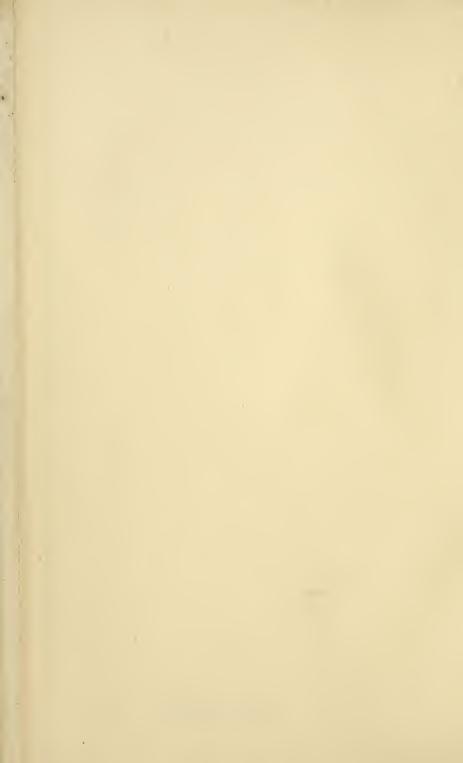
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Frontispiece

SIR WILLIAM, SECOND LORD RUTHVEN, 1528-1552, KEEPER OF THE PRIVY SEAL, AND PROVOST OF PERTH, 1529

The Ruthven Version of the Conspiracy and Assassination at Gowrie House Perth, 5th August 1600

CRITICALLY REVISED AND EDITED

BY

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"THE ROYAL HOUSE OF STUART," "THE LORD CHANCELLORS OF SCOTLAND," "THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF SCOTLAND" "LIFE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS," "LIFE OF QUEEN MARGARET," ETC., ETC.



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1912

ILLUSTRATIONS

SIR WILLIAM, SECOND LORD RUTHVEN.

- LADY LILIAS RUTHVEN, HIS DAUGHTER, MARRIED TO DAVID, LORD DRUMMOND OF STOBHALL.
- LADY BARBARA RUTHVEN, HIS DAUGHTER, MARRIED TO THE SIXTH LORD GRAY.
- MARIE RUTHVEN, DAUGHTER OF PATRICK RUTHVEN AND WIFE OF SIR ANTONY VAN DYCK.

(From the original in the Munich Gallery)

GENERAL PATRICK RUTHVEN, EARL OF FORTH AND BRENTFORD, OFFICER COMMANDING IN THE ARMY OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE TROOPS UNDER CHARLES I. (From the original in the Imperial Museum, Stockholm)

JAMES, FIFTH LORD RUTHVEN OF FREELAND.

- MARY, DAUGHTER OF WALTER CAMPBELL OF ISLAY AND SHAWFIELD, WIFE OF THE FIFTH LORD RUTHVEN OF FREELAND.
- JEAN RUTHVEN, BORN 1781 (MAIN LINE); MARRIED HER FIRST COUSIN, JAMES RUTHVEN, BORN 1783.
- JAMES RUTHVEN, BORN 1752 (MAIN LINE).
- JOHN RUTHVEN, BORN 1753 (MAIN LINE).
- JAMES RUTHVEN, BORN 1783 (MAIN LINE).
- Arms of the Earl of Gowrie.
- PRIVATE SEAL OF THE EARL OF GOWRIE.

HISTORICAL events affecting Scottish history, or indeed any history, and occurring so far back as 1600, or fully three centuries ago, are rarely called in question even by students of history, nor is it desirable to encourage what would challenge the accuracy and integrity of the generally accepted historical record, unless the material so produced were beyond doubt and unchallengeable. In that notable and momentous event, the so-called Gowrie Conspiracy, of which we have now unquestionable proof, there has always been mystery surrounding it, evidently founded on the refusal of the Scottish Clergy and Magistrates of Perth, and the majority of the Scottish people of that period, to recognise it as a conspiracy of the Ruthvens, and the Clergy's refusal to pray for the King's deliverance; believing, as many of them did, that the King was himself the author of the plot. It is a notorious fact that it is the King's version of the plot, and no other version, that has been before the public these three hundred years, notwithstanding there are historians who have pointed out that no narrative by the Ruthven family has ever been forthcoming.

That point is now set at rest by the issue of this volume.

It now appears that a Ruthven narrative has been written by the Ruthven family, or at least by a *bona fide* member of it. On a careful inspection recently of the Ruthven Family Papers, at the request of Lord Ruthven of Freeland, we have discovered this document; a paper of historical value, in respect that it confirms the views of the Scottish Clergy and Magistrates of Perth of 1600, that the King, and not Gowrie, was the conspirator, and stamps the King and his six nobles, amongst whom were divided the illegally confiscated Gowrie estates, as the sole conspirators, enterprisers, and negotiators of the plot, and alone responsible for the consequences of that catastrophe with all its brutalities, cruelties and persecutions.

The narrative from the Ruthven charter chest ought to have been published long ago, but though late in the day in reaching publication it will be regarded by all unprejudiced readers as of supreme importance. The Scottish Parliament of that period was evidently not an impartial tribunal. The political circumstances of the time rendered impartiality impossible, and the reader is referred for information on this point to the narrative of the Privy Council Register on pages 145-151. In such turbulent times impartiality could not be expected,

and the Ruthven family, by means of a fraudulent and an utterly mysterious and unexpected conspiracy, were driven from their estates and homes, the heads of the family slain, the dead bodies outraged, and the Gowrie estates divided among the six satellites of the King who committed the infamous deed. It now turns out that all this was done at the instigation of James VI., was homologated by the Scottish Parliament without adequate reason, and it is to be regretted that the Acts of this Parliament and the official records of the time are simply full, *ad nauseam*, of this piece of wholesale butchery, falsely called "Gowrie Conspiracy."

The reader may well ask what can be the explanation of all this, and we can do nothing but refer him for answer to the following pages. The Ruthven family of to-day recognise with pride that many of their distinguished ancestors were prominent men on the political platform of the Ancient Kingdom of Scotland, at a trying period of Scottish history; and, notwithstanding their persecution and supposed extinction, the main branch never was extinct, but has been vigorous and representative through all these centuries, while the Freeland branch of the family is represented to-day by Lord Ruthven, and, as will be seen from the Kalendar, many of its members rose to an eminent position in the government and administration of the kingdom.

The first Lord Ruthven was the friend and supporter of King James III., and provided his sovereign with 3000 men at the battle of Sauchieburn, where the King lost his life. The Master of Ruthven, son of this Lord Ruthven, fell, sword in hand, at the battle of Flodden, in 1513; and down to the catastrophe of 1600 the heads of the House of Ruthven, in the administration of the kingdom, occupied a position that was supreme; but, while saying so, we are not to be understood as endorsing all the political acts of Patrick, Lord Ruthven, and his son William, first Earl of Gowrie, who were men to be reckoned with in the reign of Queen Mary. Lord William was for a limited period Lord Treasurer of Scotland, and was the champion who conceived and carried out the Raid of Ruthven and capture of the boy king. A noble Scottish family was the Ruthvens, of whom the nation had reason to be proud; but, alas! who can resist the inevitable, or fight with the vicissitudes of fortune; and so the elder branch of this ancient and venerable family, so long identified with Scotland's imperial administration, passed, in 1600, from the region of politics to that of citizens of the realm.

All the branches have representatives alive at this date, while the family name of Ruthven has long since been restored, and the fraudulent and illegal attainder cancelled by the Parliament of Charles I.

in 1641. This important Act of Parliament will be found in the text, as well as other Acts of the Scottish Parliament relating to the Ruthvens.

The volume concludes with a short biography of John, third Earl of Gowrie, and a family history of the Ruthvens, extracted from the family papers. The family can trace their origin to a very early date, and appear to have been identified so far back as the twelfth century with the parish of Tibbermore in Perthshire, as extensive territorial landowners. From the chartulary of Scone (*Liber ecclesiæ de Scon*) we have reproduced the only charters recorded there relating to the Ruthven family.

The author acknowledges with thanks the substantial help he has received in the production of this volume from a member of the Ruthven Family, Mrs Ruthven-Stuart of London.



ARMS OF THE EARLS OF GOWRIE From the Stone in Gowrie House, Perth

Tibi Soli (To thee Alone)

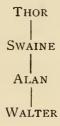
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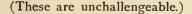
The Ruthven Family Papers

CHAPTER I

KALENDAR OF THE RUTHVEN FAMILY—ORIGIN AND PRO-GRESSIVE STAGES OF THE RUTHVENS IN EARLY SCOTTISH HISTORY—RUTHVEN CASTLE AND ITS CHAPELS OF ST PETER AND THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY, TIBBERMUIR—CHARTER OF THOR, LORD OF TIBBER-MUIR—CHARTER OF WILLIAM THE LION, 1185

The four founders of the great Ruthven family stand thus :---





II

KALENDAR

OF THE

RUTHVEN FAMILY

1100 to 1600

HOLDERS OF THE LANDS AND DIGNITIES

No.	NAME	Period	DIED
I	Thor, Lord of Tibbermore	Died between	1117 and 1163
2	Swain, his son	1163-1199	1199
3	Alan, son of Swain	1177-1204	1204
4	Sir Walter Ruthven, grandson of		
	Swain	1204-1245	1245
5	Sir Gilbert Ruthven, son of Sir		
-	Walter	1245-1270	1270
6	Sir William, brother of Sir Gilbert	1270-1298	1 298
7	Sir Walter Ruthven, son of Sir		
_	William	1298-1330	1330
8	Sir William Ruthven, son of Sir		
	Walter	1330-1346	1346
9	Sir William Ruthven, his son .	1346-1376	1376
10	Sir William Ruthven, son of No. 9	1376-1408	1412
II	Sir William Ruthven, son of No. 10	1412-1428	1428
12	Sir John Ruthven, son of No. 11	1428-1454	1454
13	Sir Patrick Ruthven, son of Sir		
1	John	1454-1465	1465
14	Sir William, first Lord Ruthven,		0
	son of Sir Patrick	1465-1528	1528
15	Sir William, second Lord Ruthven,		
	grandson of first Lord	1 5 2 8 - 1 5 5 2	1552
16	Patrick, third Lord Ruthven, son		
	of second Lord	1552-1566	1 566
17	William, fourth Lord Ruthven,		
	first Earl of Gowrie, son of		.0
-	third Lord	1566-1584	1 584
18	James Ruthven, second Earl of	.0	0 -
	Gowrie, son of first Earl .	1584-1589	1589
19	John Ruthven, third Earl of	.0. (-6
	Gowrie, son of first Earl	1589-1600	1600

Thor, a nobleman believed to be of Saxon or Danish origin, lived in Scotland in the reign of David I., and probably that of Malcolm IV. It is generally understood that he obtained from Prince Henry, King David's son, a grant of land for Swaine, his son, as he gratefully commemorates the Prince in the charter to the monks of Scone.

Swaine, son of Thor, lived long under William the Lion, and enjoyed the manors of Ruthven and Tibbermuir, as well as other lands in Perthshire. He gave the monks of Inchcolm a toft in Tibbermore and a meadow at Methven, which were confirmed by King William, and by his grandson, Walter, son of Alan, and, in 1362, by his kinsman and descendant, William de Ruthven.

He also possessed, as Superior Lord, the lands of Crawford in upper Clydesdale, which the progenitor of the Lindsays held as vassals under him, as appears from a confirmation by King William of a donation to the monastery of Newbattle by William de Lindsay, part of the lands of Crawford which William himself holds of Swaine, son of Thor.

Alan (1177-1204), the High Steward, son of Walter the Steward, married Eva, daughter of Swaine, son of Thor, Lord of Tibbermore. His second wife was Alcestor, or Alison, daughter of Morgund, fifth Earl of Mar.

The issue by the second marriage was two sons, Walter and David. Alan died in 1204, and was interred before the High Altar in Paisley Abbey. This was in the fortieth year of the reign of William the Lion.

Alan, son of Swaine, confirmed his father's donations to this religious community in the beginning of the reign of Alexander II., and was twice designed Alanus filius Swaini. He left three sons, Walter, Henry and Alan. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Walter, who is designated in charters of that period "Walter of Ruthven," being the first of the family to assume a surname. This Walter of Ruthven became known as Sir Walter Ruthven, and was the earliest ancestor of the Ruthven family. He took his surname from his lands and possessions, and in official documents is designated Walter de Ruthven, son of Alan, who was son of Swaine, son of Thor, Lord of Tibbermore, Sir Walter was therefore grandson of Swaine. He married Cecilia, daughter of Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn.

Walter, brother of Alan, witnessed a donation of Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn, to the monastery of Scone, designated *Walterus filius Swaini tempore regis Alexandri Secundi*, reign of Alexander II. Walter, son of Alan, confirmed his predecessor's donations in these words:

14



LADY LILIAS RUTHVEN, DAUGHTER OF THE SECOND LORD, AND WIFE OF DAVID, LORD DRUMMOND OF STOBHALL

[At the Knox Communion, St Andrews Castle]

THE RUTHVEN GENEALOGY

Walterus filius Alani totam terram illam quam Swainus filius Thori avus meus dedit in Tibbermuir; to which Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn, and his son were witnesses, 1235-1240. With his wife Cecilia, daughter of the Earl of Strathearn, he got the lands of Cowgask and others, in these words: Walterus filius Alani uxorem duxit Ceciliam filiam Gilberti, Comitis de Strathearn. Walter thus confirmed the donations which Swaine, son of Thor, his grandfather, gave to Tibbermuir, to which Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn, and his son, Robert, are witnesses.

Sir Walter was witness to the controversy with Galfrid, Bishop of Dunblane, in 1239.

Sir William Ruthven confirmed the donations of his predecessor in 1260, and is witness to two donations to the Priory of St Andrews, 1267: William de Ruthven dominus ejusdem confirmasse carta domini Walteri filii Alani bona memoria patris mei deo et Canonicis de Scone, 1260. Sir William left two sons, Walter and Gilbert.

The fortalice, Ruthven Castle, with the chapels of Ruthven Castle and Tibbermore, dedicated, the former to St Peter and the latter to the Blessed Virgin Mary, would be foundations of this great territorial landlord, Thor, Lord of Tibbermore.

He was owner of these chapels, and made a charter of donation to the monks of Scone

during his lifetime. The charter was confirmed by Walter, who probably married, secondly, Marjory, daughter of Henry, Prince of Scotland, sister to Malcolm IV. and William the Lion, but this requires confirmation. Almost the only thing recorded of Thor is his charter of the lands of Ednaham, of which he was proprietor, to David, Earl of Huntingdon, afterwards David I., dated between 1107 and 1117. This account of the origin of the Ruthven family is rather different from that of the new Peerage (Balfour Paul), which we now proceed to give in extenso. We cannot verify the one or the other, as there are neither official records nor family papers, of that early or prehistoric period, to draw upon. There can be no doubt that Sir Walter Ruthven, the first to assume a surname, was the ancestor of the Ruthvens. That point, which may be regarded as settled, is of supreme importance, as other and highly erroneous versions have been put before us.

During the administration of Alan, the High Steward, we have preserved an ancient paper, a charter of the gift of Ednaham, by Thor, Lord of Tibbermore. The text of the charter is :—" To his dearest Lord, David the Earl (of Huntingdon) Thor entirely his, wisheth health. Know my Lord that King Edgar, your brother, gave to me Ednaham, waste, which I by his assistance, and my own



LADY BARBARA RUTHVEN, DAUGHTER OF THE SECOND LORD, AND WIFE OF THE SINTH LORD GRAY

THE RUTHVEN GENEALOGY

money, have inhabited and have built from the foundation the Chapel, which your brother the King caused to be dedicated in honour of St Cuthbert and enlivened with one carrucate of land. This same chapel, I for the souls of my Lord, King Edgar, and of your father and mother, and for your weal and that of King Alexander, and of Queen Matilda, have given to the aforesaid Saint and his Monks. Wherefore I pray you as my dearest Lord, that for the souls of your parents, and for the well-being of the living, that you grant this donation to Saint Cuthbert and the monks who shall serve him for ever."

(The authority for this charter is the National MSS. of Scotland, published by order of H.M. Stationery Office.)

There is a Ruthven charter dated 1200 (reign of William the Lion) from Walter, son of Alan, and grandson of Swaine, to the Abbey of Scone, conveying that whole land which Swaine, the son of Thor, my grandfather, gave to them in Tibbermore, according to its marches—viz. from the King's Well, in the street which comes from Perth and lies in the village of Tibbermore. This well is four and a half miles from Perth. This is the earliest Ruthven charter known to exist, and its author, Sir Walter Ruthven, grandson of Swaine, is the earliest ancestor of the

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noble family of Ruthven. It is said, but not confirmed, that Walter the Steward was born in 1173.

TRANSLATION OF CHARTER OF WILLIAM THE LION (1165-1214), GRANTING TO GILBERT, EARL OF STRATHEARN, THE LANDS OF MADDERTY. Date circa A.D. 1185. (Liber Insule Missarum, p. 6, with facsimile, p. 7—Bannatyne Club Publications, 1847.)

WILLIAM, by the grace of God, [king] of the Scots, to the bishops, abbots, earls, barons, etc. . . . Greeting :

Let (all men) present and future know that I have given, granted, and by this my present charter have confirmed, to Gilbert of Strathearn, Maddyrnin (Madderty) by its right marches, and with all its lawful pertinents of wood and plain, lands and waters, meadows and pastures, moors and mosses, mills and stanks and all other its lawful pertinents with sac and soc, tholl and theame and infangthef—

To be held by him and his heirs of me and my heirs in fee and heritage freely, and peacefully, fully and honourably by the service of one knight; yet so that neither he nor his heirs shall at any time sell (any part) of the land to Gillecolm Marescal, or to his heirs or to any of his kinsfolk whomsoever, should the latter ever wish on this

RUTHVEN CHARTER

account to raise an action against the former, inasmuch as the aforesaid Gillecolm forfeited the land specified above for the felony which he committed against me in that he feloniously surrendered my castle of Heryn (Earn), and thereafter wickedly and treacherously went over to my mortal enemies and stood with them against me to do me all the hurt in his power. Witnesses,

> Earl David, my brother; Richard de Morville, Constable; Philip de Valoniis; Alan, the Steward; Walter Olifard; William de Lyndesay; Walter Corbet; William Cumyn; Ranulfus de Sules; Swain, son of Thor; William, son of Thor.

AT LINLITHGOW.

NOTE.—It is necessary to explain that at the close of the twelfth and early in the thirteenth century there were two public men in Scotland of the name of Alan, and two of the name of Walter, having no connection whatever with each other, yet holding offices of trust: Alan, son of Swaine, and Alan the High Steward of Scotland; Walter, grandson of Swaine, and Walter the High Steward.

Alan the High Steward married Eva, daughter of Swaine; secondly, Alcestor, daughter of Morgund, fifth Earl of Mar. It is not recorded who was the wife of Alan, son of Swaine. Walter, grandson of Swaine, married Cecilia, daughter of Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn. Walter the High Steward married Beatrix, daughter of Henry, Prince of Scotland.

CHAPTER II

RUTHVEN PEERAGE—SIEGE OF PERTH—SIR JOHN RUTHVEN, SHERIFF OF PERTH; GORMAC ATTACK—CREATION OF WILLIAM, FIRST LORD RUTHVEN—LORD RUTHVEN, HIS SON, AND LOWSWARK—THE SECOND LORD AND HIS FAMILY—CHARTER OF SWAINE, SON OF THOR, 1163 —CONFIRMATION CHARTER BY KING ALEXANDER II.— RUTHVEN CHARTER, 1239—CONFIRMATION CHARTER, WALTER, SON OF ALAN—RUTHVEN CHARTER, 1362

It is believed that Thor, Lord of Tibbermore, was founder of this family. Swaine, son of Thor, settled in Perthshire and granted between 1188 and 1199 to the monks of Scone certain lands in that county, of some limits, as also a toft at Tibbermore. The charter was confirmed by King William, by Swaine's grandson, Walter, son of Alan, and by William de Ruthven. Swaine was also superior of the lands of Crawford in Lanarkshire, and he witnessed a charter of Malcolm IV. between 1163 and 1164. He left issue, two sons, Alan and Walter. Alan married Cecilia, daughter and co-heir of Sir William Maule of Foulis, by whom he had three children, Walter, Henry and Alan. Walter, son of

THE RUTHVEN PEERAGE

this Alan, granted a charter to the monks of Scone before 1223, and received a charter of Culgask (Cowgask) from his brother-in-law, Robert, Earl of Strathearn, between 1223 and 1231, as Walter, son of Alan, of Ruthven. He was witness to a charter about 1234, and a little later he is designated Walter of Ruthven. In 1245 Sir Walter of Ruthven was apparently the first of his family to assume that surname. He married Cecilia, daughter of Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn, sister of Earl Robert, and had issue, three sons, Alexander, Gilbert and William, and one daughter, who married Patrick Edgar, and had issue, Walter, to whom two charters to East and West Cultmalundie, were granted by his uncle, Gilbert, both undated, but confirmed 16th May 1279 by Alexander III.

Gilbert of Ruthven, son of Sir Walter, witnessed a charter along with his father about 1245. As Sir Gilbert he is a witness to charters in 1247 and 1266. In 1262 he renounced his right to the lands of Evelick and of the succession to Foulis through Cecilia de Maule. He married Cecilia, daughter of Sir John Maule of Foulis. He died between 1266 and 1279, when the charter to his nephew, Walter Edgar, was confirmed by Alexander III. He was succeeded by his brother William, anno 1270.

William of Ruthven, perhaps the same who was

chamberlain to Malise, Earl of Strathearn, witnessed a charter in 1270. As Sir William of Ruthven, he witnessed two charters in January 1267-68, and another in 1290. He did homage to Edward I. in 1291 and 1296. As William of Ruthven, Lord of that ilk, he about 1298 confirmed the charter of his father, Walter, son of Alan, of the lands of Scone. He left two sons, Walter and Gilbert, by Margaret, d. of Ramsay of Auchterhouse.

At the siege of Perth in 1297, Sir William Wallace substituted his own garrison for that of the English, but whether he appointed Sir John Ramsay or Sir William Ruthven, Governor of Perth, is certainly not clear. Sir William, with thirty followers, joined Wallace at this engagement and fought, it is recorded, with determined energy. For his gallant conduct Wallace appointed Sir William Ruthven Sheriff of Perth, to be hereditary in the Ruthven family. Sir William died in the following year, 1298.

Walter of Ruthven, who succeeded, was a consenting party to his father's charter to Scone in 1298. He surrendered to the English at Strathord, along with Sir John Comyn of Badenoch, 9th February 1303-4, and died about 1330. His successor was *William of Ruthven*, who paid a fine for the relief of Newton, in Edinburgh, in 1330. He died before Easter 1346, having been slain at the battle of

THE RUTHVEN PEERAGE

Durham, and left issue, it is supposed, William and Margaret. The latter in 1346 married Sir John Seton, son of Alexander Seton of that ilk.

His successor, Sir William Ruthven, anno 1350, had safe conducts in 1358, 1359, 1362, 1365, and died before 25th June 1376. A payment to Joanna, his wife, is entered in 1363. Sir William of Ruthven had a charter from Robert II. of the lands of Ruthven and Balerno, and another of the Sheriffship of Perth, 1393-95. He had a safe conduct in 1400.

He or his successor witnessed a charter by Sir John Oliphant of Aberdalgie, to Malcolm, his brother, which was confirmed by Sir John Montgomery of Ardrossan, 1412. He died the same year. It is supposed he had two sons, William and David. The latter was granted by his brother the lands of Muirhall, Perth, in 1400.

Sir William Ruthven of Balerno succeeded his father. He granted a charter to Walter Haliburton of Dirleton, which was confirmed by Robert, Duke of Albany, the Regent, 2nd February 1407-8. Sir William was in England as a hostage for the ransom of James I., 1424-27. He died in 1428, and left issue, one son, John, and two daughters, one married to Sir Walter Drummond of Cargill, ancestor of the Mercers, the other to George Douglas of Leswalt.

Sir John Ruthven of Ruthven, who succeeded his father, was at the assize of 10th August 1440, and was appointed Sheriff of Perth, 21st April 1444. He probably died before 26th July 1454, from which date William Murray of Gask appears to have been Sheriff of Perth, and engaged in the temporary administration of that office.

In 1443 John Gormac of Atholl, captain of a band of freebooters, attacked Sir John Ruthven, Sheriff of Perth, at the head of his guards, while leading a thief from Atholl to the gallows. A skirmish ensued, when Gormac and thirteen of his men were slain, by Sir John and an escort, on the North Inch of Perth. According to the Exchequer Rolls, Sir John was also slain; but this is not confirmed. On account of the weakness and inadequacy of the administration, no trial appears to have taken place in connection with this remarkable event.

Sir John left issue, one son, named Patrick.

Patrick Ruthven, probably Sheriff-depute of Perth, 9th May 1444. He appears, along with his father, 2nd January 1451; is designated son of Sir John Ruthven, and grandson of Sir William Ruthven, 24th December 1458. He was knighted some time after; and as Sir Patrick Ruthven was on a jury, 6th October 1461. He married a daughter of Sir Thomas Cranston, who is styled grandfather to his son and successor, 1465, and left issue, one

THE RUTHVEN PEERAGE

son named William, who became the first Lord Ruthven.

Sir William Ruthven, on 21st September 1484, was conservator of the three years' truce; was created by James III. a Lord of Parliament under the title of Lord Ruthven, 20th January 1487-88. On 18th June 1488, Sir William Ruthven joined King James III. at Perth with 3000 troops, which formed, at the battle of Sauchie, a division of the army under the command of Sir William Ruthven, and where the King was basely murdered. For his heroic services Sir William was on 20th January created first Lord Ruthven. He received many charters of lands in Perthshire before 1492. Lord Ruthven is said to have possessed great influence in his day, as he got the "limitation" to his natural son, and was an extensive landowner in Perthshire.

Sir William, first Lord Ruthven. In the Acts of Auditorium of 1478, Sir William, Lord Ruthven, is stated to be son of Patrick Ruthven, grandson of Sir John Ruthven, and was made a Lord of Parliament on 20th January 1488. William, Lord Ruthven, and Isobel, his wife, had charters of the lands of Cousland from Henry, Lord Sinclair, 1st May 1493, and from David Bruce of Clackmannan, 9th July 1500. Lord Ruthven had charters of Airleywight, Kinnaird, and Wester Pitlour in

Fife; and half of the lands of Strathbraan, Auchmore and Glenshee. He also had charters of Legertlaw and Blackhall in Perthshire, and part of the barony of Lunan. Charters were granted by Lord Ruthven to the Master of Ruthven and John Lindsay of Ruthven. The Master of Ruthven was legitimated under the Great Seal, 2nd July 1480, and had a charter of the barony of Ruthven, 1480. He and his father, Lord Ruthven, granted a charter of mortification, 14th January 1509, of an annual rent of £10 for the support of the chaplain in the Chapel of St Peter at Ruthven Castle, and \pounds 10 for the support of the chaplain in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Tibbermuir, in the cemetery of the church there. The Master of Ruthven predeceased his father, and fell at Flodden, 1513. His father died 10th September 1528.

In 1493 there was a quarrel between the town of Perth and Lord Ruthven, indicated in the following brief entry in the Council Records : "Protest by the Town of Perth against William, Lord Ruthven, and his son :—Edinburgh, 24th October 1493 ;— Before the Lords of Council, Andrew Charteris and Robert Mercer, appeared as Procurators on behalf of the Magistrates and Town Council of Perth, and protested that because William, Lord Ruthven, and William Ruthven, his son, were summoned at their instance for certain acts contained in the summons

LOWSWARK MISSIVE

and would not compear, therefore they should not be heard in judgment against the town until they pay to them their costs and damages; and until the Town be of new summoned." (Extracted by John Fraser, Dean of Restalrig, Clerk of the Rolls, 1494.)

It is recorded in the last history of Perth (the Ancient Capital of Scotland) that among the earliest documents we have in connection with Lowswark, is one long after the Roman period—viz. the agreement of 4th November 1494, between William, Lord Ruthven, and William, his son, on the one part, and the magistrates of Perth and John Eviot of Balhousie, on the other part. The deed provides for the permanent maintenance of Lowswark, which is to be the retainer and closer of the aqueduct. It is appointed, touching the agreement made between William, Lord Ruthven, and the magistrates, and the leases of their mills in the taking of earth and stones from the lands of Ruthven, for the maintenance of the lade, and the inholding of the water.

"The first parties bind and oblige themselves never to disturb the second parties in the peaceable possession of the lade, nor in taking earth and stones from the lands of Ruthven for its maintenance. It was understood by the contracting parties that the river Almond runs hard at the head, and enters the lade in which the mills stand in such volume that

the lade may suffer great damage thereby. For remedy thereof the said parties bind and oblige themselves that there be made for their mutual good a sluice, at the head of the lade, for receiving a sufficient water supply for all the mills that stand thereon, and belonging to them; and to defend and resist the over supply of water that is liable to flow, and cause the destruction of the lade or aqueduct, and that the auld wick called Lowswark be mended, built or reformed, so as to keep the water to its original channel; each party to be responsible for the expense according to his proportion of profit effeiring from the mills. The sluice and Lowswark to be maintained by the contracting parties in this manner."

