

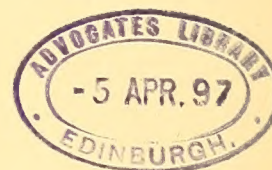
Seton Palace.
After Wood of Eldon.

A HISTORY OF THE
FAMILY OF SETON

DURING EIGHT CENTURIES, BY
GEORGE SETON, ADVOCATE

M.A. OXON., ETC.

VOLUME I



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True

P R E F A C E



DOUBTS have occasionally been expressed as to whether or not a son is the fit recorder of his father's life; and perhaps objections may be offered to the man who attempts to write the History of his Family. It cannot be denied that many such Biographies and Family Histories present manifest sins of both omission and commission; and it requires a good deal of courage honestly to portray the weaknesses as well as the merits, the shadows as well as the lights. Even where the author has no connection with the family which he undertakes to describe, he sometimes exhibits glaring evidence of prejudice and unfairness.

Somewhere about twelve years ago, a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* spoke of the compiler of a certain Scottish Family Record as being 'very tender with the reputation' of his heroes; and pronounced the tenor of that family's career to be 'very commonplace,' and to have rarely risen above 'the level of secondary Highland lairds.' He also referred to the 'negation of criticism and absence of enlightened characterisation,' which made the narrative colourless and unlikelike. 'The

story,' he said, 'loses the charm of reality when nothing is found but a long succession of immaculately virtuous Highland chiefs—all bearing the same surname, and all good'!

'To write a History,' says a recent local historian, 'is, in the present day, a very different undertaking from what it was fifty years ago, before the jewel mines of our public records had been opened up. . . . Nowadays people read History with the simple desire to obtain accurate information upon all points connected both with the public and private life of their forefathers, and demand rather a digest of authentic records than a literary essay.' With all deference to that statement, the qualities formerly required are still wanted for the object in question. The literary art of Thucydides was also the art of Gibbon, and of every good prose-writer—and its very roots lie in selection, in the separation of the essential from the accidental, and of the pictorial from the prosaic. Otherwise, the family historian becomes an annalist, if not a recorder; and the fact of a certain John Smith having married a Mary Brown, and having died without issue, takes rank with the graphic account of a most important occurrence.

To use the language of Robert Louis Stevenson in his *Memoir of Fleeming Jenkin*: 'This is an age when genealogy has taken a new lease of life, and become for the first time a human science; so that we no longer study it in quest of the Gwaith Voeths, but to trace out some of the secrets of descent and destiny; and as we study, we think less of Sir Bernard Burke and more of Mr. Galton. Not only do our character and talents lie upon the anvil and receive their temper during

generations; but the very plot of our life's story unfolds itself on a scale of centuries, and the biography of the man is only an episode in the epic of the family.'

The earliest historian of the Setons, the wise and worthy Sir Richard Maitland—a 'daughter's son of the said House,'—specially refers to the subject of *truthfulness*, in his quaint chronicle of the family. 'And howbeit,' he says, 'sum wald allege that it is flatterie to wryt ony thing praysable in the mannis lyf tyme of quham it is written; nochtwithstanding, my opinioun is contrair: That ony thing praysable done, and specialie in making of policy, may be weill aneuche writtin in the doars awin tyme, sua that the werk be done modestlie. And howbeit it be sumptuous and coustlie mair nor necessitie requyris, yet it is the maist tollerable kynd of prodigalitie and of sumptuous and immoderate cost; becaus the samyn will be steidable (*helpful*) to the posteritie, and decoir of the cuntrey. And gif it sal happin the said Lord [George, seventh Lord Seton] to do ony thing contrair his honour and godlie dewitie, or contrair the honour or commoun weill of his Hous, to the scayth and perpetuall hurt of the samyn; I sall set furth sic doingis done be him als larglie and weill extendit till his dispryse as I haue done in ony thing befor said to his loving, he nocht amendand and redressand the samyn in his lyf tyme, gif God fortounis me to leiff and be hable thairto. Bot I pray God, that the said Lord fall nocht in sic inconuenientis, to gif me, or ony man, occasioun to wryt ocht of him bot honorable.'

Upwards of twenty years ago, a highly interesting work, in ten volumes, relative to the Italian family of Guicciardini,

was reviewed in the *Quarterly*. It appears that the author—Count Piero e Luigi Guicciardini—intended that no part of the compilation should see the light, and that it was simply to be preserved, among the family archives, for the instruction of the descendants of the House. ‘As I shall,’ he says, ‘in these family memorials tell the *truth*, I pray our descendants, into whose hands they will come, not to show them to any one out of the family, but keep them for their own use, since I have written them solely for that end, as one who desires two things more than any other thing in the world—first, the perpetual exaltation of Florence and of its liberty; secondly, the glory of our House, not during my life only, but in perpetuity. May it please God to preserve and increase both the one and the other!’ Doubtless this was a very modest aim on the part of the Florentine Count; but I venture to think that almost every Family Record has an interest for others besides the members and scions of the House to which it relates; and this is more especially the case when the Chronicle embraces historical as well as genealogical information. Had the learned author been an ‘arranger,’ instead of a truthful historian, of the doings of his predecessors, he might have had an excuse for the plea of privacy. It is, however, gratifying to know that his valuable labours have not been lost to the world; and for this we are mainly indebted to the pen of an accomplished English critic.

I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to give something more than mere genealogical details; but in the case of some of the Cadets of the Family, owing to the want of materials, the information is almost entirely confined to the pedigree.

Probably the least interesting portion of many modern Family Records is the large amount of space which is allotted to legal documents, in the shape of charters and other formal deeds —‘agreeable reading,’ as has been said, ‘to the lairds who hold the lands described, and to attorneys’ clerks on the look-out for “Styles,” but for the general reader—well, a little conveyancing goes a great way.’ On the other hand, where a discriminating use is made of Family Archives, there is less risk of matters of historical interest getting buried amidst an accumulation of arid and sapless material, the sifting of which is rarely attempted by the most industrious reader.

The reviewer of a recent Scottish Family Record thus eloquently proclaims the value of such works :—‘ Towers, castles, palaces, moulder into ruins ; hosts of retainers drop off like withered leaves ; lands can be alienated, dignities disappear, titles become extinct ; but a printed book survives as long as civilisation itself ; it confers a species of territorial immortality upon those whose deeds it records ; its emergence from the press marks the beginning for them of a new kind of vicarious existence in the thoughts of others.’ In the beautiful words of one of Shakespeare’s sonnets :

‘ When wasteful war shall statues overturn,
And broils root out the work of masonry,
Nor Mars his sword nor war’s quick fire shall burn
The living record of your memory.
’Gainst death and all-oblivious enmity
Shall you pace forth ; your praise shall still find room
Even in the eyes of all posterity
That wear this world out to the ending doom.’

For many years I had been urged by numerous friends and

relatives to undertake a History of the House to which I have the honour to belong; and when, about three years ago, the matter was strongly pressed in various influential quarters, I felt no little hesitation, at my advanced age, in consenting to attempt so formidable an undertaking. Being possessed of abundant material, as well as references to numerous sources of information, I came to the conclusion, in spite of Horace's well-known warning—'Solve senescentem,' etc.,—that if my good health continued, a sort of *pious duty* seemed to be imposed upon me to try to do what would probably be more easily accomplished by myself than by any other person; and the result of my 'labour of love' is presented in the following pages. I had long cherished the hope of being able to compile a Family Record, but various circumstances compelled me to postpone the somewhat laborious task. Latterly I have been inspired by the sentiment expressed by the capable and energetic Ex-Premier of Southern Africa, in his speech at Capetown, after his return from the conquest of Matabeleland. 'I have found out one thing,' he said, 'and that is, if you have an idea, and it is a good idea, and if you will only stick to it, it will come out all right.' I flatter myself that I have stuck to my idea, and I believe that it is a good one; but whether it will come out all right is a very different matter.

I consider it unnecessary to make any apology for the pretty frequent use of the personal pronoun. The editorial '*We*' is probably desirable in the Magazine and the Newspaper; but in a Book which bears the author's name upon the title-page, surely the adoption of the ninth letter of the alphabet is the most

suitable form of address, besides being better calculated to produce a sympathetic *rapport* between writer and reader. Different opinions may, of course, be entertained as to the accuracy or propriety of some statements which I have ventured to make; but I can honestly say that, while conscious of many shortcomings, I have tried to be both correct and natural; and have not hesitated to say what I believe and feel, notwithstanding the rigid conventionality of these enlightened days.

I have to acknowledge with heartfelt gratitude the assistance which I have received, in various forms, during the progress of my work, from the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, the Marquis of Huntly, the Marquis of Tweeddale, the Earl of Eglinton and Winton, the Earl of Lauderdale, the Earl of Wemyss and March, Colonel the Hon. Robert Boyle, and the Hon. G. R. Vernon; General Sir William Hope, Sir Bruce-Maxwell Seton, Colonel Sir William S. Seton, Sir Thomas Dick-Lauder, Sir Alan-Henry Seton-Steuart, and Sir Thomas Dawson-Brodie, Baronets; Colonel Sir Alexander Moncrieff, K.C.B.; Major Alexander Seton of Mounie; Mr. Patrick-Baron Seton of Preston and Ekolsund; Mr. Walter Seton-Karr, and Mr. Henry Seton-Karr of Kippilaw, M.P.; the late Mr. William Hay of Duns Castle, and his younger brother and successor; Mr. Robert Hay, late of Linplum; Mr. Edward Fraser-Tytler of Aldourie, Mr. James Fraser-Tytler of Woodhouselee, Mr. George Tytler of Keith-Marischal, and Lieutenant Robert Tytler of the Gordon Highlanders; the late Mr. Robert Robertson-Glasgow of Montgreenan; Mr. Maxwell-Stuart of Traquair, and Mr. George Constable; Monsignor Robert Seton of New York; Captain Robert Seton Marshall,

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I have also to acknowledge the valuable aid which I have obtained from Mr. Archibald Constable and Mr. Walter B. Blaikie and several of their intelligent and obliging *employés*; the Rev. Walter Macleod, the experienced searcher of Records; Mr. J. Munro Bell, author of the *Castles of the Lothians*; Mr. George Waterston, Mr. Charles Murdoch, Messrs. Stoddart and Malcolm, and the various engravers—more especially Mr. A. W. Sinclair,—to whom I am indebted for the production of my numerous illustrations.

Lastly, I must not fail to mention the hearty co-operation of my youngest daughter, Mary-Stuart Seton, in the transcription of several lengthy documents, the comparison of endless proof-sheets, and the preparation of an extensive Index.

A List of Subscribers—but for whose kind and substantial assistance the work would not have seen the light—will be found at the end of the second volume.

I shall conclude my preamble in the quaint words of Francis Quarles :—

‘ My pen,
Thou hast transgressed ;
Archangels, and not Men
Should sing the story of their Rest :
But we have done, we leave them to the trust
Of Heaven’s eternall Towre, and kisse their sacred dust.’

G. S.

31st August 1896.

‘For inquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and
prepare thyself to the search of their fathers.’

JOB viii. 8.

‘An ancient, honest, respectable House, per-
adventure in these latter days decayed.’

STEVENSON’S *Kidnapped*.

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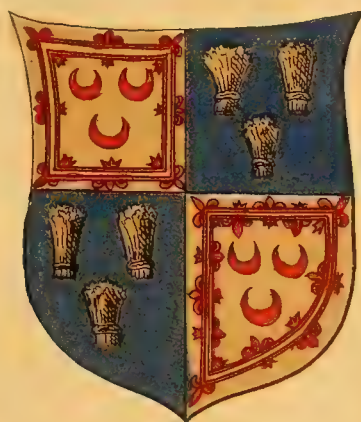
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seton lord seton



INTRODUCTION¹



'HAPPY is the man,' says a deep and original thinker,² 'who can trace his lineage ancestor by ancestor, and cover hoary time with a mantle of youth!' In days gone by, however, it must be acknowledged that ancestral glorification was sometimes so offensively indulged in as to suggest such clever sayings as that of Sir Thomas Overbury, that the man who was always boasting of his pedigree resembled the potato, of which the best part is under ground; and both Shakespeare and Ben Jonson speak very wisely on the same subject:

'Honours best thrive,
When rather from our acts we them derive
Than our fore-goers.'

'Nor stand so much on your gentility,
Which is an airy and mere borrowed thing
From dead men's dust and bones, and none of yours,
Except you make and hold it.'

'It is highly laudable,' says a writer in the *Spectator*, 'to pay respect to men who are descended from worthy ancestors, not only out of gratitude to those who have done good to mankind, but as it is an encouragement to others to follow their example. But this is an honour to be received, not demanded, by the descendants of great men; and they who are apt to remind us of their ancestors only put us upon making comparisons to their

¹ Some of the following observations on the sentiment of birth, and the justification of Family Records, are taken either from my Introduction to the *House of Moncrieff*, privately printed for my friend and kinsman Sir Alexander

Moncrieff, K.C.B., in 1890, or from an article which I contributed, about ten years ago, to an important Quarterly Review.

² Jean Paul Richter.

own disadvantage.' In his sensible remarks on the topic in question, Sir Egerton Brydges says that 'there is no subject more difficult to be dwelt on than that of honourable descent; none on which the world are greater sceptics, none more offensive to them; and yet there is no quality to which every one *in his heart* pays so great a respect.' A reverence for ancestry, besides being inherent in human nature, exerts a salutary influence in fostering the praiseworthy desire to maintain the reputation of a family, and lends valuable aid in promoting the general prosperity of a nation. 'Our calmer judgment,' says Gibbon in his Autobiography, 'will rather tend to moderate than to suppress the pride of an ancient and worthy race. The satirist may laugh, the philosopher may preach; but Reason herself will respect the prejudices and habits which have been consecrated by the experience of mankind.' Although the word *pride* is generally used in an unfavourable sense, I demur to Dr. Johnson's unqualified assertion that 'all pride is abject or mean.' Inordinate self-esteem, arising from a supposed superiority in birth or social position, is accompanied in too many instances by a tendency to look down upon others with unmerited contempt. But there is another phase of the attribute in question, which consists of an honourable elation of heart and a manly consciousness of self-respect, nowise akin to haughtiness or vainglory, and springing chiefly, if not entirely, from a justifiable estimation of a line of virtuous predecessors—a feeling, so to speak, more objective than subjective, and one which is quite compatible with the most courteous and even humble bearing. 'An affectionate regard for the memory of our ancestors,' to quote the language of the late Earl of Crawford, 'is natural to the heart: it is an emotion totally distinct from pride—an ideal love free from that consciousness of requited affection and reciprocal esteem, which constitutes so much of the satisfaction we derive from the love of the living. They are denied, it is true, to our personal acquaintance, but the light they shed during their lives survives within their tombs, and will reward our search if we explore them.'

Ever since the days of Juvenal, a good many hard things have been said about the pretensions of the herald and the genealogist.

The vocation of the latter has been sarcastically described as ‘the science of fools with long memories’; and even before the appearance of Matthew Prior’s well-known epitaph, the claims of ancient lineage had been quaintly derided in a Scottish churchyard :

‘ Johnnie Carnegie lais heer,
Descendit of Adam and Eve ;
Gif ony con gang hieher,
Ise willing give him leve.’

A Russian nobleman, who assumed the *rôle* of humility, on being interrogated by the Czar respecting the antiquity of his descent, replied that, like everybody else, he was sprung from one of Noah’s three sons! Not so, however, the eccentric Laird of Macnab, who boldly repudiated any such miserable limitation. When asked how he contrived to get over the little difficulty of the Flood, he coolly explained that *his* ancestor possessed ‘a coble o’ his ain’; and to this day the proud Highlander’s descendants carry an open boat in the base of their escutcheon, thus actually eclipsing the French de Lévis, to be afterwards referred to.

A radical Scottish lawyer once contemptuously said to a professional brother who did not sympathise with his opinions: ‘What, pray, is the difference between a peer and a peasant—are not both made from the same clay?’ ‘True,’ his friend responded, ‘but the one is probably *china*, and the other *common ware*.’ A somewhat similar opinion appears to have been entertained by the author of the *Faerie Queen*—‘the brightest jewel in the Spenser coronet’¹—who thus commences one of his celebrated cantos :

‘ In brave poursuitt of honourable deed,
There is I know not what great difference
Betweene the vulgar and the noble seed,
Which unto things of valorous pretence,
Seemes to be borne by native influence.’

Besides attracting the diligent study of a large number of eminent professional inquirers, genealogy has been warmly

¹ In alluding to the ancient pedigree of the Feildings, Earls of Denbigh, Gibbon finely says that ‘the successors of Charles v. may disdain their brethren of England; but the romance of

Tom Jones, that exquisite picture of human manners, will outlive the palace of the Escorial and the imperial eagle of the House of Austria.’

appreciated by not a few distinguished men of very different views and temperaments, whose energies were mainly devoted to pursuits of another kind. In addition to Sir Walter Scott, whose taste for pedigree was the natural associate of many kindred feelings, it is enough to mention the names of Cecil, Fuller, Hume, Franklin, Leibnitz, Gibbon, Byron, and Gray, by all of whom the sentiment of birth was keenly felt, if not openly acknowledged. Lord Byron was prouder of his pedigree than of his poems, and the author of *Waverley* risked absolute ruin in his desire to found a line of new lairds.

‘I should have rejoiced,’ says Crabb-Robinson, ‘had I been *well* born, could I have reckoned historical characters among my ancestors; but it has never occasioned me any serious uneasiness that my family is of as insignificant a class as can be imagined. Among the Robinsons, I cannot find a single individual who appears to have acquired any distinction; and among the Crabbs, only a remote probability of an affinity to a single individual of the name who has ever been heard of, and that is the poet.’ He elsewhere says: ‘Lord Buchan exhibited many relics of the unfortunate Mary, and enumerated to me many of his ancestors, whom my imperfect recollection would have designated rather as infamous than illustrious. But no man of family ever heartily despised birth.’¹

Crabb-Robinson’s remark recalls an eloquent passage in the introductory letter prefixed to Lord Crawford’s charming *Lives of the Lindsays*, addressed to two of his nearest kinsfolk. ‘Be grateful, then,’ he writes, ‘for your descent from religious as well as from noble ancestors; it is your duty to be so, and this is the only worthy tribute you can now pay to their ashes. Yet, at the same time, be most jealously on your guard lest this lawful satisfaction derogates into arrogance, or a fancied superiority over those nobles of God’s creation, who, endowed in other respects with every exalted quality, cannot point to a long line of ancestry. Pride is of all sins the most hateful in the sight of God, and, of the proud, who is so mean, who so despicable as he that values himself on the merits of others? And were they all so meritorious,

¹ *Diary*, i. 1 and 208.

these boasted ancestors? Were they all Christians? Remember, remember—if some of them have deserved praise, others have equally merited censure—if there have been “stainless knights,” never yet was there a stainless family since Adam’s fall. Where, then, is boasting?—For we would not, I hope, glory in iniquity.

“Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.”

It is startling to find how few of our greatest men are directly represented in the male line. Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Raleigh, Sidney, Dryden, Pope, Swift, Addison, Bacon, Locke, Milton, Newton, Cromwell, Blake, Marlborough, Nelson, Wolfe, Clarendon, Hume, Gibbon, Johnson, Burke, Goldsmith, Pitt, Fox, Scott, Byron, are obvious instances; and the list might easily be extended. Accordingly, to supply the failure of male by the substitution of female descent becomes a natural consideration. It has been said that ‘female descent will not break the chain of elevating associations, especially when the property and social position are retained and transmitted by an heiress.’ In the case of the historic House of Percy, the succession has been *thrice* carried on by an heiress, the husband, of course, assuming the name and arms of the family; while on the north side of the Tweed we have examples in the great families of Sutherland, Hamilton, Buccleuch, and many others.¹

With regard to the *pleasure* of the occupation, the fascinating character of a genealogical search has been known to cast the excitement of the fox-hunt and of the salmon pool into the obscurest shade! To use the language of the author of *The Bookhunter*: ‘There is perhaps no pursuit so thoroughly absorbing as genealogy. The reason is this: no man having yet made out for himself an articulate pedigree from Adam²—Sir

¹ The subject is pretty fully discussed in the seventh chapter of my *Scottish Heraldry*. See also some interesting observations on ‘female descent’ by Mr. Hannay, in his *Essays from the Quarterly*, p. 61.

² It so happens that, upwards of forty years ago,—long before I had heard of Sir Thomas Urquhart,—I had followed his example by con-

structing a pedigree from the first occupant of Paradise, which will be found in the Appendix of *Miscellanies*.

In a certain good book (Tit. iii. 9) we are enjoined to ‘avoid endless genealogies,’ but my friend ‘Rouge Dragon’ (Mr. Everard Green) reminds me that we are elsewhere informed (Prov. xvii. 6) that ‘the glory of children are their fathers.’

Thomas Urquhart, the translator of *Rabelais*, to be sure, made one for himself, but he had his tongue in his cheek all the while—no clear pedigree going back to the first of men, every one, whether short or long, Celtic or Saxon, comes into the clouds at last. . . . The pursuit is described as possessing something like the same absorbing influence which is exercised over certain minds by the higher mathematics. The devotees get to think that all human knowledge centres in their peculiar science and the cognate mysteries and exquisite scientific manipulations of heraldry, and they may be heard talking with compassionate contempt of some one so grossly ignorant as not to know a bar-dexter from a bend-sinister, or who asks what is meant by a cross potent quadrate party per pale.'

Every genuine genealogist is well aware that some of the best blood in the kingdom flows in the veins of persons in very humble life. In his *Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement*, speaking of Henry Ellacombe's addiction to genealogies and the universality of his sympathy, Mr. Mozley informs us that 'heraldry is no trifle in Devonshire, where a single name and coat may ramify into some dozen differences. At least a dozen of my labourers,' he adds, 'could have shown good coats of arms.'¹ A descendant of the Royal House of Tagellos, who have been rulers of Hungary and Bohemia, as well as Poland, has recently been discovered at Lamberg—Joseph Tagello by name, and a letter-carrier by occupation. His direct descent from the old royal family has been clearly proved, and a better position is likely to be found for him. The late Mr. John Riddell, the eminent genealogist and peerage lawyer, bears testimony to the fact of many shopkeepers and tradesmen having been able to establish their descent from ancient and noble families; and he specially refers to an example which I shall afterwards have occasion to mention, in connection with the representation of the House of Seton.

¹ 'Joseph was indeed a carpenter, but he was also of the race of King David, and kept his genealogy with scrupulous exactitude. There is nothing incompatible between a "long de-

scent" and a genuine respect for labour.'—*The Dignity of Labour*, by the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Robert Seton, D.D.

To use the language of Tennyson :

'Ev'n the homely farm can teach us there is something in descent.
Yonder in that chapel, slowly sinking now into the ground,
Lies the warrior, my forefather, with his feet upon the hound.

There is one old hostel left us, where they swing the Locksley shield,
Till the peasant cow shall butt the "lion passant" from his field.
Poor old Heraldry, poor old History, poor old Poetry, passing hence,
In the common deluge drowning old political common sense.¹

In his recent remarkable book on *Social Evolution*, Mr. Benjamin Kidd makes some interesting observations on the decay and extinction of leading families. 'It has lately become well known,' he says, 'that the attempts which have been made in the past by the nobles and power-holding classes, in almost every country, to perpetuate the stock of the privileged classes to which they have belonged, have invariably failed. . . . After a limited number of generations, the stock has become extinct; and the privileged classes have been able to maintain themselves only by the continual infusion of new blood and intermarriage with the classes below them. We had, for instance, amongst the Romans, what Gibbon calls 'the proudest and most perfect separation which can be found in any age or country between the nobles and the people.' Intermarriages were prohibited by the laws of the XII. Tables. Wealth and honours, the offices of the state, and the ceremonies of religion, were almost exclusively preserved by the Patricians; and the most jealous pride of birth reinforced the barriers which had been erected in law, sentiment, and religion with the object of preserving the purity of their blood. Yet Gibbon records that the Patrician families, 'whose original number was never recruited till the end of the Commonwealth, either failed in the ordinary course of nature, or were extinguished in so many foreign or domestic wars, or, through a want of merit or fortune, insensibly mingled with the mass of the people. Very few remained who could derive their pure and genuine origin from the infancy of the city, or even from that of the Republic, when

¹ *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After.*

Cæsar and Augustus, Claudius and Vespasian, created from the body of the senate a competent number of new Patrician families, in the hope of perpetuating an order which was still considered as honourable and sacred. . . . The existing aristocratic families amongst the modern European peoples are continually undergoing the same process of decay. The manner in which the English aristocracy is continually dying out has become a commonplace of knowledge since the investigations of Galton, Evelyn Shirley, and others threw light on the subject. Only five out of over five hundred of the oldest aristocratic families in England, at the present time, can trace direct descent through the male line to the fifteenth century. . . . A similar state of things has been found to exist in France by M. Lageneau and others who have investigated the records of the noble families of that country; and it is known to prevail also in nearly all countries where an aristocratic class exists. Mr. Kidd refers to the various reasons that have, from time to time, been given to account for this result, and comes to the conclusion that the true cause is the inherent desire 'to go forward.' 'While we have,' he adds, 'on the one hand, the constant tendency of aspiring ability to rise into the highest class, we have, on the other hand, within the class itself, the equally constant tendency towards restriction of numbers, towards celibacy, and towards reversion to the classes below.' He also states that the cause in question has a vital connection with a much wider natural law, to wit, the undoubted tendency of the independent classes to marry later and to have fewer children than the classes below them, confirming his opinion by quotations from a paper read by Dr. Ogle before the Statistical Society of London, in March 1890.

It was formerly the custom in Brittany for members of noble families, when they went into trade, to renounce, for a time, their hereditary armorial ensigns, and to resume them when they retired from a successful business.¹ Such procedure was probably suggested by the views of the old heralds, who regarded the right

¹ Sterne, in his *Sentimental Journey*, gives an interesting account of an example of the Brittany custom, which he witnessed at Rennes, when the temporary surrender of his sword, by one of

the old noblesse, was held to indicate a suspension of the owner's nobility and its heraldic concomitants. See also Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel*, chap. xxxvii.

to carry arms as quite incompatible with the prosecution of 'viles et mechanicas artes.' Hence the use of what were termed 'merchants' marks,' referred to by Sir George Mackenzie and other writers on Heraldry. I am not aware that the Breton practice was ever followed in our own country; and it is to be presumed that when the son of a duke, in the present day, does not hesitate to apply himself to commercial pursuits, he considers it quite unnecessary to abandon the use of his family scutcheon.

Mr. Hamerton—who, by the way, has written a very interesting little book on *Heraldry*—seems rather disposed to take a different view, while fully confirming some of the statements already made on the subject of good birth. 'There is a great deal of unreal distinction,' he says, 'in the matter of ancestry. Those who observe closely are well aware that many undoubted and lineal descendants of the oldest families are in humble social positions, simply for want of money to make a display, whilst others usurp their coats of arms, and claim a descent that they cannot really prove. The whole subject is, therefore, one of the most unsatisfactory that can be, and all that remains to the real members of old families, who have not wealth enough to hold a place in the expensive modern aristocracy, is to remember secretly the history of their ancestors if they are romantic and poetical enough to retain the old-fashioned sentiment of birth, and to forget it if they look only to the present and the practical. There is, indeed, so little of the romantic sentiment left in the country, that even amongst the descendants of old families themselves, very few are able to blazon their own armorial bearings, or even know what the verb "to blazon" means.¹ . . . When wealth is gone, English feeling thinks that a man should lock up his pedigree in his desk, and forget that he has ancestors;² so it has been said that an English gentleman in losing wealth loses his

¹ 'Not know the figures of Heraldry! of what could your father be thinking?'—Die Vernon to Frank Osbaldistone, in *Rob Roy*, chap. x.

² In his description of the inmates of 'La Childebert,' the *Englishman in Paris* gives us an amusing contrast. 'It was no uncommon thing,' he says, 'to hear the son of a *concierge*,

whose real or fancied vocation had made him embrace the artistic profession, swear by "the faith of his ancestors"; while the impoverished scion of a noble house replied by calling him "a bloated reminiscence of a feudal and superstitious age."

caste with it, whilst a French or Italian gentleman may keep his caste, except in the most abject poverty. On the other hand, when an Englishman has a vast fortune, it is thought right to give him a title also, that the desirable combination may be created afresh. Nothing is so striking in England, considering that it is an old country, as the newness of most of the great families. The aristocracy is like London, that has the reputation of being a very ancient city, yet the houses are of recent date.’¹

Speaking of the reign of James VI., Hume says: ‘High pride of family then prevailed; and it was by a dignity and stateliness of behaviour, that the gentry and nobility distinguished themselves from the common people—great riches, acquired by commerce, were more rare, and had not as yet been able to confound all ranks of men, and render money the chief foundation of distinction.’

‘It is the present fashion,’ says a modern writer, ‘to consider the pride of descent as an empty pretension, but it cannot be denied that it is a pretension which has been regarded in every country, and in all ages. There are many sound philosophical arguments in favour of a regard to birth, which pretenders to deep reasoning do not appear to be aware of.’² It is a counter-action to the undue influence of wealth and mere brutal power. It is impossible to prevent the accumulation of wealth in the basest of the people, at least in a free country! The easiest paths to wealth are the meanest and least virtuous. However, the most current opinion is that *wealth is wealth*, and that he who can spend the most is the most important man; and that it is idle and childish to pay any attention as to how and whence he got it.

“rem

Si possis recte; si non, quocunque modo rem.”

But the true aristocracy knows its own place and holds firm to it; and various are the effects it has on the mind, which cannot be analysed by language. It has a tendency to create a lofty sort of sentiment, rather than a low and selfish gratification, as the guide

¹ *Human Intercourse*, p. 126.

² Some admirable remarks on this subject

recently appeared in the *Times* (24th Sept. 1894), in an article on the ancestry of Washington.

of the thoughts and the conduct. It would find a thousand ideal comforts in adversity and obscurity, which new families, thrown back into poverty, cannot command.'

A recent critic considers that an ancient family, which, after having gone down in the world, contrives to recover itself by commercial pursuits, after a long period of comparative obscurity, is not entitled to a place in such a work as Mr. Shirley's *Noble-and Gentle-Men of England*. With that view I am by no means disposed to concur. The case supposed furnishes an interesting instance of pluck and perseverance, and is surely well worthy of being recorded as the *refoundation* of an ancient line. Sir Walter Scott makes some sensible remarks on what may be almost pronounced to be a characteristic of his countrymen. 'The family pride,' he says, 'which is often among the Scotch found descending to those who are in such humble situations as to render it ridiculous, has perhaps more of worldly prudence in it than might at first be expected. A Clifford or a Percy, reduced in circumstances, feels a claim of long descent unsuitable to his condition, unavailing to assist his views in life, and ridiculous as contrasted with them. He therefore wishes and endeavours to forget pretensions which his son or grandson altogether loses sight of. On the contrary, the system of entails in Scotland, their extent, and their perpetual endurance, naturally recommend a Home or a Douglas to preserve an account of his genealogy, in case of some event occurring which may render him heir of tailzie to a good estate. A certain number of calculable chances would have made the author of *Douglas* the Earl of Home.'

If the system of entails to which Sir Walter refers is now almost a thing of the past, the feeling of kinship is still very strongly cherished on the north side of the Tweed among all classes of the community. The eloquent author of *Rab and his Friends* truly says of the late Duke of Athole and his retainers that 'he knew them, every one, and all their interests and wants, and took his own odd but genuine ways of reaching their hearts and doing them good'; and the head of the House of Grant is prouder of his local designation of 'The Laird of Grant' than of his Seafield earldom.

'Equality' is now the favourite text of a certain class of politicians, and the circumstance of a man having been born a gentleman is beginning to be regarded as a questionable advantage. In the words of a living poet :

'Tis not the world you knew, granny ; its fetters have fallen off ;
The lowliest now may rise and rule where the proud used to sit and scoff.
No need to boast of a scutcheoned stock, claim rights from an ancient wrong ;
All are born with a silver spoon in their mouths whose gums are sound and strong.

According to Matthew Arnold, 'our *inequality* materialises our upper class, vulgarises our middle class, brutalises our lower.' Mr. Froude, on the other hand, informs us that '*equality* splits a nation into a multitude of discontented units,' adding that 'the masses require leaders whom they can trust, and the natural leaders in a healthy country are the gentry.' The deep-thinking Amiel appears to sympathise with the English historian when he says that 'the modern zeal for equality is a disguised hatred which tries to pass itself off as love.'¹ Without discussing the comparative soundness of these rival opinions, there seems to be little doubt that 'the masses' of the United Kingdom have an inherent regard for those who are placed above them in the social scale. 'With our people,' says Sir William Molesworth, 'the love of aristocracy is a religion'; and even Mr. Gladstone *once* held that 'the love of freedom itself is hardly stronger in England than the love of aristocracy.' The same impression appears to have been formed by a very intelligent American—the late Nathaniel Hawthorne,—who, in referring to the circumstance of a Liverpool crowd gazing at Lord Derby's smart equipage with four white horses and two postillions, says: 'I doubt not they all had a kind of

¹ In the same spirit, Coleridge, in his *Table-Talk*, says: 'It has never yet been seen, or clearly announced, that Democracy, as such, is no proper element in the constitution of a State. The idea of a State is undoubtedly a government—ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων—an aristocracy. Democracy is the healthful life-blood which circulates through the veins and arteries, which supports the system, but which ought never to appear externally, and as the mere blood itself.' Again, Amiel in his *Journal Intime* makes some very sensible re-

marks on the same subject. 'Democracy,' he says, 'by laying it down that there is but one class for all men, has in fact done a wrong to everything that is not first-rate. . . . If the passion for equality potentially raises the average, it *really* degrades nineteen-twentieths of individuals below their former place.' He elsewhere says, 'The stupidity of Demos is only equalled by its presumption. It is like a youth with all his animal and none of his reasoning powers developed.'

enjoyment of the spectacle, for these English are strangely proud of having a class above them.’¹

A good deal has been written on the somewhat delicate subject of ‘self-made men,’ of whom it has been severely said that many of them have a tendency ‘to worship their creator’! Occasionally they exhibit a disposition to glorify their humble origin, in accordance with the conduct of the French Archbishop, who made a point of always keeping a rude wheel in his study to remind him that he was the son of a carter. On the other hand, the Duc of Persigny generally winced under allusions to his humble origin. His constant pre-occupation was to make people forget it, and he often exposed himself to ridicule in the attempt.

Sir Walter Scott, in the *Abbot*, puts the following words into the mouth of Sir Halbert Glendinning, in reply to certain reflections on his social position: ‘Sure it is a boast as honourable to have those capacities which are necessary to the foundation of a family, as to descend from one who possessed them some centuries before.’ It is not only men of ancient lineage who have to maintain the good name of their progenitors and to hand it down to their descendants. Every man who rises to wealth and honour by his ability, industry, or valour, becomes an ancestor, and it is not necessary that his name should appear in old parchments to make him an object of reverence. ‘This sentiment,’ it has been truly said, ‘has powerfully contributed to give stability to British institutions.’ Unlike our French neighbours, we have not striven to annihilate the past.² In the eloquent words of Mr. Swinburne:

‘Where the footfall sounds of England, where the smile of England shines,
Rings the tread and laughs the face of freedom, fair as hope divines
Days to be, more brave than ours, and lit by lordlier stars for signs.
All our past acclaims our future; Shakespeare’s voice and Nelson’s hand,
Milton’s faith and Wordsworth’s trust, in this our chosen and chainless land,
Bear us witness: come the world against her, England yet shall stand.’

The subject is very fairly discussed in an article which appeared in *Blackwood’s Magazine*, under the title of ‘My College Friends,’ nearly fifty years ago. ‘There are few cases,’ says the

¹ *English Note-Books*, i. 75.

² See Maccunn’s *Ethics of Citizenship*, pp. 60 and 168.

writer, 'of men rising from low origin—rising, that is, from circumstances, not from ability—not the architects but the creations of their own fortunes (for that makes all the difference), who do not carry with them, through all the gradations of their advancement, the plebeian instincts, while they forget, perhaps, the homely virtues of the class from which they spring. There is a nobility of birth seldom to be counterfeited or mistaken, wholly irrespective of the rank and wealth which are either its graceful accompaniments or its insufficient substitutes: fostered and strengthened by early habits and education, but none the less originally innate—as much an endowment from heaven as beauty, strength, or talent, and more valuable than all.¹ Many men have the tact to adapt themselves to the station and the society to which they have risen, however much above their own level; they acquire the habits and tastes, seldom the feelings, of a gentleman. They act the character well; it is carefully studied, and on the whole well sustained; it is a correct and painstaking performance, and the points tell distinctly; but there is throughout that indirect appeal to the audience which marks it to be only acting. They are more studiously aristocratic than the aristocracy, and have a horror of vulgarity which is in itself essentially vulgar.'

A recent popular writer—the author of *Allan Quatermain*—seems to take a somewhat similar view. 'How true is the saying,' he writes, 'that the very highest in rank are always the most simple and kindly. It is from your half-and-half sort of people that you get pomposity and vulgarity, the difference between the two being very much what one sees every day in England between the old, out-of-elbows, broken-down county family and the overbearing purse-proud people who come and "take the place."'

Boswell, in speaking of the Chronicle of the illustrious 'House of Yvery,' tells us that 'family histories, like the *imagines majorum* of the ancients, excite to virtue'; and it cannot, I think, be denied that 'gentle bearing and honourable manly dealing are

¹ 'To be well born,' said Landor, 'is the greatest of all God's primary blessings, and there are many well born among the poor and

needy. (See also Sir Henry Taylor's *Autobiography*, i. 1.)

sustained by regard for family credit, as the natural outcome of qualities accumulated and transmitted from generation to generation in families of long-continued respectability.’¹

Altogether apart, however, from what may be called the individual, or *family*, view of good birth, it presents a very important aspect in its relation to the commonweal. A recent eloquent writer observes that ‘there is a crisis in the history of nations—and a dangerous crisis it is—when the aristocracy of birth has been succeeded by the aristocracy of wealth; and a great historian tells us that no nation has ever reached that crisis without having already begun its downward progress towards deterioration. There are chiefly,’ he continues, ‘three influences counteractive of that great danger, viz. Religion, *Hereditary Rank*, and men of contemplative lives. Rank is a power in itself, more spiritual, because less tangible, than the power of wealth. The man who commands others by the extent of his broad acres, or by the number of his bales of cotton, rules them by a power more degrading and more earthly than he who rules them simply by the *prestige* of long hereditary claims.’²

The same sentiments are eloquently set forth by the fourteenth Earl of Derby in a speech relative to the rival claims of Protection and Free-Trade, delivered in the House of Lords on the 25th of May 1846, which competent judges (including his son and successor) consider to have been the best of his many brilliant orations. Speaking of the English aristocracy, he said that under that term he included not merely the members of the House which he addressed, but the great body of the landed proprietors of the country, ‘men unennobled by rank, and many of them undistinguished by great wealth, but who, and their ancestors before them, for generation after generation, have been the centre, each of his respective locality; who have the *prestige* of old associations attached to their names; who influence the opinions and feelings of their respective neighbourhoods; who exercise a decent hospitality, and preside over a tenantry who

¹ M'Lennan's *Memoir of Thomas Drummond*, Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1835-40, p. 4.

² Lecture on Wordsworth (1853), by the Rev. Frederick W. Robertson of Brighton.

have hereditary claims upon their considerations and affections. . . . God forbid'—his Lordship continued—'that the successful manufacturer or that the princely merchant should not take his place among the aristocracy of the country! Such infusions add fresh vigour and power to that class of the community; but, depend upon it, if you sweep that class away at once, with all the associations attached to their names, their families, their histories, and the previous associations which belong to the character of their families, and substitute a new body of capitalists, to come amidst an unattached tenantry, and a neighbourhood where no associations are connected with their names, their moral influence and effect will be irretrievably lost.'¹

The real effect of hereditary rank can be known only by its results. Of late years a certain class of politicians have been advocating the abolition—or as some of their satellites phrase it, the *ablution*—of the House of Lords. But, as has been truly said, there are always in that distinguished assembly as many first-rate statesmen as are to be found in the House of Commons; and instead of their being only among the newly-created peers, they are especially numerous in the families of the old nobility. Such names as Salisbury, Devonshire, Argyll, Rosebery, Lansdowne, Norfolk, Bute, Tweeddale, Elgin, Spencer, Rutland, Lothian, Balfour, and Aberdeen are only prominent examples, and the Lower House will have considerable difficulty in producing fifty such specimens, which it ought to have in proportion to its number.

Again, in the words of a writer in the *Quarterly Review* (January 1870), 'a powerful territorial aristocracy is the steady element of nations, which prevents their oscillating between the extremes of democracy and despotism; and, by maintaining the tranquillity of society, gives time for constitutional principles to

¹ Some sensible remarks on social changes will be found in the recently published *Memoirs of the Twelfth Duke of Somerset*. 'In every civilised country,' the Duke says, 'there will arise a class of men who, having inherited wealth, are released from the necessity of manual labour and from the drudgery of professional employ-

ment. Even under Republican institutions, this class will gradually assume many of the characteristics of a social aristocracy. They attach importance to inherited names, to family connections, and they like to trace out an ancestral history.'

spread their roots downwards and their branches upwards, and to acquire that presumptive sanctity which is worth a thousand statutes.'

It is now upwards of sixty years since the first blow was struck in Great Britain at what is called 'Privilege,' by the passing of Lord Grey's Reform Bill in 1832, to which a worthy Provost of St. Andrews, bearing the honoured name of Playfair, attributed all our national woes! But old institutions, like vigorous old men, contrive to 'die hard,' and there is life in some of them yet. Doubtless, as already indicated, the old reverence for the sentiment of birth has been materially modified by the rapid rise of the aristocracy of wealth. The sons of Dukes and Earls have, in many instances, thought fit to mate with the daughters of self-made men—frequently hailing from the 'Far West'—and have not hesitated to enter into various kinds of commercial pursuits, which at one time were regarded as unsuitable for men of gentle birth. But in spite of these striking changes the old social machine continues to survive in a tolerably healthy condition; and if the majority of those whose ancient privileges have been somewhat rudely invaded have still the good sense to maintain their manhood, and to show themselves superior to the alterations produced by the inroads of democracy, the reconstruction of county administration, and the effects of agricultural depression, I for one do not despair. To some extent, I fear, both the English squire and the Scottish laird have themselves helped to bring about the change in question. But 'it is never too late to mend'; and it has recently been well said that the old gentry might again regain the salutary influence which they long possessed, if they 'would only return to simpler habits, live entirely on their estates,¹ and for weal or for woe throw in their lot with their dependants. . . . No sophistry can convince us that the old relations between the owners and cultivators of the soil are

¹ The consequences of 'absenteeism' are thus referred to by Pepys in his *Diary* as far back as 1669: 'Discoursed accidentally about the decay of gentlemen's families in the country, telling us that the old rule was, that a family might remain

fifty miles from London, a hundred years; a hundred miles from London, two hundred years; and so further or nearer London, more or less years.'

not far more conducive to the public good than any which can possibly exist between capital and labour in our great cities. They prevent the irritation which is elsewhere excited by strong social contrasts, unrelieved by the mellowing influences of hereditary connection and early personal intercourse; and they show the rich and the poor, the lord and the tenant, the superior and the inferior, living side by side, not only without any of the friction which the juxtaposition generates elsewhere, but in a condition of great social contentment, in which the virtues of loyalty and respect on one side, and liberality, confidence, and kindness on the other, grow naturally and flourish, till the Radical demagogue appears, like the wild boar out of the woods, to root them up, . . . to misrepresent the squire as a survival of feudalism, a social tyrant, a privileged and exclusive aristocrat, . . . and under cover of reforming an administrative system, to be bent on overthrowing a social one. . . . It is surely for the public interest that, scattered all over the country, should be little centres of culture, refinement, and the gentleness that comes of gentle birth, . . . and that the harsher intercourse of life should be softened, wherever it is possible, by the sympathies arising out of "long traditional connection handed on from generation to generation,"¹ which a misguided living statesman once warmly eulogised. In answer to the doubt expressed in many quarters as to whether the country gentlemen will now care to contend against the new and formidable forces arrayed against them, the same writer truly and eloquently says: '*Noblesse oblige*. They are bound by a thousand traditions, and by every dictate of honour and patriotism, not to shrink from such a conflict, however mean and vulgar its accessories. They have to save the country they have helped to make, and to save democracy from itself. The end should dignify the means. It has been the evil destiny of all democracies to drive the best men out of political life. But to many of the general rules which historians and philosophers have deduced from their observation of popular government in the world at large, England has shown herself an exception. Let it be the ambition of her country

The Old and the New English Country Life, by T. E. Kebbel, M.A., 1891.

gentlemen to keep her in the same path, and add another exception to the number. . . . If the gentry do their duty, the time may perhaps come when even many honest Radicals would be obliged to admit that a Parliament of professional place-hunters and lovers of notoriety at any price was a bad exchange, after all, for the squirearchy, who, with all their faults, were at least men of practical common sense, experienced in business, and inaccessible to bribes; who did their duty without fussing and foaming or making mountains out of mole-hills; and who had the advantage, as Mr. Chamberlain himself has admitted, of being gentlemen.'

The late Earl of Derby (who was less sentimental than his distinguished father, the Prime Minister, whose opinions I have already quoted) in one of his recently published addresses says: 'Considering the great diversities of fortune in this country, I should have expected in 1867, when the franchise was enlarged, a certain display of class feeling, and of jealousy, not to say of bitterness, against the rich, such as is visible in continental politics. I don't observe in England or Scotland a trace of any such feeling, and I believe that if the wealthy and educated classes will act with sense and prudence, if they will put themselves at the head of movements leading up to necessary reforms, they will not find their real interests exposed to much danger, and they may retain a large share of their former influence in the State.'

Many intelligent foreigners have remarked upon the 'caste' of modern Englishmen. De Tocqueville (as I think rightly) arrived at the conclusion that it was *not* the mark of a society classed by birth; and Mr. Hamerton entertains the same opinion of the really aristocratic time in France that preceded the Revolution. 'The old-fashioned facility and directness of communication,' he says, 'between ranks that were separated by wide social distances, would surprise and almost scandalise a modern aspirant to false aristocracy, who has assumed the *de* and makes up in *morgue* what is wanting to him in antiquity of descent. I believe, too, that when England was a far more aristocratic country than it is at present, manners were less distant and not so cold and suspicious.' De Tocqueville further believed that the cause of our modern want of brotherhood 'was to be found in the uncertainty

of a transition state from aristocratic to plutocratic ideas; that there is still the notion of a strict classification, and yet that this classification is no longer determined by blood but by money, which has taken its place, so that although the ranks exist still, as if the country were really aristocratic, it is not easy to see clearly, and at the first glance, who occupies them. Hence there is a "*guerre sourde*" between all the citizens. Some try by a thousand artifices to edge their way in reality or apparently amongst those above them; others fight without ceasing to repel the usurpers of their rights, or rather the same person does both; and whilst he struggles to introduce himself into the upper region, he perpetually endeavours to put down aspirants who are still beneath him.'¹

The exclusive appropriation of the term 'Nobility' to the Peerage is one of the many popular errors of modern times. From the genuine genealogist's point of view, many an untitled squire or laird has an infinitely better right to be regarded as noble than a large majority of the counts and barons on the continent of Europe. In the United Kingdom the gentry are really the lower nobility, and in many cases the elder branch of a family remains untitled, while the younger sons seek their fortunes, and are what we erroneously call 'ennobled.'² It would be easy to give examples of this on the south side of the Tweed, while in Scotland the same thing is of frequent occurrence. Thus, the Viscounts Melville are cadets of the Dundases of Arniston, one of the most important branches of the ancient family of Dundas of that ilk. In like manner, the Earls of Hopetoun are cadets of the Baronets of Craighall, the present chief of the house being General Sir William Hope of Pinkie. In his *Constitutional History of England*, Bishop Stubbs makes some very instructive remarks on the character of English as contrasted with Continental Nobility, pronouncing the former to be merely the nobility

¹ *Human Intercourse*, p. 233.

² When Buffon was congratulated by an English friend on having been ennobled by Louis XVI., he replied that certainly the King had created him a Count, but that he was al-

ready 'noble'! In a somewhat similar spirit, when Sir Edward Seymour was asked by King William whether he was of the Duke of Somerset's family, he calmly answered, 'No, Sir, the Duke of Somerset is of mine'!

of hereditary counsellors of the Crown, the right to that position being at one time involved in the tenure of land, at another in the fact of summons, at another in the terms of a patent—the result rather than the cause of peerage. ‘The English law,’ he adds, ‘recognises simply the right of peerage, not the privilege of nobility, as properly understood; it recognises office, dignity, estate, and class, but not caste. . . . Social opinions and the rules of heraldry, which had perhaps their use in determining an international standard of blood, alone recognise the distinction.’

Originally, the right to bear a coat of arms was, like the *jus imaginum* of the Romans, the distinctive privilege of the nobly born. In the words of Sir Edward Coke, ‘Nobiles sunt qui arma gentilicia antecessorum proferre possunt.’

Besides describing the characteristics of English, French, and German aristocracy, the author of *Saracinesca* thus refers to that of a more southern clime. ‘Roman nobles,’ he says, ‘are Roman by education and tradition; by blood, they are almost cosmopolitan. The practice of intermarrying with the great families of the rest of Europe is so general as to be almost a rule. One Roman prince is an English peer; most of the Roman princes are grantees of Spain; many of them have married daughters of great French houses, of reigning German princes, of ex-kings and ex-queens. . . . The Italian habitually expresses what he feels, while it is the chief pride of Northern men that whatever they may feel, they express nothing. The chief object of most Italians is to make life agreeable; the chief object of the Teutonic races is to make it profitable. Hence, the Italian excels in the art of pleasing, and in pleasing by means of the arts; whereas the Northern man is pre-eminent in the faculty of producing wealth under any circumstances.’

A still more recent writer, in an article on the *Decameron* of Boccaccio,¹ alludes to another aspect of the Italian aristocracy, which appears to present itself, more or less, in every nation of Europe. ‘For more than a century,’ he says, ‘the rich merchants had been supplanting the nobles, and with his keen insight into

¹ *Edinburgh Review* for October 1893.

the causes of the social deterioration of his time, Dante bitterly resented the change. It tended, in his opinion, to substitute a sordid meanness, a keen eye to personal advantage, for more generous impulses and altruistic motives, and was destructive of the comprehensiveness and breadth of view upon which alone true patriotism could be based. Not unfrequently the daughter of a once wealthy and illustrious but now declining house was given in marriage to a rich merchant, with the object of recovering, in part, the family's ancient splendour. The occasional consequences of such ill-assorted unions are vividly illustrated in the *Decameron*, Novel 8 of Day VII. . . . But the ambition to ally with noble houses, so as to share the coats of arms and the famous deeds "di casa *mia*," however ignoble, was not the worst feature of the trading interest which absorbed the Italy of Boccaccio's day. Avarice and fraud obtained such a preponderance as to be recognised a distinctive attribute of the mercantile class, doubtless asserting all the more force inasmuch as religious restraints were almost wholly inoperative.'

In his valuable work on Norway, published about thirty years ago, Mr. Elton gives some interesting information relative to the old nobility of that comparatively remote corner of Europe. 'It is curious,' he says, 'that the "gjaer" or ancient nobility sank into the body of the peasantry under the Danish oppression. A great proportion of the "Storthing" of 1821 must have belonged to this peasant nobility, so that it was really self-denying of them to abolish, instead of renewing, hereditary rank, in the face of the vetoes from the King. All ranks, however, are now equally proud that Norway has power to manage her own affairs. . . . Without believing their anecdotes of the descendants of the "gjaer" being distinguishable in any crowd by their mien and features, we may yet quite conceive that the custom of reciting pedigrees and keeping shields or documents to prove their long descent may make these people haughty and independent, while the remains of their old wealth will give them a prosperous well-to-do look, to distinguish them from their neighbours in certain cases. . . . One does not often see coats of arms in Norway now-a-days, but they do exist on rings and wooden scutcheons. . . . About

midsummer-time, as well as at marriages and funerals, the pedigree is brought out and studied by the collected family.’

Even in this money-loving age, the contempt of scutcheons is not quite so universal as some persons are disposed to believe; and the *practice* of our American cousins is by no means consistent with their professed belief in equality and democracy. One of the most curious proofs of my allegation is to be found in the not unfrequent fabrication of a fictitious ancestry, which reminds us of La Rochefoucauld’s happy definition of hypocrisy: ‘The homage which vice pays to virtue.’ The heralds of the Middle Ages were sometimes inclined to carry back their pedigrees to a very remote period, and to invent a good many ‘forebears’ for the earliest ancestor on record. In the words of old Hudibras:

‘Tis not Antiquity nor Author
That makes truth truth, altho’ time’s daughter;
Nor does it follow ‘cause a Herald
Can make a gentleman, scarce a year old,
To be descended of a race
Of ancient kings in a small space,
That we should all opinion hold
Authentick that we can make old.’

The modern professors of the science of Genealogy are even bolder in their procedure; and such is the persuasive power of wealth, that, in the course of a single week, they contrive to furnish the obscurest *novus homo* with an historic name, an elaborate pedigree, and a highly respectable gallery of family portraits!

The proverbial inaccuracy, not to say untruthfulness, of many modern genealogical works is a very ugly feature. A well-known periodical publication has been described as ‘a gorgeous repertory of genealogical mythology’; and the late Mr. Mark Napier (who knew what he was writing about), in one of his learned publications, besides alluding to true and false Heraldry, contemptuously speaks of the ‘arrangers of the historical houses of Scotland’—the ‘landscape-gardeners of Family Histories’—and the ‘gorgeous tomes, all ablaze in the royal livery, and with sins both of commission and omission on their head’; contrasting

them with the valuable productions of the Maitland Club, 'a very Quakeress in the simplicity of her outward garb, and a perfect purist in the antiquarian originality of her impartial and passionless pages.'

The eminent legal antiquary to whom I have already referred—the late Mr. John Riddell—frequently comments, in pretty severe terms, on the looseness and inventions of so-called genealogists, and appears to have contemplated a special treatise on the subject. In the preface to one of his latest works, he justly says that 'true genealogy is an austere, stern potentate, governing by unswerving rigid laws, founded on truth only—knowing that thereby she can alone act with dignity and advantage; and not a reckless loose nymph or Bacchante, who, in her frolics, gives vent to every flattering tale and fable, to cajole and unduly elevate the credulous for her own profit and amusement of others, and to sallies of fancy and imagination.'

It has been truly said that 'family records often rouse a new interest in national life, and thus become a valuable supplement to our ordinary histories. Many of the great popular movements of the day turn up in the papers, and gain in reality and vividness when looked at from the family standpoint.' Nearly thirty years ago, the author of an article on 'Heraldic Manuals' in the *Edinburgh Review*¹ gave expression to very similar sentiments. 'Every country,' he says, 'has had its career more or less moulded by some leading families, whose histories must be read aright in order to understand that of the nation, and whose hereditary idiosyncrasies have helped to form the national character. And while family history supplies the most valuable materials for national history, a knowledge of genealogy is absolutely necessary to understand any nation's political complications.' This is well illustrated in the recent history of the Harcourts, and also in Mr. Bruce's instructive *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, printed by the Camden Society in 1853. In the case of such a family as the Verneys, the story of their career, 'told in their own words, and with no little local colouring, has a

¹ The late Mr. George Burnett, Lyon King of Arms.

peculiar value. . . . We mingle with men and women in their daily avocations, and we are thrown into the current of the life of the time.'

The scope of a Family History is defined by my lamented friend James Hannay to be 'a full and connected view of a family with reference to its unity and character'; and the uses of proper Family Histories are thus ably indicated by the same accomplished writer. 'In the first place,' he says, 'they are excellent illustrations of general history, inasmuch as the history of a few families of a certain rank is the history of their whole times. Then they embody a vast number of those personal details and bits of local colour which help the narrator to describe an age, and the reader to feel as if he lived in it. They have a human, a tender, and a personal interest. Their poetic value is not to be forgotten,—that by which they enable us to trace character from generation to generation, and touch the mind with admiration or awe, as it watches the conduct of a high race in the varying events of successive ages. To the families themselves such histories are of the highest importance, and by them they ought to be treasured as were by the Romans those *laudationes*, some of which were extant in Cicero's time, and were used at family funerals, and which they preserved "ad memoriam laudum domesticarum et ad illustrandam nobilitatem suam."'¹

In all ancient families, the earlier portion of their history is more or less involved in the 'mists of antiquity,' and many well-vouched traditions are frequently unsupported by reliable documentary evidence. It has been said that if there is a certain quantity of fable in history, there is also a considerable element of history in certain kinds of fable. Many thoughtful and intelligent persons love to mingle with 'shadowy groups' of former generations; and all well-constituted minds find both pleasure and edification in 'the consecrated tradition of the past.'

Certain modern genealogists, while adopting the motto of 'nothing but facts,' have professed, in the so-called 'scientific

¹ *Essays from the Quarterly Review*, p. 35. Niebuhr goes the length of asserting that where the principle of family tradition does not exist,

'the line which runs through the nation is made of sand.'

spirit of the age,' to disbelieve everything in the shape of tradition or legend. But with regard to family traditions and legends, it has been well said that '*it is possible to be too sceptical as well as too credulous*'; and where they are not improbable in themselves, and can neither be proved nor disproved by external evidence, the wiser and better course is simply to note their existence, and then leave them alone.'

The family of Seton may be fairly regarded as occupying an important position among the historical houses of Scotland. For many centuries it took a prominent part in public affairs, and—to say nothing of knighthoods and other distinctions—the large number of Peerages and Baronetcies which have from time to time been conferred upon its members is not a little remarkable.

From the annexed tables it will be seen that no fewer than *seventeen* Peerages and *seven* Baronetcies have been bestowed upon the family. The Peerages are as follows:

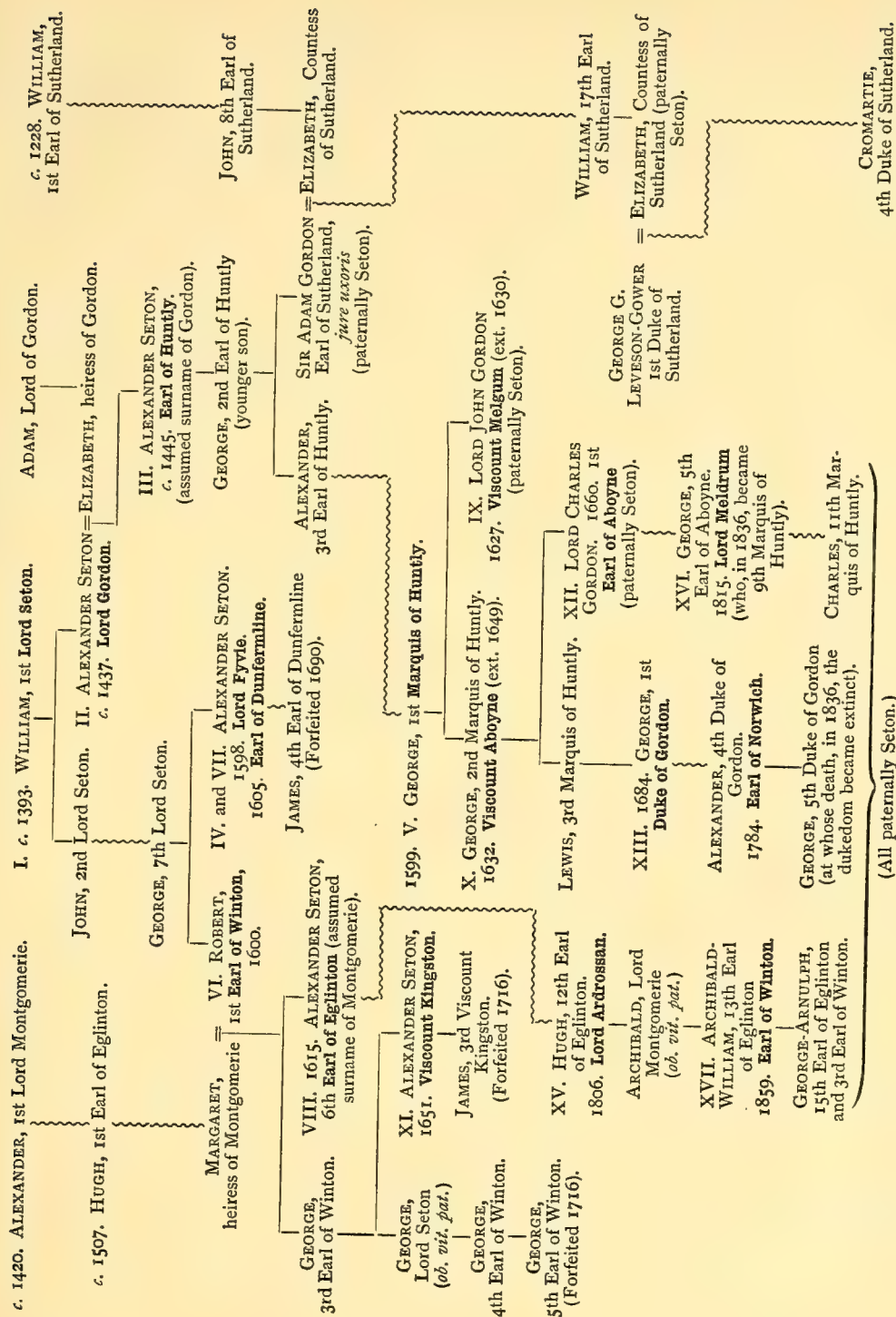
- c. 1393. Lord Seton (merged in Earldom of Winton).
- c. 1437. Lord Gordon (perhaps assumable by the Abercorn line).
- 1449. Earl of Huntly (merged in Marquisate of Huntly).
- 1598. Lord Fyvie (merged in Earldom of Dunfermline).
- 1599. Marquis of Huntly (merged in Dukedom of Gordon and resuscitated 1836).
- 1600. Earl of Winton (forfeited 1716).
- 1605. Earl of Dunfermline (forfeited 1690).
- 1615. Earl of Eglinton (special re-grant by James VI., with precedence of 1507).
- 1627. Viscount Melgum (extinct 1630).
- 1632. Viscount Aboyne (extinct 1649).
- 1651. Viscount Kingston (forfeited 1716).
- 1660. Earl of Aboyne (merged in Marquisate of Huntly 1836).
- 1684. Duke of Gordon (extinct 1836).
- 1784. Earl of Norwich (extinct 1836).
- 1806. Lord Ardrossan (merged in Earldom of Winton).
- 1815. Lord Meldrum.
- 1859. Earl of Winton.

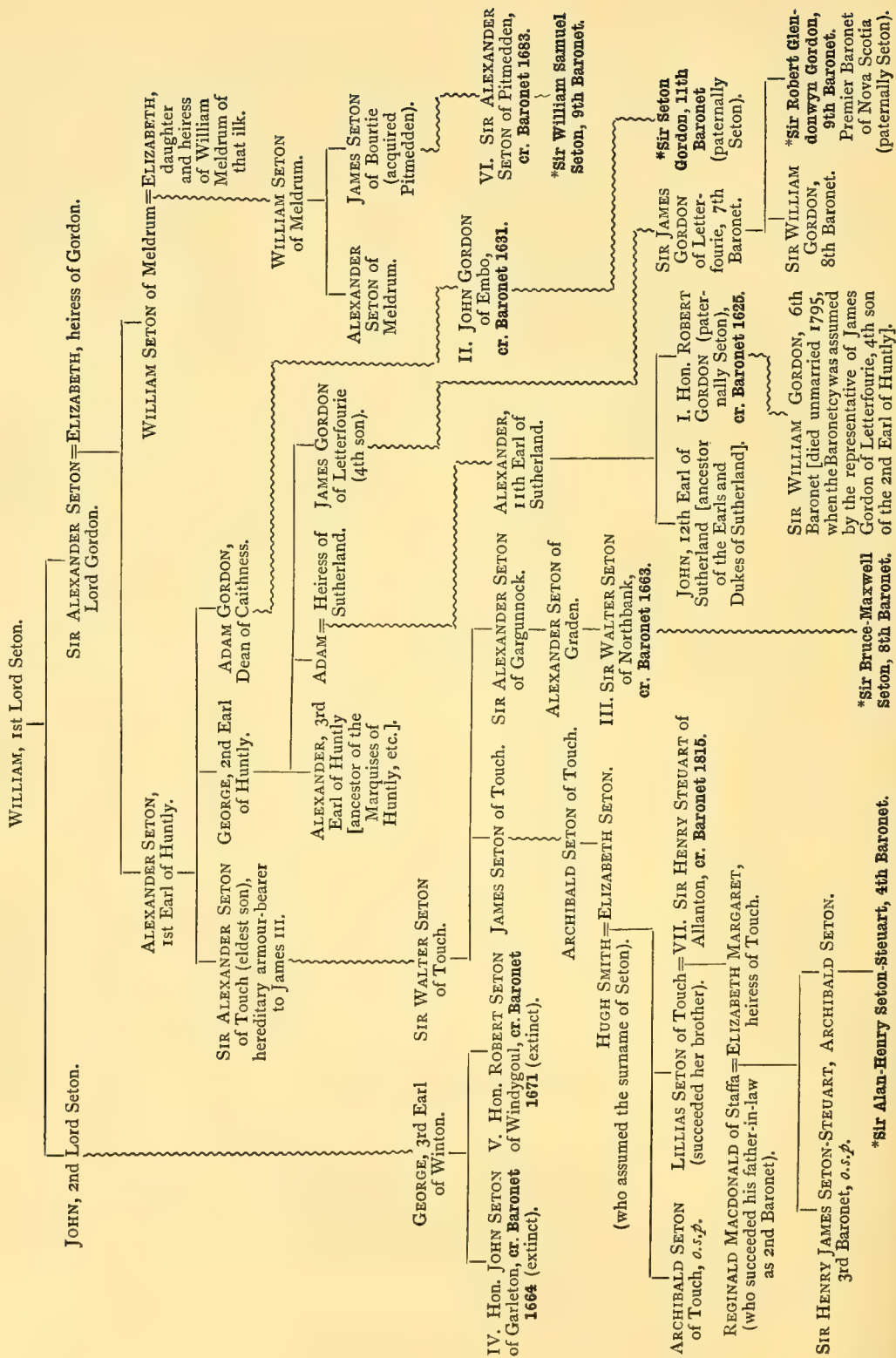
The recipients of the Baronetcies were:

- 1625. (Nova Scotia.) Hon. Robert Gordon, younger son of Alexander, eleventh Earl of Sutherland (*paternally Seton*).
- 1631. do. Sir John Gordon of Embo (*paternally Seton*).
- 1663. do. Sir Walter Seton of Northbank (Abercorn).
- 1664. do. Hon. John Seton of Garleton, a younger son of George, third Earl of Winton (extinct).

[Continued on page 29.]

SETON PEERAGES.





1671. (Nova Scotia.) Hon. Robert Seton of Windygoul, another younger son of George, third Earl of Winton (extinct shortly after creation).
 1683. do. Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden.
 1815. (U. K.) Sir Henry (Seton) Steuart (Touch).

In the inaugural address delivered on the occasion of his installation as Rector of the University of Edinburgh in 1866, Carlyle gratefully acknowledges the help which he had obtained from the laborious researches of old Collins, the Peerage compiler, when writing his *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*. Besides finding the solution of everything he had expected, the 'Sage of Chelsea' gradually discovered this 'immense fact,' the 'grand soul of England's history'—that the kings of England, from the Norman Conquest down to the times of Charles I., 'had actually in a good degree, as far as they knew, been in the habit of appointing as peers those who *deserved* to be appointed. In general, I perceived those peers of theirs were all royal men of a sort, with minds full of justice, valour, and humanity, and all kinds of qualities that men ought to have who rule over others. And then their genealogy, the kind of sons and descendants they had, this also was remarkable; for *there is a great deal more in genealogy than is generally believed at present*. I never heard tell of any clever man that came of entirely stupid people.'

He then refers to the 'family stamp' which is distinctly legible in many of our historical families, and to the vast importance of the 'hereditary principle,' contrasting the righteous fate of the foolish peer with the consistent demeanour of the pious, high-minded, grave, and dignified nobleman—the 'good and valiant man—with his kindness and pity for the poor, and his fine hospitalities.' He is, however, forced to acknowledge that, in the days of the 'Martyr King,' 'if a man was born a gentleman, and cared to lay out £10,000 judiciously up and down among the courtiers, he could be made a peer. Under Charles II. it went on still faster, and has been going on with ever increasing velocity, until we see the perfectly break-neck pace at which they are going now, so that now a peerage is a paltry kind of thing to what it was in those old times.'

The only portion of Carlyle's statement that appears to require qualification is that with regard to the period during which the practice of promoting deserving persons to the peerage prevailed. If Queen Elizabeth had the reputation of keeping the fountain of honour somewhat dry, her successor on the throne inclined to the other extreme; and in the case of the Baronets of Ulster and Nova Scotia, there is good reason to believe that King James authorised the constitution of the order nominally with a view to colonisation, but really that he might raise money, in an easy way, by the sale of hereditary titles.

When a certain nobleman came to Henry VIII. with a complaint against the great Dutch painter of the day, the King replied, 'I can make a lord out of a ploughman, but out of *ten* lords I cannot make a Holbein';¹ and about ten years ago, in one of his amusing speeches on the Egyptian question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson said: 'Nobody objected to Lords Alcester and Wolseley having been made peers. Men were made peers for various reasons—for political services, or because they had brewed a great deal of beer—in which case the way to the Peerage was up from the *Beerage*²—or because it was not known what else to do with them.'

Still more recently (1st Sept. 1893), Mr. Robert Wallace, M.P. for the Eastern Division of Edinburgh, in the debate on the Home Rule Bill, came down upon the Government which he usually supports by describing its inconsistency in connection with the matter of honours. 'It was a pretty Government,' he

¹ 'Nascitur generosus, fit nobilis.'

² 'Heraldry served at that time (beginning of sixteenth century) for nobler and perhaps more practical, certainly for far less burlesque uses, than to flatter the pride of some worthy brewer at the end of a prosperous career. It was instinct with meaning. It was all that was most worthy and glorious in the family history, indelibly recorded and perpetuated in stone. It was a book, a glance at which revealed at once a man's genealogy and a whole labyrinthine list of remote connections. A man regarded his shield with a noble and justifiable pride, for every emblem in it commemorated some gallant deed of his forefathers, and recalled to him his own responsibility in keeping their heroic fame

untarnished. Whenever a marriage took place, the new quarterings were at once added. The coat of arms which hung over the sombre gateway of the house of Alonso Sanchez de Cepeda in Avila was the compendium of the history of his family. The three bucklers on a gold field were the arms of the Sanchez. . . . The lion had been granted to the Cepedas for daring deeds in the battle-field, and the eight St. Andrew crosses, which surrounded it, eternally kept green the memory of that cross seen by San Fernando and his victorious host, gleaming in the sky above them, as they swept triumphantly through the horse-shoe gate of the Moorish citadel into the conquered town of Baeza.'—Mrs. Cunningham Graham's *Santa Teresa*, i. 78.

said, 'and a pretty party to attack the House of Lords, and a pretty Bill to attack it upon—a democratic Government, but a Duke-worshipping Government, that spent a considerable part of its time and energy in distributing hereditary honours, with a special leaning to wealth over worth; a democratic party whose most iconoclastic members were tumbling over each other for baronetcies, in the sole hope that knighthood took the hindmost.'¹ In the same spirit, a recent able writer in the *Quarterly Review*, informs us that 'in England, a simple country gentleman can still look down in calm disdain, from the heights of immemorial *noblesse*, on the scramble for the newest of Peerage dignities, or for those Baronetcies which are fast becoming the peculiar perquisite of the *nouveau riche*.'² So thinks Mr. Millbank in *Coningsby*, 'who never heard of a peer with an ancient lineage. The real old families of this country,' he adds, 'are to be found among the peasantry; the gentry, too, may lay some claim to old blood.'

Upwards of fifty years ago (1836), in a letter to Mr. John Wilson Croker, Lord Aberdeen refers to the fact of one of England's greatest statesmen having been decidedly in favour of enlarging the narrow borders of the House of Lords; and in these days of revolutionary proposals, the desirability of such a course is probably greater than ever. 'You are aware,' he writes, 'that Mr. Pitt has been reproached for having been too prodigal of peerages, and Lord Carrington's has often been referred to especially, as introducing into the House of Lords a new description of person. I never heard Mr. Pitt speak on this subject himself, but I have heard the late Lord Melville say that Mr. Pitt always defended the creation on principle, and that he

¹ The *superiority* of knighthood is sarcastically explained in Mr. Frederick Locker's amusing *Patchwork*. 'A man had a title conferred upon him. A cynical friend congratulated him on the honour. "A knighthood, eh?" "No," says he, with dignity, "a baronetcy." "I'm sorry for you," said his friend. "Why so?" replied the baronet. "Oh, because if you had been made a knight, you know at any rate the *infamy* would have died with you!"'

A humorous baronet, in the course of a

recent discussion in the House of Commons on the bestowal of titles and honours, defined his own order as a class 'who were not noblemen, and who had ceased to be gentlemen.'

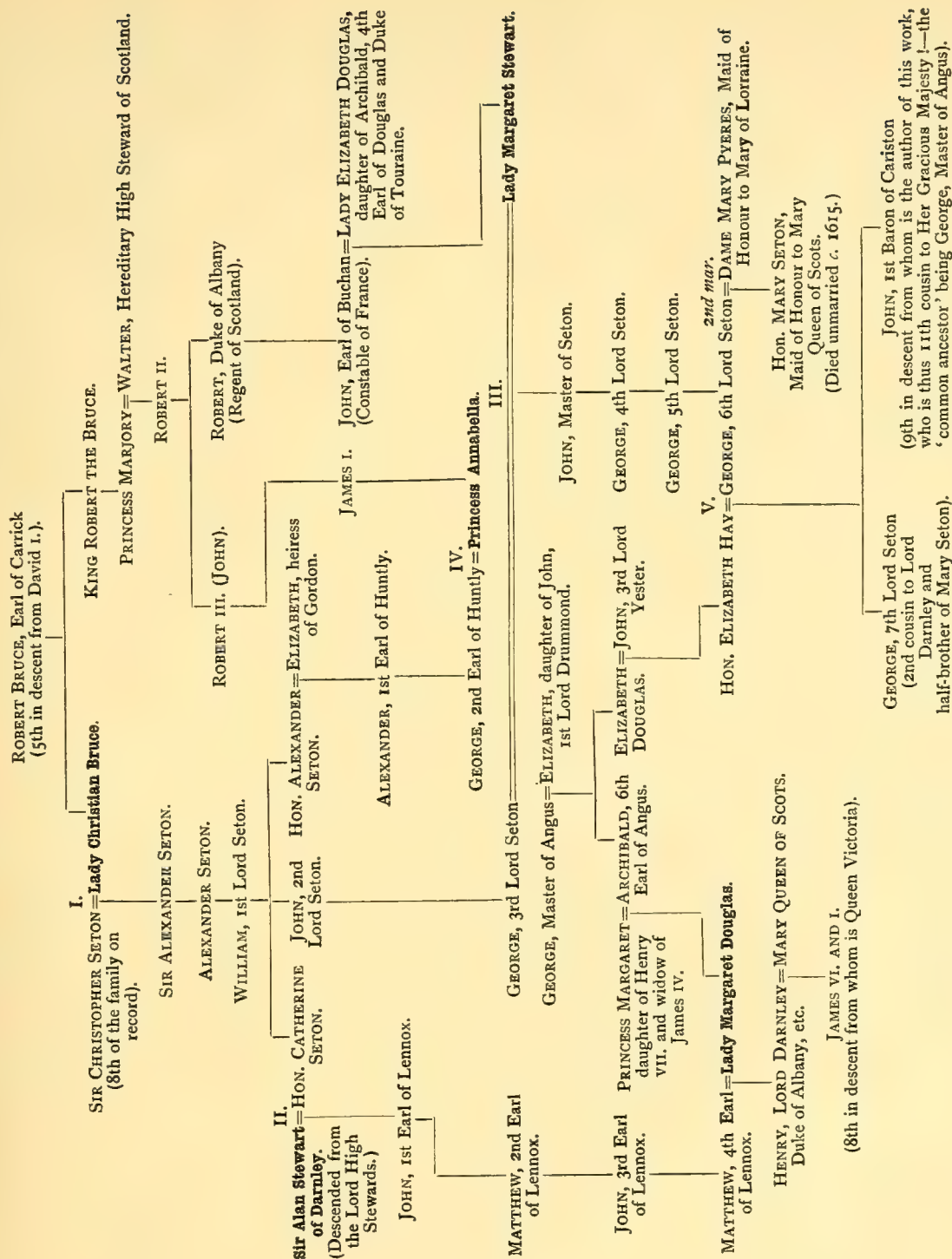
² At the foundation of the Order of Baronets in 1611, the royal instructions to the special commissioners commanded them to 'proceed with none, except it shall appear to you on good proof . . . that they are at the least descended from a grandfather (by the father's side) that bore arms.'

maintained the time was come when, for the sake of the House of Lords itself, it was desirable that it should not be closed against commercial eminence, any more than other well-founded pretensions.’¹

In his admirable *Life of Pitt*, Lord Rosebery refers to the same subject. ‘Pitt,’ he says, ‘did, indeed, ennoble with unsparing hands. During the first five years of his ministry he bestowed forty-eight peerages; in two subsequent years he created and promoted thirty-five; and when he resigned in 1801, he had created or promoted a hundred and forty. He nearly, in fact, doubled the peerage as it stood at the accession of George III. This profusion had the strange result that the Reform Bill of 1831 was, it is said, rejected by Mr. Pitt’s peerages against those of older creation.’ Lord Rosebery gives three reasons for this ‘excessive bounty,’ to wit: (1) the economic measure of reform, passed in 1782, which had crippled the patronage of ministers; (2) Pitt’s desire to recruit the House by large additions from the old landed gentry, and the commercial, banking aristocracy; and (3) the destruction of the Whig oligarchy. The main reason, however, in the opinion of Lord Rosebery, was Pitt’s disdain of the aristocracy. ‘His sympathies, his views, his policy were all with those middle classes which then represented the idea of the people. By a strange accident he became the leader of the nobility; but they supported him on their necks, for his foot was there. They were the puppets through which he conducted the administration of the country; but he scorned them, and snubbed them, and flooded their blue blood with a plentiful adulteration of an inferior element. . . . Pitt and the aristocracy had not an idea or a sentiment in common; his attitude to them resembled the earlier relations of the late Lord Beaconsfield to the magnates of the party. He was willing to give a peerage to any decent possessor of ten thousand a year; as for his baronets, their name was legion, and his knights were as the sand of the sea. But he had no sympathy with their sympathies, and regarded their aspirations with a sort of puzzled scorn.’

¹ *Croker Papers*, ii. 302.

THE ROYAL ALLIANCES OF THE HOUSE OF SETON.



I shall afterwards refer to the royal tressure which has figured on the Seton shield since the days of Robert Bruce, not merely on account of royal alliance, but also for valour on the field of battle. The chief royal alliances of the family—five in number—will be found in the preceding tabular pedigree. Of these (1) the earliest was the marriage of Sir Christopher Seton of that ilk to Lady Christian Bruce, sister of the hero of Bannockburn. (2) Four generations later, Catherine, eldest daughter of William, first Lord Seton, was the wife of Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley, descended from the Lord High Stewards of Scotland, and the direct ancestor of Henry, Lord Darnley, the second husband of Queen Mary, and the father of King James VI. (3) George, third Lord Seton, married Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of John, Earl of Buchan, Constable of France, son of Robert, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, and grandson of Robert II.; and ever after that union, the main line of the family quartered the three garbs of Buchan with the paternal coat of Seton. (4) George, second Earl of Huntly (paternally Seton), great-grandson of William, first Lord Seton, married the Princess Annabella, daughter of James I., 'the poet-King.' (5) Lastly, the father-in-law of George, sixth Lord Seton, viz. John, third Lord Yester, married Elizabeth Douglas (daughter of George, Master of Angus), whose brother Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, was the husband of Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England, and widow of James IV. of Scotland.

Independently of their royal alliances, the family of Seton have been connected by marriage with most of the best families in the northern kingdom. In the *main line*, we find unions with the Dunbars Earls of March (on four different occasions), the Barclays, the Cumins, the Giffords Lords Yester, the Cheynes of Straloch, the Sinclairs of Hermandston, the Murrays of Tullibardine, the Lindsays Lords of Byres, the Campbells Earls of Argyll, the Hepburns Earls of Bothwell, the Hays Lords Yester, the Hamiltons of Sanquhar, the Montgomeries Earls of Eglinton, the Maitlands Earls of Lauderdale, the Hays Earls of Erroll, the Maxwells Lords Herries, the Gordons Marquises of Huntly, and the Hepburns of Alderston.

In like manner, the *daughters* of the House of Seton have formed honourable alliances with the Kennedys Earls of Cassilis, the Ogilvys of Lintrathen, the Lyles Lords Lyle, the Haldanes of Gleneagles, the Hamiltons of Preston, the Leslie of Rothes, the Keiths Earls Marischal (twice), the Stewarts of Darnley, the Halyburtons Lords Halyburton, the Congaltons of that ilk, the Douglasses of Corehead, the Borthwicks Lords Borthwick, the Montgomeries Earls of Eglinton, the Earls of Menteith, the Sutherlands Earls of Sutherland, the Logans of Restalrig, the Ogilvys of Dunlugas, the Somervilles Lords Somerville, the Hamiltons Earls of Abercorn, the Drummonds Earls of Perth, the Stewarts Earls of Bothwell, the Semples Lords Semple, the Stewarts Earls of Traquair, and the Dalrymple Earls of Carnwath.

The *Cadets* have intermarried (*Parbroath*) with the Ramsays of Parbroath, the Pitcairns of that ilk, the Murrays of Tullibardine, the Lords Lindsay of Byres, the Balfours of Burleigh, the Leslie Earls of Rothes, the Grays Lords Gray, the Scrymgeours Viscounts Dudhope, the Setons of Cariston, the Synnots of Ballymoyer, Baronets, the Cayleys of Brompton, Baronets, and the Curzons of Waterperry; (*Touch and Abercorn*) with the Keiths Lords Keith, the Hays of Tullibody, the Erskines Earls of Mar, the Homes Lords Home, the Chisholms of Cromlix, the Cranstons of that ilk, the Edmonstons of Ednam, the Homes of Wedderburn, the Cornwalls of Bonhard, the Maules of Glaster, the Dundases of Dundas, the Stewarts of Grandtully, the Crichtons Earls of Dumfries, the Stirlings of Keir, the Murrays of Priestfield, the Wemysses of Bogie, Baronets, the Hays of Drumelzier, the Blunts of Heathfield, Baronets, the Ripleys of Acacia, Baronets, the Patersons of Bannockburn, Baronets, the Steuarts of Allanton, Baronets, the Macdonalds of Staffa, the Rosses of Balnagowan, Baronets, the Montgomerys of Stanhope, and the Clerks of Penicuik, Baronets; (*Preston*) with the Barons of Preston, the Baillies of Polkemmet, Baronets, the Campbells of Dunmore, and the Græmes of Garvock; (*Huntly*) with the Gordons of that ilk, the Keiths Earls Marischal, the Crichtons Lords Crichton, the Dunbars Earls of Moray, the Stewarts Earls of Athole, the Grays Lords Gray, the Hamiltons Dukes of

Chattelherault, the Stewarts Dukes of Lennox, the Campbells Earls of Argyll, the Grants of Freuchie, the Howards Dukes of Norfolk, the Mordaunts Earls of Peterborough, the Gordons Earls of Aberdeen, the Maxwells of Monreith, Baronets, the Brodies of Arnhall, the Lyons Earls of Strathmore, the Lockharts of Carnwath, the Stewarts Earls of Galloway, the Douglasses Earls of Morton, the Coninghams Marquises of Coningham, and the Cunliffe-Brookses, Baronets; (*Meldrum, Pitmedden, and Mounie*) with the Sutherlands of Duffus, the Leslie of Wardes, the Gordons of Haddo, the Leiths of Barnis, the Gordons of Lesmoir, the Irvines of Drum, the Lords Abernethy of Saltoun, the Inneses of Leuchars, the Erskines of Pittodrie, the Frasers of Stainywood, the Stewarts Earls of Athole, the Crichtons Viscounts Frendraught, the Urquharts of Craigfintry, the Rollands of Aberdeen, the Ogilvys of Dunlugas, the Johnstones of Elphinstone, Baronets, the Lauders of Bass, the Burnetts of Leys, Baronets, the Lumsdens of Cushney, the Gibsons of Pentland, Baronets, the Skene-Ogilvys, the Leslie of Warthill, the Andersons of Cobenshaw, the Wedderburns of Ballindean, Baronets, the Lauders of Fountainhall, Baronets, the Dicks of Grange, the Wakes of Courteen Hall, Baronets, and the Turners of Deysbrook; (*Embo*) with the Sutherlands Lords Duffus, the Westfields, the Camerons, the Stewarts of Clunie, the Gore-Brownes, the Barnewalls of Crickstoun Castle, and the Scotts of Dunninald, Baronets; (*Sutherland*) with the Sutherlands Earls of Sutherland, the Sinclairs Earls of Caithness, the Gordons Earls of Huntly, the Elphinstones Lords Elphinstone, the Drummonds Earls of Perth, the Frasers Lords Lovat, the Charterises Earls of Wemyss, the Cochranes Lords Cochrane, the Maxwells of Preston, the Setons Lords Seton, the Inneses of Innes, the Barclays of Ury, the Forbeses Lords Forbes, the Scots of Scotstarvet, the Mackays of Farr, the Rosses of Balnagowan, the Macdonnells Earls of Antrim, the Crichtons Viscounts Frendraught, the Arbuthnotts Viscounts Arbuthnott, the Maitlands Earls of Lauderdale, the Fergussons of Kilkerran, Baronets, the Colquhouns of Luss, Baronets, the Sinclairs of Ulbster, Baronets, and the Leveson-Gowers Dukes of Suther-

land ; (*Letterfourie*) with the Farquhars, the Dunbars of Hempriggs, Baronets, the Scots of Scotstarvet, the Maxwells of Calderwood, Baronets, and the Glendonwyns of that ilk ; (*Tytler*) with the Leslie of Iden, the Erskines of Alva, the Frasers of Balnain, the Liddells Lords Ravensworth, the Kellie-MacCallums of Braco, the Selwyns of Selwyn Court, the Carmichaels of East-end, the Skenes of Rubislaw, and the Scott-Kerrs of Chatto ; (*Cariston*) with the Balfours of Cariston, the Counts de Bourbon, the Aytons of that ilk, the Kynynmonds of Kynynmond and Craighall, the Watsons of Athernie, the Setons of Olivestob, the Lindsays of Pitscandly, the Archibalds of Blackhall, the Clerks of Penicuik, Baronets, the Lindsays of Woolmerston (now Earls of Lindsay), the Boswells of Balmuto, the Laws of Brunton, the Lindsays of Kirkforthar, the Cockes of Trekersby, the Addingtons Viscounts Sidmouth, the Hunters of Seaside, the Buchanan-Hamiltons of Leny and Bardowie, the Hunters of Thurston, and the Logan-Homes of Broomhouse and Edrom ; (*Barns and Kyllismuir*) with the Forbeses Lords Forbes, the Stirlings of Glorat, the Sutties of Balgone, the Morays of Abercairney, and the Coventrys Earls of Coventry ; (*Dunfermline*) with the Drummonds Lords Drummond, the Erskines Earls of Kellie, the Maitlands Earls of Lauderdale, the Mackenzies Earls of Seaforth, the Leslie Earls of Rothes, the Hays Earls of Tweeddale, the Douglasses Earls of Morton, the Flemings Earls of Wigton, and the Gordons Marquises of Huntly ; (*Eglinton*) with the Livingstones Earls of Linlithgow, the Scotts Lords of Buccleuch, the Hamiltons Marquises of Hamilton, the Leslie Earls of Rothes, the Crichtons Earls of Dumfries, the Cochranes Earls of Dundonald, the Gordons Earls of Aberdeen, the Lindsays Earls of Crawford, the Twysdens of Roydon Hall, Baronets, the Hamiltons of Bourtreehill, the Capels Earls of Essex, the Worseleys Earls of Yarborough, the Cuninghames of Craigends, the Macqueens of Braxfield, the Brooks Lords Rendlesham, and the Alexanders of Ballochmyle, Baronets ; (*Olivestob and St. Germaines*) with the Drummonds of Corskelpy, the Setons of Cariston, the Keiths of Aforsk, the Grays of Skibo, the Menzieses of Coulterallers, the Kellies of Newtoun, the Hamiltons of Preston,

and the Ramsays of Idington ; (*Kingston*) with the Fletchers of Salton, the Douglasses Lords Mordington, the Douglasses of Whittinghame, the Hays of Drumelzier, the Hamiltons Lords Belhaven, the Douglasses Earls of Angus, and the Lindsays Earls of Balcarres ; and (*Garleton and Windygoul*) with the Homes of Renton, the Wauchopes of Niddry, the Neales of Plassy, Baronets, the Newtons of Irnham, and the Hugheses of Berryhall.

The families with which the Setons appear to have most frequently intermarried are the Dunbars, the Lindsays, the Hays, and the Maitlands, as shown in the annexed Tables. In the first of these Tables I have introduced a few particulars relative to the great family of Dunbar, Lords of the Marches, whose full pedigree will be found in Surtees' *History of Durham*. George, tenth Earl, who married Christian Seton, figures very prominently in English and Scottish history. While his second daughter, Lady Janet, married John, second Lord Seton, his eldest daughter, Lady Elizabeth, was *betrothed* to David, Duke of Rothesay, who, however, married Marjory, daughter of Archibald, third Earl of Douglas, and was starved to death at Falkland in 1401. Dissatisfied with the Duke's preference, Dunbar offered his allegiance to Henry iv., who gave him lands in England, in return for which he did good service in helping to defeat the Scots at Homildon, and in crushing the Percys at Shrewsbury. In 1409, Dunbar made peace with the Regent Albany and returned to Scotland. He inherited the Isle of Man and the Lordship of Annandale from his mother, and probably erected the three shields of arms at Dunbar Castle, to be afterwards referred to.

The most frequent intermarriages were with the illustrious House of Lindsay, whose history has been admirably elucidated by the late Earl of Crawford in his *Lives of the Lindsays*. Five of these ten marriages occur in the Cariston branch of the family. In the case of the Hays it will be observed that five of the marriages were with the Tweeddale line, and one with the House of Errol. The Maitland unions are chiefly interesting from the circumstance of the first having produced Sir Richard Maitland, the earliest historian of the Seton family.

I. DUNBAR. (4 INTERMARRIAGES.)

WALDEVE, 4th Earl of Dunbar (5th of the family on record). Son of Gospatrick of Dunbar, Earl of Lothian, and great-grandson of Gospatrick, Earl of Northumberland.

PATRICK, 5th Earl of Dunbar = ADA, illegit. d. of King William the Lion. I. LADY ALICE (or HELEN) DUNBAR = PHILIP DE SETON (3rd of the family on record).

PATRICK, 6th Earl of Dunbar = EUPHEMIA, d. of Walter, High Steward of Scotland.

PATRICK, 7th Earl of Dunbar = CHRISTIAN, only d. of Robert Bruce, the 'Competitor.'

PATRICK, 8th Earl of Dunbar = LADY MARJORY COMYN,¹ d. of Alexander, Earl of Buchan. II. LADY AGNES DUNBAR = CHRISTALL (or ALEXANDER) SETON (4th in descent from Philip).

PATRICK, 9th Earl of Dunbar = LADY AGNES RANDOLPH ('Black Agnes'), d. of Thomas, Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland. ALEXANDER SETON.

JOHN MAITLAND² = LADY ELIZABETH DUNBAR. III. GEORGE, 10th Earl of Dunbar = HON. CHRISTIAN SETON. WILLIAM, 1st Lord Seton.

GEORGE, 11th Earl of Dunbar and March. LADY ELIZABETH DUNBAR, LADY JANET DUNBAR. IV. JOHN, 2nd Lord Seton.

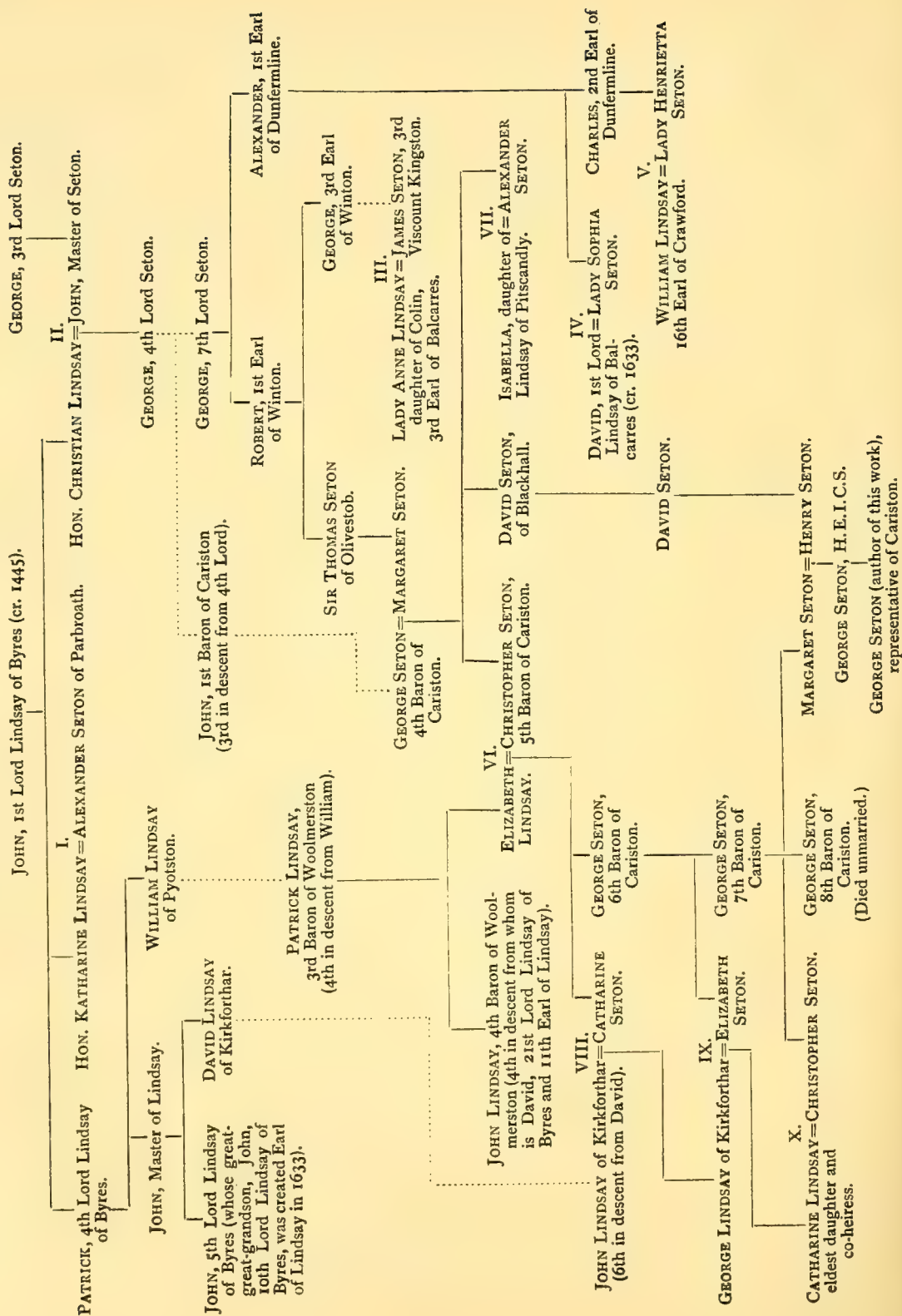
PATRICK DUNBAR, son and heir, retired with his father to England.

¹ In a quaint letter to King Henry iv., the tenth Earl writes as follows: 'Excellent prince, syn that I clayme to be of kyn till yhow, and it peraventure nocht known on yhour parte, I schew it to your Lordship be this my letre, that gif Dame Alice the Beaumont was yhour grande dame, Dame Marjory Comyn, hir full sister, was my grande dame on the tother syde, sa that I am bot of the fierde (fourth) degre of kyn till yhow, the quhill in ald tyme was called neir.' The same powerful Earl had a Pursuivant called 'Shrewsbury,' given to him, it is supposed, for his valuable assistance in the victory gained there over Hotspur and his adherents.

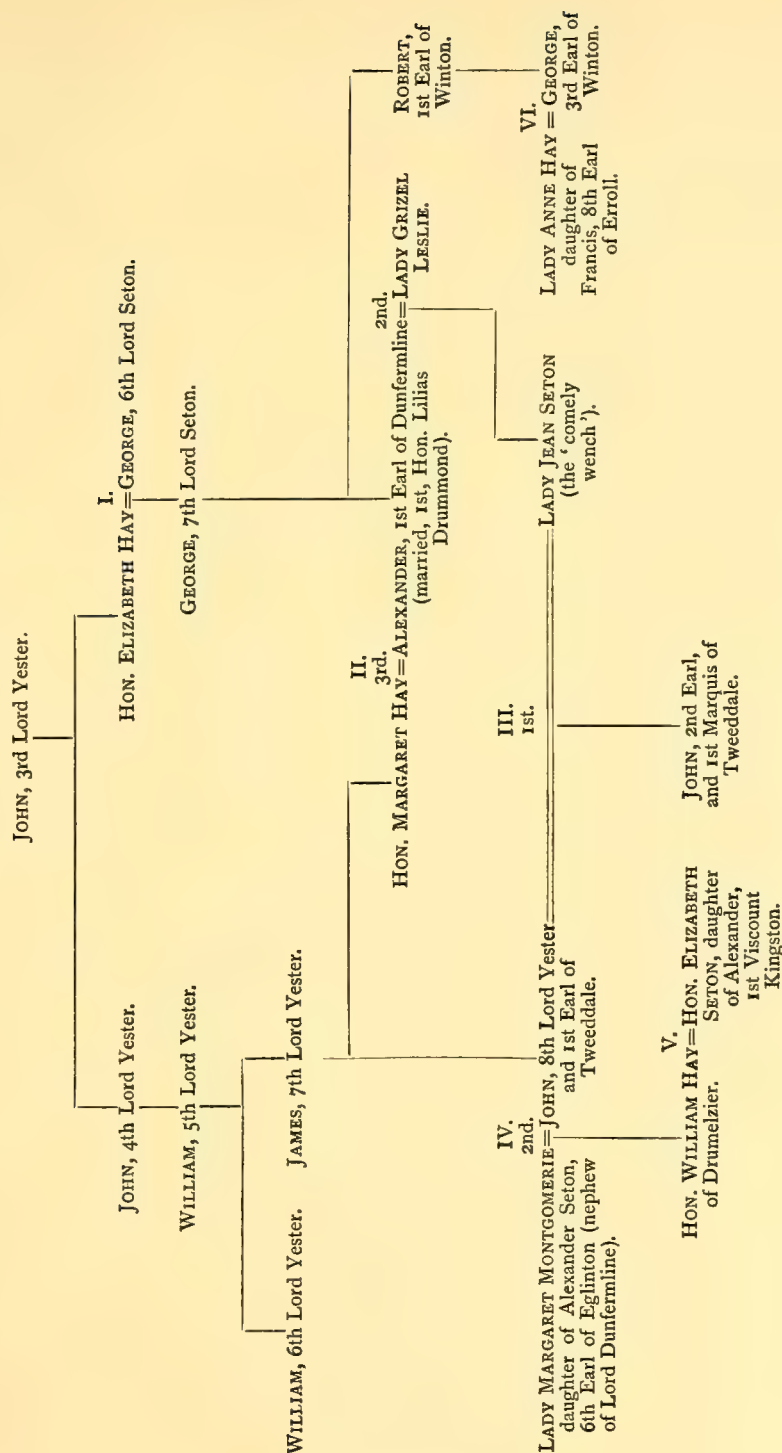
² When John, second Earl of Lauderdale was created a Duke, he chose for his second title that of Marquis of *March*, to indicate his descent from the Dunbar family.

³ The Earldom of March was conferred by James iii. on his brother Alexander, Duke of Albany, on whose forfeiture it was annexed to the Crown in 1487. It was afterwards conferred on Robert Stewart, grand-uncle of James vi., under a special arrangement; and on his death, without lawful issue, in 1586, it again reverted to the Crown. Lord William Douglas, second son of William, first Duke of Queensberry, was created Earl of March in 1697, and on the death, without issue, of his grandson, William, third Earl of March and fourth Duke of Queensberry, in 1810, the title of March, according to Douglas (*Peerage*, i. 173) is supposed to have become extinct. Under the title of Wenys, however, the same author (*ibid.* 627) says that Francis sixth Earl of Wenys succeeded to the Earldom.

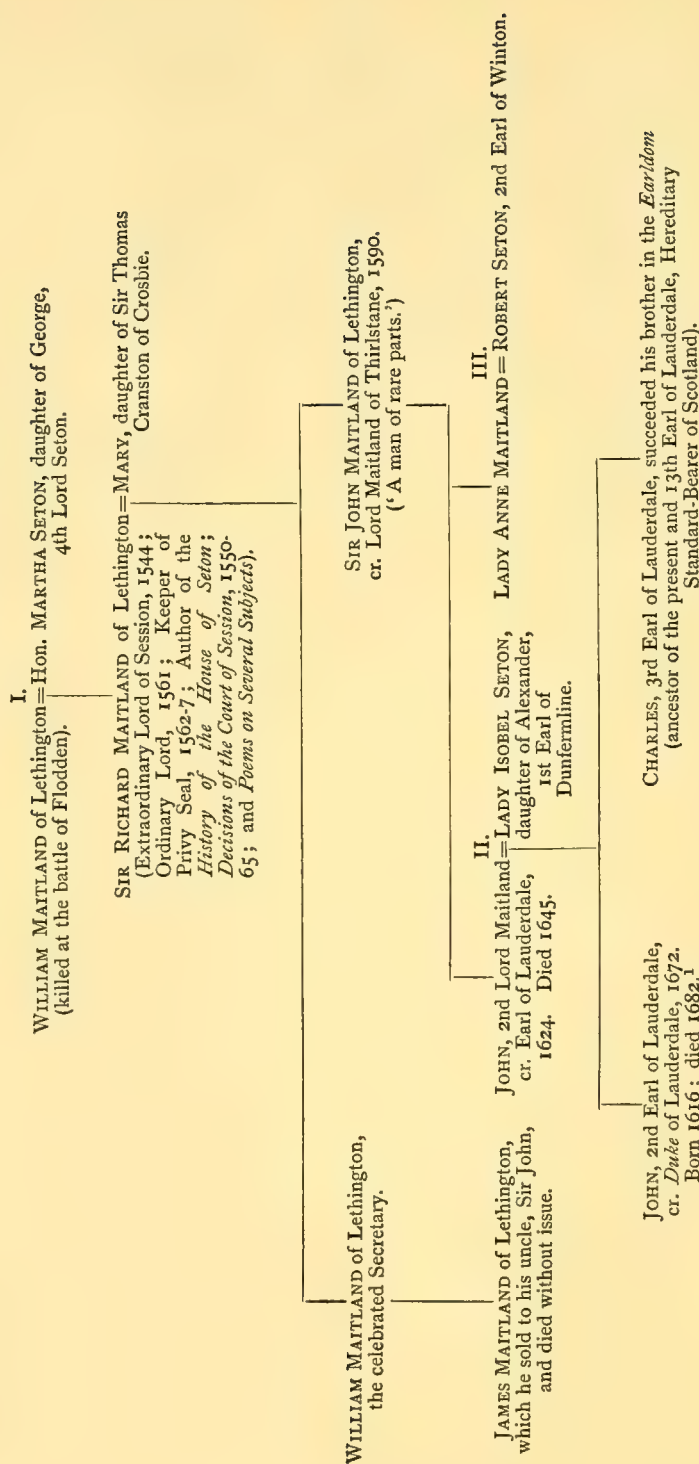
II. LINDSAY. (10 INTERMARRIAGES.)



III. HAY. (6 INTERMARRIAGES.)



IV. MAITLAND. (3 INTERMARRIAGES.)



¹ The following note occurs at page 89 of a folio ms. in the British Museum (17,537) entitled *Arms of Scottish Nobility and Gentry*, 1680, opposite the blazon of the bearings of ‘ Lord Thirlstane, since Earle of Lauderdale and now Duke’.—‘ Lord Thirlstane the old title—since Earle of Lauderdale and now Duke in the person only of John late Earle of Lauderdale ; who

for 20 years together (since the restitution of King Charles II.) was Secretary of State for the Kingdom of Scotland, and absolute minister for the affaires of that kingdom ; but has now, verily lately, because of his indisposition, left off employment, and to him, as Secretary, has succeeded the Earle of Moray.’

The learned author of the *Diplomata Scotiæ* describes the Setons as 'clarissima autem haec atque ob generis splendorem vetustatemque vix ulli Scoticarum secunda gens'; and Dr. Taylor, in his recent work, *The Great Historic Families of Scotland*, states that 'the Setons are among the most ancient and illustrious of the great houses of Scotland, and are proverbially said to have the *reddest*¹ blood in the kingdom. In consequence of a remarkable number of other families of the

¹ Spanish heralds are said to have adopted a *threefold* classification of blood, as we do in the case of ribbons and admirals. 'Blood, simple blood, according to their views, is the muddy puddle which paints the vulgar cheek of the base-born plebeian. Red blood is the generous fluid which glows in the veins of the hidalgo; while blood, *par excellence*, blue blood, the "sangre azul," "sangre su," like the white blood of the green-tea nobility of China, is that aristocratic ichor which lurks beneath the pallid countenance of a quadrupled grandee. . . . The thin fluid is never enriched with the calipash of the alderman, nor the decayed genealogical stock renewed by a golden draft from banker or loan contractor.'—*Quarterly Review*, lxii. 111, quoted in the author's *Scottish Heraldry*, p. 394. The best Scottish families do not appear to have yet reached the *blue* tint.

'Hidalgo' means the 'son of somebody,' as opposed to 'son of a Goth.' The Spaniard who prides himself on the purity of his blood calls himself 'uno viego Christiano' (a Christian of an old Christian line), thus indicating that no Jew or Moor is to be found among his ancestors.

The De Veres and the Fitzgeralds are usually regarded by genealogists as the most illustrious families in England and Ireland respectively, and the same position may probably be assigned in Scotland to the Douglasses, who used to say: 'You may see us in the stem, you cannot discover us in the root; you may see us in the stream, you cannot trace us in the fountain.'

Mr. Shirley, in his *Noble- and Gentle-Men of England*, considers that, during the Middle Ages, the House of Ferrers was the most powerful family in South Britain. 'Present at the Battle of Hastings, Magnates in Domesday Book, Earls in 1138, Magnates again in the

great return of 1166, their pedigree, for the Norman period, defies all rivalry.' The historic House of Grey could also boast of a 'long and superb pedigree,' while old Fuller describes the Scropes of Danby and a few other families as 'of stupendous antiquity.' In later times the Percys and the Howards have been regarded as very important Houses; but it has been said of the Berkeleys that they may at one time have looked down upon the Howards.

As has been well remarked, 'The comparative lack of early evidence in Scotland makes it difficult, if not impossible, to trace families so far back as in England.' Still we can boast of twenty-six Earls of Crawford, while our Irish neighbours are not far behind with their twenty-five Earls of Kildare.

With regard to the pedigrees of 'gallant little Wales,' I shall only quote a short passage from one of Mr. Hayward's *Selected Essays*—a review of Sir Bernard Burke's *Vicissitudes of Families*: 'The exorbitant pretensions of the Welsh to ancient birth are ill sustained by proofs; and the lack of written records, or even of plausible traditions, has frequently compelled their genealogists to resort to mere fable when they try to carry a pedigree back beyond the sixteenth century.'

In France, the Montmorencys are generally cited as the most ancient and illustrious house in Europe, but, doubtless, their claims would be challenged by the De Lévis, who considered themselves to be the oldest family in Christendom, and whose château contained two pictures, one of the Deluge, in which Noah is represented going into the ark, carrying under his arm a small trunk, on which was inscribed 'Papiers de la Maison de Lévis'; the other a portrait of the founder of the house, bowing reverently to the Virgin, who is made to say, 'Couvrez-vous, mon cousin'! (See Scott's *Journal*, ii. 265.)

highest rank having sprung from their main stock, the heads of the House are styled "Magnae Nobilitatis Domini." . . . They were conspicuous throughout their whole history for their loyalty and firm attachment to the Stewart dynasty, in whose cause they perilled and lost their titles and extensive estates.'

Mr. Riddell, in his *Scottish Peerage Law* (i. 49, *note*), says: 'The House of Seton or Winton, on account of its great connections and ramifications, besides the antiquity of its descent,¹ would seem now to be the noblest in Scotland. They were a fine specimen, in many respects, of a high baronial family, from the magnificence and state they maintained at their "Palace of Seton,"—expressly so called in royal grants under the sign-manual, and identified with the memory of Queen Mary—their consistency, loyalty, and superior advancement to their countrymen in the arts and civilised habits of society.' In his interesting *Memoir of Lady Anna Mackenzie*, Lord Crawford thus alludes to that honourable distinction, when speaking of the beneficial influence of Chancellor Seton's character upon his numerous relatives and connections: 'The family of the Setons had been peculiarly noted, even in purely feudal times, for the more graceful and liberalising tendencies of their age, and their impress, through Lord Dunfermline, was, if I mistake not, strongly marked on the whole family group of Lindsays, Mackenzies, Maitlands, Drummonds, and others. Among these, David, Lord Balcarres, Dunfermline's son-in-law (Lady Anna Mackenzie's "good-father," or father-in-law), was remarkable for his literary and scientific tastes, and his well-stored and curious library. John, Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Balcarres' most intimate friend,

¹ Mere antiquity of descent is, of course, not much to boast of. In alluding to the pretension of Trèves to be the oldest town in Europe, the Duke of Somerset remarks: 'I feel inclined to say of Trèves, as of some men who are proud only of their family (*i.e.* of its *antiquity*): "Well, you have been a long time in the world, and little good have you done in it, the more shame for you!"'—*Letters and Memoirs of Edward*,

Twelfth Duke of Somerset, 1893.

Such families as the Cornish Trevelyans and the Irvines of Drum afford remarkable examples of ancient descent, without emerging from the rank of squires or lairds. In the case of the Irvines, a peerage is said to have been offered to the family by Charles II., which was declined in consequence of the many political and other disasters which they had suffered.

was, in many respects, of similar character; and his successor, the Duke of Lauderdale, was one of the principal book-collectors of his time. The instinct of such pursuits, the inherent love of knowledge and graceful accomplishment, may have descended both to Balcarres and Lauderdale from their fathers, Secretary Lindsay and Chancellor Maitland; but in either case, through the early loss of the parents, the development and direction of the youthful genius of the sons was due, if I mistake not, to the Seyton father-in-law.'

After referring to the marriage of Sir Alexander Seton, younger son of William, first Lord Seton, to Elizabeth Gordon, heiress of Gordon and Huntly, Mr. Riddell (i. 274, *note*) says: 'The subsequent stock of Gordon and Huntly, elevated so much higher in the Peerage, are Setons in the *male* line (a surname they came to exchange for Gordon), but of a younger branch, the lawful male primogeniture being now incontrovertibly in Sir Henry-John Seton (now represented by Sir Bruce-Maxwell Seton). His remote ancestor, Sir Alexander Seton, eldest son of Alexander, first Earl of Huntly, and second Lord Gordon, was excluded from the earldom and estates by an unjustifiable transaction well vouched. The Duchess-Countess of Sutherland, deceased, was likewise, by male descent, a Seton, and a cadet again of the junior, higher, noble stock; while the Earl of Eglinton—who has so remarkably revived the noble and chivalrous recreations of his ancestors—as heir-male of the ancient and illustrious House of Seton and Winton, to whose honours he is entitled, owing to their being saved by a specialty from the forfeiture in 1715, is chief of all the preceding.' Mr. Riddell elsewhere states (ii. 595, *note*) that 'the Setons, even after the Gordon alliance, retained their own surname, though they in course of time sunk it in Gordon, but still quartered, as at present, the Seton arms. All the Gordon *honours*, including the Ducal, were alone acquired by the *Seton Gordons*.'

From a very early period, the Seton family appears to have been distinguished for unshaken *loyalty* to the Throne, which led to the adoption, by the first Earl of Winton, of an additional motto in his armorial achievement—'*Intaminatis fulget honor-*

ibus.'¹ 'The reputation of devoted loyalty to their Sovereign descended as a traditional inheritance; for with them nothing was dearer or nearer than their piety to God, and their faith to their prince. Among them have been many who were ready to sacrifice life, and all that men value most highly in this world, in defence of their country and the public good.'² Of these, probably the most remarkable were Sir Christopher Seton, brother-in-law of King Robert the Bruce, Sir Alexander Seton, the brave Governor of Berwick, George, seventh Lord Seton, the devoted adherent of Mary Stuart, Alexander, first Viscount Kingston, the gallant defender of Tantallon, and George, fifth Earl of Winton, whose life and estates were forfeited in the cause of the Stewarts. The principles on which they all seem to have acted are thus set forth by the worthy knight of Lethington:

'Attour all things ay to thy Prince be true
In thocht and deed, in word, and wark, and sicht;
Fra tressonabil company eschew;
Thy Prince honour, and proffeit at thy nicht.'

Macky, in his *Journey through Scotland* (1723), after alluding to the antiquity and nobility of the Setons and their invariable leaning to the 'Popish side,' refers to the circumstance of Shakespeare introducing a 'Seyton' into his tragedy of *Macbeth*; 'but that,' he adds, 'I take to be no authority.' Had the great dramatist been aware of the unswerving loyalty of the family, he would never have represented one of its members as the friend and ally of an unprincipled usurper.

In his Continuation of Sir Richard Maitland's *History of the House of Seton*, Lord Kingston remarks that the family charter-chest contains no *Remission*, which is probably more than can be asserted of any other Scottish family of note. When referring to the 'extraordinary loyalty' of the fourth Earl of Winton and his predecessors, Nisbet (MS. Adv. Lib.) speaks of

¹ The English family of Granville appears to have been long distinguished by the same honourable characteristic. In the words of a Cornish proverb, 'A Trelawney never wanted courage, nor a Godolphin wit, nor a Granville *loyalty*.'

² 'Historical Account of the Deliverance of the Queen of Scotland from Captivity,' a Latin MS. at the Vatican, translated in Nau's *History of Mary Stewart*, Appendix III. p. 157.

'none of them from the first Dougall to this day having been guilty of rebellion or treason,' which remark, however, is qualified in a quaint note by Robert Mylne, to the following effect: 'Excepting to K. James y^e 3d that George (5th) Lord Seton was one of y^e rebells against him; and *for which he fell at Flowden* with King James y^e 4th, his son.'

Mr. Hannay, in his interesting notice of the House of Douglas, refers to the phrase 'doughty Douglas' as being not a mere unmeaning alliteration, but as admirably expressive of the pluck and manhood of the line which produced so many distinguished heroes. The rivalry which at one time appears to have existed between the Setons and the Douglasses was happily forgotten at the critical period of Queen Mary's escape from Lochleven Castle; and on that occasion, *both* families displayed the loyal devotion which did not always characterise the Douglas race. 'A certain halo of romance,' says an *Edinburgh* reviewer, 'surrounds the name of Douglas. Legends of chivalrous enterprise were long associated with the memory of the "good Sir James," and Otterburn is even yet a word to charm with. Hence the lasting popularity of that House, in spite of ambition, unruliness, and cruelty. They would have been very differently regarded had their countrymen known what we now know. Their frequent rebellions made little against them; but no memories of the past could have won forgiveness for their repeated alliances with the English King. Such treason, in the words of Hill Burton, was "consistent with the policy of the House."'¹ Another striking contrast to the faithfulness of the seventh Lord Seton is presented in the person of the fourth Lord Herries of Terregles, of whom Throgmorton thus writes to Cecil: 'The Lord Herryes ys the connyng horseleache and the wysest of the wholle faction, bot as the Quene of Scotland sayeth of hym, there ys no bodey can be sure of hym.'

The military ardour of the Setons is indicated in their ancient war-cry of 'Set on!' and in the earliest motto on their arms, 'Hazard zet forward'; and it would be an easy task to

¹ *Edinburgh Review* for July 1867, p. 254.

compile a very respectable list of members of the family who have distinguished themselves in important campaigns, both at home and abroad.

Both the war-cry and the name of the patron saint of the family (St. Benedict) are mentioned in Sir Walter Scott's *Abbot*. In the skirmish in the Canongate between the Setons and the Leslie—admirably portrayed by Cattermole—after appealing to Adam Woodcock, the falconer, to take part with the Seyton, Roland Græme 'sprung from his horse, drew his short sword, and shouting like the rest, "A Seyton! A Seyton! Set on! Set on!" thrust forward into the throng.' Again, in answer to an insolent observation by Jasper Dryfesdale, the steward of Lochleven Castle, the impetuous Henry Seyton, exclaims, 'By Saint Bennet of Seyton, I will strike thee on the face, thou foul-mouthed old railing heretic!' and on another occasion, when the Abbot was recounting the names of the formidable leaders opposed to the Queen's party, he triumphantly replies, 'We shall have all these traitors of rank and name in a fair field before us. Our cause is the best, our numbers are the strongest, our hearts and limbs match theirs—"Saint Bennet, and Set on!"'

In a subsequent page I shall endeavour to describe the architectural and heraldic achievements of the family, as mainly exhibited in the venerable church of Seton, and the magnificent structures of Seton Palace, Winton House, Fyvie Castle, and Pinkie; in illustration of the statements by Lord Crawford and Mr. Riddell relative to the high culture of the Setons, and the important position which they held in promoting the arts and other liberalising tendencies of progress and civilisation.

I shall also devote a few pages to the hereditary stature of the family, of which notices occur as early as the fifteenth century, while numerous remarkable examples can be adduced in the case of existing members.

Besides the physical characteristic of height, the Setons appear to have exhibited another attribute of a *mental* nature. In his *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, my former friend Dr. Robert Chambers has a chapter on the characteristics of Scottish families,

in which he describes the Setons as 'tall and *proud*';¹ and I have elsewhere seen them referred to as the 'saucy Setons.' The latter epithet, however, is usually associated with an important Border clan, to wit the 'saucy Scotts'—the alliteration being equally manifest.

One of the earliest illustrations of the pride of the Setons turns up in connection with Mary Seton's contemplated marriage to Andrew Beton, Master of the Royal Household, to be afterwards referred to. Again, her half-brother, George, seventh Lord Seton, the faithful adherent of Queen Mary, thought proper, in the spirit of the French De Coucis, to decline the higher grade of an earldom which his grateful Sovereign had placed at his disposal, proudly preferring to hold the honourable position of Premier Baron. The attribute in question is more than once referred to in the *Abbot*. 'Beware, my son,' says Father Ambrose to Roland Græme, 'this Catherine Seyton is the daughter of one of Scotland's proudest, as well as most worthy barons; and thy state may not suffer thee, as yet, to aspire so high.' Again, in the course of a picturesque episode at Niddry Castle, after the escape from Lochleven, in which Magdalen Græme tells the Scottish Queen that her page is descended from the House of Avenel, Henry Seyton—who ventured to challenge the assertion—thus haughtily replies to a conciliatory statement of Roland Græme: 'I warn thee once more that you make no speech which may infer that the daughter of Lord Seyton can be aught to thee beyond what she is to every churl's blood in Scotland!' Finally, after Catherine's warning that there is a 'gulf' between her and the love-sick page which he may not pass, from the circumstance of his lineage being practically unknown, the ardent Roland thus touchingly pleads: 'Love, my beautiful Catherine, despises genealogies.' 'Love may,' the damsel replies, 'but so will not the Lord Seyton!'

I have elsewhere² stated that, as a general rule, the names of places are older than the names of persons; and where a

¹ 'The Cedar proud and tall.'—Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, i. i. 8.

² *House of Moncrieff*, p. 9.

family and an estate happen to bear the same appellation, it may be pretty safely inferred that the place gave the name to the owner, and not the owner to the place. The Scottish mode of expression in such cases is not 'Seton of Seton,' but 'Seton of that ilk.' In the case of the Setons, however, there seems to be no doubt that the place derived its name from the owner, influenced, perhaps, by the sentiment contained in the words of the Psalmist (xlix. 11): 'Their inward thought is that their houses shall continue for ever, and their dwelling-places to all generations; *they call their lands after their own names.*' 'During the reign of David I.,' says Chalmers, 'Seiher (or Seyer) de Say, who emigrated from England, obtained from the Scottish King some lands in East Lothian, where he settled, and to which the emigrant gave the name of *Say-tun*. Seiher was succeeded by his son Alexander, who flourished under Malcolm IV. and enjoyed Saeton (Seton) and Winton in Haddington, and Winchburgh in West Lothian.'

Not satisfied with the Norman origin of the Setons, Lord Kingston, in his 'Continuation' of Sir Richard Maitland's Family Chronicle, deduces their descent from the *Gens Sitonum* of Germany. In his 'Epistle Dedicatorie,' after mentioning Sir Richard Maitland's derivation of the name of Seton from 'Sey' and 'ton,' he says: 'My opinion is that the surname of Seton came with some of that name out of the east parts of Germany; my reason to be so perswaded is out of that famous noble historian Cornelius Tacitus. In his book *De Moribus Germanorum*, descrying the qualities of the people of the confynes and limits of the east country of Germany, he says: "*Jam dextro Suevici maris litore Aestiorum gentes adluuntur: quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum; lingua Britannicæ propior. Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. Cetera similes, uno differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant.*"' This is followed by an eloquent appeal in favour of female sovereigns, which thus concludes: 'In our moderne times, att home, we have our heroick Queen Mary; the

¹ *Caledonia*, iii. 432.

two wise Queens, Mary and Elizabeth of England; so that either in the most ancient or moderne times, there has been brave Queens to command nations as souveraignes ever was.' In our own days, we have not far to go for a brilliant illustration of Lord Kingston's chivalrous opinion—an illustration, indeed, which eclipses all the instances that he cites. The Viscount further says: 'As for that nation called by Tacitus "*gentes Sitonum*," it is no less consentaneous to reasone: they, lying on the sea coast of East Germany, might have come from thence and inhabited this place of Lothian now called Seton, lying on the Forth; more, as the Picks and Muravians, both people of the inland of Germany, did take and possess great lands in this kingdome: the Picks, the best halfe of Scotland; the Muravians, Murray-land, to which countrey the people gave the name, and to the clan, yet extant and flourishing in this kingdome.'

Had the gallant Viscount been familiar with Egyptian history, he might have ventured to find a very early ancestor for the family in the person of *Sethon*, the priest-king of Vulcan (or Ptah), who was enabled, by divine aid, to resist the Assyrian host under the command of Sennacherib!

The well-known armorial bearings of the family of Say—quarterly *or* and *gules*—embrace the same tinctures as those in the Seton coat, which was originally *or*, three crescents *gules*. Nisbet (i. 231) somewhat fancifully says that 'the ancient and honourable family of Seton may be said to have assumed *crescents* for armorial figures upon the account that their ancient territories and lands, in East Lothian, are formed, by the river Forth, into three great bays, like three half-moons'; but it is much more probable that, being the symbols of Mussulmans, these charges were adopted by the family, as by other Christian conquerors, to commemorate some victory over the Turks or Saracens.

Ivy has long been regarded as the *Badge*¹ of both the Setons and the Gordons; and in the case of the former family, it is certainly an appropriate representation of their characteristic

¹ See the author's *Scottish Heraldry*, chap. v. sect. 2, for a notice of *heraldic* badges, which,

in Scotland, have generally been the family crest.

loyalty, if we regard the Sovereign as the Oak. A *Tartan* is assigned to the Setons in Sobieski Stuart's *Vestiarium Scoticum*, but I have always been somewhat sceptical on the subject. As a rule, Tartans—which, by the way, are not very ancient—are confined to Highland clans, although, doubtless, they have been used by a few Lowland families.

As in the case of other Scottish surnames, the orthography has varied considerably, although not to the same remarkable extent as the names of Lindsay, Stirling, and Montgomerie.¹ The following spellings occur in documents and elsewhere: Seton, Setone, Setton, Settone, Seyton, Seytoun, Seytoun, Sethun, Sethune, Seaton, Seatoun, Seatoune, Saeton, Ceton.

For several centuries, the letter *y* seems to have held a place in the name, under the varied forms already specified; but latterly the most frequent spelling has been *Seton* or *Seaton*—the former being now adopted by all the principal branches of the family.

The strength of the clan, estimated by the number of persons bearing the surname, is not very formidable; but when we take into account the numerous scions of the family, already referred to, whose ancestors assumed other surnames—including the Gordons, the Sutherlands, the Montgomeries, and the Tytlers—a very respectable total is the result.

Before the middle of the fifteenth century, the most common male Christian names in the Seton family appear to have been *Christopher* and *Alexander*, both of which occur pretty frequently even after that date. After the union between John, second Lord Seton, and Lady Janet Dunbar, daughter of George, tenth Earl of March,—one of the most powerful nobles of his time,—the name of *George* seems to have been introduced into the family of Seton; and has ever since been of very frequent occurrence in the main line, as well as in the Huntly and Cariston branches, as shown in the annexed Table. It will be observed that the fifth and last Duke of Gordon and the fifth and last Earl of Winton

¹ These three surnames have respectively presented themselves in no fewer than 88, 64, and 44 different forms.—See *Lives of the Lindsays*,

i. 413; *The Stirlings of Keir*, p. 548; and the *Memorials of the Montgomeries*, ii. 366.

were respectively *ninth* and *tenth* Georges, nearly in lineal succession; while the only son of the present representative of the Setons of Cariston—the author of this work—is similarly the *fifteenth* George.¹ The most frequent female Christian names appear to have been *Mary*,² *Margaret*, *Catherine*, and *Jean*; Elizabeth, Elspeth, and Isobel occasionally occurring.

After Haddington (or East Lothian), the counties in which the surname has most frequently prevailed are Linlithgow (or West Lothian), Stirling, Fife, and Aberdeen, in all of which, as well as in the North of England, the family at one time held extensive possessions. The principal territorial estates of the Setons were: Seton, Tranent, Winton, Garleton, Windygoul, Barns, Kingston, Whittinghame, Northrig, Fawside, St. Germain's, Greendykes, Olivestob, and Foulstruther in the county of Haddington; Gogar and Pinkie in Midlothian; Winchburgh, Niddry, Uphall, Abercorn, and Preston in Linlithgowshire; Halsington in Berwickshire; Touch and Gargunnock in Stirlingshire; Parbroath, Lathrisk, Cariston, and Rameldrie in Fife; Pluscardine and Urquhart in Morayshire; and Meldrum, Fyvie, Pitmedden, and Mounie in the county of Aberdeen.

But times are altered! Vast changes have occurred during the past two hundred years in the social position of the family of Seton, which may be well described in the words of Louis Stevenson, in one of his many popular books, as 'an ancient, honest, respectable House, peradventure in these latter days decayed.' The main line of the family terminated in 1749, by the death, at Rome, of the forfeited Earl of Winton, whose wide domains in East and West Lothian are now in the hands of the stranger. A similar fate befell the honours of Dunfermline and Kingston, as well as the extensive estates of these distinguished cadets. The early line of Parbroath is only commemorated by a ruinous arch and a dove-cot, in the northern portion of the

¹ The eldest son of the late Alexander Forbes Irvine of Drum (who predeceased his father), was the *nineteenth* Alexander. There seems, however, to have been a break in the *direct* succession in 1735.

² 'Every Spanish woman is christened "Mary," and to this there is some addition by which they are generally known—as "Maria de los Dolores," the mother of sorrows.'—H. Crabb Robinson's *Diary*, i. 281.

'Kingdom' of Fife. The last fragment of the lands which, for upwards of two and a half centuries, pertained to the Barons of Cariston passed away at the close of last century. The territories of the Baronets of Abercorn and Pitmedden have all been alienated. In the case of the branches of Barns, Kyllismuir, Olivestob, St. Germaines, Garleton, and Windygoul, not a single acre remains in the possession of a representative, while two baronetcies have ceased to exist.¹ Huntly, Touch, Preston, Mounie, Sutherland, and Eglinton still happily retain their honours, and considerable portions of their ancient domains; and the name of Seton continues to be a cherished tradition. The recollection of the past can never be obliterated. Adapting the touching language of the accomplished Eugénie de Guérin, 'My imagination flies far and wide. I have made the circuit of the Lothians; I have rested enraptured on the mountains of Moray and Aberdeen. I seek Seton and Winton, whence we Setons came, whence so many knights set forth to fight in the Holy Land and elsewhere. I make a tour of the lands and domains of our forefathers. I see all they saw except the masters—now poor wretches either at home or abroad, hard up for a livelihood. But we have seen kings schoolmasters. Reverses are of all times, in all families; and the caprices of fortune are not the worst of calamities when one knows how to bear them.'

As I shall afterwards show, the surname of Seton frequently turns up on the continent of Europe—especially in France, Spain, Italy, and Sweden,—as well as in various parts of America.

Besides the notices of the Setons in Douglas' 'Peerage' and 'Baronage' of Scotland, in Nisbet's various works on Heraldry, and in Sir Richard Maitland's quaint chronicle of the House, with a continuation by the first Viscount Kingston, there are several manuscript accounts of the family by Mylne, Nisbet, and others in the Advocates' Library; while the Eglinton and Sutherland branches are recorded in Sir William Fraser's

¹ With the exception of their burial-place in the ruined aisles of the Carmelite Monastery at South Queensferry, the only territorial possession

of the ancient family of Dundas of that ilk is the little rocky islet of Inchgarvie, on which rests one of the piers of the Forth Bridge.

Memorials of the Montgomeries, and his *Sutherland Book*, and the Dunfermline line in my own *Memoir of Chancellor Seton*.

Like the *Memorie of the Somervilles*, Sir Richard Maitland's *Chronicle of the Setons* is very curious and interesting, as might be expected when we bear in mind the character of the author. On a certain occasion the worthy knight told Queen Mary 'that she must see her laws kept, or else she would get no obedience.' 'This,' says Chalmers, 'was well said, but it was said in vain to a female sovereign during a revolutionary age.'¹ Sir Richard Maitland served the State upwards of seventy years, and died in 1586, at the age of ninety, when he had become blind. 'Knox accuses him of taking a bribe from Cardinal Beton to obtain his liberty. But the oath of so prejudiced an accuser as Knox ought to weigh nothing against the worth of old Sir Richard. He left a poem of sound advice to his eldest son, William, the well-known Secretary of Mary Stuart. Happy! had such a son followed the example and precepts of such a sire.'²

In a subsequent page, I shall say a few words about the 'Continuator' of Sir Richard's *History of the Setons*, to wit, the first Viscount Kingston. As is well known, the editor of one of the two printed versions of the family chronicle was the late Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe of Hoddam, 'the Horace Walpole of Scotland,' and the friend of Sir Walter Scott, whose curious correspondence has recently been given to the world by his accomplished nephew, the Rev. W. K. R. Bedford, Vicar of Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire. In a letter to his honoured chief, the Duke of Buccleuch, dated 14th December 1816, the author of *Waverley* thus briefly describes the Laird of Hoddam: 'I know no man so deep in old genealogy and antiquated scandal'³—and he was, doubtless, the possessor of a vast amount of old-world lore. I have already referred to Sir Walter's own taste for pedigree; and Dr. Robert Chambers used to tell me that for nearly all his information relative to Scottish families he was indebted to the 'Wizard of the North.'

¹ *Caledonia*, iv. 481.

² *Ibid.* iii. 482.

³ Scott's *Familiar Letters*, i. 382.

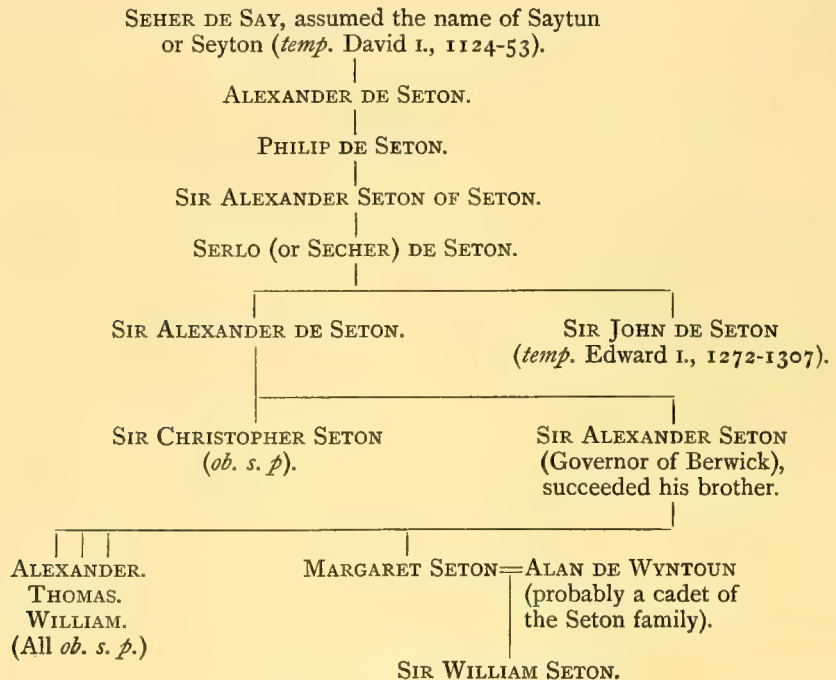
MAIN LINE OF THE FAMILY



LIKE that of many other historical families, the pedigree of the earlier generations of the Setons is involved in some obscurity. In the *Genealogie of y^e House and Surname of Setoun*, by Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, 'dochtoris sonn of the said Hous,' the descent is deduced from Dougall Setoun, 'son or oy (grandson) to him y^t receauit first y^e surname,' and who lived in the reign of Alexander I., son of Malcolm Canmore (1107-24). The line of succession, as given by Sir Richard, makes William, first Lord Seton, *tenth* in descent from Dougall's grandson Philip, as shown in the annexed list.

DOUGALL SETON.
|
SEHER SETON.
|
PHILIP SETON, *ob.* 1179.
|
ALEXANDER SETON y^e 1, *ob.* 1211.
|
BARTINE (or BERTRAND) SETON.
|
ADAME SETON.
|
CHRISTELL SETON y^e 1.
|
CHRISTELL SETON y^e 2.
|
SIR CHRISTELL (or CHRISTOPHER) SETON y^e 3, *ob.* 1306.
|
SIR ALEXANDER SETON y^e 2.
|
SIR ALEXANDER SETON y^e 3.
|
SIR ALEXANDER SETON 'fourt of yat name.'
|
WILLIAM, 1st Lord Seton.

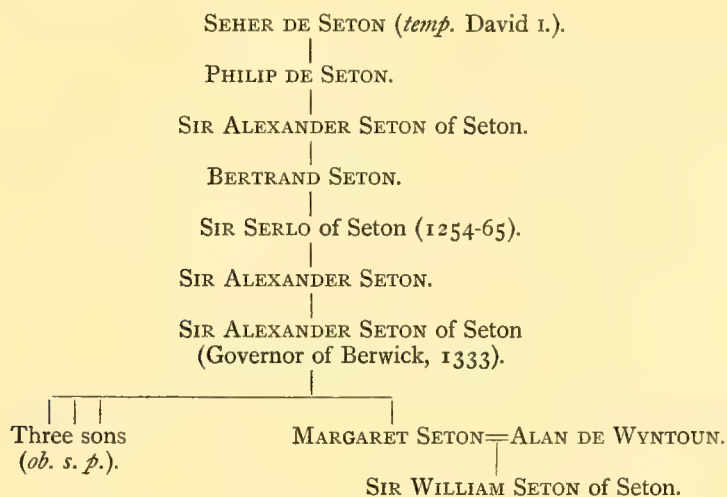
Douglas, in his *Peerage of Scotland* (2nd edition, by Wood), begins with Dougall's son, Seher (or Secher), giving the descent as follows :



According to this pedigree, William, first Lord Seton (called by Douglas Sir William Seton), was only sixth, instead of tenth, in descent from Philip, whom Douglas makes Seher's *grandson*. In lieu of Bartine, Adame, three Christells, and three Alexanders (eight generations), as given by Maitland, Douglas only specifies Serlo, two Alexanders (of whom the last is said to have been the younger brother of Sir Christopher), and Margaret (four generations). Lord Hailes, in a dissertation on the 'Genealogy of the Seton Family in the Fourteenth Century' (*Annals of Scotland*, ii. 356), comes to the conclusion that the three Alexanders, given by Maitland between Sir Christopher and William, first Lord Seton, were one and the same person, on the ground that Sir Richard's pedigree 'will not stand the test of historical criticism.'¹ Going further than Wood's *Douglas*, Sir Bernard Burke, in the recent editions of his *Peerage and Baronetage*, under the head

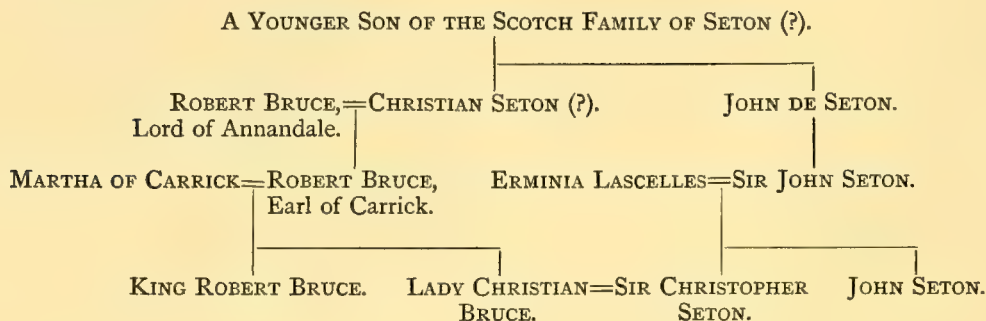
¹ See Appendix of Miscellanies.

of 'Eglinton,'—on the authority, I believe, of his late Scottish brother King-of-Arms—entirely excludes Sir Christopher (brother-in-law of Robert Bruce) from the Scotch pedigree, and asserts that he was not the son of Sir Alexander Seton, 'but of Sir John Seton of Seton, in Yorkshire, who swore fealty to Edward 1. for lands in Dumfriesshire in 1296.' In Wood's *Douglas*, the same Sir John de Seton appears as the *uncle* of Sir Christopher. Burke gives the same number of *generations* as Wood (seven) between the first Seher and Sir William (although, in a few instances, the Christian names do not correspond), and similarly carries the descent through Margaret, daughter of the Governor of Berwick, and wife of Alan de Wyntoun.



An accomplished genealogical correspondent—the Rev. A. T. Grant of Leven—who is disposed to believe, with Sir Bernard Burke, that Sir Christopher Seton was the son of Sir John, has lately informed me that he had met with some evidence which seemed to indicate that Sir Christopher and his wife were second cousins, as shown in the subjoined pedigree, which is partly prepared from notes in Mr. Riddell's copy of Douglas's *Peerage*, now in the Advocates' Library. From one of these notes (which will all be found in the Appendix of Miscellanies), it would appear that John de Seton granted certain lands in Cumberland to Robert de Brus and his wife Christian, and the lawful heirs of

their bodies; and that Christopher de Seton paid homage for the same lands in 1305.



It is to be hoped that some further documentary evidence will clear up the mystery; but meanwhile I shall adhere to the time-honoured view of the pedigree adopted by Sir Richard Maitland.

In the 'Claim' of the thirteenth Earl of Eglinton to the Earldom of Winton, in 1840, prepared, it is understood, with the aid of the late distinguished peerage lawyer, John Riddell,¹ special reference is made to a very remarkable document 'as instructing of itself every individual link of the whole claim of *male* descent even from Philip de Setune, the donee in the royal grant of William the Lion in 1169, down to George, third Earl of Winton, in 1620.' This was a decret of the Court of Session, obtained in that year, at the instance of the said Earl and his brother Robert, in an action which succeeded in establishing the propinquity of the pursuers, in the male line, through the whole course of descent from the Philip aforesaid.² From the quotations from the Decreet given in the printed Claim, it would appear that William, first Lord Seton, who lived before 1366, was *eighth* in descent from Philip, and not tenth, as in the Maitland pedigree, in accordance with the conclusion of Lord Hailes, who, as we have seen, struck out two generations.

Looking to the circumstance of Sir Richard Maitland's near relationship to the Seton family, and bearing in mind that he

¹ Pronounced by a competent judge to have been, at the time of his death in 1862, 'the first genealogical antiquary in Europe.'

² *Acts and Decrets of Council and Session in 1620*, vol. cccxxxvii. p. 353.

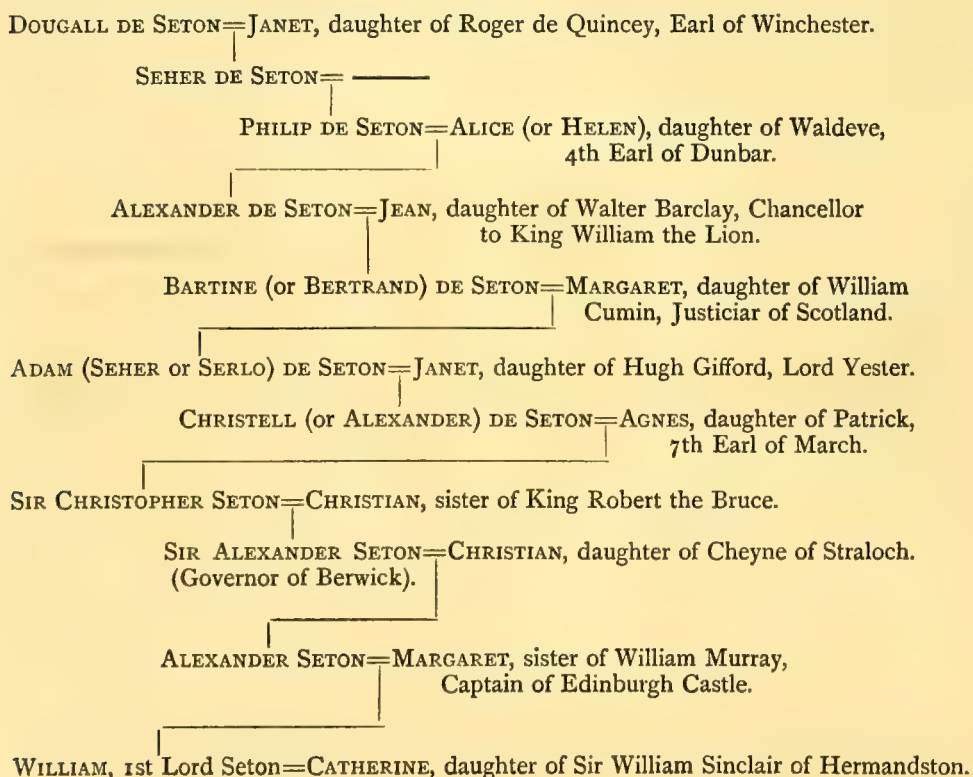
was born in 1496—only 190 years after the death of Sir Christopher Seton—it is hardly credible that, although his version of the *earlier* portion of the pedigree may be open to question, he could have been misinformed as to the fact of Sir Christopher forming a link in the descent. Again, with regard to the alleged transmission of the line through Margaret Seton, instead of through one of her brothers, it is still less credible that Sir Richard could have been in error respecting the parentage of William, first Lord Seton, between whose death and Sir Richard's birth the interval was little more than a century. At the close of his quaint 'Prolog' to the *House of Seton*, the worthy author says: 'I was requeistit be ane nobill and trew barroun, George (sixth) Lord Seytoun, the ferd of that name, to collect, gadder and set furth the historie and cronicle of his hous and surname, quhilk hes bein verray ancyeut and honorable. The caus of his requeist to me was be ressoun that I knew the evidentis and wrytingis of his hous best of ony man in thir dayis, and had ofttest sein and handlit thame: and als because I was ane dochteris sone of the said hous. . . . I sall say no thing bot I sall haue for me gude appearance, to the quhilk all resonable reidar is sall be juge, or the croniclis of this realme of Scotland, or the evidentis and wrytingis of the said hous, or be the rehers of honorabill men quha in my opinioun ar faythfull and of gude fame, or ellis the thingis that I haue sene or hard in my awin tyme.' Be it observed, therefore, that Sir Richard, besides being a daughter's son of the House of Seton:

I. Knew the 'evidents' thereof better than any other man of his day, and had most frequently seen and handled them.

II. Recorded nothing for which he had not good grounds, founding his statements on (1) the chronicles of the kingdom, or (2) the 'evidents' and writs of the family, or (3) the rehearsal of honourable and faithful men, or (4) the things which he had seen or heard in his own time. Would that all modern genealogists were equally honest and careful!

The well-known coat of augmentation—a sword supporting an imperial crown within the royal tressure—carried in their heraldic achievement, at different periods, by the main line of the

family, as well as by the Barns branch, forms a corroboration of Sir Richard's pedigree, to which, subject to Lord Hailes's excision of two generations, I am still inclined to adhere. Doubtless, many important errors have been detected in Scottish genealogies, but I am not prepared to substitute the *ipse dixit* of even a King-of-Arms for the long accepted tradition of an ancient house. Sir Richard distinctly states that Alexander, the gallant Governor of Berwick, '*sister sone to King Robert the Bruce, succedit to Gud Sr Christell, his father, and was made Knycht by King Robert,*' from whom he received several grants of land. He further says: 'This Sir Alexander Seytoun had four lauchfull sonnys: the eldest twa, callit Thomas and Williame, war hangit at Berwik, as said is; *the thryd sone, callit Alexander, succedit to his fatheris heritage.* The fourt sone, callit Johne, mariit Elizabeth Ramsay, heretrix of Parbroth.' Under all the circumstances, I am disposed to regard the following as a substantially correct list of the first eleven generations of the family:



With regard to the marriages: in the Maitland Club version of the *House of Seton*, edited by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, the wife of Dougall (the supposed father of Seher) is said to have been Janet, daughter of Roger de Quincey, Earl of Winchester and Constable of Scotland; but seeing that the said Roger flourished between 1219 and 1264—fully a century too late—the alleged alliance seems to be out of the question. Possibly Dougall's wife may have been the daughter of an ancestor of Roger. The wives of Philip, Alexander, Bartine, Adam, and Christell are all on the authority of Sir Richard Maitland, but the name of Seher's wife is nowhere specified. No doubt exists as to the consorts of Sir Christopher, Sir Alexander, the Governor of Berwick, and William, first Lord Seton; and the wife of the Governor's son is supplied in a ms. account of the Seton family, in the Advocates' Library, by Alexander Nisbet, the well-known writer on Heraldry (whose father was local agent of the Earls of Winton), from which extracts are given by Mr. Sharpe. The following additional alliances are furnished by Nisbet, and possibly they may have been either *second* wives, or the wives of the interpolated generations:



1. MAUDE, daughter of Ingraham Percie, Lord Joplef.
2. ISOBEL, sister of Duncan, Earl of Fife.
3. JEAN, daughter of Sir Thomas Halyburton of Dirleton.

A tabular statement in the Appendix of Miscellanies will show the different pedigrees of the family as given by Sir Richard Maitland, and in the two editions of Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*.

The History of the main line of the family may be conveniently treated under the three following heads :

- I. THE TEN LAIRDS OR KNIGHTS, *c.* 1100—*c.* 1360.
- II. THE SEVEN BARONS, *c.* 1361—1584.
- III. THE FIVE EARLS, 1585—1749.



I. THE TEN LAIRDS OR KNIGHTS.



F most of these early worthies very little is known. Chalmers in his *Caledonia* (i. 517), states that, in England, there were of old two considerable families named *Say*, who derived their descent from the same Norman original. A member of that ancient race, who came to Scotland—according to Sir Richard Maitland, either the father or grandfather of Dougall de Seton,—assumed Saytun or Seyton as his surname, on receiving a grant of certain lands in East Lothian.

For several centuries the spelling of the name appears to have been Seyton or Seytoun, but ultimately the modern orthography of Seton or Seaton was all but universally followed. As already stated, the first of these forms (Seton) is now adopted by all the principal branches of the family. As a heraldic confirmation of the Say descent, I may refer to the coat of that family—quarterly, *or* and *gules*—which two tinctures have always constituted the colours of the Seton escutcheon.¹

1. *Dougall de Seton.*

Sir Richard Maitland states that he was unable to discover the 'proper name' of him that first received the surname of Seton; and that the earliest Christian name that he succeeded in finding was 'ane callit Dougall,' son or oy (grandson) of the Anglo-Norman immigrant, who first assumed the surname. Dougall is said to have flourished in the time of Alexander I. (1107-24), son of King Malcolm Canmore, and to have married Janet, daughter of Roger de Quincey, Earl of Winchester, and Constable of Scotland.



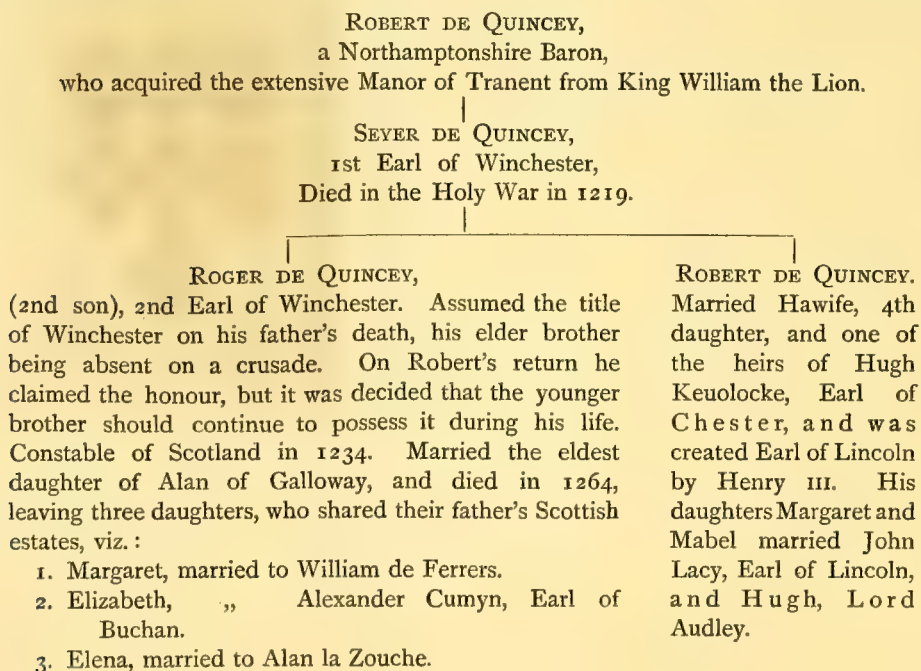
2. *Seher de Seton.*

In the Maitland Club edition of the family chronicle, besides stating that Seher lived in the time of David I. (1124-53), the author says, 'Quhom he mariet I find not certainlie, in na register of the Hous.' His Christian name was, no doubt, derived from the De Quinceys. Among copies of early charters contained in a MS. formerly in the possession of the late Professor Cosmo

¹ See Stodart's *Scottish Arms*, ii. 23.

