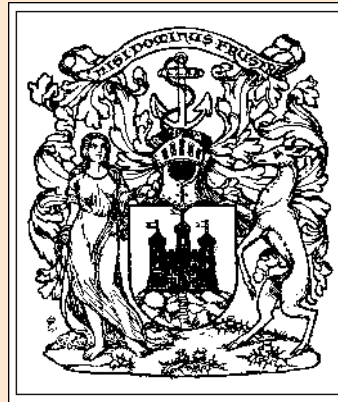


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SIEGE OF THE CASTLE OF

EDINBURGH

1689

## SIEGE OF CASTLE OF EDINBURGH, 1689

. . . Upon Sunday the 9th December, [1688] the Duke [of Gordon]<sup>1</sup> being informed there was a tumult and uproare in the city, retired into the castle that he might not be surprysed, from thence he sent to advertize the Chancellour<sup>2</sup> of the tumult, and that the town guards made no opposition to the seditious. But the provost<sup>3</sup> had, sooner

<sup>1</sup> George Gordon, 1st Duke, was born in 1643, and, at the age of ten, succeeded as 4th Marquis of Huntly. He was educated abroad, and during the years 1672-75 saw military service with the French and the Prince of Orange. In 1684 he was created Duke of Gordon, chiefly on the recommendation of Claverhouse. Gordon's connection with the episode which forms the subject of the following narrative began on 11th March 1686 when James VII. appointed him Captain and Constable of the Castle of Edinburgh, in room of the Duke of Queensberry. Being a Catholic, he was admitted to the office, as Fountainhall tells us (*Historical Notices*, p. 713), without taking any oath. Writing privately to Queensberry (see Napier's *Memoirs of Viscount Dundee*, vol. iii. p. 469), the King gave as his reason for superseding him by Gordon that he wished the inhabitants of Edinburgh to have more regard to his commands, and be 'civilier to Catholics by seeing it (i.e. the Castle) in the hands of one of that persuasion.' Gordon however declined to further the Romanising policy of the King. Consequently, he became unpopular at Court. In March 1688 he offered to resign his offices and retire to the Continent, but James would not permit him. After the landing of the Prince of Orange in November, it was rumoured he had become a Protestant, and intended to join Queensberry. But he continued to hold the Castle for James, although he was arranging for its surrender when Dundee and Balcarres arrived with the royal instructions. On 18th March 1689 the Convention of Estates invested the Castle, and next day Gordon had his well-known conference with Dundee when, in response to the entreaties of the latter, the Duke promised to hold the fortress as long as possible. But the anxiety and uncertainty soon broke Gordon's resolution, and on 14th June terms of surrender were finally agreed upon. These are set forth in the narrative. Gordon afterwards visited the exiled court of St. Germain, where he was coldly received. On returning to Scotland his movements were closely watched and he was frequently imprisoned. When George I. came to the throne Gordon was regarded as hostile to the Hanoverian dynasty, and was ordered to be confined in Edinburgh on his parole. He died at Leith on 7th December 1716.

<sup>2</sup> James Drummond, 4th Earl and first titular Duke of Perth. He and his brother John Drummond, 1st Earl and titular Duke of Melfort, virtually ruled Scotland in the interests of the Catholic policy of James VII.

<sup>3</sup> Magnus Prince.



than was useuall, caused lock the citie gates, and put the keyes out of the way, so that the rable could not get out that night to attack the King's pallace, and the Roman Catholics, who lodged, for the most part, in the suburbs called the Cannongate.

Upon Mundaye, 10th December, the Duke of Gordon went down from the castle to the pallace at the east end of the same suburbs where the Chancellour lodged, and advysed him to retire with him to the castle; but the Chancellour told him he had resolved to retire to his own dwelling in the country,<sup>1</sup> forty myles distant, finding he was not able to support the charge of the administration of affairs, in such a violent commotion of the subjects. But before he parted, he signed ane order to pay to the Duke 2000 crownes, to be employed as he should think fitt for the King's service; yet the receivers of the King's rents refused to pay the said soume, pretending they had no money at present in their hands.

The same day, some houres after the Chancellour was parted from Edinburgh, towards the evening, a multitude of young people assembling upon the feild without the city; that they might meit with no hinderance at the gates as the night preceeding, came without the walls, entred the Cannongate, marcht from that to the King's pallace, and set upon the guard at the King's pallace, commanded by Captaine Wallace,<sup>2</sup> who had not followed the advyce given him the day before in posting his men in the windows within, but placed them on the piazza without the gate. The rable coming forward, he gives orders to fire, and throw some hand grenades amongst them; which was done with so good success, that some of them being killed, and others wounded, they retired againe to the city with no less dilligence than they came down: And this, very probably, had put ane end to the tumults of the rable, had not a quorum of the Privy Council, being at the tyme in Blair's hous, the chiefe inn of the city, immediately sent ane order in write to Captaine Grahame, commander of the company which kept guard in the city, to goe down with his company and with the trained bands of the town, and beate off Captaine Wallace from guarding the pallace, that the rable might get their zeale against Popery contented, by destroying the ornaments of the tuo chapells

<sup>1</sup> Castle Drummond.

<sup>2</sup> Another account of the storming of the Palace of Holyrood, and of the part played by Captain John Wallace, is printed in the Appendix to *Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, 1689*. It is taken from Balcarres's 'Account of the Affairs of Scotland.'

the King had set up there at a great expence; which order was put in execution by Grahame and the trained bands, whose number Wallace, though he behaved as gallantly as a man could doe, could not long withstand, they being upwards of seven hundreth against his fyfty, beside many hundreths of the rable.

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

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

The day following, being informed the rable were pillaging the Roman Catholics' houses, after they spoiled the chappells and pallace, he writes to the President of the Council, (to whom joyntly with the Council belonged the care of the government in the Chancellour's absence), asking the Council's advyce, what was incumbent to be done by him in so troublesome a conjuncture. To which the President returned answer, that he had no more to doe but to keep himselfe upon the defensive part within the castle.