In connection with this the magistrates caused William Ruthven and his son to take the oath of fidelity, by which parties are mutually bound to each other without fraud or guile in respect of these conditions, and bind and oblige themselves accordingly in the strongest form of obligation. "The great oath sworn; the Holy evangel touched, but without fraud or guile." This agreement was signed and sealed by the contracting parties in presence of Sir John Tyrie, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Methven, and others, 4th November 1494. The Perth mills, whatever their origin, were gifted by John Mercer to Malcolm III. in the eleventh cen-

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JOHN MERCER AND PERTH MILLS

tury, in exchange for a vault in St John's Church; and from time immemorial have been driven by the water supply from the Almond.

In the matter of the lands of Balhousie, which adjoin the Ruthven lands near Perth, the following appears on the Record :—"Stirling 24th April 1510; King James IV. conceded to William, Lord Ruthven for life, and to his son William Ruthven, soldier, and his heirs, the superiority of the lands of the Feu in the barony of Balhousie, which John Eviot of Balhousie resigned, and which the King, for good services, joined to the barony of Ruthven."

In his family chart, John Lindsay's son is given as *James, not* Alexander, and James's son is William, and *William's* son Alexander, who was in Perth the day Gowrie, his third cousin, was slain; and this Alexander escaped to England and changed his name to Trotter, the name of the lady he married. Alexander had a son, James, who had three sons, Alexander, John and James. Alexander (unmarried) and John quarrelled, and Alexander was killed by his brother. John had a son, Samuel, who had a son, John, whose son was Edward. This Edward had a son, Edward Southwell, who by letters patent assumed the name of Ruthven. He was born 1773, and they have a clear descent up to date.

Lord Ruthven married, first, Isobel, daughter of Livingston of Saltcoats, East Lothian, relict of Walter Lindsay of Beaufort, by whom he had two sons, William and John, who received Letters of Legitimation; and secondly, Christian, daughter of William, third Lord Forbes, by whom he had William Ruthven of Ballindean, ancestor of the families of Gardyne, Carse, Dunlugis, Redcastle and of the Earl of Forth; and two daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth. Lord Ruthven by his first wife had issue, as stated, William, Master of Ruthven, and John Lindsay or Ruthven, both having letters under the Great Seal, 1480. John was apparently alive in 1548, when he had a charter from his nephew, William, second Lord Ruthven, to himself, Isobel Livingston, his spouse, and their son. The first Lord Ruthven had issue, Alexander, of whom nothing is known.

Margaret, daughter of Lord Ruthven's first marriage, was betrothed to John Oliphant, grandson and heir of Laurence, first Lord Oliphant, but in June 1494 a notarial instrument was taken showing that the marriage was not solemnised owing to the bride's reluctance. She married, *first*, Alexander, Earl of Buchan; *second*, John Erskine, younger, of Dun, who fell at Flodden, 1513; *thirdly*, before 23rd December 1518, to James

RUTHVEN CHARTER

Stewart of Ryland, who was slain at Edinburgh, before 12th March 1524-25; *fourthly*, to William Wood of Bonnyton, which marriage was annulled, 18th December 1534. Elizabeth married, first, William, fifth Earl of Errol; second, Ninian, Lord Ross.

A charter was granted by William, Lord Ruthven, and Christian, his wife, in life-rent, and William, their son and heir, of the lands of Wester Pitlour in Fife, 4th August 1526. John, Earl of Buchan, granted a charter to his grandfather, William, Lord Ruthven, and William Ruthven of Ballindean, his son, of Kettins in Forfarshire, 26th January 1528. A charter was granted by William, Lord Ruthven, to John Ruthven or Lindsay, brother of William Ruthven, son and heir apparent of William, Lord Ruthven, and the heirs of his body, bearing the arms of Ruthven, to the lands of Drumbain in the barony of Auchtergaven, 1st August 1507. John, third Earl of Buchan, appears to have been the son of Margaret.

William, Master of Ruthven, eldest son and heir of Sir William, first Lord Ruthven, received a legitimation with his brother giving them right of mutual succession, 2nd July 1480, and a grant of the lands of Ruthven, 12th July 1480, resigned by his father. In 1507 he is styled son, and heir

apparent, of William, Lord Ruthven. He fell at Flodden. He married, *first*, Catherine of Buttergask; *secondly*, Jean Hepburn of the Ricarton family, and had issue, William, heir to his grandfather; Isobel, who married James Murray of Tibbermore.

William, second Lord Ruthven, son of the Master of Ruthven, succeeded his grandfather, the first Lord. As Provost of Perth he was made custodier of the royal manors and hospitals within the burgh, 10th September 1528; and his lands of Glenshee were erected into a free forest, 28th August 1536. He was appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session, 16th February 1539; and Keeper of the Privy Seal, 8th August 1546. He married, and by so doing greatly added to his estates, Janet, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Patrick, Lord Halliburton of Dirleton, and had issue, Patrick, who succeeded his father; James of Forteviot, Henry, William and Alexander.

There is a charter to William, Lord Ruthven, Janet Halliburton, his wife, and James, their son, of half of the lands of Forteviot, 24th January 1536; and another to James, second son of William, Lord Ruthven, of the barony of Legge Kingston, 5th February 1551. James died without issue, and Patrick, Lord Ruthven, was served heir to his brother, 9th January 1553. In addition to the above



MARIE RUTHVEN, WIFE OF SIR ANTONY VAN DYCK From the original in the Munich Gallery

CHARTER OF SWAINE

four brothers there were: Alexander Ruthven of Freeland; Lilias, married to David, second Lord Drummond; Catherine, married to Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy; Cecilia, married to David Wemyss of Wemyss; Barbara, married to the sixth Lord Grey; Janet, married to John Crichton of Strathord; Margaret, married to James Johnston of Elphinston; Christian, married to William Lundin of Lundin.

The Ruthven family had their full share of charters in early times, as is evident from the Chartulary of Scone and from the Inchcolm Register. These charters date from a very early period of Scottish history—viz. from the twelfth century, when Thor, the original ancestor of the Ruthvens, granted his charter of Edenham. We give the following early charters of the Ruthvens, which will be read with interest :—

CHARTER OF SWAINE SON OF THOR OF AHEDENPOBBEL

To all the sons of Holy Mother Church Swaine son of Thor greeting Wit ye me to have given and granted and by this my Charter to have confirmed, to God and Saint Michael of Scone and the Canons there serving and that shall serve God, Ahedenpobbel by the same divisions with which Robert the

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Chaplain held them and one toft in Tibbermore which he truly held of the Goldsmith, the Meadow also that is upon Lochethin on the South part from the place which in the East is contiguous to the land of the Country folks whensoever it shall extend by breadth and length towards the west with common pasture and easement of my woods to whosoever shall have need in free and perpetual alms for the souls of Earl Henry and of all my ancestors and successors and for my soul. Wherefore I will that the foresaid canons shall hold and possess right to the forenamed land with all aforesaid perpetually of me and my heirs succeeding to me in perpetuity as freely and quietly, fully and honourably as any religious house in the whole Kingdom freely holds from any baron and quietly, fully and honourably. These Witnesses,

> John, Bishop of Dunkeld; Robert of Berclay; Hugh of Kaleder; Macbeth, judge of Gouryn; Galfrid, Chaplain of Perth; William, Clerk of Forfar; Henry the Chaplain; Philip Unieth James of Perth; Andrew and William, brethren of the same; Galfrid, son of Martin;

CHARTER BY ALEXANDER II

David and Henry, his sons; Walter of Saint Edmund, and many others. Liber Ecclesiae de Scone. Date between 1163 and 1199.

CONFIRMATION OF KING ALEXANDER II. OF A GRANT TO WALTER SON OF ALAN OF LAND WHICH SWAINE SON OF THOR MADE

Alexander by the grace of God King of Scots to all prudent men of his whole land Clerics and laics, Greeting, know ye present and future I have granted and by this my Charter to have confirmed that Grant which Walter son of Alan made to God and the Church of the Holy Trinity and Saint Michael of Scone and the Canons serving or that shall serve God there, of that whole land which Swaine son of Thor, Grandfather of the said Walter gave to the said canons in Tibbermuir by the divisions contained in the Confirmation of the same to Walter and of that toft belonging to the Goldsmith with other tofts next adjacent to the same, by the divisions contained in the same Confirmation and of a certain land above the well which is called the King's Well by the divisions contained in the said Confirmation and of certain fishings of Carnies. Holding in pure and perpetual alms with common pasture and easement of wood of the same of Walter and the rest of the common easements of Tibbermuir

as freely and quietly fully and in peace as the confirmation made by the same Walter to the same Canons testifies [saving] my service. Witnesses,

William of Boscho;

Chancellor William Comyn.

Liber Ecclesiae de Scone. Date between 1214 and 1245.

CHURCH PATRONAGE, RUTHVEN CHARTER BOOK OF INCHCOLM, 1239

The year of the Lord one thousand two hundred thirty-nine before a venerable father Otho by the grace of God, Dean of St Nicholas in "Carcere Tulii " Cardinal and Legate of the Apostolic See a Controversy having been moved between Sir Galfrid Bishop of Dunkeld and the Chapter of the place thereof on the one part and Merleswan son of Walden on the other part, upon the right of patronage of the Church of Fitchill at length after many altercations his parts were subjected by the licence of the foresaid Legate to the ordination of discreet men Sir Clement Bishop of Dunblane and Peter of Ramsay and Peter of Castle, Theodore precentor of Dunkeld, and William of Cuningham, which four for the good of peace and disposed by God were ordained diligently to inquire into the truth according to the consciences of the parties, in this manner viz.: that the right of

INCHCOLM CHARTER

patronage of the Kirk of Fitchill with the pertinents may remain to the said Merleswan and his heirs in perpetuity, the said Merleswan for himself and his heirs may grant the said Kirk of Fitchill to a prebendar in the Kirk of Dunkeld after the cession or decease of Master John of Everley rector of the said Kirk. To which prebend the said Merleswan and his heirs for the time shall present a fit person of the Canons to the Bishop of Dunkeld; which Canon each year after the cession or decease of the foresaid John shall give to the Community of the Kirk of Dunkeld ten merks for the well being of the Bishops. Moreover they ordained that Master John of Everley from his right of patronage of the Church of Fitchill for his whole time, shall have his presentation of the said Merleswan. To this all shall faithfully observe each part of the "fide media." The Bishop for himself, the Dean for himself and the Chapter, Merleswan for himself and his heirs, under the pain of 1000 merks to be paid to the party serving the said ordinance by the party willing to withdraw; he obliged himself nevertheless to continue the rate and ferme of the foresaid ordinance. In testimony of which thing the foresaid ordinators appended their seals to the present writing and to another writing of the like tenor also causing the seals of the parties to be appended so that each party may have one writ fortified by the seals of the

ordinators, and the other parties and shall not lightly transgress the foresaid ordinance, the parties subjected themselves for ever in this part to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of St Andrews so that he shall be able by ecclesiastical censure to compel the said parties to faithfully observe all these things. Done in the year of the Lord one thousand two hundred thirty-nine. At Kethon before these Witnesses

Malcolm, Earl of Fife;
Walter, the Steward, Senescallus, Justiciar of Scotland;
Hugh, Abbot of Culross;
Laurence of Abernethy;
Malcolm of Levenahouse;
Walter of Ruthven;
Nicholas of Sules, and many others.

CONFIRMATION CHARTER OF SIR WALTER SON OF Alan by William of Rothven of Land of Tibbermuir and fishings of Cairnies

To all the faithful in Christ who shall see or hear this present writing William of Rothven Lord of same, Greeting in the Lord everlasting, Wit ye me to have seen heard and fully understood a Charter made and granted by Sir Walter son of Alan my father of good memory to God and the

CHARTER BY SIR WM. RUTHVEN

Church of the Holy Trinity and Saint Michael of Scone and the Canons serving or that shall serve God there of which the tenor is thus To all the sons of Holy Mother Church Walter son of Alan greeting Wit ye me to have granted and by this my Charter to have Confirmed to God and the Church of the Holy Trinity and Saint Michael of Scone and the Canons serving or that shall serve God there, that whole land which Swaine son of Thor my Grandfather gave to them in Tubermore by these divisions to wit from the King's well which is upon the street which comes from Perth and lies in the foresaid town, with the toft that belonged to the Goldsmith and the other tofts contiguous and adjacent in the east part of the town, and as far as a certain dyke that is between the foresaid toft and the Church and so by the Dyke and so towards the north as far as the way which comes from the foresaid Church and tends towards the east as far as in the ford of Lochelyn [and so by Lochelyn] towards the east and middle along to the burn that descends from the foresaid King's well with a certain land above the foresaid well which lies on the south part of the street which comes from Perth as far as to the Wood of Aberdalgie and so towards the west as far as to the land of the Kirk of Tubermore. The Abbot and Canons truly quitclaim their whole claim that they may

have in the land which lies on the north part of the way which comes from the Church and tends to the foresaid ford of Lochelyn for the good of peace to me and my heirs in perpetuity. I grant also to them and their men dwelling upon the foresaid land the common pasture and easement of my woods and the rest of the common easements whenever they shall have necessity, with my men of Tubermore in free pure and perpetual alms for my soul and of all my ancestors and successors and all the foresaids I grant to God and the foresaid Canons as freely and quietly, fully and honourably as any baron in the whole Kingdom of Scotland is able to freely quietly and fully give or grant to any other Religious (house) by way of Alms and likewise I grant to them the fishings of Cairnes as testified in the Charter of my foresaid Grandfather. These Witnesses Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn; Lord Robert, his son; Roger of Mortimer; Galfrid of Invertunglas, Sheriff of Perth; Duncan, son of Morgrund; Reginald of Waren; Malise, Steward of the Earl Gilbert of Strathearn ; Adam Olifard Brice, person of Cref; Richard Unyneth; Walter, son of Swaine; Henry, son of Alan, son of Swaine; Isaac, son of Samuel, and many others. And because the seal of the foresaid late Sir Walter my father appended to foresaid Charter by hostile malevolence was torn away broken and entirely slipped off and carried

CHARTER BY SIR WM. RUTHVEN

away I the foresaid William with counsel consent and assent of Sir Walter my son and my heirs present who likewise saw and heard my said Charter having regard to the honour of God for the salvation of my soul and of all my ancestors and successors approve and ratify the tenor of the said Charter of my father in all the points and articles of it the said land with tofts foresaid by their foresaid divisions and fishings of Cairnes foresaid with the pertinents common pasture and easements before noted in the foresaid Charter to God and the Church of the Holy Trinity and Saint Michael foresaid and the Abbots and Canons of Schon there serving God and that shall serve in perpetuity in free pure and perpetual Alms, I give grant and freely, quietly fully and honourably confirm by my present Charter for ever. In testimony of which thing my seal with the seal of the said Sir Walter my son and heir is appended to this present Charter. Witnesses.

> Robert of Garvald, public notary of the Lord the Pope;
> Sir William, vicar of Forgrund;
> Etheny, dean of the same;
> Galfrid, vicar of Tubermore;
> Gilbert, my son;
> William of Harlaw;
> Donevald of Creych, Clerk;

Symon, son of Adam;

Leuing Mars;

Maurice, son of Uchtred, and many others.

Liber Ecclesiae de Scone. Date before 1240.

RUTHVEN CHARTER, BOOK OF INCHCOLM, 1362

To all to whom the present letter shall come William of Ruthven Lord thereof greeting in the Lord everlasting. Be it known to all that I have ratified confirmed and by this my present charter perpetually have approved that gift which Swaine son of Thor my predecessor made and Walter son of Alan son of Swaine confirmed to God and the Monastery of the Isle of Saint Columba and the Canons serving and who shall in future serve God there, of that toft at Tibbermore viz.: of the whole land between the boundary of the Bishop and the toft of Gilchrist Mac Mal in the south part of the foresaid town, and of the whole land which of my wood next to the said toft they shall be able to root out to the breadth of the same along to the other division of the Bishop by the middle way which leads to the wood in the East and West Holding and having to the said Canons in pure and perpetual alms with common pasture of the said town and with all liberties, commodities, easements,

CHARTER BY SIR WM. RUTHVEN

rights, customs and other universal pertinents belonging and that shall in any manner of way be able to belong to the said land in time coming as freely quietly fully and honourably from all service of horsemanship and exercise and other exactions whatsoever as any alms within the kingdom of Scotland shall be able to hold freely, quietly fully and honorably, and also as is contained and reported in the said Charters of Swaine and Walter, In testimony of which thing my seal is appended to the present Charter and for the greater evidence of the thing I have procured the seal of a reverend father in Christ, the Lord John by the grace of God Bishop Dunkeld, to be appended. Dated at Dunkeld the twenty-fifth day of the month of July, the year of the Lord one thousand three hundred sixty-second. Witnesses,

> The Lord Bishop of Dunkeld; Robert Kens, Dean; Andrew Umphry, precentor; John Reid Canons of the said William Dalgarnock Kirk of Dunkeld; Maurice of Ruthven, my Cousin, and many others.

CHAPTER III

BLACKFRIARS GARDEN, LORD RUTHVEN AND THE KING-SECOND LORD RUTHVEN AND THE PROVOSTSHIP-ALEXANDER RUTHVEN OF FREELAND-PATRICK, THIRD LORD RUTHVEN-WILLIAM, FOURTH LORD RUTHVEN, SHERIFF OF PERTH-COMMENDATORSHIP OF SCONE ABBEY-QUEEN MARY AND LORD RUTHVEN-EARLDOM OF GOWRIE-RAID OF RUTHVEN-COMMENDATORSHIP OF SCONE IN FAVOUR OF THIRD EARL-CHARTER BY JAMES VI. AND TEINDS OF THE ABBEY-EARL OF GOWRIE NARRATIVE-MRS RUTHVEN-STUART'S GENEA-LOGICAL TREE

WHAT was called the King's Garden at Perth was, in the reign of James V., in the possession of the Blackfriars, and by them kept in repair. In July 1535, in the lifetime of William, second Lord Ruthven, a number of men broke down the fences, and entering the Gilten Arbor hastily built at each end of it a butt or bowmark. Next morning the friars made a great outcry and complained to the King. A letter was thereupon addressed by the King to William, Lord Ruthven, Sheriff of the County, requesting him "to do justice to the Blackfriars in opposition to the Magistrates and Council, who had taken illegal possession of certain

PROVOSTSHIP OF PERTH

crofts and pieces of land near the Blackfriars Monastery; and thrown down and destroyed part of the enclosures, and erected butts and bowmarks in the lands of the Gilten Arbor; had taken possession thereof, nor paid them the damage and skaith they had sustained, unless now compelled to do so." The prior and friars protested that they had been refused a copy of the King's letter to Lord Ruthven. The King eventually reversed the order he had given to his lordship, and appointed Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartine and Edmond Hay, Chamberlain of Errol, to be judges in the dispute, and ordered them to exercise the office of Sheriff. The King afterwards ordered the Corporation to pay the damage and to cease troubling the friars in all time coming.

In 1544 the Regent, James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, at the instigation of Cardinal Beton, turned Lord Ruthven out of the Provostship of Perth, and put in his place John Charteris of Kinfauns, a leading Catholic. The citizens resented this and a quarrel ensued. Charteris, assisted by Lord Gray, came with an armed force and attacked the town from the bridge; while another division came by the river and attacked the south port. At the bridge port the drawbridge was up, and the ironbound gates of the town were barred and bolted. Lord Ruthven had withdrawn his guards from the

bridge into the neighbouring houses and lanes. Lord Gray fell into the snare, and marched unmolested into the town. Lord Ruthven immediately sallied out, gave battle and defeated him; his soldiers taking to flight; while sixty are said to have been slain. This skirmish took place on 22nd July 1544, and re-established Lord Ruthven and his party in power.

Alexander of Freeland, youngest son of the second Lord, was charged with Riccio's murder and denounced a rebel. He had a charter from his nephew, William, Earl of Gowrie, of the half lands of Forteviot, which was confirmed 4th August 1585. He died oth October 1500, having married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Moncrieff, leaving issue, William Ruthven of Freeland, who died in 1608. He married Isabella Fotheringham, and had issue, Sir Thomas, created by Charles II. Lord Ruthven of Freeland. Lilias, daughter of the second Lord Ruthven, who married David, Lord Drummond, died at Stobhall, 7th July 1579, and was interred beside her husband in the kirk of Innerpeffrey. Her testament was recorded and March 1580. Catherine married Colin Campbell of Glenorchy; Cecilia married, in 1556, David Wemyss of Wemyss, for which marriage a dispensation had to be obtained. He died 8th July 1589; Barbara married, in 1556, Patrick, Lord Grey; Janet or

RUTHVEN GENEALOGY

Jean married, in 1544, John Crichton of Strathord; secondly, Lawrence Mercer of Meikleour; she died 1593; Margaret married, in 1549, James Johnstone of Elphinstone; Christian married William Lundin of Lundin.

Patrick, third Lord Ruthven, was born about 1520, and educated at St Andrews. He was principal actor at the murder of Riccio. After the murder he abandoned Darnley and fled to England, dying at Newcastle, 13th June 1566. He married, first, on 8th August 1546, Janet Douglas, natural daughter of Archibald, Earl of Angus, by a daughter of Stewart of Traquair, to whom Angus was betrothed before his marriage with Margaret Tudor, the Queen Dowager; secondly, in 1557, he married Janet Stewart, Lady Methuen, eldest daughter of John Stewart, second Earl of Atholl. She married, first, Alexander, Master of Sutherland; second, Sir Hugh Kennedy of Girvan Mains; thirdly, Henry Stewart, first Lord Methven, third husband of Queen Margaret.

Patrick, third Lord Ruthven, had issue: Patrick, Master of Ruthven, a party to the contract of marriage with Patrick, Lord Grey, and his aunt, Barbara Ruthven, 14th January 1557. She died some time afterwards, before 1565, when his brother is styled Master of Ruthven. He married Maria, daughter of Patrick, fourth Lord Grey, who

survived him, and married, secondly, Patrick Ogilvie of Inchmartine. William, fourth Lord Ruthven, who succeeded his father. George, tutor to Lord Ruthven, precentor of Dunkeld; killed along with the Regent Lennox, at Stirling, 4th September 1571. Archibald of Forteviot, styled Master of Ruthven, General in the Swedish Service, recommended to King John of Sweden by the Regent Mar, 1572; because interested in a plot to release the imprisoned King Eric XIV., was arrested and imprisoned, but his life spared at the intercession of James VI. He had a natural daughter named Lilias. James, precentor of Dunkeld, succeeded his brother in that office. He received a charter of an annual rent out of the lands of Hillyland from his brother William, Earl of Gowrie, 9th June 1582. He is mentioned in 1553, so cannot have been a son of his father's second marriage. He lived till after 1599. Alexander, pensioner of the Bishopric of Ross, 1586; left an only daughter, Cecilia, married to Francis, son of Patrick Bruce of Fingask. Jean, daughter of the third Lord, married first to Henry, second Lord Methven, son of the stepmother, who died 3rd March 1571; second, to Andrew, fifth Earl of Rothes; she died September 1591; testament recorded 26th October 1594. Isabel, married 21st August 1570 to James, first



LORD RUTHVEN

From a Drawing by Bullfinch, in the King's Clarendon

LORD RUTHVEN AND SCONE

Lord Colville of Culross; natural son, James, mentioned in 1578.

In 1560 William, Master of Ruthven, acquired from the Abbey of Scone and Patrick, Bishop of Moray, commendator thereof, certain lands, parks, woods and fishings in the regality of Scone and sheriffdom of Perth. This agreement was signed on 6th September 1560 by William Ruthven and his father, Patrick, Lord Ruthven, in presence of Patrick Murray of Tullibardine, Henry Ruthven and others. The Ruthven family had a residence in Scone in 1593, in the lifetime of John, third Earl of Gowrie, from which it may be presumed that they had restored the ancient palace, which was burned down at the Reformation. At this date the Ruthven family were proprietors of Scone, and a charter, in their favour, by the Abbey by the commendator and convent of Scone, creating William, Lord Ruthven, Sheriff of Perth, and his heirs, heritable bailies and justiciaries; all and sundry the teinds and possessions of the Lordship and regality of Scone, with power of levying escheats, repledging etc.; and giving £100 of bailie fee, containing precept of sasine, 6th April 1569 :---

"To all by whom this charter may be seen or heard Patrick Bishop of Moray, perpetual commendator of the Monastery of Scone; for grateful

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actions and help and counsel to us; by a noble and potent Lord, William, Lord Ruthven Sheriff of Perth, make, constitute etc. the said noble Lord his heirs, male, our true, lawful, undoubted etc., bailies and heritable justiciaries, of all and singular the lands possessions etc. of the Lordship and regality of Scone; giving him power to hold courts of Bailiary and justiciaries; to levy escheats etc. Signed by Patrick, Bishop of Moray, and by the Prior and Sub-Prior of the Monastery of Scone."

On 1st July 1565, Queen Mary, who was residing at Perth had promised to pay a visit to Lord Livingstone, Callender House, in order to act as godmother at the baptism of his child. This engagement became known, and Moray, Argyll, and Rothes, who headed a rebellion, with the approval of Queen Elizabeth, arranged to have followers ready to seize the Queen at the Pass of Dron on her way to Callender House. The Queen was advised of this by Lindsay of Dowhill, the night before, and she immediately called on the Earl of Atholl and Lord Ruthven, who was Provost of Perth, to come to her assistance. These two nobles forthwith raised three hundred horsemen, fully armed, and with this escort the journey to Callender House next morning was safely accomplished, the escort starting at five A.M. Two hours later Moray and Argyll were on the road to find that the Queen

CREATION OF EARL OF GOWRIE

had been too many for them, and by her swift movements their mischievous plot fell through.

William, fourth Lord Ruthven, and first Earl of Gowrie, succeeded his father, the third Lord. He was engaged in the conspiracy against Riccio, and after his murder fled to England. He made peace and returned to Scotland, when he supported James VI. He was one of those who waited on the Queen at Loch Leven and by threats got her signature to her abdication of the crown. He was present at the coronation of James, and was made Lord Treasurer of Scotland for life, 24th June 1571, and an Extraordinary Lord of Session, 25th November 1578. He was, by James VI., created Earl of Gowrie by patent, 23rd August 1581, when the Earldom of Gowrie was erected out of the lands of the monks of Scone and limited to heirs male of his body, whom failing to the heirs male bearing the name and arms of Ruthven. This charter was ratified by Parliament, 29th November 1581.

William, Earl of Gowrie, Lord Ruthven of Dirleton had a charter of the lordship of Abernethy in Perthshire, 14th December 1581. He was the principal actor in that notable conspiracy to seize King James VI. and take him out of the hands of the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Arran. This was the Raid of Ruthven of 23rd August 1582. The King being in the power of the conspirators

they obliged him to grant them a remission, and they procured from the Assembly of the Church, 3rd October 1582, an Act declaring that they had done good and acceptable service to God, to their Sovereign, and to the nation, requiring all sincere Protestants to concur with them in carrying forward such a laudable enterprise.

A Convention of the Estates assembled on the 13th of that month and passed an Act to the same effect and granted full indemnity to the conspirators for everything they had done.

Ruthven had a charter of a house at Holyrood, 3rd November 1582. The following year the King escaped out of their hands, but, visiting the Earl of Gowrie at Ruthven Castle, he granted Gowrie a full pardon.

A Convention of the Estates being held declared those concerned in this Raid of Ruthven to have been guilty of high treason, ordered the Act approving of this conduct to be cancelled, and engaged the support of the King in prosecuting them with the utmost rigour of law. Gowrie, notwithstanding the pardon he had received, was in 1584 commanded to leave Scotland and reside in France. While he waited at Dundee for an opportunity to embark he was informed that the Earls of Angus and Mar had concocted a scheme for surprising Stirling Castle. Gowrie concurred with them, and

COMMENDATOR OF SCONE

delayed his voyage so as to take up arms on the day fixed. This awakened suspicion and Arran arrested him after a heroic struggle. He was tried for high treason and executed at Stirling between eight and nine on the evening of the same day. On the scaffold he said: "If I had served God as faithfully as I served the King I would not have come to this end." He died patiently, with every assurance of mercy in God's hands.

On 7th May 1580, John, afterwards third Earl of Gowrie, was by Royal Charter created Commendator of the Monastery and Abbey of Scone as follows:—

"Charter under the Great Seal, creating John Ruthven, lawful son of William, Lord Ruthven, treasurer, perpetual Commendator of the Monastery and Abbey of Scone, giving to him the benefice of the same, with all and sundry lands, lordships, baronies, teinds, and others, as well spiritualities as temporalities, of the same, which of old belonged thereto, with right and privilege of, and free regality during all the days of his lifetime; fallen into His Majesty's hands by the decease and forfeiture of Patrick, Bishop of Moray, the Commendator thereof :—

James by the grace of God etc. To all men to whom these presents shall come etc. Be it known

that because we have made, constituted etc. our lovite John Ruthven, lawful son of our chosen and faithful cousin and Councillor, William, Lord Ruthven, our Treasurer, perpetual Commendator of the Monastery and Abbey of Scone; giving, granting and providing to him, the benefice of the same; with all and singular the lands, lordships, baronies, castles, towers, fortalices, palaces, monasteries, manor places, etc., as well spiritual as temporal, for all the payments in use to be made to, and pertaining to, the said abbey, for all the days and term of his life, of the said John Ruthven, whether vacant and in our hands by the decease or forfeiture of Patrick Bishop of Moray, Commendator of the Monastery; holden and having the said Abbey, with the lands, Lordships, places, teinds, teind sheaves, and others with power to let on long and short leases, and to reduce those granted to the said Patrick Bishop of Moray, or his predecessors, against the laws and statutes; with power also to the said Commendator of giving and disposing of all the benefices, chapels, prebendaries, and altarages, which to the donation of the said abbey pertained etc."

