in you, I shall not doubt of your friendship and frie advife, which shall meet with all the returns of kindnes in the pouer of your affec^t friend and fervant,

HAMILTON.

14. SIR JAMES TURNER'S " DISCOURSE WITH THE ARCHBISHOP
OF GLASGOW, THE 28 OF MAY 1677."

THERE is one frafer who is prifoner at Dumbarton, as being ac-cessorie to a manflaughter committed by one of his fonnes ; I had tuo letters from him desiring me to advife w^t our Archbishop what might

be done for him, pretending innocence. I knew the Archbishop had kindnes for the man as being his old acquaintance, and therfor I layd hold on this occassion to goe to the castle last monday, where I found Orbiston and a sonne of Barns adviseing with him concerning the tryall of some witches ; there I found also our provost, and his bayliffs, two wherof runne out so soone as they saw me ; there was also Sir John Monkreiff, a cousine of the Marquesse of Athole ; I stayd till most of these were dispatched, and then enterd in a discourse w^t the Archbishop concerning Frazer ; from that I fell to speake of a wrong was done to a friend of mine, a minister, by the B. of the Isles (wherin I beleieve he was assisted by both our Archbishops), and askd him if he had no vacant places in his oune Diocesse for that poore minister. He told me, he thought for my sake he might accomode him in Anandaill ; bot that not being my errand, I askd him if there were no vacancies in Clidfaill ; he said, Differf was vacant, for one Hamilton, to whom it was offerd, wold not accept. I said, nor fould my friend come there w^t my consent. He told me he had presented one Gallan to Lessimahego. I askd if all these were fallen *Jure devoluto* in his hand ; he said yes, bot he had not made use of his power till he wrote my lord duke, and got his anfuere, that he might present whom he pleasd. I told him he had done in that very modestlie ; and so haveing made a faire way to my intended discourse, I said, I wishd there had been no mistakes between the duke and him about other matters ; he anfuerd, he wishd the same. I prayd him to relate the matter to me, if he had the leisure : very willinglie, said he, and did it, to my best remembrance, in these or very neare the like tearms.

At London, said he, my lord duke was pleasd to give me a visite ;

where falling on the subject of indulgd ministers, he desired me to be favourable to them, as to men who contributed much to the peace of the country. I answered, that they might expect faire enough vsage from me, provided they did these things they were obligd to doe. My lord D. asked me what these things were: one, said I, is the keeping the 29 of May; he said, he thought that should be done. Another thing, said I, must be done by them, or they can expect no favour from me, and that is, to ordane no young men or Expectants, which they too often practise, and that will perpetuate the schisme. The duke, said he, replied, how can yow or any other get helped? This, said he, I thought was strange language; but answered, that their were hopes, if men did their duetie, it might be got helped by time. This vpon the matter, said he, was all passed betueene vs on that heade. Not long after, said he, I had occasion to goe to D. Lauderdale concerning my dispatch to Scotland, havinge allreadie kist the kings hand, without any resolution to tell him any thing had passed betueene D. Hamilton and me. There were some companie with him; but so soone as he saw me, he came with his accustomed addressse to me, and told me he had somthing to impart to me, and immediatlie tooke me to another roome, and told me there had beene a noble person with him, who had promised he should be a very great man, and the king a glorious prince, w^t many other promises, if he would procure the Indulgence in Scotland to be enlarged. I asked who that person was: he answered, my ladie Dutcheffe of Hamilton; and that her G. had beene very earnest w^t him in the busienes. This vnexpected rencounter, said the Archbishop, made me apprehend the Duke of Hamiltons designe reachd further then at first I was aware of, and therevpon told D. Lauderdale

what had passd betueene D. Hamilton and me. D. Lauderdale bid me looke well to it, for the busines concernd me and all these of my order. I told him, said he, I could do no more in it then relate it to him, having taken my leave of the king. Yes, said D. Lauderdale, it will be fit you acquaint the English Bishops with the matter before you goe to Scotland. Nixt day, said he, D. Lauderdale and I dind w^t the Archbishop of Canterburie at Lambeth, where were present the Bishops of London, Worcester and Rochester. After dinner, D. Lauderdale told the English Bishops, that he thought I had somthing to say to them; on which I related to them what I have told you; and D. Lauderdale told them what had passd betueene the Dutcheffe of Hamilton and him. The English Bishops were of opinion, D. Hamilton might readilie propound the matter to the king, and therfor it were fit to preuent him, bot told me, I might goe to Scotland; and so, said he, I went away. I was told thereafter, said he, that the king spoke with D. Hamilton on the matter, and that the king told him, now I have it out of yo^r oune mouth, that you are for enlarging the Indulgence, and for the presbiterians to give ordination. The Duke, said he, wrote a letter to me, to which I gave an anfuere, containing all I have now related to you; for I wrote to him I had said nothing of his G. to either D. Lauderdale or the English Bishops, bot what I wold give vnder my hand. And heere the Archbishop stopt.

I askd him, If D. Lauderdale had not told him what my ladie Dutcheffe of Hamilton said to him, wold he have told D. Lauderdale what D. Hamilton said to him; he protested he wold not, and could take God to witnes in it. Then I told him, that I was informed, D. Hamilton, in his Discourse with the king, had neither desired of his

Majestie an enlargment of the Indulgence, or libertie of ordination. Bot the king asking him what his opinion of the Indulgence was, he hielie magniefied that which was granted, as a thing that contributed much to the peace of the countrey where these Indulgd ministers preachd. And being askd by his Ma^{tie}, if he thought any greater Indulgence fould be granted, answered, He wold not take on him to tell his mind extemporarie ; bot that if his Ma^{tie} wold call for others and aske their advice, he fould be readie faithfullie to tell his opinion. To all this the Archbishop replyed, That he was informed, D. Hamilton denyd that he gave the king advice to permit ordination by presbiters, bot did not deny that he had adviced him for a larger Indulgence. I replyd, That I beleevd the Duke denyd both the one and the other, bot I wold not meddle in it. Then I told the Archbishop, that his revealing to D. Lauderdale what had passd betueene D. Hamilton and him, provd no good office to the Duke, because on occasion therof, men had endeavord to possesse the king with thoughts that the Duke intended an alteration in church gouernment, which I beleevd never enterd into his thoughts. He answered, he was blameles of that ; he had represented no more bot what had reallie passd betueene them. I replyd, I was sorry it had fallen out so vnluckilie in his hand, for I had never heard D. Hamilton speake to the prejudice of either him or his order ; nay, I have heard him say, he wold never liue vnder that presbiterian government which was in his younger years exercisd in Scotland. The Archbishop subjoyned, that he had neuer entertaind any other bot honorable thoughts of my lord Duke ; and so after ordinaire complements, we parted.

15. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

SIR,

1 Jun. [1677.]

I AM sorry you have taken so much pains to so little purpose, for I did apprehend it would be as is fallen out. However, I thank you very heartily, and when it is in my power, your kindness shall not be forgot. I discover more of the designe has been in that business nor I knew before, by the relation the Arch B. gives of it; for my wife spoke what he says my Ld Lauderdale told him at parting many weeks before, and what passed betwixt him and me was indeed but a few days before he parted; and after what past betwixt my wife and my Ld Lauderdale, we were in great civilities together, and many offers made, which was not accepted; whereupon it seems this engine has been fallen on to incense the King, seeing him use me well; but till I see you I will not trouble you with a more full account of that affaire, and wherein the Arch B. relation differs with me; and for that end I must desire the seeing you here when I return from Ed^s, where its like I may go from Kinneill the end of the next weeke. I had letters on Saturday that Duke Laud: would be down this month and by sea; other occurrences I have bid Smith give you, but little materiall yett: the Chancelors way is well enough understood by all sides, and time will clear his politics. I am very really, Sir, your most affect^d friend,

For Sir James Turner.

HAMILTON.

16. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

16 Jun. [1677.]

I WISH you had comed your self, for I confes I do not understand

your letter ; for how it can be expected I will appear in any publicke thing, confidering as I am ftated, w^tout being called to it by his Ma^{tie}, who has thought it fitt for his fervice to lay me afide, is a thing fure in comon difcretion I ought not to do as a private perfon. I hope to cary my felf as becomes a good fubject, and no body fhall be more ready to pay Gen. Dalyell all civillity then your moft affec^t friend and fervant,

HAMILTON.

For S^r James Turner.

17. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S^r,

10 Sep^{br} [1677.]

BEING juft going to my horfe for Kinneill, I have onely time to tell yow that I thinke yow may fend your letter wherof I return yow the copy ; for I fhall be very glade all honeft men may come in imployment, and fhall wifh yow good fucces in itt : onely I fhall tell yow that the Lyons place was to his fon as well as himfelf, fo that does not vaike ; and I hear the L^t: Colls: place is intended for this young E. of Kellie, and that of the Caftle of Ed^r to one Maitland, who is a Cap^t in my brothers regiment, and was once D. L. padge, who is already fent for ; he onely to have the profite of the company, and the other revenew of the Caftle to go for D. L. ouen ufe. I thinke yow had beft examine thefe things, for I wold not have yow rafh in expofeing your defires. At my return, which will be the end of this weeke, I fhall be glade to fee yow, and then it is like yow may hear more from your moft affec^t friend,

HAMILTON.

For S^r James Turner.

18. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S^r,

26 Oct. [1677.]

I THANKE yow for letting me hear from yow. The marching of the forces from Glafgow gives great occafion to people to conjecture what the matter can be, fince wee can hear nothing extraordinary of the phanaticks motions, who can hardly I thinke be fo mad as to definge any infurrection, and yett I thinke ftrange iff the Minifters of State be fo allarumed w'out good ground ; however it makes the caice of private cuntrey men that intends to leave peaceably, pretty difficult what to refolve on in thefe feaming combuftions and alarums. I wifh your Arch B. may att laft be a good instrument in the fetling off thefe differencis he fays wold tend to the good off his Ma^{ties} fervice, that things may be fetled by a parliament ; but I fear he is not convinced fo in his former errors as to proceed in that method, and fayed fo to yow, onely knoueing the refpect yow may have for fome off thofe he mentioned. . . . any further off confequence come to your knowledge, I fhall expect to hear from yow, as yow fhall the like from me, being,
S^r your very reall and affec^t friend,

HAMILTON.

19. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S^r,2 Jan^r, 78.

I THANKE yow for letting me hear what comes to your knowledge, but I am not much alarumed w^t thofe ftories of imprifonment, and I wifh that wer the worft wer intended, then I hope our inocenfie wold foon relieve us. I hear the Chancelor is gone to Fife laft weeke, but the particulare occafion off it, or any thing els of confequence, I have

not heard since parting ; so I have onely to add the renewed assurance of my being, S^r, your most affect friend and fervant,

HAMILTON.

For S^r James Turner.

20. FROM ANNE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

19 April, 78.

I THANK you hartely for y^r kindnes exprest att this time, which is fuitable to many more obligations you haue put on me. I heard yesterday from my Lord ; his letter was of the 11 ; he had not then seen his Ma^{tie}, but had kised the Duks hand, which was by an acedent ; for that night he came he went to the Duke of Monmoth, and said he did not goe straght to the King as he vsed to doe, becaufe he heard reports that his Ma^{tie} would not allowe of his waiting on him, and therefore desired him to aske his Ma^{tie} ; but the D. Monmoth replied, he had spoken to the King alredy, and the King bid him tell my Lord he would not see him, while he knew what he had to say for his coming without ether his leaue or his counfells, who had made a proclamation to the contrary, but he would uerie quickly apoynt his Cabenet Counfell to heare him ; and upon the Tufday the D. Monmoth tould my Lord to come to his lodging, and he would conduct where the counfell satt, which was to be the next day ; and the King allowed my Lord to bring whom he thought fitt with him ; so he touk my L. Cocheran, his brother and L^t Generall Drumond. They went to see the Duches of Monmoth, and stay there while D. M. came to carry them to the place of metting, and there came the D. of Yorke ; my Lord made him a low

bow, but did not goe forward while the Duke made a signe to him, and then he went and presented the rest to him. My Lord said, he looked on itt as a good omen, that they [had] seen his Highnes, and hoped he would be att the Cabenet Counsell; the D. said, he thought not to haue ben att itt, for seeing them while the King shold, but now he thought he might; however he was not thare. Those that weer was the Chanc. the Trefurer, Duke M. the Lord Chamberland, and the 2 Secretares. My Lord spok first, and then the rest, what things has ben don amongst us; but the thing they insisted most on was, why they had contemned the Kings authoryty in coming without leave, to which they thought they gaue satisfying reasons. As sone as they came out, the King went in, and D. M. came afterwards, and tould my Lord; His Ma^{ty} seemed more fauorably inclined after they had made ther report of what they had said; but the King desired, for his better information, they would put in writing, which they needed not syne, and itt shold be returned them againe without been copyed; with all D. M. tould them, if they declined itt, there would be great advantage taken; so they were resoluing to doe itt, but you may judge what losse they ar att in wanting aduice of Lawers. This is the sume of what was wreten to me; only my Lord desires friends may not be discouraged, for he hopes all shall be well, and that his next may giue more ground to expect itt; but God be blessed, euen this is better then what we weer thretened with. As for the mutiny heere yesterday, I thought itt a uerie pleasant sight to see they trobled no body heere; but when on company was gone away with their coulers, the L^d Coll. and Cap. L^d rod after them, and ouer touk them at Jarefton wood; they capitelat the buffenes, for itt was to hardy a mater for to gentelmen to

force fo many men back againe but by perfwasions. L^t Coll. had fume men of his owne who weer prevailed on to returne with a drumer, the reft marched away with their cullers, and beating ther drum; while they weer at this, the other company in the toune went and forced their cullers out of the place they were in, and went their way, doeing rong to none, but beating ther comarods that were unwilling to goe with them; fo when the comandars came in from on mutiny, they found a more difplefing on, for the company that went from this was the L^t Coll. owne company, but itt was grown dark, and there was no following them. But I am tould itt will reflect on me and this place; I faid I could not helpe that, but for my part I wifhe all that comes may do fo. I heare the regiment will now gett leave to goe away; if they had done this foner, they might haue ben difmift foner; and if they had not, I beleve they fhould haue ftayed as long as they could haue gotten any thing. I fhalle trouble you no further, but if I heare better news, you fhall fhare. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

21. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

22 Aprell, 5 acloke.

I received y^{rs} within this houer. I haue not heard from my Lord fince I wrott to you, fo can giue you no further account then what you know. I doe beleue S^r G. Lockhart will be att London before the Kings aduocat, who went with his Lady in coach to Yorke, and from thence is to goe in the stage coach. Sure Hatton has fume other defigne in coming to Glaf. then what concernes the ordering the forces,

which itt seemes they haue a mind shall be continued on us as long as they can. I wonder att the great haft in bringing out the Needfdail regement. I think fume concerned in that shire might haue ben expected would haue stayed for another comand before they had done itt ; but this is a time will difcouer who ar friends in realety and who not. Amongst the number of the first I bid you hartly Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

22. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

30 Aprell, —78.

I HAUE gott no letter from my friend since that you was acquainted with, 'as you shall when I heare againe ; but I am writen to from Ed^r fume of those things you mentione ; but what concernes M. Atholl and E. Perth I doe not credeat ; and I hope more of there assertions ar according to the rest of there way, any thing that makes for them, which, when brought to the test, may have, as other things has had, contrary effectes. That the countrie is att present so much eased is a mercy we aught to be thankfull to God for, and fure our friends has ben no ill instrements in itt, and I trust shall still continue in there duty. By the last packett, D. L. receued a letter from the Arch B. G., shewing how well he was receued by the King, and how takeing the naritive was with His Ma^{tie} and the Clergie of England, and how firmly the King was resolued to adheir to his Counfell heere, and to aproue of there proceedings, as all tending to his serues, and to discourtenance D. H., and that party whom yet he had not admitted to his presence. You may beleue this letter is even worne out with reeding ;

yet I fhall fay no more but, for all this, they haue too parts of the feare. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

23. [FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.]

HONERED SIR,

I HAUE receued y^{rs} with the inclosed on you needed not haue returned; and that which I desired you should, was from no doubt of your cair in any thing wherin our friend is concerned. Since I begun to writt I have gott a return of what I wrott with y^{rs}. He is werie fenceable of your kindnes, and has had his thoughts of what you propofed, but fees great defec to be admitted acces and ordered backe to aske leaue, will furely be denyed. He intends to be in Ed^r to morow night, and hopes day free. Laft poft brought no confiderable news. I heare thofe in the weft that refuses the bond, or the enacting themfelves, intends to goe to Ed^r, rather then be imprifoned thare; but ittts said they will begin with the moft confiderable firft, for which they have much reason, for has ittts like there will be fo many refusers as will doe more then fill there prifons. There is great devesions amongft them, both in Counfell and Comitie. What God may and will bring out of all thefe diforderly courffes is only known to himfelfe, to whose determinations itt will be all our duties to submett. The inclofed is all I gott; fo hartly Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

24. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

20 May, —78.

A LITTEL while after y^r faruant went away, I receued letters from our friend of the 14 infant, which came by Mr Benerman. You will see by the inclosed in what condition our friends and selves ar in ; if you have any thing else to ad to what you have already wreten, lett me haue itt by to morow night. I hope a littell time shall produce better things, and for the present I am altogether of y^r mind. So adieu.

Our friends dufe not intend to the baiths, while they see a littell further, and heere what is friends opinion heere.

Mr George Maxwell was ariued, which lett P. A. know.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgou.

25. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON

17 June, —78.

THERE needed no appollege for not seeing me, who am not apt to mistake friends who ar so reall as I believe you ar in your professions ; but I am fory y^r abfence now should be from any indisposition, and wishes what has formerly ben a remedy may proue successfull still. I had letters Saterdag by S^r Jo. Cun, and by the packett my lord of a later daitt ; they weer put in hope that the convention would be adjorned, and if it weer not, they weer resolued to kepe it, and I doe not heare but M. Atholl intends also to come notwithstanding of his Ladys jorny. I know no thing of L. G. D. beien in this

cuntrie, and beleues itt is att the fame raitt of truth that my Lord is said to be heere, which, if safely, I should have ben glad of, for his absence att this time is discouraging to fume. I wishe the D. of L. confidence in carying votts so clearly as 5 to on in the convention, may make him take no other course to bar members fitting; but fume of there proceder giues ground to think they will fall on fume such way; a lettell time will now discouer what is att present perplexing. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgou.

26. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

June 19, [1678.]

THIS day I haue gott letters from my Lord, dated 13, which day he touk jorny with E. Perthe and S^r Jo. Cocheran, and says others takes post, only M. Atholl and E. Kincarne stays. My Lord thinks to be in Ed. on Saterdag; but there is fume queston what way he should come, and I should be glad to haue y^r aduice. I intend to goe to Ed^r to morow, where, if your helth would permitt, you ar hartely wished for. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgou.

27. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

20 June, —78.

I OPENED y^{rs} to A. T. and thereby receued y^{rs}. I wishe y^r aduices be followed concerning my friend, which I shall declare is my owne oppinion. I gott a letter this morning, which speakes that G. Deyell

should have gott my brothers regement. Beien fo neare goeing away, I haue not time to ade more, but M^r Jo. B. will be with you to morow, and he will tell you more particularly my thoughts then att this time I can writt them. So hartely wishing you your helthe, that your friends may have y^r company. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgow.

28. FROM SIR JAMES TURNER TO A PERSON UNKNOWN.

SIR,

I RECEAVED yo^r laft from Ed^r, wherin you gave me a full account of all pafd at yo^r Convention of Estates ; and indeed, when I feriouf-
lie confider how things were layd and prepard, and how Duke Hamil-
ton was with fome confiderable friends at London when that Conven-
tion was called by his Ma^{tie}, and how the elections were carried, I
can not bot fay, my lord Duke, by his prudent carriage, rather gained
ground then loft any ; you will thinke fo, when you confider how
many of thefe who had declar'd to be of his principles, had diferted him,
and gone over to the other partie ; and of thefe who were aſhamd to doe
fo, how many rather mutterd then ſpoke out their thoughts. I heard be-
fore you wrote to me how the Duke had left Scotland, to feeke his health
at the baths, where now I conceive he is ; bot yow tell me he intends
to goe to London before he returne home. Yow tell me D. Lauderdaills
animofitie againſt him continues, and defires my thoughts of all thefe
affaires, which I ſhall give yow very freelie, how wifely, judge yo^r ſelfe.

I thinke my lord Duke of Hamilton hath the wolfe by the eares ;
he dare neither bite nor let goe. If he goe not to court, his enemie

will tell the king, it is out of difrespect, and perhaps out of contempt or revenge, becaufe reason of ftate fufferd not his Ma^{tie} to let the Duke kiffe his hand laft fummer. If he goe to Court, I am affrayd he may once more meet a vifage de bois, the bed chamber doore fhut vpon him. Bot of tuo evils the leffe muft be chofen ; my lord, by his going to caft himfelfe and his fortunes at the kings feet, vindicates his loyaltie to the world. If the king refufe to admit him to his prefence with that affabilitie he honours fome meaner perfons, the Duke loofeth nothing ; for foveraigne princes muft be gained by obfequeoufnes, bot not by refentment. Yow afke me, if the Grand favourite continue to perfecute the Duke of Hamilton, what fhall the Duke doe ; I fhall tell yow, thogh the ftroke be mainlie and directlie intended againft the Duke himfelfe, yet by an oblique rebound it will give a fad blow to all that Illuftrious family. For this reafon, I humblie conceive the Duke fould prefer his libertie to all other concernments, and rather hazard any thing then goe to prifon. I apprehend no danger of that by the tender of his fervice to the king at Whitehall, fo it be done before the fitting of the p^lliament ; for his appearance at that nick will furnifh Lawderdaill fubject to reprezent to the king groundles feares, needles jealousies and apprehenfions, well masked with feeming reafons of ftate. If my lord get a reall wellcome from the king, he knows then how to take vp his meafures ; if it be bot a feeming and a complementall one, I wifh he wold take it, and goe away with it ; for the moft part of men will thinke his Ma^{tie} is reallie kind to him, and this will doe no hurt ; befides, his Ma^{tie} will have the leffe jealousie of him, being he conceaves himfelfe in favour.