The same night thereafter, the Duke discovered, that most part of his garrison, being influenced with the humour of the tymes, were designeing a revolt, the secureing of his person, and the keeping of the castle for the government that was to be establisht; wherefor, he calls the Roman Catholick officers to consult upon measures to frus-



trate this designe. Coll. Winram<sup>1</sup> undertook to watch all that night, and to give notice if any thing should happen that lookt ill. He made a part of the souldiers goe to bed in due tyme, and thought all was calme. Bot about midnight, one comes to advertise the Duke that a part of the garrison were come in tumult to the guard hall, and were dragging out of ther beds those who had lyen down to rest. Thither he goes in all haist; and speaking with awthority to them, he calms their mutiny, makes them goe to bed in his presence, both in the guard hall and in the hall near it, and made them put out all the lights.

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

The Duke having, as is said before, resolved to hold out the castle to the last, and not doubting what came to pass, that many of his garrison would desert, he had ordered Francis Gardin of Midstrath<sup>2</sup> (a gentleman of merit who gave sufficient proofs thereof during the siege), to leavy fourty-five men of his own dependents in the north, to serve for a recruit. But their arryvall at Leith made so great a noise, and filled the people's heads with such apprehensions of his bringing down the Highlanders and Papists upon them, that he, being desirous to remove

<sup>1</sup> As second in command Winram played a conspicuous part. After the surrender he was imprisoned in the Castle, a violation of the terms of capitulation. Winram belonged to the noted Liberton family of that name, which possessed the greater part of the lands of Nether Liberton. The Winrams are supposed to have built Inch House, the initials of a member of the family together with the date 1634 being inscribed above one of the windows of the mansion. The defender of the Castle was a son of George Winram, who sat in the Court of Session as Lord Libbertoun. The parent was a staunch Covenantner. He presented to Charles I. the petition of the General Assembly after the abolition of Episcopacy, and he officially attended the Westminster Assembly of Divines. He also took part in the conferences at Breda with Charles II. Winram died of wounds received at the battle of Dunbar.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Gordon of Midstrath.

all jealousies that might arise amongst them, or from his conduct, commanded them to be sent home again.

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

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

About the 20th of December, the Council sent one to tell the Duke they were to depute some of their number to speak with him. And the same day the President and thrie Councillors came to the castle, and told the Duke that the Council desired he would delyver the castle into their hands. To whom he returned answer, that he was bound to obey the King only, and justified the same by the reading of his commission; that he was not ambitious of keeping it for any other end than to doe his Majestie's service; and that he thought himselfe oblidged in conscience and honour to be faithfull to the trust reposed in him by the King, and knew no other way to exonerate him of it, but the commands of his Majestie, by whose commission he acted, and who in justice might require a strict accompt of his procedure: Therefore, desired they would first give him tyme to receive his Majestie's commands, to whom he had written for that effect, and should doe accordingly; that as yit, he lookt upon himselfe as a friend, and though he were ane enemy, this wes the least they could doe.

Very few dayes after, a clerk of the Council comes with ane order signed by the severall Councillors, by which the Council ordered the Governour to delyver the castle to them; alleading, they had made no step as yet, contrary to their obedience due to the King, in acknowledging the Prince of Orange. The Governour having, as yet, receaved no commands from his Majestie, and stryving to put of tyme in hopes



of them; and, moreover, suspecting their intentions, by their authorizing Captaine Grahame and the trained bands to force Captaine Wallace from defending the King's pallee, that the rabble might ransack it as they did; and by their having ordered to intercept the Chancellor, as he was goeing beyond seas, and shutting him up in prison (where he remaines as yet), he tells them nixt, that he hoped, they would, for his justification, signe what they required of him, which, after a litle deliberation, they did, and sent it to him. He, seing this, told them ther was yet something wanting; which was, that they should warrand him for so doing at his master's hands. This they refused, or could not doe, but still persisted in what they required. Then he desyred to know by what authority, or to what end, they required the castle. If by the King's, he desired to sie it. If they had a mynde to complement the Prince of Orange, he could doe that as weil as they.

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

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

castle, they declared they feared no such danger, and were as weil content with him as with any other.

Heire it may be remarked, that notwithstanding all this clamour about popery, ther was not the tenth man of that persuasion in the garrison; whereas a great many of those the Prince of Orange brought along with him, were publickly known for such; that Prince being not so bigot as prudent, since he trusted those he had found faithfull to him, and who had given him no ground to distrust them formerly. And he knew and experienced that ther principles or persuasion did not lead them to swear voluntarily fidelity to him, and then betray or desert him on pretext of religion.

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

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



Lieutenant of the company that was in the castle, that he refused to obey any further the Duke's and the Lieutenant-Governour's<sup>1</sup> orders; yea, he was counselled to surpryse both, and secure ther persons. But the Duke did so prudentlie manage the humours of his soldiers, that this Lieutenant returned to his duty.

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

Some days after this, he heares ther was one come from the King with his Majesties commands, wherat he was much rejoyced, not having had the honour of any orders from his Majestie since the beginning of the troubles. This man told the Governour, that he had sein the King part from Paris for Brest, and that his Majestie had commanded him to show his Grace the Duke of Gordon it was his pleasure he should leave the Castle in security, in the hands of the lieutenant governour, Coll. Winram, and retire himselfe to the north of Scotland, and there wait for new orders from his Majestie. The Governour answers the man who brought this message by word of mouth only, (whose name was Braddy), that not having the good fortune to know him, he desired to sie something in write, which might authorize his message, and render it credible to him. To which Braddy replied,

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Winram.

that he was indeed to have brought a letter, but that the Secretary of State was in such haist to follow his Majestie to Brest, that the letter was lost. In which reply he was ingenuous, for the letter was indeed sent, but by another person, who told to me since, that at London, on his way to Scotland, he was forced to burne the letter for fear of being discovered. But however it was, certane it is that during the sex months the Duke of Gordon kept the Castle, after the Revolution, he receaved neather from the King, nor from any in his name, any order.