There is also a charter of 15th October 1581 by James VI., who, understanding that the teinds, etc., lately belonging to the monastery of Scone, per-

DOROTHEA STUART

tained of old to the Earls of Gowrie, and were granted by them with confirmation thereof, by the King's royal predecessors to the said monastery, for such suffrages as are now abolished, so that equity and conscience alike demand that they should be now restored to the representatives of their ancient possessors; grants them therefore to William, Lord Ruthven and Dirleton, created Earl of Gowrie, as the representative of the ancient earls. For this purpose the said lands have been resigned into the King's hands by the commendator of the said monastery with consent of the Iconymus Administrator and Convent thereof.

The lands are enumerated at length, being the barony of old called the Barony of Gowrie, afterwards the Barony of Scone.

William, Lord Ruthven, was betrothed to Mary, daughter of Patrick, first Lord Grey, but the marriage did not take place, and she married David Seton of Arbroath. He married Dorothea Stuart, daughter of Henry, first Lord Methven, by her father's second wife; she was born before marriage, and was legitimated 1551. After her husband's death she was forfeited, and basely used by James VI., surviving to see the ruin of her family; she was residing at Dirleton at the period of the "Gowrie Conspiracy." William, fourth Lord Ruthven, had issue: James, second

Earl of Gowrie; John, third Earl of Gowrie; Alexander, Master of Gowrie, born at Perth, 22nd January 1581; killed along with his brother at Gowrie House in 1600; William Ruthven, who at his brother's death fled to England, with his brother, Patrick, and was there sheltered by Queen Elizabeth. On her death a proclamation was issued against them, 27th April 1603, by James VI. William became a chemist and philosopher, and is probably that brother of the Earl of Gowrie who, according to Bishop Burnet, died beyond the sea, and of whom it was given out, he had the philosopher's stone. Patrick Ruthven, M.D., styled Lord Ruthven, on the King's proclamation, was arrested and conveyed to the Tower of London, June 1603, and imprisoned there nineteen years. Patrick's son petitioned Oliver Cromwell for the Restoration of the Barony of Ruthven, which he alleged had been restored to his father by the Scottish Parliament of 1641; or, if this refused, to grant him such subsistence as may not altogether misbecome the quality of a gentleman. The petition was referred to the Council of 3rd November 1656. His first wife was Sarah Head. He

In the north-east corner of the choir of St John's Church, Perth, was the burying-place of the Gowries. William, first Earl, was interred there, and also his three sons, the second and third Earls, and Alexander Ruthven, last two of whom unjustly suffered violent deaths.

RUTHVEN GENEALOGY

married, secondly, Jean Macdonnell, of the county of Ross, Scotland, 9th September 1667, a widow aged forty-two. Robert, his brother, was in a very poor and lamentable condition, as mentioned in the petition.

The daughters of Patrick, fifth son of the fourth Lord, were: Elizabeth; Mary, one of the Maids of Honour to Queen Henrietta Maria, married first Sir Antony Vandyck, who painted two portraits of her. one of which is in the Munich Gallery. He died oth December 1641, and she married, secondly, Sir Richard Pryse of County Cardigan, who died 1651. By her first husband she had one child, Justinia, born, and baptised at St Anne's, Blackfriars, oth October 1641. This child married Sir John Stepney of Prendergast, who died 1681, and left issue, represented in 1867 by Alexander James Gulstone, and Colonel Stepney Cowell, as co-heirs.

Mary, daughter of William, first Earl of Gowrie, was married at Perth, 1580, to John, fifth Earl of Atholl; secondly, in 1596, to John Stewart, sixth Earl of Atholl, Lord Innermeath; thirdly, before 30th December 1613, to John Stewart, son of James Stewart, Master of Buchan; Margaret, married, 12th December 1593, the Earl of Montrose; Sophia, married Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, and died before 1592; Jean, married, 1588,

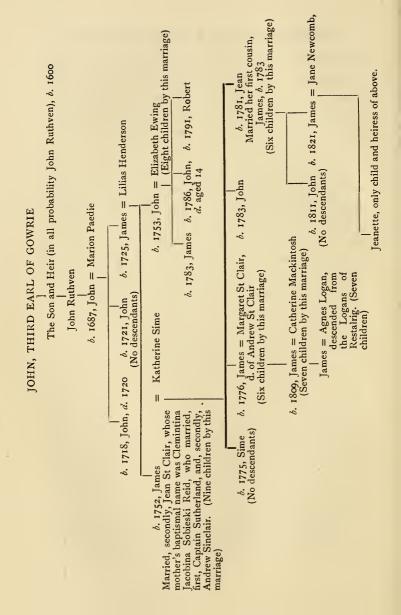
James, Lord Ogilvy of Airlie; she died 6th January 1611; Elizabeth or Isabel, married, first, Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinver; the marriage was not a happy one, and is referred to in the Privy Council Records. In 1607 she was ordained to reside in Edinburgh, free from the keeping of her husband, and in 1608 they were divorced; she married, secondly, George, first Lord Loudoun. Beatrix, with her sister Lilias, were offered as brides to Alexander, sixth Lord Home, by their father, who was his curator, but he did not marry either of them. She was, with her sister, a Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Anne (of Denmark) and was married in 1608 to Sir John Hume of Cowdenknowes, whom she survived, and was known as Lady Cousland. Lilias died apparently before her father, who at his death left thirteen children. Dorothea married, in 1609, John Wemyss of Pittencrieff. Barbara, at the time of the conspiracy, was one of Queen Anne's Maids of Honour. A warrant for her apprehension was issued, 27th April 1603; but in September of that year she received a pension of f_{200} per annum, as she had shown no malicious disposition. About 1619 she petitioned for five years' pension to pay her debts, or prefer her in marriage, upon which she would go to Scotland. She died in 1625, and was interred at Greenwich, 29th December of that year. James, second Earl of

THREE RUTHVEN BRANCHES

Gowrie, the eldest son, was baptised on 25th September 1575; was restored to his estates and manors, 1586, his mother being tutrix, and obtained ratification of the Earldom, 1587; he died in 1588 in his fourteenth year, and was succeeded by his brother John.

There are now three distinct branches of this once great family claiming descent from the main branch. Lord Ruthven of Freeland, a creation of Charles II., 1651, is descended from Alexander, fifth son of the second Lord Ruthven (old creation). The male line has twice died out, and the title been taken, in the first instance, by the youngest sister of David, the second Lord of Freeland; then by his niece; and, in the second instance, by a sister of James, Lord Ruthven, who died in 1853-namely, the Baroness Mary Elizabeth Thornton Ruthven. This lady married Walter Hore of Harperstown, Co. Wexford, Ireland; and the present holder of the title, Walter James Hore-Ruthven, succeeded the Baroness, his grandmother. The patent is unrecorded, and its precise terms are unknown, as it was lost by fire, 14th March 1750, when Freeland House was burned. Burke, an eminent authority, says that " collateral proofs exist that heirs female were not excluded."

A branch of the Ruthven family descended from John, second son of the first Lord Ruthven (old



EARL OF GOWRIE'S SUCCESSION

creation), is found in Ireland. Its present representative resides in Australia. Alexander Ruthven, a great-grandson of John, and third cousin of John, third Earl of Gowrie, fled at the time of the downfall of the family in 1600. His lands were given by the King to Sir Thomas Erskine, afterwards created Earl of Kelso. In 1602 he escaped into England, and having married one of the Trotter family (in the Merse) he took that name and settled in Durham, where he purchased lands. His grandson, John, went over to Ireland, where his descendants have been ever since. His descendant, Edward Southwell Ruthven, born 1773, received a Royal Licence on 16th June 1801 to the effect that he and his issue might assume and take the surname of Ruthven only, as borne by their ancestors.

There is another branch of the Ruthvens claiming descent from John, third Earl of Gowrie. The following narrative is from a document in the possession of a member of the family :—

"At the death of the Earl of Gowrie, A.D. 5th August 1600, the nurse disappeared in the confusion with the infant son of the Earl, and after some time, ventured to proceed to a captain of the army, telling him the tragical circumstances, and offered her services, if he would undertake to protect the child. This the captain at once agreed to do.

He brought the youth up in his own family, he educated him, and the youth eventually married a relation of the captain's. It is not known what the captain's name was, nor are any of the circumstances distinctly known otherwise than by tradition, but there is an old lady of the name of Dick in Kilmarnock at this time-1843-who is a descendant of the captain's, and well versed in the circumstances and genealogy of young Ruthven, "The Heir," who was now obliged to reside in comparative obscurity, his name being prohibited and estates confiscated. He is represented as being of an exceedingly amiable temperament, and an excellent musician. (He left issue, one son, John Ruthven, who it is supposed was a professor of music and a composer of some talent.) "

Then follows John Ruthven, great-grandson of John, third Earl of Gowrie. He was married to Marion Paedie at Eastwood Parish Church in 1717, and died in 1732, aged forty-five, and was interred in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral. His two elder sons, both named John, have no descendants. The first son, John, died in infancy, the second son, John, married Mary Henderson, and had several children, all of them dying young, save one daughter, Margaret, who died unmarried in 1817; but his third son, James, born in 1725, had two sons,

JOHN, EARL OF GOWRIE

James, born in 1752, and John, born in 1753. James, born in 1752, had a son, James, born in 1776, who had a son, James, born in 1809, whose son, James, is the present representative of this branch, and resides in Hull, Yorkshire.

John, born in 1753, emigrated to the United States, and his eldest son, James, born 1783, married his first cousin, Jean Ruthven, born 1781, daughter of James, born 1752. They left an only son, James, who is represented to-day by a daughter, Mrs Ruthven-Stuart, who is descended from both James, born 1752, and John, born 1753, and who resides in London.

All historians appear to agree that there is no evidence that John, third Earl of Gowrie, was married. But it is a fact that very little is known about him during the six years he was abroad, from 1594 to 1600. Every effort is being made to discover something that will throw light on what is at present involved in mystery.

"Truths which were long concealed emerge to light, And controverted facts are rendered bright."

So runs the translation of a Latin distich, at one time painted on a chimney brace in Ruthven Castle. G. P. R. James, an eminent writer, in his book, "Gowrie or the King's Plot," in a final chapter dealing with a general view of the subject, after stating that "he has not spared labour, research,

and thought upon the work," says, in a concluding paragraph, that the lady whom it was proposed the Earl should eventually marry was in reality the Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Angus, "but that there were rumours current, both before and after the Earl's death, of another more powerful but secret attachment, which might probably have frustrated the views of friends, under the influence of a stranger power."

This branch of the Ruthven family, claiming direct descent from John, third Earl of Gowrie, has always used the Gowrie crest. (An old seal belonging to them is reproduced here.)



The issue raised by this narrative from the archives of one of the members of the Ruthven family, and the direct reference to it practically confirming it, by that eminent novelist, G. P. R. James, seems to take away one's breath for the moment. The *bona fide* manner in which the subject is presented to us fully entitles it to respectful consideration.



GENERAL PATRICK RUTHVEN (AFTERWARDS EARL OF FORTH AND BRENTFORD)

From the Portrait in the Imperial Museum, Stockholm

JOHN, EARL OF GOWRIE'S SON

We do not think anyone will call it in question or challenge it for the very good reason that there is nothing to lean upon save the "baseless fabric of a vision." The general consensus of public opinion will undoubtedly take the other view and accept the narrative, a narrative which should have been made public long ago, but kept *in retentis* by the family, whose attention we may presume was too much involved in the downright robbery and confiscation of their estates to warrant their putting this matter before the public.

In short, the Ruthven Papers, with all their important details, civic as well as historical, have never till now been published, although the subject matter is three centuries old. There is nothing in the least unlikely in a son being born to John, third Earl of Gowrie. It is the most likely thing in the world. The difficulty is to prove the marriage, and to define whether the son so born to the Earl was, or was not, legitimate. It is a fact that the main branch of the family of which the Earl of Gowrie was head has gone on through all these centuries multiplying and branching out. What a noble history, and what an ancient national history is that of the Ruthven family, from its inception in the twelfth century, to the beginning of the seventeenth, when the downfall of the family was heralded by a weak, but cunning and tyrannical,

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monarch. The assassination of the Gowries was the most indefensible act that has ever appeared on the pages of Scottish history, and its fraudulent and treacherous and false record, carefully and deliberately recorded in the Privy Council Register, the Acts of the Scottish Parliament and other official publications of the Crown, seem as a chapter of fraud and perjury to deliberate upon, a chapter from which we cannot exclude the Scottish Parliament of that period of the guilt attaching to its members, and as more or less actors and abettors in a cunning conspiracy that has disgraced the historical record for more than three hundred years.

NOTE.—Sir Colin Campbell, third son of Duncan, first Lord Campbell, obtained Glenorchy and other possessions in the barony of Lochow in 1432. Sir Colin died before June 1478. His son, Sir Colin, married Marjory Stewart, daughter of John, Earl of Atholl, and died in 1523, leaving three sons: (1) Duncan, died 1536; (2) John, died 1550; (3) Colin, who married, as a second wife, Katherine, daughter of William, second Lord Ruthven, and died in 1583. John succeeded his elder brother, and Colin succeeded John.

CHAPTER IV

KALENDAR, RUTHVENS EARLS OF FORTH—PATRICK RUTHVEN, EARL OF FORTH—COMMANDER OF THE FORCES TO CHARLES I.—BATTLES OF EDGEHILL, NEW-BURY, AND BRENTFORD—APPOINTED LIEUT.-GENERAL OF SCOTLAND—KALENDAR OF THE RUTHVENS OF FREE-LAND—JEAN, BARONESS RUTHVEN—ISOBEL, BARONESS RUTHVEN—JAMES, THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH LORDS RUTHVEN — BARONESS MARY ELIZABETH — WALTER JAMES HORE, SIXTH LORD RUTHVEN

KALENDAR OF THE RUTHVENS

EARLS OF FORTH AND EARLS OF BRENTFORD

No.	NAME	Period	DIED	
I	William Ruthven of Ballindean, son			
	of the first Lord Ruthven	1 5 2 1 - 1 5 6 6	1566	
2	Sir William Ruthven, his son	1566-1603	1603	
3 4	William Ruthven, son of Sir William	1603-1634	1634	
4	Patrick, second son of Sir William,			
	Earl of Forth and Earl of Brent- ford. Created Earl of Forth, 1642, and Earl of Brentford, 1644.	1634-1651	1651	
5	William Ruthven of Gardyne, grand-			
	son of Sir William	1634-1664	1664	
6	Sir Francis Ruthven of Red Castle,			
	brother of William of Gardyne .	After 1664		
7	Colonel John Ruthven of Dunglass,			
	son of William of Gardyne	After 1664		

1521-1664

Ruthven, Earl of Forth and Earl of Brentford

William Ruthven of Ballindean, son of William, first Lord, by his second marriage, with Christian Forbes, had a charter in favour of himself of part of the lands of Kinnaird, from William, Lord Ruthven, to William Ruthven, his grandson, and holder of the Fee of Ruthven, 21st August 1521. Charters were also granted to William, Lord Ruthven, and Christian, his spouse, in life-rent, and William Ruthven of Ballindean, their son and heir, of Wester Pitlour and Auchnahary, in the Barony of Strathmiglo in Fife, 4th August 1526, William, Lord Ruthven, grandfather of John, Earl of Buchan, in life-rent, and William Ruthven of Ballindean, his son, in fee, and the heirs of his body, whom failing to the said Earl of Buchan, of the town of Kettins in Forfarshire, 26th January 1528; to William, Lord Ruthven, and William Ruthven of Ballindean, his son, the lands of Legertlaw in Perthshire, 26th March 1528; Blackhall in the same county, 8th July 1528, and part of the Barony of Lunan, 16th July 1528. William Ruthven of Ballindean resigned all his lands and had a charter to himself and heirs male, with remainder to James, Henry,

BALLINDEAN AND GARDYNE

William and Alexander, sons of William, second Lord Ruthven, 10th January 1540.

William Ruthven of Ballindean had a charter of the lands of Balfour in Forfar, 20th August 1526, and he also had a charter to himself in liferent, and Sir William Ruthven, his son, in fee, of the lands of Pitlour in Fife; Lunan, in the county of Forfar; Liberton, in the county of Edinburgh; and Blackhall in Perthshire, 22nd March 1555. By Agnes Crichton, his wife, daughter of John Crichton of Strathord, he had a son, Sir William Ruthven of Ballindean, who succeeded him. William Ruthven of Ballindean died before June 1566, leaving issue, William, who succeeded him. His daughter Janet married Adam Stewart, Prior of the Charterhouse, natural son of James V., and his other daughters were Christian, Margaret and Elizabeth.

Sir William married Catherine Stewart, daughter of John, fourth Lord Innermeath, and had issue, William; Patrick, Earl of Forth; Alexander; Christian, who married Sir James Lundie, son of William Lundie of that ilk.

William Ruthven of Ballindean succeeded Sir William, his father, and sold that estate and acquired that of Gardyne. He was retoured heir of his family, 3rd March 1621, and survived till 1634. He married Christian Barclay of Towle, and had

issue, William Ruthven of Gardyne. In 1641, in his lifetime, the Act against the surname of Ruthven was abolished, as far as the Ballindean family were concerned. William Ruthven of Gardyne died in 1664, leaving two sons, Patrick, fiar of Gardyne, and Captain John Ruthven. Sir Francis Ruthven of Carse, knight, entered the Swedish service, and was Governor of Memel. He afterwards, in 1639, entered the service of Charles I. His brother, William Ruthven of Gardyne, was retoured to him as heir of conquest, 1655.

Colonel John Ruthven of Dunglass entered the Swedish service and was commander of a cavalry regiment, 1636, and Major-General same year. He then entered the service of Charles I., and died in 1649. He married, first, Jean Ramsay, by whom he had issue, John and Ellen; secondly, Barbara Leslie, eldest daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Leven, and had issue, Sir William Ruthven of Dunglass; Alexander; Sir Francis Ruthven of Red Castle, who married Elizabeth Ruthven, second daughter of Thomas, first Lord Ruthven of Freeland, and had issue.

Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Forth, was second son of the first Sir William Ruthven of Ballindean and Freeland, and was born 1573. He served in the German wars under Gustavus Adolphus, in which he deported himself with such courage that he

CAREER OF GENERAL RUTHVEN

attained the rank of Lieutenant-General, and gained no small honour. When Ulm surrendered to Gustavus in 1632, General Patrick Ruthven was appointed Governor of that important place, and by uncommon vigilance suppressed two conspiracies in their infancy. He was high in favour with Gustavus for two different reasons. He always behaved gallantly in the field; and when the King wanted to regale the Ministers of the adverse party, in order to extract secrets from them in their cheerful hours, he made Ruthven Field-Marshal of the Bottles and Glasses, as he could drink immeasurably and preserve his understanding to the last. Ulm was chosen for the royal magazine, as well as a place of retreat in case of accident, and was gallantly defended by General Ruthven, in consideration of whose merit and long services, Gustavus gave him a grant of the Earldom of Richberg, worth about £1800 per annum. In 1637 he was Major-General Ruthven and Governor of Edinburgh Castle, on his return from Sweden. In 1639 he was created Lord Ruthven of Ettrick. He refused to surrender Edinburgh Castle to the Covenanters in 1640 and was for this contumacy forfeited by Act of Parliament in June 1640, but stood a siege till 13th September, and eventually surrendered, 19th September 1640. His forfeiture was cancelled by the influence of General Leslie in

November 1641. The name of Ruthven, forfeited in 1600, was restored to the Ballindean family, 17th November 1641. He was created Earl of Forth by letters patent, dated at York, 27th March 1642, with limitation to the heirs male of his body. His lordship joined King Charles I. at Shrewsbury in 1642, and was appointed Field-Marshal of the forces, and fought at the battle of Edgehill, 23rd October 1642, when the Earl of Lindsay, General of his Majesty's army, being killed, the chief command was conferred on the Earl of Forth, who was one of those in whom the King principally confided. Lord Clarendon draws his character thus: "Though he had been without doubt a very good Officer and was still a man of unquestionable courage and integrity, yet he was now much decayed; and with the long continued custom of immoderate drinking, dazed in his understanding, which had been quick and vigorous, he having been always illiterate to the greatest degree. He was now become very deaf : yet often pretended to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to disclaim. He was a man of few words and great compliance, and usually delivered that as his opinion which he foresaw would be grateful to the King. He could judge better by his eye than his ears; and in the Field well knew what was to be done." This character is

GENERAL RUTHVEN WOUNDED

couched in no very favourable terms and the veracity of it may be doubtful. According to Harte, in the Ashmole Collection is a gallant letter from Patrick Ruthven, who was nineteen years in the Tower of London, to the Earl of Northumberland, who had traduced the reputation of a young gentlewoman whom Ruthven esteemed. It is certain that under the command of the Earl of Forth, the military skill displayed by the royal army was never more conspicuous and successful. He defeated the Parliamentary forces at Brentford, 15th November 1642, and was in honour of that victory created a peer of England by the title of Earl of Brentford, 26th May 1644.

The Scottish Parliament passed a decree of forfeiture against Patrick, Earl of Forth, 26th July 1644. At the second battle of Newbury, 27th November 1644, his lordship was wounded in the head, and carried to Donnington Castle, to which the Parliament sent a traitor called Harry, to persuade him to give it up, which the Earl rejected with the indignation that became him. He continued in the King's service until the end of this war in England; was one of those excepted from pardon by the Articles of Westminster, 11th July 1646, which the King refused to ratify. He was succeeded by Prince Rupert, 26th March 1645, and was made chamberlain to the Prince of Wales, THE RUTHVEN FAMILY PAPERS and accompanied King Charles to Scotland in 1650.

The Scottish Parliament passed an Act restoring him against his forfeiture, 20th March 1647; and his forfeiture was again rescinded after his death by the Parliament of 1661. His lordship died at an advanced age, at Dundee, 3rd January 1651, when his titles became extinct, and was interred in Monifieth Church. The Earl of Forth and Brentford married Clara Barnard, and by her, who died in August 1679, had three daughters-Lady Patricia, married to the Hon. Sir Thomas Ogilvie, slain at the battle of Inverlochy in 1645, second son of James, first Earl of Airlie, without issue; Lady Jean, married James, second Lord Forrester, and had issue; Lady Elspeth, married Major George Pringle, brother of Whytbank, and had issue.

According to the new *Peerage* he was three times married, and left issue, Alexander, Lord Ettrick, by his second wife; Patrick, by his third wife; and three daughters.

Shortly after the accession of Charles II. we have the following charter recorded in appreciation of his military services and his distinguished and unwearied exertions on behalf of the Crown. It was a graceful act on the part of the King to confer on the Earl of Forth and Brentford the high honour of

RUTHVEN LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

Lieutenant-General of Scotland. The charter was in the following terms:—

COMMISSION CONSTITUTING THE EARL OF BRENT-FORD LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF SCOTLAND, 1649

Charles II. etc. Whereas divers traitors and seditious persons in our kingdom of Scotland have for some years past and do still continue in their rebellion against us so that we must be empowered by armies to reduce them to their due obedience. Wherefore out of our special trust and confidence we have and do repose in your acknowledged wisdom, fidelity and great ability in martial affairs; do name, constitute and ordain you and appoint you, Patrick Earl of Brentford and Earl of Forth, to be Lieutenant-General of our Kingdom of Scotland under ourselves and under the command of such adviser as we shall hereafter constitute and ordain our Lieut. Governor and Captain General thereof: over all such forces both horse and foot which are already raised and levied within our kingdom. Therefore to give you power and authority in case of invasion, insurrection or rebellion and for the suppressing and preventing the same, in the absence of the Lieut. Governor and Captain General of the kingdom, to raise and levy forces during the war: and to enjoin all and singular Sheriffs and others, officials of the various

counties according to our directions or those of the Captain General: or in his absence according as in your discretion you shall think fit, to send such numbers of our subjects armed for the wars to such places as by your wisdom and discretion you shall require. And we do further give you power and authority to put in readiness the persons so raised and being armed and weaponed to take the musters of them and to conduct and lead by yourself and other officers against enemies, rebels and traitors, and their adherents attempting anything against us such as our Crown and dignity. In case of opposition to fight, chase, pursue, kill, slay and put to death according to your discretion, and we do further give you full power and authority to make laws martial, ordinances and proclamations, for the better government of the said forces, to punish all misdemeanours committed under your command and to appoint and assign commanders and officers necessary for the government of the forces to be raised and to divide and disperse them as you shall think fit. You will use all diligence to exercise the powers hereby given you. And we command the nobility, Sheriffs and others our subjects and soldiers under your command to be obedient and submissive to your commands at their peril.

And you yourself to execute and obey such further commands as from time to time you shall

WHITE ROSE OF ENGLAND

receive from us under our Signet or Sign Manual. Given under our Sign Manual at our Court of Castle Elizabeth, Island of Jersey, 28th day of Sept. 1649, first year of our reign.

CHARLES R.

CHARTER CONFERRING THE WHITE ROSE OF ENGLAND ON GENERAL RUTHVEN, 1645

Charles I., by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King etc., to all and sundry, Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquises, Earls etc. greeting; Seeing that justice; the most splendid ornament of the Royal Crown, steadfastly demands that excellent men and well-deserving should not merely be honoured by the favour they have merited, but should be distinguished by some singular token of honour; and since our well-beloved cousin Patrick, Earl of Forth, who had gained among the northern peoples of Europe the highest praise for his military excellence and also Imperial honour, not only in the seven months' siege of Edinburgh Castle, but also in five months of fighting at Brentford and Newbury, achieved the reward of a right valiant and right skilful general, wherefore we raised the said Earl Patrick to the rank and honour of Earl of Brentford; and since further in our happy success against the rebels at Uxbridge

and at Leotithiel in Cornwall, the renowned excellence of the Earl blazed forth, in order therefore that in the case of a man who has performed such outstanding services to our double crown of England and Scotland, some special mark of our goodwill may be handed down to posterity; Know ye that from the royal arms of both our crowns of England and of Scotland, we have plucked and affixed to the shield of the ancestral arms of Earl Patrick this augmentation viz. :- On a gold canton the white rose of England upon red within the double tressure of Scotland, as is more clearly depicted in the margin. Wishing and granting on behalf of ourselves, our heirs and our successors, that the same Earl Patrick and his heirs may freely bear the aforesaid augmentation of arms upon their shields for ever. In witness whereof we have caused this present Diploma to be ratified by the Great Seal of England. Given at our Court at Oxford on the twenty-sixth day of March in the year of human salvation one thousand six hundred and forty-five and of our reign the twentieth, e.g. 1645.

CHARLES R.

Endorsement.

A Patent of Augmentation of Arms granted to Patrick, Earl of Brentford,

Giving him the White Rose of England within the Double tressure of Scotland.

RUTHVEN EARL OF BRENTFORD

CHARTER BY CHARLES I. IN FAVOUR OF GEN. RUTHVEN CREATING HIM EARL OF BRENTFORD, 1645

Charles by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, to the Archbishops, Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts, etc., greeting; it is right that those who have shown their valour by mighty deeds performed in our service should in turn receive favour from us, so that others may have a more potent stimulus to follow in their footsteps. We therefore have considered that our beloved cousin, Patrick, Earl of Forth, while possessing the bounteous gifts of character and fortune with which the offspring of an ancient line of noble ancestors is duly endowed, has added further lustre by his own valour and diligence and especially by the renown and glory which he gained after much toil and the flight of long years. For from his youth he has studied the art of war among peoples of the most bellicose spirit, Swedes, Danes, Russians, Prussians and Germans. There he ever received high praise even from the enemy. He rose through all the ranks of promotion and was finally raised to the highest dignity of Marshal, arriving thus at the pinnacle of martial ambition in foreign countries he was then of an age to retire from active service, but was seized by a longing for his native land where he

thought a haven of rest lay provided for him. Contrary to his expectation he landed in the furnace of Civil Strife in which many were drawn over to the other side. Yet, although the men who stirred up rebellion left no means untried by which to gain him for their party, even offering him of their own free will the supreme command of the war, he did not stoop to that depth of infamy to which others fell who eagerly grasped the offer which he in his uprightness treated with contempt. Thereafter he continued to keep pure and unsullied the trust reposed in him, and proved it by many successful achievements in many places.

First at the siege of Edinburgh Castle he endured on our behalf seven months of famine and want to the detriment of his health. Thereafter when the same mad fury made its way to England, we summoned him that we might get his advice for the overthrow and crushing of rebellion. He was joyful and eager to play his part thinking not of the certain peril of his fortunes. Here, to mention only the more noteworthy among many, the engagements at Edgehill, Brentford and Newbury, will afford no uncertain evidence of his zeal and energy. In all of these he carried out the duties and offices of a brave soldier, no less than of a skilful leader. Since Earl Patrick has hitherto shown himself a right valiant defender of our crown and



JAMES, FIFTH LORD RUTHVEN OF FREELAND

EARL OF BRENTFORD

royal state, and already wears the insignia of General Officer Commanding our forces against the rebels, we have thought it fitting, for the better attestation of our royal favour towards him, that he should be singled out for accession to the same rank in England, the sphere of his present exploits, as he holds in Scotland, and should be raised to that state, title, rank, honour and dignity: Know Ye therefore that we, of our special grace and mere good pleasure, and by reason of our certain knowledge, create the said Patrick Earl of Forth, to be Earl of Brentford in Middlesex. And by the sword belt, cloak of honour, and golden coronet we proclaim, invest, and truly ennoble by these presents, raising him to the name, style, title, dignity and honour of Earl of the afore mentioned Brentford, to Have and to Hold the rank, style, title, dignity of Earl of Brentford, with all sundry privileges belonging to the rank, style, dignity and honour of Earl, by him and his heirs male, forever.