Innes,¹ was one 'facta Sayero de Settone *filio Dugalli* per Rogerum de Quincey, Comitem Wintoniæ et Constabularium Scotiæ,' being a grant of certain payments from the mill and mill-lands of Tranent, dated at Haddington 5th August (year not specified), and witnessed, *inter alios*, by Duncan Sibbald, William Hay, and Robert Beton. 'Dugalli' is probably a mis-transcription of another Christian name, and the date of the granter would suit the period of the *later* Seher (Serlo or Adam), son of Bartine.

The following pedigree of the De Quinceys may be appropriately introduced, from the circumstance of the lands as well as the title of that important family having been subsequently held by the Setons.



¹ The Rev. Walter Macleod considers Mr. Innes's compilation a very interesting and important document. The letter 'E' in the margin of the MS. refers to a Roll of the Great Seal which is believed to have been lost; but the first Earl of Haddington made either copies or

notes of the charters which it embraced. The Roll in question is mentioned, with one or two others, in Robertson's *Index of Missing Charters*, and his references agree with those in Mr. Innes's list.

Owing to the adherence of its owners to Edward II., Tranent was forfeited, and conferred, with other lands, by Robert the Bruce, on his nephew Alexander Seton, Seher's direct descendant.¹ The de Quincey family having failed, Hugh Despenser, the elder, was created Earl of Winchester in 1321.² It is somewhat singular that, when Robert, eighth Lord Seton, was promoted to an earldom, in 1600, he should have taken the title borne by the De Quinceys — *Winton* being simply a Latinised contraction of Winchester; and I am disposed to think that the crest of the *Dragon*, latterly carried by the Setons, was also borrowed from the De Quinceys. The same crest appears on the helmet of the mailed figure, combating a lion, on the reverse of the fine seal of Roger, second Earl of Winchester, engraved in Laing's *Catalogue of Charter Seals*.³



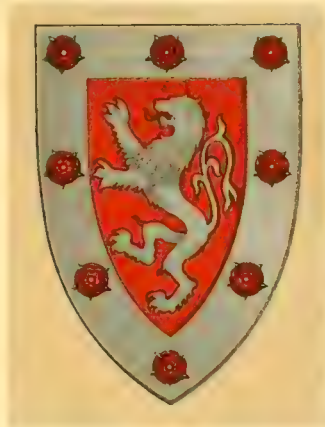
¹ Tranent, or Trev-er-nent, which subsequently became a junior title of the Earls of Winton, according to the author of *Caledonia* (iv. 523 and v. 160), signifies, in the British speech, 'the habitation or village on the ravine or vale.' *Trenant*, in the same language, signifies 'the habitation or village at the ravine or

vale'; and both forms of the name are equally descriptive of the situation of Tranent.

² Milner's *History of Winchester*, 1798.

³ No. 682. See also paper by John Gough Nichols, read before the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in September 1845.

existence, and it is now in the possession of the Earl of Eglinton.¹ Most of the lands which it conveys continued in the possession of Philip's descendants till the forfeiture of the fifth Earl of Winton, in 1716—*i.e.* close upon five and a half centuries. Philip married Alice (or Helen) daughter of Waldeve, Earl of Dunbar, and is said to have died in the fourteenth year of the reign of King William (1179), when he was succeeded by his son Alexander.

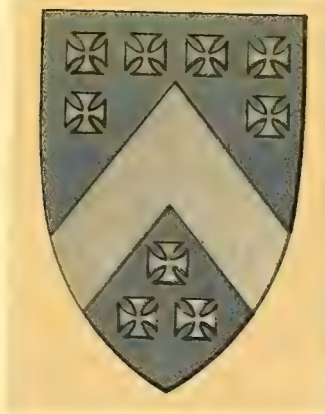


4. *Alexander de Seton.*

Alexander de Seton had a new charter from King William of the same lands 'conforme in wourd and sentence to the charter giffin to Philip his father.' He married Jean, daughter of Walter Barclay, Chancellor or Chamberlain to the King, who appears among the witnesses to the charter of 1169. Alex-

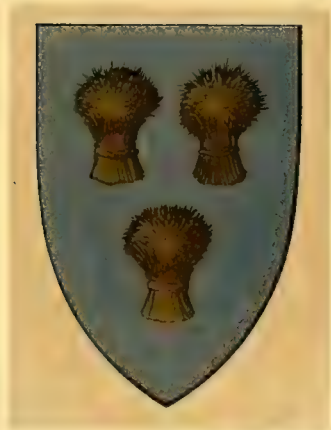


ander died in the forty-sixth year of the reign of William the Lion, *i.e.* in 1211. He is probably the



'Alexander de Settune' who appears as one of the witnesses in a charter by David I. to Walter Riddell of the lands of Lilisclive, etc., about the middle of the twelfth century. His seal is described in Laing's *Catalogue*, No. 736.

This charter will be found in the Appendix.

5. *Bartine (or Bertrand) de Seton.*

Bartine (or Bertrand) de Seton succeeded his father Alexander, and obtained a grant of the lands of Ruchelaw, in East Lothian, from Patrick (?), Earl of Dunbar, which was confirmed by King William in 1171, the deed being 'Bertranno filio Alexandri de Settone.' He married Margaret, daughter of William Cumin, Justiciar of Scotland, and died during the reign of Alexander II., son of William the Lion (1214-49).

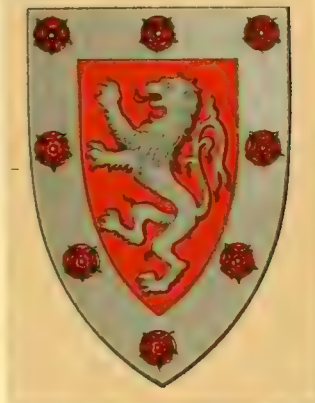
6. *Adam (Seher or Serlo) de Seton.*

Adam (Seher or Serlo) de Seton, Bartine's son and successor, is briefly described by the family chronicler as 'ane maister clerk.' He married Janet Gifford, daughter of Hugh, Lord Yester, by whom, besides his son and successor, he appears to have had a daughter Barbara, who married Sir William de Keith, ancestor of the Earls Marischal, who died before 1290.¹ Adam de Seton is said to have died in the time of Alexander III. (1249-86). There is a charter by Roger de Quincey, Earl of Winchester, already referred to, 'Adamo de Seton,' in 1246, 'de warda totius terræ quæ fuit Allani de ffausyde,' in which one of the witnesses is 'Dominus Alexander de Settone, miles.' An Alexander de Seton is a witness to a confirmation of the charter of the Burgh of Glasgow by Alexander II., dated 22nd November 1225.

¹ Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, ii. 186.

7. *Christell (or Alexander) de Seton.*

Of the first of the three Christells specified by Sir Richard Maitland, it is said that he was 'mair given to devotion nor wardliness'; and of the second that he was 'ane nobill man, and did mony gud actis againis the Inglismen, quhen the Crowne was desolat and in pley betuix the Bruce and the Balioll.' It is further said of the second Christell that when he was unable to occupy his dwelling-place in Lothian, he remained with his 'kyn and freyndis' in Jedburgh Forest, 'ay awating his tyme contrare the Inglismen.' He married Agnes, daughter of Patrick, Earl of March, and died in the time of William Wallace. A Christopher Seton is said to have been killed at the battle of Dillecarew, on the 12th of June 1298.¹

8. *Sir Christopher Seton.*

The first really historical character in the family was Sir Christopher Seton, who occupies a very prominent position in the chronicles of his time. He is said to have succeeded his father in the days of William Wallace (along with whom he fought), and to have been afterwards made a knight by Robert the Bruce. On account of his 'mony gude actis done againis the Inglismen, he was callit "Gud Sr Christell."' The three leading incidents in his comparatively brief career were his marriage to the King's



¹ Carrick's *Life of Wallace* (Constable's Miscellany), ii. 206.

sister Christian ; his gallant rescue of his sovereign on the field of Methven ; and his barbarous execution at Dumfries by Edward I. In the Dissertation on the Genealogy of the Seton family already referred to, Lord Hailes conjectures that Sir Christopher's marriage to Lady Christian Bruce, third daughter of Robert, Earl of Carrick, sister of the hero of Bannockburn, and relict of Graitney, Earl of Mar,¹ took place about the year 1301, when Sir Christopher was twenty-three years of age. In consequence of that important alliance, the family of Seton has been privileged to surround its armorial bearings with the royal tressure of Scotland. According to Sir Richard Maitland, the King gave Sir Christopher 'the dowbil tresour of flour de lycis, to be worne about his armes and the armes of his posterité, lyk as the King weris thame.' Nisbet, however, states that the tressure was first used by Sir Christopher's son and successor, Sir Alexander Seton of that ilk ; and the earliest seal on which it occurs is that of the said Sir Alexander, appended to a charter dated 1337, and described in Laing's *Supplementary Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals*, No. 891.

The battle of Methven was fought on the 19th of June 1306, or less than three months after Bruce's coronation at Scone, at which Sir Christopher Seton was present. After having ravaged Galloway, Bruce marched towards Perth (according to Fordun '*tunc bene murata*'), which formed the fortified headquarters of the English guardian, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke ;³ and in reply to a challenge to try his fortune on the open field, Pembroke said that, as the day was too far spent, he would fight

¹ Several years after the death of Sir Christopher, his widow was a prisoner in England. On the 18th of July 1314 Edward II. issued an order to the prior of Sixhill 'quod corpus Christianæ, sororis Roberti de Brus, quæ fuit uxor Christopheri de Seyton' should be delivered up to the Sheriff of Lincoln, to be brought before the King at York.—*Fœdera*, ii. 251.

Lady Christian Bruce married Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell in 1326, and died in 1357.—Fordun, ii. 360.

² Nisbet refers to the presence of the royal tressure in the escutcheon of the Setons on the

double ground of 'maternal descent and merit.' In addition to the tressure in his paternal arms, a special coat of augmentation was granted to Sir Alexander Seton, Governor of Berwick, c. 1320, viz. a sword supporting an imperial crown, within the royal tressure, 'to perpetuate to posterity the memory of his own and his progenitors' worthy actions for their king and country.—*System of Heraldry*, i. 233.

³ De Valence was third son of the half-brother of Henry III. His tomb is in Westminster Abbey.

with Bruce on the morrow. Upon this, the Scotch army encamped in the wood of Methven, and towards evening, when many of Bruce's followers were dispersed in foraging parties, the English army, which outnumbered that of Bruce by 1500 men, suddenly broke in upon the camp. Notwithstanding many efforts of individual courage, the unsuspecting Scots were soon overpowered, the King himself having been more than once unhorsed, and nearly captured by Sir Philip Mowbray,¹ whom Seton felled to the ground. Barbour, who was born shortly after the battle of Bannockburn, thus relates the critical circumstances: 'The King himself also was hard pushed by Sir Philip Mowbray, that rode up to him full hardily, and seized his reins, and then cried out, "Help, help, I have taken the new-made king." With that up rode strait and sharply Crystall of Setoun, when he saw the King in the hands of his foe, and bestowed such blows on Philip that he felt he was indeed a man of great might. He made him stagger dizzily, and he would have fallen to the ground, had he not held by the steed, when the bridle went out of his hand, and the King began to shout out his war-cry and rallied his men that were beside him.'²

In the quaint Dedication of *Satan's Invisible World*, to George, fourth Earl of Winton, the learned author—George Sinclair, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics in the University of Glasgow—describes Sir Christopher Seton as the 'faithful Achates and companion of King Robert the Bruce . . . whose love to his King was like the love of Jonathan to David.'³

¹ Mowbray was afterwards defeated by Douglas. He held Stirling Castle against Bruce; but after the battle of Bannockburn he took the Scottish side, and accompanied Edward Bruce to Ireland.

² Modernised from *The Bruce* (Book ii. v. 411 *et seq.*), the original being as follows, in the Rev. Dr. Skeat's recent version of Barbour:—

'And the King him-self alsua
Wes set in-till full hard assay,
Throw schir Philip the Mowbray,
That said till him full hardyly,
And hynt hys rengze, and syne gan cry:

"Help! help! I have the new maid King!"
With that come gyrdand, in a lyng,
Crystall off Seytoun, quhen he swa
Saw the King sesyt with his fa;
And to Philip sic rout he raucht,
That thocht he wes off mekill maucht,
He gert him galay disyly;
And baid till erd gane fullyly,
Ne war he hynt him by his sted;
Then off his hand the brydill yhed;
And the King his ensenze gan cry,
Releyt his men that war him by.'

Sir Christopher Seton is referred to by Barbour, in an earlier portion of the same work, as 'good Cristall of Setoun.'

³ See Appendix of Miscellanies.

Lord Hailes, in quoting Matthew of Westminster's statement to the effect that the King was *thrice* unhorsed and *thrice* rescued by Simon Fraser, pointedly says: 'Barbour ascribes this honour to Seton, and minutely relates the circumstances of the story. Seton's office of Esquire to the King adds probability to Barbour's story.' Following Matthew of Westminster, in his recent work on the *History and Poetry of the Scottish Border* (i. 328), the lamented Professor Veitch, when referring to the battle of Methven, besides giving the wrong date (namely, that of Bannockburn), entirely ignores Sir Christopher Seton, assigning the honour of Bruce's deliverance to Sir Simon Fraser, 'but for whose hardihood and strong personal attachment, Bruce would have been taken, and thus probably the whole course of Scottish history would have been changed.' Doubtless, a very sound inference so far as the result was concerned; but '*palmam qui meruit ferat*'—to Seton, and not to Fraser, the King's rescue was unquestionably due. Barbour mentions 'Schir *Alexander* Fraseyr' as having been taken prisoner at Methven, and he is also included by Lord Hailes among Bruce's 'chief associates'; but Sir Simon is not referred to by Barbour in connection with the encounter at Methven.

Sir Christopher Seton's two-handed sword, which is believed to have been used at Methven, has long been in the possession



of the Setons of Cariston. It is figured and described in the late Sir Daniel Wilson's *Scottish Archaeology*, and also in the beautiful volume of *Scottish National Memorials* published at Glasgow in 1890; and is an unusually fine and large specimen of the unwieldy weapon. 'It measures,' says Sir Daniel, 'forty-nine inches in the blade, five feet nine inches in entire length, and weighs seven and a half pounds. But the chief interest of this old relic arises from the well-authenticated family traditions

which associate it with its first knightly owner, from whom some of the oldest scions of the Scottish Peerage have been proud to trace their descent.'¹

After the unfortunate rout of Methven, the King and some of his principal supporters contrived to keep the field with about 500 men, and ultimately retreated into the fastnesses of Athole. Some of the best and bravest of his friends, however, fell into the hands of the enemy, while Seton took refuge in the castle of Loch Urr in Galloway.² Langtoft mentions that in the encounter at Methven, the Scots wore white surplices, or shirts, over their armour in order that those of rank might not be known; and in this manner both Bruce and Seton contrived to escape.³

¹ Two-handed swords occur upon a great many old tombstones, as at Lismore, Holyrood, etc., and seem to have been the favourite weapon of the ancient Scots. One of the most interesting examples appears upon an 'ancient obelisk' at Deadrigh in Berwickshire, under the arms of the family of Soulis (three chevrons), which is fully described by Mr. Roger Robertson of Ladykirk, in the first volume of the *Archæologia Scotica*. The sword is five feet nine inches long—exactly the same length as that of Sir Christopher Seton, to which it bears a striking resemblance. 'The delineation of this sword,' says Mr. Robertson, 'is a proof that this monument has been erected while these two-handed swords were in use, and resembles the swords represented upon the great seals of Scotland, and the seals of the great Barons; especially those from 1124 to the time of David Bruce in 1329.' Mr. Robertson conjectures that the obelisk is the monument of Sir John de Soulis, Viceroy to John Baliol. Sir William de Soulis was Governor of Berwick in 1320. Suspected and convicted of treason, he was forfeited by King Robert Bruce the same year, when Sir Alexander Seton was appointed his successor. I venture to think that the Deadrigh obelisk completely refutes the statement in the Glasgow volume of *Scottish National Memorials*, to the effect that 'the two-handed sword is not earlier than the fifteenth century, and only came into general use in the century following.'

Among other existing examples of this formidable implement are the swords of Wallace at the Stirling Monument, of Robert the Bruce at

Broomhall, and of Robert III. at Hawthornden, all, however, a few inches shorter than Sir Christopher Seton's weapon. On its blade is an interesting inlaid gold mark, a circle surmounted by a cross—typical of the globe and the Christian faith—which strikingly resembles an early paper-mark of the same date (1301), figured in Chambers's *Book of Days*, i. 532. In a letter from Sir Daniel Wilson, he expresses his concurrence in my opinion that the sword-mark thus materially helps to confirm the antiquity of the weapon. How Sir Christopher's sword came into the possession of the Setons of Cariston has always been a puzzle. As will afterwards appear, a rumour having reached Scotland of the death, on the Continent, of George, seventh Lord Seton, his only brother, John, first Baron of Cariston, calmly assumed the title, and took possession of the estates; and possibly he may then have acquired the precious weapon.

² Tytler's *History of Scotland*, i. 248.

³ In the year 1546, Blasco Nuñez Vela, the Viceroy of Peru, when fighting against Gonzalo Pizarro, near Quito (Ecuador), overcome by numbers, was struck from his horse and stunned. 'Had his person been known, he might have been taken alive; but he wore a sobre-vest of Indian cotton over his armour, which concealed the military Order of St. James and other badges of his rank. He wore this dress, that he might fare no better than a common soldier, but take his chance with the rest.'—Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, Book iv. chap. 9.

The accounts of the circumstances of Sir Christopher's capture are somewhat conflicting—four different castles being specified as his place of refuge, after his escape at Methven. According to Leland¹ he was taken prisoner in *Kildrummie*, while in Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland* it is stated that he was captured in the castle of *Lochore*, in the county of Fife—probably a mistake for Loch Urr, already mentioned. From a remission under the Great Seal communicated to Dr. Jamieson by the late Mr. Thomas Thomson, Deputy-Clerk Register, it appears that the delivery of Sir Christopher Seton to the English was imputed to Sir Gilbert de Carric; and Mr. Thomson regarded that document as establishing the fact that Sir Christopher had taken refuge in the castle of *Lochdoon*, of which Sir Gilbert de Carric was the hereditary keeper.² According to Barbour, Seton was betrayed to the English through the means of one MacNab, 'a disciple of Judas,' in whom the knight reposed entire confidence.³

Wherever the capture occurred, there is no doubt that the gallant soldier, who was a great favourite with the people, and specially obnoxious to the English King, was hurried in fetters to Dumfries, and there condemned and executed. The place of execution was the *Gallowshill*, a slight eminence on the north-east side of the town of Dumfries, at the junction of the roads from Annan and Lochmaben, which was formerly crowned by a small oratory, to be afterwards referred to, known by the name of 'Chrystal's Chapel.' 'Vulgar tradition derives the distinguishing epithet from a *coffin of pure crystal*, in which, it is alleged, the remains of some illustrious chief of the olden time were enclosed, before being deposited in the centre of the mount, under the safeguard of the saint to whom the chapel was dedicated.'⁴ Seton's alleged connection with the slaughter of Comyn does not appear to be established. There seems to have been some peculiarity about his trial and punishment. According to Matthew of Westminster, he was regarded as an Englishman, and not as a Scottish

¹ *Collections*, vol. i. part ii. p. 543.

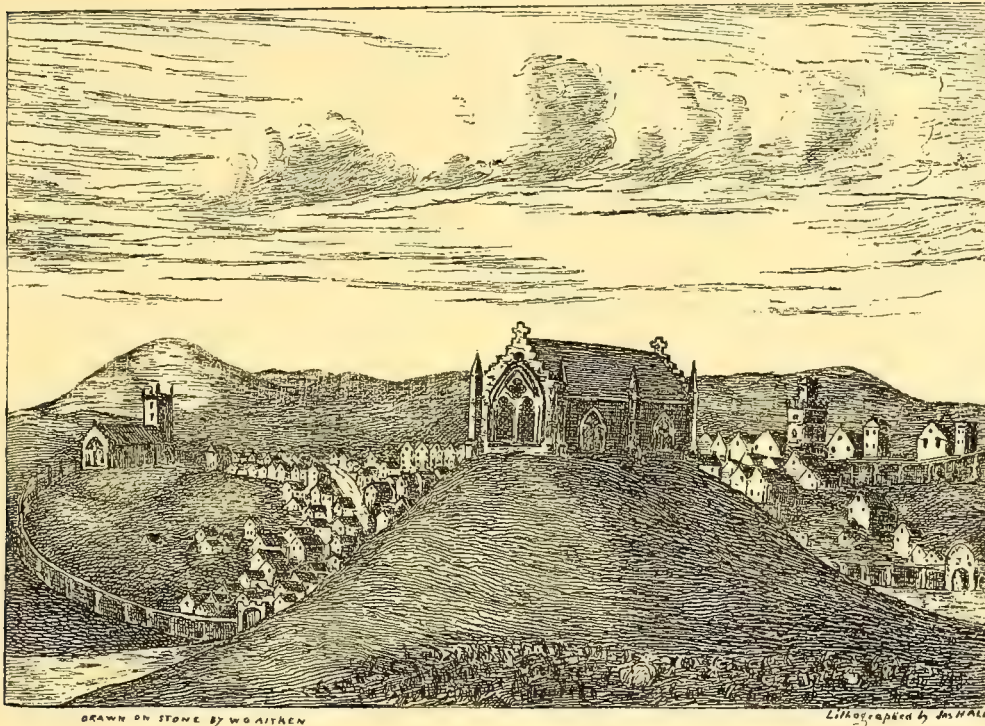
² Tytler's *History of Scotland*, i. 452. Lochdoon Castle is situated on an islet near the head of the lake. Although in an advanced

state of decay, the fine arched entrance was in good preservation about thirty years ago.

³ See Barbour's *The Bruce*, iv. 16 *et seq.*

⁴ M'Diarmid's *Picture of Dumfries*, p. 48.

subject. Besides their Scotch estates, the Seton family had extensive possessions in England at the beginning of the fourteenth century—viz., Seaton in Northumberland, now called Seaton-Delaval, and Seaton of Whitbystrand in Yorkshire. In proof of this, Dugdale, in his *Baronage of England* (ii. 736), says that the manor of Seaton of Whitbystrand, which formed a part of the estate of Christopher Seton, was given by Edward I. to



DUMFRIES

in the 16 Century from the Copy of an Old Print in the possession of Major Adam.
drawn by John Mc Cormick

Edmond Manly, on account of his valiant conduct in the Scottish wars; while his lands in Northumberland were given to Lord William Latimer.

So dear to Bruce was the memory of his faithful friend and brother-in-law,¹ that he afterwards erected, on the site of the execution, a little chapel, in honour of the Virgin Mary, where

¹ See Barbour's *The Bruce*, v. 156 et seq.

mass was to be said perpetually for Sir Christopher's soul. The relative foundation, says Sir Richard Maitland, 'I have had oft in my handis, and red it sindrie tymes. The quhilk chapell was standand haill and undecayit in the yeir of God 1552 yeiris, as I saw myself; and as I beleve standis yit in the samin maner, and is callit be all the inhabitaris in that cuntre "Christallis chapell." The charter of foundation, which is dated at Berwick in the seventeenth (?) year of the King's reign (1323), after setting forth the sovereign's love and affection for his gallant brother-in-law, provides for the erection of the sacred edifice, and the endowment of a chaplain out of the rents of the barony of Caerlaverock. Some interesting particulars of the chapel are given in M'Diarmid's *Picture of Dumfries* and in M'Dowall's later History of the same burgh. It is said to have been a beautiful little Gothic building, of oblong shape, with a richly decorated window. 'Early in the fourteenth century,' says M'Dowall, 'a wall was built round the Burgh of Dumfries, the height being generally eight feet . . . starting from the moat overlooking the Nith near the castle, it stretched almost in a straight line to *St. Christopher's Chapel*, forming an acute angle, to the townward side of that building.' The ruins of the fabric were visible in the beginning of the year 1715, but when the rising in support of the Stuarts took shape, the inhabitants of Dumfries hastily constructed a rampart, which appears to have passed close to the south-east corner of the chapel, in the form of a half-moon bastion. 'The masons threw down the east gavel of the old chappel, which was then a fine arch, and levelled the same, and the back wall, to a convenient hight for placing of firelocks thereon; the stones being drawn down to the high-way, a redoubt was built to cover the entry.'²

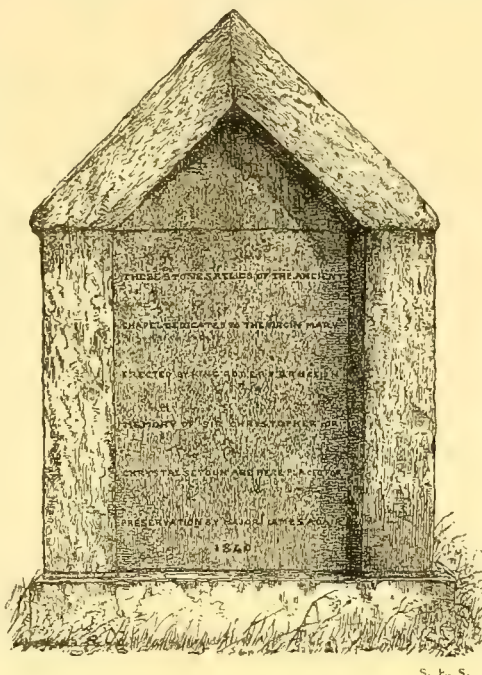
The hallowed site of the ancient chapel is now occupied by a handsome church bearing the old name of St. Mary, and erected in 1838-9. Within the adjoining burying-ground of the late Major Adair are a few old stones, said to have been taken from the east window of the chapel when the excavations were made for the new church, on which occasion several skeletons were

¹ M'Dowall's *History of Dumfries*, p. 897.
A copy of the relative charter will be found in

the Appendix.

² Rae's *History of the Rebellion*, pp. 274-5.

found, one of which was eight or ten feet deeper than any of the others. The following is the commemorative inscription: 'These stones, relics of the ancient chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, erected by King Robert Bruce in memory of Sir Christopher or Chrystal Setoun, are here placed for preservation by Major James Adair, 1840.' There is a rude lithograph of the ancient chapel and its surroundings, in the sixteenth century, said to have been executed from an old print in the possession of Major Adair, a copy of which he kindly sent to me in 1851. Major Adair's interest in the ancient fane arose from the fact of his being maternally descended from King Robert the Bruce.



There are at least two allusions to Sir Christopher Seton in Scott's *Lord of the Isles*. The first occurs towards the end of the second Canto :

'Where's Nigel Bruce? and de la Haye,
And valiant Seton—where are they?
Where Somerville, the kind and free?
And Fraser, flower of chivalry?'

In the other (Canto iv.), reference is also made to the survivors of the disaster at Methven, and other battles, rallying round their patriotic sovereign :

'Men too were there that bore the scars
Impressed in Albyn's woful wars,
At Falkirk's fierce and fatal fight,
Teyndrum's dread rout and *Methven's* flight ;
The might of Douglas there was seen,
There Lennox with his graceful mien ;
Kirkpatrick, Closeburn's dreaded knight ;
The Lindsay, fiery, fierce, and light ;
The Heir of murdered de la Haye,
And Boyd the grave, and *Seton gay*.'

In a quaint metrical *Life of Robert Bruce*, published in the early part of the eighteenth century, Sir Christopher Seton finds a place, in connection with a grandiloquent description of the surname which he bore :

‘ The noble Seton, ever dear to Fame,
A god-like Patriot, and a spotless Name ;
By factious Treason in Lochdown betrayed,
And to Augusta’s hostile towers¹ conveyed ;
For Scotia’s sake resigned his gallant Breath,
Great in his Life, and glorious in his Death.
Seton ! thou brave, thou ever loyal Name !
How the Muse warms with the exalted Theme !
Let Rome no more her famed Preservers boast,
Camillus, Curii, and the Fabian Host ;
Old Albion, in her Setons, vaunts her Odds,
A race of Heroes rising into Gods.’

‘ Posterity,’ says Lord Hailes, ‘ ought to remember the chief associates of Bruce in his arduous attempt to restore the liberties of Scotland. They were, William of Lambyrton, Bishop of St. Andrews ; Robert Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow ; the Abbot of Scone ; the four brothers of Bruce,—Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander ; his nephew, Thomas Randolph of Strathdon ; his brother-in-law, *Christopher Seton of Seton* ; Malcolm, fifth Earl of Lennox ; John of Strathbogie, tenth Earl of Athole ; Sir James Douglas ; Gilbert de la Haye of Errol, and his brother Hugh ; David Barclay of Cairns ; Alexander Fraser, brother of Simon Fraser of Oliver Castle ; Walter de Somerville of Linton and Carnwath ; David of Inchmartin ; Robert Boyd ; and Robert Fleming.’²

Barbour has well described the misery and oppression of Scotland under Edward I., and concludes his spirited lines with a passionate exclamation, which begins as follows :

‘ Ah ! fredome is a noble thing !
Fredome mayss man to haiff liking ;
Fredome all solace to man giffis :
He levys at ess that frely levys !’

¹ London.

² *Annals of Scotland*, ii. 2.

9. *Sir Alexander Seton.*

Alexander, the second of that name, 'sister sone to King Robert the Bruce,' succeeded his father Sir Christopher, and was knighted by his royal uncle, from whom he received various grants of lands, including Seton, Tranent, Falsyde, Elphinstone, and Barns, in East Lothian, and Dundas, Westercraigs, and Gogar, in the county of Edinburgh. He also had a charter from Patrick, Earl of March, of the lands of Halsyngton in Berwickshire; and, in 1337, he himself executed two 'Cartæ Donationis' in favour of the Monastery at Haddington.¹



In consideration of the services of Sir Alexander Seton, Robert I. erected his town of Seton into a free burgh, with all the liberties and privileges pertaining to any other free burgh belonging to an Earl or Baron, with this exception, that the people of Seton should not enjoy the privilege of buying wool and skins for manufacture. 'Such,' according to Chalmers, 'was the nature of a free burgh of Barony in contradistinction to a Royal burgh.' At the same period, the same monarch granted Sir Alexander permission to have a market 'on the Sabbath day.'²

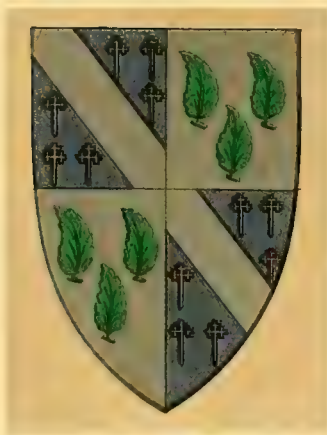
Along with Sir Neil Campbell and Sir Gilbert Hay, Sir Alexander Seton bound himself in the most solemn manner, at Cambuskenneth Abbey, on the 9th of September 1308, 'to defend

¹ Robertson's *Index of Scottish Charters*, 1309-1413. 7, 10, 11, 15. See also M'Neill's *Tranent and its Surroundings*, 1884.

² Robertson's *Index*, 27, and *Caledonia*, iii. 417.

till the last period of their lives the liberties of their country and right of Robert Bruce, their king, against all mortals, French, English, and Scots.'¹

Sir Alexander Seton was one of the Scottish patriots who, in 1320, signed the famous letter to the Pope, asserting the independency of Scotland. His seal, attached to that document (which is preserved in the General Register House), exhibits a departure from the ordinary arms of the family, the three crescents being placed *upon a bend*.² His wife was Christian, daughter of Cheyne of Straloch, in Aberdeenshire. In January 1302



he had a safe-conduct into England ; and three years later the Scottish King applied for another, with the view of his treating with the English.

Sir Alexander held the important post of Governor of Berwick during its prolonged siege by Edward III. in 1333. The garrison made several bold attacks upon the besiegers, and burnt many of the English ships. In one of these skirmishes, the Governor's son William 'followit sa fast that he was taken prisonare.'³ When the supplies began to run short, Seton asked a truce from the English King, on condition that if he did not obtain relief from the Regent before a certain day (19th of July),

¹ Collins's *Peerage*, vii. 419.

² Laing's *Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals*, No. 737.

³ Ridpath, in his *Border History of England and Scotland*, says that in the unsuccessful assault upon the English fleet at Berwick, Sir William Seton, the *bastard* son of Sir Alexander Seton, was *drowned*, by failing in a leap he made from one vessel towards another ; and in

a sally by land, one of Sir Alexander's legitimate sons was taken prisoner.' The same writer, in a note relative to the murder of the two hostages by Edward III., charitably suggests that the occurrence was 'so unworthy of the English King that it is altogether unworthy of credit.' Like his grandfather, Edward I.—the '*malleus Scotorum*'—the third Edward was not much troubled with humanitarian scruples.

he would deliver up the town; and as a pledge that he would fulfil that stipulation, he gave his eldest surviving son, Thomas, as a hostage. Finding that the garrison was likely to be relieved before the appointed day, King Edward threatened to hang the Governor's two sons unless the town was forthwith surrendered. According to one account of the transaction, the Governor was about to give way, in order to preserve the lives of his sons, when his wife, with Roman heroism, implored him to prefer his country to his children. Overcome by her entreaties, the sorrowful father declined the proposal of the besiegers, and witnessed from the ramparts the harrowing spectacle of the young men's execution. Sir Richard Maitland thinks that Boece dwells too strongly on the fortitude of the mother, and concludes his observations on the subject by saying that ‘gif he wald haue savit his sonnys, he wald nocht haue stoppit for ane woman’; and further asserts that ‘the orisone that the woman maid to hir husband was efter he come in his chalmer, and his sonnys put to execution and deid alreddy.’ In his *Scots Heroes*, the famous poet ‘Johannes Johnstonus, Aberdonensis,’ thus describes the patriotism of Sir Alexander Seton :

‘Huc averte oculos, neu tristia fata tuorum
Respice
Vincit amor Patriæ, constansque in pectore virtus,
Omnia pro patria sustinuisse valens.’

The following account of the siege of Berwick is from John Major's *History of Greater Britain* (1521), translated by Archibald Constable:¹—‘The supporters of David Bruce gave the keeping of the castle of Berwick to the Earl of the Marches, and of its town to Alexander Seton. . . . A short time after the investment of Berwick, on the day before the ides of April, the English King arrived on the spot, and made an attack upon the town both by land and by sea. But the town was manfully defended by Seton and his men, who burned the ships, and inflicted no small damage upon the besiegers; but in the storming of the ships, a son of (Lord) Seton was taken by the English. This terrible siege lasted till St. Magdalen's day without a break. In the end

¹ Scottish History Society, 1892.

the Scots made this covenant with the English: that if within a given time they were unable to succour the town, they would then make surrender to the English; and in security for this obligation (Lord) Seton placed his eldest son in their hands as a hostage. . . . Archibald Douglas, chief of the family of Douglas, and guardian of Scotland, got together an army of 60,000 men, supporters of David Bruce, meaning to make therewith invasion of England, and thus to raise the siege. But he unwisely listened to the suasion of the men within the city when they called on him rather to fight; and when he did not arrive punctually to the hour, the English leader demanded the surrender of the place, on the ground of the covenant that had been made between them. Now when the men within considered the close neighbourhood of a Scottish army, they did not surrender the town. In answer to this the enemy hanged their hostage, Thomas Seton, on a lofty gallows, within sight of both his father and his mother, thinking that his parents, and most of all his fond mother, would be moved by the death of their son and heir to surrender the town. But this brave-hearted woman preferred the safety of the town and the liberty of her country to the life of her son; and to her husband, while her son was ascending the gallows, she spoke these words: We are young—we have other children—let us patiently bear the death of one.'

In one of the Appendices to Lord Hailes's *Annals of Scotland*,¹ the fact of the execution of *one* of Seton's sons is established beyond doubt. The account of the tragical occurrence given by Winton and Fordun is fully corroborated by the narrative of the *Scala Chronica*, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Boece, and his follower Buchanan, assert that Edward hanged *two* of the Governor's sons—the prisoner of war already referred to, as well as the hostage. In the plaintive ballad in Sheldon's *Minstrelsy of the English Border*, entitled 'Seton's Sons, or the Beleaguering of Berwicke,'² two of the Governor's sons are said to have been taken prisoners in a foray upon

¹ Appendix of Miscellanies.

See also Sheldon's *Historical Sketches of*

Berwick-upon-Tweed, p. 106 *et seq.* The Ballad is given in the Appendix of Miscellanies.

the English camp, and afterwards executed. In the first 'fytte' of the ballad—in direct opposition to the ordinary version of the story—the Governor's wife entreats her husband to surrender rather than allow his children to perish :

'We may recover our honour, luve,
But never our sonnes sae dear ;
A mither's tears will not be held
By any talk or lear.
Thou reasonst falsely, ladye luve,
For honour, it is playne,
Once fyled or misted with distruste,
Will ne'er grow fayre agayn.
I will not do it, sae help me Chryst,
Quo he, I'll keep gude fayth ;
I winna yield the Berwicke toun,
Come a' my sonnes to scaith.'

After a detailed description of the twofold execution, the ballad concludes by recording a vindictive act on the part of the 'grim Douglas,' after bringing relief to the beleaguered town :

'He tuke a wealthy merchant wight
With three more o' his countre syde ;
And stringt them up on the same gallowes,
Whare Seton's bairnies died.
They proferred him the gude red gold,
But he aye cry'd "Seton's sonne."
Did ye count down the haill o' Englande's wealth,
Ye suld hang till the lyfe were dune.'

Tradition, which is usually faithful in such cases, still points out the spot where the barbarous act was accomplished—an eminence on the south side of the Tweed, a little above the Bridge Well, which has long been known as 'Hang-a-dyke Neuk.' Two human skulls are said to be preserved in the Poor-house at Tweedmouth, which have been handed down as those of the two ill-fated sons of Sir Alexander Seton.

In 1794 Mr. Edward Jerningham published a tragedy entitled *The Siege of Berwick*, which was performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent Garden. It was reprinted by the author's descendant, Mr. Hubert Jerningham, M.P., in 1882 ; and on its

vellum cover is a reproduction of the coat armorial of 'Le Sire de Seton,' as given in Mr. Stodart's *Scottish Arms*, from the interesting book of blazons at Brussels known as the *Armorial de Gelre*. As in the English ballad, the Governor's wife is represented as appealing to her husband to preserve the lives of his sons; and in the fourth and concluding act, they are both somewhat unexpectedly and mysteriously restored unscathed to their enraptured parents!¹

A still later version of the occurrence, under the title of *The Siege of Berwick, or the Murdered Hostage*, a Tragedy in five acts, is embraced in Mr. James Miller's volume of poems, published in 1824.

Sir Alexander Seton appears to have had a safe-conduct to go into England in October 1337, and he was one of the hostages for John, Earl of Moray, in August 1340. According to the family chronicle he died, at an advanced age, towards the end of the reign of King David Bruce (c. 1360).

We have already seen that in Wood's edition of Douglas's *Peerage*, three sons and one daughter are assigned to Sir Alexander Seton by his wife Christian Cheyne of Straloch—(1) Alexander, whom he regards as the Alexander Seton who was killed at Kinghorn, in August 1332, when opposing the landing of Edward Baliol.² (2) Thomas, the Berwick hostage. (3) William, drowned in the attack on the English fleet at the same place. (4) Margaret, wife of Alan de Winton. Sir Richard Maitland, however, as already mentioned, distinctly states that Sir Alexander Seton had *four* lawful sons: 'The eldest twa, callit Thomas and Williame, war hangit at Berwick as said is; the thryd sone, callit Alexander, succedit to his fatheris heritage. The fourt sone, callit Johne, mariit Elizabeth Ramsay, heretrix of Parbroth.'³

¹ About forty years before the Berwick tragedy—viz., in 1294—a somewhat similar occurrence took place during the siege of Tarifa by the Moors; and that, too, forms the subject of a drama by Don Antonio Gil de Zárate, entitled *Guzman el Bueno*. The son of the Governor of Tarifa was handed over to the besiegers subject to nearly the same conditions as the son of

Sir Alexander Seton; and although the fortress continued to hold out after the expiration of the stipulated period, the leader of the Moors, instead of emulating the inhumanity of the English monarch, spared the life of his hostage.

² See Fordun, *Gesta Annalia*, cxlvi.

³ Appendix of Cadets.

10. *Alexander Seton.*

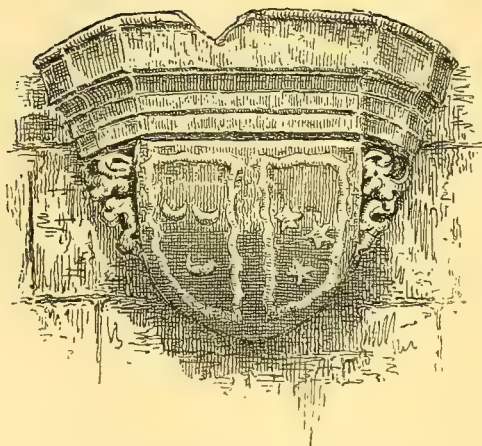
The brave Governor of Berwick was succeeded by his *third* son, Alexander, 'ane nobill and vertuous man,' who flourished in the time of Robert II., first of the Stewarts, and lived to a 'gude age.' Such is all that is said of him by Sir Richard Maitland. As previously mentioned, the name of his wife—Margaret Murray, sister to William Murray, Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh—is supplied from Nisbet's account of the Seton family in the Advocates' Library.

I have already referred to the alleged transmission of the line of succession through Margaret Seton, daughter of the Governor of Berwick, instead of through her brother Alexander, as in Wood's edition of Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*. The learned editor, however, admits that it is somewhat remarkable that, in his dissertation on the genealogy of the Seton family in the fourteenth century, Lord Hailes should have made no allusion to the marriage of the said Margaret to Alan de Winton, although he mentions it in his *Annals* (ii. 329) under the year 1336 (following Fordun); while Wyntoun, in his chronicle, assigns the event to the year 1347. 'Alan de Winton,' says Lord Hailes, 'forcibly carried off the young heiress of Seton. This produced a feud in Lothian, while some favoured the ravisher, and others sought to bring him to punishment. Fordun says that, on this occasion, a hundred ploughs in Lothian were laid aside from labour'—an interesting indication of the progress of agriculture at that early period. Alan appears to have been supported by William Murray, Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh, already mentioned as the father-in-law of Alexander Seton. Among the missing charters of David II. is one to Margaret Seton, daughter of the deceased Sir Alexander Seton, of her tocher of the twenty-pound land of Lamington,

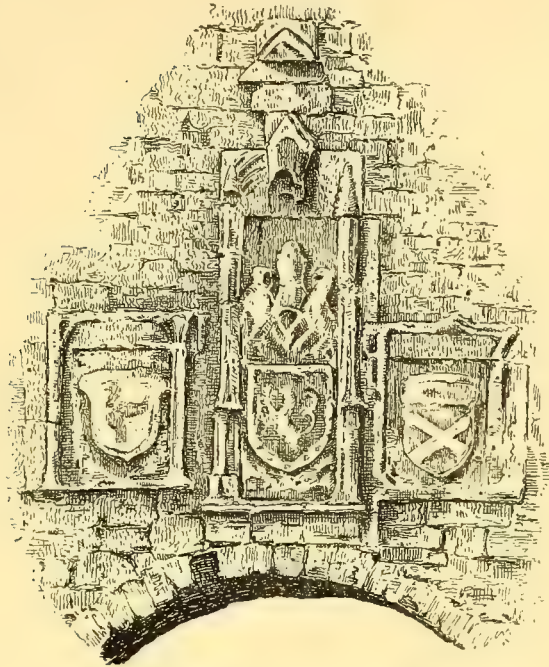


which, however, is not sufficient to establish the fact that she was her father's sole heir; or, as she is described in Wood's *Douglas*, the 'heiress of Seton.' In another of Mr. Miller's poems, entitled 'Alan of Winton and the Heiress of Seton,' the following verse is inspired by Fordun's statement relative to the suspension of agricultural pursuits:

'One hundred ploughs unharnessed lie,
The dusky collier leaves his mines,
"A Seton!" is the gathering cry,
And far the fiery dragon shines.'



ON BUTTRESS OF SETON CHURCH.



DUNBAR CASTLE ARMS.

II. THE SEVEN BARONS.



AFTER the middle of the fourteenth century the documentary and other evidence of the family history becomes more abundant and trustworthy; but even with respect to the period embraced in this section, the accounts of the genealogists are occasionally somewhat conflicting, and require to be carefully considered and compared. The first difficulty that presents itself is the date at which the family was ennobled; but there certainly seems to be good ground for holding that this was before the close of the fourteenth century. On the whole, these ancient Barons appear to have filled very creditable positions during the troublous times in which they lived, and to

have furnished many convincing illustrations of that loyalty to the Crown by which the House of Seton has long been honourably distinguished.

II. *William, first Lord Seton.*

Besides a daughter, Christian, who married George, tenth Earl of March,¹ Alexander Seton had a son, Sir William, a distinguished knight, who lived before 1366, and appears to have visited Jerusalem. Both in the family chronicle and in Douglas's *Peerage*, Sir William Seton appears as an *only* son; but a remarkable document turns up in the *Registrum de Panmure*,² edited by Dr. John Stuart, which would seem to indicate that he may have had a younger brother bearing the name of Alexander. The document in question is a 'Soothfast Witnessing,' by Thomas Bisset of Balwillo, anent the succession to the estate of Brechin, dated 6th June 1437, to the effect that after certain Stewarts, the Setons and the Maules would be the heirs of Sir David Barclay,

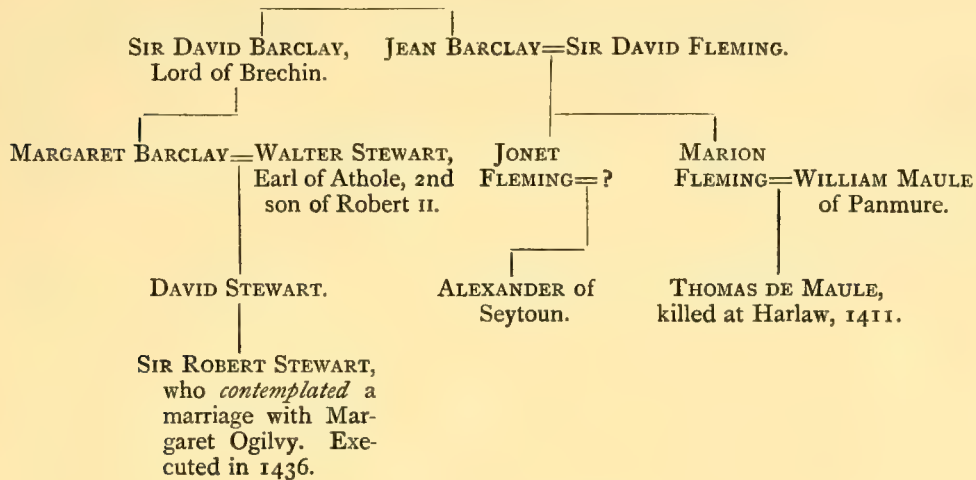
¹ A letter from Christian Seton, Countess of March, to Henry IV. of England, is printed in Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*, ii. 450.

I have already referred to the three escutcheons erected by her husband at Dunbar Castle, which were to be seen on the ruinous fragment of that ancient stronghold up to the 21st of October 1869, when, after a severe storm, two of the shields disappeared for ever. In his *Provincial Antiquities*, Sir Walter Scott assigns the arms, of which he gives a somewhat confused account, to the third Duke of Albany, son of James II. In point of fact, however, the escutcheons really embraced (1) the arms of March—a lion within a bordure charged with roses, surmounted by a helmet and crest (a horse's head bridled) and two lions as supporters, between (2) the coat of the Isle of Man—three legs conjoined—which is the only shield now remaining—and (3) the arms of the lordship of Annandale—a saltire and chief. Fortunately a careful study of the escutcheons (now in the possession of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries), was made by the late James Drummond, R.S.A.;

and in the summer of 1868, an accomplished English artist, Mr. Henry C. Pidgeon, accompanied by my valued friend and kinsman, the late Hugo Reid, visited the ruins of the castle and made an accurate sketch of the three coats, which was afterwards engraved in the *Journal of the Archaeological Association*. The general aspect of the escutcheons is given by Grose (i. 90) in one of his two engravings of Dunbar Castle as in 1789. 'Over the gate,' he says, 'are divers coats of arms, almost defaced by time and weather: among them are the arms of Scotland, those of the Isle of Man, and the Bruces.' He had evidently mistaken the rampant lion of March, surrounded by a bordure charged with roses, for the royal arms of Scotland, while the coat which he assigns to the Bruces was really that of the lordship of Annandale. Dunbar Castle is mentioned as early as the year 856, when it was burned by Kenneth, king of Scotland. It appears to have belonged to the Earls of Dunbar and March in 1073.

² Vol. ii. p. 230.

Lord of Brechin. The subjoined pedigree will show the purport of Balwillo's statement :



In the notices of the Earls of Wigton and Panmure in Douglas's *Peerage*, Marion is given as the *only* daughter of Sir David Fleming; but Thomas Bisset's statement is very distinct and specific, and from that we learn that Marion had a sister named Jonet. After stating that Dame Jean Barclay was full sister to Sir David Barclay, Lord of Brechin, he proceeds to say : ' Heir atour, suthfastli I mak knawyn that the said Dame Jehan Berclay, the wyf umquhil of the said scher Dauid Flemyng, had *twa* douchtirs, an callit Jonet an uther Marioun, and Jonet bair *Alexander of Seytoun*, and Marioun Thomas de Maule, the whilk decesit at the Harlaw. Alsua suthfastli I make knawyn that in my yuthhed I was seruand onto my lord Scher Thomas of Erskyn, and of continual houshald, and oftymes I herd my lord beforsaid and my lade Dam Jehan his wif, that was modir to Dauid Steuarts modir, suthfastli say that failyand of Dauid Steuart and of his modir, that Seytonis and Maulis war verra ayris to the Berclayis landis : and my lord and my lady beforsaid, becaus that Alexandir of Seytoun was so neir pertenant to sa grait an heritage, was sumtym purpost til haf mariet the said Alexander of Seytoun with Elisobeth his douchtir that was wif to

Duncan of Wemys ;¹ and mair by general voice in yhouthhed and in eld I herd neuer failyeand of Daid Stuart and Robert his son, uther ayris suld be be nan apearans bot Seytones and Maulis, descendand fra dam Jehan Flemyng and fra Marioun Flemyng.'

We know that Marion Fleming married William Maule of Panmure, but I can find no reference to the name of Jonet's husband, who must have been a Seton. It is, of course, possible that Jonet may have been the second wife of Alexander, the supposed father of Sir William Seton, and may have had a son called Alexander. 'Alexander of Seytoun' must, I think, have been a member of the principal family, but I have hitherto failed to discover his place in the pedigree. Curiously enough, in the same valuable compilation, 'Alexander de Seton, Dominus ejusdem,' is mentioned, along with Adam, Bishop of Brechin, in a Precept by the Sheriff of Perth to the Sheriff of Angus, dated 2nd May 1425, as 'auditores et deputati ex parte domini nostri regis et parliamenti ad audiendum et determinandum supplicationes et querelas que in parlamento non fuerunt determinate.'² This looks very like either the husband or the son of Jonet Fleming, and it is to be hoped that the matter may yet be cleared up. These genealogical mysteries are very perplexing; but the difficulty in question is possessed of a good deal of interest, and could not well be passed over.

According to Sir Richard Maitland, Sir William Seton was 'the first creatit and maid Lord in the parliament; and he and his posterité to haue ane voce thairin, and be callit Lordis.' In addition to Sir Richard Maitland's record of the fact that Sir William Seton was the Premier Baron of Scotland, the following authorities may be referred to:—(1) In the Parliament held at Scone, 26th March 1371, at the coronation of Robert II., *Dns. de Seton* was present among the 'Nobiles Barones.' (2) In a bond, dated 30th January 1387, he appears as *Will^{ms} de Seton Dn^s ejusd.* (3) He is similarly described in a charter dated 10th March 1392. (4) In an indentor, dated 8th March in the same year, he occurs as '*Nobilem virum Dn^m Will^m de Seton Dn^m ejusd.*'

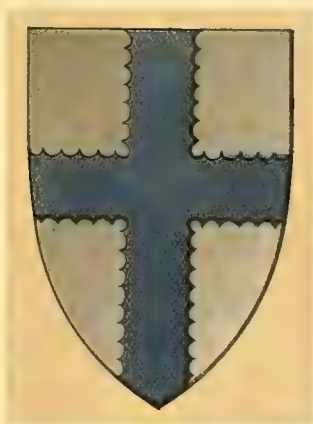
¹ Elizabeth, wife of Duncan of Wemyss, was the daughter of Sir Thomas Erskine by Johanna

Barclay.

² *Registrum de Panmure*, ii. 164.

It may perhaps be alleged that such expressions as 'Dominus de Seton,' and 'Willielmus de Seton, Dominus ejusdem,' do not necessarily indicate nobility. Sir William Seton, however, is described as 'Dominus Settone' in a charter by Robert III., in March 1393, to be afterwards referred to; and in a tabular pedigree of the Seton-Gordons contained in a folio MS. in the British Museum (Harl. 4031, 133 *b.*), entitled 'Dukes and Earls of Scotland, 1604,' the father of Alexander Seton who married the heiress of Gordon appears as 'Willielmus *primus Dns.* Seton.' In a decret relative to a cause between George, fifth Lord Seton, and Robert, Lord Crichton, dated 22nd April 1513—less than five months before the battle of Flodden—reference is made to an indenture, dated 8th March 1392, between '*Sir William of Seytoun, Lord of that Ilk*, and Adam Forster, Lord of Nether Libbertoun.' It may therefore be fairly inferred that Sir William Seton was created a Lord of Parliament in, if not before, the year 1393. I shall afterwards have occasion to refer to the refusal of an Earldom from Queen Mary by his descendant, George, seventh Lord Seton, in 1562, on the ground that he preferred to be the oldest Baron.

William, first Lord Seton, married Catharine, daughter of Sir William Sinclair of Hermandston—'ane grit hous at that tyme'—by whom he had two sons and six¹ daughters. The eldest son, John, succeeded his father as second Lord Seton. The second son, Alexander, married Elizabeth de Gordon, daughter and heiress of Sir Adam de Gordon, with whom he acquired a great estate, and was ancestor of the Earls and Marquises of Huntly, the Dukes of Gordon, the Setons of Touch, Meldrum, etc.² Of



¹ Sir Richard Maitland specifies *seven* daughters, the seventh being called the wife of Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley, whom we shall account

for two generations lower down.

² See Appendix of Cadets.

the daughters, Margaret married John, Lord Kennedy, 'forbeir to the Erle of Cassilis'; Marion married Sir John Ogilvy of Lintrathen, ancestor of Lord Ogilvy; Jean married John, Lord Lyle; Catharine married Bernard Haldane of Gleneagles; — married Hamilton of Preston; and — married Lauder of Poppill.

In addition to the charters mentioned in Douglas's *Peerage*, no fewer than three relative to William, Lord Seton, appear in the MS. volume of the late Professor Innes, already referred to. One of these is a charter of confirmation by Robert III., in March 1393, in favour of William 'Dominus Settone,' relative to the lands of Barns, in which his wife and his son John are both mentioned. Another is a confirmation by Lord William of a donation of David de Annandia to Patrick de Halwick, 'Guardiano fratrum de Haddingtoun,' of as many coals as they can consume, 'ex villa sua et baronia de Tranent,' dated 26th November 1380, and confirmed at Seton, with the consent of John, his son and heir, on the 6th of October 1404.

The first Lord Seton appears to have died before March 1409, and was buried in the 'Cordelere (Franciscan) freiris in Haddington.' Nisbet¹ informs us that his arms are 'engraven on a stone over the south door of the Church of Seton, upon a shield couché, three crescents, within a double tressure; which is timbered with a side-standing helmet with volets; and in place of a wreath, a ducal crown; and upon it, for crest, a crescent, between two plumes of feathers, supported by two mertrixes (lions?). And near to this achievement there is a little shield charged with a cross engrailed for his lady, Catharine Sinclair.' This detailed description by the accomplished herald is of special interest, as



¹ *System of Heraldry*, i. 233. See also Preface to Edinburgh edition of the *House of Seytoun*, p. ix.

the carving on the stone in question is now very nearly effaced. In point of fact, *two* small escutcheons appear on the upper portion of the tablet. Two seals of this Lord Seton, attached to documents respectively dated 1381 and 1384, are described in Laing's *Catalogues of Ancient Scottish Seals*.¹ On the latter, the crest is an antelope's head, and the supporters two lions sejant, gardant. The same crest appears over the coat of 'Le Sire de Seton,' in the *Armorial de Gelre*, already referred to.



Sir Richard Maitland specifies several interesting particulars of Lord William's widow. Among her 'mony gud actis,' she married four of her daughters; she 'biggit ane yle on the south syd of the parochie kirk of Seytoun, of fine astler; pendit and theikit it wyth stane; with ane sepulture thairin, quhair sche lyis; and foundit ane preist to serve thair perpetuallie.' During her widowhood she occupied the 'preistis chalmeris,' which are said to have been near the garden wall on the north side, and kept a 'great household.' 'Quhen hir sone, quha wes lord, raid to ony place, to his honour sche send in cumpanye wyth him certane honest men, quhilk sche daylie nurissit in hir hous, to do him service and awate on him, sa lang as he was fra hame; and send hir stewart wyth thame to beir thair chargeis, sa that thay suld tak na expenssis of hir sone, bot at his plesour, quhill he returnit hame agane to his awin hous, and than thay enterit agane to hir in houshald.'

Among several interesting sepulchral slabs (to be afterwards noticed), which have recently disappeared from Seton Church, is the

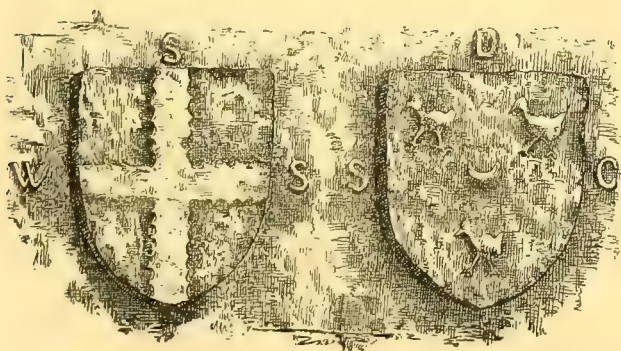
¹ Supplemental Catalogue, No. 892; first Catalogue, No. 738.

matrix of a memorial brass, broken across the middle, and repre-



sented the outline of a female figure under a canopy, with a surrounding inscription. It is by no means improbable that this was the monument either of Catharine Sinclair, widow of William, first Lord Seton, or of a later benefactress of the church, Lady Janet Hepburn. Within the ruins of the old chapel adjoining the mansion-house of Hermandston, near Haddington, are two well preserved sepulchral slabs, commemorating the 'Richt Honorabil' Sir William Sinclair of Hermandston, who died in 1594, and Sibilla Cockburn, his wife, bearing the arms of Sinclair and Cockburn respectively. The family of Hermandston succeeded to the Sinclair Peerage in the middle of the seventeenth century. 'They derived their descent from Henry de Sancto Claro,

"Vicecomes" of Richard de Moreville, Constable of Scotland, from whom, in 1162, he had a grant of the lands of Hermand-



ston, engraved in Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*. These lands have been possessed, ever since that early period, by his descendants in the male line, and the Sinclairs of Hermandston are entitled to be considered as the first

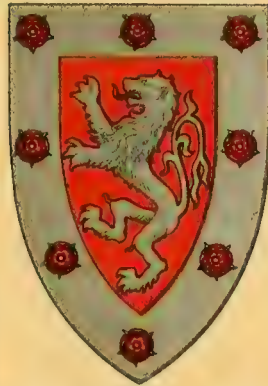
family, in point of antiquity, in the county of Haddington.'¹

¹ Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, ii. 500.

12. *John, second Lord Seton.*

As already indicated, John succeeded his father as second Lord Seton, early in the fifteenth century (*c.* 1408). The family chronicle embraces a curious episode relative to his matrimonial experiences. It appears that William, first Lord Seton, in order to 'eik his hous and leving, bowcht the ladie Gordoun of heritage,' with the view of marrying her to his eldest son John; but unfortunately for the father's scheme, the said son 'had ane favour to ane dochter of the Erle of Merches, quham he mareit, unwitting of his fader.' The displeasure which this preference occasioned was, however, afterwards overcome, and Lord William became satisfied with the alliance, because the lady was 'dochter to sa grit ane man, and ane honest partie and allya'—and Elizabeth Gordon then fell to the lot of the *second* son, Alexander. From each of these two great unions several important families were descended. While the *elder* brother, John, was the ancestor of the subsequent main line of Seton (the Lords Seton and Earls of Winton), as well as of the *Seton* Earls of Eglinton, the Earls of Dunfermline, the Viscounts Kingston, and the Setons of Cariston, Barns, Garleton, etc.; from the *younger* brother, as already indicated, sprang the Earls and Marquises of Huntly, the Dukes of Gordon, the Earls of Sutherland, the Setons of Meldrum, Touch, Abercorn, Pitmedden, and Mounie, and the Gordons of Gight, Letterfourie, Cluny, and many others.

John, second Lord Seton, was appointed Master of the Household by the 'poet king,' James I., by whom he was sent to France with his daughter Margaret, 'quha was mareit on the Daulphin of France, Lewis the Elewint.' He is described as



'miles acerrimus, et Anglis semper infestus,' and was taken prisoner at Homildon in 1402. His name crops up in various charters between 1409 and 1421; and he appears to have had several safe-conducts to England during the same period. Among the hostages nominated for the release of James I., by the treaty of 4th December 1423, was 'Johannes Dominus de Setoun, miles, vel filius ejus et hæres,' his annual revenue being then estimated at 600 merks. He was also one of the guarantees of the treaty for the King's release, 28th March 1424. He is said to have died in 1441, and was buried at Seton Church, 'in the yle foundit be his moder.' By his wife, Lady Janet, daughter of George, tenth Earl of March,¹ he had a son William, and two daughters, of whom Christian (who is not mentioned by Sir Richard Maitland) married Norman Leslie of Rothes, under a papal dispensation, on the ground of consanguinity (fourth degree), obtained in December 1415; while Janet married Robert Keith, eldest son of William, first Earl Marischal, by whom she had no male issue. Douglas states that Lord John appears to have had a *second* wife, who was alive in 1449; but this is not very consistent with Sir Richard Maitland's circumstantial statement regarding the marriage of the mother of his son and successor (Lady Janet Dunbar) to a second husband, in the person of the laird of Johnston in Annandale,² called by Douglas³ Sir Adam Johnston of that ilk.

13. *William, Master of Seton.*

It is somewhat remarkable that Sir Richard Maitland takes no notice of Lord John's only son William, who occurs as a witness in the confirmation of a charter of the lands of Trabroun, granted by Archibald, Earl of Douglas, to John Heriot, son of James Heriot of Niddry-Marischal, in the year 1423, in which he

¹ In a document, dated at Dunbar, 3rd March 1413, John, Lord Seton, is discharged by George Dunbar, son and apparent heir of George, Earl of March, of the sum of 300 merks, Scots money,

given in tocher with his sister Janet.—*Professor Innes's MS.*

² *House of Seytoun*, p. 32.

³ *Peerage of Scotland*, ii. 172.

is distinctly described as 'William Seton, son and heir of John, Lord Seton.'¹

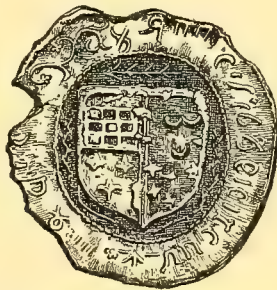
The Master of Seton accompanied the Scottish auxiliaries to the assistance of Charles the Dauphin of France, and was killed at the battle of Verneuil, in Normandy, 17th August 1424, in the lifetime of his father.² A contemporary writer attributes the desperate resistance and merciless carnage on that disastrous field to 'la fierté des Ecossais,' whom he describes as 'ardents et solides au combat, mais téméraires et fiers à l'excès.'³ Among other distinguished Scotsmen who fell on the occasion were the Earl of Douglas and his gallant son-in-law, the Earl of Buchan, whose daughter and heiress became the wife of George, third Lord Seton.

By his wife, whose name does not appear in Douglas's *Peerage*, the Master of Seton had a son George, third Lord Seton, and two daughters:—Catharine, who married, 1st, Alan Stuart of Darnley, killed in 1439, father of the first Earl of Lennox, and ancestor of the second husband of Mary Queen of Scots; 2ndly, Herbert, Lord Maxwell of Caerlaverock; and Janet, married first to John, second Lord Halyburton; 2ndly, to Edward Congalton of that ilk.

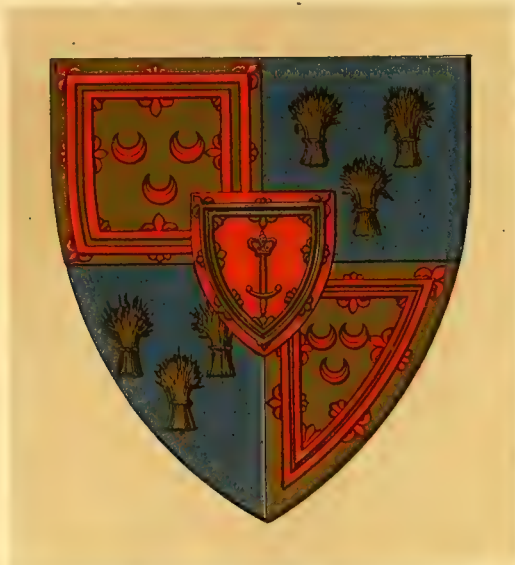
¹ Nisbet's *System of Heraldry*, i. 46.

² Fordun, ii. 337.

³ *Les Ecossais en France*, par Francisque Michel, i. 148.



SEAL OF CATHARINE SETON, LADY DARNLEY.



14. *George, third Lord Seton.*

George, third Lord Seton, first of that name,¹ succeeded his grandfather John, second Lord, at a very early age. He appears to have got into the hands of Lord Crichton, who then had possession of Edinburgh Castle, and 'keipit him in the said castell wyth him.' Through the instrumentality of the Laird of Johnston, the second husband of his grandmother (the widow of John, second Lord Seton), he was removed from Edinburgh and secretly conveyed to the Laird's abode of Lochwood in Annandale, where the young Lord 'was weill nurissit langtyme.' When he grew up to manhood, Lord George became 'ane grit hous haldar, and all gevin to nobilnes.'

His three immediate predecessors seem to have exhibited the family characteristic of lofty stature.² The transcriber of the Cupar MS. of Fordun's *Scotichronicon* says with reference to William, first Lord Seton, and the three succeeding generations:

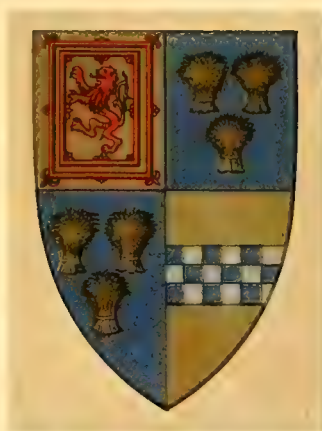
¹ As already stated, since the beginning of the fifteenth century *George* has been the prevailing Christian name in the Seton family,

for the reason suggested in the Introduction.

² See Appendix of Miscellanies.

‘Hos quatuor milites ego, qui hæc chronica collegi, bene cognovi, de quibus tres primi *statura proceri* et valentes fuerunt.’

George, third Lord Seton, accompanied Crichton, the Chancellor, on his embassy to France and Burgundy, and had a safe-conduct to pass through England, 23rd April 1448. In 1469 he was one of the jury at the trial of Sir Alexander Boyd, and others, for the abduction of the person of James III., from Linlithgow, on the 9th of July 1466.¹ He was one of the ambassadors to England to whom a safe-conduct was granted in March 1472, and again in August of the year following, being designed ‘Georgius, Dominus de Setoune.’ He appears in various charters and other documents before and after the middle of the fifteenth century. He married, 1st, Lady Margaret Stewart, only daughter and heiress of the gallant Constable of France, John, Earl of Buchan, younger son of Robert, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, and grandson of Robert II.² In January 1436, a papal dispensation for this marriage was obtained on the application of the parties, who



¹ Tytler's *History of Scotland*, iv. 225.

² This was one of five intermarriages of the family of Seton with the royal family. In the year 1451 an interesting document was registered in the public records of the city of Edinburgh, in the shape of a Testificat produced before the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh by ‘Margareta Steuarta filia et hæres quondam magnifici et potentis domini Domini Johannis

Comitis de Buchane, Constabularii regni Franciæ, ac sponsa magnæ nobilitatis Domini Georgii Domini Settone,’ under the Great Seal of France, and subscribed by King Charles VII., wherein he ordains the said Earl of Buchan to be captain of a company of 150 Scottish gentlemen for guarding the person of the French monarch, and confers upon him a yearly pension of 3000 crowns for his valorous assistance against the English at the battle of Agincourt.



had been excommunicated for having married within the forbidden degrees. The sentence of the Church was accordingly removed, and they were permitted to marry *de novo*, and thus legitimate their progeny. In commemoration of this important alliance, the family of Seton long quartered the arms of the Earldom of Buchan—*azure*, three garbs or wheat-sheaves *or*.¹ The issue of this union was an only child, John, Master of Seton.

Lord George married, 2ndly, Christian, daughter of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, by whom he had a daughter Christian, who married Hugh Douglas of Corehead, 'quha was ane gud lyk man, and ane wyse; and ane gydar and counsalour to the said Lord George. To the quhilk Hew the said Cristiane cast sic favour that sche wald marye none uther bot him, swa that it nicht pleis hir fader.' Lord George had also an illegitimate son, called James, 'ane wyse man, quha was slane at the feild of Flowdane,' leaving behind him two sons, one of whom 'deit without successioun.' This Lord 'biggit the queir of Seytoun, and pendit it, sa far as it is, wyth rymbraces.' He died 'of gud age' in the place of the Blackfriars in Edinburgh, after 15th July 1478,—the date of a charter in favour of his daughter Christian and her husband—and was buried in the choir of the same—'to quhom he foundit xx. markis of annuell,' out of his lands of Hartsyde and others in the county of Berwick.²

¹ A curious allusion to the assumption of the Buchan arms occurs in an introductory sketch to the history of the Cumings of Ernsyde, written in 1622, and quoted at p. 96 of the notes to the Bannatyne Club edition of Sir Richard Maitland's *House of Seytoun*, in which, however, the *ground* of their assumption appears to be incorrectly stated.

In a royal charter in 1505, mention is made of the late John, Earl of Buchan, Constable of France, and Baron of Kynedward, 'cui quondam Johanni comiti Buchanie consanguineus noster Georgius dominus Seytoun legitimus et propinquior heres existet dictarum terrarum de Kynedward.'

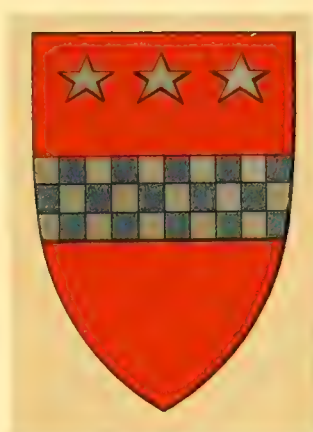
² 'The monastery of the Dominican Predicants, or Black Friars, founded, soon after the institution of the Order of St. Dominic, by Alexander II. in 1230, stood on the knoll at the head of the old High School Wynd. . . . The buildings were sumptuous, and extensive gardens spread over the ridge to the boundaries of the Kirk of Field on the West; but in 1528 the monastery was destroyed by fire, and the poor monks had very partially effected its restoration when the Duke of Somerset and his heretical host, fresh from their victory at Pinkie Cleuch, made an end of it and its pleasure-grounds.'—Wilson's *Old Edinburgh*, ii. 292.

15. *John, Master of Seton.*

John, Master of Seton, died in the lifetime of his father, and was buried in the Church of Seton. By his wife, Christian, daughter of John, first Lord Lindsay of Byres (who married, 2ndly, Robert, second Earl of Glencairn), he had a son, George, fourth Lord Seton, who succeeded his grandfather, George, third Lord. While this is the only child of the Master of Seton specified in Douglas's *Peerage*, Sir Richard Maitland mentions a daughter, who married Robert, second Lord Lyle, and two other sons:—

1. John,¹ whose son Archibald was slain by the 'theiffs in Ananderland' after the 'Raid of Sulway,' leaving three sons, George, Archibald ('ane maister clerk'), and James, 'quha deyit of ane hurt.'

2. Alexander, who, besides a daughter married to Thomas Preston of Whitehill, had several sons, who all died 'without successioun,' except John, Bailie of Tranent.



16. *George, fourth Lord Seton.*

In the person of George, fourth Lord Seton—who succeeded his grandfather, George, third Lord, about 1480,—we encounter a 'character,' of whom a good many interesting particulars are recorded. It appears that, besides being 'cunnyng in dyuers sciences, as in astrologie, museik, and theologie,' he took great pleasure in the company of cunning men, and was 'ane grit settar in museik.' He 'was sa gevin to lettres that, efter he was mareit, he

¹ This son occurs as a witness to an indenture between George, fourth Lord Seton, and Patrick Cockburn, burgess of Haddington, dated at

Seton, 7th April 1491, being described as 'Johannes Settone, frater germanus dicti Domini.'—*Innes MS.*

passit to Sanctandrois, and thair remanit lang tyme at his studie, and then proceeded to Paris, where he resided 'ane gude space.'

In a curious Latin pedigree of the Seton family, apparently drawn up in 1604, entitled 'Arms and Pedigrees of Scotch Families,'¹ and contained in a folio ms. in the British Museum, (Bibl. Harl. 1423, f. 61), the words 'vocatus Necromanticus'² appear after the name of the fourth Lord—an interesting confirmation of the family chronicler's description of the ancient worthy. The same strange gift is assigned to John Beton of Creich, father of the 'Lady of Branksome,' and grandfather of Mary Beton (to be afterwards referred to):—

' Her father was a clerk of fame,
Of Bethune's line of Picardie :
He learn'd the art that none may name,
In Padua, far beyond the sea.
Men said, he changed his mortal frame
By feat of magic mystery ;
For when, in studious mood, he paced
St. Andrew's cloister'd hall,
His form no darkening shadow traced
Upon the sunny wall !'³

Shortly after his succession (3rd July 1480), Lord Seton entered into a 'Band of Friendship' with Sir Oliver St. Clair of Rosslyn, in which he binds and obliges himself, by the faith and truth in his body, to take 'a leall, true, aefald (upright) part with Sir Oliver, in all and sundry his actions, cases, and quarrells, leifull and honest,' excepting his allegiance to his Sovereign Lord the King, and certain engagements with the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Argyll (his father-in-law); and further, he undertakes

¹ See Appendix of Miscellanies.

² The following definition of *Necromantia* appears in White and Riddle's Latin-English Dictionary: 'Prophecy by the dead, hence, an evoking of the dead to reveal the future, necromancy; *necromantia et ars magica*. "Necromantii sunt, quorum præcantationibus videntur resuscitati mortui divinare et ad interrogata respondere."—*Isidorus Hispalensis* (ob. A.D. 637).

The dowry of Jean Hay (half-sister of the first wife of George, sixth Lord Seton), who married George Broun of Colstoun, was the famous 'Colstoun Pear,' which was enchanted by Sir Hugh Gifford, of necromantic celebrity, who flourished about the middle of the thirteenth century.

³ *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, i. 11.

that he 'shall nothing hear, see, wott or know his harm, skeyth, dishonouring, nor appearant pearill to his person, without warning him thereof,' and also that he shall 'giff him the best counsell,' if he should ask for it; besides providing 'free entry and essue in our Strenths and Castles' to Sir Oliver and his friends: and 'to the suer observing and keeping of all and sundrie the things above written, the Holy Evangell is touched.'¹

At Perth, on the 25th of June 1482, 'George Lord Settone' retours himself heir to 'George Lord Settone,' his grandfather, in the lands and superiorities of Munti (?) and Johnstoune, lying within that sheriffdom; and on the 11th of March 1496 he is served heir, at Linlithgow, to 'Dame Christiana de Lindsay,' his mother, in the Dominical lands of Winchburgh.²

Lord George was one of the Commissioners for settling differences on the Marches, appointed by the Treaty of Nottingham, 22nd September 1484, and also one of the Conservators of treaties with the English in 1497 and 1499. Four years later (24th May 1503) he witnessed the assignation of the dower of Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scotland; and the same year he had a charter of the lands of Binning in West Lothian.

Like many other members of his House, he distinguished himself by his architectural achievements. Besides erecting the 'revestre' of Seton Church, 'he biggit the haill place of Winton, with the yard and garding thairof,'³ as afterwards more fully described.

In a large folio volume, in the Advocates' Library (15. 1. 19), entitled 'Popes' Bulls, etc.,' is a letter of Alexander VI., upon vellum, dated in 1492, 'dans potestatem episcopis Candide Case (Whithorn) et Dunblanensis, et abbati de Neobatyll ad procedendum in erectione ecclesiæ collegiate de Seton'; and accordingly, on the 20th of June 1493, Lord George founded the *Collegiate* Church of Seton, and endowed it for the support of a provost, six prebendaries, two singing-boys and a clerk, out of several chaplainries united for that effect. In his account of Seton Church, in his *Provincial Antiquities*, Sir Walter Scott states

¹ *MS. Miscell. Scotica Curiosa*, p. 89, quoted in Professor Innes's MS.

² Professor Innes's MS.

³ Maitland's *House of Seton*, p. 35.

that, before being rendered Collegiate in the time of James IV., it was founded 'as the parochial church, and augmented by the addition of various other establishments.'

The most remarkable episode in this Lord's career was his capture by the Flemings, 'indwellers in Dunkirk,' in the course of a voyage to France, on which occasion he was spoiled of all his gear and substance. 'For the quhilk caus,' says the Family Chronicler, 'to be revengit on the said Flemmyngis, he coft ane grit schip, callit the "Aquila," and held lang tyme mony men of weir thairin upon the sey; and gat sindry revengis upon the said Flemmyngis, and slew dyuerss of thame. The haldin of the said schip and men of weir wes sa costlie to him that he wes compellit to wodset and anallie the Barony of Barnis, the toun, mains, and milne of Wincheburgh, certane landis in Langnetherie, and certane in Tranent.'

An interesting confirmation of Sir Richard's statement turns up in the Register of the Privy Seal (vol. i. fol. 67), where we find a letter of sale from the King (James IV.) to Lord Seton, of the ship called the 'Egill' (Eagle), with all the 'stuffs, artilzery, and abulzementis, tow and takell being in hir,' for £500, with a quit-clame thereof, and a charge to James Makison to deliver the said ship to Lord Seton—dated 22nd January 1498-9.

In his *MS. Genealogical Collections* in the Advocates' Library, Nisbet refers to the 'streamers and flags' used on that occasion as being yet to be seen in the House of Seton. 'They are of rid silk,' he says; 'on the flage are the armes of Setoun, and on the other sid a circle interlassed with a triangle in gold, with this word "Indissolubile"; the streamers are also of rid silk, semé of crescents of gold (a transposition of the heraldic tinctures), with a hand issueing out of a cloud brandishing a



IN SETON CHURCH.

sword, with these words, "Hazard yit fordward"; and below that a Dragon, *vert*, spouting out fire behind and before.'¹

Mr. Hannay, in one of his admirable *Essays from the Quarterly Review*,² refers to Sir Richard Maitland's practice of telling whatever is *curious* in the history of the Seton family; and selects, as an example, the incident of Lord George and the Flemings, remarking that he made war against them for several years, 'as if he had been a European power'!

Unlike most modern family historians, Sir Richard does not fail to mention the weak points in the character of the worthies whom he describes. 'Nochtwithstanding that this Lord George wes ane weill letterit and ane nobill man, yit he was sum pairt gevin to voluptie and plesour, quhilk was the caus of his truble in his lyf tyme, quhairthrow he hurt his heritage.' Besides alluding to the individual blemish, the honest 'sister's sone of the said Hous' tries to improve the occasion by exhorting all noblemen 'to forbeir this vice for the mekle mischeif that follows thairon,' and then proceeds to state that Lord George had 'mony bastard bairnis,' specifying no fewer than four sons and four daughters. Three of the sons appear to have died 'without succession'—one of these being Christopher, who was in Orders; while Thomas, who had three sons, was 'ane familiar servand' to King James IV. On the 15th of May 1500 we find a precept of legitimation to 'James Seytoun, carnal son of George Lord Seytoun,' set forth in the usual form.⁴ Two of the four daughters died unmarried; while of the two others, Beatrix was the wife of John Livingstone of Saltcoats, and Margaret married, 1st, Henry Cant of Over Liberton, and, 2ndly ('after she partit with him'), David Hamilton, son of Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston.⁵

¹ See engraving of Napkin, under notice of George, fifth and last Earl of Winton.

² Review of Burgon's *Life of Patrick Fraser Tytler*.

³ In Montégut's *Souvenirs de Bourgogne*, under the interesting notice of *Chastellux*, there is a favourable reference to the genealogical account of that distinguished House, published

at Avallon in 1869, by the living representative, who does not fail to give *shadows* as well as lights — *amica Nobilitas sed magis amica Veritas*.

⁴ *Register of the Privy Seal*, ii. 72.

⁵ Speaking of the ancient custom of allowing bastards to succeed to lands and dignities, as if lawfully begotten, Sandford, in his *Genealogical*

By his wife, Lady Margaret Campbell, eldest daughter of Colin, first Earl of Argyll,¹ Lord George had three sons and two daughters.²



1. George, who succeeded his father as fifth Lord Seton.

2. Robert 'ane man of armes in France,' who died in the Castle of Milan, leaving two sons, William, also a man of arms in France, and Alexander, who married Janet Sinclair, heiress of Northrig,³ and 'thrid of Moraine.'

3. John, died without succession.

Of the two daughters, Martha married William Maitland of Lethington, while Katharine 'wald never marie, howbeit sche micht have had mony gud maryageis,' and became a sister of the Order of Saint Catherine of Sienna in the 'place besyd Edinburgh' at the age of thirty-six, and died there at the age of seventy-eight.

On the 14th of July 1503 there is a precept of apprising to George, Lord Seton, of the lands of Bynnyng, with the principal mansion-house and lands thereof, lying within the Sheriffdom of Linlithgow, pertaining to John Bynnyng of that ilk, and holden by him of the King: and apprised to the King by the Sheriff-depute of Linlithgow and others for the sum of 200 merks, due to the King for certain unlaws (transgressions),

History of the Kings of England, says: 'The like custom hath also been observed in Spain and Portugal, and 'tis probable this use was grounded upon often experience that bastards (as begotten in the highest heat and strength of affection) have many times been men of excellent proof both in courage and understanding.'

¹ On the 14th September 1469 an indenture appears to have been made between Colin, Earl of Argyll, and George, Lord Seton, in which the former takes burden for his daughter

Marionna of the age of twelve years, and in case of her decease for the solemnising of the marriage of Lord George to his second daughter, Helena, with a tocher of 1000 merks Scots. Marionna seems to be a mistake for *Margaret*. —Professor Innes's MS.

² Douglas in his *Peerage of Scotland* specifies only two sons and one daughter, the wife of William Maitland of Lethington; and makes the second son the ancestor of the Setons of Northrig.

³ Appendix of Cadets.

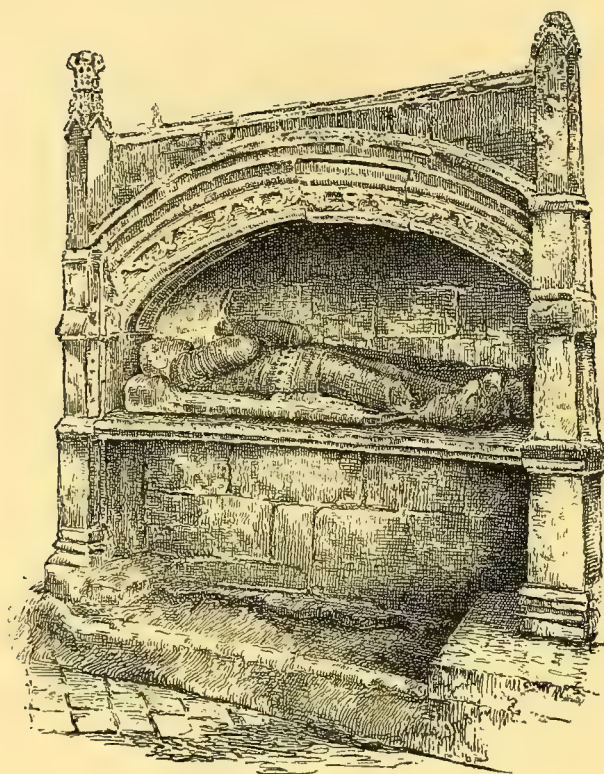
which lands were granted to the said Lord Seton for the same sum.¹



LENNOX-LOVE, OLIM LETHINGTON.

After a long period of sickness, George, fourth Lord Seton died, 'being of gude age,' in the twentieth year of the reign of James IV. (1508), and was buried in the choir of Seton Church, 'at the high altar end.'

¹ *Register of the Privy Seal*, ii. 105.



The monument at the north-east corner of the choir, adjoining that of James, first Earl of Perth, is believed to commemorate George, fourth Lord Seton, and his wife, Lady Margaret Campbell. It consists of a large recess containing the recumbent effigies of a knight in plate-armour and a lady on his left with their faces to the east, and the hands of both closed in the usual attitude of prayer. Unfortunately the monument is unaccompanied by either heraldry or inscription. It is specially referred to by 'Delta' in his lines

on 'The Ruins of Seton Chapel' (*Poetical Works*, i. 286):

'The prone effigies, carved in marble mail;
The fair Ladyé, with crossed palms on her breast.'

BALMUTO BANNER.¹17. *George, fifth Lord Seton.*

The fifth Lord succeeded his father in 1508, and is described in the Family Chronicle as having been 'richt familiar' with the chivalric James IV., at whose side he fell on the fatal field of Flodden. In 1506-7 he had charters, as 'George, Master of Seton,' of the lands of Seton, etc., and as 'George Lord Seton,' on 6th April 1508, of Winton and Tranent; and three years later of East and West Barns. During his brief career, he redeemed ('lousit') the lands of Barns, Tranent, and Winchburgh,² which had been wadset by his father, in consequence of the expenditure incurred in his naval expedition against the Flemings. He completed certain portions of the House of Seton, and repaired the great dungeon. He also did a good deal for the Church of Seton, as afterwards set forth.

On the 19th of April 1510 a licence was granted 'to George

¹ This banner has been long preserved at Speke Hall, Lancashire, formerly the property of the Norris family, by one of whom it is said to have been captured at the battle of Pinkie in 1547. Other interesting specimens of Scottish

banners are that of the Earls Marischal in the Advocates' Library, and the Huntly banner engraved in Weber's *Flodden Field*.

² *Register of the Privy Seal*, iii. 137; iii. 171; and iv. 172.

Lord Seytoun to pass to any place out of the realm with any of his kinsmen or servants that he shall choose, and to remain furth thereof for the space of three years and forty days after the expiry thereof': during which time the King took under his protection all the possessions, lands, etc., belonging either to the said lord, or to his kinsmen and servants who may accompany him; and exempted them from compearing at any justice or chamberlain ayres, or any sheriff courts, during that time.¹

By his wife, Lady Janet Hepburn, daughter of Patrick, first Earl of Bothwell, he had—besides a daughter, Marion, married 1st to Arthur, Master of Borthwick, and 2ndly to Hugh, second Earl of Eglinton—three sons:—George, who died fourteen days after his birth; George (No. 2), who succeeded his father as sixth Lord Seton; and Alexander, who died at the age of fifteen years.



As already stated, the fifth Lord Seton was one of the many 'Flowers of the Forest' slain at Flodden on the 9th of September 1513; and he

'was brocht hame furth of the said feild, and erdit in the queir of Seytoun, besyd his fader.'

A few words relative to Flodden will probably not be considered out of place. As is well known, it was a black day for Scotland, and there was scarcely a family of any note which 'did not own a grave on Brankston Moor.' The total loss of the Scots has been estimated as high as 10,000,² of whom a large proportion were of high rank, including the King (James iv.), his son, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, thirteen earls, two bishops, two abbots, fifteen lords and chiefs of clans, and five peers' eldest

¹ *Register of the Privy Seal*, iv. 63.

² 'We may rely that nearly as many, if not an equal number, fell on the side of the English, for who ever heard of a Scotchman being

in battle without leaving indelible proofs that he had been there?'—*The Battle of Flodden Field*, by the Rev. Robert Jones, Vicar of Branxton.

sons. Nor ought we to forget the gallant conduct of the 'Souters of Selkirk,' of whom about eighty perished in the struggle.

'No one failed him! He is keeping
Royal state and semblance still;
Knight and noble lie around him,
Cold on Flodden's fatal hill.
All so thick they lay together,
When the stars lit up the sky,
That I knew not who were stricken
Or who yet remained to die.'¹

Besides her husband, the pious builder of the Convent of the Sciennes lost her brother, the second Earl of Bothwell:—

'Earl Adam Bothwell,—he who died
On Flodden by his sovereign's side.
Long may his lady look in vain!
She ne'er shall see his gallant train
Come sweeping back through Crichton-Dean.
'Twas a brave race before the name
Of hated Bothwell stained their fame.'²

A late accomplished friend and kinsman, much addicted, among many other pursuits, to genealogy, compiled a list of our common ancestors, lineal and collateral, who fell at Flodden, amounting to nearly *forty*. The fatality of the battle to the gentry of Scotland may be judged from the experience of the Balmuto family, whose losses—including in the forty aforesaid—were as follows:—

Sir Alexander Boswell of Balmuto; Thomas Boswell of Auchinleck, his brother; Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, his father-in-law; Robert Douglas of Loch Leven, his aunt's husband; Sir David Wemyss of that ilk, his cousin; George, Master of Angus, and William Douglas of Glenbervie, sons of 'Bell-the-Cat,'³ his wife's first and his own second cousins; Robert Arnot of Woodmylne, related to Balmuto and his wife.

Sir Richard Maitland devotes several pages to the enumera-

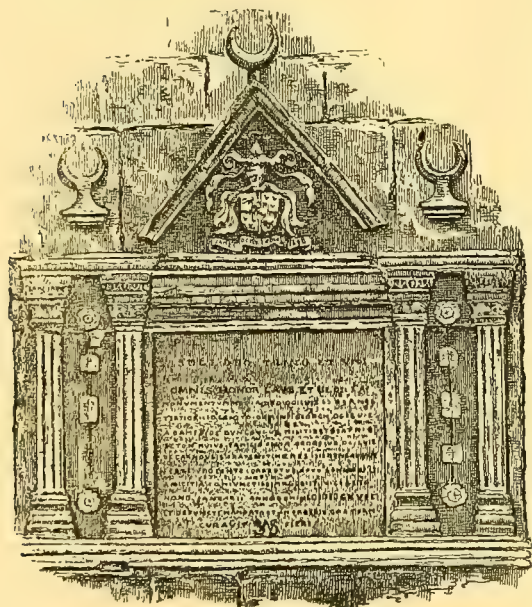
¹ Aytoun's *Edinburgh after Flodden*, stanza 11. See also *Marmion*, canto v. stanza 26.

² *Marmion*, canto iv. stanza 12.

³ Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus (the Red Douglas), whose grandson, the sixth Earl, married Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., and

widow of James IV. The Earl of Douglas, the last of the *black* Douglasses, died, a prisoner, at Lindores about 1488. The fall of the *red* Douglasses—the younger branch of the family—was effected by the attainder of the sixth Earl of Angus, by James V., forty years later.

tion of the many good deeds of the fifth Lord's 'nobill and wyse ladye,' who 'remanit wedow continualie xlv years.' She guided her son's 'leving' till he came of age, and then removed to the 'place of the Senis, on the Borrow Mure, besyd Edinburgh,' where she remained to the end of her life. Lady Seton appears to have most efficiently discharged her duty in the matrimonial line. Besides effecting the two marriages of her daughter, already referred to, and paying 'bayth the tocharis,' 'sche helpit to marie' two of the daughters of her son, George, sixth Lord Seton, in his lifetime—one to the Earl of Menteith, and another to the laird of Restalrig, helping to pay the 'tocharis' in both cases; and after his decease she married two more of his daughters to the son and heir of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Dunlugus, and



OGILVY MONUMENT IN SETON CHURCH.

Hugh, Master of Somerville, respectively, paying a considerable portion of their dowries. She also 'coft the ladie of Caristoun,' and gave her in marriage to her son's second son, John, besides giving him the lands of Foulstruther in East Lothian. Further, shortly after her son's death, she gave 'large sowmes of money' to her daughter and her son's children—to her daughter, the Countess of Eglinton, 500 merks; and to her grandchildren, John of Cariston, 700 merks; Marion, Countess of Menteith, 500

merks; Beatrix, Lady of Dunlugus, and Eleanor, Mistress of Somerville, 300 merks each. She also left 'into her Testament dyuers sowmes of money, to be gevin to hir freyndis, to pure folk, and to religious places and kirks.'

Besides building 'the foirwerk of the house of Seytoun aboue the yet,' Lady Janet's benefactions to Seton Church were on a

very extensive scale, and will be described under the architectural achievements of the family. She erected the 'north corss yle,' and removed another 'yle biggit be Dame Katherine Sinclair (widow of William, first Lord Seton), on the south syd of the College Kirk.' She also built a considerable portion of the steeple, founded two prebendaries,¹ and 'biggit thair chalmaris upon voltis.' Among the 'mony ornamentis' which she presented to the family fane were a complete 'stand' of purple velvet, flowered with gold; various chasubles and silk vestments; a silver eucharist; a great chalice of silver, overgilt; a 'pendicle' for the high altar of 'fyne woven arres,' besides other pendicles.

After describing her various donations to the sacred edifice, the family chronicler pronounces an eloquent panegyric on Lady Seton, favourably contrasting her religious liberality with the vaunted doings of warriors and conquerors which 'procedit of maist insasiable gredines and maist crewell tyranny, contrare all law, bayth of God and man.' He quaintly concludes by stating that his object in setting forth 'the actis and deidis of this Ladie' is 'to gif occasioun till all ladyis in tyme to cum that happinnis to be in the said hous, or ony uther hous, to follow the said Ladie in honest conuersation and chastité; and in kyndness and liberalité to the hous quhamto thay ar allayat, and quhamof thay haue thair leving.'

As already indicated, Lady Seton spent the greater portion of her widowhood in the Convent of St. Catherine of Sienna, near Edinburgh, which was mainly erected at her expense.

The Convent of the Sciennes, as it was latterly by corruption called, of which not a single fragment now remains, was one of the last Roman Catholic establishments in Scotland, and probably the *very* last to receive additions to the original foundation. Towards the close of his interesting Preface to the *Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis prope Edinburgum*, Mr. Maidment refers to certain confirmatory evidence of the Setons having been patrons of the Convent, in a curious work, relative to the 'Funeral of the Mass,' printed at Douay in the year 1681, and dedicated

¹ The charter of foundation is embraced in Professor Innes's MS. See Appendix of Miscellanies.

to Sir John Seton of Garleton. In alluding to the pious widow's good deeds, the writer thus expatiates: 'If the Monastery of Seins in Burro-mure, nigh Edinburgh, were standing, it would tell you 'twas hither she retired herself, after the decease of her Lord, to attend in solitude with more freedom to God. I am now defaced; she is dead, who, having chiefly founded me, while she lived conserved and decored me.'

In 1544 the Convent is said to have shared the fate of the metropolis at the hands of the English invaders, and the poor gentlewomen who had spent their lives in devotion within its walls were driven forth from the cloisters, and cast upon a cold-hearted world. The dispersion of the unfortunate nuns is referred to in Catherine Seyton's first conversation with Roland Græme, in the eleventh chapter of the *Abbot*.¹

Besides stating that Lady Seton built the bridge of Musselburgh, Nisbet describes her armorial bearings as they were impaled with those of her Lord 'on the roof of the south hall of Setoun,' and also on a large stone above the gateway. Lady Seton died in the Convent of St. Catherine in the year 1558, and 'was transportit honorablie be her oy (grandson) George (7th) Lord Seytoun, the fyft of that name,' and buried in the choir of Seton Church, beside her husband.



¹ An account of the Convent is given in a paper which I read before the Architectural Institute of Scotland in 1867, and which was privately printed four years afterwards, when the last vestige of the ancient fabric was removed, to make way for a villa in St. Catherine's Place, Grange. I lost no time in placing an iron plate on a stone boulder in front of the villa, to commemorate the interesting edifice—the inscription relative to its demolition, in 1871, being accompanied by the following lines from *Marmion*:

'And thus the Lindsay spoke:—
"Thus clamour still the war-notes when
The King to mass his way has ta'en,
Or to Saint Catherine's of Sienné,
Or Chapel of Saint Rocque."'

I also erected within the grounds of St. Bennet's, my late abode at Morningside, a small cairn, with a short inscription, consisting of a few stones of the demolished establishment, which is engraved in Ballingall's *Edinburgh, Past and Present*, from a drawing by my eldest daughter. The cairn is now picturesquely overgrown with ivy—the family badge; and St. Bennet's is the residence of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh.

Over the circular doorway of the same mansion is reproduced one of Chancellor Seton's legends at Pinkie, where it is no longer visible—'Non ad animi sed fortunarum et agelli modum.'

18. *George, sixth Lord Seton.*

When the sixth Lord succeeded his father in 1513 he must have been comparatively young. He appears to have been served heir to the lordship, baronies, and lands of Seton, Winton, and Tranent, at Haddington, on the 17th of October of that year, and his name occurs in various charters between 1526 and 1548. In the first of these years (15th June 1526) there is a precept for charter of conjunct infeftment to George, Lord Seton, and Elizabeth Hay, his affianced spouse, of the town and lands of Winchburgh, lying in the barony thereof and shire of Linlithgow;¹ and he obtained from King James v. the barony of Winchburgh, with the tenandries thereof (formerly held in ward and relief), in 'free blench for ever.' Besides redeeming certain wadset lands, he got in feu, from Cardinal Beton, the ecclesiastical lands of Kirkliston, Lasswade, and Dalkeith; and 'reparallet and biggit ane grit part' of Niddry Castle, where a monogram, embracing his own initials and those of his wife, is still to be seen in the pediment of the highest south window of the ancient stronghold.

On the 4th of January 1527-8 we find a precept of remission to Lord Seton and six others for remaining from the royal army at Solway; and in October 1529 there is a letter of gift to George, Lord Seton,² his heirs and assignees, of the escheat goods of Cuthbert and Patrick Cranstoun, now pertaining to the King, through their fugitation from the land, for art and part of the slaughter of 'umquhile Andro Reidpath of Deridoun.' About two years later (28th July 1531) there is a precept for confirmation of a charter granted to George, Lord Seton, by John, Lord Hay of Yester, of the lands of Gamylstoun and Redishall, in the barony of Yester, constabulary of Haddington, and shire of Edinburgh; and on the 17th December 1532 we find a gift to Lord Seton, his heirs and assignees, of all the goods, moveable or immoveable, which belonged to the deceased Mr. Christopher Seton, and now per-

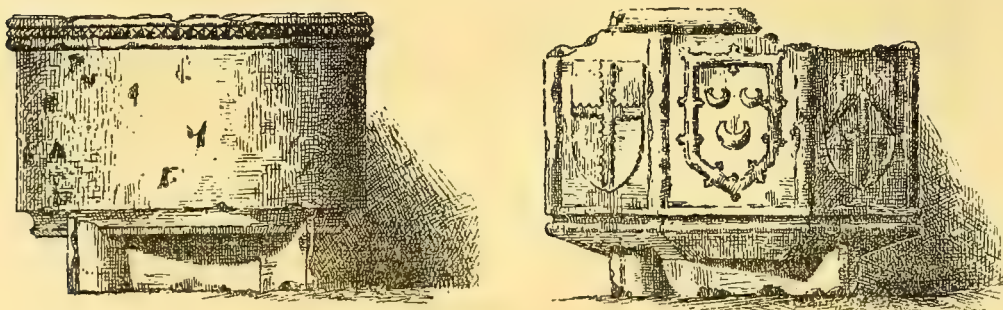
¹ *Register of the Privy Seal*, vi. 69.

² A similar remission was granted, about a month later, to 'William Seytoun in Auchinhufe,'

and three others.—*Register of the Privy Seal*, ix. 23.

taining to the King, by reason of escheat and 'law of bastardy,' because the said Christopher was born and died a bastard, without lawful disposition of his goods in his lifetime.¹

Sir Richard Maitland describes him as a 'wyse and vertuous man,' and alludes to his addiction to sport and manly exercises. 'He was weill experimentit in all games, tuk grit plesour in halking, and was haldin the best falconar in his dayis.' It is somewhat remarkable that, in the year 1849, along with the brass matrix already referred to, a circular font, now within the sacred fane, was dug up outside Seton Church, and was found to contain several coins, *hawks' bells*, etc., which are now preserved at Gosford; and possibly these interesting relics of the ancient pastime may have been used by the 'best falconar' of his day.



FONTS IN SETON CHURCH.

Besides Niddry and Winchburgh, the Setons appear to have at one time possessed the lands of Cragy and Dundas, 'with tower, fortalice,' etc., lying in the shire of Linlithgow.² On the 1st of November 1541 there is a gift to George, Lord Seton, his heirs and assignees, of the escheat goods of Sir David Nisbet, chaplain, pertaining to the King through deforcement made by Sir David and his servants on the King's officers and servants of the sherifffdom of Berwick, when they were pointing for the Castle Wards of the lands of West Nisbet, owing to the King;³ and in the course of the two following years (1542-3) he has letters of gift (1) of the marriage of Robert Logan, younger of

¹ *Register of the Privy Seal*, viii. 5 and 102; ix. 95 and 171.

² 1539-40. *Register of the Privy Seal*, xiii. 18 and xiv. 65.

³ *Ibid.* xv. 45.

Restalrig, and (2) of the escheat goods which pertained to William Halyburton in Wolfstruther, and now in the Queen's hands, in consequence of his having been denounced rebel, and put to the horn for non-payment of £50 to James Kirkcaldy of Grange, treasurer for the time.¹

On the 5th of March 1542 Lord Seton was appointed an extraordinary Lord of Session; and the same year, along with Lords Huntly and Home, he commanded a strong force which was organised to watch the operations of the English army under Norfolk, while James v. himself assembled 30,000 men on the Burgh Muir, near Edinburgh.



BLACKNESS CASTLE.

On the ground that his correspondence with France amounted to treason, Cardinal Beton was suddenly arrested in January 1542-3, and carried to the Castle of Blackness, where he was committed by the Regent Arran to the custody of Lord Seton.

¹ *Register of the Privy Seal*, xvii. 27 and xviii. 28.

After a short imprisonment, the Cardinal contrived to recover his liberty; and, according to some writers, Lord Seton connived at his escape, and allowed him to remove to his castle at St. Andrews, under a merely nominal guard. Knox accuses Sir Richard Maitland of taking a bribe to induce his kinsman Lord Seton to liberate the Cardinal, after the death of James v.; but Sir Ralph Sadler, who was thoroughly acquainted with all the circumstances, asserts in one of his letters that Arran directed Lord Seton to liberate the Cardinal, although, to save appearances with the King of England, he attempted to justify himself by throwing the blame upon Seton.¹

Tytler takes practically the same view. 'Beton,' he says, 'had been delivered by Arran into the custody of Lord Seton, a near relative of the Hamiltons, but a nobleman distinguished for his hereditary loyalty and his attachment to the Romish faith. This peer, if we may believe the asseverations of the Governor, under pretence of inducing Beton to deliver up his castle of St. Andrews, permitted the Cardinal to remove from Blackness to this fortress. Thither he was accompanied by Seton, but with so small a force that the prelate, instead of a captive, remained master in his own palace; and as no attempt was made to punish or even to examine his keeper, it is difficult to resist the inference that Arran was secretly not displeased at his escape.'²

Lord Seton assented to the proposed union of Queen Mary to Prince Edward of England, which Beton is generally believed to have been the means of defeating, after the relative treaty had been concluded by the commissioners of the two kingdoms; and, along with five or six other noblemen, he was appointed by the Scottish Parliament one of the keepers of the young Queen's person.

In May 1544 the Castle and Church of Seton were burnt and destroyed by the 'Inglismen,' after the burning of Edinburgh and Leith; and the invaders completed the spoliation of the Church by carrying away, in their ships, the 'bellis, organis, and all uther tursable (portable) thingis.'

¹ *Archæologia Scotica*, i. 70.

² *History of Scotland*, v. 328.

The public records of the period throw some curious light upon family transactions and disputes, which are mainly connected, as in our own day, with matters of finance or matrimonial alliances. In terms of a contract of marriage, dated 10th April 1527, between George, sixth Lord Seton, and Elizabeth Hay, daughter of John, Lord Hay of Yester, on the 15th of the following June, the said Lord Yester and William Hay of Tallo 'compeared in presence of the Lords of Council,' and bound themselves to pay to Lord George £1000, 'in complete payment of the sum of 3000 merks, for the matrimony to be solemnized.' Mr. Christopher Setoun (not designed) is a witness to the obligation.¹

On the 14th of November 1544 we find a letter of gift of ward to Marioun, Beatrix, Helenor, and Marie Seytoun, daughters lawful of George, sixth Lord Seton, and their assignees, of the gift of the ward of all lands which their father shall happen to possess at the time of his death (making mention that the said Lord had done faithful service since the decease of King James v. to the Queen, her tutor and governor); and the Queen decerns that the present gift shall be of as much avail as if it were made after the death of the said Lord Seton, notwithstanding the fact of its having been made before it.²

A curious process appears in February 1546-47, when Mr. Hew Rig, procurator for George, Lord Seton, alleged that the execution of the summons raised by Oliver Sinclair of Petcaryne against his lordship for the sum of 600 angel nobles, for the ransom of an Englishman called John Dalyvale, was not lawfully executed against the said Lord, he being out of the realm, inasmuch as he should have warned him at the Market Cross by open proclamation at the head burgh of the shire where he dwelt, and that he was summoned at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, where he had no habitation. On the Lords sustaining the objection, the Procurator asked instruments.³ Two later entries relative to the same matter occur in June 1546 and March 1548-49.⁴

¹ *Acta Dom. Conc.*, xxxvii. 136.

² *Register of the Privy Seal*, xviii. 114.

³ *Ibid.* xxviii. 70.

⁴ *Ibid.* xxviii. 101 and 121.

On the 5th of April 1546, the Lords of Council assign to Andrew Johnstoun of Elphingstoun on the one part, and Jane, Lady Setoun, on the other, anent action depending before them, moved by the said Andrew against the said Lady Jane, touching the 'intermynyng' with a coal-heugh, as contained in the summons thereupon.¹

Again, on the 7th of June 1548 there is a precept for charter to George, Lord Seytoun, and Lady Marie Pyerret (*sic*) his spouse, of the town and mains of Winchburgh, with castle, manor, and fortalice of West Niddry, in the shire of Linlithgow, which belonged to the said Lord George heritably, and were personally assigned by him in the hands of the Queen.²

A curious legal protest turns up in December 1549. The Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Beatrix, Helen, and Marie Seton, daughters of the same Lord Seton, produce a summons at the instance of the tenants of Seton, Longniddry, and Tranent, calling upon them to instruct their right to poind and distrain the said tenants; and as the tenants failed to appear, the Lords admitted the protest of the parties summoned, to the effect that they must be cited *de novo* and their expenses refunded.³

Six months later (25th June 1550) we meet with a registered contract of marriage between George, seventh Lord Seton (then about nineteen years of age), and his sister Eleanor (with consent of Mr. Henry Lauder, Queen's Advocate, her curator) on the one part, and Hugh Douglas of Borg, and his son Francis, on the other, in terms of which the said Francis is to marry the said Eleanor, 'in face of the holy kirk,' the bride's tocher amounting to 2500 merks. The proposed union does not appear to have been accomplished, and the bride eventually became the wife of Hugh, seventh Lord Somerville.⁴

Fifteen years afterwards we come across the record of the 'mutilation of the Laird of Borg'—doubtless the *fiancé* of Eleanor Seton, which seems to indicate a family feud, probably resulting from some difficulties connected with the contemplated

¹ *Register of the Privy Seal*, xxviii. 93.

² *Ibid.* xxii. 9.

³ *Acts and Decrees of the Court of Session*, iii. 211.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 51.

marriage. On the 9th of May 1565, 'George Lord Seytoun, and John Seytoun of Cawraldstoun his brother, James Seytoun, son of umq^{le} John Seytoun of Lathrisk, Alexander Seytoun, brother of Alexander Seytoun of Tullebody, and George Seytoun in Tranent, were denounced Rebels, and put to the horn, and all their moveables ordained to be escheated; and Hugh, Earl of Eglintoun, and Walter Seytoun of Tullebody, were americiated for their not entering the said persons to underly the law for art and part of the mutilation of Francis Douglas of Borg, of his right arm and left hand, at least of the middle finger thereof; thereby rendering him impotent of the same.'¹

On the 4th of February 1550-51 the same young Lord (with the consent of his curators, John, Lord Yester, and Richard Maitland of Lethington) and 'Dame Marie Peryis,'² relict of George, sixth Lord Seton, enter into an agreement, in terms of which Dame Marie renounces all right to 'the tack and assedation of the teind sheaves of the towns of Vencheburghe and Humby in the parish of Kirklestyne,' in consideration of a yearly payment of 40 merks.³

About a year later (31st July 1551), John, Earl of Menteith, raises an action against George, seventh Lord Seton, and his curators, for the production of a contract, dated at Falkland, 8th October 1548, between the Queen's mother (Mary of Lorraine) and Marion Seton, her 'servitrice,' daughter of the deceased George, sixth Lord Seton, on the one part, and the said Earl of Menteith on the other, in which the sixth Lord bound himself as cautioner for the Queen's mother, to pay to Menteith the sum of 2500 merks 'in name of tocher with the said Marion,' and craves the transference of the contract to George, seventh Lord Seton, son and heir of the original contractor. (Marion Seton married John, fourth Earl of Menteith, in 1548.) Two and a half years afterwards (16th December 1553), the cautionary obligation is duly transferred to the said seventh Lord Seton.⁴

¹ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part II. p. 465.

greatly in the different entries, *e.g.* Peryis, Piers, Piere, Pers, Pier, Peir, and Pyerret.

³ *Acts and Decrees*, iv. 321.

² The spelling of this lady's surname varies

⁴ *Ibid.* v. 218 and viii. 371-2.

On the 12th of January 1551-52, 'Letters are purchased' at the instance of Robert Seton, son of the deceased George, sixth Lord Seton, and Dame Marie Pers his spouse, against George, seventh Lord Seton, 'John Seytoun of Carraldstoun,' and Dame Marie, his mother, 'concerning the appointment of John, Lord Erskine, and Mr. Robert Crichton, as his curators—which appointment was duly made.'¹

About four years later (6th October 1554), 'Dame Marie Piere, relict of George (sixth) Lord Seittoun, with advice and consent of Piere de Clovis, Signor Bryant, now her spouse,' and two Edinburgh burgesses, as her cautioners, binds herself to refund to Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar, whom failing to his son Sir William Hamilton of Glenmure, the sum of 500 merks paid to her by the elder Sir William 'in name of Marie Seittoun her daughter' (Queen Mary's *fille d'honneur*) under the contract of marriage between George, seventh Lord Seton, and Isabel, daughter of the said Sir William Hamilton the elder. This obligation is accompanied by an assignation by 'Marie Seittoun,' in favour of her half-brother George, seventh Lord Seton, of her share of a gift of £1000 to herself and her (half) sisters Beatrix and Eleanor.²

On the 9th of April 1557, 'Dame Marie Pers, Lady Setoun' sues John (first Baron of Cariston), Beatrix, and Helenor, son and daughters of the deceased George, sixth Lord Seton, spouse to the said Dame Marie, for having arrested, 'for what cause she knows not,' all the mails, fermes, and duties of her conjunct fee, terce, and liferent lands within the realm, in consequence of her having intromitted with the goods and gear of her deceased husband. 'Dame Marie' avers that the arrestment had been 'wrongously and sinisterly' purchased before her departure to France; but the Lords of Council decide that she must find sufficient caution for the sum of £245, 15s. 11d. due to the arresters.³

The *second* son of George, sixth Lord Seton, by his second wife, Dame Marie Piers, turns up in a 'Supplication' dated 29th January 1562-3, by George, seventh Lord Seton, against Dame

¹ *Acts and Decrees*, xxii. 451.

³ *Ibid.* xiv. 306.

² *Ibid.* viii. 622.

Marie, for production of a charter and sasine of the lands of Mylthoun, in the barony of Tranent, made by George, sixth Lord Seton, in favour of the deceased *James* Seton, his son.¹

Two months later we come across an action at the instance of James Seton's elder brother, Robert Seton, and his curators, against George, seventh Lord Seton, Margaret Henderson, relict of Robert Kaidisle (Caddell?), and Marion Henderson, 'for their wrongous occupation of the lands of Myldis, for the space of five years.'²

At Stirling, on the 28th of May 1565, 'Robert and Marie Seytoun,' son and daughter of the deceased George, sixth Lord Seton, with consent of Robert's curators, as assignees of their mother, 'Dame Marie Pier,' to her terce, conjunct fee, and liferent lands and profits thereof, bind themselves to transfer to their mother a decret against George, seventh Lord Seton, relative to certain sums of money.³

About two years later (at Seton, 14th February 1567-68) there is an 'Interdiction by the aforesaid Robert Seytoun,' now designed 'of Greendykes,' that, 'for certane ressonnabill caussis and considerationis,' he shall not sell or dispone any of his lands, without the special consent of his (half) brother George, seventh Lord Seton, and Dame Marie Peir, Lady Seytoun, his mother, and Mr. John Spens of Conde, and Robert Crichton of Eliok, Advocates to the Queen.⁴

On the 27th of March 1574 an agreement is made by 'Dame Marie' (taking burden upon her for her children Robert and Mary), with George, seventh Lord Seton, and Robert, Master of Seton, his son and apparent heir—brother and apparent heir of the deceased George, 'Master and fiar of Seton'—whereby she accepts the sum of 4250 merks owing to her by Lord Seton; and on the same date we find two 'Restorations' by 'Robert and Marie Seytoun,' son and daughter of George, sixth Lord Seton, and Dame Marioun Peir—in Robert's case, of all the lands, profits, etc., which had been assigned to him by his mother; and in Marie's case, of her share of the 4250 merks above mentioned.

¹ *Acts and Decrees*, xxv. 248.

² *Ibid.* xxvi. 129.

³ *Ibid.* vii. 161.

⁴ *Ibid.* x. 23.

The sister's 'Restoration' is dated at 'Chaisterwod,' 15th October 1570; and two years later, at the same place, she grants a 'letter of factory' to her mother.¹

On the 30th of June 1574, Dame Marie Peir grants a discharge, at Edinburgh, to George, seventh Lord Seton, and his son and heir Robert, for the sum of 1000 merks—her own son Robert of Greendykes being a witness.²

Finally, at Tranent, on the 15th of November 1596, 'Dame Helenor Seytoun, Lady Somervell,' grants an 'obligation' to John Dingwall, messenger in Edinburgh, for £42, 'and that for ready and thankful service and execution of letters done by him.'³

The sixth Lord Seton was twice married—1st (in 1527) to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John, third Lord Yester, by whom he had two⁴ sons and five daughters:

1. George, seventh Lord Seton, and
2. John, first of the family of Cariston.⁵

3. Jean, the eldest daughter, appears to have died at the age of two years, while

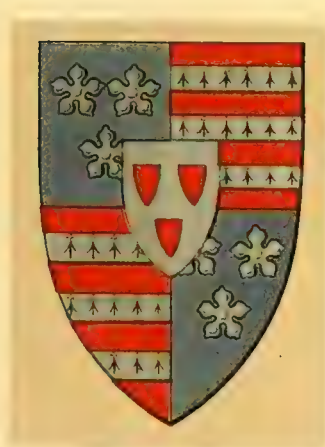
4. Marion, 'servatrice' or Lady of the Household to Mary of Lorraine, married, 1st, in 1548, John, fourth Earl of Menteith, and, 2nd, John, eleventh Earl of Sutherland;

5. Margaret married Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig;

6. Beatrix married George, eldest son of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Dunlugas (ancestor of Lord Banff); and

7. Eleanor (or Helen) married Hugh, Master of Somerville, afterwards seventh Lord Somerville.

Lord Seton's second wife was Mary Pieris or Pyeres, a French lady, who accompanied Mary of Lorraine to Scotland in 1538, 'for the which cause he obtained of King James the fifth



¹ *Acts and Decrees*, xiii. 82, 84, 85.

² *Ibid.* xiii. 193.

³ *Ibid.* lix., 30th January 1597-98.

⁴ Douglas gives a *third* son, James.

⁵ Appendix of Cadets.

the Baronie of Winchburgh to be holden in free blench with the Tenandries y^tof which before held ward and relief.’¹ The issue of this marriage was two sons and one daughter :

1. Robert, who, on the 22nd of February 1562-63, had a charter of the lands of Greendykes, in the barony of Tranent, and whose name occurs more than once in the extracts already given from the Register of ‘Acts and Decrets.’

2. James, of Myltoun, also in the barony of Tranent, who died before January 1562.

3. Mary, of whom afterwards.

Neither of the two sons appears to have left any descendants. As we shall afterwards see, a charter of the lands of Greendykes was granted by the third Earl of Winton to Sir John Seton of St. Germain, in 1617, which would seem to indicate that these lands had reverted to the main line of the family.

The following curious entry occurs in the Treasurer’s Accounts, under date February 1538-39 :

‘Item deluerit to the French potinger (apothecary) for droggs gevin be him in Falkland at the Lord Seytounis handfasting xl. s.’

In Jamieson’s Scottish Dictionary, Handfasting is defined to be ‘Marriage with the encumbrance of some canonical impediment not yet bought off.’²



¹ Seton Genealogy by Sir Richard Maitland ; MS. in Advocates’ Library (34. 6. 19).

² John, Lord Maxwell, and a sister of the Earl of Angus were handfasted in 1572.—Chalmers’s *Caledonia*, iii. 104 note.

A perversion of this custom appears to have continued till near the end of the seventeenth century. Pennant, in his *Tour in Scotland*, refers to the practice as being formerly prevalent in the upper part of Eskdale, and describes the procedure as being connected with an annual

fair, at which the unmarried of both sexes looked out for mates, went off in pairs, and cohabited till the next return of the fair, on a species of probation, either party being entitled to withdraw from the engagement. The custom appears to have prevailed in the Hebrides and other parts of Scotland, and traces of it are to be met with in France. Where both parties were willing to adhere to each other, the marriage appears to have been duly solemnised in the face of the Church.

Doubtless this was preliminary to Lord Seton's *second* marriage, and the French apothecary appropriately appears in connection with the foreign bride. If it had been the first marriage the barrier of consanguinity might possibly have intervened, but that is not likely to have been an impediment in the case of the union with the French lady. The *place* of the occurrence suggests the probability of the King (James v.) having been present on the occasion, as Falkland was one of his favourite residences.

Lord Seton died on the 17th of July 1549, in the Abbey of Culross, and was buried in the choir, 'becaus the Inglishmen were in Haddingtoun, and war maisteris of Eist Lothyane. Bot efter, quhan the peax was tane, and the Inglismen had left Haddingtoun, his bodie was tane up, being in ane kist, and transportit be his wyf and freyndis to the Collage Kirk of Seytoun, quhair he was honestlie buriat, in the queir thairof, besyd his fader.'

From a document already referred to we have seen that his widow, Dame Marie Piers, had become the wife of Pierre de Clovis (or Cluise), Seigneur de Bryante, before the end of 1554. She continued, after her second marriage, to call herself 'Lady Seytoun,' but was generally known as 'Madame de Bryante,' under which name she appears in the lists of the Queen's ladies of honour in 1562 and 1567. In the deposition of French Paris she is referred to as being in the Queen's chamber on the morning after Darnley's murder. 'Le Lundy matin, entre neuf et dix heures, ledict Paris dict qu'il entra dans la chambre de la Royne, laquelle estoyt bien close, et son lict tendu du noyr en signe de dueil, et de la chandelle allumee dedans la ruelle, la ou Madame de Bryant luy donnoyt à desieusner d'ung oeuf frais, la ou aussy Monsieur de Boduel arryve et parle à elle secretement soubz courtine.'¹

In August 1570 Madame de Bryante writes a long and interesting letter to the Queen from Dunkeld,² where she had gone to be present at the gathering of the Queen's friends, known

¹ Anderson's *Collections relating to Mary Queen of Scots*, ii. 202.

² MS. Cot. Caligula, c. ii. f. 32-33, Brit. Mus.; quoted in *Les Écossais en France*, ii. 68.

as 'the witches of Athole.' The letter was intercepted, and owing to certain reflections which she made on public affairs, she and her son were subjected to a brief imprisonment. On the 4th of September 1570, 'Dame Marye de Pyeris, Lady Seytoun and Robert Seytoun hir sone,' were brought before the Court of Justiciary. Before the calling of the assize, objection was taken by her that her husband should be cited, he being 'hir heid.' There is a blank in the record, which affords no information regarding the nature of the charge. It may, however, be conjectured, from the religious tenets of the Seton family, that the accused were put upon their trial for hearing Mass.¹ Madame de Bryante returned to France in 1574, with letters of recommendation from the Queen to the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Cardinal of Lorraine, in which she is described as 'la bonne et vertueuse dame de Seyton, ancienne servante de la feue Royne, ma mère, et de moy.' Writing from Sheffield, on the 20th of February 1575, to the Archbishop, the Queen says: 'I forgot to tell you that I wrote to you some time ago, begging you to assist the good Lady Seyton in her affairs, with my name and interest. . . . Remember me to her, and let her be paid agreeably to what you will perceive to be my intention in the memorandum.' Madame de Bryante died about two years afterwards (1576), her second husband having predeceased her in 1570.

¹ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part II. p. 14.



SHIELD OF ARMS AT LENNOX-LOVE.



CATHERINE SEYTON OF THE ABBOT.

Mary Seton.

Mary, the only daughter of George, sixth Lord Seton, by his *second* wife, Dame Marie Pieris, occupies an interesting position in Scottish history, as the most devoted of the maids of honour of Mary Queen of Scots. In Dr. Joseph Robertson's learned Preface to the *Inventories of Queen Mary* (printed by the Bannatyne Club)—which embrace costly bequests 'aux quatre Maries'—we find several curious particulars regarding Mary Seton's chequered career. Along with three other Maries—Fleming, Livingston, and Beton—she appears to have been with her youthful sovereign in France from 1548 to 1561; and these

four maidens have a place in the rôle of beauties of the Court of King Henry II. and Queen Catherine of Medicis.¹

Bishop Leslie, in his *History of Scotland*, thus refers to Mary Stuart's departure for France: 'The Quene being as than betuix fyve and sax yeiris of aige . . . was embarqued in the Kingis awin gallay, and with her the Lord Erskyn and Lord Levingstoun, quha had bene hir keparis, and the Lady Fleming hir fader sister, with sindrie gentilwemen and nobill mennis sonnes and dochteris, almoist of her awin aige; of the quhilkis thair wes four in speciall, of whome everie one of thame buir the samen name of Marie, being of four syndre honorable houses, to wyt Fleming, Levingstoun, Setoun, and Betoun of Creich; quho remanit all foure with the Quene in France, during her residens thair, and returned agane in Scotland with hir Majestie in the yeir of our Lorde I^mv^elxi yeris.'

The following reference to the French education of the four Maries is from 'Comptes de la maison des enfants de France pour l'année 1551'—orig. sur parchemin: 'Ces quatre jeunes filles ne resterent pas longtemps auprès d'elle (Queen Mary). Le roi les éloigna pour lui faire oublier l'Ecosse, et chargea Françoise de Vieuxpont, prieure des dominicaines de Poissy, de les élever et de leur apprendre à lyre, escrire et faire ouvrages.'²

In his recent work on *Scotland as it Was and Is*, the Duke of Argyll alludes to Queen Mary's departure from the land of her nativity in 1548: 'From the short grassy slope which dips into the Clyde, on the western face of Dumbarton Castle, Mary Queen of Scots, in her early childhood, with her attendant "Four Maries," was carried into the barge which bore her off to be the

¹ Brantôme, v. 74.

² *La Première Jeunesse de Marie Stuart*, par le Baron Alphonse de Ruble; Paris, 1891.

Speaking of the Queen in 1558, the Baron says: 'Marie Stuart avait alors seize ans. Blonde comme les filles du Nord . . . sa taille était moyenne et bien prise, sa voix douce et harmonieuse, sa démarche d'une élégance exquise. . . . Ses yeux bleus. . . . Les portraits donnent une faible idée de sa beauté.' Among the 'officiers' of the children of King Henry II. in 1559 he mentions: 'Gentilshommes—Jehan

S. de Flamyn—and *Georges de Lor*, (?) S. de *Ceton*'; and among the 'Dames, damoiselles, et femmes de chambre' of Mary Stuart: 'Madame de Flamyn, gouvernante, hors en 1551. . . . Mademoiselle Hamilton, fille du Gouverneur d'Ecosse et Miel Stuart, sa gouvernante; Anne de Flamyn, damoiselle; Marie de Flamyn, damoiselle; *Marie de Seton*, fille de Monsieur de Seton; Marie Levington, fille de Monsieur Levington; Marie Beton . . . *Marie Jehanne Seton*, femme de chambre.'

bride of France'; and in a letter to his friend Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Sir Walter Scott makes an interesting reference to the *filles d'honneur*. 'The Queen's Maries,' he says, 'are mentioned both by Buchanan and Keith. They were four young ladies of high family, sent to France along with their mistress. Their names were Seton, Beton, Fleming, and Livingston. The two last are in the ballad exchanged for Hamilton and Carmichael: but the Mary Hamilton of the ballad is a creation of tradition—the real sufferer was a French waiting-woman.'¹

The words of the ballad are almost too well known to require repetition:

'Yestreen the Queen had four Maries,
The night she'll hae but three;
There was Marie Seton, and Marie Beton,
And Marie Carmichael, and me.'

Although Mary Carmichael was not one of the original 'four Maries,' she occupied the position of a maid of honour a few years after the Queen's return to Scotland in 1561.

Before leaving France, Mary Seton, along with her royal mistress, visited the Convent at Rheims, of which the Abbess was Renée of Lorraine, a sister of the Queen's mother; and by a strange coincidence, some fifty-five years afterwards, she closed her earthly career in the same peaceful retreat.

Knox thus refers to the Queen's return to her native land: 'The nintein day of August 1561 yeirs, betwene seven and eight hours befor none arryved Marie Quene of Scotland, then wedo, with two gallies furth of France: in her cumpany, besydes her gentilwomen, called the *Maries*, wer hir thrie uncles, the Duke d'Omal, the grand prior, the Marques d'Albufe.'

'Her comely form and graceful mien
Bespoke the Lady and the Queen;
The woes of one so fair and young
Moved every heart and every tongue.
Driven from her home, a helpless child,
To brave the winds and billows wild;
An exile bred in realms afar,
Amid commotion, broil, and war:

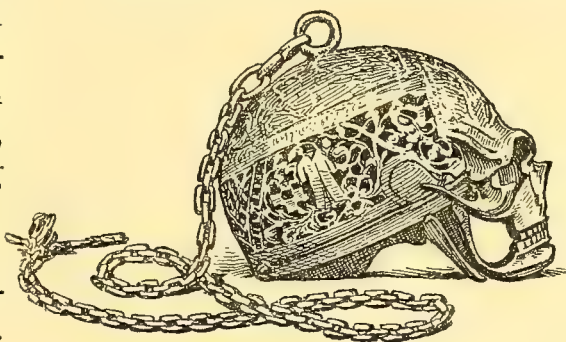
¹ C. K. Sharpe's *Correspondence*, i. 147.

In one short year her hopes all crossed,—
 A parent, husband, kingdom lost !
 And all ere eighteen years had shed
 Their honours o'er her royal head.
 For such a Queen, the Stuarts' heir,
 A Queen so courteous, young, and fair,
 Who would not every foe defy !
 Who would not stand ! who would not die !'¹

Besides a short memoir of Mary Seton by Miss Strickland, which appeared in a monthly magazine about the year 1868, a more recent biography is embraced in Mrs. Fenwick Miller's little volume, entitled *In Ladies' Company—Six interesting Women*—of whom Mary Seton is the first in order. According to Miss Strickland, she was the youngest of the 'Four Maries'; and, as we shall afterwards see, she must have been born about the year 1541. Both her mother and her half-sister Marion (Countess of Menteith) held the position of maid of honour to Mary of Lorraine, while she herself was similarly associated with Mary Stuart for the long period of thirty-six years.

After the death of Francis II., his disconsolate young widow presented Mary Seton with a valuable *memento mori* watch, in the form of a death's-head, and of very curious workmanship, which is now in the possession of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, a descendant of the Setons of Pitmedden. The accompanying illustration is reproduced from the *Scottish National Memorials*, published in 1890.² On the watch

is engraved a pictorial representation of the temptation and fall of our first parents, the entrance of death being represented by a grim skeleton, in illustration of the Latin legend—*Peccando perditionem, miseriam æternam*.



Another gift of Queen Mary to her devoted attendant—probably on a more auspicious occasion—was a beautiful medallion necklace of white enamel, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, in a setting

¹ Introduction to the 'Ettrick Shepherd's' *Queen's Wake*. ² See also Smith's *Historical Antiquities*.

of gold filigree with corresponding brooch and earrings, which till very lately were in the possession of the Eglinton family. This and



other family jewels were left by the thirteenth Earl of Eglinton to his four daughters. In consequence of some difficulty about their subdivision, the trinkets were sold in London, in February 1894, when the 'Mary Seton Necklace' was purchased for Sir Algernon Borthwick for £365, while another magnificent necklace of black pearls, each set in a cluster of brilliants, was acquired by Sir John Blundell Maple, M.P., for £3450, described by the buyer as 'only the price of a racehorse'! In the catalogue of the sale, the Seton necklace was stated to have been brought into the Eglinton family, along with a picture by Holbein, 'on a marriage of a Montgomerie with the heir of the Setons about the year 1611.' In point of fact, the union in question was between Sir Alexander Seton (Greysteel) and the heiress of Eglinton.

Mr. Hay of Duns Castle, heir of line of the Setons, Viscounts

Kingston, still possesses what is evidently the principal portion of the Eglinton necklace. When residing at Duns, many years ago, the thirteenth Earl of Eglinton was struck by its remarkable resemblance to the trinket in his possession. Probably, at one time, the two portions formed *one* very fine jewel; and Mr. Hay inclines to think that it is more likely to have been worn by a *male* member of the family—probably the seventh Lord Seton. The Duns jewel consists of seventeen white and gold enamelled S's and sixteen green enamelled serpents representing the same letter. Each of the seventeen is placed upon a blue enamelled 'I,' and bears, in the centre, three rubies set in gold; while each of the sixteen has two pearls in each loop, with a ruby on each side, set in gold. A circular pendant of pearls, rubies, and emeralds is a modern addition. The letter 'S' may, of course, stand for Stuart as well as Seton.

A third present from Queen Mary to Mary Seton—called in the family papers 'The Tables'¹—is an elaborately engraved silver-gilt draught and backgammon board, which is still, happily, preserved at Duns Castle. Besides two small



gold dice, there are thirty 'men,' one half being silver and the

¹ King James I. played at 'the tables' on the night of his murder at Perth in 1437.—Robertson's *Inventories of Queen Mary*, lxxi, note 5.

other half gilt, each bearing the letter 'V' on one side, and the letter 'K' on the other, which are perhaps intended to stand for *Viscount Kingston*.¹

In a gossip letter to Lord Rutland, dated 10th June 1563, Randolph, the English ambassador, when describing the Queen's equestrian procession to Parliament, states that she was followed by 'noblemen's wives as they were in dignity, twelve in number; and after them the four virgins, the maids, the Maries, Demoiselles of honour, the Queen's mignonnes, call them as you please, your honour, but a fairer sight was never seen.'² Within eighteen months of the Queen's own wedding, three of these maidens entered the ranks of matronage. First, Mary Livingstone, who married a younger son of Lord Semple; a few months later, Mary Beton, who became the wife of Alexander Ogilvie of Boyne; and early in the following year (1566), Mary Fleming, who accepted the hand of Secretary Maitland, twenty years older than his bride.

A week after Darnley's assassination, the Queen withdrew to Seton Palace, on which occasion it is said that Mary Seton was her bed-fellow.³ On the 14th of June 1567 she found her way to the same 'old haunt,' and at the surrender on Carberry Hill, the following day, she was accompanied on horseback by Mary Seton. A curious contemporary tinted sketch of the

¹ Other royal gifts to Mary Seton are recorded in Dr. Robertson's *Inventories*. Dec. 1562, 'À Mademoiselle de Ceton deux aulnes de satin noir.' Sept. 1563, 'À Madamoyselle de Seton (et Leuiston) vne aulne trois quartz de toille d'or figurée.' In 1566, 'Aux quatre Maries—Quatre petis diamant de diuerse façon'; and the same year, 'Tous mes ouurasges maches (cuffs?) et collets aux quatre Maries à Jene Stuart à Marie Arsqin Sonderland et à toutes les filles.' In a testamentary document executed by the Queen in Edinburgh Castle, in June 1566, in the event of death in childbirth, she bequeaths to Mary Seton—'A piece of embroidery; an embroidered douillette (quilted silk gown); and a girdle enriched with gold.'

² Jamieson in his *Scottish Dictionary* defines the word 'Maries' as 'the name given to the maids of honour in Scotland, and quotes a passage from Pitscottie relative to the time of

James V., in which the word is so used. He is inclined to think that the term is a very ancient one, and says that, in England, the expression 'Queen's Meys' is equivalent to the Queen's Maids. 'Hence,' he concludes, 'it is highly probable that our term *Marie* is an official designation, and allied to Isl. *maer*, a maid, a virgin.'

³ In referring to the recent sale of Mary Seton's Necklace, the editor of *Golf* (March 1894) endeavours to establish the fact that the Queen's faithful follower occasionally indulged in the popular pastime to whose interests his journal is devoted. As an instance of Mary Stuart's indifference to Darnley's fate, her adversaries affirmed that 'few dayes eftir the murthir remaning at Halyrudehous, she past to Setoun, exercing hir one day richt oppenlie at the feildis with the palmall and golf.'—Robertson's *Inventories of Mary Queen of Scots*, lxxi, note 1.

Queen Mary's Surrender at Carberry.

Salisbury.

Salisbury.



Salisbury.

Salisbury.

Salisbury.

episode (22 × 14 inches) is preserved in the Record Office,¹ in which the Queen wears a black riding hat and jacket, and a red and yellow skirt—the royal colours of Scotland—while Mary Seton is attired in a similar garb, with the addition of a white veil. The sketch shows the position of the Queen's camp, the troops of Lords Morton and Home, and Kirkaldy of Grange, and the manner of the Queen's surrender—as well as the position of Musselburgh and other places in the vicinity.

In the summer of 1567, immediately before Queen Mary's removal to Lochleven, the Confederate Lords appear to have treated her with great indignity; and a contemporary chronicler (the Captain of Inchkeith) informs us that, as she was harshly led along the High Street of Edinburgh by the Earls of Morton and Athole, 'pressing very close to her, came her ladies, Mistress Semple and Mademoiselle de Seton.'

When the Queen was consigned to the solitude of Lochleven, her attendant maidens appear to have been almost destitute of garments. In a note to her Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Robert Melville, the Queen quaintly says:—'Also ye shall not fail to send my maidens' clothes, for they are naked, and marvel ye have not sent them since your departing from me.'

An unfinished piece of tapestry, about twelve yards in length and one in breadth, executed during the Queen's Kinross-shire captivity, is still in the possession of Lord Morton at Dalmahoy, which, doubtless, embraces some of Mary Seton's needlework. In a future page, under the notice of the seventh Lord Seton, the Queen's escape from Lochleven, on the 2nd of May 1568, after an imprisonment of ten and a half months, will be incidentally referred to. While Mary Seton donned the Queen's black dress, the royal captive assumed the costume of the Castle washer-woman, and after two bold attempts succeeded in reaching the shore. Mary Seton and Madame Courcelles pluckily remained behind, and some weeks afterwards rejoined the Queen at Carlisle. Mrs. Miller remarks that 'as Mary Seton could wear the Queen's

¹ *State Papers—Scotland*, 1509-89—Elizabeth, vol. xiii. No. 58. 'Drawing, in colours, repre-

senting the meeting of the Lords with the Queen of Scotland in field.'

clothes, it is obvious that she must have been something near the same size as her mistress,' who is known to have been considerably above the average height. I have already referred to the exceptionally lofty stature of the Setons; and accordingly it may be reasonably supposed that the Queen's faithful follower exhibited the family characteristic.

On the other hand, in Whyte-Melville's pleasing romance of Holyrood, *The Queen's Maries*, while the accomplished author informs us that Mary Beton, the eldest of the four—called by the Queen 'The Duenna'—was 'half a head taller than her companions,' he persistently dwells upon the shortness of Mary Seton—'a bewitching *little* maid of honour, a lively, laughing, *little* maiden—her figure, though exquisitely shaped, of the *smallest*—a will-o'-the-wisp in petticoats, who flitted hither and thither among the courtiers.' Elsewhere, he probably more truly describes her 'dark eyes and eyelashes, with a profusion of light hair'—(another family characteristic)—calls her 'saucy Mistress Seton'—refers to her as combing the Queen's 'chestnut tresses'—and accentuates her celibacy and devotion to her sovereign.¹

Mary Seton is extolled by her royal mistress as the finest dresser of hair in Christendom.

' My maids, come to my dressing bower,
And deck my nut-brown hair;
Where'er ye laid a plait before,
Look ye lay ten times mair.'²

Sir Francis Knollys writes to Cecil from Carlisle, on the 26th of June 1568:—'Now here are six waiting-women, although none of reputation but Mistress Mary Seton, who is praised by this Queen to be the finest *busker*, that is to say the finest dresser

¹ Sir Walter Scott, in the *Abbot*, substituted 'Catherine' for Mary—probably to avoid the confusion that would have arisen from *two* Marys—and makes her the daughter instead of the half-sister of the Queen's 'truest friend.' Again, in his description of her 'beautiful figure, pretty foot, round arms and taper fingers,' the novelist erroneously represents her as sixteen instead of *twenty-six*.

The *Abbot* was published in September 1820. Writing to Scott from Edinburgh, on the 20th

of July, Lockhart says: 'Mr. Erskine, by the way, has seen the sheets of the first volume of the *Abbot*, and agrees with me perfectly that it at least equals *Waverley*, *Ivanhoe*, and the *Antiquary*.' Mr. Erskine, afterwards Lord Kinneder, was one of Sir Walter's most intimate friends.

² The *Abbot*, chap. xxi. In a later chapter (xxx.), Sir Walter makes the Queen address Mary *Fleming*, as 'the best dresser of tires that ever busked the tresses of a Queen.'

of a woman's head of hair that is to be seen in any country; whereof we have seen divers experiences since her coming hither. And among other pretty devices, yesterday and this day she did set such a curled hair upon the Queen, that was said to be a perewyke, that showed very delicately. And every other day she hath a new device of head-dressing, without any cost, and yet setteth forth a woman gaylie well.'

In her letters preserved in the Record Office, Mary Seton's handwriting bears a striking resemblance to that of her mistress. 'The only drawback to it was that, as Queen Mary herself observed, it was easily imitated by the forger's vile art.'¹

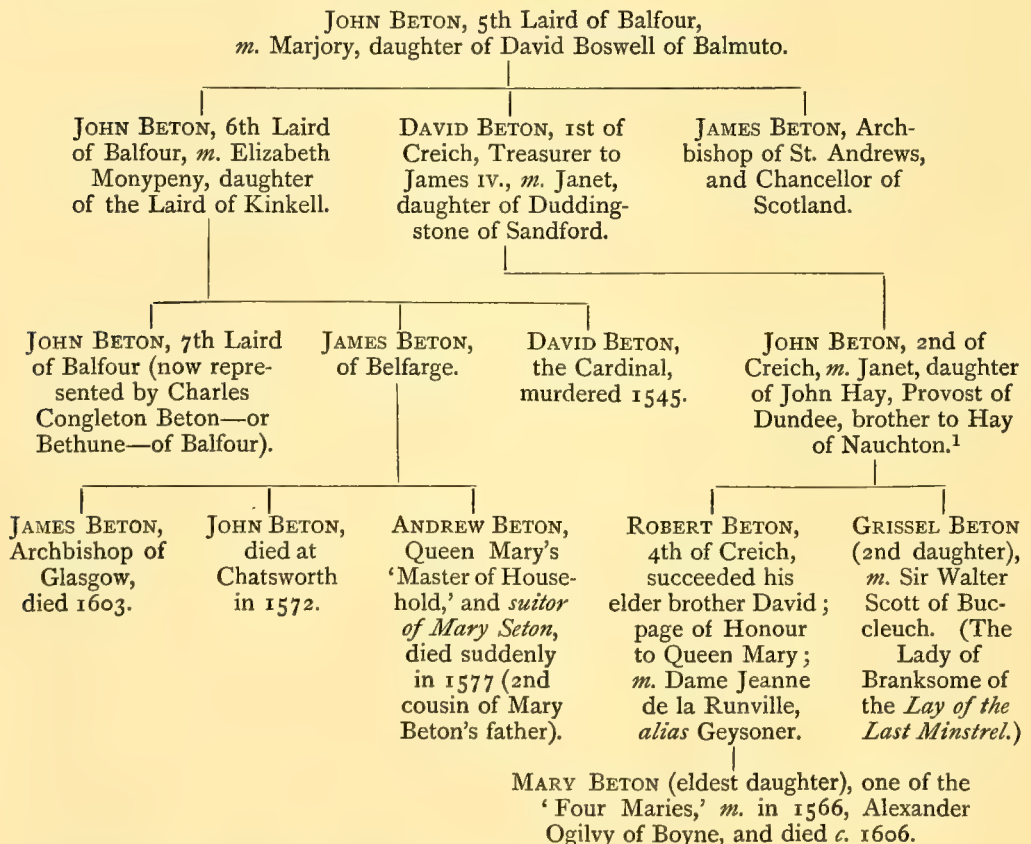
After a brief sojourn in Carlisle Castle, the Queen was removed, in July, to Bolton, the residence of Lord Scrope, whose wife was sister of the Duke of Norfolk. From Bolton she was taken to Tutbury Castle, Staffordshire, in the following January; and, two months afterwards, the captives found themselves at Wingfield Manor, in the county of Derby, a strong fortalice of the Earl of Shrewsbury. During the sojourn at Wingfield, Mary Seton was wooed by Christopher Norton, a younger son of Sir Richard Norton of Norton Towers, and a zealous adherent of the Scottish Queen, who, along with the object of his affections, had devised a project for the Queen's escape. Engaging, however, in the northern rebellion with his father, uncle, and six brothers, the hapless suitor was taken prisoner, and executed under circumstances of great barbarity.

Mary Seton spent a fortnight with the Queen in the 'Black Bull' hostelry at Coventry, whence the royal party went again to Tutbury, and thence to Chatsworth and Sheffield Manor, another castle of Lord Shrewsbury, where the Queen was kept for many years. Towards the end of 1571, Mary Seton was deprived of her two Scotch servants, John Dumfries and Janet Lindsay, when the number of the Queen's retinue was reduced to ten. While at Chatsworth, in 1572, the Queen lost her Master of the Household, John Beton, who is commemorated by an elaborate sepulchral brass in the lovely village of Endosser. His brother Andrew was appointed to fill his place; and two

¹ *In Ladies' Company*, p. 7, note.

years afterwards, when Mary Seton was upwards of thirty years of age, he appears to have become her ardent admirer. His wit was displayed in the appropriate nicknames which he conferred upon all the members of Lord Shrewsbury's household, and his artistic qualifications are indicated in a letter which refers to his having drawn designs for the Queen's needlework. He asks his brother, the Archbishop of Glasgow, to see, 'for God's sake,' to the due despatch of a hanging of silk which he had ordered for 'Mistress Mary Seton'; and in the same epistle he refers to the watch that the Queen had commissioned for her faithful handmaid.

The subjoined pedigree exhibits the relationship of the various Betons mentioned in the text, and their descent from John, fifth Laird of Balfour:—



¹ A curious account of this marriage and its effect upon the *complexion* of the Beton family

is given by Martin in Macfarlane's *MS. Genealogical Collections* in the Advocates' Library.

Mary Seton was the only one of the four original Maries who never married. The touching story of her love-affair is told by the Queen in two letters, from her prison at Sheffield, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at Paris, written in January and November 1577. Her suitor was a cadet of the house of Balfour; and although Brantôme informs us that it was regarded as a 'fort bonne maison'—it had recently given a cardinal and two archbishops to the Church—there was a question whether he was a fit partner for a daughter of the proud House of Seton.¹

It would appear that, in the first instance, Mary Seton did not reciprocate Beton's warm attachment, and from her earliest years she seems to have preferred celibacy to wedlock. Apart, however, from mere personal considerations, the 'pride' of the Setons had, no doubt, something to do with the maiden's unwillingness to accept Beton's hand. Mrs. Miller suggests that, besides her chivalrous brother, Lord Seton, she had a grandmother to consult in the person of the Dowager Lady Seton—a true *maitresse femme*—who had already successfully dowered other granddaughters, and proved her worldly wisdom in various ways; but, unfortunately for this conjecture, at the period in question the estimable foundress of the Convent of the Sciennes had been in her grave for about sixteen years!

After years of fruitless service, Beton anxiously solicits his brother, the Archbishop, to ask the Queen to use her influence with her *fille d'honneur*, who seems to have been perfectly obdurate, haughtily observing that 'Andrew Beton was a younger brother, of lineage inferior to hers, and not of noble blood, therefore no fitting match for her.' On being further pressed by her mistress, she firmly declared that 'she was not free to marry, having made a vow to devote herself to a life of celibacy.' Whereupon the Queen indites an epistle to the Archbishop, in which she says:—'I have taken the charge upon myself of obtaining a decision on her pretended vow, of which

¹ In answer to a rebuke from Mary Fleming, Catherine Seyton replies: 'You know, my dear Fleming, that I have to contend with both my

father's lofty pride and my mother's high spirit, God bless them! . . . and so I am wilful and saucy.'—*The Abbot* chap. xxiii.

I think nothing; and if the opinions of the doctors coincide with mine as to its nullity, I shall arrange all the rest. As to the first point, our man, Andrew Beton, whom I have brought in presence, has declared a little eagerly, considering the difficulties there will be in it, that he will undertake the journey himself to obtain the dispensation from the vow, and at the same time to settle with you about your coming over in about three months. I will solicit a passport for him, and also one for you, if it be possible to obtain it, for both will be required. Then it will be necessary to write again to her brother, Lord Seton, to ascertain what he wishes me to do, in order to get over the difficulties which are made in our country about the differences of rank and titles. Your brother will explain what I have done in this matter, with which he cannot but be satisfied, and willing to serve me, if possible, more than ever.' In a post-script the Queen adds:—'I have communicated what I have written to the damsel, who reproaches me with having, for the sake of brevity, omitted to enumerate all the circumstances under which she has made her submission as a matter of duty to me, but in the hope of obtaining some indulgence for the observance of her vow, even if it should be nullified, by her inclination having, for a long time, especially since our incarceration, disposed her more to continue in her present state than to enter into that of matrimony. She demurs much on the differences of rank, and says that she has heard the marriages of the two Livingston sisters¹ spoken of slightly, because of their espousing younger brothers, and she fears that her relations, in a country where such etiquettes are kept up, would be of the same opinion in regard to her. But I, as the sovereign of them both, have offered to take upon me to find, as far as in my present state I can, a remedy for this.' Probably the Queen had in contemplation the bestowal of a patent of nobility on Andrew Beton, along with a suitable endowment, to qualify him to wed the bride to whom he aspired.

Overcome by the Queen's solicitations, Mary Seton some-

¹ The 'two Livingston sisters' were Mary and Magdalene, who respectively married younger

sons of Lord Semple and Lord Erskine.

what reluctantly agreed to the proposal, in the event of a nullification of her vow or of a matrimonial dispensation being obtained; and Beton was despatched to France, in August 1577, for the purpose of endeavouring to accomplish the object in view, and overwhelmed with commissions of every kind from the Queen and her retinue. During his absence the Queen informs him that 'she will always act the part of his good friend; but as for imposing the command on Mary Seton he requires, she does not see how she can do it, or in any way add to the declaration she has already made, of doing her utmost to smooth all difficulties that might oppose the accomplishment of his wish.'

After many weeks' detention, during which he is believed to have been successful in obtaining a dispensation, poor Beton was suddenly cut off by small-pox, on his homeward journey; and in the beginning of November the Queen communicates the sad intelligence to the Archbishop of Glasgow. 'The desire I had,' she says, 'of your being allied, by the marriage of your brother with Lord Seton's sister Marie, makes me regret his death the more, in addition to the loss I have sustained of so faithful a subject and servant.'¹

The excitement and anxiety caused by this love-affair, taken in connection with the hardships of her imprisonment, gradually told upon Mary Seton's health, which appears to have begun to give way as early as 1570. In the letter from her mother to the Queen (already referred to), written in August of that year, she expresses great anxiety about her daughter's condition:—'Au reste, Madame, j'avois entendu que ma fille estoit tombée an grande maladie, de quoi estois fort an (en) peine et an voulois prendre la hardiesse faire très-humble requeste me permettre congé l'envoier querir par deçà pour la maladie qu'elle a, ou il a ja fort bon remede, en espetial pour la jonisse; mais veu que plaist à Vostre Ma^{te} faire cet honneur à elle et à moi promettre que prandrés la peine de vous donner soing d'elle, je la lairé encore andurer la fortune et ennui où est Vostre Ma^{te}, que ce ne voudrois faire avec nulle autre. Et quant aux biens que mantionés an

¹ These extracts are chiefly from Prince Labanoff's *Letters of Mary Stuart*.

vostre laistre, je n'an demande de plus grans que l'amitié que vous plaist nous promettre, acompagné de consideration de longs et afectionés très-humble services d'elle et de moi fais à la feu reine vostre mere et a Vostre Ma^{te}, de quoi ne veux douter que n'en fatiés mieux que nous né voudrians vous an importuner.'