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

Moreover, the Governour was very sensible of the ill offices his enemies had done him with his Majestie, and of the disadvantageous character they had given of him; wherefore, he might weel think they would not faile to improve all those malicious misrepresentations, if he should have left the charge of the Castle to the lieutenant governour, without ane order in write from his Majestie, or from his Secretary of State.

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

Then conveyeing the garison, and conceilling what he knew of ther bad intentions, he commended much ther fidelity, notwithstanding the ill example both nations had given them. Nixt he tells them



he was certainly informed, ther were designes and endeavours useing to seduce them. Wherfore, that he might be without fear, he desired that all his soldiers would renew the oath they had already given, by laying ther hand on the Evangell, which was presented to them by Master Forrester, ther Protestant minister, who gave proofes of his loyalty dureing the whole siege. Many of the soldiers refused to renew this oath; and amongst others, a serjant, the master canonier, two under canoniers, asked tyme to deliberate on the matter. The chirurgeon, who was gone out of the Castle, returned no more. The Governour made disarme those who refused to give the oath, and caused delyver ther armes to the new soldiers which Henry Gordon had engaged, turning those out of the Castle who refused the oath, having payed them all ther arriers, and made seure the master cannonier, untill he sould render accompt of the money he had receaved in the Duke's absence for service of the cannons.

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

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

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

Master of Horses, to deliver to the Earle of Dumfermleing all the horses he should have neid of; which order Mr Innes obeyed, and followed the Earle, in company with the Earle of Dundie, together with about thirtie other gentlemen of the Duke of Gordon's vassalls.

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

He thought it best for his Majesties service to enter upon terms of agriement with them, and drew up some articles to be presented to them; and amongst others, a generall indemnity for himselfe and his friends, both Papists and Protestants, with liberty to goe where they pleased, without being called in question for what was past; and that all those who would go beyond seas should have pasports. The deputies carryed thes articles to the Convention, and shortly returned to the Castle to know who were the friends the Governour spoke of in his articles; who told he should name them when the Convention had signed ther consent to his proposalls. After severall messages betwixt the Convention and the Castle, the Duke named all the clans of the Highlands, without specifying who were his friends or foes. This proposal did so offend one of the deputies, that he became very angry; and being returned to the Convention, would scarcely give accompt of his negociation to the president and others of the assembly.

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

Incontinently after, the Viscount of Dundie, did, by Cockburne younger of Lanton, a gentleman of quality and merit, advertize the Duke, that the Convention were instantly to give him a solemne and formall sumonds, by the heraulds with ther coats of armes: And the same hour came tuo heraulds, tuo pursevants, and tuo trumpeters sounding ther trumpets, and approaching to the walls, read with a loud voyce the sumonds, by which the Governour is ordained, with all other Papists in the garrison, to remove themselves thence immediatly, upon paine of treason. At the same tyme was read a proclamation, discharging the subjects to convers with or assist the Duke, or any under his command, that should remaine in the garison after that



proclamation, whether Papists or Protestants; and promising a reward of six months' pay, with ane indemnitie, to the Protestants in garrison, on condition they sould seaze the Duke and Papists persons, and delyver them up with the Castle into the hands of the Convention. The Duke spoke to the heralds, and bid them tell the Convention from him, that he kept the Castle by commission from ther common master, and that he was resolved to defend it to the last extremitie. In end, he gave some guinies to the heralds to drink the King's good health, and all honest men's in the Convention, which they promised to doe; and he advysed them, in drollery, not to proclame men traittors to the State with the King's coats on ther backs; or at least they might turne them.

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

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

gentleman who brought it was asked, if his Majestie was in Ireland when he came from thence, and he answered he was not. Then the Governour sent him with the letter to the Earle of Balcarras and the Viscount of Dundie.

Dureing thes transactions, John Gordon of Edintore was frequently employed to advertize friends of the circumstances of the garrison, and what necessaries were wanting, and especially Sir James Grant of Davey, advocat, whose predecessors had still followed the family of Huntly in the King's service, during the civill warr in King Charles the first tyme, and shared with the same in sufferings on that accompt. Ther tuo gentlemen made it ther work to supply the Castle from tyme to tyme with those things they were advertised it stood most in need of; and though they did all was in ther power, yet any provisions came into the Castle during the siege were very inconsiderable. Francis Gairdin of Midstrath, John Innes, Henry Gordon, Andrew Ross, gentlemen, with some others, came into the Castle to remaine for its defence. And Sir James Grant, finding ane English lawyer, and afterwards Captain William M'Intosh of Borlum,<sup>1</sup> goeing for Ireland, he gave instructions to each of them, representing exactly the condition of the Castle, and reasons why it could not be maintained longer than the beginning of June.

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

March 16. The Duke sent a line to the Earle of Twedale,<sup>2</sup> entreating

<sup>1</sup> He took a prominent part in the Jacobite rising of 1715. He was subsequently imprisoned for life in Edinburgh Castle.

<sup>2</sup> John Hay, 2nd Earl and 1st Marquis of Tweeddale. He used his influence to moderate proceedings against the Covenanters. After the Revolution he became Lord Chancellor of Scotland.



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

The 17th day of March, one of the garrison deserted.

The 18th, the Convention made place guards about the Castle, to hinder the entry of any provisions, and to intercept any person that should come forth of it with any message. The same day the Governour sent out his horses with his coachman, who was apprehended and imprisoned.