Bot yo^r great queftion is, if the Duke perceave that the king hath

no kindnes for him, bot by the furmifes of his enemies entertaines jealousies of him, what he fhall doe in that cace. I thinke he can doe but one of three, ftay where he is in England, goe beyond feas, or come home to Scotland. I apprehend as yet no danger of any of the three. Bot he fhall be a lofer by doing any of the firft tuo. If he goe beyond feas, firft he muft be maintaind thogh Inconnu; nixt the maunagement of his eftate will fenfible miffe him; thirdlie, the Dutcheffe will be difconfolate; fourthlie, thefe who ftand yet for him (thogh they be fewer then they were) will fall off, and make their peace, or at leaft lag behind; laftlie, he diferts his oune and the countreys caufe, and gives it for loft. I fay ftill, if neceffitie force him not to feeke fhelter abroad, My lord Dukes ftay in England (vnles he be in favour) will render him contemptible, the object of his enemies fcorne, and will not fave him from imprifonment, whenever it is defigned or concluded. The third is onlie left, to come home, which I humblie thinke is the moft honorable and fafe of the three. Honorable, becaufe he may live like himfelf at home, with thefe particular . . . ents which arife from the pleafure he hath in his confort and children, and the converfation of thefe whose honor is fo deare to them, that they will not bow their knee to Baall. Bot yow fay the danger of imprifonment is ftill the fame at home that it was, when the bond and lawborrous were preft, and the formidable hoſte in the weſt. I grant yow it is fo, bot the wit of man can not guard againſt all theſe euills and dangers that the wit of man can forſee. If the Duke, by his intelligence, (which I conceive is not impoſſible,) or by ſtrong preſumptions, ſee his incarceration be defigned, he may make a ſtep with good enough reaſons over to Arran; he hath buſienes to doe

there ; he may anfuere all they have to fay againft him by his proxies and Advocates ; bot if that helpe not, he may without much difficultie get from Arran to fome other place of the world, and that is the laft refuge, and fould be keepd fo in referve. I cannot fancie the eftate can fuffer by his retreat, though . . . make him fugitive, it is none of his ; and I am as fure, his honor can fuffer as litle, when armed malice and black revenge, (which know not to be limited by either juftice, reafon, law or confcience,) impofeth a neceffitie on him to fave himfelfe.

I faw the Earle of Arran at Paris, came from his travels in Italie. I looke on him as a perfon of much honor, a fmart young lord, and one who in time may prove a very refenting enemie, which perhaps is, or may be apprehended by my lord Dukes enemies, which, peradventure, may prove a bit to refrain fome of them from offering palpable injuries both to my lord Duke, or any of his familie. . . . I am afrayd yow may afke me, if mifchiefe be intended againft both father and fonne, not that E. Arran hath done any hurt, bot becaufe he may doe it, as it was faid of a Duke of Cleve, who hangd young men becaufe they might prove thieves ; and vpon this account, to fave themfelves an after game, clap vp at one and the fame time both the Duke and E. Arran ; what, I fay, fhall be done in that cace ? Firft, I fay, that may be thought of time enough heerafter ; fecondlie, I confefse, when I thinke of the fad fate of an Earle of Douglas and his brother at the caftle of Edenburgh, and of the lord Home and his brother in the minoritie of James the fifth, I fould thinke the Duke and his fonne, if they be in one countrey, they fould be bot feldome in one houfe, till the coafts be more cleare, and the weather looke fairer ; for the ones libertie may fave the other from imprifonment. I could en-

large this, bot I have faid enough to one who can difcant on this fubject better then myfelfe. Expect no news from me bot what the gazets brings yow ; whether Spaine and Holland will make peace with us heere in france or not, a litle time will difcover. I pray God keepe yow.

from Havre de Grace,

11 7bris, 78.

29. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

4 Nov. —78.

YOUR continued respects I receue with the fence I aught, and am altogether of your oppinion, which I beleue my Lord is now of alfo ; for in his laft letter he forbids me to writt more to him. I did defire James fhould have come home before this ; but his father intending to come, thought fitteft not to fend him, but to bring him along with himfelfe. He writts no news to me, but I heard from Ed. what you fent me, except the taking of the too laft in the lifte, and that the Marq: Montros is to mary with the blood royall, I heard not ; it feemes this plot has ben of a long contriueance. I pray God difcouer all trateres, and then I am confedent we fhall haue better days. So hartely farwell. My feruis to your Lady.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgou.

30. FROM ANDREW TOFTES.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

Hamilton 10 Febr^y 1679.

MR SMITH did leave thefe books with a manufcript with me, but

forbad me to fend them till he wrot from Ed^r to me, which he hes never yet done; but, since you seem to need them, receive them from the bearer. I have no newes but what are none to yow, that is, touching the tuo Brothers Regiments, and themselves, to come in place of E. Linlithgow and E. Marr their Reg^{ts}. I have nothing of certainty; but only it is someq^t probable, if it be not stopt by the Councell. Whether my Lord be yet come off or not, we cannot tell, but we expect to hear to-morrow or Wednesday; but her Grace thinks he may be on his journey, for her last letters bore his resolution of coming o instant. E. Kincarden comes with him. I the condition that becomes me as, Right Worshipfull, your most obliged, faithfull, humble serv^t

ANDREW TOFTES.

For Sir James Turner at Gorbells.

31. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S^R,

4 March [1679.]

I AM very fory to hear of your indisposition, and wishes yow your health with all my heart, and shall be glade to see yow here so soon as yow are able. I do regraite the hard measure the Bishop of Ed^r meets with as much as any; and I beleive all the concernment that St Andrews has for it is the preprative; but I will say no more till meeting, who am, S^r, your affect friend and fervant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

32. FROM ANDREW TOFTES.

Hamilton March 4 1679.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

I DELIVERED yours to his Grace ; you have my Lords answer inclofed. I have never yet had one syllable from Mr Smith ordering the delivery of your papers ; but I am glade they came safe to your hands, and that I sent them that day with your man. We have some rumours here, not without probable grounds, of their Grace going for England in May, or about that time ; for other newes I know none. I am very much grieved to hear of your being ill ; I pray God send you health, and it shall be desired by none with more ardor then, Right Worshipfull, your most obliged faithfull humble serv^t

ANDREW TOFTES.

For Sir James Turner at Gorbells.

33. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

5 Feb^r [1680.]

I RECEIVED yours, and thanks you kindly for the trouble you have been at in speaking to the Principall and Regents concerning my sons, to whom I thought it unnecessary to write to, since I am resolved to be there myself wⁱn a little after the Duke goes from this, who waits onely now for the yaghts ; for I intend to go from this to Kinneell, and . . . Glasgou to Hamilton. I am sorry your owen affaire had no better success, but I confes I expected no better for you, as affairs still continue ;

when I can contribute any thing to your advantage, you may be assured of the indevores of your most affect friend & fervant,

HAMILTON.

34. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 14. Jan^y 1682.

I HAVE juft. now received ane order from the General for fending Captaine Stewarts troupe of Dragouns to Dounce, wher they are to quarter; I fhall therefore defyre ye will order them to march from ther present quarters, on Munday the fixteine instant, to the toune of Dounce, wher they are to quarter till further order. I doubt not but ye have heard of the late infollence committed in the toune of Lenerk one Wednesday laft. Be pleafd to caufe difpatch the inclofeit to the Generall by a dragoune foe soon as is poffible. Since thes Rebels are begining to apear oppenly againe, I defyre ye will caufe yo^r Dragouns be in as good a readynes as is poffible; and I think it wer not amifs to fend fome tomorrow the length of Lenerk, to know the certainty of this. Sir, I am yo^r most humble fervant,

ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner, Thefe.

35. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Glasgow the 22 Jan^y 1682.

I SEND you heare a nott of the names of fome of thes who are laid to haue been at the late buffines at Lenerk. I defyre, therefore, that ye

will fend a partie of Dragouns to aprehend them if it be poffible. I ame told that your Livtenant knows moft of them who lives in the paroch of Cather. This lift was fent me from Lenerk by Major Whyt; whoe adds, that at parting he received exprefs comand from his Royall Highnes to keepe corespondence with me for that effect. I hope ye will order fwch perfons to goe wpon this partie as will be fitteft; and whoe, by ther deligence, will inable ws to give a good account of our care and conferne for the Kings fervice. I wold have the partie to goe to the places firft which are neareft to this, and I wifh them good fucces. I am yo^r moft humble fervant,

ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner, Thefe.

[*On a flipe enclosed in the Original.*]

Grays of Cryftie, in the paroch of Cather, about five mylls from Glasgou.

John Rwfäll of eaft feild,

George Hill in Cather crooks,

Wathell in Midowbuckle,

} thes 3 lives in the new paroch of Munklan.

John Wathell in Badfhaw of Lauchope.

Gavine Hamiltone, whos mother lived latly wnder the Laird of Dalycell, at the Baronfhall, near to the Kirk of Dalycell.

36. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 26 Jan^r. 1682.

I THINKE it no great wonder that two troupes fhould be foe ill accommedat in the toune of Lenerk, when I remember what deficulty

we hade to gett intertainment for a much fewer number when I was laft ther ; but it feems they have order to mew themselves within the narrow confyns of that pitifull litle place, ells I cannot beleive they wold willingly reduce themselves to fuch ftraits, as innevitably they moft undergoe, if the hors and dragouns fall not be allowed to qwar-ter in the countrie about. Major Whit never fignified any thing of ther deftres, foe that I was altogether ignorant of it till I hade it from yow. I remember the Generall fhew me that he did aprehend ther was a defigne that Claveres fhould come waft, but I found him very avers to it. As for Lieutenant Lawders informatione anent James Gray, I fhall fay nothing of it till I returne to Glasgou ; ffor the things taken from the Rebels, I mak not the leaft doubt of ther being prys. And I think it but a small gratification to give the ferjeant that litle mear, in confideratione of his los. I doe fupofs that both Rufsall and Hamiltone wer declared fwgitives by the Circwit court which satt laft at Glasgou. Against Munday, I fhall give yow a mor certaine account, haveing sent to Edinburgh this laft week for the letters of denunciatione. I am yo^r moft humble fervant,

For Sir James Turner Thes.

ROSSE.

37. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 10 of ffeb^r 1682.

I HAVE received the bound which ye fent me for thes two prifoners apeirance ; I have lykewyfe this day taken bound for the four prifoners browght in from Lochenoch ; for when I had examined that matter as ftrickly as I could (heir in the country,) I could find no ground for

apprehending of them ; foe that I beleive the charactor ye give of the comander of that pairty is jwft enowgh. If mafter Kenavay reftore not thes two horfes, which he has no pretence to keep, I think the pairtie owght to be recalled. I fent yow home yefterday two of yo^r dragouns who wer of M^r Kenavays pairtie ; I know not give they came to yow, but this was the occafione. They hade quartered wpon fome perfons in Ranfrew, by ane order from the provoft, becaufe the perfones hade refufed to pay a fubfidie impofed by the provoft in ane arbitrary way, without the leaft forme or collor either of law or juftice, wpon which I commanded them back to ther quarters ; and really this ought not to pas wnpunifhed, for it will oppen the mouthes of difafected people to fay, ther is nothing intended but ane arbitrary gowernment, then which, I am fure, nothing is mor fals ; one of the two whoe was quartering at Ranfrew, his name is John Ros, a perfone whofe late mifcarriages in Captaine Hay his company might hawe tawght him mor circomfpectione. I fhall not be ane ill instrument with the Archbifhope to doe any fawor he thinks fitt, tho few of thes gentlemen have deferved it at his hands. I defyre ye will order one of yo^r dragouns to cary the inclofed to the Generall, and to delyver the other to the Juftice-clarke. I am yo^r moft humble fervant,

To Sir James Turner Thes.

ROSSE.

38. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 16 day of feb^r 82.

I BELEIVE the badnes of the way was the caufe yo^r dragoune returned not fooner. The Generall gave me nottage that he wold recall

mafter Kanavays partie, befyds which, he fignified nothing ells to me, exept a comand from the Duke to come in, if it wer poffible for me ; which indeid at preſent it is not. As for Muray, yo^r other dragoune, I am fatified he be pardoned. I have given two letters to the bearer, the one to the Generall, and the other to the Treafurer-deput. I defyre ye wold fend them eaſt with one of yo^r dragouns, whoe will be carefwll to delyver them. I am, yo^r moſt humble ſervant,

For Sir James Turner Theſ.

ROSSE.

39. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 6 day of March 82.

JOHN CRIGHTONE, my enſigne, cane teſtifie and ſhow it wnder my hand to him, q^uin I told him that I was ſure ye did not know that fellow did belong to me when ye ingadged him, ſoe far I was from intertaineing any miſaprehenſions of yow therein ; nor indeid cane I expect any thing of that nature from any body conferved for the Dutch officers, ſeing I wold willingly doe every thing that might oblidge any of them, and particularrly Captaine Dalyell. As for that fellow Blackburne, the reaſone why I putt him in priſone was, becauſe he declaired he could ſerve no longer in my company ; and I am ſure, wer he at liberty, he wold run away befor to morrow, and that is the reaſone why I ſtill detaine him ther. I am yo^r moſt humble ſervant,

For Sir James Turner Theſ.

ROSSE.

40. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 8 March 1682.

