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AT THE





SCOTTISH
HISTORY & LIFE

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JAMES PATON, F.L.S.

Glasgow

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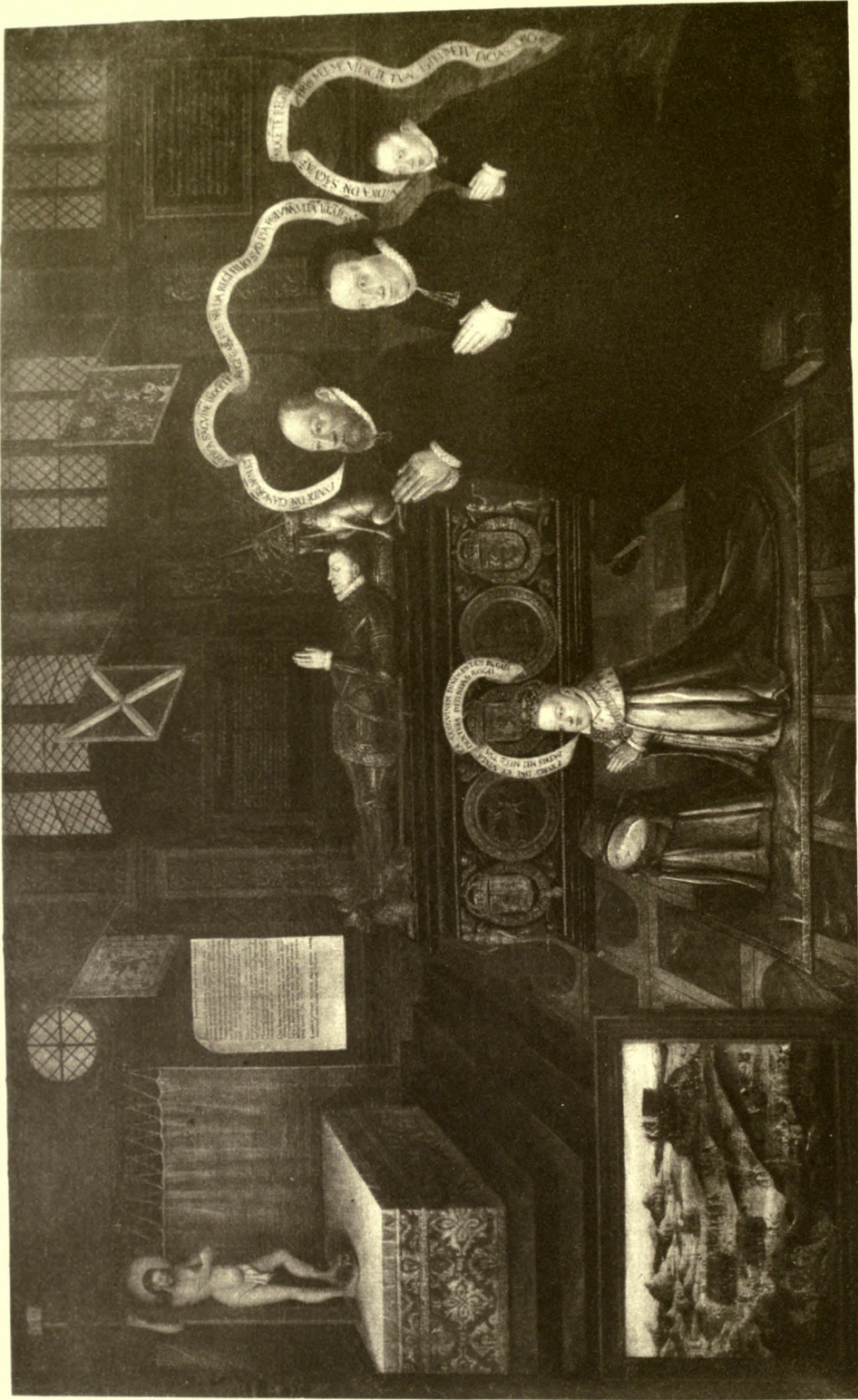
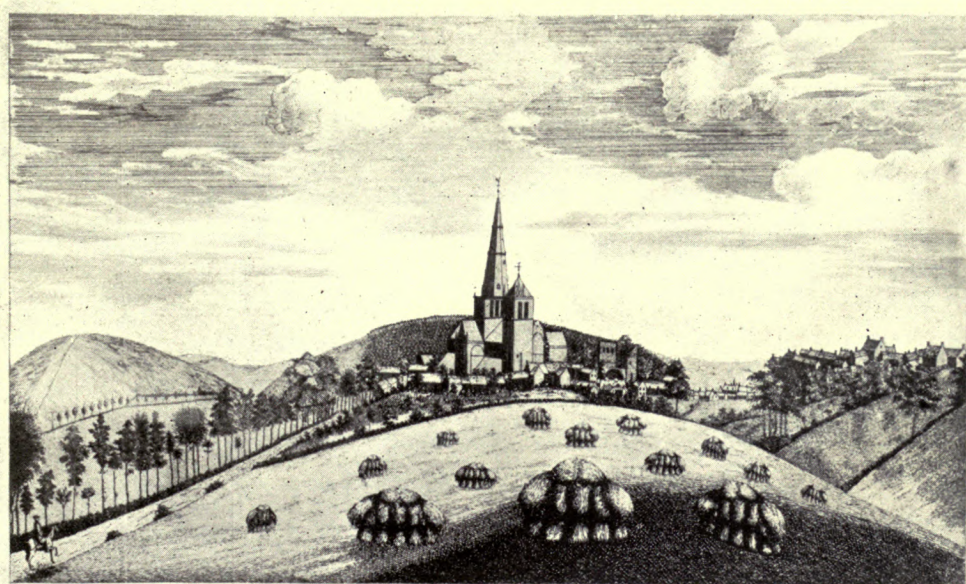


FIG. 148.

THE DARNLEY CENOTAPH — JAMES VI. WITH THE LENNOX
FAMILY AT THE TOMB OF THE EARL OF DARNLEY.

Lent by His Majesty King Edward, from Holywood Palace.

SCOTTISH HISTORY & LIFE



A View taken from the West of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow.

and Engraved on the Academy at Glasgow by M. Paul Brown.

GLASGOW

JAMES MACLEHOSE & SONS

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Preface

THE Historical Loan Collection in the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901, provided materials for representing the history of the Scottish nation, by means of extant memorials and remains. Among these were many objects illustrative of the archaeology of Scotland, of the history of the country, and of the social life, organisation, experiences, employments, and recreations of the people in bygone times.

The prehistoric condition of the country was amply exemplified by stone and bronze implements, and by urns and other burial remains. Traces of the Roman occupation were also visible, and the introduction of Christianity into the country, as well as its spread over the land, was illustrated by reproductions of the Ruthwell Cross, and of many other sculptured stones which yet exist scattered throughout the kingdom. By illuminated missals, printed books, church furniture, papers and documents, the history of the Church was continued down to the convulsion of the Reformation Period, to the stormy and tragic era of the Covenant and 'Killing Times,' and on to the great Disruption of 1843.

Civil history was equally well illustrated in its more salient and romantic features. Queen Mary and her slow tragedy were brought before the eyes of the people, as were also the experiences of her fateful grandson, Charles I., and his sorrowful end. The Revolution and its sequel, the Union, the Jacobite risings and their melancholy outcome of confiscation and execution, were also demonstrated by relics, portraits, and many other memorials.

Of the social condition of the people, their arms and armour, their dress and domestic implements, their frailties and failings, their

PREFACE

superstitions and credulity, their sports, games, and entertainments, the illustrations were numerous and full of significance.

In seeking local memorials which might throw light on the growth of a Scottish burgh, it was naturally under the circumstances easier to obtain a full series illustrative of the history of Glasgow than of any other Scottish town, although contributions of much significance and importance came from Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, and from other ancient Royal Burghs. Originally the seat of one of the most powerful ecclesiastical establishments, Glasgow was at an early date made a Baron Burgh under the ruling Bishops. Later, it became the seat of an important university, and, gradually waxing, it attained the full status of a Royal Burgh. After the Union commercial prosperity came like a flood, and with the opening up of coal fields and deposits of iron ore the era of industrial expansion of the city began. At no period of its history was Glasgow much mixed up with affairs of the State, but in all that concerns the prosperity of the country, and consequently the comfort and well-being of the people, it has been an important factor.

The purpose of this volume is to utilise this valuable material in telling the story of Scottish History, and showing what the people were who made it.

In a work covering so wide a field it was found advisable to invite the co-operation of a number of authors who had made special study of a particular period or subject. In a few cases, in order to secure continuity of narrative, it was necessary to refer to matters which had already been treated of in another section; but each author has his own point of view for which he is responsible.

No effort has been spared to make this volume both a vivid and an accurate picture of Scottish History and Life, and grateful acknowledgment is made of much assistance received from many students who have been able to throw a fresh light on some doubtful point, or to give additional interest by finding some new illustration.

The publishers desire to express their very cordial thanks to the owners of the objects pictured in the following pages for permission to have them reproduced in this volume. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and other owners of blocks, kindly placed their stores at

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the disposal of the publishers, but for the most part, the illustrations have been specially engraved for this work. This has involved the preparation of several hundred engravings which have been made under the superintendence of Mr. James Craig Annan.

GLASGOW, *October*, 1902.

Illustrations

OF the four hundred and thirty-seven Illustrations in this volume two hundred and eighty-nine have been engraved specially for it from the portraits or objects in the Historical Loan Collections of the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901, by

T. & R. ANNAN & SONS

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HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Prehistoric Remains

WHEN we speak of the historic period of a people or an area, a prehistoric period is necessarily implied. The story of the historic period may be compiled from its extant records, but that of the prehistoric period can only be obtained by the investigation of its existing remains. The complete story of a people therefore includes much that the historian has not told, and cannot tell because it lies beyond record. The historic period has been of longer duration in some areas than in others. The history of Greece or of Egypt goes much further back than that of Britain or Scandinavia. The reason is that the prehistoric period did not terminate in all areas at the same point of time, but at the same stage of culture—a stage characterised by the knowledge of writing, which was reached in different areas at widely different dates. But at whatever point of time the historic period may have commenced, its duration is always ascertainable from record, while the prehistoric period is always of unknown extent. Yet it may be affirmed with the highest probability that in most, if not indeed in all cases, the duration of the prehistoric period has vastly exceeded that of the historic.

The study of the two periods necessarily differs, both as regards methods and materials. The chronology of history is based on definite dates supplied by record, but the prehistoric period can only be subdivided by sequences and stages of culture. In other words, while history is the narration of a chronological series of events and circumstances, prehistory can only be the narration of a logical sequence of stages of culture and conditions of civilisation. Culture in its broadest sense implies an ever-increasing faculty of individual productivity, and civilisation implies a condition of organised society favourable to that faculty. The industrial arts of a people are thus essentially the expression of the measure of their culture and the quality of their civilisation. Man is a tool-using animal, and even in his very rudest and most uncivilised condition has never been found unfurnished with tools for production, and weapons for defence of himself and his products. The man dies and returns to dust, but his tools and weapons (fashioned in less perishable materials than himself) remain to furnish the materials from which we derive nearly all the knowledge we possess of prehistoric times.

The first process in the scientific investigation of these materials is their collection; the second is their classification. Collection produces a mass of objects of many different kinds, but obviously, by their specialties of form, adapted to different purposes. Classification reduces this mass to a series of orderly groups assorted according to their obvious purposes, as axes, knives, saws, borers, and so forth. When this has been done, the singular fact is revealed that each variety of tool is repeated in the three different materials of stone, bronze, and iron. It is the universal result of experience that the less efficient tool is eventually superseded by the more efficient,

PREHISTORIC REMAINS

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and thus it is evident that (even if these varieties of material were in use at the same time) the stone tools would be ultimately superseded by those of bronze, and those of bronze would eventually give way to those of iron. Thus it is demonstrated that there have been three successive stages of progress in the industrial arts, or handicraft culture, of the prehistoric period; and these are spoken of in archaeological phraseology as the Ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron.

But the term 'Age' is not used in any historical sense, or as a definite period of time which is measurable on the scale of chronology. Nor is the general conclusion as to the three Ages, or stages of culture, to be taken as universally true of all mankind. As matter of fact, it is applicable only to those areas in which proofs of the succession have been found; for there are areas of the earth's surface in which the people have remained in their stone age to quite recent times. But this does not affect the conclusion as regards the area of Western Europe, of which Britain forms a part, and for which the results of modern research are accessible.

The Stone Age

THE STONE AGE, therefore, is the condition of a people using stone and other non-metallic materials, such as bone or horn, for their cutting tools and weapons; and it may be prehistoric or historic according to the people or the area of which it is the condition. As regards Western Europe, the Stone Age is prehistoric, and is subdivided into two periods called respectively the Palaeolithic, or old stone period, and the Neolithic, or new stone period. To the palaeolithic period are assigned certain remains of man which are found chiefly in the old river gravels and in caverns. These remains consist for the most part of implements of flint of special forms which were manufactured by chipping alone, and are found associated with the remains of extinct animals of the quaternary geologic period, such as the mammoth, cave-bear, cave-lion, hyaena, musk-ox, rhinoceros, etc. The Stone Age of Scotland differs from that of England inasmuch as it has hitherto presented no unequivocal evidence of the presence of palaeolithic man. The story of the earliest known inhabitants of this country therefore begins in the period when its fauna consisted of animals still existing, though some may have since become locally extinct.

Perhaps the earliest inhabited sites yet discovered in Scotland are the caves at Oban, and the kitchen-middens or shell-mounds on the island of Oronsay. Four caves, opening in the cliff behind the old sea-beach on which the lower part of the town of Oban is built, have yielded evidence of occupation by man. The refuse of the food of the occupants consisted chiefly of the bones of the ox and swine, red deer and roe deer, various birds and fishes, and an extensive accumulation of the shells of the common edible molluscs and crustacea of the adjacent shore. Mingled with this mass of food-refuse were occasionally found implements of stone and bone of peculiar forms. No cutting implements of stone were found, except a knife-like flake of flint and a well-made flint scraper of the ordinary neolithic type. In one cave also were found a few fragments of coarse pottery. But the bone implements were very numerous, and among them the most characteristic were fish-spears, or small harpoons of bone or deer-horn with barbs along the sides (Figs. 1-4), and in one case (Fig. 1) with a perforation at the butt end for a line, so that it might be used as a harpoon with a disengaging head. The harpoons of the palaeolithic period found in the caves of England and France with remains of the extinct animals

have cylindrical shanks and free-standing barbs, whereas these have flat shanks, and the barbs are formed by cutting obliquely into the sides of the shank. Besides those from the Oban caves and from the Oronsay shell-heaps, the only other Scottish specimen known is that found in the river Dee in Kirkcudbrightshire (Fig. 5) belonging to the Kirkcudbright Museum. The contents of the Oronsay kitchen-middens or refuse-heaps were of similar character—the similarity extending to the implements (which included bone harpoons) as well as to the refuse of the food, and thus indicating that the stage of culture was in both cases the same. But the facts that the people possessed domestic animals, subsisted by hunting and fishing, and had craft sufficient for navigation between the mainland and



FIGS. 1, 2. Bone harpoons from Macarthur Cave. FIGS. 3, 4. From Druinvargie Cave, Oban. FIG. 5. From River Dee, Kirkcudbright.

the isles, do not imply a stage of culture which can be called extremely low. Judging from the human remains found in the Oban caves as well as from the other circumstances, Professor Sir William Turner says: 'From a certain community of character in all the four caves and their contents, more especially in the tools and implements found in them, one is led to the inference that the people who had occupied them belonged to the same epoch, and were of the same race. Although both the pottery and the implements were rude and simple in material and shape, yet from the absence of all remains of extinct animals their inhabitants cannot be referred to palaeolithic times, but are much later in date. It would seem appropriate to class them alongside of the men whose remains are associated with the dolmens in France and with the long barrows in England, for the adults agree in possessing dolicocephalic crania, a moderately low stature, and not unfrequently platycnemic tibiae.'

PREHISTORIC REMAINS

Dolmens, cromlechs, long barrows, giants' graves, and many other names have been given at different times, and in different places, to the sepulchral constructions of the Stone Age. The megalithic erections, consisting of an enormous capstone supported on three or more vertical props or pillar-stones, which are called cromlechs in Ireland and Wales, are not found in Scotland. But the chambered cairns, analogous to the long barrows of England, the dolmens of France, and the gang-graben of Denmark, do form a conspicuous feature in the prehistoric aspect of Scotland. Though the analogy among these sepulchral constructions is obvious, they cannot be said to be all similar. Each country has its own peculiarities, and different groups even in the same country differ in certain features. But with all their variety of external form they furnish evidence from their contents of the prevalence of a certain community of burial customs and a certain similarity of attainment in culture. The great chambered cairns of Scotland present several varieties in their external form as well as in their internal construction; but there are radically only two distinctive varieties—those having chambers with an entrance passage from the outside, and those having closed chambers, which are more of the nature of megalithic cists. In external form the cairn may be long or short, round or oval, but the internal arrangement and the nature of the burial deposits must be regarded as the classifying features. It is characteristic of the Scottish cairns that they appear to be distributed in local groups, each group having special features of its own. The northern group in Orkney, Caithness, and Sutherland has chamber and passage, but it also has the chamber definitely subdivided. The Clava group in the valley of the Nairn has chamber and passage, but it has sometimes an exterior encircling ring of standing stones like the great cairn at New Grange in Ireland. The Arran group has closed chambers or megalithic cists placed side by side. The Argyleshire group has examples of both varieties.

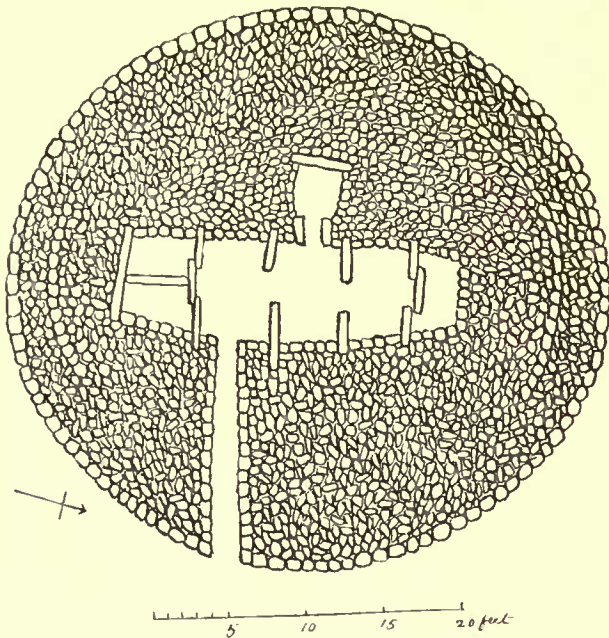


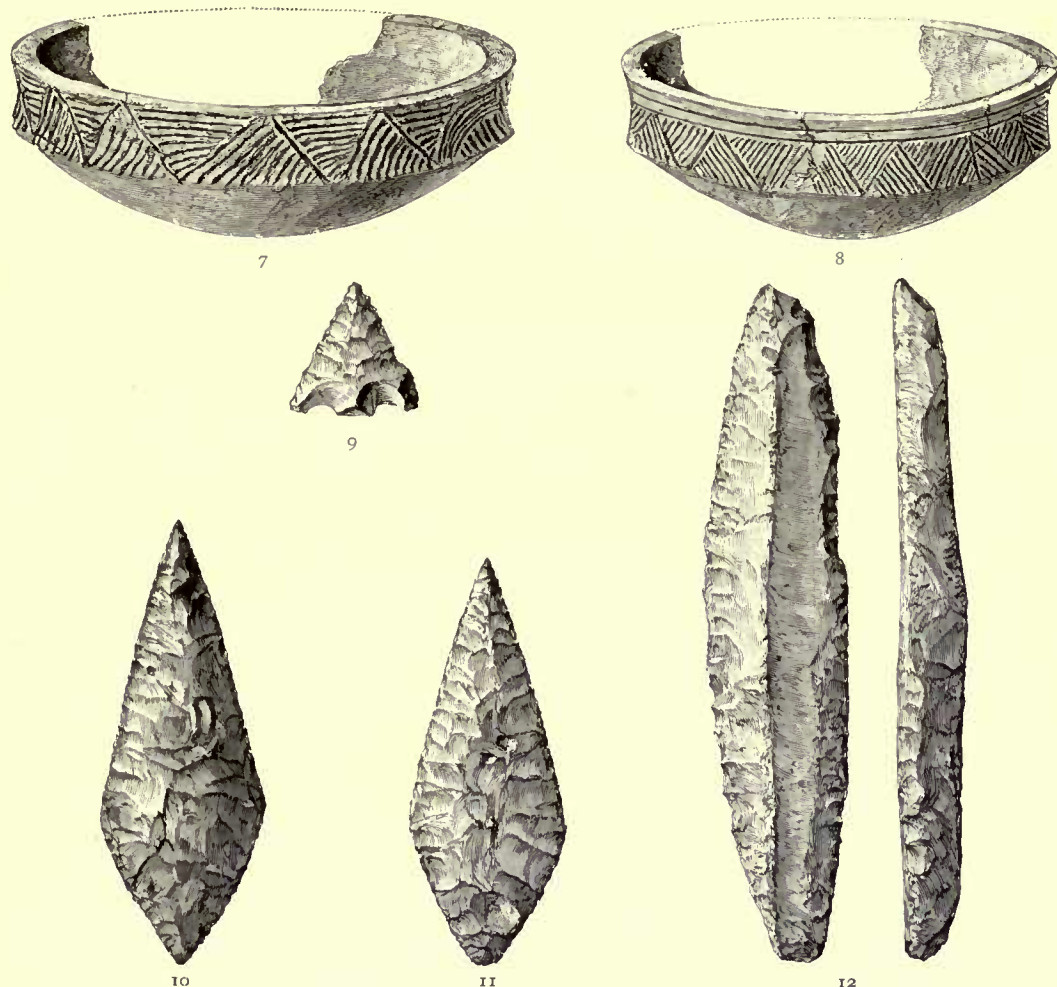
FIG. 6. Ground plan of chambered cairn at Unstan, Orkney.

These cairns are not mere structureless heaps of stones piled over a chamber. When the external ruin is cleared away they are found to possess a definite ground-plan, outlined towards the exterior by a single or double wall, or sometimes by a setting of boulders or flat oblong stones placed end to end. Like the long barrows of England, the chambered cairns of Scotland are characterised by aggregate burial, cremated and uncremated, cremation however appearing to be the more prevalent custom, especially in the northern districts.

In the cairn of Unstan, near Stennis, Orkney (Fig. 6), which had a subdivided chamber 21 feet long by $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth, entered by a passage 14 feet in length by 2 feet in width, there were found upon and in the floor a large quantity of bones, human and animal, mingled with ashes and charcoal, and the broken fragments of about thirty urns, of which only a few could be sufficiently reconstructed

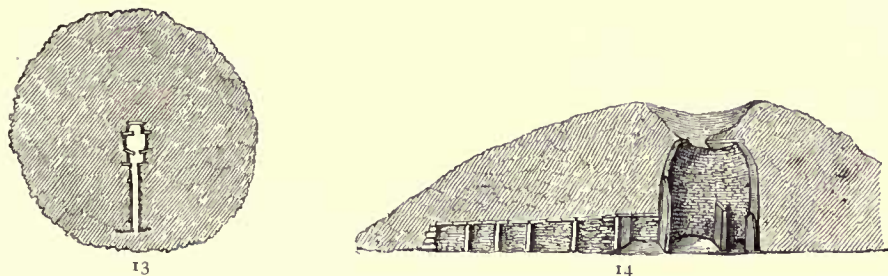
external form as well as in their internal construction; but there are radically only two distinctive varieties—those having chambers with an entrance passage from the outside, and those having closed chambers, which are more of the nature of megalithic cists. In external form the cairn may be long or short, round or oval, but the internal arrangement and the nature of the burial deposits must be regarded as the classifying features. It is characteristic of the Scottish cairns that they appear to be distributed in local groups, each group having special features of its own. The northern group in Orkney, Caithness, and Sutherland has chamber

to show the shape. They were wide shallow, basin-shaped vessels of a hard black paste with rounded bottoms and nearly vertical brims ornamented with groups of parallel lines arranged in triangular spaces. Two of these urns are shown in Figs. 7 and 8. The implements found with them were a triangular arrow-head of flint with



FIGS. 7, 8. Urns. FIGS. 9, 10, 11. Arrow-heads. FIG. 12. Fabricator of Flint from the chambered cairn of Unstan, Orkney.

barbs and stem (Fig. 9) and two larger arrow-heads of finer workmanship of leaf-shaped form (Figs. 10 and 11), a flint knife with a ground edge, a scraper of flint, and one of those elongated tools known as fabricators (Fig. 12) because they seem



FIGS. 13, Ground plan and 14. section of chambered round cairn at Camster, Caithness, 75 feet in diameter.

to have been used in shaping other implements of flint by flaking. A circular cairn at Camster in Caithness, 75 feet in diameter (Figs. 13 and 14) and about 18 feet high, had a central chamber subdivided into three compartments the first of which was roofed over by flat slabs while the others were both covered by one roof formed by the overlapping of the side walls until the width could be spanned by

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two flat slabs. The chamber was 10 feet in height and about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, and was entered by a passage from the outside of the cairn of over 20 feet in length. The floor of the chamber was a compacted mass of ashes and burnt bones,

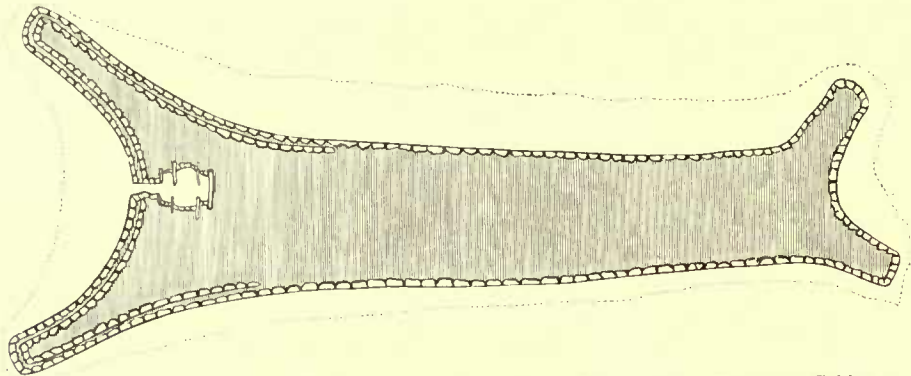


FIG. 15. Ground plan of chambered long cairn, 240 feet in length, with 'horns,' at Yarhouse, Caithness.

human and animal, among which were chips of flint and many fragments of urns chiefly of a hard black paste and, in some cases, round bottomed. The only finished implement found was a well-made flint knife with a ground edge. In the largest of the oblong cairns of Caithness (Fig. 15), which are from 240 to 190 feet in length, and present the peculiar prolongations at the ends that have suggested for them the appellation of horned cairns, the floors of the chambers

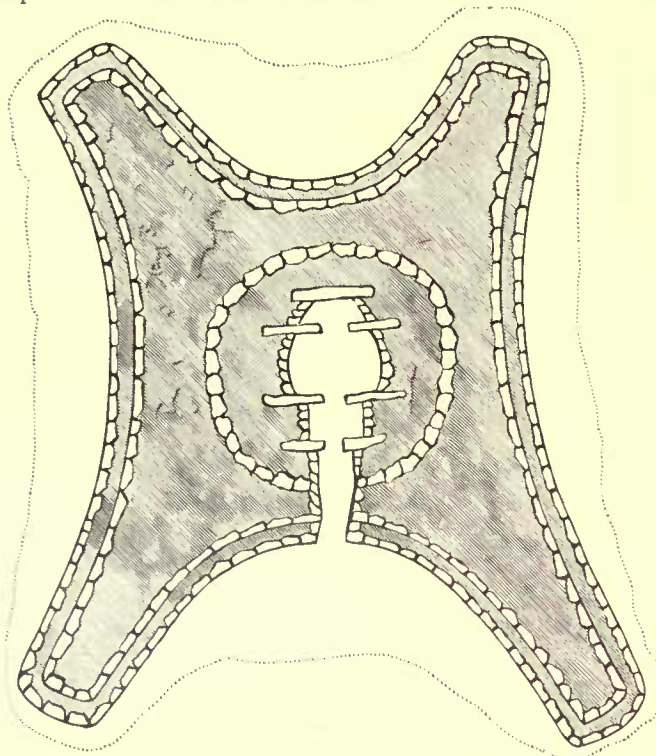


FIG. 16. Ground plan of chambered short cairn, 66 feet in length, with 'horns,' at Ormiegill, Caithness.

were covered by layers of ashes, charcoal, and burnt and unburnt bones, human and animal, mingled with fragments of urns of a hard black paste. In the corner of one chamber was a cist set on the floor, which contained an urn of coarse reddish paste and twisted cord ornamentation, and a necklace of seventy beads of jet or lignite. In another of the horned cairns of smaller size at Ormiegill (Fig. 16),

with a similar stratum of burnt burials in the floor, there were found a triangular hollow-based arrow-head of flint (Fig. 25), a flint knife with a ground edge, a number of saws and scrapers of flint, and a polished hammer of grey granite having a perforated haft-hole with perfectly straight sides. In the chamber of another similar cairn at Garrywhin there were found among the ashes and bones, human and animal, which covered the floor, three leaf-shaped arrow-heads of flint. Of the Argyleshire cairns, one at Achnacree (Fig. 17), 75 feet in diameter and 15 feet high, had a subdivided chamber reached by a passage about 28 feet in length. In it was found a round-bottomed urn of the same hard black paste, and the fragments of another having

ear-like projections from opposite sides like the handles of the modern quaich. At Largie, near Kilmartin, a large dilapidated cairn of about 130 feet in diameter showed a chamber to which no passage was found. In the floor of the chamber and in the usual layer of ashes and burnt bones, human and animal, there were found several flake knives and scrapers, and five arrow-heads of flint, and also a round-bottomed urn of hard black paste ornamented with vertical scrapings all over the exterior surface. In Arran a number of large cairns recently explored by Dr. T. H. Bryce contained subdivided chambers having no entrance passage from the outside, or megalithic cists placed side by side, along the central portion of the cairn. These subdivisions or cists contained the remains of several individuals who had been buried unburnt and apparently placed in the usual contracted position in the corners of the compartments. Their anatomical characters were found to be identical with those of the burials in the long barrows of England. The implements deposited with them were flint arrow-heads, scrapers, flake-knives, a polished stone axe, and a polished stone hammer not unlike that from the Caithness cairn, while the pottery consisted of vessels of hard black paste, round bottomed, and having ear-like projections on the upper part of the sides.