The Governour went and visited the magazine of the Castle, and found only 8 score barrells of powder, in very ill order, and many of them not full; the generall or master of the artillery having removed all the rest, as is said above, and many of his company taking service under the enemies, (for himselfe did shortlie afterwards,) made known to them the small quantity of ammunition left in the Castle, with which it could no longer hold out.

This day the Cameronians, to the number of about 7000, lately come to Edinburgh to take the guarding of the Convention, drew up in the publick great streets of the city. Thes Cameronians (so called from one Cameron,<sup>1</sup> a preacher, or famous ringleader among them) are the worst kynd of Presbyterians, who confyne the church to a few of the western shyres of the kingdome of Scotland; disclaime all Kings (save King Jesus) who will not worship God after ther way; think it ther duty to murder all who are out of the state of grace, that is, not of ther communion; in a word, who take away the second table of the Decalogue, upon pretence of keeping the first; and who are only for sacrifice, but for no mercy at all.

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

The day following, the Governour, with a telescope, perceived some horsemen appearing on the north side of the town, and drawing towards the castle. It was the Viscount of Dundie, who, seing the Convention had resolved to renunce all alledgiance to their lawfull soveraigne, and laid asyde all kind of respect for him; he abandoned ther assemblie, and coming to the foot of the rock, the Governour spoke to him from the top of the wall, and then went out and discoursed

<sup>1</sup> Richard Cameron, the Covenanter.

with him. Hee told what had passed in the convention at the receaving of the King's letter, and the small impression it made upon the members of that assembly. The Governour askit a sight of the letter; but Dundie had no copy, and the Governour never saw it. Then Dundie parted from the Governour and returned to his own pairty of about thirty or fourty horse, and went away with them towards his own dwelling beside Dundie. After that tyme, the Governour never received any letters from him.

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

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

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

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

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

V. That after the place is given up, the Lieutenant-Governor may have the use of his lodgings for eight or ten days, for clearing accounts with the garrison; and that my servants and others may have a competent time for dispatching affairs within the Castle.

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VII. The estates do agree to give a gratification to the officers and soldiers in the garrison, according to the condition they shall find the stores in, at the time of surrendering the Castle.

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

This night another of our men deserted.

March 21. The Ensign (having safe conduct) was this day again sent to manage the treaty with the Convention; and brought back an account, that they agreed that the forty horse attend his Grace for fourteen days, to go home, and the Duke to name them, including his servants; but that they disperse within twenty-four hours after his homegoing. That they meet him on the other side of the Burnt Island Ferry, whether the Estates would conduct him. That they shall not join the Lord Dundee, &c. and the Duke to find surety for that effect. That, at the surrender of the Castle, the avenues thereof be guarded with the town guards, together with such of the Earl of Levin's Regiment as he shall appoint. That Gordons of Auchintoule and Glasturin



be indemnified for acting in public employments; and five priests, now in prison, to be named by the Duke, to have passes, they finding caution to remove out of the kingdom within twenty days. That the commissionate officers carry their ordinary fire-arms, beside their swords; and the soldiers to be paid for their fire-arms by the Estates, &c.]

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

Not finding any rationall correspondence from them (the Convention) to his proposalls, he breaks of all farder negotiation with them, and makes bonfires in the Castle for the King's arryveall in Ireland, discharging all the cannons thryce, in token of rejoyceing on that accompt.

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

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

The 25th March, the Cameronians were releived by General Major Mackayes<sup>1</sup> men, sent from England, being three regiments, twelve companyes in each regiment. The Cameronians had the thanks of the Estates, and a publick act passed acknowledging their good service.

With Mackay came cannons, provisions, armes, and ammunition, and he caused furnish store of packs of wooll, to make his approaches in order to the siege of the Castle. He had formerly served in the King's army, and had a pension of his Majestie before the Prince of

<sup>1</sup> On 4th January 1689 he was appointed by William III. Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, and after recovering from an illness, sailed for Leith, which he reached on 25th March, the day on which, as narrated above, he relieved the Cameronians, his object being to protect the sittings of the Convention in Edinburgh. Five days later Mackay left the city to pursue Claverhouse in the north. His force while in Edinburgh numbered eleven hundred men, all belonging to the old Scots Dutch Brigade.

Orange's coming to England; but some months before, he declared to the King that he could serve him no longer, wherupon his pension was stopped; yet thes of his clan or trybe had given good proofe of ther loyalty during the troubles of the Covenant. He had bein formerly the Duke of Gordon's friend, and therefor the Duke wrote to him, shortly after his arryveall, proposeing a conference with him, to try if he could induce him to returne to his Prince's alledgeance. To which Mackay answered, that he could not accept of that conference without tuo privy councillours were present at it. The Governour replied, he would discourse with him alone only, and that he might judge his party did not confide in him, since they would have him accompanied with tuo witnesses.

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

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

[A parley was beat to send in some packs of cards, but denied.

They now began to play upon us with bombs they had brought from Stirling Castle, but we received no great damage by them.]

Upon the 3d of Apryll some of the besiegers were perceaved to be lodged about the old towre of Cottis on the west; and severall great guns were fired upon them, which beat down ane old wall, and did execution. About this tyme, John Gordon brought in a brewar, and



tuo Irish gentlemen, and lyke wise on John M'Pheron, son to Kyly-huntlie, one of the Duke's vassalls in Badenoch, a very smart, ingenuous, and darring young man, who rendered good and faithful service in this siege. [As we perceived them coming, we fired warmly upon the besiegers' guards at the west port, and freed them from that post.

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

6th of Apryll. The besiegers had now, with the losse of men, finished a battery at the Castle of Collops,<sup>1</sup> ane old ruined tower south of the garison, and planted thereon two cannon, 18 pounders; but in a few hours they were both dismounted. Captaine Dumbarr fired tuo of the seaventein bombs upon the besiegers' battery, but without success.