Among the 'Demands and Sayings of the Scottish Queen concerning her confinement, with notes by Robert Beale,'¹ dated 3rd December 1581, we find the following:—

Queen's Demands.

'5. That she may have two gentlewomen and two grooms of her chamber to attend upon her, besides the number she now hath, in consideration that divers are sickly.'

'10. That seeing some of her servants are weary of their being there, and desirous to depart, that she may have liberty to discharge them, and to take other in their places.'

Beale's Observations.

'5. She named the Lady Luddington in Mistress Seton's place, which, perhaps, there is no reason to deny unto her: and therefore she may name whom she would have, and then Her Majesty do as she shall see cause.'

'10. Expressly she desired me to get leave for one Courcelles, a French gentlewoman, who has been with her these twenty years, and is desirous to return to France, upon occasion of the death of some of her friends.'

Accordingly, we at length come across a long French letter, dated London, 6th September 1583, from Castelnau² to 'Monsieur Beale, Secretaire et Clerc de Sa Maj^{tie} en Angleterre,' announcing that Mademoiselle de Ceton has arrived in London from the Queen of Scots with 'une autre Damoiselle' (doubtless Courcelles), with the view of retiring to France, 'pour donner ordre à leur santé et affaires comme ne pouuant plus supporter la prison de leur maitresse. Je vous priois aussi, monsieur, de leur faire expedier leur passeport, avec trois ou quartre cheveaux de petit

¹ *Hatfield MSS.*, Brit. Mus., *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Part ii. p. 443.

Robert Beale, besides being a zealous Protestant, was a learned civilian, a collector of books and MSS., and a statesman. He married Edith St. Barb, whose sister was the wife of Sir Francis Walsingham, by whom he was introduced into political life. He more than once went on foreign embassies, and held the offices of secretary for the northern parts, and clerk to the Privy Council. He carried to

Fotheringay the warrant for the execution of Mary Stuart, and read it on the scaffold. His death occurred in 1601.

² Michel de Castelnau, a French nobleman and diplomatist, five times ambassador in England, who greatly befriended Mary Queen of Scots, and warmly interceded on her behalf with Elizabeth. He died in 1592, and his memoirs were translated into English by his daughter Catharine, and published in London in 1724(?).

prix que le meilleur ne vaille pas plus de douze escus.' He further mentions that as the two demoiselles have no business to transact in London, it would be a favour if Her Majesty would furnish the passport as soon as possible, and begs M. Beale to tell the Queen 'que a ce que Jay pu entendre de Mad^{lle} de Ceton qui a toute sa vie esté nourrie sans partir d'ancee Lad^{te} Reyne d'Escoce jusques a cette heure elle m'a assuré l'avoir laissé en vu singulier desir de fére et chercher tous les moyens qui lui sera possible d'avoir la bonne grace de sa Maj^{tie}.'

The three or four horses of 'petit prix' were probably intended to convey the two gentlewomen to some southern port, with the view of embarking for France; and doubtless the desiderated passport was duly supplied. We can hardly wonder to find that the Queen bewails the loss of her faithful attendant. In a letter to the French ambassadors, requesting them to use their good offices to get permission granted to the Countess of Athole,² and her daughter to wait upon her in prison, she complains that she has 'no one of suitable rank and age to bear her company. Formerly,' she pathetically adds, 'Mary Seton and my good Rallay supplied that deficiency, but I am now left in this melancholy solitude alone.' About ten years previously, when writing to the Archbishop of Glasgow relative to Mary Seton's mother, she says: 'Et sa fille, qui tous les jours me fayct service très-agréable, vous sçavez assez sa vertueuse vie et ses merites.'³

Mary Seton's unswerving devotion to Queen Mary is thus truly described by Mrs. Fenwick Miller: 'In every prison, without rest or holiday, Mary Seton is found beside her friend. . . . She never moved from her Queen's side, but shared her confinement in unwholesome gaols, her deprivation of bodily exercise, her lack of variety of scene and company, her hopes and fears, her worries and occupations. . . . Through confinement, disappointment, deprivation, sickness, discomfort, insult, and trouble, Mary Seton was there. They were young women of twenty-five when they entered on their English captivity; they lived in it together till

¹ *Lettres temp. Elizabeth*, Brit. Mus. 5953, f. 48.

Fleming, and sister of one of the 'Four Maries.'

³ Prince Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart* iv. 238-9.

² Margaret, daughter of Malcolm, third Lord

they were over forty years of age. All Mary Seton's prime passed in her Queen's prisons.'¹

Mr. Skelton informs us that 'Mary Fleming was the flower of the Marys, and the Queen's favourite maid.'² I venture to think that if Mary Fleming was the 'flower,' Mary Seton was the *gem*; and that if she was not the favourite *fille d'honneur* she unquestionably *ought* to have been.

In the ms. Latin pedigree of the Seton family in the British Museum, already referred to, under the second marriage of George, sixth Lord Seton, Mary Seton duly appears as 'Maria Seton dña pedisequa Mariæ Reginæ Scotorum.' Du Cange gives *Ancilla* (or handmaid) as the equivalent of *pedisequa*; while in White and Riddle's *Latin-English Dictionary* the word is thus described:

'*Pedisequa* (*pes sequor*) a foot-following one; *i.e.* one (a woman) who follows on foot; hence I. Prop. a female attendant, a waiting-woman (used by Plautus and Scævola). II. Fig. a female follower, attendant, handmaid, etc. "Tanquam ancillulam pedisequamque."—Cicero *de Oratore*. Used also in the masculine (*pedisequus*) for a *man* who follows on foot.'³

Mary Seton found a peaceful asylum in the Abbey of St. Pierre aux Dames, at Rheims, of which the Queen's aunt, Renée de Lorraine, was still the head; and in the autumn of 1586, from her cloistered abode she writes in French as follows to 'Mons de Courselles, Jantilhomme François,' the new French ambassador, who was then in London on his way to Scotland:—

'It is nearly twenty years since I left Scotland, and in that time it has pleased God to take the best part of my relations, friends, and acquaintances; nevertheless I presume there remain still some who knew me, and I shall be obliged by your remembering me to them as occasion may serve. I cannot conclude without adding still one word, that I am in extreme pain and

¹ *In Ladies' Company*, 32, 33.

² *Maitland of Lethington*, i. 330.

³ In a statement relative to royal 'Esquires of the Body,' Dr. Pegge says: 'In a like situation I find two ladies at the Coronation of

Elizabeth, the Queen of Henry VII., for, grace being said, 'Dame Katheryn Gray, and Maistris Ditton, wente undre the table, wher thay sett on ether side the queen's feete at the dynertyme.'"—*Curialia*, p. 27.

distress at the news which has reached here of a fresh trouble which has fallen on the Queen my mistress.¹ Time does not permit me to write more. Written from Rheims with my humble recommendations, praying God, Monsieur de Courcelles, to make you more content than I now am, this 21st of October, your humble and obliged,'²

marie de seton

In the autumn of 1890 I made a pilgrimage to Rheims, in order to ascertain whether there was any reference to Mary Seton in the local records, and was fortunate enough to discover a very interesting document, in the shape of an elaborate Testament executed by the *fille d'honneur* on the 14th of April 1602, and somewhat mysteriously *revoked* on the 7th of June following. A full copy of the original, as well as an English translation most kindly made for me by my friend Miss Phœbe Blyth, will be found in the Appendix of Miscellanies. At the same time I procured a copy of an 'Acte' in the minutes of Nercier, 'ancien notaire de Reims,' dated 10th February 1589, to the following effect: 'Marie de Seton l'une des filles d'honneur de la defunte royne d'Ecosse, douairière de France, reconnait avoir reçu de N^{re} Guichart Faure, notaire et secretaire du roy demurant à Paris, rue Pierre au lard, la somme de 200 escus . . . sur 2800 escus du sort principal d'une constitution de rente passée le 9 Juillet 1586.'

I recently requested the learned Keeper of the Rheims Library to make a further search, in the hope of finding a later Testament, but he informs me that nothing more can be traced. It will be observed that the document embraces a number of considerable bequests, which makes the subsequent decayed condition of the testatrix very unaccountable.

After committing her soul to 'God our Creator, to the Holy Virgin Mary, to St. Peter, and to all the celestial court in Paradise,' she provides for her burial in the Church of St. Pierre

¹ An allusion to Babington's conspiracy.

² MSS. Scotland — Oct.-Dec. 1586 — Mary

Queen of Scots, vol. xx. No. 15. Thorpe, *Calendar of State Papers*, ii. 1014, No. 15.

at Rheims, giving minute instructions regarding the attendant services and obsequies. The bequests embrace legacies of various amounts to her two servants; to Dame Margaret Kirkaldy and other nuns; to certain legal friends who had been engaged in conducting a lawsuit in the French courts, in which she was interested; to the Infirmary of the Abbey of St. Pierre; and to the 'illustrious princess,' Madame Renée of Lorraine, formerly Abbess of the Convent, 'in consideration of the great favour, assistance, and benefit which she has received,' during the sixteen or seventeen years she has spent in the establishment, from Renée's great-aunt, the late Abbess—the last bequest being subject to various prescribed conditions. The will also provides for 'three high masses of vigils, in the Church of St. Pierre, for the repose of the soul of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, and for the repose of the soul of the testatrix; besides a low mass, each day, in perpetuity, for the repose and well-being of her own soul.'

She further makes provision for the teaching of a trade to 'three poor girls,' and leaves the moveables in her room, wardrobe, and cabinet to the aforesaid Lady Margaret Kirkaldy for distribution, in accordance with her verbal instructions.

As her executors she names M. Antony of Beauchesne, 'priest, canon, and under-singer in the Church of Rheims,' and Benoit Dozet, 'Counsellor for our Lord the King,' and one of her legal legatees, giving to the former her time-piece, 'for the trouble of the testamentary execution.'¹

In the *Calendar of State Papers—Domestic—James I. and VI.*, reference is made to a letter written at Brussels in July 1613, by James Maitland to Viscount Rochester. The writer was the only son of Secretary Maitland, by his second wife, Mary, daughter of Malcolm, third Lord Fleming—one of the 'Four Maries'—who, being a Roman Catholic, went abroad and sold his estate of Lethington to his uncle, Sir John Maitland, created Lord Thirlstane in 1590. The letter extends to six folio pages, and concludes as follows:—

¹ The value of the coins named in the bequests is—Livre Tournois=1 franc; Escu Soleil=10 francs 65 centimes. The Escu was first made

in 1475, and ceased to be used in the time of Louis XIII. Over the King's head, which it bore, a sun poured its rays.

'It was my hape to be a litle tyme by past in Rheims, in Champagne, q^r I did visit Mistres Marie Seytone, dochter to y^e Lo. Seytone for y^t tyme, of thrie score twelf or threitein zeirs of age (72 or 73), or y^rby, quha servit o^r blissit Queene his Ma^{ties} mother fra her infancie to ye Q. her greitest and last extremeties. She is now decreipit and in want. She leives be y^e charitie and courtesie of Madame of Spier (St. Pierre) in Rheims, sister to yis Duik of Guise. Fore y^e Q. hir sake and hir awin hon^{ll} and godlie behavio^r, if it wald pleis his Ma^{tie} to bestow on her soome small somme of money to pay her depts and ane annuitie for few zeirs she hes to liue, for his mother her sake and for recompense of hir manie and lang service to hir blissit Ma^{tie} wald do ane hon^{ll} and charitable wark and very acceptable to God and to all sall heir thairof. I man pray your Lo. to informe his Ma^{tie} of this caice and to procure a competent releiff to hir, for his honor and weill requyris it, and I know yo^r Lo. tenders baith inteirle. Having no farder presentlie, I do most humblie kiss zo^r Lo. hands, and rests, my Lord, your very obedient servant,

JA. MAITLAND.'

'BRUXELLES $\frac{17}{27}$ July 1613.'

If Maitland is correct in his statement relative to Mary Seton's age, she must have been born, as already stated, about 1541, and was thus one year older than Queen Mary. The description of the aged gentlewoman's decayed condition is a very sad one, and it is difficult to understand how she could have been in such reduced circumstances, looking to the terms of the Testament which she executed eleven years previously. The writer's appeal for help is very touching; but hitherto I have failed to discover any evidence of the King having been induced to comply with the proposal, either for the sake of his 'blissit mother' or for his own 'honor and weill.' Let us cherish the hope that he did his duty; but even if it were otherwise, considering the advanced age and trying experiences of the 'decreipit' Mary, as predicted by Maitland she probably had not many years to live.

The following indorsation appears upon a letter in the

British Museum (No. 28,747, f. 5):—‘Copie d’un lettre de Ma. Marie Seton à Madame de Roxebrothe,¹ à Londres, de Rheimes: September, 1614’; also ‘Double de celle que j’escris a ceste Dame.’ The letter extends to about fourteen lines. The latest known letter of Mary Seton is dated 6th April 1615—twenty-eight years after the execution of the Queen of Scots—when she must have been about four years beyond the ‘Scriptural period.’ The letter, which is without an address, and marked at the top with a cross, is in the possession of the Almacks of Melford, in the county of Suffolk, and begins, somewhat strangely, as follows:—‘Sir, seeing that you are not agreeable that I should use the terms of consanguinity, although we are related, I will not trouble you with them any more.’ She then makes a statement which seems to imply that she was now compelled to employ an amanuensis, and, accordingly, only the signature is autograph. She refers to the recent message of ‘Lady Drummond,’ and thanks her correspondent for the pains he had taken in her ‘business,’ in which the said Lady Drummond appears to have been concerned. A postscript announces that ‘Dame Margaret Kirkaldy² recommends herself kindly to your favour.’

About nine years ago I happened to meet, at the house of a medical friend at Cannes, an intelligent German girl, to whom I mentioned some particulars relative to Mary Seton, and who informed me that, in her childhood, she had read, in a small book in her father’s library, some verses addressed by a French abbé to the *fille d’honneur* of Mary Stuart, who died at Rheims. Unhappily she was unable to give me the title of the volume,

¹ Jeane Drummond, third daughter of Patrick, third Lord Drummond, and second wife of Robert Ker, first Earl of Roxburgh, the accomplished governess of the children of King James VI.

² Margaret Kirkaldy, already referred to in Mary Seton’s Will, was the daughter of the celebrated Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, and was at that time the Abbess of Rheims. She was alive in 1629.

In the Appendix to the *Letters from the Lady Margaret Kennedy to John, Duke of*

Lauderdale, printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1828, is a short undated and unaddressed French letter, of no interest, signed ‘Marie de Seton,’ which the editor considers to be from the pen of her mother, Dame Mary Pyeres, the second wife of George, sixth Lord Seton. At the end of the sixteenth century, however, married women rarely used their husbands’ surnames; and moreover, as the writer says ‘Jay fait vos recomandations à Marguerite Kirkaldy,’ the probability is that she was no other than Queen Mary’s former *fille d’honneur*.

which I have hitherto failed to trace either in France or at the British Museum.

I am fortunate enough to possess a series of valuable notes relative to the Seton family, which I received from Mr. John Riddell, the great peerage lawyer, in 1850, and from which I make the following extract: 'George, sixth Lord Seton, had issue by his second and last wife, Dame Mary Peirs, one son and one daughter:—Robert Seton of Greendikes (of whom almost nothing is known, and who may be held to have no existing descendants), and Mary Seton, one of Queen Mary's Marys or maids, of whose marriage there is no trace yet discovered. Sir Richard Maitland adds another son, James; but he evidently must have died an infant, or in pupillarity, from being quite omitted in the family settlements and transactions. It hence follows that, by the law of Scotland, the direct lineal descendant and heir-at-law of Robert and Mary, *through John Seton of Cariston*, their immediate elder brother, must be both their heir of conquest and heritage, in exclusion of George, the eldest brother, however different it might be according to English law.' It would therefore appear that the author of this work is the living representative of Queen Mary's faithful follower.



AT DRUM NEAR EDINBURGH.



LORD AND LADY SETON, FROM ARMORIAL PEDIGREE AT TOUCH.

19. *George, seventh Lord Seton.*

As the unfailing adherent of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, the seventh Lord Seton is a notable figure in the annals of Scotland. The date of his birth, from various sources of evidence, may be assigned to 1531;¹ and accordingly when he succeeded his father in 1549 he was about eighteen years of age. His marriage to Isabel, daughter of Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar, High Treasurer of Scotland, must have been solemnised towards the end of the year 1550. Sir Richard Maitland gives the following curious details regarding the origin of the union: 'The caus of this maryage wes be ressoun that my lord duik of Chattellarault, erle of Arrane, lord Hamiltoun, etc.—was governour of this

¹ The same year as that of the Regent Moray, and consequently he was eleven years older than Queen Mary.

realme, and his brother, Johne, Archebishop of Sanctandrois, was thesaurar, and was sumthing scharp to the said Lord George (seventh Lord Seton), and made him impediment in the brouking (*possession*) of certane few landis of Kirklistoun, that the said Lord Georgeis fader gat in few of Daidid Betoun, Cardinale of Sanctandrois. For the quhilk caus, the said Lord George thocht gude to allya himself with sum of my lord duikis freyndis and surename; and becaus the said S^r Williame (Hamilton) was gritest, maist substantious and honest of that surename, nixt my lord duikis self, haveand dochteris at age to marey, he thocht gud to marey his dochter, thinkand thairthrow to haue the mair favour and maintenance of the lord duik and his brother, the Archebishop of Sanctandrois: and for resonable tocher and gratuiteis gevin and done to the said Lord George; and becaus my lord duik allegit his mareage to be in our Souerane Ladies handis and his, be ressoun of his office, as the indenture of mareage mair fulllelie proportis, in the quhilk my said Lord and the said Archebishop are contractoris.¹



GOLD MEDAL AT DUNS CASTLE.

It was to this 'nobill and mychtye Lord' that Sir Richard Maitland dedicated the History of his House—undertaken at the 'requeist' of his father—in the following touching words: 'I desyr non vther recompenss bot that thow will follow thy maist honorable predecessouris, and flé and forbeir all wyce, and eschew all thingis contrair to thy honour and gude conscience.

¹ *House of Seytoun*, p. 43. In the notice of the parish of Sorn in the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, reference is made to a tradition of James v. having been present at this marriage. This however is manifestly erroneous, as that

monarch died in 1542, and probably the tradition relates to the second marriage of the seventh Lord's *father* at Falkland. See above, p. 128; and Appendix of Miscellanies.

‘And *first of all*, I exhort thé, wyth all my hart and mynd, to behave thé towart Almychty God, our hewinlie Father, as becummis the dewitie of ane gude and faythfull Christin man; and that all thy doingis and procedings be to his plesour honour and gloir, ay praying for his grace in all thy actis and effairis. *Secundlie*, that thou be trew loyall and obedient to thy Princess, and authoritie of this thy native cuntrie; and to attempt no thing that may be skaythfull or dampnable thairto, or contrair to the commoun weill thair of. *Thridlie*, that thou keip société peax and cherité wyth thy nychtbouris, and hurt thame nocht in thair fame bodie nor gudis, nor provoik thame nocht to yre; and gif thame no occasioun nor caus of displesour aganis thy self, nor ony vther. And *Ferdlie*, that thou treit thy tenentis and thame that ar in thy cure wyth meeknes and mercy, and lat nane of thame do wrang to vther, bot hald thame in gude ordour be justice. Defend thame from oppressioun of thair inimeis: oppress thame nocht thy self be unportable service and extor-siounis. Tak thy dewitié of thame wyth discretioun; and gif ony of thame, be aventure, fall in pouerté, gif thame, len thame, and feist thame of thy geir. Defend wedois and puir orphalingis. Remove nane of thy pure tenentis fra thair possessounis wythout notable, probable and intollerable causis. Bring vp thy barnis in vertu, science, and knowledge of God. The quhilk to do, I pray our hewinlie Father to send thé his holy Spreit to gyd thé and thy posterité. Amen.’

I venture to believe that the earnest exhortation of the worthy old knight was not thrown away upon the young nobleman to whom it was addressed. According to his lights, he was assuredly a ‘gude and faythfull Christin man’; his loyalty and obedience to his ‘Princess,’ and his devotion to what he regarded as the true interest of his ‘native cuntrie,’ cannot be questioned and could not be surpassed; and there is good reason to conclude that, as a rule, he lived in ‘société peax and cherité’ with his neighbours; treated his tenants and retainers with ‘meeknes and mercy’; considered the poor; protected the helpless; and brought up his children ‘in vertu, science, and knowledge of God.’

Like his father—‘the best falconar of his dayis’—the seventh

Lord Seton appears in his youth to have been addicted to sport. The earliest notice of horse-racing in Scotland is a brief statement in the Treasurer's Accounts of 1504, from which, however, it does not appear *where* the race referred to was run. The following entry in the records of the Burgh of Haddington shows that a race for a silver bell had been established in the county town of East Lothian in the middle of the sixteenth century :

'1552, May 10.—The quhilk day, John Forrois, burgess of Hadingtoun, came cautioner that ane worthie and mychty Lord, George lord Seytoun, sall bring the silver bell that his horse wan vpon the 10 day of Maij, the yeir of God I^mV^e fiftie twa yeiris to the said Burgh of Hadingtoun vpon the thrid day of November the samyn yeir of God, and present the same to the provost and baillies of the said Burgh of Hadingtoun, with ane augmentation lyke as the said lord pleases to augment for his honour, and the same bell to be run for the said day, swa the wynnar therof may have the same again ; and for observing of thir premissis the said John Forrois has acted (*bound*) himself in the common Burgh of Hadingtoun, the said x day of May, the yeir of God aboue specifit.'¹

Eight months after the race at Haddington (27th January 1553-54), we find the record of an obligation dated at Seytoun, by George, Lord Seytoun, by which he grants him to have received from Richard Maitland of Lethingtoun, knight (the historian of the family), a silver bason and a silver piece weighing sixty-six ounces ; and binds and obliges himself, his heirs, executors and assignees, to relieve and keep skaithless the said Richard, his heirs, executors, and assignees, at the hands of John Seytoun his brother (first Baron of Cariston), and all others his brothers and sisters, and at the hands of the executors of the deceased Thomas Wemis of Unthank, his wife and heirs and all others.²

On the 7th of May 1554, anent the supplication given in by George Lord Seytoun, John Lord Hay of Yester, and Sir Richard Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knight, making mention that the said Lord Seytoun had interdicted himself from selling any of his heritage during his minority and certain years thereafter (he was now twenty-three years of age) without the consent of Lord Hay and Sir Richard, the Lords of Council decern and ordain the

¹ We shall afterwards see that Lord Seton's distinguished son, Chancellor Seton, inherited his father's taste for the turf, in which his Aber-

corn connections also indulged.

² *Acts and Decrees*, x. 79.

interdiction to be loosed in time to come. A few months later (6th August 1554), Lord Seton grants an obligation to and in favour of 'the Right Honourable Sir William Hammiltoun of Sanquhar, Knight,' for the sum of 900 merks, holding in security thereof the mails, fermes, and duties of the lands and baronies of Seytoun, Tranent, and West Niddry.

During the regency of Mary of Lorraine Lord Seton filled the office of Provost of Edinburgh, which was also held for many years by his distinguished son, Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline and Chancellor of Scotland. The earliest notice of Lord Seton as Provost of Edinburgh occurs in the Council Records under date of 28th October 1557:

'The quhilk day me Lord Seytoun prouest the baillies and counsale,' after consideration of the complaint given in by Thomas Hall, their 'Javellour' (jailer), desiring them to augment his fees for furnishing coals to the Lords of Session and them during this winter, seeing the said coals have risen to '4s. the lead,' ordains the said javellour to lay in coals and they shall answer his complaint.

The same day, by command of 'my Lord Prouest, baillies and counsale forsaid,' the key of the inner door of the Charter House was delivered to James Carmichaell, Dean of Guild, etc.

The following subsequent entries in the same records throw a good deal of curious light on the proceedings of the Corporation:

1557, Nov. 12.—The said day, it being required by my Lord Provost of the Bailies and Council, that he for the request 'of my Lord the Erle of Glancairne and utheris gruttill men of Court mycht haue ane burgeschip,' etc. To the which the said Bailies and Council answered, That they were sworn that they should not grant to the disposing of any burgesships for one year 'nixtocum,' except to men of fame, honesty, and sufficient substance, which had or shortly should have 'stok and staik within this towne and that man pey their dewtie the time of their admissioun,' and therefore prayed his Lordship be not offended with them: To the which he also condescended, whereupon the Dean of Guild asked instruments.

1557, Nov. 23.—The which day my Lord Seytoun, Provost, the Bailies, etc., upon a complaint given in by William Fowlar, Alexander Vddert, and others, in name and behalf of the whole young men, burgesses' sons of this burgh, mentioning that they were heavily hurt in this last Tax of £1200, raised for licence granted to the inhabitants of this burgh to remain at home from 'Our Souerane Ladeyis hoist and armye ordanit to convene upoun Fawllay Mure the . . day of . . . (*sic*) last-by-

¹ *Acts and Decrees*, x. 231.

past for the assault of Wark,' etc. The Lord Provost, Bailies, etc., found the same to be 'ane noveltye,' and to the great hurt of their bairns, and contrary to the laws, and therefore Decern that no burgess' son be so taxed, etc.

1558, Jan. 19.—The which day being convened within the Over Council House the Provost, Bailies, Council, and whole Deacons of the Crafts, 'my said Lord Prouest desyring thame to call to thair remembrance his haistye depairting towert the pairtis of France as ane of the Lordis ordanit to pas thair for completing of our Souerane Ladeis mariage,' and how necessary it was for them and for the common weal of the burgh to have an honest and qualified man to be their President during the time of his absence, etc. The Council elected Robert Maitland of Lethington to be their president during the said Provost's absence, and further during the said Council . . . (*sic*) (*torn*).

26th Jan. 1558 is the last time on which the Provost is mentioned as being present; and on the 6th March Mr. John Spens of Condye and Mr. Thomas M'Calzeane are mentioned as 'presidents.'

1558, Feb. 3.—The which day Alexander Barroun, David Forrester, Mr. John Spens and James Curle, bailies; James Carmichaell, James Adamson and others of the Council, together with the whole Deacons of the goldsmiths and other crafts, being convened in the Council House, and having consideration 'of the gude and thankfull seruice done be me Lord Seytoun Prouest for the commoun weill and priueleges of this burcht, and that his Lordship is presentlie to mak the triumphe and banket to the Quenys Grace in honorable maner, ordanis Maister James Lindesay thesaurer thankfullie to content deliuer and pay to James Barroun merchant the soume of ane hundreth crownis of the Sone for taffateis silkis and utheris necessaris furnyst be him at the command of my said Lord Prouest to the convoy of the said banket, and that the samen be payit at Beltane nixt-to-cum but (*without*) ony delay,' etc. etc.

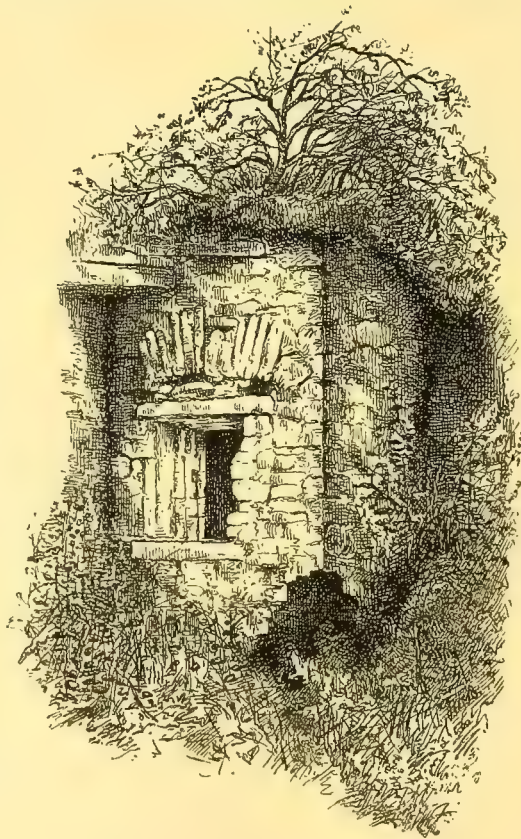
1558, Feb. 13.—The same day Richert Douglass, macer, intimated 'the Quenis Grace' writing to my Lord Seyton, Provost, and the four Bailies, of which the tenor follows: 'Apud Edin'. xiiij^o Februarii anno etc. Lviii., Forsamekill as it is understand to the Quenys Grace that the Prouest, Baillies and Counsale of the Burght of Edinburgh hes wardit within the Tolbuith thair of Charles Sangler Fleming,¹ and withaldis him thairin.' Thairfoir, etc., charge the said Provost and Bailies to put the said Charles Sangler to liberty, under pain of treason.

1558, Feb. 22.—The Bailies and Council ordain James Lyndsay, treasurer, to pay to David Forrester the sum of £50 for the Whitsunday and Mertimas last-by-past, the time James Adamson was treasurer (*sic*) of the said David's 'lugeing' now occupied by my Lord Provost.

1559, April 20.—Supplication by Alexr. Barroun, bailie, and Alexander Guthrie, Common Clerk of Edinburgh, making mention, That George Lord Seytoun, Provost of this burgh, upon the 19th of April instant, at 9 hours at even, for what causes they knew not, charged them to enter in ward within the Tolbooth, there to remain

¹ In a previous letter from Her Majesty the said Charles is designed 'merchand in Flandaris.'

during his Lordship's will, which charge they at that time obeyed, and according thereto entered in ward in the said Tolbooth and remain there 'sensyne'; and that they understand themselves to be wardit wrongously for no offence; and that thereby the affairs of this burgh are hindered, to the great slander and apparent decay of the common weal, and craving the Bailies and Council to request the Lord Provost to compear before them to hear cognition taken in the said complaint, and to hear and see them put to liberty, or else to allege a reasonable cause in the contrary, with certification that if his Lordship fail, the Bailies, Council, Deacons, and Community foresaid would provide such remeid thereto as would stand with equity and reason. Which Supplication being considered, the Bailies and Council ordained David Forrester and James Curle, bailies, and others of the Council, to pass and request my Lord Provost to compear before them incontinent thereafter, to hear cognition taken in the said matter conform to the desire of the said complainers, with certification contained in the said Supplication as in the Direction made on the back thereof at more length is contained: Which persons accepted the said charge upon them, and conform thereto passed to my Lord Provost, and made intimation to his Lordship of the said Direction, who being returned and 'in enterit' again, Robert Crechtoun, in name of the said David Forrester and others foresaid, declared That they had passed to my Lord Provost and showed to his Lordship the Charge and Direction given by the Bailies, Council, etc., desiring his Lordship to compear before them to hear trial and cognition taken in the said complaint, or else if his Lordship did not please, or might not be present at the time, to show and declare to them the cause of the warding of the said Alexr. Barroun and Alexr. Guthrie, to the effect that the same might be dismissed with expedition, in respect that the persons warded were necessary members of the Court for administration of justice and performing of the necessary affairs of the town: who answered to them That, his Lordship would not compear for that cause, and would not come in reasoning with them therein, but that he had put the said complainers in ward for certain causes known to his Lordship, and would not consent that they were freed until his Lordship was further advised. The Bailies, Council, etc., with their assessors, having consideration of the said complaint and answer made by my Lord Provost thereto, and also having respect to the



DUNGEON AT SETON.

persons of the said Alexander Barroun and Alexander Guthrie, and therewith being ripely advised, all in one voice Ordain the said Alexr. Barroun and Alexr. Guthrie to be freed, relieved, and put to liberty forth of the said ward, they and each one of them finding caution to answer to such points as shall be laid to their charge by my Lord Provost, upon six hours' warning, under the pain of £100. David Symmer is cautioner for the said Alexr. Guthrie, and Francis Tennend for the said Alexr. Barroun. Upon all which the complainers asked instruments.¹

1559, April 22.—The said day Alexr. Barroun, Mr. John Spens, and James Curle, Bailies, sitting in judgement, compeared Robert Fyndour, wright, and showed these words following: 'Schiris Baillies, my Lord Prouest hes send me furth of Seytoun and hes biddin me say to yow that he commandis yow all thre to tak Adam Diksoun seruand to Thomas Thomsoun ipoticar and uther twa quhais names I know nocht bot I beleif thay ar Thomas Thomsonys sonnys and put them all thre in Irnys thair to remane quhill his Lordship returning to this toun, and bad me forther say gyf ye dyd nocht the samyn with diligence that he sould put yow thre in the Irnys to remane therintill at his plesour. And the said Robert Fyndour being demandit of the saidis Baillies of the names of the uther twa that sould be put in Irnys with the said Diksoun and quhilk of Thomas Thomsonys sonnys thai war becaus he had monye, said he knew na forther nor he had said of befor: Where-upoun the saidis Baillies askit instrumentis and actis of Court and protestit for remeid.'

1559, April 26.—The foresaid Adam Dikson, being imprisoned, and complaining to the Magistrates, is put to liberty on finding caution to compear when called.

1559, May 24.—Which day the Provost, Bailies, and Council being convened within the Tolbooth for reasoning upon the imprisoning and warding of David Forrester, Bailie, first in the Castle of Edinburgh by the said Provost, and thereafter, by Letters purchased by his Lordship at the Queen's Grace, in the Castle of Dunbar, which they alleged to be to the great hurt of their liberty, and contrary his Lordship's duty, being their Provost as said is. To the which it was answered by the said Lord Provost, That he commanded not the said David to the said Castle of Edinburgh as Provost, 'bot be virtue of ane greitar office and powar committit to him be the Quenys Grace at this present. And as tuiching his warding in Dunbar the samyn wes be the Quenys Grace writing for crymes committit aganis hir Hienes, and sua could nocht justlie be imput to him ony falt in his said office of the Prouestrye in that cais, in respect the said Dauids warding and impresounment wes

¹ Lord Fountainhall (*MS. Adv. Lib.*) informs us that, in consequence of an uproar in the city, 'two of the bailies came out to their Provost at Seton; and he, finding that they were accessory to the conspiracy, imprisoned them in the pit of Seton (a place I have seen), which was a dreadful contumely, and rode in presently to Edinburgh, and appeared and choakt the commo-

tion.'¹ This was probably preliminary to the imprisonment referred to in the Council Records. Such a perfunctory proceeding will perhaps appear very strange to a modern admirer of the 'liberty of the subject'; but in those 'good old times' the safety of the lieges was necessarily paramount to individual freedom.

¹ See also Balfour's *Annals*, i. 310.

for crymes committit aganis the Quenys Grace as said is, and be hir Hienes speciall writing and command, to the quhilkis all personis within this realme war subject.' And heirupon his Lordship asked instruments.

1559, July 29.—The which day, in presence of the Provost, Bailies, one part of the Council, Deacons, and a great number of the community, compeared the noble and mighty Lords, vizt.: James Duke of Chattelerauld, Earl of Arran, etc., Earl Huntlie, etc., and John Lord Erskine, and declared, That anent the appointment mad betwixt them as commissioners for 'Our Souerane Lady Quene Marie, Drowriar and Regent of this realme,' to the Lords of the Congregation the . . (*sic*) day of July instant, it was appointed and communit therein, That the town of Edinburgh should without compulsion use and choose what religion and manner thereof they pleased to the tenth day of January next to come, so that every man may have freedom of conscience unto the said day. For satisfying of the which Articles it was the Queen's Graces will that the inhabitants of this burgh were convened, and every one to be examined what religion he would be of, and that religion to be maintained to the said day the greatest number consented to; and desired the community present whether they would vote severally or remit the same to the vote of the Provost, Bailies, Council and Deacons, as has been used in order taking of civil causes before. And thereafter compeared Adam Foullertoun for himself, and in name and behalf of the whole Brethren of the Congregation within this town, being personally present, and presented to the said Lords the Supplication following: 'My Lordis unto your Lordschippis humlie menis and schawis the faythfull Bretherine of the Congregatioun within Edinburcht induelleris thair of, That quhairas we ar informit your Lordschippis ar heir convenit of mynd and purpois to tak euery mannis voite quhat religioun he will be of and quhair the ministratioun sall be usit, and we for our pairtis knawand the religioun quhilk we haue presentlie to be of God and conforme to his woird, and on the uther pairt knawand the mes and the Papis haill religioun to be without the worde of God, altogither superstitious damnable idolatrie and of the devill, can nocht consent for oure pairtis that Goddis treuthe and that oure religioun now establishit conforme to his worde sall be subjecttit to voiting of men, as gif the maist pairt of men allowit it nocht, it sould be rejecttit. For it is na new thing bot mair nor notour that fra the beginnyng of the world to this day and evin now in all countreyis townis and citeis the maist pairt of men hes euer bene aganis God and his treuthe, at the leist hes nocht planlie embraced the samyn. Secondlie,' etc. etc.

'Protestatio Prepositi.'

The same day, in presence of the Bailies, Council, etc., my Lord Provost declared, That all the common questions and causes of this burgh were in times past referred to the decision of the Council, as for the merchants and deacons as for their crafts respectively, and in case the matter proponed by the Lords in the Act above written come to voting, 'desyrit the said auld ordour to be observit thairin, protestand alwayis in cais nouatioun wer inbrocht and that the haill communitie votit thairin, that the samyn wer nocht imputt to him, and that he wer nocht accusit be the authoritie as negligent in his office thairanent.'

1559, Sept. 20.—In presence of the Bailies, etc., the Provost, by virtue of a charge committed to him, as he alleged, by the Queen's Grace and Lords of Secret Council, charged Mr. John Spens, Bailie, and James Barroun, one of the Council, to pass incontinent to the said Lords to answer to them of such things as they had to lay to their charge, and thereupon asked instruments. The said persons answered that they would obey the said command as soon as the new Council were chosen for the which they were convened, and desired always to see the said charge in writing, if he any had, and thereupon asked instruments.

1559, Sept. 25.—The Provost, Bailies, etc., being convened again within the Council House, between four and five hours in the afternoon, for election of the new Council, my Lord Provost declared that he was to pass to the Queen 'for addressing of certane hir Grace's bissyne committit to his charge, and thairfoir mycht nocht remane at the said electioun: Quhairfoir his Lordschip ratefeit and appreivit all thingis done or to be done be the saidis personis or the maist pairt of them in the said mater.'¹

On the 21st of February 1560-61 we come across an action at the instance of Mr. Robert Auchmoutie, servitor to James Earl of Arran, against George Lord Seton, (late?) Provost of Edinburgh, Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie (his successor in the office), Edward Hope, Allane Cowtis, and six other bailies of the said burgh, for production before the Lords of Council of a decreet pronounced by the said bailies on the 24th of August last, decerning and ordaining in effect the pursuer to free, relieve, and keep skaithless the said Allane Cowtis of the sum of £58, 12s., as for the price of certain wheat furnished by the pursuer.² The case was continued to the 12th of March following, but the result does not appear.

Lord Seton's demission of the office of Provost is thus referred to by Chalmers: 'A sort of civil conflict existed at the same time (1559) within Edinburgh. The Magistrates were so decidedly for the reformers that Lord Seton, the Provost, could not preserve their attachment to the Regent. The Queen now supported the pretensions of the deacons of the craftsmen to a vote in the town councils, which had long been denied them by

¹ Lord Seton was succeeded in the Provostship by Archibald Douglas of Kinspindie, as appears from the following entry :—

² 1559, October 27.—The which day Archi-

bald Douglass of Kinspindie, Provost, David Somer, etc. etc., Bailies, etc. etc.'

² *Acts and Decrees*, xx. 386.

the guild brethren. She had already restored the deacons to a vote in the annual election of magistracy. In the end, by a special ordinance, she directed that the deacons of the crafts should in future be allowed to vote in the choosing of the council and officers, but the town council refused obedience to this ordinance, as inconsistent with the Act of James I. in 1426. Against this refusal the deacons protested, and even avowed their future disobedience. The Regent endeavoured in vain to support her party at the ensuing elections. Her strenuous friend, Lord Seton, was ejected, and Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie chosen provost in his place.¹

Towards the end of the year 1557 (as already indicated), Lord Seton was one of the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament of Scotland to be present at the marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin of France, which was celebrated with due splendour, at Notre Dame, on the 24th of April 1558. 'On this occasion,' says Lord Kingston, 'the said Lord George had ane noble present sent him of silver plate by Henry the second, then King of France, with ane yearly pension of 1200 francks.'² The other Commissioners were Beton, Archbishop of St. Andrews; Reid, President of the Court of Session; the Earl of Cassilis, Lord High Treasurer; the Earl of Rothes, Lord Fleming, James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrews, and John Erskine of Dun. They appear to have remained in France for a considerable time. On their return to Scotland, *via* Dieppe, President Reid suddenly died there on the 6th of September; and within a brief interval he was followed to the grave by Rothes, Cassilis, and Fleming. 'It was held,' says Burton, 'that things had been said to these men in France which it was very undesirable that they should repeat in Scotland, and so they were poisoned out of the way.' The Archbishop, the Prior, Lord Seton, and Erskine of Dun, continuing their journey, reached Scotland in October.

From Berwick, on the 15th of December 1559, Sadlier and Croft wrote to Cecil, enclosing various letters, of which one was

¹ *Caledonia*, iv. 626. See also Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 18.

² *Continuation of the History of the House of Seytoun*, p. 55.

from Robert Melville to Croft, wherein he refers to the 'retiring of Lord Seton from the Court.'¹

In the following year Lord Seton appears to have accompanied the Bishop of Glasgow to Paris, where they arrived on the 3rd of August 1560;² and from St. Germain, on the 1st of October, the Queen of Scots asks Elizabeth for letters of safe-conduct for George, Lord Seton, to pass to England, thence to Scotland, and back again to France.³ About a year later (August 1561) he was in the retinue of Mary Stuart when she returned to Scotland, *viâ* Calais, immediately after passing a few days at St. Germain with the royal family.⁴

In the beginning of January of the same year (1561), Alexander Clark communicates to Cecil the particulars of an enterprise, confessed to him by Lord Seton, as designed by the French, for the occupation of Holy Island, the siege of Berwick, etc.⁵ The subscription to this letter has been carefully defaced.

Lord Seton adhered to the party of the Queen Dowager against the Lords of the Congregation; and after Queen Mary's return to Scotland he was sworn a Privy Councillor and appointed Her Majesty's Master of the Household. 'In the house of Seton,' says Nisbet, 'his picture is curiously done, in his own time, where he is made to hold the baton of the office, being red semé of M. R., ensigned with imperial crowns. . . . He was one of the knights of the most noble Order of the Thistle; for in the great hall of the House of Seton his arms are yet to be seen, quartered with those of the Earldom of Buchan, surrounded with the collar of that Order, with the badge of St. Andrew pendant; which, with the sovereign's, are to be seen finely carved on the boxing of the chimney of that magnificent hall. He likewise repaired the fore part of the house of Seton, and especially that

¹ *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland.*

² Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vi. 205, note.

³ *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland.*

⁴ *Les Ecossais en France*, par Francisque Michel, ii. 31.

In the *Memorie of the Somervilles* (i. 452), it is stated that the first coach seen in Scotland

was brought by Lord Seton from France, and the second by the Regent Morton in 1577: 'mais il paraît qu'avant eux Marie de Guise avait un chariot, et l'on peut affirmer qu'elle l'avait tiré de France, où Madeleine apparut pour la première fois à (coté de) Jacques v. dans une voiture.'

⁵ *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland.*

room called "Samson's Hall," which he adorned with a roof of a curious structure, whereupon are twenty-eight large achievements, being those of Scotland, France, Lorraine, and the noble families that were allayed to his family, curiously embossed and illuminate.'¹

A few weeks after her return from France, in the course of a 'Progress' through the central portion of her kingdom, Queen Mary paid a visit to Niddry Castle, *en route* to Linlithgow.² Little did she then dream of the altered circumstances under which she was to find a brief refuge in the same stronghold, only seven years afterwards.

'I was the Queen of bonnie France,
Where happy I hae been ;
For lightly raise I in the morn,
As blythe lay down at e'en.'

In the time of the seventh Lord, the great dungeon of Seton, already alluded to, fell to the ground 'without hurt of any'; from the south side of which, according to the family chronicle, he built 'the great quarter of the hall'; and also 'all the dykes from the old entry down to the links, over the banke.' It further appears that he 'bought the rest of the lands of West Nidrie, and the haill reversions thereof, not conquest by his predecessors. He also agreed with the Archbishop of St. Andrews for the confirmation of the feu of Kirkliston, together with the office of Justiciary of all the lands and regalities pertaining to the said Archbishoprick.'

As an acknowledgment of her respect for Lord Seton's faithful services, Queen Mary proposed to confer an earldom upon him, in January 1561-2, when she created her ungrateful bastard brother Earl of Moray;³ 'but Lord George, being at that

¹ *System of Heraldry*, i. 234. See also Preface to Sharpe's edition of the *House of Seytoun*, p. xi, and notice of Seton Palace in the Appendix.

² *The Court of Holyrood* (1822), p. 116.

³ Like that of his unfortunate sister, the character of the 'Good Regent' is very differently interpreted. Among his most ardent admirers is the late Mr. Froude, who tells us that he was 'a noble gentleman of stainless honour'; that

his nature 'had no trait of self in it'; and that 'he will take his place among the best and greatest men who have ever lived.' The most eminent previous writers—several of whom are adverse to Queen Mary—concur in entertaining a very different opinion of Moray, who was virtually the Scottish Regent of the English Queen, and these include Camden, Carte, Hume, Robertson, Scott, Lingard, Turner,

time the eldest Lord in Parliament,¹ did, with most humble thanks, excuse himself att Her Majesties hands. Upon which occasion she caused wryte these verses in Latine and French :—

Sunt comites, ducesque alii, sunt denique reges ;
Setoni dominum sit satis esse mihi.
Ylia des contes, des roys, des ducs aussi,
Cet assez pour moy d'estre seigneur de Seton.'²

In the same month (5th January 1561-2) we find Mary Stuart writing a letter from 'Seyton' to Queen Elizabeth, relative to her prospective succession to the English crown.³

To indicate the loyalty of himself and of his family, Lord Seton caused to be carved in stone, 'in great gilded letters, above the great doore to the entry of that quarter of his house that he built,' the following French inscription :—

'Un Dieu, Une Foy, Un Roy, Une Loy,'



Chalmers, and Tytler—a pretty formidable array. If space permitted, I could easily cite very condemnatory passages from them all. Burton asserts that 'the Regent's character must be considered as told in his actions'; and seems to ignore 'motives and secret intentions.' Without being very pronounced in his verdict, he evidently inclines to vindicate the Regent's conduct, alleging that 'his position might have given him opportunities for acts more unscrupulous than any committed by him'! Innocence of murder is not usually considered to justify theft.

¹ The rank in the old time followed the actual personal or family ascendancy. As late as 1604 the Earl of Angus protested for precedence to his title as ranking before not only earls but dukes. See Riddell's *Scottish Peerage Law*, i. 155 *et seq.* 'As Constable of Scotland, the Earl of Errol is, by birth, the first subject in the kingdom, after the blood-royal; and, as such, hath a right to take place of every hereditary honour. The Chancellor and Constable of England do, indeed, take precedence of him, but these are only temporary honours, to which no man can lay claim by birth, so that *by birth*

the Earl of Errol ranks, without a doubt, as the *first subject in Britain*, next to the princes of the blood-royal.'—Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, i. 557.

² Lord Kingston's *Continuation of the History of the House of Seytoun*, p. 57.

'Rois ne suis, ne prince, ne duc, ne conte aussi ;
Je suis le sire de Coucy,'

was the motto of Enguerrand III. de Coucy, styled the Great. He was the chief of the league against Blanche de Castille, during the minority of Louis IX., and built the castle which gives its name to a small town in the department of Aisne, Coucy-le-Château.

'Rois ne puis, duc ne daigne, Rohan suis,' was the even more defiant boast of the Rohans, a very ancient and illustrious family of Brittany. It was a member of that family who once had a quarrel with Voltaire. To a somewhat haughty question as to who and what he was, the philosopher, then a young man, replied : 'Je ne traîne pas un grand nom, mais je saurai porter le mien !'—*Notes and Queries*, 16th July 1892.

³ *Hatfield MSS.—Historical MSS. Commission*—Part i. page 264.

and for his own particular motto, under his portrait as Master of the Household :—

‘ In adversitate patiens ;
In prosperitate benevolus.
Hazard yet forward.’

The French legend appears, along with a thistle surrounded by three interlaced crescents, and the date 1562, on one side of a gold medal at Duns Castle, and also in the British Museum (of which I possess an electrotpe), while the other side bears Lord Seton’s initials and those of his wife (G. S. and I. H.) in the form of a monogram, with the legend :—‘ Nemo potest duobus dominis servire,’ in which it will be observed there is an orthographical mistake, which must have distressed the scholarly mind of his son, the Chancellor.¹ (See p. 153 *supra*.)

A discharge, dated at ‘ Arbroath, 10th July 1563,’ is granted by James Lovell, heir and executor of the deceased George Lovell, burgess of Dundee, to and in favour of George Lord Seyton, for the sum of 667 franks, French money, paid by him to George Lovell as factor for John Call, burgess of Dieppe.² Possibly this transaction may have had some connection with Lord Seton’s return from France with the other Commissioners, in September 1558, already referred to.

On the 22nd of November 1564 an action was raised at the instance of Alexander Creichtoun of Newhall against George, Lord Seytoun, for the ‘ wrongous, violent, and masterfull, breaking up of the locks and doors ’ of the pursuer’s barn on his lands and steadings of Ringzeingheid,³ lying within the barony of Tranent, sheriffdom of Edinburgh and constabulary of Haddington, in the month of April, and taking twelve bolls therefrom. The

¹ Lord Seton is described by Calderwood, says a recent writer in the *Glasgow Herald*, as ‘ a man without God, without honestie, and oftentimes without reasoun, who troubled the brethren.’ ‘ For the opinion of the brethren, however,’ the writer adds, ‘ he doubtless cared little, acting as he did according to the simple motto which he had carved on the turrets of Seton : Un Dieu, une Foy, un Roy, une Loy.’

² Register of Deeds, etc.—Scott Office—vi. 332.

³ The farm of Rigganhead formed a portion of the Seton estate at the time of Lord Winton’s forfeiture in 1716 ; and at the re-sale of that estate in 1779 (after the bankruptcy of the York Buildings Co., by whom it was first purchased) it was acquired by Robert Hunter of Thurston, and again sold by his grandson in 1853.

case was continued to the 15th of January, but the result does not appear to be on record. If the claim was a righteous one, it affords an ugly exception to my Lord's supposed good character for 'peace and charity with his neighbours.'

Two months later (9th January 1565), Randolph announces to Cecil the approaching marriage of Mary Livingston (one of the 'four Maries'), and in the same letter refers to the 'cumber' (coldness) between Morton and Lord Seton.

On the 30th of March Queen Mary writes from Holyrood to Elizabeth, requesting a safe-conduct for Lord Seton and others to pass through England to France; and again, on the 24th of September, she makes a similar application with respect to his return.¹

It would appear that early in the year 1566, about the time when David Rizzio's assassination was under the consideration of Lord Ruthven and others, 'the King and Queen's Majesties rode to Seton.'² On the evening of Saturday, 9th March, the unfortunate Italian was barbarously murdered at Holyrood; and at midnight on the Tuesday following, Queen Mary and Darnley escaped from the palace, riding first to Seton, and thence to the Castle of Dunbar, attended, among others, by Lord Seton. In a letter from the Earl of Bedford and Randolph to the Council, dated Berwick, 27th March 1566, it is stated that 'the Queen, her husband, and one gentlewoman'—probably Mary Seton—'came to the place where Arthur Erskine and the captain of her guard kept the horses, and so rode her way behind Arthur Erskine until she came to Seton: There she took a horse to herself and rode to Dunbar Castle, where Huntly, Borthwick, and others resorted to her.'³ Looking to the dates indicated, this would appear to be a later visit to Seton than the one which followed the Holyrood tragedy.

The circumstances of another royal visit to Seton, in the spring of the following year (1567), are fully described by Mr. Hosack.⁴ On the 16th of February—exactly a week after

¹ *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland.*

² *Scotia Rediviva*, p. 336.

³ *Hatfield MSS.—Historical MSS. Commission—Part i.* p. 335.

⁴ *Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*, i. 278-81. See also Burton's *History of Scotland*, iv. 125.

Darnley's murder—by the advice of her physicians, Queen Mary took up her abode at Seton, accompanied by a numerous retinue;¹ and, on the very questionable authority of one of Drury's letters, Bothwell is said to have been one of the party. 'The Queen and Bothwell,' Drury writes, 'have been shooting at the butts against Huntly and Seton, for a dinner at Tranent, which the latter had to pay.' In the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, on the other hand, it is distinctly stated that, on the occasion in question, Bothwell did not accompany the Queen to Seton, but that he and his brother-in-law Huntly remained at Holyrood in charge of the young prince.

On the same occasion it would appear that the Queen indulged in what was then a national, but what may now be termed a world-wide pastime, to wit, the game of golf. 'Few dayes efter the murthir remaning at Halyrudehous, she past to Seytoun, exercising hir one day richt oppinlie at the feildis with the palmall and goif.'² On the 10th of January 1567-8, we find a recorded obligation by Alexander Clerk, bailie and burgess of Edinburgh, as surety and principal debtor for George, Lord Seytoun, to content and pay to Alexander Balfour of Deynemyln the sum of 250 merks, as the said Lord's fourth part of 1000 merks, for which he became surety for 'James, sometime Earl of Bothwell.'³

Towards the end of April a supper was given by Bothwell, in an Edinburgh tavern, to a number of his friends, including Huntly, Argyll, and Seton, besides six other Earls and four other Lords, who, 'overawed into compliance, signed their names to a bond declaring Bothwell's innocence, and recommending him as a suitable husband for the Queen.'⁴ Mr. Froude asserts that 'several' of them appended their signatures in deliberate treachery, to tempt the Queen to ruin. Most certainly Seton was not one of these. He, at least, must have had another motive; and, right

¹ '26th February 1567.—Queen Mary gone to Seton for repose and purgations.'—*Robert Melville to Cecil*.

² Articles given in by the Earl of Moray to Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners at Westminster, on 6th December 1568—Hopetoun MS.

In a recent number of the magazine devoted

to the interests of golf, it was suggested that the necklace already referred to may have been a prize won by Mary Seton in a match at the favourite game.

³ Register of Deeds—Scott Office—ix. 220.

⁴ Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vii. 104.

or wrong, he probably thought that, everything considered, the union was in the Queen's best interests.¹

About two months later, Mary and Bothwell (now Duke of Orkney) assembled their followers at Dunbar; and such was the influence of the royal name that, in addition to Lords Seton, Yester, and Borthwick, many of the Border barons joined the Queen's standard. On the 14th of June the Queen left Dunbar and spent another night at Seton, 'where she was always wel-

¹ Poor Mary Stuart! Born at Linlithgow, 7th December 1542; murdered at Fotheringay, 8th February 1587. A queen when only six days old, a widow at eighteen, and the victim of an executioner at five-and-forty, her conduct and character will probably constitute a subject of controversy to the end of time. I venture to think, however, that all impartial critics will acknowledge that the evidence and arguments adduced in her favour by Laing, Tytler, Hosack, and Skelton are of a highly satisfactory kind. It is hard to believe that she could have concealed her real character from the saintly Mary Seton, her constant companion for nearly forty years—to say nothing of the other good women with whom she was associated. All her most malignant enemies were murderers, and every one of them came to a tragic and untimely end. What a contrast, too, the peaceful death-scene of the Scottish Queen to that of her jealous rival! While the Queen of England rejected all consolation, and gave vent to her crushing despondency in sighs and groans, 'which discovered her sorrows without assuaging them,' her hapless sister thus addressed one of her most trusty friends, on her way to the scaffold: 'Weep not, Melville, my good and faithful servant; thou shouldst rather rejoice to see the end of the long troubles of Mary Stuart. This world is vanity, and full of sorrows. I am Catholic, thou Protestant; but, as there is but one Christ, I charge thee in his name to bear witness that I die firm to my religion, a true Scotchwoman, and true to France.' Her last words were in the same spirit. The two executioners knelt and prayed her forgiveness. 'I forgive you and all the world,' she said, 'with all my heart, for I hope this death will give an end to all my troubles.'

'She fell, but fell with spirit truly Roman,
To glut the vengeance of a rival woman:
A woman—though the phrase may seem uncivil—
As able and as cruel as the devil!'

I have already referred to Mr. Froude's estimate of Moray, and everybody knows what that 'picturesque historian' has written about Mary Stuart. In his admirable *History of Our Own Times* (iv. 531), Mr. Justin M'Carthy says that 'no reasonable person can doubt that Mr. Froude's portrait of Mary Queen of Scots is a dramatic and not a historical study. . . . It is impossible to believe that the woman he has painted is the Mary Stuart of history and of life.' More recently it has been said that 'his history, like Macaulay's, is a novel delightful to read'; and, oddly enough, in his latest production—*The Life and Letters of Erasmus*—he warns us against the imputation of motives to eminent historical characters, which will probably be applied in ways on which he did not reckon. He pronounces historians to be of 'commoner metal' than the personages they attempt to describe. 'They resent,' he says, 'perhaps unconsciously, the sense that they stand on a lower level, and revenge their humiliation when they come to describe great men, by attributing to them the motives which influence themselves. Unable to conceive, or unwilling to admit, that men of lofty character may have had other objects than are familiar to their personal experience, they delight to show that the great were not great after all, but were very poor creatures, inferior, when the truth is known about them, to the relater of their actions; and they have thus reduced history to the dung-heap of humiliating nonsense which a large part of it has unfortunately become.'

come and ever safe,'¹ marching to Carberry Hill, in order of battle, the following morning.²

Lord Seton's important connection with Queen Mary's escape from Lochleven, in the beginning of May 1568, probably constitutes the principal episode in his interesting and chequered career. 'The Queen,' says Hosack, 'had spent the winter in close confinement at Lochleven; but three of her ladies—Mary Seton, Jane Kennedy, and Marie Courcelles—had been allowed to share her prison, and to these devoted friends she was finally indebted for her deliverance. The plan of the escape appears to have been arranged by Marie Courcelles, with the aid of George and William Douglas, two youths both under twenty—the one being the son and the other the page of the lady of Lochleven. On Sunday evening, the 2nd of May, while the household were at supper, the younger Douglas contrived to obtain possession of the keys of the castle; and, opening a postern-gate which was close to the water, he was joined by the Queen, who had exchanged dresses with Mary Seton, and by two of her attendants. Stepping into a boat which lay in readiness, they were quickly rowed to the western shore of the lake, where Lord Seton, with a small body of horse, was anxiously awaiting their arrival. That faithful adherent of Mary, through all her changing fortunes, escorted her with the utmost speed to his castle of Niddry, where she arrived at a late hour of the night'³—the distance from Kinross being about twenty-one miles.

¹ Chalmers' *Caledonia*, iii. 425.

² Nau's *Memorials of the Reign of Mary Stuart*, p. 44.

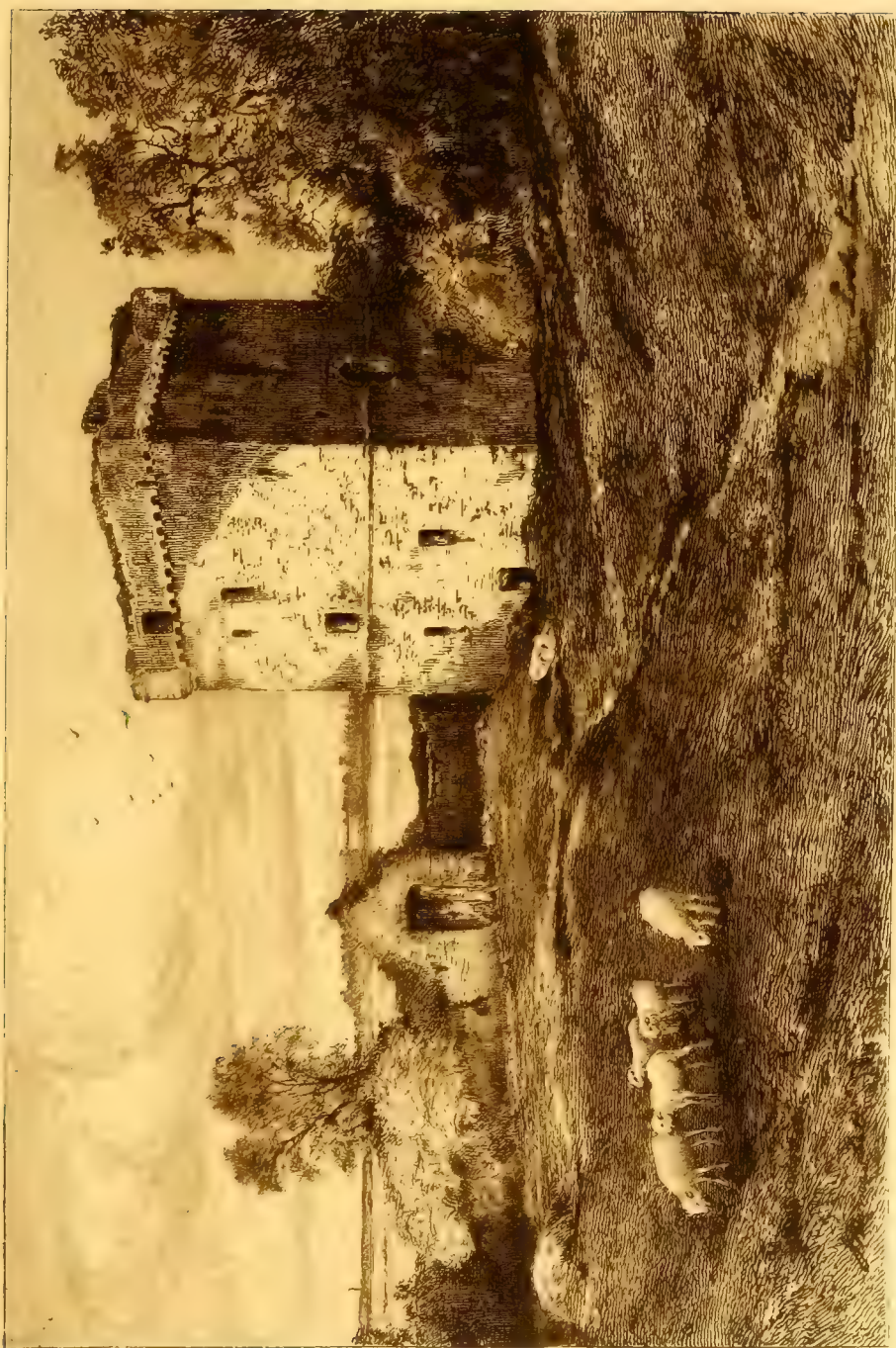
³ *Mary Stuart and her Accusers*, i. 386.

In Nau's *Memorials of the Reign of Mary Stuart*, edited by Father Stevenson, we find some interesting details of the manner in which the Queen's deliverance was effected. See particularly pp. 78-91, and Appendix III. pp. 157-67. The place of meeting with Lord Seton was not where the Queen landed, but about a mile further south, to which point Seton and his fifty cavaliers had ridden from their place of concealment on the Hill of Benarty, as soon as they perceived the Queen's preconcerted signal.

In her *Historic Scenes and Poetic Fancies*,

Miss Strickland states, on the authority of Caussin, Queen Mary's French biographer, that she 'wrote her instructions with a piece of charcoal, on her handkerchief, which she employed the boy Willie Douglas to despatch to Lord Seton.'

Early in November 1894, along with the Rev. A. T. Grant of Leven, I was accompanied to Benarty by Mr. Robert Burns-Begg, grand-nephew of the poet, and author of the *History of Lochleven*, for the purpose of inspecting a certain hollow on the north-east side of the hill, from the immediate vicinity of which an excellent view can be obtained of the 'Castle Island' of Lochleven, as well as of the spot on the shore, near the old churchyard, where the Queen is



In the *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, the author¹ gives a curious account of the Queen's escape from Loch Leven: 'The rest of the pairt of the Queenes liberty was performit be a gentillman callit Johnne Betoun, quha past oft tymes betwix Lochlevin, Hamiltoun, and Setoun, with intelligence, sa as all things were perfectly and privily agreit upon within the hous. Thair was a certaine day prefixt to George Lord Setoun, James Hamiltoun of Rochbank, ather of thir having severall companyes to attend upoun hir out cuming. And if shoe should happen to be within the bait, shoe should give a syne unto thame, for thair assurance, quhilk was perfytlie performit. Quhen shoe was come to the land, they horsett hir imediatlie with gladnes on all syde, as ye may suppose, bot how lang it indurit ye shall heir. The Queene was first convoyit to Nidrye, my Lord Setounes hous that night, and within thrie houres thairefter, was transportit to Hamiltoun, quhair Duke Hamiltoun, my Lord Heres, my Lord Levingstoun, and my Lord Flemyng, with all thair forces were convenit, to the number of thrie thousand horsemen.'

It may be questioned whether the writer is correct in his statement relative to the brevity of the Queen's sojourn at Niddry. On the 3rd of May, Lord Somerville received a letter from Lord Seton to the effect that the Queen had escaped from Lochleven, and was now with him at his Castle of Niddry, from which it was her intention to proceed to Hamilton.²

'Niddry Castle,' says Miss Strickland, 'should be visited in a quiet hour by the historical pilgrim who would retrace in fancy the last bright scene of Mary Stuart's life, when, notwithstanding the forced abdication which had transferred the royal diadem of Scotland to the unconscious brow of her baby-boy, she stood a queen once more, among the only true nobles of her realm, those

known to have landed; and we all concurred in thinking that the hollow and its surroundings possessed every requirement for the critical occasion.

The authorship of this work has been attributed to a certain John Colvill, while by some

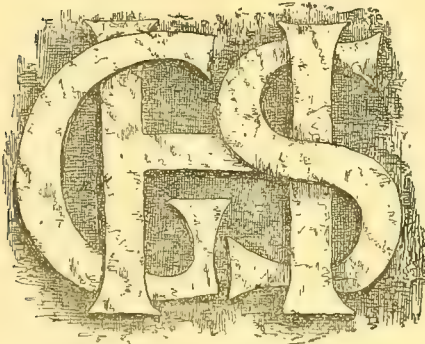
the *Historie* has been regarded as the joint production of several writers.

² *Memorie of the Somervilles*, i. 422. Lord Somerville's eldest son, Hugh, Master of Somerville, was married to Eleanor, sister of the seventh Lord Seton.

whom English gold had not corrupted, nor successful traitors daunted.'

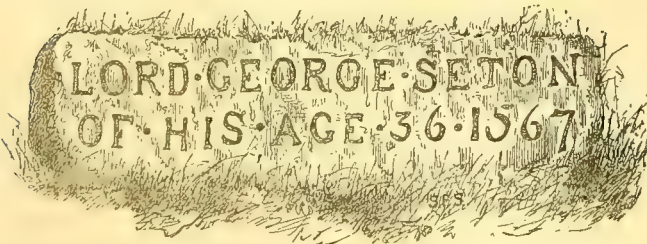
'Ah, grey roofless castle, how changed is the scene
In thy desolate halls, and thy courts lone and green,
Since thy Lord knelt in homage to welcome his Queen,
And they rang with the shouts of the loyal array
Who feasted with Seton and Mary that day,
While gaily the strains of the minstrels arose—
"Here's a health to Queen Mary! and death to her foes."'¹

Under the notice of Niddry Castle in the Appendix will be found a detailed account of various monograms and other sculptured stones formerly on the walls



of the ancient stronghold. Of these, the most interesting was an oblong tablet, which surmounted the east window of the castle, and of which a friend fortunately made an accurate sketch in 1852, engraved in Ballingall's *Edinburgh Past and Present*, and here reproduced.

At the unfortunate engagement at Langside (12th May 1568), Lord Seton gallantly supported the Queen's cause. 'Divers of the Queene's pairt,' says the



author of the *Historie of King James the Sext*, 'were taken prisoners. And the maist remarkable were Lord George Setoun, the

Sheriffe of Aire, Sir James Hamiltoun of Crawford, Sir William Scott of Balweere, Knight, David Hamiltoun of Bothwellhauche . . . with sundrie atheris substantious gentillmen.'

In a letter from Queen Mary to her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, dated Carlisle, 21st June 1568, she says: 'I beseech

¹ *Historic Scenes and Poetic Fancies.*



Ladbroke Castle

you to hasten to send us some support in earnest, the need of which is felt by all my good servants (and these are not few), and, among others, poor Lord Seton, who runs a risk of having his head cut off for having assisted me to escape from prison.' ¹

On the 10th of October 1568, in writing to the Duke of Norfolk and other Commissioners at York, Queen Elizabeth refers to the desire of the Queen of Scots that Lord Seton and others should be removed from Edinburgh Castle in consequence of the plague which there prevailed, and announces her consent to the proposal. ²

On the 24th April 1569 we find a decreet-arbitral by James, Earl of Moray, as judge, amicably chosen by George Lord Seytoun on the one part, and Francis Douglas of Borg on the other part, wherein, for cruel mutilation of the said Francis, the Earl decerns Lord Seytoun to content and pay to him the sum of 2200 merks within ten days, and to renounce and overgive the teind-sheaves of the lands, town, and territory of Langnudrye for the space of nineteen years. ³

It was probably about this time ⁴ that Lord Seton 'was forced to flee to Flanders, and was there in exile two years, and drove a waggon of four horses for his livelyhood. His picture in that condition,' Lord Kingston continues, 'I have seen, drawn and vively painted, upon the north end of the long gallery in Seton, now overlaid with timber. From Flanders the said Lord went to Holland, and there endeavoured to seduce the two Scots regiments to the Spanish service, upon a designe thereby to serve his soveraigne the Queen, the King of Spaine being very much her friend. Which plott of his being revealed, the rebellious States of Holland did imprison and condemne the said George to ryd the cannon; but be the freindship and respect the Scots

¹ Labanoff's *Letters of Mary Stuart*, p. 162.

² *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland*. See also *Hatfield MSS.—Historical MSS. Commission*—Part i. p. 367.

³ Register of Deeds—Scott Office—x. 77.

⁴ In May 1569 we find a 'memorial to Mr. Secretary' from the Bishop of Ross, desiring a

passport for Lord Seton and another to go to France; and accordingly, in the following month, Queen Elizabeth grants him licence to pass from Berwick to London, being on his way to France.—*Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland*.

officers had to him and his quallity, he was sett by them att liberty.'¹

The following curious and detailed account of Lord Seton's expedition to Flanders is from the *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, already referred to.

After the author's account of the Regent Moray's assassination at Linlithgow, he states that 'George Lord Setoun past out of prisoun.' Thereafter 'the Lordis of Scotland for the Queenes factioun . . . directit Lord Setoun to the Duke of Alva, with thanks to the King and to him. And he not content with this negotiatioun onlie, thocht gude to extend the samen further, and maid the Duke of Alva privie thereto, that he wald pass amangs the King's enemies, and talk with the Scottis capitaines, baith to knaw of the interpryses, and to sollicit thame to change from the rebellious service of estattes to the King of Spaine. This was very acceptabill to the Duke, and thairfoir he gaue him a reasonabill viaticum for performance of this fact. Quhen he was cum amang the capitaines, he used sick extreme diligence amang thame, be banquitting and bribbis, that he subbornt the best halfe under promeis of great recompence. And withall hade send diuers aduertisementis to the Duke, quhilk he sent all in Spaine, quhairby the Lord obtenit great favor. He labourit all to the intent that he might haue obtenit ane armie of ten thousand men to haue landed in Scotland, to invade England. Bot quhen he hade exponit this purpois to the Duke, it was refusit, becaus the King could not obtaine mene anew to fortifie his awin caus in Flaunderis, yet gif he pleasit to accept of the King's gude will in that mater, it should be thocht reassonabill. And this it was: That the King wald willynglie, within the space of a moneth, provydit als muckle monie to be transported be his awin veshellies in Scotland, as should sustein ten thowsand men for the space of six moneths, and na forder. Bot befoir he could return answeire to the Duke, sum of these his practices were discovered, and being examinat, he stude to a constant deniall; bot proofes were broght in againes him, and avowit sum

¹ *Continuation of the History of the House of Seytoun*, p. 56.

purpoises in his face. My Lord replyit saying, that nather could sick unhonest knaues as they were be admittit witnes againes him, nor sick infamous rebellis as thai were be judges to him, quha was a ambassador for sick a nobill Princes as his maistress the Queene of Scotland, bot wald appeal to hir awin ordinar judge, my Lord Conservator, quha was equall in consideration of that place to onie of the peares of the Law Countreys, quhilk could not denie thameselues.

'The judges of the toun quhair my Lord Setoun was halden captive, went togidder to consult upoun this mater; sum of thame thocht gude to demitt him ather to the Duke of Alva as he list, or to send him to the Conservator, to the effect he should be transportit with diligence in Scotland; uthris thocht that this counsall was gude, bot first that it should be expedient to put him to the proof of a torture without harme, beleeving thairby he wald freely confes sum of his negotiatoun for fear of forder punishment, and that the fear of this should sumthing abaitt him of his stout stomake: bot although he was laid upoun the racke and his bodye extendit, his courage was na less for all that, and baid thame do gif thai durst.

'The Scottis capitaines understanding of this apperand severitie to be vsit, and alreddye in practice as they thocht, subornit incontenent thair souldiors to be at thair commands. Imediatlye they past with a vote to the counsall, and desyrit that my Lord should incontenent be sett at libertie without onie skayth, utherwayes they wald all remove thair seruice at that presente hour, quhairupoun it fell out that my Lord was demittit to pas quhair he list, and so escapit that danger. Bot no forder proceedit in his negotiatioun for the King, nather could the King be induced againe to onie promise of monie to be sent in Scotland, the seruice of his awin affaires grew sa hett in Flaunderis.'

The following references to the Flanders expedition occur in the *Class Catalogue of MSS.—Scotland 1505-1603* (Brit. Mus. Cal. c. 11.).

'The Duke of Chatelleraut and the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, Lieutenants to Queen Mary—their credentials to Lord

Seton sent as plenipotentiary to the Duke d'Alva, 10th August 1570.'

(The credentials are in Latin, and bear the signatures of the three noblemen aforesaid, the signature of Huntly being 'Georgius Comes Huntleus.' Seton is described as 'illustrem ac nobilem virum Georgium Baronem de Setoun.')

'Notes taken out of the book of the negociacion of the Lord Seton' in favour of Queen Mary.—'N.B. Seton had been sent to the Duke d'Alva, 1570.'

(The 'Notes' extend to three-and-a-half folio pages, and give the purport of Lord Seton's letters to the Duke of Alva, the Queen of Scots, etc. Reference is made to Sir Francis Englisfield and his journey to France and Spain, to Philip, King of Spain, and to the Countess of Northumberland.)

On the 17th of July 1570, William Maitland of Lethington writes to the Laird of Coldingham from Blair Athole, relative to certain arrangements with Lord Seton and the Earl of Huntly; and a few weeks afterwards, from the same place, he communicates with the Queen of Scots respecting Seton's journey to Flanders and thence to France. Towards the end of June we find a despatch from Thomas Genynges (Jennings?) in Brussels to Mr. Hacket, in which he asks his assistance in conveying certain letters to Lord Huntly's where he supposes 'my Lord Seton and my Lady Northumberland must be; and a communication, dated 'Warkworth, 8th September 1570,' announces the departure of Lord Seton to Flanders with the Countess of Northumberland.¹

¹ The following references to the Countess and Lord Seton occur in Richard Bannatyne's *Journal of the Transactions in Scotland*, 1570-3. 'Vpon Setterday, the 22 of aprile 1570, the Lord Seton assembled all his forces at the place of Halyrudhous, and made no small brag that he would enter in the toun of Edinburgh and stryke his drume in despite of all the cairles. He had in his cumpany the Ladie of Northumberland. Whither he convoyed hir, when we know we sall write.' Again, August 1570: 'To bring better tydingis was direct ane embasadour of the femening gener, the Ladie Northumberland, who had not sene hir husband all the

tyme he remanet in Lochleawin. With hir were ioyned to give hir comfort in the schip, the vyse Lord Setoun; a meitt matche, a Scottis cuckold and ane English mesmonger: who knoweth hir better judge what I spare to speik.'

On the 3rd of September 1570, Lord Morley writes to the Earl of Leicester from Bruges: 'The cause of Lord Seton's coming (as he gives out) was to accompany "my Ladye," and so pass into France, where he has three sons, and money owing him for wages of the King of France.'—*Hatfield MSS.*—*Historical MSS. Commission*—Part i. p. 483.

From Edinburgh, the previous day, the Earl of Lennox informs Queen Elizabeth of the certain expectation of forces being sent to Scotland by the Duke of Alva, at the solicitation of Lord Seton.

On the 31st of May 1571, Lord Seton writes to the Laird of Lethington from Paris, reporting particulars of a long conversation and 'high words' with the Queen-Mother of France as to some sent from Scotland, and requesting a letter of credence to the Duke of Alva.¹

The author of the *Historie* informs us that 'my Lord Setoun was returnit out of Flaunderis and cum to Edinburgh, and Mortoun fearing lest subsidie should haue cum fra that pairt to the Queene's fauoreris be his lang negotiatioun, he assayit be all meanes ayther to get knowledge thairof, or ellis to distroy the messinger; and thairfore he intysit the Lord Lindsay to desire talking with the said Lord Setoun; and the aduertisement being sent be Lindsay how willing he was to talk with him, he condescendit to sick tyme and place as should best please to Lindsay. Bot as he was cum furth of Edinburgh simplie, not looking for onie fraud to be usit, he was aduertist credibly be the way, that thair was men lying in ambuscaid to haue trappit him, and thairfore he considerit suddainlye the danger, and resolut to reteere back.'

He further informs us that in June 1572, 'the garrisoun of Nedrie Seton had prepared sum coirnes to be sent into Edinburgh, quhilk they saiflie convoyit; bot at the bak cuming, the laird of Collingtoun (Colinton) and the laird of Curriehill lay in waitt, and unbeset (surrounded) the cariers, and brocht thame to Corstorphan, thair to remaine captiues. The Lord Setoun hearing of this, montit on horsbak with certane chosen men, and came to Curriehill hous, brocht him (the laird) furth thairof perforce, and led him preasoner to Nedrie, and be the way he encounterit uther fourtie horsmen pertening to the Laird of Lochnoreis, quhilk number he led all with him, and laidit the horses with coirnes to be caried in Edinburgh. Thairafter

¹ *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland.*

he demittit thame frielie to pas quhair they list, with thankes.'

A few months before Lord Seton's return to Scotland (7th January 1571), writing to the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Queen says:—'If Lord Seton is still in Flanders, write to him promptly that I beg him to hasten the transmission of the money to Scotland, for the castle has need of it. I enclose herein a note which you will convey to him, and I leave you to inform him of what concerns me and my affairs.' About two months later, in a memorandum given to John Hamilton for the Duke of Alva—Sheffield, 20th March 1571—the Queen refers to the selection of Lord Seton, with the view of his making certain proposals in her interests to the Duke. 'I commanded my subjects,' she writes, 'to select one from among them, an honest man and of good family, in whom they might have confidence, who should have reputation at home and be less suspected abroad. In obedience to which command, they chose Lord Seton; and informing me of it, requested that I should give him my letter of credence to guarantee the proposals which he was entrusted to make to the Duke of Alva on the part of the nobility. I thought it better, before giving the credence, to make a proposal whereby Seton might have it in his power to undertake my vindication and that of my country alone, or rather with such conditions as should seem best to the Duke of Alva; and at his departure, to exercise his own discretion, or otherwise act as had at first been arranged.'¹

Again, on the 18th of April following (1571), the Queen writes from Sheffield to Alva as follows: 'This is the reason why I send to you Lord Seton, who, however, has no knowledge of anything relating to this country, but solely to Scotland; by whom I beg you to send some assistance and support, such as you shall recommend for procrastinating and preventing the Queen of England from taking possession of the whole. He will inform you of the state of affairs, and of what may be required there. Besides, he is my most faithful and devoted

¹ Labanoff, p. 187.

subject and servant, an honest man and a Catholic, and in whom you may confide as I do, being convinced that, after God's honour, he has no other object before him but his duty towards me.'¹

In another touching letter from her Sheffield prison, dated 18th September 1571, and addressed 'To my Banished Servants,' who had been dismissed from Sheffield by the Earl of Shrewsbury, she says: 'Remember me to Lord Fleming, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and George Douglas, and all my good subjects; and bid them be of good cheer, and not to be concerned for my adversity, but each of them to do the best he can, and tell them to demand from all the sovereigns assistance for our party, and not to mind me, for I am content to endure every kind of affliction and suffering, even death itself, for the liberty of my country. If I die, I only regret that I shall not have the means of rewarding the services and the trouble which they have endured in my quarrel; but I hope that if it shall be so, that God will not leave them unrequit, and will cause my son, and the other Catholic princes, my friends, and allies to take them under their protection. If Lord Seton can hear from me, send him the copy of this letter.'

A few weeks previously (10th August 1571) John and Thomas Ogilvy wrote from Louvain to their brother, Lord George Ogilvy of Dunlugus, that they are not willing to return home this summer for sundry causes. Lord Seton had invited them to accompany him to Scotland, and offered other kindnesses, for which they desire he may be thanked. From the same place (Louvain), on the 2nd of September, George and John Durye inform the laird of Dunfermline that they have been kindly received there by Lord Seton, the Queen's Ambassador, who presses them to receive money to 'hold' them at the schools; and a few days later they write to John Davidson to 'remember' their Mæcenas (the laird aforesaid) that they shall want a good sum of money for the coming cold winter, to enable them to proceed in their studies.²

¹ Labanoff, p. 210. For other allusions by the Queen to Lord Seton, see Labanoff, pp. 274

and 278.

² *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland.*

In a series of 'Interrogatories for and examination of the Bishop of Ross,' dated 6th November, we find numerous details about the letters to the Duke of Alva, the Pope, and the King of Spain, from the Duke of Norfolk; and reference is also made to the arrival of Servy, a servant of the Queen of Scots, with letters from Lord Seton in Flanders.

On the 26th October of the same year, Beton, Bishop of Glasgow, writing from Blois, informs the Scottish Queen that, according to the English Ambassador, Seton's negotiations in Flanders were very much disliked in England; and that it appeared to him that the King of Spain was already taking her affairs under his protection.²

From Sheffield, on the 10th of December, Queen Mary instructs Lord Seton to learn the Duke of Alva's intention in answer to her various cyphers; and when he shall be in Scotland, Lethington and Grange will make him participant of what she has written.³

On the 18th of the same month, Hunsdon writes to Burghley from Berwick, enclosing a letter from the Earl of Mar, in which he states that 'divers of her Majesty's rebels had arrived from Flanders, and that Lord Seton is bringing money for the Queen of Scots' party.'⁴ Her supporters continued to look with confidence to the arrival of assistance from France, and Burghley made a strong effort to induce Elizabeth to send her forces into Scotland. Finding that she was inclined to waver, Killygrew was in despair, and wrote that, if the expedition was abandoned,

¹ *Hatfield MSS.—Historical MSS. Commission*, Part i. p. 562.

² *Ibid.* p. 565.

³ Record Office—reference mislaid (in cipher with decipher).

⁴ *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland*. From the same source we learn that 'a lewd Ballet had been taken w^t y^e L. Seton's writings,' containing a reference to John Knox.

Richard Bannatyne, in mentioning the 'brute' (bruit) that Lord Seton and some others were to go to Flanders to solicit the help of the 'Duck d'Alva,' in rebellion against the King,

piously adds: 'Lord, confound their malitiously myndis!' When speaking of Seton's homecoming, he states that 'he was tuyse (twice) on the sea, and constrained be tempest to returne;' and charitably avoids all reference to a divine judgment.

The following undated entry occurs at page 324, Part i. *Hatfield MSS.—Historical MSS. Commission*: 'The account and discharge of ten thousand crowns of forty sturis (pence), every crown received at the command of my Lord Seton, Ambassador for the Queen of Scots in Flanders; giving the sacks with their merks, and the valuation of the coin in Flemish money.'

Scotland would be lost to them, and united in a league with France. Among other indications of that event, he specially referred to Lord Seton's negotiations with the Regent Morton to win him to France.¹

In the Register of the Privy Council (ii. 244) we find the record of a curious encounter at no great distance from Seton Palace, in the summer of 1573. Alexander Home of North Berwick Mains lodged a complaint against George, Lord Seton and Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, and stated in presence of the Regent Morton and his Council that 'a certain Ralph Swynno, a fugitive from English justice, had, in October 1572, made a raid on the complainer's farm of Trottanschaw, in the Lammermoors, carried off his cattle, and wounded the wife of one of his tenants. In the following June, Home, while riding from Edinburgh to North Berwick, came suddenly upon and seized the marauder, and was bringing him to the Council, when, at the east end of Seton Sands, the party was attacked by a band headed by Lord Seton and Thomas Hamilton, who not only rescued the prisoner, but applied opprobrious language to his captor. The defenders were ordered to give up the culprit to Home's custody, or to satisfy for the injuries done, but the result is not recorded.'²

My next incidents in the motley career of Queen Mary's devoted adherent are of a more peaceable character, relating as they do to the fortunes of his only daughter. At Niddry, on the 21st of October 1573, Lord Seytoun grants an obligation to and in favour of Margaret Seytoun, his daughter, setting forth that he had intromitted with certain monies pertaining to her, and specially with the sum of 3000 merks left to her by the deceased 'Sir William Hammiltoun of Machlene, Knight, her gudschir'

¹ Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vii. 411. MSS. Calderwood, Brit. Mus. Ayscough, 4736, f. 1156. In a manuscript volume in the Advocates' Library (31. 2. 19) is a curious paper entitled: '1577. The Present Estate of the Nobility of Scotland, and how they stand affected,' in which we find the following description of Lord Seton: 'The Lord Seaton within age (?), a Papist and yet pretendeth to favour y^e K.'s Regiment.

But he is vehemently suspected. He sought earnestly to have been admitted for one of the confederates for maintenance of y^e K. But he would not be received. He and his eldest sonne have leave and intend to pass shortly into fflanders, not without suspicion of some secret purpose.'

² Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, i. 19.

(grandfather), and another sum of money delivered to him by 'Dame Katherine Kennedy, her gud-dame' (grandmother), for her support, in consideration of which he assigns and disposes to her the 'whole mails and fermes and yearly duties' of the lordship of Seytoun and the baronies of Tranent, Wyntoun, and Wincheburgh, now called West Nidry, for the period of two years.¹ Eight months afterwards (15th June 1574), we come across the same Margaret's contract of marriage, dated at Linlithgow, between Lord John Hamiltoun, Commendator of Aberbrothok, and Lord Claud Hamiltoun, his brother-german, sons of the Duke of Chatelherault, on the one part, and George, Lord Setoun and Margaret Setoun, his daughter, on the other part, whereby Lord Claud is to 'marry and take the said Margaret to wife betwixt and 1st September next,' and to infest her in liferent in certain specified lands in the sheriffdoms of Edinburgh and Lanark, while Lord Seton is to content and pay, at different terms, the sum of 8000 merks, 'along with the said Margaret.'²

In the years 1572-3, we find numerous letters³ relative to the events which followed Lord Seton's return from Flanders. On the 24th of February,⁴ Hunsdon informs Burghley that Seton had landed at Harwich; and about a month later (17th March), Queen Elizabeth reports to Drury and Randolph that the vessel which conveyed Seton to England is forthcoming; and that the papers contained in it have disclosed such practices that she has stayed M. le Croc's going to Scotland. On the 31st of March, these two ambassadors write from Leith to Burghley regarding the 'doings of Lord Seton.' Ten days later (10th April) they report to Hunsdon the 'jar' between Lord Seton and Kirkaldy of Grange; while on the 13th of April, Drury communicates with Burghley respecting the 'opposition of the Duke of Chatelherault and Lord Seton, and their willingness to leave

¹ *Register of Deeds, etc.*—Scott. Office, vol. xii. fol. 329.

² *Ibid.* vol. xiii. fol. 134.

³ *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland.*

⁴ A month previously (17th January) Dr.

Nicholas Saunders writes to the Countess of Northumberland from Louvain, enclosing a short letter to 'my lord,' which she may read, and likewise one to Lethington which Lord Seton must see.—*Hatfield MSS.—Historical MSS. Commission*, Part II., p. 4.

the country'; and also refers to the 'cause of the unkindness' between Seton and the Laird of Grange. On the 18th of April, Hunsdon writes from Berwick to Burghley regarding Lord Seton's contemplated return to Flanders, and encloses 'the extract of the substantial points of the Lord Seton's negotiations with the Duke D'Alva at his last audience.' On the 1st of May, from the same place, Hunsdon again writes to Burghley respecting the 'arrangements for the delivery up of the Earl of Northumberland; and hopes he will not offend her Majesty if by chance he can get Lord Seton into his hands on his return to Flanders.' Twelve days later (12th May) he intimates, from Berwick, to Burghley a 'plan to take Lord Seton, who is the Queen of Scots greatest friend'; and on the 24th of August, he reports, from the same place to the same correspondent, that Lord Seton had come to terms with the Regent.

On the 14th of March 1573 Killygrew writes to Lord Burghley from Edinburgh, giving reasons why the English Queen may oversee (overlook?) the murders of Darnley and Moray, and indicating the persons 'to be considered of with pensions; Argyle will accept £200 a year from her Majesty . . . and even the Regent has been dealt with by Seton. The Hamiltons need no pensions, but should have a gentle letter.' About a fortnight later (4th April) Killygrew intimates to Burghley the submission of the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Huntly to the King; refers to Athole's religious scruples; and expresses his belief that Lord Seton is likely to yield to the King's authority. Finally, on the following day (5th April) he announces, to the same correspondent, the submission of Lord Seton and the Earl of Athole to the King.

On the 8th of March 1575, the Earl of Leicester writes to Walsingham respecting one Nesbyt or Nasmyth, accused of being a conveyor of letters to the Queen of Scots. . . . 'He is one of those that attend young Seton who came to him at Kenilworth, who was recommended by the Regent, and one whom her Majesty would be content made no long abode at Court.' The day following, Walsingham replies to Leicester, from London, relative to the punishment of Nasmyth and to his Lordship's desire for the

removal of young Seton, both which matters he thinks of little consequence, considering her Majesty's strange dealing towards others.¹

A few weeks later (19th April 1575) we find Lord Morton writing to Queen Elizabeth, from Dalkeith, returning thanks for her friendly entertainment of 'a young gentleman, named John Seytoun,' on his visit to her Court; and a few month later (6th September) Lord Seton himself conveys his thanks to the English Queen for the 'courtesies shewn to his son, who will do her Highness most humble and assured service as becometh him.'²

In a long Italian letter, written in 1577, from Baptista di Trento to the Queen (Elizabeth?) mention is made of two sons of the 'Conte de Seton'—'Signor Roberto, il primogenito,' (afterwards Earl of Winton), and 'il Signor Giovanni (Sir John Seton) in Spagna.'³ It is not very easy to understand the bearing of the following mysterious entry in the Privy Council Record: 'In 1577, "when George Ogilvy of Dunlugus conspeir- and personallie, it was inquirit if he had in his handis the writtis, ornamentis, capes, organis, and commoune seill, mentionat in ane inventure productit. It was answerit, be the said George Ogilvy, that he delyuerit the same writtis, ornamentis, capes, organis, and commoune seill, contenit in the inventure to George Lord Seytoun, and, for verefeing thairof, productit his acquittance, dated at Edinburgh, ultimo Decembris 1576"—which Lord Seytoun, personallie present, admitted.'⁴

On the 5th of November 1577, writing from Sheffield to the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Queen says: 'I hope to be informed of the state of Scotland by the report which will be conveyed to you of it by Lord Seton, to whom I beg that you will make my commendations, and assure him of my good will towards him, according to his fidelity and good behaviour in my service.' Again, 9th May 1578, she writes to the Archbishop, from the same place, as follows: 'I am very vexed by the bad treatment

¹ *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Hatfield MSS.—Historical MSS. Commission* Part II. p. 165.

⁴ Quoted in Dalryell's *Musical Memoirs of Scotland*, p. 126.

⁵ Labanoff, p. 261.

which Lord Seton has received in Flanders. It appears to me that his best course will be to return with all expedition to Scotland.'¹ From Chatsworth, 4th July 1579, the Queen tells the same dignitary that 'among the rest be my lordis Seton and Ogilvy, whom Nau (the Queen's Secretary) hath particularly informed of my intention of all that may concern my service in those parts.'²

Under the head of 'Occurrents out of Scotland,' 14th May 1579, we find that Lord Seton and his three sons are charged under pain of treason, to enter 'in ward' in the Castle of Brechin, where they are all except the Lord himself, who repaired to Stirling to mitigate this charge. Lord Seton was charged before to bring in Robert Bruce, servant to the Bishop of Glasgow, who, Seton affirmed, had not been in his company long before. Bruce is now declared rebel, and enemy to the King.³ Ten days later (24th May), from 'Advertisements from Edinburgh,' it appears that Lord Seton and his three sons were removed from 'Bryghan' (Brechin) to St. Andrews, where they remained prisoners.⁴

On the 18th of March 1580, the Queen informs the Archbishop that 'on Monday last, there arrived here a man from my Lord Seton, who assured me that my son is quite well, and that he is growing stout and very strong from the exercise which he takes since he has some liberty. As to what the said Lord Seton has written to me of the journey which his son was about to take to Spain, requesting me to appoint him my ambassador there, it is a thing so full of suspicion, that the least rumour here or in France would greatly retard the effect of all that by other means I could negotiate.'⁵

About a year afterwards (1581) we have ample evidence of Queen Mary's miserable condition in her Sheffield prison. Among other unheeded requests which she made to Elizabeth, she entreated to have passports for the Lady Lethington and Lord Seton, 'in whose society she might find some alleviation of

¹ Labanoff, p. 274.

² *Ibid.* p. 278.

³ *Hatfield MSS.—Historical MSS. Commis-*

sion, Part II, p. 256.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 257.

⁵ Labanoff, p. 291.

her solitude.'¹ Towards the end of the same year, in a long letter, written at Sheffield, from Beale to Burghley, he says: 'There was no cause, she said, that her Majesty (Elizabeth) should be afraid of her now: her heire was allredie borne, and at his owne libertie; as for any more husbands, she desired none, and besides her bodye was in suche a case as that shee was not fitt for any such matter now. She was now olde, if not in years yet in health of bodie, all the heares of her head were greye.' Towards the end of the letter, Beale refers to what she said about her tolerance in religious matters and to her 'restrainte.' 'She neither doeth nor can come out of her chamber: her folkes are not suffered to goe abroad. She thinketh much (as I learne) that her coach which the French Ambassad^r hath caused to be made for her in London is not sent.'²

On the 29th of January 1581, the Earl of Huntyndon writes from Aukland to Randolph that he 'sees no danger in accepting Lord Seton';³ while, about two months later, Randolph, in writing to Hunsdon, indicates his dislike of Seton, the King's ambassador.'⁴

The two following extracts from Hunsdon's letters to Walsingham, from Berwick, in May and July, exhibit a curious illustration of the troublous state of the period.

'Lord Seton, being Admiral, ordered by James VI. to restore the goods of certain English merchants, spoiled by Scottish pirates, which he promised to doe with all diligence.'

After long delay, Thomas Shotton, who had been sent to Scotland in connection with the preceding matter, 'only finds there mere "Scotische promises"; got nothing from Lord Seton but "lewd and harde speeches"; and also had secret warning that "he would be shote with a harquabuse" by one of the pirates newly come to town.'⁵

¹ Tytler's *History of Scotland*, viii. 101.

Again, in the summer of 1584, it appears from Labanoff's *Recueil*, v. 436-7, that George, Lord Seton, 'with a young lady of the same name'—in all probability his half-sister Mary—stopped at Sheffield in order to visit the Queen.

² Letters *temp.* Elizabeth (5935, f. 52), Brit. Museum.

³ *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Calendar of Border Papers*, vol. i., 1560-94, edited by Joseph Bain (1894).

The execution of the Regent Morton took place on the 2nd of June, and it was remarked that 'Lord Seton and his two sons had taken great care to secure a good view of all that passed, by pulling down a stair which would have intercepted their view of the scaffold.'¹

On the 30th of September, Bowes informs Burghley that 'the King, accompanied by the Duke of Lenox, the Erle of Arreyn, the Lordes Ruthen, Seaton, Ogleby, and others, hath bene in progresse at Glascoe and other places thereabowtes'; and two months later (29th November), writing from Berwick to Burghley, Sir John Selby mentions the Duke of Lennox, Lord Seton, and others, as sitting 'in counsell,' and adds: 'The Protestants were in some feare that the papisticall religion was favoured by divers great ones, which proceeded of the intertainment that two English papistes, lately arrived in Schotland, received of the Lord Seton.'²

One of these was, doubtless, the party referred to by Davison in a letter to Walsingham, dated 4th March 1582, in which he speaks of 'William Holt a Jesuite entertyned secretlie heire by the Lord Seton, and appointed to a voyage into France and from thence to Rome.'³

On the 25th of February 1582, Isabell Lady Seton writes from Seton to William Brereton, *alias* William Wattes, priest. After thanking him for the gift of a book, she expresses her regret that she now lacks the godly admonition of himself and 'M Peter,' and requests that one of them will come again shortly.⁴

From Berwick, on the fourth of May, Woddryngton informs Walsingham that 'it is gyven furth by the magistrates of the corporacion of Edenbroughe that the Duke (Lennox) shall have the Castle of Edenbroughe delyvered unto him, who meaneth to make Lord Seaton his deputie of the said Castle, and also to make him provost of the toun of Edenbroughe.'⁵

A few weeks later (24th May) King James VI. writes from Dalkeith to Woddryngton (Marshal and Governor of Berwick),

¹ Tytler's *History of Scotland*, viii. 96.

² *Calendar of Border Papers, ut supra.*

³ MS. Brit. Museum—Cal. C. vii. f. 104.

⁴ *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

in the following terms: 'Our servaunt Schir Johnne Seytoun Knycht, great maister of our horss, having spent a large part of his youthe in foreyn cuntreis, is yit moved to continew sum larger space in that exercise. . . . Herfoir we desyre yow effectuislie to grant unto him withe his servandis, horss, and baggaige, favourable and reddy passage to the Court of our dearest sister the Quene your soverane.'¹

The alarm excited in certain quarters by Sir John Seton's contemplated continental expedition forms the subject of a communication from Forster to Walsingham, dated 'Nigh Alnwick, 14th June.' 'Their is a greate noumber in theis partes infected with the alteracion of relligione, and that by the backinge and comfort of Scotlande. There are iij or iiij Jesuits recepted with the Lorde Seatone . . . I heare that Scotland goeth abowte to practise and make a mariage betwene the Kinge of Scotlande and the Kinge of Spaines dowghter, and that Sir John Seatone is minded to pas thorowe Englande, upon colour to travell into other countries, but his meaninge is to pas into Spaine for the practisinge of the said mariage to the overthrowe of relligion and Gods (*sic*), yf in tyme yt be not prevented.'²

On the 4th of November, Lord Seton writes, from Seton, to the President of the Society of Jesuits at Rome, taking the opportunity of Father Holt's departure to signify the state of affairs;³ and we have the record of a letter in Italian on the following day from Alexander Seton (probably the future Chancellor), to the 'Generall of the Jesuits in Rome and found with W^m. Holte'—('Re^{do} P. Guilliemo Holte'). It concludes as follows:—

'Desidero se si trovano costà d'esser particolaramente raccomandate.—Da. Seton 9^{to} di Novembre, 1582. Di sua P^{ta} R^{ma} figliuolo in Xpo oss (?) Al. Setonio.'⁴

Towards the end of the following year (16th September 1583) Lord Seton, writing in French to the Queen of Scots, from Seton, announces the King's determination to preserve the league

¹ *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland.*

² *Calendar of Border Papers, ut supra.*

³ *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland.*

⁴ Kirk MSS. B. § 8—*Hist.* 178—Adv. Lib. (31. 2. 19.), and Class Catalogue of MSS.—Scotland—1505-1603—p. 198.—Brit. Mus., Cal. C. vii. f. 56.

with France, and to follow entirely the advice of Monsieur de Guise. His poverty is so great that he cannot carry out his Majesty's intentions, and he begs the Queen's assistance to propitiate Guise.¹

During the following November no fewer than four letters turn up in the *Printed Calendar of Scottish State Papers*, relative to Lord Seton's impending visit to France. Two of these are addressed to Walsingham by Bowes, from Berwick, and one by James Melville from Halhill; while the fourth and latest is from James Robertson to his brother Robert, in which he says that 'they are all burdened with the furnishing of my Lord Seton in his journey to France,' and refers to the extent and object of his commission to renew the old league.

In the course of the same month (8th November) Wodryngton informs Walsingham that 'Lord Seton is appointed ambassador to France, and getting ready—the town of Edinburgh and some others being ordered to furnish him with shipping and all other necessities he demands.'

Three days later (11th November) Forster writes from Alnwick to Walsingham as follows: 'The Earl Bothwell lies at Kelso, and Lord Seton came to him the other day with a message from the King, charging him, on his allegiance, to leave the company of the Earls of Angus and Mar, and come and join "the rest of the Stewardest" at Court, or he would incur his heavy displeasure.'³

The Queen of Scots receives an anonymous letter dated 'Farnihurst, 25th November 1583,' in which the writer states that he is forced to delay sending Lord Seton's letters to her Majesty.⁴ Ten days previously (15th November) two letters, in French, were sent by James VI. from 'Halyrudhous,' to Henry III. of France, despatching Lord Seton as his ambassador, in which he is described as 'le Sieur de Seton, nostre cousin,' and 'mien cousin le Sieur de Seton,' and in which the King refers to the

¹ For a full copy of this letter see p. 193 *infra*.

² *Calendar of Border Papers, ut supra*.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland*.

long continued alliance between France and Scotland.¹ Another object which Seton had in view was to advocate the cause of the imprisoned Queen, and the friendless position of her youthful son; but the embassy produced no result, as no substantial aid was obtained from France.

On the 29th of December, Sir Edward Stafford sends news from Paris of 'ships arrived with Lord Seton out of Scotland'; and two months later (27th February 1583-4), he reports from the same place, to the same correspondent, certain audiences with the King of the Pope's Nuncio, Lord Seton, and the Spanish agent. . . . He further states that 'Lord Seton with the Bishop of Glasgow were brought unto the King by the Dukes of Guise and Joyeuse, both countenancing him all ways they could.'²

During the latter part of January, Bowes indites four letters from Berwick to Walsingham, in the first of which he mentions Lord Seton's departure for France, accompanied by Holt and others; while in the latest he states that 'Holt, the Papist,' has been left behind. In one of the others, he refers to the expected 'familiarity' between Lord Seton and Norton in France; and 'it may be,' he adds, 'that Norton's son, George, who is willing to be employed, may procure them some information.'³

Between the beginning of April and the middle of July, Stafford writes six letters to Walsingham from Paris, from the first of which it appears that Lord Seton worthily represented the proverbial hospitality of his native country. After stating that Mendoza had access to the King, but Lord Seton, who had sent three or four times, had been deferred, he proceeds as follows:—'No ambassador cometh near Lord Seton in expenses, nor in continual feasting. He hath brought twelve dozen silver dishes, a cupboard of plate, and everything suitable.' In his second letter he says that, after closing his previous communication, 'there came a request from Lord Seton that the Queen would grant him a passport through England and Scotland, which he desired to have, that he may satisfy the Queen that

¹ Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, ii. 24-5.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland.*

the King, his Master desires to serve him. Lord Seton will do no great harm in Paris for France. As for Spain the writer will not answer. The chief matter he came to treat of was the marriage of his Master with the Princess of Lorraine. He will go away with a cold suit.’ On the 2nd of May, he writes, ‘Lord Seton and the Bishop of Glasgow concur outwardly, but privately do not well agree. Lord Seton is holden out as a mean wise man, and yet very wilful. His great pomp turned to penury, most of his silver vessels being already at gage (pawn or pledge), besides a foul disgrace. The sergeants came into his house to wrest all they could find for a debt of 600 crowns, and no haste made of punishing them. The ship that brought him is still at Newhaven, the master weeping, and Seton fain (to feed his men) to lay every fortnight one of his pieces of ordnance to gage.’ It must be acknowledged that this looks like an ugly termination of the Scotch ambassador’s profuse hospitality; but we must accept the report *cum grano salis*, as that of a somewhat prejudiced opponent.

Towards the end of the same month (29th May 1584), Stafford indites a long and curious epistle relative to Lord Seton. He mentions Seton’s efforts to maintain the ancient league between France and Scotland, and to secure the substitution of a Scottish captain—if possible his own son—over the Scottish Guards, instead of a Frenchman. ‘Seton,’ he says, ‘burst out against the “Lords,” calling them rebels, and marvelled the English Queen received such into her realm.’ He further states that when he referred to the quarrels between the Scottish King and his nobility, Seton ‘confessed that the chiefest of them, as Mar and Angus, were the farthest of cousin-germans removed from him, and that of the Hamiltons, one was his son-in-law, the other near allied to him.’¹

On the 21st of June, he says, ‘I marvel which way the Queen of Scots and Lord Seton here, and that party, have intelligence one from another, and how they agree so well in their speeches. For the self same answer you writ to me the

Queen of Scots made in the mislike of Mauvissière's journey, the same words did Seton use to me, and told me if he had no other errand, he would be but hardly welcomed in Scotland. He took his leave yesterday of the Queen-mother.' Finally about four weeks later, he reports that 'Seton, under colour of of sending his son, the abbot,¹ away into Scotland, is going himself by stealth. There are two reasons for it: the one, that he is afraid he may be talked with by the way, if it is known; the other, that he is so far in debt, he is fain to steal away.'²

In the beginning of the previous April,³ Scrope sent three communications from Carlisle to Walsingham, in the first of which he informs him that he has just heard that Sir John Seton, son of Lord Seton, is said to have arrived at 'Kirkowbrighe in Scotlande,' and he had sent to learn more particulars. In the second letter he states that the man whom he sent to Kirkcudbright to enquire about Sir John Seton 'sayeth that his shippe wherein he came furth of Fraunce is come to Kirkowbrighe, and therein all his servauntes, trunkes, and stuffe'; and that it was alleged that 'being sicke upon the sea,' Sir John put in to the Isle of Man, from which by an 'extreme tempest,' the ship was driven to Kirkcudbright. 'If the same be true,' he adds, 'y^t is a great good worke of Almighty God.' Finally, he reports that 'it is now certain that Seton arrived at Kirkowbrighe, and on Thursday last came to Dumfries, where he was well entertained by the Earl of Morton. . . . He was certainly in the Isle of Man, but how long I know not.'⁴

In the course of the same month (April), Lord Seton was one of the jury at the trial of the Earl of Gowrie 'for surprizing of the King and detaineing his person at Rivan (Ruthven), the twentieth and third of August 1582.'⁵

On the 30th of April, Queen Mary writes, from Sheffield,

¹ The future Chancellor (?).

² *Calendar of MSS. at Hatfield*, Part iii. (1889).

³ Occasionally I have considered it desirable to depart from the strict chronological order of the letters, in order to bring those of the same writer together as much as possible.

⁴ *Calendar of Border Papers*, *ut supra*.

⁵ Spottiswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*,—London, 1677, p. 332, where Lord Seton is erroneously described as 'Alexander, Earl of Seaton'—quoted in the *Memorie of the Somervilles*, i. 458.

to M. de Mauvissière, as follows: 'It is not in my power to enlighten you on what has been represented to the Queen of England respecting the language made use of by young Seton, when at Bordeaux, about a marriage between the Catholic King and me; as I was not even aware that the said Seton had been in Spain, and much less on what errand he went thither, so that I can with truth disavow all he may have said or done.'¹

The following interesting letter from Lord Seton to Mary Queen of Scots never reached its destination. It was intercepted by Elizabeth, and decyphered by the decypherer Philipps (Sadler Papers, ii. 374). It corroborates James's pathetic assertion respecting the great poverty which prevented him from aiding his mother:—

'MADAME,—The 15th of this month, at the departure of the Ambassador Walsingham, your son certified me that he is determined to send me to France, in all haste. I perceive that he is fully bent to pursue the league and amity of this Kingdom (with France), and to follow in all things the council of the Duke de Guise, and complete the treaty begun between you and him.

'Meantime, if you will give proper directions for that, I deem your affairs will soon be brought well into port. The poverty of your son is so great, that he cannot put into execution the least part of his designs. Wherefore I entreat you to hold the hand, for means and council, towards M. de Guise, and others, that he may be succoured. I am myself constrained to undertake this journey at my own expense, which I cannot well sustain if your Majesty aids me not; for the principal motive which makes me undertake it is the advancement of your service. At the same time, I entreat that your Majesty will make me understand in what particular manner your Majesty desires I should employ myself there. Walsingham has been very ill received and entertained here.

I pray you, Madame, answer me, and send me intelligence with all speed.

SETON.'²

From Seton, 16th September 1583.

¹ Strickland's *Letters of Mary Queen of Scots*, ii. 44.

² *Ibid.* iii. 139.

Between 22nd August and 5th November 1584, James vi. received letters from Charles, Duke of Lorraine, Louis, Cardinal of Guise, Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon, and Monsieur de Maineville, relative to the embassy of Lord Seton, in one of which his zeal, diligence, good judgment, and affection are pointedly specified.¹

On the 7th of May, Bowes, writing from Berwick to Walsingham, reports the escape of Lindsay from Tantallon, and the arrival of Lord Seton with ships at Leith;² and ten days later (17th May), Forster writes, from 'Nigh Alnwick,' to Walsingham as follows: 'I am enformed . . . that the lorde Seaton and the Larde of Pharniehurst did arive on Thursdaie beinge the xiiijth of this instant, at a place called Kyncarne, beyonde the water within the realme of Scotlaund, havenge brought in certyne goulde and silver with them for the assistance of their Kinge.'³

From Westminster, on the 3rd of June, Walsingham informs Davison that Lord Seton has received 'little comfort' from France, and announces that the Garter is to be sent to the French King. Three weeks later (23rd June), Davison reports to Walsingham that Lord Seton is daily looked for; and on the 29th of July, Walsingham communicates to Hunsdon the propositions which had been made by Seton to the King of France.⁴

On the 23rd of July, in a letter written at Falkland by James vi. to his mother, he refers to Lord Seton's return to Scotland; and from a communication written in October, from Berwick, by Sir Edward Hoby to Lord Burghley, it would appear that Lord Seton was again in France.⁵

Three weeks later (15th August), Fontenay writes to the Queen of Scots as follows: 'Toute la maison des Setons est haïe et discreditée de sa Majesté, ce qu'il se peult à cause du Comte d'Aran, qui les poursuit cruellement. Aussy le Roy ne me parle d'eux qu'il ne se moque ou du pere ou de l'un de ses enfans, les tenant pour gens folz ou de peu d'entendement, advouant néantmoins leur fidélité.' A few months afterwards,

¹ Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, ii. 29-31.

² *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland*.

³ *Calendar of Border Papers*, *ut supra*.

⁴ *Printed Calendar*, *ut supra*.

⁵ *Calendar of MSS. at Hatfield*, Part iii. (1889).

he again writes to the Queen: 'Le Comte de Montrose a signé la bande du Comte d'Aran avec plusieurs aultres my lords et barons. Au contraire, Huntley, Bothwell, Athol, le Secrétaire Methland, Sir Robert Melvin et aultres, y compris les puynez Setons (car my lord est du costé du Comte d'Aran) ont signé la bande de Gray contre lui. My lord Claude Hamilton, qui est par deça, a d'espérance de retourner en Ecosse par ce moyen.'¹

On the 10th of November, Sir Edward Hoby writes to Burghley: 'Your Lordship hath understood of my Lord Gloyde's (Claude's) departure, who the same day that Lord John, his brother, met with the Lords of the faction, went himself into Scotland a hawking, and so was conducted to Seton, his wife's father's house. His pardon under the Great Seal was brought to him, but it was only for himself, not his followers, which plainly demonstrates the Earl of Arran was privy thereto.'²

Writing to the Queen of Scots, on the 14th of February 1584-5, Charles Paget 'suspects Lord Glasgow much in those things(?), considering how the Lord Seton, God pardon his soul, told him and Morgan that he sought to discredit them both to the Duke of Guise.'³

Besides those already mentioned, there are other allusions to Lord Seton in the *Memorie of the Somervilles*. When his brother-in-law, Lord Somerville, was making arrangements with John Milne, the 'King's master meassone' for the construction of Drum House, 'the wholle contryveance, with the price, was by the Lord Somervill and Master Millne remitted to the Lord Seton, he being one of the greatest builders in that age; and at that very tyme had the King's master of worke at Seton, building that large quarter of his palace towards the north-east.'⁴ Some of his architectural operations are duly recorded by Sir Richard Maitland. 'This Lord,' he says, 'biggit ane grit dyke and wall of stane about the yarde and grit orcheart of Seytoun; and als biggit ane pretty hous upon the gardin syd thairof besouth the grit tour, and reparallit the foir work thairof, brint be the Inglis-

¹ *Calendar of MSS. at Hatfield*, Part iii. 1889) pp. 47 and 121.

² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Memorie of the Somervilles*, i. 460.

men.' He also 'biggit and reparit, mair sumptuous and costlie nor ever it wes befoir,' the portion of Seton Palace erected by his grandmother, Lady Janet Hepburn, which had been almost entirely destroyed by the English; besides building 'the new werk on the north syde of the foir-entries, joynand with the samyn, with the entries thairto on the eist syde of the clois, fra the grund up, and convoyit be conduitis sufficient watter to serve the kitchin and other office houses necessar in the said werk, with all uther commoditeis requyrit to the samyn.'¹ We also learn from the family chronicle that Lord Seton's father-in-law, Sir William Hamilton, repaired 'the great tour of Seytoun and the jammay hous thairof, better nor ever it was befoir the said burnyng.'

Almost within a gunshot of Holyrood, and nearly opposite Queensberry House, is Whitefoord House, originally occupied by Sir John Whitefoord, which stands upon the site of the town residence of the Setons, referred to in the *Diurnal of Occurrents* as 'My Lord Seyton's lugeing in the Canongait besyid Edinburgh,' where Darnley sojourned in 1565, and Manzeville, the French ambassador, about seventeen years later.² To use the language of Sir Daniel Wilson, 'we have to put ourselves under the guidance of romance, and acknowledge our obligations to the fertile fancy of Scott for a restoration of the Seytouns' lodging as it stood of old on the ruined site of 1742. For this purpose it is only needful to follow Roland Græme under the vaulted archway through which he vanished from Adam Woodcock's sight, to find ourselves in a paved court decorated with stone vases, and enclosed by a sombre quadrangle, with its windows surmounted by heavy architraves sculptured with religious devices and the armorial bearings of the Seytouns. Over the main door-way, boldly sculptured in stone were their three crescents within the double tressure, on a shield supported by two mertrixes, or heraldic foxes, underneath which Roland found

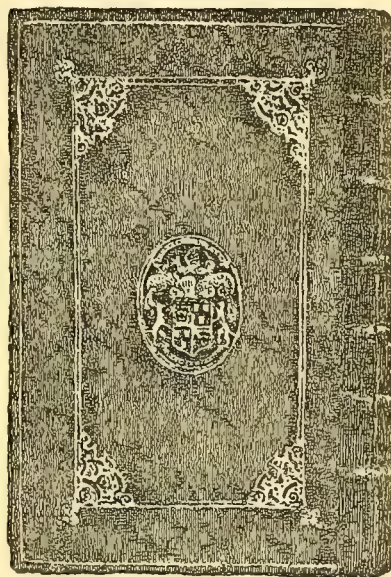
¹ *History of the House of Seytoun*, pp. 44-5.

² See Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, ii 35. The site is marked No. 54 in Edgar's plan of the City of Edinburgh, published in 1742, and is

indicated by an inscription on a metal tablet, affixed to the wall of the House of Refuge, immediately opposite Galloway's Entry, which I erected a few years ago.

his way into the hall, dimly lighted by its lattice casements of painted glass. Here, too, the sculptor had wrought, in stone, scutcheons bearing double tressures fleured and counter-fleured, crescents, wheat-sheaves, and other heraldic devices of the Seytouns, relieved by the arms and suits of mail which hung on the walls, with here and there their terse motto, *Semper*, or the punning slogan, "St. Bennet and Set on." With fancy ready to play the architect and do the work of the restorer, there is no need for a niggard hand in the decorations. But after all Roland Græme takes us no farther than the outer court. When Gordon of Rothiemay executed his famous bird's-eye view of Edinburgh in 1647, the Seytoun lodging stood entire, with its open pleasure-grounds to the north, its close, and outer and inner courts. The latter is there shown as a large enclosed quadrangle, on a scale only equalled by one or two others among the civic mansions of the time.¹

In a charter granted by the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh to Ebenezer M'Culloch, one of the managers of the 'British Linen Manufactory,' in the year 1748, the ground now partly occupied by Whitefoord House is described as 'All and whole that area and ruins which formerly belonged to the Earls of Winton, and now to us.' From the record of the relative proceedings by the Town Council, it appears that the dimensions of the 'area' were as follows: 'From east to west, fronting to the high street of the Canongate, sixty-two feet; and from south to north, two hundred and fourteen feet.' The 'ruins' appear to have long since been levelled to the ground; but during some



MISSAL AT DUNS CASTLE.

¹ *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh*, i. 172.
'Hazard zet forward' ought to be substituted

for 'Semper' which was the later motto of the
Earls of Dunfermline.

comparatively recent excavations a few yards to the south of Whitefoord House, several underground arches were brought to light which in all probability formed a portion of the ancient edifice of the Setons.¹

On the same side of the Canongate, but much higher up, is 'Seton's Close,' now numbered '267.' 'Seton's Land' is mentioned in a song embraced in a manuscript collection compiled about 1760, and printed in the second volume of Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*, where it is stated that there was another house in the now extinct Libberton's Wynd, distinguished by the name of 'Seton's Land.' The song celebrates the charms of a certain 'Mally Lee,' and the couplet which refers to 'Seton's Land' runs as follows:—

'Frae Seton's Land a Countess fair looked owre a window hie,
And pined to see the genty shape of bonnie Mally Lee.'²

There appear to have been at least three portraits of the seventh Lord Seton. In the catalogue of pictures at Yester is a portrait of 'Lord Seton, upon wood, ætatis 27, 1558, 2 ft. 0½ in. × 1 ft. 7½ in.,' which unfortunately cannot now be found. Another of his portraits, by Holbein, in the robes of the master of the royal household (photographed several years ago by the Arundel Society), is in the possession of the representatives of the last Lord Somerville. But by far the most interesting representation of Mary Stuart's 'truest friend' is in the well-known group by Sir Antonio More, badly engraved by Pinkerton, of which the original is also in the possession of the Somerville family; while at least *four* excellent copies are to be found at Duns Castle, Yester, Dunrobin, and Mounie. Mr. Sharpe considered the Duns picture to be 'as old as the time'; and both the Yester and the Mounie copies are extremely well painted. In his *Provincial Antiquities of Scotland* (ii. 139), Sir Walter Scott gives the following graphic description of this

¹ See Ballingall's *Edinburgh Past and Present*, p. 73, where the information given was furnished by myself.

² The name is *Sleigh* not Lee. Mrs. Mally

Sleigh was married, in 1725, to Brodie of Brodie, the Lyon King of Arms, and is celebrated by Allan Ramsay.—Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*.



George 7th Lord Seton and Family

famous group: 'There is,' he says, 'another picture of this nobleman (George, 7th Lord Seton) well worthy of notice. It is a family piece, comprehending the Lord Seton, his lady (a mistake for *daughter*) and four children, painted in a hard, but most characteristic style by Sir Antonio More. The group slope from each other like the steps of a stair, and all, from the eldest down to the urchin of ten years old, who is reading his lesson, have the same grave, haughty, and even *grim* cast of countenance, which distinguishes the high feudal baron, their father. This very curious portrait was published in Mr. Pinkerton's *Ichthyographia* after the original, then in the possession of the late excellent Lord Somerville, and which is now (1826) the property of the present Lord, whose ancestor was married to Lord Seton's sister. This picture (often under the eye of the present writer during moments of much social happiness) is one of the most celebrated monuments of art belonging to Scottish history, and cannot be looked on without awakening the most powerful recollection of those feudal times, when conscious power and the dangers, as well as privileges, which attend upon it, impressed on the countenance of the possessor a character so different from that worn by his successor, whose voice is no longer law within his baronial domains.'¹

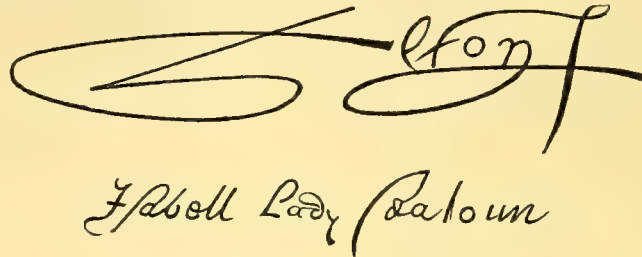
¹ Mackay in his *Journey through Scotland* (1723), speaks of two large galleries in Seton Palace being 'filled with pictures'; adding that, after Lord Winton's forfeiture, 'all these were sold by the Commissioners of Inquiry, or stolen by the servants!' In his Preface to the Edinburgh edition of the *House of Seytoun*, Mr. Sharpe states that 'amid the ravages of an enraged soldiery, and the rapacity of treacherous domestics, several of the Seton portraits seem to have been preserved and transmitted to Duns Castle; many pictures, however, were destroyed, embezzled, and lost; about twenty years after the plundering of the mansion, a gentleman discovered, in a house he purchased near Musselburgh, four large paintings, which had certainly belonged to Lord Winton: they were unframed, and covered with whitewash to insure concealment; but on being cleaned, proved to be of very little value.'

Among the Notes to the Glasgow edition of

the *House of Seytoun* is a short communication by Mr. Sharpe relative to the Seton group by Sir Antonio More, mentioned in the text, in which he correctly says that 'Mr. Hay of Drummelzier has a great many portraits that, I am persuaded, came from Seton.' There are at least seventeen Seton portraits at Duns Castle; while there are a good many others at Yester, Eglinton, Thirlstane (?), and Traquair. I myself have portraits of the third Earl of Winton and his first wife, Lady Anne Hay, in excellent condition, which have long been in the possession of the Setons of Cariston.

In July 1882, at the disposal of the Hamilton Palace Collection, at Messrs. Christie and Manson's, a beautiful miniature (on china) of 'George, Lord Setone, ætatis suæ 27,' by H. Bone, R.A., after the original by Sir A. More (?), in the possession of the Somerville family, was sold to Mr. Denison for £131.

After a life of trying vicissitudes, Lord Seton closed his earthly career on the 8th of January 1585, at the comparatively early age of fifty-four, and was buried in Seton Church, where his monument (to be afterwards referred to) bears a long Latin inscription, composed by his distinguished son, the Chancellor,¹ setting forth his merits, as well as those of his wife, and the names of their children.



The image shows two handwritten signatures. The top signature is 'Seton' in a large, flowing cursive script. Below it is 'Isbell Lady Seton' in a similar but slightly smaller cursive script.

SIGNATURES OF LORD AND LADY SETON.

The lines addressed by the sixteenth bard to the Laird of Drumlanrig, towards the end of the *Queen's Wake*, may, with the alteration of a single word, be truly applied to George, seventh Lord Seton :

'Blest be thy memory, gallant man !
 Oft flashed thy broad sword in the van,
 When stern rebellion reared the brand,
 And stained the laurels of our land,
*No Knight unshaken stood like thee
 In right of injured Majesty :*
 Even yet, o'er thy forgotten bier,
 A minstrel drops the burning tear,
 And strikes his wild harp's boldest string,
 Thy honours on the breeze to fling,
 That mountains once thine own may know,
 From whom the *Seton* honours flow.'

By his wife, Isabel Hamilton—who died 12th November 1606, at the age of seventy-five—he had five sons and one daughter :

1. George, Master of Seton, who died young, in March 1562.
2. Robert, eighth Lord Seton and first Earl of Winton.

¹ See Mackenzie's *Lives of Writers of the Scots Nation*, iii. 217.

The original inscription is printed in the first volume of Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland*, and

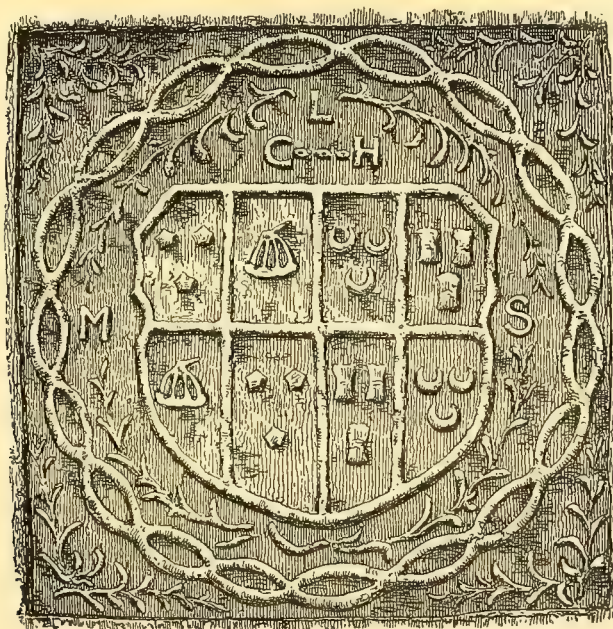
a translation in the Edinburgh edition of the *House of Seytoun*, both of which will be found in the Appendix.

3. Sir John Seton of Barns, Knight of the Order of St. Jago, master of the household and one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to Philip II. of Spain, ancestor of the Setons of Barns.—Appendix of Cadets.

4. Alexander, first Earl of Dunfermline and Chancellor of Scotland.—Appendix of Cadets.

5. Sir William Seton of Kyllismure, Sheriff of the County of Edinburgh and Postmaster of Scotland.—Appendix of Cadets.

1. Margaret, who married Lord Claude Hamilton, Comendator of Paisley (afterwards Lord Paisley), and was mother of the first Earl of Abercorn, ancestor of the present Duke. The marriage took place, 'with great triumph,' at Niddry Castle, on the 1st of August 1574.



A mural tablet in the chapel of St. Mirrinus at Paisley, bearing the impaled arms of Hamilton and Seton, surrounded by a linked chain somewhat resembling a *cordelière*, commemorates three infant children of Lord Claude and his young

wife Margaret. In touching allusion to their premature decease, the relative epitaph, which is given below, concludes as follows :

‘Felices anime vobis svprema parentes
Solvunt vos illis solvere quæ decvit.’

Like his loyal father-in-law, Lord Claude was a devoted adherent of Queen Mary, meeting her at Queensferry after her escape from Lochleven, commanding her vanguard at Langside, and forming one of her retinue at Carlisle—‘a brave and gallant gentleman, of steady honour and unspotted integrity.’¹

D. O. M.

Piæ · infantum · Margaretæ ·
Henrici · et · Alexandri · Hamil
toniorivm · Memorïæ · Clavdi
vs · Hamiltonivs · Pasleti · Do
minus · et · Margareta · Seton ·
eivs · vxor · proli · charissime ·
cvm · lachr : poss : obiere ·
Margareta · an : sal : 1577 · x ·
Kalen : Ian : nata · menses · tr
es · dies · xxii · Henricvs · 1585
id : Mar · natvs · menses ·
tres · dies · dvos · Alexand
er · 1587 · xi · Kal : Decemb · na
tvs · menses · octo · dies · tres ·

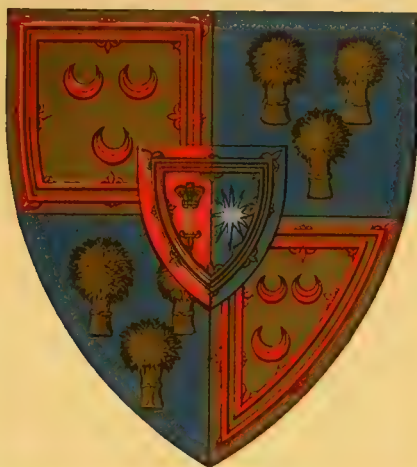
To God the Greatest and Best. Erected by Claude Hamilton, Lord Paisley, and Margaret Seton, his wife, with tears, to the pious memory of the infants Margaret, Henry, and Alexander Hamilton, their beloved children, who died—Margaret, on the 23rd December, in the year of grace 1577, aged three months twenty-two days; Henry, on the 15th March 1585, aged three months two days; Alexander, on the 21st November 1587, aged eight months three days. Happy souls! to you your parents pay the last rites, which ye should have paid to them.

¹ In a small quarto MS. in the British Museum (Harl. 1371), entitled *Scotica Nobilitas*, 1589, he is thus described: ‘The L. Claude Hamilton, Abbot of Passely, of 52 years. His Lady sister to the L. Seton. His children many. His Lands in Clyddisdale. The Abbey of Passely

in the Barony of Renfroe.’

An interesting notice of Lord Claude, who died in 1621, will be found in the 21st chapter of Dr. Cameron Lees’ *Abbey of Paisley*.

‘Stern Claud replied with dark’ning face,
Grey Paisley’s haughty Lord was he.’—SCOTT.



III. THE FIVE EARLS.



THE advancement to an Earldom which George, seventh Lord Seton, thought proper to refuse, at the hands of Queen Mary, in 1562, was accepted by his son and successor in 1600, the precedence of nearly forty years having thus been lost by the family. As we shall afterwards see, the Earl only enjoyed his augmented honours for the brief period of less than two and a half years.

20. *Robert, eighth Lord Seton and first Earl of Winton.*

On the death of George, seventh Lord Seton, in 1585, he was succeeded by his eldest surviving¹ son Robert, as eighth Lord. 'By the great trouble he had in Queen Marie's tyme, and by severall ambassys, upon his own charge, to France, his father left him in great debt; yet, by his own hand, and by his vertious

¹ The eldest son, George, Master of Seton, died young in March 1562, and thus broke, for

a time, the continuous succession of *Georges* (see page 52 *supra*).

ladie's good government, Lord Robert putt his estate in good condition, and provided his sons and daughters to good fortunes.'¹

The following postscript occurs in a letter from Thomas Levington to the Queen of Scots, dated 23rd February 1584-5: 'Seton sheweth the death of his father, his faithful service to the Queen, and for a pledge and last witness of his fidelity, did wholly dedicate this Seton his son unto her.'

On the 29th of May Sir Edward Stafford writes from Paris to Sir F. Walsingham: 'I cannot find that Lord Seton's audience was for anything other than that he pursueth greatly the strict covenants of the ancient league of Scotland and France; and among the rest the putting in of a Scottish captain over the Scottish Guards, instead of the French captain now in that place. He meaneth to have his son, and followeth those things so earnestly here that there is a mislike had of him in this court, and they grow weary of him, the Bishop refusing to go with him.'²

Lord Seton was in great favour with King James VI., and kept a very hospitable house, where the King and Queen, as well as French and other ambassadors, and strangers of quality, were nobly and frequently entertained.

From Berwick, 4th November 1585, Woddryngton writes to Walsingham respecting a conflict at Stirling two days previously, where in the end 'the lordes' prevailed, Lords Gray and Seton being taken prisoners. About two months afterwards (20th January 1586), Lord Seton writes from 'Lilling' to M. Idriaquez, and 'presents his compliments by the bearer, who will report as to the state of the country.'³

Besides putting on the roof of the great hall of Seton Palace, Lord Seton erected the old harbour of Cockenzie, for which the King 'granted him a large chartour, a free conquest, with the gift and privilidge of custome and anchorage of all ships and goods imported and exported, with all other privilidges which burgh royalls have.'⁴

In an anonymous letter to Walsingham, dated 'Berwick,

¹ Lord Kingston's *Continuation of the History of the House of Seytoun*, p. 60.

² *Calendar of the MSS. at Hatfield*, Part iii., 1889. There had evidently been a tiff between

Seton and Stafford.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁴ 5th April 1591. *Mag. Sig. L.* xxxvii. No. 433.

20th April 1589,¹ reference is made to Bothwell's intention of raising forces and uniting with Huntly and Lord Seton for the purpose of seizing the King. On the 24th of October 1592, Robert Bowes writes from Edinburgh to Lord Burghley, enclosing, among other letters, (1) one from Alison Hamilton to Captain George Seaton (?), in which he marvels that he has not heard from him. ' . . . His debtors press very sair, and he will be discharged of his entertainment, unless he returns shortly.' (2) An anonymous communication from Brussels to Andrew Clark, in which the writer reminds him to send an answer to 'his chief' and to Lord Seton.² A few months later (3rd January 1593) Bowes writes to Burghley from the same place with regard to certain letters found with George Carr, including:

1. John Cecill to Cardinal Allen, dated Seton, 2nd October 1592, mentioning Lord Seton's kindness.

2. The same to Robert Parsons—same place and date—in which he says: 'My Lord Seton has a haven which will be very commodious for their missions.'

The following year (26th February 1593) Thomas, Lord Burgh, writes from Edinburgh to Lord Burghley, announcing his arrival, the King's absence, and his reception by Lord Seton. A few months afterwards (12th August 1593), in a letter to Burghley, Carey mentions Lord Seton as one of the jurors on Bothwell's trial; and three days later, the Dean of Durham, also writing to Burghley, refers to a report of the King having sent 'five severall letters' to Lord Home and Lord Seton 'to cutt the

¹ The following description of Lord Seton occurs in a small quarto MS. in the British Museum (Harl. 1371), entitled *Scotica Nobilitas*, 1589, containing quaint coloured blazons of arms with short notes relative to the Bearers: 'The L. Seton of y^e Ilke of 30 yeares. His mother a Cuningham of the Lard of Caprinton's house. (This is a mistake.) His wife a Montgomery, sister to the late Earle of Eglinton and to Lady Semple. His sone and heire of 4 yeares. His living in Loudon and about Lithauo.'

At fol. 21 of another MS. in the British Museum (Harl. 1423), we find the following: 'The Lo. Seton descended from Sr Allexander Seton governer of Barwicke in the tyme of King

Edward the 3d of England. This surname came into Scotland with Queene Margaret wife to Kinge Malcolm Canmore out of England and for the good seruise they had done were made barrons of Seton. This Lord's cheife howse is in Louthain sheire, 7 myles from Edenbrough: his liuing meane, in faction French, of his howse and surname is the Knyht of Alybodye neare to Starling, and is near wth the Earle Bothwell and the lo. Borthwike—now Earle of Wynton.'

² *Printed Calendar of State Papers—Scotland.*

Six years later (14th August 1598) Archibald Douglas writes to Sir Robert Cecil, in favour of 'Captain Seaton' for his passage to France.



throates of the Lord Bothwell and all his associates.' In October following we find Lord Seton with the King at Jedburgh. In December 1597, Archibald Harbertson, 'Exul Scotus,' in a communication to Robert Cecill, offers his service to intercept certain letters sent from Lord Seton, 'his deadly foe,' to one Ambrosio Laricie.¹

On the 30th of August 1594 Lord Seton was present at the baptism of Henry Frederick, Prince of Scotland, at Stirling, of which a quaint 'accompt,' in the form of a reprint, will be found in *Scotia Rediviva*, published in 1826. While the train of the infant's 'robe-royall' was borne up by Lord Sinclair and Lord Urquhart (afterwards Earl of Dunfermline), the 'Lorde Seton'

¹ References mislaid.



carried a 'fair basen'; and at the 'delicate banquet' in the evening acted as 'Carver' for the Queen's Majesty. The premature death of the promising young prince, at the age of nineteen, was universally lamented; and for many long years, when the women of Scotland bewailed the loss of their children, it used to be proverbially said, by way of consolation, 'Did not good Prince Henry die?'

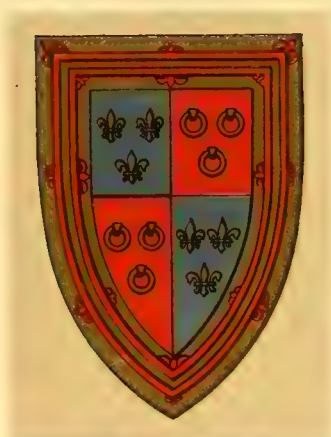
Lord Seton was created Earl of Winton, Lord Seton and Tranent, with great solemnity and pomp, at Holyroodhouse, on the 16th of November 1600;¹ and 'was the first of our nobility

¹ 'The belting, or *cinctura gladii*, was the most important part of the ceremonial, as held also in England, where the "*cinctura gladii Comitatus*" is well known. Much pomp and solemnity

with us followed on such occasions. Nisbet, our chief heraldic writer, who figured before 1700, in his *Essay on Armories* (pp. 130 and 210), further specifies certain devices and mottos "on

that took a coat of augmentation as Earl, viz. *azure*, a star of twelve points *or*, which he placed by way of an escutcheon on his quartered arms, and which has since, by his successors, been impaled with the coat of special concession granted to the family by King Robert the Bruce.'

On the 24th of December 1600 the newly created Earl writes a complimentary letter from Edinburgh to the youthful Prince Henry with a present of a feather. In the superscription the Prince is called 'Harie, be the Grace of God, Prince off Scotland, and appeirand of Waillys.'²



By his wife, Lady Margaret Montgomerie, eldest daughter of Hugh, third Earl of Eglinton, and heiress of his nephew the fifth Earl (whom he married about 1582), the first Earl had five sons and one daughter:—

1. Robert, second Earl of Winton, who died without issue.
2. George, third Earl of Winton.
3. Sir Alexander Seton, sixth Earl of Eglinton.—Appx. of Cadets.
4. Sir Thomas Seton of Olive-

stob.—Appendix of Cadets.

5. Sir John Seton of St. Germain.—Appendix of Cadets.

1. Lady Isabel Seton, born 30th November 1593, married, first, 19th April 1608, James Drummond, first Earl of Perth,³ by whom she had one daughter, Lady Jean Drummond, who, in 1629, married John, thirteenth Earl of Sutherland (paternally Seton), 'who gott in tocher with her 50,000 merks, the greatest portion that was ever given in Scotland before that

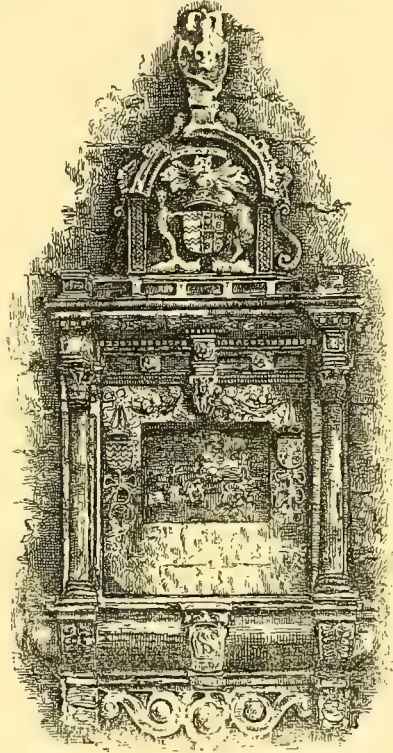
the banners, standards, and pennons that were carried before Robert, Lord Seton, when he was solemnly created Earl of Winton at Holyroodhouse, as the custom then was in creating our nobility; which," he adds, "with his robes of creation, and comital coronet I have frequently seen, and have had in my hands."—Riddell's *Scottish Peerage Law*, i. 49.

¹ Nisbet's *Heraldry*, i. 235.

² Lansdowne MSS. 1236, f. 53, British Museum.

³ 'The family of Perth had the greatest number of vassals and followers in this country; and for many generations it had been generally beloved for its mild, beneficent, upright conduct to all around it.'—Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen*, ii. 50.

time.'¹ The Earl of Perth died at Seton in the twentieth year of his age, 18th December 1611, and was buried in Seton Church, where an elaborate mural monument was erected to his memory. It formerly occupied the north-east corner of the chancel, and is now on the east wall of the south transept. In the upper portion, between two small pillars, is an escutcheon bearing the impaled coats of Perth and Winton, with the supporters, crest, and motto of the former Earldom. The same two coats appear in separate shields, each surmounted by a coronet, between two larger pillars in the central part of the monument, from which an oblong marble slab (2 feet 9 inches by 2 feet) has been removed, and which bore the following inscription:—'Conditum hic est quicquid mortale fuit Jacobi Drummond, familiæ principis, quique primus familiam titulo Perthiam comitatus illustravit. Monumentum hoc posuit amantissima et mœstissima conjunx D. Isabell Setoun Roberti Wentoniæ unica. An. . Sal . . .'²



On one of two marble slabs, at the base of the monument, and separated by a monogram embracing the letters 'I.D.' (James Drummond) and 'I.S.' (Isabel Seton), is the following epitaph, composed by William Drummond, which appears in one of the volumes of *Hawthornden MSS.* in the Library of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries:—

'Instead of epitaphes and airye praise,
This monument a lady chaste did raise
To her lord's living fame, and, after death,
Her bodye doth unto this place bequeath,
To rest with his till God's shrill trumpet sound;
Thogh tyme her lyf, no tyme her love can bound.'

¹ *Continuation of the House of Seytoun*, p. 60.

² Nisbet's *MS. Genealogical Collections*, p. 217, Advocates' Library.

The following quaint letter, dated in May 1622, from William Drummond to Lady Isabel Seton (then wife of Francis Stewart, eldest son of the attainted Earl of Bothwell), appears in the volume of the *Hawthornden MSS.* already referred to. It was evidently written in reply to one from Lady Isabel, in which she had thanked the poet for the touching lines on the Perth monument. As her first husband died in 1611, it would appear that eleven years had elapsed before the epitaph was composed; and accordingly it is quite possible that her second matrimonial experience may have proved less satisfactory than the first, and that this circumstance had prompted the pathetic allusion to her first love, in the last line of the epitaph:—

‘MADAM,—Your courtesie hath prevented me, it being mine to offer you thanks both for esteeming me worthy so honourable a task and for measuring those lines according to affection and not their worth: for if they had any, it was all (as the moon hath her light) borrowed from the rays of your Ladyship’s own invention. But this quality becometh well your sweet disposition, and the generosity of that noble stem of which you have your birth, as doth the erecting of that noble monument to your all-worthy Lord: by the which ye have not only obliged all his kindred now living, but in ages to come, the unborn posterity to render you immortal thanks. Your desert and good opinion of me, have by a gracious violence (if I can be so happy as to do you service) won me to remain your Ladyship’s ever to command,

‘W. DRUMMOND.’

Twenty-seven years later (April 1649), Drummond indites another letter, ‘To his worthy and much respected friend, Mr. William Anster, at Tranent,’ relative to the same monument, ‘from which,’ says Professor Masson,¹ ‘it is evident that the writer had resumed, within three months after the death of Charles I., those researches into the genealogy and history of the Drummond family which had many years before been a subject of correspondence between him and the Earl of Perth.’

¹ *Memoir of Drummond of Hawthornden*, p. 449

‘MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND,—These are to entreat you earnestly that, when occasion and your leisure serveth, you would be pleased to do me the favour as to take the pains to transcribe the inscription which is upon my Lord of Perth’s tomb in the Chapel of Seton. I have drawn up a Genealogical Table of the House of Drummond, with many ornaments, and some garnishings of the persons. In this the inscriptions of my Lord’s tomb will serve me for some light. My noble Lord of Winton is descended lineally of this race, and shall not be overpassed in what I can do him or his ancient family honour and service. When this piece is perfected, it must come under your hand to give it the last lustre. Thus, my commendations remembered, etc.—I remain, your assured and loving friend to serve you,

‘W. DRUMMOND.

‘April 1649.’¹

As already incidentally mentioned, Lady Isabel Seton, Countess of Perth, married, secondly, 2nd August 1614, Francis Stewart, eldest son of Francis, Earl of Bothwell (attainted in 1592), by whom she had several sons and daughters, who all died unmarried.

Between 1588 and 1603 the Presbytery Records of Haddington embrace a number of curious entries relative to the eighth Lord Seton and first Earl of Winton, of which the more important are here given from copies made, many years ago, by the late Dr. Struthers, minister of the parish of Prestonpans—a most accurate and intelligent antiquary.

1568. *Setoun Church* and Parish is along with Tranent under the Pastoral care of Alex^r Forrester Min^r.²

1576. *Setoun Church* has Thomas Raith as Reader while Tranent is supplied separately by Alex^r Forrester Min^r.

¹ Hawthornden MSS., *Arch. Scot.*, iv. 98.

² Forrester appears to have been translated from Jedburgh and presented to the Vicarage of Tranent by James VI. in 1574—Seton and Aberlady being also under his charge, at the same date—with £173, 6s. 8d. of stipend. In 1589 he is said to be ‘cauld in doctrine and slack in discipline.’ He seems to have been reproved by his ecclesiastical superiors on ac-

count of the smallness of his congregation,—‘haill houses in the parochin that never cam to the Kirk,’ including the lairds of Fawsyde and Newbattle-Grange, and John Cranstoun of Burnecastell. In 1597 he demitted in favour of his son Andrew, minister of Corstorphine, and died the same year. His wife was ‘a daughter of the House of Gosford.’—*Fasti Eccl. Scot.*, i. 357.

1588. *Lord Setoun* is to be waited on by a deputation of P^y with a request that he change the mercat in Tranent parish from the Sondag till some ither day—and if he will not change it then ‘ye hard measures of ye Kirk’ are to be used agst him.

1589. *Lord Setoun* is accused at a visitatⁿ of the P^y in Tranent of preventing the Elders in his bounds from attend^e there that day and of allowing the Sondag mercat to continue.

1589. *Mr. James Seytoun* in name of Robert Lord Seytoun appears in the P^y with a letter begg^s their brother Alex^r Forrester may be made stay the process of excommunication agst the said Lord on acc^t of the Sondag mercat—which request is granted conditionally for a week—by the which time another letter is rec^d agreeing to change it to *Friday*—wh. was done 20 Oct^r 1589 but complaint is afterw^{ds} made of the change be^s fallen from.

1593. *Lord Setoun* is to be wairnet to be at P^y meeting in Tranent as ‘ane ill frequenter of ye Kirk.’ And at said visitation of P^y ‘Steine Ballantayne scullmaister to me L. Setonnes bairnes, ane papist or atheist is dischairged from teiching of onie youthe or scoll quhill he embrace ye trew religioun.’ He is afterwards excommunicated for neglect of this admonition and non-compearance.

1593. *Quarrel between Setouns and Hamiltons and their Connections.*—‘The Presb^y consider^s the late troubles and appear^{ce} of farther falling out betwixt ye Setouns of Tranent on ye ane part and ye Hamiltons of Prestoun and John Cockburn of Wodheid of ye house of Ormistoun, beg ye advice of the Presb^s of Edin^r and Dalkeith in ye matter—who appointed commiss^{rs} to concur with Haddⁿ P^y. At visitatⁿ of Tranent and P.annis by P^y on 21 March complaint is made of the difficulty of keeping meet^{gs} of Session for these ‘twallmonthes past be resoun of ye warians within ye parochin.’ Lord and Lady Setoun who have not communicated for long are ordered to do so in Tranent Church—but they delay and L^d Setoun at a subseq^t meet^g of P^y gave as his excuse ‘the warianse betwix ye Laird of Ormistoun ye Hamiltouns and him about certain civill and criminall causes,’ which ye P^y holds to be ‘nae excuse.’

1595. In ye matter betwix L^d Setoun and Laird of Prestoun, Mr. David Lyndsay Commiss^r from Edin^r P^y suggested that they sh^d summon not only L^d Setoun and George Hamiltoun but also ‘David Setoun Elder’ (*i.e.* Senior) ‘Bailie of Tranent,’ whose matter with said George ‘was what c^d not be seueret.’ Next month they report that ‘George Hamiltoun with whom especially they sh^d have travailed being in Clydesdale they had done nothing by communing with David Setoun Elder in Tranent.’ 3 Sept^r 1595. They report that Geo. Hamiltoun of Prestoun cannot be brought to reconciliatⁿ with David Setoun Elder Tranent. He is charged to submit himself to reason as becomes ane Christian. Afterw^{ds} he is summoned several times to compear before the Presb^y but without doing so. He alleges that he dare not pass through Lord Setoun’s bounds by terror of his life. And even after the L^d Setoun subscribes ane assurance that he may pass in safety and this is put into his hands he still delays. When at last he does compear he declines to communicate at the desire of the Presbytery ‘in respect of the great injuries done to him, and of his mutilation be David Setoun, he could not be resolute to communicate quhill he be satisfied.’ And when, 17 Dec^r 1595, David Setoun under advice of

the brethren makes offers to him, the said George refuses to hear or receive them 'unto ye tyme that landet men subsryvit ye same w^t him for performance thereof.' The Presbytery delays farther procedure till Mr. John Davidson (designed for ye ministry of ye Pannis) come among them; when from there being nothing farther said in ye minutes of Presb^y on the subject, a reconciliation was either effected or the design of it abandoned as hopeless. There is however a most ominous note at ye commenc^t of the Prestonpans Register of Burials, under date Sept. 1595, to the effect that 2 people having died in ye Laird of Prestoun's bounds and been refused burial as formerly in Tranent by ye Lord Setoun, they were obliged to be taken to Musselburgh and a grave begged for them there, which was granted 'for ance'; and thereafter in consec^{ed} a piece of ground then occupied as a garden and selected as site for Church of Ppans was set apart as Burying ground.

1594. *A son of L^d Setoun* was baptised in Jan^y 1594 by the Minister of Tranent on ye follow^g letter wh. was produced to ye Presb^y on 5 Feb^y and ye child spoken of in Minute as ye 'last son of L. Setoun':—'Traist Freind, Ze sall wit yat, God willing, I mynd to haif my sonne maid ane christian on Tyesday next in Tranent Kirk. And gif onie find fault w^t yew quhatsomever, declair to yame yat I sall be ans^abill to obey ye Kirk in all things y^t ony christian aucht to do, as I sall be ans^abill to you for ye same alwyse according to all resson. Sae after my dew comendatioun comittes yew to God at Setoun ye 25 of Januarii 1594.