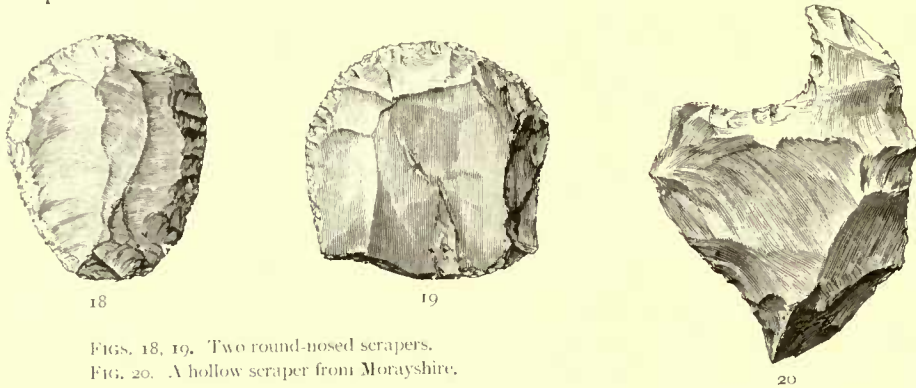
FIG. 17. Section of chambered round cairn, 75 feet in diameter, at Achnacree, Argyleshire.

All these cairns, however much they may differ in details, are obviously of one constructional type distinguished by the presence of interior chambers, and by a definite external ground plan defined by a bounding wall or a setting of stones. The burial customs are the same in all—aggregate burial, with or without cremation, and with deposit of grave-goods, of which only the imperishable parts, such as the stone heads of arrows and axe-hammers, have remained. The grave-goods probably included clothing, as we know that they included personal ornaments. Whether the clay vessels which accompany the other deposits were exclusively cinerary, or were used for other purposes, such as those connected with funeral feasts, we have no means of ascertaining. Nor can we determine whether the remarkable accumulation of the bones of animals in the floors of the chambers may indicate a custom of including the domestic animals belonging to the dead among the grave-goods deposited with him, or whether, as suggested by the presence of the bones of wild animals, such as deer and wild birds, they may be the remains of funeral feasts consumed on each occasion of the reopening of the family tomb. But apart from this, the contents of these tombs show that the people were in possession of the domestic animals, that they also hunted the wild animals with success, that their tools and weapons, though made of flint and other stones, were well made, exhibiting taste as well as skill in their manufacture, and their pottery though not thrown on the wheel was not ungraceful in shape, and not destitute of character in the matter of its ornamentation.

With the help of the knowledge derived from the examination of the burial-places of the Stone Age we are enabled to select from the mixed multitude of objects that are casually found in the soil such tools, weapons, and ornaments as correspond with those of the burial deposits, and thus to classify them also as of Stone Age types. These are

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further classified by their forms and purposes, such as scrapers, knives, saws, borers, and fabricators, which are always made of chipped flint; axes and adzes, which when made of flint are sometimes fashioned by chipping only, but more usually partly or wholly polished, and when made of other material than flint are always polished. The weapons are arrow and spear-heads, which are always made of chipped flint, and



FIGS. 18, 19. Two round-nosed scrapers.
FIG. 20. A hollow scraper from Morayshire.

war axes or hammers, seldom made of flint, but in general more or less finely polished. Excellent examples of the principal forms of all these different varieties of stone implements and weapons are in the collections exhibited by Mr. Tom Scott, A.R.S.A., Rev. John M'Ewen, Mr. William Forbes, Mr. William Smith, and the Falconer Museum, Forres.

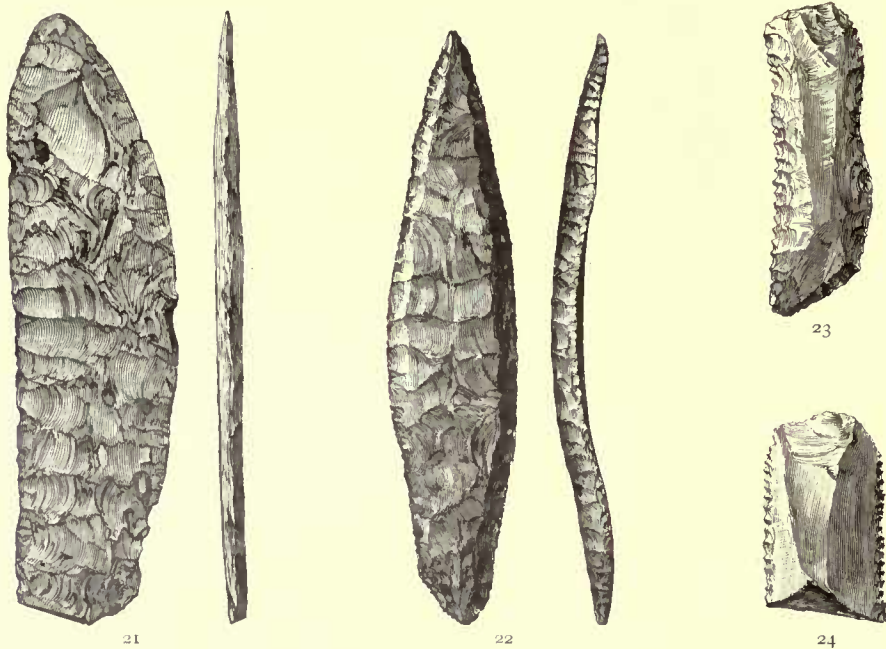


FIG. 21. Single-edged flint knife, face and side views.
FIG. 22. Double-edged flint knife, face and side views.

FIGS. 23, 24. Flint saws.

The flint scrapers are the most abundant and ubiquitous tools of the Stone Age. They are of all sizes from little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch in diameter up to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The shape is constant, and resembles the broken off end of a round-nosed chisel which has the edge on one face of the blade (Figs. 18, 19). Many of them are so short that it is difficult to conceive how they could be effectively used for any purpose without being fixed in a handle of some kind. Some however are made from longer flakes so that the tool itself supplies the handle. The use of the scraper is conjecturally indicated by the name given to it, but probably it served for many purposes. A similar

tool of stone inserted in a bone handle is used by the Esquimaux for scraping or currying skins. Besides the round-nosed scraper which is so common, there are side scrapers and hollow scrapers (Fig. 20), the latter having the scraping edge concave instead of convex. Its conjectural use was that of smoothing arrow-shafts to a regular roundness—a purpose which it has been demonstrated to serve admirably.

The flint knife is made from a long narrow flake by fine secondary chipping, so as to produce a cutting edge along its length on one side only, as in Fig. 21, or on both sides, as in Fig. 22. The cutting edge of a flint knife is thus always a rough edge, but may be very keen. Some flint knives have an edge made by grinding on both faces, but this method does not produce a keen edge, and these ground-edged knives may have been designed for some special purpose.

The flint saw (Figs. 23 and 24) is made from an elongated flake in the same way as the knife, but with the edge serrated. The teeth are often very fine and thickly set. From the thickness of the back of the flake the implement could not

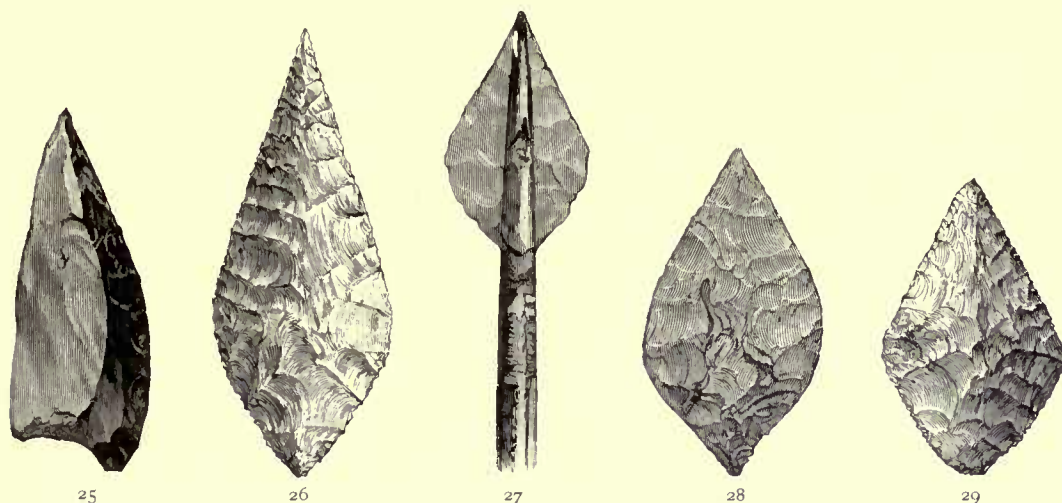


FIG. 25. Lop-sided arrow-head.

FIGS. 26, 27, 28, 29. Leaf-shaped.

FIG. 27. In the shaft.

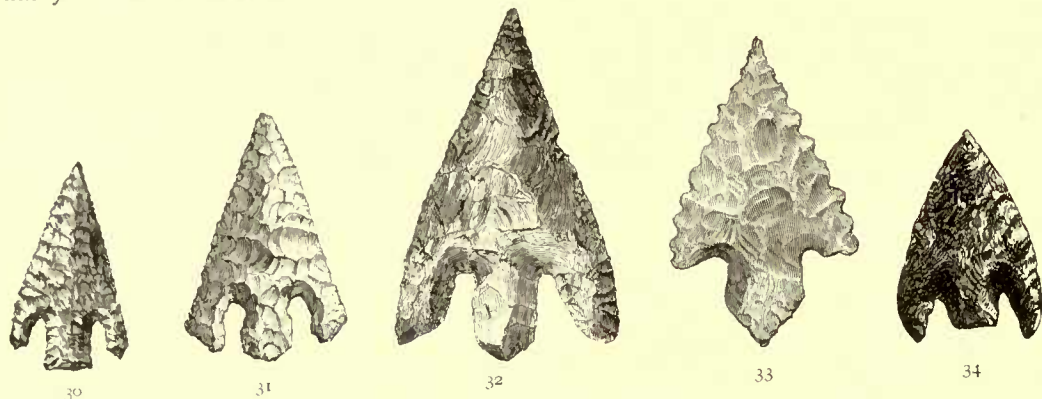
be used like a metal saw to cut completely through anything of much greater thickness than itself, but it could make a notch or furrow round a thick piece of bone or deer-horn so as to enable it to be broken across at the notched part. Such notched bones and pieces of deer-horn, partially sawn through and then broken across, are often met with on prehistoric sites.

The fabricator is a special tool of a stout punch-like shape, sometimes made from a flake ridged on the back and sometimes nearly cylindrical and carefully chipped all over the surface. It is usually from about 3 to 4½ inches in length, and has its ends much rounded and worn down by use, whether as a punch operated by a mallet, or by simple manual pressure, in the shaping and secondary working of such things as flint arrow and spear-heads and finely worked knives. A fabricator found with three arrow-heads in the cairn at Unstan is shown in Fig. 12.

Flint arrow-heads and lance or spear-heads differ only in size, and no sharp line can be drawn between them. There are two principal forms, the leaf-shaped (of which typical varieties are shown in Figs. 26, 28, and 29) and the triangular, though the transition form between them—the double triangular, or lozenge-shape—may also be considered a very numerous variety. But it is difficult to say where the line should be drawn between the transitional forms, which shade into each other almost imperceptibly. Of the triangular form the commonest variety (shown in Figs. 30 to 34) is that with well-defined barbs and a stem or projecting tang in the middle of the base, by

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which it was fastened to the shaft. The barbed and stemmed arrow-heads, however, vary very greatly in size as well as in shape and in the form of the barbs, so that many different sub-varieties are found among them. A variety of the triangular form



FIGS. 30-34. Flint arrow-heads with barbs and stems.

which is not very common is that with a central notch or slot in the middle of the base by which it was fastened to the shaft—the shaft in this case being let into the arrow-head instead of the arrow-head being let into the shaft. Another rather rare

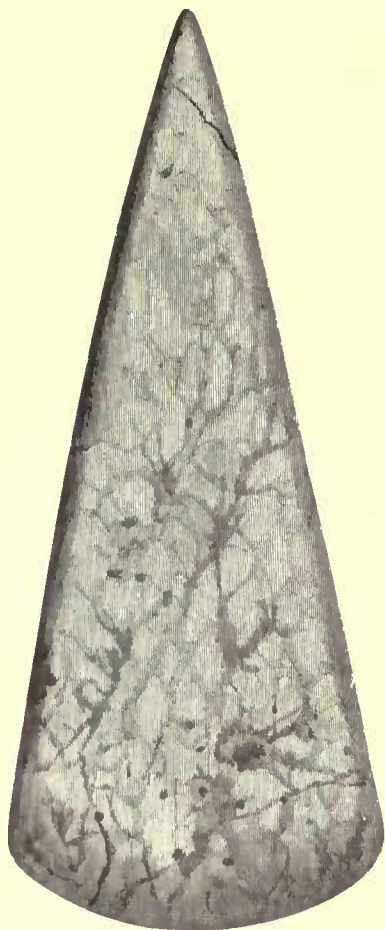


FIG. 35. Polished axe of greenish quartz, from Berwickshire.

variety is the single-barbed form (Fig. 25), which has a concave base and is lopsided. One side of the triangle in this case is always the thin natural unworked edge of the flake, and the other edge often shows ripple-flaking of a kind never seen on the other arrow-heads. From its peculiar form and features this variety has been regarded as intended for some other purpose than that of an arrow-head. The leaf-shaped arrow-heads are usually thinner and more finely made than those of the triangular form. They show a range of great variety of outline between the graceful slender-pointed leaf-shape and the almost geometrical lozenge-shape. The manner in which they were attached to the shaft was shown by an example (Fig. 27) found in a moss at Fyvie in Aberdeenshire.

The workmanship of these flint implements, which are usually finished by chipping only and were not polished (except in extremely rare instances chiefly found in Ireland), is always excellent, and often so delicate as not only to defy imitation but to baffle conjecture as to how it was done. Sir John Evans, who investigated the whole

subject of flint-working, both practically and theoretically, and who had himself acquired no little skill in the art, confesses that the ancient method of producing the regular fluting, like ripple marks, by detaching parallel splinters uniform in size and extending almost across the surface of a lance

or spear-head of flint, is a mystery. It is a lost art even to the savage tribes who have made their implements of stone to modern times, as well as a mystery to the man of science.

Flint axes are comparatively rare in Scotland, but, though few in number, they are often very finely finished. Some are manufactured by chipping only, others are ground on the cutting face only, as in Fig. 36, and others again of the finer varieties of chalcedonic flint are polished all over, and brought to a finish almost as careful as that of a modern lapidary polishing a gem. The axes made in other varieties of the harder stones are often highly polished, but few show the finish so well as those of flint. There is, however, a group of axes all of the same form, thin, triangular, and brought to a fine cutting edge, which are made of a greenish stone, almost resembling jadeite, and are always highly polished. A typical example of this form is shown in Fig. 35, which was found in Berwickshire, and was exhibited in the collection of Mr. Tom Scott, A.R.S.A. Some of those made of porphyritic stone are no less remarkable for the fineness of their lines and the beauty of their

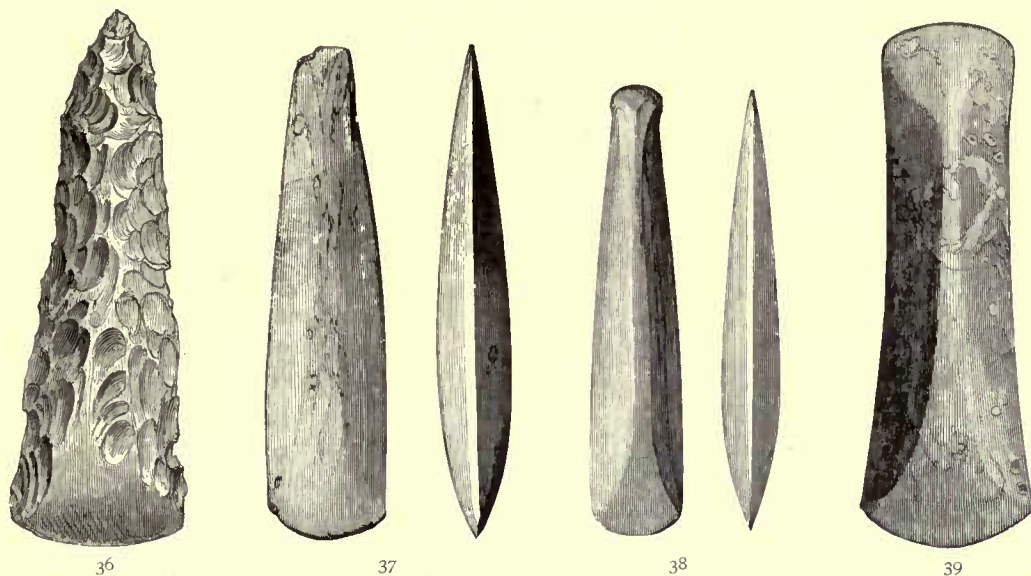


FIG. 36. Axe of flint.

FIGS. 37, 38. Side and face views of axes of claystone.

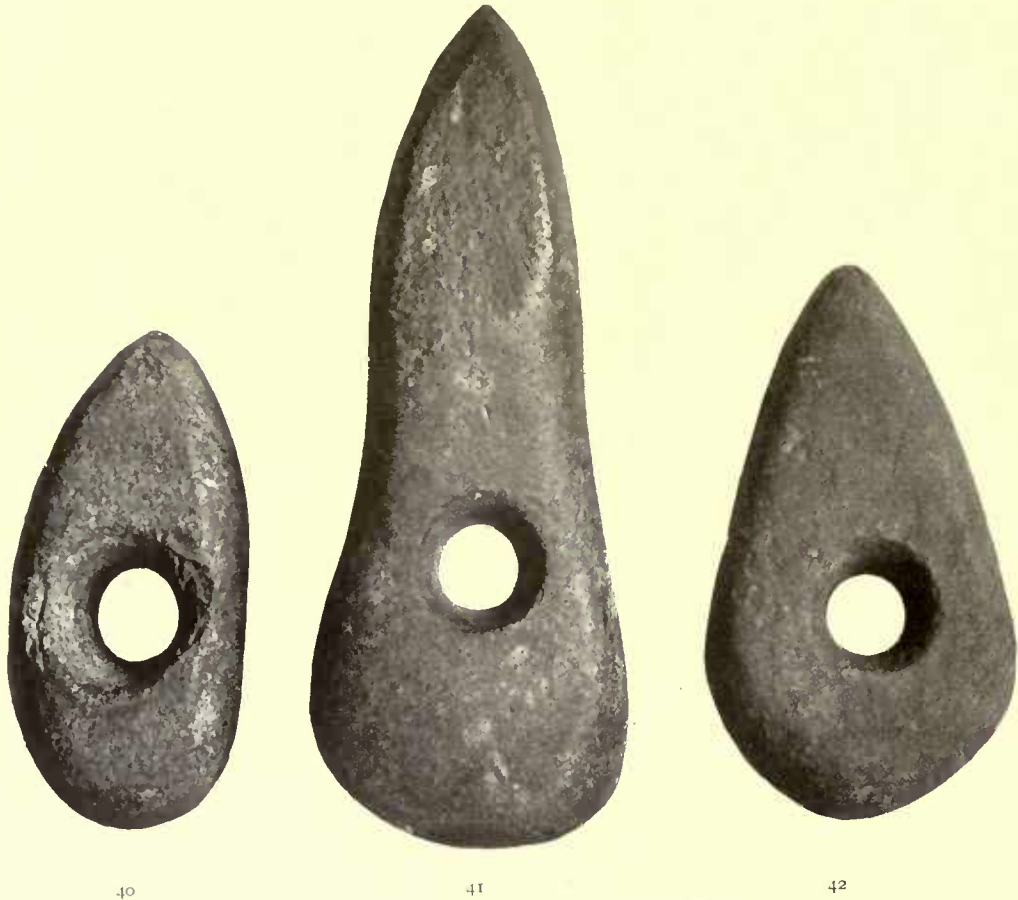
FIG. 39. Front view of edge-shaped axe of flint.

finish. Stone axes present a great variety of form, scarcely two being found to be absolutely alike, but they may be divided into two principal varieties—those that have both ends more or less alike in shape, as in Figs. 37 and 38 found in Forfarshire, and those that taper to a more or less pointed or conical form towards the butt end. There is also an adze-shaped axe (Fig. 39) which, though it is similar at both ends, has the one face more or less flattened and the other rounded. Some stone axes, from having lain in circumstances that have altered the colour of the surface of the stone, show the mark of the handle where it has protected the stone from the colouring or discolouring influences. One Scottish axe has been found in a peat moss with its handle of wood still in a sufficient state of preservation to show that the axe was passed through a hole in the handle. Other forms of handling were doubtless also in use.

Probably the finer axes of highly-polished flint and other stone were not intended for common purposes, but for ceremonial use, or as weapons of war or parade. This seems to apply even more generally to the smaller and finer class of axes or hammer axes which are perforated for the insertion of the handle. The very large and heavy wedge-shaped hammer axes (Figs. 40-42), with holes perforated through

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them for the handle, seem to have been made for some special use, such as splitting timber. In the more rudely-made specimens the perforation is usually accomplished by working from both sides till the two bores meet in the middle. This results in a perforation which is not quite symmetrical, because it is difficult to make the two bores meet exactly, and the outer part of each half of the perforation is usually wider than the diameter of the bore at the centre. Some of the perforated hammers, however, have the bore perfectly smooth and of the same width throughout (as in Figs. 43 and 44). It is commonly supposed that the boring of these hard



FIGS. 40-42. Wedge-shaped hammer-axes of sandstone.

stones was a very difficult process, but it is in reality simple enough though extremely tedious. Professor Rau of New York found that he could drill a round hole through a piece of diorite by rotating a spindle of ash or pine wood with sharp quartz sand as the abrading medium, but two hours' drilling only added about the thickness of an ordinary pencil line to the depth of the hole.

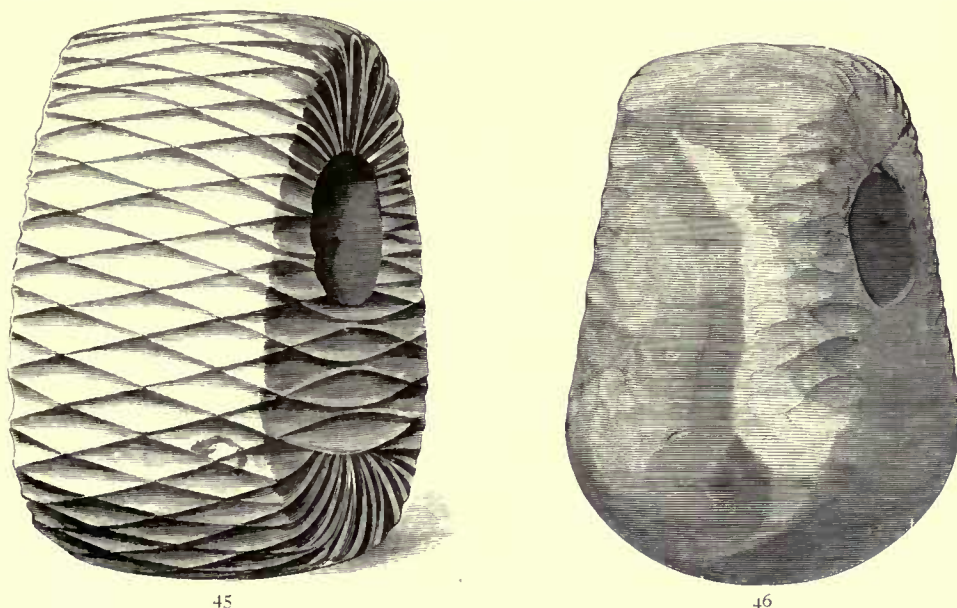
Many of these hammers and axe-hammers are very finely made, and some, in addition to their graceful shape, are elaborately ornamented. Two especially, from Corwen in Wales (Fig. 45) and Morayshire (Fig. 46), have the surface ground into a pattern of concave facets reminding one of the ornamentation of cut glass. It is interesting to remark that not only is the form of these two stone hammers the same, but the pattern of the ornamentation is the same, though the one was found in Wales and the other in the North of Scotland. It is still more interesting to notice that while the Welsh example has the pattern quite finished all over the surface, the Scottish example has only one end finished, and though the pattern is blocked out along the sides, it has not been further proceeded with.

In drawing conclusions as to the relative capacity indicated by the different methods employed in the manufacture of stone implements, it is sometimes argued that the art of making and finishing flint implements by chipping alone is a mani-



43 FIGS. 43, 44. Stone hammers. 44

festation of a lower capacity than the art of grinding or polishing. But the skill, dexterity, and experience required for the production of the finer forms of chipped flint implements are beyond all question of a far higher order than is required for the



45 FIG. 45. Ornamented hammer of hornstone from Corwen, Wales.
46 FIG. 46. Hammer of flint, ornamented with the same pattern, from Morayshire,

production of ground or polished implements. And it must not be forgotten that the prehistoric man in always finishing certain varieties of his flint implements by chipping, selected the process most suitable alike for the material and for the purpose in view; and it is to be regarded as an indication of his capacity that he did with his materials precisely what we do with ours—investigated their qualities and capabilities and framed his instruments upon intelligent principles.

The Bronze Age

THE second stage or condition of the advancement of handicraft-culture, and civilisation arose from the knowledge and use of metals. We do not know how, or where the alloy of copper and tin which is known as bronze at first originated, or how and when it came to Britain, but there is no reason to suppose that it originated there. The probabilities are rather in favour of the view that the knowledge of bronze came to Europe from the East. The prehistoric bronze was a variable alloy consisting usually of 20 to 10 parts of tin to from 80 to 90 parts of copper. Neither copper nor tin is found in Scotland, at least in workable quantities, and the general use of bronze therefore implies the establishment of a system of commerce with distant places. For this reason the introduction of bronze as the general material for all cutting tools and weapons must have been gradual, and for a long time the instruments of stone and bronze must have been in use contemporaneously.