I HAVE received a letter from the Generall, daited one munday, wherin he shows me his Royall highnes gave order that all the foott at Lenerk should come to Glasgou; and I have accordingly sent order to Glasgou for taking wpe quarters for all the four companies. Capitaine Hay will give yow a letter directed to Major Whit, q^{ch} I had dispatched before I received yo^r; when it coms to yo^r hands, I defyre ye will cause send it to Lenerk. As for that fellow ye wreat of, I hope ye will excuse me when I tell yow that I have refused him to my brother-in-law, Capitaine Ramfey. Sir, I am yo^r most humble fervant,

ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner. Thes.

41. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 11 March 1682.

IT was folly the consideratione of yo^r dragouns advantage which made me soe unwilling to remove them out of the paroch of Govan; for I know not that place in this country wher either they cane ly soe contigious, ore be soe well provyded in horfs meat, which is a great consideratione this scairs year; and, in my oppinione, the first is noe less at such a tyme, qwhen the barbarous rebels are cnocking doune thos who ferue the king in every corner; but since ye are soe defyrous to haw yo^r dragowns removed, I am fatisfied that ye quarter them in the

paroches of Cathcart, Carmanock, and Rutherglen. I am unwilling to quarter wpon the barronrie, the Archbifhope being from home ; but I think they wold have been better quartered in the paroch of Eafter Kilpatrick, and places ajacant, then wher they are goeing, becaufe noe body hath been quartered ther of a longe tyme. I am yo^r moft humble fervant,

ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner. Thes.

42. FROM JAMES EARL OF ARRAN.

SIR,

Ham. March 21 1682.

I HAVE been foe often oblided to yow that I have noe reafon to dout of your affection, and affiftance to what relaits to my concernes, which makes me croffe yow with this franckneffe ; for tho I know yow hav had feverall officers meaking recrutes amongeft yow alreadie, and foe it will be the hearder talk now ; yet, for old aqwantance faik, I will defir your affiftance for fome men that I ame leavieng for my oun particular. I intend to be with yow upon thurlday, but thought my giving yow this advertifment could doe [no] hurt, fince at the faim tyme it is to affure yow, that I ame your faithfull freind and fervant,

For Sir James Turner, at Glasgou.

ARRAN.

43. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

SIR,

Ham. March 22 1682.

I HAVE juft now received yours, and am afhaimed I did not thank yow yefterday for the letter I had at my arrivall. I ame forie that

yow are indisposed, but I thank God I ame not, and as longe as I have health, I think it is the best tyme I can emploie to visit my freinds ; foe I shall not faill fieng yow, and assure yow that I ame your affectionat freind and fervant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner, at Glasgow.

44. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 25 March 1682.

I AM of yo^r opinione, that Orbestoune might haw fatisfied himself with apprehending such of his oune tenants as wer gultie of the late rebellion, and yet this discowerie wold hawe done better had it been made a twelve moneth agoe ; which certainly I think might hawe been done as well then as now. Ther is noe body, I am certaine, less ambitious of command then my self. But yow may remember what orders the Generall was pleased to lay wpon me before yo^r self ; and therfor, wnl^es I know how they are disposed, I cane give him noe account of my deligence : And wpon the other hand, ye know I was always ready to comply with every motion^e ye were pleased to make relateing to yo^r dragouns : Soe that I am fure my comands could not be wery burthenfome. In the meine tyme, I doe assure yow I shall be farr from taking nottice of what is past, our great buffines being to serve the King faithfully, and not to scrow wpe our animosities and peiks one against another. I am, Sir, yo^r most humble fervant,

For Sir James Turner. Thes.

ROSSE.

45. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Hamilton March 27 1682.

I HAVE had yours, and since my last one from Orbistoun, wherine he seames mightilie surprized with my sever letter ; for he tells me ther is not one of thos men that he had seazed on that he could not prove such crimes againest them, and espetialie that man of My Lord Dundonalds, who, he sayes, was til of lait one of his own tenantes, and that most of thes he took wer most of them rogges that lived under himself, and that he would meak out such things against them, that they would willinglie goe anie where reather then byde the sen-cure of the law. His beinge soe possitive, has hindred me from writting to my Lord Dundonald, till I spiek with him self, who I expect heer this night, and yow shall be enformed of what passeth. He tels me too ther wer two men that Houfton had given me, and one that Bishoptoun had done the like with, and your fergant had fett all at libertie. I hope Orbistoun will wait upon yow, and give yow a particular account himself, of the reasones why he took thos men ; at lieast if he dont doe itt as he comes upp, I shall meak him wait one yow when he comes from hence, and when you are together you cane agrie what is best to bee done. I dont think it fitt for me to writt to the Generall till wee see what is reprinted, and then I shall not fail to doe what you shall think most convenient. I hear ther is one Thomas Kennway, that rides in the gward, that goes upp and down thes countries about Glasgou, to find out thos that has been accefforie or actualie in the last rebellions. I beleive if he be dealt with, he may furnish some

men eafilie, which I begge yow would doe if he be off your acqwantage. I heare ther are juft now fome men arrived from Glasgou, which meakes me ftop my letter till I know what they are, that I may give yow ane account of them now. My Major is come in, and has brought 13 men alongeft with him. I have noe more to adde, but that I hope in a litle tyme I may, in fpytt of ill fortune, meak upp the number I propoffe to my felf. I am your faithfull humble fervant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

46. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Hamilton March 28 1682.

I BEGGE yow a thoufand pardons for detaining your fervant foe long, but juft as I received yours, I was getting a horfback to taik the aire, which has hindred my writting till now. I find Orbiftoune continewes to fay, that thos men he had taiken, he could prove againft all of them, that they wer in the lait rebellion, ore what would come within the acte of Parliament, which reaches the fecuring of vagabons and villans; and he faves ther wer 12 of thos men his own, and that I might be feur he would not, for his own faik, fecure anie men but thos that he might be warranted to doe by law, and that the affiftance he had from yow was what he hopes yow wont be qweftioned for, when he comes to be examined what men they were he had feazed upon; and fince he came heer, I fee he has bein thraitned, by fom of thos men that wer fett at libertie, to have his hous burnt, as the Laird of Barochan, who was accidentily with him when he was upon that expedi-

tion, has had his hous, as I ame informed. For all this I intend to writt to my Lord Dundonald tomorrow, and follow anie thing yow think fitt to adviffe me, which is all I have to adde at present, but that I ame your faithfull humble fervant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

47. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Hamilton March 29 1682.

I AME forie yow should haue given yourself the trouble of fending your fergant or your corporall, since yow may be feur what ever yow fay is of more weght with me then that yow nead have taiken this paines of convincing mee. Yow know I ame ignorant of what are the concernes of thos men but as I ame informed, and for my pairt, I will look noe more after them; I wish I had neaver meddeled with anie of them, since yow rune anie risque to be blaimed for what yow have done; tho I ame confident, when yow are heard, you'l meet with a very gentill reprooff, if anie. I shall not fail to writt to my Lord Dundonald, and tell him that he might be assured what ever man of his had been offred me, I would neaver have accepted him if he did not think it fitting, and that I ame forrie Orbiftoun had feazed on any of his tenants. Orbiftoun tells me that he is resolved to feaze on thos that are his oun men, againe to bring them to justice; tho for my pairt I caire for none of them, since it has maid such a clamour in the contrie, which does my leavies ten tymes more hurt then tuice the number of men could doe me good. I ame forie yow euse the exprefion of being baiten with double rodes. Yow may be feur, as to what

relaits to my pairt, I ame not capable of thinking yow are in the leaft in the wrong, and I hope thos yow nead to cair for will be off my opinion ; but I think y^e beft will be to let the thing fall to y^e ground. I have had three or four voluntires from Ruglen, and I have ingaged one man more, who received my monie voluntarlie, and now refufes to goe ; I think ther can be noe hurt in taiking fuch a man as that. His naime is John Fairey. I fent down one that took one with me to fee if he could gett anie of his comerades ; foe this John Faire received my earneft from the handes of one David Scott, befor feverall wittneffes, but now refufes to goe ; foe if yow dont think it [may] bring yow into new trowble, I fhould defir yow would caus fome of thos of your dragowns that ftay in the place bring him to me. I have noe more to add tq this, but that I ame your faithfull humble fervant,

For Sir James Turner.