'Sic subscrib^r y^{rs} at power

'R. LORD SETOUN.'

and indorsit, 'To my Traist freind Alex^r Forester Minister at Tranent Kirk.'

1594. *Sir John Setoun.* 12 June 1594 (or 5), Lord Setoun asked the P^y to cause one of their number teiche in Setoun on Sunday at ye burial of his brother Sir John. Which request the P^y decline—funeral sermons being forbidden by act of Assembly. And they besides warn the said Lord to desist from burying on ye Sunday under pain of incurring ye censures of ye Kirk. At next meeting the P^y understanding that Mr. Thomas Seggat (or Leggat?) Scollmaister to my L. Setoun had made ane funeral oration y^t day y^t Sir John Setoun was buryit, cited him before them, and he owning that he had done so willingly without being urged by L. Setoun and having 'producit his oratioun to ye Presb^{ie} was admonished on his submissⁿ to guard against transgressing in future.'

1596. *Lord Setoun and David Setoun younger* Bailie in Tranent at a Presb^y visitatⁿ 16 June promised to proclaim when his Lo^p next holds a court at Langniddrie and to take order in Tranent that a penalty be inflicted on them who resort not to Kirk from Langnid^y and also in aftern^{ns} from Tran^t.

1596. *L^d Setoun's Bairns' Sculmaistir*, Mr. Thomas Seggat, and another in ye district compear at Presb^y meet^g, in consec^{ed} of a general order being issued through the bounds, that all Schoolm^{rs} within a certain dist^{ce} sh^d 'attend ye Presb^y exercises so as to be more able to instruct ye young in ye knowledge of religion.'

1597. *Setoun Kirk.* The P^y asked L^d Setoun 'if he will suffer them to sitt in ye kirk of Setoun for ye space of twa or three dayis caus they are to gang about y^e haill kirks wⁱⁿ their bounds'; but this his Lordship 'altogidder refusit.'

1597. *Lady Setoun*. At a meet^s of Presb^y held 'at Pannis 14 Sep. 1597' there is this minute. 'Forsamikle as ye brethren are maist certainly informit y^t Dame Margaret Mountgomerie Lady Setoun resorteth seldom or never to ye heiring of ye word and y^t sche hes never communicat sen sche cam wthin their bounds; quhilk things being considderit togidder wth ye stait of ye hous into ye qlk sche is maryit, that hes ever been suspectit of papistrie. It is ordanit y^t ye said Dame Margaret be summonit to ye nixt day to gif confessioun of her fay^t. As also to be censurit for her former sclanderous life in astaining fra ye heiring of ye word and participation of ye sacraments.' Again, 'At Pannis 21 Sep^r. Compeired Mr. James Setoun servitor to me Lord and declarit y^t Dame Margaret Mountgomerie Lady Setoun could not compeir at ye pannis in respect of her husbandis enemies y^t dwelt yair' (probably referring to the feud between Hamiltons of Preston and Seton family). 'The Presb^y after advisement having found y^t me Lord hes no enemies dwelling either in Prestoun or ye pannis bot also y^t his haill houshold servandis makis dayly repair to ye Pannis wthout danger of ony persone, repells ye allegement forsaid' and orders L^y Setoun to be summoned for this day 8 days. Then, 'At Pannis 28 Sept^r Compeired Mr. David Sinclair Maister to my Lord his bairnes in name of my Lady excusing hir noncomper^{ce} y^t day be resson sche is desasit wth ane catharie'—which excuse the Presb^y hold 'relevante,' but summon hir Ladyshp again agst that day 15 days with certification.

'At Pannis 12 Oct^r. On Lady Setoun not compear^s personally nor any one for hir, she is ordered to be 'publictly admonished fra ye pulpit.' Thereupⁿ 'At Pannis 19 Oct^r compeired . . . Setoun of Tough elder commissioner from my L^d and L^y Setoun entreating delay for a moneth till ye Presbytery might change ye seat of yair meetings.' This they declined 'as wthout caus' and resolved to 'proceid at next meeting.' 'At Pannis *inter alia* compeired Dame Margaret Mountgomerie Lady Setoun, and being enquyrit concerning her religioun answerit first in generall y^t sche acknowlegit ye trewth of God to be presently preiched in Scotland and us to be ye trew Kirk; secondly sche renouncit all kind of papistrie. Afterwards being posit on some sche answerit as followis—1st, concerning justificatioun—y^t sche believit to be made righteous before God by fay^t in X^t only wthout works. *Next*, concerning invocatioun of saints sche denied ye same, shewing y^t hir custom was to pray to God only as to him y^t knew only ye secrets of hir heart and was able to grant her petitiouns. *Last*, concerning purgatorie freewill and transubstanciatioun answerit y^t as sche believed only to be purged from sin and to get salvation by ye blood of X^t so sche acknowlegit only ye spiritual pres^{ce} of ye bodie and blood of X^t in ye Supper wthout ony corporall presence. And *finallie* y^t sche was willing to subscribe all ye articles of our belief as well affirmative as negative—y^t sche hes communicat before sche came to our bounds but hes latterly often been kept from Church by seikness.' The Presb^y are 'weill satisfyet wth hir obidience and modest answeris.'

1599. *Lord Setoun* said to harbour Mr. James Gordon a papist under a letter from ye King to said Lord which he shewed to ye Presb^y but on ye P^y threatening public admonition his Lo^p sent him away.

1601. *George Setoun in Setoun* an ignorant reasoner agst ye truth is ordered 3 June to answer Tranent Kirk Session.

1602. *Lord Setoun's sons* are, 16 June, ordered to compear before P^y and give confession of their faith accord^s to act of Parl^t. Accord^{gly} '18 Aug^t compeired ye Maister of Setoun with his brother George of S^t Germans and being requirit to subscribe ye articles of religion they answerit y^t being in France yai studied other arts nor theologie. And in respect of yair youth and want of knowledge they desired to have some of ye brether to confer w^t them, y^t yai might at ye time of subscription subscribe w^t knowledge, promising in ye meantime to be diligent hearers of ye word.' Their request is acceded to.

1602. *Lord Setoun*—8 Dec^r—and reman^t parish^{rs} of Tranent intimat by com^r 'ye gude liking and contentment' of ye parish y^t Mr. Rob^t Wallace be minister in ye room of James Gibson deceased, which leads to Wallace's settlement there.

1603. *Lord Setoun*. 16 March—Ane note maid of Mr. Rob^t Wallace his conference with my L^d Setoun, he being sent for by my Lord President for visitation of his Lordship now in his present extreme seiknes. Quherein ye P^y find he dischargit ane honest pastoral dewtie in visiting comforting and attending on his Lord^p. The Presb^y also 'thinking it a part belonging to yair duty takes occasioun to visit his Lo^p by a Committee of yair number both anent his own personal estait—especially concerning ye disposition of his soul and conscience tow^{ds} God and his religioun'—and agree to go to him on Monday first.

'Robert, first Erle of Wintoun, Lord Setoun, depairtit this life upon the xxiiii of Mairche 1603, and was buriet upon Tysday ye 5 of Apryle 1603, upon q^{lk} day his Ma^{tie} tooke first jorney to Ingland.'¹

From the 'Testamentar and Inventory of goods pertaining to the umquhile Robert Earl of Wintoun, Lord Seytoun, who died 22 (24?) March 1603,' it appears that his debts included the sum of 2000 merks owing to Lady Cassilis 'for the repairing and bigging of the place of Wontoun (Winton) to be a dwelling-house to Robert Master of Seytoun, his eldest son, and Mrs. Anna Maitland, his spouse, conforme to contract of marriage.'

He ordains his body 'to be bureit haill in maist humbell quyet modest and Cristiane maner, without all extraordinarie pomp or unlawful serimonie, within my college kirk of Seytoun, amangis my progenitours of worthie memorie.' Among various legacies is the sum of one thousand merkis to 'George Seytoun now of Carrelstoun my cousing,' of which the 'yeirlye profeit and

¹ Record by his son George, third Earl of Winton, in a manuscript at Duns Castle, printed

for the Maitland Club in 1830, under the editorship of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe.

annualrent' was to be paid to the said George's 'eldest sone and appearand air'; and three hundred merks to the said 'cousing's' sister-germane, Elizabeth Seytoun.

The testator constitutes his 'dairest spous, Dame Margaret Montgomerie, onlie tutrix and curatrix and universall gubernatrix' to his sons George, Alexander, Thomas, and John, and to his only daughter 'Maistres Issobel'; and in a certain contingency, appoints his widow to make payment of his 'said bairns gear' to his 'lovit brother, Alexander Lord of Fyvie, President, and Sir William Seytoun of Kylesmure, Knight.'¹

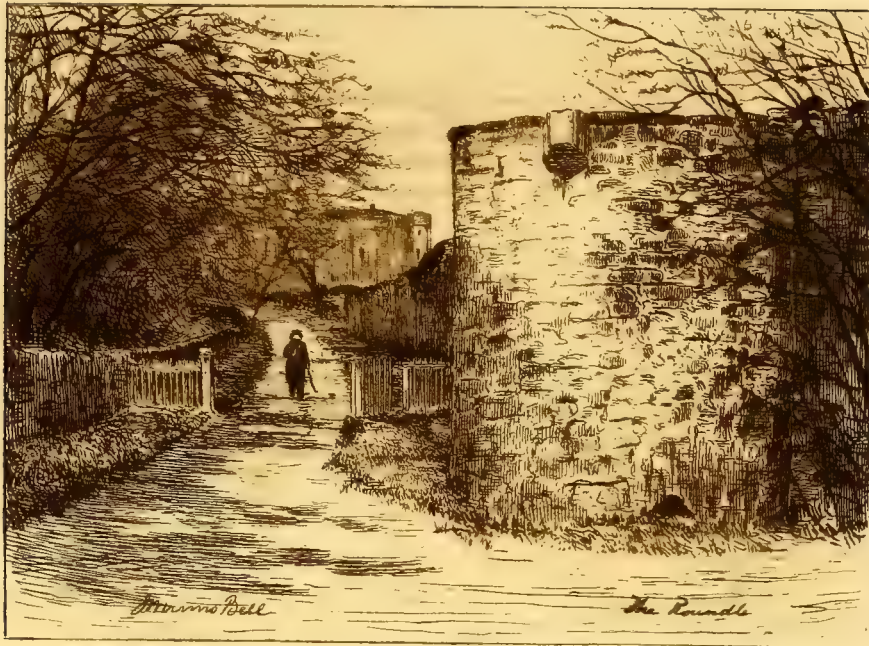
On the 5th of April 1603, King James VI. left Scotland to take possession of the English crown,² and by a curious coincidence, when little more than ten miles from Edinburgh, he happened to encounter the funeral procession of the Earl of Winton. The interesting episode is thus described by Tytler in the last page of his *History of Scotland*:

'As the monarch passed the house of Seton, near Musselburgh, he was met by the funeral of Lord Winton, a nobleman of high rank; which, with its solemn movement and sable trappings, occupied the road, and contrasted strangely and gloomily with the brilliant pageantry of the royal cavalcade. The Setons were one of the oldest and proudest families of Scotland; and [the father of] that lord whose mortal remains now passed by had been a faithful adherent of the King's mother; whose banner he had never deserted, and in whose

¹ *Edinburgh Commissariat Register*, vol. 41.

² In a small quarto MS. in the British Museum, entitled *Arms of English Nobility, etc.* (Harl. 1939), the following curious entry occurs relative to the Union of the Crowns: 'Here foloweth an Imblazon of the ensignes or cotes of armes of the Nobilitie of Englande and Scotlande which two famous regions may aptly be resembled to the two Twines of Hipocrates that must euer laughe and weepe together. They being as yt wer the two handes of one body naturall and poloticq that ought both to washe one anothers spotes or rather *Cor* and *Cerebrum* that hearte and braine so fastned and knitt together in harmonie and correspondencie that without a

perfect vnion of both yt ys not possible for the Ile of Britaine to moue with power, to feel with tendernes, or to breath in securitie. Longe therefore liue our royall Soueraigne Kinge James who by God's blessed prouidence hath vnited them together in one body of dominion, as the lynes of Edgar, Fergus the Conqueror and Cadwalader in one center of coniunction whose rare obiect in seking to vnite and knitt together all his subiects affections scopes and endeours with an indissoluble knott tendenth to so honorable a drifte, as yt may not reste hereafter in the power of fleshe to seuer what hath beene conioyned by the hande of Grace.'



cause he had suffered exile and proscription. The meeting was thought ominous by the people. It appeared, to their excited imaginations, as if the moment had arrived when the aristocracy of Scotland was about to merge in that of Great Britain; as if the Scottish nobles had finished their career of national glory, and this last representative of their race had been arrested on his road to the grave to bid farewell to the last of Scotland's Kings. As the mourners moved slowly onward, the monarch himself, participating in these melancholy feelings, sat down by the way-side, on a stone still pointed out to the historical pilgrim; nor did he resume his progress till the gloomy procession had completely disappeared.¹

'Upon the nynt of Apryle 1624, ye right honorable and most

¹ The incident so graphically described by the historian was admirably reproduced on canvas by the late Mr. James Drummond, R.S.A., somewhere about forty years ago. The picture, which embraced a striking cavalcade of mourners, in which the armorial bearings of the

family occupied a conspicuous place on floating banners and pennons, was purchased by the 'Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland,' and at the annual distribution of the prizes was secured by a gentleman in Australia, where, it is believed, the painting still is.

worthie ladie of good memorie, Dame Margaret Montgomerie, Countes of Wintoun, Ladie Setoun, depairtit this life.'¹

In her 'Latter Will,' dated at Seton the previous day, she nominates Dame Issobell, Countess of Perth, her only daughter, to be her executrix; and leaves 'Laidy Jeane Drumond, dochter to the said Countes, to the governament and educatioun' of her mother, and of her uncles the Earls of Winton and Eglinton. She also bequeaths to Lady Jean the sum of 23,000 merks, which 'scho hes maid to the said Laidy of the proffeit of hir awin moneyis and geir, and of the said Countes hir awin benevolence.'

The other legacies are to the sons of the testatrix—the Earl of Eglinton, Thomas, and John Seton; to Robert Seton, brother-german of George Seton of Northrig, and Jonet Montgomerie, his spouse; and to Marioun Montgomerie.

'Item the said nobill Laidy Counttis leives to the said George Erle of Wintoun, hir said sone, the haill hingingis, silver warke, and uther moveabillis within the place of Seytoun, quhilk was left be Robert Erle of Wintoun in his testament.'²

The originals of the portraits at pages 206-7 are at Duns Castle, in excellent preservation, and are 'evidently,' says Mr. Sharpe, 'by the pencil of Jameson, who seems to have copied the pictures of the husband and wife from separate representations, and joined them, very awkwardly, on one canvas.'³ The small child in front of her mother represents the Countess of Perth. It was on this Countess of Winton, when 'Lady Seyton,' that Alexander Montgomerie, the poet, wrote a laudatory sonnet, extending to fourteen lines.

21. *Robert, ninth Lord Seton and second Earl of Winton.*

As it would appear that the second Earl of Winton was born in 1583, he was about twenty years of age when he succeeded his father in 1603. In or before that year, he married the Hon. Anne Maitland, only daughter of John, first Lord Thirlstane, Chancellor of Scotland, and father of the first Earl of Lauderdale,

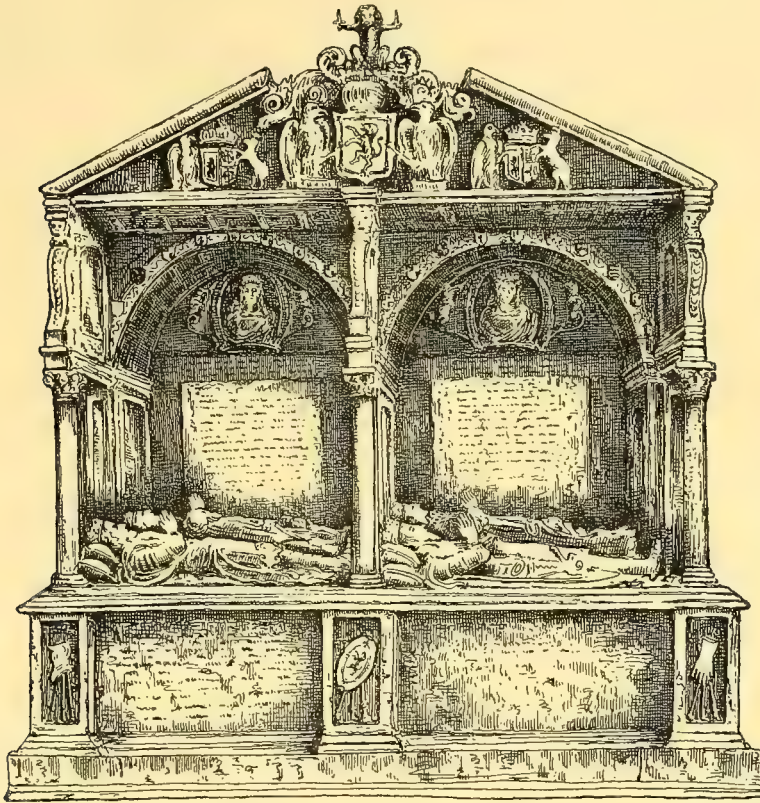
¹ Duns Castle MS., *ut supra*.

² *Edinburgh Commissariat Register*, volume

³ Preface to Sharpe's edition of *The House of Seytoun*.

⁴ See Appendix of Miscellanies.

by whom he had no issue. Seeing that his bride was under twenty years of age when she died in July 1609,¹ she could not have been more than fifteen at the time of her marriage. According to Scotstarvet,² her husband showed undoubted symptoms of



insanity on the night of the wedding, and behaved in such an outrageous manner that he was imprisoned in Seton Palace, where he 'lay in fetters till he died.' There appears to be no trace of him after 1636.

'We did enjoy great mirth ; but now, ah me !
Our joyful song's turned to an elegie.
A virtuous lady, not long since a bride,
Was to a hopeful plant by marriage tied,

¹ This appears from the inscription on her monument in the 'Lamp of Lothian' at Haddington.

² *Staggering State of Scots Statesmen*, pp. 13 and 94.

In Sir George Mackenzie's *Account of Scottish Families* (MS. Brit. Mus. 12,464), under 'Seton' he describes the second Earl of Winton as 'furious.'

And brought home hither. We did all rejoice,
 Even for her sake. But presently our voice
 Was turned to mourning for that little time
 That she'd enjoy : she waned in her prime,
 For Atropos, with her impartial knife,
 Soon cut her thread, and therewithal her life.'¹

The following is the pathetic inscription on the young wife's monument in the Lauderdale aisle at Haddington, from which it will be observed that she was buried the same day as her mother, who was the daughter of James, Lord Fleming, High Chamberlain of Scotland, by Barbara, eldest daughter of James, Duke of Chatelherault, Regent of Scotland, and subsequently the wife of John, Earl of Cassilis.

'Annæ Mateilanæ Joannis Baronis de Thyrlestane Scotiæ Cancellarii, et Janæ Flaminæ filiæ, puellæ nobilissimæ, quæ pietate, ingenio, castitate, et morum elegantia insignis, Roberto Wintoniæ Comiti desponsata, VIRGO mortua est, anno 1609, pridie Novembris quintilis, exacto ætatis anno 19.

Eodem cum matre funere elata.

Joannes Mateilanus L. C. unicæ sorori, frater unicus M. P.'

She is also commemorated by Hume of Godscroft, a contemporary poet, in these striking lines :

'Cura patris, votum matris, spes magna propinquis,
 Miraculum cunctis, alta indole, iudicio acris
 Ingenioque modesto, et amœnis moribus, ultra
 Ætatem sapiendo, et fando ! etc.

Magnis, verum haud faustis hymeneis,
 Ipso absente Hymenæo.'²

By procuratory of resignation, dated 26th June 1606, in favour of George, Master³ of Winton, and his other younger brothers, the second Earl completely denuded himself of all his estates and honours. The procuratory proceeds as follows : 'Me, Robert Erle of Wintoun, for the loue and fauoure that I beir to

¹ Lines quoted in the Introduction to the *Bride of Lammermoor*.

² *Poemata*, 1639, p. 114.

³ In Scotland, the epithet of 'Master' denotes the heir-male apparent of a noble family (usually

under the rank of an Earl), either direct or collateral; and, in accordance also with the French fashion, the eldest daughter in a commoner's household is frequently designated by the term 'Miss,' synonymous with '*Mademoiselle*.'

my broyer George, Master of Wintoun—and for grit soumes of money payit and delyuerit to me be the said George, Master of Wintoun, and be Dame Margaret Montgomerie, oure moyer, convertit to my vtilitie,' etc. The document further recites as the cause of denudation: 'Forsamekill as I now, efter my perfyte age of twentie-ane zeiris compleit, have considerit the tender constitutioun of my persone, subject to sundrie diseasis; and be that infirmitie and natural complexioun not finding in myself sic habilitie as is requirit to the maintenance and government of y^{at} ancient and noble hous of Setoun, of the quhilk I have that honour to be descendit;—and thair being nathing in this warld sa deir to me as the continewance and (giff it sall be the pleasure of God) the increment of the honour and estate thereof, etc.—thairfor, and with express advice, consent, and counsel of my noble honorabill niarest kinsmen and maist trustie freindis undersubscrivand; Do resign, renounce, frielie quytclame, discharge, overgive, and delyver fra me, my heirs and assignees, All and sundrie the Erledom, landis, lordships, baronies, offices, and others particularlie eftermentionit; Thay are to say, All and hail the Erledome of Wintoun and landis thairof, lyand within the Sherifffdom of Edinburgh and Constabularie of Haddintoun; with the estate, dignitie, and honour of the said Erledome, with all prerogatiues, priuiledges, and liberties of the samyn; All and hail the Lordship and baronie of Setoun, with castells, etc.,' in favour of 'the said George, Master of Wintoun, my broyer-germane, and the airis maill lawfullie to be gotten of his bodie; quhilkis failzieing,' etc. The procuratory contains a provision 'that the said George, Master of Wintoun, be strictly bound and obleigit, his airs-maill and successors foresaidis, to reverence and honor me as their elder brother, and sustain me in all kinds of necessities according to my estate.'

To the day of his death, which was subsequent to 20th January 1634, the second Earl of Winton was nothing after 1606 but plain 'Robert Seton,' which constitutes his autograph subscription to a deed dated 21st January aforesaid.¹

¹ Riddell's *Scottish Peerage Law*, i. 122-3.



22. *George, tenth Lord Seton and third Earl of Winton.*

In terms of the aforesaid procuratory of resignation, George, Master of Winton, succeeded his brother as third Earl of Winton; and accordingly, on the 12th of May 1607, a charter of resignation and novodamus was granted to him by King James VI. of the Earldom and other titles of honour. He also had charters of Innernytie in Perthshire, 30th January 1612; of the office of Justice-General of the regality of St. Andrews, south of the Forth, 12th March 1618; of the Earldom of Winton, *de novo unit.* (to himself and to his son, George Lord Seton), 22nd April 1619; of the lands of Upcraigie and teinds of Longniddry, 29th June 1621; of half of the lands of Strabrok, united into the barony of Broxburn, 24th December 1628; and of the port and burgh of barony of Cockenzie, 25th January 1634. He also acquired 'two considerable feu lands' in Longniddry from Sir



George Douglas and Forrester of Corstorphine, and the teinds of Longniddry from Bothwell, Lord Holyroodhouse; the house and lands of Garleton; the half of Athelstaneford from Sir John Towers of Inverleith, and the other half from Sir Patrick Hepburn of Waughton; 'which lands he provyded to his eldest son then living of the second marriage, called Sir John Seton, created Knight-baronet of Scotland by King Charles the Second.'

In the year 1620 the third Earl of Winton 'built the great House of Winton from the foundation, which had been burnt by the English of old and the policy thereof destroyed, with all the lairge stone dykes about the precinct, park, orchard, and gardens thereof.'¹

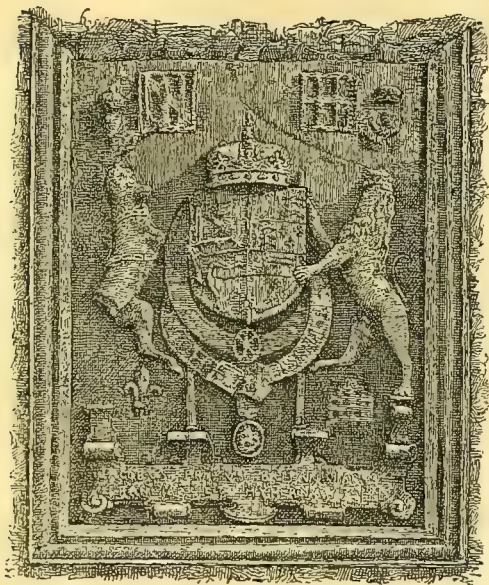
Ten years later (1630) he built two quarters of the Palace of

¹ Lord Kingston's *Continuation of the House of Seytoun*, p. 74.

26th Feb. 1622, *Earl of Winton v. Almons*—

Escheat connected with the Regality of St. Andrews, of which Lord Winton was heritable bailie.—Morison's *Dictionary of Decisions*, 7658.

Seton, 'begining at Wallace's tower att the east end thereof, which was all burnt by the English, and continued the building till Jacob's tower, on the north syde of the house. Be reason his predecessors were great enemies, and very active in the warrs aganist the English, the house having been three tymes burnt by them, he caused carve, in fine stone, upon the frontispiece of his new building (Winton House), a crown, supported by two



roses and the thristell, being the conicenses of the two kingdomes of England and Scotland; and the embleme enegmatically signifying the Union of the two kingdomes. Under which embleme he caused carve and sett out in gold letters this verse: UNIO NUNC FATIS, STOQUE CADOQUE TUIS.'¹

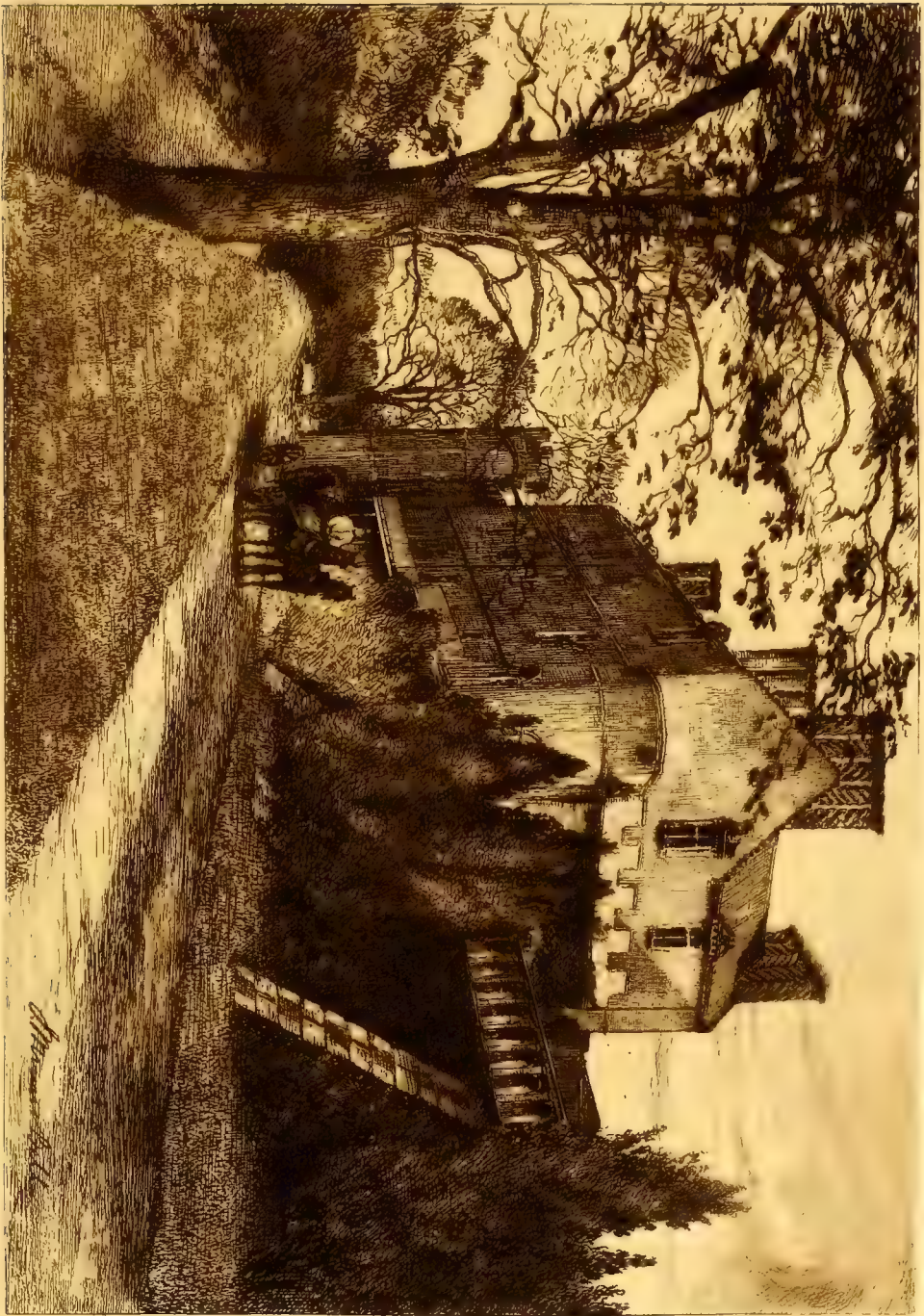
He built twelve salt-pans in Cockenzie, 'wher never any formerly was'; and also, at great cost, a harbour, at the west end of the same place, which was destroyed by a storm in 1635.

'He lived honourable all his life, and kepted a great house at Seton. When King James VI. was in Scotland in 1617, he entertained him and his whole court a night att his house, upon his own charges.' Again, when King Charles I. came to Scotland to be crowned, in 1633, Lord Winton 'entertained him a night at his house with all the English nobility and court, noble, with ane open house to all. Within a month after, att his Majestie's returne to England, he entertained the English nobility, and the King and his whole court, from the Saturday till the Moonday, royallie, att ane open house, as formerly; both which entertainments was upon the said Earl his own charges.'²

From the Privy Council Records we learn that, on the 25th

¹ This stone no longer exists. The illustration in the text is a tablet on the garden wall.

² Lord Kingston's *Continuation*, p. 75.



Winton House



Second Countess of Winton!

of March 1634, James Smith, 'servitor to the Earl of Winton,' having to build some houses in the village of Seton, found that he could not obtain the timber required without sending for it to Norway. It occurred to him that the wood might most conveniently be paid for by sending thirty-six bolls of wheat of his own growth, by way of exchange. But in those days exportation was generally unpopular, as being supposed to cause scarcity at home; and the sending out of corn was forbidden by Statute. Accordingly, the 'servitor' had to petition the Government before he could get the timber; and probably, by favour of the Earl of Winton, who was a member of the Council, he was permitted to export the thirty-six bolls of wheat to 'Birren (Bergen) in Norway.'¹

In 1639, at the commencement of the Scottish rebellion, Lord Winton left the country and waited on Charles I., for which the rebels sequestrated his estate, 'taking from his servants all the keys of his corn and salt girnells.' He nevertheless remained constantly with the King till the treaty of Pacification. At the same time, the rebels used 'a kinde of forfaulture against him, and gifted the estate, out of their mad and diabolicall distraction, to a gentleman of the name of Elphingston, of small account. But it was thought it was for the reall behoofe of that arch, cruell, and bloody traitor the then Earl of Argyle, created the first Marquis of Argyle by King Charles the First, in 1641.'

On the 18th November of the same year (1641) King Charles left Edinburgh, accompanied, among others, by 'his own sister's son,' the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Hamilton, and the Earl of Morton; 'sindries of the nobles, barrones, and burgessis took thair leive; vther sum convoyit him fra the toun, amongis whome wes the Marques of Huntlie, and the castell agane gives his Majestie ane "good nicht" of 32 schot, and so he postis haistellie to Setoun, where he brakfast, leaving all thinges so soundlie satled both in kirk and pollicie, as they thameselffis could devyss; and his Majestie

¹ Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, ii. 71.

returnit haill and sound bak agane to London, vpone Thursday, 25th November.¹

Four years afterwards (1643), on two different occasions, the rebels fined Lord Winton the sum of thirty-six thousand merks, 'which he was forced to pay, or have his estate sequestrat.' In 1645, when the Marquis of Montrose was in arms against the Scottish rebels, he was joined by Lord Winton's eldest son, George, Lord Seton; and at the battle of Philiphaugh (13th September), where Montrose was defeated, Lord Seton was taken prisoner, and 'carried, in the winter time, to the Scots army in England, besiedging the town of Newarke upon Trent; from thence carried back prisoner (having a guard of horse, both the times, upon his own expenses) to the then castle of St. Andrews, where he lay prisoner, in hazard of his life, till such time his father payed fourty thousand pounds Scots; which soume, by the rebellious States (as they styled themselves, the States of Scotland), att that time sitting in parliament att St. Andrews was distribute among their fellow active rebels.'² He also appears to have been confined both in the Tolbooth and Castle of Edinburgh.³

In the year 1648, when the Duke of Hamilton went to England, 'with ane rich royall army,' for the relief of King Charles I. (then prisoner at Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight), Lord Winton, 'gave, in free gift, to the said Duke of Hamilton, for ordering his equipage for that journey, ane thousand pound sterline.'⁴

The third Earl of Winton was twice married:—first, on 26th April 1609, to Lady Anne Hay, eldest daughter of Francis, eighth Earl of Erroll, Hereditary Lord High Constable of Scotland; and secondly, *c.* 1628, to the Hon. Elizabeth Maxwell, only daughter of John, seventh Lord Herries.⁵

¹ Spalding's *Trubles in Scotland and England*, ii. 86.

² Lord Kingston's *Continuation of the House of Seytoun*, p. 76.

³ A 'List of the Prisoners of Quality taken at Philiphaugh' will be found in the notes to Maitland's *History of the House of Seytoun*, p. 105.

⁴ Lord Kingston's *Continuation*, p. 77.

⁵ As the widow of the third Earl, she writes from Winton, on the 18th of March 1664, to Lord Lauderdale, 'in the behalfe of my Lord Traquaire, whose condition is verie sad.'—*Lauderdale Papers*, Brit. Mus. 23,121, f. 65.

One of the detached sculptured stones in

By his first wife he had five sons and three daughters; and by his second six sons and six daughters—in all twenty children, several of whom, however, died young or in infancy.

The issue of the first marriage were as follows:—

1. George, born 22nd July 1610, and died before the birth of his next brother.

2. George (No. 2), born 15th May 1613, afterwards George, Lord Seton, who predeceased his father and was father of George, fourth Earl of Winton.

3. Christopher, born 20th February and baptized 2nd March 1617. Died 30th June 1618.

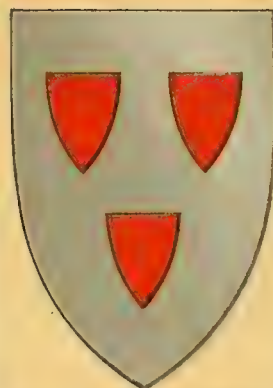
4. Alexander, born 13th March 1620, afterwards Sir Alexander Seton of Craigiehall and first Viscount Kingston.—Appendix of Cadets.

5. Francis, born 1st May 1623, and died young.

1. Lady Margaret, born 25th March 1615, and died unmarried in 1637.

2. Lady Elizabeth, born 13th June 1618 (1622?), and married, in 1637, William, seventh Earl Marischal, by whom she had several sons, who all died young, and four daughters, who were all well married. She received from her father a portion of forty thousand pounds Scots, and died in the year 1650, after the birth of her youngest daughter.

The only armorial record now remaining at Dünnottar Castle consists of the coats of William, seventh Earl Marischal ('W.E.M.') and his first Countess, Lady Elizabeth Seton



Seton Church, measuring about four by two feet, probably relates to this union. It bears a quartered shield, surmounted by a coronet—1st and 4th, a saltire, with a label in chief, for Max-

well; 2nd and 3rd, three hedgehogs or hurecheons (Fr. *hérissons*) for Herries (see Seton's *Scottish Heraldry*, p. 73 and Plate II.).

(‘E.S.C.M.’), which occupy a pediment over one of the fireplaces.



Each of the shields is surmounted by a coronet, and they are divided by a pillar under a scroll bearing the date ‘1645.’ Below the dexter coat, ‘Veritas Vincit’; and below the sinister, ‘Hazard yit forward.’¹

3. Another daughter, who died young.

The children of the second marriage were:—

1. Christopher, } who both died
2. Robert, } in infancy.
3. Christopher (No. 2), born 28th June 1631.
4. William, born 8th January 1633.

These ‘two hopefull young gentlemen’ (of whom the first was ‘a great schollar’) ‘were casten away going to Holland w^t the Earle Angus drs.’² in July 1648.

5. John, born 29th September 1639, afterwards Sir John Seton of Garleton.—Appendix of Cadets.

6. Robert (No. 2), born in November 1641, afterwards Sir Robert Seton of Windygowl—*o.s.p.* 1671.—Appendix of Cadets.

¹ William, seventh Earl Marischal, who succeeded his father in 1635, was a Presbyterian and adhered to the Covenanted party till 1646, when he became an ardent Royalist. He purchased Urie in 1647 and sold it the following year. Marching into England with a troop of horse, two years afterwards, he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner at the battle of Preston. In 1650 he entertained Charles II. at Dunnottar Castle. After the defeat at Worcester he was attainted by the Cromwellian Parliament, and

imprisoned in the Tower, where he remained till the Restoration. He was appointed a Privy Councillor in 1660, and shortly afterwards was made Lord Privy Seal, which office he retained till his death in 1661. Dying without male issue, he was succeeded in the Earldom by his brother.—*Baron Court-Book of Urie* (Scottish History Society), p. 191.

² Sir George Mackenzie’s *Account of Scottish Families*, MS. Brit. Mus. 12,464.

1. Lady Anne, } who both died young.
 2. Lady Sophia, }
 3. Lady Isobel, who married Francis, sixth Lord Semple.
- 'The said Lord dyed young, without succession, and his lady would never marry since.'



LADY MARY SETON, COUNTESS OF CARNWATH.

4. Lady Anne (No. 2), born 30th September 1634, married at Wintoun, in April 1654, to John Stewart, second Earl of Traquair, 'a hopefull young man,' by whom she had three sons and one daughter.¹

¹ 'It is said that when Lord Traquair married Lady Anne Seton, the Covenanters made him stand at the Kirk door of Dalkeith, in the sack gown, for marrying a papist; nevertheless, he died of that religion himself, anno 1666.'—*Border Antiquities*.

As afterwards stated, Lord Traquair's first wife was Lady Henrietta Gordon, widow of

George, Lord Seton.

On the 3rd of May 1666, the widowed Countess of Traquair (Lady Anne Seton) writes to the Earl of Lauderdale with reference to the 'low conditione of that unfortunat familie wherevnto my sone might pretend the successione,' and makes a touching appeal for royal aid.—*Lauderdale Papers*, 23, 124, f. 133, Brit. Mus.

5. Lady Jean, born 26th January 1636, died unmarried 1661.

6. Lady Mary, married to James Dalzell, fourth Earl of Carnwath, by whom she had one son (who died young) and one daughter.¹—See page 229.

The arms of the third Earl of Winton, 'and those of his two ladies, are finely cut at Winton, of which he was the builder.'²

When King Charles II. came to Scotland in 1650 the Earl of Winton waited constantly upon him; and after the Scottish army was routed at Dunbar he went with the King to Dunfermline, and was in continuous attendance upon him there, as well as at St. Johnstoun (Perth), till the month of November, 'being in great esteem and favour with his Majestie.' Lord Winton returned to his house in East Lothian³ ('in which house and lands many of the English army and officers did quarter themselves, to his loss of that year's rent'), to prepare himself for being present at the King's coronation, which was solemnised at Scone on the 1st of January 1651. But *dis aliter visum!* 'He fell sick in the begining of December, and dyed the 17th day thereof, anno 1650, of his age 65; and was buried in his buriall place of Seton'⁴ in terms of his 'latter will and testament,' in which he appoints his 'place of rest' to be 'in our Colledge Kirk of Setoun, nearest to ye pairt quhere my first wyffe lyis.' The same document provides that his eldest 'oye' (grandson) George—whom failing, his younger grandsons Alexander and Christopher—shall be his executore and universall legator—'the said George having ye first place as my air to succeed to this most ancient hous and haill estaitt.'⁵

Like his father the first Earl, the third Earl of Winton

¹ A good many of these births and deaths are entered in the Parochial Register of Tranent. Thus:

'28 Martii 1615. Georg Erll of Wintoun ane dochter B. N. Margaret. Wit. Alexr. Setoun Lord Chancler, Sir John Metlin, Lord Thurlstein.'

'30 Junii, 1618. Christopher Setone sone to Georg Earll of Wintone depairtit this lyf.'

² Nisbet's *System of Heraldry*, i. 235.

³ Either Seton or Winton—probably the former.

⁴ Lord Kingston's *Continuation of the House of Seytoun*, p. 79.

According to Balfour's *Annals*, the third Earl of Winton died at *Seton* on Sunday, *fifteenth* December 1650, 'of ane palsey; and was interrred among his ancesters in the churche ther, without any funerall solemnity.'

⁵ Testamentary Register of the Commissary Court of Haddington.

appears to have had some experience of the ecclesiastical discipline of the seventeenth century, which was continued for three years after his death.

'Nov. 6, 1644. The Assemblie considdering the condition of the familie of Setoun, and finding it most necessarie for the good of that noble familie, that familie exercise, morning and evening, be performed there, and that the familie be also catechised, doe therefore find it most necesser that the Erle of Wintoun provyde ane good and hable expectant for performing these dueties in his housse, with consent of the Presbytrie of Hadingtoun, and desyres M^r Johne Oiswald, Moderator, M^r William Colvill, and my Lord Angus, to intimat this to the said Erle, and ordains them to condescend with his Lo/ vpon some convenient tyme within which he sall provyde the said expectant, with consent foirsaid, and to give notice y^{of} to the Presbytrie, etc.'

May 7, 1645. The Earl appeared personally, declared his willingnes to meet the wishes of the Assemblie, and asked them meantime to 'enjoyne the minister of the paroche to repair once or tuyse in the ouk thither for the performing of famaly dueties.'

Nov. 3, 1645. Nothing done by Lord Winton 'anent the receaveing of a chaplane in his familie'; but Mess^{rs} Colvill, Law, and Balcanquhill were requested to 'goe this nicht to my Lord Wintoun (who is presentlie in the Cannongait) to remember him on his promise made to the synod for receaveing of ane chaplane, and to urge the performance thereof, and to report the morrie.'

Nov. 5, 1646. Reported that his Lo/ was 'content to receive any chaplane in his familie whom M^r David Calderwood, M^r Robert Balcanquell, and M^r Robert Ker sould recomend to him, and promised to give him a competent conditioun at y^r sight.'

Nov. 4, 1647. Presby. ordained 'to purge the hous off Setoun of popisch servands, and to proceed both against them and against the Erle of Wintoun if he protect or resset them after admonitioun.'

May 4, 1648. Presby. ordered to see that the Earl 'purge that familie of all popisch servands against Whitsonday next.'

Nov. 7, 1649. Presby. of Haddington ordered to see 'that fynes of the excommunicat persones in the hous of Setoun may be payt in manner prescryuit by an Act of Parliament, and if the delayer shift or refuis, that they put the l^{res} (*letters*) already raiset to execution against him in all poyntes efter the forme and tenor thereof.'

May 30, 1653. Reported that two young children of the last Lord Setoun 'wer formerlie kepted at publict schoolis and now kepted at home, whairby it may be feared that they may be educat in poprie'; and the Ass^y learning that there is a kirk standing already built at Setoun, w^h before the late troubles was provided with a minister supplied by the Presby, Lord Angus and others app^d to speak to

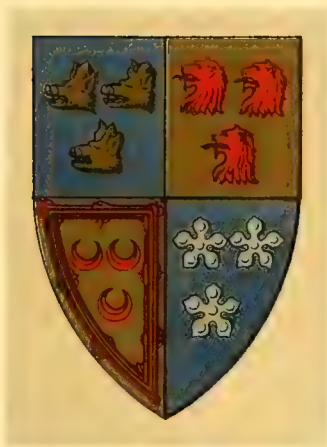
Lord Kingstone, tutor to my L^d Setoun's bairnes, to have them sent back to the publick schoolis, and to get a qualified minister for the said kirk.

Nov. 2, 1653. Above application renewed to L^d Kingstone, and a letter ordered to be written to L. Eglintoun upon the same subject.

Nov. 8, 1654. Same sort of application ordered to be made to Lord K. 'anent y^e education of the Lord Setoun's bairnes, House of Setoun.'¹

23. *George, Lord Seton (ob. vit. patris).*

As already stated, George, Lord Seton, the eldest surviving son of George, third Earl of Winton, was born 15th May 1613. He married, in 1639, Lady Henrietta Gordon (paternally Seton), second daughter of George, second Marquis of Huntly,² by whom he had four sons:—



1. George, born 4th May 1642, who succeeded his *grandfather* as fourth Earl of Winton, in December 1650.

2. Alexander, born 21st January 1644, and died without issue before 1673.

3. Christopher, born 15th April

1645, and died unmarried.

4. Francis, died an infant, aged two years.

¹ These extracts are from a folio MS. at Brechin Castle, containing the records of 'The Provinceall Assemblie of Lothian and Tweddell,' and were transcribed for me, several years ago, by the late Andrew Jervise.

² Anno 1641. The Marquis of Huntly 'takis cours with the Marques of Argyll, and wodsetis to him' the Lordships of Lochaber and Badenoch, for the relief of his two daughters' 'tocher good,' viz., to the Earl of Perth, with Lady Anna, his eldest daughter, the sum of 30,000

lib.; and to the Lord Seytoun, married to Lady Henrietta, his second daughter, 40,000 merks. Unlike her sister Lady Anna, Lady Henrietta was a Roman Catholic. 'Both thir ladyes marriages were drawn on be their uncle the Earle of Argyll, who was also cautioner for their tocher goods.'—Spalding's *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland and England*, 1624-45, ii. 7, and i. 178. From the same source we learn that, in March 1641, the Earl of Winton, and his son Lord Seton, 'came from the south' to Dunnottar, where 'they war weill intertynneit.'

Lord Seton's connection with the military operations of the Marquis of Montrose, in 1645, has been referred to under the notice of his father. It seems to be highly probable that his career was prematurely cut short by the hardships which he endured in his various places of confinement. He died at Seton, 4th June 1648—upwards of two years before his father—in the thirty-fifth year of his age. His coat of arms appears in the large window in St. Giles', Edinburgh, adjoining the monument to the Marquis of Montrose, as one of that great soldier's companions-in-arms. His widow married, secondly, in 1649, John Stewart, second Earl of Traquair, and died in December 1650.

24. *George, eleventh Lord Seton and fourth Earl of Winton.*

On the death of George, third Earl of Winton, in December 1650, he was succeeded by his grandson as George, fourth Earl, when the latter was 'abroad in his travells in France,' and under ten years of age. On the 12th of May 1653, and 28th August 1665, the fourth Earl was served 'heir-male' to his grandfather in his lands in the counties of Berwick, Edinburgh, Haddington, Linlithgow, and Stirling; and 'heir' to his property in the counties of Banff and Elgin, 28th September 1655.¹ Notwithstanding his youth, a fine of £2000 was imposed on him by Cromwell's act of grace and pardon, in 1654.

About the same date, a certificate was granted to him, signed by 'Roxburghe, J. Hepburne, Ro. Maitland, Erroll, Tweiddaile, and Angus,' stating that 'George, now Erle of Wintoune, is bred at his awin house att Seatoun with his uncle and tutor the Lord Kingstoune in the treu Protestant religioune. That his father George Lord Seaton depairtit this lyfe in Junnij (?) 1648, being nather advyseing aiding or assenting to the Invasioun of England at anie tyme . . . and that the deceased . . . was a nobleman of a most vertuous and peaceable temper, never carried arms against England in anie of the warres first or last, and tho' he was

¹ Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, ii. 647.

called to attend the King after his arrayall in Scotland, yet soone efter Dumbar he did leive the King, and be ane passe from his honour the Lord Protector, then Generall of the English armie, he returned himselff to his awin house of Seatoun.'¹

In Fraser's *Stirlings of Keir* there are three letters from the fourth Earl of Winton, all dated from Edinburgh in the year 1664, to 'the much honoured the laird of Keir' (Sir George Stirling), relative to a cautionary obligation in behalf of Sir George Hamilton, arising out of a debt incurred by the writer's grandfather, the third Earl of Winton. At the close of the last letter, he says: 'The caice of my affaires is such that I professe I dare not promise to doe anything towards your satisfaction, but on the contrarie must be yett againe an earnest suiter for your patience and forbearance at this term also. I have so much experienced your civilities and kyndnes that in respect of my present necessitie, I must still presume vpon your old favoures, and remaine confident of the continuance of them at this time.'²

According to Nisbet, Lord Winton 'was educated in France, both at court and camp, where he accomplished himself in the knowledge of arms and arts: and gave an eminent proof of his conduct and bravery at the seige of Besançon in Burgundy' in 1660.³

Returning home by England, 'with a singular reputation,' he was graciously received by Charles II., and sworn a privy councillor. Shortly afterwards the King gave him a commission to command the East Lothian regiment of foot, under General Dalyell, at the battle of Pentland Hills, in 1666, when the Covenanters were victorious.

A letter to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated 'Edinburgh, 3d January 1668,' signed by Lord Winton and eleven other noble-men and gentlemen, begins as follows:—'Sir Walter Seatoun as one concerned with us being Heretor of coall works and a manufactory of salt within this kingdome did in Aprile 1665 so represent the sad conditione q'in wee wer involved by the fre-

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, Brit. Mus. 23,113, f. 36.

² 16th Feb. 1666, *Earl v. Countess of Winton*
—Question of interest in coal under marriage

contract.—Morison's *Dictionary of Decisions* 9047.

³ Nisbet's *System of Heraldry*, i. 235.

quent importation and consumption of fforaigne salt imployed for domestick use that your Lo. was pleased to offer the same to his Ma^{tie}'s Royall consideration, whereupon his Ma^{tie} was pleased



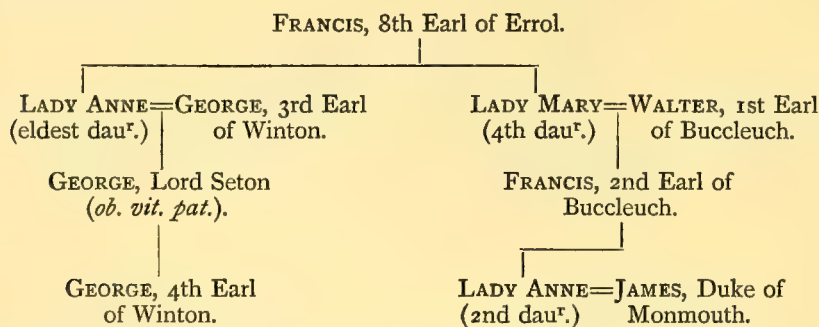
to impose y^e somme of twelve pound Scots upon each boll of fforaigne salt imported.' This is followed by an appeal for further favour. The seal of the letter bears the Winton arms under an Earl's coronet.¹

On the 5th of December 1668, the Earl of Winton writes to the same nobleman, 'His Majestie's Secretarie for Scotland,' soliciting the King's licence to go abroad—probably to Holland. Among other things he says: 'Efter serious reflexion on my whole concernments, I find it most necessarie for the good of my famielie and convenient for myselfe'; and signs 'Your Lo. most affectinat cousing and humble servant, Wintoun.' The letter was probably written at Yester, as the seal bears the Tweeddale crest, motto, and coronet, and Lord Tweeddale is referred to at the commencement.²

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, Brit. Mus. 23,128, f. 242.

² *Ibid.*, 23,131, f. 10.

In 1679, Lord Winton 'went with his regiment, upon his own charges, with all his vassalls, in noble equipage, in his Majestie's army of 14,000 men, commanded by the Duke of Monmouth, generall thereof, to Bothwell Bridge, against the army of the West-country rebels; att which place the said rebels were totally defeat.'¹ After his return to Seton Palace, he royally entertained the Duke of Monmouth and all his officers, 'Scots and English'—the wife of the said Duke being Duchess of Buccleuch, and 'cosigne german, by the mother's side, to the Earle his father.'² In point of fact, however, as shown in the annexed table, the fourth Earl of Winton's father, George, Lord Seton, was cousin-german to the *father* of the Duchess of Buccleuch³ (the wife of Monmouth), and *first cousin once removed* to the Duchess herself.



¹ Lord Kingston's *Continuation of the House of Seytoun*, p. 88.

² *Ibid.*

³ 'THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH.—We doubt if there is a man in Europe who is the representative of so much ducal distinction by name or blood. Whether he is the head of the clan Scott or not, he is Scott, Duke of Buccleuch, the highest name in the family—Stewart, Duke of Monmouth (in which blood relation he is nearer the throne of the Stewarts than her Majesty)—Douglas, Duke of Queensberry (now the highest, though not the most ancient of all the ancient titles of the Douglas)—Montague, Duke of Montague—and, what will startle most readers, had it not been a strictly male destination, he would now be the Duke of Argyll in Scotland, and the Duke of Greenwich in Great Britain. He is the lineal descendant of the great John, Duke of Argyll, created Duke of Greenwich, while the existing family are only

the descendants of a collateral heir-male, long known in the fashionable world as plain 'Jack Campbell.' He had little prospect in early life of succeeding to the honours or any part of the estates, as the great Duke John had a considerable family, but, to his deep mortification, no son. His eldest daughter was married to the Earl of Dalkeith, the immediate ancestor of the Duke of Buccleuch. So far as the estate was not bound by descent to males, though collaterals, it has descended to the Duke of Buccleuch, and in this way the property of Caroline Park and Granton, near Edinburgh, has come to belong to him. What from its intrinsic value, and the expenditure of his Grace on the celebrated harbour, we believe that the rental is greater than that of the whole Argyll estates, when these suffered the partition betwixt heirs, male and female, according as the one part was held under entail and the other in fee simple.'—*Glasgow Paper*.

A letter addressed to the Duke of Lauderdale, dated 'Edinburgh, 15th June 1679,' and signed by Lord Winton and fifteen other noblemen and gentlemen, as Lords of the Privy Council, refers to the Duke of Monmouth having been appointed to the command of the Royal Army; and ten months later (22nd April 1680), he and nine other noblemen, including Mar and Linlithgow, communicate with the Duke in regard to 'the M'Lanes invasion of Tirie.'¹ From the published *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Stirling, 1667-1752*, it appears that the fourth Earl of Winton was made a burgess and guild brother of that historic town, on the 4th of February 1681, along with the Duke of Albany and York (afterwards King James VII.) and several other noblemen and gentlemen.

On the death of the Duke of Lauderdale, in 1682, the fourth Earl of Winton was appointed to the office of Sheriff of Haddington; and in May of the same year he accompanied the Duke of Albany and York from London to Edinburgh, in the 'Gloucester' frigate, which was wrecked on the Yarmouth Sands, through the fault of the pilot. A signal-gun brought boats to the rescue, and 'the Duke and several other men of importance were taken from the vessel, just before she went to pieces.' No fewer than 150 persons, of whom eighty were 'men of quality'—including the Earl of Roxburgh (whose widow survived him for seventy-one years) and the Laird of Hopetoun—were drowned. Among those who escaped were the Earl of Winton, and Sir George Gordon of Haddo (afterwards Earl of Aberdeen), President of the Court of Session, who had just been appointed Chancellor of Scotland.²

In 1685 he accompanied his regiment, 'upon his own expense, with his vassalls,' to the west country, in the expedition against the Earl of Argyll, and was in the royal army, under the command of the Earl of Dumbarton. After Argyll's defeat,

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, Brit. Mus. 23,244, f. 6, and 23,246, f. 24.

24th Jan. 1679, *Earl of Winton v. Archbishop of St. Andrews*—Claim of Kirkliston teinds.—

Morison's Dictionary of Decisions, 15,733.

² Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, ii. 439.

'he was given in custody and keeping to the Earle of Winton, who sent him prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh.'¹

The same year, Lord Winton appears to have been appointed by James VII. to the important office of Great Master of the Royal Household, which had been held by at least two of his ancestors—John, second Lord Seton, in the time of King James I., and George, seventh Lord Seton, during the reign of Queen Mary, 'which office of great master-household, by reason of the said Lord George his great troubles for Queen Marie, and long banishment for his loyall service to her, was, in the interim, till King James the Seventh, exercised by the Earles of Argyle.'²

In 1669, Professor Sinclair of Glasgow³ had dedicated his *Ars nova et magna gravitatis et levitatis; sive dialogorum philosophicorum libri sex de aeris verâ et reali gravitate*, etc., to the fourth Earl of Winton; and again, in a very strong strain of flattery, the same writer, in 1685, inscribed the first edition of his curious and very rare work, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, to his old patron. He compliments his Lordship on the acuteness of his 'ingine,' and the profoundness of his knowledge, adding that 'there is no theme which I am able to treat of, or thesis which I am able to publish, but your Lordship is able, by your power and authority, to protect it, and by your reason to defend it.' The Dedication eloquently recounts the 'valiant atchievements' of Sir Christopher Seton, the magnanimity of the governor of Berwick, the important acts of Queen Mary's devoted adherent, and the forensic skill of Chancellor Seton. The learned Professor then refers to the Earl's own remarkable services to science in his 'subterraneous and invisible World'—his 'meanders and boutgates,' mines and levels, deep pits and air-holes, mechanical engines and 'moluminous rampier'—and describes the Earl as 'the greatest coal and salt-master in Scotland, who is a nobleman, and the greatest nobleman in Scotland, who is a coal and salt-master; nay, absolutelie the best for skill in both of all men in the nation.' After

¹ Lord Kingston's *Continuation of the House of Seytoun*, p. 89.

² *Ibid.*

³ See Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, ii. 387 and 475.

alluding to the 'fruitful cornfields' around his 'dwelling house at Seton,' the Professor thus concludes his panegyric:—'In a word, your affability in converse, your sobriety in dyet and apparel, your friendship and kindness to your friends, have endeared all men to you; so that I may say, If your predecessors were famous of old for their feats of war, in the time of war, so is your Lordship famous for your arts of peace, in the time of peace.'¹

On the 31st of July 1686, a charter was granted to George, fourth Earl of Winton, Lord Seton and Tranent, of the earldom, lordship, and regality of Winton, and his title, honour, and dignity, 'to him and the heirs male of his body; whom failing, to whatever person or persons he might think proper to nominate, at any time of his life, *etiam in articulo mortis*, and the heirs male of their bodies; whom failing, and if he did not make such nomination, or did revoke or cancel such nomination, then to his heirs male; whom failing, to his nearest heirs and assigns whatsoever, the eldest daughter or heir female succeeding without division, and marrying a gentleman of the name of Seton, or who should assume the name, and carry the arms of the family of Winton.'²

In the time of this Earl (1695), the parish of Gladsmuir was formed by abstractions from the neighbouring parishes of Haddington, Aberlady, and Tranent, and a church was built on a ridge of moorland, which was known by the appropriate name of Gledesmuir.³ As the parishes of Haddington and Tranent contributed the largest portions to the formation of the parish of Gladsmuir, it was agreed that the patronage of the new church should alternately belong to the Earls of Haddington and Winton; the former being patron of Haddington and the latter of Tranent. Lord Haddington's right was soon afterwards transferred to the Earl of Hopetoun, while Lord Winton's fell to the Crown, by forfeiture, in 1716.⁴

¹ Both of Sinclair's Dedications will be found in the Appendix of Miscellanies.

² Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, ii. 647.

³ *Glide*, in the Saxon, Old English, and Scottish languages, signifies a kite, and *muir* is the

Scottish form of the English moor. In 1743 the celebrated Dr. William Robertson, the Scottish historian, was appointed minister of the parish of Gladsmuir.

⁴ Chalmers's *Caledonia*, iv. 522.

The fourth Earl built a new harbour at Cockenzie, 'called, for distinction of the west harbour, "Port Seton."' ¹

From the Forfeited Estates Papers in H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, in addition to numerous details relative to 'claims of creditors,' we obtain some interesting information respecting the fourth Earl of Winton.² Thus we learn, from an undated document, that 'Mr. Christopher Seton, brother to the Earl of Winton, died before the Earl, and that the Earl succeeded to any effects he had.'

A receipt for £40 Scots, dated at 'Linlithgow, 11th March 1657,' embraces the Earl's 'proportion of the moneth's maintenance imposed upon the Schyre for defraying of the charges of those commissionat for bringing home of the King in anno 1650 yeiris.' The year following (1658) we find another receipt, signed at Niddry, by Alexander Reid, 'Collector of the cesse of Kirklistoun parish,' for the sum of 'nyntein pound Scotcs,' for 'his Lordship's proportion of a baggage horse, and a legge of one imposed upon the parish to goe for Lochaber for the use of the Inglish in this present month of June.'³

Seven years later (15th August 1665) there is a discharge by George, Earl of Winton, narrating bond by Hew, Earl of Eglintoune, Lord Montgomerie and Kilwinning, as principal, and with him Alexander, Lord Montgomerie, his eldest son lawful, Robert Lord Sempell and Glasford, William Lord Cochran of Paisley and Dundonald, Collonel James and Generall Major Robert Montgomerie, brother-german to the said Hew Earl of Eglintoune, and Robert Montgomerie of Heshilheid, as cautioners to the said Earl of Wintoun for 25,000 merks Scots dated the . . . day of . . . 1662; and the said Earl of Eglintoune, by himself and others in his name, had repaid the said 25,000 merks. Therefore the said Earl of Wintoun not only had delivered back again to the said Earl of Eglintoune, but also now discharged him and all others concerned of the same.

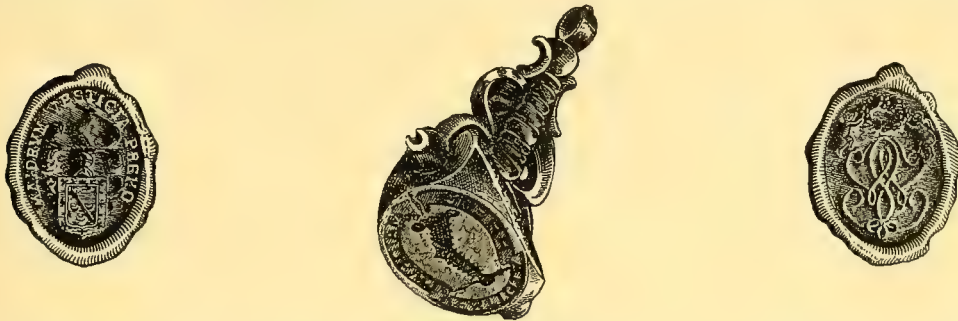
¹ Lord Kingston's *Continuation of the House of Seytoun*, p. 89.

² There are also a few references to his grandfather, the third Earl, between 1640 and the date

of his death, ten years later.

³ A somewhat similar receipt appears, applicable to the preceding year.

On the 30th of December 1684, Sir James Richardson of Smeatoune grants a discharge to 'William Seatoune, one of the Gentlemen of his Majestie's Guard,' in name of George, Earl of



Wintoun, for £83 Scots in part payment of a considerable sum 'resting owing' by the Earl, under a bond executed in 1668. A few years previously (25th August 1679) the sum of £11 Scots appears to have been paid to the same 'Gentleman of the Guard,' for money 'lent to my Lord' when going to Gosford to meet with the Chancellor.

From a legal document, signed at Edinburgh in January 1673, in presence of Robert Seatoun and George Young, 'Chamberlains to the Earl of Wintoun,' we learn that the Earl's Commissioners, appointed by him in August 1670, were John Earl of Tweeddale, Alexander Earl of Kincardine, William Earl of Dundonald, Alexander Viscount of Kingstoune, Sir John Seton of Garmiltoun, Charles Maitland of Haltoune, 'his Majestie's Thesaurer Deput and ane of the Senators of the Colledge of Justice,' James Setons, elder and younger of Touch, Sir James Dundas of Arnestoun, George Seton of Barnis, John Seton of St. Germans, Sir Walter Seton of Abercorne, and 'Mr. Alexander Seton of Pittmeddin, Advocat.'

In a book of Accounts we find that the 'rent of ane furnished Ludgine from the 25th of January 1675 till the 4th of November 1676, being 93 weeks, at 30s. a week,' amounted to £1674; while the cost of breakfasts, dinners, and suppers, from 1st December 1676 to 18th March 1677, was £310, 19s. 8d.

On the 13th of March 1678, Mr. Edward Wright, Advocate, obtains letters of horning and poinding against Lady Marie Seton

(youngest daughter of the third Earl of Winton) and the Earl of Carnwath, her husband, for a debt contracted in 1676; and a few days afterwards he arrested in the hands of Lord Winton '£1000 Scots, less or more, due and addebted by the said Lord to the said Lady Marie and her husband.' The matter appears to have been settled before the close of the year.

At Seton, on the 4th of July 1678, the Earl of Winton grants a receipt to Mr. Alexander Drummond, his 'servitour,' for £150 sterling 'delivered to our servants for the expense of our journey to England; while a packet, dated 5th October 1680, is entitled 'Instructions of money depursed in order to the Duke of Monmouth's Treat,' which was given by the Earl in July 1679.

On the 6th of July 1682, the Earl of Dundonald writes from Edinburgh to the Earl of Winton, mentioning that when in Edinburgh he had not seen the latter, 'being away with his Royal Highness'; and that he 'was exceedingly rejoiced to hear of his safe return after so hazardous a voyage.' He further states that when he was in Edinburgh 'your cuising St. Germans was with me regretting his sad condition, and desirous to be at ane settlement with your Lordship.'

A few weeks later (27th July) we find a letter to Lord Winton from James Lauder, Clerk, Haddington, anent his Lordship meeting with the Commissioners of Excise, to consider the grievances of the brewers, in connection with the heavy exactions imposed upon them.

An unsigned memorandum, also dated July 1682, is thus indorsed:—'Double (copy) of the Licence the Earl was to subscribe anent Sir John Ramsay of Whitehill and his servants transporting pan wood from the coal heughs in Fawsyde, pertaining to him in perpetuity, and to the Earl in superiority, through the lands of Mylls to the lands of Prestoun and Prestonpans.'

On the 8th of October 1682, Lord Winton writes from Seton to Sir Walter Seton, asking him to meet him in Edinburgh, as he required to attend a conference of the council for adjourning the Parliament.

In a document entitled, 'my Lord Wintoun his accompt to

Alexander Reid, Goldsmith,' for silver-plate, etc., amounting to £505, 12s., the following item occurs :—

'Resting for ane pair of silver clasps gilded with gold for your Lordship's brother,
Mr. Alexander Seton, is 003 00 00.'

The account is receipted at Tranent, 28th March 1683; and about the same date we find a contract between the Earl of Wintoun and William Halyburtoun, 'Calsey-layer in Musselburgh,' for all calsey-work required on the estate. The contract is signed at Seton, George Seton, son of Sir Walter Seton of Northbank, being a witness.

The following year (12th March 1684), Robert Seaton, 'Coal-grieve' to the Earl of Winton, pays £100 Scots to John Seaton for horses for the use of the Earl; while on the 5th of August we come across a 'Vendition' to the Earl, by Boone Jacobsonsone, merchant in Copenhagen, and Hans Jansen, skipper, of the good ship called the 'Sun,' belonging to Henricks Eme, coppersmith to the King of Denmark.

The following is an excerpt from a curious unsigned memorandum (but probably holograph of the Earl), dated 'Edbro 22 Feb^r. 1686,' and addressed to Captain Colinson :—

'1. We are resolved to continue of our Servants at Seton, yourself, George Seton, Walter Ramadge, Faney Young, and Jeane Ronald and noe mor, therefor despatch the remanent of our men and women servants the week after our journeying, and pay them their fials (wages) until the ensewing terme of Whitsunday nixt.

'2. Likewise you are to cause take doun al the furniture at our Lodging in Edinburgh, in our chalmer and drawing rounge, and lay it in the chalmer, and continew Johne Macknaughton's wife to looke to the said Lodging; which servants above you are to allow them four shillings Scots *per diem* for their dyet, and for your own dyet and George Seton with your servants, you are weekly to provyde yourself of fresh victuals by money, seeing wee have ordered our poultry and rabbits to be converted in money.

'3. Likewise cause brew one tune of the best Aile can be made, and sent in to my Lo/ Chanclour one hogshead, to the K. Advocat one hogshead, to Sir Hew Dalrymple one hogshead,

to Blair the Chancellour's servant one hogshead, and one hogshead to Dr. Irving. Let this be of the best and whytest malt.'

In the same year (1686) there is an account 'resting to several persons' by Andrew Seton, master of the Earl's ship 'Dragon,'¹ for the 'outrick' of the said vessel, amounting to £316, 15s. 10d. *Inter alios*, the sum due to Robert Seton, Munckmylne, is £52, 16s.

Two years later (15th March 1688) we find a receipt, dated at Port Seton, by John Crawford in Duncie to George Seton, Chamberlain to the Earl of Winton, for a hogshead of French wine—Robert Seton in Seton being a witness; and a few days afterwards, part payment (£12) is made of an 'accompt of entrie and deutie payed for the Earl of Wintoun's use be George Seatone, Taylior, for entering and transferring his Lordship's trunk and several other things that came from London, from Kirkaldie to Leith,' on 15th February 1687. The receipt is granted to Sir Walter Seton and others, as the Earl's commissioners.

On the 5th of October 1688 there is a 'Tack,' signed at Seton and Edinburgh, between the Earl of Wintoun, on the one part, and Alexander, Earl of Kincardin, on the other part, wherby for the love, favour, and respect he had for him, the Earl of Wintoun let to the Earl of Kincardin, his Lodging and Dwelling House in the Canongate of Edinburgh, for five years—the tack-duty being a penny Scots yearly. Mr. Alexander Seton of Pitmedden is a witness.

In 1689 a petition is presented to the Earl of Winton by Robert Ballenden, smith in Cockenzie, for payment for work done at the salt-pans in June 1686, on the order of his Lordship's commissioners, during the Earl's absence from the kingdom. On the 13th of September of the same year the Earl signs a commission, at Seton, narrating a former commission in favour of Sir Walter Seton of Northbank, Sir John Ramsay of Whitehill, and Captain Robert Colliesone, discharging them of their intromissions, and giving a new commission to James Seton of Touch, and the said Sir Walter Seton and Sir John Ramsay to be his factors and commissioners. The deed is signed in pre-

¹ Doubtless named after the family crest.

sence of George Seton, son lawful to the said Sir Walter, and William Seatone, servitor to the Earl.

Among the lands mentioned in a sasine to the Earl of Winton of the 24th of December 1688, are 'the Kirklands of Seton, sometime possessed by Robert Seton, now called the Kirklands of Tranent, with the heritable office of Bailliary of said Kirklands.'

An undated letter to Lord Winton from 'Ja. Leviston' intimates his father's death. The writer states that he knew the necessity of his Lordship 'not stirring from home in this troublesome time,' but he requests the Earl 'to permit Mr. Christopher to honour his father's memory, by being at his interment at Carstairs.'¹

On the 10th of December 1692 there is a sasine in favour of James Smith, Bailie of Tranent, of the lands of Adingston and others. The bailie in the sasine was 'constituted' by Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden, Knight and Baronet, James Seton of Touch, and Mr. John Creighton, commissioners appointed by George, Earl of Winton, superior of the said lands.

Five years later (9th April 1697)—Sir Walter Seton, advocate, acting as his attorney—a sasine of certain lands, comprising, *inter alia*, 'the temple lands of Seton, sometime occupied by George Seton, messenger,' is taken in favour of George, Lord Seton, eldest lawful son of George, Earl of Winton; and on the 2nd of July 1698 we find an instrument of resignation *ad remanentiam* by Mr. Christopher Seton, brother-german of the Earl of Winton, in favour of the Earl, of an annualrent of 2400 merks 'effeiring to 40,000 merks upliftable furth of the Earldom of Winton.'

A few months later (21st November) there is a minute of a sasine infesting George, Earl of Winton, as heir to George, (third) Earl of Winton, 'his goodsir,' in two tenements of land on the north side of the 'High Street of Canongate.'

In a complicated claim against the Winton estate, after the forfeiture, in 1717, it transpires from a bond referred to that the

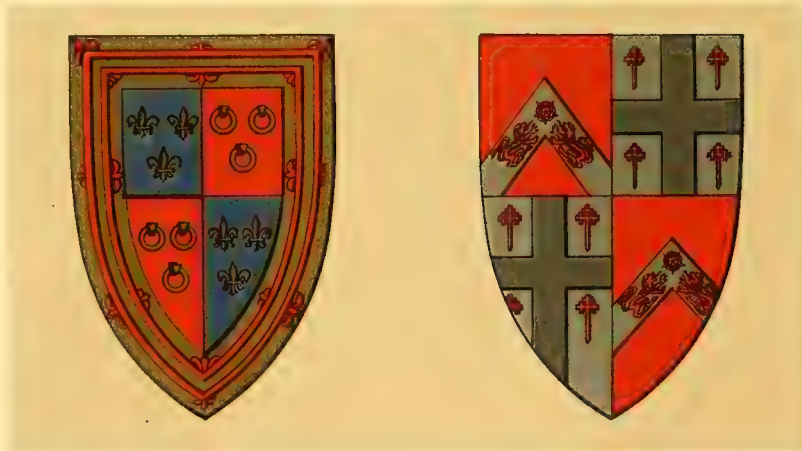
¹ The writer of this letter was probably James Livingstone, fourth Earl of Calendar, who succeeded his father in 1692, and three

years afterwards, on the death of his uncle, became fifth Earl of Linlithgow.

fourth Earl was at Amsterdam in August 1691, accompanied by Petrus Winkelsells and William Seton, his servants, and Sir John Ramsay of Whytehill; and about two years later (March 1693) he appears, from another claim, to have been at 'Leyden in Holland.'

Finally, from a third claim, signed at Edinburgh in 1718, we find that Robert Innes, merchant there, supplied 'merchant wares' at the time of the fourth Earl's 'funeralls,' to the amount of £555, 12s. Scots, by order of Mr. James Seton, brother-german to the Viscount of Kingston.¹

The fourth Earl of Winton married, first, Lady Mary Montgomerie, eldest daughter of Hugh, seventh Earl of Eglinton, 'and eldest sister daughter of the Earle of Rothes, Lord High Chancellour of Scotland,' by whom he had one daughter, Lady



Mary, who died when only three years of age. His second wife was Christian, daughter and heiress of John Hepburn of Alderston (Adinston) in the county of Haddington,² and by her he had two sons:—

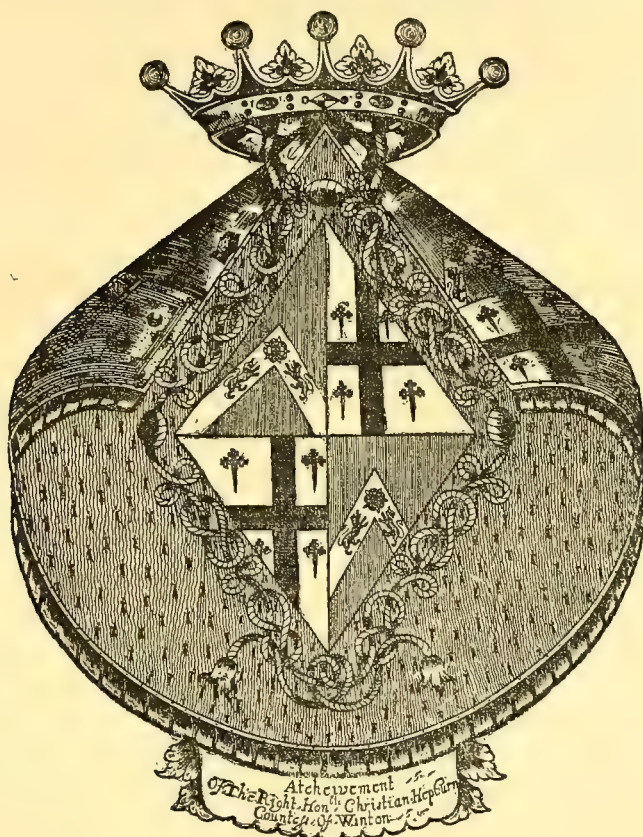
¹ Among other assignations to the Commissioners and Trustees on the forfeited estates is one, dated at Edinburgh 19th October 1720, by James Forrest, Chirurgeon, Tranent, of his claim as Chirurgeon-in-ordinary to the Earl, and his family and colliers, extending from January 1708 to May 1715, and amounting to £314, 3s., and £300 Scots, as his salary for

attendance on the coal-hewers.

² After mentioning the Earl's first marriage, Sir George Mackenzie says: 'therafter he gott seall children upon — whom he has now married and legittimat the children, 1682.'—*Account of Scottish Families*, small 4to MS. in Brit. Mus. (12,464).

1. George, his successor as fifth Earl of Winton.
2. The Hon. Christopher Seton.

Of these two sons, Nisbet, the heraldic writer, says that they presented 'such a lyvely transcript of the raire qualities qth ennobled y^r predecessors y^t they may deservedly be termed the worthy progenies, successores of y^r noble ancestors.'¹ According to Robert Mylne, 'Mr. Christopher wes cut of by death, 5 Jan. 1705, to the great regrate of all that knew him. The drunken



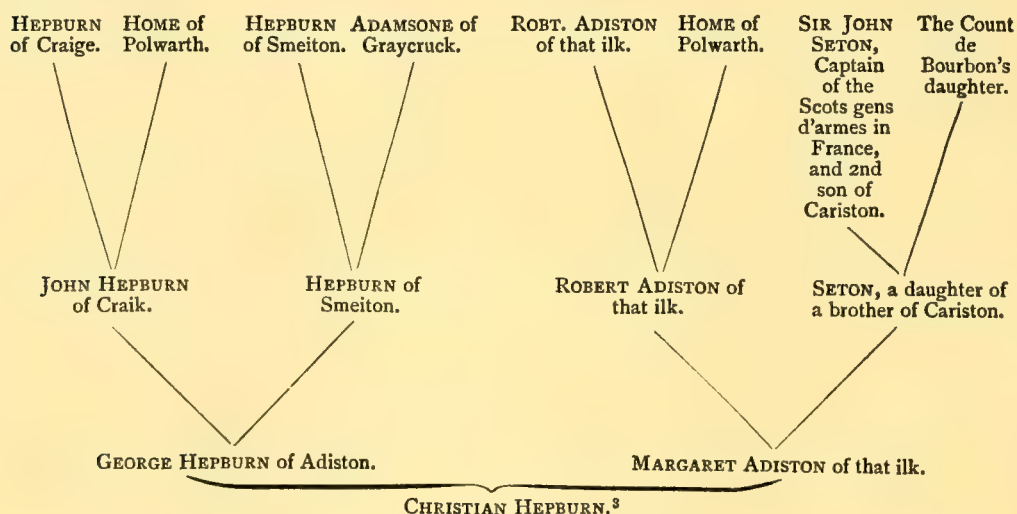
Earle of —, who had been at Seton with him at his christening, drunk him so hard that he kust (cast) him in a feaver, whereof he died. Robert Mylne, wryter, sould have been with them, and for whom the coach and they stayed severall houres, but he kept

¹ MS. account of the Seton family, in the Advocates' Library, compiled by Nisbet and transcribed into one of Robert Mylne's genea-

logical volumes—printed by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe in the Preface to his edition of Sir Richard Maitland's *House of Seytoun*.

out of the way.'¹ Speaking of the family of Lord Winton's second wife, Christian Hepburn, heiress of Adinston, Nisbet states that they were ancient barons in East Lothian, 'who, since King Robert y^e Bruce, were heritable standart bearers to y^e Hous of Setoun; and it is observable (he adds) that she only, and none of the former ladyes, brought any lands to the fortoun.'²

Her coat, as a widow, is engraved in Nisbet's *Heraldic Plates*, recently edited by Messrs. Ross and Grant, along with the names of the quarters on her funeral escutcheon, which are here subjoined, and from which it will be observed that her maternal grandmother was a Seton of Cariston.



After enumerating the fourth Earl's various military achievements, Nisbet declares that he imitated 'y^e extraordinary loyalty of his predecessors, never any of y^m from the first Dougall to this day being guilty of rebellion or treason,⁴ nor addicted to avarice, so y^t never was there a remission in y^r charter chist, nor any of the lands of the church in their possession.' 'This Earl,' he states, 'resumed the surtout *azur*, charged with a blazen starr *or* (which of laite was layd asyde), with this suitable motto, "Intaminatis fulget honoribus."'

¹ MS. account of the Seton Family, *ut supra*.

² *Ibid.*

³ See Appendix of Miscellanies for the pater-

nal descent of Countess Christian.

⁴ See, however, p. 47 *supra*.

Lord Winton's eldest son, Lord Seton, appears to have quarrelled with his father, and to have resided for some years abroad, working as a journeyman-blacksmith; and when he succeeded to the Earldom 'no man knew where to find him, till accident led to the discovery.'¹

According to Nisbet, Lord Seton 'went abroad to his travels in June 1700, and before his return to Scotland his mother died, 18th November 1703, and was interred in the north aisle of the Church of Seton. His father, the fourth Earl, died about four months afterwards, on the 6th of March 1704.'

From the brief record of the fourth Earl's 'Testament Dative and Inventory of Goods,' it appears that it was given up by 'Mr. William Colt of Garturk, Dame Elizabeth Syme, relict of Sir Robert Colt, Advocate, and William Robertson, one of the under clerks of Session, only executors dative decerned as creditors to the said Earl'; and that the sum of the Inventory, including the debts due to the deceased, amounted to xvj^m lib.²

Nisbet further states that Lord Seton 'returned home from his travels the 1st of November 1707,' and that he buried his father, 'with great pomp and solemnity,' in the aisle beside his mother.³ 'The achievement then used,' Nisbet adds, 'was, quarterly 1st and 4th *or*, three crescents within a double tressure, flowered and counter-flowered *gules*, for Seton; 2nd and 3rd *azure*, three garbs *or*, as a coat of pretension to the earldom of Buchan; over all, by way of surtout, an escutcheon parted per pale—on the dexter, *gules*, a sword pale-ways *proper*,



¹ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 1824. See also Fountainhall's *Decisions*, ii. 391, 676.

² *Edinburgh Testaments*, vol. 82. The Testament of George, *third* Earl of Winton, does not

appear in the record. At the time of his death, in 1650, the country was in a disturbed condition, and the registers of the period are very scanty.

³ *System of Heraldry*, i. 235.

hilted and pommelled *or*, supporting an imperial crown within a double tressure of the last, as arms of special concession by King Robert the Bruce; and on the sinister, *azure*, a blazing star of twelve points *argent*, within a double tressure counter-flowered *or*, for the title of Winton. Which arms were adorned with crown, helmet, and volets¹ suitable to the quality; and in place of the wreath, a ducal crown; and upon it, for crest, a dragon *vert*, spouting fire *proper*, with wings elevated and charged with a star *argent*; above, on an escrol, for motto, *Hazard set forward*; supporters, two mertrixes *proper*, collared *or*, and charged with three crescents *gules*; to their collars chains are fixed, passing between their fore-legs and reflexing over their backs; upon an escrol, coming from behind the shield, and passing over the middle of the supporters, are these words, *Intaminatis fulget honoribus*, relative to the surtout; and on the compartment upon which the supporters stand are these words, *In via virtuti via nulla*, the old motto of the family.²

25. *George, twelfth Lord Seton and fifth Earl of Winton.*

The funeral solemnity of the fourth Earl already referred to must have been a *re-interment*, as his son and successor, the fifth Earl, did not return to Scotland for upwards of three and a half years after his decease. This seems to be fully confirmed by a printed 'Information' for the fifth Earl of Winton against the Viscount Kingston, James Seton his brother, and the laird of Drumelzier, dated 19th July 1711, and signed by 'David Dalrymple' (afterwards Lord Hailes), relative to the unlawful intromissions of the defenders with the house, furniture, jewels, plate, coal, salt, rents, etc., of the pursuer. It is there stated that the defenders 'pretend to alleviate the circumstances of staying in the House of Seton, and the having carried goods

¹ The term 'volet' appears to be unknown in *English* heraldry. When the mantlings of an armorial achievement 'do not hang down by the sides of the shield, but *fly out* above the heads of the supporters, they are called by the French *volets*.'—Nisbet's *Heraldry*, vol. ii. Part

iv. page 8.

² In several particulars this blazon differs from the 'Atcheivement' of the Earl of Winton engraved in Ross and Grant's volume of Nisbet's *Heraldic Plates*, published in 1892.

from thence to Whittinghame, alleging that the coming to the House was to assist at the late Earl's funeral. . . . But this excuse ought never to have been mentioned, for it is too well known with what atrocious circumstances of contempt the defenders pretended to dispose of the late Earl's body, and the body of Mr. Christopher his son, at that time.' On the other hand, in Mr. Riddell's printed 'Case' for Lord Eglinton (p. 22) it is stated that the 'pious office' of burying the fourth Earl and his son Christopher was most naturally discharged by the Kingston family, as the 'next relations' of the deceased.

In 1708, Robert Calder¹ dedicated his edition of the *Genuine Epistles of St. Ignatius* to 'The Right Honourable and truly Noble George, Earl of Winton, Lord Seton, Baron of Tranent, etc.' Following the example of Professor Sinclair, he more briefly refers to the antiquity and loyalty, as well as the valiant deeds, of the Seton family. Not anticipating the impending change of circumstances, he says: 'And for all the alterations and changes that have come upon great fortunes, very few in the kingdom have so plentiful an estate as your Lordship, and none so contiguous, compact and convenient, both for sea and land, for casual and real rents, for advantages of salt and coal, with the accommodation of pleasant and well inhabited towns and villages, all belonging to yourself, and that without any addition to it by Marriages, Forfeitures, or Kirk-Lands.' After mentioning the traditional characteristic of the 'House of Seton' for its 'just dealing,' which 'both the representatives and the cadets take great pleasure in telling,' Calder concludes as follows: 'Tis well known of your Lordship that you did bear the yolk in your youth, and you know what injuries and afflictions are; and 'tis as well known, that if justice in dealing, owing no man anything but love, admirable temperance, looking to business, profitable recreations, spending of time regularly and usefully, shunning whatever leads to riotousness and licentious living, abhorring the

¹ Robert Calder, born at Elgin in 1650 and died in 1723, was a minister of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, in which capacity he suffered persecution. He is the reputed author of *Scot-*

tish Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed, and his other compositions are specified in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, viii. 242.

scandalous sparkishness of a loose age; if these (I say) be a mean to preserve and exalt a family, then surely your Lordship's cannot perish in your own person. And therefore I conclude in the words of an English poet:

“Do as your great progenitors have done,
And by your virtues shew yourself their son.”

In a general retour of the service of George, fifth Earl of Winton, to his father, dated 4th July 1710, the parties are thus designated: ‘Quondam Georgius Comes de Winton, etc. Pater Georgii nunc Comitiss de Winton, Domini Seton et Tranent, latoris præsentium, ejus unici legitimi filii nunc viventis procreat. inter illum et quondam Christianam Comitissam de Winton, ejus sponsam. Obiit ad fidem et pacem S. D. N. Reginæ nunc regnantis; Et quod dictus Georgius, nunc Comes de Winton, est legitimus et propinquior hæres masculus et lineæ dicti quondam Georgii Comitiss de Winton, ejus patris.’ This service proceeded in the Macers’ Court, in Edinburgh, under a commission issued from Chancery, before a jury consisting of fifteen Senators of the College of Justice, including James Duke of Montrose, John Earl of Lauderdale, Lord President Dalrymple, Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, Lord Justice-Clerk, and Sir Robert Dundas of Arniston.

Shortly before this service the Viscount Kingston, who was next heir to the Winton title, having been induced to throw doubts upon the Earl’s legitimacy, the latter was compelled to vindicate his status. Two witnesses were produced by him who were present at the marriage of his parents, and documents were found in the family charter-chests in which the Earl was designated as ‘our eldest lawful son’ by Dame Christian Hepburn, ‘our spouse,’ Countess of Winton. The two witnesses were Sir John Ramsay and James Smith, Clerk of Tranent. The latter having been taken ill, the Earl petitioned the Court of Session to have him examined directly, and the Lords ordered two of the macers to go to Tranent forthwith and take his oath as to his presence at the marriage.¹

¹ Fountainhall’s *Decisions*, ii. 391, 580, 676, and 702 (1707-12). See also Morison’s *Dictionary*, 12,096 and 10,029—Earl of Winton peti-

tioner—Proof of his father’s marriage (24 June, etc., 1710), and Form of Peer’s oath (9 Feb. 1711).

George, fifth Earl of Winton, was one of the first Scottish noblemen who took an active part in the 'rising' of 1715, when he was in the prime of life, being about thirty-six years of age. 'Differing,' says Mrs. Thomson, 'from many of his companions-in-arms, Lord Winton was a zealous Protestant, but without any regard to the supremacy of either mode of faith, it appears to have been a natural consequence of his birth and early associations that he should cling to the House of the Stuarts. One would almost have applied to the young nobleman the term "recreant" had he wavered when the descendant of Mary Stuart claimed his services. But such a course was far from his inclination. . . . He was forward in action, and stimulated the military ardour of his followers, as they rushed with their ancient cry of "Set on" to the combat. The earliest motto borne on their arms by the Setons, "Hazard yet Forward," might indeed be mournfully applied to all who engaged in the hopeless rebellion of 1715. Lord Winton, like Lord Derwentwater, was in the bloom of his youth when he summoned his tenantry to follow him to the rendezvous appointed by Lord Kenmure. He took with him three hundred men to the standard of James Stuart; but he appears to have carried with him a fiery and determined temper, —the accompaniment, perhaps, of noble qualities, but a dangerous attribute in times of difficulty.'¹

A more recent writer—the venerable Dr. William Chambers—says:—'In this remarkable personage the story of the Setons invokes a special interest. George, fifth Earl of Winton, possessed excellent abilities, but from his early years he displayed strange eccentricities of character. Some family misunderstandings caused him to leave home while a mere youth, and to spend several years in France, where he hired himself as bellows-blower in the workshop of a blacksmith. It was a queer whim, but such oddities occur in the aristocracy. A late Earl of Aberdeen, it will be recollected, sank his high rank and princely fortune and became an obscure and toiling sailor in a merchant-vessel, in which position he was unhappily drowned. Young Seton

¹ *Memoirs of the Jacobites*, ii. 12.

was of this sort. His foible was a love of bellows-blowing, in which he excelled. It is a poor art, but requires tact to blow slowly, firmly, and with regularity. With this overpowering fancy, the young nobleman did not disdain to take a hand at the hammer and file, and occasionally wielding these implements, under the instructions of the blacksmith, he worked with might and main, as if his means of existence depended on his physical exertions. We suspect that eccentricities of this kind may sometimes arise from the pleasure of baffling the researches of perplexed and almost heart-broken relations. The family at home, in their palace at Seton, mourned over the loss of George, and, hearing nothing of him, gave him up as lost, banished from the face of the earth.¹

The 'Act for Encouraging Loyalty in Scotland' received the royal assent on the 30th of August 1715, and a few days after its publication the heads of all the Jacobite clans and other suspected persons were summoned to appear at Edinburgh on a prescribed day. Among others, the Marquis of Huntly (paternally Seton), eldest son of the Duke of Gordon, the Earl of Winton, the Viscount Kingston, and Seton of Touch, were embraced in the citation; and as they failed to appear, they were denounced and declared rebels. In the following September—as appears from the Books of Adjournal at Edinburgh—Sir James Stuart, Solicitor for the King, obtained criminal letters against the Earl of Seaforth, the Earl of Winton, Viscount Kingston, Stirling of Keir, Seton of Touch, etc., and on their non-appearance they were each fined £500 sterling, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment.²

¹ *Stories of Old Families*, p. 14.

² In 'Bundles' No. 7-14 of the *Scottish State Papers—Domestic* (to which there are printed indices in the London Record Office) are numerous interesting letters and other documents relative to the 'Rising' of 1715. Thus, during August and September, Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, the Lord Justice-Clerk, reports that 'the Lothians people are not loyal'; complains of the Jacobite tendencies of the 'gentry of Dumfries'; recommends that Mar should find

bail for his 'peaceable conduct'; describes the 'jealousy' that exists between Mar and Huntly; announces the sentence given against Lords Winton and Linlithgow and Henry Maule; and intimates the design of the rebels to attack Edinburgh.

On the 16th of September is reported a rendezvous of the Rebels at Pinkie, under the Earl of Winton. A few days later, the Duke of Argyll explains that 'the Rebellion is not a jest, and that the country is in the extremest danger.' 'J. Cockburn' announces that, on the

Shortly afterwards Lord Kenmure received a commission from the Earl of Mar to head the Jacobite party in the south of Scotland; and on the 12th of October Kenmure and the Earl of Carnwath, with a considerable following, moved from Lochmaben towards Moffat in order to join the Earl of Winton, who, with a party of Lothian gentlemen and their servants—about seventy in number—was on his march to that place. The name of Lord Winton occurs in two of Hogg’s *Jacobite Relics*, viz., ‘Lochmaben Gate’ and ‘The Chevalier’s Muster-Roll.’

‘As I came by Lochmaben gate,
It’s there I saw the Johnstons riding;
Away they go, and they feared no foe,
With their drums a-beating, colours flying.
All the lads of Annandale came there,
Their gallant chief to follow;
Brave Burleigh, Ford, and Ramerscale,
With *Winton* and the gallant Rollo.’

Again, in the ‘Muster-Roll’ :—

‘*Winton*’s coming, Nithsdale’s coming,
Carnwath’s coming, Kenmure’s coming,
Derwentwater and Foster’s coming,
Withrington and Nairn’s coming.
Little wat ye wha’s coming,
Blythe Cowhill and a’s coming.’

At nine o’clock on the night of Saturday, 15th of October, a band of Highlanders, under the command of Brigadier Mackintosh, stealthily left their quarters in the citadel of Leith, and marched eastward to Seton House, about ten miles from Edinburgh,

20th of October, the rebels marched from Seton House southwards. The following month Lord William Hay recommends ‘Captain Seton’ to be appointed Lieutenant of Blackness Castle, while ‘Stewart of Ardvorlich’ is suggested by Cockburn. In December the Duke of Argyll refers to the Duchess of Gordon’s intercession for her son Huntly, whose ‘submission’ he reports on the 13th of February 1716. Six months later (24th August) the Duke of Roxburgh writes on behalf of Seton of Barns; while Captain Robert Seton reports the ‘wretched

condition’ of the prisoners at Blackness. During the following month (September) there seems to have been a conflict respecting the Governorship of that political prison. While General Carpenter recommends Captain Seton for the post, the Captain complains of the conduct of Lord William Hay in opposing his appointment. Towards the close of the year (1716) General Carpenter announces the gratitude of Huntly and Gordon of Glenbucket for being pardoned and set at liberty, and extols the loyalty of the Duke of Gordon.

where they arrived about two the following morning, and were joined by a party of adherents who had crossed the Forth to the Lothian coast somewhere east of Aberlady. Immediately after taking possession of Seton, the Highlanders 'entrenched the avenues and fortified the gates, so that they were not in danger of any surprise.'¹ On Monday the 17th, when the Duke of Argyll went to Stirling, Lord Torphichen, with 200 dragoons, and the Earl of Rothes, with 300 gentlemen volunteers, marched from Edinburgh to Seton, 'but finding the rebels so strongly entrenched within the gates that it was impossible to dislodge or reduce them without artillery to batter the house, they returned that night, *re infectâ*, after they had exchanged some shots with the rebels, and the rebels with them, without any damage on either side.'²

In terms of instructions from the Earl of Mar, early on Wednesday, 19th October, the Highlanders marched from Seton to Longformacus, and thence to Duns and Kelso, where they joined Lord Kenmure's forces. On Sunday, the 23rd, under the orders of Lord Kenmure, a sermon was preached in the church of Kelso by Mr. Robert Patten, a Northumberland minister, and one of the army chaplains, his text being taken from Deut. xxi. 17—'The right of the first-born is his.' 'Next morning, with drums beating, bagpipes playing, and colours displayed, . . . the Pretender was proclaimed by one Seton of Barns, who assumed the title of Earl of Dunfermline.'³ Having been informed of the approach of General Carpenter from Newcastle to Wooler, Kenmure called a Council of War, at which the Northumberland gentlemen urged him to march into England, while Winton, Mackintosh, and others strongly advised a move to the west of Scotland, with the view of opening a communication with the forces of the Earl of Mar. On reaching Hawick, the Highlanders resolutely determined not to cross the border, 'adhering to the Earl of Winton's advice.' "'Tis agreed,' Rae continues, 'by the best accounts on both sides, that while they were in this humour they would allow none to come

¹ Rae's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 266.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 268.

to speak with them but the Earl of Winton, who had tutored them in this project, assuring them, as indeed it was proven in part, that if they went for England, they would be all cut in pieces, or taken and sold for slaves.'¹

Shortly after this occurrence the army moved onward towards Longtown; 'but many of the Scots being displeased with this march, the Earl of Winton drew off with a part of his troop, declaring they were taking the way to ruin themselves; yet, in a little time after, they returned and joined the main body of the rebels.'² 'Lord Winton was never again invited to their councils of war, and was otherwise treated with marked disrespect. These slights gave the Earl but little trouble; he continued to amuse himself with such company as chance threw in his way, and entertained them with stories of his travels and adventures in low life.'³ Some four hundred, however, left the army, and found their way into Lanarkshire, where many of them were captured and imprisoned. Ultimately, the force reached Preston, and after a slight encounter on Monday, 14th November, in which the casualties on the side of the King's forces were considerably greater than on that of their opponents, the insurgents were induced to capitulate; and all who had failed to escape, amounting to about 1500—of whom upwards of two-thirds were Scotch—surrendered to General Wills. Of these, seventy-five were noblemen and gentlemen, including the Earls of Nithsdale, Winton, and Carnwath, Viscount Kenmure, Lord Nairn, the 'Master' of Nairn (his son), Hamilton of Baldoon, Grierson of Lag, Riddell of Glenriddell, Foulis of Ratho, two sons of Sir Alexander Dalmahoy, Hepburn of Keith, Murray of Stanhope, Hume of Wedderburn, Dundas of Airth, George Seton of Barns, and Sir George Seton of Garleton. The five noblemen were shortly afterwards removed to London; and on the 10th of January 1716 they were impeached for high treason by the British Parliament, and allowed nine days to put in their several answers. Accordingly, on the 19th of January, all of them,

¹ Rae's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 272.

² *Ibid.* p. 278.

³ Scott's *Provincial Antiquities*—Prose Works, vii. 401.

except the Earl of Winton (who, on his petition, had four additional days allowed to him), were brought from the Tower to the bar of the House of Peers, where they severally pleaded 'Guilty' to the articles of impeachment. Lord Winton also asked for the appointment of Sir Constantine Phipps and Mr. Peer Williams as counsel, and Charles Menzies and James Leslie as solicitors, besides the right of access to him in his confinement in favour of Mr. George Hereot, a clergyman of the Church of England, and a relative of his own.¹ The two counsel and one of the solicitors (Mr. Menzies) were assigned to him, and access was allowed to Mr. Hereot, 'provided he will stay in custody with him during his confinement.'²

Fifteen days afterwards (9th February), after a lengthy speech, in which he professed to reply to all the answers of the accused noblemen in extenuation of their guilt, the Lord High Steward pronounced the following sentence:—

'It is adjudged by this Court that you, William Earl of Nithsdale, Robert Earl of Carnwath, William Viscount Kenmure, and William Lord Nairn, and every one of you, return to the prison of the Tower from whence you came; from thence you must be drawn to the place of execution; when you come there, you must be hanged by the neck, but not till you be dead; for you must be cut down alive, then your bowels must be taken out, and burnt before your faces; then your heads must be severed from your bodies, and your bodies divided each into four quarters; and these must be at the King's disposal. And God Almighty be merciful to your souls!'

Lord Nithsdale, as is well known, contrived to escape from the Tower, in a woman's apparel, on the night of the 23rd of

¹ I have been unable to trace the alleged kinship.

² On the 6th of February, Lord Winton granted a discharge, in the 'Tour of London,' to 'Elizabeth Stevensone, Relick of Archibald Pitcairne of that ilk, Doctor of Medicine,' for the sum of £12,000 Scots, which he had received from her out of the rents of his estate. A copy of the document, with a facsimile of the Earl's fine signature ('Wintoun'), is now in my possession. The two witnesses to the deed are John

Stuart, 'our servitor,' and Charles Menzies of Kimmundie, one of Lord Winton's solicitors at the trial. Among the Forfeited Estates papers in the General Register House, Edinburgh, is a Minute of Agreement betwixt 'the Ledie Pitcairn,' factrix for the estate of Seton, and George Rannaldson, tenant to my Lord Primrose, whereby the first party let to the second party a 'roume' in Longniddry, formerly laboured by David Cunninghame, signed at Edinburgh, 23rd February 1716.

February, Viscount Kenmure being beheaded on Tower Hill the following day.

On the 10th of February Lord Winton's trial was postponed till the 8th of March, on the representation of the accused that more time should be allowed him to bring his witnesses from Scotland, including four of his 'servitors,' Adam Purvis, clerk of the Episcopal meeting-house in Tranent, Christopher Seton in Port Seton, Mackintosh of Bordlim, and General Wills.

When the Earl of Winton came to give answers to the articles of his impeachment, unlike the other implicated noblemen, who admitted their guilt and implored the King's mercy, he boldly pleaded 'Not Guilty,' and was allowed time to prepare his defence, which was protracted, on his petition, to the 15th of March. The following witnesses were ordered to attend in Westminster Hall, on the behalf of the Earl of Winton, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled,—John Gordon of Kirkhill; Alexander Nisbet, writer in Edinburgh¹; William Knox, Thomas Baine, John Wattesone, all three of Seton; Mrs. Magdalene Corsbie of Canongate; Agnes Duncan of Seton; Dr. Lidderdale, a physician; Dr. Cockburn, a divine; Dr. John Inglis, Major Sinclair, George Trotter, and George Hoge of Seton.

FIRST DAY—15th March (*Thursday*).

George, Earl of Winton, was brought to the bar by the Deputy-Governor of the Tower, having the axe carried before him by the Gentleman Gaoler, who stood with it, on the left hand of the prisoner, with the edge turned from him. Lord Winton bowed to the Lord High Steward and the Peers, which compliment was returned by them. His Majesty's commission (in Latin) was read, the Peers standing uncovered. The Lord High Steward (Sir William Cowper, afterwards Earl Cowper) then stated the charge against the accused, and ordered the Articles of Impeachment and Lord Winton's Answer to be read.

¹ Probably the well-known heraldic author (born 1657, died 1725), who, like his father Adam, was a writer in Edinburgh, and is so

designed in various bonds executed by himself. —Communicated by Mr. Andrew Ross, *Marchmont Herald*.

The former charged him with levying war against his most sacred Majesty, proclaiming the 'Pretender' king in various parts of the kingdom, and prevailing upon several ministers of the Church of England to pray publicly for the 'Pretender' as king of these realms.

Towards the beginning of Lord Winton's Answer the following passage occurs:—'He begs leave to take notice that he is descended from a very ancient, noble family, in whose blood the streams of loyalty were always pure, never corrupted or polluted with treason or sedition; and he never degenerated so much from his loyal ancestors as to form or carry on any design to subvert or alter the constitution of these kingdoms, but for the preservation of it was, upon all occasions, ready to sacrifice his fortune, and even his life: he was so cautious to avoid giving occasion to be suspected by the Government that, about eight years ago, upon his return from his travels, he withdrew from all conversation and confined himself to his house, never corresponded by letter with any person whatsoever; yet, to his great misfortune, he could not be quiet or safe in his closest retirement, for many persons, both officers and others, of the militia of the shire of Lothian, under the specious pretence of serving the Government, but in reality actuated by private pique and revenge, several times, contrary to law, forcibly entered by night into his dwelling-house, called Seton Palace, rifled it, turned his servants out of doors, and carried away the provisions of his family. The most sacred places did not escape their fury and resentment; they broke into his chapel, defaced the monuments of his ancestors, took up the stones of their sepulchres, thrust irons through their bodies, and treated them in a most barbarous, inhuman, and unchristian-like manner; cannon and mortars were brought to demolish his house, and several troops of dragoons having gotten possession thereof, some of them kept guard there, and when they left it many of the militia entered, and kept possession thereof till they were driven from thence by the Highlanders, by whom he was likewise very ill treated, he being the only person that was plundered by them. By these and many other severities the said Earl was forced to leave his house, and seek for shelter

among his tenants and neighbours, where he was pursued from house to house, and at last, very unfortunately, driven into the company of some of the gentlemen named in the impeachment. He presumes to affirm to your Lordships that he did not join them with a traitorous or rebellious design, but only with an intention to preserve himself from being insulted and assassinated; for he had been once before taken up without any warrant or authority, and having got away from the persons in whose custody he was, they threatened, if they could retake him, to murder him;¹ and had before imbrued their hands in the blood of a son of a neighbouring gentleman. He never intended to have left his own country; and when some gentlemen mentioned coming into England, he opposed it; he was far from assisting or encouraging them in their undertakings; he was not admitted into their secrets, nor informed of their designs, and was so much a stranger to their proceedings that when they marched towards Northumberland, he was told they were going along the skirts of the hills in Scotland, to avoid General Carpenter; but afterwards discovered they were in England, when it was too late, and to return alone into Scotland was too hazardous, which he did not attempt, because he had reason to believe they would soon go back to Scotland.'

On behalf of the House of Commons, Mr. Hampden proceeded to make good the impeachment of high treason against the prisoner at the bar; and in the course of his observations he said, 'This noble peer was too great a person to act an ordinary part in this Rebellion. He openly engaged in it, and not only appeared in person, but led on and encouraged his associates in it. . . . We shall prove to your Lordships,' he continued, 'that the Earl of Winton formed a troop of horse, which he maintained at his own charge; that he afterwards commanded a squadron of horse, and that he continued his command thereof in the several marches to Preston, and until the surrender of that place to the King's forces; that during the several marches of the rebels, the Earl of Winton was with them on horseback, armed

¹ See Burton's *History of Scotland*, 1689-1748, ii. 315.

with a sword and a case of pistols; and that he never shewed any uneasiness, but always appeared as forward as any one; and that, at the action at Preston, his Lordship was assisting, and very active among the rebels.'¹

Mr. Hampden was followed by Sir Joseph Jekyll, who towards the close of his address thus expressed himself:—'My Lords, there is not a nobler or more useful principle belonging to a British subject than true *Loyalty*: Loyalty is a faithful and dutiful obedience to the King, under the sanction and direction of the law. If, therefore, his Lordship hath contracted the guilt of this high offence against the law, which is charged upon him, he hath offended against this principle.'

Among other details given by the Attorney-General (Sir Edward Northey), he said: 'About the 7th or 8th day of October last the Earl of Winton left his seat at Seton, in the county of Lothian, armed with a broadsword and pistols, and carried with him fourteen or fifteen of his servants, well mounted, and so armed; about the 10th day of October joined the Earl of Carnwath and the Lord Viscount Kenmure at Moffat, in the county of Annandale, and there they formed a little army, which was commanded by Lord Kenmure till they joined Forster. . . . At Hawick, cockades were made of blue and white ribbons for the Scotch rebels, to distinguish them from the English, who had red and white; and the Earl of Winton wore one, and gave others to his men.'² This was subsequently confirmed by William Calderwood, the Quartermaster of the insurgents; and although he provided the best quarters, next to Lord Kenmure's, for the Earl of Winton, the latter 'used to complain if good

¹ *State Trials*, vol. xv.

² A *white rose* (rose argent) was first worn by David II. at the tournament of Windsor in 1349, and in 1715 it was used by the adherents of James Stuart, on his birthday, the 10th of June. The Muses, who, as Burns has remarked, are all Jacobites, have celebrated the symbol in these terms:—

'O' a' the days are in the year,
The tenth o' June I loe maist dear,
When our white roses a' appear,
For the sake o' Jamie the Rover.

The *white cockade* was, in 1745, generally regarded as the badge of the Jacobites. Prince Charles Edward wore one, at Holyrood, in his green velvet bonnet; and the beautiful Mrs. Murray of Broughton, while she sat on horseback, during his proclamation as Regent, at the Cross of Edinburgh, had her dress decorated with a *white ribbon*, in token of her adherence to the House of Stuart.—Thomson's *Memoirs of the Jacobites*, iii. 95, 258, 260.

quarters were not provided for him.' The Attorney-General further stated that, during the attack on Preston, by General Wills, on the 12th and 13th of November, 'the Earl of Winton was with the other lords at the head of two hundred men, drawn up in the churchyard; he had his sword, a pistol in one hand, and another in his breast.' Calderwood also stated that the noble lord did not attempt to go off with the Highlanders at Jedburgh, but 'went up to them to make them come back, . . . and they would have nobody come to them but the prisoner.' He further declared that Lord Winton had the 'first troop,' which consisted partly of gentlemen, and partly of his own servants; that he paid them two shillings a day, and that they were well accoutred with swords and pistols. Five of the servants wore his livery, the rest being 'domestic gentlemen.' When asked by the Lord High Steward whether he had any questions to put to Calderwood, Lord Winton said: 'I never examined a witness in my life; I desire my counsel may do it for me. . . . It is very hard to have none to speak for me, and there are twenty against me.'

Another witness, James Lindsay, stated that 'the first time he saw Lord Winton he was riding on a grey horse, mounted with sword and pistol; the second time, sitting with the guard; at Kendal, when he came out of town, I saw him riding on horseback; and at Preston I saw him riding in the market-place.' He also said that Lord Winton rode at the head of the 'first squadron,' and that one of the troops went by Lord Winton's name.

At the close of the evidence of Elias Cameron, Lord Winton said: 'I was not prepared for my trial; I did not think it would come on so soon, my material witnesses not having come up; and therefore I hope you will do me justice, and not make use of *Cowper-law*,¹ as we used to say in our country, "Hang a man first, and then judge him."'

¹ Usually written either *Coupar* or *Cupar*. Perhaps the accused intended a quiet hit at the Lord High Steward! The expression is said to have had its rise from a baron-bailie in Coupar-

Angus, before the abolition of heritable jurisdictions. 'Jeddart or Jedwood justice' is the more common expression. Thus in Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth* (chap. xxxii.), Lord Douglas says, 'We

The Rev. Robert Patten bore testimony to the fact of Lord Winton having been drawn up with his men at Jedburgh, and on horseback, at Penrith, 'among the Scotch lords, after his usual manner, with sword and pistols.' When the opportunity was afforded to him, he declined to ask Patten any question.¹ Lord Forrester deponed to Lord Winton having delivered up two cases of pistols at Preston, but could not remember having received a sword from him.

At the close of the evidence for the House of Commons Lord Winton asked to be allowed further time for his witnesses who had not yet appeared, and suggested a month's delay; adding, 'It will signify nothing to examine any witnesses after I am dead. I never saw my counsel but once, that they might instruct me what I have to say.' In resisting this proposal, Mr. Cowper alleged that Lord Winton's object was 'to move the compassion of the people, and to traduce the justice of their Lordships' proceedings'; and on the Lord High Steward indicating to the accused that the Commons declined to grant his application, and inquiring whether he would withdraw his request, he firmly replied, 'I insist upon it, my Lords.' The House then adjourned for about an hour, and on resuming, the Lord High Steward informed Lord Winton that, after due consideration, it had been resolved that no further time could be allowed; and also that, owing to the lowness of his voice, the Lords had ordered a fit person to stand by him, to report truly to the House what he had to say.

SECOND DAY—16th March (Friday).

After a conversational discussion between the Lord High Steward and Lord Winton as to the counsel of the latter being permitted to speak regarding matters of *fact* as well as points of law, the former was disallowed. On Lord Winton being

will have Jedwood justice,—hang in haste and try at leisure.' The English equivalent is 'Lydford law'—Lydford being a fortified town in Devonshire, where the courts of the Duchy of

Cornwall used to be held.

¹ As Dr. Chambers truly says: 'At the trial of the Earl of Winton the Rev. Robert Patten cut a poor figure as King's evidence.'

directed to make his defence and call his witnesses, he made another attempt to get his counsel heard upon a 'point of law,' and on the Lord High Steward suggesting that he himself should propound the question, Lord Winton replied through the clerk who had been assigned to him:—'It is impossible for me to do a thing I don't understand'; and when some laughed, he immediately said, 'I am only speaking in my own defence; I don't expect to be laughed at!' The Lord High Steward acknowledged the propriety of Lord Winton's observation, and said 'I hope every one will forbear that.'

Mr. Cowper then proceeded to reply to Lord Winton's defence, and recapitulated the various charges that had been proved against him. He was followed by Sir William Thomson, who referred to Lord Winton's statement respecting the purity of his loyalty, and to his consistent endeavour to preserve the Constitution of the Kingdom. 'My Lords,' he said, 'I could wish, for the sake of this unhappy Lord, the object of your present consideration, that it were not too evident *what* Constitution he meant to preserve, and for which he has ventured his life and fortune.'

The question was then put by the Lord High Steward to each peer in succession, beginning with the youngest, thus:—'Thomas, Lord Parker, what says your Lordship, Is George, Earl of Winton, Guilty of the High Treason whereof he stands impeached, or Not Guilty?' Then Thomas, Lord Parker, standing up in his place, and laying his right hand on his breast, said, 'Guilty, upon my honour.' In like manner, the several peers, being all that were present—eighty-eight in number¹—similarly answered, and the Lord High Steward intimated to the accused that he had been found guilty of High Treason, which, of course, implied that his extensive estates, as well as his ancient honours, were forfeited to the Crown. On this, the House adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament.

¹ The eighty-eight peers included the following Scottish noblemen:—the Dukes of Roxburgh and Montrose, the Marquis of Annandale, and Lords Rothes, Haddington, Loudon, Ilay,

Greenwich (Argyll), Ross, and Belhaven.

An account of Lord Winton's trial was published by 'S. Popping at the Black Raven in Parliament Row,' in 1716, price 2d.

THIRD DAY—19th March (Monday).

After some discussion, in the course of which the Lord High Steward reprimanded Sir Constantine Phipps for having 'presumed to be so forward as to speak for the prisoner at the bar before a point of *law* was stated,' Sir Constantine and Mr. Williams were allowed to be heard as to the relevancy of the impeachment, in respect of the *time* not being laid with sufficient certainty. Mr. Williams concluded as follows:—'My Lords, I have nothing else to say on behalf of this unhappy Lord; unhappy, as being in that doubtful state of memory, not *insane* enough to be within the protection of the law, nor at the same time *sane* enough to do himself, in any respect, the least service whatever.'

Mr. Walpole, the Attorney-General, Mr. Cowper, and Sir William Thomson having successively answered the arguments adduced as to the uncertain specification of the time when the alleged treason was committed—drawing a distinction between an indictment and an impeachment,—Sir Constantine Phipps and Mr. Williams briefly replied for Lord Winton. The Lord High Steward then solemnly addressed the accused, forcibly dwelling upon the serious character and consequences of the crime of treason, and before pronouncing the same barbarous sentence as in the case of the other Lords, he spoke as follows:—'I shall conclude by exhorting your Lordship, with perfect charity and much earnestness, to consider that now the time is come when the veil of partiality should be taken from your eyes (it must be so when you come to die), and that your Lordship should henceforward think with clearness and indifference, if possible, which must produce in you a hearty detestation of the high crime you have committed, and being a *Protestant*,¹ be very likely to make

¹ In Mr. Hampden's reply, on behalf of the House of Commons, on the first day of the trial, the following passage occurs:—'We are not surprised that Papists should be engaged in this Rebellion, though the most unnatural and unexampled in its circumstances, by being void of

the least pretext of provocation, since they maintain it lawful to kill a heretic King, and such they term his present Majesty; and 'tis declared by them that such a piece of service is not only lawful, but pious, and agreeable to God. But how *Protestants* could be possessed

you a sincere penitent, for your having engaged in a design that must have destroyed the holy religion you profess, had it taken effect.'

The following description of Lord Winton, by a contemporary, is referred to by Sir Walter Scott under his notice of Seton Church in the *Provincial Antiquities of Scotland*:—'The Earl of Winton is representative of the noble and most ancient family of Seton. This family hath never entered into the administration of affairs since the Reformation of religion in the reign of Queen Mary, although several of the Earls have been Protestants. The present Earl is a young gentleman who hath been much abroad in the world, is mighty subject to a particular caprice natural to his family, hath a good estate, is of *low* stature, was at Rome when his father died, a zealous Protestant, but his family are enemies to England, not twenty-five years old.'¹

We have seen that one of his counsel at the trial (Mr. Williams) described his mental condition as something between sanity and its reverse, reminding us of Dryden's well-known lines:—

'Great wits are sure to madness near allied,
And thin partitions do their bounds divide.'²

Mr. Justin M'Carthy, in his *History of the Four Georges* (i. 186), seems inclined to take a similar view. He curtly disposes of the unfortunate nobleman in the following words: 'Lord Winton was a poor and feeble creature, hardly sound in his mind. "Not perfect in his intellectuals," a writer in a journal of the day observed of him.' Sir Walter Scott, however, says of him: 'The leader of the East Lothian troop was the Earl of Winton, a young nobleman twenty-five years old,³ said to be

with such a spirit of infatuation, and to such a degree be deluded, as to believe the most secure and effectual way to protect the Church was to have recourse to a Popish Prince, to rescue it from the danger they imagined it liable to, from the Protestant succession taking place: And how it could enter into the heart of Protestants to be fired with such an ill-directed zeal, as to act in conjunction with avowed enemies of their

religion and liberties, is not to be accounted for; unless such unnatural and destructive attempts are some of the necessary consequences of the late mal-administration.'

¹ Macky's *Memoirs*, p. 252. I have failed to discover the 'family caprice' here referred to.

² *Abraham and Ahitophel*, Part i. line 163.

³ In point of fact, he was *thirty-six* in 1715, and 'twenty-five' when Macky wrote.

afflicted by a vicissitude of spirits approaching to lunacy. His life had been marked by some strange singularities, as that of his living a long time as bellows-blower and assistant to a blacksmith in France, without holding any communication with his country or family. But, if we judge from his conduct in the rebellion, Lord Winton appears to have displayed more sense and prudence than most of those engaged in that unfortunate affair.¹ Again, the Rev. Robert Patten, who had ample opportunity of forming an opinion on the subject of Lord Winton's intellectual qualities, says, in his *History of the late Rebellion*, 'Lord Winton wants no courage, nor so much capacity as his friends find it for his interest to suggest. . . . He was always forward for action, but never for the march into England. His advice, if followed, would in all probability have tended to their great advantage, the King's forces being then so small. However, therefore, some people have represented that Lord, of which I shall say no more, all his actions, both before being made prisoner, and till he made his escape, speak him to be master of more penetration than many of those whose characters suffer no blemish as to their understanding.' The Earl's conduct during the march into England indicated a sound estimate of the folly of the expedition, as the issue fully proved. Indeed, it is impossible to say what might have been the result of the 'Rising,' if his advice had been followed. 'The Scottish gentlemen, and Lord Winton in particular,' says Sir Walter Scott, 'were not convinced by the reasoning of their southern friends, nor do they appear to have been participant of their sanguine hopes of a general rising in Lancashire; accordingly, they strongly opposed the movement in that direction.'² Sir Walter elsewhere says: 'It seems to be intimated, in the histories and memoirs of the period, that the higher command was assigned to Lord Kenmure, in consequence of the waywardness and uncertainty of the Earl of Winton's character. Yet if we allow for the rashness of entering into this adventure, Lord Winton's opinions, so far as we know them, seem to have been sound and well considered. . . . In the

¹ *Tales of a Grandfather*, chap. lxviii.

² *Ibid.*

affair of the barricades at Preston he behaved with spirit and gallantry.¹ Lord Kenmure is described by Sir Robert Douglas as 'a grave, full-aged gentleman; of a singular good temper; of great experience in political business; but *of little or none in military affairs*';² and although possessed of many good qualities, the Earl of Mar,³ as the supreme commander of the Jacobite forces, on more than one occasion showed indecision and want of resource, and was certainly not fitted for the management of a complicated insurrection. Perhaps, if Kenmure had been less aggressive—if, instead of rashly going 'on and awa'⁴ (to use the words of Burns's ballad), he had paused before crossing the English border, the issue of the Stuart cause, in 1715, might have been less disastrous than it was.

In the printed 'Case' of Archibald, thirteenth Earl of Eglinton, claiming the Winton honours, prepared by the eminent peerage lawyer, the late Mr. John Riddell (from whom I received a copy), we find the following interesting notes relative to the condemned and forfeited nobleman:—'We are informed (*from London, under date March 31*) the Earl of Winton will be pardoned and sent to Scotland under confinement.'—(*Scots Courant*, April 6, 1716.) This is the first mention of him, in this contemporary print, after his condemnation, 19th March 1716. 'I hear the Earls of Winton and Carnwath, Lords Nairn and Widdrington, are reprieved for a month.'—(*Ibid.* July 4, 1716, *from a London correspondent, under date June 28*). 'The Earls of Carnwath and Winton, and the Lords Nairn and Widdrington, who are under condemnation in the Tower, are reprieved for three months longer.'—(*Ibid.* July 30, 1716.) 'The Earl of Winton made his escape out of the Tower last Saturday, about

¹ *Provincial Antiquities of Scotland*, ii. 141.

² Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, ii. 29.

³ However blameable as a statesman or general, Lord Mar 'was a pattern for a great man who wishes to establish a family interest founded on the good-will and affection of his neighbours. He was always ready to serve them, in small as well as in great matters, without seeming to expect anything in return, and his manners were uniformly gracious and easy at home and

abroad.'—Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen*, ii. 49.

⁴ 'O Kenmure's on and awa', Willie!

O Kenmure's on and awa'!

And Kenmure's lord's the bravest lord

That ever Galloway saw.

There ne'er was a coward o' Kenmure's
blude,

Nor yet o' Gordon's line.'

nine o'clock.'—(*Scots Courant*, August 13, 1716, *from intelligence, London, August 7.*) 'This week the Earl of Winton's servants were discharged out of the Tower.'—(*Ibid.* September 28, 1716, *also from intelligence, London, September 22.*)

During his trial, under date March 17th, 1716, it is stated that 'one of the bars of a window in the Earl of Winton's apartment was brought into court, which had been filed off (as is supposed, by the spring of a watch), in order for the Earl's making his escape.'—(*Ibid.* March 23, 1716).

Unlike the Earl of Nithsdale, it was not through female intervention that Lord Winton escaped his doom, 'but by the mechanical skill which he had acquired while working as a blacksmith in France. Being secretly furnished with files and other instruments by a trusty servant, he sawed through the iron bars of his window, and, dropping to the ground, managed to make his escape to the Continent.'¹

The following account of the escape occurs in the *Political State of Great Britain* for August 1716, p. 157:—'On Saturday, the fourth of August, between 8 and 9 o'clock in the evening, the Earl of Winton made his escape out of the Tower, of which the Government being informed, the Lord Viscount Townsend appointed Sir Andrew Chadwick to go and examine the two warders who had him in custody, before a justice of the peace. They ingenuously confessed that, contrary to the strict orders they had received never to leave their prisoner alone, and for one of them at least to keep him at sight, they had both at once gone out of the way for some minutes, which opportunity the Earl laid hold on to give them the slip; and that, the better to go undiscovered, he had put on a wigg, whereas, before, he wore his own hair. The warders thus accusing themselves of criminal neglect, they were put under confinement; and some time after, they, with some others, were removed from their places without being allowed to sell the same.'

In the *Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper*, Lady of the Bed-chamber to the Princess of Wales, 1714-20, we find the following references to Lord Winton's trial:—

¹ Chambers's *Stories of Old Families*, p. 16.

1716, Feb. 9. *The Day of the Trials*.—My Lord was named High Steward by the King, to his vexation and mine; but it could not be helped, and so we must submit, though we both heartily wished it had been Lord Nottingham.—P. 72.

1716, Mar. 7.—Lord Winton's Trial put off for a week longer.—P. 92.

1716, Mar. 15-16. *Trial of my Lord Wintoun*.—My Lord Cowper, High Steward. 'Tis grinning Honour,' as Sir John Falstaff calls it, for there is not one Farthing's allowance for all the expense. The Commons differ about some imaginary right they pretend to, so the giving sentence is put off till Monday.—P. 96.

1716, Mar. 19.—An expedient found to keep the Peace between the two Houses. My Lord Winton had sawed an iron bar with the Spring of his Watch very near in two, in order to make his escape; but it was found out. He received sentence of death, but behaved himself in a manner to persuade a world of people that he was a natural fool, or mad, though his natural character is that of a stubborn, illiterate, ill-bred Brute. He has eight Wives. I can't but be peevish at all this Fuss to go a Fool-hunting; sure, if it is as people say, he might have been declared incapable of committing Treason.—P. 98.

After sentence was pronounced upon Lord Winton, Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*, says, 'the prisoner was sent back to the Tower, but (probably with the connivance of the Government) he contrived to escape before the day fixed for his execution.'¹

Until Lady Cowper's Diary appeared in 1864, it was believed that the escape of Lord Winton was effected *after* sentence had been pronounced against him, and that his means of escape was by sawing through a bar in his place of confinement. It appears, however, from the Diary that the sawing of the bar was *before his trial*, 'but it was found out.' In order to conceal the connivance of the Government to his escape *after* sentence was pronounced, the previous attempt by sawing the bar seems to have been given out as a blind. The silence of the Diary as to the escape favours the idea of Government connivance, as it would scarcely have done for the wife of the Lord Steward to have let out a Government secret.

The strong language used by Lady Cowper relative to the unfortunate nobleman is somewhat startling—'a stubborn, illiterate, ill-bred Brute,' and the husband of 'eight Wives'! The 'grinning Honour' and 'not one Farthing's allowance' may perhaps help to explain the venom of her ladyship.

Still another account of Lord Winton's escape from the

Tower is given by the genial Dr. John Brown in his sketch of a 'Jacobite family.' He states that it was effected by a redoubtable ex-caird, John Gunn by name, who had been captain of a band of gipsies, but afterwards became body-servant to Moir of Stonewood, a staunch Jacobite. 'Mr. Moir had occasion to go to London, taking John with him, of course. He visited his friend, the Earl of Wintoun, then under sentence of death in the Tower for his concern in the "rising" of 1715. The Earl was arranging his affairs, and the family books and papers had been allowed to be carried into his cell in a large hamper, which went and came as occasion needed. John, who was a man of immense size and strength, undertook, if the Earl put himself instead of his charters into the hamper, to take it under his arm as usual, and so he did, walking lightly out.'

Lord Winton appears to have ultimately found his way to Rome, where he died, unmarried, on the 19th December 1749, aged upwards of seventy.¹ 'Thus terminated,' says Sir Robert Douglas, 'one of the principal houses in Great Britain, after subsisting for upwards of 600 years in East Lothian, and from thence spreading into several flourishing branches in Scotland, the Dukes of Gordon, the Earls of Eglinton and Aboyne, being descendants of this family in the male line.'²

A comparatively recent writer on the 'Fall of the House of Stuart,' says:—'If the critics of a later day pause ere they condemn the Kings of the House of Stuart, it is less because of the retributive punishments which overtook them in their head-

¹ Lord Nithsdale died at Rome on the 20th of March 1744, where also his devoted wife, Lady Winifred Herbert, daughter of William, first Marquis of Powis, closed her earthly career, the same year (1749) as the Earl of Winton. The straits to which they were reduced are shown in their letters, printed in the *Book of Carlawerock*.

Mr. Robert Hay, late of Linplum, has lately been good enough to make careful inquiries among his friends in Rome relative to the Earl's place of sepulture, but has failed to obtain any definite information on the subject. The general impression appears to be that Lord Winton was buried not far from the Porta del

Popolo, to the left of the Via Flaminia, where a Protestant Church was tolerated. The Consular Register dates from 1789, and the Burial Book from 1775.

² *Peerage of Scotland*, ii. 648.

'Some good consequences, among many bad, resulted from the firm adherence of the *Jacobites* to an unfortunate cause. Having no hope of Court preferment, or other resources, it constrained most of them to a rigid economy in their families. A good lady at Ballochallan one day said to her sons:—"My lads, I will breed you hardy; and if you thrive in the world you will soon learn to relish better living."—Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen*, ii. 53.

strong careers than because of the many generous men and women who feared not to prop a falling cause, and to follow a stricken family into the bitterness of exile. . . . That their attempts all failed, and that, one by one, both the princes and their followers dropped into ruin and extinction, does not detract from the interest of their lives or of their deaths. A strange fascination still belongs to them; and Burns, the most advanced of Scotch liberals, in speaking of the Stuart Kings, did not hesitate to say that "to love them was the mark of a true heart."¹

Upwards of forty years ago, while residing for several weeks in the neighbourhood of Seton, I heard more than one curious tradition relative to the forfeited Earl of Winton. At the commencement of the 'Rising,' in 1715, he called upon an old woman, the wife of one of his retainers, in order to discover the political bias of herself and her husband: and on being pressed for a declaration, she amused his lordship by assuring him that they would not fail to attach themselves to the right (*i.e.* the *winning*) side!—called by the French *côté du manche*. I was also informed by an old and intelligent residenter at Seton,² that the

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, April 1882.

² As in other parts of Scotland, 'kindly tenants' seem to have flourished at Seton. In his recent work on *Scotland as it Was and Is*, the Duke of Argyll says that they indicated 'the exceptional personal feeling which landowners, from time to time, displayed in granting to particular persons, and as a particular favour, farms or other kinds of holding, at a low, and sometimes even at a nominal rent. . . . Sometimes these kindly grants were given in gratitude for some special service; sometimes to men of knightly rank, sometimes to husbandmen, and "nativi" of the country.' The instances adduced by the Duke are the Crawfords of Jordanhill, near Glasgow, who were 'kindly tenants' of the Earls of Lennox; and the 'kindly tenants' of Lochmaben, who got their holdings from the Bruces, Lords of Annandale, and whose titles were carefully considered and solemnly sustained by the Court of Session in 1726, independently of any written deeds or charters. Their tenure was practically regarded as equivalent to a feu; and accordingly they have ever since been looked upon as

proprietors, and as such are entered in the County Valuation Roll.

'Close by the Palace of Seton there formerly subsisted a village, inhabited by a class of persons, termed *Rentallers*, or *kindly tenants*; cottagers, that is, who had no right to show of their possession excepting their being entered in the Lord's rental-book as possessors of the various petty tenements, which they enjoyed for trifling returns, the principal advantage derived by the Baron being, doubtless, his having the benefit of their ready military service, in case of his having, in the expressive, though oblique, phrase of those old times, "aught to do."

'This was a general system throughout Scotland, but it was peculiar to the Rentallers of Seton that they denied the right of the proprietor of the estate, who purchased it from the Crown after the forfeiture, to remove them from their possessions, and consequently claimed them as a heritage. By a judgment of the Supreme Court they were declared tenants at will, which decision has ruled all such cases in future, excepting that of the kindly tenants of Lochmaben, who living upon the lands attached

Earl of Winton, prior to his departure for the South, buried a large quantity of plate and other valuables, with the assistance of a 'confidential' blacksmith, in the neighbourhood of Seton Palace; that after his escape to the Continent, he contrived to return to Scotland, where he made a fruitless attempt to recover the hidden treasure, and that, contrary to the usual belief that he died at Rome, he ended his days at Ormiston. The sons of the *faithful* blacksmith are said to have become prosperous East Lothian farmers; and, 'if all tales be true,' some of their living descendants occupy a pretty good social position! I lately heard a somewhat different version of this tradition from an old friend in Edinburgh, who gave as his authority a well-known silk mercer in the Scottish metropolis, connected with East Lothian, who died at an advanced age, many years ago. Besides embracing the statement relative to the Earl's return to Scotland from the Continent, the old gentleman's narrative referred to the circumstance of his having entered the cottage of a woman at Seton to ask for a glass of water, where, notwithstanding his disguise, she had no difficulty in recognising him; and on her bluntly exclaiming, 'You're the Yerle o' Winton!' he suddenly departed, and was never again seen in that locality.

During the Earl's residence in Rome, it appears from the Minute-Book of the Masonic Lodge, which existed in that city, 1735-37, that 'George Seton, Wintoun,' was admitted at a meeting held in Joseppie's in the Corso, 16th August 1735. At subsequent meetings, several French, Neapolitan, and Polish nobles were admitted. The rendezvous was changed to 'The Three

to the royal castle of Bruce, and protected by some peculiar provisions in the Scottish Statutes, are considered as enjoying a permanent right in their possessions, according to the Rental Book.'—Scott's *Provincial Antiquities*, ii. 144.

An interesting passage relative to the 'Good Old Times' occurs in Mr. Ramsay of Ochtertyre's *Scotland and Scotsmen* (ii. 46). 'It is hardly possible,' he says, 'for the rising generation to form a just notion of the love and affection which subsisted between a powerful nobleman and his vassals and clients before the last

two rebellions. Compared with it, modern patronage is cold and unavailing. He was their oracle and champion on all occasions, and his espousing their interest with warmth served as a safeguard against the violence and injustice of private men. When his interest at court was low, he rewarded their faithful services by giving them feus or beneficial leases. And their vanity was flattered by the kind reception they found at his house and table, where, in his social hour, distinctions of rank were laid aside, personal merit being in more estimation than fortune or fashion.'

Kings, Strada Paolina,' where, in March 1736, Lord Winton was received as a 'Master Mason,' prior to his election as 'Great Master,' in April of the same year. The Minute-Book was taken possession of by Lord Winton when, in August 1737, the lodge was suppressed by Pope Clement the Twelfth, by whose order the tyler, a servant of Dr. James Irvin, was sent for a short time a prisoner to the Inquisition, as a terror to others.'¹

The following reference to the fifth Earl of Winton occurs in an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1853 (p. 580), entitled 'A Visit to Rome in 1736,' by Alexander Cunningham, M.D., afterwards Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield, Bart. :—

'Walked two hours with Lord Dunbar in the gardens, and afterwards went to the coffee-house to which Lord Winton resorted, and several others of his stamp, and there fell a-singing old Scots songs, and were very merry.'

There is also a note by Dr. Cunningham relative to Lord Winton :—'1737, Jan. 2.—Mr. Allan Ramsay and I this evening were received as freemasons by the Earl of Winton, as Grand Master of the Roman Lodge. Memorandum (added at a subsequent date)—July 1778, Mr. M'Gown brought me from Paris, from Mr. Andrew Lumsden my cousin, the original Book of Minutes of the Roman Lodge of Freemasons. . . . It was found, I suppose, in the Earl of Winton's custody at his death.'²

I am fortunate enough to possess several interesting relics of the forfeited nobleman.

1. A beautiful specimen of napery (33 × 43 inches), bearing the name and date (1712) of the weaver, which forms one of my illustrations. With the exception of the *seize quartiers*, it exhibits the various armorial and other devices which appeared on the funeral escutcheon of his father, the fourth Earl, as fully described in Nisbet's *Heraldry*, vol. ii. Part iv. page 139. This napkin, which I have only used at the christenings of my four

¹ *Scottish National Memorials*, 1890, pp. 252-53, where a facsimile of Lord Winton's signature is given—'G. Seton, Wintoun, Great Master.'

² Two interesting portraits of the forfeited Earl, in the possession of Sir Alan H. Seton-Steuart, are reproduced in this work. In the

one he is represented as a young man; while the other, which was taken the year of his death, exhibits a stern and resolute expression indicative of the unfortunate nobleman's trying career. It bears the following signature in the lower left corner: 'C. Alex^r. pinxit Romæ, A.D. 1749.'



children, was purchased at the sale which took place after the Winton forfeiture by an ancestor of William Clark, auctioneer in Edinburgh, who married Janet, second daughter of Christopher Seton, merchant in Kennoway, whose father was David Seton, Bailie of Kennoway, an illegitimate son of David Seton of Blackhall, fourth son of George, fourth Baron of Cariston. It was most kindly presented to me by Mrs. Clark, a fine specimen of a decayed gentlewoman, in July 1845.

2. About twenty years ago, on the information of my friend Captain A. H. Dunbar, younger of Northfield, I purchased from Mr. Adams, dealer in articles of vertu, etc., Queensferry Street, Edinburgh, a 'plaque' of 'Prestonpans ware,' bearing the Winton arms, which is reproduced in the text. It will be observed



Winton Plaque



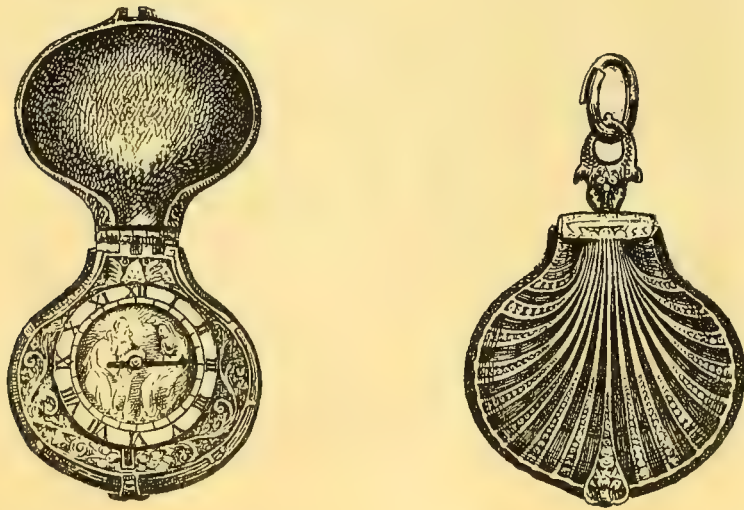
that a syllable is awanting in the word 'Intaminatis' in one of the mottoes. Mr. Adams informed me that he obtained it, a few years previously, from the owner of a cottage in Tranent.

3. A curious clock, purchased in 1852 from James Johnston, an old fisherman at Port Seton, whose wife's father, William Watt, bought it at the aforesaid sale. I heard of its existence

from an intelligent mason, named Kelly, who then superintended the repair and drainage of Seton Church. The old case was too much decayed to be worth removing; and I subsequently had the clock enclosed in an appropriate case, made of oak carvings obtained from another quarter. The clock still keeps excellent time. Its authenticity was most satisfactorily established by the late Rev. Dr. Struthers, minister of Prestonpans.

4. China tea-pot, cup, and saucer, which I received, about 1854, from Mrs. Seton of Potterhill, Perth, who obtained them from 'an old lady,' many years previously, along with a memorandum which stated that when the last Earl of Winton took refuge with his 'nurse,' they were sent to him from Seton Palace.

As far back as the year 1838, at the sale of the collection of antiquities formed by the well-known Dr. M'Cleish of Maryfield, in the rooms of Maclachlan and Stewart, South Bridge,



Edinburgh, I purchased 'Lord Winton's watch,' enclosed in two pretty silver scalloped shells, about the size of a half-crown piece, as shown in the illustration. On the face is engraved a figure of our Saviour, seated beside a female, perhaps intended to represent the woman of Samaria. The name of the maker is 'Jo. Willowe In Fleet Street.' I afterwards foolishly sold it to Mr. Robert Bryson, watchmaker, Edinburgh, who in his turn disposed of it to Mr. C. O. Morgan, M.P., by whom it was



George 5th Earl of Winton
ANNO 1749.

bequeathed, a few years ago, to the British Museum, along with a valuable and extensive collection of clocks and watches, in which, Mr. Morgan informed me, the Winton watch constituted an 'important link.'

On the 14th of May 1894, the late Mr. Fowler Hislop of Prestonpans exhibited, at a meeting of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, a richly chased gold watch, the property of Miss Howden, St. Laurence House, Haddington, said to have been given to an ancestor of that lady by the Earl of Winton, in 1715.¹

I have made several ineffectual attempts to ascertain whether there is any record in Rome of Lord Winton's place of burial; and about twenty years ago a similar but unsuccessful inquiry was instituted by the late Mr. Marmaduke Maxwell of Terregles, relative to the Earl and Countess of Nithsdale.²

With a few alterations, Lord Macaulay's touching 'Epitaph on a Jacobite' is very appropriate to the last Earl of Winton:—

'To my true king I offered free from stain
Courage and faith; vain faith, and courage vain.
For him, I threw lands, honours, wealth away,
And one dear hope, that was more prized than they.
For him I languished in a foreign clime,
Grey-haired with sorrow in my manhood's prime;
Heard on Lavernia Scargill's whispering trees,
And pined by Arno for my lovelier Tees;
Beheld each night my home in fevered sleep,
Each morning started from the dream to weep;
Till God, who saw me tried too sorely, gave
The resting-place I asked, an early grave.
Oh thou whom chance leads to this nameless stone,
From that proud country which was once mine own,
By those white cliffs I never more must see,
By that dear language which I spake like thee,
Forget all feuds, and shed one English tear
O'er English dust. A broken heart lies here.'³

¹ Mr. Aitken, gardener at Seton in 1851, had an old cupboard, containing a small mirror, which formerly belonged to the Earls of Winton. Mrs. Johnston of Port Seton, already referred to, sold some old chairs, formerly at Seton Palace, to a Captain Ross, upwards of fifty years ago, which I made an ineffectual attempt to trace. In 1854 a carved high-backed

chair (walnut?), which formerly belonged to the Winton family, was in the possession of Mr. Alexander Cumming, Preston, near Tranent; and in 1863 I was informed that a bed, bearing the Seton arms, was in the house of John Tait, shoemaker, Port Seton.

² *Quarterly Review*, vol. cxxxvii. p. 104.

³ Lord Macaulay's *Works*, viii. 592.

Quarterly, 1st and 4th *or*, three crescents within a royal tressure *gules* for Seton; 2nd and 3rd *azure*, three garbs *or* for Buchan; over all, by way of surtout, an escutcheon parted per pale—on the dexter, *gules*, a sword pale-ways *proper*, hilted and pommelled *or*, supporting an imperial crown within a royal tressure of the last, as arms of special concession by King Robert the Bruce; and on the sinister, *azure*, a blazing star of twelve points *argent*, within a royal tressure *or*, for the title of Winton.

Supporters—two mertrixes *proper*, collared *or*, and charged with three crescents *gules*; to their collars chains are fixed, passing between their fore-legs and reflexing over their backs.

Crest—on a ducal coronet *or* a Dragon *vert*, spouting fire *proper*, with wings elevated and charged with a mullet *argent*.

Mottoes—above the crest, 'Hazard zet forward'; on an escrol, coming from behind the shield and passing over the middle of the supporters, 'Intaminatis fulget honoribus'; under the shield, 'Invia virtuti via nulla.'

GEORGE, THIRD EARL OF WINTON.

ISABEL SETON, COUNTESS OF PERTH.

GEORGE, FIFTH EARL OF WINTON.

APPENDIX

I CADETS



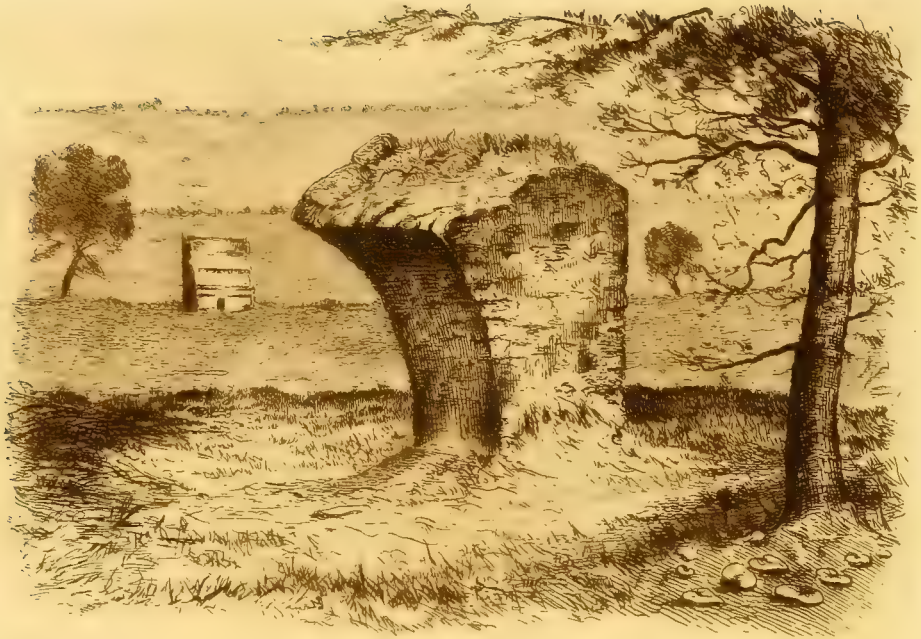
I. PARBROATH



THE earliest cadet of the House of Seton appears to have been Parbroath,¹ in the county of Fife, which estate continued in the possession of the Setons for nine or ten generations; and this branch of the family is now supposed to be represented by William Seton of New York, eldest brother of Monsignor Robert Seton, D.D. In speaking of the alienation of the lands of Parbroath to the Earls of Crawford, Scot of Scotstarvet says that 'the memory of that family is accordingly extinguished, albeit it was very numerous, and brave men descended thereof.'² In his *History of Fife and Kinross* (of which the first edition was published early in the eighteenth century) Sir Robert Sibbald refers to the 'ruins of the house of Parbroth, the dwelling of a gentleman of the name of Seton, descended from the brave governor of Berwick,' and under the notice of the parish of Creich, in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (ix. 645), we find the following reference to the ancient mansion:—'Of this house or

¹ Usually pronounced *Petbrod*.

² *Staggering State of Scots Statesmen*, p. 148.



castle, which belonged to the family of Seton, nothing now remains to mark the site save part of an arch, surrounded by a few old trees, which has been carefully preserved by desire of the late Earl of Hopetoun. It stands near to the place where the road between the Forth and Tay ferries crosses the road from Cupar to Newburgh. The house is said to have been surrounded by a moat, over which there was a drawbridge, and the park in which they were situated is still called the Castlefield. There is a tradition that one of the late farm-buildings at Parbroath, which was long used as a barn, had at one time been a chapel, and that at it, and at the church of Creich, divine service was performed on alternate Sabbaths. In confirmation of a chapel having been here, it may be stated that, a few years ago, when the foundation of a wall was dug up close by the site of the old barn, some graves were discovered, which probably formed part of the burying-ground connected with the chapel.'

The fragment of the arch mentioned in the preceding passage now stands in a field about 125 yards northwards from the road between Perth

and Cupar, almost immediately opposite the fourth mile-stone from the latter town, and within a gun-shot of the present farm-house of Parbroath. About 150 yards north of the arch is an old dovecot;¹ and at a little distance westward there is a picturesque knoll surmounted by a clump of trees.

Sir Richard Maitland tells us that King David II. 'gave to Sir Alexander Seton (Governor of Berwick), the heretrix of Parbroth, callit Elizabeth Ramsay, dochtir and air to Sir Nicol Ramsay, Knycht; quhilk Elizabeth the said Sr Alexander gaue in maryage to his (fourth) sone, callit Johne.'²

The earlier generations of the family are given by Sir Richard as follows:—

1. *John Seton, first of Parbroath,*

who married, as already stated, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Nicholas Ramsay of Parbroath, and ward of King David II. The Ramsays of Parbroath are believed to have been a branch of the House of Dalhousie, and among other Fifeshire cadets of that family, towards the end of the fourteenth century, we find the Ramsays of Northbarnes, the Ramsays of Balbarton, and the Ramsays of Lumquhat.³ John Seton of Parbroath was succeeded by his son,

2. *Alexander Seton of Parbroath,*

whose wife is not given by Sir Richard Maitland, but in the Touch Armorial Pedigree he is said to have married Mary Vipont. 'The name of Weapont or Vipont,' says Nisbet,—'in old writs *de Vetere ponte*,—carried for arms *azure*, six mascles, three, two, and one, *or* (some books make the field *gules*). These of



¹ 'All over Fife the *Columbarium* attends the Castle as closely as did Ralpho Hudibras. With the wee pickle land, the big pickle debt, and the law-suit, it made one of the prime ele-

ments of a Fife lairdship.'—Geddie's *Fringes of Fife*, p. 144.

² *House of Seytoun*, p. 24.

³ Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, i. 402.

this name anciently possessed great estates in Scotland ; the Mortimers got the lands of Aberdour in Fife, by marrying Anicia, daughter and heiress *Domini Joannis de Vetere Ponte*, in 1126.' He further tells us that the Viponts possessed the lands of Langton in the Merse, and Carriden in Lothian, till the time of King Robert the Bruce, when the Cockburns acquired the estates by marriage with the heiress of the Viponts, whose arms they quartered with their own.¹

Laing gives a seal of John Vipond (fourteenth century), charged with six *annulets*, three, two, and one ; and another of William Vetripont, from General Hutton's Collection, bearing three *lions* rampant, with a mullet of eight points in the honour point.²

3. *Sir Gilbert Seton of Parbroath*

succeeded his father Alexander, and married Marion, daughter of Pitcairn of that ilk, by whom he had five sons :—

(1) Sir Alexander, of whom afterwards.

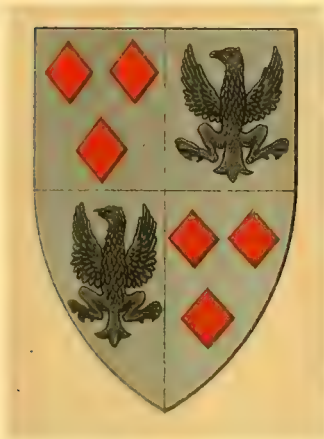
(2) William, who had a son, also William, married to Katharine Butler, heiress of *Rumgavye*.

From an entry in the Register of Acts and Decrees, dated 18th December 1555, we find that 'William Seytoun of Rumgally' was killed on the 'Field of Pinky-cleuch' in September 1547 ; that his widow, Katharine Auchmouty, was then the wife of David Fethy ; and that the name of his son and heir was David. This William was probably the son of the William who married the heiress of Rumgavye.

(3) John, married Jonet, daughter of Lathrisk of that ilk, and was ancestor of

the Setons of *Lathrisk* and *Balbirnie*, of whom afterwards.

(4) 'Maister' David, 'quha was ane singulare honest man, and mariit all his eldest brotheris dochteris, efter his deceiss, on landit men, and payit thair tocheris, and coft ladyis of heritage to his brotheris sonniss'—thus illustrating all the good qualities of a pattern uncle. Sir Richard



¹ *System of Heraldry*, i. 209. The coat given by Nisbet bears a strong resemblance to that of the de Quinceys.