The industrial products of the Bronze Age are found in the soil in three different varieties of association—(1) as grave-goods deposited with the dead; (2) as hoards or deposits hidden for temporary concealment which have not been recovered by their owners; and (3) as objects accidentally lost and casually turned up by the plough or the spade.

It is a singular fact that the objects of bronze deposited with the burials of the Bronze Age were few and mostly of small size, such as pins or awls, small oval tanged blades, thin and small triangular daggers, and, more rarely, armlets. The larger articles, such as the large heavy daggers, axes, socketed knives, and spear-heads, are scarcely ever found as the accompaniments of interments, and, in Britain, swords are never so found. Hence, paradoxical as it may seem, the larger proportion of the burials assignable to the Bronze Age contain no bronze. But the form and ornamentation of the urns, and it may be of certain varieties of personal ornaments which are in other cases found associated with objects of bronze, suffice in those cases in which no bronze is present to determine the age of the burial.

The burial customs of the Bronze Age are marked by the prevalence of single or separate burial as contrasted with the prevalence of aggregate burial in the Stone Age. The great chambered cairns for tribal or family burial are discontinued, and smaller cairns with cists, or cemeteries of separate interments have taken their place. The burials are often burnt, but they are also often unburnt, and these two different varieties of burial are accompanied by different varieties of urns.

When an urn accompanies a cremated burial the burnt bones are usually found within it, the urn being either set upright with a flat stone over its mouth as a cover, or the urn is inverted over the heap of burnt bones placed on a flat stone, or simply on the ground. These cinerary urns, as they are called, are generally much larger and more coarsely made and ornamented than the other varieties. They are usually flower-pot shaped below, with a more or less vertical upper part; sometimes the upper part takes the form of a heavy overhanging brim, as in Fig. 53. When there is no overhanging brim the shape is more conical, with slightly curved sides and two or three mouldings placed at intervals round the upper part. The overhanging rim, or the upper part of the urn with mouldings, is usually ornamented, but the lower part is always plain. In connection with these large cinerary urns, or contained within them among the burnt bones, there are occasionally found very small cup-shaped urns, like Fig. 54, which have been misnamed incense-cups, though their

precise function is unknown, and they are supposed to be more probably the cinerary urns of infants. They have usually finer forms and much more elaborate ornamentation than the larger urns with which they are associated, and they nearly all possess the peculiar characteristic of being pierced by two small holes placed an inch or so apart and near the bottom of the vessel, while occasionally the sides are perforated by larger openings like lattice-work.

The urns which usually accompany unburnt burials are also of two principal varieties. One is a wide-mouthed, thick-lipped form (Figs. 47-49), the upper part more or less vertical, the under part conically contracting to a rather narrow base. The character of the ornamentation is often highly ornate, the vertical upper part being relieved by clustered mouldings, with the hollow sometimes interrupted by four or six pierced projections suggesting the idea of a cord passing round the circumference through the perforations in the projecting ears. The whole exterior surface of the vessel is covered with ornament impressed into the clay, from the upper margin of the lip to the bottom. These wide-mouthed, thick-lipped vessels, which are mostly always wider than their height, are readily distinguished from the other class of



FIGS. 47-49. Urns of 'food-vessel' type.

vessels which are also found generally with unburnt burials. They are tall, thin-lipped vessels, like Figs. 50, 51, usually much higher than their width, and broad in the base. Their shape is peculiar, the lower part bulging and the bulge contracting upwards to its junction with the brim at the narrowest part of the vessel, while the brim expands upwards and is either nearly vertical or slants slightly outward. They are usually ornamented over the whole exterior surface in parallel bands or zones of varying width, a plain band occasionally alternating with a band of ornament. For want of better names these two varieties of urns have been styled 'food vessels' and 'drinking cups,' on the supposition that the thick-lipped variety was deposited with food of some kind, and the tall thin-lipped variety with drink of some kind, either as offerings or as supplies for the use of the dead, who may have been supposed to require food and drink for the journey to the other world. But this explanation is not very probable because it does not account for the remarkable fact that while a very large proportion of the burials are supplied with food-vessels, and another large proportion with drinking-cups, the cases are extremely rare in which a food-vessel and a drinking-cup have been found in the same grave.

The ornamentation of all these clay vessels is in the main a system of rectilinear ornament. Its patterns consist of combinations of straight lines, made in the soft clay either with a pointed implement, or by the impression of a twisted cord, or by the teeth of a comb. Curved lines and circles are scarcely ever met with, though sometimes a pattern has been formed by lines of impressions of a finger nail, or of circular impressions of something analogous to the smooth end of a pencil. Circles,

triangles, and spirals, however, have been found cut into the surfaces of the covering stones of cists.

Not many cairns of the Bronze Age have been carefully investigated. Their small size has rendered them peculiarly liable to destruction. The cairn at Collessie in Fife, which was about 120 feet in diameter and 14 feet in height, contained a large cist on the level of the ground near the centre, in which was the remains of an unburnt burial, with an urn of the drinking-cup type shown in Fig. 50. In the subsoil under the base of the cairn there were found two other interments which had been placed in oval-shaped pits dug in the gravel to a depth of four and six feet. In the first pit there was found a cremated burial accompanied by an urn (shown in Fig. 51) of the same type as that found in the cist in the centre of the cairn. In the second pit there was



FIGS. 50, 51. Urns of drinking-cup type from Collessie Cairn.

FIG. 52. Thin triangular dagger-blade of bronze from a cist at Cleigh, Argyleshire.

a cremated burial, but without any trace of an urn. Among the burnt bones, though itself showing no trace of having passed through the fire, was found a thin triangular bronze dagger-blade with remains of its wooden sheath covered with hide, and the gold fillet which had encircled its hilt.

A number of instances have occurred in different parts of Scotland in which the thin triangular dagger of bronze (which is one of the things most commonly deposited with the dead) was accompanied by the gold mounting of its hilt. The form of the blade of this thin knife-dagger so frequently found with interments is shown in Fig. 52 found in a cist at Cleigh, Argyleshire, and in Fig. 55 from a cist at Auchterhouse, Forfarshire.

At Gilchorn in the parish of Inverkeillor, Forfarshire, a cairn of about 30 feet in diameter and 3 feet in height excavated by Mr. A. Hutcheson contained about 2 feet below the surface on the south-east border a cinerary urn with a deposit of calcined bones. The urn (Fig. 53), which was about 16 inches in height and 13 inches in diameter at the mouth, stood inverted over the burnt bones on the subsoil. Among the bones was a small cup-shaped urn (Fig. 54) and another, shallower in form, which was unfortunately lost. Also among the earth and bones in the lower part of the deposit was a small oval bead of whitish glass and a flake-knife of flint. In another part of the cairn and about the same depth there was found another urn of cinerary type, covering a similar deposit of burnt bones, among which was a knife-dagger of thin bronze 3 inches in length, with a well-defined midrib and a notch at each side of the

butt end for fixing it to the handle. Towards the centre of the cairn there was a pit, 6 feet in length, 3 feet in breadth, and 3 feet in depth, presumably containing the primary interment, in which were found the fragments of other two bronze blades of similar character. On the top of the hill of West Mains of Auchterhouse, near Dundee, another cairn, also described by Mr. Hutcheson, about 60 feet in diameter and



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FIG. 53. Cinerary urn with overhanging rim from the cairn at Gilchorn.

FIG. 54. Small cup-shaped urn found inside the cinerary urn (Fig. 53).

6 feet in height, was found to contain a cist near the centre in which were calcined bones and among them a fine bronze dagger with flat tapering blade $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, having a triply moulded midrib, and attached to its handle of horn by nine rivets as shown in the accompanying figure (Fig. 55).

At Tomont End in Cumbrae, a small cairn excavated by Dr. John MacGown was found to enclose a cist with a cremated interment accompanied by an exceedingly

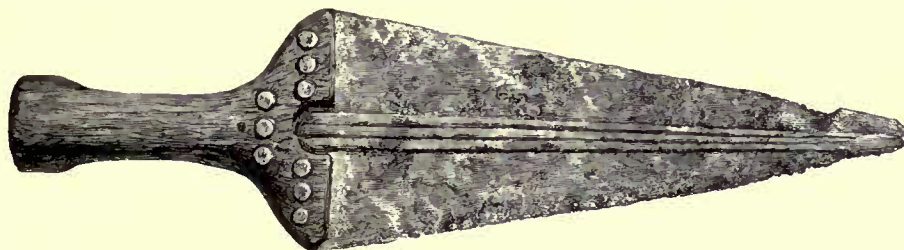


FIG. 55. Triangular dagger of thin bronze, with hilt of horn, found in a cist in the cairn at West Mains of Auchterhouse.

ornate urn of the bowl-shaped thick-lipped or food-vessel form. A larger cairn in the same neighbourhood had a cist near the centre with a cremated burial and a finely ornamented urn of similar type. Underneath the outer part of the cairn, not in cists but simply set in the gravel, were five large cinerary urns containing burnt bones and with two of them were flint implements, one being a fine large oval-shaped knife or spear-head. No bronze was found with these burials, but all the features are those of Bronze Age interments. Flint implements are often found in Bronze Age graves. In a cist at Dairsie, with a fine drinking-cup urn, there were found four flint arrow-heads.

Cists are often found casually in ploughing or in turning up the ground for agricultural purposes or for foundations of buildings. In such casual discoveries it

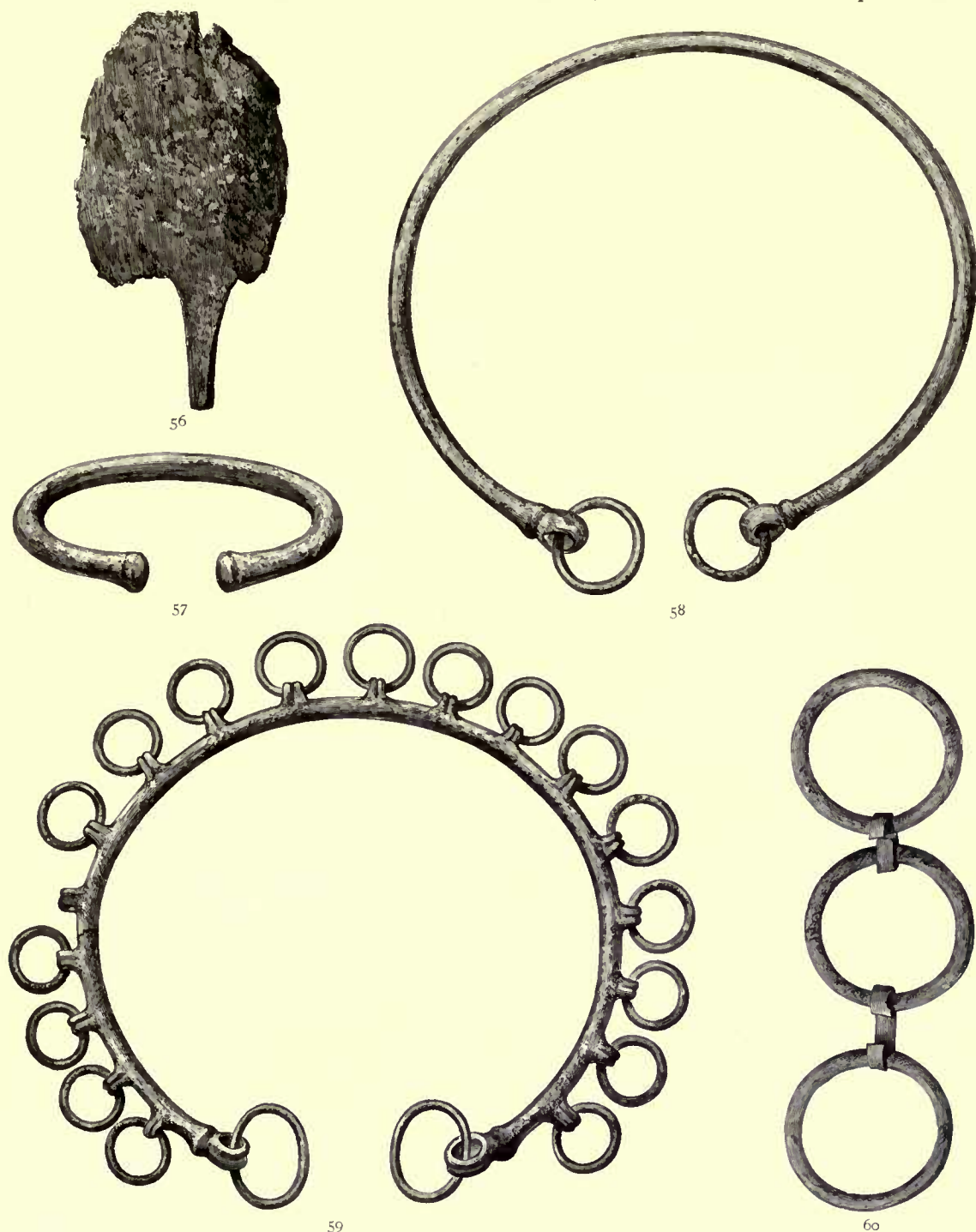
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is often found that the site has been a prehistoric cemetery. Bronze Age cemeteries are usually met with on sandy or gravelly knolls, and the interments in them are sometimes in cists, sometimes the urn with the burnt bones is merely placed in a small pit dug in the gravel, and sometimes, though much more rarely, the burnt bones are simply placed in a small shallow pit with a flat stone to cover them. In such a cemetery in a sandbank at Magdalen Bridge ten cinerary urns were found, and among the burnt bones in one of the urns was a finely ornamented bronze blade of the oval tanged form. In another cemetery in a sand-bank at Musselburgh thirteen urns were found, and in a similar cemetery at Lawpark near St. Andrews twenty urns were found. In another at Alloa twenty-two urns were found, of which only one is known to have been preserved. Among this group of cremated burials there was one unburnt, and on the flat stone cover of the cist containing the skeleton, there were two penannular armlets of gold, like Fig. 81, together weighing nearly five ounces.

These cemeteries, which are found all over the country, present no indications of their presence on the surface, but one variety of the Bronze Age cremation cemetery is conspicuously marked off from the surrounding area by its encircling ring of standing stones. These stone circles, as they are called, exhibit considerable variety in the size and disposition of the stones composing them. They are most numerous in the north-eastern districts of Scotland, where there is also prevalent a peculiar formation of the circle which has not been observed elsewhere. This peculiarity consists in the presence of a great stone recumbent on its edge and filling up the gap between two of the pillar stones, usually on the arc of the circle to the west of south. But whatever the variety in the character of the over-ground phenomena—whether the circle consists merely of boulders rolled into their places, or of tall slabs erected in the soil, with or without a recumbent stone or a surrounding trench—wherever they have been carefully examined they have been found to exhibit the same characteristic forms of burial, mostly after cremation and accompanied by the same forms of decorated urns and the same classes of objects of bronze as are found in the cists of the cairns and the unfenced cremation cemeteries. In many instances the great size of their pillar stones and the magnitude of the area enclosed give to these circles a peculiarly impressive character. The circle of Stennis in Orkney stands within a circular trench 30 feet in width and 6 feet deep, enclosing an area of two and a half acres. The stones of the circle were probably about sixty in number, placed about 17 feet apart on the circumference of a circle about 340 feet in diameter. Of the twenty-three stones that are still in their places, either erect or fallen, the highest is 14 feet and the lowest 6 feet, and the greatest breadth of any stone 8 feet. There is nothing of the nature of evidence by which the great circles can be separated from the lesser circles or assigned to any different period or purpose.

The hoards of bronze objects that are found concealed in the soil, but not associated with burials, form a very important part of the evidence from which we derive our knowledge of the culture and civilisation of the Bronze Age. As the bronze industry developed itself there arose a system of commerce in the manufactured articles as well as in the raw materials. Among those who learned to make moulds and castings there were of necessity some who acquired special proficiency, and whose work was in request. They seem to have travelled the country setting up temporary working places here and there, and collecting the old broken and worn-out implements and melting and re-casting them. Of one hundred and ten hoards of bronze objects known in Britain previous to 1881, Sir John Evans classes nearly

one-half as having belonged to founders, and the rest partly to travelling traders or to individuals. The largest hoard found in Scotland was that dredged up from the marl-bed in Duddingstone Loch in 1780, a portion of which when presented



FIGS. 56-60. Hoard of bronze personal ornaments, etc., found at Braes of Gight, Aberdeenshire.

to the Society of Antiquaries in January, 1781, consisted of twenty-nine pieces of bronze sword-blades, twenty-three pieces of bronze spear-heads, mostly of large size, and one of the ring-handles of a large bronze cauldron. A hoard found at Killin in 1868, consisted of a broken bronze sword, a spear-head, two socketed axes, a gouge, a circular hollow ring, and nine plain solid rings from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter and an arm-ring or bracelet of penannular shape with expanding ends.

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A hoard, exhibited by the Earl of Aberdeen, which was discovered at Braes of Gight in Aberdeenshire, consisted of a thin oval tanged blade (Fig. 56) which is bifid at the pointed extremity, three pairs of penannular armlets, one of which is shown in Fig. 57, two penannular rings (Fig. 58), a large penannular ring of cast bronze with smaller rings passing through loops attached to its outer circumference at equal distances and at each of its ends (Fig. 59), and three small bronze rings attached together by thin bands of bronze (Fig. 60). At Balmashanner near Forfar, in 1892, a hoard was found, apparently deposited in a large clay vessel, and consisting of one socketed axe, thirteen penannular armlets, three large and six small solid rings of bronze, four penannular hollow rings of triangular section, made of thin gold plates, three penannular rings of thin gold on cores of bronze, twenty-eight beads of amber, five beads of jet, and a round-

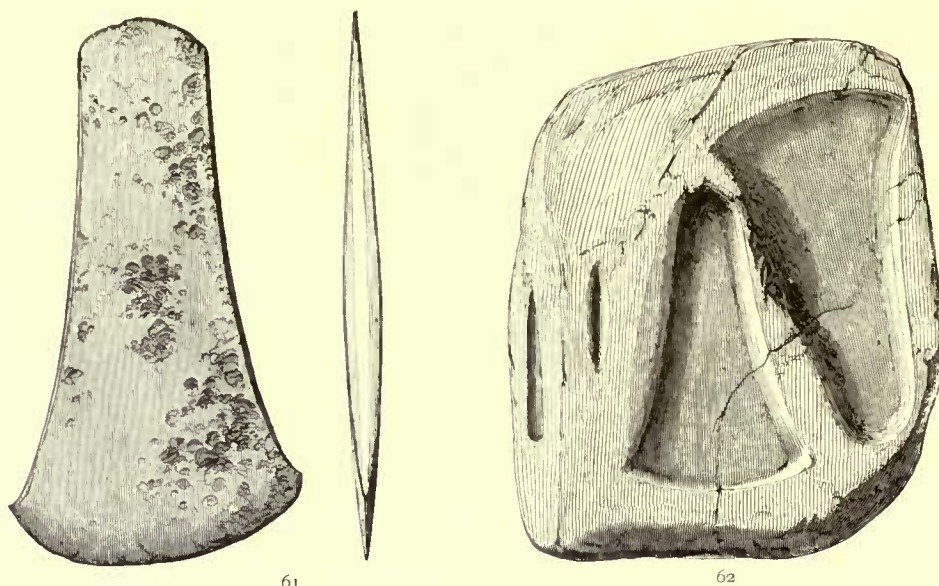


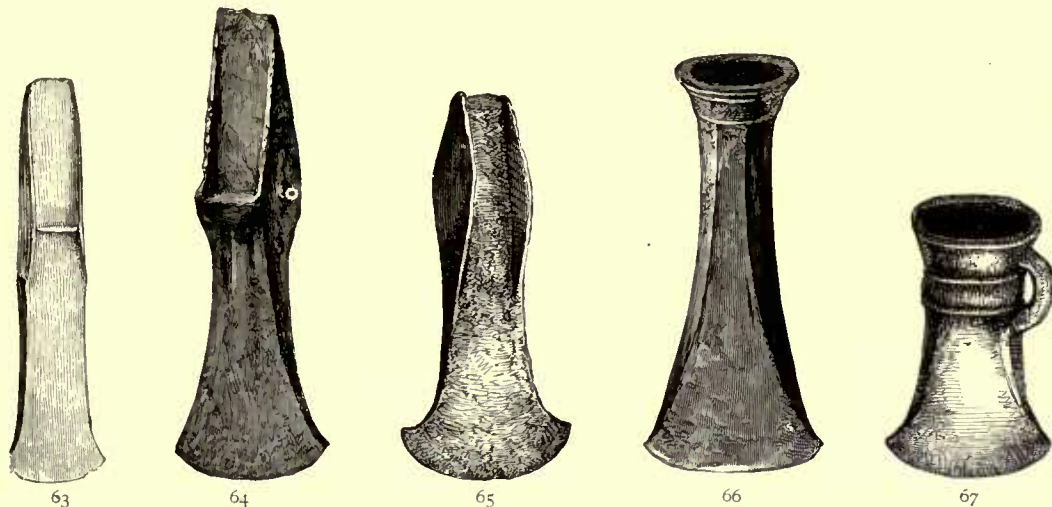
FIG. 61. Flat axe of bronze. FIG. 62. Stone mould for casting flat axes; both from Morayshire.

bottomed vessel of cast bronze 4 inches in diameter and nearly the same in depth. The vessel is what is technically called a 'waster,' the metal having failed to run for an inch and a half along one side at the upper part, thus making the casting incomplete. A hoard of bronze objects recently discovered at Skibo in Sutherlandshire, consists of two flat axes, three pairs of plain solid rings or armlets, a pair of flat ornamented armlets with three mouldings and bands of chasing between them, a single flat armlet of thin bronze with a row of oval bosses on a ground of chased parallel lines, a necklace of forty cylindrical beads of thin bronze rolled on wooden cores, two ear-pendants, four conical hollow bosses of thin bronze each with a couple of very small pin-holes near the margin as if to be fastened on something, and six buttons of jet or lignite of the usual conical form, like Fig. 84, and pierced at the back by two holes meeting each other obliquely.

By classifying the contents of such hoards along with the sepulchral deposits found in cairns, cists, and cemeteries, and including with them the objects found singly in the soil, we obtain a general view of the industrial products of the Age of Bronze. They resolve themselves into three groups—tools or implements, weapons, and personal ornaments, besides the different varieties of sepulchral pottery that have been already described. It is proper to state that stone tools continued in use in the Bronze Age as circumstances required, and it is obvious that such things as whetstones and stone moulds were in a peculiar sense stone implements of the Bronze Age.

Stone weapons of certain kinds also continued to be used in the Age of Bronze, such as flint arrow-heads, and some forms of the finely polished and perforated axe-hammers.

The tools of the bronze age consist of axes, knives, saws, chisels, gouges, hammers, and anvils. The axes are of three varieties, flat, flanged, and socketed. The



FIGS. 63-65. Flanged axes. FIGS. 66, 67. Socketed axes of bronze.

flat axes (Fig. 61) which belong to the early part of the bronze period, have a segmental cutting face at the broader end, the sides curving inwards and tapering slightly to the narrow end. The cutting face was hammered to an edge and sharpened by grinding, and the butt end fixed in a solid handle of wood. The ordinary size of these axe-heads is from 5 to 7 inches in length, with a cutting face of from 3 to 4 inches in width. Sometimes they are ornamented on the flat faces with

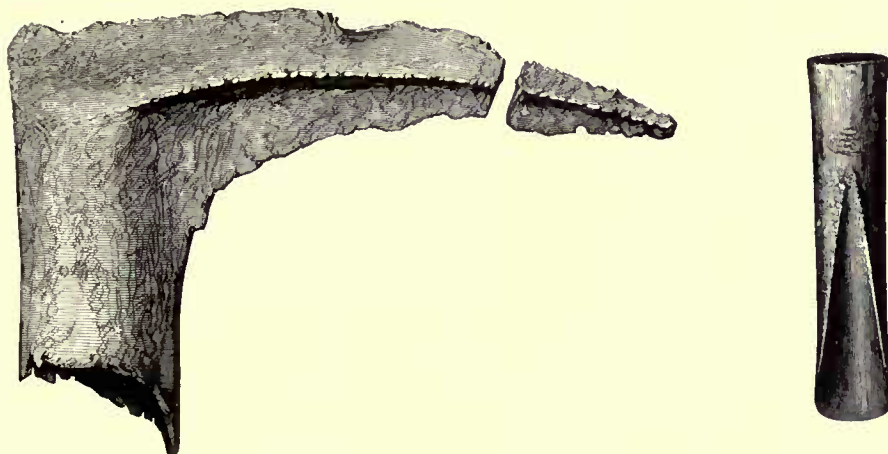


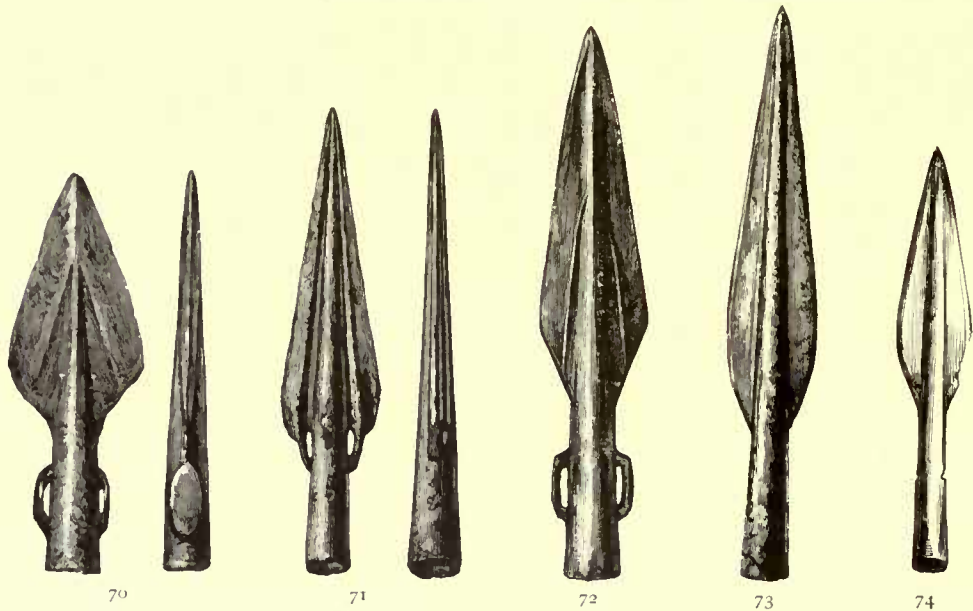
FIG. 68. Socketed sickle.

FIG. 69. Socketed gouge of bronze.

patterns punched or hammered into the metal. Moulds cut in stone for casting these axe-heads are not unfrequently found. Fig. 62 represents one found on the Culbin Sands, Morayshire. They are open moulds in which one side of the casting was an air surface, and consequently flat, while the other was gradually curved from the thickest part in the middle to the thinness of either end, so that the axe after it came from the mould had to be finished by the hammer. Sometimes the side edges were hammered up along the margin like slight flanges, and the transition from such slight flanges to the more solid and deeper flanges formed in the

mould, as in Figs. 63, 64, and 65, is obvious. The flanges as they become deeper are withdrawn further towards the butt end, and sometimes hammered over towards each other till they almost meet. The most suitable handle for the flanged axe must have been a kneed branch with the angled part cut off short and split to let in the butt of the axe-head, while the flanges formed a kind of imperfect socket for the wood. The socketed axe (Figs. 66 and 67) is an improvement on this plan of hafting, by which the axe-head is cast with a socket, so that the metal receives the angled end of the handle, and the wood is no longer split by the butt of the axe rising between the flanges. Flanged and socketed axes were cast in moulds of stone made in two moieties and dowelled together for the casting. The socket was formed in the mould by a core of clay, which was afterwards dug out.