[Then on account of the increased expenditure necessary for the maintenance of the earldom in a becoming fashion,] We of our further grace, give and grant, and by these presents give and grant on behalf of ourselves, our heirs and successors to the said Patrick Earl of Brentford, and to his heirs male, aforesaid, for ever, an annual sum of twenty pounds of the legal currency of England, from our

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treasury, and that of our heirs and successors, to be paid annually on the order of our Treasurer, and of the Treasurers of our heirs and successors, in equal portions at the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, and the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be executed, Myself being witness at Oxford, on the Twenty-seventh day of May in the Twentieth year of our reign, 1645.

CHARLES R.

KALENDAR OF THE RUTHVENS OF FREELAND

No.	NAME	Period	Died
I	Alexander Ruthven of Freeland, fifth		
2	son of the second Lord Ruthven . William Ruthven of Freeland, son	1 599	1599
2	of Alexander	1600-1609	1609
3	Sir Thomas, first Lord Ruthven of	-	
	Freeland, eldest son of William .	1609-1671	1671
45	David, second Lord Ruthven	1671-1701	1701
5	Baroness Jean, Lady Ruthven, sister		
6	to David	1701-1722	1722
0	Baroness Isobel, niece to David and daughter of Sir Francis Ruthven.	1700 1700	1700
7	James, third Lord Ruthven	1722-1732 1732-1783	1732 1783
7 8	James, fourth Lord Ruthven, son	1/32-1/03	1703
Ŭ	of James	1783-1789	1789
9	James, fifth Lord Ruthven, son of	-,-,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	-,09
-	fourth Lord	1789-1853	1853
IO	Baroness Mary Elizabeth, sister of		
	fifth Lord	1853-1864	1864
11	Walter James, sixth Lord, grand-		
	son of the Baroness	1864	_

FREELAND RUTHVENS

LORD RUTHVEN OF FREELAND

Alexander Ruthven, fifth son of William, second Lord Ruthven of Freeland, got from his father the lands of Freeland, in Perthshire, and had a charter from William, Earl of Gowrie, delecto patruo suo; Alexander Ruthven of Freeland and Isabella Fotheringham, spouses, of part of the lands of Forteviot, 1st August 1585. He also got a charter of some lands and an orchard, in the Barony of Forgandenny, on the banks of the Earn, with a fishing in that river, 4th May 1597. He died October 1599. By Isabella Fotheringham, daughter of Powrie, he had issue-William; Henry, who was forfeited by the Scottish Parliament, 15th November 1600, for his connection with the Gowrie Conspiracy; Alexander, who was also forfeited for the Gowrie Conspiracy. William had two sons: Colonel William Ruthven, who died in the King's service; and Patrick Ruthven, who was served heirin-general of Alexander Ruthven, son of Alexander Ruthven of Freeland, his father, 22nd March 1665; Jean, married to Mercer of Clevedge; Barbara, married to Henry Rattray of Rattray; Isobel, married to Baron Reid, in Strathardle, from whom descended Alexander Robertson of Straloch, alias Baron Reid.

William Ruthven of Freeland, the eldest son,

was served heir of his father, 13th February 1600, and 25th April 1601. He had a charter of the lands of Kirktown Mailer, and a fishing in the Earn, 1607, and died of the plague, 20th October 1608. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir William Moncrieff of Moncrieff, by whom he had a son, Sir Thomas; and two daughters : Mary, married George Hay of Naughton, and had issue; Elizabeth, married Sir James M'Gill of Rankeillor, and had issue.

Sir Thomas Ruthven of Freeland, the eldest son, was served heir to his grandfather, 16th December 1609, and of his father on the same day, 10th March 1610. He had a charter of the lands of Kirktown Mailer, 21st December 1609, and was a commissioner for the Treaty of Ripon, 1641; Colonel of one of the regiments sent against the Marquis of Huntly, 1644; one of the Committee of Estates, 1646-47; one of the Colonels for Perthshire for putting the nation into a state of defence, after the death of Charles I.; and was Convener of Exchequer, 1649. A charter was granted to Sir Thomas Ruthven, for the lands of Forteviot, inserted into a Barony of Kirktown Mailer, 7th February 1650. He was by Charles II. created a peer by the title of Lord Ruthven of Freeland, 1651. The patent was burned with the House of Freeland, 15th March 1750, and the limitations are

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not on record; but it is understood that the honours were to the heirs general of the patentee's body, as the title was kept on the Union Roll and it is not mentioned among the dubious peerages of the Report of the Lords of Session to the House of Peers, 1740.

Sir Thomas, Lord Ruthven, had a charter of the third part of the lands of Forgandenny, 3rd August 1663, and died 6th May 1673. He married Isobel, third daughter of Margaret, Baroness Balfour of Burleigh, by whom he had a son, David, second Lord Ruthven, and three daughters-the Honourable Anne Ruthven, married first to Sir William Cunynghame of Cunynghamhead; second, to William Cunningham, younger, of Craigends, but of her there is no succession. By her first husband she had a son, Sir William Cunynghame of Cunynghamhead, who was served heir of Lady Anne Ruthven, wife of Sir William Cunynghame, his mother, 21st March 1689; Honourable Elizabeth Ruthven; Hon. Jean Ruthven. Sir Thomas married, secondly, Mary, daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Leven, by whom he had issue, one daughter, Elizabeth.

In the reign of Charles II., among the sufferers for Nonconformity (Presbyterians, in fact) were Lord Ruthven, fined $\pounds 4000$ Scots; Oliphant of Gask, $\pounds 6000$; Blair of Kinfauns, $\pounds 4600$; THE RUTHVEN FAMILY PAPERS because they attended a Conventicle at Bridge of Earn.

David, second Lord Ruthven, was served heir of his father, 16th May 1673; was one of the Lords of the Treasury in the reign of William and Mary, and died without issue in April 1701.

Jean, Baroness Ruthven, youngest sister and heir, immediately assumed the title, being styled Jean, Lady Ruthven, in notarial instruments of Sasine and Bond, 10th December 1702. In 1703 she was styled Jean, Lady Ruthven. It is stated that she was summoned as a baroness to the Coronation of George I., 1714. On 4th November 1721 she presented a petition to the Court of Session as Mrs Jean Ruthven, and her testament dative was given up under the same designation at her death in April 1722, unmarried; her niece and eventual successor giving up an additional inventory.

Isobel, Baroness Ruthven, niece and heir of Jean, Lady Ruthven, and cousin and heir of Sir William Cunynghame of Ruthven. She took up her inheritance under the entail of 1674, as well as by being the heir-of-line of David, second Lord Ruthven. She was summoned to the Coronation of George II. in September 1727, and her summons is said to have been carefully preserved by her. She was married to James Johnston of Graitney, Dumfries, Colonel

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of the 3rd Regiment of Foot guards, who assumed the name of Ruthven. She died 1732. Her testament dative describes her as Isobel, Lady Ruthven, spouse to Colonel James Ruthven of Graitney, which evidently shows that her husband survived her, though it was given up by James Ruthven, Esq., of Ruthven, his son.

James, third Lord Ruthven, succeeded his mother, 1732, and died at Edinburgh, 7th July 1783. He married, first, Janet, daughter of William Nisbet of Dirleton, in the county of Haddington, sister of the Countess of Leven and Lady Banff, and by her had two sons-James, fourth Lord Ruthven; the Hon. William Ruthven, who died; married secondly, Lady Anne Stewart, second daughter of James, second Earl of Bute, who died at Mount Stewart House, 26th November 1786, and by her had issue, the Hon. Stewart Ruthven, who died young; the Honourable John Ruthven, appointed a captain in the Royal Navy, 24th May 1762, when he commanded the Torphichen, a twenty-six pounder, and captured the Marquis of Moregay, a twenty-nine pounder, after a severe conflict, in which he was wounded. He died, unmarried, at Knightsbridge, 14th December 1771, in his twenty-seventh year; Hon. Anne Ruthven, married to John, eleventh Lord Elphinstone, and had issue, and died 28th October 1801; Hon. Isobel

Ruthven, married Captain John M'Dougall, younger, of \overline{M} 'Dougall, who died at Bombay, 27th April 1775. She died there also on 4th September following.

Hon. Wortley Montague Ruthven, who died unmarried at Edinburgh, 4th March 1768. The Hon. Elizabeth Ruthven, married at Edinburgh, 18th July 1763, to Sir Robert Lawrie of Maxwelltown, Dumfries, representative in Parliament for that county in 1774 till his death in 1804, and had issue, one son, the gallant Sir Robert Lawrie of Maxwelltown, born 25th April 1764, who was a captain in the Royal Navy; a daughter, Anne, born 12th June 1769, married, 22nd February 1794, James Menit Pector, banker in Dover; Hon. Jean Ruthven, died young; Hon. Grace Ruthven, died young; Honourable Janet Ruthven, married, in August 1765, Wade Toby Caulfield, captain in the 3rd Regiment of Dragoons.

James, fourth Lord Ruthven, the eldest son, was ensign in the 31st Regiment of Foot, 1755; lieutenant in the 33rd Foot, 1757; in the 12th Regiment of Foot, 1762; succeeded his father, 1783, and died at Melville House, 27th December 1789. His lordship married at Edinburgh, 12th November 1776, Lady Mary Elizabeth Leslie, second daughter of David, sixth Earl of Leven and Melville, and had issue—James, fifth Lord Ruthven; Honourable

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David Ruthven, born 11th December 1781, died young; Honourable David Ruthven, born 22nd August 1787, who was placed in the Bengal civil establishment, 1805, and died at Madras, September 1808, in his thirty-second year, unmarried; the Honourable Wilhelmina Ruthven, born 18th November 1778; Honourable Janet Anne Ruthven, born 15th April 1780; died at Bristol Hot Wells, 21st October 1805; Honourable Jane Ruthven, died at Freeland House, 1st March 1804; Honourable Isobel Ruthven, died at Melville House, 13th November 1787; Honourable Mary Elizabeth Thornton Ruthven; Hon. Charlotte Rebecca Ruthven, who died at Freeland House, 19th March 1804.

James, fifth Lord Ruthven, born at Melville House, 17th October 1777; succeeded his father, 1789. Was an officer in the army; advanced to the rank of major in the 90th Regiment of Foot, 1802, and quitted the service, 1807. He married Mary, daughter of Walter Campbell of Shawfield; died 27th July 1853, without issue.

Baroness Mary Elizabeth Thornton Ruthven of Freeland succeeded her brother James, fifth Baron, 27th July 1853. She was born in 1784. She married, at Freeland, in October 1806, Walter Hore of Harperstown, and had issue—William, married, in 1836, Henrietta, daughter of Major Lowen, died

in 1847, leaving issue; James Ruthven, in Holy Orders, died 1839; Alexander Leslie Melville; James Stopford, died 1827; Cavendish Bradstreet, lieutenant, Royal Navy; killed in the Crimea, 1854; Mary Elizabeth; Anna; Jane Stewart; Eleanor Catherine; Wilhelmina Ruthven; Georgina Jocelyn. Walter Hore was High Sheriff of the County, 1828, and assumed the additional name of Ruthven on his wife's accession to the title. He died 16th April 1878, aged ninety-three years; and the Baroness died at Freeland, 13th February 1864.

Walter James Hore Ruthven succeeded his grandmother, and was born at Plymouth, 14th June 1838, and took the name of his uncle in 1853. Entered Rifle Brigade, 1854; was captain in 1859, and serving in the Crimea, India and Abyssinia; received the Crimean medal and clasps, as well as the Medjidieh and Indian Mutiny medal. He married, 21st August 1869, Caroline Annesley Gore, eldest daughter of Philip York, fourth Earl of Arran, by Elizabeth Marianne, daughter of General Sir William Francis Patrick Napier, K.C.B. His Lordship has issue-Walter Patrick, Master of Ruthven, D.S.O., also J.P. and D.L., major in the Scots Guards; Alexander Gore Arkright, V.C., captain, 1st Dragoon Guards; Philip James Leslie, lieutenant, Highland Light Infantry, died without issue 1906; Christian Malise, D.S.O.,

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born 24th April 1880; Beatrix Mary Leslie, born 4th June 1871; married, first, Charles Lindsay Orr Ewing, marriage dissolved; secondly, Charles Edward Malcolm, Maxton Castle, Warwick, late lieutenant, Scots Guards.

NOTE.—It is recorded that Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Ruthven, by Mary, daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Leven, was married to David Stuart, ancestor of the Marquis of Bute.

CHAPTER V

STEVENSON PEDIGREE—THE KING'S VERSION OF THE CONSPIRACY—THE RUTHVEN VERSION OF THE CON-SPIRACY—LEADER OF THE PROTESTANT LORDS— ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOOD'S ACCOUNT

WILLIAM, second Lord Ruthven, grandson of the first lord, married the daughter and heiress of Lord Halliburton of Dirleton. They had three sons, Patrick, James and Alexander. Patrick inherited the dignities of Ruthven and Halliburton, and his descendants afterwards enjoyed them as Earls of Gowrie, till their forfeiture in 1581 for the Raid of Ruthven (capture of the King), and again during a brief period of Restoration till their final attainder in 1600 on account of the "Gowrie Conspiracy." In the meantime Alexander Ruthven, third son of the second Lord Ruthven, was succeeded by his son, William Ruthven of Freeland, and William of Freeland in his turn was succeeded by his son, Sir Thomas Ruthven, in whom we meet the grantee of the peerage of Ruthven of Freeland.

Sir Thomas sat in the Scottish Parliament of 13th March 1651 at Perth as laird of Freeland. In

NOTE.—Since the issue of this pedigree it has been discovered that the second Lord had five sons, of whom Alexander was the youngest.

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the Parliament held at Stirling on 24th May of the same year he appears under the title of Lord Ruthven. He had been created a Lord of Parliament between these dates, and the place given to the peerage on the roll of the Scottish Parliament of 1706, the official roll of peers of 1707, and that of 1740 agrees that he died in 1671 and left three daughters, and one son, David, by whom he was succeeded; his daughters were Anne, Elizabeth and Jean.

The Honourable Jean Ruthven, No. 3 of the pedigree, was the first to assume the title after her brother David's death. On 10th December 1702 she received sasine of an heritable Bond, of an annual rent, granted in her favour by David Oliphant. On 12th November 1709, in a renunciation and discharge of the annual rent, she styled herself Jean, Lady Ruthven. In an Instrument of Sasine of subjects in Forteviot she, in January 1712, styled herself Jean, Lady Ruthven. On 9th September 1721 she caused herself, as Jean, Lady Ruthven, to be served heir to David in the Ruthven estates. She made her will as Mrs Jean Ruthven of Freeland, and died in April 1722. William Cunynghame of Ruthven was the executor dative as nearest of kin to his aunt, Lady Jean. Sir William succeeded, in April 1722, to the entailed estates, and died in October of the same year before he was infeft.

Sir William Cunynghame of Cunynghamhead, only son and heir of Dame Anne Ruthven, succeeded his Aunt Jean, Lady Ruthven, in 1722, and assumed the surname of Ruthven. He did not assume the title, and died in October 1722, without issue. He was succeeded by his niece, Lady Isobel. Isobel, Lady Ruthven, was the daughter of Elizabeth and Sir Francis Ruthven. She assumed the title, and was summoned to the Coronation of George II. in 1727. Her son James assumed the title of James, third Lord Ruthven, and he lived till 1783. The general inquiry and report on the peerage by the Lords of Session in 1740 took place in his time. He left a son, James, who succeeded him, and was the ancestor of the present Lord Ruthven.

Isobel Ruthven, daughter of Elizabeth, and her husband, Sir Francis Ruthven, succeeded Sir William under the entail. Isobel assumed the title within a year after her Aunt Jean's death. She is called Mrs Isobel Ruthven in her aunt's deed. Then there is the testament dative of Isobel Ruthven, spouse of Colonel James Ruthven of Graitney.

James, third Lord Ruthven, succeeded his mother, who is designated Isobel, Lady Ruthven. The Ruthven peerage came up for trial in the Court of Session, December 1732. There was a jury of fifteen. It was

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then declared that David, Lord Ruthven, was grand-uncle of James Ruthven of Ruthven, son of Colonel James Johnston or Ruthven of Graitney, and Isobel, Lady Ruthven, his spouse, who was the only daughter and child of Sir Francis Ruthven of Reidcastle, and Dame Elizabeth Ruthven, his wife, second sister german of the late David, Lord Ruthven. In 1739 the Ruthven title was marked out for inquiry by the judges of the Court of Session. This Lord Ruthven and his lady were summoned, with the other Scottish peers, to the Coronation of George III., 1761.

The first Deed signed by him is dated 13th December 1733. In his time occurred the Cassillis case. By the decree in that case of 1762, any presumption in favour of Lord Ruthven as heirs female and of line, that may have existed in 1740 was reversed by the introduction of the presumption that patents whose terms were not known were limited to heirs male of the body of the grantee. (J. H. S.)

THE RUTHVEN FAMILY PAPERS

The so-called Gowrie Conspiracy, a plot, as it now appears, to assassinate John, third Earl of Gowrie, and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, took place on 5th August 1600 at Gowrie House, Perth. The circumstances attending the origin and negoti-

ation of this atrocious deed have been a profound State secret; kept absolutely in the dark; relegated to obscurity; and posterity has been left to unravel a great mystery involving the honour, the integrity, the truthfulness of the King. Our recent inspection of the Ruthven Family Papers throws daylight on the event, though it be fully three centuries old.

The Court of James VI., like that of his mother, was essentially corrupt, and he had no difficulty in finding men there who would second his efforts in the commission of crime, even if the crime were murder. James was double-minded, jealous, cruel and cunning; at times facile almost to imbecility. He had evidently made up his mind that John, Earl of Gowrie, was a step nearer the English throne than himself. There are writers who say that Gowrie's mother was a daughter of Lady Janet Stuart of the Atholl family, by her husband, Lord Methven. The point is debatable, and has never been finally determined. The balance of evidence seems rather in favour of Lady Janet Stuart, daughter of John, Earl of Atholl.

James, because of Gowrie's supposed precedence, as a competitor for the English throne, evidently resolved in his own mind that, whatever the consequences, Gowrie must be removed, as Elizabeth, in his opinion, would undoubtedly prefer Gowrie,



MARY, WIFE OF JAMES, FIFTH LORD RUTHVEN OF FREELAND, AND DAUGHTER OF WALTER CAMPBELL OF ISLAY AND SHAWFIELD

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who was an accomplished scholar, and the handsomest young man of his time. These were points that would influence the English Queen in the nomination of her successor; and further, James was indebted to Gowrie in a large sum of money, advanced on mortgage by the first Earl, and he evidently believed that Gowrie's removal would for ever extinguish and cancel the debt.

John, Earl of Gowrie, is said to have spent nearly two months at the English Court on his way home from Padua, and this would appear to have been a period of great nervous excitement on James' part, for he knew that Elizabeth had received Gowrie with open arms, and treated him with lavish hospitality, ordered the Court to supply him with a bodyguard, and to treat him in every respect as a royal person, all expenses paid out of the English Exchequer. James might well be nervous, for nobody had the slightest idea what would be the result of Elizabeth's uncertain mind.

The Ruthven narrative of the conspiracy, as now discovered, cannot fail to be recognised, and will be recognised, as the true version of the atrocious deed. It is an absolute repudiation of the King's narrative, and gives a *bona fide* account of what actually took place on that fatal day, the 5th August 1600. Its main point is that the King was the conspirator, and the reader will see from the text the

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reasons which are believed to have induced the wayward King to do what he did. It was part of the King's scheme that every man who favoured Gowrie was to be promptly executed, and this order was carried out to the letter. Though many executions took place, the number is conveniently not recorded.

The King's version may now be put aside as unworthy of the place it has so long occupied in Scottish history. Historians, such as Macaulay, have thrown it aside long ago, but now we have sure ground to go upon. What led up to the conspiracy seems now as clear as noonday, but we must remember that the King had some experience of conspiracies, for he put to death in the same manner the young Earl of Moray, by the hands of the Earl of Huntly, for no other known reason except that Moray was the handsomest man of his time, and representative of the Regent Moray, murderer of the King's mother. It is proper to that no attempt was ever made by state any member of the Gowrie family to aspire to the throne of England.

In carrying out his diabolical plot, James would appear to have taken into his confidence certain nobles, who were constantly about his person, and on whom he was satisfied he could depend—the Earls of Mar and Lennox, Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir

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Hugh Herries, Sir John Ramsay and Captain David Murray. Lennox had once been Gowrie's brother-in-law, but his wife, Lady Sophia Ruthven, was dead eight years before the conspiracy, and Lennox had married twice since her death; Herries was a son of Lord Herries, the devoted friend of Queen Mary; Captain Murray does not appear to have been inside Gowrie House on the fatal day. Evidently he was told off to superintend matters outside, for he took no part in the assassination.

Henderson, the steward of Scone, was, from a perfectly reliable source, seen walking to and fro on the Perth bridge till all was over, clearly indicating the existence of a preconcerted plot to murder Gowrie, otherwise Henderson would have rushed to Gowrie's assistance, seeing at that moment he was Gowrie's steward. The conspirators had evidently bought him over. These men had their work cut out for them, and a critical reading of the King's version proves how systematically and deliberately the plot was conceived and carried out. At a particular moment, doubtless understood by his six nobles as the moment for Gowrie's assassination, the King cried from the window of the turret chamber : "Treason, help, I am murdered." This was the signal for Mar and Lennox rushing up the great staircase leading to the turret chamber and

endeavouring to burst open the door, but could not. This was probably prearranged. Ramsay, Erskine and Herries went up a back stair with drawn swords and got immediate access to the chamber where the King and Alexander Ruthven were, when Ruthven was instantly slain by Ramsay and the Earl immediately after met his fate.

We shall now proceed to put before the reader the Ruthven version of the plot, extracted by us from the Ruthven Family Papers. The original document forms part of the private papers of Lord Ruthven of Freeland, evidently written by a member or intimate friend of the family, and though undated has all the appearance of an ancient document.

"The tragic exit of John, Earl of Gowrie, and the ruin of the great Ruthven family, is one of the most perplexing events of Scottish history. It is still the belief of lovers of religion and liberty in Scotland that the Gowrie family fell a sacrifice to the enemies of the Reformation, because of their zeal for the support of it, and that the innocent blood of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother is a crying sin hanging over the nation. The Reformation in Scotland, from Popery to Presbytery, was popular and Parliamentary. The Protestants were supported by Queen Elizabeth, the Catholics by the

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French. The leaders of the Protestants were called Lords of the Congregation. Patrick, Lord Ruthven, was one of the most zealous of them. He died in 1566, and was succeeded by his son, William, Lord Ruthven, afterwards first Earl of Gowrie, who married the Lady Dorothea Stuart, daughter of Henry, Lord Methven. When King James took the administration of affairs upon himself, though ruled and protected by the Protestants, far from being grateful to them, or taking a lesson from his mother's misfortunes, he soon came under the control of his cousins, the Princes of Lorraine. They sent over to him James Stewart, a notable Episcopalian, and it soon appeared that the King put himself in the power and under the direction of Stewart, whom he made Earl of Arran, and who had his instructions from his friends abroad. His protection given to the Catholic lords, Huntly, Crawford and Errol, and favour shown them after repeated acts of rebellion, gave an early indication of the King's double-mindedness; and if their rebellion had proved successful the design was to re-establish Popery. After the death of the great lords and ' clergy who had established the Reformation, their party, feared and despised by the Court, were cast down and dispirited, their clergy poor and at the mercy of the Crown for their small livings. Everything was done to ruin these Protestants, who de-

THE RUTHVEN FAMILY PAPERS pended solely on William, Earl of Gowrie, and his family for protection."

In 1582 the King and his Court came to dine at Ruthven Castle; the Court lords went a-hunting in the adjoining forests, and on their return were refused access to the King, who, a boy at the time, remained for some weeks at Ruthven Castle under the tutelage of Ruthven and Glamis. This was the Raid of Ruthven. But soon thereafter the King put himself under the direction of Arran and the Catholic lords. Gowrie and his friends were banished, and commanded to leave the kingdom within twenty days, under pain of death, because of the Raid of Ruthven and seizure of the King. Gowrie went to Dundee, hired a ship, was hindered by contrary winds three or four days longer than the time appointed. He was apprehended there by order of Stewart, after a heroic defence, and thereafter executed at Stirling, anno 1584. John, Earl of Gowrie, and his brother, Alexander, remained at home till they had gone through their studies at the University; then went abroad to Padua to finish their education. On their return home in March or April 1600 they came to England, visited Queen Elizabeth, and remained some weeks at her Court. She ordered guards to attend them, and all the honours due to a Prince of Wales to be

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paid to Gowrie, her full cousin, and to be entertained at the public expense during his visit at Court. It cost Gowrie and his brother their lives soon after. John, Earl of Gowrie, and his brother were youths whom nature had adorned with many accomplishments, to which education had added elegant improvements. They were more learned than is usual among persons of their rank, more religious than is common at their time of life; generous, brave, popular, sincere and gentle; beloved by the Protestants of both nations, and regarded by the Scots as their head and protector. The young Earl came to Scotland from the English Court in May 1600, but his cold reception at King James' Court made him soon retire to his estates.

The Catholic party determined his ruin. The King's suspicious temper, above all, his jealousy, that the Protestants of England would prevail on Queen Elizabeth to name Gowrie as her successor, made him heartily fall in with the scheme of destroying Gowrie. The question was, how it could be done, so as not to raise suspicion and incur the blame of shedding innocent blood.

Archbishop Spottiswoode mentions this matter, according to the King's account of it, and the Earl of Cromarty seems to have followed him. The latter had a family interest in the plot, for his mother was daughter to Ramsay the page who

murdered Gowrie and his brother. These authors call Gowrie and his brother conspirators. Their narratives have passed so long uncontradicted, that what then could be said for Gowrie, is now almost forgotten.

During the reign of the Stuarts none durst openly contradict what was said for the King, without the danger of sharing Gowrie's fate. It is said for the King, that on 5th August 1600, as he was going out a-hunting in the woods of Falkland, he was accosted by Alexander Ruthven, who with an air of importance told him that the evening before he had met with an unknown man of suspicious appearance, walking alone in a bypath at Perth, and on searching him had found under his cloak a pot full of foreign gold; that he immediately seized both him and his treasure, and without mentioning the matter to any person, had kept him confined and bound in a solitary house, and that he thought it his duty to make known such a singular event, first of all, to his Majesty.

The King, in his narrative, says that he immediately suspected this unknown person to be a trafficking priest, supplied with foreign gold coin in order to excite new commotions in the kingdom, and resolved to empower the Magistrates of Perth to call the prisoner before them; but that Ruthven urged the King to ride directly to Perth and ex-

KING'S BOGUS NARRATIVE

amine the matter before his own eyes, swearing that "he had yet concealed it from all men, yea, from the Earl, his own brother; and that if either the Earl, his brother, or the Magistrates of Perth, were put in council thereof his Majesty would get a very bad account of that treasure." (Sir DAVID DAL-RYMPLE, pp. 4 and 5.) When sport was over the King set out for Perth, and when within a mile of the town, Alexander Ruthven rode forward to inform his brother of the King's arrival. Whereupon Gowrie, attended by some of the Perth Magistrates, waited on the King on the South Inch of Perth, who with his retinue came directly to Gowrie House. When the King's repast was over, his attendants sat down to dine in another room, and the King being left almost alone, Alexander Ruthven whispered to him that now was the time to go to the chamber where the unknown man was kept. Ruthven conducted the King up a staircase, and led him into a small study in which there stood a man clad in armour, with a sword and a dagger by his side. The King, who expected to have found the man disarmed and bound, started at the sight and inquired if this was the unknown person. Ruthven snatched the dagger from the man in armour, and holding it to the King's breast, said : "Remember how unjustly my father suffered by your command; you are now my prisoner; submit

to my disposal without resistance or outcry, or this dagger shall instantly avenge his blood." The King expostulated with Ruthven, and entreated and flattered him. The man whom he found in the study stood all the while trembling and dismayed, without courage either to aid the King or murder the aggressor. Ruthven protested that if the King raised no outcry, his life should be safe, and moved by some unknown reason retired in order to call his brother, leaving to the man in armour the care of the King, whom he bound by oath not to make any noise in his absence. While the King was in this imaginary situation, his attendants growing impatient to know whither he had retired, one of Gowrie's attendants entered the room and told them the King had just ridden away towards Falkland. All of them rushed out, and the Earl in the utmost hurry called for their horses; but by this time Alexander Ruthven had returned to the King, exclaiming that now there was no remedy, he behoved to die, and offered to, bind his hands with a garter. Unarmed as the King was, he scorned to submit to that indignity, and closing with Ruthven a fierce struggle ensued.