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

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

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

[A carpenter having undertaken to serve in the garison this day, we perceived him coming with five Irishmen, and put ourselves in a posture to secure them, in case any of the besiegers appeared; but the carpenter, treacherously or timorously, went back, and delivered

<sup>1</sup> 'My name, if you must know it, is Richie Moniplies; and I come of the old and honourable house of Castle Collop, weel kend at the West-Port of Edinburgh.'—Scott, *Fortunes of Nigel*.

himself prisoner, discovering those who had engaged him: upon which some were secured and others fled.]

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

Some persons, who have no good will to the Governour, took occasion to blame him for not fyreing upon the toun, att the tyme of this proclamation, but it is easy with reason to refute this objection, though envy and malice will still be barking:

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

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

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

4to. Although he had known what wes the occassion of the solemnity, he might have judged he could not be blamed in following the example of Generall Ruthven,<sup>1</sup> who had formerly defended the Castle of Edinburgh, dureing the Rebellion against Charles the First, and was made Earle of Forth and Brentford for his good and faithfull service. He sustained the siege a whole year against the toun, and yet did not fyre upon the buildings, nor upon the Parliament House, dureing the siege; and his conduct in this was approved severall years afterwards by the Duke of Lawderdale, then High Commissioner for the King in Scotland.

5to. His fyreing on the toun could not hinder the proclamation, much less the occassion of it, and it might have done prejudice to those who were no less sorry at it than he was; for the rable had threatned

<sup>1</sup> Sir Patrick Ruthven held the Castle for Charles I. in 1639-40. His garrison ultimately surrendered after more than two hundred had died from accident or sickness. The Ruthven family had their pew in South Leith Church. In 1638 Sir Patrick gifted to the congregation two communion vessels, which are still in use and which were the work of that wealthy goldsmith, Gilbert Kirkwood, who built Pilrig House. John Russell, *Story of Leith*, 1922, pp. 326-27.



from the beginning of ther commotion, that if the Popish Duke, should fire on the city, during ther insolencies against Papists, they should leave non of that profession alive in and about the town; which was a very easy matter for them to execute: And the pillaging of ther goods and houses, and insolencies, upon the persons of those that had misfortune to fall in ther way, gave too much ground to beleve they would have made good their threatnings upon such a provocation.

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

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

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

The 29th, Henry Gordon having bein sent out for intelligence, returned after two dayes with Linetennant James Hay, John Macky, and one Launder ane Irishman; having by reason of the darknes of the night, lost other thrie of their company, who had designed to serve in the garrison. The besiegers drained the Loch on the north

side of the Castle and town, to divert the springs from the wells in the Castle; but their designe took no effect.

The 9th of May, the Castle fired some great guns upon a hous near the enemies battery, having discovered soldiers in it; and, artillery we were informed killed severalls in it. The enemies began to cast up a battery northward of the garrison, at the Multrasie-hill.<sup>1</sup>

[This was the day they had appointed for a public thanksgiving; but we could perceive no great demonstrations of joy amongst them by bells or bonfires.]

The 11th of May, William Urquhart came into the garison and went out againe for some necessaries, and returned after four dayes with John Falconer, bringing with them, by Sir James Grant his moyen, a rope for mounting the cannon, which came very seasonably, for they had been necessitate to make use of the well rope; so ill was the garrison provydit of things necessary for its defence. They informed that the beseigers' great bombs were arryved from England, and that ther shells weighed above a hunder weight. That Sir James Grant above mentioned, was made close prisoner, for corresponding with the Castle. . . .

While the enemies carryed on ther works and ther approaches, the Governour beat doun the parapets, which were but tuo foot high, that he might put his batteries in security against the enemies cannon. And having no cannoniers, he choysed twelve of the most vigorous of the soldiers to be employed in the service of the cannon, under the direction of Captaine Dumbar, who knew most of artillery of any in the Castle.

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

<sup>1</sup> Now covered by the Register House.



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

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

On Sunday 19th, the enemy haveing got their new artillery planted, about 10 a'clock at night they began to fyre upon the Castle with their great bombs, from a battery they had raised from the west corner of the toun wall.<sup>1</sup> They had planted tuo mortar peices, and threw the bombs in pairs; but all of them went over the Castle, or fell short of it at the West Port, not without dammage to the houses of the toun; or splite upon the top of the wall of the Castle, where ther was a centinell, who brought some fragments of it to his comrades. . . .

Upon ther firing, the Castle gave them severall great guns pointed to ther bomb battery, but without success, the mortar peices standing very low, and not requyreing ports, wherupon the garrison thought best to spaire ther powder on that occasion.

The Governour ordered all in the garrison to remove ther lodgings to the vaults, and took himselfe to one lykewise; and about the same tyme he became sickly, and continued so for some days: Notwithstanding wherof, the same night, when the besiegers began to play with their bombs, he went with Captaine Dumber and others to the sally port, where he discoursed over the wall with one of the enemies centinells, but could learne litle from him. . . .

20th May. About one a'clock in the morning, when they had ceased from firing ther bombs, ther fell much snow, which, notwithstanding the season of the year, did ly a great part of the day tuo foot high. The soldiers gathered the snow, and put it into veshells, which served them for water, tho very unwholsome, for fear the wells would faile. . . .

[This day they fired no bombs by reason of the storm.  
This night Mr Macpherson and the Duke's servant returned.]

21st May. About 10 a'clock at night the besiegers fell to work

<sup>1</sup> At the tower in the Vennel.

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

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

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

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

23 May. A gunner's wife falling in labour, the Governour caused beat a parley to send in a midwyfe, which was refused; . . .