Bronze knives and saws are rare in Scotland, and it may be assumed that much of the work usually assigned to these tools might be readily accomplished by other means. The double-edged and straight-bladed knife with a socket has been found,



FIGS. 70-74. Spear-heads of bronze.

however, as well as the socketed leaf-shaped blade which curves sideways, of which an example from the Culvin Sands was exhibited by Rev. John M'Ewen. Bronze chisels are of two varieties, tanged and socketed, but they are not very common, and there is not much difference between them and such axes as Fig. 63. Bronze gouges are always socketed. One is shown in Fig. 69. Bronze hammers are also socketed, but no Scottish example is known. There is one example of a bronze anvil. It is very small, and adapted for being used in two different positions according as one or other of its wedge-shaped terminations was fixed in the stock. In one position it presents on its upper face a number of swages of different widths and depths, in the other the ordinary beating surface. Bronze sickles, having a curved blade of about 4 inches in length projecting at right angles to the socket (Fig. 68) are occasionally found. They imply the practice of agriculture, and the use of other implements of which we have no direct evidence.

Bronze weapons were spear-heads, swords, daggers. The spear-heads exhibit a great variety of form and size, from the light javelin head of about 4 inches in length to the long-bladed spear, like Fig. 75, of 15 to 18 inches in length. They are always socketed, and in many cases cored almost to the point. The blade is more or less leaf-shaped, and the prolongation of the tapering socket to the point serves

as a mid-rib to strengthen it. Some have the base of the blade pierced with two loop-like apertures, and others have projecting loops cast on either side of the socket, as in Figs. 70, 71 and 72. It has been supposed that the spear-head was fastened to the shaft by thongs passing through these loops, but a great many spear-heads have rivet-holes in the socket for this purpose, and many with rivet-holes are also supplied with loops. These spear-heads were cast in moulds of stone made in two moieties,

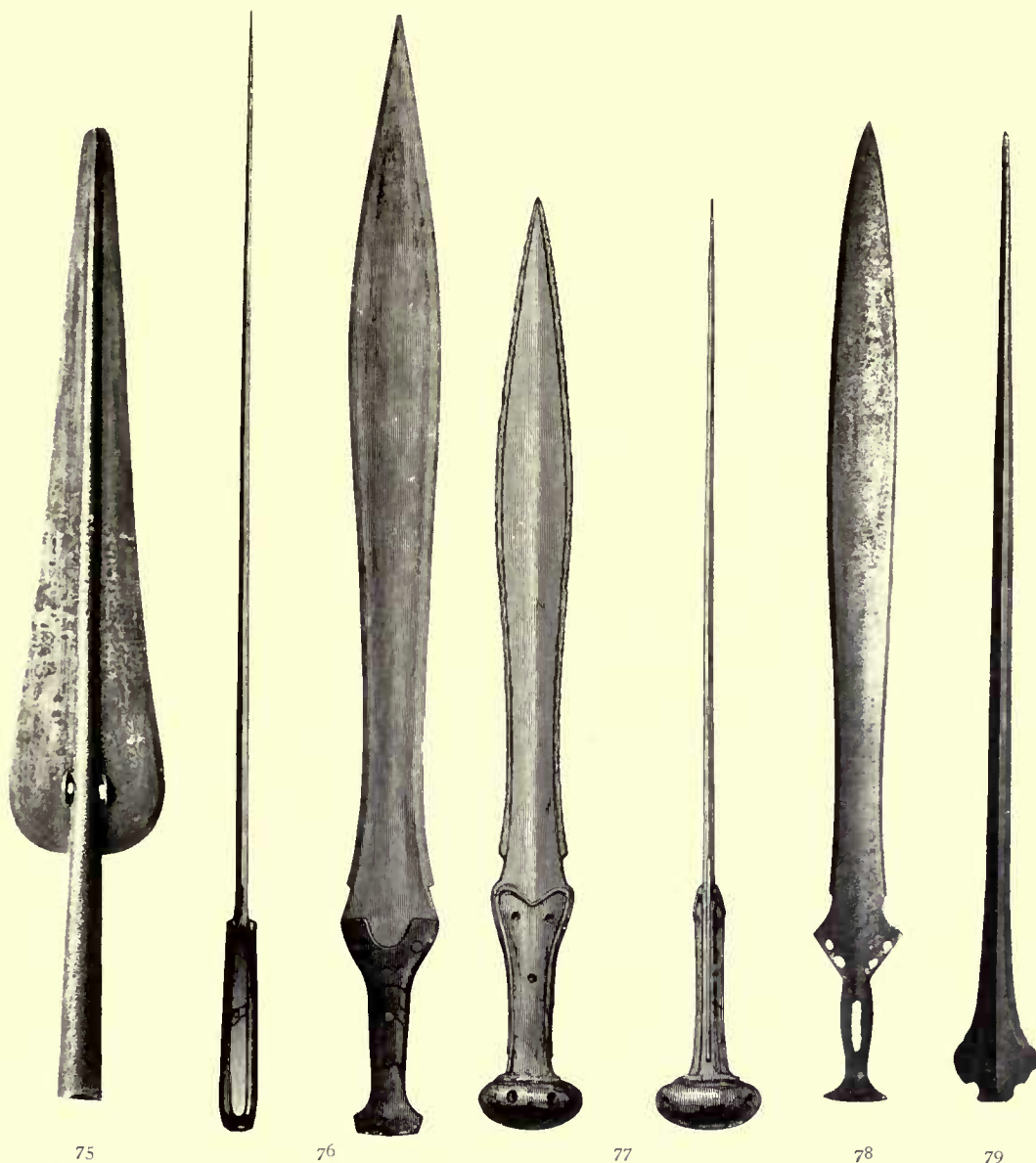


FIG. 75. Large spear-head of bronze from Elginshire. FIG. 76. Bronze sword with handle of horn found in Lewis.
 FIG. 77. Bronze sword with handle of cast bronze found in Edinburgh.
 FIG. 78. Bronze sword with slot in the handle-plate. FIG. 79. Rapier-shaped bronze sword.

to be applied to each other for the casting. The moulds are most ingeniously made, for instead of the exact half of the spear being cut in each moiety of the mould, the whole thickness of the blade and loops is sunk in the one, while the other has merely the mid-rib sunk in it and the sides gently bevelled off so that when the two are fitted together a perfect mould is produced.

The sword of bronze is a short sword, the blade leaf-shaped, and the hilt unfurnished with a guard. The largest yet found in Scotland is only $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. The hilt-plate is short in proportion, and is usually pierced with rivet-holes

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or slots (as in Fig. 78) for fastening the side plates of horn which made up the round of the grip. A sword with these plates of ox-horn still attached to the handle-plate (Fig. 76) was found in a moss in the island of Lewis. A few swords, however, have their grip cast in bronze, with a pommel, like that found in Edinburgh (Fig. 77). The blade, which is doubly convex in the cross section, narrows slightly from the hilt, widening again from the narrowest part at about the first third of its length, till it reaches its greatest width at about the second third of its length from which it tapers with a graceful curve to the point. These double-edged swords were not ground to be sharpened. The edge was formed in a very peculiar manner suited to the properties of the material. A narrow strip of the metal of uniform width was hammered out to an extreme tenuity along the margin on both sides, and planed flat with a whetstone. There was also a narrow rapier-shaped sword of

bronze, like Fig. 79, which is of rarer occurrence. The swords were cast in moulds of stone or of clay, but the moulds are very rarely found. Besides the small knife-daggers with very thin blades that are found in the graves, there was a broad heavy dagger blade with a stout mid-rib which, like the thin daggers, was attached to the handle by rivets in the butt of the blade. Some of these may have been affixed at right angles to the end of a longish handle like the Indian war-pick. In the later part of the Bronze Age shields of bronze of

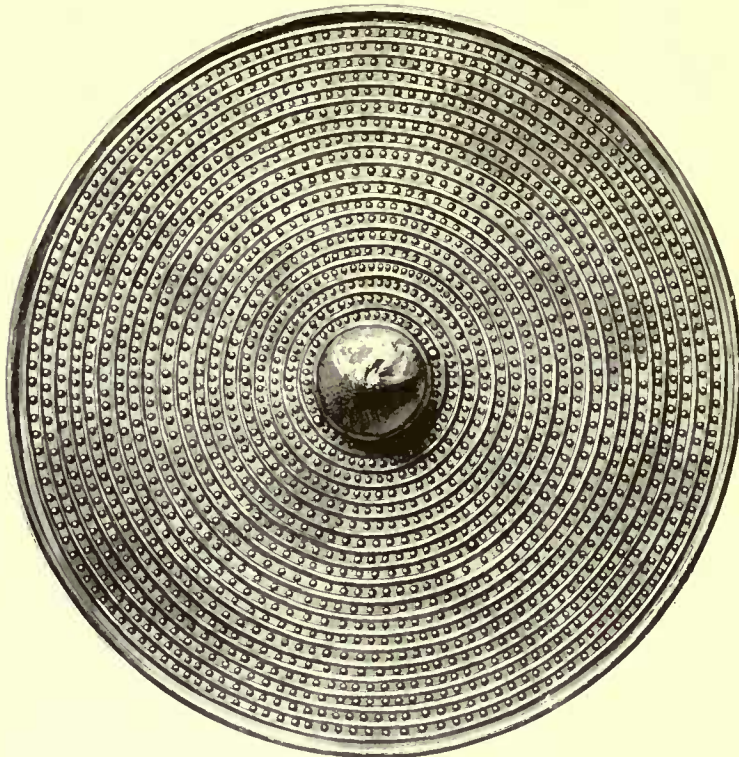


FIG. 80. Bronze shield found at Yetholm.

circular form and most elaborate workmanship (Fig. 80) were used, and war trumpets have been found both in Scotland and in Ireland. With these shields of beaten bronze may be compared the great cauldrons fashioned of thin plates riveted together, and furnished with rings for suspension, which give an amazing demonstration of the technical skill and proficiency in handicraft of the early workers in bronze.

The personal ornaments of the Bronze Age, made in bronze, were arm-rings made of solid rods of bronze bent into a circle with the ends touching but not joined together, penannular bracelets with expanded ends, or flat bracelets made of thin or hammered circlets, embossed, or chased; pins with round flat shield-like heads, ear-rings or pendants, and cylindrical beads made of thin bronze rolled on a core of wood. There were no brooches (in Britain at least) and no ornaments of any kind in silver, but the variety and sometimes the massiveness of the ornaments of gold was a conspicuous feature of the Age of Bronze. The gold ornaments consisted of solid penannular armlets (Fig. 81), sometimes having the expanded ends hollowed into a shape like the mouth of a trumpet, ear-rings and pendants, neck-

rings and twisted armlets or torcs (Fig. 82), and broad flat crescentic diadems of beaten gold (Fig. 83) often elaborately ornamented with fine linear patterns. No personal ornament of any period is more suggestive of costly magnificence than these golden diadems, and the frequency of the occurrence of the solid penannular armlets and twisted neck-rings testifies to the prevalence of the use of gold at a

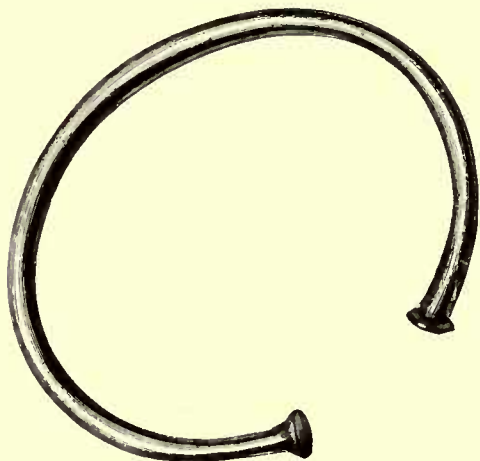


FIG. 81. Penannular armlet of gold.



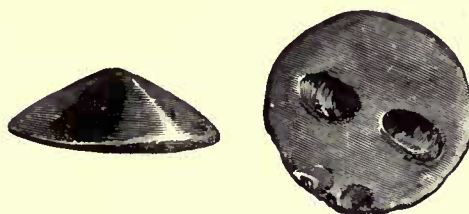
FIG. 82. Twisted or Torc armlet of gold.

period when iron and silver do not appear among the industrial products of the people.

The less costly, but by no means common, materials of jet and amber, were also utilised for purposes of personal adornment. Amber was scarce and is only found occasionally—in one case as a necklace of beads roughly cut into shape along with two discs of thin gold with linear ornament in repoussé. But the



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FIG. 83. Gold diadem.

FIG. 84. Side and back views of jet button.

frequency of the occurrence of necklaces of beads and plates of jet ingeniously constructed and of a highly decorative order (Fig. 85), among the grave-goods of the period, shows how greatly its qualities as a material for ornament had begun to be appreciated. The same thing may be said of the jet buttons (Fig. 84) which are also found in graves, and occasionally occur in sets of three or more, as if they were the furnishing of an individual garment. No Bronze Age clothing has been found in Britain, but more than one complete suit both of male and female clothing has been found in Denmark.

It is not difficult to perceive that the specialties of form and character which impart a feeling of strangeness and unfamiliarity to the general aspect of these products of the industrial arts of the Bronze Age are, nevertheless, such as are obviously suited to the requirements of the purpose for which they were designed, in view of the capabilities and limitations of the material of which they are made. Taking

them collectively—whether tools, weapons, or ornaments, whether fashioned in bronze or gold, or amber, jet or stone—they usually exhibit shapeliness of form and tastefulness of decoration. And it is remarkable that the high character of the workmanship exhibited is general over the whole country; the swords found in Skye and the Hebrides are as well made as those from any part of the mainland, while



FIG. 85. Jet necklace found in Ross-shire.

the urns from Argyle and Sutherland are as well made and highly decorated as those of the southern districts. It is possible sometimes to assign a few varieties of Stone Age implements to limited localities by their differences in shape from the general types, but the uniformity of the Bronze Age types over the entire area of Britain is very remarkable.

The Iron Age

ALTHOUGH there are no dates in prehistoric archaeology, there is a tendency to speculative estimates of the approximate limits in historic chronology which may be assigned with more or less probability to the Ages of Bronze and Iron in Western Europe. Sir John Evans gives, 'under great reserve,' the suggestion that the Bronze Age probably began in Britain from fourteen to twelve centuries before the Christian era, and lasted for at least a thousand years, thus bringing the commencement of the Iron Age to three or four centuries prior to the invasion of Britain by the Romans. We know that the invading legions found the natives of Southern Britain in possession of iron weapons, and the researches among the remains of the early Iron Age as far north as Yorkshire seem to imply that its peculiar culture must have had a long development within the country before it came in contact with Roman influences. For it is not merely the substitution of iron for bronze

as the material for cutting tools and weapons that marks the transition as we find it manifested in the remains of the early Iron Age. The sepulchral usages are changed and the decorative art is no longer the same. The simple system of rectilinear ornamentation, which was the chief characteristic of the decorative art of the early Bronze Age, has given way to an entirely different and much more ingenious system of curvilinear ornament characterised by a special partiality for the long sweeping curves derived from the ellipse which are used with surprising



FIG. 86. Bronze mirror.

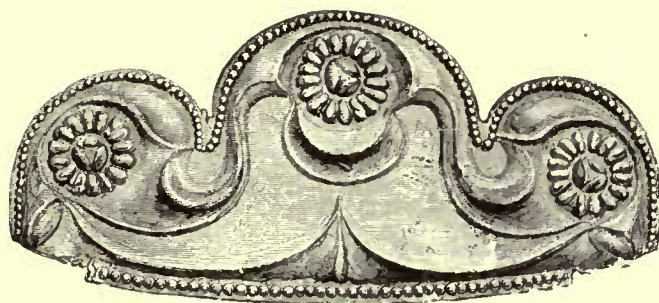


FIG. 87. Enlarged view of the ornamental plate attached at the base of its handle.

freedom and originality of conception and combination. One or two examples will illustrate the change in the burial customs. At Arras in Yorkshire, under a small barrow of about 25 feet in diameter and no great height, there was found deposited in a circular pit the skeleton of a man laid at full length. On either side were the wheels of a chariot 2 feet 11 inches in diameter, with iron tires and bronze hoops on the naves. Under the wheels were the skeletons of two horses, their heads laid on each side of the man's head. In various positions were two bridle-bits and numerous buckles and harness rings, and near the head of the man the skulls of two wild boars. Under another small barrow in a similar shallow pit there was found the skeleton of a woman, beneath her head was a mirror of iron with ornamental plating of bronze, behind the back two wheels of a chariot with iron tires and bronze hoops on the naves, and in various positions two bridle-bits and some harness mountings, and near the head the fore-quarters of two pigs. Mirrors of bronze, having their backs decorated with chased designs in this curvilinear style of ornamentation, have also been found with interments in the south and west of England.



FIG. 88. Crescentic plate of bronze with scroll ornament.

Although no burials that can be assigned to this period have hitherto been met with in Scotland, there is a considerable group of antiquities, chiefly in bronze, which display this characteristic ornamentation in a very remarkable manner. It usually consists of a series of irregularly divergent spirals or scroll-like figures formed of curves that are long and flattened passing suddenly into curves of quicker motion and repeating themselves rhythmically and symmetrically with perfect balance but without identity.

At Balmaclellan in Kirkcudbrightshire a bronze mirror (Fig. 86), having an ornamented plate of thin bronze at the base of its handle (Fig. 87), and a number of

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segmental plates and bands of thin bronze, which seemed to have been attached to wood-work by pin-holes along the margins, were found along with a quern in digging a drain. Among them was a crescentic plate elaborately chased with a



FIG. 89. Bronze mask or chanfrein found at Torrs, Kirkcudbrightshire.

scroll-like design (Fig. 88), recalling some of those on the backs of the mirrors before referred to, and still more closely resembling the scroll-work on some of the bronze sheaths of the iron swords of this period that have been found both in Scotland and in Ireland. When the ornament is worked in repoussé, or cast in the solid forms produced by the meeting of these peculiar curves, the effect is very bold and striking. A singular example of this ornament in repoussé is exhibited in the bronze mask or chanfrein found at

Torrs in Kirkcudbrightshire (Fig. 89) and now preserved at Abbotsford. Another example, showing the same ornament in a much less flamboyant style, is the boar's head of bronze (Fig. 90) found at Leichestown in Banffshire and exhibited by the Banff Museum. A series of

massive armlets of cast bronze (like Fig. 102) from various parts of Scotland, and of which there has been only one example found beyond the Scottish area, exhibit in the boldest manner the special peculiarities of the style. Some faint resemblance to it may also be traced in the decoration of some of the knobbed stone balls which are also peculiar to Scotland.

Enamelled horse trappings, of which a fine example has been found in Dumfriesshire, were also characteristic of this period, and enamel was freely used in the decoration of sword-sheaths, and armlets, and semicircular-headed pins.

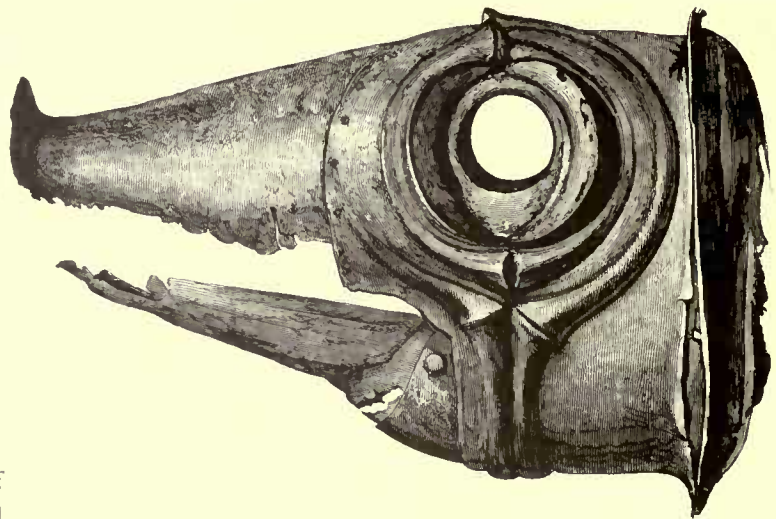


FIG. 90. Swine's head of bronze found at Leichestown, Banffshire.

To the Iron Age belong many, if not all, of the great hill-forts which are found in such surprising numbers throughout the country. They are sometimes wholly built of stones, but more commonly have earthen ramparts and ditches. In a stone fort recently explored at Castle Law, Abernethy, in Perthshire, there were found portions of iron implements, a bronze spiral finger-ring, and a bronze fibula, bracelets and rings of jet or lignite, and a polished stone axe. A similar spiral finger-ring of bronze was found in the hill-fort of Dunsinnane. The so-called vitrified forts appear to belong to the same period. They do not differ from the other forts except in the presence of vitrification to a greater or less extent in their walls, and Dr. Angus

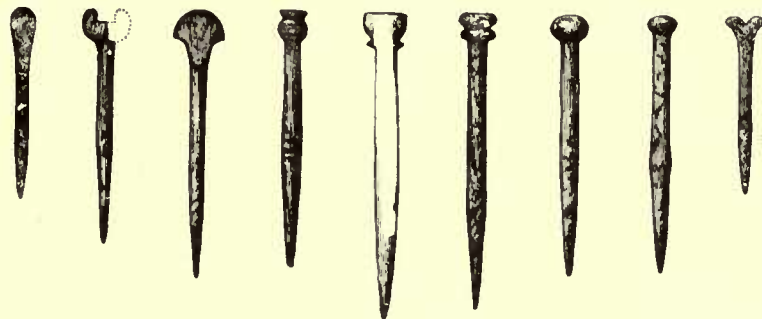
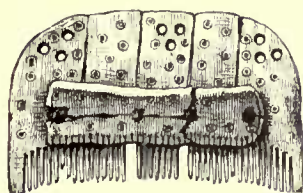


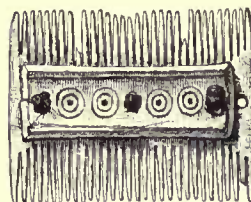
FIG. 91. Nine pins of bone. All from Brochs.

Smith found portions of iron implements and an enamelled bronze disc in the vitrified fort of Dun Mac Uisneachan in Argyleshire.

To this period also belong the brochs, those great dry-built round towers of which about 350 have been enumerated in Scotland, while not a single one has been found in any other country. They are most numerous in the northern districts; but examples are found as far south as Coldoch, in Perthshire, Torwood, in Stirlingshire, Galashiels, in Selkirkshire, and Cockburn Law, in Berwickshire. The average broch is a circular tower with a wall fifteen feet thick surrounding an internal court 30 feet in diameter, open to the sky above. A single doorway through the wall is the only



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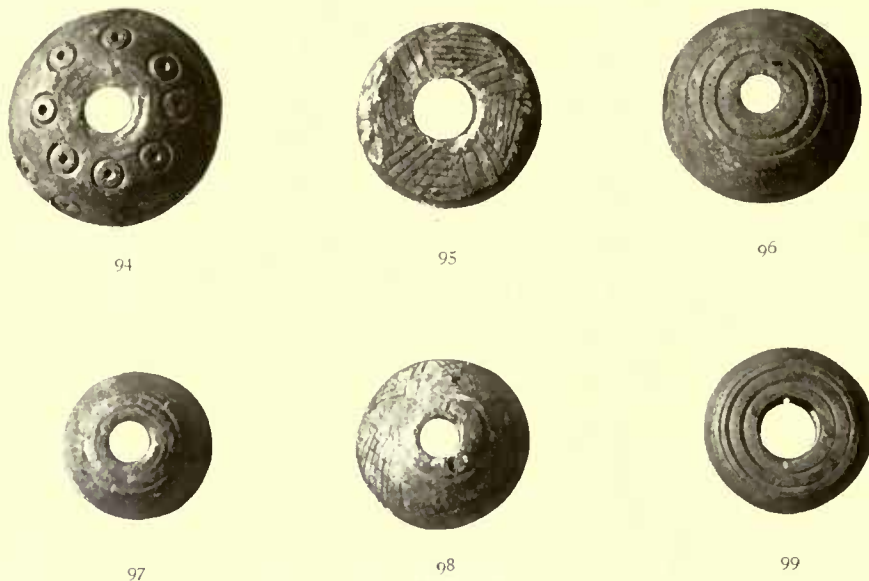


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FIGS. 92, 93. Single-edged and double-edged combs of bone.

opening to the outside, and gives access to the interior court, from which another doorway leads to a stair giving access to a series of five or six galleries running right round the tower in the thickness of the wall, one above the other, and lighted by ranges of window-like openings looking into the court. The broch on Cockburn Law is the largest, having a wall 17 feet thick enclosing a court 56 feet in diameter, but the wall is so destroyed that only a few feet of its height remain entire. Mousa, in Shetland, however, is still 45 feet in height, and Dun Carloway in Lewis was 40 feet high at the beginning of the last century. The relics found in those that have been explored indicate that the people who occupied the brochs cultivated grain, kept flocks and herds, and hunted the forest and fished the sea for their sustenance. The probability is that they manufactured all the weapons and implements they used, and we find them using swords, spears, daggers, knives, and axes of iron, and pincers, rings, bracelets, pins, and other articles of bronze. Two cakes of crude bronze were found in one broch, a clay mould for making bronze

pins in another, and a crucible with melted bronze adhering to the bottom in a third. They also utilised the bones and horns of deer and other animals in the fabrication of such things as pins (Fig. 91), needles, bodkins, combs (Figs. 92, 93), spindle-whorls and other appliances of every-day life. They made beads and bracelets of jet or lignite, and they had other beads of variously coloured vitreous pastes, enamelled with spiral lines and other devices. They also made beads and discs of polished



FIGS. 94-99. Six spindle-whorls.

stone; and of the common varieties of stone they made grain rubbers and querns, mortars, whetstones, bowls and cups with side-handles, lamps, and spindle-whorls. They made pottery of various kinds, and the constant presence of spindle-whorls (Figs. 94-99) and long-handled combs (Fig. 100) among the relics from almost every broch testifies to the general practice of the arts of spinning and weaving. Objects of the Romano-British period, such as pieces of Samian ware and Roman glass



FIG. 100. Long-handled comb of deer-horn.

vessels, and Roman coins, have been found in several brochs, while others have yielded bronze articles with late-Celtic ornamentation.

The Earth-houses which also belong to this period present a type of structure more suited for concealment than for defence or permanent habitation. They are long narrow galleries of dry-built masonry, usually curving and widening and increasing in height from the entrance inwards, the walls slightly converging and the roof of heavy lintels, always lower than the surrounding surface, so that the whole structure is subterranean. They are more frequently found singly, but occasionally occur in considerable groups. In a group of five at Airlie, in Forfarshire, the largest is 67 feet in length, and its average breadth from the farther end to within about 12 feet of the entrance is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The height at the entrance is only 22 inches, and the

floor slopes down for about 20 feet inwards where a height of 6 feet is obtained. The walls are built of boulder stones, in courses converging from a width of over 7 feet at the floor to about 4 feet at the roof. The covering stones are very massive some of them 8 feet in length and 4 feet wide. Another interesting example was explored at Cairn Conan, near Arbroath, in 1859. It was of the usual form, but had a small circular side chamber off the main chamber. The main chamber was 65 feet in length, widening gradually from $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet at the entrance to 8 feet at the further end, and the circular chamber is 10 feet in diameter and over 7 feet high. It had a converging roof covered in by a very large boulder. The most interesting thing in connection with this earth-house, however, was the presence close to it of an over-ground habitation, the paved floor of which was 20 feet in diameter. In it were found a plain bronze ring or bracelet, 3 inches in diameter, a quern, two spindle-whorls of lead, and much corroded fragments of iron cutting implements. A few yards distant was a group of six graves. They were full-length graves lined along the sides and ends with slabs. The only manufactured object found in them was a

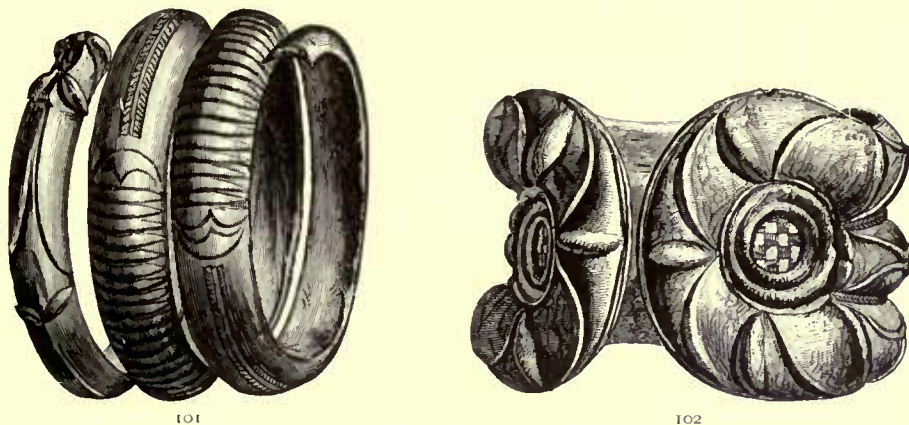


FIG. 101. Snake armlet of bronze from an earth-house at Cairn Conan.