² *Supplemental Catalogue of Ancient Scottish*

Seals, Nos. 968 and 966. For a detailed account of the family of Vipont, see *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, xiii. 65.

Maitland gives a curious account of this worthy's conduct in a litigation, in which his chief was concerned, during the reign of James iv. :—'In the tyme of King James the Ferd (Fourth), thair wes ane process led agains the barounis callit "recognitionis." Amangis the quhilkis, George lord Seytoun, secund of that name, was callit to heir and sé the baronye of Wincheburgh recognoscit, for the maist part than alienatit without consent of the King. It happinit that the King himself come to the Counsalhous amang the lordis of Session; and that samin day, the King being present, the said actioun aganes the said Lord Seytoun was callit. At that tyme, thair was aduocat for the King and justice clerk, Maister Richart Lausoun, quha yeid (went) to the bar, and concurrir and assistit to him Maister James Henrysoun, quha efter succedit to the said Maister Richart in his offices.¹ The said Maister Richart and Maister James becaus of the Kingis presence war the mair hait and rigorus in the mater. The said Maister Dauid [Seytoun], ane of the aduocatis for the Lord Seytoun, persaving the hicht of the said Maister Richart, said to him, "Howbeit they call you Lawis sone, ye ar nocht lawis fader, to mak lawis at your plesour." And then he said to the King, "Schir, quhen our forbearis gat yon land at your maist nobill predecessouris [handis] ffor thair trew service; sumtyme gevand the blude of thair bodie, and sumtyme thair lyvis, in defence of this realme; at that tyme thair wes nothir Lausoun nor Henrysoun, quha now wald invent wayis to disheris the barronis of Scotland." The Kingis Grace said to the said Maister Dauid, "How now, ye foryet your self; ye wait nocht quhair ye ar; ye ar mair lyk ane man of weir nor ane aduocat; it appeiris that ye wald fecht for the mater." Than ansuerit the said Maister Dauid and said, "Schir, and it micht stand wyth your Graces plesour, I pray God gif it war at that, to sé gif bayth Lausoun and Hendersoun durst fecht wyth me in that querile, als auld as I am" (for he wes than moir nor lx yeiris). The Kingis Grace, quha wes the maist nobill and humane prince in the world, havand consideratioun of the age of the man, and of his grit affection to his cheiffis actioun, he smylit and leuch a lytill, and said na mair.'²

Sir Richard further informs us that 'Maister Dauid' was parson of Fettercairn and Balheluy; that he exhibited the family characteristic of great stature, being 'ane large man of body as was in his dayis, and stout thairwyth; the best lyk ageit man that evir I saw'; that 'he levit quhill he was lxxx yeiris, vndecripit, and did mony vther actis wordy to be put in remembrance, quhill I omit for schortnes.'

The parson of Fettercairn frequently turns up in the public records. His name occurs as a witness to an instrument of resignation, dated 14th

¹ Lawson was Justice-Clerk from 1491 to 1505, and was succeeded by James Henderson (Henryson) of Fordel. He acquired a good estate in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, near the Burrow-loch, and the Barony of Boighall,

which his grandson, Sir William Lawson, dilapidated and sold, when he went to Holland to the wars. See *Staggering State of Scots Statesmen*, p. 129.

² *History of the House of Seytoun*, p. 25.

April 1497, and again in a charter of confirmation to the Abbey of Lindores, executed at Perth, 9th November 1500.¹

In the Register of the Privy Seal (iv. 74) we find a gift, to the 'person of Fetherkerne,' of the marriage of John, son and heir of John Bonar of Rossy, with the non-entry of certain lands in the Sheriffdoms of Fife and Forfar.

(5) The youngest son of Sir Gilbert Seton of Parbroath was Gilbert, 'ane maister clerk,' who died at Rome.

4. *Sir Alexander Seton of Parbroath,*

eldest son of Sir Gilbert, succeeded his father, and towards the close of the fifteenth century we find him involved in a dispute with Michael Balfour of Burleigh. On the 18th of June 1496, at Holyroodhouse, before the King, prelates, and lords, Mr. David Seton, Parson of Fettercairn, 'compears' as procurator for Alexander Seton of Parbroath, his brother, and for Alexander, his son and apparent heir, and found Patrick Lindsay of Kirkforthar as cautioner that they should hold firm and stable all things done by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, William, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Mr. Richard Lawson, judges arbiters chosen between the said Alexander Seton and his son on the one part, and Michael Balfour of Burleigh on the other part, anent all debates and controversies between them, after the form of a compromise taken before the King (James iv.); under the usual pains and penalties.²

In the same record there are several later references to the 'debates and controversies' between Parbroath and Burleigh. Thus, on the 17th of January 1499-1500, Mr. James Henryson, as forespeaker (counsel) for Michael Balfour of Burleigh, protested that he should not 'enter in plea' against Alexander Seton, son and apparent heir of the laird of Parbroath, anent the spoliation of the maills and profits of the Mill of Forth, alleging that he held the same in heritage; and three days afterwards we learn that Burleigh constituted Henryson and David Balfour of Cariston his joint procurator in his action against the 'young laird of Parbroath,' anent the Mill of Forth. Finally, on the 12th of December 1503, decret is given in favour of Burleigh for relieving him of the sum of 200 merks owing by him to young Parbroath in terms of a previous contract.³

Sir Alexander Seton married Helen, daughter of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, and from entries in the Great Seal Register, respectively dated 1472 and 1498, his second wife, by whom he had a son Mungo, appears to have been Katherine Crichton.⁴

¹ Laing's *Lindores Abbey*, p. 486.

² *Acta Dom. Concilii*, vol. vii. fol. 6.

³ *Acta Dom. Concilii*, vol. ix. fol. 14, 17, 101, and vol. xv. fol. 128.

⁴ Lib. vii. No. 275, and Lib. xiv. No. 140.



5. *Alexander Seton,*

already referred to as the 'young laird of Parbroath,' who married Catherine, daughter of John, Lord Lindsay of Byres, died during his father's lifetime. He appears to have been alive on the 10th of March 1512, of which date there is a letter of gift, to him and his daughter Janet, of the maills, profits, and duties of the lands and barony of Parbroath, along with certain pertinents connected with Ramsay-Forthir, Easter Myddle, and Loppay Urquhart in Fife, and the lands of Hayston and others in the shire of Forfar, as specified in a gift to his son John, about a year previously, which provided that 'the franktenement thereof be enjoyed by Alexander Setoun of Parbroth during his lifetime.'¹ This Alexander had (besides a daughter Janet) two sons, John and Andrew, of whom the elder,



6. *John Seton of Parbroath,*

succeeded his grandfather, Sir Alexander, but died without issue, having fallen at the battle of Flodden in 1513. On the 28th July of the previous year (1512), King James IV. granted a charter to John Seton, grandson

¹ *Register of Privy Seal*, iv. 177 and 180.

(*nepoti*) and heir of Alexander Seton of Parbroath, and his heirs, of the lands and barony of Parbroath, 'namely, the manor and mains of Perbroith, lands of Landisfern, with mill, annualrent of £6 from the lands of Ramsay Forthir, lands of Urquhart, namely Easter, Middle, and Lopyy Urquhart, in the shire of Fife; and the lands of Haystoun and Scrogarfield, in the county of Forfar, . . . which the King, for favour, incorporated in one free barony of Perbroith, rendering for Urquharts the services contained in the old charter granted by King James the First to the predecessors of the said John; and for the residue of the barony three suits of court at the three head pleas of the shire of Fife.'¹

John Seton of Parbroath was succeeded by his younger brother,

6 (2). *Andrew Seton of Parbroath.*

In the Privy Seal Register we find a precept of remission to Andrew Seton of Parbroath and David Seton 'for complicity with Archibald, Earl of Angus,' dated at Edinburgh 15th December 1526.² David was probably a younger son of Andrew. In the same Register (10th March 1529-30), there is a precept for confirmation of a charter granted to his son Gilbert, by Andrew Seton of Parbroath, of the lands and barony of Parbroath, with tower, mill, etc., in the shire of Fife, excepting the lands of Urquhart Easter, Middill Urquhart, Lopyy Urquhart, and Lillock in Fife, and the half of the lands of Ardoch, in the shire of Forfar.³

Upwards of twenty years later (25th February 1552-53) there is an incomplete entry in the Register of Acts and Decrees (vol. viii. fol. 73)

relative to letters purchased at the instance of the Queen's Advocate and Andrew Seton of Parbroath against Alexander Pyett, in name and behalf of the Dean, Chapter and Canons of Dunkeld, anent the troubling and molesting of the said Andrew in his possession of the lands of Hayston in the sheriffdom of Forfar.

Andrew Seton of Parbroath married a daughter of Balfour of Burleigh, by whom he had a son, Gilbert, and two daughters:—

1. Margaret, married to Thomas Lumsden of Airdrie.

2. Christian, wife of David Pitcairn, son and heir of David Pitcairn of Forthir, who appears to have predeceased his father.



¹ *Register of Great Seal*, Lib. xviii. No. 78.

² *Register of Privy Seal*, vi. 50.

³ *Register of Privy Seal*, viii. 172.

The first of these two marriages is referred to as forthcoming in a precept for confirmation of charter of gift, dated 30th November 1548, by 'Thomas Lumsdane of Ardree,' with consent of John Wemyss of that ilk, and Mr. Robert M'Nair, Rector of Assent (Assynt?), his curators, to Margaret, daughter of Andrew Seton of Parbroath, in the said Margaret's pure virginity, in liferent, and the heirs lawfully to be procreated between her and the said Thomas, of his lands of Cipseis, in the barony of Ardree and shire of Fife.¹

About the same date there are several other entries in the Privy Seal Register relative to the alienation, by Andrew Seton, of the lands of Leuchland 'within the barony of Parbroth and shire of Forfar.'²

The widowhood of Andrew Seton's second daughter, Christian, by the 1st of February 1553-54, is established by an entry in the Register of Acts and Decrees (vol. x. f. 89) relative to letters purchased at the instance of David Pitcairn of Forthir against Andrew Seton of Parbroath, in connection with the alleged non-fulfilment of a contract between the pursuer and his *deceased* son Henry on the one part, and the said Andrew Seton and his daughter Christian on the other part, for marriage contracted and solemnised between Henry and Christian. The result appears to have been that decret was given in favour of the laird of Parbroath.

It is probably Andrew Seton of Parbroath to whom reference is made by the author of the *Historie of King James the Sext*, in the following passage: 'The Laird Parbroith also, being a gentleman fauorer of the Queene, wrought be sick slight, that he wan the castell of Bruchtie in the river Tay, fra the hands of these that held it for the Regent.'³

7. *Gilbert Seton*,

son of Andrew Seton of Parbroath, was slain at the field of Pinkie in 1547, during his father's lifetime. By his wife Helen, daughter of George, fourth Earl of Rothes,⁴ he left a son David, who was served heir to his grandfather, Andrew, in 1563. The Rothes union is referred to in an entry in the Register of Acts and Decrees,⁵ dated 22nd January 1553-4, which relates to a legal process in which Gilbert's father, Andrew, was involved, in connection with a contract made between him and his said son Gilbert, then deceased, on the one part, and George, Earl of Rothes, father of Gilbert's wife, Lady Helen Leslie, on the other part, respecting the infeftment of Gilbert and Helen in certain additional lands. The case

¹ *Register of Privy Seal*, xxii. 54. See also Erskine-Beveridge's *Crail*, p. 150, where reference is made to the monument of a Lumsden of Airdrie, who got into trouble by meddling with the crown jewels and with the plots of Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell.

² *Register of Privy Seal*, xxii. 79-80, and xxiii. 15 and 28.

³ The capture of Broughty Castle took place on the 23rd of June 1549.—See Tytler's *History*

of Scotland, vi. 57.

⁴ Lady Helen Leslie's *second* husband was Mark Ker, Abbot of Newbattle, by whom she was mother of the first Earl of Lothian. Her father was *five* times married, his first and fourth wives being the same person—Margaret, daughter of William, third Lord Crichton—whom he divorced and re-married.

⁵ Vol. x. fol. 72.

appears to have been more than once 'continued'; and on the 6th of June the Lords of Council assoilzie Lady Helen from the petition of her father-in-law.¹ Andrew Seton of Parbroath, as already stated, was succeeded by his grandson,



8. *Sir David Seton of Parbroath.*

On the 1st of February 1566 we come across a decreet-arbital in a submission between David Seton of Parbroath on the one part, and Patrick Wod of Bonytoun, for himself and his spouse Nicholas Wardlaw, on the other, anent the ward, non-entry, and also the fermes, profits, and duties of all lands, woods, fishings, etc., which pertained to the deceased Andrew Seton of Parbroath; and also anent the marriage of the said David

Seton, heir of the said Andrew, and failing of him by decease unmarried, the marriage of any other heir or heirs male or female that shall happen to succeed to Andrew's lands and heritage. The judges arbiters are Andrew, Earl of Rothes, John, Bishop of Ross, commendator of the Abbey of Lindores, and Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, commendator of Newbattle, for David Seton; and Alexander, Bishop of Galloway, Adam, Bishop of Orkney, Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoull, Knight and Justice-Clerk, and William Maitland, younger of Lethington, for Patrick Wod and spouse; who decern and ordain the said Patrick, as assignee constituted by his spouse in and to the ward and marriage foresaid, to transfer his right thereof to the said David, or to cause his spouse to make him of new assignee thereto, and if need be to obtain to the said David a new gift thereof; and they further decern and ordain the said David to content and pay to the said Patrick the sum of £1000, the said David finding sufficient caution for the same.²

At Holyroodhouse, on the 16th of March 1587-88, a letter is granted, with consent of Sir John Seton of Barns, Keeper of the Rolls, to David Seton of Parbroath, his heirs and assignees, appointing him keeper of the 'East and West Lowmondis of Falkland.'³

Sir David Seton of Parbroath filled the important office of Comptroller of the Scottish Revenue from 1589 to 1595, when he appears to have been succeeded by Sir George Home of Wedderburn. In a manuscript in the British Museum (22,958), entitled 'Expenses of James VI. of Scotland,

¹ *Register of Acts and Decreets*, vol. x. fol. 267.

² *Ibid.* vii. 357.

³ *Register of Privy Seal*, vol. lviii. fol. 55.

1590,' we find an audit of the accounts of Chancellor Maitland, first Lord Thirlstane (second son of Sir Richard), by the Laird of Parbroath, who signs, in several places, 'Parbroithe Controllr.' His signature is accompanied by those of 'Blantyre,' 'S. Robert Melville,' and others; and in one of the documents he describes himself as follows: 'I, David Seytoun of Parbroithe, Comptroller to o^r souerane lord.' The accounts embrace several curious disbursements connected with the King's visit to Denmark.

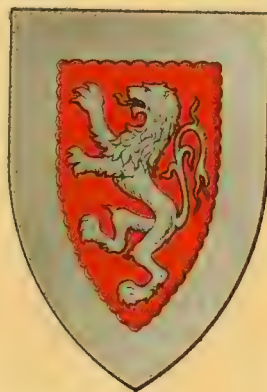
On the 2nd of September 1589, Sir David Seton grants an obligation to William Napier of Wrightshouses, burgess of Edinburgh, for £840, as the price of seven 'tuns' of wine purchased by him; and on the 19th of July 1594 decret is given against the Comptroller for payment of the same.¹ Ten months later (10th December 1590), along with John Arnot, Provost of Edinburgh, and Thomas Foulis, burgess of the same burgh, he grants another obligation to Mr. Thomas Craig, Advocate, for the sum of £2500; and about two years afterwards (7th February 1592-93) Craig obtains decret against the joint obligants for payment of the debt.²

By his wife, Mary, second daughter of Patrick, sixth Lord Gray, Sir David Seton had three sons and one daughter:—

1. George, his successor.
2. David, mentioned in the Privy Seal Register (vol. xlvii. fol. 112) in 1581.
3. John, who went to Virginia in 1635, and from whom the late William Winston Seton, of the *Washington National Intelligencer*, may perhaps have been descended.

4. Mary, married to David Skene of Potterton, said now to be represented by the family of Rubislaw.

The Comptroller was succeeded by his eldest son,



9. *Sir George Seton of Parbroath.*

His seal, from the Glammis Charters (A.D. 1601), is given by Mr. Laing—three crescents within a bordure engrailed, and the legend 'S. Georgii Settone M.'³ Seven years later (1608) he appears to have occupied premises in the Rectory of Dysart.⁴ He married Isabel, second daughter

¹ *Register of Acts and Decrees*, vol. xlv.

² *Ibid.* vol. xlv. fol. 129.

³ *Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals*, No. 742.

⁴ Dysart Burgh Records.

of George, third Baron of Cariston, grandson of the Hon. John Seton, who was second son of George, sixth Lord Seton.



relic of umq¹ Captain David Seton in Ravenscraig, now wife of Captain John Lymburn.²

In a manuscript account of the family of Cariston in the Advocates' Library (34. 3. 6), compiled by my grand-uncle, Major Christopher Seton, in the year 1800, Isabel is said to have married 'the lineal representative of the Setons of Parbroath, by whom she had a son, *James*, who died in Spain.' On the other hand, in a short notice of the 'Setons of Parbroath in Scotland and America,' by Monsignor Robert Seton, privately printed at New York in 1890, George Seton is said to have had, by his wife Isabel, one son, *Robert*, who succeeded to Parbroath, and one daughter, Margaret, who married Sir John Scrymgeour of Dudhope, created Viscount Dudhope in 1641, on whose grandson the Earldom of Dundee was conferred twenty years later.³



Armorial Bearings.

Nisbet informs us that the arms of Alexander Seton, second laird of Parbroath, as illuminated in the Palace of Seton, were the paternal coat of Seton—*or* three crescents within a royal tressure *gules*—with a small crescent in the centre for a difference.⁴ This same blazon appears on the mother-of-pearl card counter (to be afterwards referred to), in the possession of the Setons of New York.

In Sir David Lindsay's Register, and also on one of the two interest-

¹ Vol. x. p. 264.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 363, and vol. xv. p. 290.

³ Douglas's *Peerage*, i. 446.

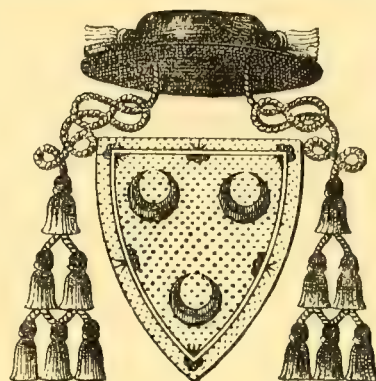
⁴ *System of Heraldry*, i. 236.

ing heraldic ceilings at Collairnie Castle, near Parbroath, the ancient abode of the Barclays, the Parbroath coat appears as above, with an azure *Mullet* in the centre of the shield. We have already seen that on the seal of Sir George Seton of Parbroath (1601), the three crescents are placed within an *engrailed bordure*.

For more than a century, the paternal coat of Seton, without any difference, has been carried by the Setons of New York.

It is not known what *Crest* and *Motto* were used by the Parbroath branch of the family; but in all probability the former was either a crescent or a dragon, and the latter 'Hazard zet forward.'

The following statement occurs in a Note (vol. i. p. 468) in the last edition of Madame de Barberey's *Memoir of Elizabeth Seton*, to be afterwards referred to: 'Certaines branches comme celle de Parbroath, pour se différencier, portent en cœur un corbeau au naturel avec un pain de gueules au bec. C'est en l'honneur de saint Benoît, patron de la famille. On sait qu'il est souvent caractérisé, dans les anciennes représentations, par un corbeau tenant un pain en son bec.'



MONSIGNOR SETON'S BOOK-PLATE.



SHIELD OF ARMS AT COLLAIRNIE.

American Setons.

The subsequent portion of the Parbroath pedigree is compiled from Monsignor Seton's little volume, and from additional information which I received from his father, about forty years ago. I am also indebted to Mr. William Seton Gordon of New York for an elaborate printed 'Chart' of the descendants of John Seton and Elizabeth Seton of Belsies.

From various notes in my possession, it would appear that a good many Setons emigrated from England and Scotland to America in the course of the eighteenth century. A Henry Seaton is said to have left Scotland for that continent not later than the year 1706; and in 1855 one of his supposed descendants, Mr. W. W. Seaton, was residing at No. 21 St. James's Street, London. An Alexander Seton is said to have gone from London to America, at the commencement of the Revolution, having previously married Margaret, daughter of William Seton of —, in Yorkshire. Alexander's grandson was George Seton of New Orleans, alive in 1852, whose sister, Catharine, was companion to the Marchioness of Wellesley, about the year 1836.

There is a curious letter in the British Museum (Add. 19185), dated 'Pianketank (Virginia), 21st July 1730,' from Dorothy Seaton, widow, to 'Sir Robert Kemp, Bart., of Ubston Hall, near Yoxford in Suffolk, by way of London.' It bears the following indorsation:—'Received the 26th of October 1730—Not answered.' The writer's maiden name appears to have been Kemp; and after making out a relationship to Sir Robert she narrates her misfortunes, apparently with a view to pecuniary aid. In a postscript she gives her address as 'Seaton's ferry on Pianketank, Virginia.'

In a letter dated 'Hodley, Barnet, 9th August 1836,' from Mr. J. C. Christopher (whose maternal grandfather—then eighty years of age—was James Seton, barrister-at-law, of whom afterwards), to Catherine Seton, one of the daughters of William Seton of New York, and Elizabeth Bayley, he says:—'I am afraid all my grandfather can say on the subject of your descent is that he has heard of a William Seton who went to New York, who, he thinks, previously lived at Pomfret in Yorkshire; he has also heard of John Seton of Edinburgh, a merchant, whose representative, also named James, now resides in Edinburgh.'

In another letter to the same Catherine Seton, dated 'Dumbarton, 18th October 1836,' from Miss Agnes Veitch, daughter of Mr. George Veitch, merchant in Edinburgh,¹ the writer says:—'I have often heard my father talk of our American relations. My mother and her brother are the only two surviving children of Mr. James Seton of Hillside, banker in Edinburgh, who was brother of your great-grandfather.'²

¹ On the 29th of October 1796 George Veitch writes from Edinburgh to 'William Seton, Esq., Merchant, New York,' and describes his wife

Margaret as William's 'Cousin.'

² A mistake for great-grandmother, viz., Elizabeth Seton, who married John Seton of Belsies.

When my mother (Margaret Seton) was in London at school, she always spent the holidays at Mr. Berry's. . . . I cannot tell the reason why Belchies (*sic*) was sold. Like yourself, I have often heard that we were descended from the [family of the] Earl of Winton. . . . I should think that my grandfather's father's name must have been James, as also *his* father's, as in this country the eldest son is, in general, named for (after) his father's father.'

There are two other letters in the possession of the New York Setons, respectively dated '10th November 1835,' and '12th July 1836,' from Miss Isabella Seton of Mounie to the same Catherine Seton, whom she had accidentally met in Italy. In the first the writer states that, along with her brother David (late of Mounie), she had called on Mr. James Seton, residing in Warriston Crescent, Edinburgh, Mrs. Veitch's only surviving brother, who told her that 'he was descended from the Setons of Belsies, a small family property near Ormiston in East Lothian, sold some time ago to Lord Hopetoun. . . . He rather thinks, but is by no means sure, that they are descended from the Setons of Pitmedden in Fife,¹ . . . but he merely mentioned it as a *report*.' She also refers to an interview with Miss Briggs at No. 5 Rankeillor Street, Edinburgh, who said that her mother's father was a first cousin of the aforesaid James Seton's father; and that, consequently, he must have been the same relation to Catherine's great-grandfather (John Seton). Miss Briggs further stated that her grandfather was believed to have come from *Bute*. Towards the end of the letter the writer suggests an application on the subject to Alexander Deuchar, seal engraver, Edinburgh, an expert in family genealogies.

The following is the copy of a letter addressed to Monsignor Seton by the late Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King of Arms:—'DUBLIN CASTLE, 27th May 1881. My dear Sir,—Your interesting communication has just reached me. The statement you put forward is very strong, and convinces me that I can with propriety omit, in my next edition of the *Peerage*, the qualifying words "claim descent," and substitute "are descended." I have no moral doubt on the subject, and fully believe that your family and that of Parbroath are the same.—With sincere esteem, I am, dear Monsignor Seton, yours very truly, J. BERNARD BURKE, *Ulster*.'²

10. *Robert Seton of Parbroath*

is said to have succeeded his father Sir George; but owing to reduced circumstances he sold his patrimonial estate, which became the property of the Lindsays, John, tenth Lord Lindsay of Byres, being created Earl of

¹ Pitmedden is probably a mistake for *Parbroath*.

² On the 18th of August 1863, M. Francisque Michel, author of *Les Ecossais en France*,

addressed a letter to Monsignor Seton from Bordeaux, in which he indicated his intention of writing a notice of the Seton family.

Lindsay and Baron Parbroath in 1633. Robert Seton left Fife after the sale of Parbroath, and settled near Hawick, in Roxburghshire, where he married the daughter of a gentleman of the neighbourhood. Monsignor Seton states that 'little more is known of him,' and that 'he was succeeded in the representation of the family by his son,

11. *James Seton,*

who settled in London and married Margaret Newton.' He is said to have been a West India merchant, and to have been murdered by the slaves at Cape François (now Cape Haytien) in San Domingo, while on a voyage to Jamaica. He had a son and two daughters:—



1. John, of whom afterwards.

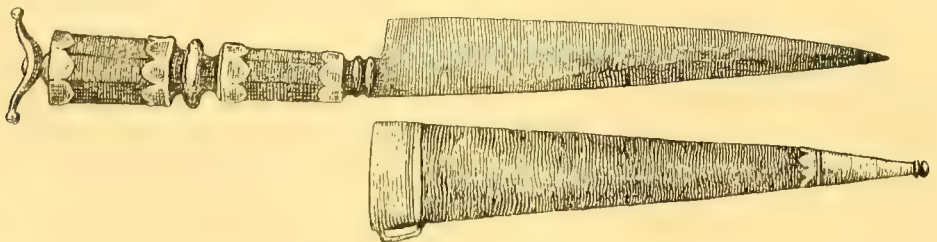
2. Mary, married to Dr. William Robertson, of Surrey, who is described as belonging to 'an ancient Scottish family,' and was mother of Captain George Robertson, R.N., maternal grandfather of the first Lord Moncreiff.

3. Margaret, married to Dundas of Manor, and was mother of Captain Ralph Dundas, R.N., who served with the British fleet on the American coast during the Revolution.

12. *John Seton,*

born in the year 1712, succeeded his father in the representation of the Setons of Parbroath and also inherited a number of valuable heirlooms, of which the following are the most important:—

1. The dagger and sheath of Sir Alexander Seton, Governor of Berwick, whose fourth son was John, first of the family of Parbroath.

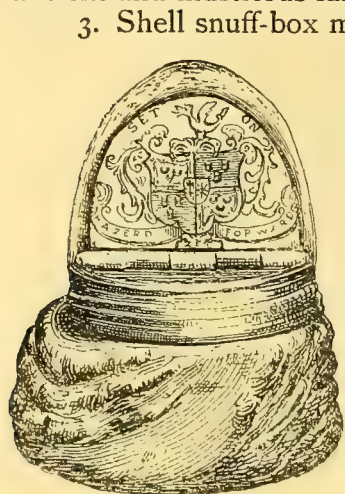


2. A miniature of Mary Stuart, said to have been presented by the



Queen to her loyal adherent, Sir David Seton of Parbroath, Comptroller of the Scottish revenue. It was greatly admired by Prince Labanoff, Russian Ambassador in Paris, a noted collector of historic relics, and author of the *Letters of Mary Stuart*. He offered 10,000 dollars for it to Monsignor Seton's father, who declined to part with the precious memorial, on the ground that it was priceless. 'I will, however, give you,' he said to the Prince, 'the next best thing to the original,' and he presented him with a beautifully executed facsimile. Another copy has recently been made for Mr. William Seton Gordon of New York. The miniature has been described by Mr. Laurence Hutton, editor of *Harper's Magazine*, in his little work entitled *From the Books*. It bears the following inscription, under the Seton arms, on a plate inside the case:— 'This original portrait of Queen Mary Stuart is an heirloom in the family of the Setons of Parbroath now of New York, into whose possession it

came through their ancestor, David Seton of Parbroath, who was Comptroller of the Scottish revenue from 1589 to 1595, and a loyal adherent of his unfortunate sovereign. It was brought to America in 1763 by William Seton, Esquire, representative of the Parbroath branch of the ancient and illustrious family of the forfeited Earls of Winton.'



3. Shell snuff-box mounted in silver, bearing the Seton arms on the inside of the lid, and said to have been presented by the Earl of Winton to Sir George Seton of Parbroath about the year 1603. It had originally been a gift to the Earl from his head-gardener, whose son, a wild blade, went to sea at an early age, and became a buccaneer. Years afterwards, on his return to Scotland, the retired pirate gave the shell (*turbo pica*) to the Earl, who had it mounted as a snuff-box by the famous jeweller, George Heriot, one of the characters in Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel*.

4. Small oblong mother-of-pearl card counter of the year 1667, elaborately engraved, and bearing the paternal arms of Seton, the Dragon Crest, and the old motto, 'Hazard zet forward.'

John Seton married his 'cousin,' Elizabeth Seton, 'a woman of fine character, who was born on the family estate of Belsies (near Ormiston?) on the 17th of February 1719,' by whom he had two sons and five daughters:—



1. John, who emigrated to the West Indies, and, dying unmarried, was buried 'within the parish of St. James, Barbadoes, on December 22d, 1768.'

2. William, of whom afterwards.

3. Isabella, married to Sir Thomas Cayley, Baronet, of High Hall, Brompton, Yorkshire, chief of one of the most ancient Anglo-Norman families in England, whose great-grandson is the present Sir George Cayley, Baronet. Another of his grandsons, George-John Cayley, resided for some time in America, about the year 1840, and took great pleasure in reviving among his Seton relatives the interest arising from his connection with the family.

In a letter, dated 20th May 1768, and addressed to his father, Sir George, Thomas Cayley says, concerning his wife's family, that a gentleman belonging to another branch of the Setons wrote to him as follows:—'There is no doubt that my old friend John Seton was the representative of the Parbroath family, and of course lineally descended from Sir Alexander

Seton, well known for having suffered the death of his two sons rather than give up the Castle of Berwick.' Isabella's marriage took place on the 3rd of October 1763, and she is described in Kiniber and Johnson's old *Baronetage* as 'one of the daughters of the late John Seton, Esquire, of a very ancient family in the Kingdom of Scotland.'

4. Jane, married in 1770 Sir Walter Synnott, Knight, of Ballymoyer, Co. Armagh, whose great-grandson is the present Mark Seton Synnott of Ballymoyer, formerly captain in the Armagh Light Infantry.

5. Elizabeth, married in 1762 Robert Berry, Esq., a nephew of Ferguson of Raith, and was the mother of two beautiful and accomplished daughters, Agnes and Mary, long the ornaments of London society, and the friends and correspondents of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford. Writing to Miss Berry relative to the drama of the Siege of Berwick, already referred to, Walpole says:—'George Cambridge was last night at the representation of Jerminham's new play, and was delighted to hear that it was received with great applause and complete success, being very interesting. . . . Mr. Cambridge desired me to tell you that there was one deficiency in it, *i.e.* your cousin Miss Seton¹ should have played in it, for a Governor Seton, and his wife and two sons, are the principal personages.'

Miss Berry describes her mother as a distant relative of her father's, 'of the ancient name of Seton, the daughter of a widow then living in Yorkshire, with a family of four daughters. . . . My mother is said to have had every qualification, besides beauty, that could charm, captivate, or attach, and excuse a want of fortune. . . . Of my mother I have only the idea of having seen a *tall*, thin young woman in a pea-green gown, seated in a chair, seeming unwell, from whom I was sent away to play elsewhere. . . . My father told us that my mother, on hearing some one say to her that I was a fine child, and that they hoped I should be handsome, said, that all she prayed to Heaven for her child was, that it might receive a *vigorous understanding*. This prayer of a mother of eighteen, for her first-born, a daughter, struck me when I first heard it, and has impressed on my mind ever since all I must have lost in such a parent.' Mrs. Berry (Elizabeth Seton) died at Kirkbridge in Yorkshire, in 1767, in the twenty-second year of her age.²

6. Margaret, married in 1760 her kinsman Andrew Seton, a merchant in London,³ who is believed to have been related either to Sir Henry Seton of Abercorn, Baronet, or to the family of Barns. He went to New York in 1773, but being a loyalist, suffered in his property at the hands of the Patriots. His family finally settled in East Florida, then a British possession, after being driven out of Long Island, New York, during the

¹ Miss Bab. Seton, afterwards Mrs. Bannister, whose lines addressed to a 'Tea-Caddy' will be found in Miss Berry's *Journals*, i. 157. See also p. 231, where Horace Walpole, in 1790, describes her as 'that good soul Miss Seton.'

² *Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry*,

edited by Lady Theresa Lewis, i. 2-5. See also Sir William Fraser's *Hic et Ubique*, p. 167.

³ His arms were matriculated in the Lyon Register in 1766—*or*, a sword in pale between three crescents within a royal tressure *gules*.

Revolution. Andrew Seton died at Jamaica in 1794. By his wife Margaret, Andrew Seton had five sons and six daughters, several of whom died young or unmarried. Of the others,

(1) William Dalrymple, commonly called 'Dal. Seton,' was born in 1774, a bold and gallant man, whose short life was mostly spent at sea. He perished at the foundering of the ship *Marion*, in 1804, on a voyage from New York to Leghorn. About four years before his death he so greatly distinguished himself in a sea fight between his own ship and a French privateer, that he was presented in New York with a handsome silver punch-bowl, bearing the following inscription :—' Presented, by the President and Directors of the New York Insurance Company, to Captain William D. Seton, as a testimonial of the high sense which they entertain of his gallant conduct in defending his ship, the *Northern Liberties*, against the French privateer *Malantic* of superior force, in the bay of Bengal, 13th December 1799.' Upon the bowl are engraved the Seton arms and a representation of the combat.

(2) Charles, born at Brooklyn in 1776. As a result of the plundering of his father's house by the British soldiery, about the time of his birth, his mother had only a petticoat to wrap him in. During his boyhood he was cared for by his uncle, William Seton, of New York. With fine social and intellectual abilities, he went at an early age as supercargo to the Cape of Good Hope, and at the age of nineteen he was in Paris and London, where he met his cousins, Mary and Agnes Berry. In 1811, speaking Spanish fluently, he went into business at Fernandina, Florida, where he built a fine house and lived with his mother. The following year he married Matilda, daughter of George Sibbald, of Philadelphia, by whom (besides several daughters) he had a son, George, married to Caroline Sibbald, their issue being two children, Charles and May. In 1813 Charles Seton took a prominent part as one of an armed force which set out in boats from Fernandina to repel an expected hostile attack on the town, by a large body of organised robbers from Georgia, who were successfully beaten off; but Seton received a ball in his side, which remained there till his death in Fernandina, in 1836—much loved and respected by all who knew him.

(3) Mary, married John Wilkes of New York, brother of Charles Wilkes (connected with the Troubridges), whose eldest daughter married Francis, Lord Jeffrey.

7. Barbara, married George Seton, an officer in the East India Company's service, of whom very little is known. Possibly, like Andrew Seton, the husband of Margaret, he may have been connected with the Abercorn family.

13. *William Seton,*

born in London 24th April 1746, on the death of his father, John, succeeded to a few family portraits, the heirlooms already referred to, an



old silver service, and his father's blessing. At the age of seventeen, in the spring of 1763, he emigrated to America in search of fortune, taking with him little else than his good name, and letters of introduction to Mr. Richard Curzon, of Baltimore, an English gentleman of ancient and honourable lineage, and believed to have been connected with the Curzons of Waterperry, in the county of Oxford, now represented by Lord Teynham. Within two years he was settled in business in New York, where he soon became well known as an importing merchant of European and Indian goods, and was chosen a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce in 1765. He was several times an officer of the St. Andrew's

and the St. George's Societies of that city. In 1767 he married Rebecca, daughter of his friend Richard Curzon,¹ and after her death he married (in 1776) her sister Anna-Maria. His house was open to the best society



in New York, and few foreigners of distinction visited the city without making the acquaintance and enjoying the hospitality of the Scotch-American merchant. He was a loyalist during the Revolutionary War, but after the evacuation of New York by the British he became a citizen of the United States. His conduct was so moderate, and personally he was always so popular, that although he lost much property he remained in the city after the war, and founded the great mercantile house of 'Seton, Maitland & Co.'; and was also one of the founders and first officers of the Bank of New York (1784). He died, 9th June 1798, at the age of fifty-two, from the effects of a fall received at his own door about four

months previously. 'Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit.'

His silver notarial seal, bearing his arms, and a good portrait of him by the celebrated American artist, Gilbert Stuart, are in the possession of his great-grandson and namesake. The seal constitutes a very interesting family relic. It signed the last will and testament of Major André, and was the official seal of the last royal notary-public, its date being 1779.



By his first wife, Rebecca Curzon, William Seton had four sons and three daughters:—

1. William, of whom afterwards.
2. James, an officer in the British army, married Mary, daughter of Nicholas Hoffman, of New York, by whom he had—besides four daughters, Mary, Serena, Ethelinda, and Emma, of whom Mary married Henry Ogden—one son, Alfred, married to Mary Barnwell, by whom he had a son, Alfred, who married a daughter of — Schmidt, Consul for Baden at New York, and three daughters, Mary, Frances, and Lilly, of whom the second married Bishop Potter of Pennsylvania.

3. John, who was thrice married, his first wife being Eliza, sister of H. A. Wise, of Virginia. By his first and second wives he had daughters—

¹ Richard Curzon's wife was only fifteen at the time of her marriage in 1747, and 'very beautiful,' he himself being twenty-one.

Mrs. Lyle, Mrs. Bowie, and Mrs. Johns. He died in the West Indies about the year 1827, and there is a good portrait of him in the *St. Meinin Collection*.

4. Henry, an officer in the United States Navy, who died unmarried about 1812.

5. Anna-Maria, a celebrated beauty towards the end of the eighteenth century, when New York was the gay seat of Congress, under the first administration of Washington. When eighteen years of age she married the Hon. John Middleton Vining, of Wilmington, Senator for Delaware, by whom she had a son, William-Henry.

6. Eliza, married M. Maitland of Baltimore.

7. Rebecca, died unmarried about 1809.

By his second wife, Anna-Maria Curzon, William Seton had two sons and five daughters :—

8. Edward-Augustus, married and left issue in Louisiana. His only son, a lieutenant in the Confederate Army, was killed in battle before Richmond, Virginia.

9. Samuel, who like Enoch 'walked with God.' An official connection with the public-school system of New York enabled him to devote the greater part of his life to the religious instruction of the rising generation. He died about 1873, 'leaving an unsullied record and a memory fragrant with good deeds.'

10. Charlotte, married Gouverneur Ogden of Ogdensburg, New York, by whom she had a large family.

11. —, married — Post of New York.

12. Mary, married Martin, son of Nicholas Hoffman, and had issue.

13, 14. Harriet and Cecilia, nuns at Emmitsburg, Maryland, who both died young.

All the children of William Seton were distinguished by their 'tallness and good looks.'

14. *William Seton, Merchant.*

On the death of William Seton, the Royal Notary Public, in 1798, he was succeeded by his eldest son William, who was born at sea, 20th April 1768. After being educated at a private school at Richmond, in England, he travelled in Spain, Italy, and other parts of Europe, before returning to America. He was an eminent merchant of New York, and succeeded his father as head of the firm 'Seton, Maitland & Co.' On the 25th of January 1794 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Richard Bayley,





sprung from a good English family, who was founder of the Quarantine system and first Health Officer of the port of New York. There is a beautiful miniature of this William Seton, painted in 1796, when he was about twenty-eight years of age. For a description of the face, reference may be made to *The House of the Seven Gables*, where Hawthorne describes the miniature of Clifford Pyncheon. This was written after Hawthorne had visited the Seton house, where the miniature, which he greatly admired, was shown to him, and suggested the fashion of Pyncheon. This interesting work of art bears the following inscription on a metal plate affixed to the inner side of the case: 'This miniature, believed to have been painted by Malbone in 1796, is a portrait of William Seton, Esquire, Representative of the Setons of Parbroath, eldest son of William Seton of New York and of Rebecca, daughter of Richard Curzon, Esquire, of Baltimore, of the Curzons of Waterperry in Oxfordshire, extinct baronets, who was descended

from John, fourth and youngest son of Sir Alexander Seton of that ilk, Governor of Berwick Castle during the famous siege by the English, A.D. 1333, and of Christian Cheyne of Straloch, his wife, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Nicholas Ramsay of Parbroath, knight, becoming thus the founder of the Setons of Parbroath, who are still accounted, although their old estate is lost, the senior cadet branch of the three great families of the forfeited Earls of Winton, Earls of Dunfermline, and Viscounts Kingston, noble victims of their loyalty and devotion to the Royal House of Stuart.'

William Seton died at Pisa, Italy, 26th December 1803. After his death, his widow was led by her religious feelings and aspirations to become a Roman Catholic, and her name is not unknown in the annals of Christian work. She was the foundress of the 'Community of St. Joseph,' at Emmitsburg, Maryland, to the objects of which, as 'mother superior,' she devoted all the later years of her life, and was the first to introduce into America the Order known as the 'Sisters of Charity.' Influenced by her example, her husband's three sisters, Rebecca, Harriet, and Cecilia followed her into the Church of Rome. She died, 4th January 1821, at the age of forty-six.¹

The earliest Life of Elizabeth Seton, from the pen of Dr. J. C. White, was translated into French by L'abbé G. Badad, 'missionnaire du diocèse de Lyon.' An interesting French Memoir, by Madame de Barberey, was published at Geneva in 1868. The portrait which it contains is reproduced on the following page. In 1869, as afterwards mentioned, the *Letters and Journal of Elizabeth Seton* were edited by her grandson Monsignor Robert Seton, from which numerous extracts are embraced in the fifth and last edition of Madame de Barberey's Memoir (1892).

By his wife, Elizabeth Bayley, William Seton had two sons and three daughters:—

1. William, of whom afterwards.
2. Richard, U.S. assistant agent at Monrovia, who died in Africa, unmarried, 25th June 1823, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.
- 3, 4. Anna-Maria, and Rebecca, who both died nuns at Emmitsburg, Maryland, in 1812 and 1816, aged respectively eighteen and thirteen.
5. Catherine ('Mother Catherine Seton'), also a nun in the Convent of Mercy, New York. Born 28th June 1800, died 3rd April 1891.

She was one of the first to be received into the Convent, after its establishment by Archbishop Hughes, and, at the time of her death, was



WILLIAM SETON'S BOOK-PLATE.

¹ A further notice of 'Mother Seton' will be found at pp. 311-12 *infra*.



the oldest member of the community. She was, in a manner, adopted by General Harper of Baltimore, and was a special favourite of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last who signed the Declaration of Independence. For twenty-five years she was a constant prison visitor, and acquired remarkable influence over the criminals of New York, many of whom requested her to act as the guardian and trustee of their wives and children.

15. *William Seton, U.S. Navy,*

the eldest son, late of Cragdon, Westchester Co., near the present Mount Vernon, was born in the city of New York, 25th November 1796, and died there, 13th January 1868. He was at one time a lieutenant in the United

States Navy. On the 17th July 1832 he married Emily,¹ daughter of Nathaniel Prime, Esq., of an old New England family, founder of the once famous New York banking house of 'Prime, Ward and King,' by whom he had four sons and four daughters:

1. William, of whom afterwards.

2. Henry, born 1838, captain in the fourth U.S. Infantry, served in the Civil War. By his wife Ann, only child of Major-General John Gray Foster, of an old New Hampshire family, and a distinguished officer of Engineers, he has issue, two sons, John and William-Henry.

3. Monsignor Robert, D.D., born at Pisa, 28th August 1839, Rector of St. Joseph's Church, in Jersey City, N.J. After three years at St. Mary's College in Maryland, he studied in France and Germany, matriculating at the University of Bonn in 1856. At the age of seventeen he went to Rome, and through the influence of Cardinal Bedini was admitted into the *Accademia Ecclesiastica*, or Pope's Staff College. There he received the degrees of Doctor of Divinity and Bachelor of Laws; and he studied archæology under Baron Visconti and Commandatore de Rossi. In 1865 he was ordained priest in Saint John Lateran's. The following year he was made a private chamberlain by Pope Pius IX.; and just before leaving Rome, in August 1867, he was named Prothonotary Apostolic, as a reward for his success at the Academia. An accomplished scholar, he is an authority on ecclesiastical law, and his advice and counsel are eagerly sought by his fellow clergy. Few dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church are more favourably known; and in Jersey city his name is a household word. Of a courteous disposition and democratic manners, he is loved and esteemed by Protestants as well as by the members of his own Communion. As the first American raised to the Roman Prelatura, he is the Dean of all the Monsignori in the United States. With a good voice, a great command of language, and a fund of information, he is an interesting and eloquent speaker. His first published work was the *Memoirs, Letters, and Journal of Elizabeth Seton* (his grandmother), in 1869; and in 1882 he produced a volume of *Essays on Various Subjects*, which display great learning and research. He is a frequent contributor to Reviews and Magazines, and a member of the New York Historical Society, and of the New England Genealogical and Heraldic Society,



¹ The family possess a Sèvres cup and saucer presented to this lady by Charles X. of France.

An account of the Prime family was published at New York, in 1887, by Temple Prime of

Huntington, Suffolk Co., N.Y., who is also the author of other genealogical compilations, including some of the lines of the *Princes of the Blood of the House of France*.



before which, a few years ago, he delivered an instructive lecture on 'Papal Heraldry.' His latest honour is the degree of Doctor of Laws, conferred upon him by the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, for his Oration on the *Dignity of Labour*, published in 1893.

Monsignor Seton possesses a well-stocked library of nearly 4000 volumes; and he believes in the maxim of St. Jerome (his favourite saint) that 'one should live as though he may die at any moment; one should study as though he were never to die.' He has a manuscript autobiography which he allows no one to read, and which he intends to publish if he should reach his golden jubilee in the priesthood, which failing, it will be placed in the hands of his executors for publication. Monsignor tells his friends that 'although the members of his family have always been aristocratic, and are not ashamed of their Jacobite attachments in Scotland which led to proscription, exile, and loss of property in defence of the house of Stuart, they are much prouder of being plain, but intelligent American citizens.'

He has crossed the Atlantic eleven times, and has travelled extensively in Europe and the East. In 1889 he accompanied the first American pilgrimage to Palestine, and preached the English sermon on Good Friday in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. At the dedication of St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, he was described as 'having the face of a Roman soldier rather than of a Roman priest'; but under a somewhat stern exterior there beats a warm and sympathetic heart.

4. George, born 1844; died when seven months old.

5 and 6. Emily and Elizabeth, who both died unmarried.

7. Helen, a nun in the Order of Mercy.

8. Isabella, married to Thomas Jevons, Esq., a grandson of Roscoe the historian, and cousin to Sir Henry Roscoe, M.P., by whom she has three sons and one daughter.

16. *William Seton, U.S. Volunteers,*

the eldest son, was born in the city of New York, 28th January 1835. He served as Captain of the U.S. Volunteers during the early part of the Civil War, and was twice severely wounded at the battle of Antietam. By his wife, Sarah Redwood Parrish, of an old Newport and Philadelphia family,¹ he had a son, William, who died in infancy.

Mr. Seton is a man of letters and the author of several interesting works, including *Rachel's Fate, and other Tales*, and *The Pride of Lexington*, a story of the American Revolution.

The name of Seton is most honourably perpetuated in America through the medium of several important institutions. In 1846 Bishop Hughes, feeling the need of a Mother house, constituted the Sisters of Charity in the diocese of New York a local community, with the dress and rules of the children of Mother Seton. It then contained thirty-one sisters, while their number is now 1120.

The new 'Seton Hospital for Consumptives,' named after Elizabeth Seton, the foundress of the Order of the Sisters of Charity, was opened by Archbishop Corrigan on the 4th of December 1894. Prettily situated on the Spuyten Duyvil Parkway, New York, in a wooded spot overlooking the Hudson, the hospital owes its noble dimensions to the zeal



¹ Connected with the founder of the famous 'Redwood Library' at Newport, Rhode Island,

and with the present R. C. Archbishop Redwood of New Zealand.

of Sister Irene¹ and her colleagues, who planned the building and collected the funds required for its erection. It has been fitted up with all the latest appliances for the treatment of consumption, including a room where the atmosphere is kept impregnated with pine-balsamed ozone, in which tender lungs may breath the air of Florida. It is said to be the most complete establishment of the kind in either Europe or America, and is under the direction of the Sisters of Charity, being open to poor and private patients of both sexes, and of every colour and creed.

In the year 1809 the Convent of St. Joseph at Emmitsburg—"the Vestibule of Heaven"—was founded by the sainted Mother Seton, 'whose name has become a familiar one in every Catholic household. Every one knows and loves the memory of the holy woman who was wife, mother, nun; and in each capacity was an edification to the world. None but those who have themselves left the church of their baptism for the true faith can fully estimate the sacrifice she made, from a worldly point of view, when she joined the "ancient creed." . . . Her life reads like a romance, but no romance could so thrill our Catholic hearts as the story of that lonely grave on foreign shores where she left her idolised husband; that strange conversion; that heroic struggle with her little band in the beautiful valley now consecrated by her memory. . . . Every spot hallowed by her presence is pointed out with love and pride—"Mother's walk," "Mother's seat," "Mother's garden," and, dearest of all, "Mother's chapel," where rest the remains of her whom her children hold so dear. Her commemoration tablet bears the following inscription:—"She hath opened her hands to the needy; she hath stretched out her hands to the poor. Her children have risen up and called her blessed."'²

'And what if there be those
Who in the cabinet
Of memory hold enshrined
A livelier portraiture;
And see in thought, as in their dreams,
Her actual image verily produced:
Yet shall this memorial convey
To strangers, and preserve for after time,
All that else had passed away;
For she hath taken with the Living Dead
Her honourable place,
Yea, with the saints of God
Her holy habitation.'³

The black dress and round black bonnet of Mother Seton—still retained in some parts of America—was superseded, in 1850, at Emmitsburg, by the quaint habit and huge white cornette which are now in use.

Another American institution bearing the name of Seton is 'Seton

¹ The projector and head of the New York Foundling Asylum.

² 'The Convent of St. Joseph at Emmits-

burg,' by Helen M. Sweeney.—New York *Catholic World* for January 1894.

³ Southey.

Hall College,' a very handsome structure, situated near the village of South Orange, New Jersey, and about fourteen miles west of New York. It was founded in 1856 by the most reverend J. Roosevelt Bayley, D.D., the first Bishop of Newark, and the nephew of Mother Seton. The College property extends to about seventy acres, with courts and fields suitable for lawn-tennis and other athletic sports. The institute is conducted by secular clergy, aided by lay professors; and the aim of the Hall is to impart a good education, in the highest and most comprehensive sense of the word. A new department was added, in 1893, for instruction in military science and tactics.

Finally, at 'Seton Hill,' thirty miles east of Pittsburg, and about a quarter of a mile from Greensburg Station on the Pennsylvania Railroad, are St. Joseph's Academy for the education of young ladies, and St. Mary's Seminary, a preparatory school for boys.

An elaborate sketch of 'Seton Hall College,' by the Rev. William F. Marshall, A.M., President and Treasurer of the institution, has been lately issued, embracing numerous well-executed portraits, views, and other interesting illustrations. The portraits include that of Monsignor Robert Seton, who has always shown a generous spirit towards 'Seton Hall.' In a recent impromptu address, after the presentation of the College flag to the battalion of cadets, Monsignor Seton—who wore for the first time the red and white button of the Society of Colonial Wars—explained the charges in the Seton coat of arms, which is embroidered on the flag.

Among the latest graduates of the College were two members of distinguished Catholic families—William-Henry Seton, a descendant of Mother Seton, nephew of Monsignor Robert Seton, and a relative of Archbishop Bayley; and Albert Henry Carroll, whose kinsmen, Archbishop Carroll and Mr. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, occupy a conspicuous place in the history of the United States.



II. LATHRISK

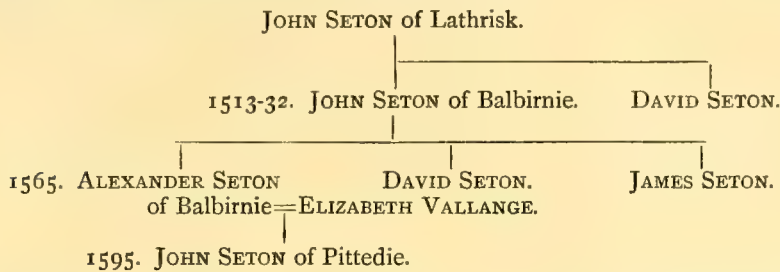


WE have already seen that John, third son of Sir Gilbert Seton, the third Laird of Parbroath, married Jonet, daughter and heiress of Lathrisk of that ilk, in the county of Fife, and was ancestor of the Setons of Lathrisk and Balbirnie, and perhaps also of the wild Setons of Clatto Tower.¹ 'West of King-Kettle,' says Sir Robert Sibbald, 'is Lathrisk, an old house with gardens and enclosures, the seat of Mr. Patrick Seton, a cadet of the Earls of Winton: a predecessor of his got these lands by marrying the heiress, of the same name with the lands.'² From numerous entries in the public records, as well as other sources, I have endeavoured to compile a pedigree of the Lathrisk branch, which is known to have been connected by marriage with the families of Bethune of Balfour, Spens of Lathallan, Echlin of Pitaddro, and Moncrieff of Reidie. The line of descent which I have ventured to indicate may, of course, be corrected and enlarged by means of further investigation.

¹ See Appendix of Miscellanies.

² *History of Fife and Kinross*, p. 385.

With regard to the branch of Balbirnie, the annexed pedigree seems to be suggested by the entries in the records :—



The following is a summary of the principal entries in the public registers relative to the Setons of Lathrisk :—

On the 10th of August 1511, there is a precept for charter to 'John Setoun of Lauthreisk' of the lands of Fairlielands and Riggis, in the barony of Lathrisk and sherifffdom of Fife, which the King unites with the lands and barony of Wester Lathrisk.¹

A curious entry occurs in the Register, under date 26th January 1513-14. Mr. Henry Quhyte, forespeaker for Thomas Ballingall, asked an instrument that Mr. David Setoun, forespeaker for John Setoun of Lathrisk and John Setoun of Balbirnie, granted that 'the hors swerd and ax at war pvindyt on the lands of Riggs was baith for the malis and annuale of the saidis landis.'²

On the 29th February 1540 we find a letter of regress to 'John Seytoun of Lauthrisk' over part of the lands of Kilmaron, in the shire of Fife, sold by him to William Hunter and Grissel Ramsay his spouse.³

Three years later (30th April 1543) there is a letter of gift to John Seytoun of Lathrisk, Janet Auchmouty his spouse, and their heirs, of the non-entries of the lands of Mylntoun of Orky, etc., of all terms that they had been in the Queen's hands since the death of Alexander Lathrisk.⁴

On the 7th of July 1545, compeared Mr. James M'Gill, procurator for — Lawthrisk of that ilk, and alleged that the action intended by John Setoun of Lawthrisk cannot have process at this time, by reason that there is a proclamation made that all men prepare and make ready to pass forward on the 28th instant; and therefore, both by practice and law, they ought not at present to compear before the Lords, to pursue and defend their rights.⁵

In 1551 (7th May) we find a precept for charter to John Seytoun of Lathrisk, Janet Auchmouty, his spouse, in liferent, and John Seytoun their son and apparent heir, heritably, of the lands of Wester Lathrisk, Auchland, Darnoch, etc., all in the shire of Fife, which had been resigned by John Seytoun, the elder, in the hands of the Lord Governor at Edinburgh.⁶

¹ *Register of Privy Seal*, vol. iv. fol. 155.
See also vol. xii. fol. 41.

² *Ibid.* vol. xxvi. part ii. fol. 6.

³ *Ibid.* vol. xiv. fol. 70.

⁴ *Register of Privy Seal*, vol. xvii. fol. 46.

⁵ *Acta Dom. Con. et Sess.*, vol. xxviii. fol. 27.

Register of Privy Seal, vol. xxiv. fol. 84.

The same year (17th July) there is a presentation to Gilbert Seytoun, son of John Seytoun of Lathrisk, to the vicarage of Strathmiglo, in the diocese of Dunkeld, rendered vacant by the resignation or demission of Mr. David Seytoun.¹

On the 24th of October 1575 there is a renunciation by Christopher Seytoun, brother and retoured heir of the deceased Mr. George Seytoun, of a quarter of the lands of Lathrisk called Langflat, to John Seytoun, now of Lathrisk, his brother's son, by receipt of 250 merks in redemption of the same.²

In the following year (1st June 1576) we find a discharge by James and Andrew Setoun, brothers-german of Patrick Setoun, son of the deceased John Setoun of Lathrisk, to Robert Stewart of Rossyth, for the sum of 1000 merks, in redemption of the third part of the lands of Cragye, in the barony of Rossyth and sheriffdom of Fife, sold to the said Patrick under reversion.³

Finally, on the 27th of July 1597, letters are purchased at the instance of John Seytoun of Lathrisk, 'oy and heir of the deceased John Seytoun of Lathrisk, his guidschir,' against Patrick Hunter, making mention that the pursuer is duly served as nearest heir of his grandfather in certain portions of the lands of Newton of Reres, in the sheriffdom of Fife, notwithstanding which the said Patrick pretends right to the foresaid lands. The Lords of Council accordingly remit the matter to the Steward or Sheriff of Fife, or their deputes, for decision.⁴

In the year 1634 Patrick Seton of Lathrisk was elected an elder for the parish of Kettle; and eleven years later (1645) he appears as a witness to a baptism.⁵

The will of John Seton, fiar of Lathrisk, who married a daughter of Sir Michael Balfour of Denmiln, is dated in the year 1650, and there is sasine to him of the lands of Falkland.⁶

On the 12th of October 1720 we find an entry in the Kettle Register relative to the marriage of Alexander Williamson, late bailie in Kirkcaldy, to 'Mrs. Agnes Seton, lawful daughter of the laird of Lathrisk.'

1. *John Seton,*

third son of Sir Gilbert Seton of Parbroath, married, as already stated, Jonet, daughter and heiress of Lathrisk of that ilk, and was father of



¹ *Register of Privy Seal*, vol. xxiv. fol. 87.

² *Acts and Decrees*, vol. xiv. fol. 328.

³ *Ibid.* vol. xv. fol. 149.

⁴ *Acts and Decrees*, vol. clxxi. fol. 124.

⁵ Kettle Parochial Register.

⁶ *Register of Fife Sasines*, vol. x. p. 338.

2. *John Seton of Lathrisk,*

who had a charter from King James IV., dated at Edinburgh 11th April 1495, in the lifetime of his parents, of the lands of Wester Lathrisk and others.¹ His name turns up in the public records during the first half of the sixteenth century. By his wife, Janet Auchmouty, he appears to have had three sons and three daughters:—

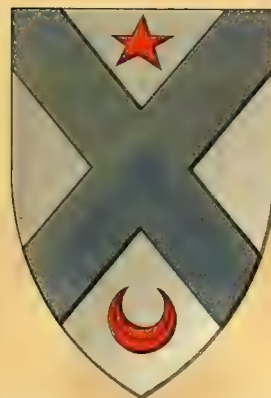
1. John, his successor.
2. Christopher, whose son Alexander was legitimated by royal rescript in 1558.²
3. Gilbert, vicar of Strathmiglo in 1551.
4. Elizabeth, married to James Spens of Lathallan before 1564.³
5. Janet, married about 1550 to Bernard Oliphant.⁴
6. Margaret, married to Robert Hunter of Newton of Reres.

John Seton of Lathrisk was succeeded by his eldest son,

3. *John Seton of Lathrisk,*

who married Alisone Bonar,⁵ by whom he appears to have had several sons:—

- 1, 2, 3, 4. George, Christopher, James, Andrew.
5. Captain Patrick Seton, who died 'at Elgin, in Moray, in the hous of the richt nobill and potent Lord, Alexander Lord Fyvie, President,' on the 16th of February 1600. By his will, dated two days previously, he left various legacies to nephews and other relatives—among the rest, 900 merks and his 'monturs (*saddle-horses*) to be as heirship to John Seton, his nephew and heir of line'; and to Janet Duddingston, Lady Lathallan, 200 merks, 'together with his bracelets of gold, silver salt-fatt (*salt-cellar*), and two spoons, with a coupe (*cup*).'⁶



¹ *Register of Great Seal*, Lib. xiii. No. 151.

² *Register of Privy Seal*, xxix. 59.

³ *Ibid.* xxiv. 105, and Douglas's *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 293.

⁴ *Register of Great Seal*, xxxii. 653.

⁵ *Ibid.* xxx. 738.

⁶ Seton's *Memoir of Chancellor Seton*, p. 127.

4. *George Seton (younger) of Lathrisk,*

was alive in 1575, and appears to have predeceased his father, as the next laird,

5. *John Seton of Lathrisk,*

alive in 1597, succeeded his grandfather John. His wife may have been Margaret, daughter of Thomas Ross of Craigie,¹ and his children seem to have been:—

1. Patrick, his successor.

2. Alexander, who may have been the 'Alexander Seaton of Lachrist,' who carried the arms of the Earl of Cassilis at the funeral of Chancellor Seton in 1622.²

6. *Patrick Seton of Lathrisk,*

succeeded his father not later than 1643, in which year we have seen that he was elected an elder for the parish of Kettle. The name of his wife does not appear, but his children seem to have been:—

1. John, fiar of Lathrisk, whose will is dated 1650.

2. Katherine, who married first, in 1629, Andrew Moncrieff of Reidie, and secondly, in 1645, General John Leslie of Myres.³

3. Margaret, who married, in 1648, Francis Hay of Strowie.⁴

7. *John Seton, fiar of Lathrisk,*

who probably died before his father, married a daughter of Sir Michael Balfour of Denmiln, and appears to have had three sons and three daughters:—

1, 2, 3. John, Michael, James.

4, 5, 6. Grizel, Barbara, and Anne.

On the 9th of August 1642 there is a charter, by King Charles the First, to John Seton, fiar of Lathrisk, of the lands of the Mains of Malar, with the tower, fortalice, and manor-place, and salmon

¹ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii. 583.

² Seton's *Memoir of Chancellor Seton*, p. 142.

³ Seton's *House of Moncrieff*, p. 46.

⁴ Douglas's *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 584.

fishings on the water of Earn, lying in the parish of Forteviot and shire of Perth, on resignation thereof by Hew Moncrieff, sometime of Malar.¹

8. *John Seton of Lathrisk,*

the eldest son, may have been the 'Laird of Lathrisk,' whose lawful daughter, 'Mrs. Agnes Seton,' as already stated, married Alexander Williamson, Bailie in Kirkcaldy, in the year 1720, about which date the property of Lathrisk appears to have passed out of the hands of the Setons.

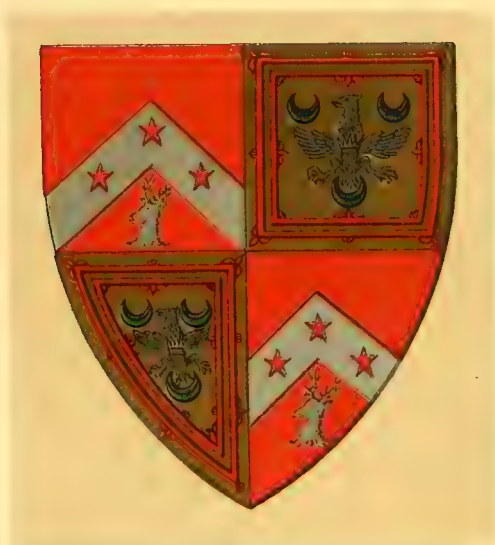
Armorial Bearings.

The Setons of Lathrisk, according to Nisbet, 'have been in use to carry the paternal coat of Seton—*or*, three crescents within the royal tressure *gules*—with a boar's head in the centre, for difference, being the armorial figure of the name of Lathrisk.'²

The crest and motto do not appear to be on record.

¹ *Great Seal Register*, Lib. lvii. No. 89.

² *System of Heraldry*, i. 236.



III. KIPPILAW (SETON-KARR), ETC.



ALTHOUGH this branch of the family is paternally Seton, a few words may be said about its descent from the ancient House of Ker. By charters and other papers in the muniment-room at Kippilaw, it is established that King David Bruce, in 1343, granted to the abbot and monks of Kelso the village of that name, with its lands and pertinents, including Bowden. In accordance with the practice of the time, the abbot committed the exercise of their jurisdiction, included in the territorial grant, to the Kers of Cessford, now represented by the Duke of Roxburgh. Shortly after the Reformation (1565) the abbot of Kelso granted sasine of the lands of Kippilaw, within the barony of Bowden, to Mark and Thomas Ker of Yair. In July 1575 King James VI. granted a charter, under the Great Seal, confirming the abbot's gift and infesting the grantees in the lands of Kippilaw, of which the Earl of Roxburgh was constituted the superior by the same monarch in 1621; and in the middle of the seventeenth century, Colonel Andrew Ker or Karr (as the name was afterwards spelt), a grandson of Andrew Ker of Yair, acquired the estate of Kippilaw from the Kers of Yair.

Colonel Andrew Karr (born 1620, died 1697) was at one time Governor of Hume Castle, and married Margaret, daughter of Sir James Maxwell of Calderwood, by whom he had a son, also Andrew, whose son, John Karr of Kippilaw, died unmarried in 1746, in which year he executed an entail, which regulated the succession to the estate of Kippilaw for more than a century. His sister Katharine married Gilbert Ramsay, a cousin of Allan Ramsay the poet, and their eldest daughter, Jean Ramsay, became the wife of Daniel Seton of Powderhall, near Edinburgh. Jean's two brothers, David and Andrew, were successively owners of Kippilaw, taking the name of Karr in addition to their own. They both died without issue, and on the decease of the latter, in 1799, he was succeeded in the estate of Kippilaw by John Seton, eldest son of the aforesaid Daniel Seton of Powderhall, who assumed the surname of Karr in addition to his own. The ancestry of Daniel Seton is somewhat obscure, but his great-grandfather appears to have been,

1. *David Seton*,¹

merchant in Edinburgh, who was admitted a burghess of Burntisland, 17th February 1647. In 1656 he was a bailie of the same town, and five years later (1661) he became a burghess of Edinburgh. From 1665 to 1669 he was a member of the Scottish Parliament, and also a commissioner of Excise for Fife. In the Court-books of Burntisland we find a ratification, dated 21st May 1667, to David Seton, by Elizabeth Richardson, wife of Michael Seton of Dunbarrow,² who was probably a near relative (perhaps a brother) of David Seton. Numerous Setons turn up in the local records of Burntisland, and in the Register of Sasines for Fife, between 1612 and 1700, many of whom appear to have belonged to the Dunbarrow branch of the family. Captain John Seton, who married Isobel Angus about 1668, and James Seton, a merchant in Leith, in 1658, and a burghess of Edinburgh in 1692, may also have been brothers of David. The name of David's wife appears to have been Beatrix Richardson, to whom he was married in 1648. Besides a daughter, Beatrix, who married Robert Stewart, Writer to the Signet, he had two sons:—

1. John, of whom afterwards.



¹ Possibly this David was son of 'David Seattoun, elder, merchant burghess of Burntisland,' who is so described in the inventory and testament-dative of his spouse, Catharine Wilsoun, who died in July 1620.—*Commissariot*

of St. Andrews, vol. vii.

² The testament of 'Captain Michael Seattoun, late Bailie of Burntisland,' who died in November 1691, was given up by his relict, Elspeth Wilson.—*Ibid.* vol. xv.

2. David, Stewart-Clerk of Fife, who was admitted a burghess of Edinburgh, in right of his father in 1709. He was alive in 1715, at which date he appears as a witness to the baptism of his grandson Gilbert, son of James Seton in Edinburgh. On the 5th of November 1672 he married Janet Mitchell,¹ by whom he had at least three sons:—

(1) David, born August 1673.²

(2) James, writer in Edinburgh, who appears to have been twice married, first, in 1712, to Gilles, daughter of Gilbert Somerville, 'Decon Vennor in So. Kirk Parish'; and secondly, in 1727, to Elizabeth, daughter of James Morton, surgeon in Hamilton. Several of his children appear in the Register of Baptisms for the city of Edinburgh, including a son, Gilbert, on the 13th of July 1715. Two years previously (8th April 1713) James Seton was appointed janitor of the College of Edinburgh.³

(3) John, barber and wigmaker, was admitted a burghess of Edinburgh in 1710. On the 21st of January 1713 he was appointed Ensign of the red and yellow colours of the train-bands. Like his brother James, he was twice married, and appears to have had issue by both of his wives, viz., Ann, daughter of Thomas Caddell, brewer, and Jean, daughter of Alexander Clerk, late of Pitteuchar.

The eldest son of David Seton, burghess of Burntisland and Edinburgh, was presumably

2. *John Seton,*

who held the office of Town Clerk of Burntisland, and was admitted a burghess of Edinburgh, in right of his father, 30th November 1709. His signature, as a notary-public, appears in the Register of Sasines for Burntisland from 1683 to 1712. Prior to 1686 he married Janet Angus, by whom he had at least four sons and two daughters:—

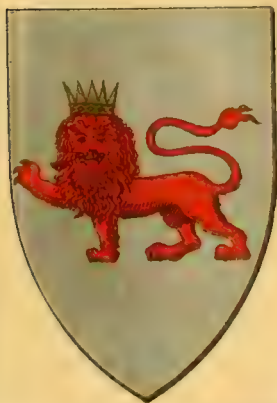
1. David, who does not appear to have left any descendants.

2, 3. James, John, of both of whom afterwards.

4. Robert, born 1709.

5, 6. Margaret, born 1704, and Agnes, born 1706.

The line of succession appears to have been carried on by the *second* son of John Seton, Clerk of Burntisland, viz.:—



¹ Dysart Parochial Register.

² Burntisland Parochial Register.

³ Edinburgh Council Records.



3. *James Seton of Belshes,*

burgess of Edinburgh in 1710, and a member of the Merchants' Company four years later, who was probably born about 1688. He acquired the lands of Belshes and Belsislands, in the county of Haddington, from George and Richard Lothian, between 1715 and 1721. He was Kirk treasurer of Edinburgh in 1722, and a bailie of the city, 1731-4. James Seton of Belshes was twice married, first, in 1716, to Jean, daughter of Thomas Boog, brewer, and secondly, in 1733, to Margaret, daughter of John Dundas of Baldovie, by the first of whom he had two sons and five daughters:—

1. John, born 1717, admitted a burgess of Edinburgh, in right of his father, 20th August 1735. Ten years later, he is said to have been 'out' with Prince Charlie; and on being taken prisoner was confined for nine months in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. It is further reported that after his release he was allowed to proceed to America, his property having been subsequently confiscated; and according to one version of the pedigree, he was the father of Isabella Seton, who married Sir Thomas Cayley.

2. James, of whom afterwards.

3. Janet, born 1719.

4. Elizabeth, born 1721, married John Seton, the supposed representative of the Setons of Parbroath (*supra* p. 300).

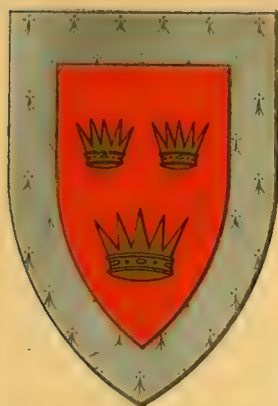
5. Jean, born 1722, married to James Baillie, merchant in Edinburgh.

6. Helen, born 1726.

7. Margaret, born 1728, and died 28th November 1794, perhaps the wife of Robert Thomson.

4. *James Seton of Hillside,*

second son of James Seton of Belshes, was born 12th June 1724. In 1743 he was admitted a burghess of Edinburgh, and two years later he became a member of the Merchants' Company. In August 1753 there is a sasine in the Edinburgh Register to 'James Seton, second son to James Seton of Belsis, merchant, and late Bailie of Edinburgh, of an annualrent to £1500 sterling, furth of the lands of Belsis and Belsiland.' He was senior partner of the firm 'Seton, Houston & Co., bankers,' afterwards 'Seton, Wallace & Co.'; and for many years was a Director of the Bank of Scotland. He resided at Hillside, near Edinburgh, the property



of his father-in-law, Mr. James Grant, which was afterwards sold to the Allan family. In acknowledgment of his valuable services to the Bank of Scotland he was presented with a handsome piece of silver plate. He died in March 1784, aged sixty years, and his will was registered, on the 14th of April, in the Edinburgh Commissary Court Books. Among his other trustees were Mr. James Grant, his father-in-law, and the Rev. Alexander Webster, D.D., his wife's uncle. By his wife, Agnes, daughter of James Grant, merchant and bailie of Edinburgh, to whom he was married in 1752, he had two sons and one daughter:—

1. James.

2. Grant, born 26th September 1756, and died unmarried.

3. Margaret, born in 1758, was educated in London, and is said to have frequently transcribed the sermons of her distinguished grand-uncle, the Rev. Dr. Alexander Webster, already referred to. She married, in 1785, George Veitch, merchant in Edinburgh, and among her descendants are Captain Robert Seton Marshall, H.M. Colonial Service, West Indies, and Mr. George Seton Veitch, of Friarshall, Paisley.

5. *James Seton,*

the eldest son of James Seton and Agnes Grant, was born 27th March 1753. He rented the farm of Redside, near North Berwick, and afterwards resided at Seton House, where he lived in good style, and was a keen follower of the hounds. He married Mary Somners, and died at Windsor Street, Edinburgh, 22nd May 1851. On his tombstone in the Calton burial-ground his age is stated to have been eighty-two; but if his birth occurred in 1753, he must have been within two years of one hundred.

By his wife, who predeceased him in 1843, at the age of seventy, he had four sons, who all died unmarried, and three daughters:—

1. James-Grant, born 7th November 1795, an officer in the Royal Navy. The following notice of his services appears in O'Byrne's *Naval Biographical Dictionary*, published in 1849: 'This officer entered the Navy 24th March 1809, as first-class volunteer on board the "Audacious," 74, Captain Donald Campbell; and from 26th November 1811 until July 1815 was employed in the "Warrior," Captains the Hon. George Byng (afterwards Viscount Torrington) and John Fermayne Rood. In the former ship he was engaged as midshipman in the attack upon Flushing, and was for some time stationed in the river Tagus, where he commanded a boat in co-operation with the army under Lord Wellington. During the term of his servitude in the "Warrior," the whole of which he passed in the capacity of signal-officer, he assisted in the blockade of various ports in the Channel, North Sea, and Baltic; escorted the Prince of Orange and Lord Clancarty, the British Ambassador, to Holland, in November 1813; was much employed in affording protection to trade; and visited the West Indies. On the 10th of September 1815, two months after he had been received, on promotion, on board the "Shark" (receiving ship at Port-Royal), Captain Alexander Campbell, he was nominated acting-lieutenant of the "Forrester," 16, Captain William Hendry; in which vessel, and in the "Emulous," 16, Captain Charles Jackson, he continued in the West Indies until June 1816, and has since been on half-pay. He was confirmed in the rank of lieutenant by a commission bearing date 18th May 1815.'

He died on the 16th December 1862.

2. Richard-Somners, born 19th April 1797, of the Madras Horse Artillery. The following brief summary of his various useful services is extracted from the military records in the India Office, Whitehall. He was nominated by the Board on the recommendation of Viscount Melville; joined the Military Seminary at Addiscombe, 4th August 1811; passed 29th October 1812; creditable examination at Addiscombe, 16th July 1813; shared capture prizes at Madhidpore and in the Mahratta wars, 1817-18; adjutant of 3rd battalion of artillery, and favourably reported on for his proficiency in Hindostanee, 1823; quartermaster and interpreter to the force against the Burmese, 1824; adjutant to the Horse Artillery, 1825. 'The enemy retired from the stockades on the river from the severe fire from four howitzers and some rockets, ably directed by lieutenants Paton and Seton.'



He was placed in charge of the arsenal at Bangalore, and was appointed to command the artillery with the field force in Coorg, 1834. On the termination of hostilities in Coorg, Colonel Lindesay states that to Captain Seton, commanding the artillery, he had been indebted for the most zealous assistance. At the inspection of the troops at Bangalore, in 1835, the Commander-in-chief remarked upon the excellent order of the horse artillery under Captain Seton. In 1836 Captain Seton was nominated a member of a committee assembled at Calcutta for the purpose of establishing uniformity in the equipment of field artillery; and in reporting his appointment, the Commander-in-chief submitted a statement of his services in India, and of his scientific and practical qualifications for the duty. He returned to Europe on furlough in September 1838, after twenty-five years' continuous service in India, and was allowed to retire on the pension of a Major. After so long an absence, his venerable mother was with difficulty persuaded that he was her own son.

In 1854 he published a treatise on shrapnel shells. The dates of his various commissions are as follows: Lieutenant, fire-worker, 6th July 1813; Lieutenant, 1st September 1818; Captain, horse artillery, 10th June 1825; Major of Brigade of Madras Artillery in Ava, 20th December 1825; Major 23rd June 1838.

In his latter years, as Lieutenant-Colonel Seton, he formed an extensive collection of curiosities at his house, Seton Lodge, North Berwick; and his death occurred on the 11th of August 1872.



Colonel Seton's book-plate exhibits the paternal coat of Seton, with a red cross-crosslet in the centre of the shield. Crest, on a *wreath*, a dragon *vert*, spouting fire, and as motto, 'Hazard zet forward.'

3. George-Somners, followed the profession of medicine, and died in India.

4. Francis-Charteris, banker in Edinburgh (Royal Bank), was named after the Earl of Wemyss. He was last male descendant of James Seton of Hillside, and on his death, 30th July 1877, most of the family property, including Seton Lodge, passed to his niece, Mrs. Honeyman.

5. Agnes, married Dr. Fletcher, without issue.

6. Frances, married Mr. Hector, by whom she had a daughter, Frances, wife of Michael Honeyman, C.A., Glasgow.

7. Margaret, died unmarried 15th July 1862.

We now return to the *third* son of John Seton and Janet Angus (*supra* p. 322),

3 (2). *John Seton of Slate House,*

known as 'Seton of the Slate House,' in the island of Bute, who was admitted a burgess of Edinburgh in 1710, and whose name frequently appears in the Council records. He followed the vocation of barber and wigmaker,¹ under which latter designation he is described in the entry of his marriage in the Edinburgh Register, 3rd June 1714. His wife was Helen, daughter of Dougal Gilchrist in 'Rossie' (Rothesay). In 1722 he was appointed Captain of the green and white colours of the train-bands, and took the relative oath before the Council.

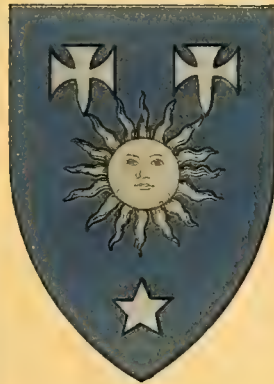
John Seton appears to have died in February 1741, at the age of fifty. By his wife, Helen Gilchrist, he had two children :

1. Janet, born 1716, who died unmarried.

2. Daniel, who carried on the line of succession.

4. *Daniel Seton of Powderhall,*

born April 1719, a lace-merchant in Edinburgh, was admitted a burgess of that city, in right of his father, and also a member of the Merchants' Company in 1743. In the Particular Register of Sasines for Edinburgh there is a sasine in his favour of the house of



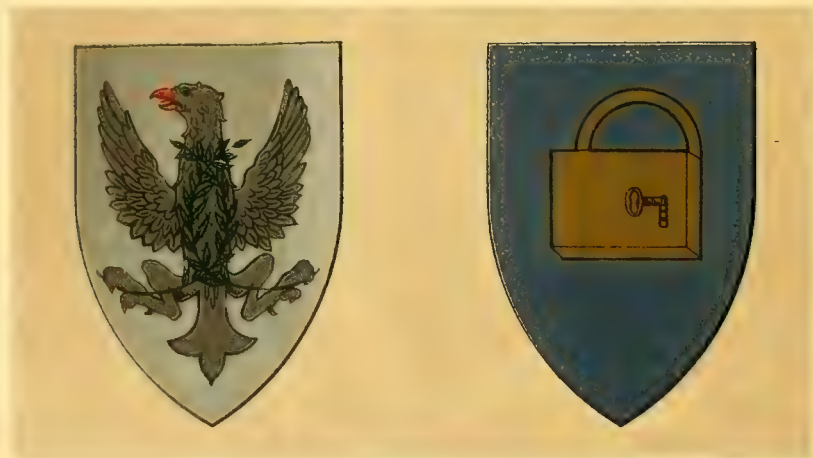
¹ The same vocation was followed by Lord Jeffrey's grandfather and by Allan Ramsay, the poet, who is variously described, in the entries

relative to his children's births in the Edinburgh Register, as a 'periwig maker,' a 'weegmaker,' and a 'bookseller.'

Powderhall and ten acres of land adjoining, dated 20th March 1754. A small engraving of Powderhall will be found in Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, iii. 93.

Daniel Seton appears to have had business correspondents in various continental cities, and more than once visited London, journeying leisurely by road. In 1761 he purchased from the Town Council of Edinburgh a house and shop in the Royal Exchange for the sum of £1150; and from 1764 to 1773 he was a large shareholder in the Bank of Scotland.

As already stated (*supra* p. 321), Daniel Seton married, first, about 1740, Jean (who died in 1766), daughter of Gilbert Ramsay,¹ by his wife



Katharine Karr of Kippilaw, while his second wife was Rebecca Megget of the family of Megget of that ilk. Along with two of his daughters Helen and Catharine, he narrowly escaped from being killed at the fall of the North Bridge of Edinburgh in 1769. They were driving to Powderhall from service in the Episcopal Chapel in Carrubbers' Close, High Street, and the wheels of their carriage had just left the arch when it gave way, engulfing a young lady friend in the ruins.

Daniel Seton died at Powderhall on the 4th of January 1782, aged sixty-two years. By his first wife, Jean Ramsay, he had twelve, and by his second wife Rebecca Megget (who survived till 1823), seven children, making nineteen in all. The name and sex of one of the twelve children of the first marriage does not appear to be known. The remaining eleven consisted of eight sons and three daughters:—

1. John, of whom afterwards.
2. Daniel, Lieutenant-Governor of Surat, where he died 17th April

¹ Portraits of Daniel Seton and his first wife, Jean Ramsay, were formerly in the possession

of his fourth son, James (father of Sir Henry Wilmot Seton), *infra* p. 329.

1803, aged fifty-six. By his wife, Sarah, daughter of William Stratton of Bombay, he had two sons and three daughters :—

- (1) Andrew, of whom afterwards.
- (2) Daniel, entered the Bengal Civil Service about 1795, and, after visiting England, was lost on his return to India, in 1805, by the foundering of the *Shafton Castle*, when all on board perished.
- (3) Sarah, who married, in 1805, Captain Matthew Onslow, Coldstream Guards, eldest son of Admiral Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. One of her grand-daughters, Joan-Frederica Granville, married, in 1850, the Hon. and Rev. Lord Charles Paulet, second son of Charles, thirteenth Marquis of Winchester.
- (4) Catherine, married, first, Mr. Parker, by whom she had a daughter, Lucy, who in 1864 became the wife of the third Baron Muskerry; secondly, Campbell Marjoribanks, brother of Sir John Marjoribanks, Bart.
- (5) Anna, married Sir Charles Flint, and died in 1834, leaving three sons and one daughter.

3. Henry, born 1756.

4. James, of Oldfold Manor, Hadley, Herts, born 1757; married Sarah-Elizabeth, only daughter of Henry Wilmot of Farnborough Hall, Hants, and died in 1836, having had issue two sons and two daughters :—

(1) Sir Henry-Wilmot, Judge of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, born 1785, d. s.p., 1848.

(2) James-Garden, barrister-at-law, born 1789, married Georgiana, eldest daughter of Charles Bouchier, Esq., by whom he had three sons and three daughters :—

- (a) James-Bouchier, captain in the army, d. s.p. in India.
- (b) Wilmot, of the Treasury, married Maria, daughter and co-heiress of Andrew Sandeford Ramsay, Esq., and died 18th July 1860, leaving a son.
- (c) Frederick, Madras Cavalry, d. s.p.
- (d) Georgiana-Mary, married Edward Kater, Esq.
- (e) Barbarina, married John Dury, Esq.
- (f) Gertrude.

James-Garden Seton, died in 1870.

(3) Eliza, born 1783, died at Oxford 5th November 1859.

(4) Sarah-Caroline, born 1787, married, in 1806, Thomas, son of Captain William Christopher, of Norton, Co. Durham, and died in 1845, leaving, besides other issue, a daughter, Maria, who married her cousin, the Rev. Alfred M. W. Christopher, Rector of St. Aldate's, Oxford, by whom she has two sons : 1. Henry-Seton, an officer in the Navy, married, and has four children, of whom the eldest son bears the name of George-Seton. 2. Alfred-Charles, captain in the Seaforth Highlanders, now residing at Childwall, near Liverpool, married, 7th July 1892, Melesma-Ethel-Maude, youngest daughter of Philip Chenevix-Trench of Botley. Captain Christopher assumed the prefix surname of *Seton* in 1893.

5. Gilbert, merchant in Edinburgh, who was admitted a burgess of that city 27th October 1773.

6. Walter, also a merchant burghess of Edinburgh, where he died in May 1780, aged thirty years.

7. Alexander, admitted burghess of Edinburgh in 1780.

8. Robert.

9, 10, 11. Jean, Helen, and Catherine.

The seven children of Daniel Seton of Powderhall by his *second* wife consisted of five sons, who all died in India, and two daughters :—

1. David, Governor of Surat (?).

2, 3. Michael, Edward.

4. Thomas, present at the siege of Seringapatam in 1799.

5. Walter.

6. Marion, died unmarried.

7. Rebecca, married to Alexander Briggs, by whom she had five sons and three daughters. Mr. Briggs was a partner in the firm of 'Briggs, Crichton, & Otto,' wine-merchants, and son of Alexander Briggs, wine-merchant, Dalkeith, by Katharine, daughter of John Hay of Hopes.

5. *John Seton-Karr of Kippilaw,*

the eldest son of Daniel Seton of Powderhall, succeeded to Kippilaw in 1799, on the death of his uncle, Andrew Ramsay-Karr, Governor of Bombay, and as 'John Seton of Golden Square, in the parish of St. James', Westminster,' he obtained a royal licence to take the surname of Karr and the designation of Kippilaw, along with the appropriate arms.

During his sixteen years' possession of Kippilaw great improvements were effected on the estate, and considerable additions made to the mansion-



house, which was formerly approached from the south. Sixty years ago, an avenue of trees, leading from Clarilaw to the old entrance hall, was distinctly traceable; and the oldest portion of the house, looking south, was very substantial, the walls being bomb-proof.

John Seton-Karr died without issue in 1815, when he was succeeded by his nephew,

6. *Andrew Seton-Karr of Kippilaw,*

of the Bengal Civil Service, eldest son of Daniel Seton, Lieutenant-Governor of Surat, who held various important offices in the Bengal Presidency. By royal sign-manual he obtained permission, in 1815, for his children to assume the surname of Karr in addition to that of Seton. On the 5th August 1812 he married Alicia, daughter of William Rawlinson, Esq., of Ancoats Hall, Co. Lancaster, by whom he had—besides three daughters, of whom Ellen married in 1840 Captain W. D. Dent, R.N., of Shortflatt Tower—three sons:—

1. John, of whom afterwards.

2. George-Berkeley, born 8th January 1818, entered the Bombay Civil Service in 1837, and held a very difficult and onerous position at Belgaum, in the southern Maratha country, during the eventful crisis of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857-8. By his energy and firmness he effectually prevented disturbance, and preserved peace over an extensive district. He was also Resident at Baroda, at an important juncture in the history of that native State.

He married in 1848 Eleanor, daughter of Henry Usborne of Branches Park, Co. Suffolk, and died in June 1862, leaving issue:—

(1) Andrew, born 1851 and died in 1862.

(2) Henry, of whom afterwards.

(3) Heywood-Walter, born 1859, formerly lieutenant in the 92nd Gordon Highlanders, was present at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. He has been a great traveller in North America, Africa, India, etc., and has published interesting accounts of his experiences in foreign lands.¹

(4) Eleanor, born 14th February 1849.

(5) Mary, born 1854, married, in January 1879, Frederick W. Chance, Esq., of Morton, near Carlisle.

3. Walter-Scott, of Bramshot, Hants, born 23rd January 1822, educated at Rugby, under Dr. Arnold,² and at Haileybury, entered the Bengal Civil



¹ See Bibliographical Appendix.

² See Stanley's *Life and Correspondence of*

Dr. Arnold (sixth edition), pp. 536 and 580.

Service in 1842, and, besides appointments in the Revenue and Judicial departments, held the following posts :—

1. Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and Under-Secretary in the Foreign Department during the Administration of the Marquis of Dalhousie, 1848-54.

2. Civil and Sessions Judge of Jessore, during and after the Mutiny, 1857-60.

3. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 1860-61, and member of the Old Legislative Council of India.

4. Puisne Judge of the High Court of Justice at Calcutta, on its formation in 1862.

5. Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, in the Administrations of Lords Lawrence and Mayo; and at the Umballa Durbar in 1868, when the late Amir of Kabul was the guest of Lord Mayo.

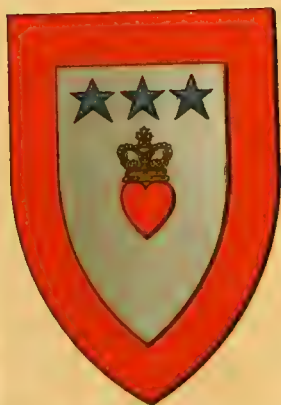
6. Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, in succession to Sir Henry Maine.

In 1894 Mr. Walter-Scott Seton-Karr printed, for private circulation, an interesting account of the 'Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8' in the districts of Belgaum and Jessore.

He married, 19th August 1856, Eleanor-Katherine, daughter of the Hon. and Rev. Henry Cockayne and Lady Anna-Maria Cust, by whom—besides two daughters, who both died young—he had two sons, Robert-George, born 3rd December 1860, and Walter-John, born 29th December 1864, who are known by the ancestral name of Seton only.

On the death of Andrew Seton-Karr of Kippilaw in July 1833 he was succeeded by his eldest son,

7. *The Rev. John Seton-Karr of Kippilaw,*



who was born 8th May 1813, B.A. of Oxford, and Vicar of Berkeley, Co. Gloucester. He married, in 1855, Anna, daughter of Archibald Douglas of Glenfinart, and widow of Richard Campbell of Auchinbreck and Glencarradale, both in the county of Argyll, by whom he had no issue.

On his death, 26th February 1884, he was succeeded by his nephew,

8. *Henry Seton-Karr of Kippilaw,*

born 5th February 1853. He was educated at Harrow and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and is M.P. for the



Borough of St. Helens. He married, first, 11th November 1880, Edith-Eliza, second daughter of William Pilkington of Roby Hall, Liverpool,



D.L. and by her (who died 15th November 1884) had issue two sons and one daughter :—

1. George-Bernard, born 12th September 1881.
2. Henry-Malcolm, born 21st October 1882.
3. Edith-Muriel, born 11th November 1884.

Mr. Henry Seton-Karr married, secondly, in 1886, Jane, eldest daughter of W. Thorburn, Esq., of Edinburgh, by whom he has a daughter, Helen-Mary, born 9th October 1888.

Armorial Bearings.

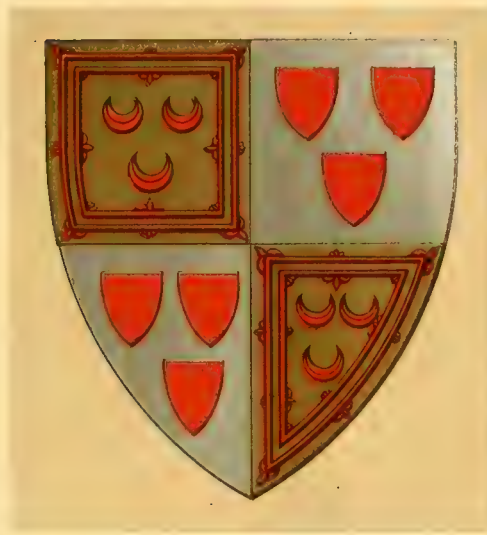
Quarterly : 1st and 4th, *gules*, on a chevron *argent*, three mullets of the first, in base a stag's head erased of the second, for Karr ; 2nd and 3rd, *or*, an eagle displayed *sable*, charged on the breast with an antique crown proper, between three crescents *azure* within a double tressure flory, counterflory *gules*, for Seton.

Crests—1st, Karr : Out of an antique crown a dexter hand erect holding a dagger, all proper. *Motto*—‘Avant sans peur.’ 2nd, Seton : On a ducal coronet *or*, a wyvern proper. *Motto*—‘Hazard zet forward.’¹

¹ There is a quantity of old china at Kippilaw bearing the paternal coat of Seton, with a crescent in the centre of the shield, as a

difference, which is the blazon assigned by Nisbet to the Setons of Parbroath (*supra* p. 294).





IV. TOUCH (SETON-STEUART)



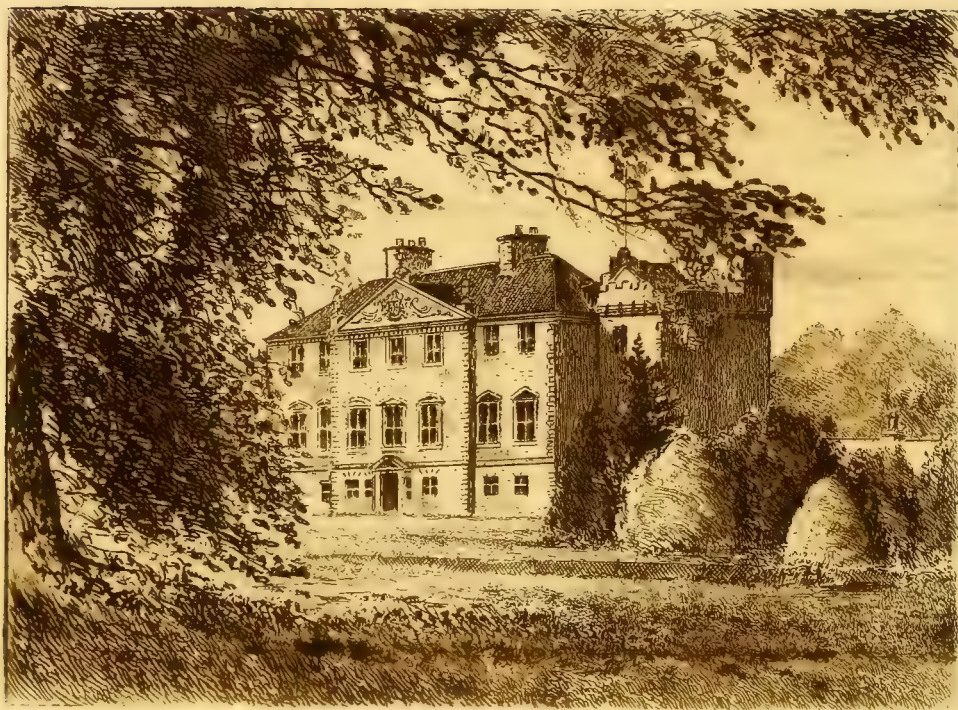
IN the thirteenth century the estate of Touch was in the possession of the family of Fraser, and in many of the documents of a later period it is described as 'Tulch-fresell' or Touch-fraser. Sir Alexander Fraser, of the Frasers of Oliver Castle, was sheriff of Stirling and *Dominus de Touch* in 1296. Touch House, which is three and a half miles west of Stirling, was originally a square keep of great antiquity, to which additions were made in the seventeenth century, and which are now incorporated with a modern mansion. The property passed by marriage to the Hays, and from them to the Setons. By his second wife, Egidia or Giles, daughter of John Hay of Tullibody,¹ 'heretix of the Enye (Enzie) and vtheris grit landis,' Alexander Seton, first Earl of Huntly, had a son,

1. *Sir Alexander Seton, 'first lard of Tuche and Telibodie.'*

There appears to have been a somewhat formidable dispute between Sir Alexander and his younger half-brother, George, second Earl of

¹ Tilibody (? *Tily-bo-dubh*) = the cows' black hill, in Clackmannanshire, is referred to in an inscription on the arch of a recess tomb in

the Church of Cullen.—*Proceedings of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, 12th June 1871.



Huntly, respecting the succession to these lands; but ultimately the difference was adjusted, and Touch, Tullibody, etc., in the shires of Stirling and Clackmannan, and Kinmundy in the county of Aberdeen, were assigned to Sir Alexander. On the 10th of April 1470 the two brothers entered into a bond of manrent, in terms of which they became mutually bound to assist and defend each other; and a few days afterwards (19th April) a charter was granted by James III. to Sir Alexander Seton of the lands and barony of Touch and Tullibody. He was also the owner of Mellerstain and other lands in Berwickshire, which continued in the possession of the Setons of Touch till the year 1608, when they were redeemed by George, Marquis of Huntly.

The following documents in the possession of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon appear to bear reference to the family arrangement respecting the lands:—

1. A bond of reversion, dated 13th April 1470, by Alexander Seton of Tullibody to George Lord Gordon renouncing his infestment on the lands of East Gordon, how soon the said Lord gave him the lands of Tulch-frisal, in the shire of Stirling, on pain of 3000 merks, one-third thereof to the

King's use, another third to the Kirk of Aberdeen, and the other third to Lord Gordon in name of costs, the Kirk's part being in the name of penalty. (Alexander, first Earl of Huntly, father of George Lord Gordon, died the same year.)

2. Instrument of premonition, under the hand of Andrew M'Brack, notary-public, 3rd April 1501, by Alexander Lord Gordon and Alexander Seton of Tulch-frisal, relative to Tulch-frisal, *alias* Tough-Fraser, in Stirlingshire. The document is indorsed 'An Instrument quhan James Livingstoune broke the slait of Touch-fraser in my Lord Huntly's name Alexander,' and bears that James Livingstone, the Chancellor, in name of the Earl of Huntly, and by his command, came to the lands of Tulch-fraser and held forth that it had lately come to the said Earl's knowledge that his beloved spouse had taken sasine, or rather intrusion, in the said lands, without his knowledge or command, and therefore Livingstone, as his bailie, made interruption by the ceremony of breaking a stone slate, and protesting that the sasine or intrusion was void and null and should not prejudice the said Earl or his heirs.

3. Deed of Alexander Seton of Tullibody, relative to certain lands in Berwickshire, dated 28th February 1505.

Sir Alexander Seton was appointed hereditary armour-bearer and squire of the body to the King, and he is so designed in a charter under the Great Seal, dated November 1488. He married Lady Elizabeth Erskine, daughter of Thomas, second Earl of Mar, and died at an advanced age, leaving a son and successor,

2. *Sir Alexander Seton of Touch, etc.,*

who is described in a letter of gift of the mails and duties of the lands of Mekill Geddes, dated 9th February 1494, as the 'son and apparent heir of Alexander Setoun of Tulch-fresal.'¹ His father must have died between that date and 22nd December 1502, when, 'as the King's familiar knight, Alexander Setoun of Tulch-fresal,' he had a charter from James iv. of the lands of Burncastle, in the lordship of Lauderdale.² Six years later the same king confirmed a charter by Sir Alexander Seton of Tullibody, in which he disposed of his lands of Fotherty to Alexander, Earl of Huntly; and on the 22nd of April 1509 we find a licence to Sir Alexander to sell £20 worth of his lands of Tullibody.³

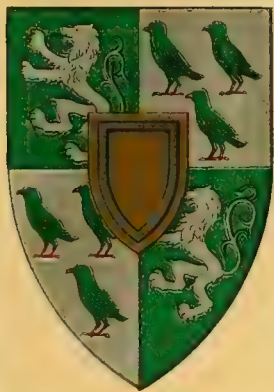


¹ *Register of Privy Seal*, vol. i. fol. 11.

² *Register of Great Seal*, Lib. xiv. No. 71.

³ *Register of Great Seal*, Lib. xv. No. 141, and *Privy Seal Register*, vol. iv. fol. 22.

From a precept for charter to Sir Alexander Seton, dated 4th November 1510, it would appear that the lands and barony of Touch-fraser, etc., had at one time belonged to Murdoch, Earl of Fife, brother of John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, and had been forfeited for treason.¹



Sir Alexander Seton, who was much in favour with King James iv., fell, with his royal master, on the field of Flodden in 1513.² He married Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander, Lord Home, by whom he had two sons :—

1. Sir Ninian, his successor.
2. John, who, by a letter dated at Edinburgh 15th December 1526, was made 'Gentleman of the King's House, with £40 yearly of fee during his life-time.'³

3. *Sir Ninian Seton of Touch, etc.*

Within two years of his succession (19th January 1515-16) an action was raised against Sir Ninian and twelve others, at the instance of 'John of Kirkwood, Master of the Larder,' for the 'wrongous spoliation and away-taking, out of his place and lands of Gargunock, of fourteen chalders of oats, one chalder of bear, six bolls of wheat, sixteen kye (cows), and sundry other goods.'⁴

In March 1526-7 a respite is granted to Sir Ninian Seton and 180 others;⁵ and on the 2nd of March 1530 he obtained a ratification from King James v. of the former gift of the non-entry of the lands and barony of Tullibody.⁶ The preceding year (11th September 1529) there is a charter by the King to John Lord Erskine and his heirs of the lands and barony of Tullibody and the lands of Banchry, which were appraised from Sir Ninian for the non-entry fermes of the same during fifty years since the decease of Alexander, Earl of Huntly, lord of the conjunct fee, and husband of the late Lady Egidia Hay, heir of the said lands, the fermes extending yearly to £82, 5s. 4d.⁷

Sir Ninian Seton married Janet, daughter of Sir Edmund Chisholm of Cromlix, and relict of Sir Alexander Napier of Merchiston, by whom he appears to have had three sons and one daughter :—

1. Sir Walter.
2. Archibald, who married Jonet Spittell, and against whom his elder

¹ *Privy Seal Register*, vol. iv. fol. 103.

² His name appears as a witness in a bond of manrent, dated 1512.—Armstrong's *Bruces of Airth*, p. xxxiii.

³ *Ibid.* vi. 68.

⁴ *Acta Dom. Con.*, vol. xxv. fol. 22.

⁵ *Register of Privy Seal*, vol. vi. fol. 62.

⁶ *Ibid.* viii. 243.

⁷ *Register of Great Seal*, xxiii. 77.

brother raised an action, in February 1564-5, relative to a 'pretended tack and assedation' of the merkland of Keparroch, in the sherifffdom of Stirling.¹

3. Alexander, joint tenant of the lands of Nether Lanerk, in the sherifffdom of Perth, who is described in a process of ejectment instituted, in November 1569, by Andrew, brother of Sir Archibald Napier of Edinbillie, as 'brother to the deceased Walter Seytoun of Touch.'²

4. Margaret, to whom there is a precept for confirmation, for all the days of her life, of a charter of gift by 'David Somervell younger, Lord of Plane' (Plean), of four mercates of the lands of Plane, in the shire of Stirling, dated 22nd May 1532.³

Sir Ninian's matrimonial position appears to be somewhat compromised by the terms of a 'Summons of Expenses,' raised before the Lords of the Council, on the 20th of December 1538, by Alexander Napier of Merchiston, against 'Ninian Seton of Tulibody, Knight, Dame Jonet Chesholm, *sometime his pretended spouse*, Jonet Napier, sister german to the said Alexander Napier, Andrew Bruce of Powfoulis her spouse, James Touris of Innerleith, Knight, *now spouse to the said Dame Jonet Chesholm*, William, Bishop of Dunblane, for their interest, and Isobel Hopper, relict of Archibald Douglas, some time of Kilspindy.' The case was continued for a month, but I am unable to indicate the result of the action.

Sir Ninian Seton was succeeded about 1567 by his eldest son,



4. *Sir Walter Seton of Touch, etc.,*

who, as 'son and heir apparent' of Sir Ninian Seton of Touch, is witness to a charter, dated 29th September 1534, by James Lord Lyle to John Lord Erskine, of the third part of the salmon fishing in the Clyde.⁴ The same year he is similarly designed in a charter in his favour, by King James v., of the lands of Touch-fraser and Tullibody, resigned by his father Sir Ninian and Jonet Chisholm his spouse.⁵

On the 6th of June 1545 there is a precept for charter of conjunct fee to Walter Seton of Tullibody and Elizabeth Erskine his wife, and their lawful heirs, of the fifty shilling land in the barony of Tullibody and shire of Clackmannan, which belonged to the said Walter heritably, and were

¹ *Acts and Decrees*, vol. xxxviii. fol. 40.

² *Ibid.* vol. xlvi. fol. 18.

³ *Register of Privy Seal*, vol. ix. fol. 104.

⁴ *Register of Great Seal*, xxviii. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.* xxv. 339.

resigned in the hands of the Lord Governor—such resignation being specially declared not to prejudice the previous privilege of the said barony.¹

The same year (1545), and also in 1547, there are charters by Queen Mary of the barony of Gargunnoch to Sir Walter Seton and Elizabeth Erskine his spouse.

In 1553 Sir Walter had a gift of the non-entries, etc., of the lands of Wester Lecky, in Stirlingshire, and four years later (28th October 1557), in consequence of the decease of the Commendator of the abbeys of Kelso and Melrose, he obtained from the Queen, in return for certain payments, a 'tack' of the vicarage of the Kirk of West Gordon, etc., in the Sheriffdom of Berwick, for the space of five years.²

The same year (16th February 1557-8), Sir Walter Seton of Tullibody appears as pursuer in an action against James Grahame, brother of Sir David Grahame of Fintry, for the reduction of an instrument of sasine dated 9th November 1549, being described in the record as 'oy and heir of the deceased Alexander Seytoun, his gudschir';³ and about the same period he had a litigation with John Hume of Huttonhall relative to certain heritable possessions in West Gordon, and the process was removed from the Sheriff-Court of Berwick to the Lords of the Council.⁴

Sir Walter Seton married, before 1545, Lady Elizabeth Erskine, daughter of John, fifth Earl of Mar, by whom he appears to have had three sons:—

1. James, his successor.
2. Christell (or Christopher), who is described as 'brother-german to James Seytoun of Tulibody' in a gift of the escheat of the goods which pertained to James Hopper, convicted of the slaughter of William Malice, dated at Holyroodhouse, 5th September 1580.⁵
3. Robert, 'prebendar' of the parish of Logy, in the diocese of Dunblane, 27th November 1562, the appointment being ratified 3rd March 1581.⁶



5. *James Seton of Touch, etc.,*

to whom, as 'son and heir apparent of Walter Seytoun of Tulybody,' there is a charter, dated 2nd July 1563, of the lands and barony of Touch-Fraser, etc., which the said Walter personally resigned, reserving to himself the 'frankenement.'⁷ Two years later

¹ *Register of Privy Seal*, vol. xix. fol. 62.

² *Ibid.* vol. xxvi. fol. 61, and vol. xxix. fol. 3.

³ *Acts and Decrees*, vol. xvi. fol. 351.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. xiii. fol. 463.

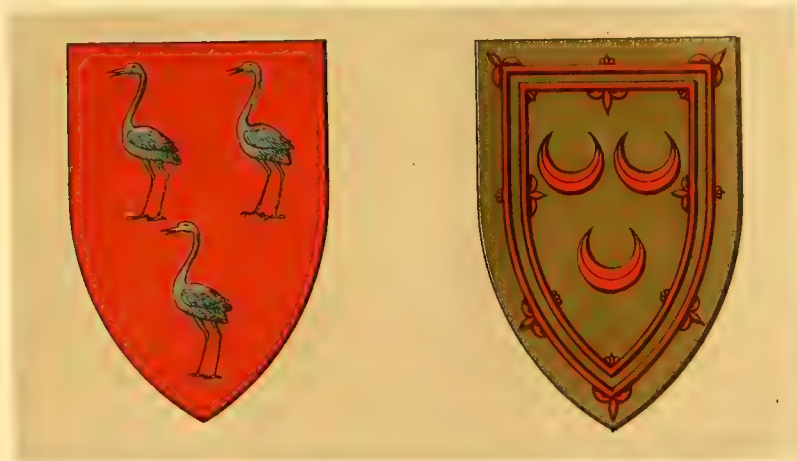
⁵ *Register of Privy Seal*, vol. xlvii. fol. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.* vol. xlviii. fol. 108.

⁷ *Register of Great Seal*, Lib. xxii. No. 358.

(23rd January 1565-6), in a letter of gift of the escheat of the goods of three brothers (Dogs or Doegs), 'denounced rebels,' he is still described as 'James Seytoun, younger of Tulch';¹ and accordingly his succession to the estates did not occur till after that date.

In the account of the family of Touch in Douglas's *Baronage of Scotland*, James Seton is said to have married a daughter of Sir William Cranston of that ilk. On the other hand, we have the record of a contract of marriage between Walter Setoun of Tulibothy, Elizabeth Erskyne his spouse, and *James Seton* their son and apparent heir, on the one part, and



John Edmonstoun of that ilk, Ewfame Wauchope his spouse, and *Eline Edmonstoun* their daughter, on the other part, whereby it is agreed that the said James Setoun shall marry and take the said Eline Edmonstoun to wife betwixt and midsummer next, and such like the said Walter Setoun shall infest them in conjunct-infestment in all and sundry his lands, fishings, etc., lying besouth Soutray-edge; the parents of the said Eline Edmonstoun paying the sum of 2500 merks. Dated at Edmonstoun 9th May, and registered 31st July 1563.² It is, of course, possible that James Seton of Touch may have been *twice* married.

The complicity of the Touch and Gargunnock families in the 'Raid of Ruthven' crops up in the Register of the Privy Seal,³ where we find, under date 'Stirling, 24th October 1583,' a precept for remission to James Seytoun of Tullybody, Robert Seytoun his brother, John Seytoun, portioner of Gargunnok, Alexander Seytoun and Andrew Seytoun his sons, and Henry Fairbairn in Gordon, for art and part in the capture and

¹ *Register of Privy Seal*, vol. xxxiv. fol. 41.

² *Register of Deeds*, Scott Office, vol. vi. fol. 417. In a later entry in the same record (vol. xiv. fol. 212), the wife of James Seton is described

as '*Jane Edmeston*,' which is probably a clerical error.

³ Vol. xlix. fol. 167.

forcible detention of the King in and near Ruthven, committed in the month of August 1582, and thereafter at Perth, Stirling, Edinburgh, and elsewhere within this kingdom, and for all other actions and crimes.

James Seton of Touch appears to have had four sons :—

1. John, his heir.
2. Alexander, ancestor of the Setons of Culbeg and Abercorn, of whom afterwards.
3. Robert, 'brother to the Laird of Touche,' who was made a burgess and guild-brother of the burgh of Stirling, 3rd December 1600, 'without any compositione payet or to be payed be him thairfor, in respect of the grite panes and travellis tane be the said Robert in the beitting (mending) and repairing of the brig of Tullibody.'¹
4. James, 'brother-german to the Lord Kilcreuche,' so described in the testament-dative of his son, Captain Alexander Seton, who died in August 1655.²

6. *John Seton of Touch, etc.*

In a gift of the ward of certain lands in Berwickshire pertaining to his father, and holden by him of the late George, Earl of Huntly, dated at Holyroodhouse, 23rd November 1577, John Seton is described as 'son and apparent heir to James Seytoun of Tullybody,'³ and he probably succeeded his father about the year 1590. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Home of Wedderburn, and died in 1622, leaving a son,



7. *James Seton of Touch, etc.,*

who, in 1612, got a charter from his father of the lands and barony of Touch, etc., which was confirmed by a charter under the Great Seal, dated 22nd January 1622. The brother of this laird of Touch appears on the 19th of December 1618, before Chancellor Seton, the Treasurer (Lord Mar), and the Lords of the Privy Council, along with John Baillie of Letham, 'anent the lait contrauersie fallin oute betuix thame'; and both parties submit the settlement of the dispute to the 'determinatioun' of the Chancellor and

¹ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Stirling*, 1519-1666, p. 96.

² *Commissariat of Edinburgh*, vol. lxviii.

³ *Register of Privy Seal*, vol. xlv. fol. 121.

Treasurer.¹ He does not appear to have long survived his father, his death having occurred in the beginning of the reign of King Charles I.

Besides a daughter Euphame, married to William, Earl of Dumfries, he had, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Stewart of Grantully, a son and successor,



8. *James Seton of Touch, etc.,*

who was served and retoured heir to his father on the 23rd of April 1630. In the relative retour his descent is carried down from Sir Ninian Seton of Touch and Tullibody, his great-grandfather's grandfather, as shown in the preceding pages. He is said to have suffered many hardships, on account of his sincere attachment to the interests of King Charles I. He married Elizabeth (born 31st January 1649), fourth daughter of Sir Archibald Stirling of Garden and Keir (Lord Garden), by whom he had a daughter, Lucy, born March 1676,² and a son,

9. *James Seton of Touch, etc.,*

who, like his father, was a great loyalist. He appears to have been M.P. for Stirlingshire, 1673-4.³ On account of the faithful services of himself and his predecessors, he got a charter from King Charles II., dated 8th April 1651, narrating and confirming a former gift by King James IV., in favour of Sir Alexander Seton of Touch and Tullibody, and his lineal heirs, of the office of armour-bearer and squire of the King's

¹ *Register of Privy Seal of Scotland* (1894), xi. 489.

² *Fraser's Stirlings of Keir*, p. 66.

³ *Foster's Members of Parliament—Scotland, 1357-1882*. His father represented the same county in 1665.

body; and after the Restoration the King provided an annual salary of £300 sterling, as armour-bearer, to the laird of Touch, under the Privy Seal, 30th May 1662.

In a subsequent charter under the Great Seal, dated 13th March 1663, his Majesty ratifies, approves, and confirms all and sundry gifts, charters, etc., previously granted to the family of Touch, and also the heritable office of royal armour-bearer and squire of the body, with a salary of £200 *per annum*, to James Seton of Touch, and his heirs-male or assignees whomsoever.



Among the Lauderdale papers in the British Museum (23,114, f. 29) is a letter from 'J. Seatoune of Touch' to Lord Lauderdale, dated Edinburgh, 14th July 1660, relative to the honourable office, which had been secured to him through the instrumentality of the late Duke of Hamilton by a 'patantt vnder the hand off his Majestie.' The seal bears the coats of Seton and Hay quarterly, with the motto 'forward our's'; and the bearer of the letter was the writer's son and successor Archibald.

Six years later (23,126, f. 58)—26th January 1668—as hereditary armour-bearer and squire of the body to King Charles II., Sir James Seton asks for a continuance of Lord Lauderdale's favour.

By his wife —, daughter of — Stirling, James Seton had two sons and two daughters:—

1. Archibald, his successor.
2. George, who died without issue.
3. 4. Liliast and Charlotte.

10. *Archibald Seton of Touch*

was served and retoured heir to his father in the lands and baronies of Touch, etc., and the heritable office of armour-bearer, in November 1702. Six years afterwards (15th November 1708), along with the lairds of Keir, Garden, Kippendavie, and Newton, he was tried for high treason, in the Court of Justiciary, at Edinburgh, one of the charges being the drinking 'openly to the good health of your Master, as you called him, who could be none else but the Pretender.' After several adjournments of the trial, all the accused were acquitted and dismissed from the bar.¹

¹ Fraser's *Stirlings of Keir*, p. 69.

In 1721 he married Barbara, only daughter and heiress of Alexander Hunter of Muirhouse, by his wife Barbara, niece of Sir Thomas Moncreiffe, Bart., and under the relative marriage contract it was settled and agreed that he should make a resignation, in terms of which the succession to his various lands, and also to the heritable office of armour-bearer, would be secured to 'himself, and the heirs-male to be procreate of the marriage; whom failing, to his heirs-male of any other marriage; whom failing, to the heirs-male of the body of his brother George; whom failing, to the eldest heir-female to be procreate of the said marriage and the heirs-male of her body, etc.; whom all failing, to his own nearest heirs and assignees whatsoever.'

By his wife, Barbara Hunter, Archibald Seton had one son and two daughters:—

1. James, his successor.
2. Barbara, who died young.
3. Elizabeth, who succeeded her brother James.



II. *James Seton of Touch, etc.,*

was served heir to his father, 27th July 1726, but dying unmarried in 1742, he was succeeded in all his estates and dignities by his sister,

II (2). *Elizabeth Seton, heiress of Touch, etc.,*

who on the 25th of January 1743 was served and retoured heir (1) to Archibald Seton of Touch, her father, as only child in life, and heir of line, tailzie, and provision under the contract of marriage already referred to; (2) to James Seton of Touch, her brother; and (3) to James Seton of Touch, her great-grandfather.

Elizabeth Seton, heiress of Touch, married, first, Hugh, only son and apparent heir of Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, Bart., by whom she had no issue; and, secondly, Hugh, only son of Charles Smith, Esq. (of Skeoch?), an eminent merchant, maternally descended from the Patersons of Bannockburn, the Ruthvens of Dunglass, and the Marquises of Douglas, who assumed the surname of Seton.

'Mr. Seton of Touch became a keen agricultural improver much about the same time (1750) with Blair (Drummond). Being intimate friends, they had the same views and advisers. Mr. Seton went on much the better that Mr. Charles Smith (father-in-law of Sir John Stewart) entered deeply into schemes of improvement, from a persuasion of its being

a profitable trade.' His son farmed upon what was then thought a great scale. For a number of years he led a very pleasant, respectable life at Touch, being seldom absent when anything important was going on. His system was sensible and liberal, and he grudged neither expense nor pains in carrying it into execution. . . . Ere long he made a wonderful change upon the place; his fences were substantial and neatly kept; his fields rich and gay; the Carse of Touch, that had been proverbially bad, produced plentiful crops by means of liming and high culture. . . . Both he and Blair, however, were full of money, and, of course, under no obligation of attending to immediate gain.'¹

A strange story connecting Hugh Seton with the personification of a Fakeer is supposed to have originated from the circumstance of his having crossed India, through the enemy's country, in disguise, to join the British army, and is regarded by the family as a pure invention.²

By her second husband the heiress of Touch had three sons and three daughters:—

1. Charles, who died young (?).
2. Archibald, of whom afterwards.
3. James, who died unmarried.
- 4, 5. Barbara and Elizabeth.

6. Lilius, who married, in 1787, Henry Steuart of Allanton (born 1759, died 1836), created a baronet in 1815, by whom he had a daughter, Elizabeth-Margaret, who succeeded her maternal uncle, Archibald Seton of Touch. The heiress of Touch was succeeded by her eldest surviving son,

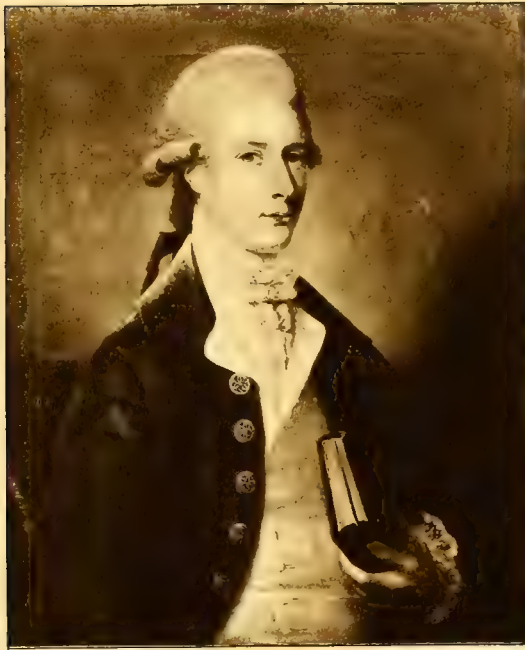
12. *The Hon. Archibald Seton (paternally Smith) of Touch,*

Governor of Prince of Wales Island. He held the office of Commissioner of the ceded Provinces of India, and his correspondence with the Governor-General (Marquis of Wellesley), and his secretaries, in 1803-5, is preserved in the British Museum.³ In a letter which was addressed to him by one of the secretaries, during the Mahratta War, he gets a 'wiggling' for not having communicated certain important intelligence to the Commander-in-chief respecting the military force of Bamboo Khan. Many of Seton's own communications are very long and elaborately expressed. Writing from Bareilly, on the 28th December 1804, respecting the position and power of 'Begum Sumroo,' he says at the close of his letter, which extends to nine and a half folio pages:—'If the observations which, with the utmost diffidence and respect, have been hazarded in the course of this letter, were as justly conceived as they are well intended, they would not be found so uninteresting as I fear they will be. They originate in the purest motives that can animate the breast of man; in public zeal and in private gratitude. In drawing me from obscurity and bringing me into public notice, your

¹ Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. 235.

² See Appendix of Miscellanies.

³ 13,576, 13,577, 13,712.



Excellency established a claim to my future exertion, which not a whole life of unceasing endeavour on my part could enable me to discharge. It is, however, the prevailing wish of my soul to prove to your Excellency, by every part of my conduct—by the greatest sacrifices, if required—how strongly my mind is impressed with the sensation which I thus faintly describe.’ In another very long letter from the same place, several months previously, he gives a most graphic account of a somewhat serious disturbance at Barelli, in connection with the mysterious conduct of the ‘Hon. Mr. Fitzroy,’ whose mind seems to have been affected, and whom Seton afterwards contrived to get removed to Cawnpore.

Archibald Seton of Touch died unmarried in 1835, when he was succeeded by his niece,

13. *Elizabeth-Margaret Steuart,*

born 31st October 1790, who assumed the surname and designation of Seton of Touch. She married, in 1812, Reginald Macdonald of Staffa, afterwards Sir Reginald Macdonald Seton-Steuart, Bart., the title being



inherited by him as the son-in-law of Sir Henry Steuart. Sir Reginald died in 1838, leaving three sons and two daughters:—

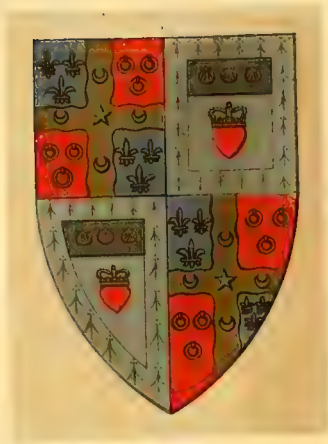
1. Henry-James, third baronet.
2. Archibald, born 1814, married in 1855 Katherine, daughter of Robert Stein, Esq., and died 21st October 1872, leaving two sons:—
 - (1) Alan-Henry, who succeeded his uncle as fourth baronet.
 - (2) Douglas-Archibald, born 1857.
3. Colin-Reginald, who was drowned.
4. Isabella, married, in 1852, the Rev. John Lockhart Ross, Rector of St. George's-in-the-East, London.
5. Liliast-Margaret, died unmarried 5th July 1866.

Lady Seton-Steuart died 2nd August 1866, when she was succeeded in the estate and honours of Touch by her eldest son,

14. *Sir Henry-James Seton-Steuart,*

of Allanton and Touch, third baronet, born 1812, who married, 2nd December 1852, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Robert Montgomery, Esq., younger

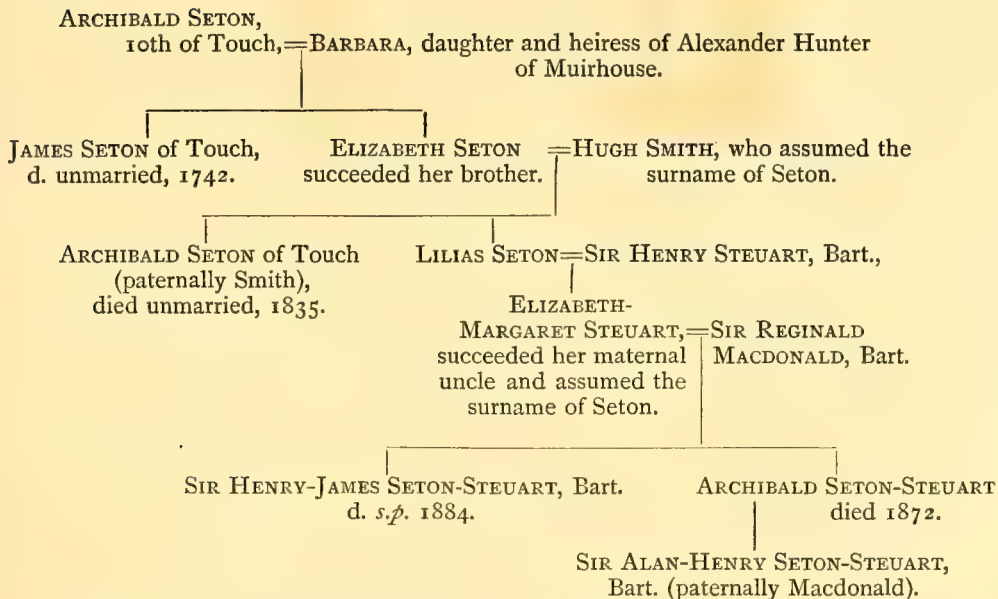
brother of Sir James Montgomery, baronet, of Stanhope, and died without issue in 1884, when he was succeeded by his nephew,



15. *Sir Alan-Henry Seton-Steuart*

of Allanton and Touch, fourth baronet, born 1856, educated at Eton and Pembroke College, Oxford. As heir of line of the Setons of Touch, Sir Alan is hereditary Armour-bearer and Squire of the Royal Body in Scotland to the Queen. On 5th June 1883 he married Susan-Edith, eldest daughter of Sir James Clerk of Penicuik, Bart.¹

The genealogical position of the present family of Touch is shown in the annexed table :—



It will be observed that Elizabeth Seton succeeded her brother James in the representation of the family, in 1742. Liliass, one of her daughters, by her second husband, was paternally *Smith*, and married Sir Henry Steuart, by whom she had a daughter, Elizabeth-Margaret (paternally *Steuart*), who married Sir Reginald Macdonald, by whom she had a son, Sir Henry-James Seton-Steuart (paternally *Macdonald*), whose nephew

¹ The Penicuik coat will be found under Cariston, Appendix No. XVI.

and successor, Sir Alan-Henry Seton-Steuart, heir of line of the Setons of Touch, is also paternally Macdonald. Accordingly, since the death of James Seton of Touch, in 1742, the representation of the family has been carried on through no fewer than three surnames, viz. Smith, Steuart, and Macdonald.

Besides numerous family portraits at Touch there are several other interesting pictures, including :—

A King of Sardinia.

Prince Charles-Edward Stuart, in armour.

Flora Macdonald.

Chevalier Ramsay.

Marshal Keith.

Eliza Farren, Countess of Derby, by Gainsborough.

A lady, by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Two gentlemen, by Reynolds.

Two sisters of Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn (painted by an artist named Seton), one of whom married Charles Smith and the other Walkinshaw of Barrowfield.

The family portraits embrace :—

George, fifth and last Earl of Winton, when a young man, in armour.

The same, painted at Rome the year of his death, *æt.* seventy.

Archibald Seton of Touch, Governor of Prince of Wales Island.

Lilias Seton (his sister), wife of Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton, by Martin.

Sir Reginald Macdonald, in Highland dress.

Elizabeth Seton of Touch, his wife, by Raeburn.

The sixth James Steuart of Allanton and his two wives.

Sir Henry-James Seton-Steuart and his wife, Elizabeth Montgomery, by MacInnes.

Among other interesting heirlooms are :—

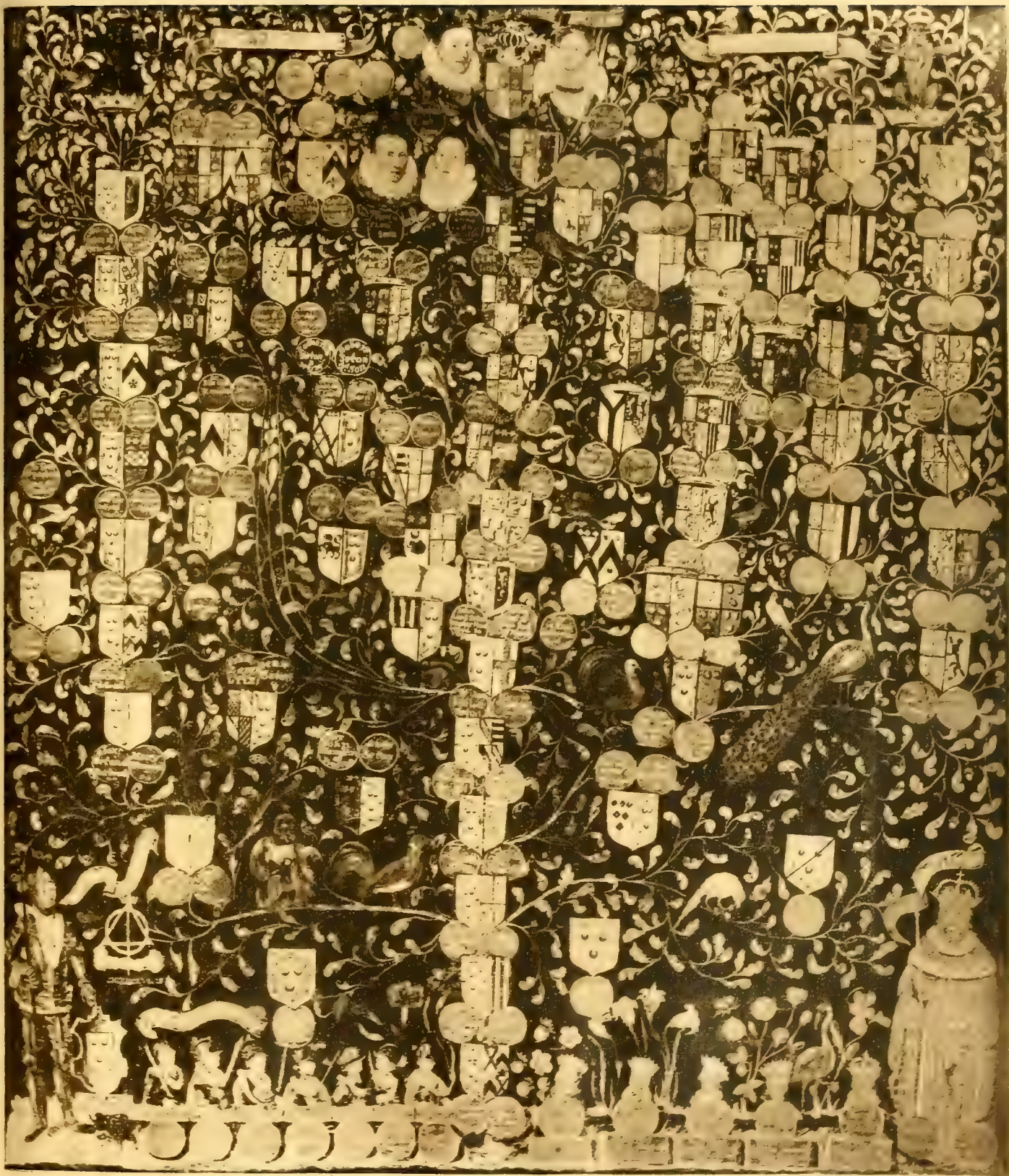
The robes and cap of the hereditary armour-bearer—crimson velvet with gold braid border.

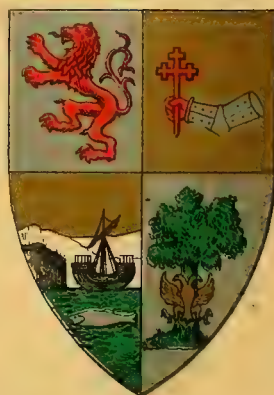
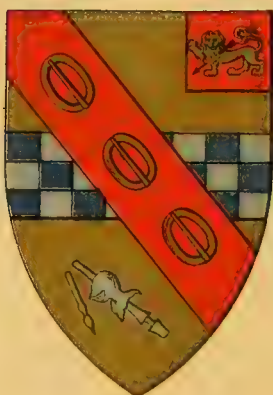
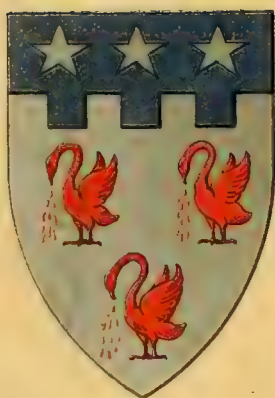
Horse housings, including pistol holsters of green and gold.

Quaigh, snuff-box, and silver shoulder-knot of Prince Charles-Edward Stuart. (See p. 351.)

The following description of the 'Seton Family Tree,' in the possession of Sir Alan H. Seton-Steuart, is from the *Catalogue of the Heraldic Exhibition*, held at Edinburgh in 1891 :—

'Executed on parchment, the background being black, and the leafage of a definite green. Over seventy shields, generally baron and femme, appear illuminated in gold and tinctures, *argent* being represented by the white parchment. The flowers (carnations, lilies, roses, etc.) introduced at foot, and the figures of an ape and various birds that appear above, are executed with great minuteness and beauty of colouring: while the portraits of Robert Lord Seton (afterwards first Earl of Winton), and his father George, and their respective wives, have the finish of fine miniatures.







(Compare the head of George Lord Seton, with that in the family group, by Sir Antonio More, in Seton's *Memoir of Chancellor Seton*.)

'At the lower dexter corner is the figure of "Dougall Seton, Esquire," with the motto "Dederunt Principium," on a scroll from his mouth. Below this scroll appears the device of two hands issuing from clouds and bearing a sceptre, terminating in a crown under which is a circle and a triangle interlacing. Within the triangle is a lion rampant, and beneath, the word "Indissolubile." The same device and a similar motto appear on the title-page of the *Seton Armorial* (Catalogue No. 671), but there it is surmounted by a crescent instead of a crown, and the monogram of Robert Lord Seton and his wife takes the place of the lion. At the lower sinister corner is the figure of Malcolm Canmore, with the motto "Dignis ineptivi" (*sic*) above. Extending across the base, from "Dougall Seton," are small effigies of early ancestors of the House of Seton. Above the head of the first three is the motto "Hazart zet Forward." Similarly, on the dexter side, extending from Malcolm are small effigies of his descendants. The two lines unite in the centre in two rondels inscribed "Sir Christopher Seton married"—"Christian, sister of K. Robert Bruce." From these spring the main Seton stem, ending at top in a rondel inscribed "Robert Maister Seton" (afterwards second Earl of Winton). On the dexter are the Setons of Parbroath, etc., and on the sinister side the lines of Meldrum, Seton of Touch, Earls of Huntly, etc. At the top, on either side, appears the crest of Scotland, and between is this inscription and date, "Sic vireo ramis custode leone 1585." Above this, surmounting the miniatures of Robert Lord Seton and his wife and the shield of their impaled arms, is the motto "Virtus non quærit angulos." Size $17\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ inches.'

This family tree is referred to in Nisbet's *Heraldry*, i. pp. 131, 141, 236, and 238 (edit. of 1722), and forms Plate XLII. in the Catalogue.

Armorial Bearings.

Quarterly: 1st and 4th *or*, three crescents within a royal tressure *gules*, for Seton; 2nd and 3rd, *argent*, three escutcheons *gules*, for Hay (some old books make the field *ermine*).

Supporters—two greyhounds, proper.

Crest—a boar's head, couped, *or*.¹

Motto—Forward Our's.

The present representative of the family carries only the arms of Steuart of Allanton, viz. :—

Or a fesse chequé *azure* and *argent*, surmounted by a bend *gules*, charged with three buckles of the field; on a sinister canton of the fourth, a lion passant guardant of the first, pierced with a dart proper, and in base a broken spear, surmounted by a helmet, both proper.

Supporters—two lions rampant guardant proper, armed and langued *gules*, collared of the last, charged with three buckles *or*.

Crest—out of an Earl's coronet, a dexter hand grasping a thistle, all proper.

Mottoes—above the crest, 'Juvant aspera fortes.'

Under the shield, 'Virtutis in bello præmium.'

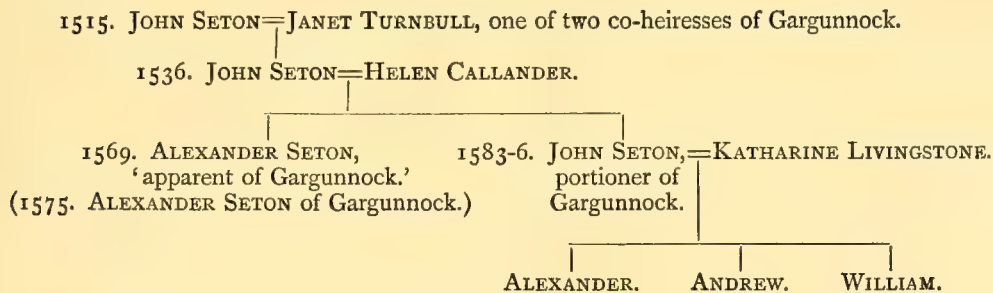
¹ Probably to commemorate the descent of the family from the heiress of Gordon.





Gargunnock Branch.

THE following pedigree has been prepared from various entries in the public records, to which it seems to be unnecessary to make special reference:—



Possibly the first John Seton in the table, who married Janet Turnbull, co-heiress of Gargunnock, in the county of Stirling, may have been the younger brother of Sir Ninian Seton of Touch. We have already seen that, in 1545 and 1547, charters of the barony of Gargunnock were granted by Queen Mary to Sir Walter Seton of Touch and Elizabeth Erskine his spouse; and among the muniments at Leny are two charters of certain lands by Alexander Seton of Gargunnock to James Galbraith of Battocharan, respectively dated in 1572 and 1575.¹ It further appears that Sir Alexander Seton, second son of James Seton, fifth of Touch, and first of the family of Culbeg (Abercorn)—No. v. *infra*—got from his father the lands and barony of Gargunnock.²

¹ *Per* John Buchanan Hamilton of Leny and Bardowie.

² Douglas's *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 170.

On the 7th of February 1622 there is a caption against Robert Galbraith of Culcreoch for not fulfilling the obligations of a contract with Alexander Seton of Gargunnock, and about a month later (3rd April) there is a commission

for the apprehension of Galbraith and his two sons 'for convocation of our leigeis in armes, beareing and wareing of hagbuittis and pistollettis, lying in awaitt for the said Mr. Alexander Seatoun, and for the shooteing at him the number of six or aucht shoittis of hagbuittis and pistollettis of purpois to have bereft him of his lyff.'—*Register of Privy Seal*, xi. 642 and 706.

I have hitherto been unable to identify the Alexander Seton commemorated on the monumental slab in the old churchyard of Kilmadock, Perthshire, which is engraved on the preceding page. He may possibly have been a younger son of either the Touch or Gargunnock lines.

Gargunnock House, now the property of John S. Stirling, Esq., is about six miles west of Stirling. In the thirteenth century its site was occupied by a fort commanding a ford in the Forth, which is said to have been the scene of one of Wallace's exploits. In Book iv. of *Blind Harry* the fort is called 'the Peel of Gargonow'; and Nimmo in his *History of Stirlingshire* derives the name from *Caer Guineach*=sharp or conical fortress. A gable and turret, forming a small portion of the mansion erected in the seventeenth century, somewhat farther from the river than the original fabric, is all that remains, and forms a small illustration in Macgibbon and Ross's *Scottish Architecture* (iv. 393). A modern front has been added to the old building.¹

With regard to the armorial ensigns of the Gargunnock line, in a manuscript volume of blazons in the Lyon Office, bearing the name of Joseph Stacy, Ross Herald in 1682, it is stated, after the usual quarterly blazon of Touch, that 'Settone of Garganna' bears the first coat (the paternal arms of Seton), 'with a crescent in the nombrill for his brotherly difference.' Nisbet, however, tells us that 'Seton of Gargunnock, descended of Touch, carried three coats, quarterly: 1st, Seton; 2nd, *argent*, three bull's heads, erased *sable*, horned *vert*, for marrying the heiress of Turnbull of Bedrule; 3rd, *azure*, three escutcheons *argent*, for the name of Hay; and the 4th as the first.'²

¹ See also *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xviii. p. 100.

² *System of Heraldry*, i. 238.





V. CULBEG OR ABERCORN



THE Setons of Culbeg were afterwards better known under the designation of Abercorn, from their former possession of that name in the county of Linlithgow, from which the Duke of Abercorn also derives his title. In the year 1600 James VI. conferred the office of Sheriff-Principal of Linlithgowshire upon James Hamilton, eldest son of Claude, Lord Paisley, by his wife, Margaret Seton, and the following year he granted to him the barony of Abercorn. In 1606 James Hamilton was created Earl of Abercorn, and died before his father in 1618. The Hamiltons afterwards disposed of the barony to the Setons, by whom it was sold, in 1678, to John Hope of Hopetoun, ancestor of the Earl of Hopetoun,¹ who is also the present owner of Niddry, a still more ancient possession of the Seton family.

Near the picturesque parish church of Abercorn—now within the Hopetoun grounds—the two small streams of Cornie and Midhope unite, and hence the name Abercorn, the prefix *Aber* indicating the confluence of the waters. During the middle ages the name was written Abercurnig or Abercornie. The church lands belonged to the Bishops of Dunkeld,

¹ Penny's *Linlithgowshire*, p. 48.



Site of Abercorn Castle

and the manor, in the time of David I., to the Avenels, from whom it passed, through the Grahams and Mores, to the Earls of Douglas, about the beginning of the fifteenth century. 'The site of the Castle of Abercorn is marked by a green mound, the ruins having been carefully removed at the dictate of the taste prevailing when the Hopetoun pleasure-grounds were first laid out. The situation was singularly strong, accessible from the east by a narrow neck of high ground, but surrounded on all other sides with steep banks.'¹ The mound is situated on an eminence about a quarter of a mile to the north of the church, at no great distance from the Forth, and almost commands a view of Blackness Castle. In form it is nearly circular, with a diameter of about thirty yards, and it is crowned by three fine old cedars.

Beda writes that 'the commencement of the wall of Severus was not far distant from the monastery of Kebercurnig (Aebbercurnig or Eoriercorn), of which monastery not a vestige now remains. Not far distant, however, stands the half-ruined castle of the Douglasses called Abercorn,' which

¹ *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, ii. 26.

was taken from the ninth and last Earl of Douglas by James II. in 1454.¹

The first of the Setons of Abercorn was

1. *Sir Alexander Seton of Kilcreuch,*

second son of James Seton, fifth of Touch, who followed the profession of the law. Being 'a man of parts and learning,' he was admitted an ordinary Lord of Session, under the title of Lord Kilcreuch, on the 14th of February 1626. He was knighted by King Charles I. at Holyrood, 12th July 1633, and resigned his judicial seat on the 6th of June 1637, on account of the 'infirmities of his sight and other weaknesses ensuing upon his great age.'² At the election of Sir Robert Spotswoode to the office of Lord President, in 1633, Lord Kilcreuch was 'nominated and made choice of along with him to be upon the leetis of the said office.'³

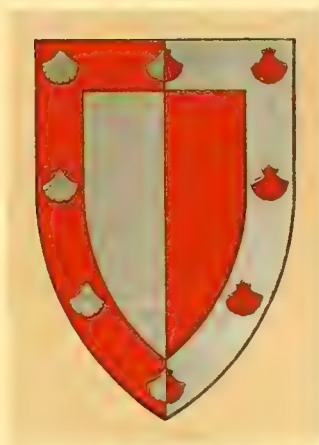
Sir Alexander got from his father the lands and barony of Gargunnock in Stirlingshire; also an annuity out of the lands of Touch, upon which he obtained a charter under the Great Seal, dated 16th June 1612, 'Alexandro Seton de Gargunnock, fratri Johannis Seton de Touch, annui redditus sexcentarum mercarum, levan. de terris de Touch,' etc.

In a mounted ms. pedigree in the possession of Mr. Seton of Preston (No. VI. *infra*), compiled in 1758, Lord Kilcreuch is said to have lived at Leuchard, near Queensferry. It further states that 'he was uncle by his sister Euphemia Seton to James Hamilton of Parkly, who married his sister-in-law, Isobel Maule'; and also that 'there is an elbow-chair of Lord Kilgriech's at Hiltly, the recovery of qth cost his grandson Alexander £40 Scots.'

Sir Alexander Seton married Marion, daughter of William Maule of Glaster, son of Robert Maule of Panmure, by Isobel his wife, daughter of Sir Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk, by whom he had two sons and one daughter:—

1. Alexander, of whom afterwards.

2. William, 'minister of Grædon' (Graden?), who appears to have married and had a son.



¹ P. Hume Brown's *Scotland before 1700*—George Buchanan's *Description of Scotland*, 1582, p. 232.

² Balfour's *Annals*, iv. 366, and *Books of*

Sederunt.

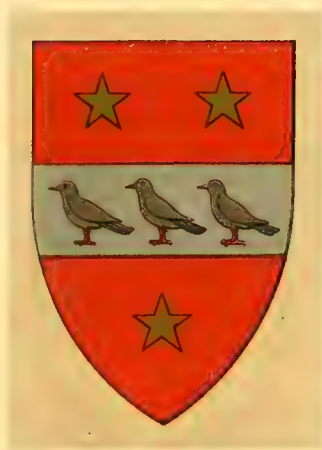
³ Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 267.

3. Janet, married to Laurence Grahame, 'a laird near Culross,' by whom she had a daughter, Isobel, who was twice married.

2. *Alexander Seton of Graden.*

Lord Kilcreuch was succeeded by his eldest son, Alexander, who sold Kilcreuch and Leuchard, and acquired the lands of Gargunnoch in the county of Stirling, and Graden in Berwickshire, which last he adopted as his designation, and got two relative charters from King Charles I. under the Great Seal, dated 11th January 1634 and 1st August 1636. He appears to have afterwards sold that estate, and, 'dividing the money amongst his children, lived with his son Walter at Northbank.' The Preston pedigree also informs us that 'he was a poet and a fine musician,' and that 'there is a pictur of his at Hiltly.'

Alexander Seton married Janet (Margaret?), daughter of Cornwall of Bonhard, an ancient family in West Lothian. On the west wall of an old dovecot, adjoining the dilapidated mansion of Bonhard, is an armorial panel bearing the impaled coats of Cornwall and Seton and the date 1591, under the initials N. C. (Nicholas Cornwall?) and M. S. (Margaret Seton?), which would appear to indicate an earlier union between the two families.¹



Alexander Seton of Graden (who died in 1645?) appears to have had two sons and one daughter:—

1. Walter, created a Baronet in 1663.
2. Alexander, who, according to the Preston pedigree, 'studied physic and passed physician.' He afterwards studied divinity and was settled in England when Episcopacy was established in Scotland.

He was appointed minister of Linlithgow, and married Anna Chanell, 'an Englishwoman' (died in May 1709), by whom he had a daughter Ann, wife of Andrew Crawford of Lochquoit (Lochote?), who died without issue.

¹ On the wall of a house in Linlithgow, formerly the town residence of the Cornwall family, is another armorial stone exhibiting the date 1527 and their quaint motto: VE · BIG · YE · SE · VARLE · (we build, ye see, warily), from which a shield of arms and apparently two monograms have now disappeared. Sir Robert Sibbald, in his *History of the Sheriffdom of Linlithgow*, published in 1710, states that 'Bonerd and Northbank in the parish of Carri-

den belong to Mr. Cornwall, Esquire.' In the old house of Bonhard, now the property of the Duke of Hamilton, the plaster ceiling of one of the rooms, occupied by an intelligent old labourer, exhibits a number of roses, mullets, fleurs-de-lis, and other devices somewhat similar to the designs at Winton. Over the principal doorway is a recess, about 15 inches square, which probably once contained a shield of arms.

3. Janet, married to John Langlands of Borrowstouness, 'captain of a man-of-war,' and died in 1669.¹

3. *Sir Walter Seton of Abercorn,*

Northbank, and Carriden, eldest son of Alexander Seton of Graden, was heritable Sheriff of Linlithgowshire, as Laird of Abercorn. He held the office of Tax-master of the Customs in the reign of King Charles II., by whom he was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia, by royal patent, in 1663, under the designation of Abercorn, the destination being to him and his heirs-male whatsoever. He appears to have been afterwards designed by the title of Northbank.

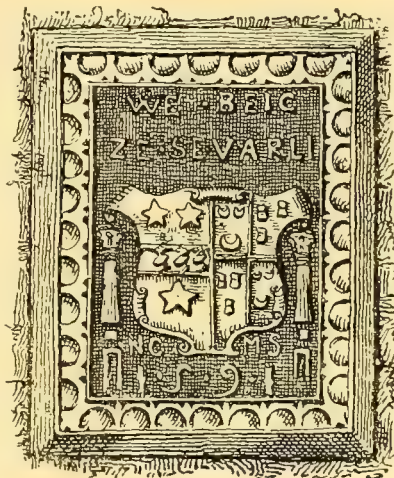
From the *Lauderdale Papers* in the British Museum (23,129, ff. 142, 148, and 154) it would appear that Sir Walter's subject of a correspondence in June 1668. himself, Lord Bellenden writes to Lord Lauderdale relative to 'the report to be made concerning Sir Walter's Seton's busines'; and there is also a letter to the King signed by Lords Tweeddale and Kincardine and ten others respecting the case of Sir Walter Seton, 'Fermorer of the Customs and Excise.'

By his wife, Christian, daughter of George Dundas of that ilk, he had three sons and three daughters:—

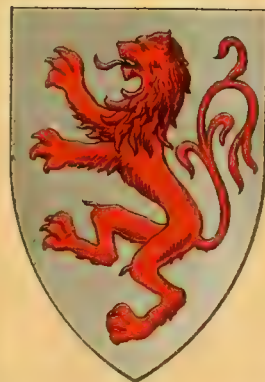
1. Walter, second Baronet.
2. Alexander, ancestor of the Setons of Preston and Ekolsund (No. VI. *infra*).
3. George, factor to the Earl of Winton, died unmarried.
4. Christian, married to Henry Sinclair of Carlowrie, and died without issue in 1759.

5. Grisel, married to Edward Hodge, shipmaster in Grangepans, by whom she had a son, who died unmarried, and two daughters, who both married.

6. Anne, died young.



official position formed the
Besides a communication from



¹ Her testament is recorded in the *Edinburgh Register*, vol. lxxv.