The Governour having observed a work cast up the night befor on the street about the weigh hous,<sup>1</sup> proposed a parley to speak about

<sup>1</sup> At the top of the West Bow.



the removall of it. The besiegers pretend it was done by the tounsmen to secure them from shott. His Grace demonstrated, that any defence ther could not save the toun, though it were sex story high, and declared he knew not of any fireing that way; and promised, that upon removing ther work, ther should be no ground of complaint thenceforth upon that head; otherwayes, not knowing the designe in it, he would be oblidge, in defence of the garrison, to fire at any work were cast up within the reach of his cannon; so that by ther fault the toun might suffer against his inclination. But the besiegers were so little concerned for the toun, that they would not condescend to demolish it, nor permitt the toun major to speake with the Duke, though he was seen comeing up the Castle hill for that purpose. After they had gone and returned severall tymes, and nothing concluded on, ther were people perceaved throwing it down, and ther was no further trouble about it.

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

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

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

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

Sunday 26th day. The besiegers having finished their new battery northwards of the Castle, began early this morning to fire with three cannon (two of them 24-pounders) upon the pallace and gunports of the high halfe moon. They beat down the balcony of the top of the wall: Most of the balls split in pieces; nor were they sparing of ther bombes on the Lord's day, especially in tyme of divyne service, as much bent to doe ill, as the Scribes and Pharisees were to hinder the doeing good on the Sabbath. But the church in the garrison being ruin'd by the bombes, the soldiers heard sermon in a vault, [under the room which was the powder magazine before the siege].

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

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

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



Immediately after the captaine was gone for the 2d tyme about the matter of the records, the enemy fyred tuo cannons from the north batterie. The Duke a litle befoir had caused draw out the ball from most of the great guns, and had fired them with powder only for the solemnity. But upon the unexpected breaking of the parley, the balls were put in again and discharged at the besiegers batteries: So the publick records of the nation lay still where they were, att the wilfull hazard of the besiegers bombes, notwithstanding all ther pretensions for the publick good. . . .

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

May 31. About one a'clock in the morning, some of thes on the low guard heard the besiegers at work on the south syde of the Castle-hill, and shortly after they could perceave ground broken at a small distance from the low halfe moon: Upon which it was resolved to send out a party of fourtein men to beat the enemy from it. But a debate happening betwixt the gentlemen of the tuo squades, each pretending a right to be of the party, the Governour discharged the intended sally.

This night, Mr Ross went out, and with him Ochterlounie's wife (who was [ordered] out tuo severall nights before, but both tymes deferred to goe, upon frivolous excuse). And at the same tyme one Joannet Cunninghame went upon some message from the Ensigne; and as the soldiers were bussied in seing them over the North Loch, one Robison a serjeant, a Papist, and Irishman borne, who had been serjeant in the King's service, had refused to serve under the Prince of Orange, and begged through all England to be quite of that service, and had come into the Castle on hazard of his lyfe; one Paterson, a corporall; one Ochterlouny, the woman's husband that was sent out,

and tuo centinells, deserted. She had got 12 or 14 crounes to bring in drogues for the use of the garrison, who now perceaved she had been accessory to the treachery, and that her delays from one night to another, on frivolous pretences, were only to watch an opportunity till the deserters sould have the low guard; (for the souldiers changed posts every tyme they mounted,) and, consequently, all advantages of an escape: For the corporall had altered the muster roll of centinells, to get the knaves packt together for ther game, and they could easily get over the wall wher ther post was, [and Robison had the custody of the key of the wicket of the outer gate, and actually carried it with him.]

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

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

The footman returning safe to the Castle in sight of the enemies, [and they fancying he had some extraordinary message in charge,] did so picque them, that they fired incessently from four to 8 a'clock; and in that space did throw upwards of fourty bombes into the garrison.



The gentlemen of the garrison had delayed ther dinner, expecting the footman's returne; and after his arryveall, the cloath being laid in a closet one pair of stairs up in the pallace, (where most of them had dytted hitherto,) it was by meer accident removed to a vault; and before dinner was weell begun, a bomb burst in the closet, and tore to peices every thing therin. Another burst in the kitchen among the servants, without hurting any. One split on the top of the pallace, and broke the firelock in a centinell's hand, but himselfe suffered noe dammage; and another, falling through the leads into the roumes of the pallace, broke a door; and John Stewart of Bogs, a very stout and honest gentleman of the Duke's family, was sore wounded in the face, and lost ane eye by the splinter of it.

Before this, ther had bein no creature wounded in the garrison with all the enemies cannons and bombs, save only a cow of the Lieu-tenant Governour's by a musquet shot, which was great part of the fresh provision they had dureing the siege, whatever report went abroad about it.

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

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

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

[The whole garrison unanimously declared their abhorrence of the desertion, though they could not be ill pleased to get rid of the

company of rogues and cowards; and that they were firmly resolved to live and die with his Grace in defence of this place, for his Majesty's service.

There were now some alterations made in posting our men. The main guard was kept at the sally-port; and six centinells, commanded by a gentleman, were posted a little eastward. At the low guard we had two gentlemen, with a serjeant, corporal, gunner, and nine soldiers; one part of which were posted in the lower half moon, and the other in Crichton's yard; besides five centinels, commanded by a gentleman, at the portcullis.]

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

6th day. [At this time we had taken notice of a more than ordinary concourse of people coming from the west, and flattered ourselves with hopes that his Majesty had landed some forces there, and the rebels were running upon the noise; but this only augmented the number of our disappointments.] They threw one bomb into the garrison, about two a'clock in the morning, [which was matter of conjecture to

us,] and the garrison fired severall cannon upon their guards at the West Church, and at the back of the town, near the North Loch, which did execution; as also, whilst the Governour was at dinner, some great guns were fired, without his knowledge, upon their guards at the West Port.