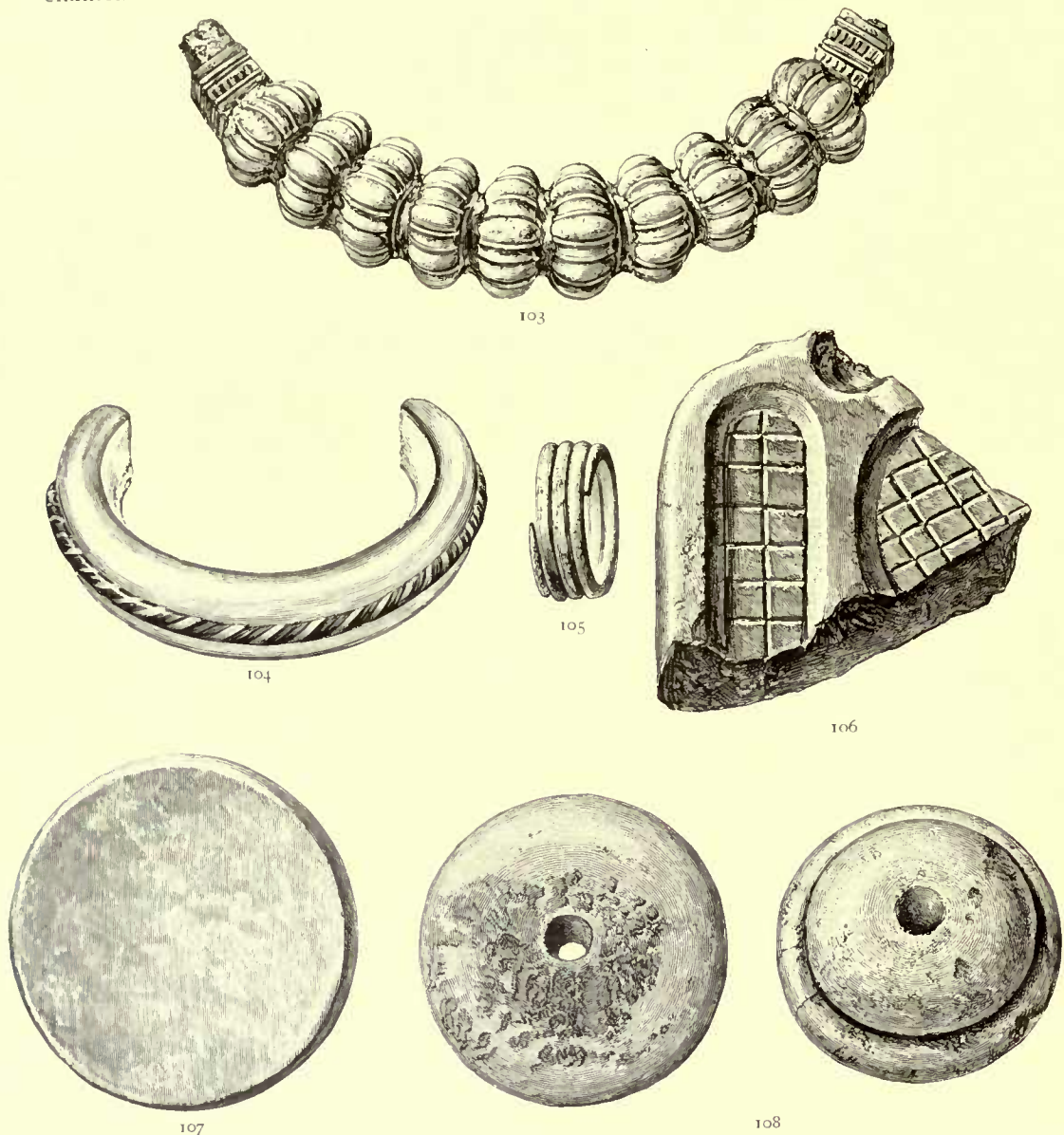
FIG. 102. Massive armlet of bronze, with enamel plaques in the circular terminal expansions, found in an earth-house at Castle Newe.

single ring or bracelet of lignite. In the earth-house itself were found fragments of large wheel-made pottery vessels, a bronze needle, and a quern. But among the rubbish thrown out of it there was found a beautiful spiral bronze bracelet (Fig. 101) in the form of a double serpent. In the entrance to another earth-house at Castle Newe, Aberdeenshire, a pair of massive armlets of bronze of a type peculiar to this period and to Scotland, were found, with the chequered plaques of red and white enamel still in the circular expansions of the penannular extremities. One of these is shown in Fig. 102.

The Scottish Crannogs or Lake Dwellings are also of this period. They vary considerably in their construction, the main feature common to most of them being a platform of habitation supported on a substructure of logs, brushwood, clay, and stones resting on the bottom, and generally bounded and steadied by piles. The crannogs in Dowalton Loch, Wigtownshire, which were the first explored in Scotland, yielded remains indicative of occupation in post-Roman times. Further investigation of crannogs subsequently discovered in Ayrshire, Galloway, and elsewhere has simply corroborated these results. The latest exploration of the crannog at Hyndford in Lanarkshire by Mr. Andrew Smith has again confirmed the conclusions drawn from previous investigations. The relics found at Hyndford included Roman pottery and objects of native manufacture, such as a beaded torc of bronze (Fig. 103), similar to one found in Lochar Moss, several portions of bracelets of vitreous paste, of which

PREHISTORIC REMAINS

one is shown in (Fig. 104), a spiral bronze finger ring Fig. 105, a stone cup with a side-handle, a broken stone mould (Fig. 106) a polished disc of stone (Fig. 107), two spindle-whorls (Fig. 108), a small polished stone axe, and a piece of red enamel.



FIGS. 103-108. Relics found in a Crannog at Hyndford, Lanarkshire.

With the Roman invasion Britain emerges from its prehistoric obscurity, and through the first four centuries of the Christian era the story of conquest and colonisation is told in outline by the Roman historians. But it is at the best a very defective and uncircumstantial account of the civilisation and culture of the native communities that we obtain from these writers, who counted all as barbarism that lay beyond the limits of the Roman empire. For the due investigation of the Romano-British period it is therefore still necessary to supplement the imperfect story of the records by the evidence of the remains and relics.

The principal remains of the Roman occupation are the two great barriers, guarded by military posts at intervals, which were successively drawn across the island between the subjugated population of the province and the unconquered and

still hostile tribes to the northward, viz., the wall of Hadrian, extending from the Tyne to the Solway, and the wall of Antoninus Pius, extending from the Forth to the Clyde. Some of the stations on the southern wall have been excavated with most interesting results, but there has been as yet no systematic excavation of those along the northern wall, although the Glasgow Archaeological Society has made an interesting investigation of the constructive features of the wall itself. The recent excavations of the outlying camps or stations at Birrens, Lyne, Camelon, Ardoch, and Inchtuthil by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland have added much to the material available for filling in the details of the picture of the life of the occupants of these military posts and stations among the provincial Caledonians. The articles found in these excavations include altars to well-known Roman gods and obscure provincial divinities ; sculptured and inscribed mural tablets and statuary, with the general



FIG. 109. Bowl of Samian ware, of Roman provincial manufacture, found in Glasgow Green.

refuse and casual relics of military and civil occupancy, such as tools and weapons of iron, harness mountings and personal ornaments of bronze, among which are finely enamelled brooches and studs, coins of bronze and silver, and broken crockery and other appliances of domestic life. The most abundant and characteristic relics of the Roman occupation are shards of pottery, either of the lustrous red ware imported from Gaul (which is commonly but erroneously called Samian), or of the white, grey, and black ware from the provincial potteries of South Britain. The red ware is often beautifully ornamented with figures and devices stamped or moulded in relief. It is a rare occurrence for a vessel of any kind of pottery ware to be found entire, but such an instance occurred a few years ago during the progress of some excavations on Glasgow Green when the beautiful bowl of lustrous red ware, exhibited by the Corporation, and shown in Fig. 109 was found perfectly uninjured.

After the departure of the Roman legions from Britain in the beginning of the fifth century the darkness again falls and continues until, with the progress of Christianity, there comes the diffused light of the beginnings of history, in the pages of Adamnan and Bede. Christianity abolished the Pagan custom of burying grave-goods with the dead, and thus brought to a final close the phenomena of sepulture, which have supplied Archaeology with the necessary material for the establishment and illustration of its three Ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron.

JOSEPH ANDERSON.

Sculptured Stones

BEFORE proceeding to deal with the great and important group of the Pictish monuments, a few words may be said about a different type of sculptured work, found south of the Forth. These southern stones are of great though varying antiquity; very often they show strong points of likeness to purely Celtic work; and the interplaiting of bands and of reptiles is common to both. This Celtic feeling is found, not only among the stones of the North of England, but in many other places, and even in districts as remote as Cornwall.

If there are points of likeness between Celtic and Anglian work, there are also points of marked difference. For instance, that commonest of Celtic patterns, the divergent spiral, never appears on Anglian sculptures; the nimbus which surrounds the heads of some of the Anglian effigies is rarely, if ever, seen north of the Forth; on the southern carvings stems burst into leaf and fruit, but leaf-patterns are very rarely found on the stones of Pictland. That there was a close artistic connection between the South of Scotland and Northumbria, may be seen from the purely Anglian work still preserved in the churchyard of Abercorn, and in the Abbey of Jedburgh: places both in early days connected with the See of Lindisfarne and of Durham.

The main influence in the Anglian work seems to have come from southern sources. Canon Greenwell of Durham, writing about the Anglian crosses, says, 'It is known that St. Wilfrid employed Italian masons to build his church at Hexham, and that Benedict Biscop brought workmen from Gaul; may not, then, other artists, trained in another school, have come from Italy, to whom we are indebted for the sculpturing of these two glorious memorial crosses of Bewcastle and Ruthwell?'¹

The Ruthwell Cross (Figs. 110-113) is by far the finest example of this type in Scotland. Local tradition tells that it was brought by sea from some distant country, cast on shore by shipwreck, and drawn inland by a team of oxen. The tackle broke; and superstition prevented further attempts at removal. A church was built over it, and this in time became the Parish Church of Ruthwell. Tradition apart, the cross was inside the church at a very early period, and remained there until long after the Reformation; but at length it attracted the attention of the General Assembly, who in 1642 passed an order for its destruction.

It was accordingly thrown down and broken, but the fragments were allowed to remain where they had fallen, and were used as seats by the congregation. In 1772 Pennant saw the cross in this condition, but soon after that time the building was re-seated, and the fragments were thrown out into the churchyard, then barely enclosed. In 1802 the Ruthwell Cross at last found a protector in the Rev. Dr. Henry Duncan, the parish minister. He collected the pieces: one indeed he rescued from a grave

¹ Introduction to Catalogue of Anglian stones in the Cathedral Library of Durham.



FIG. 110.
North side.

FIG. 111.
Obverse (East).

FIG. 112.
Reverse (West).

FIG. 113.
South side.

THE RUTHWELL CROSS, DUMFRIES



in process of construction, and re-erected the cross within the kindly precincts of the manse garden. It remained there for many years, but has now once more found sanctuary within the church.

The cross-beam was missing, and in 1823 Dr. Duncan 'with the help of the village mason' added the present one of his own design. He wrote an account of the cross in 1832 for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and we owe a great debt to his enthusiasm and labours.

The cross belongs to the seventh century; it stands 17½ feet high, is 2 feet wide at the base, and 15 inches in thickness. The broader sides are divided into panels, each with a border bearing in Latin a reference to the subject which it encloses. The extreme base is not shown in the illustration, as it only bears traces of a plain Latin cross. The subjects on the obverse, beginning at the bottom, are as follows:

The Salutation of the Virgin.

The healing of the man who was born blind. It may be mentioned that in the three representations of our Lord on this monument the figure is identified by the cross-bearing nimbus.

St. Mary Magdalene anointing the Saviour's feet.

The meeting of the Virgin and St. Elizabeth.

A man drawing a bow. This may have been connected with the design of the original cross-beam.

A man with a bird, at the very top: evidently St. John the Evangelist, from the inscription 'In principio erat verbum.'

On the reverse (again beginning at the base):—

The Flight into Egypt.

St. Paul and St. Antony in the desert. In a legendary life of St. Antony it is recorded how a raven brought him a daily loaf, and how, when St. Paul visited him, they shared this bread. On the panel, the round loaf may be seen between the two figures.

Our Lord standing upon two swine. The inscription is from the Gospel of the Nativity, and has been thus translated: 'Jesus Christ the Judge of Righteousness; beasts and dragons knew the Saviour of the world in the desert, and came and worshipped him.'

A figure standing on two globes and bearing the *Angus Dei*: probably St. John the Baptist.

It is curious that these four panels should all be more or less connected with the desert; but it may only be a coincidence. The illustration shows the beauty of the scrolls on the narrower sides of the cross, which may be compared with the work on the Bewcastle cross, and that on the fragment from Jedburgh in the Glasgow collection. They are of distinctly Anglian type, and exhibit one southern peculiarity which hardly ever appears on Celtic work, though it is common enough on early Romanesque sculptures, viz., the little binding or bracelet, where a stem divides into two branches. The scrolls are bordered by four columns inscribed in ancient northern Runes, and these were only deciphered in 1840, when Mr. J. M. Kemble found them to be fragmentary lines of Anglo-Saxon poetry. The following translation of a portion of them is from Dr. Joseph Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*. Only those lines which are printed in italics appear on the cross. Many years later there was discovered at Vercelli in North Italy a transcript of a tenth century MS. In this Mr. Kemble found a poem, called the 'Dream of the Holy Rood,' written in the Wessex dialect of Anglo-Saxon, and containing every single line he had previously found on the cross. In the later part of the 'Dream' the cross itself relates the story of Calvary.

'T was many a year ago,
I yet remember it,
That I was hewn down
At the wood's end.

There men bare me upon their shoulders

Until they set me down upon a hill.

Then saw I tremble
The whole extent of earth

But yet I stood fast.

SCULPTURED STONES

*Then the young hero prepared himself,
That was Almighty God,
Strong and firm of mood
He mounted the lofty cross
Courageous in the sight of many.*

I trembled when he embraced me
Yet dared I not to bow earthwards—
Fall to the bosom of the ground,
But I was compelled to stand fast.
A cross was I reared,
*I raised the mighty king,
The Lord of the heavens,
I dared not fall down,
They pierced me with nails.*

*They reviled us both together,
I was all stained with blood
Poured from the man's side.*

The shadow went forth
Wan under the welkin,
All creation wept,
They mourned the fall of their king
*Christ was on the cross,
And hither hastening
Men came from afar
Unto the noble one—
I that all beheld
With sorrow I was stricken.*

The warriors left me there
Standing defiled with gore,
*With shafts all wounded,
They laid him down limb-weary,
They stood at the corpse's head
Beholding the Lord of Heaven,
And he rested him there awhile,
Wearied after the mighty contest.*

The stones of Pictland have a very wide distribution, and form undoubtedly the most interesting class of Celtic monuments in Scotland. They appear as far north as Orkney and Shetland, and are spread over all the eastern counties north of the Forth. In 1893 Mr. J. Romilly Allen published a list of sculptured stones, older than 1100 A.D., bearing symbols and Celtic ornament. This list includes 543 specimens, and of these over 400 belong to this eastern division. They have been divided into three classes.

The first and oldest consists of unshaped upright boulders, on which are incised certain mysterious and hitherto unexplained symbols.

The second class also consists of standing stones, shaped more or less carefully, bearing the same symbols, but now in conjunction with richly decorated Celtic crosses—the cross being generally found on one side, the symbols on the other.

In the third and latest class, the stones are recumbent instead of upright; the wealth of decoration is continued; but the symbols have entirely disappeared.

To these symbols the following descriptive names have been given: The Crescent, Spectacles, Snake, House, Mirror, Comb, Fibula. The first five of these are generally combined with a decorated rod, called the Sceptre, either in shape of a **V**, or like a **Z** reversed. It is due to no want of study that these signs still remain a mystery. Dr. John Stuart, in the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, has gone into the question at great length, but ends by saying, 'The conclusion at which I arrive is that the symbols—the comb, mirror, books, brooches, "spectacles," "crescents," and associated figures—were all objects of personal ornament or use, and that when they appear on our pillar stones they are to be regarded as symbols, representing the dignity, office, or descent of individuals.'

Lord Southesk, in *Origins of Pictish Symbolism* (David Douglas, 1893), traces them to a pre-Christian Scandinavian source, and connects them all with Scandinavian mythology. The 'Crescent' becomes the Sun-Axe, a symbol of Thor. The 'Spectacles' symbolise the Sun and Moon, attributes of Frey and Freya; while the 'Elephant' becomes the Sun Boar, again a symbol of Frey.

Dr. Joseph Anderson considers that the symbols belong to a Christian period, from the fact that while they are not found on pagan monuments, they are constantly found in association with the Cross, with Christian subjects, and with representations of Christian import: and this not only on the standing stones, but on the walls of caves, on metal-work, and on bone. To this class of symbols he considers that no

key has yet been found—such a key as the *Divine Bestiary*, which has helped so much in the solution of other problems presented by the monuments.

If the symbols are as yet a closed book, it is not so with the other designs, which are endless in their variety, at times masterly in their execution, and bring vividly before us the men of a dim and shadowy past with their surroundings.

We find men on horseback, armed with spears and bearing round or oval shields; men fighting with axes, or with swords, broad or sharp-pointed; horsemen pursuing stags, or wild boars; the ornaments of their bridles and reins, and high peaked saddle cloths; chariots, boats, priests in procession; tonsured priests with candle and staff; men seated in chairs; one man is seen killing an ox, another wielding a flail, a third shooting at a bear with bow and arrow. Anvils, hammers, tongs, brooches, harps and trumpets are all depicted: also birds of various sorts, one attacking a fish; apes, grey-hounds, dogs wearing collars, bulls, bears, a hind suckling her young, and many more incidents taken from life. To these might be added a long list of fabulous creatures: unicorns, centaurs, mermaids, dragons, reptiles possible and impossible, mixed up in apparently hopeless confusion. Some were probably only introduced as decorative accessories; but as in many cases their meaning has been discovered, it seems probable that in time more will yield up their secrets. Dr. Anderson has thrown much light on this matter, by showing how many of these puzzling groups are explained by the *Bestiaries*.¹



FIG. 114. Slab from Hilton of Cadboll.

The *Bestiaries* are medieval collections of Christian allegory, drawn from earlier sources, in which the imagery is taken from the animal world. One example must for the present suffice. It is from the *Divine Bestiary*, traceable to the fifth century.

The tigress is said to be so fierce an animal that none can approach her den, so the huntsmen place mirrors on her path. She is fascinated by her own image, and while she lingers gives the hunters time to carry off her cubs. The *Bestiary* itself points out the moral: we are to refrain from the seductive pleasures of life, symbolised by the mirrors, lest we lose our souls as the tigress loses her cubs.

Another great source of subjects was the Bible; we continually find Old Testament stories used as types of Christ. Again and again we meet with the ark, the story of Jonah, and of Daniel: indeed very much the same class of subject as is found on the walls of the catacombs and on the early Christian sarcophagi.

The stone from Hilton of Cadboll (Fig. 114), on the Cromarty Firth, now preserved at Invergordon, is seven feet eight inches high, and four feet seven inches

¹ *Scotland in Early Christian Times*. Vol. II. Lecture IV. I have to thank Dr. Joseph Anderson for permission to make free use of this most valuable book without continual acknowledgment.

broad. It belongs to the second period, when crosses and symbols were combined on the same monument. In this case the obverse, or cross-bearing face, has been smoothed away to make room for a late inscription.

On the reverse the border is composed of conventionalised branches, among which birds are feeding. The design is very like that on the Ruthwell Cross; but how different is the interpretation. This is a good example of the spontaneous and masterly drawing that distinguishes the Celtic from other forms of art.

The lowest panel is filled with the divergent spiral or trumpet pattern. This consists of a number of bands or spirals, issuing from common centres: each band



FIG. 115. Meigle great cross slab (obverse).



FIG. 116. Meigle great cross slab (reverse).

becomes broader as it diverges; then at a certain point it begins to narrow again, until it resolves itself into another group of spirals, surrounding another centre. The bands are often intersected at their broadest part by curved lines, and these give to the whole band the appearance of two trumpets, set mouth to mouth. There are examples of this spiral in Britain before the Roman occupation, but it was in Ireland that it took root; and to what perfection it was brought may be seen from such illuminated manuscripts as the Book of Kells and the Book of Durrow. It fell into disuse in Ireland, and probably in Scotland also, during the eleventh century.

At the top of the next panel there are two horsemen riding abreast: they might pass for one, were it not for the double outline of the animals' legs. In front are the Mirror and Comb symbols, a dog appears behind; and to the extreme right are two men blowing trumpets. Below are two more horsemen and a stag pursued by

hounds. Hunting scenes such as this are very common. They undoubtedly had a religious meaning. The stag represented the human soul, driven by the Christian virtues—typified by huntsmen and hounds—into the sanctuary of the church. While the drawing of the horses is, as usual, very beautiful, the evidently intentional dwarfing of one of the lower riders should be noticed: the object undoubtedly was to make the most of the panel-space. Over this are two richly filled circles and the Crescent, decorated with a diagonal pattern and divergent spirals. The Spectacle symbol is introduced in the border.

Meigle, in Perthshire, possesses a large group of sculptured monuments, which are collected and shown, in a building adapted to the purpose. They number twenty-two, some belonging to the second class, others to the later class, from which the symbolism has disappeared. The great Cross slab of Meigle (Figs. 115, 116) stands about



FIG. 117. Cross slab from Dunfallandy (obverse).



FIG. 118. Cross slab from Dunfallandy (reverse).

eight feet high. On the obverse is a boldly executed Celtic cross, studded with bosses; the more delicate carving is well nigh gone. To the left of the shaft may be seen a little figure leaning over a projection, as if in the act of rescuing another from a devouring monster. This probably refers to the story of Jonah. On the reverse is a hunting scene; Daniel surrounded by lions; and below this a centaur, type—according to the *Divine Bestiary*—of the man-animal, or the conflict between flesh and spirit.

The Cross slab from Dunfallandy, Perthshire (Fig. 117), has on the obverse, and round the square centre of the Cross, four panels, studded with prominent bosses; they are shown on a diapered ground work, either of the divergent spiral, or of the key pattern. The shaft is continued to the base, between panels of very obscure figure subjects. The bottom left-hand panel seems to represent Jonah being disgorged by the dragon or fish, and the winged figures to the right may represent angels. The group in the right-hand top panel is of singular interest. This is again a subject from the *Bestiary*, which tells that the lioness bore her cub dead;

but that after three days the lion breathed into the mouth of his offspring and gave it life,—this being a type of the resurrection. One variant of this parable by St. Isidore of Seville, who lived in the seventh century, is curious:

‘When the lioness has brought forth the cub she is said to sleep for three days, until by the sound of the father’s roar, which causes her sleeping place as it were to tremble, she rouses the sleeping cub: so Christ, when He has given us birth upon the cross, slept during three days until the great movement of the earth was made, and He was roused in the blessed Resurrection, so when the three days were ended—from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Moses, from Moses to the Maccabees—at that time came the father of all, Christ, who breathes by His sacred teaching into their faces and brings them to life.’¹

On the reverse (Fig. 118) is a border of two dragons, with a man’s head between them, perhaps a Jonah symbol. The upper division shows two seated figures, with a cross between them, and symbols above. Dr. Stuart explained this Dunfallandy group as representing the installation of a Celtic chief by the Brehon or judge.² Part of this ceremony consisted in the chief substituting for his weapons a straight white wand, handed to him as a sceptre, and as an emblem of purity and rectitude; to indicate also that his people were to be obedient to him, and that he required no other weapon of command.

The end of the wand appears above the shoulder of the right-hand figure. It is hardly necessary to call attention to the splendid drawing of the horse on the lower panel, the ease and freedom of its action: the loose rein showing that it is perfectly in hand.

Below, there are a hammer, an anvil, and a pair of pincers. Such instruments are at times emblematical of the nails of the cross, and as such they appear in many places and at various periods. In this case they seem to be a later addition.

The Cross slab from Rossie Priory, Perthshire (Figs. 119, 120), has been selected for illustration on account of the beauty of its plaited ornament, and for the extraordinary figure subjects which adorn it. The obverse shows a cross in high relief, its centre formed by a beautiful circular design. There are deep circular depressions at the transections of the arms, and these, as well as the shaft, are panelled with very varied tracery; while the ground-work is charged with groups of monsters, which though unexplained doubtless have their meaning. At the base on the left are two dragons facing each other, each in the act of devouring a bird. The bird’s head is in the mouth of the dragon, who with one foot holds her by the claw, with another by the neck. The group above this shows a man being torn in pieces by two monsters, a quadruped and a serpent. His head is in the mouth of the former, while the latter holds him by the foot. Next come two creatures ‘passant,’ one below and one above, where the arm of the cross has flaked off.

To the right of the cross the lowest group consists of two centaurs, their bodies mixed up in a studied confusion, reminding one of the Irish manuscripts; their tails take the form of serpents, and each of these is biting the head of the opposing centaur. Over this comes a horned creature; next, a beast killing a serpent; and at the top, a beak-headed man attacks a bird with his axe, while the head of an animal he has killed lies at his feet.¹ May it be that this blood-thirsty imagery

¹ *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, by Miss Margaret Stokes.

² Stuart’s *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*. Vol. II. Appendix to Introduction, page 50—Celtic judges.

was introduced round the cross as an emblem of the cruelty and evil which it was its mission to destroy? The figures on the reverse present a great contrast to the turbulence of those just described; they are for the most part mounted figures of the usual type. Above the cross-beam are an angel and a man carrying two birds. The plaited scroll work is extremely interesting and ingenious. It is formed by a single band. This may be followed from the right-hand bottom corner, whence it runs in simple enough knots until it comes to the right arm of the cross; this it entirely fills with a complicated design, and then returns to the border. When the top of the cross is reached the band digresses as before, filling the top panel



FIG. 119. Cross slab from Rossie Priory (obverse).



FIG. 120. Cross slab from Rossie Priory (reverse).

with a completely new design. It then returns again to the border, which it once more leaves to form the pattern of the left arm, and is then continued as border to the base of the stone.

The ancient churchyard of Govan is one of the most curious places that are to be seen within the limits of the wider and later Glasgow. Outside its smoke-blackened walls the busy life of the river and the streets, of the docks and ship-building yards throbs on: within is a wide enclosure of about an acre and a half, thickly strewn with tombstones of various ages. A greater contrast cannot well be imagined. Of the history of Govan a word must suffice. There are records of an early mission ruled by St. Constantine, to whom the ancient church was dedicated. Of him Fordun says, 'He was a king of Cornwall who accompanied St. Columba into Scotland, and preached the Christian faith to the Scots and Picts'; and adds, 'that he founded a monastery in Govan near the Clyde, over which he presided, and converted the whole of Cantyre, where he suffered martyrdom, and was buried in his monastery at Govan.' Before 1147 David I. granted Govan to the See of

¹ The Rossie Cross is beautifully illustrated in Stuart's *Sculptured Stones*. Vol. II. Plates 98, 99.

SCULPTURED STONES

Glasgow, and soon afterwards Herbert the bishop erected into a prebend, in the Cathedral, the church of Govan, with all its ecclesiastical rights and pertinents.¹

Though there are at Govan examples of seventeenth or eighteenth century carving of no small merit, we have only now to deal with a much older class; a series of stones, not indeed bearing the symbolism of the earlier Pictish monuments, but still attributable to pre-Norman days.

The position, discoloration, and age of the stones made them extremely difficult to study, but Sir John Stirling Maxwell has recently had the whole collection



FIG. 121. Sarcophagus at Govan Church (right side).

reproduced in plaster, and has presented to the Corporation of Glasgow this invaluable contribution to Scottish Archaeology.