ARAN.

48. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Saturday, 4 aclock.

I HAVE juft now had yours, but I am informed that that Fairie which was taiken one by David Scott, is a luftie young fellow, and that he who yow talk of is a younger brother ; how ever, I fhall doe what yow will advis me, but I had foe manie that have taikin my monie and cheated me, that I ame loth to truft anie more. Ther is one George Baxter too in Ruglen, who I have bein extraordinary kind too. He came a voluntir, and upon that account I was much kinder then to y^e others ; but now he has taiken my monie thes 8 or ten dayes, and abfents him felf ; foe if under the pretext of fhairching for the

other, they can fall upon him, I shall think it is a good chainge. To
 sho how litle I presse people, ther came hither a boye to taik one, and
 nixt day his maister came from Glasgou to tell me he was his apprentiffe,
 and had rune away upon some debait that aroffe betuixt him and some
 of his other servants; immediatly I restored the young man, and told
 him I would protect noe bodies servants against ther maisters. I had
 severall officers with me yesterday, but Cap: Inis was not amongst
 them, nor did I gett foe much as one man. I have now one Captan
 Cuningame with yow, and if anie of my friends have any resolutions
 of letting me have anie more men, I should be glad they would fend
 them upp with him. I should be glad to know what I might hope
 for. I ame joust now goeing out to meet my father, who, wee fancie
 will be heer this night. I have so bad a pen, and ame in so much haift,
 that I belive you'l heardlie be aible to reed this. I ame your faithful
 freind and servant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

49. FROM SIR THOMAS LIVINGSTONE.

SIR,

Lieth 11 April [1682.]

THE dragoene who you have been plaefed to sent with a letter, tell-
 ing me ther is fix men by the way for my Lord Arans regiment, came
 to me this morning. It is onpoffible for me to meet the men my self,
 but schall fend an officer, in regard we ar to part to morro, and I have
 faeveral bufines. In the maen tyme I schal not fael to acquent my
 Lord Aran of your kyndnes, and remain your most humble fervent,

For Major Turnare att Glas Koue Thes.

T. LEVINGSTONE.

50. FROM SIR THOMAS LIVINGSTONE.

SIR,

SINCE my laft your dragouns did come heer, bringing along with them fyve men; as for that gentelman Robifone, I fchal not fael to recomend him to my Lord Aran, and for my particular, any kyndnes I ame capabel he fchal difpofe of. In the maen tyme, if you plaefe lye any comands opon me to the plaefe wheer I ame going, ther fchal bee no man moor redden to fcho hoe much I ame your moft humble and obedient fervent,

T. LEVINGSTONE.

For Major Turner at Glasco.

51. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 13 Aprill 1682.

I AM really foe wnderpofed ftill that I am not able to goe about bufines as formerly; therefore, (till it pleas God) that I recover my health, I fhall defyre that ye will quarter yo^r dragounes in the moft convenient pleafes ye think fitt, which I fhall aprow off; I defyre lykwyfe ye will wreat to Captaine Inglish, and fhew him that I have ane order from the Generall to call ane counfell of warr betwixt his Enfigne Lewies Lawder and ane tenant of the Earle of Lowdons; if Lawder find himfelf in the wronge, I wifh he may take fome cours to take it away, and I fhall give him all the tyme I can pofibly for doeing of it. In the meine tyme I wifh he would fend me a trew acount of the wholl affaie. I am fory to heir that yo^r gutt hath twrned from ill to wors;

fo foone as I am able I hope to see you. I am your most humble
servant,

For Sir James Turner.

ROSSE.

52. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR, Halkhead the 15 Aprill 1682.

I AM very glade that Ensigne Lawder is come wpe to Glasgou; I
am very desyrous to speak with him; if ye thinke fitt to fend him hi-
ther, wpon Munday about two a clock in the afternoone, ore any
other of the dragouns whoe wer confened in that affaure, for I am
very desyrous to doe them all the right I cane. I wish they may make
the bufines as clear as is pofible; which, efter I have spoken with
them, I will endeavo^r to airt them as right (to mak ther oune pairt
faire) as I can, for I am a litle confened to haw them com hanfomly
off in that, if it be pofible. Loudounes officer, called Campbell, was
with me, desyring a continvacione of the counfell of warr till the eigh-
teine of May, which I made him give me wnder his hand as his oune
desyre, but I gave him no affurance to delay it for ane hour. Now, if
Ensigne Lawder find it more convenient to continowe it till that dyet,
ore to have it cald mor fomarly, I cane doe either of them he finds
most convenient.

Since I am to speak with the perfons whoe wer actors in that bufi-
nes, I will certainly receive a more clear informatione from them then
Captaine Inglish is able to wreat; and therefor I haw returned you
back his letter. Sir, I am your most humble servant,

For Sir James Turner These.

ROSSE.

53. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Ham. Ap: 19 1682.

I HAD yours of the 18 this morning, and has spoken to Orbistoun about that man Longe. He has promised me to talk to the father, who he sayes he can governe as he pleases; and more then that, if the son should insist, he can meak out such things against him that will taik his life if he should persew him, ore in the leaist revive this affaire. I have had noe letters yett from E^d. so can tell you nothing about the men, onlie I desir you would taik one noe more, nor put your self to further trouble, which is all at present from your faithfull freind and servant,

ARRAN.

For Sir James Turner.

54. FROM SIR JAMES TURNER TO THE EARL OF ARRAN.

MY NOBLE LORD,

21st April 1682.

I SHALL waite vpon yo^r lo^ps direction concerning these men I levied for yo^r lo^p, and shall meddle no more, hoping yow will need no more; and if the French king be well naturd, it is probable the Estates of the Vnited Provinces will be more readie to disband then raise more forces. I beseech yo^r lo^p let me know if I shall take these drops with cherrie sacke in the morning, and how long I shall fast after. Bot the maine errand of this letter is to show yo^r lo^p, that the other day I was told by a friende, that it is certaine that the Deane of Glasgow, now minister at Hamilton, did of himselfe, without any previous desire of

the Archbishop, promise to him not to nominate Doctor Birfbine or Mr William Blaire to be his assessors when he was rector ; and yet, notwithstanding his promise, nominated them both. I am sorry one who had the generall reputation of an honest man, should have done any thing like a prevarication ; but that which troubled me most was, that it is said, your lo^p invited and prompted the Deane to doe so. Your lo^p knows what yow owe to that order re-establisht by law; which yow know his Ma^{tie} owes so much, nor needs any man tell yow what respect is due to an Archbishop whom his Ma^{tie} hath made the third person of this kingdom, whose authoritie was trampled on by the more than magisteriall masters of our universitie, particularlie these two I just now mentioned ; and I thinke not onlie the Episcopall order, but the royall power, was wounded through his sides. How much it may concerne yo^r lo^p to reverence that function, and these who are in it, no bodie needs informe the Earle of Arran. And for these two men, I beleve yo^r lo^p had reason to expect more service to your selfe and noble familie from 2 lackeys, than from them both. However, the Deane hath demitted, and Mr Waddell is chosen Rector, who hath nominated none of these two gentlemen to be his assessors. I am sorry to learn that the phisitians have yesterday told my Lord Rofs; that the malignitie of his maladie is above their cure, though not their skill. I am, etc.