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

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

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

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

11th day. John Grant appeared at the place appointed, and gave the signal, by which the Governour and the officers understood there was no hopes of succours. Wherefore not having received any letter from the King, or any that appeared for his Majesty, except that



from Tyreconnell, when the garrison was first blocked up, and that not directed to him, nor any order at all in it regarding the Castle; and the messenger (probably out of his own head,) said only, that within sex weeks Tyreconnell would send releefe; and it was now thrie months since that promise, which, in reality, was never made: for when Tyreconnell went to St Germans, after the battell at the Boyn Water in Ireland, he denied to the Duke of Gordon himselve that ever he promised any such thing, nor wes he truly in a condition to send him such forces as could releefe him. And it was about a month afterwards that only 500 Irish, instead of the pretended 20,000 landed in the Highlands, of whom the garrison knew nothing at this tyme, they not being yet embarqued at Knockfergus.

2do. Att the conference with the Viscount of Dundie, the Duke did not condescend how long he could keep out the Castle, tho its said Dundie promised releife within 20 days; and now after thrie months, nether he nor others who stood for the King were in a condition to give any releife at all.

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

4to. There were more as twenty men sick in the garrison, and ther number was daylie encreasing, and scarce fourty healthfull to doe duty. From the first tyme the besiegers began to play with their bombs, there were not men sufficient upon duty to releefe the night centinells, so that some were best able to endure hardship, stood from 10 at night to tuo or thrie in the morning; and besides ther were often men constantly employed in ditching, scoureing, raiseing, or removing batteries, as was thought neidfull.

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

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

7mo. The ammunitions were near spent.

8vo. All other things necessary were wanting; no coalls nor wood, save the wrack of buildings brocken down by the bombes.

Upon thes considerations it was judged fitt to beat a parley, in

order to capitulate. About 6 a'clock the white flag was put out, and Major Somervell, with another of the besiegers officers, came to the draw-bridge befor the Castle gate, but made some scrouple to advance further. So the Duke stood at one end of the bridge with the Lieueutenant-Governour, and Major Somervell with ther officers at the other.

The first thing proposed was as to the person with whom the Governour might safely treat, and who could give security for performance of articles. Duke Hamilton, commissioner for the Parliament (made up of the Convention, or of the Convention transfigured into a Parliament, after the example of England) was named. But the Governour desired to sie his commission, he not being oblidged to know of that transfiguration. So the Major went for further instructions, and in a short tyme returned with Major-General Lanier,<sup>1</sup> the Lord Colchester ane English nobleman, and Collonell Balfour. Then the exchange of hostages was under consideratione. They demanded the Lieutennant-Governour, and offered Major Somervell, which the Duke would not condescend to, but offered Mr Gairdin for a gentleman of lyke quality and fortune.

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

12th day. This morning the treaty began againe. . . . But John Grant, takeing the opportunity of the cessation, came imprudently, contrary to his instructions, into the garrison, which made the Governour think he had gott some good newes since the tyme he gave the signall; but upon examination he could say no more than that ther were noe hopes of releeffe.

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

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Lanier, though he had served under James VII., declared for William III., and was dispatched to Scotland to take Edinburgh Castle, which, as will be seen, surrendered to him on 12th June.



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

The Governour, with Captaine Dumbar, proposed to Collonell Winram Lieuetennant-Governour, to Mr Wincester Ensigne, and Mr. Gairdin Volunteer, a meane to eschew the cruelty of the enemyes ; which was, to put themselves on head of thes soldiers in the garrison, who were vigorous and had courage to hazard ; and, in the night tyme, to force ther passage to the sea side, not tuo myles distant, and ther to seaze some boat, and get over to the other side. For the example of Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange was not of so old date as it could not be remembered. . . . However, that proposall of the Duke's to escape by the sea seemed too dangerous, and not to be put in practice unless the enemies refused to grant the safety of lyves.

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

Wherupon all the garrison unanimously declared ther resolutions of liveing upon bread and water with his Grace. Then he added, Perhaps some may be ashamed to own ther fears before a company of resolute men ; but if soe, let any man who hes ane inclination to leave the garrison tell me in private, and I will find out a passage for him ;

and, gentlemen, for you that will live with me, I shall be ready to dy with you, if it come to that, you may take my word on't ; which was answered with huzzas.

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

13th day. The garrison fired warmly at the besiegers' men posted behind the wooll packs on the Castle-hill, till about sex a'clock, that they relented to menadge ther powder, having spent last night and the morning 12 or 13 barrells of powder ; at which rate in sex dayes they would not have had one barrell remaining.

One of the Governour's cooks was shot thorow the body, but yet not mortally wounded. The Governour, though indisposed, omitted not to visit the posts with all solicitude, and to observe what the enemies had done ; and found ther lodgments advanced on the Castle-hill. Coll. Winram said to him, It were fitt to write a line to desire the enemies to renew the treaty. He answered, the nixt session of



the Convention was to be expected, and that he would not beginne againe to treate till John Grant, who had been the occasion of the interruption, should be gone out of the Castle, least he should be obliged to delyver him up. A short tyme after, the Governour is advertised that he was gone, and Collonell Winram renews the instance of writing, and offers to carry the letter. The Governour writes to Major-Generall Lanier; and Collonell Winram gives the letter to Captaine Moody, who commanded the besiegers' guards, and desired to speak with the Governour. He, after some difficulty, condescends, and the Captaine brings with him the Lord Colchester, at which the Governour was surprysed, finding them employ a stranger, wher they had so many countrey-men.

To them he gave the articles, which were drawn up the day before, with consent of all the officers, in the following termes.

The Duke of Gordon hath so much respect for all the Princes of King James the Sixth's line, as not to make conditions with any of them for his own particular interest; so he renders himselfe entirely on King William's discretion.

1mo. That Collonell Winram, Lieutennant-Governour of the Castle shall submitt himselfe to King William's pleasure, his lyfe being secured; and all the rest of the garison shall have ther lyves, libertyes, and fortunes secured; and lykewise passports shall be granted to those who will take oaths not to bear armes against the present government.

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

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

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

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

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

7to. A considerable post within the Castle shall be immediatly,

after security is granted to the garrison for the above written articles, put in possession of the forces under Major-General Lanier.