The stones are for the most part recumbent slabs, bearing crosses bordered with plaited scrolls; but the detail is so much worn by the traffic of a thousand years that it gives a false impression of plainness. What appears now to be a single band was originally a double band; and now and then a faint indication shows that what looks like a plain cross was once covered with decoration. One peculiarity of the Govan crosses is, that while they all show the Celtic type in the circles at the



FIG. 122. Sarcophagus at Govan Church (left side).

transection of the arms, these circles are at times reduced to a minimum, being in some cases little more than dots. There are fragments of three cross-shafts, and of one curious cross-bearing slab which shows on the reverse a raised boss, from which issue the necks of four monsters, forming a swastika-like device.

The richest and most elaborate of the Govan sculptures is the stone coffin shown in Figs. 121, 122. The sides are divided into alternating panels of plait work and zoomorphic design. The groups on one side cannot be interpreted, but those on the other are sufficiently clear. We have the ever-recurring chase, with horseman, hound and stag; and once more the subject taken from the Divine Bestiary, the lion breathing life into the cub of three days old. Much of the background of the figure panels is filled in with interplaiting.

¹ *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*. Vol. I., p. 17.

The Govan collection includes five of the very few hog-backed grave covers that have been found in Scotland.¹ Fig. 123 is a good example of this type, it shows the rounded back which gives the stones their descriptive name; and the tile or scale ornamentation peculiar to them. In this case the tiles are badly weathered, but at the right-hand corner they still show traces of a carefully moulded edging. A rich band of plaited work surrounds the base. It has been suggested that the hog-backed stone originally represented a boat turned keel upwards—a suitable memorial for a sea chief. This may well have been the case, though direct evidence is wanted.

Considering how small a class this is, the variety of treatment is extraordinary: an example at Luss, which retains the curved roof, shows also arcadings of Norman arches on its sides; clearly indicating a church. Another from Botkyrka in Sweden—twelfth century—of which there is a cast in the South Kensington Museum, also retains the bent ridge, but otherwise has all the lines of a carefully modelled church, with a semicircular apse.

Two of the Govan stones take the form of Saurian-like monsters covered with scales. At Brompton in Yorkshire another variety appears, the stones showing



FIG. 123. Hog-backed stone at Govan.

muzzled bears clasping the two ends of the ridge. The distribution of this group is for the most part in the north of England, but four specimens have been found in Cornwall. Two of these are perfect, the others are only fragments.²

Let us now pass to Argyleshire, a county exceedingly rich in sculptured monuments. It seems strange that in the land of St. Columba's adoption there should be so few traces of the early monks and their successors. Such as there are consist of a few bee-hive dwellings and little dry-built chapels, like those on Eilean na Naomh, between Scarba and Mull; caves whose former use is indicated by a cross carved on the rocky wall, by a rudely-built altar, or a stone hollowed to form a font; such habitations and some water-worn boulders, bearing incised crosses of Celtic type, seem to be the only survivals of those early days. We might also have expected that, as has been the case in Ireland, illuminated manuscripts and ecclesiastical ornaments would be watched with pious care and handed down for our wonder and admiration. No such relics exist, and one reason may be that nothing of value would escape the hands of the heathen Norsemen, to whose repeated attacks during the ninth century Iona again and again fell a victim.

The oldest of the existing buildings at Iona is the chapel of St. Oran, ascribed to Queen Margaret; and hard by stands the beautiful Cathedral, forming, as it

¹ For an account of these see 'Notes on a peculiar class of recumbent Monuments,' by J. Russell Walker. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, Vol. XIX. 1884-5.

² The Cornish examples are drawn and described in *Old Cornish Crosses*, by Arthur G. Langdon, F.S.A.

SCULPTURED STONES

were, a half way mile stone between our own days and those of St. Columba. Here there is the largest individual collection of a class of stones very common in Argyleshire, so common, indeed, that they are to be seen in the majority of the parish churchyards, and can be counted by hundreds. They belong to a far later period than that of the Celtic influence. They include a number of memorial crosses, but are, for the most part, recumbent grave slabs; often there are traces of inscriptions, but these are seldom legible. The variety of pattern is endless, though at a first glance there may seem to be considerable sameness. The slabs generally show a sword laid along the centre, surrounded by panels of plaited work, foliaceous scrolls and figure subjects; above the sword-hilt the scrolls often resolve themselves into elaborate crosses, at other times the upper space is filled by a galley. Fig. 124 is a typical example. It is from Nereabolls, in Islay. At the top is a galley with a little helmeted figure forward of the mast; another figure climbs a rope, a pennon and shield are to be seen in the stern; to the right and left of the sword are beasts fighting, a bird with an animal in its talons, an almost obliterated inscription, decorative panels, and a stag hunt at the base. On many stones there are warriors in high relief, ecclesiastics, and ladies. On the graves of women the mirror, comb, and scissors continually appear; the stag hunt is very common, as it is on the older stones, and there are other groups suggesting the influence of the Bestiaries; but nearly every vestige of the earlier Celtic type has disappeared, to make way for a strong Romanesque influence, and one has only to turn over the pages of Cattaneo's *Architecture in Italy*, or of the *Stones of Venice*, to see how strong this influence is: Ruskin shows a scroll from the Duomo of Murano which appears, almost unaltered, on a slab at Kilkenzie, in Kintyre; a vine-leaf pattern, on the archivolt of a portico of St. Marks, is closely allied to that on a cross-shaft at Kilchoman, in Islay; and the sculptures on the west front of San Michele at Pavia are crowded with suggestions of these West Highland designs.



FIG. 124. Slab from Nereabolls, Islay.

To return to the earlier sculptures of Argyleshire. Mr. Romilly Allen catalogued in Pictland nearly four hundred pre-Norman stones, but in Argyleshire he only found thirty-three, and of these many are little more than fragments; still they include some five or six crosses of very splendid Celtic work, and strongly in touch with the devices of the Irish manuscripts. The best known of these crosses is St. Martin's, at Iona, a monolith fourteen feet high, and one of the two crosses still standing which have an open stone ring surrounding the intersection. Fragments of a third ringed cross lie among the graves of Iona, and this must have been the largest and one of the most elaborate in Scotland. Casts of these fragments are in the Glasgow Art Galleries. The combined arms measure seven feet, and the quadrants of the ring were separate stones, mortised into the arms. The general scheme is a delicate foundation of ornament, from which there project bosses and curious little raised figures of beasts difficult to distinguish.

The only other ringed cross is at Kildalton, in Islay (Figs. 125, 126). Kildalton is on the east coast of the island, and between seven and eight miles from Port Ellen. It stands in the graveyard of the ancient church, where there are many sculptured slabs, but all of the later period. The cross is ten feet six inches in height, and is in excellent preservation. On the obverse are several figure subjects. Beginning at the top, there are two angels; below these, David

saving a lamb from the lion, and under this, two birds feeding on a bunch of grapes (an early Christian symbol). In the right arm is shown the sacrifice of Isaac; the little block in the middle represents the altar; to the right stands Abraham, a sword in one hand, while the other grasps the head of the stooping Isaac. All these groups have been clearly identified by Dr. Anderson. The figure subject to the left has not been explained, but the bottom group is very clear. Here the Virgin and Child appear, with angels on either side; two of the angels' wings form a canopy over the Virgin's head, while the other wings are folded. The boss in the middle of the cross is an arrangement of four interlaced



FIG. 125. Kildalton cross, Islay (obverse).



FIG. 126. Kildalton cross, Islay (reverse).

lacertine creatures, not easy to make out. The lower part of the cross-shaft is composed of a panel of most elaborate divergent spirals. Here may be seen, not only the more common form of the trumpet ornaments set mouth to mouth, but other trumpets cut off at their widest part, and each trumpet mouth terminated by a small boss.

The back of the cross is as richly ornamented as the front. The scheme includes a large number of bosses of varied size and design; the largest of these, at the ends of the arms, and at the top and centre, are composed of the convolutions of serpents. Round the central projection are four lions in high relief. The decoration of the shaft is largely composed of bosses, and some of these are of a type peculiar to this school of sculpture: that is, bosses, with a hollow in the middle containing one, and at times three, smaller lumps. The effect is rather like a nest containing eggs.

SCULPTURED STONES

Fig. 127 shows the cross at Kiells in Knapdale. It stands beside an early church, on a little loch to the west of Loch Sween. Though, as at Kildalton, there are many of the later grave slabs lying round the ruined church, the cross is a solitary example of the earlier type. It is a little over seven feet high, and, like a very similar cross at Kilnave, in Islay, is decorated on one side only. It is beautifully proportioned, and far more simply treated than the Kildalton cross; but its comparative simplicity adds greatly to its charm, and it is evidently the work of a master hand. At the top there is an angel treading on a serpent; the central boss is of the kind just described as resembling a nest with eggs; round this are four beasts, and below it a figure in the attitude of prayer, most likely the man in whose honour the cross was erected. The panels in the shaft contain fret-work, animals and divergent spirals.



FIG. 127. Kiells cross,
Knapdale.

It is a matter of congratulation that Glasgow possesses this interesting collection of casts, for, though not large, it shows great variety of type and treatment.

The neglect of the Scottish sculptured stones has been inconceivable, and there is still much to be done for their better protection; still they excite far more interest than they did even fifty years ago. Many are safely housed in museums and churches, others are protected by the better enclosing and keeping of the churchyards. The proper preservation of the monuments is still however, surrounded by difficulties, and though casts can never compare in interest with the stones, they are of untold value, and every fresh cast makes us less dependent on the precarious existence of the original.

R. C. GRAHAM.

Early Scottish History

THE name 'Scotland,' like the name 'England,' is not native to the soil, but is an importation due to the immigration and subsequent ascendancy of alien invaders called Scots from the north-east of Ireland. Their first historical appearance is in 360, when they assailed the Roman province in company with the Picts and the Saxons, and obtained a temporary foothold, to be followed, after the withdrawal of the legions, by successive settlements in Argyle and the Western Isles. Ireland, their native land, was called Scotia, and that name was applied solely to Ireland till the end of the tenth century, when it was transferred through the union of Scots and Picts (as the Roman 'Caledonians' came to be called) to that district which lies between the Spey and the Forth, and represents the ancient territories of Alban.

The chief features of the physical configuration of Scotland, and more especially its great natural barriers of mountain and flood, have, perhaps more than those of most countries, influenced the racial distribution and the successive polities of its inhabitants. Looking at the present map of Scotland we distinguish the following natural limits from south to north: (1) The pastoral Lowlands bounded on the south by the Solway, the Cheviots and the Tweed, and on the north by the narrow neck of land between the Firths of Forth and Clyde; (2) the fertile eastern straths north of the Forth and south of the Spey; and (3) the wild western glens and islands. These eastern and western flanks are divided by a mighty chine which begins at Ben Lomond and ends in the beetling scaurs of Caithness. Our earliest records call it Drumalban, that is 'the backbone of Scotland.' Crossing this giant ridge at right angles, and reaching from Fort William to near Aberdeen, is a massive chain of mountains now called the Grampians, but anciently known by the name of 'The Mounth,' which contains the two highest summits in Britain—Ben Nevis and Ben Macdhui.

'Throughout the early history of Scotland these great mountain chains and rivers have always formed important landmarks of the country. If the Mounth is now known as the range of hills which separate the more southern counties of Kincardine, Forfar, and Perth from those of Aberdeen and Inverness on the north, it was not less known to the Venerable Bede in the eighth century as the steep and rugged mountains which separate the provinces of the southern from those of the northern Picts. If Drumalban now separates the county of Argyle from that of Perth, it formed equally in the eleventh century the mountain range which separated Arre-gaithel from Scotia, and at an earlier period the boundary between the Picts and the Scots of Dalriada. The river Spey, which now separates the counties of Aberdeen and Banff from those of Moray and Nairn, was for three centuries the boundary between Scotia, or Scotland proper, and Moravia, or the great province of Moray. The Tay, which separates the districts of Strathearn and Gowry, formed for half a century the limit of the Anglie conquests in the territory of the Picts, and at the very dawn of

our history interposed as formidable a barrier to the progress of the Roman arms. The Forth, which for three centuries was the southern boundary of Scotia, or Scotland proper, during the previous centuries separated the Pictish from the British population.¹

The Romans, whose genius for surveying and engineering has left memorials more enduring than the political effects of their imperial militarism, were prompt to see and seize the advantage offered by such natural boundaries in the acquisition of fresh territories. It is significant that the word 'street,' one of some half dozen words that have survived in our language from the days of the Roman occupation, was originally the name of the great military causeways, drawn with all the indomitable directness and precision of modern railroads from end to end of Roman Britain.

And so when Agricola marched his legions over the Border he at once availed himself of the Forth and Clyde isthmus for the purpose of erecting a barrier against the Caledonians. Here we see evidence of farseeing statesmanship as well as of military capacity, for his line of forts connecting the two firths was sixty years later followed by Antonine's wall, as the massive earthen rampart of Lollius Urbicus is commonly called, and it remained thereafter the northern boundary of the Roman province of Britannia till the legions were withdrawn finally from the island in the first decade of the fifth century to defend the already collapsing territories of the Empire. It is along this line, which for three centuries represented the high tide-mark of Roman dominion in these latitudes, that our earliest authentic historical data have been preserved in the form of funeral or votive sculptures or military inscriptions of the nature of public notices, such as are to be seen in the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow University, which testify to the settled residence of the legionaries and to the influence of Roman culture on the native tribes. A highly interesting memorial of the presence of Romans south of the Antonine Wall is also found in the Samian bowl dug up in Glasgow Green in the year 1876, and now the property of the Corporation of Glasgow. Samian ware (Fig. 109) is generally found in fragments, but this specimen is intact, and must have been dropped into the waters of what was at the Roman period a shallow lake. The finds on the lands of Yorkhill, also obtained in 1876, are similarly significant of the presence of Roman legions. It is beyond doubt that a scientific exploration of that boundary line would bring to light a mass of historical evidence affecting the Roman period.

But it is in the two immediately succeeding centuries that we especially desiderate authentic historical records, for the darkness of that age is only made aggravatingly visible by will-o'-the-wisp flickers of tribal tradition, local myth, or fabulous legend; and it is not till the beginning of the seventh century that northern Britain again comes under the civilizing power of Roman Christianity, and monastic chroniclers withdraw the veil of hitherto impenetrable obscurity. Christianity had been under Constantine the religion of the Roman Empire, and consequently in due time the Romanised Britons were brought within the pale of the Catholic Church. As we learn from Bede, it was to convert their Pictish assailants that St. Ninian, a British bishop who had been trained at Rome, established his mission in what is now southwestern Wigtownshire, dedicated in 397 at Whithorn a church of stone, 'Candida Casa,' to the memory of St. Martin of Tours, and subsequently extended his missionary propaganda among the southern Picts to the borders of what is now Aberdeenshire. In 432, St. Patrick, who was probably a native of what is now Dumbarton, after Palladius' abortive mission, succeeded in converting the Irish to the Christian faith,

¹ Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, I. 13 *et seq.* 230; III. 133.

at the same time teaching them the art of writing. It is interesting to note that the beautiful Irish handwriting which gave rise to the later Anglo-Saxon, and passed into the famous Caroline minuscule, so called after Charlemagne, was nothing more nor less than the cursive hand used by all educated Romans in the transactions of every-day affairs. But the Romanised British provincials, on the withdrawal of the protecting legions, soon fell a prey on the east to the invasion of Angles and the encroachments of Picts, while on the west the Scots of Ireland made successive settlements that by the beginning of the seventh century formed a separate kingdom, called Dalriada, with its capital at Dumbarton—then Alclyde. It was in this district that St. Columba relit the long extinguished lamp of Christianity, for during that dark and troublous period the ancient British Church had been destroyed by these pagan invaders. But his labours were not confined to Dalriada, and Iona became the seat and centre of extensive missionary enterprise; and we read in the Irish *Life* of the Saint that after establishing his monastery of Hii (Iona) "he went on his circuit of instruction among the men of Alba, and the Britons and Saxons, until he brought them to faith and religion." The three races here named were by that time represented in the three independent kingdoms of Pictland, Alclyde, and Bernicia respectively.

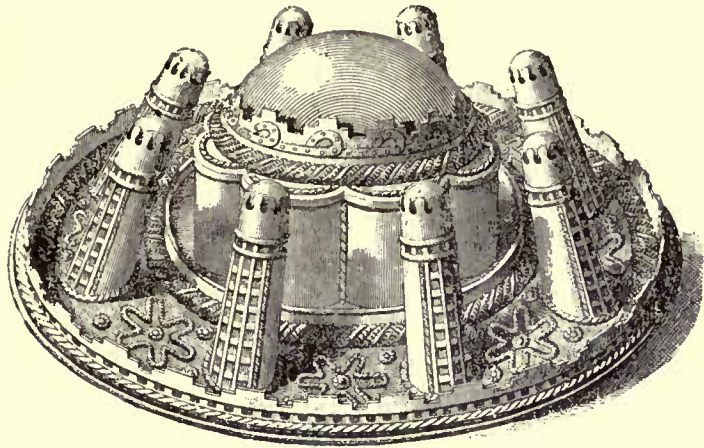


FIG. 128. Brooch of Lorne.

Jocelyn gives a graphic picture of the meeting of St. Kentigern (better known as St. Mungo, the patron saint of Glasgow), and St. Columba on the banks of the Molendinar stream. It is highly probable that many of the canoes which from time to time have been unearthed in the Clyde valley were in use during this long but little recorded period. But at present no approximate date can be attached to any of these primitive examples of Clyde shipbuilding.

From the days of St. Columba to the death of Malcolm Canmore the history of Scotland may best be illustrated by the parallel condition of England under the Heptarchy, with this difference, that it was a Tetrarchy. These four kingdoms, Dalriada, Alba, Alclyde, and Bernicia, like the seven of England, represent the independence and ultimate predominance of the different racial elements already indicated in relation to the configuration and natural boundaries of the country. And as in England the various provinces of the Heptarchy ultimately merged in the overlordship of Wessex in the ninth century, so in Scotland with the death of Malcolm III. the Celtic kingdom of Scotia came to an end. David I., his youngest son by Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, having for seven years previous ruled over the Lowlands as Earl, became in 1124 the first feudal monarch of all Scotland.

Following the twelve troubled years of Malcolm IV. came William the Lion's long and strong rule of 48 years, which left to his son, Alexander II., a united and independent realm. But his 30 years of kingship were disturbed by insurrection and revolt in the west and south, and it was only in 1266 that his

EARLY SCOTTISH HISTORY



FIG. 129. Sword known as the Bruce sword.

successor, Alexander III., by the battle of Largs, won the Western Isles from Norway, and gave Scotland her present territory. His death in 1286 left it under the stable government of feudal law and chartered privileges which had already borne fruit in the development of burghal democracy and commercial wealth and influence which tended to create a moneyed middle class with power to hold in check the encroachment of the feudal lords upon the rights of the people.

But the death of his granddaughter, daughter of Eric of Norway, gave rise to a disputed succession, and fifty years of national prosperity was to be followed by centuries of rapine and slaughter. The rival claims of three chief pretenders to the Scottish throne were submitted to the adjudication of Edward I., as lord paramount, who, after the decision of a feudal parliament held at Norham in 1291, awarded the prize to John Baliol as his vassal. Forced by his warlike nobles to side with France against England in 1296, he renounced his allegiance to the English sovereign, and the country was thereafter involved in the throes of a life or death struggle for national independence, which reached its climax in Bannockburn in 1314, and its crowning culmination of success in the treaty of Northampton in 1328, which acknowledged the possession by Scotland of those rights which

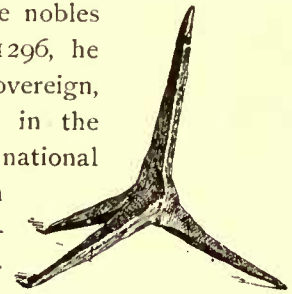


FIG. 130. Calthorp from Bannockburn.

her people, gentle and simple, had strenuously vindicated at Stirling Bridge and Falkirk under William Wallace, and at Methven, Loudon Hill, and Bannockburn under Robert Bruce.¹

P. H. AITKEN.

¹ It is difficult to feel certain as to the authenticity of Bruce Relics after the lapse of six centuries. Fig. 128 represents the well-known brooch of Lorne, belonging to the M'Dougalls of Dunollie, which is said to have been worn by Robert the Bruce at the battle of Dal-Righ in 1306, when he fought with M'Dougall, the Lord of Lorne. See *Scottish National Memorials*, p. 34; *Archaeologica Scotica*, Vol. IV., p. 419; and Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, 2nd Edition, Vol. I., p. 339. The two-handed sword (Fig. 129) is now the property of the Earl of Elgin, and was long preserved in Clackmannan Tower by the Bruces, Barons of Clackmannan, as the sword of King Robert the Bruce. The calthorp (Fig. 130) was found on the field of Bannockburn. It is four-spiked, so that however it fell, one spike remained erect. Calthorps were frequently scattered on battlefields in medieval warfare, as weapons against cavalry.

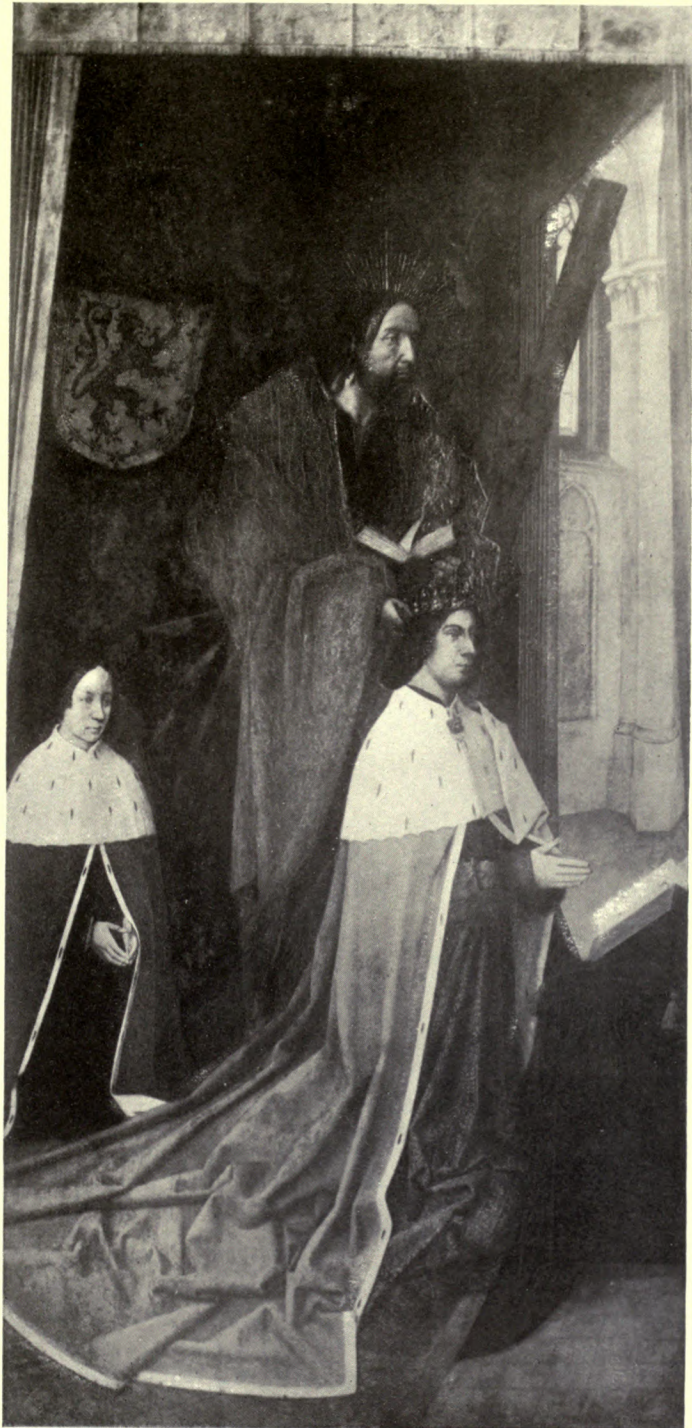


FIG. 131.

JAMES III. OF SCOTLAND

Lent by His Majesty King Edward, from Holyrood Palace



Medieval History

THE two centuries which follow the acknowledgment of Scottish independence in the treaty of Northampton are in many ways the most characteristically Scottish portion of the nation's annals. It was during these years that the outward unity of the country was completed. With Margaret of Denmark, the bride of James III., came the islands of Orkney and then of Shetland as pledges for the dowry which could not be paid in money; nor have the pledges ever been redeemed. It was not until after the middle of the eighteenth century that the highlands and the islands in any real sense amalgamated with the southern and eastern portions of the country; but after the deprivation of the last Lord of the Isles by James IV. no single responsible ruler within the kingdom of Scotland made treaties with the enemies of his liege lord. Meanwhile, in the ecclesiastical sphere, in 1472 the see of St. Andrews was created into an archbishopric with metropolitan jurisdiction over twelve bishops. Included in this number were both Galloway, hitherto within the province of York, and Orkney, which had owed allegiance to the Metropolitan of Norway. Scarcely less significant were the successive foundations of the universities of St. Andrews (1411), Glasgow (1451), and Aberdeen (1495), which should supply the Scottish students with the learning they had been wont to seek in Oxford or in Paris.

The effect of this outward unity is apparent in the increasing share which Scotland began to take in the affairs of Western Europe. The Papal recognition not only removed the excommunication from King Robert I., but in the case of his son granted that the Scottish throne should be placed on a level with the other nations of Latin Christendom by the addition of the unction to the ceremony of coronation. Moreover, David II. was married to a princess of the English royal house. But for some time yet Scotland was to remain under the patronage of France. It is certainly said that the beauty of Egidia, one of the many daughters of Robert II., had, despite her illegitimacy, attracted an offer from no less a suitor than the King of France; but the chief connection between the two countries was an occasional comradeship on the field of battle. The visits of French warriors in 1355 and 1385 only emphasised the difference between two modes of warfare. In 1420 the flower of Scottish chivalry followed the Earl of Buchan, son of the Regent Albany, to the service of France. The 'tugmuttons' or 'winebags,' as the French called them, covered themselves with glory. Beaugé was their victory; their leader, Buchan, was made Constable of France, and the Earl of Douglas became Duke of Touraine. But two years after Beaugé they were defeated at Crévant, and the next year nearly the whole contingent, including Buchan and Douglas, was destroyed in the Duke of Bedford's victory at Verneuil (1424). James I.'s wife was an English woman, whom we may continue to believe he had married for love. But this did not turn him

from pursuing Scotland's obvious interest, and by the patronage and influence of France the marriages of his daughters connected Scotland with many parts of Europe. Among his sons-in-law James could reckon not only the Lord of Campvere in Zealand, or even the last Count of the Tyrol, Sigismund (1439-1496), or the penultimate Duke of Brittany, Francis I. (1442-1450); but his eldest daughter Margaret went at an early age to be the unhappy first wife of the Dauphin of France, afterwards Louis XI. Had there been a French princess available, James II. need not have been sent by his French ally to Gueldres for his bride; but the wealth and the energy of Queen Mary were important factors in the history of the period. The dispute over the unpaid tribute for the Hebrides was referred by Christiern of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, to the King of France, and it was by Charles VII.'s mediation that the matter was settled by the marriage of James III. (Fig. 131) to Christiern's daughter Margaret (Fig. 132). Under James IV. an entirely new factor entered into Scottish politics. Spain tried to win away Scotland from France, and she had no small hand in promoting the connection with the English royal house which determined the future union of the two 'auld enemies.' Moreover, the negotiations which centred round the bogus claims of Perkin Warbeck, first marked the position of Scotland as an European Power; for she dealt on terms of equality with the various princes who desired the overthrow of Henry VII. Finally, the two successive marriages of James V. and the early betrothal of his daughter Mary mark not so much dependence upon France as a position in which the alternative lay between a close alliance with France or an even more intimate union with the House of Tudor.