The man in armour stood as formerly, amazed and motionless, the King dragging Ruthven towards a window—while during his absence the King had prevailed with the man with whom he

KING'S BOGUS NARRATIVE

was left to open it-and cried with a wild and affrighted voice : "Treason, help, I am murdered." His attendants heard and knew the voice, and saw at the window a hand which grasped the King's neck with violence. Lennox and Mar with the greater number ran up the principal staircase, where they found the doors shut, which they battered with great fury, endeavouring to burst them open, but Sir John Ramsay entered by a back stair which led to the apartment where the King was, found the door open, and rushing upon Ruthven, who was still struggling with the King, struck him twice with his dagger and thrust him towards the staircase, where Erskine and Herries met him and killed him, he exclaiming with his last breath: "Alas! I had not the weight of it." During this scuffle the man who had been concealed in the study escaped unobserved. Erskine, Ramsay, Herries, and one Wilson, a footman, who were with the King, thrust his Majesty into the little study, shutting the door upon him, and went to defend the entry by the back door until the fore door was opened, but as they came to the head of the staircase, Gowrie, accompanied by three or four servants, met them, having a drawn sword in each hand. (This he usually carried, being skilful of that weapon.) One of the four called out: "You have killed the King, our master, and will

you also take our lives?" upon which Gowrie, astonished, put the points of his two swords to the ground, when Ramsay immediately ran him through the body with a small sword, and Gowrie fell dead.

To kill Gowrie without cause, or orders, proves that the conspiracy was premeditated; though none durst publicly write in defence of Gowrie, as it was well known when his destruction was resolved on. The King sent Captain David Murray, Controller of his Household, with a message to his cousin, the Earl of Tullibardine, ordering him at a certain hour to come on that 5th day of August to the South Gate of Perth with 300 horsemen in arms. Douglas's history of the families of Tullibardine and Stormont makes a merit of this service done to his Majesty; and it is also said for the King, that the accidental coming of Tullibardine to the South Gate of Perth at that critical moment saved the King from imminent danger of being destroyed by the mob of the people of Perth; but Tullibardine did not come to Perth, with so numerous a retinue, without a cause.

The King durst not attempt the murder of Gowrie in Perth without being sure of such aid. Tullibardine's coming could be no accident, and is a proof of premeditated design. When Tullibardine knew what was said he wished the King had excused him that service. The two Earls were cousins.

KING'S BOGUS NARRATIVE

It was then well known that the King sent for Alexander Ruthven the night before, or early that morning, purposely to give a colour for his going to Perth to know where his brother the Earl was, if at Perth, and who were with him.

The story of Alexander Ruthven telling the King of the man with the pot full of gold was a mere fiction of which there was no evidence, nor of Ruthven's importunate pressing the King to go to Perth, for which there was no occasion if the man was a prisoner. It is not very likely that Ruthven, who knew that he and his brother were not in favour, would press the King to go to his brother's house on any account, but especially on so trifling an occasion, when the prisoner might be brought to the King by Ruthven, or examined at Perth by the Magistrates.

NOTE.—The statement that Alexander Ruthven was at Padua University along with his brother, the Earl of Gowrie, is quite unconfirmed. There is nothing in the Records of that university of this date to indicate that he ever was there, or even at the Court of Queen Elizabeth.

CHAPTER VI

THE KING AT THE SOUTH INCH—KING'S DELIVERANCE A MOCKERY—RUTHVENS CONCEALED AT BERWICK— DEAD BODIES AT BAR OF SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT —SPROT'S FABLES—LENNOX'S FALSE STATEMENTS— RAMSAY AND ERSKINE'S HONOURS

"WHEN Alexander Ruthven came to the King, his Majesty told him he meant to dine that day with his brother at Perth. It is said Alexander Ruthven earnestly begged leave to go and acquaint his brother, that some provision might be made for dinner. The King ordered him expressly not to go, and kept him close by him, under his own eye, till within a mile of Perth, to prevent Gowrie getting earlier notice. Is it possible that the King, uninvited, would go to dine with Gowrie without some other reason than to see 'the man with the pot full of gold '? Gowrie was ignorant and unprepared, so that he had no other provision but a dinner made that day for a wedding, which he caused to be carried to Gowrie House, and with which he was glad to entertain his guests. Though there were but twenty horsemen said to have been

KING'S FOLLOWERS

with the King when he came to Perth, yet thrice that number of men on foot came with, or soon followed, him, in threes and fours, so that special notice of them might not be taken. Some of the King's attendants, shocked at what happened, plainly told thereafter that it was the King who requested Alexander Ruthven to go upstairs and not Alexander Ruthven. There was scarcely an hour between the King's arrival at Perth and the death of the two brothers; what was said of Gowrie or some of his people calling out that the King had gone to Falkland was false; it had been concerted beforehand that when the King went upstairs the company were to go out to the lane or passage which the window in the study overlooked. Ramsay and Herries went not to the courtyard, but remained below stairs, till they heard the King call from the window. Then was the time they hurried upstairs and killed both brothers. Lennox, who was married to Gowrie's sister, but she was dead, knew both the stairs well, was in the secret, and directed Ramsav to the private staircase; while himself, Mar, and others went up the great staircase and battered at the door till all was over, because they did not want to be present at the bloody scene.

"The story of Alexander Ruthven attempting to tie the King's hands with a garter; his snatching a dagger from the man in armour; his saying to the

King that he must be his prisoner; his swearing that if he made any noise or outcry he would kill him; his obliging the King to promise on oath that he would make no noise till his return; his going to consult his brother, and coming back and swearing again that there was no help for it, he must die; his struggling with the King to prevent his calling out of the window; the man in armour snatching the dagger from him and opening the window-all this is mere fiction. The swearing is so unlike Ruthven, the man in armour changing sides to be for the King against Ruthven, and the King submitting at first so tamely, and swearing that he would make no noise till Ruthven's return, and again struggling with Ruthven, is altogether a mere fable, in proof of which it was told some time after, by some of those in the close or courtyard, that it was impossible all this could happen; there was no time for it. The King's timid disposition would admit of no delay. The moment he went upstairs he called out of the window, 'Treason,' whereupon Ramsay and his accomplices ran upstairs and killed Ruthven. The story of Gowrie rushing into the chamber is also without foundation; for the moment Ramsay killed Ruthven, he went in quest of the Earl, who met him on the top of the stair and asked what was the matter; Ramsay replied, 'The King is dead.' The Earl, astonished,



JEAN RUTHVEN (GOWRIE BRANCH), DAUGHTER OF JAMES RUTHVEN, AND BORN 1781

KING'S NARRATIVE

was heard to say. 'Waes me, poor man, the King dead in my house.' The story which the King tells of the Earl's body not bleeding till a girdle or book in which he kept some spells was taken off him is also false. For more than a hundred years after the Earl's death his blood was seen to remain on the highest step of the stair where he was killed. The corner of Gowrie House, where the staircase stood, was pulled down and rebuilt by the Magistrates of Perth, where there are many persons still alive who have seen it.

" It is said in the King's narrative that Ramsay Erskine, Herries and Wilson, after they had killed Alexander Ruthven, went to defend the entry of the back stair until the fore door was opened; but as they came to it, Gowrie, accompanied by three or four servants, met them, so that it is clear he was killed on the top of the stair. Though it had been true that Gowrie entered the chamber in arms, where he must have seen his brother's dead body, it was not treason to attempt to avenge his death, and it is acknowledged that Gowrie did not see the King, because he was in the study and the door shut. The Earl of Tullibardine came in time to rescue the King, for the people of Perth were battering at the great gate, and threatened to blow them all up with powder if the King would not send them out Gowrie, their Provost, alive. The King

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and his company durst not open the gate, but went secretly down through the garden to the summerhouse, which had a door that went down by steps to the river. There the King and his company slipped into some small boats, were carried to the South Inch of Perth, where Tullibardine and his party received them, and escorted them to Falkland.

"If there had been any truth in the matter of the man in armour in the closet, and if he had been apprehended and examined directly, it would have done much to justify the King; or even if they had killed him when they killed the Gowries; but their telling that he made his escape (which it was impossible he could do unseen) throws the scales the other way. As the King had it in his power to kill Gowrie and his brother, it was also in his power to apprehend and give them a fair trial. Putting them to death in their own house, and in such a hurry, and instead of punishing, awarding and promoting the murderers, shows that these men were instructed what to do before they came to Perth.

"The narrative the King gives of what passed in the closet shows that Alexander Ruthven did no hurt to the King; and it is no wonder he died declaring with his last words that he was innocent. Gowrie and his brother, being killed, could not

KING'S NARRATIVE

answer for themselves. Gowrie's character and that of his brother was pure and untainted. The King was known both before and after to have dealt in such practices: such as the murder of the Earl of Moray and the deaths of Lady Arabella Stuart and Sir Walter Raleigh. Is it likely that Gowrie and his brother could think of making the King a prisoner or murdering him, when they knew they could not escape condign punishment instantly? for the King and his escort were for the time masters of Gowrie House; Gowrie and his brother were at their mercy, and suffered accordingly. The story of the man with the pot of gold, and the tale of the man in the closet, we have no authority for but the King's word, while one who could be guilty of such a murder would not hesitate to contrive to conceal it; and the King's relation of both destroyed all possibility of credit. The news of Gowrie's death reached Edinburgh next morning. The Privy Council ordered the ministers to convene their people and give thanks to God for the King's deliverance, and to read from the pulpit the account sent from Falkland by the King of Gowrie's conspiracy; but the first account translated by the Privy Council was indistinct, exaggerated and contradictory. The clergy, though they offered to give God public thanks for the King's safety, refused to enter into any detail or particulars, or to utter

from the pulpit what neither they nor their people believed a word of."

In the matter of the escape of Gowrie's two younger brothers, William and Patrick, two lads of eighteen and sixteen respectively, we learn from the Gowrie and Ruthven papers, edited by John Bruce, that their tutor from Edinburgh accompanied them. They procured disguised apparel and travelled on foot across the most unfrequented districts. They left Dirleton on the evening of Wednesday, 6th August. On Sunday the 10th they reached Berwick and presented themselves to Sir John Carey, the English Governor. The Governor was overwhelmed with commiseration for the young men, and especially for their mother, the Countess. He gave the young men shelter till he could hear from the Queen, who at once permitted them to remain in England. For more than three weeks they lay concealed at Berwick, never leaving their chamber. The country was so thickly set with spies, and the Countess so closely surrounded by persons whose business it was to find cause of accusation against her, that she dared not send her sons help of any kind. From Berwick they travelled south, on 4th September; and with Elizabeth's consent are said to have resided with their tutor two years at Cambridge. They were in England, penniless and homeless, when the death

LAST ACT OF THE TRAGEDY

of Elizabeth placed their royal persecutor on the English throne. No greater calamity could have happened to the unfortunate young men.

Now we come to the last act of this tragedy, when the dead bodies of the two brothers were brought to the Bar of the Scottish Parliament in November 1600. It is surprising that the superior court of the nation should so easily forfeit the heirs of the family, on so slight and contradictory evidence, which depended chiefly on what Henderson, factor to Captain Murray at Scone, deposed. The great lords who had been leaders and protectors of the Protestant cause were either dead or cut off. The King got the better of the Clergy, and got a number of them to have votes in Parliament. By these, the Court interest and the Catholic lords, he had a majority. The death of the two elder brothers did not invalidate the pretensions of their brothers who were in life, which made it necessary to destroy them. By this act of forfeiture there was no proof of John, Earl of Gowrie, having committed any act of treason; he was killed on the stairs of his own house, when his last words showed his regard and loyalty to the King. The King could not find among his followers any to own Henderson was the man in the closet, or that they saw him at all, because they would not go through that horrid scene of perjury which Henderson afterwards did.

Their making use of him was truly a farce, for it is well known and could be proved by a hundred witnesses, that at the very time when Gowrie was killed, Henderson was seen walking on the Tay Bridge at Perth, so he could not possibly be the man said to be in the closet, and consequently knew nothing of the matter.

The Earl of Cromarty, not at all a reliable authority, says that "all this while none knew who was the man that was armed and alone in the study when the King entered it, and who had secretly withdrawn himself when the King and Ruthven were struggling; when Sir Thomas Erskine and Ramsay entered by the back stair; and that a great reward was promised to anyone who would discover him. Thereupon Andrew Henderson, chamberlain to Gowrie, discovered himself to the Controller and, upon promise of life, offered to communicate all that he knew relating to that affair." David Murray, the Controller, was one of the persons entrusted by the King with the superintendence of this whole transaction, and came with him that morning from Falkland. Murray got a gift of the Estate and Abbacy of Scone, part of Gowrie's forfeiture, thereby having it in his power to practise on Henderson, who was Gowrie's steward at Scone, and was continued in that office by the Controller. By which and other rewards and promises Murrav prevailed

THE SCONE ESTATE

upon him to become a witness for his Majesty, in the case of Gowrie, and own that he was the man in armour in the closet, which was known to be false. He was seen that day coming from Scone to Perth on foot, and when he heard the King was in Gowrie House and the gates shut, he walked on the Perth Bridge till all was over. He owns in his deposition before Parliament, in November 1600, that after the King left Perth he passed on to the bridge, and walked up and down for the space of an hour, and this it is thought he said to make it appear that it was after the King's departure that he walked upon the bridge, because he thought that the odds of a few hours would not be perceptible; but this deliberate falsehood helps to show the deceit of the whole. Is it possible that if Gowrie had intended to assassinate the King he would not have chosen a man better fitted for his purpose than Henderson? What purpose could it serve to put Henderson in armour, or how could a man in armour escape unseen?

It was the latter end of August, nearly a month after, when Henderson acknowledged himself to be the man, which did no great honour to the cause. He was well known to be a base, profligate, untruthful fellow, who had turned off his wife and lived with another woman.

In the end of August, Henderson was first sworn at Falkland, and in November following at Edin-

burgh, before the Scottish Parliament; but these depositions are so contradictory in themselves, and so plainly contradict the narrative published by the King, that they only serve to confirm the opinion that the nation had of the injustice done to Gowrie; and that Henderson was not well chosen nor fitted for the business he took in hand. His deposition and the King's account differ in several particulars, first, according to the King's account, "while Ruthven was holding the dagger to the King's breast the man in the study stood quaking and trembling." But Henderson says that "he wrested the dagger out of Ruthven's hand." Henderson deposed that he boasted to his wife "that he had that day twice saved the King from being stabbed." The King asserts that "Henderson opened the window during Ruthven's absence." Henderson deposed that "he was only attempting to open it when Ruthven returned, and that during the struggle between the King and him he opened it."

If we may believe the King, the man in the study "stood during the struggle behind the King's back, inactive and trembling, all the time"; but Henderson affirms that "he snatched away the garter with which Ruthven attempted to bind the King's hands; that he pulled back Ruthven's hand when he was endeavouring to stop the King's mouth, and that he opened the window."

QUEEN MARGARET COMPLICATION

By the King's account "Ruthven left him in the study, and went away in order to meet his brother; and the Earl came up the stair for that same purpose." Henderson depones "that when Ruthven left the King he believed he did not pass from the door." It appears from the situation of the house and from other circumstances that there could not possibly have been any interview between the brothers at that time.

Cromarty seems not to have read the King's narrative or declaration, while he differs from, or contradicts, it in almost every sentence.

It appears from the history of the family of Atholl, that Lady Janet Stewart was first married to Alexander, Master of Sutherland; secondly, to Hugh Kennedy of Girvan Mains; thirdly, to Henry, Lord Methven; fourthly, to William, Lord Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie. She had no children to her last two husbands.

Cromarty acknowledges that William, Earl of Gowrie, and his two sons were in the interest of the hot party (which he calls the anti-Christian schismatical spirit in a small party of the Clergy) who did propagate that Queen Margaret had other children besides Lady Gowrie, that their object was to insinuate that Lady Gowrie was a daughter of Queen Margaret, and consequently that her son John, Earl of Gowrie, was moved to murder King

James because, as grandchild to Queen Margaret, he was nearest heir to the Crown of England. Very odd doctrine to be propagated by his friends against him, but the case was *vice versa*. It does not appear that Gowrie ever thought of it; King James had surely the preferable title, and Queen Elizabeth would not name her successor. She and her Privy Council were too wise not to design it for him, and thereby annex Scotland to the Crown of England.

The story of Sprot, concerning Logan of Restalrig, is given as evidence against Gowrie, but Spottiswoode's words concerning Sprot show the story to be an unmitigated fable, and a mere invention of the man's own brain in hope of a high reward. Gowrie was too shrewd to trust such a worthless man as Logan was known to be, and Gowrie and Ruthven could easily keep a secret, which never did exist.

It appears from Lennox's deposition that Gowrie said to the deponent "his Majesty was gone up quietly some quiet errand," and undoubtedly Gowrie thought so, and so did his brother when the King called him to go upstairs with him. His intention to destroy the brothers was only known to a few, who kept it with profound secrecy as well as wickedness. No wonder they were well paid with grants of Gowrie's forfeiture. Gowrie's going to

GOWRIE'S INNOCENCE

walk in the garden with Lennox, as he depones, and staying with him in the close till he heard his brother was killed, shows him innocent and ignorant of what was doing.

It will appear from the records of the Court of Chancery that the estate of Gowrie was entailed in favour of heirs male, and so were the dignities. The family of Ruthven has existed in Scotland for nearly eight hundred years, and intermarried with some of the most influential families of both nations. It would take a volume to record the descendants of their younger sons and daughters, who to this day would make one of the most numerous in Britain.

Upon King James' Accession to the Crown of England he created Sir John Ramsay, who murdered the Earl of Gowrie at the King's instigation, Earl of Holderness; and Sir Thomas Erskine, Earl of Kelso. This King chose those of his own Nation for his favourites, who had not one good quality to recommend them, and were in no more esteem in their own country than in England. One of the best of them was Sir George Home, the new Earl of Dunbar, who was the reigning favourite when the King came to England, and it is said that he procured that favour by concealing what he knew of Gowrie's conspiracy. Sir Anthony Weldon says that "the

Scots gave little credit to that story, and the wisest of that Nation spoke slightingly and despitefully of it." Sir Edward Peyton writes : "The King suspecting the Queen of too great intimacy with the Earl of Gowrie, a Lord of comely visage and good stature, turned his love and friendship for the Earl to the passion of hatred, and caused Ramsay and others to murder the Earl in his own house, giving it out for a tale, that the Earl with others would have killed him; and to make this falsehood appear odious, the 5th August was appointed a solemn day of thanksgiving for his supposed delivery, and in this he mocked the God of Heaven. He blasphemed God for his pretended deliverance, once a year all his life."

Mr Osborne, who frequented his Court, says: "Among a number of other novelties he brought a new holiday into the Church of England wherein God had public thanks offered up to Him for His Majesty's deliverance out of the hands of Gowrie; and that fell out on the 5th August, on which many lies were told either at home or abroad, in the Choir of St Paul's Church or the Long Walk, for no Scotsman you could meet with beyond sea but laughed at it, and it was said the printed narrative of it destroyed all possibility of credit." Dr Wellwood, who was a Scotsman, and discreet author and well informed of the facts, writes: "Gowrie's

SPURIOUS DEPOSITIONS

Conspiracy was in itself so improbable, and attended with so many inconsistent circumstances that it was disbelieved at the time it was said to have been attempted; he then condemns the holiday which Sandcroft and his brethren celebrated so devoutly, and for which they held solemn prayers; says posterity has swallowed for truth what their ancestors took for a mere fiction." Another historian, speaking of the printed narrative on which the holiday was founded, says: "I will not descant upon the many absurdities and inconsistent circumstances touched under this narrative, but only tell you, most authors who have mentioned it turn the tables and lay the assassination at the King's door.' "

CHAPTER VII

TULLIBARDINE AND 300 MEN-DR HERRIES INCIDENT-RESIGNATION OF THE LADY BEATRIX-MARRIAGE OF THE LADY BEATRIX-THE FRAUDULENT INDICTMENT-SENTENCE OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT-REVIEW OF THE CONSPIRACY-BARONY OF RUTHVEN AND EARL-DOM OF GOWRIE-CHARTER OF SURRENDER

THE Palace of Falkland, which was then in excellent repair, was often resorted to by the King, especially at that season of the year, when he was to begin his amusement of hunting. A MS. written many years ago represents, that in July 1600, he was there with the Queen and her ladies, and a great number of the nobility. He and his nobles hunted in the forenoon, and spent the rest of the day with the ladies in the amusements which were customary at that period. In the King's train was Alexander Ruthven, a comely youth, whom the Queen highly favoured, and whose age was nineteen years and seven months. Ruthven obtained permission to attend his brother John, Earl of Gowrie, who about the 20th July, had returned to Perth from his hunting in Atholl; and Ruthven did not again come to the King at Falkland, till

LADY BEATRIX

the King sent for him late on the night of the 4th of August.

The plan for the destruction of the Gowrie family was ripening, and nearly ready for execution. Private orders were sent to Lord Tullibardine to be at Perth with 300 horsemen in arms, by midday of the 5th August. Calderwood states that what was afterwards reckoned premature intimation of the plot was made to Lady Beatrix by Sir Hugh Herries, commonly called Dr Herries, one of the chief actors in that bloody affair. Indulging her usual vivacity of spirit, the writer says "she laughed at the doctor's bound foot." He, taking her by the hand, and looking on the palm of her hand, said : "Mistress, ere it be long a sad disaster shall befall you." The disaster, in which two of her brothers were slain at Perth, happened a few days after. It is stated in Stewart's MSS. that on the morning of the 5th August, the Queen observed the King to be in a hunting dress, earlier than usual. She inquired the cause, and he replied that he hoped to kill a buck ere the evening.

At night when he returned from Perth, escorted not only by the nobles who had gone along with him, but also by the 300 horsemen in arms, whom he had appointed to meet him at Perth, and when the Queen was told of the death of the Earl and his brother, she wept, and applied to that event what

the King had spoken, of his hope of killing a buck ere the evening. She often afterwards was heard to say with tears, that she dreaded the Divine vengeance on her family, for shedding the innocent blood of the Gowries.

Lady Beatrix, after the death of her two brothers, resigned the office which she held at Court, but being naturally of a firm temper, was not so entirely overcome with grief as some of her sisters were. Lennox was thought to be a principal actor in the bloody scene, because of the knowledge which he had of the stairs, passages and apartments of Gowrie House, Perth; and because of his acquaintance and influence with the factors or porters, or other servants, whom he might have appointed during the Earl's long absence at the University at Padua. The Duke, after the King's Accession to the Throne of England, was created Duke of Richmond. After the death of the Lady Sophia, he married first an English lady, then another, but none of his wives bore any children to him.

Though Lady Beatrix had left the Court, she still carried on a confidential correspondence with the Queen, and sought also to be of use to her two surviving brothers, William and Patrick. They had fled for safety to England in August 1600, but in September 1602, they came privately to Scotland, having been encouraged to hope that by the



JAMES RUTHVEN, BORN 1752 (GOWRIE BRANCH) ELDEST SON OF JAMES RUTHVEN, BORN 1725, CLAIMED TO BE " HEAD OF THE CLAN "



LADY BEATRIX

Queen's influence, and their sister's policy, the sentence of banishment might be removed.

The King got notice of their arrival, and was afraid of a plot, but the Queen dissuaded him from using any rigorous measures.

They were in the country about three months; and we are told by Robertson and other writers, that one evening in particular, the Lady Paisley, wife of Lord Claude Hamilton, and the Dowager Duchess of Angus, brought Lady Beatrix to the Palace of Holyrood House, disguised as one of their gentlewomen, and that she continued with the Queen all night, in secret consultation. The scheme, however, of procuring the restoration of the two young men was impracticable. Their estates were now in the hands of those from whom they could not be recovered, and her brothers were obliged to return to England in a very poor condition. The unexpected moderation of the King's conduct when he heard of the young men being in Scotland may thus be accounted for. We are assured that the Queen, by some means, had obtained from Sir Thomas Erskine, the person who had given the last fatal wound to Alexander Ruthven, news of some secret information relating to the affair at Perth, and that she communicated to Lady Beatrix the information she had received. The King therefore was afraid that if he should give

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them any high provocation, they would divulge to the world the circumstances which had come to their knowledge.

About this time the Lady Beatrix was married to Sir John Hume of Cowdenknowes, parish of Earlston. He was a patriotic gentleman of great respectability, and was not a young man, but had been married before, though without children. He did not live long, and Lady Beatrix bore to him before his death a son, who succeeded him in his estate, and whose son in 1635 succeeded to the Earldom of Hume. Lady Beatrix was commonly called Lady Cowdenknowes. In her widowhood, eminently pious, she had no partiality for the Court measures of James VI., and perhaps loved to oppose him as the enemy of her family. She expressed her abhorrence of the violent methods by which he was introducing innovations into the Presbyterian Church, and distinguished herself by the encouragement and protection which she afforded to the conscientious Presbyterian ministers who were suffering persecution.

The following lines show the opinion the nation had of the matter :—

"King James slew Gowrie, justly bore the blame, King James feared Gowrie, without wit or shame, His brothers captives caused keep in the Tower, And while they lived ne'er slept a quiet hour,

FRAUDULENT INDICTMENT

Queen Margaret's grandson nigher a degree, Was Gowrie's ruin and King James's plea, His coward's heart made him be false to all, Be justly hated and his house to fall."

It will be necessary now to give a recital of the circumstances surrounding the event, extracted from the Privy Council Register :

FRAUDULENT INDICTMENT AGAINST THE FREELAND RUTHVENS

(Issued by the Scottish Parliament)

James by the Grace of God, King of Scots, to our beloved Lyon King of Arms, etc., etc. To you we command and ordain that ye lawfully and peremptorily summon before witnesses, Alexander Ruthven and Henry Ruthven, lawful sons of the deceased Alexander Ruthven of Freeland, Hugh Moncrieff, brother of Sir William Moncrieff of that Ilk, Patrick Eviot, brother of Colin Eviot of Balhousie, conspirators, perpetrators, and concealers of the crime of treason, aftermentioned. You will apprehend them personally at the places of their habitation, and by public proclamation at the market crosses of Edinburgh, Perth, Haddington, and other necessary places. If they cannot be found personally, as being outwith our kingdom, or having no certain dwelling place there, upon premonition of sixty days, so that this summons can

truly come to their notice, to compear before us, or our justice court, on the fourth day of November next, in our parliament to be held at Edinburgh on the first day of the said month, in the hour of cause with continuation of days, to answer to us or our justice court in the foresaid parliament, upon the crime of treason aftermentioned, to wit, the said persons, and each of them, for his being treasonably art, part, counsel, and assisting, in that nefarious and execrable conspiracy, plot, and abominable perpetration of that most savage treason, against our noble and sacred person and life, by the said persons and the deceased John, Earl of Gowrie, and the deceased Alexander Ruthven, his brother, the deceased Thomas Cranstoun and George Cragingelt, his servants; and their other accomplices, of their causing and commanding assistance in the treason committed and perpetrated by them on the 5th of August in manner as follows. For when the said John, Earl of Gowrie, and Alexander Ruthven, his brother, notwithstanding the innumerable testimonies of our extreme kindness heaped upon them; with unheard of and incredible ingratitude they conspired for our destruction; and the said Earl had sent his said brother to us at Falkland on the fifth of August, in the hope that he might draw us to Perth for some advantage; there being with him Andrew Henderson and Andrew

FRAUDULENT INDICTMENT

Ruthven as companions in his journey, who by command of Alexander Ruthven might the more speedily advise him of our reply; and the said Alexander Ruthven taking his part in this tragedy so warmly and eagerly besought us; that without the least suspicion on our part we were drawn thither and without our usual company. Meanwhile the said Earl of Gowrie who had been advised of our coming, ordered Andrew Henderson to arm himself with his helmet, breast-plate and sword, (according to the story as usually repeated). They are cited to appear as above and the summons is dated at Edinburgh 26th August 1600.

The original of this document is in mediæval Latin, and we have been supplied with this free translation of it. It forms two folio pages of the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, published by H.M. Stationery Office. We cannot find words sufficient to condemn the issue of this false, fraudulent and imaginary indictment. When we consider that the conspiracy was concocted and carried out by the King and his favourites, the reader will form his own judgment. The turbulent state of the country at that period, destitute of law and order, on account of two great factions fighting for supremacy, clearly manifests to posterity the corrupt and immoral condition of the Scottish Parlia-

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ment of that period; and this spurious indictment is one of the effects of it.

SENTENCE OF PARLIAMENT

The Scottish Parliament met on 4th November, and evidence having been led as to the due serving of the summonses, the advocate asked instruments, having presented the King's Letter of Relaxation dated 3rd October bearing that William Ruthven, Alexander and Harry Ruthven, Patrick Eviot, Hew Moncrieff and Andrew Henderson be relaxed from all hornings executed against them at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, Perth and Haddington, the said Letter of Relaxation to be registered in the Sheriff Court Books of these Sheriffdoms. The Commissioners ordain Andrew Henderson to be confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

The so-called Gowrie Conspiracy so long embedded in the mists of obscurity is by the reproduction of the Ruthven version bereft of its mystery, and is now before us, in the fierce light of the twentieth century. The official version has long puzzled historians, and no writer of history would have been readier to publish and discuss the Ruthven version than our great historians, Mr Fraser Tytler or Lord Hailes. This version, now published for the first time, affords material for

TRAGEDY IN FIVE ACTS

serious deliberation. Among the statements which arrest attention is the King's request to the Earl of Tullibardine to be at Gowrie House on 5th August at midday, the fatal day, with 300 horsemen to escort him to Falkland. This request is unchallengeable and proves to a demonstration that the conspiracy was all prearranged. Again, when the royal suite was assembled in front of Gowrie House to escort the King to Falkland when all was over, the King was to give the alarm, according to arrangement, that his life was in danger. When the alarm was given that Gowrie was slain, the Magistrates and people of Perth rushed to Gowrie House and a furious mob assembled. The King had to take refuge for his own safety, and did not attempt to return to Falkland until night, when darkness set in and he would be safe from personal violence. The Magistrates of Perth were entirely ignorant of the conspiracy. It appears to have been formed to carry out a tragedy in five acts. The first was the murder of Gowrie and his companions; the second was the annihilation of the Ruthvens by Royal Proclamation; the third was the confiscation and seizure of the Gowrie estates and their division among the conspirators; the fourth was the sham depositions in favour of the King by bribed witnesses taken by the Scottish Parliament and taken also at Falkland; and the last

act the exhibition of the dead bodies in Court and the infamous sentence delivered by the judge, who should have been utterly ashamed of himself.