That the garrison should march out with drums beating, and displayed banners, which is ane ordinary article in capitulation, the Duke thought not fit to require it; that being only used in countries where the soldiers of the capitulating garrison may march with a guard of ther enemies to another garrison of ther own Prince; which could not hold in this caise. . . .

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

The garrison had difficulty to part with the Castle upon any terms. . . . These stout and loyall gentlemen and soldiers found the surrender of ther Castle very unpleasant to ther spirits, and ther frettings and regrates gave occassion to some of the Duke of Gordon's enemies, to blame him for the surrender of it; and not knowing why he would not make any conditions for himselfe, to suspect his loyalty. But all impartial and equitable persons will easily justify him, if they consider, that although he and his garrison might have for a short tyme kept in their lyves with water instead of drink, and coarse oatmeale for bread, and old salt herrings for all kynd of kitchin; and even therof they had no quantity to last long; yet not having powder for 8 dayes of so hott service as the last day, wherin they spent betwixt 12 and 13 barrels; and not having men sufficient to furnish all the posts, nor sure of the fidelity of a great part of thes they had; when that powder should have bein spent, which the enemies nearer approaches and constant firing would have made be very soon, they might have



remained incapable to hinder the besiegers from coming over the walls, and their persons and lives had been at the disposal of their mercy.

Common prudence, therefore, not allowing the Governour to let matters come to this extremity, he thought fit to accept of the conditions brought by the Lord Colchester, and so all acts of hostility ceased.

These articles being signed by both parties, the Privy Council ratifies them by an authentick act in these termes—

His Majesty's High Commissioner, and the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, having seen and considered the articles of agreement and capitulation betwixt the Duke of Gordon, Governour of the Castle of Edinburgh, and Sir John Lanier, Major-Generall of his Majesty's forces, agreed and condescended to accept of the surrender of the said Castle; his Majesty's High Commissioner and the said Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council do hereby ratify and approve of the said capitulation, in the haill heads and articles thereof; and declares that they will interpose with his Majesty to be favourable, and shew that kindness to the said Duke of Gordon as to indemnify, and secure him for his life and fortune, and the fortune of his Lieutenant-Governour, which they have entirely submitted to his Majesty by the said capitulation; and will also humbly intreat his Majesty to allow the said articles and capitulation to be ratified in this present Parliament. This act was signed by Duke Hamilton and the Earle of Crawford.

The garrison having now a free communication with the besiegers' forces, these acknowledged to have sustained a considerable loss the night preceding, and that many of their men had deserted upon that account.

About 10 o'clock at night, Major Somervell marched with 200<sup>th</sup> men into the Castle, and had all the posts therein delivered to him, except the high guard hall, and great court, which those of the garrison kept. Afterwards, the Governour having drawn them up in the court, he told them that he must own they had served him faithfully, and he knew not wherein he had been unkind to them; but, if he had wronged any, he desired them to speak, and they should have reparation; and entreated them not to make any disturbance with the other soldiers now come into the garrison, for they were too few to conquer, and too many to be made a sacrifice. He gave each of the sentinels some money to bear their charges home. This night Captaine

Dumbar, Mr Scot, and some others who had more particularly incurred the displeasure of the rabble, went privately to the town.

14 June. Three full months after the siege began, the garrison marched out, but not in a body, that they might be less noticed; yet some of them were very ill treated by the rabble; and Major-General Lanier took possession of the gates of the Castle, which the Duke of Gordon had kept, in obedience to his lawful Sovereign, after all Great Brittain had renounced it, save a few that appeared for him with the Viscount of Dundie.

There were left in garrison 59 barrells of powder, but there were only five of them entire, and all the powder together would not have exceeded forty full barrells, whereof a great part was useless, being spoiled with water; six bolls of malt, which would have scarce given drink for six days; one barrell of salt beef entire; about two stone weight of cheese, two stone weight of butter, with meale, some biscuit, and salt herrings, which being very bad, had already wronged much the soldiers' health, so that in four or five days time they would have been reduced to live upon meale and water. . . .

After the surrender of the Castle, there happening some passionate words betwixt the Lieutenant-Governour Collonel Winram, and some of Lanier's officers, he was not permitted to go out, but detained prisoner in the Castle. Sir John Lanier and the Lord Colchester conducted the Governour to Duke Hamilton, President of the Convention, who kept him to dinner, and told him that he might come out of the Castle, upon condition he would give his parole not to go out of Edinburgh without permission, which the Duke consented to and gave him. At night he was had back to the Castle, and upon the morning thereafter he went to the town to lodge, and fell sick.

About the beginning of July, the President of the Convention suspecting the Duke of Gordon had some thoughts of making his escape, made place an officer in his chamber all night, and sentinels at the door and windows. And upon the morrow thereafter sent him prisoner to the Castle, where he had the liberty to be attended by his own servants, and visited by his friends. But this liberty was taken from him, upon the news of the Convention's forces being defeated in Athole<sup>1</sup> by the Viscount of Dundie, who was killed at that occasion. The Duke of Gordon proposed to Major-General Mackay to be

<sup>1</sup> At battle of Killiecrankie.



exchanged with prisoners made in that encounter ; but it was refused him.

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

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

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

Wherefore, towards the beginning of February, he began his voyage thither, haveing before written to his friends in the countrey

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

Being recovered, he was conducted and presented, without a sword, to King William, as being his prisoner, and as such, kissed his hand, not as his subject, never having acknowledged him in quality of his soveraigne, though the civilities he had mett with formerly from this Prince while he wes in his travels, oblidged him to show him all respect which was not contrary to his duty to his master. Upon the day following, the Duke appeared with his sword, because he was disengaged from his word of honour, having done nothing till that day against the present government or King William. Thenceforth he designed to get over into France, of purpose to goe from thence to Ireland, where his lawfull soveraigne was for the tyme, and to give him new proofes of his fidelity and zeale for his service. . . .