Sir Walter was succeeded by his eldest son,

4. *Sir Walter Seton, second Baronet,*

an advocate at the Scottish Bar, and Commissary Clerk of Edinburgh, who married Euphemia, daughter of Sir Robert Murray of Priestfield and Melgum, by whom he had, besides a daughter, Agnes, who died unmarried, three sons :—

1. Henry, third Baronet.
2. George, Lieutenant in the Navy, and
3. Robert, a writer in Edinburgh, who both died without issue.

On the death of Sir Walter, at Preston, East Lothian, 3rd January 1708,¹ he was succeeded by his eldest son,



5. *Sir Henry Seton, third Baronet,*

Seton, eldest son of Alexander

Seton, Lord Gordon, and first Earl of Huntly, which Sir Alexander was the elder brother of George, second Earl of Huntly. In respect of that important genealogical position, the late John Riddell, the eminent peerage lawyer, was disposed to hold that Sir Henry and his descendants were entitled to claim the ancient barony of Gordon.²

Sir Henry Seton married Barbara, daughter of Sir John Wemyss of Bogie, Baronet, by whom, besides a daughter, Janet, he had four sons :—

1. Sir Henry, fourth Baronet.
- 2, 3, 4. George, Alexander, and Robert.

At his death in 1751 he was succeeded by his eldest son,



¹ *Edinburgh Testaments*, vol. lxxxiv., 22nd March 1708.

² *Scottish Peerage Law*, i. 274, note.



6. *Sir Henry Seton, fourth Baronet,*

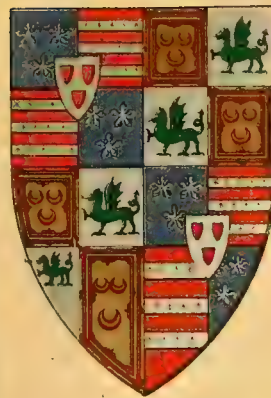
Captain in the 17th regiment of Foot, who, on the 8th of August 1761, was served heir-male to James Seton of Touch. He married Margaret (who died in 1809), daughter of Alexander Hay of Drumelzier, heir of line of the Setons, Viscounts Kingston, by whom he had two sons:—

1. James, who died young.
2. Alexander, fifth Baronet.

Sir Henry died in 1788, when he was succeeded by his son,

7. *Sir Alexander Seton, fifth Baronet,*

E.I.C.S., born 4th May 1772, married 20th May 1795, Lydia, fifth daughter of Sir Charles-William Blunt,





Baronet, who died 23rd February 1851, having had, besides a daughter, Anna-Maria, who died in infancy, five sons :—

1. Henry-John, sixth Baronet.
2. Charles-Hay, seventh Baronet.
3. Bruce, Colonel E.I.C.S., born 25th June 1799, and died 27th November 1876, having married, first, Miss Elphinstone; secondly, Emma Orton, by whom he had five sons and one daughter :—

(1) Alexander-Reginald, Major Royal Engineers, born 25th May 1840, and died in 1887. He married, 18th September 1862, Emma-Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Loch, Major 1st Bombay Lancers, and—besides three daughters, Katharine-Marion, Elsie-Madeleine, and Aileen-Mary—had a son, Surgeon-Captain Bruce-Gordon, heir-presumptive to the





Baronetcy, born 13th October 1868, wounded at Waziristan in December 1894, and married, 16th March 1895, to Elma (Ellen Mary), daughter of Lieut. Colonel F. H. Armstrong, Southsea.

(2) Bruce-Outram, born 7th May 1841, Major Royal Engineers, and Instructor in Fortification at Sandhurst, 1875; married, 21st July 1880, Louisa-Harriet-Manderson, eldest daughter of Deputy-Surgeon-General Charles T. Paske, Bengal Army, and has two daughters, respectively born in 1881 and 1882.

(3) William-Bowman, born 1st September 1843, Major Bombay Staff, 1882; married, 7th September 1878, Elizabeth-Frances-Maria, eldest daughter of Major-General George Swiny, Bengal Staff.

(4) Charles-Compton, born 24th July 1846, late Lieutenant Royal Engineers, married, 30th July 1868, Phœbe-Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry-William Ripley, Baronet, M.P. She died, 3rd December 1873, having had two sons, Charles-Henry, born 28th April 1869, and Bruce Hugh, born 6th November 1871.

(5) Henry-James, born 27th August 1854, Major Royal Irish Rifles; married, 6th December 1888, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry-James Byron, Esq.

(6) Emma-Alice, married, 18th July 1876, to Henry, second son of Sir Henry-William Ripley aforesaid.

The two other sons of the fifth Baronet were :—

4. James, H.E.I.C.S., born 2nd October 1803, died in India in 1834.

5. Alexander, also of the H.E.I.C.S., born 14th December 1805, died in India in 1831.

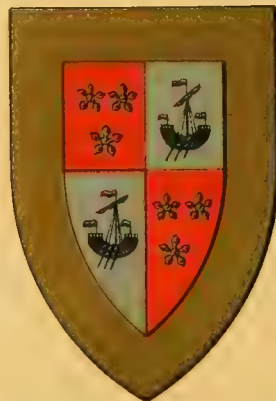
Sir Alexander Seton died at Calcutta, 4th February 1810, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

8. *Sir Henry-John Seton, sixth Baronet,*

born 4th April 1796, a Groom-in-Waiting to Her Majesty. He had been a Captain in the Army, and served in the Peninsular War with the 52nd regiment and the 5th Dragoon Guards. He was accidentally killed in London, 21st July 1868, having been run over in the street. Dying unmarried, he was succeeded by his brother,

8 (2). *Sir Charles-Hay Seton, seventh Baronet,*

born 14th November 1797, Captain 5th Dragoon Guards, who married, 19th May 1829, Caroline, daughter of Walter Parry-Hodges, Receiver-General for the county of Dorset, and by her (who died 17th November 1868) had an only son, Bruce-Maxwell, who, on the death of his father, 11th June 1869, succeeded as



9. *Sir Bruce-Maxwell Seton, eighth Baronet.*

Sir Bruce, who was born 31st January 1836, is a Deputy-Lieutenant for Tower-Hamlets; was private secretary to the Secretary of State for War, 1882; private secretary to the Lord President of the Council, 1867-74;



and has been a senior clerk in the War Office since 1871. He married, in 1886, Helen, only daughter of General Richard Hamilton, C.B.

At the sale of the prints, etchings, etc., belonging to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe of Hoddam, which took place in Edinburgh in June 1851, I purchased a series of prettily executed pen-and-ink miniatures on vellum, which had been sold some years previously, in Manor Place, Edinburgh, at the sale of the effects of Miss Seton, aunt of Sir Henry-John Seton, sixth Baronet, of Abercorn, which are now in the possession of Sir Bruce Seton. On calling for her surviving sister, at 25 St. Bernard's Crescent, Edinburgh, I found that the old lady remembered the miniatures, but could give no particulars regarding them. Neither of these ladies—who must have been daughters of Sir Henry Seton, fourth Baronet—appears in the preceding genealogy. I have every reason to believe that these miniatures, two of which are reproduced on the following page, are portraits of members of the Abercorn family.

Mr. Henderson of Nether Parkly, Linlithgow, possesses an oval oil portrait, labelled on the back 'Seaton of Abercorn,' which came from the old mansion of Briery-yards near Hawick. It represents a gentleman of the time of George II., in a crimson cloak, with white cravat, and flowing locks.



Armorial Bearings.

Up to 1761, the Setons of Abercorn, as descended of Touch, carried the quarterly coat of that family, viz., 1st and 4th, Seton; 2nd and 3rd, Hay, all within a bordure *gules*, for difference.

Crest—a Cornish chough on the face of a rock, proper.

Motto—‘Hazard Warily.’¹

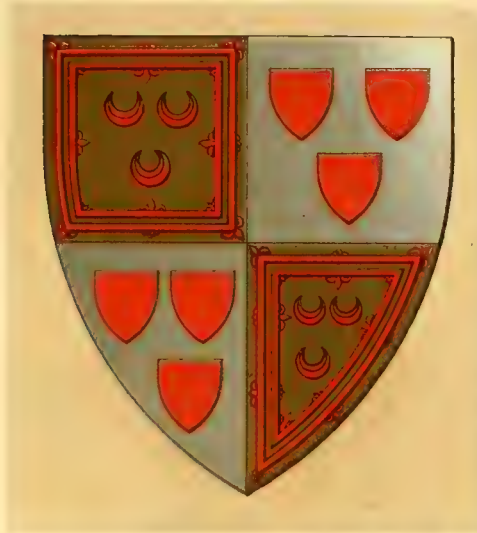
Since the service of Sir Henry Seton, fourth Baronet, already referred to, they appear to have assumed the undifferenced arms of Touch. Quarterly: 1st and 4th, *or*, three crescents within a royal tressure, *gules*, for Seton; 2nd and 3rd, *argent*, three escutcheons, *gules*, for Hay.

Crest—a boar’s head, couped.

Supporters—two greyhounds.

Motto—‘Forward Ours.’

¹ Nisbet’s *System of Heraldry*, i. 238.



VI. PRESTON AND EKOLSUND



MOST of the particulars embraced in the following pages are derived from the elaborate ms. pedigree already referred to, in the possession of Mr. Patrick-Baron Seton of Preston, county Linlithgow, and Ekolsund, Sweden, which bears the following inscription:—‘Alex^r Barron, Fecit 1758—a present to his uncle, George Seton of Hiltly, Esq^r, Merchant in Stockholm, 1765.’ It begins with ‘Robert Maul of Panmure in Angus, the fifteenth in a direct line from father to son,’ who died in 1560, and embraces, among other descendants of Robert Maule (the common ancestor), Murrays, Oliphants, Hopes, Burnets, Forbeses, Monypenys, Dundases, Moncrieffs, Hamiltons, etc. Robert Maule’s descendant, ‘Marion Maul,’ married Sir Alexander Seton, a younger son of the family of Touch, made Lord of Session by Charles I. under the title of Lord Kilgriech (*Culcreuch*), who lived at the Leuchard, near Queensferry. He was uncle, by his sister Euphemia Seton, to James Hamilton of Parkly, who married his sister-in-law, Isobel Maul.

The grandson of Sir Alexander Seton, by Christian Maule, was Sir Walter Seton of Abercorn, created a Baronet in 1663, whose *second* son,

1. *Alexander Seton, Collector of Excise at Linlithgow,*

was the first of the family of Preston. He married Margaret, daughter of Provost M'Call of Haddington, and died in 1758, aged upwards of ninety-six years. Seven of his seventeen children died young, while the survivors were :—

1. George, merchant in Stockholm, of whom afterwards.
- 2-7. Christopher, John, Alexander, James, William, and Richard.
8. Christian, married to George Wedderburn, by whom she had two sons.
9. Ann.
10. Margaret, of whom presently.

2. *Margaret Seton,*

one of the daughters of Alexander Seton and Margaret M'Call, married Patrick Baron (or Barron) of Preston, in the county of Linlithgow.

The old house of Preston was entirely pulled down, and the present mansion erected, about the year 1846. It is finely situated on a lofty ridge, a little to the north-east of the hill of Cockleroi (or Cocklereuf)—from the summit of which at least fourteen counties can be seen—and about a mile from the town of Linlithgow, commanding a good view of the Palace, the birthplace of Mary Stuart.

The first of the French family of Baron who came to Scotland was in the suite of Mary of Lorraine, Queen of James v. His descendant, John Georgeson Baron of Preston, married Agnes Baird of Auchmeddan, and was father of James Baron of Preston, who married Margaret,



Preston House

daughter of Patrick Liston of Langton, and whose son, Patrick Baron of Preston, married the aforesaid Margaret Seton, by whom he had, besides three daughters—Christian, Ann, and Janet,—a son,

3. *Alexander Baron, or Seton,*

who assumed the surname of Seton on being adopted by his maternal uncle, George Seton of Hiltly, already referred to. This George Seton, who was born in 1696, went first to Dantzig, and settled at Stockholm in 1718. In 1784 he acquired the fine estate of Ekolsund from Gustaf III., and the year following he and his adopted son were made Swedish nobles.

The following reference to the old Stockholm merchant, and to the occurrence of the name of Seton in Sweden, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, is from Marryat's *One Year in Sweden* :—

‘George Seton, merchant in Stockholm, having no issue, adopted as his heir one Robert Dundas, who inherited his lands of Akersberg, in Skåne. Shortly after Charles XII.’s death Seton arrived in Sweden, where he amassed great wealth, lending large sums of money to Gustaf III., who, unable to pay the debt in cash, made over the royal domain of Ekolsund to the lender. The old merchant, in his snuff-brown dress, is described,

like some character in an old comedy, a mixture of pinching poverty and princely generosity. At his death, when ninety years old, he adopted his nephew, who in turn adopted a relation, the above-mentioned Dundas. The latter left two sons, the eldest of whom—Alexander—at the age of eighteen, fell in love with his stepmother, in consequence of which his father had him shut up in a lunatic asylum in England. The keeper of the madhouse dying, Alexander was released by his successor, but on arriving in Sweden was again imprisoned in the house of a priest. It was not until the age of sixty-two that he regained his liberty. The old man was dead, so he brought an action against his brother for the recovery of his property, but crossing the Mälar in an open boat was drowned.

'The name of Seton has been known in Sweden since the early part of the seventeenth century, from the oft-told anecdote so much to the credit of the great Gustavus. The king, who was hot and violent, provoked with Colonel Seton for some military affair, publicly boxed his ears. Seton, indignant at the insult, feeling he could have no redress, at once sent in his resignation, which was accepted by the king. Gustaf, on retiring to his tent and thinking coolly over what had occurred, greatly regretted his violence. He sent for the colonel, but it was too late. Seton had already started. The king, taking horse, pursued the traveller till he overtook him beyond the frontiers of Denmark. "Colonel Seton," said he, "we are now on neutral ground; I am here no longer a king, but a gentleman who is willing to offer the satisfaction due to a brave officer whom he has insulted. I am very sorry for it. Here are two pistols and two swords. I greatly respect you; revenge yourself if you can." Seton, much affected at the king's generosity, fell at his feet; the two embraced, and returning home to Stockholm together, excited the wonder of all gossips as they rode through the streets.'¹

In 1783 'Alexander Baron de Preston, Armiger,' had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him by the University of St. Andrews, and the same year he obtained a grant of armorial bearings from the Lyon King of Arms—*argent* a chevron *gules* between three martlets *sable*.

Crest—a demi-eagle, wings elevated, *sable*.

Motto—'Alter ipse amicus.'

A patent of arms, embracing the Winton supporters, was granted by King Gustaf 17th November 1785 (see p. 374).

George Seton died at Stockholm in 1786, and in 1797 his adopted son became a Knight of the Order of the Wasa, as Sir Alexander Seton. Sir Alexander married, 29th June 1763, Elizabeth (born 21st November 1738, died 24th March 1770), second daughter of Archibald Angus,

¹ Marryat, i. 497. See also Harte's *Gustavus Adolphus*, i. 110.

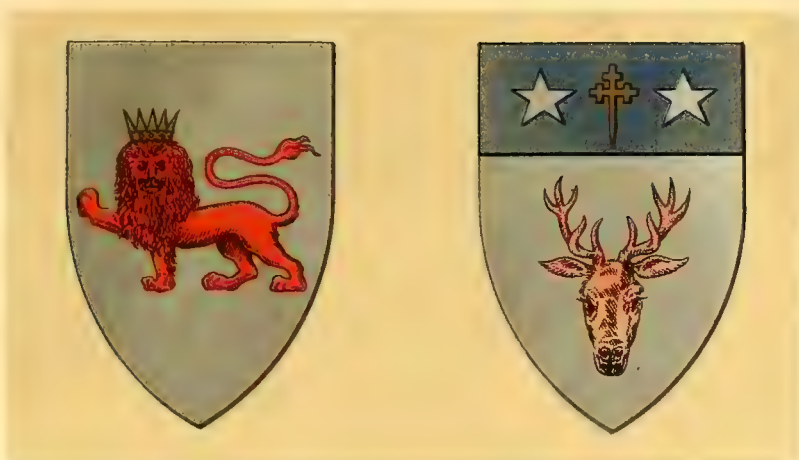
Colonel Seton was the first commander of the Life Regiment of Cavalry, when 1500 strong. The Regiment was afterwards divided into the three corps of Hussars, Dragoons, and Grenadiers; and in the mess-room of the Grenadiers there is a large shield with the names of the

Colonels, in which Seton heads the list. I have failed to ascertain his parentage, and he is believed to have died unmarried.

In the List of English and Scottish Nobles not 'introduced,' *i.e.* who never took their seats in the Riddarhus, the name of *Seton* occurs.—Marryat, i. 501.

merchant in Edinburgh, by his wife, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John Dundas of Philipstoun, Advocate, and had four sons :—

1. George, born 30th May 1764, died 16th September 1783, aged nineteen years.
2. Patrick-Baron, born 21st September 1765, of whom afterwards.
3. Archibald, born 14th October 1766, lost off the Cape of Good Hope in 1787.
4. Alexander, born 10th December 1768, died at Stockholm in 1828.



4. *Patrick-Baron Seton,*

the second son, succeeded to Preston and Ekolsund, and married Agnes Thomson, by whom he had three sons and four daughters :—

1. Alexander, of whom afterwards.
2. Patrick, born 1807, and died at Torquay 15th September 1837.
3. Archibald, died in 1820, in the tenth year of his age.
4. Elizabeth, born 1804, died at Stockholm in 1827.
5. Margaret, born 1805, died 1871, married to Baron Carl Gustaf Aldercreutz, son of General Count Aldercreutz, who was chiefly instrumental in dethroning King Gustaf IV. in 1809.
6. Agnes, born 1809, married Capt. John Engelhart, and died in 1842.
7. Anne, born 1812, married to Robert Græme of Wellhall, second son of Robert Græme of Garvock.

Patrick-Baron Seton died at Torquay, 14th November 1837, aged seventy-two, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

5. *Alexander Seton of Preston and Ekolsund,*

D.L.; born 1806; married, first, Mary, daughter of James Campbell of



Dunmore, county Argyll, who died without issue 10th December 1846; and, secondly, in 1848, Mary-Isabella (who died 14th January 1864, aged thirty-four¹), fourth daughter of Sir William Baillie of Polkemmet, Baronet, by whom he had five sons and three daughters:—

1. Patrick-Baron, his successor.
2. William-Baillie, born 1851, married the widow of Thomas Brabazon, by whom he had a son, Hope, who died in 1894, aged three years.
3. Alexander-George, born 1856, married Cecilia, daughter of Count —, by whom he has one daughter.
4. Charles-Aldercreutz, born 1859, married, in 1894, Mabel Stewart.
5. George, born 2nd April 1863, residing in the Argentine Republic.
6. Mary-Dennistoun, born 1854, married to Lieutenant-Colonel Charles-De Jersey Græme, younger son of James Græme of Garvock.
7. Agnes-Alexandrina, born 1857.
8. Margaret, born 1860, married to Charles-Robert Paterson of Cranly, Ceylon, by whom she has one son and two daughters.

Alexander Seton of Preston died 17th May 1884, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

6. Patrick-Baron Seton of Preston and Ekolsund,

a magistrate for Linlithgowshire and a member of the House of Nobles in Sweden, born 1849, who is also the owner of Hiltly, county Linlithgow, and of two plantations in Ceylon. In 1879 he was made a 'Hofjägmästare' by Oscar, king of Sweden, an office which somewhat corresponds to the

¹ At the birth of twins—a son and a daughter—who survived only a few hours.



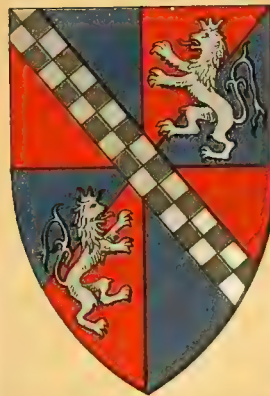
Master of Buckhounds, and confers the rank of Colonel; and in 1892 was created a Knight of the Order of the Wasa.

Ekolsund is noted for its wild swans. When the Prince of Wales was in Sweden in 1885 he paid a visit to Colonel Seton, along with King Oscar and the Crown Prince, and enjoyed a day's sport.

Colonel Seton married, in 1873, Beate-Louise, daughter of Captain Rosencrantz (descended from Gustavus Adolphus, through Count Gustaf of Vasaborg, and the Counts Dücker), by whom he has two sons and two daughters:—

1. Alexander-George, born 1882.
2. Patrick-Baron-Frederick, born 1886.
3. Mary-Isabella-Margaret, born 1874.
4. Elizabeth-Henrietta, born 1876.

Among other family portraits at Preston are the following:—



1. An old lady in 'mutch' cap and black berthe (unframed).
2. A lady in a white dress (by *Raeburn*?).
3. The late Alexander Seton of Preston (died 1884).
4. His grandmother (by *Raeburn*).
5. His sisters Elizabeth and Margaret (Baroness Aldercreutz).
6. Mary Campbell of Dunmore, his first wife.
7. Mary-Isabella Baillie of Polkemmet, his second wife, and her two eldest sons, when children, by *Colvin Smith*.

There is also an old engraving of Ekolsund with a formal garden in front of the mansion, and an engraved portrait of General Count Aldercreutz, Equerry (?) to Bernadotte, with numerous badges.

Armorial Bearings.

Quarterly: 1st and 4th, *or*, three crescents within a royal tressure, *gules*, for Seton; 2nd and 3rd, *argent*, three escutcheons, *gules*, for Hay.

Supporters—two foxes proper.

Crest—a ship in full sail, with a flag in the stern, being a cross *or* on an *azure* field.

Motto—'Hazard zit forward.'

These arms, without the crest, are sculptured in high relief over the doorway at Preston.



Ekolsund, Stockholm



VII. HUNTLY (SETON-GORDON)



NE of the earliest, and certainly one of the most important, cadets of the House of Seton is that of Huntly,¹ which dates from the very beginning of the fifteenth century. Nearly all the representatives of that illustrious branch of the family took a very prominent part in the chequered annals of Scotland, but occasionally failed to exhibit the unswerving principles of loyalty by which the main line was so honourably distinguished.

The family of Gordon derived their name from the lands of Gordon in Berwickshire, where, at the end of the twelfth century, they appear as witnesses to charters by the well-known Earls of March. Sir Adam de Gordon held the office of Justiciary of Lothian, in

¹ It must be borne in mind that although, in the second generation, this branch of the family assumed the surname of Gordon in lieu of that of Seton, all the descendants of 'Alexander de Seton, Dominus de Gordon' (whose son was created Earl of Huntly), were *paternally Setons*. These descendants include George, fifth and last Duke of Gordon, who died in 1836, as well as the present male representative of the line, Charles, eleventh Marquis of Huntly.

Immediately after I had written my account of the Huntly line, the Marquis of Huntly was good enough to send to me the proof-sheets of

his able and exhaustive work entitled *The Records of Aboyne, 1230-1681*, since printed for the New Spalding Club, from which I have made several important additions to my narrative. At the close of his Preface Lord Huntly truly says: 'So intimately and continuously have the family identified themselves with the principal events, both martial and political, affecting Scotland, that in order fully to explain the circumstances of each episode, and the career of each member of the house, would necessitate volumes comprising the national history. The rapid rise of the Gordons to a

1305, under Edward I. Tardily joining Bruce, he had a grant of the great northern lordship of Strathbogie, forfeited by the Earl of Athole. His younger son, William, was ancestor of the Gordons of Lochinvar and Viscounts Kenmure; while his *elder* son, Alexander Gordon of that ilk, was father of John Gordon of that ilk, taken prisoner at Durham in 1346. According to one version of the pedigree, John was father of another John Gordon, who is said to have fallen at the battle of Otterburn in 1388, and to have been succeeded by his son, Sir Adam Gordon of Huntly, who was killed at the battle of Homildon in 1402, in the course of a desperate attempt to turn the fortune of the day. Another account makes Adam the *brother* and successor of the Durham captive.

By his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Keith, Great Marischal of Scotland, Sir Adam Gordon had an only child,

1. *Elizabeth de Gordon,*

who married Alexander Seton, younger son of Sir William Seton of that ilk, afterwards first Lord Seton. They obtained from Robert, Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, a charter, dated 20th July 1408, of extensive possessions in the counties of Berwick and Aberdeen; and the husband was thenceforward designed 'Alexander de Seton, Dominus de Gordon.' According to one writer, Alexander Seton and Elizabeth Gordon were within the forbidden degrees, and had a dispensation from the Pope in 1428, long after their marriage. In this dispensation it is stated that Alexander de Seton had contracted marriage with Elizabeth, the heiress of Gordon, 'per verba de presenti, publice, juxta morem patriæ.'¹

'In the north,' says Dr. Hill Burton, 'the influence of the House of Douglas depended on the league with the Earl of Ross, who ruled beyond the Moray Firth, and the Earl of Crawford, whose estates and feudal influence were in Strathmore and other parts of midland Scotland—the land of the



position which completely eclipsed the names of Ross, Moray, Mar, and Buchan, so famous in Scottish story, was certain to create jealousy, and their actions have seldom received just and impartial treatment at the hands of local or national historians. Although of the most noble and illustrious descent—both as Gordons and Setons—they were for long regarded as an upstart race, and in their supersession of the native

house of Strathbolgi were considered as especial objects for misrepresentation.' His Lordship further states that it has been his endeavour 'to deal impartially with the Gordons, and treat all, either friends, opponents, or enemies, consistently with the duty of a seeker after truth.'

¹ *History of the Gordons*, 1726, i. 38, and Riddell's *Peerage Law*, i. 477.

Lindsays. Between these two another feudal power was, however, consolidating itself. A generation earlier, Alexander Seton had married the heiress of the Gordons, who had considerable estates on the border. The Regent Albany gave them a tract of land called Strathbogie, lying in the barren slopes between the Highlands and the flat eastern districts of the north. There is an expression applied in Scotland to aggrandising landowners that they "birse yont," or press outwards. The Seton-Gordons "birsed yont," until in the end they superseded the influence of the Earldom of Ross, and the Gordon was called "The Cock of the North."

In 1411 Sir Alexander Seton was present at the battle of Harlaw—"a final struggle for supremacy between the Highlands and Lowlands"—and pronounced by Burton to have been one of Scotland's most memorable conflicts, the result proving as great a national deliverance as that of Bannockburn. On that occasion the agriculturists and burghers of the north, under the leadership of the Earl of Mar,¹ who, like many of his followers, had gained experience in the French wars, successfully resisted the furious onslaughts of the Highlanders, led by Donald, Lord of the Isles,² who was compelled to retreat to his western fastnesses. Among others who fell in that decisive battle (which has been fully celebrated in northern minstrelsy) was Sir Robert Davidson, Provost of Aberdeen, and Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, who is commemorated by a monumental brass in the East Church of the 'Granite City.' Success was dearly bought; scarcely a gentle family but had lost one or more of its members; and it is said that in 'ae day the coronach was cried from the mouth of the Tay to the Buck of Cabrach.'

'Baith hieland and lowland mournfu' be
For the sair field of Harlaw.'³

Ten years after the victory at Harlaw, the 'Lord of Gordon' was actively engaged in the French wars, along with the Scottish forces sent to the assistance of the Dauphin, taking with him, on his own charges, forty lances and a hundred horse. Obtaining a safe-conduct to come to England, he was one of the commissioners appointed to treat for the release of James I., and in 1424 was one of the hostages for his ransom.

Between 1425 and 1436 Seton made frequent journeys to England in connection with public affairs; and about the latter date he was created a Lord of Parliament as 'Lord Gordon.' 'The existence of this barony of Gordon in 1437,' says Mr. Riddell, 'is fixed by legal evidence recovered from the Gray charter-chest, which, besides styling Alexander Seton (son and apparent heir of the first peer) "a noble and potent Lord," also gives him the title of "Master of Gordon"—a higher distinction the more we

¹ The illegitimate son of Alexander, 'Wolf of Badenoch,' who was a younger brother of Robert III.

² Donald claimed the Earldom of Ross in right of his wife Margaret, and took up arms

to vindicate his pretensions. His opponents embraced the Brodies, Burnetts, Gordons, Irvines, Leiths, Leslie, Ogilvies, etc., constituting the 'chivalry of the north-east of Scotland.'

³ *Records of Aboyne*, 375.

go back, and unequivocally denoting the eldest son of an Earl or Lord of Parliament; while "a noble lord, Schir Alexander, Lord of Gordon," first appends his seal, on the part of the Barons, after the Earl of Douglas, to an agreement in Parliament between the Queen and the Livingstones, dated 4th September 1439.¹

In 1436 he accompanied Margaret of Scotland to France, on the occasion of her marriage to the Dauphin. After the murder of James I. he was sent as ambassador to England to treat of a peace, which was happily concluded in 1439.

In 1437 the Lord of Gordon uplifted the rents of Aboyne and Cluny—lands which came into the possession of the Frasers, and of the Keiths-Marischal, through Margaret, the Fraser heiress, who married Sir William Keith, and whose daughter Elizabeth was the mother of the heiress of Gordon. 'Thus it would appear that the Deeside estates of the Gordons came to them through Elizabeth Keith, and were acquired at her death (c. 1436), and not by the first Earl of Huntly, in consequence of his supposed marriage with Jean, daughter and heir of Robert, Lord Keith.'²

By the heiress of Gordon, Sir Alexander Seton had issue three sons and one daughter:—

1. Alexander, Master of Gordon, afterwards first Earl of Huntly.
2. William, ancestor of the Setons of Meldrum (Appendix VIII.).
3. Henry, who fell, along with his brother William, at the battle of Brechin in 1452.
4. Elizabeth, married to Alexander, Earl of Ross.

The heiress died at Strathbogie on the 16th of March 1438, and, according to the historian of the Earldom of Sutherland, was buried 'at Nicolas his church in New Aberdeen, in the yle of Cocklarachie which yle herself had caused build. She was a judicious wiffie and a prudent woman.' Lord Gordon survived his wife for about three years.

2. Alexander de Seton (first Earl of Huntly),

the eldest son, Lord (or Master) of Gordon, succeeded his father before April 1441. In 1427 a charter was granted by James I. to him and Egidia, or Giles, de Haya, daughter and heiress of the deceased John de Haya de Tulibothe, 'whom, by God's grace, he shall marry.'

His marriage to Egidia Hay appears to have been dissolved before November 1438, and he soon afterwards became the husband of Chancellor Crichton's daughter, to whom, and her spouse, a charter of lands was granted by James II. in 1439; and three years earlier she is mentioned in the transumpt of a charter by the same king as 'Elyzabeth, sponsa nobilis domini et potentis Alexandri de *Cetoun*, domini de Gordoun.'³ Seton's divorced wife, Egidia Hay, 'Lady of Tullibody,' granted him, for his

¹ *Scottish Peerage Law*, i. 349.

² *Records of Aboyne*, 377.

³ *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff* (Spalding Club), iii. 317.

lifetime, all her lands of the barony of Tullibody, in the sheriffdom of Clackmannan, besides various estates in the county of Banff; and in the relative charter he is affectionately described as 'her beloved kinsman, Sir Alexander of Seton, Knight, son of Sir Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon.'¹

In a charter of excambion, dated 23rd February 1439-40, he is described as 'Alexander Seton of Tullibothi, son and heir of Elizabeth de Gordon de eodem.'

There appears to be some doubt as to the date of Seton's advancement to the Earldom of Huntly, which genealogists have hitherto assigned to the year 1449.² In 1441 he had a charter, dated at Edinburgh, of the lands of Gordon, in the county of Berwick, and Strathbogie and others in Aberdeen and Forfar, which was confirmed by James II. at Falkland, 15th October 1446, in favour of Sir Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon, now styled Earl of Huntly, and Elizabeth (Crichton) his spouse; and probably the year 1445 may be regarded as the date of the Earldom. On the 29th of January 1449-50 he obtained another charter from the same king to himself, 'et prolibus et heredibus inter ipsum Alexandrum et Elisabetham sponsam suam Comitissam de Huntly, procreatis seu procreandis; quibus forte deficientibus, veris legitimis et propinquioribus heredibus dicti Alexandri quibuscunque,' of the earldom of Huntly, the lordship of Strathbolgy, the lands of Cluny, Tulch, Obyn, Glentanyr, and Glenmuick, in Aberdeenshire; the lordship of Gordon, in Berwickshire, and the barony of Panbride, in Forfarshire.



For many long years the rivalries of the Douglasses, the Lindsays, the Gordons, the Crichtons, and the Ogilvies, gave rise to numerous exciting struggles; and just before an impending fight (in January 1445-46) the Earl of Crawford, when acting the part of a peacemaker, received his death-wound from the spear of one of the combatants, who knew not the Lindsay chief. Maddened by his fall, his followers took terrible vengeance on the hapless Ogilvies, whose strongholds were 'given to the flames.'

Huntly was employed in several negotiations to the Court of England between 1451 and 1458; and defeated the Earl of Crawford—known as the 'Tiger Earl' and 'Earl Beardie'—then in rebellion against the Crown, at Haircairn, about two miles north-east of Brechin, on Ascension Day, 18th May 1452. For his valuable services, King James II. rewarded him with the heritable sheriffship of Aberdeen, which office was possessed by his descendants till 1629, when (along with the sheriffship of Inverness, granted by the same monarch) it was resigned to Charles I.³ The victorious

¹ Gordon Charters.

² The family of Huntly is mentioned by Ariosto in the tenth Canto of *Orlando Furioso*.

³ *Collections for a History of Aberdeen and Banff* (Spalding Club), p. 108. (See below, under George, first Marquis of Huntly.)

Earl, it will be remembered, was a Seton by birth, and only succeeded to the Huntly estates on marrying Elizabeth Gordon, the heiress. In appointing the officers in command on the morning of the battle of Brechin, he is said to have placed his second son, the Laird of Gight, at the head of the Gordon clan; but the Laird of Pitlurg, as chief of the Gordons, claimed the leadership. Huntly refused his request. Pitlurg, drawing himself aside, and taking his black bonnet off his head, waved it aloft, exclaiming, 'A' that's come o' me follow me!' when the whole clan deserted Huntly and rallied round Pitlurg. The Earl immediately submitted, and good-humouredly said, 'Gentlemen, you have overcome me; I yield to you! Pitlurg, command the Gordons! And now that you have got the better of me, let me see that you beat Crawford!'¹

'Tis a pretty legend,' says Lord Huntly in his recent work, 'and not unfavourable to the Earl. Such an incident, however, never occurred; and the tradition is but a century old, dating from the time when certain Aberdeenshire families set up untenable claims to represent the Gordons of that ilk. The story, on the face of it, bears its own confutation. There was no Gordon of Gight until a later generation, and there was no Gordon clan in those days—merely a feudal following, over whom the illegitimate descendant of Sir John Gordon could exercise no authority; neither was there a Gordon "Laird of Pitlurg"; lastly, all gentlemen of the period were clad in mail, and wore steel helmets—not black bonnets.'²

When the Earls of Moray and Ormond raised a rebellion in the north in 1454, they were unsuccessfully attacked by Huntly at Dunkinty; but he afterwards, with the aid of fresh troops, forced the disloyal Earls to leave the north of Scotland and take refuge in the Western Isles.

The repulse at Dunkinty is jeeringly commemorated in the following lines:—

'Where did you leave your men,
Thou Gordon so gay?'³
In the bog of Dunkinty,
Mowing the hay.'

On the 7th of March 1455 James II. granted a remission at Aberdeen in favour of Alexander, Earl of Huntly, Lord Gordon and Badenoch, and 'George de Gordon, militi,' his son and apparent heir, for the 'rapines and depredatiouns by them committed on Thomas, Lord Erskine of Mar, his goods and lands,' etc. Two years later (15th March 1457) there is a charter of tailzie or destination of the Earldom of Huntly, which embraces various lands; after Alexander's decease, to his eldest son, George, by his spouse, Elizabeth Crichton, and the heirs-male of his body, whom failing, to George's brother, Alexander, etc.⁴

An indenture, dated 30th September 1461, between George, Earl of

¹ *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, xi. 293.

² *Records of Aboyne*, 388.

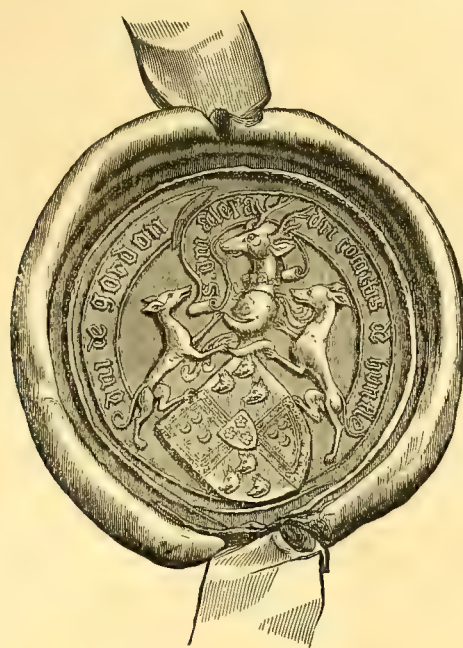
³ *Gay* is the well-known epithet of the

Gordons. See Chambers's *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, p. 308.

⁴ Richmond and Gordon Writs.

Angus, and Alexander, Earl of Huntly, provides that Archibald, son and heir of Angus, shall marry Katharine, daughter of Huntly, or any other daughter that the Earl of Angus shall like best to choose, her tocher being 2000 merks.¹

In 1464 Huntly had a charter erecting the town of Kingussie, in the lordship of Badenoch, Inverness-shire into a free burgh of barony; and three years later he obtained a grant of lands in the county of Moray.



The same year he appears to have had a dispute with the Bishop of Moray in regard to a small annual revenue due from certain of his lands; and such was then the power of ceremonial priestcraft that 'we find the "Cock of the North" uncovering his head, bending his knee, before the Bishop, humbly and earnestly—both standing and sitting—promising faithfully to pay the sum in question for the future.'²

In the later years of his life Huntly found it necessary to strengthen his position by the exaction of 'bonds of manrent,' to be afterwards referred to, one of which was from his son-in-law, Lord Forbes.

According to Sir Robert Douglas and other genealogists, the first Earl of Huntly was *thrice* married:—

1st, to Jean, granddaughter and heiress of Sir William de Keith, Great Marischal of Scotland, by whom he had no issue.

2ndly, before 8th January 1426, to Egidia, daughter and heiress of Sir

¹ Richmond and Gordon Writs.

² *Records of Aboyne*, 392.



John Hay of Tullibody, in the county of Clackmannan, by whom he had a son, Sir Alexander Seton, who succeeded to his mother's estate, and was ancestor of the Setons of Touch and Abercorn (Appendix Nos. iv. and v.).

3rdly, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William, Lord Crichton, High Chancellor of Scotland, whose children assumed the surname of *Gordon*, and on them the Earldom of Huntly devolved, viz. :—



1. George, second Earl of Huntly.

2. Sir Alexander Gordon of Midmar, ancestor of the Gordons of Abergeldie.

3. Adam, Dean of Caithness and Rector of Pettie, who died in 1528, and was father of three sons and one daughter, viz. : (1) William Gordon, Chancellor of Dunkeld; (2) George Gordon of Bel-dormie; (3) John Gordon of Drummuy, in Sutherlandshire; and (4) Elizabeth, wife, first of Alexander Ogilvy of Findlater, and secondly of Sir John Gordon.

4. Lady Janet, married to James Dunbar, Earl of Moray.

[According to the author of the *Earldom of Sutherland*, the Earl's eldest daughter was contracted to the Lord of the Isles, Earl of Ross; but, having been killed by a fall from her horse in Strathglass before the union took place, he married the second daughter. The wife of the Earl of Ross at this period appears to have been Elizabeth Livingston.]

5. Lady Elizabeth, married first to Nicol Hay, second Earl of Errol,

before 31st January 1466-7; secondly to John, second Lord Kennedy, before 12th July 1471.

6. Lady Christian, married to William, third Lord Forbes.

The first of the Earl's three marriages is called in question by Lord Huntly. 'Of this marriage,' he says, 'we can find no record, and, as the Earl had married Egidia Hay when he was only seventeen years of age, there is grave reason to doubt the connection, notwithstanding the fact that it was a characteristic of the age for the sons and daughters of great families to marry remarkably young. It has been alleged that the Earl of Huntly acquired great estates through Jean Keith, who is said to have died without issue—but we have already shown how the Fraser-Keith estates came into his possession through his mother and grandmother.'¹ On page 384 is a tabular pedigree of the Earls of Huntly, copied from a manuscript in the British Museum, entitled 'Dukes and Earls of Scotland, 1604.'² In several particulars the genealogy does not correspond with the ordinary peerage versions, generations being in some instances transposed. It will be observed that 'Alexander Seton dictus Gordon primus Co. Huntley' is credited with three wives, of whom the first is described as '*Frasser* hæres de Cluny et Abeyn, *s.p.*'; but this is probably a mistake for Keith, an Earl Marischal having married the heiress of Fraser. It will be further observed that Alexander Seton, the only child of the Hay marriage, besides being described as 'primogenitus' and 'D^{ns} de Tough,' is stated to have been 'Comitatu privatus pr. Chreicton cancellarium, qui filiæ suæ soboli nimis favebat.' From this statement it would seem that, through the influence of the Chancellor, the issue of the later marriage supplanted Alexander Seton, the Earl's eldest son by Egidia Hay, in the succession to the Huntly title, but subsequent investigations are believed to have established the legal, though not the genealogical, right of the junior line to the Earldom.

It appears, from the inscription on the first Earl's monument at Elgin, that he died at Huntly, on the 15th of July 1470; and that before his decease he had assumed the surname of Gordon, in lieu of that of Seton. 'During his lifetime, his kinsman, Richard Forbes, Dean of Aberdeen, mortified some lands, to the altar of the Virgin Mary, for the repose of his soul and that of his last Countess, Elizabeth. The Countess survived her husband, and in 1471 pursued Andro Mercer of Mekillour for taking sixteen oxen out of the lands of Netherdale.'³

The following elegant and touching lines, from the scholarly pen of George Buchanan, constitute the epitaph of the valiant Earl:—

'Clausus Alexander jacet hac Gordonius urnâ,
Qui priscum ornavit lumine stemma novo.
Forma decens, firma vires, unoque tenore
Continuo nullis sors labefacta malis :

(Continued on p. 385.)

¹ *Records of Aboyne*, 393.

³ *Records of Aboyne*, 394.

² Harl. 4031, 133b.

GOURDON COM HUNTLEY.

SETON.

Dominus de FRESSER cæsus
in prælio de Duplin.(A Shield unchanged and sur-
mounted by a Coronet.)Comes Mariscallus = Filia Unica
Dni de Fresser.WILLIELMUS PRIMUS
Dns. Seton.JOANNES GORDON = Filia et hæres.
Miles, de Strathbolgy.JOANNES
primogenitus.ALEXANDER SETON = ISABELLA, filia et hæres
2 filius.* Genita ante matrimonium Jacobi 4
cum filia Henrici 7 et tpe (tempore)
sponsaliorum quæ contraxit cum
filia Dromondi.Filia GUILLIUM = ALEXANDER SETON = HAY filia ac hæ:
Dni Chreiton dictus Gordon
Cancellarii primus Co Huntley.
ux. 3^a.Frasser hæres de
Cluny et Abeyn.
s. p.

2	1	3	4	5
Secundus filius duxit heredem Co Sutherland.	ALEXANDER = filia STUART Com Huntley. Co Atholæ.	Filius 3 duxit heredem de Geght.	Filius 4 duxit de Abridgeidie.	Jacobus de Laterfoury.

ALEXANDER SETON primogenitus
Dns de Tough, Comitatu privatus
pr. Chreiton Cancellarium, qui
filiae suæ soboli nimis favebat.Epus de
Aberdein.Dns de
Strathdown.JOANNES Dns.
Gourdon qui
ob. ante patrem.* MARGIRETA filia
notha Jacobi 4
R. Scotiæ.Filia nupta
ARCHEB: Comitiss
Argatheliæ.

ALEXANDER SETON Miles.

Archidiaconus
Moraviæ.GEORGIUS Com.
de Huntley.Filia Keith
Mariscall.ALEXANDER Episcopus
Gallovidiæ.ROGER SETON Miles.
(sic) ~~WALTER~~

JOANNES Decanus S. And.

Filia nupta
Joanni Comiti
Atholæ.Uxor Matrⁱ
de Forbes.Nupta Hepburne
Co. Bothwell nunc
Ux. Co. Sutherland.JOANNES
GOURDON
Miles.GEORGIUS = AGNES filia
Com. de
Huntley.ADAM GOURDON
Dns. de
Castrithraldi.
s. p.

ROBERTUS.

JACOBUS PATRICIUS nunc
Jesuita. Dns de Achindoir.

WALTER SETON.

GEORGIUS nunc
Co. Huntley.ALEXANDER GOURDON
filius 2.JACOBUS SETON
nunc supstes.

Dives opum, luxuque carens, domus hospita cunctis ;
 Pectus amans pacis, fortis ad arma manus,
 Omnia permensus felicitis commoda vitæ,
 Hic animam coelo reddidit, ossa solo.'

[Enclosed within this tomb lies Alexander Gordon,
 Who has added new lustre to an ancient name ;
 Comely, strong, and in his even course of life by ills unsubdued.
 Rich, shunning extravagance, hospitable to all ;
 Loving peace, ready for war,
 Having gone the round of all the blessings of a happy life,
 He rendered up his soul to heaven, his dust to earth.]

3. *George, second Earl of Huntly,*

the eldest son of the *latest* marriage, succeeded to his father's honours in 1470. Before his succession to the Earldom he had charters, as Lord Gordon, of various lands in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Berwick. His elder brother, Alexander Seton of Tullibody, succeeded to his *mother's* estates ; but it is believed that he assumed the title of Lord Gordon after his father's death, which was the cause of bitter animosity between him and his brother, the second Earl of Huntly. When Mr. Riddell wrote in 1842, he considered that Sir Henry-John Seton of Abercorn (uncle of the present Sir Bruce-Maxwell Seton), as the direct heir-male of Sir Alexander Seton, first Lord Gordon, had a claim to that ancient barony ; and further, he held that another direct ancestor of Sir Henry-John Seton (viz. Alexander Seton of Tullibody) was excluded from the earldom and estates 'by an unjustifiable transaction well vouched.'¹ We have already met with the discarded Laird of Tullibody in the account of the Touch branch.

As 'George, Master of Huntly,' the second Earl first comes into notice in 1441, when the lands afterwards erected into an earldom were settled upon him and his heirs ; and he subsequently appears as the intended husband of Elizabeth Dunbar, Countess of Moray. In the relative contract, dated at Forres 20th May 1455, it is quaintly provided, *inter alia*, that George, Master of Huntly, shall marry Elizabeth, Countess of Moray, and 'nane others indurand hir life,' and shall obtain a dispensation for any impediments, so that they may lawfully complete the marriage, and in the meantime he shall not constrain the lady, but of her own free will. Conflicting opinions prevail as to the nature of her relationship to her husband ; but however that may be, the Countess was forfeited the same year, when the King created his younger son, David, Earl of Moray. Certain writers have alleged that the 'change in her fortunes' induced the Master of Huntly to divorce her. The true cause of the dissolution of the marriage, however, appears to have been in respect of the union being 'illegal under the Papal law, because the Master of Huntly's uncle, Lord Crichton, had been for several years the husband of Janet, the Master's sister-in-law.'²

¹ *Scottish Peerage Law*, i. 274.

² *Records of Aboyne*, 397.

The Princess Annabella of Scotland, younger sister of James II., was betrothed, in December 1444, to the Count of Geneva, son of Lewis, Duke of Savoy; but shortly after the marriage took place, it was dissolved by the intrigues of the King of France. The Princess received 25,000 crowns as a *solatium*, and returned to her royal brother's 'fraternal arms,' in the beginning of 1458. About a year later (10th March 1459) she turns up as the wife of George, Lord Gordon, who some time previously, *judicio ecclesiæ*, had terminated his matrimonial partnership with the unfortunate Countess of Moray.

During 1461 and the five subsequent years, Lord Gordon was keeper of the castles of Kildrummy, Kindrocht, and Inverness; and his official emoluments are duly recorded in the Exchequer Rolls of the period. About a month before his father's death (in 1470), in consequence of an agreement with Alexander Seton of Tullibody, his elder brother, the latter resigned the lands of Kilsaurie and the forests of Boyne and Enzie, when they were granted by the King to Lord Gordon, who, in his turn, gave charters to the Laird of Tullibody of various lands in the south of Scotland, which were confirmed by the King in 1472. The startling chapter of separation had not yet come to an end. In 1471, the Earl of Huntly (as



he now was) divorced the Princess Annabella, by whom he had a large family, on the ground that he 'carnaliter cognovit quendam dominam Elizabeth de Dunbar quam duxit in matrimonium, et ab eadem, postmodum, *judicio ecclesiæ*, legitime devortiatu et separatus, dicte domine Annabelle in tertio et quarto gradibus attingentem. Et sic se invicem

Dominus Georgius et dicta Annabella in consimilibus tertio et quarto gradibus attingunt.’¹

The same document which preserves an account of the divorce proceedings also establishes the fact that, within a month thereafter (18th August 1471), banns of marriage between the Earl of Huntly and Lady Elizabeth Hay, daughter of the first Earl of Errol, were proclaimed in the Parish Church of Fyvie. ‘The marriage, however, does not appear to have been consummated until after 12th May 1476, for on that day the lady’s brother takes the precaution to make the Earl swear upon the Holy Bible that “I sall never presume til hafe actual delen wyt the said Elizabeth, nether be slight nor myght, nor any other manner, on to the tyme it be sene to the said Lord Nicol and other tender friends that I may hafe the said Elizabeth to my wife lawfully.”’²

We have accordingly seen that, in the course of two generations, no fewer than three divorces took place, viz., the first known wife of the first Earl of Huntly, and the first and second wives of the second Earl; and if, as some writers suppose, the first Earl was married for a short period to Jean Keith, she too may have been divorced, in which case both father and son would each be accountable for two separations. ‘*O tempora! O mores!*’ seems naturally to escape from our lips as a comment upon these doings of our ancestors; but can any reader of the daily journals honestly conclude that, on either side of the Tweed, we are very much better in these enlightened days?

From the comparatively peaceful squabbles of domestic life I must now turn to the consideration of strife of another kind. The Earl of Ross continued to be a troublesome disturber of the peace in the north of Scotland, where a feud seems to have arisen between him and Huntly. In March 1473 the King sent letters to both Earls for the ‘stanching of their slachteris and herschippes’ (plunderings), without apparently producing any satisfactory results. Two and a half years afterwards (October 1475) Ross was cited to answer for treason before the Parliament in Edinburgh, and, having failed to appear, he was formally forfeited.³ Among other powerful subjects sent against the rebellious noble was the Earl of Huntly, who captured the castle of Dingwall, and was the means of compelling Ross to sue for pardon. In a letter dated 27th March 1476 the King thanked Huntly ‘maist heertlie’ for his services in connection with the capture of Dingwall, and especially for his punishment of the rebels in Lochaber. In the religious spirit of the times, the royal missive thus concludes: ‘And the blessed Trinity have you in their keeping.’⁴

On the 10th of October 1479 Huntly received a commission from James I., under the Great Seal, for ruling Scotland benorth the Firth of Forth; and in the capacity of Justiciary he had to exert his authority for the suppression of various local feuds.

¹ See Riddell’s *Scottish Peerage Law*, i. 527.

² Errol Charters; Riddell’s *Tracts*, p. 85.

³ *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, ii. 109.

⁴ Richmond and Gordon Writs.

Two years later, his daughter Elizabeth was contracted to marry William Keith, son and heir of the Earl Marischal, the tocher provided by the bride's father being 1600 merks, payable by instalments, while the Earl Marischal became bound for 100 merks' worth of land of the barony of Aden.¹

After various hostile struggles, a truce with England was established in 1484, the Earl of Huntly being one of its conservators. On the 11th of June 1488 the Scottish king and his son (afterwards James IV.) met face to face at Sauchie, between Stirling and Bannockburn. Along with the Grahams and the Lindsays, a choice body of the Gordons, under Huntly, espoused the cause of the King. After a stout resistance the royalists were overpowered by their numerous opponents, and the King, flying from the field upon a charger presented to him by the loyal Lord Lindsay of the Byres, was thrown from his horse, carried into a miller's cottage, and basely assassinated by an unknown traitor, who had assumed the functions of a priest. By the 15th of October 1490 Huntly seems to have been received into the favour of James IV., who then granted a charter of the lands of the forest of Enzie to him and Elizabeth Hay his spouse.

By an indenture, dated at Perth a few months previously, between Huntly and Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, it is provided that Bothwell shall marry one of Huntly's daughters—Margaret or Catherine, whichever shall best please him—the tocher to be 2000 merks.² Shortly afterwards Huntly was made a Privy Councillor by James IV., and on the 13th of May 1491 he was appointed Lieutenant in the northern parts of Scotland, until the King attained twenty-five years, and thereafter during his Majesty's pleasure.

On the 23rd of June 1495 Huntly and his son, Alexander Lord Gordon, entered into a contract at Edinburgh with the Laird of Tullibody and Alexander Seton of Touch-fraser, his son, for the fulfilment of the previous contract of 1470 regarding the lands of Kilsaurie, Enzie, etc. 'By this contract the Setons became bound never to claim the said lands pertaining to "Gelis the Hay, moder to the said Alexander Seton, elder," and to allow the Earl of Huntly and his heirs to "bruk the saidis landis for ever mar." They are also to discharge all their rights in favour of Huntly in the "sikkerist wiss that can be devisit," and in return the Earl becomes bound to infest Alexander Seton the younger in seventeen merks' worth of land of Monycabock, and ten pounds annual rent from said lands, to be held of Lord Fleming as freely as the said Earl holds them.'³

Before 4th March 1495 the Earl of Huntly was appointed Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, which office he resigned three years afterwards. About the same date we come across a quaint and interesting historical episode. Struck by the beauty of Lady Catherine Gordon, one of Huntly's

¹ *Antiquities of Banff and Aberdeen*, iv. 34.

² *Miscellany of Spalding Club*, iv. 136.

³ *Records of Aboyne*, 408.

daughters, the Scottish king recommended her to the charge of his queen, and assigned a pension, which she long enjoyed. The popular voice conferred upon her graceful figure and fair complexion the title of the 'White Rose,' the badge of the House to which her suitor professed to belong. Lady Catherine was duly married to the famous adventurer, Perkin Warbeck, who passed himself off as Richard, Duke of York (younger brother of Edward v., murdered by Richard III. in the Tower of London), whom James IV., for political reasons, found it expedient to favour. In one of Warbeck's love-letters, which has been preserved,¹ the wooer refers to Lady Catherine's 'noble lineage,' and to her 'rather divine than human beauty.' Her face, he says, 'gives splendour to the cloudy sky'; her eyes are 'brilliant stars,' and her neck 'outshines pearls.' 'Whether waking or sleeping,' he adds, 'I cannot find rest or happiness except in your affection'; and he concludes his touching epistle by wishing 'the brightest ornament in Scotland—Farewell.'

There appears to be some uncertainty regarding the *maternity* of Lady Catherine, whose subsequent marriages will be given below. Beside her effigy on a beautiful tomb in Swansea Church, the arms of Gordon and Hay occupy the sinister side of an escutcheon, impaled with those of Cradock (the name of her third husband), which 'leads to the presumption that she must have been the eldest daughter of Huntly by Elizabeth Hay; and this is supported by a comparison of dates—Princess Annabella having been married to Huntly in 1459, and divorced in 1471. The Earl did not marry Elizabeth Hay until 1476.'²

On more than one occasion the Earl of Huntly accompanied the King in his northern expeditions; and during the last year of his life he was actively engaged in trying to pacify the Borders. In March 1449-50 he fined the Earl of Bothwell £550 for the lawlessness of his retainers—Turnbulls, Armstrongs, and others. One writer states that he built the Priory of Kingussie and the Church of St. Peter in Elgin. He founded the Castle of Bog of Gight, or the 'Palace of Newark upon Spey,' and repaired Strathbogie and Aboyne.³

According to the family historian (Sir Robert Gordon), he died at Stirling 8th June 1501, and was buried at Cambuskenneth; but Lord Huntly gives the year 1500 as the date of his death.

Like his father the first Earl, the second Earl of Huntly was more than once married. His *first* wife, as already stated, was the Countess of Moray, by whom he had no issue. After her divorce she married Sir John Colquhoun of Luss.

Huntly's *second* wife was the Princess Annabella, whom he also divorced in 1471, and whose subsequent career is involved in mystery.

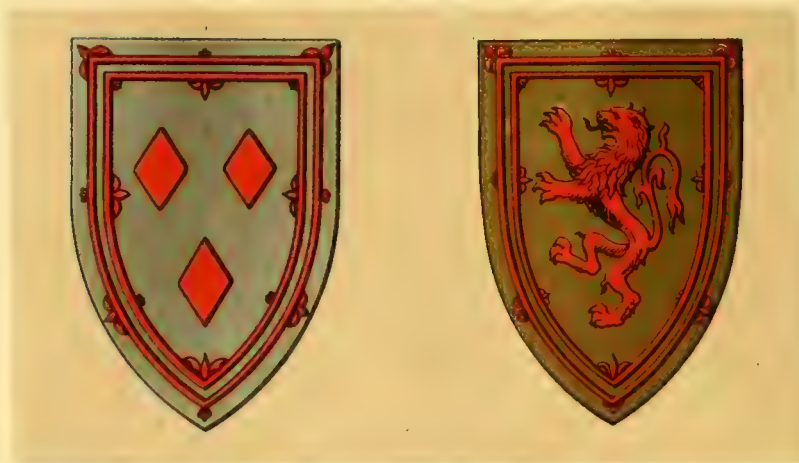
By the Princess he had four sons and four daughters:—

1. Alexander, Lord Gordon, Master of Huntly.

¹ *Spanish State Papers*, i. 78.

² *Records of Aboyne*, 411.

³ *Records of Aboyne*, 412.



2. Adam, Lord of Aboyne, who, on 8th October 1479, had a charter from his father of the lands of Schivas, which he exchanged with his brother William for the lordship of Aboyne in 1490. He married Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland, and was ancestor of the subsequent Earls of Sutherland (all paternally Seton). A charter by Adam Gordon, dated May 1517, is duly signed by the granter, which controverts Lord Hailes's assertion that neither he nor his wife could write.¹ Adam Gordon fled ignominiously from Flodden, where his gallant brother, William, the laird of Gight, fell.² He died in 1535, and his wife two years afterwards. (Appendix No. XIII.)

3. Sir William Gordon of Schivas, killed at Flodden in 1513, ancestor of the Gordons of Gight.

The titled houses of Gordon, bearing in our day the Dukedom and the Marquisate, are known to be properly *Setons*; and it is still common to hear them spoken of, around the firesides of the north, as the 'Seton-Gordons.' This circumstance is of some note, as we learn that Lord Byron has left it on record that his mother (*née* Gordon of Gight, and the last of that family) 'was as haughty as Lucifer with her descent from the Stewarts and her right line from the old Gordons—not the *Seyton*-Gordons, as she disdainfully termed the ducal branch.' According to Moore, the poet when a boy made himself out and out a Scotsman, insisting on being called George Byron-Gordon. As has been truly said, 'the poet's mother was indifferently versed in her own pedigree, as the Gordons of Gight were undoubtedly *Seton*-Gordons, descending from Sir William Gordon, son of George, second Earl of Huntly, and the Princess Annabella

¹ *Records of Aboyne*, 39.

² *Ibid.* 41.

Stewart. Sir William received Gight from his father, who acquired it from the daughters of Sir Patrick Maitland of Gight.¹ The estate was sold to the Earl of Aberdeen, two years after the marriage of the poet's mother to Captain John Byron.

The arms of the family are blazoned as follows, in a small ms. in the British Museum (Sloane 940), entitled 'Pont's Scotch Arms':—'Gordon of Geeght—5 coates, ffirst *az.* a boare's head coupe *o.* his paternall coat. Secondly *o.* 3 lyons heads erased *az.* by the name of Badenoth. Thirdly *o.* 3 cressants within a double treassor flowred *G.* by the name of Setoun. Fourthly *az.* 5 cinquefoiles *A.* by the name of Fraser. Fifthly and lastly on a scutcheon of Pretence *G.*' . . . (*sic.*)

4. James Gordon, afterwards of Letterfourie. (Appendix No. XII.)

The second Earl's four daughters were:—

1. Isabel, said to have married William Hay, third Earl of Errol, before 1478.

2. Elizabeth, married William Keith, Earl Marischal—the contract of marriage being dated 11th January 1481.

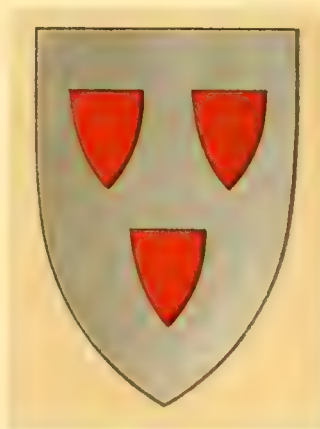
3. Janet, married, first, Alexander Lindsay, the 'wicked' Master of Crawford, whom she is accused of having smothered in the castle of Inverqueich. In 1494 she appears as Lady Lindsay, wife of Patrick, Lord Gray; and her *third* husband was Halkerstone of Southwood.

4. Margaret, one of Huntly's two marriageable daughters in 1490 (the other being Catherine), already referred to. According to Sir Robert Gordon, Huntly's fourth daughter was Countess of Bothwell, and consequently she must have been the Earl's second wife.

Subsequently to 1476, on the death of Princess Annabella, the second Earl of Huntly married, *thirdly*, Elizabeth Hay, sister of Nicolas, Earl of Errol, by whom, so far as is known, he had three daughters:—

5. Catherine, about 1495 the wife of Perkin Warbeck, after whose execution, in 1499, she lived at the English Court and married, secondly, James Strangways; thirdly, Sir Matthew Cradock; and fourthly, Christopher Ashton of Fyfield, Berkshire. She died childless in 1437, and was buried in Fyfield Church, where her monument is still to be seen.²

6. Agnes (according to *Douglas's Peerage*, Sophia), married to Gilbert Hay of Kilmalamak.



¹ *Heraldic Ceiling of St. Machar* (New Spalding Club, 1888).

² Reference has been already made to *another*

monument to Lady Catherine Gordon in Swansea Church, which was probably erected by the family of her third husband.

7. Eleanor, wife of John (?) Crichton of Invernytie.

Douglas specifies another daughter, Mary, as the wife of Sir William Sinclair of Westera. An illegitimate daughter of the second Earl is said to have married James Ogilvy of Findlater. The Countess of Huntly survived her husband for several years, and was alive in 1526.¹

4. *Alexander, third Earl of Huntly.*

The second Earl was succeeded, in 1500, by his eldest son, Alexander, as third Earl of Huntly, who, however, continued to be styled Lord Gordon in legal documents, until he had sasine of the Earldom in 1502-3. Between 1482 and 1500 he had charters of lands in the lordship of Badenoch and elsewhere; and, after his succession, among other grants, he had a charter, dated 12th January 1505-6, of the lands and baronies of Strathbolgy, Cluny, Glentanner, etc., incorporating them into a free barony and earldom, to be called the Barony and Earldom of Huntly, while the principal messuage of the same, formerly called Strathbolgy, was to be henceforth named the Castle of Huntly in all time to come.

In a letter under the Great Seal, dated 17th April 1506, King James IV. states that several charters and writs belonging to Alexander, Earl of Huntly, having been lately destroyed by a fire in his chamber in the royal palace of Holyroodhouse—among which was a charter of the forests of Enzie and Boyne granted by King David Bruce to one of the Earl's predecessors, 'which we had seen,'—it is hereby declared that the said forests were granted in free forestry, with the power of reducing the same to the culture of grain.²

The Earl's later charters embrace the forest of Cabrach in Aberdeenshire, the office of Sheriff and Keeper of the King's Castle at Inverness, and extensive possessions in the county of Berwick.

Sir Nicholas Paterson, called the 'discreet man,' appears as chaplain to the Earl of Huntly in a notarial instrument, dated 29th November 1507.³

Immediately after the assassination of James III. at Sauchieburn, Huntly (then 'Master') took up arms to avenge his Sovereign's death, and a letter is preserved in which he asked 'the King's Grace of England' to render assistance.⁴ Along with the Earls of Crawford and Argyll, Huntly was sent, in 1503, against Donald Dubh, leader of the rebellious Islesmen; and on his return from the expedition, as a reward for his services, he obtained a royal grant of the lands of Mamore in the lordship of Lochaber. On the 27th of May 1508 he received a commission of Justiciary from King James IV. for ruling Scotland north of the Forth, similar to that granted to his father by James III.

¹ A supposed *fourth* wife of the second Earl of Huntly is referred to at p. 23 of the *Records of Aboyne*—viz., Jean Comyn, the 'Fair Maid of Moray.'

² Richmond and Gordon Writs.

³ *Records of Aboyne*, 34.

⁴ *Caligula MSS.*, Brit. Mus., iii. 19.

In January 1509 Huntly was appointed hereditary Sheriff of Inverness and custodier of the castle; and the same year he was one of the guarantors of a treaty of peace with the English, and a Privy Councillor to James IV. As Sheriff of Inverness he appears to have been involved in the dispute about the succession to the Earldom of Sutherland; but 'whatever steps he took to secure the Sutherland possessions and title to his sister-in-law Elizabeth, he merely upheld the just rights of the heir of line as against the pretensions of the heir-male.'¹

On the 24th of July 1509 there is a renunciation of certain lands by 'Alexander Erle of Huntlie Lord of Baidyenocht, Jane Countes of Huntlie, and Jhone Lord Gordon their son and apperand air,' one of the witnesses being 'Sir Alexander Seitoun of Tulybody.'²

Huntly's first wife, Lady Jean Stewart, died at Strathbogie (Huntly Castle) on the 27th of October 1510,³ and the following year he married Elizabeth Gray, Lady Glamis.



After a short period of peace, various causes led to a renewal of trouble

¹ *Records of Aboyne*, 420.

² *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*, Spalding Club, ii. 265.

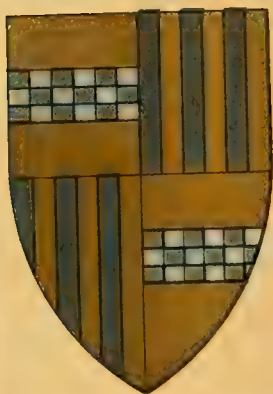
³ *Chronicle of Fortingall*, printed in the *Book of Garth and Fortingall*. Lady Jean Stewart's

contemplated marriage is referred to in 'Letters of Reversion, dated 20th October 1474, by the Earl of Athole to George Earl of Huntly, and Alexander, his son and heir,' printed at p. 16 of the *Records of Aboyne*.

with England, and in accordance with his superstitious character the Scottish monarch, in August 1513, made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Duthac at Tain—the 'demigod of Ross'—with the view of propitiating the northern saint. In response to a formal call for the muster of his army, a large force assembled from various parts of the kingdom, and the Sovereign resolved upon the invasion of England. On the fatal field of Flodden, the northern clans and the borderers, under the Earls of Huntly and Home, formed the rear-guard of the Scottish army, which made a furious but unsuccessful onset. Among the few 'Flowers of the Forest' who escaped the carnage of that disastrous day were Huntly and his brother, Adam Gordon of Aboyne, while the Laird of Gight and many others of the Gordon clan fell beside their king.

During the minority of James v., the Earl of Huntly was regarded as the chief leader in the north. He joined the party of the Queen Regent in 1515, and two years later was one of the Council of Regency. On the 26th of February 1517 he obtained a commission from the King for pursuing and repressing the rebellious Donald of the Isles, constituting him lieutenant over the whole of Scotland, with the exception of the bounds of Argyll.¹ In October 1519 Huntly was one of those who met Queen Margaret near Edinburgh, on her return from England; and four years afterwards (1523), in consequence of the depredations of Dacre, the English Warden, on the Scottish borders, Albany determined to invade

the southern kingdom, and the clans of the north were summoned to meet Huntly at Stirling. According to Lord Dacre, the Earl 'had a sore leg, and was not minded to come forth.'² In a later letter, dated 20th October, another reason is assigned—to wit, that 'being winter he could not get his men to come forward.' Huntly's illness proved fatal within three months—his death taking place at Perth on the 16th of January 1523-4; and he was buried in the Convent of the Dominican friars in that city.³ His widow made a grant to the Convent of half her lands of Littleton for the weal of her soul and that of her late husband—the friars being therein pronounced, 'in life and doctrine, a becoming pattern to the people.'⁴



The third Earl of Huntly, as already stated, was twice married:—

First, to Jean (or Janet) Stewart, eldest daughter of John, Earl of Athole, brother-uterine to King James II., the date of the contract being

¹ Richmond and Gordon Writs.

² Brewer's *State Papers*, iii. 1077.

³ *Chronicle of Fortingall*, ut supra.

⁴ *Historical MSS. Commission Report*, vi. 714.



St. Anthony's Castle



Second Countess of Huntingdon

14th October 1474, when the parties were both very young. There is an interesting heraldic record of the union on the walls of Balveny Castle, where also occurs an early lapidarian example of the Athole motto, 'Furth Fortune and fill the Fetters.'¹

By this marriage he had four sons and two daughters :—

1. George, who died young.
2. John, Lord Gordon, who predeceased his father.
3. Alexander, ancestor of the Gordons of Cluny, of which lands he had

a charter from George, fourth Earl of Huntly, in 1539. The genealogy of the Cluny family is given at pp. 230-33 of the *Records of Aboyne*. In 'Pont's Scotch Arms,' already referred to, the Cluny bearings are blazoned as follows :—'Gordon of Clunie—The Marquis of Huntly his coat with a cressant for a second brother's difference, and for his crest a boare's head coupé *o.* holding 4 arrowes in his mouth *G.* feddered and pheoned *A.*, with the motto, Do well, and let them say.'

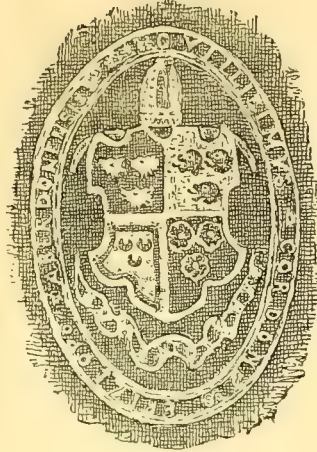
4. William, Bishop of Aberdeen from 1547 till his death, thirty years afterwards. He was bred, first, at Aberdeen, and afterwards in Paris; and on his return to Scotland he became parson of Clatt, and subsequently Chancellor of Moray. The date of his death was 6th August 1577.²

He is described in the *Records of Aboyne* (p. 89) as 'one of the most profligate of the prelates who ever held the See of Aberdeen.' In a charter of lands, dated 25th June 1558, he appears as 'Villelmus miseratione divina Abirdonensis episcopus,' and his beautiful book-stamp occurs upon a copy of *Des. Erasmi Rot. Operum Quintus Tomus*, 1540, in the possession of the Rev. A. T. Grant of Leven.

5. Jean (or Janet), married to Colin, third Earl of Argyll.

In a process by Alexander, Earl of Huntly, against Archibald, Earl of Argyll, dated at 'the monastery of the Holy Cross in the Hall of the King's Palace,' 20th August 1503, relative to the contract of marriage between Colin Campbell, son to Argyll, and Janet Gordon, daughter of Huntly, who had contracted for 2000 merks, payable at different periods, Huntly protests that the contract be null.³ Notwithstanding the protestation, the marriage appears to have taken place.

6. Christian, married to Sir Robert Menzies of that ilk, the date of the contract being 22nd November 1503.



¹ On the forfeiture, in 1455, of John, son of James, Earl of Douglas (created Lord Balveny in 1446), King James II. granted Balveny to his uterine brother, John Stewart, Earl of Athole. It was sold by the Athole family to Abernethy,

Lord Salton, who, about the year 1606, disposed it to Lord Ochiltree.—*Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff* (Spalding Club), ii. 257.

² *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*, i. 165.

³ Richmond and Gordon Writs.

The third Earl of Huntly married, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew, Lord Gray, and widow of John, sixth Lord Glamis, by whom he had no issue. Her third husband was George, third Earl of Rothes.



5. *John, Lord Gordon,*

the eldest son of the third Earl of Huntly who reached manhood, married, in 1510, Margaret, illegitimate daughter of King James IV. by Margaret, eldest daughter of John, first Lord Drummond,¹ who was poisoned, along with her two sisters, in 1501, and buried at Dunblane.

In 1510 a charter of the lordship of Badenoch, etc., with the lands of Fothergill and fortalice of Garth, in the county of Perth, was granted by James IV., on the resignation of Alexander, then Earl of Huntly, to John, Lord Gordon, son and heir-apparent of the said Alexander and Margaret Stewart, the King's daughter, his spouse, and the longest liver of them.²

In 1515 Lord Gordon had a quarrel with the Abbot of Kinloss about the lands of Strathisla, and appears to have sacrilegiously broken into the monastery by dead of night and carried away some documents as well as money. On being excommunicated for his unseemly conduct, he went to France with the Duke of Albany; but, 'stung with remorse,' he returned to Scotland in 1517, and, on his humble application, obtained absolution from the Bishop of St. Andrews. Suddenly seized by illness, he died at Kinloss on the 5th December of the same year, and found a resting-place before the high altar of the abbey which he had desecrated two years previously. He is pronounced by the family historian to have been 'free from ambition, and endowed with wisdom, liberality, and all other virtues which were fitting for a man of his birth and quality.'³

By Margaret (Stewart), his wife, he had two sons:—

1. George, fourth Earl of Huntly, who succeeded his grandfather, the third Earl.

2. Alexander, who was bred to the Church, and elected Archbishop of Glasgow, by the Chapter, on the death of Archbishop Dunbar in 1547; but Beton, Abbot of Arbroath, was preferred to the See by a decision of

¹ In his *Preface to the Treasurer's Accounts* (vol. i.), Dr. Dickson has proved that former historians are in error in representing the King and Lady Margaret as living in open profligacy. Indeed, it has been asserted that there was a

legal marriage, although this has not yet been established by good evidence.—*Records of Aboyne*, p. 56.

² Richmond and Gordon Writs.

³ *History of the Gordons*, 1726, i. 123.

the Court of Rome. By way of making some amends, the Pope conferred upon Gordon the titular Archbishopric of Athens, and he was consecrated Bishop of the Isles, 26th November 1553. He also got the Abbey of Inchaffray *in commendam*; was translated to Galloway in 1558, embraced the principles of the Reformation, and died in 1576, leaving issue by his wife, Barbara Logie. On the 8th of December 1585 a charter of the lands of Cardnay, etc., in the county of Perth, was granted to John Gordon, son of Alexander, Archbishop of Athens.

6. George, fourth Earl of Huntly.

The third Earl of Huntly was succeeded in 1524 by his grandson, George, fourth Earl, under whom the family reached its height of influence, and who was reputed to be the wealthiest, wisest, and most powerful subject in Scotland. In 1526 he had to pursue Margaret Stewart, his mother, Elizabeth Hay, the widow of the second Earl, and Elizabeth Gray, the widow of the third Earl, before the Lords of Council, and stated that his 'haile leving is in the hands of the saidis ladyis be resone of terce,' and having nothing, he 'prays for a competent leving for his sustentation.'¹

The fourth Earl had charters from King James v. of the lordship of Braemar ('Bra de Marr') and of the lands of Old Meldrum in 1529 and 1534; and in 1530 there is a special inquest and service of George, now Earl of Huntly, as heir to his grandfather Alexander.

In 1530 the Earl contracted to marry Elizabeth Keith, daughter of William, Earl Marischal, and the relative document throws some interesting light on the matrimonial customs of the period; while two years later he received a bond of manrent from the notorious Hector Mackintosh, Captain of the Clan Chattan.²

When James v. went to France in 1536, Lord Huntly, who had previously been sworn a Privy Councillor, was appointed one of the Regents of Scotland; and on the King's return, towards the end of the same year, he was constituted Lieutenant-General of the North. On the resignation of David, Earl of Crawford, in 1540-1, he had a charter of the office of Sheriff of Aberdeen, and about three years later Huntly and Crawford entered into a bond for mutual protection.

The Earl of Huntly was the commander of the Scottish forces which defeated the English under Sir Robert Bowes at Haddenrig, 24th August 1542, when the vanquished leader and 600 men were taken prisoners. Exasperated by the disgrace to his army, Henry VIII. sent the Duke of Norfolk with a force of 30,000 men to invade Scotland in the following October. The Duke's progress, however, was very small, as the Scottish

¹ *Records of Aboyne*, 429.

² *Ibid.* 432.

army, under Huntly, embraced every opportunity of attacking the invaders.

On the 7th of April 1543 a charter of various lands was granted to George, Earl of Huntly, by David Beton, Cardinal and Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Pope's Legate, etc. ; and seven years later (31st March 1550), as Lieutenant-General of the northern parts of Scotland and Knight of the Order of St. Michael in France, he obtained a licence from John, Archbishop of the same diocese, to 'analzie' (alienate) the lands of Keig and Monymusk when he pleases, notwithstanding the clause in Cardinal Beton's charter to the contrary, without the consent of the Archbishop.¹

After the death of King James v. Huntly was sworn a Privy Councillor to the Earl of Arran, Regent of Scotland, and afterwards appointed Chancellor, the Great Seal being delivered to him in Parliament, 10th June 1546. A few days previously (4th June) he had received a grant from Queen Mary, with the consent of the Regent, of the lands and baronies of Tarves and Fyvie pertaining to the Abbey of Arbroath.² Huntly was one of the principal leaders at the battle of Pinkie in September 1547, where he fought on foot, clad in gilt and enamelled armour ; and having been taken prisoner by Andrew Rympey, he was first sent to London, and afterwards to Morpeth Castle, from which he contrived to escape in 1548. During his sojourn in England, on being reproached for opposing the proposed union between Queen Mary and Edward vi., he excused himself by saying that he 'did not mislike the match so much as the way of wooing' ! He accompanied the Queen Dowager to France in the course of the year 1548,³ and was invested with the Order of St. Michael ; and on his return to Scotland he had a grant from Queen Mary of the Earldom of Moray, dated 13th February 1548-9. Between that date and 1557 Huntly had charters of various offices and lands.

When the Queen and the Regent Arran made a progress to Inverness, Huntly entertained them at Strathbogie, on which occasion the Frenchmen of the Court, astonished at their magnificent reception, insinuated that so powerful a nobleman should not be tolerated in Scotland, and suggested to the Queen that the 'wings of the "Cock of the North" should be clipped.' Shortly afterwards, on the advice of the Earl of Cassilis and other enemies of Huntly, the Queen Regent caused him to be imprisoned at Edinburgh, deprived of the Chancellorship, and forced to resign his tacks of the Earldoms of Ross, Moray, and Mar—a most ungrateful return for all his faithful devotion.⁴

On the 5th of August 1557 there is a 'Gift of Lieutenandrie' to Huntly by Queen Mary over the whole kingdom except the bounds of the Earl of Argyll ; and of the same date a covenant bond or agreement

¹ Richmond and Gordon Writs.

² *Ibid.* Queen Mary's charter of confirmation is dated 10th December 1552.

³ Huntly appears to have been again in

France with the Queen Dowager in the autumn of 1550.—*Records of Aboyne*, 454.

⁴ *Records of Aboyne*, 454-5.

between the Earl and the Queen Dowager, of which the provisions and phraseology are not a little curious.¹ In October 1557 Huntly was attached to the Scottish army organised for an invasion of England, and opposed the disbanding of the forces, for which he was imprisoned, but immediately released. When the Queen Dowager was appointed Regent, on the resignation of the Earl of Arran, she committed the Great Seal of Scotland to Monsieur Reubie, a French advocate, but it was re-delivered to Huntly in 1561. At first he assisted the Queen Dowager against the Lords of the Congregation; and when their affairs assumed a more promising aspect, he pretended to join them, though he was never hearty in their cause. Courted and feared by each of the contending factions, both of them connived at his proceedings, and he steadily increased the power and wealth which he possessed.

Soon after her return from France, Queen Mary, in 1562, conferred on James Stuart, Prior of St. Andrews, the Earldoms of Mar and Moray, with the estates annexed to the dignities, of which the Earl of Huntly was in possession. Owing to this unlooked-for encroachment on his domains, the Earl concluded that his family was doomed to destruction, and he felt very severely the loss which he had sustained.

While brooding over his altered position, one of his younger sons, Sir John Gordon, was engaged in a fierce contest with the Ogilvies relative to the Findlater estate. The disputants met on the streets of Edinburgh, 27th June 1562, when Lord Ogilvy was dangerously wounded by Gordon, for which the latter was sent to prison. Unable to brook what he regarded as an insult, Gordon succeeded in effecting his escape; and, finding his way home, he protested against the indignity with which he had been treated. As all the Queen's actions, at this juncture, were imputed to the influence of the Earl of Moray, this circumstance added not a little to Huntly's resentment against that nobleman.

In the course of the Queen's visit to the north, in August 1562, the Countess of Huntly interceded for the pardon of her son, Sir John Gordon; but her Majesty insisted that he should deliver himself into the hands of justice, and rely on her clemency. Accordingly, on the 1st of September, Sir John was sent to Stirling Castle, from which, however, he effected his escape, returning to the north to take the command of his followers, who were rising in arms. A scheme was arranged to cut off Moray, Morton, and Maitland, at the house of Strathbogie, on her journey to which the Queen heard of Gordon's flight and rebellion. Refusing to enter his father's house, in the first transports of her indignation, she saved her ministers from destruction. Huntly now openly took up arms, and, advancing to Aberdeen with a considerable force, he encountered the royal troops, under the command of the Earl of Moray, at Corrichie, eighteen miles west of Aberdeen, on the 28th of October, when Huntly's

¹ Richmond and Gordon Writs.

men were defeated. According to Buchanan, Huntly was choked in the crowd or trampled to death in the pursuit which followed the victory. He appears, however, to have died of apoplexy immediately after his capture, for Randolph, the English representative, states that 'the Earl suddenly fell from his horse stark ded'; while, according to another account, he died from the effects of the fall.¹ Huntly's sons, John and Adam, were taken prisoners, and their fate will presently appear.

The Earl's body, after being embalmed, was carried from Aberdeen to Edinburgh in 'Patrick Hume's boat,' the freight and carriage amounting to £10, 14s.² An indictment of high treason having been lodged against him, his estates and honours were forfeited to the Crown, 28th May 1563. Immediately after the verdict his coat of arms was torn in pieces in the sight of the people, and 'likewise stroken oute of the herauldes booke.'³ Huntly's death is recorded as follows in the *Chronicle of Forthingall*: '1562. Item on Sanc Symon and Judes da, the Erll of Huntle slayn, and mony of his kyn and friendis slayn tayn and ane of his sonnys . . . justifiyth (*punished with death*) at Obyrdin (*Aberdeen*) and quarterit. This doyne be Lord James, Erll of Murra and of Mar, and Prior of Sanctandres, yer of God ane M Vc sexta tua yeris. The samyn vnytyr rycht fayr, and guid vodyr (*fodder*) rycht deyr in all partis. He obeyed that tyme till Luteris (*Luther's*) lawis. All this doin be the saidis Lord James.'

The result of the struggle at Corrichie was chiefly owing to the defection of some of the northern clans, who had hitherto found it desirable to submit to the iron rule of Huntly, and who embraced an opportunity of joining the royal standard. The power of the House of Huntly was thus suddenly shaken, and one of the Reformed clergy—probably Knox himself—took advantage of the occasion to describe the vanquished Earl as a 'proud mocker,' a 'maintainer of idolatry,' and a 'hinderer of good order.' 'And who,' he inquired, 'guides the Queen and the Court—who but the Protestants? O horrible slanderers of God and of his holy Evangel! better it were unto you plainly to renounce Jesus Christ, than thus to expose his blessed Evangel to mockage!'

Queen Mary's policy in the conflict with Huntly has been freely discussed both by her friends and her foes. Her mode of dealing with the champion of the faith to which she was devoted has been pronounced 'one of the mysteries of history'; and her detractors calmly decline to give her any credit for the suppression of a rebellion headed by one who had hitherto been her most loyal supporter. Mr. Skelton considers that 'no adequate explanation of the incidents that ended in Huntly's death at Corrichie has yet been offered. When he was dead he was denounced on all hands; but it must not be forgotten that only a few days before his death, the not too friendly Randolph wrote from Old Aberdeen: "Huntly is here, not well in his Prince's favour; and how well that man doth

¹ *Records of Aboyne*, 467.

² *Treasurer's Accounts*.

³ Rutland MSS. at Belvoir.

deserve, your honour knoweth, by his upright dealing with all men that he had to do with." Upon the whole, the explanation that he was "worried into rebellion" by Moray appears the most probable.¹

In connection with his description of the fight at Corrichie, the latest historian of Scotland makes the following reference to the House of Huntly:—'The family of Huntly possessed estates on the east coast, estates cultivated by the most industrious among the lowland tenantry. From these they drew a goodly revenue. This enabled them to keep high court, and strengthen their rule over the large Highland tenantry to the north and west; for over all the district now beyond the Caledonian Canal and the lakes it unites, the "Cock of the North"—the well-known appellation of the head of the house—was supreme in one shape or other. He kept princely state in his Castle of Strathbogie; and events afterwards revealed that its sumptuous furnishings shamed those of the royal palace. He had the flourishing town of Aberdeen, with its university and cathedral, by way of capital. Here he seems to have had a small fleet, with which he kept up foreign communications, as little under restriction from the Court of Holyrood as those of the King of Norway or Denmark might be. The Earl of Huntly of that day was an accomplished man and a politician. He frequented the Court of France, where he received the decoration of St. Michael, and would probably rank with the sovereign of any secondary German or French state. What he might be doing in strengthening himself by alliances, or surrounding himself by troops, was not easily to be discovered by those outside of his own dominions. The government in Edinburgh could but guess at them, as our rulers in India might at the doings of some native prince who professes to hold by British protection in a distant inaccessible territory. He had been playing some deep game with the Lords of the Congregation. It seemed to them at one time that they had him, having bought him with a price—a large share in the ecclesiastical estates so profusely distributed. But there is little doubt that he determined to stand forth as leader in a great contest for the old faith, and had made arrangements accordingly, treating with the Guises, and organising the people under his own banner. Moray, when his followers jostled those of Huntly's ambassador in the village of Vitry, must have come to the knowledge that Huntly had deep projects. Whether or not he knew exactly that an army of 20,000 men had been offered to the Queen, he knew enough to tell him that he must crush Huntly ere the power he yet held, as head of the Congregation, slipped from his grasp. Moray had further and personal motives for trying his strength with Huntly. The estates belonging to his own new earldom were in Huntly's hands, whether under any regular title or by mere occupancy, and would not be got for him who owned them under a crown charter, except by force.'²

In noticing the contemporaries of Secretary Maitland, Mr. Skelton does not give a very favourable estimate of Huntly's character. 'The Earl

¹ *Maitland of Lethington*, ii. 265.

² *Burton's History of Scotland*, iv. 48.

of Huntly,' he says, 'in the colloquial language of the time, was "the good-man of the North." The three great northern nobles—Erroll, Sutherland, and Lovat—were counted among his allies, if not among his retainers; and when he told Moray that he could restore the mass in three counties, he did not probably overrate his influence. The chief of the Gordon clan was the most opulent peer in Scotland, and Strathbogie was the palace of a prince. A man of vast experience as well as of vast possessions, he might easily have secured a great political position. But though shrewd, subtle, and adroit, he had one fatal weakness—he was not trusted. The curse of the double-minded man was upon him—Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel. Neither friend nor foe, neither Catholic Queen nor Protestant reformer, could count upon his honour; and the incurable suspicion of dishonesty, of the man faithless to his word, tainted his career. He had been taken prisoner at Pinkie Cleuch, and by fair means or foul had afterwards escaped from his English jailer.'¹ The story of his escape is graphically told by the old historian of the House of Sutherland.

The fourth Earl of Huntly married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Robert, Lord Keith, sister of William, fourth Earl Marischal, and by her, who survived him, had nine sons and three daughters:—



1. Alexander, Lord Gordon, who had charters of lands in the counties of Moray and Inverness in the year 1552, and whose death took place in the course of the same year. He married Lady Barbara Hamilton, daughter of James, Earl of Arran, Duke of Chatelherault, and Governor of Scotland, but had no issue. His widow married, secondly, James, Lord Fleming.

2. George, fifth Earl of Huntly.

3. Sir John Gordon, on whom Alexander Ogilvy of that ilk settled the estates of Findlater and Deskford, in 1545, to him

and the heirs of his body, whom failing to his brothers, William, James, and Adam, on the condition of their taking the name and arms of Ogilvy. Sir John assumed that surname, and is said, although this is by no means clearly established, to have married the daughter of Alexander Ogilvy. This settlement was the source of great animosity between the Gordons and the Ogilvies. After his capture at Corrichie, Sir John Gordon was executed at Aberdeen, on the 31st of October 1562, 'with much commiseration of the spectators, being a young man, adorned in body and mind with all the gifts of nature.' He is said to have been one of the many aspirants to the hand

¹ *Mailland of Lethington*, i. 146.

of Mary Stuart, and to have been 'loved entirely' in return. The Queen was compelled by the Earl of Moray to be an onlooker when the poor victim was being led to the scaffold, where he was cruelly mangled by an unskilful executioner.

4. William, who, according to Gordon's History, was designed Bishop of Aberdeen, and died at Paris before 1567 in the college of Bons Enfants.

5. James, a celebrated Jesuit, for fifty years Professor of Hebrew and Divinity at Paris, Rome, and elsewhere, who also closed his career in Paris, on Good Friday 1620, aged seventy-seven.

6. Sir Adam Gordon of Auchindoun, who, like his brother John, was taken prisoner at Corrichie, but was pardoned on account of his youth. He afterwards took up arms in the cause of Queen Mary, which he long steadfastly upheld. More than one expedition was sent against him in 1571. Some of these he attacked in the open field, while he employed stratagems against others; and 'as his courage and conduct were equal, none of his enterprises failed. He made war with the humanity which became so gallant a man, and gained ground by that, no less than by the terror of his arms.' Had he not been obliged by the truce, in 1572, to suspend his operations, it is believed that he would have brought the northern portion of the kingdom to submit to the Queen's authority. One unfortunate blemish in his 'humane' character is recorded by Chambers in connection with the 'great weirs in the northland betwixt the Gordons and the Forbeses, the Forbeses being put till the warst, and mony slain of them, and towns wasted and burnt. . . . Adam Gordon, brother of the Earl of Huntly, was a leader in these broils, and of some avail in supporting the Queen's cause. He stained his name by a frightful act of cruelty. The house of Towie, belonging to Alexander Forbes, was maintained by his lady against Gordon. On his sending to demand its surrender, the brave dame answered that she could not give it up without directions from her husband. Gordon then set fire to it, and burnt the heroic woman, her children, and servants—twenty-seven persons in all.'¹

The following note occurs in a folio ms. in the British Museum (Harl. 4622, No. 7) in a list of 'persons commended by the Regent as most meet to be entertained with pensions.' 'Adam of Gordon—commandeth all Huntley's friends, tenants, and servants, during the minority of the Earle, and is wise and ready to attempt great things—was in France and had good countenance.'

Along with his two brothers, Patrick and Thomas, Adam Gordon of Auchindoun, 'brother and heir-male of George Earl of Huntly,' is mentioned in a charter dated 6th April 1576.² He died at Perth in 1580, and was buried there, near the grave of the third Earl of Huntly.³

7. Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun and Gartly, killed at the battle

¹ *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i. 75.

² Richmond and Gordon Writs.

³ *Records of Aboyne*, 469.

of Glenlivet, 3rd October 1594 (to be afterwards referred to), when his brother gained a victory over the troops of Argyll.

8. Robert, accidentally killed, 25th April 1572, by one of his followers as he was cleaning his musket.

9. Thomas, who married Margaret, daughter of John, Earl of Sutherland, and relict of the laird of Innes, died in Edinburgh, and was buried in the Church of St. Giles.

The three daughters of the fourth Earl of Huntly were:—

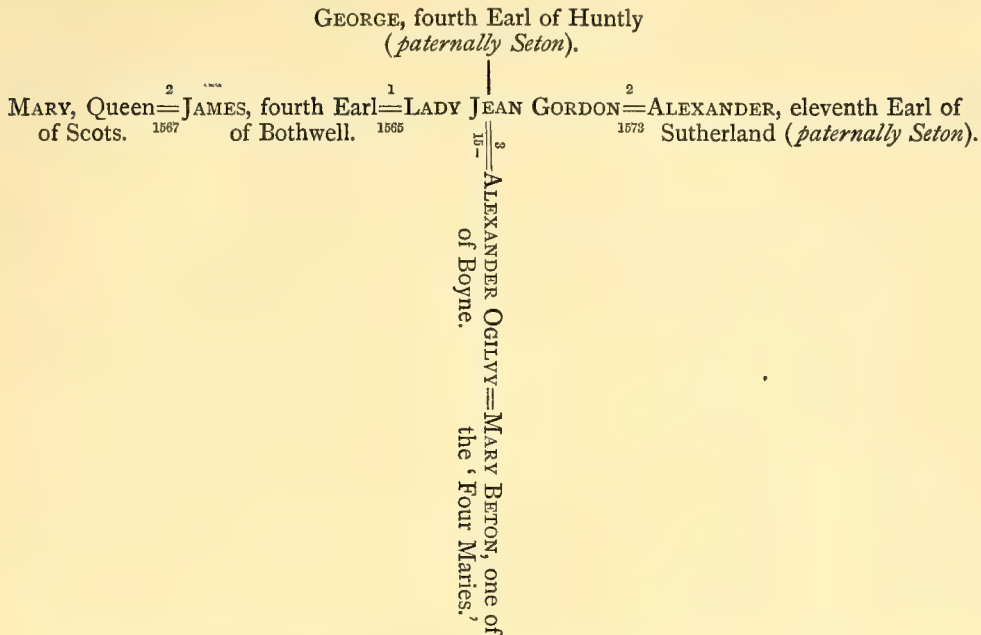
1. Lady Elizabeth, married to John Stewart, fourth Earl of Athole, from whom, with consent of his curators, the Bishops of Orkney and Aberdeen, she had a charter of the lordship of Balveny, etc., in liferent, 26th May 1547. She had two daughters, and died before 1557. Her arms, impaled with those of her husband, appear on Balveny Castle.



2. Lady Margaret, married John, eighth Lord Forbes, when her father was a captive in England. She was the only Gordon to whom Knox ever referred in flattering terms, and her repudiation by Forbes (who then married Janet, daughter of James Seton of Touch) was one of the causes which embittered the feud between the Gordons and the Forbeses.¹

3. Lady Jean, married, first, 22nd February 1565-6, to James, fourth Earl of Bothwell, which marriage was annulled in May 1567 to make way for Bothwell's nuptials with Queen Mary. She married, secondly, in 1573, Alexander, eleventh Earl of Sutherland, and thirdly, in 15— (after Sutherland's divorce), Alexander Ogilvy of Boyne, whose first wife was Mary Beton, one of the 'Four Maries.' The various unions are shown in the subjoined table—

¹ *Records of Aboyne*, 469.



In the words of the family historian, 'Lady Jean Gordon was a virtuous and comely lady, judicious, of excellent memory, and of great understanding, above the capacity of her sex; in this much to be commended, that during the continual changes and particular factions of the Court in the reign of Queen Mary, and in the minority of King James VI., she always managed her affairs with so great prudence and foresight, that the enemies of her family could never prevail against her, nor move those that were the chief rulers of the state at the time to do anything to her prejudice; a time indeed both dangerous and deceitful. . . . She was the first that caused work the coalheugh beside the river of Brora, and was the first instrument of making salt there. . . . She built the house of Cracock, where she dwelt a long time.' Lady Jean died at Dunrobin in 1629 in the eighty-fourth year of her age.

7. *George, fifth Earl of Huntly.*

On the death of the fourth Earl of Huntly at Corrichie in 1562 he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, George, fifth Earl, who had various charters of lands and offices during his father's lifetime. One of these was a grant from James II., 'signed on the left with the King's hand,' of the barony of Gordon and the lands of Huntly and Fogo in the shire of Berwick, to 'George, Lord Gordon, son and apparent heir of Alexander, Earl of Huntly,' on the Earl's resignation.¹ After his father's defeat and

¹ Richmond and Gordon Writs. The lands of Jerviswoode, in the same county, appear to

have been at one time possessed by the Huntly family.

death he fled for protection to his father-in-law, the Duke of Chatelherault, who was obliged to deliver him up to the victors, by whom he was sent to the castle of Dunbar. He was convicted of treason, 8th February 1562-3, and sentenced to be executed; but was sent back to Dunbar 'in free ward' to await the Queen's pleasure. He was ultimately set at liberty, and so completely recovered his Sovereign's favour that he was appointed Chancellor of Scotland, 20th March 1565, before the reversal of his forfeiture, which did not take place till 19th April 1567. A letter of Queen Mary, under the Great Seal, dated at 'Seyton' 26th February 1566, grants remission to Huntly and his friends *nominatim* for the fight at Corrichie; and a few weeks afterwards (13th April) we find a recommendation by King Henry and his Queen, under the Privy Seal, for reduction of the forfeiture of George, Earl of Huntly, and John, Earl of Sutherland, and the restitution of their respective families.¹ On the 8th of October following, Huntly was by proclamation restored to all the lands held by his father, and at the same time to the full enjoyment of the family titles,—'facts of the utmost importance, considering the groundless insinuations of Hill Burton and Froude regarding the Earl's subsequent conduct.'² Certain modern historians have perpetuated the unfounded allegation that the reduction of the forfeiture was the bribe for consenting to his sister's divorce, but the restoration of his lands and titles took place several months before his sister was married.³ The marriage of Huntly's sister to Bothwell took place on the 24th of February 1566 in the Abbey of Holyrood, 'with great nobilitie and magnificense.' The contract was signed by Queen Mary, who gave the bride 'a wedding dress of cloth of silver.'⁴

Huntly signed the bond to support the authority of King James VI., and carried the sceptre at the first Parliament of the Regent Moray, 5th December 1567. Joining the association in favour of Queen Mary at Hamilton in May 1568, he went north to raise forces for her service. The defeat of the royal troops at Langside extinguished his hopes, and he submitted to the Regent in 1569. After the murder of Moray at Linlithgow in the following year, Huntly obtained from the Queen the commission of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and he again raised troops for her defence. Lennox, the new Regent, marching against him, proclaimed him a traitor to his country; but a pacification was agreed upon, and terms of accommodation were finally settled by the treaty of Perth, 23rd February 1572-3, under which the adherents of the Queen submitted to the authority of the Regent Morton, and an indemnity was granted to them.

During his Regency Mar laid siege to the castle of Niddrie-Seton (10th June 1572), and, to create a diversion, Huntly led some forces against the tower of Merchiston. The vigorous procedure of Sir Adam Gordon filled the Regent with dismay, and he issued a proclamation against him.

¹ Richmond and Gordon Writs.

² *Records of Aboyne*, 472.

³ *Ibid.* 474, where the circumstances of Both-

well's divorce are fully described.

⁴ *Records of Aboyne*, 472.

The following year (1573) Huntly closed a splendid five years' struggle by the betrayal of the gallant Kirkaldy of Grange, 'now rendering such noble service to the Queen, whose ruin he formerly brought about, and who, on more than one occasion, prevented the Earl's destruction during his sojourn in Edinburgh.'¹ Unlike his loyal brother, Sir Adam Gordon, Huntly now became a servile partisan of the English Queen, and tried to induce Mary's border friends to make peace with the Regent.



The Earl of Huntly retired to his northern domain and died suddenly at Strathbogie in May (?) 1576. In the *Chronicle of Fortingall*, already referred to, the event is announced as follows, under the date of *October 18*:—‘The erl of Huntly decessyt the xvij da of October anno Domini M Vc sexte sixtein yeris. He decessyt suttently.’ The circumstances of his death appear to have been somewhat mysterious. ‘Having fallen down in a fit while playing at football, he was carried to bed, where he foamed at the mouth and nostrils, struggled with his hands, and stared wildly, as if he would have spoken, but could never command but one word—Look, look, look! He also vomited a good deal of blood. After four hours’ illness he expired.’ Immediately after his decease his brother Adam had the corpse removed to the chamber of state, and proceeded to make an inventory of the ‘writs, gold, silver, etc.’; and shortly afterwards ‘took the post’ southwards. The following morning ‘there was in ane chalmer together four-

¹ *Records of Aboyne*, 489-494.

teen or sixteen men lamenting the death that was so suddenly fallen, every man for his part rehearsing the skaith that was to come by that death to them. Amongst the whilk there was ane westland man standing upright, his back at the fire, wha said the cause was not so hard to nane as it was to him, for he was newlings come out of Lochinvar for some evil turn that he had done that he might not brook his awn country for . . . he falls flat down on his face to the ground dead. The men pullit him up, cuist up door and window, and gave him air; there could appear no life in him, except he was hot. After lying several hours in the fit, he recovered, with great sobbing and working with his hands, feet, and body, and he cried, "Cauld, cauld!" This lasted till next morning, when he recovered thoroughly. Two or three others experienced somewhat similar seizures, and 'all these wrought as the Earl of Huntly did in his dead passions, except they vomited not, nor fumed at the mouth and nostrils.'¹ Bannatyne records some further particulars in connection with the bowelling of the Earl's corpse by William Urquhart, 'ane surgeon of Aberdeen,' and mentions the occurrence of strange noises in the chamber where the body was deposited. 'Ane man of the place,' he says, 'comes in among them, and said to Patrick (a younger brother of the deceased), "Fye, for gif he was not tentie (*careful*) the bruit wald pass through the country that the Earl of Huntly had risen again."'

The fifth Earl of Huntly married Lady Anne Hamilton, daughter of James, Earl of Arran, Duke of Chatelherault, and Regent of Scotland, by whom he had, besides a daughter, Lady Jean, married to George, fifth Earl of Caithness, three sons:—

1. George, sixth Earl, created Marquis of Huntly in 1599.

2. Alexander of Stradoun, who married Agnes Sinclair, Countess of Errol, and had, with three daughters, a son, Alexander Gordon of Dunkinty.

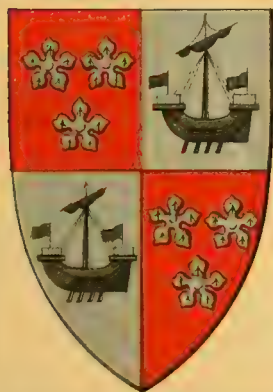
3. William, priest of the Order of St. Bennet, who died in France.

8. *George, sixth Earl (and first Marquis) of Huntly,*

was under age when he succeeded his father in 1576. In a folio ms. in the British Museum (5935)—'Letters temp. Elizth'—under a list of cyphers 'for Mr. Beale,' the following occur:—

¹ *Journal of the Transactions in Scotland, 1570-73*, by Richard Bannatyne, Secretary to John Knox, quoted in Chambers's *Domestic*

Annals, i. 104. See also Dalryell's *Illustrations of Scottish History*.



'The Q. of Scots	.	.	.	.	L.
Huntley	.	.	.	.	O.
The Pope	.	.	.	.	R.
The L. Seton	.	.	.	.	S.'

In another folio (Bibl. Cotton, Caligula C. viii.) entitled 'Transacta inter Angliam et Scotiam, 1584-5,' is a 'note shewing howe certen of the Nobility of Scotland are affected, 30 October 1585,' in which, among others, we find the following :—

'Earle of Huntley	.	.	.	.	K. ff.
L. Claud Hamilton	.	.	.	.	K. ff.
The old L. Seton's sonnes	.	.	.	.	K. ff.
Secretary	.	.	.	.	Doubtfull.'

After some of the names only the letters 'ff.' appear, and in the case of others 'E/.'

On the following page of the ms. we find : 'A Note of such Noble men and gentelmen in Scotland that be affectioned to France, receauers and maynteyners of the enemies to God and enemies to our Prince as here followeth. *In primis* the Earle of Arran, the Earle of Montrose, the Lord Secretarie. For the north parts of Scotland, about Aberdeine, the Earle of Huntley, the Earle of Huntley his brother a Jesuite, the Earle of Crafford. The Lord of Fentrie and his tua sonnes, receauers of the Jesuites and of the money out of France, and payers to those that be practisers in Scotland. The L. Gray, the L. Downe, collectour of Scotland, the L. of Seton and his tua brothers.'

On the 21st of September 1583, Bowes writes to Walsingham as follows: 'Huntly has sent to his friends on the borders for the levy of his number of troops (commanded by the King), and under pretence thereof he came yesternight to Seton, where the Lady Ferniehurst met him, and where it is looked that there shall be a marriage constructed betwixt Huntly and Ferniehurst's daughter, with whom he is greatly enamoured. The King will not like of this matter (*sic*), as before he hath plainly declared unto Huntly, giving him such grief thereby that it was thought to have been the chief cause of his late sickness.'¹

The following year (6th June 1584), in a letter to Huntly, Queen Mary acknowledges his loyalty.²

During 1585 Huntly was engaged in settling the differences between his kinsmen the Earls of Caithness and Sutherland; and in November of the following year he had a squabble with the Earl of Athole. His troubles with the ministers of the Kirk began at this period; and in the beginning of 1588 he met Lord Claud Hamilton and others, at Linlithgow, in the interests of the Roman Catholic party.

On the occasion of his intended marriage with Henrietta Stuart,

¹ *Calendar of MSS. at Hatfield*, Part iii. 1889.

² F. 51, Cal. C. viii., British Museum.

cousin of the King, James VI. gave Huntly a commission of the office of Vice-Chamberlain, on the 20th of August 1587.¹

The sixth Earl of Huntly had several charters of lands, etc., between 1586 and 1591, of which one was a grant of the lordship of Dunfermline, on a narrative of the great services done to the Crown by himself and his predecessors.² In 1588 he entered into a correspondence with the Court of Spain, and the following year erected the standard of rebellion in the north; but, on the King (James VI.) marching against him and his followers, they deemed it prudent to surrender. On being brought to a public trial, at which repeated acts of treason were proved against them, the King did not allow any sentence to be pronounced; and after keeping the leaders a few months in confinement, his Majesty, in the midst of the rejoicings on account of his marriage, set them at liberty.

Huntly's own marriage took place on the 21st of July 1588. 'At the very time when the Spanish Armada was at sea on its way to England, a Catholic pair of high rank, much, though secretly, interested in that enterprise, were wedded at Holyrood. The bridegroom was the young Earl of Huntly, and the bride Henrietta Stuart, eldest daughter of the late Duke of Lennox. The affair was conducted with "great triumph, mirth, and pastime"; but some of the other circumstances were of a more remarkable nature. The Presbyterian clergy, in a paroxysm of apprehension about the Armada, took up the strange position of refusing to allow the marriage to be performed by any clergyman capable of showing his face in the country, unless the Earl should first sign the Confession of Faith—that is, abjure his religion. . . . To the great chagrin of the Presbyterian clergy, the ceremony was at length performed by Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andrews—who, however, was afterwards brought to their feet as an abject penitent, declaring, among other things, "I married the Earl of Huntly contrair to the Kirk's command, without the confession of his faith and profession of the sincere doctrine of the Word; I repent, and crave God's pardon."'³

A small quarto ms. in the British Museum (Harl. 1371) entitled 'Scotica Nobilitas, 1589,' contains a series of quaintly coloured blazons of arms, with short notes of the respective bearers, in which the sixth Earl of Huntly is thus described: 'The E. Huntley—George Gordone of 22 (28?) years. His mother sister to y^e E. of Arran. She died distraught. His wife sister to y^e D. of Lennos, wth whom y^e K. gave for her dowry the Abby of Donfermelin. His yong^r broth^r of 23 years. His sister maryed to y^e E. of Cathnes. He was lately Lieftenant to his Ma^{tie} in y^e North, Capten of the Guarde, Abbot of Donfermelin, etc. His landes in Argile, Loquhabr, Baydenoch, Straboggy, Bogggingicht, Ainya (*Enzie*), Morray, Donfermelin in Fife, etc. He is Sherif of Invernesse, the great sherwick in Scotland (*vide, in calce hujus libri*, the catalogue of sheries) and Aberdeyn.'

¹ Richmond and Gordon Writs.

² *Ibid.*

³ Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i. 184.

After Bothwell's raid on Holyroodhouse, in 1591, Huntly was commissioned by the King to pursue him and his accomplices under the writ bearing the name of 'letters of fire and sword.'¹ Possibly Moray may have been named in the writ, but whether he was or not, Huntly chose to regard him as one of Bothwell's abettors. Moray, on account of his handsome physique, was known in his day as 'the Bonnie Earl,' and, in an old chronicle, he is described as a sort of Amadis—'comely, gentle, brave, and of a great stature and strength of body.'

On a certain night in February 1592, Moray's Castle of Donibristle, on the northern bank of the Firth of Forth, was surrounded by Huntly and his followers, and burnt to the ground. In the course of the disturbance, after a vigorous and gallant struggle, the youthful Earl was cruelly murdered in a cave among the rocks, where he had fled for shelter. 'The mortal wound,' says Tytler, 'was given by Gordon of Buckie, who, with the ferocity of the times, seeing Huntly drawing back, cursed him as afraid to go as far as his followers, and called upon him to stab his fallen enemy with his dagger, and become art and part of the slaughter, as he had been of the conspiracy. Huntly, thus threatened, struck the dying man in the face with his weapon, who, with a bitter smile, upbraided him "with having spoilt a better face than his own."'² Many conjectures were made to account for the atrocity of the deed, and in justification of the perpetrator. Among others, it was said that the conduct of the Queen had given the King cause to be jealous of Moray; but it is generally believed that Huntly desired to take vengeance on him for the heavy injuries inflicted by the Regent Moray³ on the House of Gordon; and, when the hour of repayment arrived, 'the debt was exacted with fearful interest.'

Although the occurrence was of a kind by no means rare at the end of the sixteenth century, it was more than sufficient to rouse the indignation of the Protestant community, who execrated the bloody deed as that of the great Papal potentate who held rule in the north, while the unfortunate victim was closely connected with the 'Good Regent,' whose title he held.

After various communings with some of the leading ministers of the Church, the King agreed to issue a proclamation, in which he himself was declared innocent, but nothing was said in it relative to the punishment of Huntly, who thought it prudent to surrender himself. After a short imprisonment in Blackness Castle, he was discharged without trial. The King felicitously compared his own position to that of David and Joab, when the Jewish monarch declared that 'I and my kingdom are guiltless before the Lord for ever from the blood of Abner the son of Ner.'

An interesting incident is recorded by Calderwood in connection with

¹ In a *Dictionary of Scottish Law Terms*, published in 1710, the writ is thus defined: 'Letters of fire and sword is when the Privy Council commissionates the Sheriff by all manner of force to dispossess him who in spite of all law after he is legally ejected, continues

to possess.'

² MS. Letter in Record Office, Roger Ashton to Bowes, 8th February 1591-2.

³ The 'Bonnie Earl' was *son-in-law* of the Regent, having married one of his two daughters.

Moray's slaughter. One of Huntly's followers, Captain John Gordon, a brother of the Laird of Gight, was left for dead at Donibristle. 'His hat, his purse, his gold, his weapons, were taken by one of his own company, and his shanks (*stockings*) were pulled off. He was taken by the Earl of Moray's mother, and cherished with meat, drink, and clothing. A rare example!'

Huntly now renewed his correspondence with Spain, for which he was summoned to surrender in January 1592-3; and on his refusal to give himself up, he was denounced rebel on the 8th of February. Along with the Earls of Errol and Angus, he appeared in the King's presence, on the 17th of October, and offered to undergo a legal trial. A day was fixed for the proceedings, and it was finally agreed, on the 26th of November, that the three Earls and their associates should be exempted from prosecution on account of their correspondence with Spain; and that, before the 1st of February of the following year, they should either submit to the discipline of the Church and renounce the errors of Popery, or remove out of the kingdom. They refused to accede to these conditions, and Huntly returned to his northern stronghold, where he showed a formidable front. The young and inexperienced Earl of Argyll, the ruler of the south-west district, after collecting a force estimated at 10,000 men, found his way to Strathspey, where Huntly's small force of 2000 were posted, in readiness for battle, on the bank of a brook running into the Avon, near the larger stream of the Livet. After repeated attempts of the invading army to break in upon the compact array of the enemy, who were trained to the discipline of the day, they were at last scattered with great slaughter, like the wild followers of Donald of the Isles at the battle of Harlaw. Gordon of Auchindoun, son of the gallant leader in the war of 1572, was one of the few killed on the side of the victors, of whom about twenty, chiefly gentlemen, were slain, while between forty and fifty were wounded. Auchindoun, who was conspicuous by his strength and stature, behaved with great bravery until he received a fatal bullet in the body, when he fell from his horse. Gordon of Gight was struck by no fewer than three bullets, wounds which next day proved mortal. Huntly himself was in imminent danger, as his horse was shot under him; and the Highlanders were about to despatch him on the ground with their knives and axes, when he was extricated and remounted by Innermarkie. The battle was fought on the 4th of October 1594. Called in its own neighbourhood the battle of Altachoylachan, it is generally known in Scottish history under the name of 'Glenlivet,' which has another and more festive celebrity in one of Professor Aytoun's amusing lays.¹

¹ In a large folio MS. in the British Museum (Bibl. Harl. 1423), entitled 'Scotland's Nobility and Gentry,' are 'Two Latin Histories of the Gordons, Lords of Huntlie,' together extending to twenty-four pages. The heading of the first is: 'Viro Illustri et potenti Georgio Gordonio Comiti Huntlæo nunc etiam progubernatori plagæ Septentrionalis Scotiæ, Johannes ferrer-

ius pede montanus S. P. D. '; while the title of the second is: 'Vera narratio ingentis et miraculi plenæ victoriæ parte apud duinum (?) in Scotiæ borealibus partibus a Georgio Gordonio Huntlæo et Francisco Haijo Errollo Catholicis principibus contra Archibaldum Cambellum Argodorum imperatorem 5 nonas octobris anno dni. 1594. Prelium Auminanum.'



Photograph by Andrew & Sons, Glasgow

George Marquis of Huntly

The King marched northwards by Dundee, accompanied by Andrew Melville as a witness of his dealings with the 'followers of the Beast.' The Popish Lords offered no resistance; the noble residence of Huntly, which had been fourteen years in building, was blown up with gunpowder, nothing being left but the great old tower, whose massive masonry defied the efforts of the pioneers; whilst its master fled into the mountains of Caithness. Huntly and Errol obtained the royal permission to go abroad, giving security that they would neither return without the King's licence, nor engage in any intrigues against the Protestant religion or the peace of the kingdom. Errol embarked at Peterhead on the 17th of March (1595); and two days later, Huntly, with his uncle, Father Gordon, and a suite of sixteen persons, took ship at Aberdeen for Denmark, intending, as he said, to pass through Poland into Italy.¹

Nearly two years having passed away, Huntly was received by the King at Falkland, on the 13th of August 1596, and the same year, after the forfeiture of her husband, a charter was granted in favour of Lady Henrietta Stuart, Countess of Huntly, of the lordship and barony of Strathbogie, to herself in liferent, and to George Gordon, her son and heir-male, in fee.² In the following year, along with Errol, he announced that they had seen the error of their ways, and they were received into the bosom of the Protestant Church with due solemnity and rejoicing, on the 26th of June, the scene of the occurrence being the Church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen. 'Hagbuttis soundis that day nor dur culd not be hard; wyn drinkin in abundance; glasses broken; sirfoot feattis (?) cassin abroad on the cassy: gadder wha so plesis! Efter this the Erles and thair kin passis to the Tolbuith, with the haill ministerie; all are maid burgessis of this toun, the ministers with the rest. At euin, nathing bot wauchting' (*heavy drinking*).³ An eyewitness graphically informs us that, in the presence of a crowded congregation, at the close of a godly and excellent sermon by the Bishop, the two Earls made an open confession of their apostasy, renounced Papistry, and undertook to defend the new religion to their life's end. 'Huntly confessed his offence first to God, next to his Majesty, to the Kirk and the country, for the slaughter of the Earl of Moray; and so the Bishop pronounced openly their absolution from the sentence of excommunication.'⁴ The substantial result of these proceedings was that the forfeiture of the two Earls was revoked by the Estates at their meeting in November 1597.⁵

After Huntly's restoration, he bore the sword from the Parliament House to the Palace of Holyrood, on the 12th of December following. He had a grant of the dissolved Abbacy of Dunfermline, and was created *Marquis* of Huntly on the 17th of April 1599.⁶

¹ Letter in Record Office from Sir R. Bowes, 5th April 1595.

² Inventory of Richmond and Gordon Writs.

³ *Spalding Club Miscellany*, ii. lxi.

⁴ *Analecta Scotica*, i. 299.

⁵ *Act Parl.*, iv. 124.

⁶ Among the Richmond and Gordon Writs is a certificate by the second Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, testifying that on the 17th of April 1599, the then Earl was created Marquis with all solemnity by the King in presence of a great number of the nobility.

From a rental roll of the Marquis of Huntly, dated May 1600, and extending over fifty-nine pages of print in small quarto, we gain some notion of the worldly means of that potent lord. It embraces particulars of the money and produce due from each of his extensive estates in the lordships of Huntly, Enzie, and Badenoch, the barony of Fochabers, and the lands of Mar, Cabrach, and Lochaber. The sum of 'silver mail,' or money rent, is £3819, besides £636 of teind silver. The 'ferm victual payable to the Earl was upwards of 4500 bolls, besides vast numbers of cattle, sheep, pigs, capons, geese, chickens, eggs, etc., all duly enumerated.'¹



On the 2nd of April 1603 a remission under the Great Seal was granted to Huntly and his friends for going in open war at Auldquhenachan and Glenlivet against the King's Lieutenant, the Earl of Argyll, in October 1594; and a few days later (8th April) James VI. writes to the Marquis from Berwick, on his way to London, requesting him to attend his 'dearest bedfellow the Queen, as one in special for her convoy to the metropolis.'²

The period of three years between the Gowrie Conspiracy and the Union of the Crowns in 1603 was marked by the reconciliation of the two

¹ Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i. 315.

² Richmond and Gordon Writs.

great Houses of Huntly and Argyll, whose fierce disputes had shaken Scotland for many a long year; and their friendship was cemented by the betrothal of Argyll's daughter to Huntly's eldest son. In the words of Burton, 'Like two crowned heads, they negotiated and adjusted a peace.' But the reconciliation between Huntly and the Church was not long productive of friendly results. Huntly alleged to his foreign allies that his penitence and confession had been extorted from him against his conscience, and a belief was generally entertained that he was harbouring refugees and missionaries, besides conducting dangerous intrigues in his northern dominions. Accordingly, in 1606, he was summoned before the General Assembly, and, having failed to appear, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him. Calderwood gives some particulars of the subsequent procedure of the Church Court. An application was made on Huntly's behalf, pleading for an extension of time, 'till he had perfyter resolution,' and showing that he was not *opiniâtre*; but the Assembly dismissed the petition. Once more professing to be Protestant, the Marquis was, in 1610, relieved from excommunication and allowed to return to his castle in the north. Three years later (1609) he was committed to Stirling Castle, but liberated in December 1610 on his engaging to subscribe the Confession of Faith, and make satisfaction to the Kirk.

In the course of the year 1612 there was a somewhat formidable dispute between Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun and the Earl of Caithness, which ultimately found its way to Edinburgh in a partially legal form. Both parties were supported by a number of influential friends; those on the side of Gordonstoun including the Earl of Winton, and his brother the Earl of Eglinton. While the matter was pending, Lord Gordon (Huntly's son) and Caithness happened to meet on the High Street, and indulged in a skirmish with swords, which was terminated, without serious results, by Caithness retiring to his lodging. The day following the two combatants were called before the Lords of the Privy Council, and 'reconciled in their presence.'¹

In 1616, having prohibited his tenants from attending the services of particular ministers, Huntly was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh, but set at liberty by the Chancellor's warrant after three days' confinement. He then found his way to Court, and was absolved from his excommunication by the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth on the 7th of July. The Scottish clergy objected to the Archbishop's interference with the sentence which they had pronounced, and the King justified the absolution in a long letter to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, to whom the English Archbishop also addressed an epistle. This pacified the Scottish clergy, but it was resolved that the Marquis, who had returned from England, should present a supplication to the General Assembly which was to meet at Aberdeen, 13th August 1616, acknowledging his offence, promising to continue in the profession of the truth; and that thereupon he should be absolved anew,

¹ Richmond and Gordon Writs, i. 440.

according to the form used in the Church of Scotland. This was solemnly performed on the first day of the Assembly.

In his account of his travels in Scotland, in 1618, Taylor, the Water-Poet, tells us that 'having spent certaine dayes in hunting in the Brea of Marr, wee went to the next county called Bagenoch (*Badenoch*), belonging to the Earl of Ensie, where, having such sport and entertainment as wee formerly had, after foure or five dayes pastime, wee took leave of hunting for that yeere; and took our journey toward a strong house of the Earles, called Ruthven in Bagenoch, where my Lord of Ensie and his noble Countesse (being daughter to the Earle of Argile) did give us most noble welcome three dayes.' Again: 'From Spynie wee departed to the Lord Marquesse of Huntleyes, to a sumptuous house of his, named the Bog of Geethe (*Bog-o-Gight*, now Gordon Castle), where our entertainment was like himselfe, free, bountifull, and honourable. . . . After five and thirty dayes hunting and travell I, returning, passed by another stately mansion of the Lord Marquesse called Straboggi.'¹

Between 1607 and 1622 the Marquis of Huntly had charters of lands in the shires of Banff, Elgin, and Forfar. Early in 1623 Lord Colville went to France to crave the re-establishment of the Scots Guard. For a long time the command of this ancient institution had been hereditably held by the Sieurs d'Aubigné (Earls and Dukes of Lennox), and Louis XIII. readily agreed to the revival of the corps, designing to confer the command on Ludovick, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, the favourite councillor of King James VI. In February 1624, however, the Duke was suddenly cut off by apoplexy, 'beloved and lamented beyond all remembered example, because he was naturally inclined to do good without distinction of persons.' The honour was accordingly transferred to his nephew, Lord Gordon, son of the Marquis of Huntly.²

An interesting allusion to young Lord Gordon occurs in an 'Account of a Journey to Scotland in 1629,' a manuscript in the possession of the Earl of Lonsdale. The traveller says: 'There be at this time three of the greatest men in the kingdom Papists and their eldest sons Protestants, which is remarkable—*sc.* Argyll, Hamilton, and Huntly, whose eldest son is esteemed the ablest man of body in the kingdom, and will familiarly go in the mountains after the deer 80 miles a day.'³

In January 1630, notwithstanding his sympathy with the Catholic nobles, Charles I. appears to have attempted a lenient measure. Through the influence of James VI. Lord Gordon had been brought up with Protestant leanings; and at the instigation of Charles, the Privy Council gave the young nobleman a commission for the execution of the laws against the excommunicated Papists, in the belief that he would act with humane discretion. Lord Gordon was unwilling to accept this commission, lest he should offend his father and prejudice his position as commander of the

¹ Hume Brown's *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 123, 125.

² Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*,

i. 535.

³ Historical MSS. Commission, thirteenth Report, Appendix, part vii. p. 83.

King of France's Scots Guard. But he got over his scruples, and performed his duty with great 'dexterity and moderation.'¹

In the same year (1630) Huntly was obliged to give up the heritable sheriffships of Aberdeen and Inverness for £5000 to the Earl of Moray, by command of King Charles I., to whom Moray had alleged that the Marquis was a man of such power and influence that no one could live beside him, unless he was deprived of those important offices.

At this date a thrilling episode occurred in connection with the lordship of Frendraught and Huntly's second son, John, who had been created Viscount of Melgum in 1627. The story is told by Burton, along with a supplementary notice of the position of the House of Huntly, in which he reminds his readers that 'the heads of such Houses were not always isolated in their separate fortified mansions. They had their winter hotels in the head burgh of the county, or other chief central towns; and here, around the chief lord of the district, a social circle was created, which had in it something of the nature of a court. Perhaps the most isolated and compact of these half-independent communities was that district which owned the city of Aberdeen for its capital. . . . Many rich landed proprietors had their town residences there, and among these was the Marquis of Huntly, the most powerful subject in Scotland. The map shows the district to be naturally separate from the rest of Scotland, stretching far eastward into the German Ocean. It had thus the means of uninterrupted communication with the European continent by sea. In the minds of the zealous Protestants there were horrible suspicions as to the doctrinal poison thus brought into the land, not only in the shape of Popish books and symbols of idolatry, but of Seminary priests and other zealots, who, on their arrival, were protected and encouraged in their devilish labours by the pestilent Popish house of Huntly. . . . Looking to his lowland domains alone, he was the greatest feudal lord of the district. That north-eastern district had been, from time immemorial, inhabited by a people of an expressly Teutonic character. Up in the mountains towards the west Huntly had a following of a totally different origin. We have seen how his House strove with that of Argyll for predominance among the people of that old Highland state for which Donald of the Isles fought at Harlaw. Besides their Highland territories, the Gordons had large estates in the northern lowlands, and the chiefship of their Highland following gave them an influence far beyond the boundary of their domains. The Highlander could not be absolutely trusted to withhold his furtive hand from the flocks of his chief friend, but it was better to be the friend than the enemy. On the whole, the peace, prosperity, and security of a large district, inhabited by a frugal and industrious people, depended on the way in which the "Cock of the North" handled the Highlanders, whether friends or foes.

'This great House, as we have seen, had its calamities; but it had an inherent vitality which ever restored it; and, like the House of Branden-

¹ Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, ii. 36.

burg, every considerable period of years brought enlargement to its powers and possessions. The battle of Glenlivet, in 1594, brought it through a formidable crisis, and dealt a blow to the rival House of Argyll. It had other ways of strengthening its lands less dignified than victorious warfare, and every characteristic of the spirit of legal formality, which gave a technical colour to so many transactions, both great and small. The house of Gordon was noted for its frequent practice of exacting "Bonds of Manrent."¹ Such a document, in return for favour and protection, covenanted that he who signed it should follow the banner of Huntly and take the name of Gordon.

'The tragedy called "The Burning of Frendraught" has to the northern peasant as distinct a tragic place in history as the Sicilian Vespers, or the night of St. Bartholomew, may have for those whose historical horizon is wider. Of the House of Crichton, which rose to great splendour in the middle of the fifteenth century, one branch had made a settlement northward of the Grampians. They held the lordship of Frendraught, in the heart of the country of the Gordons, to whom they were becoming formidable rivals. Huntly was a great favourite with King James, but Charles thought his power too great to belong to a subject, and it was the policy of the Court, without any acts of direct hostility, to unnerve his strength. The best way to accomplish this was by cherishing and encouraging the Crichtons, so as, by Court influence, to bring them as near as might be to a balance with the local feudal power of the House of Huntly. Some threatening incidents of feud had occurred between the two Houses just before the period we have now reached. In a small battle between the Crichtons and a party of Gordons an important member of this family, Gordon of Rothiemay, was killed. The clan was stirred, and vengeance demanded. On a calculation of chances, the Crichtons felt that it would go hard with them. The Marquis of Huntly—then a man about seventy years of age—took on himself something like the state and policy of a prince who was too great to be quarrelsome or vindictive. He desired that the feud might be "compounded"; and in the end the Crichtons agreed to pay to the bereaved widow and children of Rothiemay an "assythement," as it was called, of fifty thousand merks. Such a settlement was not considered degrading or unbecoming. The Gordons would in the course of their vengeance have swept away the sheep and cattle of the Crichtons, and the fine bought off the hanging. This settlement was adjusted while all parties were enjoying the hospitalities of Huntly's castle of Strathbogie. When the Crichtons set off to return home they felt a difficulty. In a recent squabble one of them had shot the son of Leslie of Pitcaple. The young man lay on his deathbed, and the father swore that he would have vengeance. Nor could Huntly's influence prevail to avert it. In fact, it was known that he lay in wait

¹ Two lists of Bonds of Manrent between 1444 and 1670—about eighty in number—

appear in the Inventory of the Richmond and Gordon Writs.

with an armed band to attack Frendraught's small party on their way home. The old Marquis would not have it said that his guest departed from his hearth to encounter danger, so that a party of the Gordons was sent as a convoy towards Frendraught. It was commanded by the heir of the House of Gordon, the young Lord Aboyne,¹ and he was accompanied by the son of the slain laird of Rothiemay. The party were too strong to be attacked, and the Crichtons reached their own fortress in safety. Here it was pressed on the Gordon leaders that they should accept a reciprocity of hospitality and remain all night beneath the roof of the Crichtons. The lady of the house, it was said, urged this with kind vehemence; it was so pleasant to see old enemies reconciled, and the exchange of hospitality would so becomingly crown a new friendship.

'The party yielded to these entreaties, spent a jovial evening, and went to rest. It was observed afterwards that Crichton had that night under his roof the heir of his great feudal enemy, and the son of the man for whose slaughter he had agreed to pay a heavy penalty. All the Gordon party were lodged in the square tower of Frendraught, and no others slept in that tower. The lowest story was vaulted with stone, and in the arch there was a round hole for passage by a ladder to the floor above. This and other two floors were constructed of timber. We are told exactly how the Gordon party were distributed over these three wooden floors, Aboyne occupying the lowest, along with Robert Gordon and his page, "English Will." At midnight the woodwork of the tower was seen to blaze up and light the country for miles round. Next morning nothing remained of the Gordon family but calcined morsels of flesh and bone, hardly to be distinguished from the ashes of the timber.

'Then arose the immediate question, "Was this calamity an accident?" The Gordons at once said "No"—it was planned; gunpowder and combustibles had been piled in the vault below for the occasion. All the fastenings of the tower had been especially secured, and the lord and lady Frendraught looked on from without, as they vainly struggled against the iron bars of the windows. . . .

'This great tragedy was handed down in the history of the North, from generation to generation, even to the present day. It was sung in the hexameters of Arthur Johnston and in the rhyming ballads of the common people. The public feeling against the Crichtons waxed strong. It inflicted on them a strange mysterious punishment, which seemed like a blight or judgment of a higher power, yet was in reality a simple and natural consequence of human conduct. They were deserted. It was a natural result of this doom that they should become the victims of the "broken clans" of Highland reivers. . . . The fortunes of the Crichtons gradually crumbled. In a few years their name disappears from local history; and when the last of them took the losing side at the Revolution,

¹ This statement is not quite correct. The commander of the party was Lord John Gordon,

the *second* son of Huntly, who had been created Viscount of Melgum and Lord Aboyne in 1627.

he appeared to have had little property to be forfeited. Such is the history of the latest of those rivals whose power and wealth were absorbed into the house of Gordon.¹

Spalding records the particulars of a deer-stalking adventure, at the head of Strathaven, in the summer of 1633, in the course of which Gordon of Dunkinty and his son were barbarously murdered by a party of natives, believed to be of the clan Chattan. 'The Marquis took the death of these his near relatives greatly to heart, and used his utmost influence to detect the offenders and bring them to justice, but in vain; some thought this strange, that the great Marquis should see his blood destroyed without trial or reparation.'

After a sporting tour in various parts of Scotland, Charles I. returned to Edinburgh on the 10th of July 1633, and the aged Marquis of Huntly desired to take advantage of the King's presence in the metropolis to interest him in the Frendraught affair. In his journey from the north he was taken ill at Candechyll, his country house on Deeside, and was unable to proceed further. 'He sent his lady with the lady Aboyne (his daughter-in-law) to complain unto his Majesty anent the fire of Frendraught. . . . The King with great patience heard the complaint, whilk he bewailed, comforted the ladies the best way he could, and promised justice.' The two ladies were not altogether unsuccessful, as they did not return from Edinburgh till they had urged on the trial of John Meldrum, and seen him executed for his implication in the 'burning.'

Eight years afterwards (1641) Spalding relates the unavoidable exile of the widowed Marchioness, who had been born and educated in France, and who could not now, with one foot in the grave, be reasonably expected to alter her religion. 'Thus, resolutely,' he says, 'she settles her estate, rents, and living, and leaves with wae heart her stately building of the Bog, beautified with many yards, parks, and pleasures—closes up the yetts, and takes journey with about sixteen horse . . . towards Edinburgh. A strange thing to see a worthy lady, near seventy years of age, put to such trouble and travail, being a widow; her eldest son the Lord Marquis being out of the kingdom, her bairns and oyes dispersed and spread. . . . It is said she had about 300,000 merks in gold and jewels with her, by and attour the gold and silver plate of both houses of Bog and Strathbogie, which did little good to the distressed estate of that noble house.' Finding no remedy in Edinburgh, Lady Huntly proceeded first to Berwick and afterwards to France, where she died, 2nd September 1642, and was buried at Lyons.

Two years previously (November 1639), during his residence in Edinburgh, two daughters of the second Marquis of Huntly were married 'with great solemnities'—Lady Anne, who was 'ane precise Puritan,' to Lord Drummond; and Lady Henrietta, who was a Roman Catholic, to

¹ Burton's *History of Scotland*, vi. 206 *et seq.*
A fragment of the old tower of Frendraught

remains, seven miles east of Huntly.

Lord Seton, son of the Earl of Winton. They had each 40,000 merks, Scots money, as their fortune, their uncle the Earl of Argyll being cautioner for the payment, 'for relief whereof he got the wadset of Lochaber and Badenoch.' Lady Jean, the third daughter, was married, in the ensuing January, to the Earl of Haddington, with 30,000 merks as her 'tocher good.'

The burning of Frendraught was naturally followed by retaliatory outrages on the part of the Gordons, and the Marquis was summoned before the Council as abetting these disturbances, and imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh in December 1635. He occupied a room without light—'in the dead of the year, cold, tempestuous, and stormy'—and his devoted wife was not permitted to visit him except at Christmas. After a few weeks' confinement, he was allowed to remove to his house in the Canongate, from which, falling into a decline, and wishing to go to his northern abode, he was removed in a 'wand-bed' placed in his chariot, but got no further than Dundee, where he died in an inn on the 13th of June 1636, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and was buried in state at Elgin.

'He had torch-lights carried in great numbers by friends and gentlemen. His son and three other nobles bore the coffin. He was carried to the east style of the College Kirk, in at the south door, and buried in his own aile, with much mourning and lamentation; the like form of burial with torch-light was seldom seen here before.'¹

A manuscript volume in the British Museum (Addl. 26,676) entitled 'Arms and Pedigrees' contains, *inter alia*, 'The Nobilitie of Scotland,' with verbal blazons of their armorial bearings. The following note, under 'Gordon Erle of Huntley,' applies to the first Marquis, and must have been written before 1599:—'The Erle of Huntley and Lord Gordon and of the same surname. His first originall was from Sir John Gordon Knight, which Lordshipp lyeth beside Hume in the Meris. His principall landes and roomes now lyeth in the north of Scotland. His chiefe house called Strabogin is within the Sherifdome of Abirdene. Of the surname is descended the Erle of Sutherland and many other gentlemen. An Erle of greate power and of most revenue of any Erle in that lande, in manner thought the goodman of the Northe. He is descended of the House of Drummonde on the mother's syde—the last Erle borne of the daughter of Keythe Erle Mareschalle and maryed the daughter of Arran, late Duke of Chastelheraulte.' Another large folio ms. in the British Museum (Bibl. Harl. 1423), entitled 'Scotland's Nobility and Gentry,' contains (f. 141) 'A Relation of certaine broyll between Georg Gordon first Marques of Huntly and dywers outhier Lords of Scotland,' extending to six large folio pages. As the year 1607 is mentioned, the account could not have been written before that date.

Spalding, the annalist, gives a pleasant sketch of Huntly's character. 'This mighty Marquis,' he says, 'was of ane great spirit; for in time of

¹ *Memorials of the Troubles*, i. 73.

trouble he was of invincible courage, and boldly bore down all his enemies triumphantly. He was never inclined to war or trouble himself; but by the pride and insolence of his kin was divers times in trouble, whilk he bore through valiantly. He loved not to be in the laws contending with any man, but loved rest and quietness with all his heart; and in time of peace he lived moderately and temperately in his diet, and fully set to building and planting of all curious devices. A well-set neighbour in his marches, disposed rather to give than to take a foot of ground wrongously. He was heard say he never drew sword in his own quarrel. In his youth a prodigal spender; in his old age more wise and worldly, yet never counted for cost in matters of honour. A great householder—a terror to his enemies, whom with his prideful kin he ever held under great fear, subjection, and obedience. In all his bargains just and efauld (*without duplicity*), and never hard for his true debt.¹

This grand old nobleman possessed his honours for the long period of sixty years, and, as we have seen, had endless troubles in connection with his religion. His 'conversions' and relapses were, no doubt, very frequent, but in his intercepted letters to the King of Spain, he admits, with regard to the former, that 'the whole had been extorted from him against his conscience.' I am disposed to believe that the Marquis was less to blame for his insincerity than the Church Courts for exercising compulsion and accepting professions which they must have known were not genuine. In his latter years he devoted himself to planting and building. Besides erecting the mansion at Strathbogie, now the ruinous Castle of Huntly, he twice built the house of Ruthven in Badenoch, as well as houses in Aboyne, Elgin, and the Plewlands in Moray. He also enlarged and improved the Castle of Bog-o-Gight and repaired his house in Old Aberdeen.²

Huntly chiefly dwelt in his ancient Castle of Strathbogie, situated at the confluence of the Bogie and the Doveran in Banffshire. He had another seat called the Castle of the Bog, or Bog-an-Gight, on the extensive plain at the embouchure of the Spey, in the same county; and he occasionally resided in his town mansions in Aberdeen and Edinburgh. In the year 1602 he rebuilt Strathbogie in a very handsome style, and the remains of the castle still indicate a fabric suitable to the wealth and importance of the family. 'A spacious turnpike-stair leads to what has been a very grand hall, and still bears the marks of splendour and magnificence. Its length is about 43 feet, its breadth 29, and its height 16. There is another grand apartment over this, 37 feet in length, and 29 in breadth. The chimneys of both are highly ornamented with curious sculpture. . . . Most of the apartments are still in tolerable preservation, particularly the ceilings, which are ornamented with a great variety of paintings in small divisions, containing many emblema-

¹ *Memorials of the Trubles*, i. 73.

² *Chambers's Domestic Annals of Scotland*, ii. 91.

tical figures, with verses expressive of some moral sentiment in doggerel rhyme.¹

A detailed account of Huntly Castle, with engravings and ground-plans, is given by Messrs. MacGibbon and Ross in their admirable work on Scottish Architecture. Of the once extensive structure little now remains but the keep. Part of the fabric is said to date from the time of the Strathbogie Earls of Athole in the thirteenth century. In that case the existing tower may be erected on the foundations of an earlier edifice. 'We are, at all events, aware that the site was occupied by a castle in the fifteenth century, part of which still forms the substructure of the existing keep. . . . After the battle of Glenlivet, in 1594, the castle was burned.' As already stated, it was rebuilt by the first Marquis of Huntly in 1602, as testified by the inscriptions on the south front. 'The basement floor contains three vaulted cellars, with a passage leading to them, and, in the south-west round tower, a vaulted prison. The small passage leading to the latter is considerably higher than the floor of the dungeon, into which a prisoner would have to descend by a ladder. The walls of this floor are no doubt a remnant of the old castle, and they may possibly be of a much older date. The form of the arches over the doors, and the recesses of the windows in the walls, which are 8 to 10 feet thick, indicate a considerably older date than that of the superstructure. . . . The first floor contains the great hall, entering from the main staircase. It is 37 feet long by 25 feet wide, with large windows on three sides. . . . The main north-east staircase is continued upwards to the roof, and gives access to the withdrawing-room on the second floor, immediately over the hall. There are bedrooms on this floor over the rooms below. No doubt can exist about the date of this floor, bearing as it does the very prominent inscription of "George Gordovn First Marqvis of Hvntly," and "Henriette Stevart Marqvisse of Hvntly." . . . The style of the upper part of the building, with its fine bow windows (a rare feature in Scotland) and ornamental mantelpieces, is very different from the plain work of the lower floors. The picturesque oriel in the south-west tower and the ornate parapet are insertions of 1602. The new north-east tower is elaborately ornamented with coats of arms, etc., and the mantelpieces on the second floor are amongst the finest works of this description in Scotland.'²

In an interesting chapter on Masters of Works and Master Masons, the same authors inform us that, to a large extent, the fabrics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were erected under the supervision of the owners themselves. Thus, 'the great edifices of Fyvie, Pinkie, etc., were erected (about 1613) under the supervision, and probably from the designs, of Chancellor Seton, the details of the execution being evidently intrusted to local tradesmen. In like manner, Huntly Castle was built, about the same date, by the Marquis of Huntly. Both of these noblemen were distinguished men who had travelled abroad, and whose observation

¹ *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1845), xi. 477.

² *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, ii. 278 et seq.

of what they had seen is impressed on many of the features of their mansions.¹

By his wife, Lady Henrietta Stuart, eldest daughter of Esme, Duke of Lennox, the Marquis had five sons and four daughters:—



1. George, second Marquis of Huntly.
2. Lord Francis, who died in Germany in 1620.

3. Lord Adam Gordon of Auchindoun.
4. Lord Laurence, who, on the 20th December 1616, had a charter of Auchterarne and other lands in the county of Aberdeen, in which he is designed 'fourth legitimate son of George, Marquis of Huntly.' He died at Strathbogie, aged twenty.

5. Lord John, created Viscount Melgum and Lord Aboyne by Charles II. in 1627, but he did not long enjoy his honours, as he lost his life at the burning of Fren-draught Castle, as previously stated, in

October 1630. According to a contemporary author, the Viscount might have saved himself, if he had not, on the first alarm, made a gallant effort to awake Rothiemay, when the passage took fire and prevented their exit. Going to a window they cried for help, and when no response was made to their entreaties, they implored God's mercy for their sins; and, clasped in each other's arms, fell victims to the flames.

The Viscount married Lady Sophia Hay, fifth daughter of Francis, ninth Earl of Errol, 'a virtuous, worthy, and chaste lady,' who died 12th March 1642, leaving one daughter. This marriage was the means of extinguishing a controversy between the Gordons and the Hays, which about twelve years previously had been the cause of two murders.²

The four daughters, who all had issue, were:—

1. Lady Anne, married to James, third Earl of Moray.
2. Lady Elizabeth, married to Alexander, second Earl of Linlithgow.
3. Lady Mary, who married William, Earl of Angus, afterwards Marquis of Douglas, 15th September 1632.
4. Lady Jean, married to Claud, first Lord Strathbane, second son of James, first Earl of Abercorn, 28th November 1632.

9. *George, second Marquis of Huntly.*

The first Marquis was succeeded, in 1636, by his eldest son, George, second Marquis of Huntly, who was then residing in France, and who, four

¹ *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, v. 555.

² See Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i. 468.



Portrait of George Marquis of Huntly

George Marquis of Huntly:

years previously, was created Viscount Aboyne, with remainder, after his death or succession to his father, to his son James and his heirs-male. He was a great favourite with the young Prince Henry. In 1607 he married Lady Anne Campbell, daughter of Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll, when she was only thirteen years of age, 'an alliance which it was hoped would quench the feud which had arisen between the families during the wars prior to Glenlivet.'¹ Two years later (1609) he was intrusted with a royal commission to suppress the 'Knights of the Morte,' a secret Aberdeenshire association of 'swaggering blades,' who roamed throughout the country pillaging friend and foe; and for several years was much mixed up with the conflicts of the Highland clans. As 'Earl of Enzie' he had a charter of the lordship of Badenoch in 1610, when he was made a Knight of the Bath; and in 1624 he commanded a company of gens d'armes in the French service—'a party of gallant young Scotchmen, well appointed,' serving with distinction in Alsace and Lorraine.

Shortly after his return to his native land, the Royalist party came to the conclusion that he was to be acknowledged as the centre of their strength, while the Covenanters regarded him as their natural enemy. 'Strong he was, no doubt,' says Burton, 'in his own place; but he was isolated by barriers not to be broken by any strength at his command. Roxburgh had alluded to danger in that quarter, in a conversation with Rothes, "whereto Rothes replied he would not give a salt citron for him; for two Fife lairds could keep him from crossing Dundee ferry, and half a dozen Angus lairds could keep him from crossing the Cairn o' Month; that three parts of his name was decayed, and he wants the two Sheriffships." This is an allusion to the discountenance of the House of Huntly by the Court of King Charles, and especially to the removal out of its hands of the Sheriffships of Aberdeen and Inverness. But, if we may credit one who had good means of knowing what he said, though the Covenanting chief thus slighted Huntly's power, the party had made zealous efforts to secure him as an ally. Had they done so, all Scotland would have been theirs before the war had begun; for the community of Aberdeen, even if a few zealous lairds in the neighbourhood had joined them, could not have made even a show of resistance. The young Huntly had been brought up a Protestant, so that no impassable gulf lay between him and the Presbyterians, as in his father's day. Colonel Robert Monro, one of the Scotsmen from the German wars, who had taken service with the Covenanters, was sent as their ambassador to Strathbogie. The offers intrusted to him were great: "The sum of his commission to Huntly was, that the noblemen Covenanters were desirous that he should join with them in the common cause; that if he would do so, and take the Covenant, they would give him the first place, and make him leader of their forces: and further, they would make his state and his fortunes greater than ever they were; and, moreover, they should pay off and discharge all his debts,

¹ *Records of Aboyne*, 527.

which they knew to be about ane hundred thousand pounds sterling : that their forces and associates were a hundred to one with the King ; and therefore it was to no purpose to him to take up arms against them, for if he refused this offer and declared against them, they should find means to disable him for to help the King ; and, moreover, they knew how to undo him ; and bade him expect that they will ruinate his family and estates."

'The reception given by the new Marquis to this alternative is told in thorough keeping with the chivalrous character of his father : "To this proposition Huntly gave a short and resolute repartee, that his family had risen and stood by the Kings of Scotland ; and for his part, if the event proved the ruin of this King, he was resolved to lay his life, honours, and estate under the rubbish of the King his ruins. But withal thanked the gentlemen who had brought the commission and had advised him thereto, as proceeding from one whom he took for a friend and goodwill, and urged out of a good intention to him."'¹

In 1639 Huntly raised a force of two thousand men for the King's service, as royal Lieutenant in the north. He encountered a small body of Covenanters under Montrose, at Turriff, and might easily have secured a victory. But he allowed his adversaries to have their way, and it was supposed that there was a policy in his abstinence. In the month of April, a formidable force of nine thousand men marched northwards, and it was joined by some two thousand supporters from those families who were zealous against the House of Gordon, if not for the Covenant. Argyll sent five hundred of his Highlanders to swell the invading host ; and Huntly, finding that, unless he received help from the King, he would be speedily overpowered, had more than one interview with Montrose. 'Huntly wished to conform to existing conditions without actually humiliating himself to sign the Covenant. He and his Protestant friends were content to acknowledge the old confessions, and to subscribe a document maintaining the King's authority, "together with the liberties both of church and state—of religion and laws." He proposed a course for the co-operation even of the Papists of the north, "they subscribing a declaration of their willingness to concur with the Covenanters of maintaining the laws and liberties of the kingdom."'²

The completion of the contemplated arrangements implied Huntly's presence in Aberdeen, but shortly after his arrival in that city he discovered that his movements were watched and his abode guarded. On demanding an explanation, he ascertained that he was to be removed to Edinburgh. Nominally he went of his own free will, but practically as a prisoner ; and regarding the transaction, it has been debated whether it was a bold stroke of treachery on the part of Montrose, or a surrender of his naturally honourable nature to the unscrupulous will of Huntly's personal enemies. Spalding gives a report of a conversation between the two leaders, which does not throw much light on the affair. At the close of the dialogue Huntly asks, "Whether will ye take me south as ane captive,

¹ Burton's *History of Scotland*, vi. 215.

² *Ibid.* vi. 240.

or willingly of my own mind?" Montrose answered, "Make your choice." Then he said, "I will not go as ane captive, but as ane volunteer; where-upon he comes to door, hastily goes to his own lodging, where he finds the same strictly guarded with musketeers."'¹

The Marquis had been attended by two of his sons—Lord Gordon, the eldest, and his brother, Viscount Aboyne—who were persuaded by their followers to return to Strathbogie. On reaching Edinburgh the Marquis was committed to the Castle, from which he was released after an imprisonment of two months. Huntly's feelings at this juncture are indicated by one who had good opportunities of knowing all the circumstances. 'For Montrose,' he says, 'going along with that action it is most certain that it bred such a distaste in Huntly against Montrose, that afterwards, when Montrose fell off to the King, and forsook the Covenanters, and was glad to get the assistance of Huntly and his followers, the Marquis could never be gained to join cordially with him, nor to swallow that indignity. This bred jars betwixt them in the carrying on of the war, and that which was pleasing to the one was seldom pleasing to the other. Whence it came to pass that such as were equally enemies to both (who knew it well enough) were secured, and in end prevailed so far as to ruin and destroy both of them, and the King by a consequent.'²

Huntly's temporary removal appeared for the moment to be a blow to the strength of the Cavalier party in the north. 'The greater portion of the force which he commanded was kept together not by loyalty to him but by policy—the policy of combining for mutual aid against the Government and the rival House of Argyll. Within that combination were all manner of subordinate jealousies and hatreds. There were Lowland families of ancient blood, who could say they were as good as the proud Gordons themselves, and were bitterly jealous of each other, and repudiative of any other leader but the great Marquis, towards whom they took the position rather of allies acknowledging leadership than of vassals acknowledging obedience. There was a still more difficult and dangerous element in the wild Highland tribes, with whom Argyll was trafficking to consolidate an influence from his centre of government at Inverary, while Huntly was doing the same from Strathbogie.'³

Huntly's second son, Lord Aboyne, now acted as the head of the House, and was invested by the King's writ with his father's office of Lieutenant; but he was young and inexperienced. The King also gave him what proved to be an unavailing order on Hamilton (who was then lying in the Firth of Forth), to deliver two thousand of his land soldiers to strengthen his position. About the middle of May the Covenanters of the north again selected Turriff as a place of rendezvous, but they were dispersed by the Gordons in a small conflict known in local history as 'The Trot of Turriff,' in which the first blood of the civil war was spilt. Among the incidents of the excitement naturally raised by this triumph,

¹ Spalding's *Memorials*, i. 170.

² Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, ii. 238.