Gorbells, 21 Aprile, at night.

55. FROM WILLIAM MASTER OF ROSS.

SIR,

Halkhead April 25.

I RECEIVED yours, and according to your comands delivered the inclosed to my father, who begs your pardon he was not able to writ to you, but orders me to shew you he is very ueal fatisfied with what the general writs to you; he is extraordinarily much better than he uas some days befor this and I hop is nou in the way of recovery. I am, Sir, your most humble fervant,

W. ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner.

56. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Thursday y^e 4 of May 7 at night

SINCE the last tyme I troubled yow, I have received a letter from Collo: Douglas, telling that he will receive my men; his ship is lieng in Leith Road. I told him I had twelve men, for I thought Orbifton had had eight. He desired I may caus imbark 6 men in John Burnfydes ship, and 6 in Robert Dumbars; they are both leing together. I had a letter yesterday from Orbifton, telling me he would deliver what men he had to Cap. Douglas, who had promised to caus convoy them to the shoar. I wish yow would enquir what men he has received, and lett me know ther names, together with the 4 yow have, and the 2 my Lo: Semple promised mee. Collo: Douglas tells me the people are verie rude to the officers that embark the men, so desires me to gett some diseriet man to taik caire of thos that are sent; but I think yow may

talk with Cap: Douglas, and send the men with thos Orbiston has delivered to him. I'l swar I ame so ashaimed to eusse this freedom with yow, that wer itt not that I know you'l forgive me, I should neaver have eused yow with this freedom. I had letters by the last post that tels me the Duk was then resolved to com off one the 5, which, if the nixt post confirmes, I wil imediatly goe to Ed^r; but, as yett, I have taiken noe other resolution. So I ame your faithfull freind and servant,

ARRAN.

57. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Ham. May 6 1682.

I HAVE just now had yours, and imediatly begune my letter, that your servant may be with yow in all haifte. I confesse I ame mor and more amaized at Orbistouns cariadge. I think Cap: Douglas is extreamlie in the right; nor did I my self ever understand that he should be putt to further trouble, than when they were brought to him, to help them forward with a gwaird, which Orbistoun writt to mee he had ingaged to doe, since he was to send in some men however to Coll: Douglas, for his eusse; so I thought it would be all one trouble to carie in a few more, which maid me think of troubling Cap: Douglas. I am afrayed, if the wind comes butt a litle more futhward, the shipes will be sayled befor the men gett thither; however, it is but venturing the jurnie. I doe heer send yow a letter to the masters of the two shipes, according to your desir, to receive what men Duncan Grant delivers for my eusse; but I wishe they may be put aboard Collo: Douglas, tho I dont know particularlie which is his; and so soon as I

hear that y^e men are dispatched, I shall writt to Collo: Douglas. I wish I knew the possitive number, for if they be but 7, I think it wer best to fend them aboard Douglas ship; but becaus I told him in my last I had a duzen of men, he desired I might fend 6 aboard Lif^t: Collo: Buchan, and the other 6 aboard his ship; but if ther be but one mor then the half, I think it best not to seperat them. I hope yow have not given my aquittance to Baxters wife, since she tels so foolish a storie for her husband, and I meak noe dout to gett him mead wearie of his life heer. But since the town of Ruglen ingaged to furnish that man, I don't see why they should not meak good ther word. I doe assure yow, if I had thought you had had so bad a memorie, I had neaver put yow to this trouble; but I thought in comoradship one might be assistant to ane other upon such occasions as this, but not at the raite yow have eissed me, for it has put yow to too much trouble, and more coaft then is fitt to meak a compliment off; which is all at present from your faithfull friend and servant,

ARAN.

58. FROM THE LORD SEMPILL.

S^R,

Castle Sempill, May 6th 1682.

I RECD yo^r, and as to those men concerning which yow writ, I kept them soe longe untill I did despair of yo^r sending for them, while att length there freinds gave boand and caution for them, and now they are att there liberty, for that it can hardly bee expected that they will promise willingness to goe, which is all at present from, S^r, yo^r very humble servant,

SEMPILL.

For S^r James Turner

att Gorbells These.

59. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Ed. May 11 1682.

I HAVE bein in such a hurrie ever since I came, that I could not dispathe your dragoun sooner, which I hope yow will pardon. I was in good hopes to have found yow heer at my arivall yesterday. I think of goeing allong with the Duk, or to follow him verie suddenic, the Duk goes from hence on Monday or tuesday, which is all at present from your faithfull freind and fervant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

60. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Ed. May 19 1682.

I HAD yours yesterday, and was extreamlie surprized when yow told me what yow apprehended was like to befall yow. I assure yow, without meaking anie kind of compliment, I am soe much concerned in whatever relates to yow, that yow may assure yourself that I will follow anie method yow can propose to doe yow service; but till what yow told me yourself, I had never heard anie thing of itt, nor could I almost believe it when yow wrott itt. I think yett such measures may be taken that yow will hear noe more of it neather; for according to that skeme that was proposed, and some other changes to attend itt, I heer nothing is like to follow. I goe over to Fife to morrow, and shall be back again the middle of the next week, and then I intend to begin my journie for London; soe if yow have anie commandes for me, I should be glad to have them by that tyme. You may be assured of all the freindship my father can show yow, and intirlic command your most assured freind and fervant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgow.

61. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Friday, past 7 in the afternoon.

I HAVE just now had that which yow wrott at twelve, and am extreamlie oblidged to yow for the inclosed yow sent me, but I find I have most of them in my listes. I am affrayed they are all fled since I came into this contrie, for I am a great bogle amongest them. I think yow took the best courffe in putting them in to Glasgou toboth, and I meak noe dout, when the Generall knowes they are people that are disturberes of the peace of the contrie, tho it would be heard to meak out particulars against them, yett ther being sent off the contrie I think were noe ill service both to the King and the Governement. I hope my Lord Rossé will be of the faine oppinion. I am feur nothing in the world could afflict me more then that yow should in the lieft be found fault with upon my account, but I hope yow are in noe danger; but now I must begge to know how I shall bestur my self to gett thos men that are in the tolbuth, and the others that the other pairtie will bring alongest with them. I intend both Orbistown and my Major shall come and wait one yow to ask your advice, and I hope yow will spur the officers, that gave me a great mainie fair promisses last night to be as good as ther wordes. I shall add noe more, but impatiently expect what will be the event [of] our endeavours, and assure yow that I am extreamlie sensible of your kindnesse, and shall ever be your faithful friend and servant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.