A highly suspicious element was the King's escort from Falkland to Perth. Usually when Perth was honoured with a royal visit the King's escort would be a dozen horsemen. On this occasion there was double that number, and upwards of sixty people on foot, walking in groups of three or four at considerable intervals, to avoid suspicion. This exceptionally large escort calls for explanation, and the explanation appears to be that though the King does not make the slightest reference to it in the official narrative, we must take it in conjunction with his request to Tullibardine for 300 horsemen for the return journey; and a calm survey of both leaves no doubt, and can leave no doubt, on any unprejudiced mind, that those who formed the escort would be summoned some days beforehand, and that a conspiracy in these circumstances was a deliberate and illegal plot, carried out by six nobles whose names are given, while the summoning of the escort in advance proves to a demonstration that John, Earl of Gowrie, and his brother were perfectly innocent of any intention to molest or assassinate the King; the King himself being the aggressor. Then there is the question of the con-

TRAGEDY IN FIVE ACTS

fiscation and division of the Gowrie estates. It is a fatal point against the King that these estates were divided among these six men because they carried out and accomplished the conspiracy by Royal Warrant. This finally and for ever settles the point of the King's guilt. The division of the extensive Gowrie estates between these men was indefensible, and we are not informed if it was with the authority of Parliament. Some of their descendants are at this day in possession of the estates so illegally taken from the Earl of Gowrie. Indeed, it was an illegal exercise of the Roval Prerogative. Why did the Scottish Parliament passively allow it? Doubtless these men bargained for it as the terms on which they were prepared to carry out the plot and the murder of the unfortunate victims.

The Ruthven narrative now published takes to pieces the hitherto accepted official narrative, and the point we have just referred to can leave no doubt on the reader's mind that there never was such an event as the Gowrie Conspiracy in the whole realm of Scottish history; that the so-called Gowrie Conspiracy was simply a basely planned plot of the King to assassinate the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, and exterminate the ancient and honourable family of Ruthven. The conspiracy was not the end of this brutal matter. According to the

Acts of the Scottish Parliament, on 1st November 1600 the posthumous trial of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother took place in Edinburgh. On 15th November sentence was pronounced by the presiding judge "that the name, memory and dignity of Gowrie and his brother be extinguished, their arms cancelled, their possessions confiscated to the King for ever; their bodies to be carried to the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh; and there hanged, drawn and quartered, and thereafter affixed to the most public places of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee and Stirling." Three months after the assassination, the bodies having been ordered by the King not to be interred were conveyed from Perth to Edinburgh to await their trial before the Scottish Parliament sitting in the Tolbooth there. The spectacle was repulsive and appalling and the Scottish Parliament must be held responsible for the outrageous and brutal and unlawful proceedings that followed: proceedings that in no circumstances could be defended or justified.

Every conceivable insult to the dead bodies of the two innocent young men was perpetrated by the King's order and by the sanction of the Scottish Parliament, of which he was for the moment Lord Paramount. Why was all this permitted? The dead bodies were hanged, drawn, or disembowelled, and quartered : the heads hung on the Tolbooth

THE RUTHVEN VERSION

of Edinburgh and the legs and arms sent to Perth.

From the earliest period of Scottish history we shall search in vain for a similar case of downright cruelty and butchery; and the remarkable thing is that no reason is given save the frivolous one of treason. It seems an extraordinary thing that a Scottish Parliament of that period should have been so much under the thumb of the King as to be allowed to perpetrate this inhuman outrage.

CHARTER OF SURRENDER BY WILLIAM, EARL OF GOWRIE, 28th Feb. 1583

William, Earl of Gowrie etc. Surrenders the lands and barony of Ruthven, with the Tower, Fortalice, Manor, Mills, Multures, Mill Lands, Salmon and other fisheries, with the advowson and donation of the chapels of Ruthven and Tibbermore; the lands of Ballinbreich, Pitcairney, Craigengall Ardendachie, Hardbauch, a third part of the lands of Airleywight; the village and lands of Cultrany, the lands of Dengreen, the Mill of Auchtergaven, with a moiety of the multures and mill lands; the lands of Moneydie and Balmblair; a third part of the lands and barony of Baledgarno, with the Castle and Fortalice; a third part of the lands and barony of Abernyte; a third part of the lands and barony of

Forgandenny, with the advowson and donation of the Chapel of Forgandenny, lying within the Sheriffdom of Perth; a third of the lands and barony of Seggie in the Sheriffdom of Kinross; all the lands of Balerno and Newton; the village and lands of Cousland lying within the Sheriffdom of Edinburgh; a third part of the lands and barony of Dirleton with the Tower, Fortalice, Manor and the village and lands of Dirleton; a third part of the lands of Bowton, with the Mills, fisheries etc. in salt and fresh water, and right of appointment of Bailiff of Dirleton, all in the Sheriffdom of Edinburgh; and Constabulary of Haddington; a third part of the lands of Hassintower and Halliburton, with the Chapel of Halliburton, and the tenants of the said baronies, lying within the Sheriffdom of Berwick; all to be assumed and incorporated in one whole, free, barony now and in future to be called the barony of Ruthven.

And that one sasine only be taken at the principal Fortalice of Ruthven, sufficient for all and singular the lands and baronies above specified; which lands and baronies incorporated into one whole and free barony as aforesaid the said William, Earl of Gowrie, Lord of Ruthven and Dirleton, did purely and simply resign, with all the rights and claims, property and positions, which he had or might have, in favour of James Ruthven his eldest son

CHARTER OF SURRENDER

and heir apparent and to his heirs according to the charter of the superior lord to him the said James Ruthven, and the heirs male of his body, whom failing to the nearest lawful heirs male of the said James his son bearing the name and arms of Ruthven, whom failing then to his nearest lawful heirs whatsoever, with them to remain in perpetuity, hereditarily; reserving however a life interest to himself and his wife Dorothea Stewart. In witness whereof etc.

CHAPTER VIII

PRIVY COUNCIL NARRATIVE—SCONE ABBEY SACKED AND BURNED—EARL OF GOWRIE COMMENDATOR—FOR-FEITURE OF THE GOWRIES—ARRAN DICTATORSHIP— LENNOX-ARRAN DUUMVIRATE—RETURN OF THE HAMIL-TONS—DEAD BODIES NOT TO BE INTERRED—JOHN, THIRD EARL OF GOWRIE : BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE— MARRIAGE OF LADY LILIAS RUTHVEN—KNOX AND QUEEN MARY

WE come now to the political narrative as recorded in the Privy Council Register.

The oldest erected lordship mentioned is the Earldom of Gowrie comprehending these lands of the Abbacy of Scone which had been bestowed in 1581 on William, Lord Ruthven, on his promotion to the Earldom. Although the chief of the Ruthven Raid administration, he had forfeited his honours and his life in 1584; after the subversion of the brief administration by the dictatorship of the pseudo Arran there had remained sufficient respect for his accuracy among the members of the ministry of the Ruthven lords to enable him to procure the repeal of his forfeiture by the restoration in 1586 of the estates of the Ruthven family, and James, the eldest surviving

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son of the family, a mere youth as yet, was now second Earl of Gowrie, with four younger brothers about him, and seven sisters—some of them married to great personages. Hence the fitness of specifying that the Gowrie Earldom was almost the chief among the erected lordships that was to be left untouched by the Act of Annexation. After the final forfeiture of the Gowrie family in 1600 it was again erected for David Murray, Lord Scone, and Viscount Stormont, in the Parliament of 1606 and by charter of 1608 which includes the priory of Loch Tay.

The famous Abbey of Scone had been sacked and burned in June 1559 by the Reforming populace of Perth and Dundee, by way of special demonstration of their hatred of Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, who was then its Commendator. He had held both offices since 1538, and continued his unpopularity notwithstanding he held both offices nominally, after the Reformation till his death in 1573. The abbey and lands then came into the possession of William, Lord Ruthven, Counsellor and Lord Treasurer of the King, through the Regency of Mar, and subsequently through that of Morton; and the Lennox-Arran administration of December 1580—August 1582—created Ruthven Earl of Gowrie, October 1581. He held the Abbacy of Scone from that date. Not a new Commendator-

ship, but as incorporated with the Earldom, and he continued so to hold it through his premiership of the Ruthven Raid Government, which superseded the Lennox-Arran rule, and lasted from August 1582 to July 1583.

After this fall, and the forfeiture of the Gowrie title and estates, by Act of Parliament, in May 1584, the abbey lands were granted to David Lindsay, tenth Earl of Crawford, from whom, however, they were recovered for the Ruthven family before 1587, in which year the Commendator of Scone was John Ruthven, third and last Earl of Gowrie, then but a child.

From July 1583 to November 1585, came the tremendous anti-Presbyterian Dictatorship of Captain James Stewart, the pseudo Arran, by himself; and finally, from November 1585 to July 1587, there was what may be called the coalition ministry of the Restored Lords, consisting of a tolerably harmonious combination of politicians of different antecedents and principles, chiefly survivors of the Ruthven Raiders.

The Lennox-Arran duumvirate gave way in August 1582 before the assault of the Ruthven Raiders, and Lennox had to retire to France. The Ruthven Raid administration, which superseded the duumvirate, was too short even if it had been possible to bring about the return of the Hamil-

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JOHN RUTHVEN, BORN 1753 (GOWRIE BRANCH) SECOND SON OF JAMES RUTHVEN, BORN 1725

PRIVY COUNCIL RECORD

tons; and when Captain James Stewart broke up the Ruthven Raid Government, and sent its chiefs to keep company with the Hamiltons in their banishment, he planted himself in that sole Dictatorship which he continued to hold from 15th July 1583 till November 1585. Affairs seemed at their gloomiest for the Hamiltons, as for all their fellow-exiles.

In November 1585 there did come the final turn of the wheel; which threw Arran to the ground, and brought back the Hamiltons with their exiles, to form the Coalition Government, which restored lands, and gave something like peace to Scotland at last. This was substantially a revival of the Ruthven Raid administration. (Privy Council Register, 1st Series, vol. i.)

That famous but mysterious incident, known as the Gowrie Conspiracy, occurred at Perth, 5th August 1600. In a letter from the King to the Council, received in Edinburgh from Falkland before ten o'clock the following morning, substantially it was to the effect that the King, while hunting near Falkland, was induced by Alexander Ruthven to go to Perth. A narrative was put forward in print by his Majesty's command a month after the event.

At a convention of estates at Holyrood, his Majesty's letter was read to the clergy containing a curious proclamation and thanksgiving, and Sir

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David Lindsay arriving from Falkland at the moment related his movements and reported the facts. The clergy remained firm in their refusal to comply with the King's letter. If the Earl and his brother had been guilty of the alleged treasonable raid, men would be readier thereby to doom their name to eternal infamy; meanwhile they must forbear. The council accordingly had to commute the King's order for a general thanksgiving of all the clergy in the city into an order for publication of the same at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, with ringing of bells and bonfires, the people with uncovered heads to praise God; cannons to be fired from the castle between three and four P.M., and bonfires set out before all the houses that night.

On 6th August 1600, Parliament is said to have thought fit, by proclamation at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, to notify the happy deliverance of their sovereign lord from great danger; with the death of traitors; this Parliament requiring them to give thanks to God for his deliverance, and to cause the bells in the burgh to be rung; and at night bonfires, within the burgh; in the Canongate and in Leith; also orders David Lindsay to praise God within the Kirk and ordains the people to accompany him.

A decree was issued from Falkland, 5th August

PRIVY COUNCIL RECORD

1600, to the effect that John, Earl of Gowrie, and Alexander Ruthven, his brother, most treasonably conspired and devised the King's death, and destruction of the King's Majesty. At that execution of their horrible and monstrous practice against his Royal Person they being most worthily slain; and his Majesty delivered and released from danger; they by their treasonable practice have incurred the penalty of forfeiture of their lands and heritages, which now fall into his Majesty's hands; officers of arms are directed to arrest all farms, rents, teind duties, and all possessions belonging to the said earl, and his brother Alexander Ruthven. The bodies of the said Earl and his brother to be kept till further orders; orders officers of arms to command the Bailies of Perth to preserve and keep the bodies unburied till they receive his Majesty's will and pleasure thereanent. Persons of either sex, men or women, of the name of Ruthven, presently attending, or waiting on his Majesty, or the Queen, are commanded to remove within forty-eight hours from the King's residence and none of the name of Ruthven is to resort, or come within ten miles of his Majesty under pain of death. Officers of arms to take possession of Ruthven Castle, Strathbraan, and Gowrie House, and deliver same to the Lord Treasurer. All occupants and tenants to remove furth thereof within six hours of

THE RUTHVEN FAMILY PAPERS the charge under pain of death. (Privy Council Register, 2nd Series, vol. i.)

JOHN, EARL OF GOWRIE: SHORT BIOGRAPHY

John, third Earl of Gowrie, was born about the year 1578, and was not quite eleven years of age on his accession to the Earldom. Care was taken in his education that he should be well acquainted with the principles of religion, and that his mind should be piously disposed towards the Presbyterian Church, then established in Scotland. The superintendence of his education was committed to Robert Rollock of the College, Edinburgh, an eminent and pious divine, and author of various books. The Earl, says a modern writer, was brought up under Rollock, who dearly loved him because of his good behaviour, and the virtue which appeared in him. His ordinary teacher was William Rhynd, a cleric of some learning, who, while the Earl lived, continued his attendance, always anxiously concerned about the morals of his pupil. The Church Records of Perth inform us of a William Rhynd, the son of Sir Robert Rhynd, a priest; which Sir Robert had, in the Popish times, been chaplain to three several altars in the Parish Church of Perth. But the preceptor of the Earl of Gowrie seems rather to have been a son of that

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William Rhynd who was the first Protestant minister of the adjoining parish of Kinnoull, and who along with his parochial charge had the rectorship of the Grammar School of Perth. The Earl, after having gone through the ordinary course of grammar, probably at the Perth school, went to Edinburgh College, about the year 1589. His master there was Charles Ferme, who had been newly elected one of the Regents, and who then began to teach a class. It was the custom at the College, that the same master carried on the pupils who had entered his class three years for the study of logic, mathematics, and moral philosophy; at the end of which time they received a literary degree. In the published history of the College, it is said the Sixth Class, educated under Charles Ferme, was Laureate-that is, capped Master of Arts—12th August 1593.

The schools were nineteen in number. The Earl of Gowrie seems to have attended the class in which the Municipal and Roman Laws were taught, from October 1593 to August 1594, and it is remarkable that notwithstanding his nonage, and his being only a pupil at the College, the Town Council of Perth began in 1592 to elect him as their Provost. In 1593 the Earl of Gowrie, young as he was, was brought into public notice by his brother-in-law, the Earl of Atholl. In the contest then subsisting

between the Protestant and Catholic lords, the Earls of Atholl and Montrose, who were attached to the Protestant interest, levied troops, and came to Doune Castle with the intention of compelling the King to follow their counsels. The King's troops opposed them, and Atholl was in danger of being slain. But Atholl and Montrose, who had the young Earl of Gowrie in their company, afterwards made their peace with the King. Gowrie was not blamed, because he was only a minor.

On 6th August 1594, the Earl acquainted the Town Council of Perth that he was now to go abroad for his further education; and they, to show their respect for the Ruthven family, and the hope which they entertained for his promising qualifications, bound themselves by a written instrument, that same day, attested by witnesses, that they would choose him annually as their Provost till he should return to his native country. It was long a practice in Scotland that noblemen and other persons who wished to acquire a character for eminent learning, after having graduated at College, went for some time to one or other of the foreign Universities, where greater variety of instruction was expected; and often afterwards they made what is called "a tour of Europe." The University most popular at that time was Padua in Venetian territory. It was famous for its ten Colleges and for

BIOGRAPHY OF EARL JOHN

the number and ability of its Professors, and was therefore the University that the Earl of Gowrie was directed to attend. He left Scotland in the autumn of 1594, taking with him William Rhynd as his tutor and travelling companion.

They passed through France, delivering letters of recommendation to some learned men there. At Geneva they visited Theodore Beza, the successor of Calvin, in the church of that city, and delivered to him letters from Robert Rollock, and some other of Beza's correspondents in Scotland. They arrived in Padua probably in November 1594, when the Earl entered upon his new proposed course of study. He seems not long after his arrival in Padua to have written a dutiful letter to James VI. In November 1595 he received an affectionate letter from his Majesty in return, who, knowing the importance of having Gowrie as his friend, sought early to engage him heartily in his service. The Earl's answer is in the University Library, Edinburgh, and was published by Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes. The letter was in these terms:

"Please Your Majesty if the bestowing of great benefits should move the receivers thereof to be thankful to the givers, I have many and extraordinary occasions to be thankful to Your Majesty; being

not only favoured with the benefit of Your Majesty's good countenance at all times but also that it hath pleased Your Majesty so well to accept of me as to honour me with your most loving letter, which is a certain sign and vide testimony of Your Majesty's good favour and graciousness towards me; and I esteem it so much that, I would think myself very happy, if it should please Your Majesty to command me in anything, whereby Your Majesty might have proof of my prompt and faithful obedience; for Your Majesty's worth and valour (power, virtue) besides the particular partiality shown to me, merits whatsoever I am able to do, and a hundred thousand times more. In the end I pray Your Majesty to have me excused, seeing I have had the audacity to write again to Your Majesty, for not having the comfort of Your Majesty's presence, I could not declare my willing mind better than by using the next remede. In the meantime I repose myself still in Your Majesty's constant favour till God, of His mercy, grant, that I shall see Your Majesty in so good contentment of all. So craving earnestly the estate as I wish, which will give me the greatest Creator of all things to bless Your Majesty with all felicity and satisfaction in health, with an increase of many prosperous days, I kiss devoutly Your Majesty's hands.

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RUTHVENS IN FAVOUR

"Your Majesty's most humble subject, and obedient servant, in all devotion, GOWRIE."

"PADUA, 24th September 1595."

This letter is in the laboured style of a young man of good sense and promising talents, and who had passed the seventeenth year of his age. There is no just reason to suspect the sincerity of the professions it contains. The King at the time of the Earl's father's death had not arrived at his "perfect age," and, though nominally governing the kingdom, was acting under the fascinating influence of James Stewart, Earl of Arran, and therefore could not be greatly blamed.

To obliterate if possible in the minds of the children of William, Earl of Gowrie, every resentful remembrance of their father's death, the estates and honours which had been forfeited were returned to them. The King was continually giving them tokens of his favour. The daughters were in great credit with the Queen, and obtaining honourable marriages, and the younger son, Alexander Ruthven, when almost a mere boy, was raised to an office at Court near the King's person. About five years and six months of John, Earl of Gowrie's short life was spent in foreign parts, before he returned to Scotland. It would have been

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satisfactory to have had a detailed account of his conduct and behaviour while abroad, and of the persons with whom he was chiefly conversant. After his death, it was the policy of the Court of Scotland to encourage every vague report which could be reckoned prejudicial to his character. Two of these reports have been propagated, and professedly relied on, by some writers, and it is therefore proper that they should be examined.

William Sanderson, a writer of no great reputation, whose historical work was printed in 1656, says: "I have a MS. which relates that in Padua, in a fencing school, the Earl of Gowrie caused to be painted for his device, a hand and sword aiming at a crown." Mr Sanderson does not in any degree authenticate this MS.

George Crawford in his book on the peerage, after giving an account of the Gowrie family, says : "I have in my hand an authentic copy of the Earl of Gowrie's arms, richly illuminated, anno 1597, with the name and titles viz. Joannes Ruthven, Comes de Gowrie, Dominus de Ruthven."

The charge brought against John, Earl of Gowrie, relating to his education and conduct when abroad, was that he had acquired the knowledge of necromancy, had used charms or amulets, and held to astrological productions. This charge was vehe-

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS

mently urged after his death, with a view to alienate from all respect to his memory the ministers of the Gospel, and to excite an abhorrence of him in the minds of serious Christians. It was also urged as affording a sufficient pretext for ascribing to him an attempt on the life of the King. Before considering in law, how far this accusation was well founded, it is proper to take notice of a criminal species of folly which too commonly prevailed at that period, and indeed for a long time after. Astrologers, prognosticators, and pretended adepts in the secrets of Nature, abounded in all countries and their writings were read by curious persons.

In a catalogue of books advertised for sale, affixed to Christopher Cartwright's Exposition of the Fifteenth Psalm, printed in London, 1558, but which catalogue was surely annexed by a stationer without the knowledge of the reverend author, I have counted twenty books under the following general description:—Admirable and learned treatises of occult sciences, in philosophy, magic, astrology, geomancy, chemistry, physiognomy, chyromancy (palmistry). Some of them were written by knights and gentlemen, and some of them even by a Fellow of Cambridge College. In another part of the catalogue is advertised "New Jerusalem," a sermon for the Society of Astrologers, anno 1651, also "Divinity; no enemy to astrol-

ogy," anno 1642, by Dr Thomas Swadling. It is, however, to be remarked that astronomers, who were laudably employed in observing distances, and making of the heavenly bodies, together with those who professed to assist the planetary influences, and the actions and destinies of man, were comprehended under the general name of astrologers; also chemists who from the experiments which they exhibited were usually reckoned the same as magicians. In the library of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth there is a manuscript book, in small Saxon letter, written before or when the art of printing scarcely was practised in Scotland. It was presented to the Society in 1785 by the late John Gillies, stationer, in Perth, who was an industrious collector of curious articles. Besides a great number of medical receipts in a treatise called "The Treasour of pure men," it contains a treatise under the following title: "This is the mirror or glass of Hell" necessary and needful for every person to look on, that will keep their body from the sickness of the pest; and it shows when the planets rise, every hour of the day and night; and shows remedies for divers infirmities and diseases that hurt the body of man. The author styles himself "Thomas Moulton, Doctor of Divinity, of the Friars' Preachers '' (Dominicans).

The book anciently belonged to persons of a

DAME LILIAS RUTHVEN

respectable station who bore a religious character. On the title-page is written "This book did some time belong to Lady Dame Lilias Ruthven, Lady Drummond, which her second son James, Lord Madderty, gave to John Fairbairn, Minister of Madderty, and which he bequeathed to Dame Anne Gordon, Lady Drummond, 4 April 1648."

Dame Lilias Ruthven was a daughter of William, second Lord Ruthven, sister to Patrick, third Lord, and aunt to the first Earl of Gowrie. She was married about the year 1546 to David, second Lord Drummond, ancestor to the Earls of Perth. Calderwood says "she had a great pearl in her eye and a pearl of godliness in her heart and was a zealous promoter of the true religion." This pious lady probably valued the book because it assisted her in prescribing some safe methods of cure to sick and poor people. After it came into the possession of her second son, Lord Madderty, attention was paid to the succession and reign of the planets therein described. On a blank page was written the dates of birth of his eight children.

Almost every person of note had in former times a horoscope, or a calculation in draft, of the position in which the planets were at the hour of their birth. The Earl of Gowrie, like other great men, it may be presumed had a copy of his horoscope, which he may have been tempted to show when he

was abroad. But it may also be presumed that his religion and good sense prevented him from paying serious attention to any prognostications which an astrologer might found upon. It was long customary with some malevolent persons to culumniate good men as having consulted wizards and used magical charms. The Earl's father was so calumniated, as Spottiswoode informs us, who, when speaking of his execution at Stirling, says he was a wise man, but was reported to have been too curious, and to have consulted wizards concerning the state of things in future times.

Yet, adds Spottiswoode, "he was not charged therewith in his indictment, nor seemed to be touched therewith at his death, which in the judgment of the spectators was very peaceable and quiet."

Even John Knox was represented by the Catholic party as a necromancer or a practiser of what is called the Black Art, which some of their writings testify. In the first interview which he had with Queen Mary, after her arrival from France in 1561, which was carried on with a great deal of good temper on both sides, the Queen frankly said : "Mr John, I have been told that all that you have done was by the power of necromancy." Knox replied : "Madam, whereas they slander me of magic, necromancy, and other such arts, as God has forbidden,

JOHN KNOX AND QUEEN MARY

I have witnesses beside my own conscience, even all the congregations which ever heard me preach, that I have spoken both against sinful arts and against those who use them. But seeing that the wicked of the world said that my Master the Lord Jesus was possessed with Beelzebub, I must patiently bear when I, a wretched sinner, am also unjustly accused by them, who never have delighted in the verity." It is no wonder, therefore, that the young Earl of Gowrie, at a time when everything that could tend to hurt his character was industriously sought after, was traduced as his father and others had been.

In the account of his death published by the King's authority in 1600, it is said "there was found in his pocket a little close parchment being full of magical characters and words and enchantment." To these papers a preternatural effect was ascribed, for it is added "while they were upon him his wound whereof he died bled not, but after they were taken away, the blood gushed in great abundance." It has been said that the wound was inflicted on his back by a small pointed sword, and therefore his body at first bled inwardly.

CHAPTER IX

DEPOSITIONS — CONFIRMATION CHARTER OF COWGASK, 1223 — REV. JAMES SCOTT'S NARRATIVE — THE ATHOLL EARLDOM—SIR JOHN RAMSAY AND THE HAWK —KING PRAISES GOD FOR HIS VICTORY—WILLIAM AND PATRICK RUTHVEN—CLERGY SUMMONED BEFORE PRIVY COUNCIL—EARL OF BOTHWELL, PATRICK GALLOWAY, AND WM. COOPER

It is certain, however, that papers, in which were written Latin and Hebrew characters, were once in his possession. His tutor, Rhynd, was examined at Falkland, 9th August 1600, concerning these papers. This honest and good man, whose simple oath might have been depended on, was put into that engine of torture called "the Boots," and was so cruelly handled that his legs never afterwards were well. The torment did not force from him any declaration which could justly tend to convict the Earl of Gowrie. But he deponed that, having gone from the Earl for a short time on a visit to Venice, he found when he returned to Padua, that the Earl had got some papers marked with Latin and Hebrew characters, which he was carrying in his pocket. He asked him, as it behoved him to do, where and how he



JAMES RUTHVEN, BORN 1783 (GOWRIE BRANCH) SON OF JOHN RUTHVEN, BORN 1753

DEPOSITIONS

had procured them. The Earl replied that he had copied them by chance; and when Rhynd would have taken them from him, he would not allow it, but said : "Let them alone for they can do you no evil." Rhynd had heard that there were persons in Italy who gave breeves. He probably meant either exorcisms or Papal dispensations. He therefore often would have burnt the papers if he had not been afraid of the Earl's anger. Gowrie, when changing his clothes, always took care to put the papers into his pocket. The Latin characters seemed to Rhynd to be of the Earl's own handwriting, but he did not know who it was that made the Hebrew characters. The papers said to have been found upon the Earl having been shown, Rhynd said they were the same which he had seen in Padua.

The Earl of Cromarty in his account of this conspiracy says that he once had these papers in his custody, but afterwards lost them, and that to the best of his remembrance they contained magic spells and characters, which none could understand but those who practise that art. Nicholson, the English Ambassador at Edinburgh, wrote Sir Robert Cecil, 10th August 1600: "they, the courtiers, say that upon the Earl were found characters some for love, some for blood, and some contra potestatem Divinae Majestatis. Contrary to the power of Sacred Majesty."

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William Sanderson, in his Scottish History, written in 1652, seems to have received the truest information. He says a parchment bag was taken out of the Earl's bosom, with characters, and these letters, put together, made tetragrammaton. The word tetragrammaton is Greek, and means four letters. It is applied to indicate the sacred Name, Jehovah, which consists of four letters in Hebrew. It was supposed, when pronounced with faith, to be accompanied with a powerful efficacy, and was used as an amulet. Probably each letter of the word was written on small and separate pieces of paper in the Latin, Hebrew and Greek alphabets. The pieces would thereby be numerous, and would appear mysterious to those persons who had not previously learned how to arrange them.

We are called upon to trust in the Name of the Lord, but the precept means that we are to trust in the perfection of His Nature, and not in the letters of His Name. To use the letters as an amulet would be superstitious and unwarrantable, and confiding in a method of our own devising. The understanding of the Earl of Gowrie must have been far below that of the rest of mankind if, trusting to a spell in his pocket, he had ventured to attack the life or the liberty of a King in the midst of his nobles, and when he must have known that almost every person in the kingdom

JAMES WEMYSS OF BOGIE

would have loudly called for punishment to be inflicted upon him. The religion in which he had been educated, and which he seemed always seriously to confess, taught him that it was presumptuous to look for the Divine protection in enterprises which were rash and inconsiderate; and impious to seek for it in such as were unlawful. The supposition, therefore, of his having been guilty of the rashness and gross impiety, which his enemies represented, is to be reckoned untenable and should be rejected.