³ Burton's *History of Scotland*, vi. 242.

one was in itself a small romance of a character peculiarly Highland. Lord Ludovic or Lewis Gordon, the third son of Huntly, was a young boy at school in Strathbogie with his grandmother. On hearing of the 'Trot of Turriff' he 'broke away from his grandmother, and had forsaken the school and his tutor, leaping over the walls so hazardously as he went near to break one of his arms.'¹ He found his way up to the hills, and came back the leader of a horde of Highlanders from Strathdee and Strathdon, who had crowded round the princely boy, attired in the Highland garb; and in Spalding's words, he and his followers 'upon Friday, the 7th of June, marched in brave order, about a thousand men, on horse and foot, well armed, brave men, with captains, commanders, and leaders, trumpets, drums, and bagpipes.'

In April 1644 Huntly having received a commission from the King to be his Lieutenant in the north, again took the field; and on Argyll advancing against him he retreated into Strathnaver. In the following September, Montrose (now on the side of the Cavaliers), with an army of fifteen hundred men, resolved to attack Aberdeen. 'He wandered,' says Burton, 'through the Gordon country only to experience a mortifying illustration of the character of Highland politics. All his efforts to communicate with the head of the House were baffled. Whether it was that Huntly would not co-operate with the man who had betrayed him, or that, as some said, he had hidden himself from his enemies so effectively that even his friends could not find him, Montrose never got the use of his name for raising his people, and therefore appealed to their sense of loyalty in vain.'²

In the course of 1645 Huntly again appeared in arms, and the following year refused to lay them down when commanded by the King, then under the control of Parliament. He was excepted from pardon in March 1647, taken prisoner the same year in Strathnaver, and sent to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, where he remained for nearly fifteen months. Huntly's capture is referred to in the postscript to a letter, dated 16th December 1647, from John, Lord Erskine (afterwards ninth Earl of Mar), to Sir George Stirling of Keir: 'The unfortunatt Marquess of Huntlie is taken; how the Commissioners will dispose of him God knowes.'³ The execution of the King (Charles I.) was followed by that of the Duke of Hamilton on the 9th of March 1649; and just a week afterwards, Huntly, the long-sought enemy of the Committee of Estates, was brought to trial, and condemned to be beheaded at the market-cross of Edinburgh.

'It might have been expected that the Marquis of Argyll, who was Huntly's brother-in-law, and to appearance all-powerful, would interfere to save him. To that end his sister, the Marchioness of Douglas, and his three daughters, the Lady Drummond, the Lady Seton, and the Countess of Haddington, went and threw themselves on their bended knees before Macaleinmore. He declined to meddle with what the Parliament had

¹ Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, ii. 261.

² *History of Scotland*, vi. 369.

³ Fraser's *Stirlings of Keir*, p. 486.

decreed, the truth being, that no lay power was then able to stand against an object on which the leading clergy had set their hearts. . . . On the 22nd of March the Marquis is brought down from his airy prison, along the High Street of Edinburgh, clad in the deepest mourning, very weak in body, but cheerful in spirit, not wishing to live after his master was gone, and placed on a scaffold at the Cross where the "Maiden" stands prepared to receive him in her dismal embraces. He writes a few lines to his children, and speaks a few sentences to the multitude. The gleaming axe descends, and the noble of a score of illustrious titles is no more.'¹

He died with great fortitude, professing his loyalty to the last, and declaring that he had the charity to forgive those who had condemned him. So far from being guilty of treason, he declined to acknowledge that he had ever done anything contrary to law.

Balfour says he was carried to Seton to be 'interred ther in the common buriall of that family, from which himselve had issewed.'²

'Besides the splendour of his birth, in which he was second to no subject, he was of an ancient family, long dreaded by neighbours for its power. . . . In person he was endowed with the highest gifts of mind and body. To his Prince he had been loyal from the very beginning of the troubles, and this alone rendered him so hateful to the Covenanters that they resolved to make away with him. Indeed, except for that unhappy quarrel he had with Montrose and the King and country, it will be hard to find his equal.'³

By his wife, Lady Anne Campbell, eldest daughter of Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll—who predeceased him at Aberdeen, 14th June 1638, and was buried in the Church of St. Machar—the Marquis had five sons and five daughters:—

1. George, Lord Gordon, who, in his youth, served in Alsace and Lorraine, under the Maréchal de la Force. In 1639 he was committed to the Castle of Edinburgh along with his father, and was killed at the battle of Alford, 2nd July 1645, when Montrose defeated the Covenanters. The death of so devoted and beloved a son, in the flower of his age, was a heavy blow to the Marquis.

2. James, second Viscount Aboyne, who succeeded to that title when his father became second Marquis of Huntly in 1636. Taking the field for Charles I. against the Covenanters, he was



¹ Balfour's *Annals. Britain's Distemper*, by Patrick Gordon.

² *Annals*, iii. 393.

³ Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose*, translated by Murdoch and Simpson, 1893, p. 238.

defeated by Montrose, at the Bridge of Dee, 19th June 1639, after which he escaped to England by sea. Being summoned before the Council in 1643, for his negotiations with the Earl of Antrim, and failing to appear, he was forfeited and declared a traitor. When Montrose returned to his allegiance, Viscount Aboyne accompanied him to Scotland; and after taking Dumfries, was obliged to retreat to Carlisle, where he was intrusted with the command of the garrison. Excommunicated by the General Assembly at Edinburgh, 24th April 1644, he joined Montrose in Menteith in the following April, and continued with him till September, when he proceeded to the north with a troop of horse, just before the battle of Philiphaugh. He was excepted from pardon in 1648, made his escape to France, and received the intelligence of the execution of Charles I. when in Paris. Overcome by grief, he died a few days afterwards, in February 1649.

3. Lewis, third Marquis of Huntly.

4. Charles, first Earl of Aboyne, of whom afterwards.

5. Lord Henry Gordon, who went into the military service of the King of Poland, in which he was honourably employed for several years. Returning to Scotland, he died at Strathbogie.

The five daughters were :—

1. Lady Anne, married, in 1639, to James, third Earl of Perth, and died 9th January 1656, having had issue.

2. Lady Henrietta, married, first, in the same year as her elder sister, to George, Lord Seton, and was mother of George, fourth Earl of Winton; secondly, in 1649, to John, second Earl of Traquair, without issue. She died in December 1650.

3. Lady Jean, married in 1640 to Thomas, second Earl of Haddington, by whom she had one daughter, and died in 1655, having been predeceased by her husband—a friend of the Covenant—who was killed by the explosion of a gunpowder magazine, at Dunglass Castle, in the forty-first year of his age, 30th August 1640. As Montrose was led to execution on the 18th of May 1650, Lady Haddington, who was the niece of Argyll, is said to have spat upon him, in revengeful triumph, as he passed. Under date 1639, James Gordon, Parson of Rothiemay, states that Thomas, second Earl of Haddington, had now leisure to court the daughter of the Marquis of Huntly, in which he had the company of Lord Seton and Lord Drummond, who were making suit to the other two daughters of the Marquis. Lord Haddington's choice had fallen upon Lady Jean Gordon and Lady Anne Campbell, sister of Archibald, eighth Earl of Argyll, but the religion of the latter formed an impediment. Lady Jean at that time resided with her father and sisters in the Canongate, Edinburgh, but in November 1639 both of her sisters were married, and the Marquis gave up his house and went to England, on which she found her way to her sister's house at Winton in East Lothian, and on the 14th of January 1640 she was married to the Earl of Haddington.¹

¹ Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, i. 195.

4. Lady Mary, married, 7th December 1643, to Alexander Irvine of Drum.

5. Lady Catherine (twin with her brother Henry), married to John Andrew, Count Morstain, High-Treasurer of Poland, from which union Prince Czartorinski and other families of distinction in that kingdom are descended. She had a 'birth brieve' under the Great Seal of Scotland, 21st August 1687.

10. *Lewis, third Marquis of Huntly,*

the eldest surviving son, succeeded his father in 1649, and the following year there was a Covenant or Indenture—a long and curious document—between Oliver Cromwell and Huntly, who is styled 'a Scottishman prisoner,' giving his lordship leave of absence for the space of two months and a half after leaving Berwick, upon condition that certain members of his family were kept as hostages for his return.¹ The Marquis was restored to his honours and estates by Charles II. in 1651, and died in December 1653, having married, in 1644, Mary, daughter of Sir James Grant of that ilk, and by her (who married, secondly, James, second Earl of Airlie) had a son and three daughters:—



1. George, fourth Marquis of Huntly.

2. Lady Anne, married to the Comte de Croll.

3. Lady Mary, married, first, in 1667, to Adam Urquhart of Meldrum; secondly, to James, fourth Earl of Perth, High Chancellor of Scotland, and died in March 1726, in the eightieth year of her age.

4. Lady Jean, married to James, fourth Earl of Dunfermline.

There are romantic stories attaching to the marriage of the third Marquis, 'to the effect that during the troublous times he had to seek refuge in a cave two miles from Castle Grant. His food was brought to him by the laird's daughter Mary—a young lady of such "rare and matchless divine beauty that she maintained possession of his soule against all the bewitching allurements of all home-bred and forraine beauties whatsoever."²

In the *Deeds of Montrose* (p. 290), Lewis Gordon is said to have been indebted to Argyll for his Marquisate, meaning that Argyll had made him Marquis of Huntly by cutting off his father's head!

¹ Richmond and Gordon Writs.

² *Records of Aboyne*, 543.

II. *George, fourth Marquis of Huntly (and first Duke of Gordon),*

was born about 1650, and succeeded his father when he was only three years of age. In 1661, the act of forfeiture against his grandfather, the second Marquis, was rescinded and his estates restored. The young nobleman was brought up in the Roman Catholic religion, which his family had always professed. In 1666, when he was about sixteen years of age, in obedience to a letter from the King, the Privy Council decreed that 'in order to the conversion of the Marquis of Huntly, and the better ordering of his affairs,' his mother should be removed from him and retire with her family to some of his Lordship's houses in the north. It has been remarked, as a strange conjunction of circumstances, that Charles II., who thus expressed such anxiety for the Protestant upbringing of the young nobleman, was, in private sentiments, a Catholic, while Lauderdale, by whom the King's letter was officially signed, was indifferent to all religion. The royal effort was not successful; and Huntly, who was made a Duke by James II., continued a firm Catholic to the last.

On the 20th of November 1663, Marie, Marchioness of Huntly, writes from Winton to the Earl of Lauderdale relative to Lord Huntly's 'concernmentis.' In the following March she indites two epistles to his Lordship from Edinburgh, in one of which she refers to certain false charges that had been made against her; while in the other, after alluding to Lord Huntly's death and her 'numerous familie,' she earnestly appeals for help. Finally, in a curious communication to the same nobleman, dated 'Cupar off Fyff, 3 Febravar 1666,' she solicits the King to allow her son to go abroad.¹ In all these letters, the fine signature—'Marie Huntlye'—forms a striking feature.

About the year 1668, Lord Huntly went to France, where he spent the greater part of two years in Academies, 'in those exercises proper to render noble persons fit to signalise, in martial employments, that courage and magnanimity which is transpired into their blood from their ancestors!' From France he passed into Italy, visiting Rome, Naples, Venice, and other cities; thence to Germany and Hungary, and back again to Paris. In 1672 he returned by London to Scotland, where he remained for several months. In the course of the following year he again turns up in Paris, afterwards joining the French King's army at Oudenard, which he accompanied, in June, to the siege of Maestricht. After spending the winter at Caen, in Normandy, he was with the French army at the conquest of Burgundy in 1674, and subsequently attached himself to Marshal de Turenne, before the battle of Strasburg. At the close of that campaign he returned to Scotland, and in the summer of 1675 found his way to

¹ *Lauderdale Papers* (23,120, f. 93; 23,121, f. 61; and 23,124, f. 46), British Museum.

Flanders, and served in the army of the Prince of Orange, at whose hands he experienced many civilities, returning to London in November.’¹

In his *Tour in Scotland* in 1677, Thomas Kirk describes a visit to the Marquis’s mother (second wife of James, second Earl of Airlie). ‘In the afternoon of Monday, the 18th of June,’ he says, ‘we waited on the old Lady Huntley, who is married to my Lord —, and lives in the town of Bamf. Whilst we were drinking a glass of wine, a gentleman pressed in upon us with his sword-belt and shoulder-knot on the wrong side (he being lame on the right hand). His name was Captain Ogilby, but Bacchus had completed his victory over him.’ From Banff the English traveller proceeded to Bog-o-Gight, now Gordon Castle. ‘About twelve o’clock we took horse, and rode sixteen tedious miles to the Boog, my Lord of Huntly’s house. We waited on my Lady (who is my Lord of Norfolk’s daughter), my Lord being in Edinburgh. The house is very high, and built after the manner of the castles in this country. . . . We were invited to stay all night, but we intended for Elgin, six miles further; we were treated with excellent good claret, and we had our full doses of it.’²

On the 1st of November 1684 Huntly was advanced to the dignity of Duke of Gordon. At the accession of James VII. he was sworn a privy councillor; appointed a Lord of the Treasury and Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh; and was invested with the Order of the Thistle, at its revival in April 1687. The Duke had a grant of the lands of Mellerstain, in Berwickshire (forfeited by Robert Baillie), by an Act of King James’s second Parliament, which recites the appreciation, on the part of ‘Our Sovereign Lord and the Estates,’ of the signal services performed by the family of Huntly for many ages; the eminent sufferings of several of its representatives in their constant adherence to the true interests of the Crown; the great services and sufferings of George, second Marquis of Huntly, who for his loyalty was by the rebels condemned and cruelly murdered on a scaffold; and the loyalty and merits of George, now Duke of Gordon, who has fully answered and improved the high and honourable character of loyalty and nobility displayed by his predecessors.

Notwithstanding the circumstance of his being a Roman Catholic, the Duke showed his dislike to the measures of the King for the restoration of that form of religion, by the removal of the penal laws and tests, on which account he was represented as a libertine and fop by the priests and their converts. At the Revolution of 1688 the Duke of Gordon held out the Castle of Edinburgh for King James. The Convention of Estates summoned him to surrender on the 15th of March 1689; and on his refusal they proclaimed him a traitor and commenced a siege of the Castle. The Duke held out till the 13th of June, when the provisions had become exhausted; and seeing no prospect of relief, he surrendered, on honourable conditions the day following, behaving with great humanity in not allowing

¹ ‘The Pourtrait of True Loyalty exposed in the Family of Gordon’—MS. in Advocates’ Library.

² Hume Brown’s *Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. 24.

sallies, and abstaining from firing upon the city, to which he could have done no small injury.¹

At the foot of the alley called Blair's Close, on the south side of the Castlehill, stood a strongly built house which originally belonged to the Gordon family, and which was probably the abode of the first Duke. The doorway was surmounted by a coronet supported by two deerhounds, which pertain to the heraldic ensigns of the House.² Their earlier town mansion was situated in the Canongate, and afterwards became the property of the craft of Hammermen. It was occupied by the first Marquis of Huntly, the murderer of the Bonnie Earl of Moray, in the year 1636, shortly before his death at Dundee; and from Maitland's *History of Edinburgh* it appears that the widow of the third Duke resided in it in 1753.³

The Duke of Gordon afterwards went to London, where he made his submission to King William; then passed over to Flanders, and visited St. Germain's in 1691; but, being coldly received by the exiled monarch, he retired into Switzerland. Arrested in that country, he was sent to Holland, and thence to Scotland, where he led a very uneasy life during the reign of King William, being frequently a prisoner. In April 1699 the Duke held Catholic meetings in his 'lodging' in Edinburgh. Macky alleges that 'he is a Catholic because he was bred so, but otherwise thinks very little of revealed religion.' However that might be, the Duke and a number of persons of all ranks were seized by the authorities, as they were assembled in his house for mass. Cited before the Privy Council, the Duke spoke so boldly of the laws against his faith and worship, that he was immediately imprisoned in the Castle; but was liberated a fortnight afterwards, on making a 'humble apology.'⁴

On the accession of George I., the lords justices, in September 1714, ordered the Duke to be confined to Edinburgh on his parole, considering him as disaffected to the House of Hanover. He died at Leith, on the 7th of December 1716, aged about sixty-seven. His character is thus given by Macky:—'He is certainly a very fine gentleman, and understands conversation and the belles lettres; is well bred; made for the company of ladies; is very handsome, and taller than the ordinary size; thin; dresses well, but is somewhat finical, resembling the French.'

In October 1676 the Duke married Lady Elizabeth Howard, second daughter of Henry, Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Norwich, who retired to a convent in Flanders in 1697, when her husband instituted a process of adherence. In 1711 the Duchess caused a good deal of sensation by sending to the Dean and Faculty of Advocates a silver medal, bearing the head of the 'Pretender' on one side, and on the other the British Isles, with the significant motto 'Reddite.' Mr. Omond informs us that 'the

¹ 'The Pourtrait,' etc. (*ut supra*).

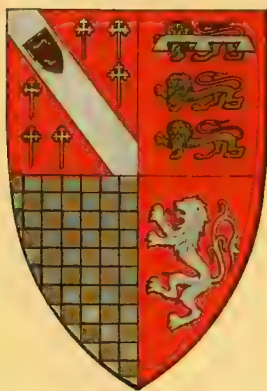
² Engraved in Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, i. 93.

³ Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*, i. 152

and iii. 245.

⁴ Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, iii. 204.

Records of the Faculty are silent on the subject . . . but from other sources we know something of what took place. Either a servant in whose hands the medal had been placed, or the Dean of Faculty, Robert Bennet, presented the medal on behalf of the Duchess. It was proposed to place it in the "Repository of Rarities." This was opposed, on the ground that it would be an insult to the Government. One member said, "Oliver Cromwell's medal, who deserved to be hanged, and the arms of the Commonwealth of England, were received, and why not this?" Duncan Forbes, then a junior, but afterwards Lord Advocate and President of the Court, answered, "It will be time enough to receive the medal when the Pretender is hanged." Many of those present agreed with Forbes; but James



Dundas, younger of Arniston, rose and spoke in favour of receiving the medal. "Medals," he is reported to have said, "are the documents of history, to which all historians refer; and, therefore, though I should give King William's stamp with the devil at his right ear, I see not how it could be refused, seeing an hundred years hence it would prove that such a coin had been in England. But, Dean of Faculty, what needs further speeches? None oppose the receiving of the medal, but a few pitiful scoundrel vermin and mushrooms, not worthy of our notice. Let us, therefore, proceed to name some of our number to return our hearty thanks to the Duchess of Gordon." . . . It is not known whether any vote was taken; but there can be no doubt that Dundas waited upon the Duchess, and thanked her, in the name of the Faculty, for the medal.¹

The Duchess survived her husband for sixteen years, and frequently resided in an old mansion near Holyrood Abbey, where she died in 1732. Here, according to Wodrow, she openly kept a kind of college for instructing young people in Jesuitism and Jacobitism, assisted by a kindred soul, the Duchess of Perth.² On a certain Sunday in the month of April 1722, while the Duchess was having mass performed in her house in the Canongate, in the presence of about forty other professors of the Catholic religion, Bailie Hawthorn, one of the magistrates, broke open the door

¹ Omond's *Lord Advocates of Scotland*, i. 291.

Further particulars relative to the attendant circumstances will be found in the same author's *Arniston Memoirs*, p. 52 *et seq.* Scott refers to the subject in chapter xii. of *The Heart of Midlothian*, where Davie Deans alludes to the bringing of 'Popish medals' into the Advocates' Library, 'from that schismatic woman in the north, the Duchess of Gordon.'

² Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*, iii. 246.

The house is mentioned in the *Diurnal of Occurrences* as having been, in 1570, the residence of Patrick Edgar. After it passed from the Gordons it became the property of the family of Newbyth, and on the 6th of December 1757 was the birthplace of the gallant Sir David Baird, the hero of Seringapatam.

and seized the whole party. The ladies were bailed, but the priest, Mr. John Wallace, was sent to prison.¹ Like many other members of the House of Huntly, the Duchess was buried at Elgin.

By his wife, Lady Elizabeth Howard, the first Duke of Gordon had a daughter, Lady Jean, who married, in 1706, James, fifth Earl (styled Duke) of Perth, and died very aged at Stobhall, 30th January 1773, and a son,

12. *Alexander, second Duke of Gordon,*

who succeeded his father in 1716. In August of the previous year he attended the Earl of Mar at Braemar, and joined the standard of the 'Pretender,' at Perth, with a large body of horse and foot, on the 6th of October. He was present at the battle of Sheriffmuir, on the 13th of November, after which he returned home, capitulated with the Earl of Sutherland, and strictly observed the terms of his surrender. He was brought up from the north to Edinburgh, in April 1716, but it does not appear that any further proceedings were instituted against him. His death took place on the 28th November 1728. 'The Duke's death,' says Chambers, 'proved, through connected circumstances, a domestic event of great importance. We have seen the adherence of this powerful family to the Catholic faith

a source of frequent trouble ever since the Reformation. Latterly, under the protection of the second Duke, the ancient religion had been receiving fresh encouragement in the north. For this family to be at variance in so important a respect with the country at large was unfortunate both for themselves and the country. It was an evil now at length to be brought to an end.'²



The Duke married, in 1706, Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, daughter of the celebrated general, Charles, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth. She brought up all her children in the Protestant faith, and with a respect for the reigning House, and on that account was granted a pension of £1000 per annum by George II., in

1735, for the better support of herself and her family. Her orthodoxy was warmly commended in many quarters, and in 1730 she received a cordial letter of thanks from the General Assembly. Inheriting her father's enterprising genius, the Duchess also signalised herself by introducing important agricultural improvements into Scotland, including the system of 'fallowing,' hitherto unknown in the north; the proper mode of hay-making;

¹ Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, iii. 466.

² *Ibid.* iii. 554.

the laying out of gardens, and the planting of moorlands. As Dr. Chambers observes: 'It is rather remarkable that Scotland should have received her impulse towards agricultural improvements from England, which we have in recent times seen, as it were, sitting at her feet as a pupil in all the various particulars of a superior rural economy.'¹

Notwithstanding her Protestant loyalty, the energetic Duchess once showed a tendency to sympathise with the principles of the Jacobites. When one of her sons, Lord Lewis Gordon, 'went out' for the House of Stuart in 1745, the Duchess 'layed out a breakfast for the young Chevalier on the road-side at her park-gate, as he marched past, target on shoulder, on his way to England; for which single act of misapplied hospitality her Grace was deprived of her pension.'²

Surviving the Duke for thirty-two years, she died, on the 11th of October 1760, at Prestonhall, in the county of Edinburgh, an estate which she purchased at a judicial sale, in 1738, for £8877, and left to her youngest son, Lord Adam Gordon. Her family consisted of four sons and seven daughters:—

1. Cosmo-George, third Duke of Gordon.

2. Lord Charles Gordon, who, in 1745, became a Captain in the Earl of Loudon's foot (54th regiment), disbanded in 1748. He died at Bainfield, near Edinburgh, 26th April 1780.

3. Lord Lewis Gordon, who, being bred to the sea, became a lieutenant on board a ship of war. On the breaking out of the 'Rebellion,' in 1745 (as already mentioned), he declared for the 'Pretender'; raised a regiment of two battalions; defeated the Royalists, under the laird of Macleod, near Inverury on the 23rd December of the same year, and then marched to Perth.

In an anonymous communication to Solicitor-General Dundas, dated 'Edin^r, Nov^r 9th 1745,' it is stated that 'several letters have been intercepted from Lewis Gordon, brother to the Duke, directed to the Duke of Perth, John Murray, etc. . . . Two of them are dated "Huntly Castle, October 28th," and bear that he finds the people in general extremely averse to take up arms in support of the Prince, and that force is absolutely necessary. This he says is entirely owing to the vile Presbyterian ministers, who instil into the people's minds false and foolish notions, and speak disrespectfully of the Prince and his abettors, but adds that he hopes to prevent their future influence, as he has sent a written order to those of them who are under his jurisdiction, requiring them not to preach in their present strain, otherwise they shall be forthwith punished as the law directs. He speaks of having formed a design to take President Forbes prisoner, but was dissuaded from the attempt by General Gordon, an old man who married Sir Thomas Moncrief's daughter, as a thing impracticable, in regard that 200 of the Frasers, having attacked the President's house (Culloden), were repulsed with considerable loss. . . . The letter concludes with promises that he, Lewis Gordon, will do all in his power to support the glorious cause.'³

¹ *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, iii. 420.

² *Ibid.* iii 555.

³ Omond's *Arniston Memoirs*, p. 135.

After the decisive battle of Culloden, Lord Lewis went abroad ; was attainted by Act of Parliament in 1746 ; and died at Montreuil, in France, on the 15th of June 1754. He is commemorated in a ballad by the Rev. Dr. Alexander Geddes—of which Burns says, ‘ It needs not a Jacobite prejudice to be affected by this song,’—which thus begins :—

‘ Oh send my Lewis Gordon hame
And the lad I daurna name.’

4. Lord Adam Gordon, already referred to, who had a distinguished military career. His various commissions were as follows:—Captain in the 18th Foot, 1746 ; in the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards, December 1755 ; Colonel of the 66th Foot, 19th January 1763 ; of the 26th or Cameronians, 27th December 1775 ; of the First, or Royal Regiment of Foot of two battalions, 9th May 1782 ; Governor of Tinmouth Castle, April 1778 ; and of Edinburgh Castle, 5th November 1796. He was chosen Member of Parliament for the county of Aberdeen, at the general elections, 1754 and 1761 ; and for the county of Kincardine, 1774, 1780, and 1784—vacating his seat in 1788.

In 1758, he accompanied General Bligh in his unfortunate expedition to the coast of France, and signalised himself at the head of his grenadier company of the Guards. Bringing up the rear of the embarkation at St. Cas, on the 10th of September, in the face of a superior force, he prevented the enemy for a considerable time from getting forward ; but, being overpowered by numbers, he was forced to retire to the beach. After a command in America, from which he returned in 1765, he had a long conference, in November, with the Secretaries of State, having been requested by the Colonial authorities to make a report of their grievances.

Appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, in 1789, he resided in Holyroodhouse, and made various repairs and improvements in the Palace. In 1794, on the occasion of a mutiny in the Breadalbane regiment of Fencibles, by his judicious management Lord Adam was the means of preventing an appeal to force, four of the ringleaders being imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. On the 19th of June 1795, when a very old man, he presented a set of colours to a battalion of the Scots Brigade, in George’s Square, Edinburgh, when the veterans were visibly affected by his spirited address. Lord Adam resigned the command to Sir Ralph Abercrombie, in June 1798 ; and dying at his seat of The Burn, Kincardineshire, 13th August 1801, he was buried at Inveresk. He married, at London, 2nd September 1767, Jane, daughter of John Drummond of Megginch, in the county of Perth, dowager of James, second Duke of Athole, by whom he had no issue, and who predeceased her husband at Holyroodhouse, 22nd February 1795. She was the subject of the well-known song by Dr. Adam Austin, beginning with the words,

‘ For lack of gold she’s left me, O,
And of all that’s dear bereft me, O.’

Notwithstanding the author's threat in the second stanza, to 'rove through distant climes,' he continued to practise in Edinburgh, where a few years afterwards he contrived to find a helpmate.

In Kay's *Portraits and Caricatures* (i. 212) there is an equestrian portrait of Lord Adam Gordon, which is believed to be an admirable likeness.

The seven daughters of the second Duke of Gordon were—

1. Lady Henrietta, who died unmarried, near Brompton, in Middlesex, 17th February 1789, in the eighty-first year of her age.
2. Lady Mary, died unmarried, at Edinburgh 26th July 1782.
3. Lady Anne, married to William, third Earl of Aberdeen (by whom she had issue), and died at Edinburgh, 22nd June 1791, in her seventy-eighth year.
4. Lady Elizabeth, married to the Rev. John Skelly, a clergyman of the Church of England, and had issue.
5. Lady Jean, died unmarried, at Edinburgh, 17th January 1792.
6. Lady Catherine, married, 12th September 1745, to Hon. Francis Charteris of Amisfield, afterwards fifth Earl of Wemyss, and died 21st January 1786, leaving issue.
7. Lady Charlotte.

13. *Cosmo-George, third Duke of Gordon.*

The second Duke of Gordon was succeeded, in 1728, by his eldest son, Cosmo-George, third Duke of Gordon. The name of Cosmo was given to the Duke in compliment to Cosmo de Medicis III., Grand Duke of Tuscany, with whom his father was on close terms of friendship. In Gordon Castle there is a bust of the Grand Duke, presented by that Prince to the Duke of Gordon in 1720. At the general election, in 1747, the Duke was chosen one of the sixteen representatives of the Scottish Peerage; and under the Jurisdiction Act of the same year he was allowed about £5300 in full of his claims for the regalities of Huntly, Urquhart, Spynie, etc., which amounted to upwards of £22,000. In 1748 he was invested with the Order of the Thistle, and dying at Breteuil, near Amiens, on the 5th of August 1752, in the thirty-second year of his age, he was buried in Elgin Cathedral. He married at Dunkeld, 3rd September 1741, Lady Catherine Gordon, only daughter of his brother-in-law, William, second Earl of Aberdeen, by his second wife, Lady Susan Murray, daughter of John, first Duke of Athole. The Duchess



married, secondly, Staats Long Morris, a General in the Army, and Member of Parliament for the Burghs of Elgin, etc., from 1774 to 1784, and died 10th December 1779, having had issue, by the Duke, three sons and three daughters:—

1. Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon.

2. Lord William Gordon, born at York, 15th August 1744, who, in 1759, had a lieutenancy in the 89th regiment of Foot; travelled abroad with his elder brother in 1762-3; got a company in the 37th Foot in 1764; joined that regiment the same year, and resigned his commission in 1769. In February 1778 he was appointed Deputy-Ranger of St. James's and Hyde Parks; Lieutenant-Colonel of the north fencible regiment two months afterwards; was chosen Member of Parliament for the county of Elgin, at the general election of 1780; and for the county of Inverness in 1784. Constituted Vice-Admiral of Scotland, 6th March 1782, he resigned that office in 1795. He married, 13th February 1781, the Hon. Frances Ingram Shepherd, second daughter and co-heiress of Charles, ninth Viscount of Irvine, without issue.

3. Lord George Gordon, baptized 27th January 1752, who served some years in the Royal Navy, and was elected Member of Parliament for Ludgershall in 1774. Six years afterwards (1780), he took a prominent part in supporting the petition to Parliament against Popery by the then recently formed 'Protestant Association.' For some years, letters on the increase of Popery had been appearing in the London newspapers, and great discontent had been produced in many quarters by the Relief Act of 1778, the success of the Scotch disturbances preventing the introduction of a similar measure for Scotland. The fanatical party found an unscrupulous leader in the person of Lord George Gordon. 'He was a young man of thirty, of very ordinary talents, and with nothing to recommend him but his connection with the ducal house of Gordon, and his position as a member of Parliament; and he had for some time distinguished himself by coarse, violent, and eminently absurd speeches on the enormities of Popery, which only excited ridicule in the House of Commons, but which found admirers beyond its walls. He was a Scotchman, and appears to have been honestly fanatical, but his fanaticism was mixed with something of the vanity and ambition of a demagogue, and with a view of recklessness and eccentricity closely akin to insanity. A "Protestant Association," consisting of the worst agitators and fanatics, was formed; and at a great meeting held on May 29th, 1780, and presided over by Lord George Gordon, it was determined that 20,000 men should march to the Parliament House to present a petition for the repeal of the Relief Act.'¹

Mr. Lecky gives a detailed account of the subsequent proceedings, which commenced on the afternoon of Friday, 2nd June, by a party of many thousands, wearing a blue cockade, carrying a petition signed by about 120,000 persons to the Parliament House. Great indignities were

¹ Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, iii. 510.

offered by the mob to Lord Mansfield, then in his seventy-sixth year, to Chancellor Thurlow, who was equally unpopular, and to several other noble lords. In the Commons Lord George presented the petition, and demanded its immediate consideration. He appeared several times on the stairs of the Gallery, where he addressed the assembled crowd, specially denouncing Burke and North. On Sunday afternoon several houses were plundered and chapels ruined in Moorfields, where a considerable Catholic population resided. Other outrages were perpetrated the following day, when the military preparations were still quite inadequate. On Tuesday, 6th June, more daring enterprises were attempted, as the spirits of the rioters rose higher. On his way to Parliament, Lord Sandwich was torn out of his carriage, which was broken in pieces; the house of Justice Hyde, near Leicester Fields, was utterly wrecked; and Newgate, the strongest prison in England, was burnt to the ground, being occupied by 300 prisoners, of whom four were under sentence of death. Shortly after midnight, Lord Mansfield's house in Bloomsbury Square was attacked and pillaged, and the occupants had barely time to escape. 'Black Wednesday' (7th June) was a day of abject terror. In the same evening thirty-six distinct conflagrations, including the King's Bench and two other prisons and numerous private houses, were counted from a single point. The defeat of the attack upon the Bank and Pay Office checked the efforts of the rioters, and practically brought the disturbance to a close. In the course of the four days no less than seventy-two private houses and four gaols were destroyed. From a report issued by Amherst shortly after the suppression of the riot, it appears that 285 had been killed, while 173 wounded persons were still in his hands. 135 persons were brought to trial, and 59 were capitally convicted, of whom 21 were executed. Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower, and tried before Lord Mansfield, 5th February 1781, on the charge of high treason for levying war upon the Crown. The charge was what is termed by lawyers 'constructive treason.' As there was no evidence that he had anticipated the outrages, as he had taken no part in them, and had even offered his services to assist in their suppression, the accusation, if it had been maintained, would have proved dangerous to public liberty. After a magnificent defence by Erskine, Lord George was acquitted; and he still retained such a hold over large classes of the community that thanksgivings were offered up in several churches and chapels.¹

Several years afterwards he was imprisoned for a libel on Marie Antoinette, and he died in Newgate, unmarried, 1st November 1793, in the forty-second year of his age.

The three daughters of the third Duke of Gordon were:—

1. Lady Susan, married, first, at London, 28th May 1767, to John,

¹ Boswell tells us that Dr. Johnson 'was glad Lord George Gordon had escaped, rather than that a precedent should be established for hanging a man for *constructive treason*; which,

in consistency with his true, manly, constitutional Toryism, he considered would be a dangerous engine of arbitrary power.'

ninth Earl of Westmoreland, and had issue; secondly, 28th December 1778, to Lieutenant-Colonel John Woodford, of the first regiment of Foot Guards, and by him had two sons.

2. Lady Anne, born in London 16th May 1748; married, in 1782, to the Rev. Alexander Chalmers, minister of Cairney, without issue.

3. Lady Catherine, born in London 26th January 1751; married to Thomas Booker, Esq., an officer in the Army, by whom she had two sons and one daughter. She died at Boyndie, 3rd January 1797, in the forty-sixth year of her age.

14. *Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon,*

born 18th June 1743 (O.S.); succeeded his father in 1752. In 1759 he raised the 89th regiment of Foot for the service of the Government, taking a captain's commission, and leaving the command to his stepfather, General Morris. This regiment was disbanded at the peace, and the Duke travelled abroad, visiting Italy in 1763. In 1778 and 1793 he raised fencible regiments under his own command as Colonel. He was invested with the Order of the Thistle, elected one of the sixteen representatives of the Scottish Peerage, 1st October 1767, and re-chosen at every general election (1768, 1774, and 1780) till 1784, when he was created a British Peer, under the title of Earl of Norwich.¹ On the 11th July 1794 the Duke was appointed Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, which he held till the change of Ministry in 1806, but was again selected, 11th April 1807. He was also Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Aberdeen, which office he resigned in favour of his eldest son, the Marquis of Huntly, in 1808.²

After the completion of a modern mansion at Kelly in Forfarshire by the Hon. Captain Ramsay (brother of Lord Panmure), he gave a jovial 'house-heating' in 1804, at which a poetical effusion by the Duke of Gordon was read by his son and representative, the Marquis of Huntly, afterwards fifth Duke. The two concluding verses are as follows:—

' May this night be devoted to friendship and wine,
No troubles to vex us, no cause to repine;
And may each jolly soul to four bottles aspire,
To heat the house well, not to set it on fire.

¹ Henry Howard was created Baron Howard of Castlerising in 1669, and Earl of Norwich in 1672. He became Duke of Norfolk in 1677, and died in 1684. As already stated, his second daughter married the first Duke of Gordon. The two former titles became extinct on the death of his grandson Edward, ninth Duke of Norfolk, in 1777; and the earldom of Norwich was revived in the person of his great-great-grandson, the Duke of Gordon, in 1784.

² In speaking of the rural reform in Scotland towards the end of the eighteenth century, the

Duke of Argyll says: 'In the north, the family of the Dukes of Gordon is remembered as the beginners of the work, stimulated, as it is said, so early as 1706, by an Englishwoman, daughter of the Earl of Peterborough, who was himself a great improver in the South (*supra*, p. 436). In Ayrshire the Earl of Eglinton takes a high rank among the most energetic improvers of the county. In East Lothian the Haddington family were eminent, whilst the Tweeddales also remind us of those earlier Hays, who were the improving tacksmen under the Abbots of Scone in 1312.—*Scotland as it Was and Is*, p. 374.

Then let us good claret enjoy while we live ;
 A toast to your mind I can promise to give :
 Fill up the *fox-head*, let us drink to the last—
 "May the roof-tree of Kelly for ages stand fast!"
 Derry down.'

On the 1st of May 1826, at the age of eighty-two, the well-known physician, Dr. Andrew Duncan, paid his annual visit to the summit of Arthur's Seat, and there read a short address to the Duke of Gordon, then the oldest Duke in Scotland. After thankfully referring to his many blessings, the Doctor thus concludes :—

'Long may your Grace enjoy the same delight,
 Till to a better world we take our flight.'

As a reply the Duke challenged the physician to a pony-race to the top of the mountain, in three stanzas, of which the following is the first :—

'I'm eighty-two as well as you,
 And sound in lith and limb ;
 But deil a bit, I am not fit
 Up Arthur's Seat to climb.'¹

By his wife, Jane, second daughter of Sir William Maxwell of Monreith, Baronet (whom he married at Ayton, Berwickshire, 25th October 1767), the fourth Duke of Gordon had two sons and five daughters :—

1. George, Marquis of Huntly.
2. Lord Alexander Gordon, born at Edinburgh 8th November 1785, who was a lieutenant in the 35th Foot, at Malta, in 1804, and in the 2nd regiment of Foot Guards the following year, when he accompanied the corps to the Continent, under General Don. Returning to Britain with the troops in 1806, he was appointed Major in the Aberdeenshire Militia, 26th May 1807, and died, unmarried, after a severe illness, at Edinburgh, 8th January 1808, in the twenty-third year of his age. His remains were deposited in the family burial-place in Elgin Cathedral.

3. Lady Charlotte, born at Gordon Castle 20th September 1768, and married at the same place, 9th September 1789, to Charles, fourth Duke of Richmond and Lennox.

4. Lady Madelina, married, first, at London, 2nd April 1789, to Sir



¹ Kay's *Portraits and Caricatures*, ii. 55 and 427.

Robert Sinclair of Stevenston, Baronet, by whom she had a son, Sir John Gordon Sinclair, Baronet; secondly, at Kimbolton Castle, 25th November 1805, Charles Palmer, Esquire, of Luckley Park, Berkshire.

5. Lady Susan, born at Gordon Castle 2nd February 1774; married, 7th October 1793, to William, Duke of Manchester.

6. Lady Louisa, born at Gordon Castle 12th September 1776; married, 17th April 1797, to Charles, second Marquis of Cornwallis.

7. Lady Georgiana, born at Gordon Castle 18th July 1781; married at Whitehall, 23rd June 1803, to John, sixth Duke of Bedford.

All the five daughters had issue.

The fourth Duke of Gordon married, secondly, Mrs. Christie, by whom he had no issue.

Many quaint stories are told of Jane Maxwell, the Duke's first help-mate. On one occasion she succeeded in persuading the somewhat parsimonious William Forbes of Callendar to give a grand ball at his country mansion, which for once resounded to the inspiring strains of Neil Gow's band. When Sir William Nairne was promoted to the Scotch bench, the Duchess asked the learned 'senator' what title he proposed to assume, and on being told that it was *Dunsinnan*, she replied, 'I am astonished at that, my lord, for I never knew that you had *begun sinning*!' In illustration of the homely manners of former times, we are told that the Duchess and her witty sister Lady Wallace, when children, were in the habit of riding on the sows of Peter Ramsay, the celebrated stabler in St. Mary's Wynd! The two romps used to watch the animals as they were let loose in the forenoon from the yard, and get upon their backs the moment they issued from the close. The Duchess was born and educated in a large flat in Hyndford's Close, of which some interesting particulars will be found in Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*.

The fourth Duke of Gordon died in 1827, when he was succeeded by his only surviving son,

15. *George, fifth and last Duke of Gordon,*

who was born in Edinburgh, 1st February 1770. In 1791, as Marquis of Huntly, he raised an independent company of Foot; the same year had a company in the 42nd Highlanders; and in 1792 was made Captain-Lieutenant of the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards. While the 42nd was stationed in Edinburgh, Mr. Kay embraced the opportunity of etching the Marquis, who accordingly appears as 'A Highland Chieftain' in the first volume of his well-known *Portraits*. About the same period Lord Huntly competed, with a sporting nobleman, in a daring race on horseback from the Abbey Strand, at the foot of the Canongate, to the gate of Edinburgh Castle. He afterwards raised the 100th, now the 92nd, Foot, both the Duke and Duchess, as well as the Marquis, personally recruiting in the most energetic manner. This gallant regiment was embodied at Aberdeen on



the 24th of June 1794,¹ and on Huntly's becoming Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, he accompanied it to the Mediterranean. In January 1796 the corps was ordered from Corsica to Gibraltar. Leaving Gibraltar, the Marquis embarked at Corunna, on the 14th of September, in a packet which, three days afterwards, was taken by a French privateer. After

¹ The centenary of the 92nd Gordon Highlanders was celebrated at Maryhill Barracks, Glasgow, on the 9th and 10th of August 1894, when new colours were presented to the battalion by the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, in the presence of five or six thousand persons, including upwards of two hundred veterans, former members of the regiment. In making the presentation, his Grace said: 'I esteem it a great honour to have been intrusted with the

duty of presenting the new colours to the regiment which has so nobly illustrated the name of Gordon in every quarter of the globe. It is just a hundred years ago since my great-grandfather raised this regiment, and the very names of the various battles blazoned on your colours bear testimony to the distinguished services of the regiment during the century that has elapsed. "Egypt," "India," "The Peninsula," "Waterloo," and "South Africa," make up the

being plundered of all his valuables, the Marquis was put on board a Swedish vessel, and landed at Falmouth on the 24th of September.

In 1798, on the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland, he hastened to join his regiment, then in that country, and was actively employed against the insurgents, particularly in the county of Wexford. 'To the immortal honour of the regiment, its behaviour was such as, if it were universal among soldiers, would render a military government amiable. To the astonishment of the—until then—miserably harassed peasantry, not the smallest trifle would any of the Highlanders accept, without payment of at least the full value.' The Marquis accompanied the 92nd on the unfortunate expedition to Holland, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, in 1799, and was severely wounded at the battle of Bergen, on the 2nd of October, where the regiment greatly suffered, and behaved with much bravery. The Prince of Wales testified his approbation of the conduct of the Marquis by the appropriate present of a Highland mull, set in gold, decorated with Scotch pebbles, and inscribed with a handsome compliment in the Gaelic language.

A well-known song was composed on the occasion of the young nobleman's departure by Miss Anne Macivar, afterwards Mrs. Grant, which begins as follows :—

'O where, tell me where, is your Highland laddie gone?
O where, tell me where, is your Highland laddie gone?—
He's gone with streaming banners, where noble deeds are done,
And my sad heart will tremble till he come safely home.

O where, tell me where, did your Highland laddie stay?
O where, tell me where, did your Highland laddie stay?—
He dwelt beneath the holly trees, beside the rapid Spey,
And many a blessing followed him the day he went away.'

The Marquis had the rank of Colonel in the Army in 1796, and of Major-General in 1801; was on the North British staff for three years from 1803; and was appointed Colonel of the 42nd, or Royal Highland regiment, 7th January 1806. At the general election, in that year, he was chosen Member of Parliament for Eye, in the county of Suffolk. On the change of Ministry he was, 11th April 1807, summoned to the House of Lords, by the style and title of Baron Gordon of Huntly, in the county of Gloucester, during the lifetime of his father, on whose resigna-

history of Great Britain during that period, and justify me in addressing to you the eloquent words of the Speaker of the House of Commons to the great Duke of Wellington: "You have written your names with your conquering swords in the annals of the world, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children." In the course of his reply, Colonel Oxley stated that 'the present proud position of the regiment had been won at a cost of 109 officers and 1600 men.' At the luncheon which followed the Duke informed the company that

'every recruit who first joined the regiment, after receiving the King's shilling, had a kiss from the lips of the then Duchess of Gordon.'

A few weeks afterwards (11th September) the old colours of the battalion were formally deposited by Colonel Oxley in the Town and County Hall of Aberdeen. In accepting their custody, Lord Provost Stewart, after alluding to the bravery of the regiment, said that it possessed the character of being 'a lamb at home—a lion in the chase.'

tion, in May 1808, he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Aberdeen. From the 9th of the same month he ranked as Lieutenant-General in the Army; and in 1809 commanded the fourth division in the unfortunate expedition to the Scheldt. The object of this armament, which had been fitted out on an extensive scale, was the destruction of the fleet and arsenal at Antwerp; but, except in the bombardment of Flushing, the expedition entirely failed. This was the close of the military career of the Marquis, whose subsequent life was devoted to peaceful pursuits. He was frequently President of the Highland and Agricultural Society; and in 1813 he was appointed General of the Scottish Archers, the Royal Body-Guard of Scotland.

On the anniversary of the battle of Alexandria, 21st March 1817, the Duke of York, then President of the Highland Society, presented the Marquis of Huntly, on behalf of the 42nd regiment, with a superb piece of plate, in token of the respect of the Society for a corps which for upwards of seventy years had continued to uphold the martial character of Scotland.

Although not present on the occasion of the visit of George IV. to Scotland in 1822, he was not forgotten by the Scottish Muse of the day. In the *Highland Chieftains' Welcome* the Marquis is thus eulogised:—

‘And Huntly, at once the delight and the glory,
The boast and the pride of the clans of the north,
Renowned not more in warrior’s story,
Than in home’s happy circle, for true manly worth.’

He is also familiarly alluded to, by Sir Walter Scott, in the second part of *Carle now the King’s come*:—

‘Cock o’ the North, my Huntly bra’,
Where are you with my Forty-twa?
Oh! wae’s my heart that ye’re awa!
Carle now the King’s come!’

The Marquis obtained the appellation of ‘Cock o’ the North,’ in allusion to his spirited conduct, as well as to the circumstance of his being the representative of the ancient and powerful family whose chief was always described by that significant title.

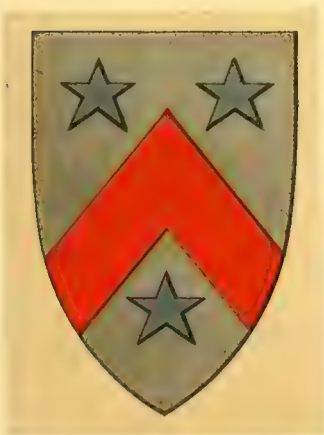
A special friend of the poor, he was kind and affable to persons of every rank and condition. A pleasing anecdote is told with reference to his beneficence. A certain individual, ‘clothed with a little brief authority,’ was annually intrusted by the Duke (the Marquis’s father), with a liberal sum for incidental charities. A rumour having reached Huntly’s ears that not one farthing was expended among the poor, he resolved to ascertain whether the suspicions were well founded. Attired as a beggar, he found his way to the abode of the ‘almoner,’ and solicited charity. One of the menials ordered him to be gone, as no beggar was allowed to enter the house. The mock mendicant, in well-feigned accents, warmly pleaded

his necessity, and the master himself at length appeared, and commanded him to depart. The Marquis took care to be present at the next annual settlement, and drew his pen through the usual debit of 'incidental charities,' reminding the pretended disburser of his conduct to the beggar, and declaring that in future he would dispense these charities himself.

The Marquis was such an adept in the art of counterfeiting characters that his most intimate associates were occasionally made the dupes of his deceptions. A friend once made a wager with him that he for one could not be taken in. Equipped as an old gaberlunzie, he proceeded to his friend's mansion, and was sent into the hall, where he was served with a good supply of cold meat, bread, and beer. Quitting the house, he contrived to come across the owner, who, on asking how he had fared, was told that he had got nothing but cold meat, sour bread, and stale beer. Irritated by his impudence, his friend threatened to have him arrested; upon which, like the 'Gudeman o' Ballangeich,' he dropped his assumed apparel, and revealed himself, to the amazement of the bystanders, and the conviction of his friend, whose wrath was speedily turned into merriment.¹

On the death of his father in 1827, he succeeded to the Dukedom of Gordon in Scotland and the Earldom of Norwich in the Peerage of Great Britain, and effected vast improvements in his extensive estates. He showed great taste in laying out the grounds around the princely Castle of Gordon, near Fochabers; and displayed untiring zeal in the development of agriculture and the rearing of Highland cattle.

The Duke married, in 1813, Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Brodie of Arnhall, by whom he had no issue; and at his death, 28th May 1836, the Dukedom of Gordon and Earldom of Norwich became extinct. The title of Marquis of Huntly and other inferior dignities devolved on the Duke's 'heir-male-whatsoever,' the fifth Earl of Aboyne; while the estates, by virtue of an entail, passed to his nephew and heir of line, the Duke of Richmond, whose son and successor was created Duke of Gordon in 1876.



A few weeks after the Duke's death, his widow received a warm letter of condolence from the Governors of the London Scottish Hospital, whose opportunities of knowing the Duke's exertions in the cause of charity gave peculiar weight to their sentiments. After alluding to the excellencies of the deceased, the

¹ Kay's *Portraits*, i. 190.

Governors declared that 'by the death of the Duke of Gordon, Scotland has lost one of her most illustrious noblemen, Great Britain one of her most consistent statesmen, the King of these realms one of the firmest supporters of his throne, the cause of charity, generally, one of its most liberal supporters, and you, Madam, especially, have lost a companion, friend, and husband, by a stroke which can be healed by Him only who hath brought life and immortality to light by His gospel.'

The Duchess, who survived her husband till 1864, became a devoted adherent of the Free Church of Scotland, and an interesting Memoir of her Grace, by the Rev. Dr. A. Moody-Stuart, was published in 1865.

Armorial Bearings.

Quarterly: 1st, *azure*, three boars' heads couped, *or*, for Gordon; 2nd, *or*, three lions' heads erased *gules*, langued *azure*, as Lord of Badenoch; 3rd, *or*, three crescents within a royal tressure *gules*, for Seton; 4th, *azure*, three cinquefoils *argent* for Fraser.

Supporters—two deer-hounds, proper, collared *gules*, charged with three buckles *or*.

Crest—a buck's head couped proper, attired *or*.

Mottoes—(above the crest), 'Bydand'; (under the shield), 'animo non astutia.'¹

¹ For a curious notice of the Gordon and Aboyne arms, see Pegge's *Curialia*, p. 252 *et seq.*, where 'Bydand' is explained to mean 'Byde the end.'

The coat of Aboyne is, *azure*, a chevron between three boars' heads couped, within a double tressure flowered with fleurs-de-lis within, and adorned with crescents (for Seton) without, *or*.

Supporters—two men armed at all points,

each holding a halberd in his hand, proper.

Crest—a demi-lion rampant *azure*.

Motto—'Stant cætera Tigno.'

Mr. Pegge considers that the reference contained in the Aboyne motto is 'confined to the chevron placed between the boars' heads, in these words, "Stant cætera Tigno," which last word is the acknowledged Latin word for the chevron.'





ABOYNE BRANCH OF THE FAMILY

IN the Preface to his *Records of Aboyne*, Lord Huntly gives an interesting account of the early history of the ancient stronghold of Aboyne (*Abh-Buinne*=a stream of rippling waters), which is situated amidst the braes of Mar, on the left bank of the river Dee, about thirty miles south-west of Aberdeen. Only the *donjon* now remains of the castle erected in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The date of the round tower and west gable is somewhat doubtful, but they may have been constructed by the second Earl of Huntly, while the south gable is believed to represent the work of the first Marquis. Extensive additions were made to the castle in 1671, by the first Earl of Aboyne.

The Bissets appear to be the earliest known proprietors of Aboyne, and frequently turn up as witnesses in the charters of Alexander II. (1214-49). After their forfeiture in 1242, Aboyne became a royal residence, and was frequently occupied by Alexander III., one of the best and most enlightened of Scotland's earlier kings. Along with twenty-two other castles, Aboyne was handed over to Edward I. in 1291, its castellan being Richard de Swethope, son of the steward of Gilbert Umfraville; and it is supposed that, in the course of the following year (1292), the English monarch spent a night at Aboyne. In 1309 the lands of Aboyne were held by Thomas Byset, but it is impossible to determine whether he was a descendant of the old proprietors of the same name. About that period, the castle, with the exception of the peel, was probably demolished by King Robert Bruce. In 1337 Aboyne was in the hands of Sir

Alexander Fraser, whose granddaughter and heiress married Sir William Keith, Marshal of Scotland, *c.* 1350; and about one hundred years later the estate came into the possession of Elizabeth, heiress of Gordon, who married Sir Alexander Seton. From that date the Aboyne estates have been possessed by the descendants of Alexander and Elizabeth—the Earls and Marquises of Huntly and the Earls of Aboyne.

1. *Charles, first Earl of Aboyne.*

Lord Charles Gordon, third son of George, second Marquis of Huntly, was a firm adherent to the interests of Charles I. and II., during the civil wars, in the course of which he suffered many hardships. In consideration of his faithful services he was created Earl of Aboyne, Lord Strathnavon and Glenlivet, to him and the heirs-male of his body, 14th September 1660. The following year he had a charter under the Great Seal of the lands and lordship of Aboyne, and died in March 1681. He married Margaret Irvine of Drum, best remembered as 'Bonnie Peggie Irvine,' by whom he had an only daughter, Lady Ann, and to whom he addressed some popular verses. She died in December 1662; and about three years later Lord Aboyne married, secondly, Lady Elizabeth Lyon,



only daughter of John, second Earl of Kinghorn, by whom he had four children:—

1. Charles, second Earl of Aboyne.
2. The Hon. George Gordon.
3. The Hon. John Gordon, who served in the army abroad, and died in Edinburgh, at an advanced age, 22nd July 1762.
4. Lady Elizabeth, married, in 1685, to John, second Earl of Cromarty, and died before her husband succeeded to that title.

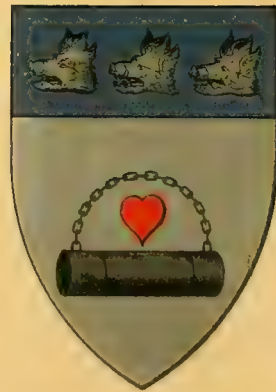
2. Charles, second Earl of Aboyne,

succeeded his father in 1681. When he proposed to take his place in Parliament, 27th July 1698, it was objected that he had been bred and was a professed Papist, and accordingly that he ought not to be allowed to sit, until evidence was furnished that he had relinquished his old faith and embraced the Protestant religion. On his declaring openly in Parliament that he had done so, and that he had joined the Protestant Church by communicating therewith in worship and ordinances, and this being duly confirmed by the President and several members, Lord Aboyne was allowed to qualify himself, and took the oaths and his seat accordingly.

His death occurred in April 1702.

By his cousin-german, Lady Elizabeth Lyon, second daughter of Patrick, third Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn (who married, secondly, Patrick, third Lord Kinnaird, and, thirdly, Alexander Grant of Grantsfield), he had a son and successor, John, third Earl of Aboyne, and three daughters:—

1. Lady Helen, married to George Kinnaird, Esq., and was mother of Charles, sixth Lord Kinnaird.
2. Lady Elizabeth, died unmarried, at Aberdeen, 14th April 1770.
3. Lady Grizel, married, 14th July 1735, to James Grant of Knockando, where she died, 18th October 1761.

*3. John, third Earl of Aboyne,*

was served heir to his father in November 1702, and died in August 1732. He married Grace, daughter of George Lockhart of Carnwath, by his wife, Lady Euphemia Montgomerie, second daughter of Alexander Seton, sixth Earl of Eglinton ('Greysteel'), and by her (who married, secondly, James, Lord Doune, afterwards ninth Earl of Moray) had issue three sons:—

1. Charles, fourth Earl of Aboyne.

2. The Hon. John Gordon, who had an ensign's commission in the 1st or Royal Scots regiment of Foot, 1751; was a captain in the 52nd Foot, with the rank of Major in the Army, 1777, when he was promoted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 81st (Highland) regiment; and died at Kinsale, 30th October 1778. He married, at Carnwath, 18th May 1761, his cousin-german, Clementina, daughter of George Lockhart of Carnwath, by whom he had five children:—

(1) John, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 1st regiment of Bengal Native Cavalry, and a Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of the East India Company, 5th October 1800.

(2) George, an officer in the Royal Navy, who died unmarried.

(3) James, died young.

(4) Clementina, died unmarried at Exmouth, 13th December 1801, in the thirty-third year of her age.

(5) Grace, married, 13th April 1794, to William Graham of Mossknow, in the county of Dumfries.

3. The Hon. Lockhart Gordon, who was educated at the University of Glasgow, and originally designed for the Bar; but, preferring a military life, was appointed captain in the same regiment with Lord Cornwallis. He retired from the army with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, resumed the study of law, received the appointment of Judge-Advocate-General of Bengal in 1787, and died at Calcutta 24th March 1788. 'He was a man beloved and esteemed by all who knew him. . . . We could quote many instances of his tenderness, humanity, and extreme sensibility, but these are so well known to his friends that we shall forbear to repeat them.'¹ He married, first, Isabella, daughter of Elias Levi; secondly, 3rd October 1770, Catherine Wallop, only daughter of John, Viscount Lymington, and sister of John, Earl of Portsmouth. Besides other children, they had two sons:—

1. The Rev. Lockhart Gordon.

2. Lieutenant Loudon Harcourt Gordon.

4. *Charles, fourth Earl of Aboyne,*

born about 1726; succeeded his father in 1732. After he came of age, being apprehensive that, from the smallness of his estate, he could not live in Scotland suitably to his rank, he sent his 'belongings' to Paris, with the view of residing abroad. Unwilling, however, to abandon his native country, he ordered them to be brought back, and carefully attended to the improvement of his estate, forming plantations, building forty miles of stone fences above five feet high to enclose and subdivide his property, and introducing superior modes of agriculture among his tenants, who were thus enabled to pay an advanced rent. Lord Aboyne soon contrived to

¹ *Calcutta Chronicle*, 27th March 1788.

clear his estate of debt; was greatly respected by his friends and neighbours; and after a remarkably active and useful life, closed his career in Edinburgh, 28th December 1794, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

By his first wife, Lady Margaret Stewart, third daughter of Alexander, sixth Earl of Galloway (to whom he was married in Edinburgh, 22nd April 1759, and who died at Aboyne Castle, 12th August 1762), he had a son and two daughters:—

1. George, fifth Earl of Aboyne.
2. Lady Catherine.

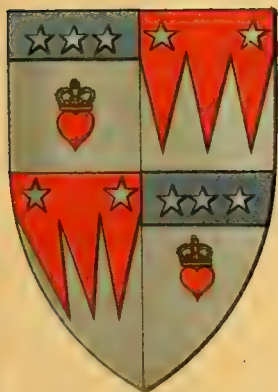
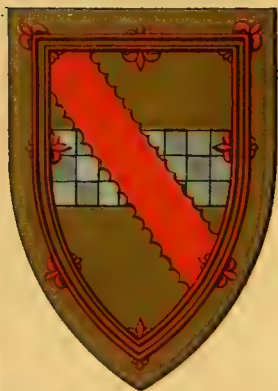
3. Lady Margaret, married, 5th May 1783, to William Beckford of Fonthill, Wiltshire, M.P. for Wells, only son of William Beckford of Fonthill-Gifford, Lord Mayor of London and Member of Parliament for that city, and died at Castle de la Tour, in the Pays de Vaud, of a miliary fever, 23rd May 1786, leaving two daughters.

The fourth Earl of Aboyne married, secondly, at London, 23rd April 1774, Lady Mary Douglas, only surviving daughter of James, ninth Earl of Morton, President of the Royal Society, by his first wife Agatha, daughter of James Halyburton of Pitcur, and had a son:—

The Hon. Douglas Gordon, born in London 10th October 1777, who, on the death of his cousin the Hon. Hamilton Douglas Halyburton of Pitcur, in 1784, succeeded to his extensive property in Forfarshire, and assumed the surname and arms of Halyburton of Pitcur.

He had an ensign's commission in the 1st or Royal Scots regiment of Foot, 1795, and served in the army of the Archduke Charles, from which he arrived in London, with despatches from Colonel Crawford, 4th July 1796. After being captain in the 113th regiment of Foot, he got a company of the 22nd Foot in 1798, and exchanged it for a lieutenancy in

the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards. He was appointed assistant to the Quarter-Master-General of the forces, with the rank of Major in the Army, 9th June 1803, and married, at Dublin, 16th July 1807, Louisa, only child of Sir Edward Leslie of Tarbert, in the county of Kerry, Baronet.



5. *George, fifth Earl of Aboyne (afterwards ninth Marquis of Huntly),*

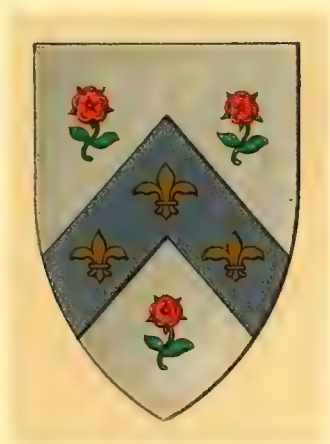
born at Edinburgh 28th June 1761; succeeded his father at the end of 1794. In December 1777, from an ensigncy in the 1st regiment of Foot Guards he was promoted to a company in the 81st (Highland) regiment. He was one of the aides-de-camp of the Earl of Carlisle when Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1780; had a troop in the 9th regiment of Dragoons in 1782; and was constituted major of an independent corps of Foot (which was reduced at the peace), 12th March 1783. He exchanged from half-pay to the majority of the 35th regiment of Foot in 1788; and in April of the following year was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of that regiment, which, in the course of a few months, he exchanged with Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox for his company in the Coldstream Guards, after the dispute between Lennox and the Duke of York, then colonel of the Coldstreams. Leaving the army in 1792, he succeeded his father as fifth Earl of Aboyne (as already stated) in 1794. He was chosen one of the sixteen representatives of the Scottish Peerage at the general election in 1796, and again in 1802 and 1807; and, in 1803, was appointed colonel of the Aberdeenshire Militia.

In consequence of the death, without issue, of his kinsman George, fifth Duke of Gordon, in 1836, the fifth Earl of Aboyne became ninth Marquis of Huntly, under the remainder of 1651, by decision of the House of Lords, 22nd June 1838.

He married, at Stepney Church, 4th April 1791, Catherine, second daughter of Sir Charles Cope, Baronet, of Brewern, Oxfordshire, and Overton Longueville in the county of Huntingdon (who died 16th November 1832), and had six sons and three daughters:—

1. Charles, tenth Marquis of Huntly.
2. Lord George Gordon, in holy orders, M.A., Rector of Chesterton, county Huntingdon; born 27th January 1794, and died 25th September 1862, having married, 29th July 1851, Charlotte-Anne, daughter of T. Wright-Vaughan, Esq. of Woodstone, Huntingdonshire, who died 23rd August 1879, aged seventy-eight.

3. Lord John-Frederick Gordon-Halyburton (which latter name he assumed on succeeding to the estates of that family); born 15th August 1799, G.C.H., Admiral in the Royal Navy, and M.P. for Forfarshire, 1841-52. He married, 24th August 1836, Lady Augusta FitzClarence, sister of George, first Earl of Munster, and



widow of the Hon. John Kennedy-Erskine, and died without issue, 29th September 1878.

4. Lord Henry Gordon, born 31st August 1802, Major in the H.E.I.C.S., died 28th August 1865, having married, 6th March 1827, Louisa, daughter of — Payne, by whom he had three sons and five daughters :—

(1) Augustus-Henry, born 1839, died April 1869.

(2) William-Sackville, born 14th July 1842, died, unmarried, 27th September 1878.

(3) Leslie-Charles, born 15th May 1852; in the Prerogative Court, London.

(4) Sarah-Elizabeth-Catherine, married, 2nd January 1845, to the Rev. Lord Augustus FitzClarence, who died 14th June 1854.

(5) Hon. Louisa-Frances-Charlotte, late Maid of Honour to the Queen, married, 21st July 1857, to the Hon. Ashley-George-John Ponsonby.

(6) Wilhelmina-Gertrude-Maria, twin with

(7) Millicent-Theresa.

(8) Augusta, married, first, 21st July 1869, Captain William-Gerard Walmesley, 17th Lancers, of Westwood House, county Lancaster, who died 2nd January 1877. She married, secondly, 6th February 1879, George-Nugent-Ross Wetherall, Esq., late 15th (King's) Hussars, of Astley Hall, Lancashire (eldest son of Major-General Sir Edward Wetherall, K.C.S.I., C.B., Under-Secretary of State for Ireland), by whom she had two daughters.

5. Lord Cecil-James Gordon, Captain 42nd Highlanders, etc.; assumed the surname of *Moore* after that of Gordon, by Royal Licence, 9th May 1850; born 23rd February 1806, and died 15th January 1878, having married, 23rd April 1841, Emily, daughter of Maurice Crosbie Moore, Esq. of Moresfort, county Tipperary, by whom he had three sons and seven daughters :—

(1) Cecil-Crosbie Gordon-Moore, born 24th January 1850.

(2) Arthur-Henry-Wyndham, born 18th April 1853, and married, —, only daughter of the Rev. Thomas-Clements Browne.

(3) Hubert-George, born 23rd January 1858, and married, 27th September 1882, Helena, daughter of Thomas White, Esq. of Wateringbury Hall, Kent.

(4) Catherine-Augusta, married, 8th February 1809, to Oriel-Farnell Walton, Esq., barrister-at-law, and captain in the North Somerset Yeomanry.

(5) Emily, married, 5th June 1866, to Charles-Robert Besley, Commissioner of Lieutenancy for the City of London, etc.

(6) Edith, married, 26th June 1876, to Oscar-Felix-Henry Cornille.

(7) Agnes-Cecil, married, 25th July 1872, to James Milward.

(8) and (9) Adela-Crosbie and Evelyn.

(10) Philippa-Jane, married, 1st June 1881, to Thomas, only son of Andrew Dunn, Esq., of Southwark.

6. Lord Francis-Arthur Gordon, Lieutenant-Colonel 1st Life Guards, born 20th January 1808, and died 26th June 1857, having married, 17th April 1835, Isabella, only child of Lieutenant-General Sir William Kerr Grant, K.C.B., by whom, besides a daughter, Catherine, he had two sons :—

(1) George-Grant, Lieutenant-Colonel Scots Guards, served in the Crimea and was present at the battle of Inkermann, etc., Equerry to their Royal Highnesses Prince and Princess Christian; born 29th January 1836, and married, 8th August 1863, Constance Lennox, daughter of Laurence Peel, Esq., and has two sons and one daughter :—

Laurence-George-Frank, born 21st May 1864.

Christian-Frederic, born 31st October 1866.

Helena-Jane.

(2) Francis-Frederick, clerk in the Admiralty, born 10th July 1839, and married, 12th February 1877, Helen-Augusta-Mariana, daughter of Rawson-Hart-Boddam Reid, Esq., of London, by whom he has a son.

The three daughters of the ninth Marquis of Huntly were :—

1. Catherine-Susan, married, 16th June 1814, to Charles Compton, first Lord Chesham, and died 14th December 1866.

2. Charlotte-Sophia.

3. Mary, married, in 1822, to Frederick-Charles-William Seymour, Esq., and died in 1825.

The ninth Marquis of Huntly died 17th June 1853, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

6. Charles, tenth Marquis of Huntly and sixth Earl of Aboyne,

born 4th January 1792, M.P. for East Grinstead 1818-30 and for the county of Haddington 1830-33.

He married, first, 20th March 1826, Lady Elizabeth Henrietta, daughter of Henry, first Marquis of Conyngham, who died without issue 24th August 1839; and, secondly, 9th April 1844, Maria-Antoinette, only daughter of the Rev. Peter-William Pegus, by his wife Susannah-Elizabeth (Countess Dowager Lindsey), daughter of the Very Reverend Charles-Peter Layard, D.D., Dean of Bristol, and had, with other issue, five sons and six daughters :—

1. Charles, eleventh Marquis of Huntly and seventh Earl of Aboyne.

2. Lord Lewis Gordon, born 3rd May 1848, and lost in H.M. ship *Captain*, 7th September 1870.

3. Lord Douglas-William-Cope Gordon, born 11th October 1851, lieutenant and captain Coldstream Guards, M.P. for West Aberdeenshire 1874-80, and for Huntingdonshire since 1880; heir-presumptive to his brother's Peerage.



4. Lord Esmé-Stuart Gordon, born 12th March 1853, and married, 21st July 1874, Elizabeth-Anne-Phippen, only child of William Brown, Esq. of Glastonbury, co. Somerset, by whom he has a daughter, Beatrice-Mary.

5. Lord Granville-Armyne Gordon, born 14th June 1856, and married, 4th September 1878, Charlotte-D'Olier, eldest daughter of Henry Roe, Esq. of Mount Annville Park, co. Dublin, and has a son and a daughter:—

(1) —, born 13th June 1880.

(2) Armyne-Evelyn.

6. Lady Mary-Catherine Gordon, married, 17th April 1866, to Edmund Turnor, Esq. of Panton Hall, Lincolnshire, M.P. for Grantham 1868, and for South Lincolnshire 1868-80.

7. Lady Evelyn-Elizabeth Gordon, married, 14th July 1863, to Gilbert-Henry, second Baron Aveland.

8. Lady Grace-Cecilia Gordon, married, 27th June 1878, to Hugh-Cecil, fifth Earl of Lonsdale.

9. Lady Margaret-Ethel, married, 25th July 1881, to the Hon. George-Ralph-Charles Ormsby-Gore, eldest son of William-Richard, second Baron Harlech.

10. Lady Elena-Mary Gordon.

11. Lady Ethelreda-Caroline (posthumous).

On the death of the tenth Marquis of Huntly, 18th September 1863, he was succeeded by his eldest son,

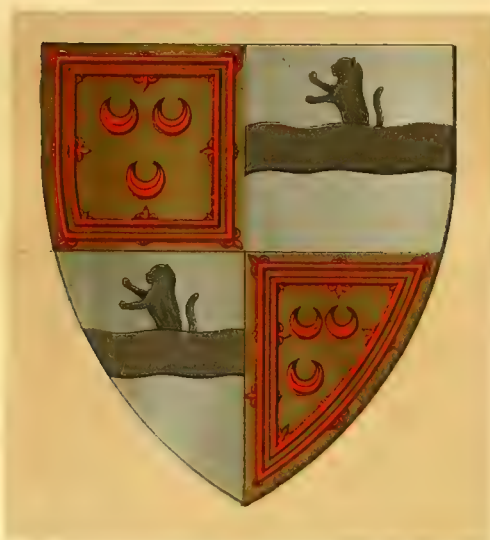
7. Charles, eleventh Marquis of Huntly and seventh Earl of Aboyne,

born at Orton-Longueville, near Peterborough, 5th March 1847, and

married, 14th July 1869, to Amy, elder daughter of Sir William Cunliffe-Brooks, Baronet, of Barlow Hall, co. Lancaster, formerly M.P. for East Cheshire; educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. Lord Huntly is premier Marquis of Scotland, and sits in the House of Lords under the title of Baron Meldrum. His Lordship, who is a Privy Councillor and the patron of three livings, was a lord-in-waiting to the Queen, 1870-3; lieutenant-colonel 1st Aberdeenshire Volunteers since 1872; captain of the hon. corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, 1881; J.P. and D.L. for the counties of Aberdeen and Huntingdon; Lord Rector of Aberdeen University in 1890, and again in 1893.

He has recently edited for the New Spalding Club a highly interesting quarto volume entitled *The Records of Aboyne*.





VIII. MELDRUM



THE ancient name of the parish of Meldrum was Bethelny or Balthelney—the dwelling of Saint Nethalen, who was its tutelar. After Meldrum came to the Setons by the marriage of the heiress to William Seton, the possessions of the family were very extensive, embracing a large portion of the parishes of Meldrum and Fyvie; but when the Urquharts became the proprietors, the estate was very much diminished. The house of Meldrum is about a mile north of the village of Old Meldrum; and north-east of the house is a holy well, called 'Our Lady's Well,' which is much frequented by the country people, in the month of May, especially for the cure of headache.¹

The family of Meldrum of that ilk ended in an heiress, Elizabeth de Meldrum, ninth in direct descent from the first of the line, who married William Seton, a younger son of Sir Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon, and brother of Alexander, first Earl of Huntly, to whom she brought the barony of Meldrum and other lands. William Seton, who thus became the first of the Setons of Meldrum, was slain at the battle of Brechin, 18th May 1452, and left an only son,

¹ *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff* (Spalding Club), i. 558.



1. *Alexander Seton of Meldrum,*

who was served heir to his mother in 1456, and married Muriella, daughter of Alexander Sutherland, progenitor of the family of Duffus.¹ On the 6th of July 1469 an agreement was entered into between Malcolm, Abbot of Arbroath, and Alexander Setoun of Meldrum as to the marches between the barony of Tarves and the lands of Meldrum, which is witnessed by 'George, Lord the Gordon, William, Lord the Forbes, Alexander, Lord of Pitsligo, and Alexander Forbes of Tolquhon.'² He got a charter under the Great Seal of the lands of Auld-Meldrum, etc., which was afterwards confirmed by King James IV. in 1499.³ Alexander Seytoun appears as 'dominus de Meldrum' in 1469 and 1476; and in February 1492 he is included in a decret of the Lords of Council in connection with the 'destructione and birnyng of the Place of Ardendrach,' the property of William Hay.⁴ From an entry in the Privy Seal Register (ii. 38) he appears to have died before 20th March 1500. Besides a daughter Katharine, married to William Forbes of Keldrum, he had a son,

2. *William Seton, younger of Meldrum,*

who, on the 12th of July 1490, got a charter of confirmation by King

¹ In alluding to this marriage, the author of *The Sutherland Book* (i. 61) says that the lady's 'connection with the Earl of Sutherland has not been ascertained, and she may have been of the Duffus family.'

² *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff* (Spalding Club), iv. 405 note.

³ *Register of Great Seal*, xiii. 620.

⁴ *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*, i. 321 348, and 382.

James iv., of the lands of Balcarne in the lordship of Meldrum,¹ and predeceased his father, leaving by his wife Elizabeth (died 1546²), daughter of Alexander Leslie of Wardis, a son,



3. *Alexander Seton of Meldrum,*

who succeeded his grandfather, to whom he was served heir in the lordship of Meldrum in 1512. He married, first, Agnes, daughter of Patrick Gordon of Haddo, ancestor of the Earls of Aberdeen, by whom he had two sons:—

1. William, his heir.

2. Alexander, Chancellor of Aberdeen and Vicar of Bathelnie.

His second wife was Janet, daughter and co-heiress of George Leith of Barns, with whom he got the lands of Blair, etc., in the parish of Bourtie, and by her he had a son, John, who, in 1526,



had a charter of the lands of Rothnock, Auchleven, etc.³

Alexander Seton of Meldrum appears to have met with a violent death. In 1527 a royal remission was granted to John Leslie and others 'for the slauchter of vmquhile Alexander Forbes, *alias* Spangare, ane of

¹ *Register of Great Seal*, xii. 287.

² *Privy Seal Register*, xxi. 95.

³ *Privy Seal Register*, vi. 52, and *Great Seal Register*, xxi. 62.

the murtheraris of vmquhile Alexander Seytoun of Meldrum,¹ and on the 10th of October 1530, King James v. granted a remission to John, Master of Forbes, for his treasonable absence from the army at Solway and Werk, and for the slaughter of Alexander Seytoun of Meldrum.² Nine years later (30th June 1536), it appears that letters were purchased at the instance of the wives of Duncan Forbes, Ninian Forbes, John Calder, and Donald M'Ky, against John Hay and James Edmestoun, making mention that the King had granted pardon and remission to their said spouses for the slaughter of Alexander Setoun of Meldrum, and because John, Lord Forbes, in presence of the Lords of Council, in the Justiciar of Aberdeen, bound and obliged him that the said complainers' spouses should pass furth of the realm before 18th July 1531. They obtained letters by deliverance of the said Lords, charging all officers 'that none of them do any molestation, trouble, harm, or skaith to them in their bodies or goods, or to take upon hand to arrest them; nevertheless William Setoun of Meldrum, William King, and others, unfriends to their said spouses, alleging of very malice that they were coming home again, which is not of verity, had purchased Letters, and therewith had put them to the horn, and their goods escheat, the said John Hay and James Edmestoun having the gift of the same.'

The action appears to have been twice continued to July and November following, but the result does not transpire.³

The Laird of Meldrum was succeeded by his eldest son,

4. *William Seton of Meldrum,*

who, in February 1531-2, obtained a gift of his own marriage from the King,⁴ and was served heir to his father in January 1533. The following year (8th February 1534-5) he had a royal charter to himself and spouse of the mains of Meldrum, with tower and fortalice of the same, the town and lands of Auld Meldrum, and numerous other lands in the shire of Aberdeen, which the King incorporated into the one free barony of Meldrum.⁵ Ten years later (12th December 1544) we find a respite to William Seytoun of Meldrum 'for art and part of the slaughter of umquhile James Seytoun recklessly committed by the shot of a hagbut, to last for 19 years.'⁶ William Seton married, first, before 1535, Janet, eldest daughter of James Gordon of Lesmoir, by whom he had three sons:—

1. Alexander, his heir.
2. John Seton of Lumphard.

In January 1575-6 we find a confirmation by the King of a charter by William, Bishop of Aberdeen, dated 11th October 1569, whereby he

¹ *Antiquities of Banff and Aberdeen*, iii. 377; see also iv. 416.

² *Register of Great Seal*, xxv. 276.

³ *Acta Dom. Conc.*, viii. 71 and 159.

⁴ *Privy Seal Register*, ix. 85.

⁵ *Great Seal Register*, xxv. 166.

⁶ *Privy Seal Register*, xviii. 97.

sold to 'John Setoun, second son of William Setoun of Meldrum,' the lands of Pettynoun, etc., in the parish of Daviot.¹

3. William Seton of Slatie.

By his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Innes of Leuchars, and widow of James Innes of Fynnarsye, he had two sons:—

4. George Seton of Barra, Chancellor of Aberdeen, who got three charters of various lands, under the Great Seal, all dated in 1598.

On the 21st of February 1595-6 the Lords of Council ordain letters to be direct, at the instance of Mr. George Seytoun, brother to Alexander Seytoun of Meldrum, to command and charge the Sheriff of Aberdeen to search, seek, take, and apprehend James and David King, Alexander, brother to John Lumisdane of Cusny, and others, who were decerned rebels and put to the horn for non-com-

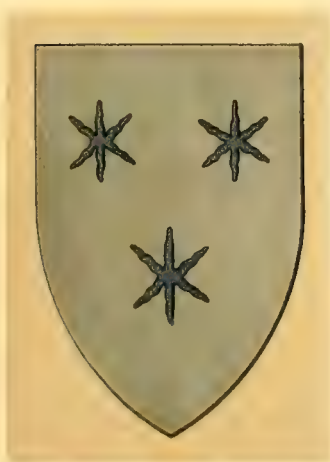
pearance before the Lords of Council as witnesses for proving certain allegations 'proponed' by the said George Seytoun in the action against him by William King in Baroche, touch-

ing King's ejection furth of the half lands of Baroche, in the sherifffdom of Aberdeen, and spoliation from him of diverse and sundry nolt, sheep, corns, and other goods.²

Three years later (14th June 1598), we find a charter by the King to 'Mr. George Seytoun, Chancellor of Aberdeen, brother-german of the late Alex^r Seytoun of Meldrum,' of the edifice, land, and tenement, etc., in the canonry of Old Aberdeen, and also of 'the shadow half of the lands of Sklatie,' etc., in the parish of Saint Machar, which formerly belonged to the Bishopric of Aberdeen, 'to be holden to the said George and the heirs-male of his body, whom failing to Mr. William Seytoun, son of the late William Seytoun,

portioner of Belhelvie, son of the brother of the said George.'³

The Privy Seal Register embraces several entries (1590-1600) relative to the gift of the escheat of goods of various rebels concerned in the



¹ *Great Seal Register*, xxxiv. 335, and *Privy Seal Register*, xliii. 56.

² *Acts and Decrees*, vol. clxii. fol. 219.

³ *Great Seal Register*, xli. 381.

slaughter of 'umquhill Alexander Seytoun, apparent of Meldrum' to Mr. George Seytoun, brother of Alexander Seytoun of Meldrum;¹ and also (2nd July 1592, and 19th July 1597) to the gifts of the escheat (1) of Sir James Sandielands of Slamannan, Knight, for failing to find caution to keep the tenants and servants of John Graham of Halzairds 'harmless and skaithless,' and (2) of George Meldrum of Dunbreck, for not compearing before the Lords of Secret Council to answer to a complaint made against him by Sir James Crichton of Frendraught, Knight, and Alexander Howesoun, burgess of Aberdeen, 'for allegit persewing and invading of the said Alexander Howesoun in his dwelling hous, within the burgh of Abirdene, for his bodilie harm and slauchter.'²

5. James, progenitor of the Setons of Pitmedden.

In January 1548-9 we find a confirmation by Queen Mary of a charter by William Seytoun of Meldrum, to Margaret Innes, relict of James Innes of Fynnarsye, 'then in her pure widowhood,' in liferent, for marriage to be contracted between himself and her, of the half of the lands of Gowner, in the county of Aberdeen—two of the witnesses being John and Matthew Seytoun.³

Sixteen years later (8th September 1564) there is a gift to William Seytoun of Meldrum, his heirs and assignees, of the escheat of all goods, etc., which pertained to William Seytoun of Cottoun, and escheated 'through his being or when it shall happen him to be fugitive from the law, convict, or at the horne for art and part of the slaughter of the late William Gordon of Gordounsmylne, alias the New Milne, committed on 2nd Sept. instant.'⁴

On the 8th of December 1581 we come across the legitimization of George and James Seytoun, 'bastards, sons natural of the late William Seytoun of Meldrum,' by Margaret Innes, then wife of William Gordon of Arrandoule.⁵

In 1556 William Seton granted a charter of the lands of Meldrum, etc., to his eldest son Alexander, and his heirs and assignees whomsoever, the succession being thereby continued to heirs-general. On the 14th of July 1573 we find an obligation by William Seytoun of Meldrum as principal, and John Leslie of Balquhane and John Pantoun of Pettmedden as cautioners, to James, Earl of Morton, Regent of the Kingdom, that he, his children, friends, and servants, shall be obedient to the King's authority, according to the pacification made at Perth on 23rd February last.⁶ William Seton was succeeded by his eldest son,

5. *Alexander Seton of Meldrum,*

who married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Irvine of Drum,

¹ Vol. lxi. fol. 41 and 56; vol. lxii. fol. 184; and vol. lxxi. fol. 152.

² Vol. lxiv. fol. 90; and vol. lxix. fol. 134.

³ *Great Seal Register*, xxx. 397.

⁴ *Privy Seal Register*, vol. xxxiii. fol. 51.

⁵ *Great Seal Register*, xxv. 473, and *Privy Seal Register*, xlviii. 60.

⁶ *Register of Deeds*, Scott Office, xii. 285.



by whom he had a son, Alexander, who predeceased his father. He married, secondly, Jean, daughter of Alexander, sixth Lord Abernethy of Salton, by whom he had two sons and two daughters :—

1. John, who became his father's heir.
2. William, who succeeded his brother John.
3. Margaret, married to Chalmers of Balbithan.
4. Isabel, married to Thomas Erskine of Pittodrie.

On the 19th of December 1544 letters of legitimation were granted to Christopher Seytoun, 'bastard, son natural of George, Lord Seytoun,' and to William Seytoun, 'bastard, son natural of Alexander Seytoun of Meldrum.'¹

John Seton 'our baillie,' and David Seton, 'presbyter of St. Andrews, Notary,' appear in a sasine, in 1579, in favour of Alexander Seton of Meldrum, son of William Seton of Meldrum.²

From the following entry in the Register of Deeds,³ it appears that Alexander Seton's second marriage took place in the same year. 'Contract of marriage between Alexander, Lord Saltoun, for himself, and taking the burden upon himself for Jean Abirnethie his daughter, on the one part, and Alexander Seytoun of Meldrum, whereby it is agreed that the said Jean and the said Alexander Seytoun shall enter into the bond of matrimony betwixt and the 6th September next, the said Alexander binding himself to infest her in liferent in his lands of Boigfechale and others lying in the sherifffdom of Aberdeen, the said Jean having for her tocher the sum of 6000 merks. Dated at Aberdeen, 12th August 1579.'

In December 1584 the Laird of Meldrum granted a charter to Alex-

¹ *Great Seal Register*, xxix. 181.

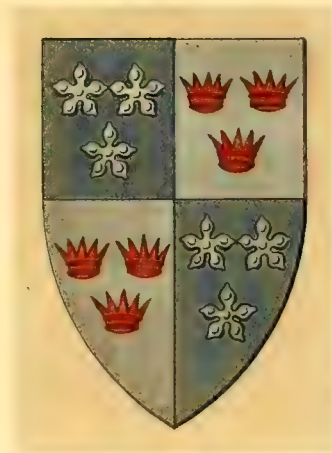
² *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*, iii. 73.

³ Vol. xx. part 1, fol 43.

ander, his eldest son, and the *heirs-male* of his body, whom failing, to his own heirs-male and assignees whomsoever, thus altering the course of succession.

6. *Alexander Seton, younger of Meldrum,*

married, in 1584, Christian, daughter of Michael Fraser of Stainywood, ancestor of Lord Fraser,¹ by whom he had an only daughter, Elizabeth, who ultimately became heiress of Meldrum. On the 25th February 1595-6 letters were purchased, at the instance of Christian Fraser, relict of Alexander Seytoun, younger of Meldrum, and Alexander Forbes of Finges, 'now her spouse,' against Gilbert Gray in Tulloch, making mention that the said Gilbert alleging him to have obtained a decret before the Commissary of Aberdeen, against the said pursuer as intro-missatrix with the goods and gear of her deceased spouse, decerning her and her spouse to warrant, relieve, and keep skaithless the said Gilbert of the sum of £3 for each boll of 300 bolls of oatmeal, at the hands of George Seytoun of Auchinhuif, conform to an obligation made by the said deceased Alexander Seytoun : whereupon the said Gilbert had caused charge the said pursuers to free, relieve, and keep skaithless the said Gilbert, at the hands of the said George Seytoun, or else to pay and deliver the same to him : and the pursuers now crave suspension of the said decret obtained before the Commissary of Aberdeen. The Lords of Council suspend the said decret as craved.² Alexander Seton died in 1590, during the lifetime of his father, at whose death, a few years afterwards, the succession opened to the eldest son of the second marriage,



6 (a). *John Seton of Meldrum,*

who got a charter under the Great Seal of the lands of Meldrum in 1615. On the 14th of March 1597-8 there is an action at his instance as 'assignee constitute by the deceased Alex^r Seytoun of Meldrum his father in and to the letter of tack and assedation set by M^r Alex^r Seytoun, Chancellor of Aberdeen, and vicar of the parish kirk of Bathelnie, to the said deceased Alex^r,

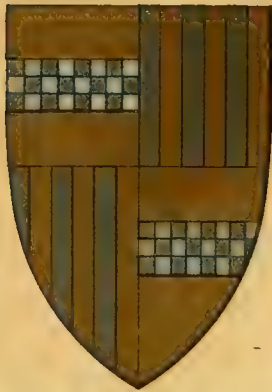
¹ The relative contract of marriage is mentioned in an entry in the *Great Seal Register*,

xlvi. 90.

² *Acts and Decrees*, vol. clxii. fol. 243.

his heirs and assignees, of all and whole the teind sheaves and teind vicarage of the said parish kirk pertaining to the said M^r Alexander, and also at the instance of Alex^r Lord Urquhart, President of the College of Justice, his tutor, against Alex^r Blakhall of that ilk, for the spoliation and away taking from the said pursuer of all and whole the teind sheaves of the town and lands of Bathelnie.¹

John Seton married Lady Grisel Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Athole. John Seton of Meldrum is mentioned as one of the deputies of



the Sheriff of Aberdeen in a commission, granted in 1618, for the apprehension of Alexander Gordon and John Smyth for the murder of Robert Admill (?) at the mill of Pettie, tenant of Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline; and the same year (19th January) there is a curious petition to the Lords of Council by Sir Alexander Gordon of Cluny, as brother to 'Dame Grissell Stewart, Lady Meldrum, moder to Marjorie Gordon, dochter lauchfull to umquhill Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny, Knycht, procreat betuix him and me, the said Dame Grissell,' and by John Seton of Meldrum, for his interest, as now spouse of Dame Grissell. The said Marjorie, 'a young harmless damosell not past xiiij yeiris of aige,' was educated by Dame Grissell and

her spouse at Meldrum. John Gordon, son of James Gordon of Knoke-spock, and domestic servitor to the Laird of Meldrum, showed himself so 'unworthie of the truste and credite' placed in him as to resolve to 'ravishe and tak the said Marjorie Gordon away, awaiting onlie upoun the tyme and occasioun to putt his wicked purpois in executioun.' On the 24th of December, the laird left for a few days' hawking, and John Gordon, who was to have accompanied him, 'fentyeit himself to be seik, and stayed at home. And, keeping himself quyet all the day till nycht, as yf he had bene a seik man, in end, about — hours at nycht, quhen the place wes quyet, and the maist pairt of the servandis gone to thair rest,' he, with some accomplices, 'put violent hands on the said Marjorie, and by force and violence caryed hir with thame outhir to the duelling-house of the said James Gordon, his fader, or to some other place unknown.' It is craved that the Lords cause order to be given to the said persons to appear before them on a certain day, and to exhibit the said Marjorie. On the back of the petition—'*Fiat ut petitur.* SIR J. SKENE.'²

John Seton died without issue, in 1619. He was succeeded by his brother,

¹ *Acts and Decrees*, vol. clxxii. fol. 368.

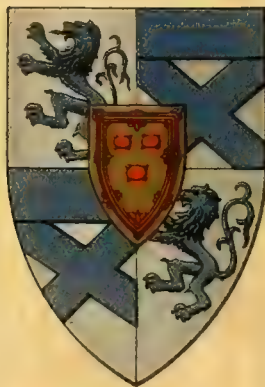
² *Register of Privy Seal*, xi. 367 and 619.

6 (b). *William Seton of Meldrum,*

who married Anne, daughter of James Crichton of Frendraught, ancestor of Viscount Frendraught, by whom he had no issue.

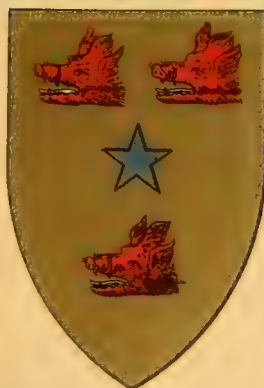
On the 29th of June 1620 we find a commission to the Sheriff of Aberdeen and his deputies, John Urquhart of Craighfintry, George Seatoun of Schethin, William Seatoun of Mwny, and Johnne Seatoun of Mynnes, to try Thomas Allan in Saphok, then in the custody of William Seton of Meldrum, for the slaughter of John Allan of the Auld Mylne of Balhelvie.¹

The estate of Meldrum having come to the Setons by an heir-female, and the course of succession having continued long settled on heirs-general, this William thought it just and reasonable that it should go in the same channel; and accordingly, in 1635, he made a new entail of his whole estate, failing heirs of his own body, in favour of the issue of his niece Elizabeth, the only child of his eldest brother, Alexander.² On his death, without issue, soon afterwards, the succession was carried on through the said

7. *Elizabeth Seton, heiress of Meldrum,*

who, in 1610, married John Urquhart of Craighfintry, tutor of Cromarty, by whom she had several children, of whom the eldest, Patrick, succeeded to the estate of Meldrum, and was the first of the Urquharts of Meldrum.³

This was probably the Laird of Meldrum referred to by Thomas Kirk in his *Tour in Scotland* in 1677: 'We intended,' Kirk writes, 'to have lain at the



¹ *Register of Privy Seal*, xii. 302.

² According to Nisbet—*Essay on Armories*, p. 201—the male representative of the Setons of Meldrum was Robert Seton, 'late Captain in the Regiment of Scots Guards.'—See also his *System of Heraldry*, i. 237.

A Captain Robert Seton, 'Judge-Advocate-

General of H.M.'s Forces in North Britain,' appears as a subscriber to Lindsay of Pitscottie's *History of Scotland*, published in 1728.

³ The second husband of Elizabeth Seton, heiress of Meldrum, was Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth, tenth Lord Salton, by whom she had a son, Alexander, eleventh Lord Salton.

Laird of Meldrum's house, but a mile before we came there, we understood he was not at home, and we were forced to take up at that poor village called Old Meldrum, but we got wine, ale, and bread from the Laird's house. . . . Near this Meldrum's house we saw a gibbet, or gallows, and Mr. Merris informed us that most barons had one near their houses, having power to condemn and hang any offenders within their liberties, but they usually send them to the Sheriff; we called at the house, and drank four or five rummers of claret with two ladies there, and then went on our journey.'¹

Armorial Bearings.

Quarterly, 1st and 4th, *or*, three crescents within a royal tressure, *gules*, for Seton; 2nd and 3rd, *argent*, a demi-otter issuing out of a bar wavy, *sable*, for Meldrum.

Among the plates in the first volume of Nisbet's *System of Heraldry* we find the preceding coat given as that of Captain Robert Seton, 'representer of the family of the Setons of Meldrum'—the *Crest* being a man in complete armour, on horseback at full speed, holding on the point of a sword an imperial crown, and the *Mottoes* (above the Crest) 'Inclyte perdidit recuperatur corona,' and (below the shield) 'Luceo boreale,' in allusion to a blazing star, also under the escutcheon.

¹ Embraced in Hume-Brown's *Early Travelers in Scotland*. The feudal jurisdiction referred

to by Kirk was not abolished till after the Union of the Parliaments.



IX. PITMEDDEN



WILLIAM SETON of Meldrum, served heir to his father in 1553, had, by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Innes of Leuchars, two sons :—

1. George Seton of Barra, Chancellor of Aberdeen, d. *s.p.*
2. James, first of the family of Pitmedden.

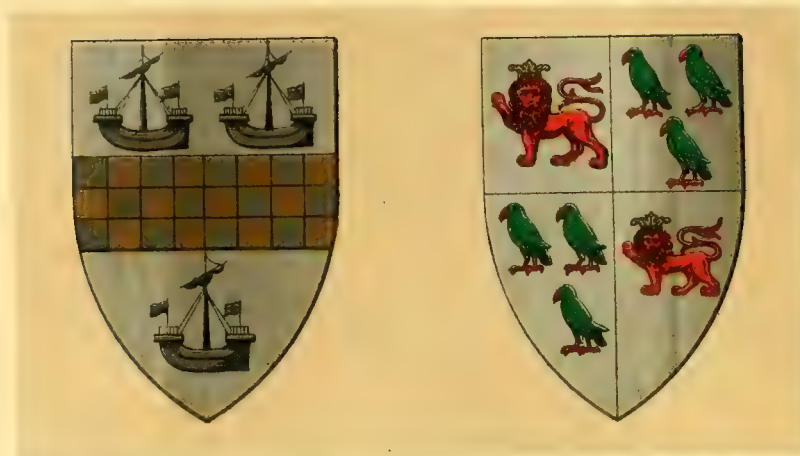
1. *James Seton of Pitmedden,*

born in 1553, was first designed of Bourtie, and afterwards acquired the lands of Pitmedden in Aberdeenshire, as appears from a charter under the Great Seal, dated 25th March 1619. He married Margaret, granddaughter of William Rolland, Master of the Mint of Aberdeen, in the reign of King James v., by whom he appears to have had two sons :—

1. Alexander, his successor.
2. James, who appears from the following epitaph, composed by Dr. Arthur Johnston, to have been a person of great merit :—

‘Tumulus JACOBI SETONI PETMEDDENI.
Quem tegit hic cespes, fastu Setonus honores,
Divitias luxu, posse carere docet.’¹

¹ Quoted in Nisbet's *System of Heraldry*, i. 242.



2. *Alexander Seton of Pitmedden,*

who during his father's lifetime got a charter from King Charles I. of the lands of Over Auchmoir, etc., dated 19th November 1622. Four years later (20th July 1626), after his father's death, he obtained another charter of the lands of Dunbreck and others.

He married Beatrix, daughter of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Dunlugas, and sister of George, first Lord Banff,¹ by whom he had one son and nine daughters:—

1. John, his successor.
2. Grisel, married to George Gordon of Cocklarochie.
3. Helen, married to Walter Urquhart of Cromarty.
4. —, married to Gordon of Milnetown.
5. —, married to Cummin of Birnes.
6. Margaret, married to James Buchan of Auchmacoy.

The third son of this marriage, 'a man eminent for courage and antient honesty, Major-General Thomas Buchan, of the family of Auchmacoy, in the parish of Logie-Buchan, adhered most faithfully to King James VII. and King James VIII. after the Revolution, having maintained that cause by his sword both in Ireland and Scotland. He was born about the middle of the seventeenth century, dyed at Ardlogie in Fyvie, and was buried in Logie-Buchan in 1720.'²

7. —, married to Gordon of Auchintoul.
8. Marjory, married to David Dunbar of Grangehill.

¹ An old oak chest bearing the Seton and Ogilvy arms is in the possession of Sir William S. Seton of Pitmedden.

² *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff* (Spalding Club), i. 361.

9. Elizabeth, married to Patrick Irvine of Beatty.

10. Jean, married to Alexander Menzies of Kinmundy.

In 1630 he got a charter from King Charles I. of the lands of Barach, etc., and the same year the estate of Barie was disposed to him by his cousin-german, William Seton of Meldrum. Dying soon thereafter, he was succeeded by his son,

3. *John Seton of Pitmedden,*

'a man of good natural parts, which were greatly improved by a liberal education and travelling.'¹ He accompanied the Earl of Errol, Lord High Constable of Scotland, to the coronation of Charles I. at Edinburgh in 1633.

John Seton was a steady loyalist, and gave many signal proofs of his attachment to the royal family. In May 1638 he was requested, by his 'assured cousin, Huntly,' as one in whom he confided, to meet him at Fettercairn on the 1st of June, and to accompany him to Dalkeith. He readily obeyed the summons; but on their way south the Marquis and his son were surprised by a party of Covenanters and sent prisoners to Edinburgh, while Pitmedden returned to Aberdeenshire, where he zealously promoted the King's interest.

When the Earl of Aboyne got the command of the royal forces in the north, Pitmedden repaired to his standard and commanded a detachment of loyalists at the battle of the Bridge of Dee (18th June 1639), where he was shot through the heart by a cannon ball, with the royal standard in his hand, in the 29th year of his age.² Under the directions of the Marquis of Montrose, the body of the brave young soldier was interred at Aberdeen with full military honours. To commemorate the occurrence, his descendants have ever since borne a heart distilling drops of blood in the centre of their shield of arms.

In 1633 John Seton married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Samuel Johnstone of Elphinstone, Baronet, by whom he had two sons:—

1. James, his heir.
2. Alexander, of whom afterwards.



¹ Douglas's *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 183.
² See Spalding's *History of the Troubles in Scotland and England*, i. 155. The hero of the

Bridge of Dee is commemorated in a ballad, entitled 'Bonnie John Seton,' which will be found in the Appendix of Miscellanies.

4. *James Seton of Pitmedden,*

succeeded his father in 1639, when he was only about five years of age. Along with his mother and younger brother, he was driven from his father's house, which was plundered, while the rents of the estate were seized by the Covenanters; but in 1640 the King was pleased to gift the ward, marriage, and non-entry of the estate to his kinsman, George, third Earl of Winton, who carefully superintended the education of the two children. Their mother married James, Earl of Hartfell, progenitor of the Marquis of Annandale, who took charge of the two boys till his capture at the battle of Philiphaugh; and on the death of their mother, soon afterwards, Lord Winton took them into his own household, where they remained till 1649. After completing their education at Aberdeen, the elder brother, James, visited most of the Courts of Europe, and returned to his native country at the Restoration in 1660. Being of a bold and intrepid disposition, he went on board one of the English fleet under the command of the Duke of York, and was present at the desperate engagement near Harwich, where the English obtained a signal victory over the Dutch, 3rd June 1665. He afterwards died of wounds received in the attack by the Dutch on the English fleet at Chatham in 1667, when he was succeeded by his brother,

4 (a). *Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden,*

who was bred to the profession of the law, and greatly retrieved the family fortunes. He was knighted by Charles II. in 1664, and afterwards appointed a Senator of the College of Justice under the title of Lord Pitmedden, and a Lord of Justiciary.

As Knight of the shire of Aberdeen he served in several Parliaments, and was created a baronet in December 1683.

In Grant's *Old Edinburgh* (i. 20) 'Seton of Pitmedden' is mentioned as a violinist in 1695.

Lord Pitmedden was the author of a *Treatise of Mutilation and Demembration*, in two parts, and of *An Explication of the xxxix Chapter of the Statutes of King William*, edited by Alexander Bruce, Advocate, in 1728; also of *Reasons for encouraging the Linnen Manufacture of Scotland*, etc. In a statement prefixed to *De jure prelationis nobilium Scotiæ*, A.D. 1606, printed for the Maitland Club in 1827, it is said that 'the additions and remarks printed within brackets appear to have been made by Lord Pitmedden, and some of them are in his Lordship's handwriting.'

Among the Lauderdale Papers in the British Museum (23,244, ff. 37 and 39) are two letters to Charles II. and the Duke of Lauderdale, both dated at Edinburgh, 18th July 1679, from the Lords of Session, signed by Sir Alexander Seton, Lord Pitmedden, and eleven others

including Lord Rothes, the Chancellor, thanking the King for his 'gracious letter of the 13th current, wherein your Majestie does so fully express your royal concerne for our vindication from the aspersions unjustly cast upon us.'

The great *hiatus* in the Books of Sederunt—the official records of the Court of Session—between 1608 and 1826 is partly supplied by several abridgments, of which one of the most important was compiled by Lord Pitmedden.¹

The first office of the Bank of Scotland was in the second story of Paterson's Land, in the Parliament Close (Edinburgh), and was bought from Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden for a little over a thousand pounds sterling, his lady receiving a gratuity of fifteen guineas for consenting to the purchase.²

He offended James VII. by objecting to the repeal of the Test Laws, and was removed from his judicial appointments. After the Revolution he was offered a restoration of his offices; but, considering that he was bound by his oath of allegiance to King James, he declined their acceptance and retired into private life. He was a great collector of books, and formed a curious and extensive library.

By his wife, Margaret, daughter of William Lauder, one of the Clerks of Session, Lord Pitmedden had five sons and five daughters:—



1. Sir William, his heir.
2. George, of Mounie, advocate, of whom afterwards.
3. Alexander, physician to the Forces under the Duke of Marlborough.
4. James, merchant at Dantzic, died without issue.
5. Thomas, M.D., died unmarried.
6. Elizabeth, married to Sir Alexander Wedderburn of Blackness, Baronet, and died between 1705 and 1710.
7. Margaret, married to Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, Baronet.

8. Anne, married to William Dick of Grange.

9 and 10. Isabel and Jean, died unmarried.

'During the occupation of Edinburgh by Prince Charles-Edward, he paid a visit to the daughters of Sir Alexander Seton at the Grange House, then the property of their brother-in-law, William Dick of Grange, and now of Sir Thomas Dick-Lauder of Fountainhall. Upon the steps of the entrance he was received by the ladies with a glass containing a bottle of

¹ Fraser's *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, i. 77.

² 'The Bi-Centenary of the Bank of Scotland, *Chambers's Journal*, 15th June 1895.



Madeira. The Prince, having drank to his fair entertainers, saluted them on the cheek in the fashion of that period, and taking the white rose from his bonnet presented it to Miss Seton. Both the flower and the glass were preserved with that zeal by which the female adherents of all ages have sympathised with the ill fortunes of their cause, and which, if equally shared by men, would no longer have claimed sympathy, for it would no longer have been unfortunate. After the death of the last Miss Seton, the rose and glass passed through several hands, and are now (1842) in the possession of W. Blair, Esq. of Avonton. The badge is an artificial flower such as usually made by florists.¹

Lord Pitmedden died at an advanced age, 29th May 1719, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

¹ *Vestiarium Scoticum*, by John Sobieski Stuart, p. 105. The *memento mori* watch presented to Mary Seton by Mary Stuart, engraved

at page 133 *supra*, is still in the possession of the Dick-Lauder family.



5. *Sir William Seton, second Baronet,*

who represented the county of Aberdeen in the Scots Parliament from 1702 to 1706, and was appointed one of the Commissioners for the Union between England and Scotland.

Sir William Seton was the author of the following works:—*The Interests of Scotland*; in three essays [by W. S.], dedicated to Archibald, Earl of Ilay, Lord Justice-General of Scotland, etc., 8vo, 1700; A short answer to a large paper [by Sir W. S.] intituled *A continuation of Brief and Modest Reflections*, etc., 4to, 1703; and *A speech in Parliament the second day of November 1706 . . . on the first article of the Treaty of Union*, 4to, 1706.

He appears to have been appointed, under a royal commission, General Collector of the Scottish Bishops' rents in 1705.

He married, in 1702, Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Burnett of Leys, Baronet, by whom he had five sons and four daughters:—

1. Alexander, third Baronet.
2. William, fourth Baronet.
3. Thomas, M.D., who married a daughter of Sir John Paterson and d. *s.p.* before his brother William.

4. Archibald, fifth Baronet.

5. Charles, who began life in the Navy, married Anna-Maria Scrope, and died before his brother Archibald, leaving an only son William, who succeeded his uncle as sixth Baronet.

6. Margaret, married to John, eldest son of Sir John Paterson of Eccles, Baronet, who died in the lifetime of his father.

7 and 8. Katherine and Rachel.

9. Mary, married to the Rev. — Forbes, by whom she had a son, William, who appears to have died unmarried.

Sir William Seton died in 1744, when he was succeeded by his eldest son.



6. *Sir Alexander Seton, third Baronet,*

an officer in the Guards, was succeeded by his brother,

6 (a). *Sir William Seton, fourth Baronet,*

who also died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother,

6 (b). *Sir Archibald Seton, fifth Baronet,*

at whose decease without issue the title devolved upon his nephew, son of his younger brother Charles,

7. *Sir William Seton, sixth Baronet,*

who married Margaret, eldest daughter of James Ligertwood¹ of Tillery, Aberdeenshire, by whom he had three sons and two daughters:—

1. Charles, died young.

2. James, Major in the 92nd Highlanders, killed in the Peninsular War

¹ I have failed to find any blazon pertaining to this surname.

in 1814, leaving by his wife, Frances, daughter of Captain George Coote, nephew of Sir Eyre Coote, one son and two daughters :—

(1) William Coote, seventh Baronet.

(2) and (3) Frances-Margaret and Jane.

3. William, an officer in the military service of the H. E. I. Co., died in India unmarried.

4. Jane, married to Alexander Leslie, merchant in Glasgow, and had an only son, Alexander.

5. Anna-Maria, died unmarried, aged about seventy.

On the death of Sir William Seton in 1819, he was succeeded by his grandson,

8. *Sir William-Coote Seton, seventh Baronet,*

J.P. and D.L., for the county of Aberdeen, born 19th December 1818, married, 26th November 1834, Eliza-Henrietta, second daughter of Henry Lumsden of Cushnie, county Aberdeen, and widow of Captain John Wilson, E.I.C.S., and by her (who died 24th April 1873) had issue five sons and three daughters :—

1. James-Lumsden, eighth Baronet.

2. William-Samuel, ninth Baronet.

3. Henry, in holy orders, born 1839, died unmarried 18th June 1867.

4. Matthew, barrister-at-law, born 26th May 1844, married, 11th September 1877, Thérèse-Rose-Prudence, only daughter of M. Pierre Bonnet, and died 25th June 1887, leaving issue :—

(1) Roberto-Disraeli-Coote, born 1881.

(2) Rose-Henrietta-Lumsden, born 1880.

(3) Violet-Thérèse, born 1882.

(4) Lilly-Mackenzie.

5. Charles, born 1847, a captain in the Army.

6. Eliza, married, 23rd January 1873, David-Dyce Brown, M.A., M.D., and has issue.

7. Magdalen-Frances, married, 6th October 1870, Arthur-Talbot, fifth son of Charles-James Bevan, Esq.



8. Frances.

The following heirlooms of the Pitmedden family are in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. A. T. Bevan, of Dormers, Bessells Green, Sevenoaks :—

1. Gold Ring, with hair of James II. of England. A Royal Crown above the letters I · R · (believed to have been given by the King to Lord Pitmedden).¹

2. Enamelled Nova Scotia Badge of the Pitmedden Baronetcy, with date 1683.

3. Miniature of Captain James Seton, 92nd Foot (father of Sir William Coote-Seton), *ob. vitâ patris*.

4. Gold Peninsular Medal sent to his widow by the Prince Regent in 1814. The relative letter is in the following terms :—

‘ HORSE GUARDS,
24th June 1814.

‘ MADAM,—The Prince Regent having been graciously pleased to command, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, that the officers present at the battle of the Pyrenees

¹ The following letter from Sir Archibald Seton, fifth Baronet of Pitmedden, is in the possession of Mr. James Henderson, Dalvenie, Truro (*infra* p. 495, note). The name of the lady to whom it is addressed does not appear. ‘Aberⁿ Feby. 1st 1775,—Madam, in looking over Sr W^m’s papers I find a letter from Mr Anderson, dated at Pitmedden y^e 25th Feby. 1774, in w^h (I) observe that he makes mention of a ring given by King James the seventh, upon his deathbed, to General Buchan, w^t express commands to deliver it in his name to Lord Pitmedden, as a small testimony of regard that he bore to him, w^h ring was given by Mr^s Isobel Seton to your son w^t a desire that it might be kept in the family, but upon hearing of the unhappy situation of your son she had given orders to Mr Anderson to deliver (it) to Sr W^m, which, as appears by Mr Anderson’s letter to Sr W^m he did deliver to him in form; and as I have not seen nor heard of the ring, shall be much obliged to you if you can give me any information of it, which will much oblige, Madam, your most hble. serv^t, ARCH^d SETON.





should be permitted to bear a medal commemorative of that brilliant victory; I have to transmit to you the medal which would have been conferred upon the late Captain James Seton of the 92nd Foot, and which the Prince Regent has been pleased to direct should be deposited with his family, as a token of the respect which His Royal Highness bears for the memory of that officer.—I am, Madam, yours,

FREDERICK,
Commander-in-Chief.

‘MRS. SETON, Ipswich.’

5. Shell Snuff-box—silver-mounted—bearing the following inscription:—‘From M^r Colin M^r Dougall to Cap^t James Seton, 92 Reg^t.’

6. Old Silver Snuff-box with three boars’ heads (Gordon?) engraved on the bottom—long in the possession of the Pitmedden family.

7. Gold-headed Malacca Cane (classical group), formerly belonging to Charles Seton (fifth son of Sir William Seton, second Baronet of Pitmedden and father of Sir William, sixth Baronet), whose initials it bears.

Sir William-Coote Seton was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1831.

Pitmedden House consisted of two wings, one of which was built about the year 1696. The other was burnt down in 1818. Sir William Seton pulled down the remaining division, and built a small



Gateway at Pitmedden

residence in its place, about 1855. When the fire occurred, all the family portraits and other articles of value were destroyed, but the family papers were fortunately saved. Among the lost pictures was a portrait of the first Lord Banff, whose sister, Beatrice Ogilvy, was the wife of Alexander Seton, second of Pitmedden; also portraits of Lord Pitmedden and his wife, Margaret Lauder.¹

Sir William-Coote Seton died 30th December 1880, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

9. *Sir James-Lumsden Seton, eighth Baronet,*

born 1st September 1835. In 1852 he joined the 1st Madras Fusiliers, and served in the first Burmese war, for which he received the war medal. He also served throughout the whole of the Indian Mutiny campaign of 1857-58.

¹ Portraits of Lord Pitmedden and his wife, engraved at 477-8 *supra*, are in the possession of the Dick-Lauder family.

The Madras Fusiliers, with H.M. 64th Foot and the 78th Highlanders, formed the advanced brigade under General Sir Henry Havelock, marching to the relief of Cawnpore and Lucknow. Sir James was present in all the actions in which that celebrated brigade was engaged; and was severely wounded whilst serving as A.D.C. to Sir Henry Havelock, for which he received a wound pension for life. Subsequently, with his regiment, he was under the command of General Sir James Outram, and took part in all the operations conducted by that officer before Lucknow, until reinforced by General Sir Colin Campbell, afterwards Lord Clyde. At the conclusion of the campaign he received the Indian Mutiny medal, with clasps for the various actions in which he was engaged.

He served throughout the Abyssinian campaign under General Sir Robert Napier (afterwards Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala), for which he received the war medal.

While on leave in Germany the Franco-German war of 1870 broke out. His soldierly instincts, and his innate love of military enterprise and adventure, would not allow him to remain idle while armies were assembling and soldiers were fighting close by; accordingly he attached himself to the corps d'armée of General Von Goeben, whose fortunes he followed from the beginning to the end of the campaign. He was present as an interested onlooker at nearly all the battles in which that corps was engaged, and at least on one occasion had his horse shot under him. During the greater part of the war he accompanied the 40th Hohenzollern regiment; and was presented by the Emperor William I. of Germany with the 'Order of the Iron Cross,' second class, for saving life on the battle-field under fire, as well as with a war medal.

After returning to England from Germany, where he had exceeded his leave of absence, he was tried by court-martial, and retired from the army, with the rank of Captain, in 1871. He subsequently resided for several years in the north of France. He was the author of *Notes on the Operations of the North German Troops in Lorraine and Picardy, etc.*, 8vo, 1872; *General Contribution to the History of the Campaign in the North-West of France. . . .* Translated by J. L. S. (James-Lumsden Seton), author of *Notes, etc. (ut supra)*, to which are annexed corrections of the latter work, 8vo, 1873; and *The Organisation of our Infantry Forces*, 8vo, 1880.

Sir James Seton married, 20th October 1870, Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. George Castle of Oxford, and died without issue, 28th September 1884, when he was succeeded by his brother,



9 (a). *Sir William-Samuel Seton, ninth Baronet,*

born 22nd May 1837. After being for a short time midshipman in the Indian Navy under Admiral Sir H. Lecke, K.C.B., taking part in the bombardment and capture of Mohamra, Persia, he entered the military service, 27th July 1857. He was present with the 4th Rifles at the siege and battle of Kandahar in 1880; and seven years later (1887) reached the rank of Brevet-Colonel of the Staff Corps. Sir William Seton holds medals and clasps for the Persian and Kandahar campaigns.

He married, 15th March 1876, Eva-Kate St. Leger, only daughter of Lieut.-General Henry-Hastings-Affleck Wood, C.B., and has issue one son and five daughters:—

1. John-Hastings, born 20th September 1888.
2. Eva-Sophia, born 30th March 1877.
3. Mary-Christian, born 30th August 1879.
4. Hilda-Magdalene, born 18th October 1880.
5. Ethel-Susanna, born 13th April 1884.
6. Florence-Kate-Agnes, born 10th September 1885.

The estate of Pitmedden was sold in December 1893 to Mr. Alexander Keith, Chapleton, Ellon.

Sir William Seton possesses a large collection of interesting charters and other writs—all in excellent condition—of which the earliest—eleven in number—relate to the owners of Pitmedden in the sixteenth century (1527-94). Only in the case of four of these documents are the seals extant—three of them being seals of the family of Errol. On the earliest of the three (1563), the three escutcheons of Hay appear on an upright shield, surrounded with foliage, with the legend 'S. Andr. Maister. Errol' (Andrew, Master of Errol); while the two others (1593 and 1594) are the seal of Francis, eighth Earl of Errol, which exhibits a *couché* shield charged with three escutcheons, under a helmet and mantling surmounted by an eagle's (or falcon's) head and neck, springing out of a coronet between two ploughshares, with 'Serva Jugum' on a scroll under the shield, and the legend 'S. Francisci comitis Errolie Dⁿⁱ Hay Constabularii Scotiæ.'



¹ This appears to be the seal described in Laing's *Supplemental Catalogue*, No. 482 (1625). The eighth Earl of Errol succeeded his father in 1585, and died in 1631—'a truly noble man,

of a great and courageous spirit,' and celebrated in an epitaph by Arthur Johnston. His eldest daughter, Lady Anne Hay, was the first wife of George, third Earl of Winton.

Attached to a procuratory of resignation, dated 24th September 1594, are the seals of John Pantoun of Pitmedden and George Pantoun, his son and apparent heir—each bearing a spread eagle and the respective legends of 'S. Joannis Pantoun D.P.' and 'S. Georgii Pantoun.'¹

Twenty-five of the writs pertaining to the seventeenth century range between 1628 and 1684. The earliest is a precept of *Clare Constat* by the aforesaid Earl of Errol, referring to 'Jacobus Setoune de Petmedden pater Alexandri Setoun de Petmedden'; and on the 3rd of December 1633 there is a charter of the lands of Pitmedden (to be holden of the Earl of Errol), by Alexander Seton of Pitmedden, in favour of 'Johannem Setoun, meum filium legitimum natu maximum inter me et quondam Beatricem Ogilvye meam sponsam procreat.,' and his affianced spouse Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Samuel Johnstoun of Elphinstoun.

Twenty-two years later (1655), several of the sasines and other writs relate to 'James Seatoune of Pitmeddane, son to the deceist Johne Seatoune, Laird of Pitmeddane.' Again, in 1658, we find a charter of certain lands, by 'James Seatoune of Pittmedden,' in favour of Alexander Seatoune his brother-german.

The six following writs relate to Sir Alexander Seton, Lord Pitmedden, the first Baronet of the Pitmedden line :—

1. Grant of arms by Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo, Knight-Baronet, Lyon King of Arms, with the official seal appended, dated 30th May 1675, and confirmed, three years afterwards, 'to this worthie gentleman, who is now advanced by his Majestie to be a Lord of Session.'

2. Act of admission of Sir Alexander Seton as a Lord of Session, dated 6th November 1677, from which it appears that the relative royal letter was produced by the Duke of Lauderdale.

3. Deed of his appointment as a burgess and guild brother of the city of Edinburgh, dated 24th September 1679.

4. Act of admission as one of the Lords Commissioners of Justiciary, dated 5th July 1682.

5. Diploma Domini Alexandri Seaton de Pitmedden tituli et dignitatis militis baronetti, dated 11th July 1683, with Great Seal attached.

6. *Second* grant of arms, embracing supporters, by Sir *Alexander* Erskine of Cambo, Knight-Baronet, and Lyon King of Arms, dated 15th January 1684.

Among the Pitmedden family papers there is a curious printed 'Information for the Lord Pitmedden against the laird of Tolquhon,' respecting a dispute about marches, in which reference is made to a previous controversy of a similar kind, in connection with which one of Tolquhon's sons, and one or two others, were killed by a 'neighbouring gentleman.' It appears that Lord Pitmedden first contemplated taking legal steps in 1680, after five years' endeavour to avoid litigation; and that he stopped the procedure on

¹ Sir George Mackenzie, in his *Heraldry*, p. 58, gives '*Panther* (Panton?), sometime of Pitmed-

den, or an eagle displayed *sable*.' See also Nisbet's *System of Heraldry*, i. 341.

Tolquhon's application, and referred the dispute to arbiters. The decision was in favour of Lord Pitmedden, and his opponent professed complete satisfaction with the result. On Pitmedden going to Edinburgh to perform his judicial duties, Tolquhon again invaded the debateable territory and picked a quarrel with Ogilvie of Forglen, one of his own arbiters, falsely charging him with having stolen one of his silver cups, for which Tolquhon had ultimately to pay 1000 pounds of expenses, besides a fine of 2000 merks, on account of malicious slander. On the matter coming before the Court, where Pitmedden's allegations were supported by the testimony of numerous witnesses, 'the Lords were convinced that, without a decision of law, there could be no living with Tolquhon; and he, knowing his hazard, yielded all Pitmedden's demands.'

The 'Information' closes as follows: 'Pitmedden concludes as he began, with a humble apologie that he should trouble the Lords upon this occasion in the close of a Session, but he cannot alter the course of the Roll, and could not forbear to raise the process because the security of his marches, and his own and his tenants' peace, are concerned in the ishue (*sic*), having to do with an outrageous man and a bad neighbour'!

Armorial Bearings.

Nisbet (i. 237) gives the arms of Pitmedden in 1591 and 1605 as the paternal coat of Seton with a mullet for difference.

In a folio manuscript in the British Museum (20,701), entitled 'Arms of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland registered in the Lyon Office of Arms, 1721,' and bearing the book-stamp of Alexander Deuchar, seal engraver, Edinburgh, we find the two following entries relative to the Pitmedden arms.

'Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden, Advocate, thereafter Lord of Session, carries two coats quarterly: 1st and 4th, *or*, a man's heart distilling gutt de sang between three crescents, all within a double tressure counter-flowered *gules*, for Seton; 2nd and 3rd, *argent*, an otter—properly a demi-otter—issuing out of a bar wavy *sable*, crowned with an antique crown *or*, for Meldrum.

'*Crest*—a banner disveloped (*sic*) in bend proper.

'*Motto*—Insignibus Astans.

'The heart, crest, and motto were given on account that his father being killed at the Bridge of Dee in the King's service, whose heart was shot out wth a cannon-ball. *Vide* a second matriculation.'

'Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden . . . by a second matriculation, since Baronet, bears two coats quarterly (as in the preceding entry).

'*Crest*—a souldier from the middle bearing up the royal banner bend-ways and displayed, all proper.

'*Supported* on the dexter by a deer-hound *argent*, haveing about his

neck a collar *gules*, charged with crescents *or*, and on the sinister by an otter *sable*.

Motto—Sustento Sanguine Signa.'

Two mottoes now appear to be carried—above the crest, 'Sustento Sanguine Signa,' and below the shield, 'Merces hæc certa laborum.'

A full copy of the later grant of arms will be found in the Appendix of Miscellanies.





X. MOUNIE



THE lands which form the estate of Mounie (or Pit-mounie), in the parish of Daviot and county of Aberdeen, belonged at one time to the Cathedral of Aberdeen. In or before 1557 Alexander Seton, Chancellor of the Diocese, held these lands in feu for the Church; but about that date William Seton of Meldrum, Alexander's elder brother, began to acquire the lands as a possession for his second son, John Seton of Lumphard, who appears to have been in possession of the entire estate of Mounie in 1590. The following curious entry occurs in the Register of Deeds, etc. (vol. xlv.), under date 'Aberdeen, 26 July 1594': 'Obligation by John Seatoun of Mowny, as cautioner and surety for John Ray, merchant burghess of Aberdeen, that he shall receive home, maintain, treat and entertain Cristian Howesone, as becomes a man to his wife, in bed and board, conform to a decreet obtained by her against him thereanent, before the Commissary of Aberdeen on 14 February last.' John Seton was succeeded by his son William,¹ before September 1597, and the estate afterwards passed into other hands. It was, however, brought back in 1714, by George Seton, second son of Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden, Baronet, from whom the present owner of Mounie is descended.

¹ 'William Seytoun of Muny' is mentioned in a charter to John Seytoun of Auquhorties,

dated 5th July 1610—*Reg. Mag. Sig.—Paper Register*, i. 72.



In the Register of the Privy Seal there are several entries relative to the earlier owners of Mounie. Thus, on the 29th of June 1592, we find a letter of gift to Alexander King, Advocate, of the escheat of 'John Seytoun of Munie,' now in the King's hands through the said John being put to the horn at the instance of Alexander King and Janet his spouse, for non-payment to them of 1000 merks.¹

Four years later (27th January 1596-7) there is a precept of remission to 'William Setoun of Muny' for art and part in the murder of the late Alexander King, Advocate, in the month of November 1595.² This doubtless relates to the son and successor of John Seton of Lumphard, and seems to have an unpleasant connection with the debt of 1000 merks referred to in the preceding entry.

Lastly, on the 19th of July 1597 we come across a precept for ratification of two charters of sale of the lands of Mounie and Petblanie respectively, granted by Mr. Richard Irrowing (Irving?), burgess of Aberdeen, to the 'late John Setoun, for the time of Lumfurde, and Marjorie Pantoun his spouse.'³

The manor-house of Mounie appears to have been rebuilt, in 1643,

¹ *Register of Privy Seal*, lxiv. 38.

² *Ibid.* lxix. 37.

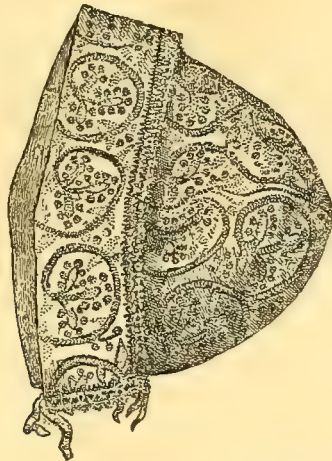
³ *Ibid.* lxix. 135.

by Robert Farquhar, Bailie of Aberdeen, on whom the honour of knight-hood was afterwards conferred, and part of the fabric still remains.

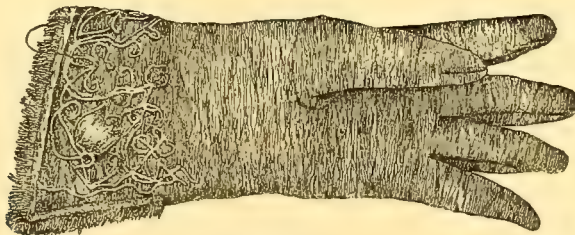
The following reference to the house of Mounie occurs under the notice of Daviot (dedicated to St. Colm or Columba) in the *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*, printed by the Spalding Club¹: 'Of gentlemen's houses it hath two, viz., Mounie, standing on the very east borders of the parish, situat in a low valley, on the west bank of the King's burn; and Glacke, lying in the west side of the parish, situat somewhat higher than Mounie. . . . The house of Mounie, belonging to — Seton of Mounie, is east from the church three-fourths of a mile.'

Besides a number of family portraits,² the following interesting heirlooms are in the possession of Major Seton of Mounie:—

1. An embroidered Cap, the handiwork of Queen Mary, given to Robert, first Earl of Winton, when Lord Seton, by King James VI., and probably presented by the third Earl to Lord Pitmedden, of whom he was the guardian.



2. An embroidered Glove presented by Charles II., at his coronation in 1650, to James and Alexander Seton, sons of John Seton of Pitmedden, who was killed at the Brig of Dee in 1639.



¹ Vol. i. p. 581.

² Among the portraits is an excellent reduced copy of Sir Antonio More's famous group of the

Seton family, already referred to, which is believed to have been executed before 1600.

3. Silver Tankard, with armorial bearings (Seton and Lauder), formerly in the possession of Alexander Seton, Lord Pitmedden.

4. Four-post oak Bedstead (*cir.* 1590), bearing, among other devices, the arms of Seton, without the royal tressure, impaled with a lion rampant and accompanied by the initials I · S · (John Seton) and M · M · The wife of John Seton, who died about 1597, was Marjory Pantoun. A lion rampant is carried by the Maitland family.

Among the Mounie muniments are a number of curious documents, including the Claim of George Seton of Mounie, 'in place of my Lord Pitmedden,' on the confiscated estate of the Earl of Winton, amounting to £6666, 13s. 4d.; five 'Court Acts' of the lands of Mounie, of which the earliest is dated 18th July 1718; bonds of relief and discharges; marriage contracts; diplomas of learned Societies at home and abroad; burghal grants of citizenship, etc. There are also a number of letters, of which the most interesting are addressed to George Seton of Mounie, by George, first Duke of Gordon, the Marquis of Annandale, the second and third Earls of Aberdeen, Sir Alexander Cuming of Culter, Baronet, Sir Arthur Forbes of Craigievar, Baronet, M.P., Alexander and John Gibson of Durie, etc. In one of the Duke of Gordon's letters he speaks of his 'cousin' the fifth Earl of Winton. Another short note from the Duke, dated February 1708, is to the following effect:—

‘CITADEL, *Tuesday morning.*

‘For Mr George Seton, Advocate.

Mr Seton. This will be an idle day for lawyers in town; if you could come and pass the time with me, you will be very welcome, besides I would speak to you of some business.—I am your affectionate Cousin,

(Signed) GORDON.

‘My compliments to Mrs Seton.’

In February 1746, Colonel John Roy Stuart, acting on behalf of the army of Prince Charles-Edward, writes from Old Meldrum to the same Laird of Mounie, as follows:—

‘Munday night, at Ten o’Clock.

SIR,—You’ll order here against Six o’Clock to-morrow morning, being the Twelfth inst., fifty Horses and Packets for the Prince’s use, under pain of military Execution.—Sir, your most humble Servant,

(Signed) JO: STUART.

‘To GEORGE SITTAN, Esq^r of Mounie.’

Very shortly afterwards (3rd March 1746) the Laird of Mounie received a communication from Aberdeen, from Alexander Fraser of Strichen, in name of the Justices of the Peace, on behalf of the Duke of Cumberland! Two years later (23rd June 1748), after he had taken the

oaths of allegiance to King George II., Mounie obtained a formal permission from the Sheriff Clerk of Aberdeen to keep and carry arms.

The following interesting letter to 'George Seton, Esq. of Mounie, att Mounie, by Old Meldrum, N. Britain,' from Lord Adam Gordon, fourth son of Alexander, second Duke of Gordon (*supra* p. 438), is in the possession of Mr. James Henderson, Dalvenie, Truro:—

'HUNSDON IN HARTFORDSHIRE, *August 14th*, 1761. DEAR SIR,—I beg leave to thank you for the kind notice you sent me of your safe arrival at home; indeed, I was much interested about it—for after escaping all the fatigues you was good enough to undergo, in order to serve me, I should be extremely ungratefull if I did not feel myself much concern'd in what befalls you and yours. I hope before this time you have gott over your sore eye—and that you enjoy a good state of health—and feel no bad effectts of your being from home. I am much obliged to you for your good counsell, and I shall certainly follow it the first good opportunity. I am sure you speak from experience—and that is the most unerring guide. Something will soon be done for your young friend, Mr. Rowe, Surgeon—and I will not forgett a former recomendation of your Lady's in the Rochester. Whenever anything occurs, wherein you think I can att all be of use, I desire to hear from you without ceremony. I shall obey you as far as I am able, and you are too reasonable not to think that, all that an honest man should promise.

'Pray offer my best respects to Lady Mounie and good wishes to all your children and grand-children—and lett me bespeak your interest with your friends against next chusing a Collector of the Cess—for a distant relation of yours and mine—of whom you shall know more in due time.

'We are much taken up here with our new Queen, who is dayly expected, and with preparations for the Coronation—Adieu, Dr. Mounie—may all happyness attend you—Believe me always, your most affectth cousin and obliged friend,

(Signed) AD. GORDON.

'Give my service to all friends you see—and when you write, direct for me in Half Moon Street, London.'

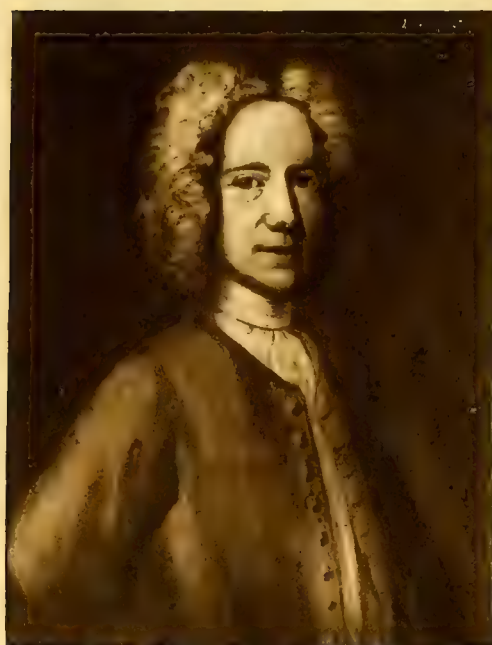
'MOUNIE.'

1. *George Seton of Mounie.*

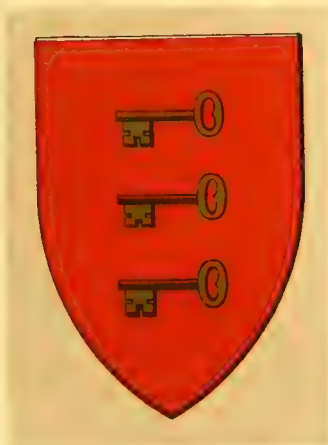
Although the first of the present family of Mounie, George Seton, as already shown, was the *fourth* owner of the estate bearing the name of Seton. He was the second son of Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden (No. IX. *supra*), by his wife, Margaret Lauder, and was born about 1672.

He was called to the Scottish Bar in 1701, but soon after his purchase of Mounie in 1714 he retired from the profession and lived on his estate.

On the 11th of August 1762 the Laird of Mounie made a formal settlement of the estate in favour of William Seton, his son by his second marriage, whom failing to Helen, his only daughter by his first



marriage, wife of Alexander Leslie of Warthill, in liferent, and after her decease to Patrick Leslie, her second son, in fee. This provision was followed by various other contingent remainders, including the succession of any of the testator's heirs-female; subject, however, to the imperative condition that the husband and son and heir of any daughter succeeding to the estate should bear and use the name and arms of Seton.



George Seton of Mounie married, first, about 1700, Anne, daughter of Sir Alexander Gibson of Pentland, Baronet, by whom he had two sons and one daughter:—

1. William, } who both died un-
2. Alexander, } married.

On the 15th of August 1729 Alexander received a burgess-ticket from the



city of Aberdeen, in which he is described as 'honoratus juvenis Alexander Seton Junior de Mouny.'¹

3. Helen, who in 1730 married Alexander Leslie of Warthill.

George Seton married, secondly, after 1740, Anne, daughter of John Leslie of Tochar, grandson of James Leslie of Warthill, by whom he had one son and five daughters :—

4. William, } of whom afterwards.
5. Margaret, }

6. Isabella, married, 11th September 1783, the Rev. Skene-Ogilvy, D.D. (by whom she had two sons and three daughters), and died 6th September 1824.

7. Catherine, married William Henderson of Newton, co. Aberdeen, Captain



¹ This 'Diploma Abredonense,' with the city seal attached, is in the possession of Mr James

Henderson, Dalvenie, Truro, a descendant of Alexander Seton's half-sister Catherine.

in the 4th King's Own, by whom—besides three daughters, Margaret and Anne, who died unmarried, and Isabella-Catherine, wife of John Miller of the Consular Service¹—she had four sons :—

(1) Robert, an Admiral in the Navy and friend of Nelson's, who in the course of his life received no fewer than twenty-three wounds.

(2) Patrick, Colonel of the Royal York Rangers, killed in action at Guadaloupe in 1810.

(3) George, Colonel R.E. in the Peninsular War, who married Mary Tower of Santa Cruz, W. Indies, and was father of Mr. James Henderson, C.E., Dalvenie, Truro, and of Mrs. Catherine-Seton May.

(4) James, Judge in the High Court of Justice, Bombay.

8 and 9. Jean, and Rachel, who died in 1786.

George Seton of Mounie, died on the 8th of March 1762, and was succeeded by his son,

2. *William Seton of Mounie,*

born about 1750, who appears, from a series of elaborate 'Regulations for the better farming of the estate of Mounie,' c. 1772, to have paid great attention to agricultural improvements. The following year, when ensign in the 1st regiment of Foot (Royal Scots), before proceeding to join his regiment in Minorca, he granted formal authority to James Anderson, his brother-in-law, to act for him in various business matters.

He died without issue in London, in December 1781; and owing to the failure of other specified heirs, the succession opened to William's eldest sister,

3. *Margaret Seton, heiress of Mounie,*

born 30th April 1749, who was served heiress of provision to her brother, 4th May 1782. On the 10th of July 1768 she married James

¹ Mrs. Miller had two children—a son, James, called to the Scottish Bar, and a daughter, Catherine-Ellis, who kept house for her uncle, James Henderson, at Dalvenie, Aberdeen, and died in 1890, when she left some interesting napery and other heirlooms to her cousins, the Miss Hendersons of Truro, including—

1. Six napkins exhibiting a peacock, squirrel, rabbit, thistle, crown, and other devices, and the following legend relative to the first marriage of George Seton of Mounie :—'Master George

♥ Seton and Ann ♥ Gibson, 28 Feb^r 1704.'

2. Two napkins without any emblems or legend, with an embroidered coronet of seven points above the initials 'R. W. 25.' They do

not appear to be sufficiently old to have belonged to either the first or second Earls of Winton, who both bore the Christian name of Robert.

3. Silver-mounted tortoise-shell Snuff-box, bearing the inscription 'Aut mors aut vita decora,' and the Pitmedden crest and motto ('Sustento Sanguine Signa') beside a crowing cock, with the motto 'Cantu evocat,'—said to have been presented by Prince Charles-Edward to one of the Pitmedden family.

4. Small cornelian Seal, with an impaled lozenge—dexter, Miller; sinister, Henderson and Seton quarterly; under a dexter hand, as crest.

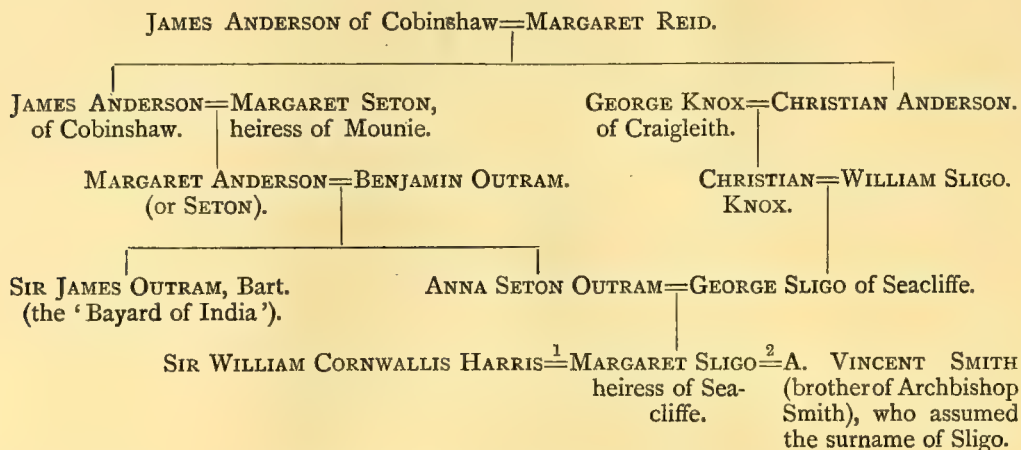


Anderson of Cobinshaw, Midlothian, then residing at Monkshill, in Aberdeenshire. Being a man of literary and scientific acquirements, the University of Aberdeen conferred upon him the honorary degrees of M.A. and LL.D. In 1784, Dr. Anderson was appointed by the Government to inspect and report on the state of the Fisheries in the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and he appears to have discharged his duties in a very satisfactory manner.

In terms of the deed of settlement, Dr. Anderson assumed the surname of Seton, and was thereafter designed 'James Anderson-Seton' in all legal documents connected with the estate of Mounie. By his wife, Margaret Seton, he had several children, most of whom died young.



The connection between the Setons of Mounie and the Outram family is shown in the annexed table :—



Alexander, the eldest son, succeeded his mother, who died 26th November 1788.

The following epitaph, by her surviving spouse, sets forth the character and merits of the heiress of Mounie :—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

MARGARET SETON

who never intentionally gave pain to any living creature. Her judgment was sound, her perceptions clear, her taste refined, her integrity incorruptible, her beneficence unlimited. Had fortune placed her in a high rank in this world, the elegance of her manners would have graced, her virtues adorned, and her mental qualities added lustre to the most exalted station. In the humble sphere that fell to her lot, she moved with a dignified propriety that commanded the respect of all who saw her, and insured the warmest esteem of the select few who were admitted to her intimate acquaintance. Continually occupied in the domestic duties that the care of a numerous family required, she watched over the concerns of her little ones with an anxiety, assiduity, and tenderness that has been seldom equalled, and never exceeded. Nothing could for one moment divert her attention from these endearing pursuits, but the tender emotions of benevolence to those in distress. Human misery, in whatever shape it appeared, was sure to attract her tenderest regard. On these occasions, forgetting herself, she only thought of the distress of others. Though naturally endowed with the most delicate sensations, her mind, where misery called, assumed an heroic firmness that made her then disregard the strongest antipathies. The whole tenor of her life was one continued act of beneficence—not that kind of culpable tenderness which results from debility of mind, but that genial kindness of heart, directed by a sound judgment, which, steadily bent on affording relief to real objects of distress only, carefully discriminated between these and worthless impostors. Her desolate husband, whose soul vibrated in unison with these tender propensities, feels a melancholy satisfaction in this poor attempt to preserve some faint remembrance of such rare perfections.

Reader, from this example learn, that it is neither wealth nor high rank, but the virtues of the heart alone that tend to promote the happiness, and insure the esteem of mankind: If these are blessings of which thou art emulous, cherish the seeds of beneficence in thy mind,

and cultivate the social affections, in the full assurance that thou shalt certainly obtain the prize if you faint not, nor ever weary in the course.

Margaret Seton, to preserve whose memory for a few years this frail stone is erected, was eldest daughter of George Seton of Mounie, Aberdeenshire; son of Lord Pitmedden, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and of Ann Leslie, daughter of John Leslie of Tocher and Margaret Keith, both descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors. She was born on the 30th April 1749, was married to James Anderson, farmer in Monkshill, Aberdeenshire, 10th July 1768, and died on the 26th of November 1788. She bore to him ten sons and three daughters, all of whom she suckled herself and reared with the tenderest care. Nine sons and one daughter survived her.

The three others lie interred near this spot, viz. :—Ann, who died on the 11th of February 1787, in the fifteenth year of her age, of a decline after the measles, to the unspeakable grief of her affectionate parents: for even at that tender age she discovered a ripeness of judgment, an aptness to learn, and a mild disinterested beneficence of disposition that far exceeded what their fondest wishes could have made them hope for.

Walter, who died on the 8th day of March 1787, an inquiring (?) infant of one year old, and Catharine, who died on the 25th of May 1787, aged 4 years, whose infantine dispositions were as promising as her tender years could admit of.

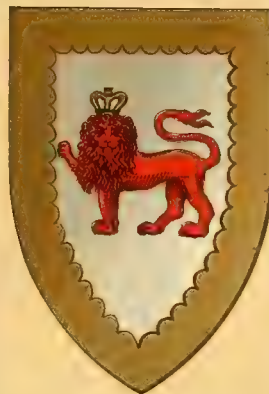
Near this spot also lies interred the remains of Rachel, youngest sister of the above-named Margaret Seton. Possessed of a warmth of heart, solidity of judgment and benevolence of disposition, congenial to each other, they loved each other with the tenderest affection. Rachel heard that her sister, in the absence of her husband, lay bad of a fever. She flew to her assistance. Her care was not in vain. She had the satisfaction to see her beloved charge beginning to recover; but she fell herself a sacrifice to her beneficence. She caught the fatal infection, and after struggling with it fifty-seven days she expired on the _____ of January 1786, in the 27th year of her age. The deep impression this melancholy event made upon the mind of her sister never could be effaced; and the rapid succession of family disasters that followed weakened her constitution and produced the premature fate, which all who knew her do now so deeply deplore. But

Blessed are the pure in spirit, for they shall see God.
Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

Although Dr. Anderson-Seton enjoyed the estate, in liferent, till his death in October 1808, his son Alexander was duly infeft in the lands, soon after he came of age, in 1793.

4. *Alexander Anderson-Seton of Mounie,*

in 1812, obtained the Royal Licence to discontinue the name of Anderson and to use and bear the name and arms of his maternal grandfather only. Accordingly, after that date, he was designed 'Alexander Seton of Mounie.' In the relative grant from the English College of Arms, the coat of Meldrum (quartered with that of Seton) was not embraced, and the flag borne in the crest was erroneously represented as white instead of red. As we shall afterwards see, however, a new patent of arms



was obtained in 1869, by the then proprietor of Mounie, from the Scottish Lyon Office. Alexander Seton married, in 1810, his cousin, Janet (who died in 1858), daughter of the Rev. Skene Ogilvy, D.D., by whom he had five sons and three daughters:—

1. James, died in 1813.
2. Alexander, his father's successor.
3. David, who succeeded his elder brother.
4. George, born 1819, late Major Sutherland Highlanders, married, in

1853, Anne-Lucy, only surviving daughter of Baldwin Wake, grandson of Sir William Wake, Baronet, of Courteen Hall, Northamptonshire, by whom he had two sons,

(1) Alexander-David, of whom afterwards.

(2) William-George, died unmarried 11th August 1873.

5. William-Skene, died 23rd July 1829.

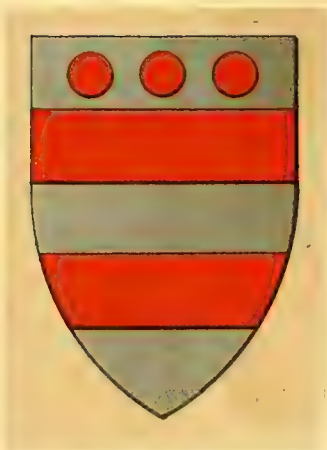
6. Isabella, died unmarried 1st July 1845.

7. Anne, died an infant in 1812.

8. Jessy-Jane, died unmarried, at Pisa, 19th February 1831.

Alexander Seton of Mounie, J.P. and D.L., died at Leamington, 16th April

1850, in the eighty-first year of his age, when he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,



5. *Alexander Seton of Mounie,*

born 1815, and at the time of his succession a Major in the 74th Highlanders. He was appointed Assistant-Deputy-Quartermaster-General to the Forces in Ireland, in 1849, and resigned that office, on promotion, the following year. Major Seton obtained the command of the 74th regiment, in succession to Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, in November 1851. In the beginning of January 1852, as Colonel Seton, he was directed to take the command of several detachments of troops, who were under orders to proceed in H.M.'s steamship *Birkenhead* to the Cape of Good Hope, where a war with the Kafirs was being carried on. The vessel left Cork on the 7th of January and reached Symond's Bay about the 23rd of February. *En route* to the east coast the *Birkenhead* sailed again on the evening of the 25th, and struck upon a rock, off Cape Danger, about two o'clock on the morning of the 26th of February. The ship began to break up very rapidly, and the number of the boats available—two cutters and a small gig, or dingy—proved quite insufficient. Colonel Seton directed the



soldiers to 'fall in' on both sides of the quarter-deck; and, calling all the officers around him, he gave the requisite orders with the utmost coolness and precision. He then specially turned his attention to the women and children, and the few sick who happened to be on board, placing them in the boats, which were ordered to move to a safe distance from the sinking ship, and thus their lives were preserved. A few minutes after the first shock the bow and forepart of the ship broke off and sank, while the other parts began to settle down. The poop was the last portion to sink, and with it the Colonel went down and perished, at the early age of thirty-seven. The land was not far distant, and as a portion of the rigging remained standing, a few of the soldiers and sailors were able to save themselves. Including those in the boats, it was found that 193 persons escaped, while about 440, embracing many officers, met with a watery grave. Not one of the women and children was lost.

There is no truth in the sensational story that three volleys were fired in the air, by the troops, as the ill-fated vessel went down.

A monument was afterwards erected in Chelsea Hospital, by order of

the Queen, to the memory of Colonel Seton, and the officers and men who perished in the wreck, which bears the following inscription :—

‘This monument is erected by command of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, to record the heroic constancy and unbroken discipline shown by Lieutenant-Colonel Seton, 74th Highlanders, and the troops embarked under his command, on board the *Birkenhead*, when that vessel was wrecked off the Cape of Good Hope, on the 26th February 1852, and to preserve the memory of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, who perished on that occasion.’

The King of Prussia, Frederick-William iv., elder brother of his successor, the Emperor of Germany, was so much struck by the heroic conduct of the soldiers and sailors on board the foundering ship, that he caused the splendid story of ‘iron discipline and perfect duty’ to be read aloud at the head of every regiment in his service.

Swinburne’s lines on ‘Grace Darling’ are very appropriate to the circumstances attending the loss of the *Birkenhead* :—

‘Stars and moon and sun may wax and wane, subside and rise,
Age on age, as flake on flake of showering snows be shed :
Not till earth be sunless, not till death strike blind the skies,
May the deathless love that waits on deathless deeds be dead.’

Two verses of a later living poet (William Watson) may also be suitably quoted :—

‘Well he slumbers, greatly slain,
Who in splendid battle dies ;
Deep his sleep in midmost main
Pillowed upon pearl who lies.

Ease, of all good gifts the best,
War and wave at last decree :
Love alone denies us rest,
Crueller than sword or sea.’

The catastrophe of the *Birkenhead* has formed the subject of several poetical effusions. Eight stanzas by Mr. Henry G. Hewlett appeared in the *Academy* of 4th March 1882 ; and the following lines, by Sir Francis H. Doyle, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, are supposed to embrace a description of the wreck by a soldier who survived :—

‘Right on our flank the sun was dropping down ;
The deep sea heaved around in bright repose ;
When, like the wild shriek from some captured town,
A cry of women rose.

The stout ship *Birkenhead* lay hard and fast,
Caught without hope upon a hidden rock ;
Her timbers thrilled as nerves, when through them passed
The spirit of that shock.



A.W. Sinclair PH 55

Wreck of the "Birkenhead," 1852.

BY KIND PERMISSION OF HENRY GRAVES & CO PUBLISHERS, LONDON.

And ever like base cowards, who leave their ranks
In danger's hour, before the rush of steel,
Drifted away, disorderly, the planks
From underneath her keel.

So calm the air—so calm and still the flood,
That low down in its blue translucent glass
We saw the great fierce fish, that thirst for blood,
Pass slowly, then repass.

They tarried, the waves tarried, for their prey !
The sea turned one clear smile ! Like things asleep
Those dark shapes in the azure silence lay,
As quiet as the deep.

Then amidst oath, and prayer, and rush, and wreck,
Faint screams, faint questions waiting no reply,
Our Colonel gave the word, and on the deck
Formed us in line to die.