Meanwhile the kings of Scotland had to face questions of internal policy which were matters of common interest to every feudal ruler. In England the king had called in the aid of the people to break the power of the barons, and then had organised the people into a constitutional assembly. The nobles of the fifteenth century might manipulate that assembly: they could not ignore it. Unfortunately the Scottish kings had to set themselves to both tasks at the same time. Moreover, it is to be remembered that Robert Bruce was one of the nobles, and that his former companions in arms would demand large rewards for their recognition of his title; that David II.'s birth in the purple and his formal coronation were largely discounted by his long minority and his exile in France; that Robert II. again, was merely one of the nobles, as was Albany, the real ruler of the country for thirty years (1388-1420). In fact, until the accession of James I., a century after the acknowledgment of independence, the crown never had a chance of asserting itself. Thus the Scottish nobles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were far more powerful than their English contemporaries. Their hereditary sheriffdoms made it practically impossible for the king's officers to exercise any jurisdiction within the limits of the shire; their enormous estates were administered through their own council and officials like a miniature kingdom, and they waged war with each other without any regard for the law of the land. Douglas and March for many years divided the border country between them; Crawford and then Huntly dominated the north-east; Ross, who was also for some time Lord of the Isles, the north-west; Mar, Strathern, Moray, Lennox identified the history of Scotland with their personal quarrels and family interests.

There were only two ways of dealing with this formidable danger—suppression or bribery. To the numerous regents of David II.'s reign, and even to Albany, the latter was perhaps the only alternative. Hence, not content with their own authority and possessions, the nobles usurped those of the Crown. The two largest items of Crown revenue were the rents of the Crown lands and the customs duties



FIG. 132.

MARGARET OF DENMARK, CONSORT OF JAMES III.

Lent by His Majesty King Edward, from Holyrood Palace



on wool. Despite occasional escheats and forfeitures, the Crown lands were constantly diminished by lavish grants; the nobles did not hesitate forcibly to appropriate the monies collected by the customars. The poverty of Scotland in the middle ages has been unduly exaggerated. The pitiful account of the fastidious Italian, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, in the middle of the fifteenth century, must be discounted by the confidential reports of the courtly Spaniard, Don Pedro de Ayala, only half a century later. The by no means despicable amount of the customs dues, levied, be it remembered, practically on exports alone, bears testimony to the quite substantial trade which went on in the burghs. James I. and James III. were children of the Renaissance and loved refinement; James II.'s wealthy wife furnished the means for the extravagant expenditure of his court. Moreover, twice within a century Scotland was called on to pay large sums by way of ransom for captive kings—for David II. in 1357 and for James I. in 1424. The sums given for captive nobles often must have reached no inconsiderable amount. It is true that in neither case were the royal ransoms ever fully paid. But all these demands would have needed a very wealthy country to bear them without suffering.

The overwhelming power of the nobles is proved by the fate which befel the kings who attempted to curb it. James I. fell victim to a conspiracy, James III. to a rebellion. And yet not one of the James's, not even James III., was a despicable ruler. James I. recognised the evil at once; but his prompt measures for dealing with it provoked a fatal retaliation. But, thanks largely to his father's work and example, James II. fairly fought and crushed the most formidable of all the baronial houses. The early years of James III. are a record of considerable administrative success. James IV. gave his country a place in the councils of Europe. James V. baffled all the efforts of his uncle to make Scotland an appendage of her neighbour. But circumstances which they could not possibly control nullified the successive work of each energetic monarch. Of the ten Scottish sovereigns who came after Robert Bruce, seven succeeded to the throne as minors; even James IV. was only sixteen at his accession; while of the other two, Robert II. was old and feeble, Robert III. a confirmed invalid needing a permanent regent. Regencies then were the form of permanent rule rather than an expedient. This meant, at the best, selfish administration along the line of least resistance, as perhaps that of Albany or certainly of the Boyds under James III.; at the worst, a divided court and anarchy if not civil war throughout the country, as between Livingstone and Crichton under James II., or the Queen Mother and Bishop Kennedy in the following reign.

It was bad enough that the individual king should be reduced to impotence. A still more serious danger threatened the whole dynasty. Robert II., the son of Walter the High Steward and of Margery Bruce, was twice married. The marriage between him and his first wife took place in 1349, but already before their marriage Elizabeth More or Mure was mother of several of his children. More than one papal dispensation was procured previous to the marriage by which various impediments in the shape of precontract on her part and of consanguinity were removed. In one of these the already existing children were legitimatised, but even so there seems to have remained some doubt in the minds of ecclesiastical lawyers as to the full import of their status. Robert II.'s second wife was Euphemia Ross, widow of the Earl of Moray. In the two settlements of the throne which he made, Robert gave to the sons of Elizabeth More in order of their birth, the prior place in the succession to the throne, and the claim of the sons of Euphemia Ross was postponed to them. Robert III. had been born about 1337, and under this settlement he came to the throne. Under the same settlement James I. ultimately succeeded, and the

interval of James' captivity was filled by the rule of another son of Robert II. and Elizabeth More, namely, Robert, Duke of Albany. The apprehension aroused by James I.'s strenuous policy drew attention to the undoubted claims of the family of Euphemia Ross, and malcontents prepared to assert them against the more doubtful title of the possessor of the throne. The representatives of Euphemia Ross were (1) the daughter of her elder son David, Euphemia, Countess Palatine of Strathern; and (2) her second son, Walter, Earl of Athole. The Countess Euphemia married Sir Patrick Graham of Kincairdine. She resigned to her uncle Walter a second Earldom of Caithness; and to the same uncle fell also the Earldom of Strathern, which James I. took from Euphemia's son Malise and conferred upon him. Now, the settlement of Robert II. had laid great stress upon the male issue of his sons. So far, then, as concerned a claim to the crown, Earl Walter was the representative of this rival line. His eldest son died in England, a hostage for James I.'s ransom. This son's son, Sir Robert Stewart, was private chamberlain to the king. Wisely or unwisely, the king, as we have seen, heaped honours on these dangerous relatives. Athole was quite awake to the force of his own claims. To him is attributed a hand in the proceedings which ended in the death of James I.'s eldest brother, the ill-fated Duke of Rothesay; contemporaries gave him the credit of being chief adviser in James I.'s measures against the house of Albany. In 1427 Malise, the deprived Earl of Strathern, joined Athole's son as a hostage in England for King James' ransom, and there he remained for twenty-four long years. Between Athole and the crown there stood only the Regent Albany's youngest son,—whom James had secured,—James himself and his infant son. The initiative was taken by Malise's uncle, Sir Robert Graham, who had already been banished for his open defiance of the king; Sir Robert Stewart, in his capacity of chamberlain, admitted to the private apartments of his master the conspirators who slew the king. But the vigour of the queen, the English Joan, deprived the deed of its intended effect, and the execution of the Earl Walter and his grandson, the chamberlain, extinguished the claim of this branch of the family.

But the rival claims to the throne were not yet exhausted. Under James II. the contest between the nobles and the crown was taken up by the house of Douglas. A chronicler asserts that on the death of David II. the settlement of the crown made by Robert Bruce in 1318 was disputed by William, first Earl of Douglas, nephew of the 'good Sir James,' on the ground of his descent from the Comyns and Baliols. Whatever the truth of the fact, the genealogy has been proved fictitious, and the reason for the marriage of Earl William's son and successor, Earl James, to Robert II.'s daughter, Isabel, must be found elsewhere than in the supposed compromise of the Douglas claim. Isabel's husband died at Otterburn (1388) leaving no child, and the third Earl, 'Archibald the Grim,' was a natural son of the 'good Sir James.' His son and successor, Earl Archibald 'Tyneman,' was married by his father's influence to Margaret, daughter of Robert III.; while it was for Tyneman's sister, Margery, that Robert's son, David, Duke of Rothesay, rejected the daughter of the Earl of March. Tyneman was the prisoner of Homildon Hill and of Shrewsbury; the suspected accomplice with Albany in the mysterious death of his own brother-in-law, Rothesay; the first Duke of Touraine in the peerage of France; and, together with Albany's son and his own son-in-law Buchan, a victim of the defeat and slaughter of Verneuil. His son, Archibald, fifth Earl of Douglas, married Euphemia, sister of the deprived Malise Graham. The bride, therefore, was great-granddaughter of Robert II. in the line of undoubted legitimacy. Yet not only does Earl Archibald not figure among the conspirators against James I., but he was made Lieutenant-General of the kingdom for his infant son. His death the next year (1439) gave the title to his son



FIG. 133.

MARGARET TUDOR, CONSORT OF JAMES IV.



FIG. 134.

JAMES IV. OF SCOTLAND

Lent by the Marquis of Lothian, K.T.



William, a boy of eighteen. But the power of the Douglasses had long been a menace, if not to the crown, to all other competitors for influence, and the descent of Earl William on his mother's side might seem enormously to have increased the claims of the house. The opportunity was not to be lost, and the rivals for power in James II.'s minority, Sir William Crichton, Governor of Edinburgh and Chancellor, and Sir Alexander Livingstone, Governor of Stirling Castle, united for the sole purpose of meeting the threatening danger. Earl William and his brother David were invited to visit the king in Edinburgh, and from his very table were hurried to execution (1440). The great Douglas estates were split up. The Galloway possessions, which had belonged to the third earl before he was even heir to the earldom, went to the sister of the murdered earl, Margaret, known as the 'Fair Maid of Galloway'; other border estates reverted to the crown; the claim to the Duchy of Touraine simply lapsed. But the family and connection were too important for the victors to venture to extinguish the earldom, and the title was assumed by the great-uncle of the last holder, James the 'Gross,' brother of Tyneman. He was of no political importance, and died in 1443, leaving a large family of sons. The two elder became successive Earls of Douglas, the others Earls of Moray and Ormonde and Lord of Balvany. The eighth earl, William, reunited the Galloway estates, and connected again the claims of the descendants of Euphemia Ross with the fortunes of the Douglas house, by marrying his cousin, the Fair Maid. He was the most powerful of his family. He intrigued with England and entered into a bond of mutual defence with the powerful Earls of Crawford and Ross. In an interview to which he came under a safe conduct, King James II. lost his temper and stabbed the earl to death (1452). James, ninth earl, married his brother's widow, the Fair Maid, and so kept the Douglas estates intact. Moreover, he obtained the release of Malise Graham, who had been for twenty-four years a hostage in England for James I.'s unpaid ransom. In the person of Malise the claims of the descendants of Euphemia Ross were further strengthened. The vigorous action of the king forestalled Douglas' probable intention. His brothers Moray and Ormonde were killed; he and Balvany were driven into exile and their estates forfeited (1455). A pensioner of England until 1484, he was then captured in a raid. He ended his days an inmate of the abbey of Lindores, and with his death in 1488 ended the 'Black' Douglasses, the first line of the Earls of Douglas.

But this was by no means the end of the Douglas house. On the ruin of this line rose the 'Red' Douglasses, Earls of Angus and of Morton. George, the first Earl of Angus, was a son of the first Earl of Douglas, and gained his title from his mother. His own widow, a daughter of Robert III., married thrice after his death, and was the mother of Bishop Kennedy, the counsellor of James III., and of Patrick Graham, the mad bishop, who succeeded his half-brother in the see of St. Andrews and was its first archbishop. George's grandson and namesake, the fourth Earl of Angus, received the lordship of Douglas on the forfeiture of the elder line, and transferred the Angus power to the south of Scotland. His son Archibald, 'Bell the Cat,' the 'Great Earl,' took a leading part in the conspiracies against James III. After the early years of James IV. he retired from public life. His voice was uplifted in vain to turn back the king from the disastrous expedition which ended on Flodden Field. There his son was slain, and on his own death in 1514 he was succeeded by his grandson, Earl Archibald, the second husband of the Queen Dowager, Margaret Tudor. Another scarcely less famous son of the old earl was Gawain Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld and translator of Virgil. On the fall of the elder house in 1455 another member of the family, Douglas of Dalkeith, became the first Earl

of Morton; but the importance of this house lies outside the period dealt with in this paper.

The history of the House of Douglas affords the supreme instance of the power attained by the Scottish nobles at this period. But the difficulty lay in the number of families with which the king had to reckon. James I. struck down in succession the houses of Albany, Lennox, March, Strathern, and Mar; James II. broke the power of Douglas and Crawford; James III. wrested the Earldom of Ross from the Lord of the Isles. But new houses arose out of the ruins of the old—Angus succeeded to the power of Douglas, Hume and Bothwell became as formidable as March or Crawford. The greatest of all the later houses was that of Hamilton. The first Lord Hamilton married the widow of Archibald, fifth Earl of Douglas. She was the sister of Malise Graham and mother of the Fair Maid of Galloway. A kinsman and follower of the Douglas, Lord Hamilton broke away just in time to avoid sharing the fate of the elder line, and thereby laid the foundation of the subsequent fortunes of his family. On the death of Bishop Kennedy in 1465 the influence over the young King James III. was usurped by a combination of powerful men, among whom was Sir Alexander Boyd, the king's instructor in military exercises. His eldest son was married to the king's sister Mary, and was created Earl of Arran. On the ruin of the Boyds a few years later (1469), the Princess Mary was persuaded to desert her husband, and—whether after his divorce or death—was married to Lord Hamilton. The title of Arran was afterwards conferred upon their son. During the minority of James V. this son was, next to the Duke of Albany, the heir presumptive to the crown. Indeed, throughout the sixteenth century the house of Hamilton stood, first after James V., then after Queen Mary and her son James VI., next in order of succession to the Scottish crown. The failure of a single life would have placed the Earl of Arran on the throne, and the consciousness of this on both sides is an important factor in the history of the time.

In the midst of these dangers and difficulties there was no strong constitutional machinery to form the basis of political advance. The king was surrounded by a secret or privy council, which was the executive. Moreover, the ministers of which it was composed had the right of sitting in Parliament. The three estates of Parliament were the Barons, the Church, and the Royal Burghs. Until the reign of James VI. there was no representation. All the barons great and small had a right to be present; as many burgesses as chose were allowed to come; the higher clergy were numbered among the barons; the lesser clergy tended, as in the English Parliament, to drop out altogether. All these met in one assembly presided over by the Chancellor. At certain periods, such as the reign of James I., they met frequently and issued a quantity of legislation. But they never seem to have been a check upon disorder. In fact they voted pretty much at the bidding of the victorious faction of the moment. Moreover, the assembly was too little homogeneous to be effective, and the real power was in the hands of the two committees—the judicial committee, which ultimately emerged as the Court of Session, and the legislative committee, which soon came to be known as the Lords of the Articles. James I.'s attempts at reform were perhaps too English to be successful. Under him the Lords of the Articles were in abeyance; the burgesses became an integral part of Parliament, and an attempt was made to diminish the burden of attendance on the lesser barons by the introduction of the representative idea. Until the death of Bishop Kennedy the presence of the three estates in Parliament continued to bear some meaning; but henceforth the Committee of the Articles became part of the ordinary procedure of Parliament.



FIG. 135

JAMES V. OF SCOTLAND, AND MARY OF GUISE

To Scottish history there is lacking, then, the thread of constitutional advance which gives so striking an unity to the history of her southern neighbour. Indeed, throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the only continuous line which may be profitably followed is furnished by the attempts of the English kings to recover their influence, if not to make good their claims of supremacy, over the Scottish court and dominions. For this purpose efforts were made, as occasion offered, to influence the king himself. It was not David II.'s English wife so much as David's desire to remain out of captivity that caused him to propose a son of Edward III. as his successor. Neither James I.'s English education nor his English wife turned him from the interests of his country. And yet from the accession of James III. and Edward IV. projects for a matrimonial alliance between the two countries were constant, until they culminated in the marriage of James IV. and Margaret Tudor (Fig. 133). Margaret followed her own interests, or rather her own whims, instead of playing into the hands of her brother; and the absurd spectacle was seen of an English party vehemently opposed by the English Queen Dowager. A more effective weapon was the aid which the English court was ever ready to give to the malcontent subjects of the King of Scotland. March under Robert III., Douglas under James II., Albany under James III., Hume under James IV. (Fig. 134), Angus under James V. (Fig. 135.) were all exiles and pensioners of the hostile court.¹ To such as these their own private ends were of far greater moment than even the independence of their country. It was well for Scotland that the troubles of Lancaster and York gave her the power of effective retaliation: otherwise the maintenance of the 'Ancient League' with France would not have saved her from a prolonged struggle, in which she might have met with no second Bruce. But Flodden destroyed the power of the nobility, and the all-importance of friendliness with England for a while did more than the influence of the Queen Dowager to consolidate an English party. The efforts of Henry VIII. to obtain his nephew's adhesion to the Reformation postponed the acknowledgment of the new doctrines in Scotland; but from the moment when, for the Scottish court, English and Protestant, French and Catholic became synonymous terms, Scotland could no longer attempt to govern her own destinies without reference to her immediate neighbour. The jealousies of Spain put France out of the running, and English influence was therefore paramount.

DUDLEY J. MEDLEY.

¹The portraits which illustrate this chapter are those of the Kings of Scotland and of their Consorts, whose lives and reigns extend from the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century.

Fig. 131, James III. of Scotland, with St. Andrew, patron saint of Scotland, and Fig. 132, Margaret of Denmark, Consort of James III., married July, 1469, with St. George her patron saint, are from Holyrood Palace.

These royal portraits form each the inner surface of the two wings or leaves of a triptych, the centre of which is now wanting. The triptych was painted for the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity in Edinburgh, founded by Queen Mary of Gueldres in 1462. The painting, presumably by Hugo Van der Goes, was executed about 1473-6 to the instructions of Sir Edward Bonkil, Confessor of Queen Margaret and first Provost of the Collegiate Church, whose portrait appears on the outer surface of one of the wings. It has been commonly assumed that the kneeling figure behind the King represents his son, afterwards James IV., but that Prince was born only in 1471-2; and the figure is that of a young man, presumably Alexander, Duke of Albany, younger brother of the King. Of this picture David Laing says, 'Hardly can any kingdom in Europe boast of a more noble family picture of this early epoch.'

Figs. 133, 134 are small half-length figures, attributed to H. Holbein, and belong to the Marquis of Lothian. James IV. holds in his right hand a daisy or marguerite in allusion to his wife's name. The Queen has in her jewelled hand a small casket of dark enamel and gold.

Fig. 135, James V. and his Queen, Mary of Guise, are half-length life size figures. Inscribed below the King are the words: *Jacobus Quintus Scottorum Rex Anno Aetatis Suae 28*, and under the Queen, *Maria Lothoringia, illius in secundis nuptiis uxor. Anno aetatis suae 24*. This picture is the property of the Duke of Devonshire.

Mary Queen of Scots

NO period in the history of Scotland has been more stirring or fraught with more momentous results than that which began with the reign of her who was—and still pre-eminently is—the Queen of Scots. By the death of her broken-hearted father, her sovereignty over a turbulent people began when she was an unconscious babe six days old, and that at a critical time in the affairs of the nation, when the long-standing quarrel with England had been unfortunately renewed, when crafty politicians and unscrupulous nobles were scheming for place and power, when the country was torn by unstable factions, and when a great religious upheaval was beginning to make itself felt.

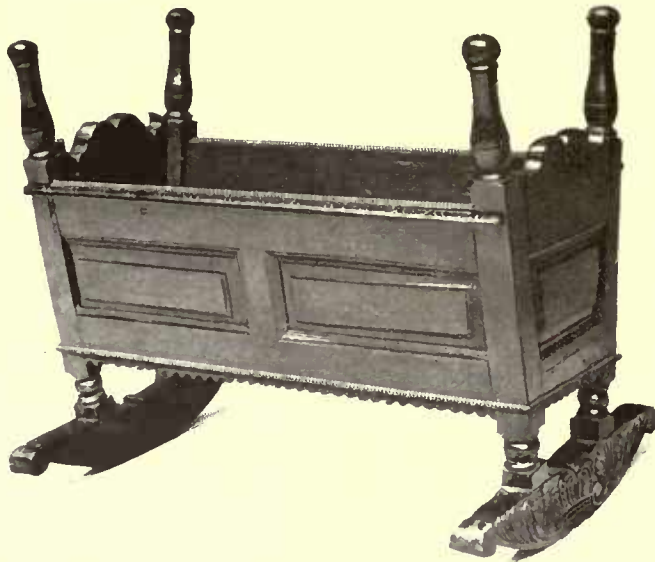


FIG. 136. Oak cradle of Queen Mary.

The exceptional part she was destined to play proved perplexing in many ways to her contemporaries, and has become even more so to us, by reason of their contradictory accounts of almost everything concerning her.

Two native chroniclers allege that she was born in Stirling,¹ and in a work published in Paris in 1675 the honour is assigned to Edinburgh.² It is quite certain, however, that she was born on the 8th of December, 1542, in the palace of Linlithgow; and there, on the 22nd of the

following March, she was exhibited to Sir Ralph Sadleyr, the fond mother causing the nurse 'to unwrap her out of her clowtes.' The ambassador assured his master that she was 'as goodly a child' as he had seen of her age. On the 26th of July she was removed to Stirling Castle, and does not appear to have spent more of her childhood than these first seven-and-a-half months at Linlithgow. The carved oak cradle (Fig. 136) is a singularly interesting relic of that early period, and one whose authenticity there is no good cause to doubt. It is alleged to have been long preserved in the palace of Linlithgow as 'Queen Mary's cradle,' and to have been obtained from the representatives of the person by whom it was saved from

¹ *Chronicle of Perth*, Maitland Club, p. 2; *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 187.

² This book is a 12mo, and is in three parts, each of which has a title-page, and in each the pagination and signatures begin afresh. The title of the first part is: "Marie Stuart Reyne d'Escoffe. Nouvelle Historique. Premiere Partie. A Paris, chez Louis Billaine, au second Pillier de la grande Salle du Palais, au grande Cesar. M.DCLXXV. Avec privilege du Roy." It has been attributed to Pierre la Pesant Sieur de Boisguilbert.

the fire which occurred at that palace in 1746. It is of excellent workmanship, and a crown is carved on the outer side of each of the two curved bases, one of them being shown in the accompanying illustration.



FIG. 137.
Mary's solitaire.

Before the little queen was three weeks old plans were being laid for her marriage. Henry the Eighth wished to secure her hand for Edward VI., and to escape the unpleasant attentions of the Earl of Hertford—the deputy of her would-be father-in-law—she was temporarily taken from Stirling, early in the summer of 1544. After Henry's death, Hertford returned, as the Lord Protector Somerset, to forcibly renew the marriage negotiations, and overthrew the Scots at Pinkie Cleugh. Ere long the Parliament of Scotland approved of the proposal to marry her to the Dauphin, and before she was six years old she was sent to France. Even after she was there, the gentle Edward—in no way responsible for the impetuous brutality of his father and the Protector—was so loath to relinquish her that he continued for years to urge his claim.

A jetton of Francis and Mary, connected with the Queen's story in France, bears on the obverse a crowned monogram formed of the letters F and M, between two stars, and the legend *DILIGITE IVSTICIAM*, 1553; and on the reverse the arms of Scotland crowned, the legend being *DELICIE DNI COR HUMILE*. It is rather remarkable to find the initials of the Dauphin and Mary thus associated fully four years before their solemn betrothal. The permission to Nicolas Emery, of the mint at Paris, to make these dies is dated 31st January, 1553-4.¹ Perhaps this jetton had some



FIG. 138. Queen Mary tazza (scene on cover).

connection with the decision of the French Parliament that as Mary had entered her twelfth year, Scotland should henceforth be governed in her name.

The solemn betrothal, or handfasting, of Francis and Mary was celebrated on the 19th, and the marriage on the 24th of April, 1558. One of the most interesting memorials of that joyous time is the gold solitaire (Fig. 137), set with diamonds, rubies, and pearls, and encircling an enamelled figure of Cupid playing with a mouse. It is said to have been given to Mary by the Dauphin on the eve of their wedding, and to have been presented by her, the night before her execution, to one of her household. Another of the Dauphin's presents of that period was the Queen Mary Tazza (Figs. 138, 139). This gracefully-shaped covered-cup of Limoges enamel was painted, as the

¹ On the 21st of the preceding October permission was given to 'Jehan Acheson, tailleur de la monnaie d'Escosse,' to engrave dies with the portraits of Mary, apparently for coins or jettons (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, ix. 506, 507).

inscription bears, by Jehan Court *dit* Vigier. The scene on the top of the cover represents the Triumph of Diana, and room has been found for the arms of Scotland (the Scottish lion rampant on a tressured shield), surmounted by a crown. Inside is seen the repast of the gods at the marriage of Cupid and Psyche.

By the death of Henry the Second, on the 10th of July, 1559, Francis and Mary became king and queen of France. The 'Eloge' (Fig. 140) is of special interest, as it is believed to have been Mary's own copy.¹ In an inventory of part of the queen's library, etc., delivered to the Regent Murray after her flight into England, one of her 'Latyn Buikis' is described as 'Ludouici Regii Consolatio.' This, Joseph Robertson identified as the Elegy on Henry the Second, by Louis Leroy, published in Paris in 1560, in 4to., a different book from Fig. 140; but Mary probably had both.

Mary was Queen of France for barely seventeen months—her puny husband having died at Orleans on the 5th of December, 1560. To the still shorter period



FIG. 139. Queen Mary tazza (inside).

sorrowful voyage. Her people gave her a hearty and enthusiastic welcome, but five days after her arrival there was a hostile demonstration against her first mass at Holyrood. Almost immediately afterwards she summoned Knox to her presence, and so took place the first of the remarkable interviews between the stern Reformer and the fascinating Queen. The unfavourable opinion which he then formed of her, he never relinquished. A year before her return, Parliament had formally overthrown the Papacy in Scotland, and prohibited the celebration of mass under pain of death for the third offence; and many now thought

¹The binding, which is apparently contemporary, is in crimson morocco, now darkened by age, and has been very skilfully repaired. As will be seen from the illustration, it is lavishly ornamented with the crowned M. Unfortunately the title-page is wanting, and the volume begins on sig. A ij. The dedication—'Carolo Lotharingio, S.R.E., Cardinali illustriss. Petrus Paschalius S.P.D.'—is dated 'Lutetiae Parisiorum, Calend. Sextil. M.D.LIX.' The running title is, 'Elogium Henrici II.' The volume has an international aspect, due to the various languages in which the elege is repeated.

²Brantôme says that Mary was very beautiful in her '*grand deuil blanc*,' for the whiteness of her countenance emulated and surpassed the whiteness of her veil; and he quotes a song composed on her at the court during her mourning (*Dames Illustres*). In writing of the early widowhood of the Queen of Scots, Claude Nau refers to her as '*la Roynie Blanche*' (Stevenson's *Nau*, 1883, p. 303). In 1561 the Duke of Guise spoke of Mary, the widow

of her widowhood in that country belongs one of her authentic portraits. An engraving of the original chalk drawing, then in the Royal Collection at Paris, was given, in 1836, in Raumer's *Elizabeth and Mary*. Believing that she had been educated in a convent, Raumer inferred from the dress that this portrait represented her before her marriage with Francis. The convent theory of her education is untenable, and the dress is regarded as '*le deuil blanc*.'²

Sailing from Calais, the Queen landed at Leith on the 19th of August, 1561, after a calm but somewhat

that even her private mass should be stopped. She affirmed that even Calvin was of opinion that it was unlawful to prohibit her from openly professing her own religion. Knox, finding himself unable to eradicate this rumour by simply denouncing it as false, wrote to Calvin on the matter.

On the very day that Knox penned this epistle, Randolph, the English Ambassador, wrote to Cecil, telling him that he had been invited to a meeting of the Scottish Privy Council, at which the Queen was present, where, he says, she ordinarily sitteth the most part of the time 'sowing some worke or other.'¹ In addition to her needle-work, her indoor amusements included dancing, dice, cards, billiards (then known as 'biles'), and probably chess and backgammon (or the 'tables,' as it was then called). Moreover, she played on the harp, the lute, and the virginals.

Hawking was one of Mary's favourite out-door sports. The hawking glove (Fig. 141), now the property of the Earl of Home, is said to have belonged to her. It is a right-hand glove of brown leather sewn with gold and silver thread. The slit is at the side in a line with the little finger, and the gap is filled with silk sewn with wire. The fingers are not particularly long. Knox relates that she once sent for him to come to her at Loch Leven; that they had an interview in the evening; and that next morning he met her 'at the halking be-weast Kynross.'²

If the watch (Figs. 142, 143), owned by the Senate of the United Free Church College at Aberdeen, was presented by Mary to Knox, as tradition has it, the likelihood is that she gave it to him at this interview be-west Kinross. But the truth of the tradition may well be doubted. The watch is silver, and highly decorated.