James Wemyss of Bogie (Fife), the Earl's cousin, who had gone with him to the deer-stalking at Strathbraan, in Atholl, in 1600, a few weeks before the Earl's death, deposed that he neither heard, nor saw in the Earl of Gowrie, any appearance of a treasonable intention. If he had conversed with him about "things curious," he said that some of the company found an adder and killed it, which being reported to the Earl, he said : "Bogie, if the adder had not been slain I should have showed you good sport, for I would have made her to stand so that she should not have passed away "; Wemyss asked him how he could have done that. He replied "by pronouncing a Hebrew word which in the Scottish language means holiness." He did not remember the Hebrew word, but the Earl said he had put it in practice often before. Wemyss asked

him where he got the Hebrew word; the Earl said he "got it from a cabalist of the Jews, and that the Cabala contained words which the Jews had by tradition; which words were spoken by God to Adam in Paradise, and therefore were of greater efficacy and force than any words which were ex cogitate since by Prophets and Apostles." Wemyss inquired if nothing more than the word was requisite; the Earl replied that "a firm faith in God was necessary and that all these things were natural and no marvel among scholars"; also, the Earl said that "he had spoken with a man in Italy of whom he had first heard by report that he was a necromancer; but afterwards he was informed that he was a very learned man, and a deep theologian, and that he entered into dealing with him anent the curiosities of nature." The Earl further said "that being one time at music he fell into company with another man who, staring him in the face, spoke things of him to the rest of the company which he never could attain unto or be worthy of." The Earl reprimanded him and desired him to forbear these speeches. But afterwards having met him again in the like company he began to make such speeches as he had done before. Whereupon the Earl said to him: "My friend, if you will not hold your peace from speaking lies of me, I will make you hold your peace by speaking truth of you." He then told him

JAMES WEMYSS OF BOGIE

that within such a space he should be hanged for such a crime, and so it came to pass. Wemyss asked who told him that such a thing would happen; he merely answered: "I spoke it by guess and it fell out so." Wemyss requested him to beware with whom he did communicate such speeches. The Earl said "he would communicate them to none but great scholars, and that he would not have spoken them to him if he had not known him to be a favourer of him, and a friend of his house, and who would not reveal them seeing he knew they would be evil interpreted among the common sort."

Wemyss does not seem to have been a gentleman who pretended great learning. The Earl had lately come from a famous University, and appears to have diverted himself by making his cousin wonder at the knowledge he had there acquired. He was ambitious of being esteemed a great scholar. The several parts of Natural Philosophy seem peculiarly to have attracted his attention, which betrayed him into the folly of learning some things which were then looked upon as sorceries. The dangerous physiognomist whom he once and again repulsed at the concert of music, no doubt deserved the punishment which he met with, and of which the Earl might naturally enough give him warning. The memory of Wemyss was probably not fully

accurate, when he said that the Earl had told him he had often tried the experiment of charming an adder; in such a case a cabalistic word could have had no effect. But it appears from this deposition that the Earl of Gowrie was now rather vain of his learning, was of a cheerful temper without guile, and communicated in his conversation what he would not have done, if he had been harbouring in his mind any treasonable design.

John Colville, who had acted as secretary to a very turbulent nobleman, Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, but who, after that Earl's exile, had obtained a pardon from the King, got by some means into his hands a written prediction relating to the Earl of Gowrie. He transmitted it to the King, and Nicholson, the English Ambassador, wrote concerning it in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, 22nd November 1600: "One Colville has sent to the King the collection (calculation) of the fortunes to befall the Earl of Gowrie upon his Nativity, written in French, in the Earl's own hand and found at Orleans; it states that he should return to his own country, should be in great credit, seek a wife, and die with his sword in his hand." Sanderson mentions the same prognostication, and says it was found by the Earl of Argyll at Orleans, in the house in which Gowrie had lodged, and that it further stated that though much loved he should

CLERICAL DEPOSITIONS

fall into melancholy. It probably contained the substance of what had been uttered by the dangerous physiognomist, whom the Earl mentioned to Wemyss as a person whom he had repulsed at the concert of music. This man, however, did not calculate the Earl's nativity, who perhaps had never shown his horoscope to any person when abroad, but read his fortune by staring in the face. Though the Earl afterwards committed it to writing, as a matter of curiosity, it could give him no encouragement to engage in any ambitious project, as it told him he had to die with a sword in his hand; and he evidently thought it of no importance, otherwise he would not have left it carelessly in the house in which he lodged.

These are all the grounds on which, after his death, Gowrie was charged with the crime of necromancy. Patrick Galloway, one of the Court Chaplains, endeavoured to persuade the people in his sermon at the Cross of Edinburgh, and afterwards at Glasgow "that the Earl of Gowrie was plainly proved to have been a student of magic, a conjuror of devils, and had many of them at his command." Even the pious William Cooper, then one of the ministers of Perth, and afterwards Bishop of Galloway, but who happened not to be in Perth on the day when the Earl and his brother were slain, was staggered in his opinion by the supposition that

the Earl had been a practiser of unlawful arts. In his sermon at Perth, and afterwards at Edinburgh, he lamented that he whom they all had loved and of whom they entertained a high opinion, had gone beyond the compass of godliness. A Latin book also was printed at Edinburgh in 1601, entitled "*Ravenorum Conspiratio*," in which the sin of combining with infernal spirits was fully displayed, and the Earl in the grossest language accused of having been a magician.

Notwithstanding all the clamour which was excited by the bag of papers said, by the King's account, to have been found in the Earl's pocket; by Sanderson, to have been found in his bosom, and by Spottiswoode to have been hanging at his girdle, and supposed to have had such an effect that the body did not bleed till the girdle was loosed and taken away. Notwithstanding the harsh opinion which his enemies expressed of what was written on the papers contained in the bag: it is not improbable that these inscriptions were nothing more than chemical marks and characters, which are indeed so very uncouth in their appearance that they might be easily mistaken for magical signs by those persons who were not well acquainted with the chemical science. The Earl might choose to have them always in his pocket for the purpose of assisting his memory in his favourite study, which

DEMONOLOGY

he had begun to prosecute in the foreign University.

The generality of the people of Scotland, and of the people of other countries, rejected as incredible the supposition of his having been so weak and so wicked as his enemies represented him. But there were, no doubt, some credulous persons, and some who at least pretended to believe what was alleged against him. There were thus many believers of witchcraft, in which the King had set them an example, who wrote a treatise on what he called "Demonology," containing his own primitive views on the subject.

John, Earl of Gowrie, had a charter to James Ruthven, son of William, Lord Ruthven, of the land of Burleigh and others in Fife, 23rd January 1580, and a letter of provision to the Abbey of Scone, 7th May 1580. He got a Ratification of the Earldom and Abbacy of Scone, 7th May 1580, and was made Provost of Perth in 1592.

[KALENDAR

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KALENDAR OF SUCCESSION

JOHN, 3rd EARL OR GOWRIE

1600-1900

No.	NAME	Born	Died
I 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	John Ruthven, only child of the Earl of Gowrie John Ruthven, his son John Ruthven, son of No. 2 James Ruthven, son of No. 3 James Ruthven, son of No. 4 James Ruthven, son of No. 5 James Ruthven, son of No. 6 James Ruthven of Hull, son of No. 7 Representative of the Earls of Gowrie	1600 1687 1725 1752 1776 1809	1732 1808 1841 1854 1852

NOTE.—James Ruthven, No. 5 of the Kalendar, had a daughter Jean, who married her cousin, James Ruthven (son of John Ruthven, brother of James). The issue of this marriage was James Ruthven, who was father of Mrs Ruthven-Stuart; this lady is an only child, and is in the direct line of succession.

CHARTER OF CONFIRMATION, 1223, REIGN OF ALEX-ANDER II., OF A GRANT BY ROBERT, EARL OF STRATHEARN, OF THE LANDS OF COWGASK TO WALTER, SON OF ALAN, AND CECILIA, ROBERT'S SISTER AND WIFE OF WALTER. (Liber Insule Missarum, p. xxvii. f. Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1847.)

ROBERT, Earl of Strathearn, to all who shall see or hear of the present writing Greeting :—

Know ye that I have granted and by this my

CHARTER OF COWGASK

charter have confirmed to Walter, son of Alan, and to Cecilia my sister, and to the heirs born of the foresaid Cecilia, that grant which Earl Gilbert of Strathearn, my father, made of the land of Kulgasc (Cowgask) to the foresaid Walter along with my sister aforesaid—

To be held by him and his heirs, of me and my heirs, in fee and heritage, in all its right marches and all its lawful pertinents, and in all liberty, fully and honourably as the charter of my father testifies. Further, I and my heirs will guarantee to the said Walter and Cecilia and their heirs, the foresaid land, in all respects according to the tenor of my father's charter, against all men.

Reddendo annually to me and my heirs certain gilt spurs, or six pennies, at Pentecost for all service and aid, and exaction, and secular use. By these witnesses :

> Sir Hugo, bishop of Dunkeld; Robert, abbot of Scone; Innocent, abbot of Inchaffray; Fergus, brother of the Earl; Laurence of Abernethy; Malise and Gilbert, brothers of the Earl; Malise, seneschal; Gilbert, archdeacon; Duncan Mac Malise; Brice, thane of Dun[keld?].

CHARTER OF MORTIFICATION BY WILLIAM, FIRST LORD RUTHVEN, 1509, REIGN OF JAMES IV.

In the Register of the Great Seal (vol. xv., 1424-1573) are given summaries of the contents of two deeds of mortification executed at Ruthven on the 14th and 15th June 1509 and confirmed by King James IV. at Stirling on the 1st day of July following. The first of these is a deed in the name of Sir William Ruthven knight of that ilk, feudal lord of the Barony of Ruthven, and Lord William Ruthven, lord of the same freeholding, by which they assign for pure alms an annual revenue of f_{10} from the lands of Ballinbreich, Pitcairn, and Craigengall in the Barony of Ruthven and County of Perth for the maintenance of one chaplain in the Chapel of St Peter in the manor house of Ruthven (apud manoriem de Ruthven) who shall celebrate the Divine mysteries for all time coming: which failing from the lands of the whole Barony aforesaid.

On the following day (15th June 1509) the same donors had a similar deed executed providing an annual revenue of \pounds 10 from the same lands, for pure alms, for a chaplain in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary situated in the cemetery of the Parish Church of Tibbermore, who shall celebrate the Divine mysteries in all time coming.

JOHN, EARL OF GOWRIE

Confirmed at Stirling by King James IV. A similar donation to the chaplain of the Chapel of St Catherine at Cousland in the Barony of Cousland, Midlothian. At Ruthven, 15th June 1509. These witnesses :

Walter Ruthven of Lownam;

George Murray, son and heir apparent of

Andrew Murray of Ogilvy;

John Ruthven of Ardonoquhy;

Andrew Tyrie, son and heir apparent of Walter Tyrie of Drumkelb;

David Murray;

John Strang of Schipbriggis.

JOHN, EARL OF GOWRIE

The Gowries were a Perthshire family, John, the third Earl, being the last to hold the dignity. He was born at Ruthven Castle, Perth, and all the three Earls, and some of their predecessors, the Lords of Ruthven, were in regular succession, and extending over a long series of years, chief Magistrates of Perth and Sheriffs of the county. Sir William Wallace, who in 1298 was Governor of Scotland, discovered that Ruthven, who had been lurking in Birnam wood, came to assist at the second siege of Perth. Wallace and Ruthven disguised themselves as peasants and got admission into the town. As the reward for Ruthven's ser-

vices Wallace made him Sheriff of Perth-an office which continued to be hereditary in the family. Ruthven married Marjory, daughter of Sir John Ramsay of Auchterhouse, and died in 1320. The second Lord Ruthven, who married Jane Halliburton, daughter of Patrick, Lord of Dirleton, had five sons and seven daughters; one of them, Lilias, married David, Lord Drummond. Her beauty and her accomplishments are referred to by Lord Strathallan, and her singular piety and her pure religion, by Calderwood, the historian. Gowrie House, Perth, was acquired by the Ruthvens by purchase in 1527. William, fourth Lord, in 1579 made large additions to it. At the south-west corner he built the turret, the uppermost chamber of which was a library. In that apartment his two sons, John and Alexander, were slain on 5th August 1600. It cannot easily be conceived that two men so young in years were capable of forming a deep and traitorous plot such as has been ascribed to them. The innocence of John, Earl of Gowrie, was believed by all unprejudiced persons; and Sir Robert Douglas seems to have had this chiefly in his view, when he says: "their gentle and peaceable disposition made them to be idolized by all who knew them. Nature and education had joined in adorning them, especially the elder, with the most noble accomplishments;

more learning than is usual with persons of their rank; more religion than is common in persons at their time of life; generous, brave, popular; their countrymen far from thinking them capable of any atrocious crime, conceived the most sanguine hopes of their early virtues." On 28th June 1600 took place the execution of David Drummond for the slaughter of George Ramsay's man. He was condemned in the first Justice Court that ever John, Earl of Gowrie, held after his return from Padua.

The plot for the assassination of the two young men, Gowrie and his brother, appears to have consisted of the following parts :---The catastrophe in view was, that the Earl and his brother should be put to death in a sudden scuffle; in which, however, they were to be made to appear as traitors. The present safety of the King, and of the persons immediately employed, was to be secured by corrupting some of the Earl's servants; and by bringing a sufficient number of armed men from the country. A specious pretence was to be contrived for the King's coming to Perth. The King, after dinner in Gowrie House, was to pretend a necessity for retiring to a private apartment. A report was to be raised that he had gone away to Falkland. When the courtiers were assembled in the street under the windows where the King was, the King

was to cry to them from the window that his life was in danger. His confidential servants were then to ascend a private stair, and kill first one brother, and afterwards the other.

Sir John Ramsay, a page or gentleman of the bedchamber, was sitting after dinner in Gowrie House, holding on his arm a hawk; on the alarm being given that the King was missing, Ramsay, still holding the hawk, which was a present to the King, went up the broad stair to the Long Gallery, and stood a little while admiring it. When he came down to the courtyard he declared that the King was not to be found. At the opposite door of the gallery chamber, were Lennox and Mar, and other courtiers, knocking for admission. They dispatched Robert Brown, a servant of the King, to inform him that they who were his friends were waiting to be admitted. Brown, when he returned, saw the dead body of the Earl of Gowrie lying on the floor. Having delivered his message the door was opened to the nobles, and after their entrance, was again locked. The affair having succeeded to his wish, the King, being in perfect safety, came forth from the closet. He knelt upon the floor and all the nobles followed his example. The King, who was the speaker, praised God for the victory he had obtained, and for his miraculous deliverance. Another party, who were anxious for the Earl's

LENNOX AND FREELAND

safety, now came to that door at the west end of the gallery, by which the nobles had entered. Alexander Ruthven of Freeland cried through the keyhole to Lennox, "My Lord, for God's sake tell me how is my Lord Gowrie"; Lennox answered: "He is well; but thou art a fool; go thy way for thou will get little thanks for thy present labour."

That a treasonable attempt was made by the Earl and his brother, without any accomplices, against the King at Perth, who was there in the midst of his nobles, and when some hundreds of armed horsemen, gentlemen from the country, had assembled to be ready to defend him, can only be credible on the supposition that the two brothers had become suddenly deranged in their judgment, and in their frenzy rushed to perpetrate a hazardous and traitorous crime. But no sign of insanity appeared upon them. They were esteemed and spoken of as reasonable men.

According to Scott:— "Mr Alexander's dead body was laid on the floor of the gallery chamber. The King was locked by the persons who were with him into the closet, as a place of safety; but before he went, he gave them his cloak, and with it the dead body on the floor was covered. It was a device contrived to deceive and confound the Earl when he should enter."

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Sir Thomas Erskine says he heard the Earl at his entry speak some words, but he did not understand them. Tradition and MSS. say the words were: "Where is the King? I am come to defend him." The company (Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir John Ramsay, Dr Herries and George Wilson) pointed to the dead body on the floor, which was covered with the King's cloak, and, according to Lord Cromarty's account, said : "You have killed the King, our master, and will you now take our lives?" The Earl stood astonished. He no longer offered any resistance, but putting the points of his two swords to the floor cried : "Ah! woe is me! Has the King been killed in my house?" Sir John Ramsay immediately pierced him to the heart with a sword or dagger. Even in the time of the tumult, on the day of his death, he was expressing his devout temper of mind. "O my God!" said he, "what can all this mean?" He did not enter the chamber as a conspirator against the King, but was professing the contrary. It appeared to be his wish to know the real nature of the riot which had taken place in his house, and who they were that were most to be blamed. It was a cowardly action to wound him mortally, when he was making no resistance, especially if it be true, what often has been alleged, that he was wounded through the back. The King, in consequence of the whole

THE CLERGY

affair, and of some other deeds of a similar kind, which were parts of what he called kingcraft, lost the confidence and good opinion of a vast number of his subjects.

Wednesday, 6th August 1600, the Magistrates of Edinburgh intimated to the Clergy the King's orders sent from Falkland to offer public thanks to God for the King's deliverance. No particulars were given of the alleged treason; and there were already reports in the town unfavourable to the King's conduct. The Clergy hesitated till they should be instructed as to the truth of the matter. They were thankful the King was safe, but they could not intimate their belief of his being free from blame. Indeed, they strongly suspected he had been exceedingly guilty. They were immediately summoned to the Privy Council, accompanied by the Magistrates. The Clergy wished further light before they could with a safe conscience declare to the people that the late Earl of Gowrie and his brother had been traitors. The Clergy of Edinburgh were unanimously of this opinion, Peter Hewat dissenting. They were therefore commanded by the King and Council not to preach in any part of his Majesty's dominions under the penalty of death; and further, commanded to leave Edinburgh within forty-eight hours and not to come within ten miles of it under penalty of death. They accordingly left Edinburgh, 14th August, and

the town thereby was destitute of all its ministers except Hewat.

After the infamous sentences against Gowrie and his brother (the dead bodies) were delivered, Alexander and Henry Ruthven of Freeland, Hew Moncrieff, brother of Sir William Moncrieff, and Patrick Eviot, brother of Colin Eviot of Balhousie were also declared traitors and their lands confiscated.

On Monday, 19th November 1600, the dead bodies of Gowrie and his brother were hanged and dismembered at the Cross of Edinburgh. The heads were fixed on the gable of the Tolbooth, to remain there till the wind should blow them off; their legs and arms were sent to Perth to be fixed above the ports of the town. Such was the melancholy end of these two young men, of whom great hopes had been entertained.

In September 1602, William and Patrick Ruthven came privately to Scotland to solicit a reversal of the attainder. Lady Beatrix Ruthven with some Court ladies visited the Queen at Holyrood and desired her to use her influence with her husband, the King, to agree to this; but he refused to do so. On his accession to the English Crown in 1603 he issued a proclamation for the arrest of these young men. William escaped and went to the Continent, but Patrick was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of London. (SCOTT's History of John, Earl of Gowrie.)

CHAPTER X

FAMILY HISTORY OF THE EARL OF GOWRIE—REMARKABLE PROCLAMATION BY THE KING—RATIFICATION OF ABBEY OF SCONE—ACT OF PARLIAMENT OF 1600, TREASON INDICTMENT—FREELAND ATTAINDER—CHARTER OF LORD SCONE AND DISSOLUTION OF THE ABBEY— RESTORATION GRANT BY CHARLES I., 1641—ROYAL CHARTER OF JAMES III.

THE Marriage Register at Perth has the following entry :—" Perth 17 August 1561; Were married William, Lord Ruthven, to Dorothea Stewart." He was at this time only Master of Ruthven, for his father, Patrick, Lord Ruthven, was alive. Dorothea Stewart was the daughter of Henry, first Lord Methven, by his second wife, Lady Janet Stewart, daughter of John Stewart, Earl of Atholl. Lord Methven's first wife had been Queen Margaret Tudor, wife of James IV., and sister of Henry VIII. Queen Margaret died at Methven Castle in 1540, and was interred in the Carthusian Monastery at Perth. The Countess bore five sons and eight or nine daughters, within the space of twenty-three years.

1. James; entry in Register:—" Perth 22 September 1575; Pater, William, Lord Ruthven;

witnesses (Godfather) James Earl of Morton, Regent, and the Earl of Angus; nomen, (name of Child) James Ruthven." The Earl of Angus was Archibald Douglas, nephew to the Earl of Morton. He was afterwards known as the Good Earl of Angus. He joined in all the schemes of William, Earl of Gowrie, and was a firm supporter of the Protestant interest. He was some time in exile in England, and died in 1588. His body was buried at Abernethy, and his heart, by his own request, in the Church of Douglas, Lanarkshire. James Ruthven, the child, succeeded as second Earl of Gowrie, after his father's execution at Stirling, 4th May 1584. The Town Council of Perth elected him their Provost for 1587 and 1588; but he died in the end of July 1588, when he was scarcely fourteen years of age. He was a youth of great hopes, and of a sweet disposition. There is an entry in the Session Records of 1637 showing how this young nobleman was beloved. Lady Balvaird, who since the death of her husband, Sir Andrew Murray of Arngask and Balvaird, had continued a widow about thirty-four years, died in February 1637. In her early days she had been an intimate companion of the Gowrie family. Before her death she expressed her earnest desire that her body should be buried at the east end of the Parish Church of Perth, close to the body of James, Earl

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of Gowrie. John Robertson was at that time minister of Perth, and Lady Stormont applied to him desiring that the request of her late mother, Lady Balvaird, should be granted, and if so she would give a donation to the poor of \pounds 100 Scots money. The Session granted the request on condition that the donation be paid before the ground was opened. The money was accordingly paid, and Lady Balvaird interred as desired. Another part of the Session Record certifies that the grave of James, Earl of Gowrie, was in the north-east nook of the Parish Church-that is, in the north-east corner of the East Church of Perth. The large blue marble stone "that once covered the tomb is now set in the east wall, having been removed when the organ was placed over the Gowrie vault"; and, as appears by the two compartments engraven upon it, was plainly intended to cover two bodies. The two Crowns with which it is decorated are not earls' coronets, but real crowns, which is evident from their having the fleur-de-lis. It is probable that it had covered the bodies of James I. and his Queen, Joan, who were both interred in the Carthusian Monastery at Perth; and that after the Reformation it had been brought from the ruins of that monastery and cared for as a mark of respect to the memory of that King. As a mark of respect which the town of Perth bore to the Gowrie family it had

THE RUTHVEN FAMILY PAPERS been laid on the grave of the young earl in 1588.

2. John, third Earl of Gowrie. His baptism is not mentioned in the Perth Register. Perhaps he was born at Ruthven Castle, or at Edinburgh, while his father was attending Parliament, or at the family seat at Dirleton, East Lothian. As he was not fully twenty-two years of age at the time of his death in 1600, it is probable he was born in 1578. He succeeded his brother, James, in 1588, as third Earl of Gowrie, when ten years of age.

3. Alexander Ruthven was born at Perth, and his baptism is thus recorded :--- " Perth 22 January 1580-81. Pater, William, Lord Ruthven; witnesses (Godfather) Earl of Atholl and Alexander, Lord Hume. Nomen, Alexander Ruthven." Atholl was John Stewart, fifth Earl of Atholl, who about twelve months before had been married to the Queen's name-daughter, Mary, eldest daughter of William, Lord Ruthven. Alexander, Lord Hume, was the sixth Lord Hume. He was created Earl of Hume in 1604, and died in 1619. Alexander Ruthven, the child now baptised, was well educated along with his elder brother, John, under the care of Robert Rollock, Principal of the College, Edinburgh. When very young he attended Court, and was one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to James VI. He was very handsome, and a great favourite of

FAMILY HISTORY

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the King and Queen. The Queen loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue. Some writers have not scrupled to affirm that the King was jealous of her, on account of the favour which she showed to young Ruthven, and therefore he determined to destroy him.

Alexander Ruthven was killed along with his brother the Earl, at Perth, August 1600, when he received his last deadly wound on the stair of the round tower of Gowrie House, and when fallen down, he turned his face and said : "Alas, I am not to blame," which he could not truly have said, if he had before attempted to kill the King, or to bind him as a prisoner. His age at the time of his death was nineteen years and seven months.

4. William Ruthven. There is nothing in the Register at Perth relating to this son of William, Earl of Gowrie. He was probably born at Dirleton in 1582. At the time of the death of his two elder brothers he must have been eighteen years of age. The historian, Calderwood, says "the King wrote a letter to William Ruthven, the Earl's father's brother, to meet him at Perth on 5 August"; but John, Earl of Gowrie's father's name was William, who had no brother of the same name. It is possible the historian meant either John, Earl of Gowrie's cousin William, son of Alexander of Freeland, or the Earl's own brother William. It is

evident, however, from the King's having written such a letter that he had meditated a visit to Perth, and did not come merely on a sudden invitation he had received on the morning of 5th August. The young man, William Ruthven, was then at the house of Dirleton, with the Countess, his mother, and with his younger brother, Patrick, and if he had come to meet the King at Perth he inevitably would have shared the same fate with his two elder brothers. The historian further says that on the evening of 6th August 1600, the Master and Sir James Sandilands and some horsemen rode to Dirleton to arrest the two young brothers of the Earl of Gowrie, William and Patrick. But they had escaped half-an-hour before, having been informed, by one of the name of Kennedy, of the danger they were in. The Countess, their mother, behaved herself soberly till it was said no evil should betide them, only, they should be committed to the keeping of the Earl of Montrose, Chancellor of the Kingdom. She then burst forth with these words : "Ah! Ah! false traitor, thief, shall my bairns come into his hands." The son and heir of this Earl of Montrose, had been either before or very soon after, married to one of her daughters. But the Earl now appeared so much on the side of the King, against her family, that she was provoked to use these words

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The Countess never afterwards saw her two sons; they had fled into England. The Scottish Parliament in 1600 disinherited them, and banished them from Scotland. William did not remain long in England, but went to foreign parts, and nothing further can be added concerning him except Bishop Burnet's remark that "William lived beyond seas, became a great chemist and being addicted to alchemy it was given out that he had found the Philosopher's Stone."

5. Patrick Ruthven. There is no mention made of him in the Parish Register at Perth. Patrick, if he was not a posthumous child, may have been born in 1583, and therefore in 1600 may have been about seventeen years of age.

After he and his brother fled to England, Theodore Beza, the successor of Calvin at Geneva, invited them to come to him, and offered to befriend them to the utmost of his power. William probably availed himself of this invitation when he went abroad, but Patrick remained in England and showed an inclination to study physic. On James VI. succeeding to the Crown of England, Patrick was committed a prisoner to the Tower of London, and continued there until liberated by the King in 1622, who granted Patrick a pension of £500 per annum. In the Tower, however, he prosecuted his studies, and improved himself in vari-

ous branches of learning. William Sandeman says "he now in 1652 walks the streets as a poor gentleman, but with experience in chemical physic, and other parts of learning," and Crawford adds : "Dr Patrick Ruthven left a daughter, who was married to Sir Antony Vandyck the famous Painter."

The daughters of William, Earl of Gowrie, were great ladies and honourably married. No prejudice seems to have been entertained against them, notwithstanding the forfeiture of the male issue. The births of only three of them are recorded in the Perth Register.

1. Mary Ruthven. Her parents were married 17th August 1561. In that same month, Queen Mary arrived in Scotland from France; and about the month of August 1562, if not earlier, Mary Ruthven was born. Her marriage is recorded at Perth in these words: "Perth 24 January 1579-80, were married John, Earl of Atholl and Mary Ruthven." This was the fifth Earl of the Stewart line. By this marriage there were two sons, who died young, and four daughters. The eldest of the daughters, Lady Dorothea Stewart, afterwards became heiress of Atholl. The Earl and Countess had a house in Perth on the west side of the Speygate. The Earl died in that house, 30th August

LADY MARY LIBELS COOPER

1594; and it is said in "Mercer's Chronicle," "John, Earl of Atholl deceased in Perth on the last day of August 1594." He was honourably conveyed to Dunkeld, and buried there on 11th September thereafter. The Queen's Majesty (Anne of Denmark) being in Perth in William Hall's fore chamber, beneath the Cross, beheld the procession. The Countess did not very long remain a widow. She married as her second husband, John Stewart, Lord Innermeath, who in 1596 was created Earl of Atholl. There was no issue of this marriage. Her daughter, Lady Dorothea Stewart, was married to Sir William Murray, son of John, Lord Tullibardine. The marriage appears in the Register as follows :--- '' July 1604 William Murray, Master of Tullibardine, and Lady Dorothea Stewart, daughter of John, late Earl of Atholl." The Countess was much displeased with this marriage. Murray, and others of the surname of Murray, had greatly assisted the King at the time when her two brothers, John and Alexander, were slain. William Cooper, minister of Perth, celebrated the marriage.

He also was obnoxious to the Countess, because both in his sermon, and in conversation, in his zeal for the King, he had endeavoured to prejudice the character of her brothers. The marriage she knew could not be dissolved, but she sought to be avenged on Cooper, by entering a complaint against

him to the Elders of Session at Perth. The Session Record has the following :--- " Perth 16 July 1604, the Elders present; which day anent the complaint given in by Lady Mary Ruthven, Countess of Atholl, upon William Cooper, Minister of Perth, touching the contracting by him of Dorothea Stewart her eldest daughter, with William Murray, Master of Tullibardine, without the consent of the said noble Lady, and her friends, as the complaint bears. The complaint was read and William Cooper having given answer thereto, was removed from the Bar. The Session unanimously find Cooper's proceeding to have been orderly, and approve and allow the same." It was in consequence of this marriage that the ancient surname of Stewart in the Atholl family was changed to that of Murray.