To die !—'twas hard, while the sleek ocean glowed
Beneath a sky as fair as summer flowers :
All to the boats ! cried one—he was, thank God,
No officer of ours.

Our English hearts beat true—we would not stir ;
That base appeal we heard, but heeded not ;
On land, on sea, we had our Colours, sir,
To keep without a spot.

They shall not say in England that we fought
With shameful strength, unhonoured life to seek ;
Into mean safety, mean deserters, brought
By trampling down the weak.

So we made women with their children go,
The oars ply back again, and yet again ;
Whilst, inch by inch, the drowning ship sank low,
Still under steadfast men.

—What follows, why recall ? The brave who died,
Died without flinching in the bloody surf,
They sleep as well beneath that purple tide
As others under turf.

They sleep as well ! and, roused from their wild grave,
Wearing their wounds like stars, shall rise again,
Joint-heirs with Christ, because they bled to save
His weak ones, not in vain.

If that day's work no clasp or medal mark ;
If each proud heart no cross of bronze may press,
Nor cannon thunder loud from tower or park,
This feel we none the less :

That those whom God's high grace there saved from ill,
Those also left His martyrs in the bay,
Though not by siege, though not in battle, still
Full well had earned their pay.'

Montalembert, in his *L'Avenir Politique*, thus refers to the loss of the *Birkenhead*: 'Who can ever forget the example of antique magnanimity and Christian abnegation given some years since by the whole of an English regiment swallowed up in a shipwreck! It had been embarked on board the *Birkenhead*, bound for the Cape of Good Hope. The vessel struck upon a rock at a short distance from her destination. The means of transport only sufficed to land the women and children and a few infirm passengers. Officers and soldiers take up their arms, and draw up in order of battle on the poop, whilst the partial landing is effected, and also whilst the vessel is slowly sinking beneath the waves. Not one of these young, strong, armed men attempts to take the place of the weak, who are to survive, and the regiment descends entire into the abyss, martyrs of obedience and charity. To my mind, the name of *Birkenhead*, and the date of the shipwreck, would figure on the colours of the regiment by as good a title as the most brilliant victories.'¹

In private life Colonel Seton's character was that of a man of high principle and kindly disposition. His linguistic and mathematical acquirements were also very extensive. Captain King, in his *Campaigning in Kaffirland*, says: 'He was a man of great and varied attainments, being especially distinguished as a linguist and mathematician'; and Lord Aberdare, in his *Life of Sir William Napier*, thus expresses himself: 'The officers and men embarked in the *Birkenhead* may almost be said to have gone down with the ship in their ranks. Their noble commanding officer, one of the most gifted and accomplished men in the British army (it is within the knowledge of the writer that he was so) was drowned.'

In 1847, when a captain, he received from the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, a first-class certificate 'for his attainments in the highest departments of mathematical science, with an extra certificate for military drawing and surveying'; and the particulars of his examination on that occasion are recorded in Colburn's *United Service Magazine* for January 1848.

After making himself familiarly acquainted with Greek, Latin, German, Italian, Spanish, and French, on going to India he turned his attention to Persian, Hindi, Hindustani, and Sanscrit; and on his return to England he took a very intelligent interest in the decipherment of the cuneiform or arrow-headed inscriptions.

His last letter, dated 22nd February 1852, was written within a day's sail of the Cape, and finished, *in haste*, at Symond's Bay, three days afterwards. It concluded as follows: 'We sail to-night. I, with some draughts, disembark at Algoa Bay. . . . I have got two horses which, I think, will suit me very well. . . . I am in perfect health, and all is going on well.'

In 1861 Colonel Seton's younger brother David printed, for private circulation, an interesting little volume, entitled *Narrative of the Wreck of the Birkenhead*, which was reprinted, with a few alterations, in 1890. It

¹ Quoted in Hayward's *Selected Essays*, ii. 298. See also Kingsley's *Life and Letters*, ii. 267.

embraces several letters from the Colonel's surviving brother officers and others, which bear ample testimony to his noble conduct 'during most trying and awful scenes'; also a series of extracts from English and foreign journals descriptive of the tragic occurrence. After mentioning that the troops chiefly consisted of young and inexperienced soldiers, the *Spectator* said that they went down 'shoulder to shoulder, standing at ease, watching the sharks that were waiting for them in the waves. . . . No saint ever died more simply; no martyr ever died more voluntarily; no hero ever died more firmly; no victim ever met his fate in a more generous spirit of self-renunciation.'

'Theirs not to reason why;
Theirs but to do or die.'¹

Having died unmarried, the hero of the *Birkenhead* was succeeded in 1852 by his brother,

6. *David Seton of Mounie*,

born 1817, formerly of the 93rd Highlanders, and afterwards of the 49th regiment. Like his lamented brother Alexander, he was an accomplished linguist and a great reader, with a strong literary and antiquarian turn. In his later years he led a very retired life, residing occasionally at Mounie, and frequently in Edinburgh or on the Continent; and to the last he took a deep interest in everything connected with the family of Seton.²

In 1869, in order to prevent all ambiguity and confusion, he obtained a new patent of arms from the Lyon Office, which authorises the use of the coats of Seton and Meldrum quarterly, with the appropriate mark of difference, and also some slight alterations in the crest, including the correction of the colour of the flag, already referred to.

He died in Edinburgh on the 14th of March 1894, and, being unmarried, was succeeded by his *nephew* (in terms of a family arrangement), in the lifetime of his father,

7. *Alexander-David Seton of Mounie*,

only surviving son of Major George Seton of the Sutherland Highlanders, (*supra* p. 500), born 25th October 1854, Captain and Hon. Major Forfar and Kincardine Artillery Militia, who married, 12th February 1879, Emily-Isabel, second daughter of Alfred Turner of Deysbrook, county

¹ See some valuable remarks on this subject in *Discipline: its Reason and Battle-value*, by Lieutenant Stewart Murray, Gordon Highlanders.

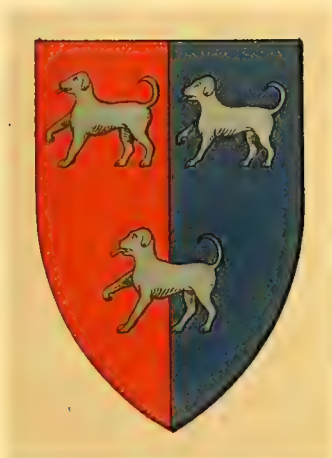
² In one of my latest conversations with him,

a few months before his death, he referred, somewhat warmly, to the systematic omission of the name of Seton in the works of an accomplished living writer relative to Mary Stuart.



Lancaster (whose great-grandfather was Lord Mayor of London in 1769), by whom he has three sons and two daughters :—

1. Alexander-Charles, born 27th July 1882.
2. George-William Seymour, born 3rd April 1885.
3. Henry-Winton, born 1st August 1887.
4. Jean-Isabel, born 14th November 1879.
5. Mary-Lucy-Ogilvy, born 9th August 1890.



Armorial Bearings.

Quarterly : 1st and 4th, *or*, three crescents, and in the centre a man's heart distilling blood, the whole within a royal tressure, *gules*, for Seton ; 2nd and 3rd, *argent*, a demi-otter *sable* crowned with an

antique crown *or*, issuing from a bar wavy of the second, for Meldrum ; in the centre of the quarterings a crescent *azure* for difference.

Crest and Motto—a demi-man in military habit, holding the banner of Scotland, with the motto on an escrol above, 'Sustento Sanguine Signa.'



XI. EMBO (SETON-GORDON)



DAM GORDON, Dean of Caithness, third son of Alexander (Seton), first Earl of Huntly, by Elizabeth, daughter of William, Lord Crichton, Chancellor of Scotland, was father of

1. *John Gordon of Drummoy,*

who died in 1598, having married Margaret Mac-kreth, lady-in-waiting to the Countess of Sutherland, and had issue,

2. *John Gordon of Embo,*

in the county of Sutherland, who died 23rd November 1628, leaving a son,

3. *Sir John Gordon of Embo, first Baronet,*

created a Baronet of Nova Scotia 29th January 1631, who married Margaret, daughter of Robert Leslie of Findrassie, son of George, Earl of Rothes, and was succeeded by his eldest son,



4. *Sir Robert Gordon, second Baronet,*

who died in 1693, having married a daughter of James Sutherland, second Lord Duffus, by whom he had four sons and three daughters, and was succeeded by his eldest son,



5. *Sir John Gordon, third Baronet,*

who was succeeded by his eldest son,

6. *Sir John Gordon, fourth Baronet,*

who died 14th April 1760, leaving a son,

7. *Sir John Gordon, fifth Baronet,*

who married, first, a daughter of Kenneth, Lord Duffus, by whom he had two sons and two daughters; secondly, in 1727,

Margaret, daughter of William Sutherland, Esq., and widow of James Sutherland of Prousy, by whom he had three sons and four daughters. Sir John Gordon died in 1779, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,



8. *Sir James Gordon, sixth Baronet,*

Colonel in the service of the States of Holland, at whose decease, unmarried, in 1786, the title devolved upon his brother,

8 (a). *Sir William Gordon, seventh Baronet,*

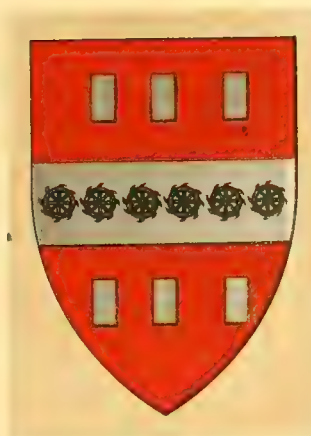
born in 1736, a Captain in the 19th regiment, married, 15th June 1760, Sarah, only daughter of Crosby Westfield, Esq., R.N., by whom he had (with several other sons who died unmarried),

1. John, eighth Baronet.
2. Orford, 9th Baronet.
3. Judith-Margaret (died 21st January 1846), married to Lieutenant-General William-Neville Cameron of the E.I.C.'s Service, and was mother of Lieutenant-Colonel William-Gordon Cameron, late of the Grenadier Guards, a highly distinguished officer, who was severely wounded at Waterloo, and died in 1856.

4. Sarah, died unmarried in 1769.

5. Amelia (died in 1827), married to Major Charles Stewart of H.E.I.C.'s Bengal army, son of Poyntz Stewart, Captain 1st regiment, of the family of Cluny.

6 and 7. Christiana and Irving, who both died unmarried.



510 EIGHTH, NINTH, AND TENTH BARONETS

Sir William Gordon died 7th January 1804, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

9. *Sir John Gordon, eighth Baronet,*

a lieutenant of Engineers in the H.E.I.C.'s Bengal army, at whose decease, unmarried, at Prince of Wales Island, 12th November 1804, the title devolved upon his only surviving brother,

9 (a). *Sir Orford Gordon, ninth Baronet,*

Captain 78th Highlanders, who married, 20th December 1813, Frances, daughter of General Gore Browne, Colonel 44th regiment, and died 19th June 1857, having by her (who died 11th August 1866) had issue:—

1. Home, tenth Baronet.
 2. Julia-Charlotte-Mackenzie, married, 5th December 1839, to the Rev. William Churchill of Colliton and Muston, Rector of Winterborne-Stickland, county Dorset.
 3. Louisa-Charlotte-Melville, died unmarried 18th September 1882.
 4. Frances-Amelia, married, 1861, to Stylianos Apostolides, a Greek gentleman residing in England.
- Sir Orford's only son,



10. *Sir Home Gordon, tenth Baronet,*

M.A., J.P. and D.L., born 1818, married, 26th March 1844, Ellen-Harriett, youngest daughter of Bartholomew Barnewell, Esq., and died 18th September 1876, when he was succeeded by his son,

II. *Sir Seton Gordon, eleventh Baronet,*

born 21st March 1845, formerly an officer in the 44th regiment, with which he served in India ; afterwards for some years a Captain in the Royal Glamorgan Light Infantry Militia, married, 25th November 1870, Mabel-Montagu, only child of Montagu-David Scott, Esq., M.P. for East Sussex, and granddaughter of Sir David Scott, second Baronet, of Duninald, K.H., for many years M.P., for Yarmouth, by whom he has a son,

Home-Seton-Charles-Montagu, born 30th September 1871.

Sir Seton Gordon informs me that he knows almost nothing about his family history and the intermarriages of the Embo line. 'All the family documents,' he writes, 'were destroyed many years ago by fire, in my father's time, when we, alas! lost everything we most valued, including two large muniment-chests, full of deeds, wills, grants, and letters to my ancestors from Mary Queen of Scots, Bothwell, and the Jameses.'



Armorial Bearings.

Azure, three boars' heads erased, *or*.

Supporters—dexter, a unicorn ; sinister, a naked man, wreathed about the loins.

Crest—a boar's head, as in the arms.

Motto—'Forward without fear.'



XII. LETTERFOURIE (SETON-GORDON)



Y his wife, Jean, daughter of James I. of Scotland, George (Seton), second Earl of Huntly, had issue :—

1. Alexander, third Earl of Huntly, ancestor of the Marquises of Huntly, Dukes of Gordon, etc.
2. Adam, of whom presently.
3. William, ancestor of the Gordons of Gight, now extinct.¹

4. James Gordon of Letterfourie, Admiral of Scotland in 1315, father of (1) James Gordon of Letterfourie, whose son (2) James, a staunch royalist, had a son, (3) John Gordon of Letterfourie, father of (4) James Gordon of Letterfourie, who married, in 1695, the daughter of Sir William Dunbar of Durn, Baronet, and had a son, (5) Alexander Gordon of Letterfourie, who died in 1797, leaving a son, (6) James Gordon, seventh Baronet, of Letterfourie, of whom *infra*.

The second Earl of Huntly was succeeded by his eldest son, Alexander, third Earl, while the second son, the Hon. Adam Gordon of Aboyne, having married Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland, assumed, by courtesy, that title.

The grandson of that marriage,

John Gordon (eldest son of Alexander, Master of Sutherland, who died in January 1529) succeeded as tenth Earl of Sutherland in right of his grandmother—the heiress,—who died in 1535.

¹ See page 390, under Huntly.

The tenth Earl of Sutherland married Elizabeth, only daughter of Colin, third Earl of Argyll, and relict of James, Earl of Moray, and was succeeded by his only son, Alexander, eleventh Earl of Sutherland, who married Lady Jean, daughter of George, fourth Earl of Huntly, by whom he had issue:—

1. John, successor to the Earldom of Sutherland.
2. Robert, of whom presently.
3. Sir Alexander (?).

The second son of the eleventh Earl of Sutherland was

1. *The Hon. Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun,*

the historian of his family, a man of eminent abilities, who, after filling the high offices of Vice-Chamberlain of Scotland, Sheriff-Principal of Inverness, Lord of the Privy Council, etc., was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia, 26th May 1625. He married, in 1613, Louisa, daughter of John Gordon, a member of the Huntly family (?).

Sir Robert died in 1656, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,



2. *Sir Ludovick Gordon, second Baronet,*

who married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Robert Farquhar of Manie, by whom he had four sons and four daughters. Of the latter, the eldest, Lucy, married Robert Cumming of Altyre.

On the death of Sir Ludovick, in 1688, he was succeeded by his eldest son,

3. *Sir Robert Gordon, third Baronet,*

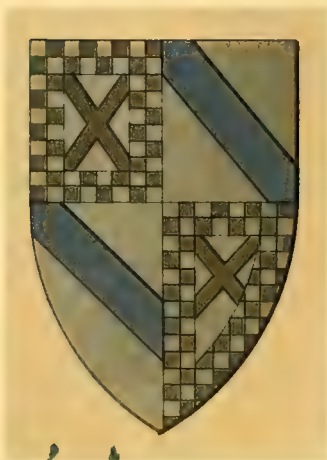
who married, first — (?), and, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir

William Dunbar of Hempriggs, by whom, besides a daughter, Lucy, married to David Scot of Scotstoun, he had three sons.

He died in 1701, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

4. *Sir Robert Gordon, fourth Baronet,*

who, on the demise of William, seventeenth Earl of Sutherland, claimed that dignity, but in 1771 the House of Lords adjudged the honours to the Earl's daughter Elizabeth. (*See under Sutherland*, No. XIII.) Sir Robert Gordon married Agnes, only daughter of Sir William Maxwell of Calderwood, Baronet, and was succeeded, at his death in 1772, by his eldest son,



5. *Sir Robert Gordon, fifth Baronet,*

at whose decease, unmarried, 2nd June 1776, the title devolved upon his only surviving brother,

5 (a). *Sir William Gordon, sixth Baronet,*

who also died unmarried, 5th March 1795, when the estates of the family passed by bequest to Sir Alexander Cumming-Gordon, while the baronetcy was assumed by



6. *Sir James Gordon, seventh Baronet,*

the representative of Sir James Gordon of Letterfourie, fourth son of George, second Earl of Huntly, already referred to. Sir James married, in 1801, Mary, eldest daughter and heiress of William Glendonwyn of that ilk, by whom he had four sons and three daughters:—

1. William, eighth Baronet.
2. James, born May 1805, died young.
3. Charles, born 1808, also died young.
4. Robert-Glendonwyn, ninth Baronet.
5. Helen, died 26th January 1877.
6. Mary, married, 26th December

1837, to the Hon. Sir William Shee, serjeant-at-law, and a Judge of the Court

of Queen's Bench, and had issue. She died 11th October 1861, and her husband 19th February 1868.

7. Alexandrina-Jane.

Sir James Gordon died 24th December 1843, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

7. *Sir William Gordon, eighth Baronet,*

born 26th December 1803, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army, died, unmarried, 5th December 1861, when he was succeeded by his only surviving brother,

7 (a). *Sir Robert Glendonwyn Gordon, ninth Baronet,*

born 1824, a Deputy-Lieutenant for Banffshire, and premier Baronet of Nova Scotia. Sir Robert, for several years, held the office of Examiner of Registers in the Department of the Registrar-General of Scotland.

Armorial Bearings.

Quarterly : 1st, *azure*, three boars' heads couped, *or* ; 2nd, *or*, three lions' heads erased, *gules* ; 3rd, *or*, three cushions within a royal tressure, *gules* ; 4th, *azure*, three cinquefoils, *argent*—all within a bordure indented *argent*.

Crest—a stag at gaze *proper*. *Motto*—'Dum sisto vigilo.'

A different blazon will be found in Douglas's *Baronage of Scotland*, where both the Seton and the Sutherland coats appear in the escutcheon—the *crest* being a cat saliant and the *motto* 'Sans crainte,' while a deerhound and a savage are given as *supporters*.





XIII. SUTHERLAND (SETON-GORDON-SUTHERLAND)



THREE handsome quarto volumes, bearing the date of 1892, were issued two years afterwards, entitled *The Sutherland Book*, edited for the Duke of Sutherland by Sir William Fraser. On an elaborate heraldic title-page, where the coat of Seton is conspicuous by its absence, eight shields of arms appear, viz. :—Sutherland, Scotland, Argyll, Stewart, Gordon (apparently twice, in different forms), Drummond, and Leveson-Gower, with Sutherland surtout. Of the nineteen portraits in volume i. no fewer than ten are paternally Seton. The other illustrations consist of views of Dunrobin Castle, etc., two coloured coats of arms from Sir David Lindsay's Register, a few facsimiles of charters, and a number of signatures and seals. Two of the portraits represent the accomplished 'Duchess-Countess' (paternally Seton), who died at Hamilton Place, London, in January 1839, as set forth on a mural tablet at Dornoch Cathedral. The name of Seton hardly ever appears in the course of the narrative, and occurs only ten times in a double-column index which occupies 135 pages.

The three volumes respectively embrace the genealogy of the family, the letters, and the charters. A large number of the letters and charters pertain to the Seton portion of the family history, which extends from 1500 to 1839.

The Seton section of the pedigree occupies about 450 pages of the first volume, and the mode of treatment is very similar to that adopted by

Sir William Fraser in his other family compilations. The first recorded fact is the marriage, in 1500, of Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland, to Adam Gordon (paternally Seton), second son of George, second Earl of Huntly, by his first wife, Annabella, youngest daughter of King James I. Elizabeth's brother John, ninth Earl of Sutherland, died in July 1514, and a few months afterwards she was duly served heir to him.

Four pages at the end of the volume relate to the 'Armorial Bearings of the Earls of Sutherland.' The name of Seton by itself is not once mentioned; and 'Seton-Gordon' only once, in a reference to the seals of John, tenth Earl of Sutherland. Only two seals bearing the Seton coat are engraved—pertaining to the tenth and thirteenth Earls respectively. The 'Duchess-Countess' succeeded her father, William, seventeenth Earl of Sutherland, in 1766; and, as is well known, the Earldom was claimed by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, and George Sutherland of Forse, but the House of Lords decided in favour of the Countess, in 1771. She married, in 1785, George-Granville Leveson-Gower, who, on the death of his father in 1803, became second Marquis of Stafford. He was created Duke of Sutherland in 1833, and died the same year, being survived by the 'Duchess-Countess' till 1839.

Volume ii. embraces 127 'State and Official Letters, etc.' while 219 are 'Family and Domestic.' Of the 127, all except two relate to the Seton-Sutherlands, while no fewer than 216 of the second section are in the same category. A considerable number of both classes of letters are not possessed of much interest, and about 130 documents, chiefly in the first class, relate to the 'risings' of 1715 and 1745.

The Charters in volume iii., of which an Abstract is given, are 143 in number—the date of the earliest being *c.* 1211, and of the latest 1719. The last but one is a warrant from King George I., dated 14th July 1718, to John, fifteenth Earl of Sutherland, authorising him to add the royal tressure to his arms, on the twofold ground of being lineally descended from King Robert the Bruce, and of having *loyally* served in the 'late Revolution'; while the last is an extract from the Lyon Court Books of the altered blazon. It is almost unnecessary to add that most of his Seton kinsfolk would have hesitated to acknowledge the Earl's right to the term 'loyal'!

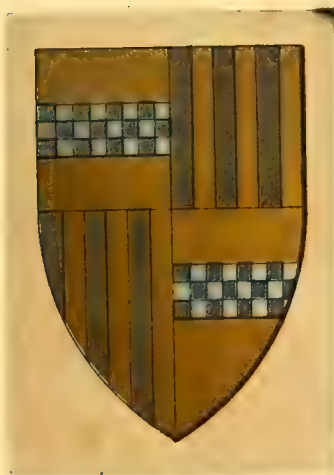
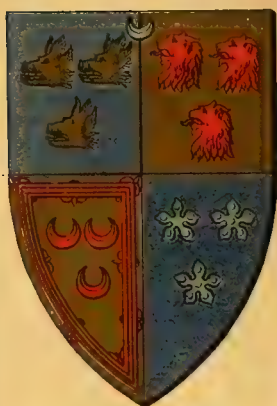
Looking to Sir William Fraser's very copious treatment of this important branch of the House of Seton, it appears to be unnecessary to occupy much space with the Sutherland line in the present work. Accordingly, only a brief *resumé*—mainly compiled from Sir William's narrative—will now be given.

1. *Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland,*

only daughter of John, eighth Earl, married, as already stated, about the year 1500, Adam, second son of George (Seton), second Earl of Huntly, by his first wife, Annabella, daughter of King James I., and succeeded her brother John, ninth Earl, in July 1514. After her formal infestment in

the lands pertaining to the Earldom in June 1515, she and her husband were known as Earl and Countess of Sutherland. Sir William Fraser seems to challenge the accuracy of several of Sir Robert Gordon's statements relative to this period of the family history. Shortly after the year 1527, in terms of an arrangement with his parents, the Master of Sutherland administered the affairs of the Earldom. His mother, the Countess, died at Aboyne, in September 1535—'a lady of good judgment and great modestie'—and her husband on the 17th of March 1537-8. Besides four daughters, they are said to have had four sons:—

1. Alexander, Master of Sutherland, of whom afterwards.
2. John, who resided at Tillichaddy, in Aberdeenshire, and had a daughter, married to George Gordon of Cochlarichie.
3. Adam, killed at the battle of Pinkie, in 1547.
4. Gilbert, of Garty, who married Isabel Sinclair, daughter of the Laird of Dunbeath—who was accused of poisoning John, tenth Earl of Sutherland in 1568—by whom he had two sons (John and Patrick) and several daughters.



2. *Alexander, Master of Sutherland,*

was probably born about the year 1506, and after assuming the administration of the Earldom, appears to have entered into bonds of manrent, in connection with serious disputes with Mackay of Strathnaver and other local troubles. The Master predeceased both his parents, dying at Dunrobin on the 15th of January 1530, 'in the current of his victories and best actions, even in the floore of his youth, to the great regrave of his cuntriemen and freinds,' and

was survived by his wife, Lady Janet Stewart, eldest daughter of John, second Earl of Athole, who afterwards married at least *three* other husbands, viz., Sir Hugh Kennedy of Girvanmains, Henry Lord Methven (widower of Margaret Tudor), and Patrick Lord Ruthven. Sir Robert Gordon states that she had a *fifth* husband in the person of James, son of Lord Gray of Foulis.

By Lady Janet Stewart, the Master of Sutherland had, besides two daughters, three sons :—

1. John, tenth Earl of Sutherland.
2. Alexander of Kintessok, in the county of Elgin, who died in 1552, in consequence of a fall from his horse, 'exceedinglie lamented by his freinds, and chieflie by his elder brother.'
3. William, of whom nothing appears to be known.

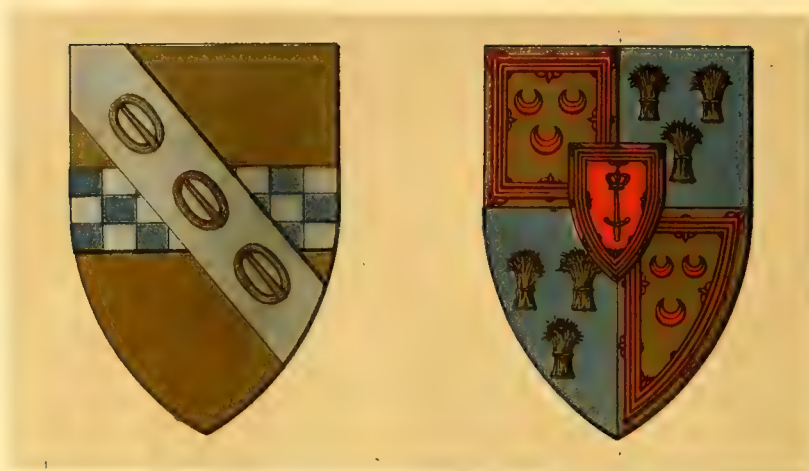
3. John, tenth Earl of Sutherland,

born in 1525, only a few days before his father's death, succeeded his grandfather, the ninth Earl, about twelve years later. In December 1543, although still under age, he took his seat as a Baron, in the parliament then held in Edinburgh. On attaining his majority he was served heir to the lands and Earldom of Sutherland, on the 4th of May 1546, and appears to have been very much associated with the Earl of Huntly in public transactions. In 1550 he accompanied the Queen-Dowager to France, and was invested with the Order of the Knighthood of St. Michael the Archangel. Five years later he received from the Queen-Dowager a yearly pension of 1000 merks, in acknowledgment of his services. In 1558 he was elected one of the Lords of the Articles, at the Convention of Estates held in Edinburgh; and the following year was appointed Deputy-Sheriff of the county of Inverness, over the bounds of the Earldom of Sutherland. Shortly afterwards, in a skirmish against the Queen's French soldiers at Kinghorn, he was severely wounded in the left arm by a shot from a hagbut, which for some time prevented him from active participation in public affairs. To the last he appears to have befriended Huntly, thus imperilling his safety and the very existence of his House. In June 1563, along with Huntly, he was condemned and forfeited by Parliament, and spent two years in exile, chiefly at Louvain in Flanders. In December 1565 he was fully rehabilitated in all his dignities and estates. He was in Holyrood Palace the night of Rizzio's assassination, and shortly afterwards obtained a new charter from the King and Queen, erecting his lands into a free Earldom, with the Castle of Dunrobin as the principal messuage. During this Earl's time the family possessions were greatly extended, especially by grants of church-lands in Sutherland and Caithness.

The tenth Earl was thrice married :—

First, about 1545, to Lady Elizabeth Campbell, daughter of Colin, third





Earl of Argyll, and widow of James Stewart, Earl of Moray ; secondly, in 1548, to Lady Eleanor Stewart, only daughter of John, Earl of Lennox, and widow of William, sixth Earl of Errol ; thirdly, to Marion, second daughter of George, sixth Lord Seton, and widow of John, fourth Earl of Menteith.

Shortly after their union, they were both poisoned at Helmsdale, in Sutherland, by Isobel Sinclair, wife of Gilbert Gordon of Garty, the Earl's uncle, already referred to. According to Sir Robert Gordon, this terrible crime was the result of a deeply laid conspiracy between certain members of the Caithness family to cut off the entire House of Sutherland, including the Earl's only surviving son, Alexander. The two unfortunate victims were carried to Dunrobin, where they died on the 23rd of June 1567. Sir Robert also informs us that the tenth Earl, 'of a comely stature and proportion,' was endued with many good gifts, both of mind and body, and was handed down to posterity under the name of 'Good Earl John.'

Of the three marriages there was issue only by the second wife, Lady Eleanor Stewart, viz. :—

1. John, who died young.
2. Alexander, eleventh Earl of Sutherland.
3. Margaret, died unmarried.
4. Janet (died 1584), who married, first, Alexander Innes of that ilk, and, secondly, Thomas, son of George, Earl of Huntly.
- 5. Eleanor, who in 1579 was contracted to marry Robert Monro of Foulis, but died the night before the intended union.

4. Alexander, eleventh Earl of Sutherland,

born at midsummer 1552, and narrowly escaped the tragic fate of his parents. He succeeded to the Earldom on the death of his father in 1567,

being only fifteen years of age. For some time he resided, for security, in the Castle of Skibo, then kept by John Gray of Swordell as its heritable Constable. He was, however, carried off by the Earl of Caithness, who compelled him to marry his daughter, Lady Barbara Sinclair,—‘an vnfit match indeid’—says the family historian—‘a youth of fyftene mareid to a woman of threttie-two yeirs; but,’ he adds, ‘a match fitt enough to cover her incontience and iuil lyff which shoe led with Y. Macky, for the which shoe was afterwards divorced from Earle Alexander.’

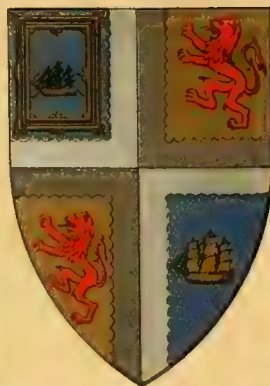
The Earl of Sutherland is said to have been present at Hamilton, after Queen Mary's escape from Loch Leven, in 1568; and four years afterwards (1573) he attained his majority. For many years he appears to have been very much mixed up in numerous formidable disputes relative to lands and jurisdiction, of which a full account is given in *The Sutherland Book*; and ultimately the feud between Sutherland and Caithness resulted in a series of raids and reprisals, in some of which Hugh Mackay of Farr was intimately concerned.

The Earl died at Dunrobin, 6th December 1594, in the forty-third year of his age, and was buried in Dornoch Cathedral. Sir Robert Gordon describes him as ‘ane honorable and hyemynded man . . . He was verie vpriight in all his actions, vnfit for these our dayes, wherein integritie lyeth speechles and vpriight dealing is readie to give vp the ghost.’

The eleventh Earl was twice married:—

First, as already mentioned, to Lady Barbara Sinclair, daughter of George, fourth Earl of Caithness;

Secondly, in 1573, to Lady Jane Gordon (born 1546), daughter of George, Earl of Huntly, married in February 1565-6 to James Hepburn, fourth Earl of Bothwell, who shortly afterwards obtained a divorce, which enabled him to marry Mary Queen of Scots. After the death of the Earl of Sutherland, she married, thirdly, Alexander Ogilvie of Boyne, and died in 1629, in the eighty-fourth year of her age. Sir Robert Gordon gives her a very high character.



The following statement occurs in a small quarto ms. in the British Museum (Harl. 1371), entitled 'Scotica Nobilitas, 1589,' containing quaint coloured blazons of arms with short notices of the bearers:—'N. Gordon of 32 years. His mother was sister to the E. of Lennox, and so greate auntie to the K. His wife, a Gordon, sister to the old E. Huntly, and auntie to this E. y^t now is, being before divorced from the old E. Bothwel. His children many. His living in Sotherland and Morray.' The arms given are, quarterly, 1st and fourth, *gules*, three mullets *or*; 2nd and 3rd, *azure*, a boar's head couped *or*.

In another folio ms. (Harl. 1423) we find 'Gourdon Earle of Sutherland descended from Gourdon Earle Huntley, unto whose landes his landes doth adioyne, both lyeinge in the northermost part of Scotland.' The relative coat is quarterly—Seton occupying the third quarter, with Sutherland on a shield of pretence; and the motto 'But Sicker.'

In a third small ms. (Harl. 1384), entitled 'Arms of English, Scottish, and Irish Nobility,' the same coat and motto are given, with *three* crests, viz., 1. a cat proper; 2. a sun above a crown, both *or*; 3. a stag's head *gules* issuing from a crown *or*.

By Lady Jane Gordon, the eleventh Earl of Sutherland had, besides two sons (Alexander and Adam) who both died young, and two daughters, Jane and Mary, who both married, three sons:—

1. John, twelfth Earl of Sutherland.
2. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown.¹
3. Sir Alexander Gordon of Navidale.¹

5. *John, twelfth Earl of Sutherland,*

was born 20th July 1576, and during his early years attended school at Dornoch under Mr. William Pape. After his father's death he visited his kinsman, Ludovick, Duke of Lennox, at Aberdeen; and in 1595 found his way to Girnigo, where he was ostensibly well received by the Earl of Caithness, but whose treachery he fortunately discovered. Two years afterwards, on the attainment of his majority, he went to Court and remained in Edinburgh for a considerable time. At the formal riding of the Parliament, in December 1597, the Earl successfully claimed his hereditary right of bearing the sword of state before the King. A dispute as to his precedence was temporarily settled by a decret of ranking issued by the Court of Session in 1606, in terms of which he was assigned the *sixth* place among the Earls—the five above him being Angus, Argyll, Crawford, Errol, and Marischal, which arrangement suggests the idea of alphabetical order.

¹ Sir William Fraser gives short memoirs of these two brothers. Sir Robert, who was the first Knight-Baronet of Nova Scotia, worked at the well-known History of his family, which was first printed in 1813, for fifteen years. The original

MS. is now at Dunrobin, having been presented to the second Duke of Sutherland, in 1843, by a descendant of the author. Sir Robert died at Gordonstone in 1656.

In July 1598 he went abroad for about two years, returning in September 1600. A few months afterwards (1st February 1601) he married Agnes (or Anne), eldest daughter of Alexander, fourth Lord Elphinstone, then Master of Elphinstone and Lord High Treasurer of Scotland—the King and Queen being both present at the wedding. Notwithstanding a somewhat delicate constitution, he contrived to contribute largely to the development of his estates and the benefit of his people, opening coal-pits and erecting salt-pans at Brora. Shortly after his marriage he obtained a crown charter from James VI. of his earldom and other possessions, which contained a specified destination failing heirs-male of the body. For several years 'some variance and contraversie' continued between the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness, and various attempts were made to bring about a settlement and reconciliation. Owing to the unsatisfactory state of his health, the Earl of Sutherland obtained a royal licence to absent himself from Scotland for three years, and in January 1611 he left the kingdom and spent upwards of two years in France and Flanders, returning to Scotland in May 1613.



Notwithstanding the general adoption of the principles of the Reformation, the Earl adhered to the old faith of his House; and, like his kinsman Huntly, was frequently importuned by the Church Courts to subscribe to the Protestant beliefs. After being seized with 'a bloodie flux and dissenterie' at Dunrobin, he was conveyed to his house at Dornoch, where he closed his career, on the 11th of September 1615, in the fortieth year of his age. His brother, Sir Robert Gordon, portrays his character in very favourable terms—pronouncing him to have been 'very religious and godly, and not overruled by any notable vice.' His Countess died at Crakaig, two years after her husband—18th September 1617—at the age of thirty-six.

The following statement in a manuscript in the British Museum, entitled 'Arms and Pedigrees' (Additional 26,676), probably relates to this Earl: 'The Erle of Sutherland called Gordon and descended of the house of Huntley and Strathbogin, that countrie marcheth with Cathnes in the farre north profitable both for store and cornes on the yonde syde thereof lyeth Murraye. This Earl is of good power within this countrey appended as it were to Huntley—men of good courage and noble. They have matched with the howses of Leuinox, Atholl, Arrell, and sondrie other Barones in that countrie of Scotland.'

Besides four daughters, of whom two died in infancy, while the others

respectively married James Crichton of Frendraught and Sir Gilbert Menzies of Pitfoddels, the twelfth Earl had six sons:—

- 1, 2, 3. Patrick, Alexander, and Robert, who all died in infancy.
4. John, thirteenth Earl of Sutherland.
5. Adam, born 15th May 1615, who in 1631 entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and after having been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, was killed (unmarried) at the battle of Nordlingen, 27th August 1634.
6. George, born (after his father's death) 9th February 1616. After attending the University of St. Andrews, he led a company of Sutherland men to Newcastle in 1640. He was first captain of General Leven's regiment in the Scots army in Ireland, and, like his brother Adam, rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He married, in 1643, Lady Rose Macdonnell, daughter of Randal, first Earl of Antrim, by whom he had a son, George.

6. John, thirteenth Earl of Sutherland,

commonly called 'Earl John Glas,' the Grey Earl, was born 9th March 1609, and succeeded his father in 1615, when he was under seven years of age. His uncle, Sir Robert Gordon, who had been appointed his tutor, lost no time in finding his way from London to Sutherland, to look after the interests of his youthful charge. Between 1616 and 1622 the Earl pursued his studies at Dornoch, under the care of Mr. John Gray. From the tutory accounts we learn that the young nobleman indulged in archery, golf, and hunting. The following entry occurs in the 'Tutour Accompt-bookes,' under the year 1617: '*Discharge of Silver.* Item of twelf pounds this yeir given to my Lord for bowes, arrowes, golff clubbs and balles, bookes, paper, and other necessities for his exercises.'

In 1623 he was sent to the University of Edinburgh, where he remained for about two years and then removed to St. Andrews, the young Earl (afterwards the famous *Marquis*) of Montrose being one of his fellow-students. He appears to have remained at St. Andrews until 1630, when he attained his majority; and he soon began to take part in public affairs. As already mentioned under the account of the Huntly branch, the Castle of Frendraught was maliciously burned on the 9th of October 1630, and the melancholy event led to a coolness between the families of Sutherland and Huntly, notwithstanding which the Earl of Sutherland appears to have been present at Huntly's funeral at Elgin in August 1636.

This Earl, who is considered to have been 'the most statesman-like of all the belted Earls of Sutherland,' took a prominent part in the proceedings at Edinburgh relative to the imposition of the 'Service-book' in the Church of St. Giles. His Countess died on the 29th of December 1637, and a few months afterwards the Earl stood among his brother peers, in the Church of Greyfriars, when the 'Confession of Faith or National Covenant' was read aloud by Johnstone of Warriston and afterwards

subscribed—the signature of the Earl of Sutherland, then 'aged and white-haired,' being the first that was adhibited.

In the summer of 1641 the Earl began important building operations at the Castle of Dunrobin, completing the great tower. For several years he was a good deal mixed up with public affairs, and in the autumn of 1644 helped to oppose Montrose's advance northwards. Two years later (1646) he appears to have had a territorial dispute with Lord Reay, which was not finally arranged till the beginning of January 1648. Early in 1650 he was called into action, in a military capacity, to resist the Marquis of Montrose, whose execution took place in Edinburgh on the 21st of May.

On the 25th of January 1651 the Earl of Sutherland sent a written apology from Dunrobin to Charles II. for his absence from the Coronation at Scone.

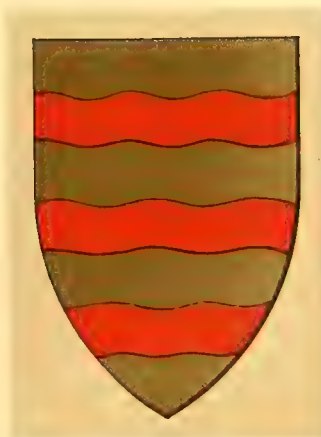
Three years later (1654) his financial difficulties are clearly indicated in his correspondence, and the following year he gave instructions for the sale of his silver plate.

In 1662 he surrendered the management of his estates, and resigned the Earldom, to his eldest son, Lord Strathnaver; and in subsequent years his name only occurs in the records of Parliament as protesting for precedence.

The thirteenth Earl died, 14th October 1679, at the age of seventy. Wodrow describes him as 'the old good Earle of Sutherland, who was most eminent for religion before the Restoration, and did great services for it in his country.'

He was twice married: first, at Seton Palace, on the 14th of February 1632, to Lady Jean Drummond, only child of James, first Earl of Perth, by Lady Isabel Seton, daughter of Robert, first Earl of Winton. The bride's dowry amounted to 53,000 merks—'the best marriage in Scotland then, either for meanes or friendship, or the person of the woman.' The happy union was prematurely terminated by her death on the 29th of December 1637. Among others of her jewels was 'the Lady Wentowne, the said Lady Jean's grandmother, her picture cais, set about with diamonds.' According to Sir James Balfour, she was buried in the church of Seton by night, and without any formal ceremony, while Gordon of Sallachy states that her body was interred at Dornoch.

The Earl married, secondly, 24th January 1639, the Hon. Anna Fraser, eldest daughter of Hugh, eighth Lord Lovat, who died at Dunrobin, 29th July 1658, without issue.



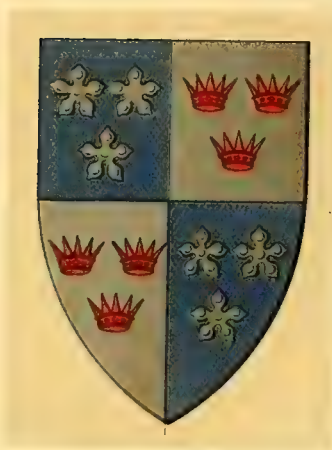
His children by his first wife were three sons and one daughter :—

1. John, Lord Strathnaver, born 21st November 1632, and died of small-pox at Dornoch, 14th October 1637.

2. George, fourteenth Earl of Sutherland.

3. The Hon. Robert, born 31st December 1635, and elected Commissioner for Sutherland to the Parliament of 1661. He married Jean Mackay, eldest daughter of John, Lord Reay, by whom he had no issue. In an old ms. it is stated that, while in Strathnaver, he 'fell into a high fever, and in five days died, to the regret and grief of all who knew him, being truly the prettiest Gordon alive.'

4. Lady Jean, born 10th October 1634, married, in 1657, Captain Robert Stewart of Ethay, in Orkney, and had issue.¹



7. *George, fourteenth Earl of Sutherland,*

was born at Dornoch on the 2nd of November 1633, and became heir-apparent to the title and estates by the death of his eldest brother in 1637. He bore the title of Lord Strathnaver till his succession to the Earldom of Sutherland in 1679. Along with his younger brother Robert, he appears to have paid a pretty long visit to London in 1654, on which occasion their father was led to complain of their lavish expenditure. We learn from the family papers that the journey from Speyside to the metropolis—on horseback as far as York, and afterwards by coach—occupied about a month. A record of their sight-seeing, amusements, purchases of books, etc., is also preserved. Having paid all their bills, they began their homeward journey in May 1656, and eventually reached Dunrobin by easy stages.

In June 1660 Lord Strathnaver and his wife went to London to greet Charles II. after his Restoration. The following year (May 1661) his Lordship took part in the gorgeous funeral solemnity which followed the disinterment of the remains of Montrose and Hay of Dalgetty and their burial at Holyrood.

Two years afterwards (1662) he was placed in virtual possession of the family estates by his father, and for some years he is believed to have divided his residence between Sutherland and Edinburgh. Further disputes with the Earl of Caithness were the source of great trouble, and

¹ This Earl's seal, engraved at page 280 (vol. i.) of *The Sutherland Book*, exhibits the three

crescents of Seton, without the royal tressure, in the third quarter of the shield.

these do not appear to have been settled at the end of 1673. As already incidentally indicated, Lord Strathnaver succeeded his father as Earl of Sutherland in October 1679, and during several subsequent years his movements have not been traced. In November 1685 he wrote to his son from Rotterdam, and his correspondence seems to indicate that ill-health was the cause of his residence on the Continent. He does not appear to have returned to Scotland until after the arrival in England of William, Prince of Orange. He was present at the Convention of Estates at Edinburgh in March 1689, which was summoned by the authority of the Prince. In 1693 he claimed precedency over the Earls of Argyll, Crawford, Errol, and Marischal, but no decision seems to have been pronounced during his lifetime.

He died, 4th March 1703, in the seventieth year of his age, a long poetical elegy having been composed on the occasion. His body was interred in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, where a monument, bearing a Latin inscription, was erected to his memory.

The fourteenth Earl married, 11th August 1659, Lady Jean Wemyss, eldest daughter of David, second Earl of Wemyss, and widow of Archibald, Earl of Angus, who was a special friend of Queen Mary, the consort of William III. For some years before her death, which occurred 5th January 1715, she resided at Rosebank, in the parish of Inveresk, and, like her husband, was buried at Holyrood.

The Earl and Countess of Sutherland had one son and two daughters:—

1. John, fifteenth Earl of Sutherland.

2. Lady Anna, married, 3rd May 1683, to Robert, third Viscount Arbuthnott, and had issue.

3. Lady Jean, born 24th April 1665, and died before 1680.



8. *John, fifteenth Earl of Sutherland,*

popularly known as 'Earl John Roy,' was born in 1661, and lived during a stirring period of British history, which embraced Argyll's insurrection in 1685, the Revolution of 1688, the Union of England and Scotland in 1707, and the Jacobite 'rising' of 1715. When his father went abroad in 1682, he was intrusted, as Lord Strathnaver, with the management of the Sutherland estates, respecting which there appears to have been a misunderstanding between his father and himself. Shortly afterwards he entered into a bond of amity with George, Marquis of Huntly, which

narrates the descent of the House of Sutherland from Adam Gordon, and binds the family to use the surname of Gordon only, notwithstanding recent endeavours to change it for that of Sutherland. The friendship seems to have been somewhat relaxed soon after the Revolution, in consequence of political differences; but under the direction of Huntly, who had become Duke of Gordon, he exhibited great energy in various military enterprises, and in return for his services he was appointed a Privy Councillor by King James VII.

Ultimately adhering to the Revolution, and raising a regiment in defence of the new Government, Lord Strathnaver found himself opposed to his brother-in-law, Viscount Dundee. In 1692-3 he raised a second regiment, which he commanded for several years in Flanders. About four years later he appears to have returned to Scotland; and early in 1703, on the death of his father, he became fifteenth Earl of Sutherland. He was present in the Parliaments of 1704, 1705, and 1706, when the question of his precedence was again under discussion. In January 1706 the Court of Session pronounced a decision, which was practically in favour of the Earl of Crawford; but that judgment was reversed by the House of Lords in 1771, by the recognition of Lady Elizabeth Sutherland as Countess of Sutherland. Her son, the second Duke of Sutherland, afterwards repeatedly protested, as Earl of Sutherland, for precedence over all the Earls of Scotland.

For some little time the fifteenth Earl appears to have retired from public life; but in February 1706 he was nominated one of the Commissioners for the Union of England and Scotland, in the promotion of which he took a very active interest. Having failed to be re-elected a Scottish representative Peer in 1708, he again lived for some years in a comparatively quiet manner. In 1714 he was summoned to attend the Coronation of King George I., of whose dynasty he continued to be a zealous supporter, and the following year he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the six northern counties of Scotland. *The Sutherland Book* contains a detailed account of the Earl's movements and procedure in connection with the 'rising' in 1715. Some of his statements relative to the course of events in the north of Scotland appear to have been called in question. In March 1716 the Earl found his way to London, where he was accorded a warm reception for his services to the Government, and was appointed a Knight of the Order of the Thistle. In November of the same year he is stated to have nearly 3000 men about Inverness, and as 'resolved to live and die in King George's service.'¹ Two years afterwards (1718) he was authorised, as already mentioned, to add the royal tressure to his coat of arms. In 1722 he was elected one of the representative Peers for Scotland, and was faithful in his attendance in the House of Lords.

The portrait of the fifteenth Earl preserved at Dunrobin, represents

¹ Paper in the Record Office, No. 66 of Bundle 10.

him as tall and handsome ; and in some verses from the pen of Thomas Tickell he is described as

‘An aged wizard six foot high.’

The Earl died at Chelsea, 27th June 1733, when he was succeeded by his grandson, William, sixteenth Earl of Sutherland.

He was thrice married :—

First, in 1680, to Lady Helen, second daughter of William, Lord Cochrane, who died about ten years afterwards.



Secondly, to Lady Catherine Talmash, second daughter of Elizabeth, Duchess of Lauderdale and Countess of Dysart, by her first husband, Sir Lionel Talmash. Lady Catherine died without issue in 1705.

Thirdly, in 1727, to Dame Frances Travell (widow of Sir John Travell), who died in December 1732, also without issue.

By his first wife, Lady Helen Cochrane, the Earl had one son and three daughters :—

1. William, Lord Strathnaver, who predeceased his father.

2. Lady Jean, who married, in 1702, James, Lord Maitland, eldest son of John, fifth Earl of Lauderdale, by whom she had one daughter, Jean, married, in 1726, to Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran, Baronet.



3. Lady Helen, who died unmarried at Rossthdu, 19th September 1749.
4. A third daughter, who died young in 1686.

9. *William, Lord Strathnaver,*

born in December 1688 (?), entered the army in 1704, and shortly afterwards was in command of a regiment. In the year 1711, as bailie-depute of the regality of Sutherland, he was engaged in a protracted criminal process against Donald Mackay of Eriboll, accused of 'torture' and 'cattle-lifting,' which was carried to the Court of Justiciary, but the result of the appeal has not been ascertained.

During the Jacobite insurrection of 1715, Lord Strathnaver held the rank of Colonel, and commanded one of the divisions convened by his father's orders. In the course of the following year his health appears to have become unsatisfactory, and a letter from Lord Lovat to his father plainly indicates that moderation in his cups would prove an advantageous course. In 1719 he was concerned in the defence of Inverness, and devoted his attention to the 'suspected persons' in the north, including the lairds of Glengarry and M'Intosh. His health appears to have steadily given way, and he died, 13th July 1720, at the early age of thirty-two. His merits are set forth at page 224 of the *Scottish Elegiac Verses*.

Lord Strathnaver married, in 1705, Katharine, eldest daughter of William Morison of Prestongrange in the county of Haddington, whose dowry was 60,000 merks, and who survived her husband for nearly forty-five years.



The issue of the marriage was eight sons—of whom four predeceased their father—and two daughters:—

1. John, Master of Strathnaver, afterwards Lord Strathnaver, born in November 1706, and died in December 1720.
2. William, sixteenth Earl of Sutherland.
3. Hon. George, born July 1711, and died young.
4. Hon. Alexander, born July 1712, and died before 18th May 1713.
5. Hon. Charles, born August 1713, studied at Utrecht in Holland, and died without issue at Spa or Olne in August 1732.
6. Hon. George (No. 2), born September 1714; died at Edinburgh 13th March 1736, and was buried at Holyrood.
7. Hon. Robert, born 1715,
8. Hon. Frederick, born 1718, } who both died young.

9. Hon. Helen, born 8th April 1717, married, 12th April 1740, Sir James Colquhoun, Baronet. The town of Helensburgh, built by her husband, was named after Lady Helen. She died 7th January 1791, aged seventy-three, having had issue three sons and six daughters.

10. Hon. Janet, born before 16th May 1720, married, 24th October 1740, George Sinclair of Ulbster, and died, leaving issue, 9th June 1795.

10. *William, sixteenth Earl of Sutherland,*

eldest surviving son of William, Lord Strathnaver, was born 2nd October 1708. By the death of his father and his elder brother he became, in 1720, Lord Strathnaver, and heir-apparent to the Earldom, to which he succeeded in 1733. He completed his education on the Continent, residing successively at Angers, Paris, and Hanover. He appears to have returned to Scotland in 1727, when he was elected member of Parliament for the county of Sutherland.

For some time Lord Sutherland was Governor of Blackness Castle, and he afterwards received the appointment of First Lord of Police. In 1744, when rumours of invasion arose, notwithstanding old feuds and political differences, he entered into a bond of friendship with Lord Reay, which was highly approved of by the Lord Advocate of the period—Robert Craigie of Glendoick, afterwards President of the Court of Session. On the arrival of Prince Charles-Edward in Scotland, in August 1745, the Earl was in frequent communication with the Government, relative to the raising of troops, and was warmly commended by President Forbes for the energy which he displayed. In March 1746, the Jacobite forces, under the Duke of Perth, contrived to get possession of Dunrobin Castle, and the Earl of Sutherland experienced great difficulty in making his escape to Aberdeen. A letter of the period, addressed to the Earl, reports the courageous conduct of his Countess, and informs him that the invaders ‘made a stable of your dyning room, and stole one of the silver snuffers.’ Afterwards they appear to have committed great havoc at the Castle, destroying the furniture, breaking open the cellars, carrying off charters and other important papers, and plundering a well-stocked armoury.

The Earl of Sutherland attached himself to the Duke of Cumberland, and was present at the battle of Culloden, after which he returned to Dunrobin, and presented a sum of two thousand guineas to the Duke’s army.

About the end of June 1746 he went to London, where he was cordially received by King George II. A month later he was present in the House of Lords at the trial of Lords Kilmarnock, Cromartie, and Balmerino; and it has been alleged that, through his good offices, Cromartie was reprieved, while the two other Lords were executed.

Owing to the embarrassed condition of his estates—chiefly caused by his services during the Jacobite insurrection—Lord Sutherland applied to the Government for compensation, his claim amounting to nearly £8000,

and he ultimately obtained a yearly pension of £800. Under the Act for abolishing heritable jurisdictions, he claimed £8500, but the Court of Session decided that he was only entitled to £1000.

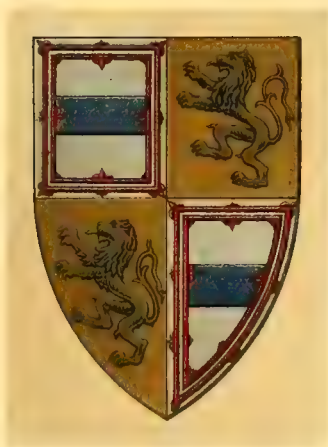
The Earl is described as follows at page 201 of John Macky's *Memoirs*:—‘Is chief of one of the antientest and most noble families in Scotland. His father being alive at the Revolution, this gentleman was known by the name of Lord Strathnaver, had a regiment given him, and followed the King in all his campaigns in Flanders. He is a very honest man, a great assertor of the liberties of the people; hath a good, rough sense; is open and free; a great lover of his bottle and friend; brave in his person, which he hath shown in several duels; too familiar for his quality, and often keeps company below it. Is a fat, fair complexioned man. Forty-five years old.’

In the beginning of the year 1750, in consequence of continued bad health, the Earl of Sutherland went to Bath, from which he found his way to Montauban, where he closed his career on the 7th of December, having been predeceased by his Countess in 1747.

By his wife, Lady Elizabeth Wemyss, eldest daughter of David, third Earl of Wemyss, the Earl had one son and one daughter:—

1. William, seventeenth Earl of Sutherland.

2. Lady Elizabeth, who, on the 29th of August 1757, married her cousin, the Hon. James Wemyss of Wemyss, and died at Edinburgh, 24th January 1803.



II. *William, seventeenth Earl of Sutherland,*

was born 28th May 1735, and showed a very early predilection for the military profession, as indicated in the following juvenile epistle (c. 1743) sent in his name to his father:—

‘MY DEAR PAPA,—I wrote you before and hoped for the honour of an answer.

Mama may tell yow I can exercise very well. So now I want a comision. I can read the newspapers. I am glad of Admiral Vernon's meeting with the Spaniards. (O Papa, our Spanish horse is sick.) Papa, if I were big enough you may tell the King I will fight very well. Mama made a boy break my head at cudgell-playing, but tho' it was sore, I did not cry. She has given me a new Highland coat, and Jenny Dott's sewing very fine sarks to me. God bless you, Papa. My service to James Andirson. Bettetkins gives hers to you.—I am your affectionit son and obedient slave.
STRATHNAVER.’

He remained for a short time in Edinburgh, for educational purposes,

under the charge of Lady Baird of Newbyth; and in the spring of 1745 he was sent to Winchester, from which he appears to have been removed, in December 1746, to Harrow, of which Dr. Thomas Thackeray, great-grandfather of the novelist, was then head-master.

On the death of his father in France, in December 1750, Lord Strathnaver became seventeenth Earl of Sutherland when only fifteen years of age. His own wish appears to have been to attend a Scottish University, but under the advice of General St. Clair he was enrolled a student at Göttingen, where he remained for several years. He returned to London in 1755; and towards the end of the following year we find him at Dunrobin. In 1759 he received a commission from the King to raise a battalion of Highlanders, of which he was to have the command; and two years later he offered to raise another regiment. About 1763 he was appointed aide-de-camp to King George III., with the rank of Colonel in the Army; and the same year he was elected a Scottish representative Peer, in place of the deceased John, Marquis of Tweeddale.

On the 14th of April 1761 he married Mary, elder daughter and co-heiress of William Maxwell of Preston, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, with whom he was present at the Coronation of George III. in the following September. They returned to Dunrobin in July 1762, visiting Edinburgh, Dysart, Dunkeld, and Taymouth on their homeward journey. They lost their eldest daughter, Lady Catherine, in January 1766. The death of the Countess took place at Bath on the 1st of June in the same year, and the Earl followed her to the grave sixteen days later, at the early age of thirty-two.

'Lovely and pleasant in their lives, in their death they were not divided.'

The youthful couple were interred in one grave, in the Abbey Church of Holyrood. There is a full-length portrait of the Earl, in Highland costume, at Dunrobin, from the brush of Allan Ramsay.

By his Countess, Mary Maxwell, the seventeenth Earl had two daughters:—

1. Lady Jane, born 24th May 176—, died 3rd January 1766.
2. Lady Elizabeth, known as the 'Duchess-Countess' of Sutherland.

12. *Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland,*

the only surviving child of the seventeenth Earl, was born at Leven Lodge, Bruntsfield, Edinburgh, on the 24th of May 1765, and was consequently



little more than a year old when she succeeded to the Sutherland titles and estates. She was placed under the tutors and curators appointed by her father about a year and a half before his death. They consisted of the Duke of Athole, the Earl of Elgin, Thomas Miller Lord Justice-Clerk, Sir Adam Fergusson of Kilkerran, James Wemyss of Wemyss, Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck, and John Mackenzie of Delvine. The infant Countess was committed to the care of Lady Alva, her maternal grandmother, who resided at Drumsheugh, then a suburb of Edinburgh.

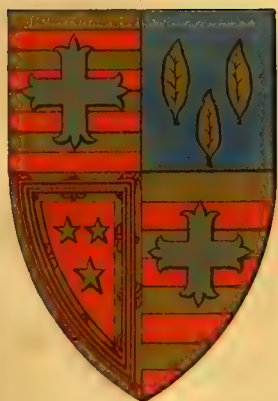
In the course of the year 1767, petitions were presented by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown¹ (descended from the eleventh Earl) and George Sutherland of Forse (descended from the earlier or *Sutherland* Earls), who both claimed the Sutherland Peerage, while a counter claim was lodged for the Countess. New cases were afterwards given in by the two male claimants, which were met by the famous 'Additional Case' for the Countess, completed by Lord Hailes (Sir David Dalrymple), in October

1770. After a series of prolonged debates, the House of Lords decided in favour of the Countess, on the 21st of March 1771. The judgment also fixed the ranking of the peerage of Sutherland as prior to 1275, thereby making it the premier Earldom of Scotland. The news of the decision caused general satisfaction, and occasioned great rejoicings in different parts of Scotland. The popular victory of the youthful Countess was celebrated in a poem published by Robert Colvil, entitled 'The Caledonian Heroine.'

The Countess displayed great proficiency in her studies and an early love of literature. In the autumn of 1779, accompanied by Lady Alva, she paid a long visit to London, returning to Scotland

in July 1782, and visiting Dunrobin towards the end of the year.

On the 4th of September 1785 she married George Granville Leveson-Gower, Viscount Trentham, eldest son of Earl Gower, and during the six following years important structural and other operations were carried on at Dunrobin. Shortly after the birth of her eldest son, in August 1786, the Countess appears to have gone abroad, visiting Rome, Paris, and other



¹ The following undated letter from Sir Robert Gordon appears at p. 81 of a large folio MS. in the British Museum (Bibl. Harl. 1423), entitled 'Scotland's Nobility and Gentry.' The party to whom it is addressed was probably a heraldic draughtsman:—'Mr Ewin, I pray you send

these armes as it was first intended, with three half moones (*the Seton charges*) in the middle of the Earle of Huntley's coate; and another half moone within the former (?) in my coat; for all the heralds ar against the labell. Sir, I rest, your assured friend, ROBERT GORDON.'

places of interest. While in the 'City of the Cæsars' she had an opportunity of seeing Prince Charles-Edward (who died in January 1788), then very old and infirm.

In the summer of 1787 the Countess and her husband found their way to Dunrobin; and after a residence of about three months, returned to London. In January 1790 Lord Gower was sent as British Ambassador to Paris, and the Countess was of important service to the family of Louis XVI. when they escaped in disguise from the Tuileries on the night of 20th June 1791. In August 1792 the Countess and her husband experienced considerable difficulty in getting out of France; and on reaching England they resided for a time at a villa in the neighbourhood of London.

After the declaration of war against Great Britain by the French Convention, they showed their loyalty by raising a fencible regiment in Sutherland—a similar course having been followed by the Countess in 1777, when she was only twelve years of age. An interesting reference to the juvenile Countess and her 'Sutherland Giants' occurs in Sir Walter Scott's *Journal*.¹ The fencibles of 1793 were afterwards embodied in the regular army as the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders.

In and after 1799 the Countess showed the liveliest interest in the improvement of her northern possessions, to which several references occur in the *Correspondence of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe*. These improvements are fully described in a special work on the subject by Mr. James Loch, published in 1820.

On the death of his father in 1803, Earl Gower became second Marquis of Stafford. About three years afterwards the Countess made arrangements with Mr. Constable for the printing of Sir Robert Gordon's MS. History of the Sutherland family. She showed great skill in water-colour landscapes, and one of her many drawings is engraved in Sir Richard Maitland's *House of Seytoun*. In Mr. Sharpe's interesting *Correspondence* there are several allusions to the *History of the House of Seytoun*, which Sharpe printed in 1830. On the 24th of November 1826 Lady Stafford writes: 'The Winton manuscript appears very tempting to publish, and, I should think, would admit of many historical notes. I wish you would see what the expense of printing it would be, and let me know if it would not be ruinous; and I should particularly wish that you could arrange matters so in it, if it is done, as to have the profit as much as possible for the *editor*, instead of making a present of it to the bookseller. If it is an entertaining book—which I should think it must be, or at least could be made, by notes and anecdotes—it need not be printed in a very fine or expensive manner; and being cheaper, would of course have a greater sale.' After alluding to the proposed printing of the Rosslyn MSS., the sale of which Sir Walter Scott considered would be very limited, she proceeds: 'The Winton history also would convey more general subjects of interest probably in Scottish history.'

¹ Vol. ii. page 180.

About a year later (12th December 1827) she says: 'I am glad to hear you think of going on with the Seton work. I have the drawing which Lady Wemyss gave me (by Mr. Alison) ready to send you, if it can be of any use.'¹

Finally, on the 10th of June 1832, after thanking Mr. Sharpe for the 'valuable History of the Drummonds,' she adds: 'I shall not fail to carry it to Dunrobin, with the History of the Setons which you gave me some time ago, and which are both so much connected with our race as to make it particularly appropriate there.'

In 1813 she was introduced to her kinsman, Lord Byron, and the poet says of her in his Journal: 'She is handsome, and must have been beautiful, and her manners are princessly.' When George IV. visited Scotland in 1822 the right of the Countess to carry the sceptre was acknowledged by His Majesty; and her second son, Lord Francis Leveson-Gower, was allowed to act as his mother's deputy.

For many years one of Lady Stafford's most frequent correspondents was Sir Walter Scott, who, on more than one occasion, sent copies of his poems to the Countess. In 1826 Lady Stafford and her husband, on the occasion of a visit to Dunrobin, received an address from the tenantry, accompanied by a piece of plate which cost eight hundred guineas. They were present at the Coronation of King William IV. on the 8th of September 1831. Two years afterwards (14th January 1833) the Marquis of Stafford was raised to the rank of Duke, under the title of Sutherland. He did not long enjoy his additional honours, as he died at Dunrobin on the 19th of July following, when he was succeeded by his eldest son as second Duke. Upwards of ten thousand persons are estimated to have been present at his burial in Dornoch Cathedral.

The Duchess, who survived her husband six years, died, after a brief illness, on the 29th of January 1839, in the seventy-fourth year of her age, and was interred beside the Duke.

Besides three sons who died young, the Duchess had two sons and two daughters; but as she was the last of the Seton-Gordon Sutherlands, it is unnecessary to continue the pedigree.

Armorial Bearings.

The coat of Sutherland, Earl of Sutherland, as blazoned by Sir David Lindsay in 1542, is, *gules*, three mullets *or*; and of Gordon, Earl of Sutherland, quarterly, first and fourth, *gules*, three mullets *or*; second and third, *azure*, a boar's head couped *or*.

Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century the *crest* of the family appears to have been a stag's head.

After the marriage of the heiress of Sutherland to Adam Gordon

¹ This was a view of Seton Church by Mr. (afterwards Sir Archibald) Alison, the historian,

an etching of which I received from Mr. Sharpe many years ago.

(paternally Seton) of Aboyne, various changes occurred in the armorial bearings. One of these is the second coat above given from Sir David Lindsay's Register. In Workman's MS. (1565-6) the crest is a stag's head, the motto 'But siccar' (*Bolt sicker*), and the supporters a greyhound and a horse. One of the seals of the tenth Earl of Sutherland (engraved in *The Sutherland Book*, i. 130) exhibits the coat of Huntly, with Seton in the third quarter, and a *single* mullet in a shield surtout. The seal of the thirteenth Earl also exhibits the quarterly coat of Huntly with *three* mullets in the inescutcheon.

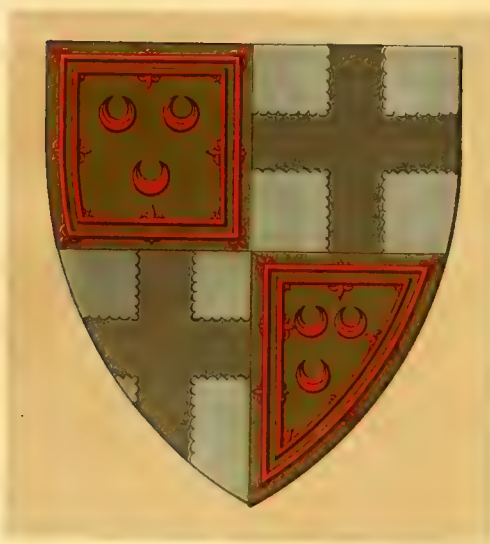
The following statement occurs in a large folio MS. in the British Museum (Bibl. Harl. 1423), entitled, 'Scotland's Nobility and Gentry':—
'For the Erle of Sudderland—The Marqueis of Huntlie's haille armes with ane sheild of pretence *gules* charged with three mollets *or*. Ane Earle's crounet and mantling w^t a creist set on a cap of estate, a catt of the moun proper saliant, armed *gules*, supported be two savadges wreathed about y^e head and midle w^t laurell hauving battons in yair hands, and for his motto, Without fear.'

As already stated, a warrant was granted by King George I. to John, fifteenth Earl of Sutherland, in 1718, authorising him to add to his arms the royal 'double tressure circonfleure-de-lizé.'

The arms of neither Seton nor Gordon find a place in the present Sutherland coat, as blazoned in Burke's *Peerage*. The shield is, quarterly, 1st and 4th, Gower; 2nd, Leveson; 3rd, Sutherland (*gules*, three mullets, a bordure *or*, charged with the royal tressure of Scotland of the field), surmounted by three crests pertaining to each of the three surnames.

Motto—'Frangas non flectes.'

Supporters—dexter, a wolf; sinister, a savage, holding a shield charged with three mullets.



XIV. NORTHRIG AND MONKMYLNE



FROM Sir Richard Maitland's *House of Seytoun* (p. 33) it appears that John, Master of Seton, who predeceased his father, George, third Lord Seton, had, besides his eldest son, George, fourth Lord Seton, a younger son called Alexander. This Alexander had a daughter Christian, who married Thomas Preston of Whitehill, and several sons, who all 'deit without succession,' except John, Bailie of Tranent, ancestor of the Setons of Monkmylne. Mr. Robertson-Glasgow of Mountgreenan, heir of line of that family, inclines to think that the Bailie of Tranent had a son John, also Bailie of Tranent, who had at least three sons, George, John, and Henry.

Sir Richard elsewhere informs us (*House of Seytoun*, p. 35) that George, fourth Lord Seton, had a second son, named Robert, 'quha deit ane man of armes in France, in the castell of Millane,' and left two sons, William, also a man of arms in France, and Alexander, who married Jonet Sinclair, 'heretrix of the Northrig and thrid of Morane,' and who turns up in a successful process—a case of ransom—against George Broun of Coalstoun, 'making mention that the said George caused the said Alexander to lay his bond to David (*Andrew*) Ker of Liteldane and George Ormistoun for an

Englishman called Robert Ferlan for 40 angels, and calling upon the said George Broun to relieve him of the same.¹

From another source I learn that, by Jonet Sinclair, Alexander Seton had four sons: Thomas, who, in 1579, married Griselda Preston of Valleyfield, and who was probably the 'Thomas Seton of Northrig, 1588,' mentioned at p. 112 of the *House of Seytoun*²; John, George, and Henry, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Dirleton in 1565. Henry appears to have died in his father's lifetime, as there is a confirmation by the King of a charter by 'the deceased Henry Seytoun, Vicar of Aberfule, to Malise Grahame, of the manse and glebe of Aberfule in feu ferme,' dated 21st December 1567, in which his father Alexander is a witness.³ Thomas Seton of Northrig seems to have had at least three sons, George Seton of Northrig (in 1603), who married Margaret Forrest,⁴ Robert, mentioned in a charter of confirmation in the same year,⁵ and Francis. George Seton appears, with his father and mother, in a curious process of 'lawborros,' dated 6th December 1591, charging Janet Seton, relict of James Hamilton of Samuelstoun, to find responsible cautioners that the pursuers 'and their men and servants should be kept harmless and skaithless and nowise molested, under the penalty of 1000 merks.'⁶

On the 14th of June 1597 Thomas Seton of Northrig sues Donell Wallace, minister at Morhame, relative to an unjust claim to a croft of land occupied by the complainer, on the part of Wallace and Mr. Walter Hay, minister at Locheris, and Commissioner of the Presbytery of Haddington.⁷

Again, on the 16th of March 1605 there is a 'Letter of Gift to George Seytoun of Northrig, of the escheat of Patrick Leirmonth in Aberleddie and Adam Leirmonth his son, now



¹ *Acts and Decrees*, vol. iv. fol. 75.

² This Thomas appears as a witness to a contract between Sir John Seton of Barns and his brother William, dated 29th December 1591. *Register of Deeds*—Scott Office—xl. 177.

³ *Register of Great Seal*, vol. xxxv.

⁴ *Ibid.* xlv. 379.

⁵ *Register of Great Seal*, xliii. 326.

⁶ *Acta Dom. Conc.*, vol. clviii. fol. 337.

⁷ *Acts and Decrees*, vol. clxxi. fol. 21.

in the King's hands, through their being convict by an assise held in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, 15th March instant, for art and part of the dismembering and amputation of David Fowler in Morhame of a joint of his finger nixt the little finger in his left hand.'¹

From the record of the testament of Alexander Seton of Northrig, it appears that he died in January 1567-8; that he constituted his son George assignee to the sum of £100 owing by Archibald Preston, 'goodman of Valleyfield,' in complete payment of his daughter Griselda's 'tocher good'; that he left the whole of his goods and gear to Jonet Sinclair, his spouse, in liferent, who, along with David Sinclair of Blans, was to act as his executor 'with the advice of George Lord Seytoun, his cheif lord and oversman'; that in case the said Jonet should intromit with her own part, he appointed as executors his sons, Henry, John, and George, and ordained them 'to use the council of their mother'; and finally he provided that his body should be 'buriet within the College Kirk of Seytoun among the sepulturis of his auld fatheris.'²

Alexander Seton was survived by his widow, Jonet Sinclair, till August 1574, as appears from the record of her latter will in the same Register.

It is somewhat singular that three of the four sons of Alexander Seton and Jonet Sinclair bore the same Christian names as the three sons of John Seton, Bailie of Tranent, as will more clearly appear from the annexed pedigree, in which the later generations of the Northrig family are given from different sources and those of the Monkmylne line from Mr. Robertson-Glasgow's notes. The families of Northrig and Monkmylne appear to have been very much mixed up, and may perhaps have been practically one line. Possibly, indeed, the supposed two sets of brothers bearing the same Christian names may have been the same individuals, and not three sons of two different fathers.

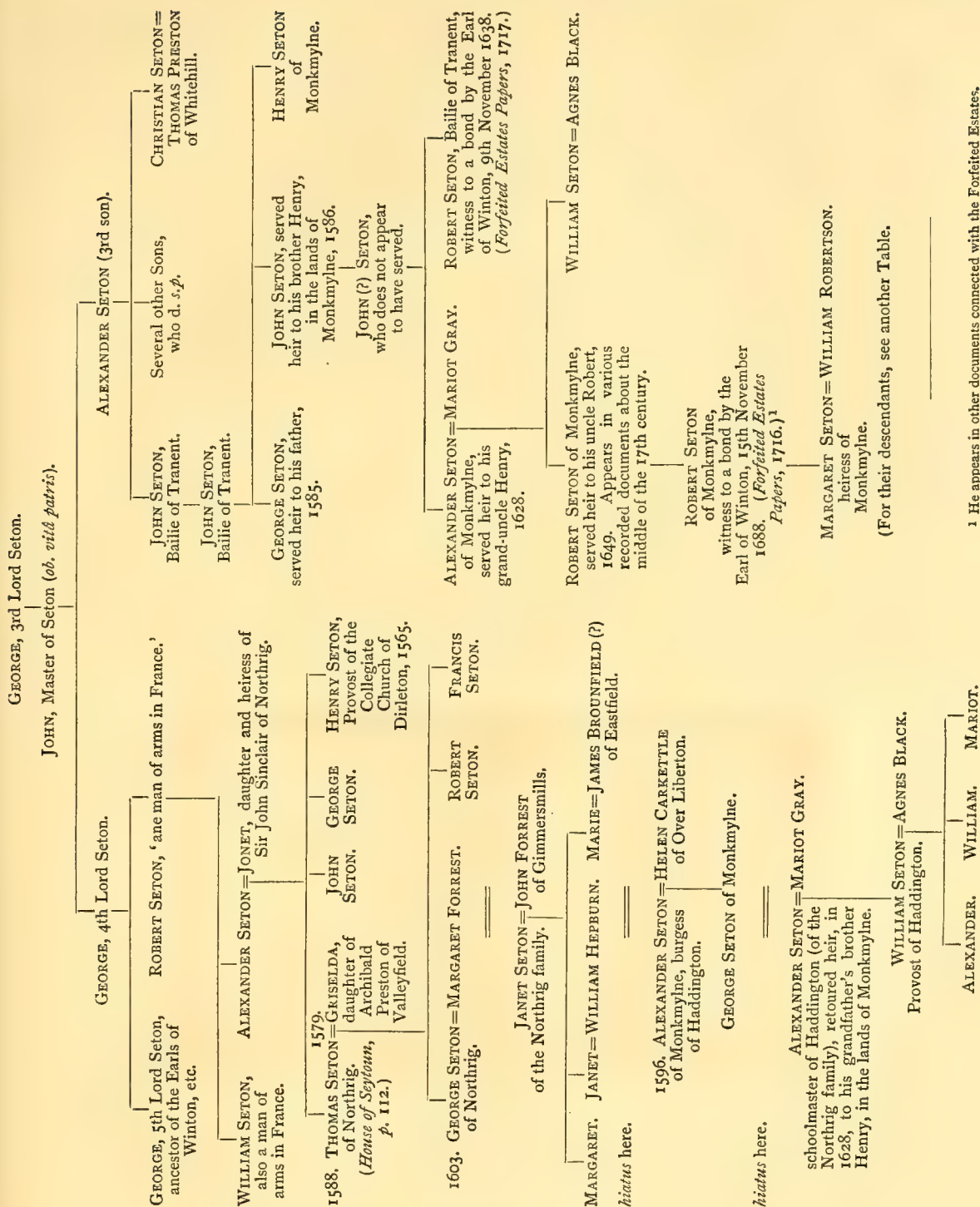
The office of Bailie of Tranent seems to have been hereditary in the family of Seton of Monkmylne, although it did not always descend to the eldest son, as in 1649 Robert Seton of Monkmylne served heir to his uncle Robert, Bailie of Tranent. Monkmylne appears to have been acquired by Henry Seton, to whom his brother John served heir, probably of conquest, in 1586. It is probable that George, who served heir to his father, John, Bailie of Tranent,³ in 1585, was the eldest son, and brother to John and Henry, as Alexander of Monkmylne and Robert of Tranent were brothers, and the property and office were again consolidated in the person of Robert in 1649. The John who served heir in the lands of Monkmylne to his brother Henry, in 1586, does not appear to have made up his titles, as, in 1628, Alexander passed over both him (his grandfather) and his own father, and served at once to his grand-uncle Henry.

¹ *Register of Privy Seal*, lxxiv. 268.

² *Edinburgh Commissariat Register*, vol. iv.

³ This John may have been the John Seton, Bailie of Tranent, who died 9th March 1573-4, and who had by his wife, Elizabeth Aitcheson,

of the Gosford family,—besides five daughters, Agnes, Helen, Janet, Katherine, and Marioun—at least four sons, James, Thomas, John, and David, as appears from his latter will.—*Edinburgh Commissariat Register*, vol. xiv.



1 He appears in other documents connected with the Forfeited Estates.

Alexander's father (John?) may have been the 'John Seatoun within the parish of Tranent,' who died 26th August 1618, and whose testament was partly given up by 'Margaret Seatoun his relict spouse,' sister of a Robert Seton.¹

The number of links between Alexander, third son of John, Master of Seton, and George, who served heir to his father in 1585, are not fully known; but the number of years which elapsed between the service of George, and the probable period of Alexander's death, lead us to suppose that they must have been *two*, in which case the Christian name of both father and son was John.

Monkmylne, now incorporated with Monkrig in the parish of Haddington, was sold by Robert Robertson (who died in 1778), second son of Margaret Seton, heiress of Monkmylne, and he probably purchased Prendergust with the proceeds. The descendants of William Robertson and Margaret Seton will be found in the annexed table.

A few words must now be said regarding the later members of the Northrig line.

In the year 1553, Janet Seton of the Northrig family and her husband, John Forrest of Gimmersmills, obtained conjoint sasine from the Comendator of Newbattle, and appear to have had three daughters:—Margaret; Janet, married to William Hepburn; and Marie, married to James Brounfield (?) of Eastfield.

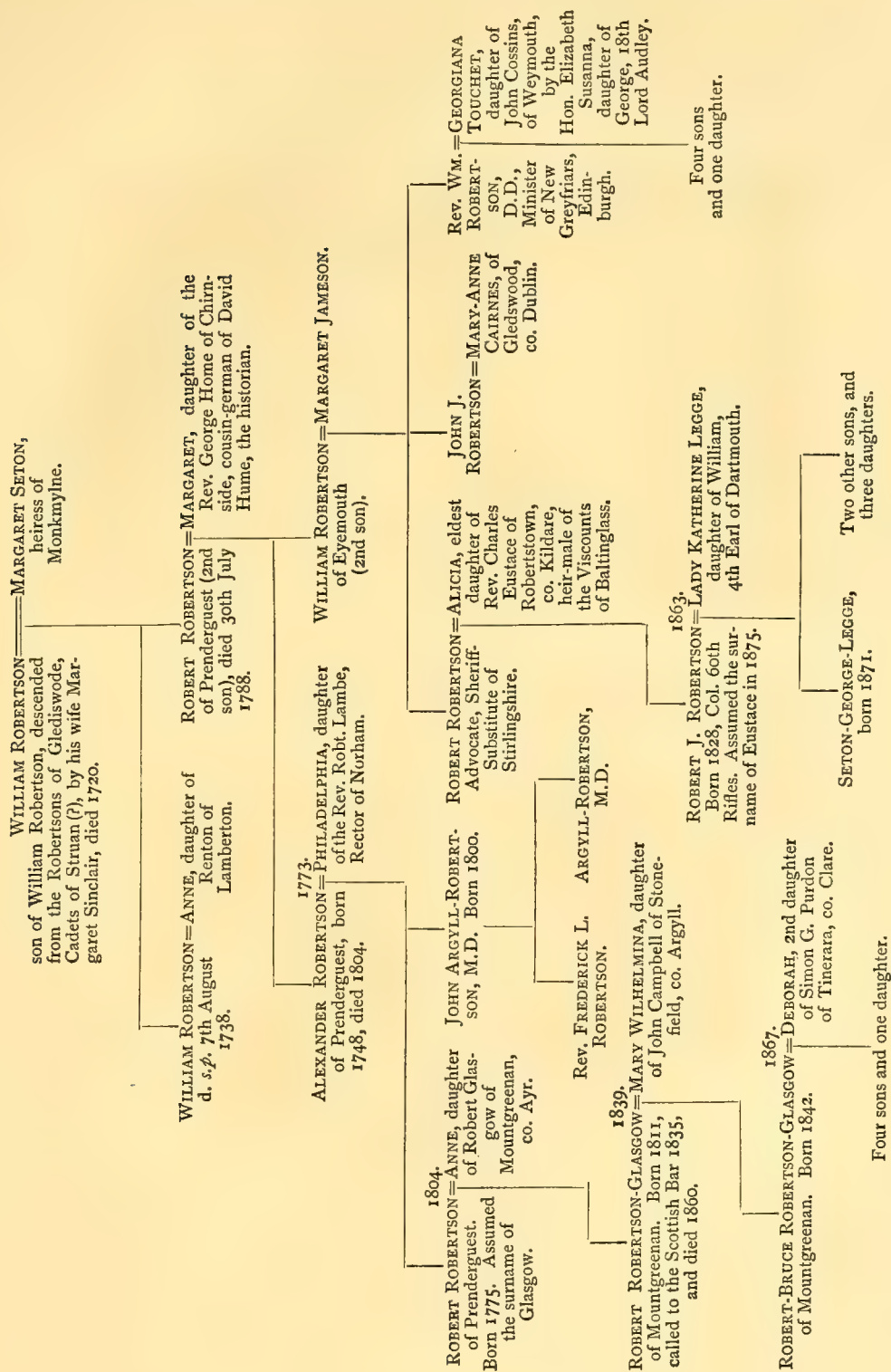
In the notes supplied to me relative to the Northrig line, a *hiatus* here occurs, which is followed by Alexander Seton of Monkmyle, burgess of Haddington, in 1596, who, by his wife Helen Carkettle, of the family of



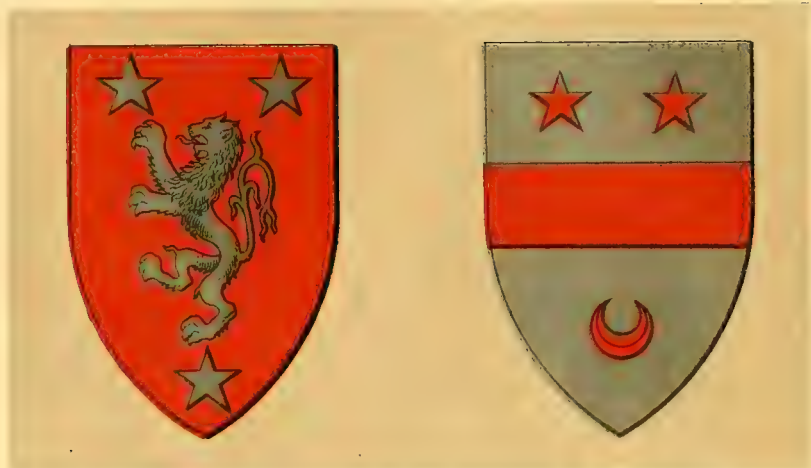
Over Liberton, had a son, George Seton of Monkmylne. Then occurs a

¹ *Edinburgh Commissariat Register*, vol. liii.

(Continued at page 544.)



second *hiatus*, followed by Alexander Seton, schoolmaster of Haddington—according to his tombstone, of the Northrig family—who in 1628 was retoured heir to his grandfather's brother Henry in the lands of Monkmylne. By his wife, Mariot Gray, he had a son, William, Provost of Haddington, who married Agnes Black, and had, besides a daughter



Mariot, two sons, Alexander and William. The schoolmaster was evidently the Alexander Seton already referred to as having been served heir to his grand-uncle Henry in the lands of Monkmylne in 1628, and his son William, Provost of Haddington, was doubtless the younger brother of Robert Seton of Monkmylne, in 1649.

In the list of 'gifts and legacies left to the poor,' in the vestry of the parish church of Haddington—'The Lamp of Lothian'—the following occur :—

'William Seaton, late Provost of Haddingtoun, left ane hundreth Pound Scots and dyed the 23 day of May 1682.'

'Agnes Black, relick of umq^l William Seaton, somtym Provost of Haddingtoun left on (*sic*) 100 Pound and dyed in the 70 year of her age, on the 27 of June 1694.'

'Grissell Seton, Relique of umqhyl David Kyll Baxter Burges of Haddingtoun left 10 dollars and dyed the . . . day of June 1684.'

Armorial Bearings.

Seton of Northrig—Quarterly : 1st and 4th, *or*, three crescents within a royal tressure *gules* for Seton ; 2nd and 3rd, *argent*, a cross engrailed *sable* for Sinclair.

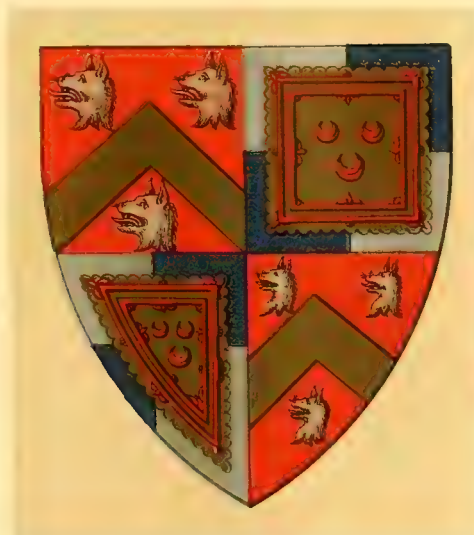
The following blazon is from a ms. at Sunderland Hall, Selkirkshire, entitled 'Blazoning of arms, etc., matriculated in the Lyon Register' :—

'Will. Seaton, Provost of Haddington, descended of Northrig, who was off the Lord Seton, bears *or* three crescents within the royal tressure *gules*, and also within a bordure engrailed and quartered *argent* and *azure*.

'*Crest*—a swan swimming proper. *Motto*—Cum progressu cantus.'

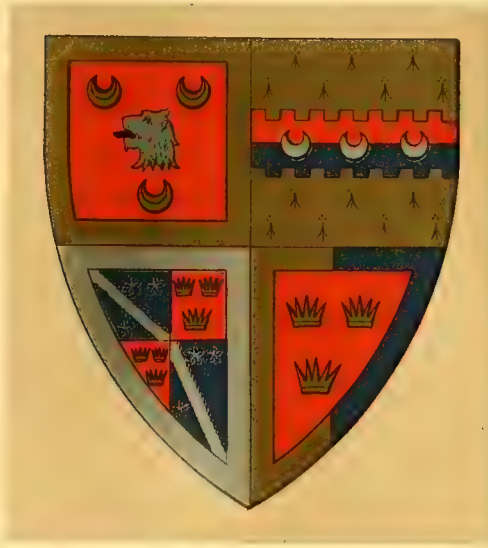
The same blazon is given in a folio ms. in the British Museum (20,701), entitled 'Arms of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, registered in the Lyon Office of Arms, 1721.' The descent of the Provost is there more fully set forth as follows:—'William Seaton, sometime Provost of Haddingtoun, descended of a lawfull son of y^e House of Northrig, whose first predecessor was Alexander Seaton, lawfull son to Robert Seaton, and which Robert Seaton was 2nd lawfull son to the 2nd George of y^t name (4th) Lord Seaton.'

No special arms appear to be on record for *Monkmylne*, which rather confirms the view already indicated, that the Setons of Northrig and Monkmylne were one and the same family. Many years ago I saw a framed shield of arms in the possession of the late Rev. Dr. William Robertson of New Greyfriars, Edinburgh, blazoned as follows:—Quarterly: 1st and 4th, *gules*, a chevron *or*, between three wolves' heads erased proper, for Robertson; 2nd and 3rd, *or*, three crescents within a royal tressure *gules*, and also within a bordure engrailed and quartered *argent* and *azure*, with a man in chains below the escutcheon,¹ from which it would appear that, at one time, the Robertsons of Prendergust carried *both* coats. In the blazon of the arms of Mr. Robertson-Glasgow of Mountgreenan—the present representative of the Monkmylne family—given in Burke's *Landed Gentry*—the coat of Seton does not appear.



¹ I lately received from Mrs. Alexander Stuart, Editor of the little Magazine entitled *Tide what*

may, a copy of the Rev. Dr. Robertson's book-plate, which exhibits the same blazon.



XV. ALDOURIE AND WOODHOUSELEE, ETC. (SETON-TYTTLER)



THE ancestor of these families, a son of the House of Seton, in the time of James IV., having, in a sudden quarrel, slain a gentleman of the name of Gray in a hunting match, fled to France and assumed the surname of Tytler.

My late friend James Hannay, in his review, in the *Quarterly*, of Dean Burgon's *Life of Patrick Fraser-Tytler*, the historian, challenges the accuracy of the tradition relative to the Seton descent of the Tytlers. 'The biographer,' he says, 'assumes the truth of the tradition that the Tytlers descend from a brother of the George, Lord Seton, who fell at Flodden. But it happens that we have particular information about the Setons of that period in the quaint old book, the *History of the House of Seytoun*, by Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, whose mother was one of the family, and who wrote in the sixteenth century. He is very particular in telling whatever is *curious* about the House . . . and must have known so singular a circumstance as the one recorded by way of accounting for the change of name from Seton to Tytler, and if he had known it, would have stated it, which he nowhere does. We feel sure, therefore, that whatever was the origin of the tradition in question, it is not in the form in which the Tytlers accept it.'

¹

¹ *Essays from the Quarterly*, p. 369. Some highly interesting recollections of James Hannay

will be found in the recently published *Life and Adventures of George Augustus Sala*, i. 327.

The following is a copy of a statement on the subject, engrossed on vellum, by Alexander Tytler, writer in Edinburgh, in the possession of the family of Woodhouselee :—

‘Alexander Tytler, Writer in Edinburgh, having diligently enquired into the Origin of the Family and Sirname of Tytler, has transmitted in his own handwriting the following account supported by immediate and well founded Tradition from Father to son for several generations :—

“My father and uncle James Tytler have often told me, as have also several other old people who knew my grandfather (who lived till he was near eighty, and died about the year 1690), that they were informed by him, who had it from his father, my great-grandfather, That the sirname of our family was formerly SEATON. That they had their Residence in a part of the Estate of the Lord George Seaton, one of the Predecessors of the Earl of Winton. Mention is made in particular of three Brothers, one of whom, as being related to the Family, was by the above Lord George made his chaplain ; and with him all the three Brothers went out to the Battle of Flouddon, Anno 1513. Two of them were slain along with the Lord George, but the Clergyman escaped, and lurking for some time about the English Border, had the good fortune to be there provided in a Living : But unhappily contracting an acquaintance with a Gentleman of the name of Gray, and being by him invited to a Hunting Match, a difference arose between them and he slew Gray. After this unlucky accident, being apprehensive of his danger, he withdrew to France, and, concealing his name of Seaton, took that of Tytler, which appears to have been a Sirname at that time, and indeed many ages before, as is evident from a charter extant of Robert Earl of Strathern, Steward of Scotland in the first year of David Bruce, bearing date 1364 years, which among (other) witnesses is subscribed by one ‘John de Tytlour Esquyre.’ The above Seaton when he fled to France probably took the name of Tytler as being related or allied with some of that original family of the Tytlers ; but it is not from them but from Seaton that the present Tytlers of our family are descended. Seaton the Clergyman, now Tytler, after staying for some time near Paris, was by the interest of some Scotsman there provided in a Living, which he enjoyed but a short time, as he lost it by marrying a Frenchwoman with whom he got some money, and retiring to Calais he there had several sons and daughters.

“In the year 1561 two of his sons came to Scotland attending Queen Mary in one of the ships that conveyed her to Leith, and continuing firm to her Cause were engaged in the skirmish that happened at Corrichie between the Earls of Murray and Huntly, where the latter was killed, and his two sons Lord Gordon and his brother Adam taken prisoners, and the Lord Gordon was afterwards beheaded at Aberdeen. Hence from Queen Mary’s being attended by the Tytlers, might arise the conjecture of Bishop Getherer, who supposes the Tytlers to have acquired their name as being zealous supporters of the *Title* and Right of Queen Mary, for which, according to him, they were distinguish’d by the appellation of *Titulers* : But

this conjecture, it is evident, has no foundation. At the above mentioned skirmish at Corrichie one of the Tytlers was killed; the other retired to a place called Learnie near Kincairdine O'neille, about 15 or 16 miles west of Aberdeen, where he settled and married, and had several Children, who after living sometime in that country removed to Corsinday, 5 or 6 miles east of Kincairdine, where the name multiplied pretty much, and in that country a good many are yet extant: and it is from that Tytler that my Father and Grandfather are lineally descended. The Clergyman, the first of the name of Tytler in our Family, who as was said above settled for some time in Calais, had, besides the two sons that came over with Queen Mary, several other Children, who went to Paris or some place near it (at least one of them did), where there are to this day some of the name yet remaining. There are likewise in England some of this name, but their connection with us, if there is any, is uncertain."

(Signed) ALEXANDER TYTLER.

EDINR. 1728.

'The family of Tytler as being originally Seaton bear the Coat of Seaton transposed with a Lion's head argent of distinction, and instead of the Double Tressure a Bordure *Or*—Thus blazon'd in the Lyon Register, *Gules*, a Lion's head erased *Argent*, langued *Azure*, betwixt three Crescents *Or*, all within a Bordure of the last. Crest, the Rays of the Sun issuing from behind a Cloud, proper, with this Motto, OCCULTUS NON EXTINCTUS.

—all as above illuminated—.¹

Critical genealogists may perhaps feel disposed to allege that descent from Lord Seton's (Roman Catholic) chaplain would necessarily imply the intervention of a bar sinister; but be that as it may, the circumstantial character of the Edinburgh writer's statement cannot be summarily set aside.

The descent from the Seton exile is supposed to be as follows, some of the dates and other particulars being derived from existing tombstones in the churchyard of Midmar:—

1. — Seton, chaplain to George, fifth Lord Seton (as we have already seen), fought at Flodden, with two brothers, who were both killed. After his flight to France he assumed the surname of *Tytler*, lived in Paris and Calais, and married a French lady of property, by whom he had three

¹ This refers to a quaint coloured drawing of the shield of arms, supported by a gigantic man in armour, with the Tytler crest on his helmet. Appended to the document, in the form of a charter seal, is a well-executed representation of the armorial bearings.

If a Seton took the name of Tytler in the time of King James IV., we have an example, in

our own day, of a similar assumption. Probably many of her readers are not aware that the real name of 'Sarah Tytler,' the authoress of numerous popular books, is *Keddie*; and doubtless the change was a very judicious one, considering the position which the name of Tytler has attained in the world of letters.

sons, two of whom accompanied Mary Stuart to Scotland in 1561, while the third continued to reside near Paris.

2. — Tytler, one of the two brothers who accompanied Queen Mary, fought along with his brother (who was killed) on the Queen's side at Corrichie in 1562, and settled at Learnie, in the parish of Midmar, Aberdeenshire (the Huntly country), where he married shortly afterwards. He appears to have had two sons :—

(1) — Tytler, who removed to Corsindae, in the same parish.

(2) — Tytler, father of Alexander Tytler of Comers, who is mentioned in the 'Prentice Roll' of Aberdeen as the father of Patrick Tytler, born about 1623, apprenticed in 1637, and a burghess of Aberdeen ten years afterwards.

The supposed elder son,

3. — Tytler, as already stated, removed from Learnie to Corsindae, a few miles distant, and was father of

4. Alexander Tytler of Corsindae, born in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and who died 25th March 1690, having married Margaret Martin (died 16th June 1681), by whom he had two sons :—

(1) William.

(2) James, ancestor of the Skene-Tytlers, of whom afterwards.

Hitherto no conclusive evidence is forthcoming to show which of these two sons was the elder; but meanwhile, with considerable hesitation, I proceed on the assumption that William was the first-born, and further, that he was the ancestor of the Aldourie and Woodhouselee lines. That branch of the family possesses, as we have seen, an interesting document respecting the tradition which connects the Tytlers with the House of Seton; and, moreover, it has long occupied a very prominent position in the world of literature.¹

5. William Tytler, the supposed elder son, is mentioned in a 'List of Pollable Persons,' dated 1696. The name of his wife does not transpire, but I am induced to regard him as the father of

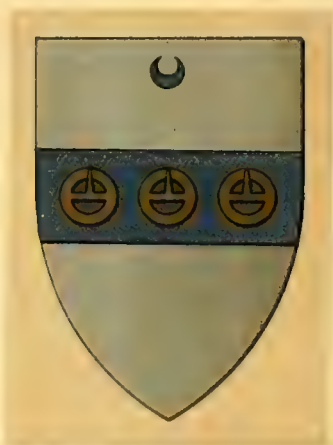
6. *Alexander Tytler, Writer in Edinburgh,*

born 1st January 1678, married, 22nd November 1703, Jane, daughter of William Leslie, merchant in Aberdeen, younger son of Sir Patrick Leslie



¹ See Sir Archibald Alison's *Life and Writings*, i. 232.

of Iden, a cadet of the Leslies of Balquhain, co. Aberdeen, Counts of the Holy Roman Empire, by whom he had two sons and three daughters :—



1. Alexander, born 2nd October 1704, died without issue in Jamaica in 1726.

2. William.

3. Jane, born 1705, died, unmarried, 1785.

4. Christian, born 1707, died 1788, having married George Lindsay of Plewlands, City Clerk of Edinburgh, of the family of Kirkforthar.

5. Elizabeth, born 1715, married to Harie Guthrie, and died in 1807.

In the year 1715 Alexander Tytler was sentenced to forty days' imprisonment in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, as a punishment for 'treasonable practices,' having been one of a body of Jacobite citizens who endeavoured to surprise the

Castle by escalade, an attempt which would probably have succeeded had not an indiscretion on the part of some of the conspirators led to information being conveyed to the garrison just in time to frustrate it.

Alexander Tytler was the author of the statement relative to the origin of the family, already referred to. He died 16th December 1743, when he was succeeded by his second son,

7. *William Tytler of Woodhouselee,*

born 12th October 1711, educated at the High School and University of Edinburgh, where he displayed an early proficiency in classical learning. In 1744 he was admitted into the Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet, and successfully followed the profession of the Law during a long and happy life.

He first appeared as an author in 1759, when he published an *Inquiry, Historical and Critical, into the Evidence against Mary Queen of Scots*, etc., warmly espousing the cause of the unfortunate Queen, which reached a fourth edition, in two volumes, in 1790. A similar, but less skilful, attempt had been made several years previously by Walter Goodall, one of the under-keepers of the Advocates' Library, many of whose arguments Tytler adopted and re-arranged.

The work was eagerly read in Great Britain, besides being translated into French. It was widely reviewed in the periodicals of the day by Johnson, Smollett, Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury, and others; and was pronounced by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke to be the most conclusive arrangement of circumstantial evidence he had ever perused.



When sending Tytler his portrait, Robert Burns addressed to him a poem of eight verses, commencing with the words—

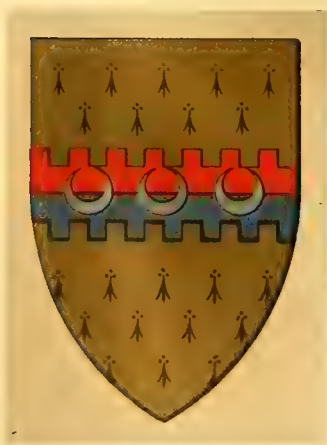
‘Revered defender of the beauteous Stuart.’

His principal subsequent publications were the *Poetical Remains of James I. of Scotland*, accompanied by a Dissertation on the Life and Writings of that King; an *Essay on Scottish Music*, appended to Arnot’s *History of Edinburgh*; a *Dissertation on the Marriage of Queen Mary to Bothwell*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries*; *Observations on the ‘Vision,’ a Poem*, in Ramsay’s *Evergreen*; and an *Account of the Amusements of Edinburgh in the Seventeenth Century*. Besides his intimate acquaintance with Scottish history and antiquarian lore, William Tytler was remarkable for his eminent knowledge of the science of Music. He was one of the original members of the Musical Society of Edinburgh, with which he continued his connection for nearly sixty years. Distinguished

by the buoyancy of his spirits, he freely joined in the pranks and follies of his youthful friends and relatives; and his prescription for the attainment of the same happy disposition was 'short but cheerful meals, music, and a good conscience.'

He usually spent a portion of the summer at his beautiful country seat of Woodhouselee, where he erected an urn with the following inscription:— 'Hunc lucum caris mortuis amicis sacrum dicat W. T.' He retained his faculties unimpaired till the hour of his death, which occurred on the 12th of September 1792, when he had completed his eightieth year. After his death, a memoir of him was compiled by Henry Mackenzie, author of *The Man of Feeling*, and read before the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, of which William Tytler was President.

William Tytler married, in 1745, Anne, daughter of James Craig of Dalnair and Costerton, and three years afterwards he purchased the estate of Woodhouselee, in the county of Midlothian. By his wife, Anne Craig (besides two daughters, Jane and Isabella, who both died unmarried), he had three sons:—



1. Alexander, his successor.

2. James, born 1748, died without issue in 1778.

3. Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Tytler, born 1759, died 1849, who married Isabella, daughter of the Hon. James Erskine, Lord Alva, by whom he had, besides a son, William, who died unmarried, six daughters:—

(1) and (2) Margaret and Isabella, who both died unmarried.

(3) Elizabeth, who married Sir Archibald Alison, Baronet, Sheriff of Lanark-

shire, and author of the *History of Europe during the French Revolution*, and other works.

(4) Jane, married to James Erskine of Aberdona.

(5) Anne, married to Berkeley B. Stafford of Mayne, co. Louth.

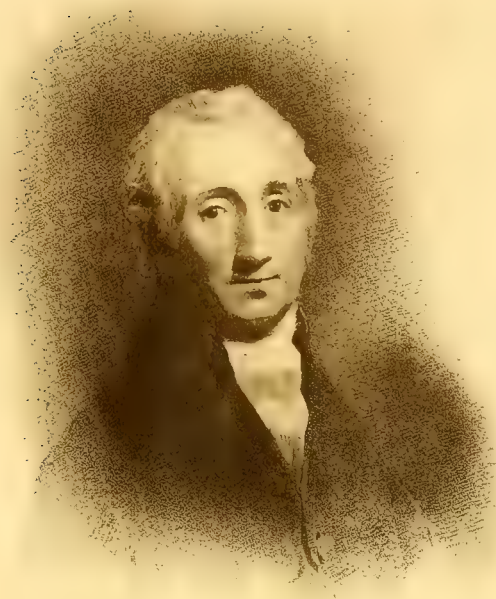
(6) Christina, married to — Terry.

Each of these four daughters had issue.

William Tytler was succeeded, in 1792, by his eldest son,

8. *Alexander Fraser-Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee,*

born 15th October 1747, who, like his father, received his early education at the High School of Edinburgh, where he was 'dux' in the Rector's class. In his sixteenth year he went to an academy at Kensington, and displayed great proficiency in Latin poetry, drawing, and natural history.



After an absence of two years, he returned to Edinburgh, where he attended the University under distinguished Professors, with the view of studying for the Law; and was able to reckon among his friends Henry Mackenzie, Mr. Playfair, Dr. Gregory, and Dugald Stewart. Among other memorandum-books, etc., at Woodhouselee, is a small quarto, containing a series of Latin notes of lectures on philosophy, and inscribed 'Alexander Tytler militans sub Joanne Stevenson Log. Prof. 1763.' In 1770 Tytler was called to the Scottish Bar, and the following year he paid a visit to Paris. Shortly after his return to Scotland, Lord Kames advised him to write a supplementary volume to his *Dictionary of Decisions*, which he successfully completed after five years' labour, and which was published in 1778. Two years previously (1776) he married Anne, daughter of William Fraser of Balnain, a cadet of the House of Lovat.

In 1780 Tytler was appointed conjunct Professor of Universal History in the University of Edinburgh with Mr. Pringle, and six years afterwards he became sole Professor. His lectures attracted a large number of students; and in 1782 he published what he modestly described as *Outlines* of the course, which afterwards appeared in an extended form under

the title of *Elements of General History*, and became a text-book both at home and abroad, passing through many editions. He also wrote largely for the well-known periodicals, the *Mirror* and the *Lounger*.

On the institution of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1783, Alexander Tytler became one of its members, and contributed various papers to its *Transactions*, including essays on the history of the Society, the vitrified forts of the Scottish Highlands, and a biographical sketch of Robert Dundas of Arniston, President of the Court of Session.

Through the influence of Lord Melville he was appointed to the important office of Judge-Advocate of Scotland; and during his incumbency he compiled a valuable treatise on *Martial Law*.

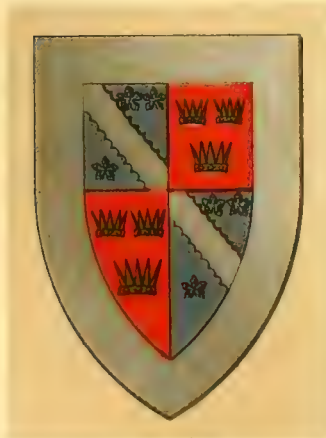
On the death of his father in 1792, Alexander Tytler succeeded to the estate of Woodhouselee, and shortly afterwards his wife inherited Aldourie, when he assumed the surname of Fraser as a prefix to that of Tytler. He greatly enlarged the mansion-house of Woodhouselee; but three years after his succession to the estate he was seized with a long-protracted fever, from which, through the skill of his friend Dr. Gregory, he gradually recovered. At this period Tytler's pen was rarely idle, and, amongst other publications, he produced a pamphlet entitled '*Ireland profiting by Example; or the Question considered, Whether Scotland has gained or lost by the Union,*' of which no fewer than 3000 copies were sold on the day of publication.

In 1802, on the death of Lord Stonefield, he was raised to the Scottish bench under the title of Lord Woodhouselee, and nine years afterwards he was appointed a Lord of Justiciary. In 1807 he published an interesting *Memoir of Henry Home, Lord Kames*, in two quarto volumes, which embraces a vast fund of literary anecdote and numerous notices of eminent contemporaries. Five years afterwards (1812) Lord Woodhouselee had occasion to go to London for the purpose of returning the insignia of the

Bath belonging to his deceased relative, Sir James Craig, Governor of Canada; and after an interview with the Prince-Regent, on account of his literary and other attainments, he was offered a Baronetcy, which he thought proper to decline. After his return to Scotland he was attacked by his old complaint, and suddenly expired, without a groan, at his beloved Woodhouselee, 5th January 1813, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

By his wife, Anne Fraser, Lord Woodhouselee had four sons and three daughters:—

1. William, } of whom afterwards.
2. James, }
3. Alexander, born 1787, married Elizabeth, daughter of — Colvin, Esq.,





by whom he had two sons and one daughter, who all died unmarried. He held the office of Assistant Judge in the E. I. Company's Service, and was the author of a work, in two volumes, entitled *Considerations on the Present Political State of India*, etc., of which Mill, in his *History of British India*, speaks very highly. Alexander Tytler died in 1816.

4. Patrick, born 30th August 1791, was educated at the High School and University of his native city Edinburgh, and became a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1813. After some desultory practice he abandoned the Bar as a profession for the more congenial work of literature and historical research. On completing a tour through France and Belgium, his first attempts at authorship were in the columns of *Blackwood's Magazine*; and in 1819 he published a *Life of the Admirable Crichton*, which was very favourably received. This was followed, in 1823, by an *Account of the Life and Writings of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton*, with sketches of other eminent legal characters; and three years later (1826) by the *Life of John Wicklyff*, the English Reformer.

At the instigation of Sir Walter Scott, Patrick Tytler undertook to

write a *History of Scotland*, the first volume of which appeared in 1828. In the winter of 1843 the formidable task was successfully completed by the publication of the ninth and last volume—a labour of little less than eighteen years. Much of his material was derived from the MSS. in the British Museum and the Record Office; and he was more than once a guest at Windsor Castle. He commenced with the reign of Alexander III. and terminated his narrative at the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland in 1603; and for many years the work was all but universally regarded as the standard History of Scotland. During the Administration of Sir Robert Peel, his services, as a national historian, were rewarded by an annual pension of £200; and about the same period he produced several other important works, including *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, *England under Edward VI. and Mary*, and the *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*.

Many interesting letters of Patrick Tytler's literary correspondents are preserved in a precious volume at Woodhouselee, including the Rev. Dr. Black, minister of Coylton in Ayrshire, and Principal Lee—who both acted as Tytler's tutors,—Sir Walter Scott, George Chalmers, author of *Caledonia*, Thomas Campbell the sculptor, Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton, the Bishop of St. David's, the Earls of Haddington, Bute, and Dunmore, John Murray the publisher, Lord Eldon, Henry Mackenzie, author of *The Man of Feeling*, Dr. David Irving, Sir James Mackintosh, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Dr. Robert Chambers, John Riddell, the peerage lawyer, Dr. Thomas M'Crie, David Laing, George Hibbert, and Sir Robert Wilson. Dr. Burgon gives an amusing account of Dr. Black's quaint appearance and conversational powers; and most of his letters, which are beautifully written, exhibit evidence of his learning and versatility. Two of Sir Walter's brief epistles, the second of which I have reason to believe has never been printed, will be read with interest.

'MY DEAR PETER,—Not seeing you last night I had no opportunity to say that a meeting of the Bannatynean Committee takes place to-morrow at five o'clock for business—at $\frac{1}{2}$ -past five for a Haggis. *Avis au lecteur*.—Yours truly,

W. SCOTT.

'CASTLE STREET, }
27 May. }

PATRICK TYTLER, Esq., Advocate.'

'DEAR PETER,—With leave of Lord Stair and Pitmedden I wish you could look in here to-night after your work. I want to introduce you to Lord Castlereagh, who comes back from the play to an oyster at Castle Street with my womankind.—Yours truly,

WALTER SCOTT.

'CASTLE STREET, }
Thursday. }

PETER TYTLER, Esq., Advocate.'

In the earlier part of his career Patrick Tytler served in the Midlothian Yeomanry Cavalry, which, on one particular occasion, he deserted, with highly amusing results.

After wandering over the Continent in pursuit of health, he returned

home to die, on the 24th of December 1849, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. An interesting Memoir of the Scottish historian, from the pen of the late Dr. Burgon, Dean of Chichester, was published in 1859.

Patrick Fraser-Tytler was twice married; first, in 1826, to Rachel-Elizabeth (who died in 1835), daughter of Thomas Hog of Newliston, by whom he had—besides a daughter—two sons, Alexander and Thomas-Patrick, who both entered the East India Company's military service. His second wife, whom he married in 1845, was Anastasia, daughter of Thomas Bonar, Esq., of Camden Place, Kent.

Lord Woodhouselee's three daughters were :—

1. Anne, born 1782, and died, unmarried, 1858. She wrote several books for the young, including *Mary and Florence*, *Leila*, etc., which passed through numerous editions.

2. Isabella, born 1784, died, unmarried, 1841.

3. Jane, born 1786, married James Baillie Fraser of Reelick, Inverness-shire, and died without issue.

Lord Woodhouselee, as already stated, died 5th January 1813, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

9. *William Fraser-Tytler of Aldourie and Balnain,*

born September 1777, married, 10th March 1801, Margaret-Cussans, only daughter and heiress of George Grant of Burdsyards, or Sanquhar, co. Moray, to which property he succeeded on the death of her father. On the decease of Lord Woodhouselee he inherited Aldourie, and, like his father, adopted the Scottish Bar as his profession. He filled for some time the Chair of History in the University of Edinburgh, but on being appointed Sheriff of Inverness-shire he took up his residence at Aldourie. He also became Convener of the county, and held both offices till his death.

By his wife, Margaret Grant (who died 28th February 1862, aged eighty-one), he had issue, besides several daughters, five sons :—

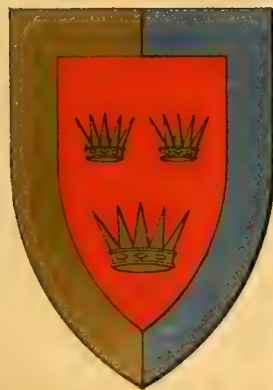
1. Alexander, Lieutenant H.E.I.C.S., died, unmarried, 4th August 1832.

2. George, Lieutenant in the Army, who also died unmarried (?).

3. William, his father's successor.

4. Charles-Edward, who succeeded his brother William.

5. James-Macleod-Bannatyne (Sir), Major-General in H.M. Indian Army, K.C.B., born 1821, of Falkland House, St. Leonard's-on-Sea.



Mr. William Fraser-Tytler died 4th September 1853, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

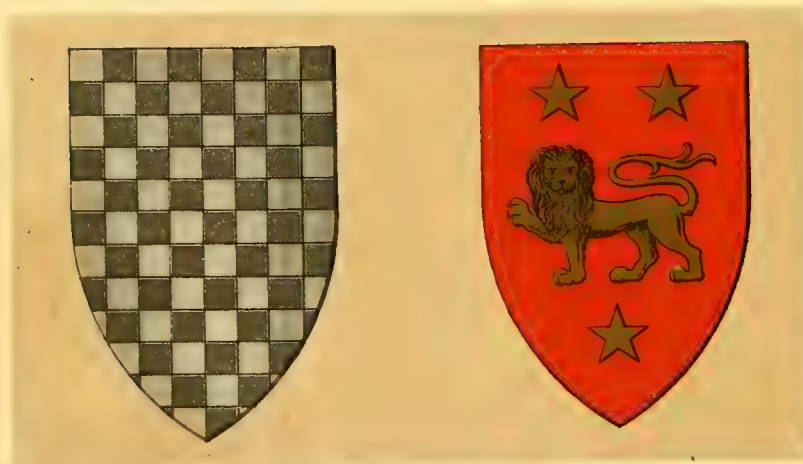
10. *William Fraser-Tytler of Aldourie and Balnain,*

born 12th December 1815, D.L., and Convener of the county of Inverness, Lieutenant-Colonel of Artillery Volunteers, Captain and Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General, Bengal Army (five war medals and seven clasps). Colonel Fraser-Tytler died 12th September 1878, when he was succeeded by his brother,

10 (a). *Charles-Edward Fraser-Tytler of Aldourie and Balnain,*

J.P. and D.L., born 30th September 1817, married, first, in 1843, Etheldred, daughter of John St. Barbe, Esq., by whom he had three daughters:—

1. Etheldred.
2. Christina, married, 26th September 1871, the Rev. Edward Liddell, eldest son of Colonel the Hon. George-Augustus-Frederick Liddell.
3. Mary, married, 20th November 1886, George-Frederick Watts, D.C.L., LL.D., the distinguished Royal Academician.



Mr. Charles-Edward Fraser-Tytler married, secondly, 13th July 1852, Harriet-Jane, second daughter of the Rev. John Pretymann, Rector of Sherington, and Canon of Lincoln, by whom he had three sons and one daughter:—

4. Charles-William, born 1854, died 1877.
5. Edward-Grant, who succeeded his father in the estate of Aldourie.



6. William-Theodore, who succeeded to the maternal property of Sanquhar.

7. Eleanor-Dora, married to James, second son of George Kellie-MacCallum of Braco Castle, Perthshire.

Mr. Charles-Edward Fraser-Tytler died 30th January 1881, when he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

11. *Edward-Grant Fraser-Tytler of Aldourie and Balnain,*

J.P. and D.L., Captain 2nd Battalion Cameron Highlanders, born 19th July 1856, married, 15th December 1881, Edith-Adriana, eldest daughter of the Right Hon. Sir Charles Selwyn, Lord Justice of Appeal, and has issue two sons and one daughter:—



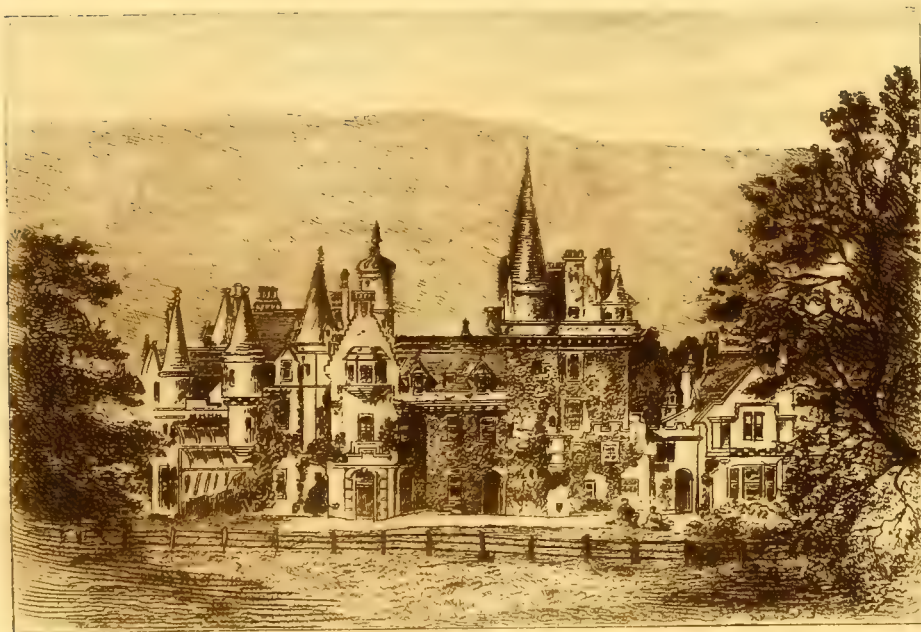
1. Charles-Edward, born 28th April 1883, died 7th October 1886.
2. Niel, born 9th July 1889.
3. Hester-Vere, born 4th June 1886.

Armorial Bearings.

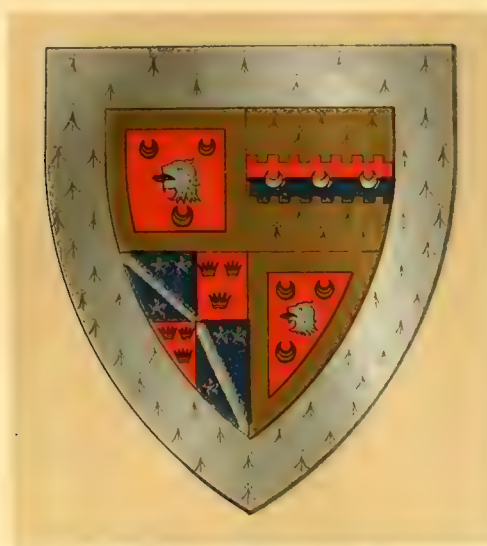
Quarterly: 1st, *gules*, a lion's head erased *argent* between three crescents *or*, within a bordure of the last, for Tytler and Seton; 2nd, *ermenois*, on a fesse per fesse, embattled *gules* and *azure*, three crescents *argent* for Craig of Dalnair; 3rd, counter-quartered—1st and 4th, *azure*, a bend engrailed between three frises *argent*; 2nd and 3rd, *gules*, three antique crowns *or*, the whole within a bordure *argent*, for Fraser of Balnain; 4th, *gules*, three antique crowns *or*, a bordure per pale of the last and *azure*, for Grant of Burdsyards.

Crests—1st, Tytler, the rays of the sun issuing from behind a cloud proper; 2nd, Fraser, a stag's head erased proper.

Motto—'Occultus non extinctus.'



Edinboro.



WOODHOUSELEE BRANCH

9. *James Tytler of Woodhouselee,*

J.P. and D.L., second son of (8) Alexander Fraser-Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee (*supra* p. 554), born 1780, dropped the surname of Fraser, borne by the rest of his brothers and sisters, on his succession to Woodhouselee, which, however, was re-assumed by his children and their descendants. He married, in 1810, Elizabeth, daughter of Maurice Carmichael of Eastend and Symington, co. Lanark, and had issue four sons and three daughters:—

1. Alexander, Lieutenant R. A., born 1811, died, unmarried, in Jamaica, 1842.

2. Maurice-William, Lieutenant Hon. E.I.C.S., born 1815, died, unmarried, at Agra in December 1837.

3. James-Stuart, his father's successor.

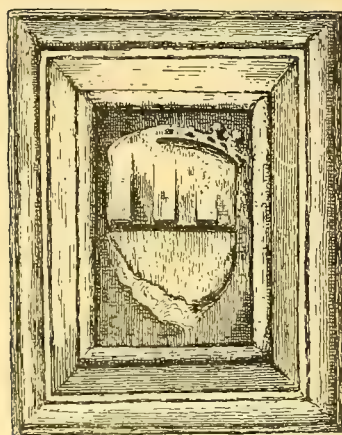
4. George-Michael, of Keith-Marischal,¹ co. Haddington (which he purchased from the Earl of Hopetoun in



¹ On the north-east gable of Keith-Marischal, believed to have been built in 1589, is a small

stone panel bearing the Keith arms under a broken coronet, engraved on p. 562.

1889), born 26th December 1822, was for many years, up to 1883, Secretary of the Bank of Scotland. He married, in 1864, Jane-Georgiana (who died in 1871), daughter of George Skene of Rubislaw, co. Aberdeen, and had issue (besides three children who died young), a son, Maurice-William, born 1869, and a daughter, Georgiana-Mabel-Kate.



5. Rebecca, born 1813, died, unmarried, 1847.

6. Mary-Anne (died 1891) married, in 1854, to James B. Curtis, Esq., brother of the author of *Prue and I*.

7. Katherine-Elizabeth, married, in 1869, to George Skene of Rubislaw, a member of the Faculty of Advocates, and for some years Professor of History and Constitutional Law in the University of Edinburgh.



Mr. James Tytler, who was a Writer to the Signet, and held the offices of Crown Agent and Lyon-Depute in the Scottish College of Arms, died 2nd October 1862, when he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

10. *James-Stuart Fraser-Tytler of Woodhouselee,*

J.P., LL.D., born 5th August 1820, married, in 1850, Mary-Elizabeth, only child of Alexander Blair, Esq., of the family of Dunrod, a cadet of the House of Blair, and by her (who died in 1857) had issue one son and four daughters:—



1. James-William, who succeeded his father.

2. Mary-Elizabeth, born 1851, married, in 1889, Edward J. Greene, Esq., son of the late Arthur Greene, Registrar for the Court of Common Pleas, Ireland. Among other works of fiction written by Mrs. Greene are *Transplanted* and *Grisel Romney*.

3. Katherine-Anne, born 1852, sculptor of 'Constance' on Sir Walter Scott's monument in Edinburgh, and other statuettes.

4. Emily-Jane, born 1855, married, in 1881, to Henry Lonsdale Hallewell, of the Royal Scots regiment, son of the late Colonel Hallewell, and has issue.

5. Alice-Seton, born 1856, married, 4th April 1895, to Major C. H. Gostling, Royal Scots. In 1892 Mrs. Gostling completed a most interesting ms. record relative to the traditions and associations of Woodhouselee, under the title of the *Book of Woodhouselee*, from which I have derived much valuable information.

In the year 1840, Mr. James-Stuart Fraser-Tytler and his brother George went as volunteers to New Zealand in the preliminary expedition of the colony of Nelson. They were the first actual settlers who put plough in the ground of the middle island, and after upwards of four years' residence they returned to Scotland on the death of their two elder brothers.

Like his father, Mr. James-Stuart Tytler was a Writer to the Signet (1849), and he also filled the office of Professor of Conveyancing in the University of Edinburgh from 1866 till his death, which occurred on the 26th November 1891.

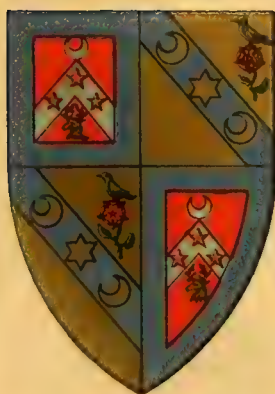
The following tribute is extracted from the minutes of the Senatus of the University:—'The University has been bereaved of one of her worthiest members, a learned, zealous, and conscientious teacher, and one who was ever ready, with wise counsel, sound judgment, and ripe experience, to render her valuable service in important financial and other business. The Senatus also mourns the loss, not merely of an able teacher, lawyer, and man of affairs, but of an accomplished gentleman of old Scottish lineage, the third of his family who has filled a Chair in the University, and of a colleague and friend, endeared to them by his unfailing kindness, geniality, and courtesy.'

In *The Student* of 28th January 1891 there is an excellent portrait of Professor Fraser-Tytler, accompanied by a short notice, in which he is justly described as 'a clear and lucid lecturer, and an able elucidator of the more confusing intricacies which lend a charm to our Scottish legal system. . . . The Professor belongs to a Scottish family which has had, in the past, members of great distinction and influence in Scottish life. He is a nephew of the well-known historian of Scotland, and a grandson of Lord Woodhouselee. Those of his students who come to know him more intimately, know best the unfailing courtesy of the man. He may seem now and then a somewhat strict disciplinarian, viewed from the class-room back benches; as the Chairman of the Board of Examiners for intending law-agents he may be regarded with some feeling of awe; but even in that capacity we venture to think he is by no means a bad friend of the student. In these days, when lucidity in professorial effusions is not always obtainable, one thinks the more highly of a man who is, in his lectures above all, lucid and to the point.'

Mr. James S. Fraser-Tytler was succeeded by his only son,



11. *James-William Fraser-Tytler of Woodhouselee,*



B.A. of Oriel College, Oxon., J.P., and a Writer to the Signet, born 28th February 1854, married, 26th July 1883, to Christian-Alice, third surviving daughter of William Scott-Kerr of Chatto and Sunlaws, co. Roxburgh, by whom he has three sons and one daughter:—

1. James-Francis, born 11th September 1884.
2. William-Kerr, born 26th December 1886.
3. Patrick-Seton, born 19th May 1892.
4. Christian-Mary-Marjory, born 25th May 1888.

The following early references to Woodhouselee were furnished to the compiler of the *Book of Woodhouselee* by the Rev. A. T. Grant, formerly incumbent of Rosslyn Chapel :—

In 1379, King Robert II. gave *Wodoley*, which had belonged to Margaret de Eklys, to Sir John Lyon. Along with Muirhous, Castellaw, and Estraw, *Wodehouseleye* was granted by King James IV. to Patrick Hume of Polwarth and his wife Elen Schaw, Lady of Dirletoun, in 1501. Twenty-nine years later (1530), on the resignation of Patrick's son, George, the same lands were granted to Patrick Sinclair, supposed to be a cadet of the Rosslyn family.

From a manuscript in the handwriting of William Tytler, it appears that the Castle of Fullford, now Woodhouselee, passed from the Sinclairs to the Belsches of Tofts, and from them to Alexander Couper, on whose forfeiture, in 1657, it was gifted by Oliver Cromwell to Sir William Purves; and along with the adjoining estate of Woodhouselee was incorporated by King Charles II. into one free barony, under the name of Woodhouselee. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Sir William Purves sold Woodhouselee to his son-in-law, James Deans, whose son disposed of it to — Crichton, from whom, as already stated, it was purchased by William Tytler in 1748.

The new owner removed the ruins of the old tower, but left untouched the vaulted kitchens and the two rooms above—believed to be upwards of 600 years old—of which the walls are in many places eight feet thick. William Tytler's son, Lord Woodhouselee, built the present tower in 1795, and otherwise improved the mansion. In 1843, his son James pulled down the old south wing, which had become unsafe, and erected the present wing, containing drawing-room, garden rooms, chintz-room, and housekeeper's room, the architect being the lamented Kemp, the designer of Sir Walter Scott's Edinburgh monument. Between 1874 and 1888 the late Professor Tytler made several important additions and alterations; and since his death a family burial-ground has been enclosed and consecrated on the slope behind the house.

Like other old historic mansions, Woodhouselee has its well-vouched ghost. We have seen that, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, the estate was in the possession of the Sinclairs, one of whom, Lady Anne, married Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, by whom the Regent Moray was assassinated. During her husband's absence, at the instigation of the Regent, the property was seized by Sir William Bellenden, Lord Justice-Clerk; and on Bothwellhaugh's return he found that his wife and infant child had been turned out into the woods, where the mother lost her reason, and, along with her helpless infant, died of terror and starvation. The unfortunate lady's ghost, bearing a child in its arms, still haunts the present mansion, of which a considerable portion consists of the stones of her former abode.

This family tradition remained unchallenged until about twenty-three years ago, when Dr. Hill Burton wrote a paper in a Scotch magazine, in

which he asserted that Lady Anne was alive many years after the death of the Regent Moray. The subject was discussed, among others, by Mr. A. W. Inglis of Loganbank, and some of the critics came to the conclusion that the real ghost of the tradition was not Lady Anne Hamilton, but her niece, Lady Anne Bothwell, who was deserted by her husband, and whose 'Lament' is so well known. A frequent visitor at Woodhouselee, Sir Walter Scott was familiar with the tradition, on which he founded his ballad of 'Cadzow Castle.'¹

The fine collection of pictures at Woodhouselee was chiefly formed by William Tytler and his son Lord Woodhouselee. Among the more important are Moroni's Venetian Doctor; Child and Pigeon, by Rubens; Cavaliero Tempesto, by Peter Molyn; Circe tempering the Sword of Ulysses, by Vanderwerff; Mary Queen of Scots in her First Widowhood, from the original, now burnt, in the Scotch College at Paris; another of the same Queen, from the original in Trinity Hospital, Leith (often erroneously supposed to be Mary of Guise); Robert, first Earl of Salisbury, by Cornelius Jansen; James VII. and the Poet Wycherley, by Kneller; Prince Rupert, by Mytens; Angelica and Ruggino, by Guercino; Frank Hals, by himself; Pigsty, by Morland; Landscape, by Poussin; Sea-piece, by Runciman; Sir Joshua Reynolds, by himself, copied by James Hall from the original in Dulwich Gallery; and two chalk-drawings by Allan Ramsay the younger, one being a portrait of his father the poet, and the other of William Tytler.

The numerous family portraits embrace Alexander Tytler, Writer in Edinburgh, and his wife, Jean Leslie; William Tytler their son and his wife, Anne Craig; Lord Woodhouselee, by Raeburn² (one of three replicas, the original being at Aldourie); Patrick Fraser-Tytler the historian; and Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Tytler, father of Lady Alison.

The stained-glass rondel in one of the dining-room windows, exhibiting the armorial bearings of James VI. and Anne of Denmark, is fully described by the lamented Mr. John M. Gray in the *Proceedings of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, 14th December 1891. On many of the window-panes are diamond-written verses by Lord Woodhouselee and his children; while on the window of the 'Shepherd's Room' is an interesting sonnet on the Woodhouselee Burn, by the poet Leyden, who occupied the chamber immediately before his departure for India. 'Sydney's Button' is the name given to a small piece of wood, in the shape of the figure 8, affixed to the centre window of the dining-room by Sydney Smith to prevent the rattling of the sash in a very stormy night, as described in Lady Holland's Life of her facetious father.

The most interesting heirlooms at Woodhouselee are Queen Mary's Watch and Solitaire, and Claverhouse's Sword. The two precious relics of the 'beauteous Stewart' were presented by the Queen to Massie, one of

¹ See 'The Story of the Woodhouselee Ghost,' in *Fraser's Magazine* for September 1873.

² At Keith-Marischal, Mr. George M. Tytler

has an excellent pastel portrait of Lord Woodhouselee by Archibald Skirving.

her French attendants who followed her to Scotland, the night before her execution. They were long treasured by his descendants, and ultimately came into the possession of Dr. J. Scott, a chemist in Edinburgh, Massie's lineal heir, before 1767. In that year they were lent by Scott to Lord Buchan, whose formal acknowledgment of the loan is still preserved at Woodhouselee. The relics were bequeathed by Dr. Scott's widow to her brother, the Rev. William Torrance, minister of the parish of Glencorse, to which he was presented by Lord Woodhouselee. Mr. Torrance and his son Alexander held the living for upwards of seventy years; and on the death of the latter, in 1875, he left the interesting relics to the late Professor Tytler, 'in gratitude to the Woodhouselee family for having presented his father and himself to the living of Glencorse.'

The Watch is gold, and circular, not exceeding one inch in diameter, with a catgut spring, and was made by Hubert of Rouen, one of a noted family of watchmakers. It is enclosed in a dark green shagreen case, studded with tiny gold ornaments, forming a series of French *abeilles*, or bees, with a fleur-de-lis in the centre.

The Solitaire is set with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. In the centre, surrounded by the jewels, is a minute figure of Cupid, in white enamel, playing with a mouse. On the obverse are the words:—

‘ Simplex appares
Simplicitate cares.’

The jewel is said to have been given to Queen Mary by the Dauphin of France before their marriage, and appears on a portrait of the Queen, formerly in the possession of David, eleventh Earl of Buchan, which is fully described in a letter from his Lordship to his cousin, Miss E. Muir, dated 9th February 1804.

The following notice of Claverhouse's Sword is from Lord Woodhouselee's Commonplace Book:—‘ The sword now in my possession, which belonged to the gallant John Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, and which was in his hand when he fell at the battle of Gilliecrankie, July 16th,¹ 1689, I got from my aunt, Mrs. Lindsay (Christian Tytler, daughter of Alexander Tytler), widow of George Lindsay, Esq., City Clerk of Edinburgh, a cadet of the family of the Earl of Crawford. George Lindsay's father, minister at Cockpen, had a wonderful veneration for this sword. It lay constantly above his bed, and on holidays he was wont to take it down with particular solemnity, present it to his friends, and make them kiss it.’

Besides a small horizontal sun-dial in the garden, erected by Lord Woodhouselee in 1805, there is a very fine specimen of the lectern type dial, formerly at Wrychtishouse, the residence of the Napiers, demolished in the year 1800, to make room for Gillespie's Hospital. It is engraved and described in Ross's *Ancient Sun-dials of Scotland* (1891), p. 50, fig. 73.

¹ A mistake for 27th.

Besides the sun-dial there are several heraldic and other sculptured stones in a rustic arch at Woodhouselee, which also came from Wrychtishouse.

The 'Shepherd's Room,' already referred to, was usually occupied by the author of the *Gentle Shepherd* during his frequent visits to Woodhouselee; and the rustic summer-house, known as 'Allan Ramsay's Seat,' and erected in 1796, bears an inscription composed by Lord Woodhouselee. The two memorial urns at the head of the 'beech avenue' and in the 'yew grove,' to the former of which reference has been already made, were respectively erected by William Tytler and Lord Woodhouselee.

Although the house of Woodhouselee is about 750 feet above the level of the sea, it is surrounded by some very fine timber. In the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, i. 313, under the parish of Glencorse, there is an interesting notice of a silver fir, now showing signs of decay, which, in 1838, measured 13 feet 4 inches in circumference, at four feet above the ground. Among other large trees at Woodhouselee is a noble sycamore, in the corner of the garden, 15 feet in circumference; a very old laburnum, which is believed to have been one of the first planted in Scotland; and several fine variegated hollies.

Armorial Bearings.

Quarterly: 1st and 4th, *gules*, a lion's head erased *argent*, langued *azure*, between three crescents *or*, within a bordure of the last, for Tytler; 2nd, *ermine* on a fesse per fesse embattled *gules* and *azure*, three crescents *argent*, for Craig of Dalnair; 3rd, quarterly: 1st and 4th, *azure*, a bend engrailed between three frases *argent*, for Fraser; 2nd and 3rd, *gules*, three antique crowns, *or*, for Grant; the whole within a bordure *ermine*.

Crest—the rays of the sun issuing from behind a cloud proper.

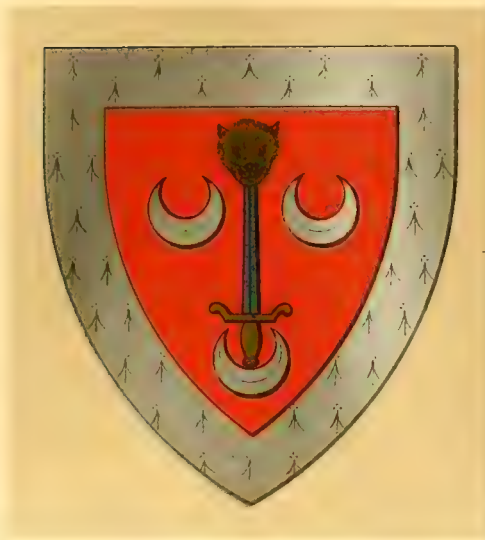
Motto—'Occultus non extinctus.'

The Tytler coat was matriculated by William Tytler of Woodhouselee, 7th January 1768, and the quartered arms by James Tytler of Woodhouselee (second son of Lord Woodhouselee), on the 2nd of March 1824.



Woodhouselee.

James D. W.



SKENE-TYTTLER BRANCH

THE supposed younger son of (4) Alexander Tytler of Corsindae (p. 549 *supra*) was

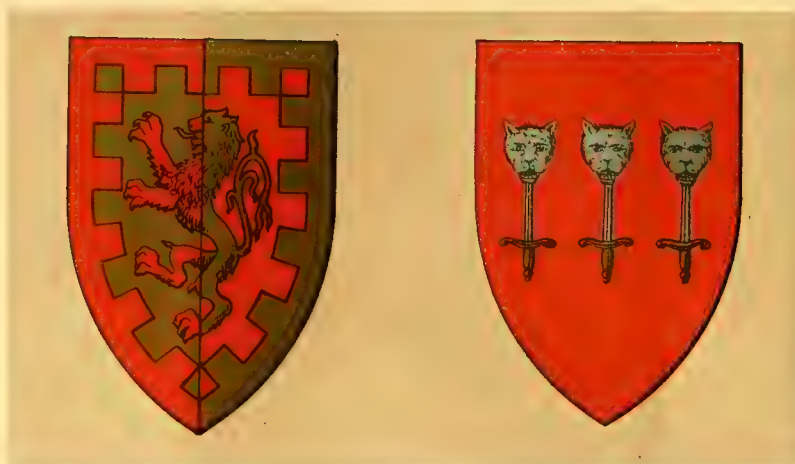
5. *James Tytler,*

born in 1646, and died in 1736, having married Jean Middleton (born 1654, died 1727), by whom—besides other children—he had a son,

6. *John Tytler of Corsindae,*

born in 1680, a merchant in Aberdeen, and burgess of that city in 1700, died 23rd January 1762. He married Barbara, fifth daughter of John Skene of that ilk, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Arthur, ninth Lord Forbes, who was born 4th July 1676 (?), and died 22nd November 1723, her will having been confirmed at Aberdeen, 1st June 1731. By Barbara Skene John Tytler had three sons:—

1. George, of whom afterwards.
2. John, born in 1712, and died in 1728.
3. Henry, born in 1715, and died in 1779, who appears to have had two sons, George and James, and four daughters, Margaret and Barbara, Kitty and Jean.



John Tytler's eldest son was

7. *The Rev. George Tytler,*

born in 1706, died 29th July 1785, minister of Premnay, Aberdeenshire, 1733, and of Fearn, near Brechin, 1745.¹ By his wife, Janet Robertson (who died 21st July 1795)—besides two daughters, Barbara, who married, and Mary, who died in infancy—he had three sons:—

1. George, born 4th May 1737.
2. James.
3. Henry-William, of whom afterwards.

The second son,



8. *James Tytler,*

born 17th December 1745, was a laborious miscellaneous writer. After a regular medical education at the University of Edinburgh, and two voyages in the capacity of surgeon on board a Greenland whaler, he attempted to secure practice in the Scottish metropolis; and subsequently opened a shop in Leith for the sale of chemical preparations, which did not prove very successful.

¹ See *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scotticæ* and Jervise's *Lands of the Lindsays*.

James Tytler largely contributed to the second edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which began to be published in 1776. The payment which he received for his literary productions is said to have been very small, and his poverty was so great that, during the progress of the *Encyclopædia*, he lived at Duddingston in the house of a washerwoman, whose inverted tub formed the only desk he could command! It is believed, however, that his privations were mainly attributable to his intemperate habits.

While confined within the precincts of the Sanctuary of Holyrood, he threw off various productions, generally without the intermediate use of manuscript, from a printing-press of his own manufacture. In this manner he commenced an abridgment of that colossal work, the *Universal History*; and his subsequent publications included the *Edinburgh Geographical Grammar* and a *System of Surgery*. He was also the author of *Loch Erockside* and other popular songs;¹ and Burns alludes, with surprise, to the fact that such clever ballads should have been composed by 'a poor devil with a skylight hat and hardly a shoe to his feet.'

On the commencement of the balloon mania, after the experiments of Montgolfier, Tytler resolved to attempt an aeronautic voyage in a huge dingy bag filled with the best hydrogen he could procure; but the balloon only carried him over the garden wall of the Sanctuary, and deposited him on an adjoining dunghill! After this unsuccessful endeavour he was always known as 'Balloon Tytler'—the name being appropriate on more accounts than one.

Having joined the 'Friends of the People,' he published, at the close of 1792, a political placard, which the authorities regarded as seditious in its tendency. Removing first to Ireland, and thence to America, he was cited before the Court of Justiciary, and having failed to appear, he was formally outlawed, on the 7th of January 1793. While conducting a newspaper at Salem, Massachusetts, he died, in the latter part of 1805, at the age of sixty.

James Tytler appears to have been thrice married—first, to a sister of — Young, Writer to the Signet; secondly, to a sister of John Cairns, butcher in Edinburgh; and thirdly, to a daughter of — Aikenhead.² Possibly one of his descendants may be the representative of this branch of the family.

The third son of the Rev. George Tytler was

8 (a). *Henry-William Tytler, M.D.*,

of Brechin and the Cape of Good Hope, born 4th April 1753, died 24th August 1808, having registered his arms five years previously. He published a translation of the works of Callimachus in 1793, and was

¹ See Aitkin's *Scottish Songs*, p. 200.

² For many of the particulars relative to the Tytler family I am indebted to the *Biographical*

Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, published by Messrs. Blackie and Son in 1870.

the author of *Pædotrophia*, a poem, translated from the Latin of Scævola de St. Marthe, and *A Voyage from the Cape of Good Hope*. By his wife, Christina (who died in 1825), daughter of Robert Gillies of Little Keithosk,

co. Forfar, and sister of John, the historian, and of Adam, Lord Gillies,¹ he had—besides a daughter, Margaret, who died at Monghyr, India, in November 1822—two sons:—

1. Robert, of whom afterwards.

2. John, M.D., H.E.I.C.S., born at Brechin 26th September 1790, and died in Jersey, 5th March 1837, leaving by his wife, Annie (born 27th November 1795, died 10th February 1854), daughter of William Gillies of London—to whom he was married at Calcutta, 13th July 1818—three sons and two daughters:—

(1) Henry-William, Surgeon, Hon. E.I.C.S., born in India 30th April 1819, and died at Hampstead 24th May 1863, having married, at Calcutta, in 1845,

Frances, daughter of — Bathurst, who died at St. Leonard's, without issue, in January 1876.

(2) William-Gillies, born 11th November 1821, a member of the Scottish Bar, who gave great promise, and died, unmarried, at Dumfries, 29th December 1854.

(3) John-Adam, born at Monghyr, India, 29th October 1825, V.C., C.B., Brigadier-General 4th Ghorkas, died at Thull, in the Khurram District, 14th February 1880. By his wife, Adelaide-Ann, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Ross, H.E.I.C.S., whom he married in June 1858, Brigadier Tytler had seven daughters:—

i. Eliza-Christiana, married, 20th March 1880, Colonel George-Arthur Lee, 2nd Durham Light Infantry.

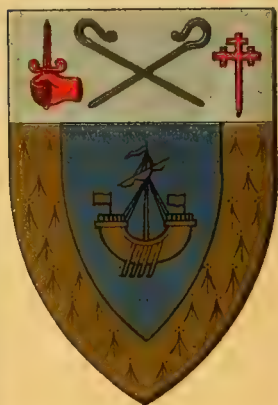
ii. Annie-Gillies, married, 1st June 1884, William-Lockington, son of Dr. Elijah Impey.

iii. Matilda-Henrietta, married, 29th April 1885, Walter, only child of Samuel Derham, Esq. of Henleaze Park, co. Gloucester, by whom she has two sons, John-Adam-Tytler, born 12th May 1886, and Osmond-Charles, born 13th June 1887.

iv. Adelaide-Mary.

¹ 'Lord Gillies was unrivalled in the quickness with which he apprehended an idea, and the force with which he instantly set his mind to answer or to support it. In this respect he was far superior to any of the eminent men whose talents then shed lustre over the Scotch

Bar. . . . In private life he was courtesy and blandness itself; chivalrous in his manners to women, and a great and deserved favourite with them. He possessed a simplicity of mind and unassuming manners hardly ever seen in second-rate men.'—*Alison's Life and Writings*, i. 276.



v. Ethel-Frances, married, 16th July 1891, Rear-Admiral John-Clarke, third son of the Hon. Vice-Admiral Byng, who was born 24th March 1824, and by whom she has a daughter, Beatrice-Eva-Tytler, born 10th January 1893.

vi. Catherine-Charlotte-Jane.

vii. Helen-Marion-Ross.

(4) Christiana-Charlotte, married, 24th July 1849, James Campbell, Advocate, successively Sheriff-Substitute at Dornoch, Paisley, and Edinburgh.

(5) Mary-Clementina, married, 29th July 1856, William-Gillespie Dickson, Advocate, LL.D., Procureur and Advocate-General of Mauritius, and afterwards Sheriff of Lanarkshire.

9. *Robert Tytler, M.D.,*

(elder son of Henry-William Tytler, M.D.), born 18th November 1787, died near Gwalior 17th March 1838, of the H.E.I.C.S., Bengal, and author of several medical works, who married, in 1815, Elizabeth, daughter of Baron Schönberg, residing in Edinburgh, by whom he had two sons:—

1. George, born 1816, Captain in the 2nd Queen's Regiment, who at his death, in 1850, left by his wife, Ellen, daughter of Colonel Squire (afterwards Mrs. Houghton), a son, Robert, Lieutenant in the Indian Army, born 6th December 1843, and died without issue 14th July 1865.

2. Robert-Christopher, who carried on the line of the family.



10. *Robert-Christopher Tytler,*

born 1818, Colonel 38th Native Infantry, and for two years Governor of the Andaman Islands. He married, first, in 1843, Isabella (born 1824), daughter of Dr. Neilson of Glasgow, who died at Mussoorie in 1846, and by whom he had two sons:—

1. Robert-Francis-Christopher-Alexander, of whom afterwards.

2. Adam-Gillies, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, born in 1845.

Colonel Robert Tytler married, secondly, Harriett-Christina, daughter of Colonel Earle, by whom he had five sons and four daughters:—

3. Frederick-John-Lucas, C.E., born 1st February 1849, and married, 18th November 1890, Helen-Maud, eldest daughter of Thomas Boyer of Harriston, Ontario, by whom he has a daughter, Muriel-Boyer, born May 1892.



4. Frederick.
5. Francis-William, born 5th September 1852.
6. Stanley-Delhi, born 21st June 1857.
7. Maynard-Fitzroy.
8. Harry-Christopher, born 26th September 1867, late Lieutenant Manchester Regiment, now 11th Bengal Infantry.
9. Edith-Mary-Gillies, married to Livingstone Thompson, late 11th Hussars, by whom she has a son, Charles-Tytler.
10. Effie-Constance, married, first, in 1878, to Francis Brownlow, C.B. (eldest son of William Brownlow), Colonel of the 72nd Highlanders, who died in the Afghan war, 1st September 1880, having had a son who died young. She married, secondly, Major Alfred Porcelli, R.E., and died at Simla, 16th June 1886.



11. Mabel, married, 23rd June 1882, Lieutenant John Benbow, son of Admiral Benbow, by whom she has a son.

12. Margaret-Fitzroy, born 22nd August 1865.

Colonel Robert C. Tytler died at Simla, in September 1872, when he was succeeded in the representation of the family by his eldest son,

11. *Robert-Francis-Christopher-Alexander Tytler,*

born 13th December 1843, Major-General,



and late Deputy-Judge-Advocate-General of the Bombay Presidency; served in the Afghanistan campaign; was in the actions of Ahmed, Khel, and Urzoo; mentioned in despatches, and received the brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel. He married, in 1867, Henrietta, daughter of Deputy-Surgeon-General John Hilliard, Indian Army, by whom he has a son, Robert-Adam-Neilson, Lieutenant Gordon Highlanders, born 25th February 1870.

Armorial Bearings.

Gules—a dirk in pale proper, hilted and pommelled *or*, on the point thereof a wolf's head couped of the last, armed and langued *argent*, between three crescents of the third (Seton), all within a bordure *ermine*.

Crest—an orle of laurel encircling an anchor and Æsculapius's rod in saltire; on the top of the anchor a plume of three feathers, all proper.

Mottoes—above the crest, 'Spes · Fama · Salus.' Under the shield, 'Immortalia spero.'¹

The dirk and wolf's head in the shield bear reference to the descent from Barbara Skene, wife of John Tytler of Corsindae, whose initials (B. S.), appear on two large and elegant silver spoons, now in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Derham (p. 572 *supra*).

¹ General Robert Tytler intends to apply to the Lyon King of Arms for an alteration of the Crest and Mottoes.