2. Isabella Ruthven. She has been said, but without authority, to have been the first child of the Earl and Countess of Gowrie, and her name has even been altered from Isabella to Elizabeth. Such inaccuracies often occur in the genealogical table. Her marriage probably took place in 1580. Her husband was Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinver, ancestor of the Viscounts of Kenmure. In his younger days he was celebrated for his great bodily strength, and for his bravery and courage. But his acts of valour against the inhabitants of Annan-

PERTH REGISTER

dale, who had provoked his resentment, were tinctured with cruelty and lawless violence. He received a full pardon from the King about the year 1601, after which he lived peaceably, and died an old man in 1628. His son by the Lady Isabella, *alias* Elizabeth, or perhaps Catherine, Ruthven, was created Viscount Kenmure in 1633.

3. Jean Ruthven. It was probably about the year 1583 that this lady was married to James, seventh Lord Ogilvie of Airlie. Their son, James, was created Earl of Airlie in 1639.

4. Sophia Ruthven. It was in 1591 that Lady Sophia Ruthven was married to Ludovic Stuart, second Duke of Lennox. This nobleman was with the King at Perth, when John, Earl of Gowrie, and his brother were slain. After the King succeeded to the Crown of England, the Duke of Lennox was created, in that country, Duke of Richmond. The Duchess Sophia having died a year after she was married, the Duke was twice afterwards married in England, but had no issue by any of his wives. He died in 1624. (By the King's order Lady Sophia was secluded, before her marriage, at Easter Wemyss, to be out of Lennox's reach, but Lennox found his way there and carried her off, travelling on horseback all night, and was married next day, 19th April 1591.)

5. Margaret Ruthven. Some time before 1600

Lady Margaret was married to John Graham, who in 1608 succeeded his father, the Chancellor, as fourth Earl of Montrose. By this marriage there was issue: one son and four daughters. Their son, in the time of Charles II., was the famous Marquis of Montrose.

The Register certifies that their youngest daughter, Lady Beatrix, was born and baptised in Perth. The entry is as follows :—" Perth 7 March 1615. Pater, Earl of Montrose. Witnesses (Godfather) David Murray, Lord Scone, Adam Bellenden Bishop of Dunblane. Nomen, Beatrix Graham." She afterwards married David Drummond, third Lord Madderty. About three years after this, the Countess died, as per " Mercer's Chronicle," 15th April 1618, and was buried at Aberuthven. Whether the Douglas Peerage, which calls her Margaret, or the Diurnal, which calls her Elizabeth, is right, the Montrose family records alone can determine. The Earl died in 1626.

6. Lilias Ruthven. Entered on the Register at "Perth 27 January 1568-69; Pater William, Lord Ruthven, witnesses John Campbell of Glenorchy, Patrick, Master of Drummond; nomen, Lilias Ruthven." Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy, ancestor of the Earls of Breadalbane, built Taymouth Castle. He joined the Protestant lords in opposing the restoration of Queen Mary, after her

FAMILY HISTORY

forced abdication. His wife was Catherine, an aunt of Willam, Lord Ruthven. Patrick, Master of Drummond, was the apparent heir of David, Lord Drummond. Lord David's wife was Lilias Ruthven, daughter of William, second Lord Ruthven. Calderwood represents her as being "a pearl of godliness and in her sphere a great promoter of the Reformation." Her son, Patrick, joined with his cousin, William, fourth Lord Ruthven, in opposing the Queen's restoration. The Douglas Peerage does not mention Lilias, the child now baptised.

7. Dorothea Ruthven. Entered on the Perth Register, 30th April 1570. She afterwards became the wife of Sir John Wemyss of Pittencrieff.

8. Catherine Ruthven. Entered on the Register, "27 February 1571-72. Witnesses William, Lord Ruthven, Henry, Lord Methven, Patrick, Lord Drummond." It is supposed this child died in infancy, but this is not confirmed. One writer erroneously states that Lady Catherine Ruthven was, in 1580, married to Lord Breadalbane. Patrick, Lord Drummond, had succeeded to his estates on the death of his father, David, in 1571. The other witness was Henry Stewart, second Lord Methven, and brother to the Countess of Gowrie. He died shortly after the date just named, March 1571-72. On the third day of March, Henry Stewart, Lord

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Methven, was slain by a gun out of Edinburgh Castle, and was brought to Perth in a boat from Leith, and was taken to Methven to be buried there, 21st March 1572. ("Mercer's Chronicle.") Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange was at that time Governor of Edinburgh Castle. He was defending it on behalf of the Queen, against Morton and the faction of the infant King. Lord Methven, not yet thirty years of age, was one of those who were besieging the Castle. His death was regretted by all parties.

9. Beatrix Ruthven. Her name is not in the Perth Register, but she seems to have been the youngest daughter of William, Earl of Gowrie. In her early years she possessed a good deal of spirit and vivacity, and was one of the Court ladies who attended on the Queen (Anne of Denmark). It is believed that in 1601 she was married to Sir John Hume of Coldingham. Sir John at this time was not a young man, and did not live with her many years. His first wife had no children, but Lady Beatrix bore a son, who lived to be married, but died young, leaving a son, who in 1635 succeeded to the Earldom of Hume. Lady Coldingham, in her widowhood and in the latter part of her life, was uncommonly pious. She expressed her religious zeal, and openly disapproved of the violent methods by which King James VI. was introducing

FAMILY HISTORY

innovations into the Presbyterian Church. She encouraged and protected, as much as she was able, the persecuted and conscientious ministers who were living at that period. One of these ministers was Andrew or Alexander Simpson of Dryburgh and Merton, places on the Tweed, and in her neighbourhood. He had spoken freely against the Five Articles of Perth, in a sermon which he preached in Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, 22nd July 1621; and thereupon, by order of the Privy Council, was committed a prisoner to the Castle of Dumbarton, and was not released until October following.

Simpson on one occasion said to his wife he was going to pay a visit to Lady Coldingham at Coldingham Castle, when she requested him to ask the lady for some straw for their cows. Simpson and his man set out for the Castle, and made a comfortable visit. When going away Lady Coldingham accompanied him to the gate. Turning to the lady he told her his wife's message. The lady said : " I have really now no straw but I have hay and some of it shall be sent." "Oh no, Madam," said Simpson, "that will not answer the purpose; it is straw that the cows eat." The lady then laughed at his simplicity, and said : " Mr Simpson, you are indeed very ignorant of worldly matters; do you not know that these your cows will love better to eat hav than straw." He owned his ignorance, and the lady ordered the hay to be sent.

Barbara, daughter of William, first Earl of Gowrie, and one of the Queen's maids of honour, was probably unmarried.

Alexander, her third brother, was early appointed one of the King's pages, and Lady Beatrix in her attendance at Court was distinguished as being the Queen's chief confidante. The Queen loved pomp and intrigue and masked balls. She is reckoned to have been chaste, but she was a great admirer of fine young men, and took pleasure in their company. The King's jealousy was sometimes thereby excited, but she possessed such an influence over him, that she retained his favour, although he could not help indulging a hatred against those persons whom she most admired.'

The tragic death of the Earl of Moray in 1592, who was reputed the handsomest man of his time, celebrated in song as "the Queen's love," was generally ascribed by the people to the King's jealousy; and afterwards, in 1600, the no less tragic death of Alexander Ruthven, was by many at the time ascribed to the same cause.

It would appear, from a grant of Malcolm IV., that the Earldom of Gowrie was then of the King's proper inheritance. The Ruthven family, which for a short time enjoyed it after the dissolution of the religious houses, proves its early pedigree mainly from the chartulary of Scone.

KING'S PROCLAMATION

On the forfeiture of the Earl of Gowrie, David Murray, Lord Scone, obtained a grant of the estates and abbacy of Scone.

By the wreck of the buildings of the monastery and ancient palace of Scone, probably very little survived the storm of the Reformation. The house used by the successive Commendators was almost entirely removed to make way for the residence of the Earl of Mansfield. (COSMO INNES.)

On 27th April 1603, there is recorded the following :—

PROCLAMATION BY THE KING: FOR THE ARREST OF WILLIAM AND PATRICK RUTHVEN

Whereas the King's Majesty is informed that William and Patrick Ruthven two brethren to the late Earl of Gowrie (a dangerous traitor to his person) have crept into this Kingdom with malicious

- The "Vestiarium " illustrates :---
 - 25 Tartans of "The Chieff Hieland Clannes"
 - II Tartans of "The lesser families or houses"

A coloured illustration of the "Ruthven" tartan is shown in the "Vestiarium Scoticum," the oldest published work containing illustrations of the tartans. This book was published in 1842, and was compiled by John Sobieski Stuart from manuscript copy found in the Scots College, Douay, France, and supposed to have been written by a Sir Richard Urquhart about the beginning of the sixteenth century. This manuscript was presented to Prince Charles Edward Stuart between 1749 and 1754, and eventually came into the possession of John Sobieski Stuart, who was a friend of Prince Charlie.

hearts against him, disguising themselves in secret places where he is informed that they not only uttered cankered speeches against him, but are practising and contriving dangerous plots, and desperate attempts, against his Royal Person; for effecting whereof either by themselves or by such as they can persuade and subborn thereunto, they leave no means untried.

Be it therefore known to all men by these Presents that for the speedy apprehension of these malicious and dangerous persons William Ruthven and Patrick Ruthven aforesaid, the King's Most Excellent Majesty doth straitly command and charge all and singular Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and all and every other His Highness' Officers within this His realm of England that they and every one of them make all possible, diligent, search and enquiry for the said malicious persons William and Patrick Ruth-

9 Tartans " of the Bordour Clannes."

The "Ruthven" appears under the third heading, which simply means tartans belonging to the south of Scotland and Border Clans, and it has been proved beyond doubt that there were Border Clans as well as Highland Clans.

The description given is as follows :---

"The Ruthven has one mixed sett and one scarlet, whereof the first has to the outside one wide blue stripe and white on the green sett, and in the middle of the scarlet two stripes of green."

³⁰ Tartans "belonging to the low Countrye pairtes and Bordour Clannes"

KING'S PROCLAMATION

ven, and to use all their best endeavours for the discovery, apprehension, and arresting, the bodies of the said William and Patrick Ruthven, and being apprehended and arrested forthwith speedily, and without any delay to bring them, or cause them to be brought under sure and safe custody before some of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, there to be proceeded with and ordered according as justice shall require, and herein not to fail as the King and every one of them tender their duty unto His Highness and will answer to the contrary at their uttermost peril. And the King's Most Excellent Majesty doth moreover straitly charge and command all and every searcher customer, or other officer of any port within this realm, and all others His Highness' subjects of what nature, quality, and condition soever he or they may be, to whose homes or company the said William and Patrick Ruthven, or either of them, shall resort or to whose knowledge, notice, and understanding it may come where or in what places they the said William and Patrick Ruthven shall be, or into whose hands they shall come, to stay, apprehend, and arrest them, and to bring them before some of His Majesty's Privy Council as aforesaid. Wherein if any shall go about to conceal them or shall not reveal their abode if it be in their power to do so His Majesty doth hereby

pronounce that he will for ever after hold them as partakers and abbettors of these malicious intentions for which they shall feel the weight of his heaviest indignation. And if at any time any subjects of his out of their duty shall discover the persons aforesaid, or their residence and yet shall not find themselves able to pursue them His Majesty doth command them to call for the aid and assistance of His Highness' Officers or any others his subjects whom His Majesty also hereby straitly chargeth and commandeth to be aiding and assisting herein as they will answer to the contrary at their uttermost peril. JAMES R. (27th April 1603.)

RATIFICATION OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT TO THE

EARL OF GOWRIE OF THE ABBEY OF SCONE. 1592

The King with the advice of Parliament ratifies and approves and perpetually confirms the gift and donation made to John Ruthven son of William Ruthven Earl of Gowrie of the gift of the Abbey of Scone; its whole profits and emoluments for his lifetime which is the date at Stirling 7 May 1580. The King gives grants and disposes to the said John Ruthven now Earl of Gowrie for all the days of his lifetime the Abbacy, profits, and emoluments thereof, as it now stands to be enjoyed by him for the space aforesaid. The King confirms the Act of

ACT OF SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT

Parliament made at Edinburgh 30th November 1580 entitled an Act of Alteration of the assumption of the third of the Abbacy of Scone, with the decreet and ordinance of the Lords of the Exchequer following thereupon which decree is of date 20 April 1586; which act the King and Parliament ratify confirm and approve. These acts shall remain in force for all time coming. JAMES R.

RUTHVEN OF FREELAND ATTAINDER

This Parliament discerns and declares that the said Alexander and Harry Ruthven, Hew Moncrieff of Moncrieff, and Patrick Eviot have committed treason against the King as stated in the Summons.

These persons in consideration of the crime of treason and their punishment as prescribed by the Laws of the Realm; Parliament discerns that all their goods, moveable and immoveable, be confiscated to the King and to remain with the King for ever. Their posterity to be incapable to possess honours and dignities within this realm, benefices and successions or other goods,

THIS I GIVE FOR DOOM.

ACT OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT. 1606

The King and Estates of Parliament considering the services done to the King by David, Lord Scone

his Grace's Comptroller, dissolves from the crown and Patrimony thereof and from the Abbey of Scone and Patrimony of the same the whole lands and temporalities of the Abbey of Scone, and kirks, chaplaincies and altarages of the said Abbey with all teinds and rents belonging to the Abbey and Monastery of Scone. The King gives, grants, and dispones the same to David, Lord Scone and his heirs, whom failing Andrew Murray of Balvaird and his heirs. And for the erection of the same into a temporal Lordship and Barony, to be called in all time coming the Lordship and Barony of Scone, for the yearly payment to the King of £1000 usual money of Scotland, at Whitsunday. The ministers of the parish kirks of the said Abbey being provided for in yearly stipend to be paid to them furth of the teinds, rents and duties of the same kirks respectively; and to have the manses and glebes pertaining thereto conform to Acts of Parliament; together with the small teinds of the vicarages of the said kirks for their sustentation.

To that effect the King and estates dissolve, suppress, and abolish, the abbey and monastery of Scone, memory, and name thereof with the whole orders, institutions, and foundations of the same, *simpliciter* and for ever. Reserving and excepting always furth of the present act and erection all Royalties and privileges possessed by the Abbots

RESTORATION GRANT

and titulars of Scone—to remain with the King and his successors and be inseparable from the crown in all time coming. JAMES R.

ACTS OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT

RATIFICATION BY THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT OF THE RESTORATION GRANT TO PATRICK RUTHVEN BROTHER OF JOHN RUTHVEN EARL OF GOWRIE. CHARLES I. 1641.

Our Sovereign Lord and Estates of parliament ratify and approve the Grant subscribed by His Majesty under the Great Seal in favour of Patrick Ruthven, brother of John Ruthven sometime Earl of Gowrie, and taking the said Patrick and the heirs of his body under his Majesty's protection, and giving authority to them to defend and hold all lands, officies, pensions, and other goods whatsoever acquired by them in His Majesty's kingdom or in foreign parts and to be called by the name and surname of Ruthven notwithstanding Acts of Parliament made to the contrary in manner specified in the said Grant, dated 12th November 1641, together with that to be passed under the great Seal. And aids and Grants for His Majesty and His successors with consent of the Estates of Parliament and discerns and ordains this present confirmation to be sufficient and effectual to the said

Patrick Ruthven his heirs and successors : as if the aforesaid signature and grant under the great seal were word for word expressed and inserted herein and with all that may follow hereupon. His Majesty and the Estates of Parliament have dispensed and by these presents dispense for ever; and reduce the Act of parliament made in the reign of James VI. anent the forfalture of the said Earl of Gowrie; and other Acts in his favour allenarly as the same may be prejudicial to the said Grant and Signature and the present ratification thereof; and wills, grants, and ordains that the aforesaid generality shall be as valid as if the acts were particularly inserted herein. And it is hereby expressly provided and ordained that the aforesaid Restoration Grant of our said Soverign Lord to Patrick Ruthven with this Ratification of Parliament shall in no way be hurtful or prejudicial to George Earl of Kinnoull, and Sir James McGill of Cranston Riddell, and of the Senators of the College of Justice; of the right and possessions of the lands of Cousland, teinds and haill pertinents thereof, and of the lodging and dwelling house in the town of Perth (Gowrie House).

But notwithstanding the said Restoration and Ratification and Reduction of the act of parliament of the year 1600, the said Earl of Kinnoull, Laird of Cranston Riddell, his heirs and successors shall

ROYAL CHARTER, JAMES III.

hold and possess the said lodging and dwelling house in Perth and said lands of Cousland, with haill teinds and pertinents conform to their rights, securities, and possessions which the said Patrick Ruthven, his Heirs and successors, shall never quarrel nor impugn.

The Preceipt or Royal Charter by the King, James III., legitimising William and John Ruthven, was as follows :---

James III., by the grace of God, King of the Scots, &c. Know ye that out of our special favour we give and grant free faculty and special licence to our lovites William de Ruthven and John de Ruthven natural sons of our lovite William Ruthven of that Ilk, that the said William and John and each of them freely to dispose as they or he may wish during the whole period of their joint life or of either of them, even on deathbed or otherwise whether they shall be well or ill of all and singular their moveable goods acquired or to be acquired : also to dispose of all their rents and unmoveable possessions as freely as the said William their father could dispose, out of the lands and rents of the said William their father to whatever person, or whatever persons, as to them or to either of them shall be considered expedient, convenient, or fitting. Moreover in the plenitude of our Regal office

(magistratus) we have LEGITIMATED and by these presents LEGITIMATE the said John and William brothers, and each of them to the effect of enjoying the lands and heritages and of discharging the duties, and all lawful acts in judgement and out of judgement. And we have legitimated and legitimate the said William the younger that the said John his brother may be able to succeed to the said William the younger and in like manner we have legitimated and by the tenor of these presents legitimate the said John, that he the said John may succeed the said William his brother and the lawful issue of the said William the younger, and in default of the succession of the said William and John and their lawful issue, we have legitimated and made legitimate, and we will it to happen that the lawful heirs whatsoever of the said William de Ruthven the elder may succeed to the said William and John, as if the said William and John brothers, had been procreated in lawful marriage, to the lands of the Barony of Ruthven, with the tenants and tenandries and pertinents thereof lying within the County of Perth.

This charter bears date the 2nd July 1480, and is recorded in the Register of the Great Seal, Book 9th.

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Ruthven Family Papers

Opinions of the press

"Mr Cowan, who has already published a book on the subject (1903), devotes his book to a history of the Ruthven Family, and to the support of the theory that the plot was the King's plot."—*The Times*.

"That there should be a family version of this mysterious affair, in which the Ruthvens suffered so calamitously, is only what one might expect. There have long been investigators of that involved, and rather melodramatic story who have suspected that James VI. was himself the plotter instead of being the object of conspiracy. Mr Cowan has now substantiated this suspicion, having discovered in the Ruthven Family Papers documentary evidence which he considers settles the matter. . . . The Scottish Parliament was the corrupt instrument in the King's hand when it came to forfeiture and division of the spoils. Altogether it was an infamous business, we must conclude. . . The whole subsequent story as set abroad by the King of the part played by the Ruthvens, in attempting to tie the King's hands with a garter, in snatching a dagger from the man in armour and all the rest of it, is simply fiction. The reader must be referred to Mr Cowan's interesting book for a statement of the case against the accepted or official account of the celebrated Gowrie plot."—Westminster Gazette.

""The biggest fool in Christendom' would seem at the same time to have been one of the biggest scoundrels of history. That is the only judgment one can pass after reading 'the Ruthven version of the conspiracy and assassination at Gowrie House in 1600,' given to the world for the first time from Family Papers brought to light and edited by an acknowledged Scottish authority, Mr Samuel Cowan. Mr Cowan takes to pieces the hitherto accepted official narrative. There never was such an event as the Gowrie Conspiracy. It was simply a basely planned plot of the King to assassinate the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, and exterminate the ancient and honourable family of Ruthven. For the cruel details of the crime, and the horrible posthumous trial in Edinburgh, the dead bodies being brought into open court and laid at the bar—one, however, must go to the book."—*Illustrated London News*.

"It occurred, however, to the resourceful brain of Mr Samuel Cowan, who is already well known as an authority upon the Tudor and Stuart periods, that the archives of the Ruthven family would most probably contain some record of this conspiracy from their own point of view. His search was crowned with success. The tale of treachery thus set forth certainly hangs together very reasonably, and Mr Cowan presents it with his usual lucidity, and with much explanatory material in the way of genealogy and family history."—Daily Telegraph.

"We rejoice to hear that Mr Cowan has discovered a Gowrie narrative, for hitherto the official narrative of James VI. and the record of the trial of the dead Earl and Master of Gowrie have been the chief sources of historians. A contemporary narrative in the Ruthven interest escaped the research of Tytler and others. The news that Mr Cowan has discovered a Ruthven narrative is therefore exciting."—*Athenaum*.

"On the other hand it has been surmised, and we think with truth, that the 'plot' was a mere ruse on the King's part to remove those he disliked and incidentally throw discredit on the Presbyterian party, of which the Ruthvens were shining lights, but for the pros and cons of the case we must refer our readers to the interesting Papers under discussion. Besides the subject of the 'conspiracy,' there are many details of the Ruthven Family which are both valuable and entertaining, and we think the learned compiler has added a distinctly notable volume to the published historic records of the kingdom."—*Catholic Times*.

"Gowrie never asserted his claims, but the King feared and hated him, and the main point of the Ruthven narrative is that the King was the conspirator and that in reality the so-called Gowrie Conspiracy was the screen of a basely planned plot to exterminate the Ruthven family. The narrative is convincingly told, and forms important historical evidence. The rest of the book is devoted to the history of the Ruthven family and is full of human interests."—Manchester Courier.

"It is now maintained that the King himself was the conspirator. The volume will be found valuable as an account of one of the most ancient and distinguished families in Scotland."—Weekly Scotsman.

"Mr Cowan's labours may be regarded as not unfruitful."-Scotsman.

"It arouses the curiosity of all who are interested in this historical mystery to read in Mr Cowan's preface that the whole controversy 'is now set at rest by the issue of this volume.""—Glasgow Herald.

"The book throws much light on that far-famed tragedy, the Gowrie Conspiracy, and should be specially interesting to all who pride themselves in Scottish history. It has been compiled with the greatest care and contains some excellent illustrations."—Dundee Advertiser.

"The events which led up to the murder of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother were in reality planned by the King himself. The volume, which is well printed, is valuable, and is embellished with numerous photos."—*Aberdeen Free Press.*

"This finely printed volume may commend itself to the public by reason of its excellent portraits and illustrations. Its chief attraction will be the light it throws on that curious event known in history as the Gowrie Conspiracy. The arch-villain of that grim drama was the King himself."—Dunfermline Journal.

From The Morning Post, 8th July 1912

"Mr Samuel Cowan promises, in his title page, 'The Ruthven Version of the Conspiracy and Assassination at Gowrie House, Perth, 5th August, 1600.' As everyone who has read 'The Tales of a Grandfather' knows, on August 5, 1600, the young Master of Ruthven, brother of the young Earl of Gowrie, was at Falkland House early in the morning. James VI. hunted for four hours, the Master in his company till about noon, and then with the Master and a number of nobles and gentlemen rode to dine with the Earl of Gowrie at his house in Perth. The end was that when the King rode home he left the two Ruthvens behind him, slain in their own house by young John Ramsay of the Royal suite. James gave his own story to the world at once; it was in a high degree

improbable, but is accepted by Frazer-Tytler, Scott, Hill Burton and myself (' James VI. and the Gowrie Mystery,' 1902). On the other hand, the Scottish preachers (whose last hope of recovering power by aid of the great nobles of Scotland was the Earl of Gowrie) were persistently sceptical, and disbelief in the King's version of a conspiracy is part of the Presbyterian tradition. Meanwhile what version was put forth by the Ruthven party at the moment? Mr Cowan prints 'The Ruthven version of the plot extracted by us from the Ruthven Family Papers'; 'it has, though undated, all the appearance of an ancient document.' From the language and the allusions it cannot be more ancient than the end of the Eighteenth Century, and it is a mere amateur essay of no historical value. Mr Cowan does not, as far as I observe, even allude to a genuine contemporary document ' the verie maner of the Erll of Gowrie and his brother their Death, quha was killit at Perth. The fyft of August, by the Kingis Servanttis, his Majestie being present.' This paper (which I was the first to publish) is in our State Papers (Elizabeth, Vol. LXVI., No. 52). It was sent from Scotland to Sir John Carey, commanding in Berwick, and is unsigned. In the interests of the Ruthvens the paper flatly contradicts, on matters of fact, not only the King's narrative, but the sworn testimony of many nobles and gentlemen They were honest enough, for they did not corroborate James in of his suite. essential matters not within their personal observation. Nobody can understand the case without reading all the evidence given at the posthumous trial of the Ruthvens for treason. Nothing contradicts it but the solitary assertion of the apologist, whose case compels him to conceal the fact that the King hunted for four hours before starting for Perth. The most mendacious statements are freely made by the apologist. They are contradicted by the evidence both of James's and of Gowrie's men. Mr Cowan wishes to make out that the King contrived a most amazingly complicated plot against the Ruthvens, but never faces the whole body of evidence. Criticism cannot be expected from a writer who appears to regard the late and wholly uncritical *plaidoirie* in the Ruthven Family Papers as an ancient document. It is certainly no older than the later half of the Eighteenth Century, if so old, and is wholly destitute of authority; and as for Mr Cowan, his theory of the plot flatly contradicts the facts alleged in the Ruthven apology, written about September, 1600.

"ANDREW LANG."

Copy of Letter to Editor of The Morning Post

"SIR,

"Mr Andrew Lang in your issue of 8th inst. has attempted, but without effect, to discredit some of my statements about the Ruthven Family. Mr Lang is an excellent novelist, but in the writing of Scottish history I decline to follow him. Let us look at his Ruthven notes for a moment. What has 'The Tales of a Grandfather' to do with the Ruthven Family. We don't go there for inspiration. We go to the source. The paper Mr Lang says he was the first to publish, what was it? A State paper in the reign of Elizabeth-not of the smallest importance is its bearing on the Ruthven catastrophe : in respect that our own annals in as far as they are authoritative will take precedence. Under any circumstances it was perfectly unnecessary that I should refer to this document. Mr Lang says 'nobody can understand the case without reading all the evidence given at the posthumous trial of the Ruthvens for treason.' The posthumous trial was a disgraceful affair : the evidence led was false and fraudulent, useless to students of history ; and the entire corrupt proceedings, according to many spectators, among whom were the Clergy and Magistrates of Perth, were regarded as an outrage on the Ruthven family by the King and his six satellites who accomplished the deed. Are we to go to such a court as that for our inspiration? To speak of the solitary assertion of the apologist is merely begging the question, and what does it matter how many hours the King hunted at Falkland. We are concerned with the Conspiracy, and we know he arrived at Perth at 12 noon on 5th August 1600 and met there, by appointment, Lord Tullibardine with 300 horsemen ready for action. Notwithstanding Mr Andrew Lang's contradictions I repeat that the

King contrived the disgraceful plot to assassinate the Ruthvens : and no statements by writers of no authority will alter the fact. Mr Lang's expression, 'uncritical *plaidairie*' I don't follow. What does he mean by the words, 'his theory of the plot flatly contradicts the facts alleged in the Ruthven apology written about September 1600.' This may be called a flourish of Mr Lang's pen. Among Mr Lang's imaginative facts are, first, his dating the ancient document, having the Ruthven version, in the latten half of the eighteenth century ; second, according to him it is wholly destitute of authority. I take leave to say that in my opinion Mr Lang is utterly wrong on both points. What does he know, or what does anyone know, about the date of a paper which has been hidden for more than a hundred years. He can merely give his opinion. And what does he know about its 'being dustitute of authority.' For anything Mr Lang knows, the paper may contain a correct estimate of the Conspiracy, and in my opinion is a correct estimate. I challenge anyone to show to my satisfaction, or that of any unprejudiced person, that in any respect it is inaccurate or untrue. The Ruthven version of the Conspiracy given by me (pages Io2-118) I shall stand by, notwithstanding the narratives of such writers as Mr Andrew Lang, which at best are the merest conjectures.—I am, etc.

"SAMUEL COWAN."

"EDINBURGH, 9th July 1912."

Copy of Letter to Editor of The Morning Post

"35 SLOANE GARDENS, S.W. "August 2nd, 1912.

DEAR SIR,

"I have to-day received from Mr Samuel Cowan your note to him of July 30th, together with a copy of his letter sent to *The Morning Post* replying to Mr Andrew Lang's critique on "The Ruthven Family Papers." Mr Lang's article appeared in *The Morning Post* of July 8th, and Mr Cowan's reply was dated Edinburgh, July 9th, so there was ample time for this reply to have been inserted in your paper before Mr Lang's regrettable demise.

⁶ I have for very many years been a reader of *The Morning Post* and a firm believer in its 'fair play' and breadth of opinion : and I am disappointed and chagrined that inaccurate statements regarding the history of my family should appear in your columns, while the person most competent to refute them is denied a hearing. Moreover it seems to me ridiculous that because a man dies inaccurate statements made by him should necessarily remain unchallenged and go down to posterity as 'the last word' in a matter so important, and that I for one feel very strongly about. I can see nothing but a great injustice without a corresponding *amende honorable*.—Yours truly,

"Mrs J. RUTHVEN-STUART."

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