A list of the engravings of Knox is given in *Scottish National Memorials*, p. 85. Since that work appeared, Dr. Hume Brown has brought to light a letter from Peter Young to Beza, which confirms James Drummond's opinion in favour of the Beza portrait of Knox; and at the same time nullifies Carlyle's arguments against it. The letter, dated from Edinburgh on the 13th of November, 1579, proves that

of Louis XII. and sister of Henry VIII., as '*la Royne Marié, la Royne Blanche.*' The Queen Dowagers were thus spoken of by the French because they mourned in white (*Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth*, iv. 356). Randolph relates that, when Mary was married to Darnley, 'she had upon her backe the greate mourninge gowne of blacke, with the great wyde mourninge hooide, not unlyke unto that which she wore the dolefull day of the buriall of her [first] housbande' (Wright's *Elizabeth*, i. 202). 'I am tempted to think,' says Joseph Robertson, 'that the portrait of Louise of Lorraine is sometimes mistaken for the portait of Mary Stewart. Their features were much alike, and the dress and name of *la Reyne Blanche* were common to both.' (*Journal de la Reyne Descosse*, 1863, p. xxviii. n.)

¹ Bain's *Calendar*, i. 562.

² Laing's *Knox*, ii. 373.

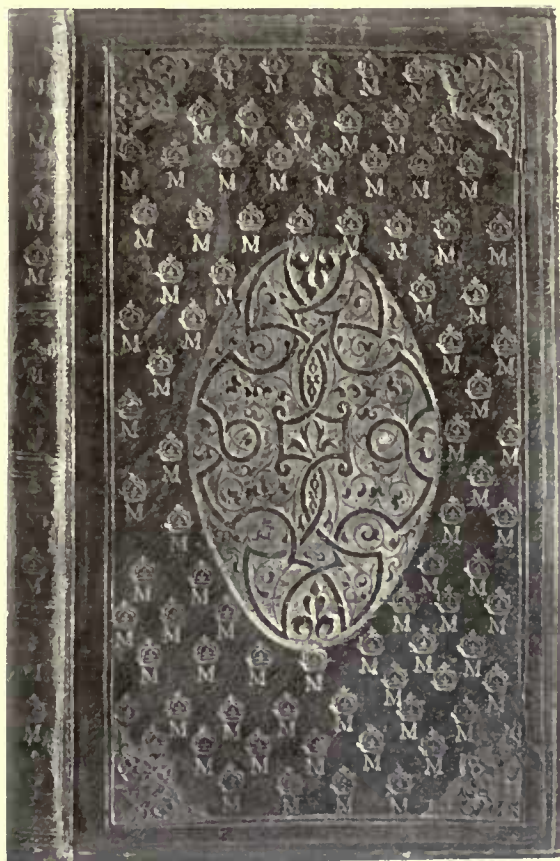


FIG. 140. Eloge of Henry II., King of France.

Beza had specially requested Young to send him a portrait of Knox, that Young induced an artist to paint one, and that it was ready when he wrote. The authenticity of the portrait engraved in the 1580 edition of Beza's *Icons*, and reproduced in this work (Fig. 144) from that edition, is further confirmed by the vivid description of Knox which Young gives in his letter.¹ It is still uncertain whether the engraving by Hondius, which appeared in Verheiden's *Effigies* in 1602, was based directly on the portrait sent



FIG. 141. Queen Mary's hawking glove.

to Beza or on the 1580 engraving. In either case, the two engravings had a common origin. In Drummond's opinion, 'the superiority of the one print over the other, as a work of art, is a good illustration of two renderings from the same original, the one by a man of talent such as Hondius, the other by an unknown wood-engraver.'²

Theoretically the Queen was burdened with the interests and the care of all her people. In the letters, in the possession of the Corporation of Edinburgh, bearing her signature and signet, dated 15th June, 1563, and addressed to the provost and bailies of Edinburgh and their officers, it is narrated that divers ships, laden with 'rymeil, beir, malt,' and other victuals, having lately arrived at Leith, a great part of the cargoes had

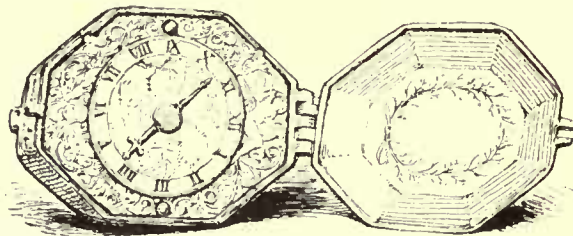


FIG. 142. Watch said to have been presented by Queen Mary to Knox (open).

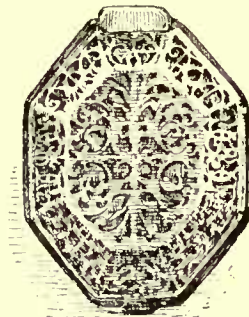


FIG. 143. Case of this watch.

been bought and stored in Leith and Edinburgh by those who, wishing to profit by the present dearth, refused to sell until the prices became extreme, whereby the poor were liable to die and perish. Wherefore the provost and bailies are charged to command, in the Queen's name, all such lieges to keep the doors of their cellars and houses open from six in the morning until six in the evening, and to sell the victuals at the current prices, under the pain of forfeiting the victuals, and suffering personal punishment.

David Riccio, commonly called Seigneur Davie, favoured the Darnley marriage; and it has been alleged that the public marriage on 25th July, 1565, was preceded by a private one in April, in Riccio's chamber in Stirling Castle. Despite his great influence with the Queen, the wretched foreigner would hardly have found a place in Scottish history had his death been less tragic. His murder was due to Darnley, who was jealous of him, and to the nobles who hated him and wished to bring back their friends, then in exile for the chase-about-raid. The story of the plot and the murder is frankly told in Lord Ruthven's well-known pamphlet. Its title is: 'A relation of the death of David Rizzi, chief favourite to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland; who was killed in the apartment of the said Queen, on the 9th of

¹ The letter is printed in Hume Brown's *John Knox*, ii. 322-324.

² *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xi. 242.

March, 1565. Written by the Lord Ruthen, one of the principal persons concerned in that action. Published from an original manuscript. Together with an account of David Rizzi, faithfully translated from Geo. Buchanan's History of Scotland. London: printed for A. Baldwin in Warwick-lane, 1699.' Ruthven's *Relation* has been frequently reprinted. The author declares that Darnley insisted on Riccio being seized in the Queen's presence; and that, after he was seized, she told Darnley that she would not 'like well' until she made him have as sore a heart as she then had.

Of the Queen's Maries few memorials seem to survive. A fac-simile of the marriage-contract betwixt Alexander Ogilvie of Boyne and Mary Betoun may be seen in *The Scottish Antiquary* for July, 1895, where the text is also printed. The original contract is in the Register House, and is dated the 3rd of May,

IOANNES CNOXVS.



FIG. 144. Portrait of John Knox.

1566—midway between Riccio's murder and the birth of the prince. Among the signatures are those of the Queen, Darnley, Huntly, Argyll, Bothwell, Murray, and Atholl. Mary Betoun (or Bethune, as she signs her name), is described as the Queen's 'familiar servitrix.' She was the niece of the Lady of Branksome, of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, and the eldest of Robert Betoun of Creich's eight daughters. After her death Ogilvie became the third husband of Lady Jane Gordon (from whom Bothwell was divorced before marrying the Queen), their marriage contract being dated 10th December, 1599. Mary Livingstone was the first of the Queen's four Maries to be married, her marriage with John Sempill of Beltreis preceding Mary Betoun's by fourteen months.

Mary Betoun did not leave the Queen immediately after her marriage, for Sir James Melville tells that while he was waiting, on the 19th of June, 1566, in Edinburgh Castle for the expected news, she advertised him, in her majesty's name, of the birth of James the Sixth. Of the childhood of James there are a number

of mementos, the authenticity of which is above suspicion. One of these, belonging to the Marquis of Breadalbane, is the letter, dated at Edinburgh, 20th September, 1566, addressed 'to oure traist freynd the Lard of Glenvrquhy,' informing him that 'the baptisme of oure dearest sone your prince now approchis,' and praying him, when he hears of the arrival of the ambassadors, to repair to Stirling, 'honestlie apparellit alsweill your self as thame that ye bring in your cumpany.' The signature only is in Mary's hand. The baptismal ceremony was performed on the 17th of the following December at Stirling, amid great rejoicings and festivities.

The oak cradle (Fig. 145), belonging to the Earl of Mar and Kellie, is inlaid, and is more elaborately carved than the Queen's own cradle, but the workmanship is poorer. As may be seen from the accompanying illustration, three iron hasps still remain on either side of the upper brim. Through these hasps bands were probably passed for the

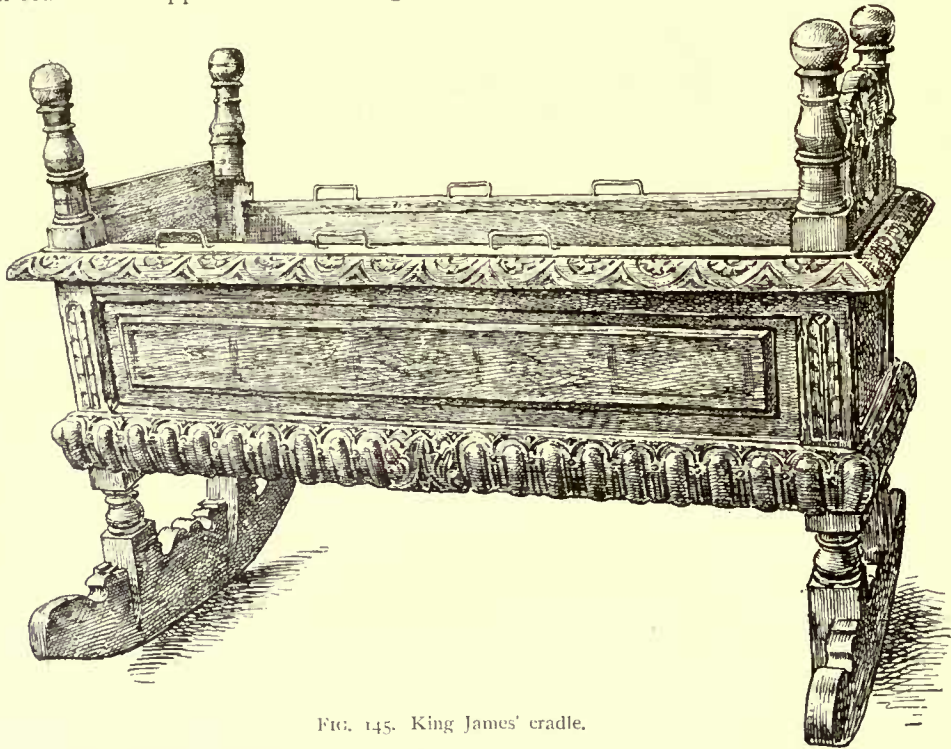


FIG. 145. King James' cradle.

security of the first monarch of Great Britain. The royal child's oak chair (Fig. 146) has little decoration beyond the turned legs and the waved outlines of the back.

Darnley was in disgrace at the time of the baptism, and, though in Stirling, took no part in the ceremony or in the festivities. On the 29th of September Mary had received a letter from Lennox intimating Darnley's intention of leaving the kingdom. That very evening the wayward husband made his appearance at Edinburgh, and next morning the royal pair had an interview with the Privy Council and du Croc, the French Ambassador. The accounts of that interview, sent by the Privy Council to Catherine de Medicis and by du Croc to Archbishop Betoun, do not improve the case for Darnley. Mary's reply to Lennox, dated 'the last day of September, 1566,' is in the handwriting of a scribe, but is signed by her, 'your guddohcter (*sic*) Marie R.' The tone of the letter¹ is cold and distant. A week or thereby after the baptism, Darnley left Stirling for Glasgow, where he had an illness variously described as measles and small-pox, and

¹ The original is in a valuable volume of documents belonging to the Duke of Montrose, which has a printed title-page:—'Lennox charters and letters belonging to his Grace James Duke of Montrose (printed by William Fraser for Alexander Haldane Oswald of Auchincruive 1868-69), arranged 1869.' The title is followed by eight pages of letterpress, giving summaries of 189 charters, sasines, obligations, and other documents, ranging from ante 1177 to 1630; and of 12 letters extending from 1497 to 1603. All these original documents are inlaid in the

by some ascribed to poison. From Mary's letter to Archbishop Betoun, dated at Edinburgh on the 20th of the following January, it is evident that she and her husband were still on bad terms; but it is known from other sources that, on that very day, she set out for Glasgow to visit him. At the end of the month she returned to Edinburgh, bringing him with her, and lodged him in Kirk-of-Field. In this humble abode she spent two nights; and when she parted with him on the evening of the 9th of February, that she might be present at a masque in Holyrood, she gave him a ring as a pledge of her love. At two o'clock the next morning the King's lodging was blown up with gunpowder, and Darnley's corpse was found in an adjacent garden. It is still doubtful whether he was blown up with the house, murdered in his bed, or caught and strangled as he tried to escape. But this is of little importance compared with the question whether the Queen knew and approved of the plot. The fierce controversy on this question, which began a few months after the murder, has not yet burned itself out, and never will so long as there are chivalrous hearts eager to champion the fame of a beautiful and unfortunate woman. The line of demarcation, however, which divides her votaries from her assailants is not very sharply defined. There is no doubt a great gulf between those, on the one hand, who believe that she was absolutely ignorant of the plot against her husband and utterly devoid of love to Bothwell, and those, on the other hand, who believe that she knew of the plot, approved of it, helped to carry it out, and was madly in love with the murderer. But between these two extremes there are intermediate positions. Historians, who would gladly have vindicated the Queen, have been compelled by the evidence to admit that she at least knew that there was a plot against Darnley, and winked thereat instead of trying to save him. Even M. Philippson, who regards the incriminating casket letters as forgeries, and who declines to believe that she brought her husband from Glasgow to Edinburgh for the convenience of the plotters, is convinced that she knew there was a plot against him, and also that she was passionately in love with Bothwell.

According to Sir George Mackenzie—the Bluidy Mackenyie of Davie Deans—'it was hereditary to the House of Hales to be kinde to the widow queens.' But the 'kindness' of Earl James to Mary, or rather perhaps her 'kindness' to him, proved to be the utter undoing of both. At the time of Darnley's murder Bothwell was under rather than over thirty years of age. The Venetian Ambassador in France described him as 'of handsome presence'; and Bishop Lesley, who knew him well, says he was endowed 'with great bodily strength and masculine beauty, but vicious and dissolute in morals.' In the *Oratioun*, appended to the *Dectioun*, he is spoken of as 'an ape in purple,' and as one 'that nouthier in byrth, nor in bewtie, nor in ony honest qualitie, was in ony wyse comparabill' with Darnley, and reference is made to his 'rude utterance and blockischnes.' He seems nevertheless to have owned a number of books, for a volume, except 19 which were omitted because of their size or of the appended seals. Abstracts of the more important documents, and Queen Mary's letters in full, are in the *Third Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, pp. 386-396. They are all printed *in extenso* in *The Lennox*, 1874, ii. 1-358. Mary's letter to her father-in-law is on p. 395 of the former work, and on pp. 350, 351 of the latter.

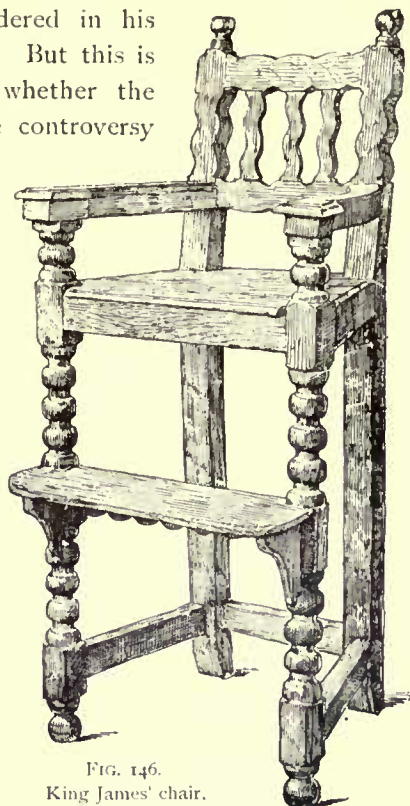


FIG. 146.
King James' chair.

volume¹ belonging to the University of Edinburgh, bears his book-stamp (Fig. 147); and men as a rule do not use a book-stamp, or a book-plate, unless they have a considerable number of books.

The abduction of the Queen by Bothwell took place on the 24th of April, 1567. On the 12th of May she created him Duke of Orkney, and three days later they were married. It was only a month after their marriage that they were rudely sundered—never to meet again.

The most tragic events in Mary's career in Scotland are vividly recalled by the Darnley Cenotaph (Frontispiece, Fig. 148), belonging to King Edward, which is a document as well as a picture, and its leading characteristic is a cry for vengeance. The scene is inside a church. An almost naked Christ is standing on an altar, his left



FIG. 147. Bothwell's book-stamp.

foot on a skull, and steadying a cross with his right hand. In front of the altar is a tomb, on the top of which lies the dead Darnley at full length in armour. At his head are two unicorns; at his feet two animals (? wolves). On the side of the tomb facing the spectator are three shields, separated by two picture panels. Between the tomb and the spectator kneels the infant king. Behind him kneel his grandfather, grandmother, and uncle. Immediately below the altar there is an inset picture of Carberry. Three banners project from the wall of the church. The Royal arms of Scotland are on one and St. Andrew's cross on another. The last has the arms of Lennox in the first quarter, and those of Douglas, Earl of Angus in the fourth, while in the second and third quarters respectively are blazoned the well-known bearings of the Isle of

Man and the Ross three lions rampant, recalling the fact that before marrying Darnley, Mary made him Earl of Ross and Duke of Albany.²

The Darnley cenotaph abounds with inscriptions, which are here numbered for convenience in reference. In the upper left-hand corner between the cross and the

¹ The volume mentioned has been re-bound; but the old boards—or at least the dark brown calf covers—are let into the inner sides of the new covers, and the book-stamp, impressed and gilt, is on both of these. It may be noted that the shield is partly encompassed by an anchor, which has reference to his official position as great admiral. The volume comprises two military works. The title of the first is:—'*Les douze livres de Robert Valterin touchant la discipline militaire. Translate de langve Latine en Francoyse par Loys Meigret Lyonnais.*' Paris, 1555. This work, which contains a number of interesting and quaint engravings, and extends to 234 folios, is in beautiful condition, with wide margins. The book bound up with it is in black letter, and bears the following title:—'*Flauc Uegece Rene homme noble et illustre du fait de guerre: et fleur de cheualerie. . . . Traduits fidèlement de Latin en Francois: & collationnez (par le polygraphe humble secretaire & historien du pare dhonneur) aux liures anciens, tant a ceulx de Bude, que Beroalde, et Bade.*' Paris, 1536. There are many full-page illustrations in this book, which extends to 320 pp., and is also in beautiful condition.

² The three legs of the Isle of Man are no doubt intended, in some way or other, to represent Darnley's dukedom, else it would have been ignored on the banner. It is sometimes said that Mary created Darnley Lord of the Isle of Man, but there does not seem to be any evidence for this. It rather appears that, as the dukedom had no distinctive arms, Darnley, or the heralds for him, transferred to his coat the only part of a previous Duke of Albany's arms which was available. As a modern herald puts it—Darnley had no *arms* of Albany and therefore took the *legs* of Man.

circular window are these words: (1) *Tragica et lamentabilis internecio serenissimi Henrici Scotorum Regis*. The white scroll below the banner with the Royal arms of Scotland is inscribed:

(2) *En subsequentiū herorū effigies vivas.*

Henricus eius nominis primus fama dignissima nuper Scotiæ Rex a Comite Bothwello suisque coniuratis consentiente coniuge Regina atrocissime casus una cum suo servo Camerario quæ Regina mox ab interempto amantissimo fidissimoque marito suo se eidem Bothwello uxorem iunxit demptus est prudentissimus hic speciosissimusque princeps non sine magno civium suorum dolore lectoque cum annos vixerat tantum 21 civis animam deus suscipiat sibi in gloriam.

Jacobus eius nominis sextus interempti Henrici filius Dei gratia regni illius iam rex ætatis inter faciendum hoc mensium 16 quem conservet Deus incolumem longævum regnoque felicissimo.

Mattheus Comes Lennoxæ de sanguine Regum Scotorum superiorum dvorum principum pater et avus ætatis inter faciendum hoc annis 50.

Domina Margareta Douglas illius vxor Comitessa Lennoxæ unica filia ac hæres Archi Comitis Angvss et Margarete Scotorum Reginæ senioris filiæ Henrici Septimi Angliæ Regis superiorum dvorum principum mater et avia ætatis inter faciendum hoc annis 51.

Carolus Stuart illorum filius ætatis inter faciendum hoc annis vndecim.

Immediately behind and above the tomb, and below the banner with St. Andrew's cross, there is a framed hanging panel with this inscription:

(3) *In interitum excellentissimi Henrici Scotorum Regis carmen heroicum.*

<i>Quem iam depictum videas hac mole iacentem</i>	<i>Corporis en compes quantus quamque beatus</i>
<i>Grande Britanorum quondam resplenduit astrum</i>	<i>Vultus membrorum vario superante decore</i>
<i>En heros Darnleivus erat flos ille Deorum</i>	<i>Emicvit certe cælestis imaginis instar</i>
<i>Qui modo Regina rutilans uxore Maria</i>	<i>Exitit heu vite brevis heu finisque dolendi</i>
<i>Scotorum celeberrum Rex est memorabilis ortus</i>	<i>Quem cum sors annis uno tulit esse viginti</i>
<i>Sacrato Britonum luxit de stemmate Regum</i>	<i>Et pater infantis fuerat cum principis almi</i>
<i>Indole magna venerandi cultor honesti</i>	<i>Spe Rex eximia mira pietate maritus</i>
<i>Ingenio præstans linguarum numine fusus</i>	<i>Occidit o tristis sors conspirante Maria</i>
<i>Floscvlus eloqvii literis insigniter altus</i>	<i>Coniuge Regina truculento vulnere cæsus</i>
<i>Musivus armipotens animosus mitis in omnes</i>	<i>Occidit hoc rutilum lumen sed corpore tantum</i>
<i>Innumero celsæ florebat munere mentis</i>	<i>Mente Deo vivit longe quoque vivit honore.</i>

Each of the three shields on the front of the tomb is crowned. The one in the centre bears the Royal arms of Scotland. The one below Darnley's feet is party per fesse, in chief the Lennox arms, in base those of Douglas, Earl of Angus, impaling the Scottish lion which occupies the sinister half of the escutcheon; while the shield on the right (which is similarly impaled) has in chief the three legs of the Isle of Man, and in base the three lions rampant for the earldom of Ross. On one of the picture panels two men are seen lifting a body out of a four-post bed; and in the exergue are the words: (4) *Cædes dicti regis et servi svi in lectis*. On the other panel two bodies are lying on the ground, and over them is this inscription: (5) *Post cædem in horto reperivntur prostrati*.

On the Carberry inset the Queen's army is massed upon a knoll. Floating over it is a yellow flag with the Scottish lion in red within the double tressure. In front of the phalanx are four flags of different colours, with a St. Andrew's cross on each. The army of the lords is in three squares, and over the upright spears, or pikes, are banners, ten of which show armorial bearings very plainly, but the design on

the eleventh is indistinct. Over two men on horseback near the upper right-hand corner, are the words '*Boithwellis departing*'; and in the distance, over two mounted figures, '*Boithuill fleand*.' In front of the knoll occupied by the royal army, and lower down, the Queen, in a short red dress, is riding on a chestnut horse, which is led by a man. She is followed by a lady in a dark dress riding a white horse. A small party of men approaching them bear aloft a large banner, on which is seen the murdered Darnley lying on the ground near a tree, the infant prince kneeling, and the legend: *Iudge and revenge my cause O Lord*. On the frame of the inset there is this inscription: (6) *Armata prodeunt Scotorum Regina traditorque Bothwellus contra quos venient regni illius proceres lamentabile hoc quod videas ferentes vexillum profligatus Botwellus ad Deubarum in castellum fegit: regina vero habitu simplici deformata se[se] in manus nobilium dedit in quorum conventu dictum est iudicium in caedis su[perioris] principes duos.*

As the 'mournful banner' was intended to incite the people, its legend was in the vernacular, but the infant king at the tomb prays in Latin: (7) *Exurge Domine et vindica sanguinem innocentem regis patris mei meque tua dextera defendas rogo*. Lennox and his countess utter the joint prayer: (8) *Exaudi Domine clamorem nostrum et vindica sanguinem innocentem regis charissimi filii nostri da regi filio tuo piam fortunam vitam longam precamur*. From the mouth of Darnley's brother issue the words: (9) *Vindica Domine sanguinem innocentem regis fratris mei: me vindictae tuae instrumentum facias oro*.

On the hanging panel below the window, in the upper right-hand corner, there is an inscription which explains the motive of the painting:

(10) *Operis heius Causa.*

Quod hoc fieri fecerent honoratissimus Comes Lennoxæ et Domina Margareta Douglas illius uxor Londini mense Ianuarii anno Domini 1567 ut nimis qui iam senescentes si ante excellentissimi Scotorum Regis illorum prolis ætatem perfectam hac vita privarentur ab eis monumentum haberet is quo atrocissima cædes nuper regis patris non excludi illius e memoria donec Deus eandem faciat per illum vindicari.¹

¹ Sixteenth century manuscript contractions have been freely used in the painting, and portions of the inscriptions have been restored by some one who has either been careless or incompetent. In deciphering the restored and blurred words I have been indebted to Vertue's engravings, and to Mr. W. A. Craigie. The latter has furnished the following translations:

(1) The tragic and lamentable slaughter of the most serene Henry, King of Scots.

(2) Lo, the living images of the following great persons:

Henry, first of that name, of most worthy fame, lately King of Scotland, most foully slain, along with his servant of the chamber, by the Earl of Bothwell and his confederates, with the consent of his wife the Queen, which Queen soon after the slaying of her most loving and most faithful husband united herself as wife to the same Bothwell. This most prudent and most comely prince was taken away, not without great grief and mourning of his subjects, when he had lived but 21 years, whose soul may God take to himself into glory.

James, sixth of that name, son of the slain Henry, by the grace of God now King of that kingdom, at the age of 16 months during the making of this, whom may God preserve safe, long-lived, and of most happy reign.

Matthew, Earl of Lennox, of the blood of the Scottish kings, father and grandfather of the above two princes, of age during the making of this 50 years.

Lady Margaret Douglas, his wife, Countess of Lennox, only daughter and heir of Archibald Earl of Angus and Margaret Queen of Scots, eldest daughter of Henry VII. King of England, mother and grandmother of the above two princes, of age during the making of this 51 years.

Charles Stuart, their son, of age during the making of this 11 years.

(3) Heroic poem on the death of the most excellent Henry, King of Scots:

He whom here depicted you may see lying on this pile
Formerly shone brightly as a great star of Britons.
Lo, he was the great Darnley, that flower of the gods,
Who but now brilliant with Queen Mary as his wife
Arose a memorable King of the famous Scots.
He shone forth from the consecrated line of British kings,
Of magnificent nature, an observer of worshipful honour,
Excelling in genius, infused with the power of tongues,

As the last of these inscriptions shows, this large painting was executed in London by order of Darnley's parents, eleven months after his murder; and their object was to stir up the young king, when he attained the age of manhood, to avenge his father's death. The chief significance of the picture is its expression of Lennox's early conviction that the Queen was an accomplice in the murder, and that he wished to impress this on the memory of her only child. The portion of the inscription (No. 2), which implicates her is so blurred that it is illegible; and it may have been so blurred to soothe the feelings of the son to whom such a reminder must have been rather unpleasant. The painting shows that, in the opinion of Lennox, Darnley was murdered in his bed, and carried out to the garden. It depicts the banner which was waved before the Queen at Carberry; which was flaunted at the window of her temporary prison, in the High Street of Edinburgh; and which was carried before her as she was convoyed to Holyrood, on the eve of her transportation to Loch Leven. The position of the royal army reminds one of Buchanan's statement: 'The Queen's army occupied the old English camp. It was on a hill, higher than the rest, surrounded with a rampart and ditch.' Buchanan describes Mary's dress on this occasion as 'a short, shabby robe, that scarcely reached below her knee.' The brevity of her garment is referred to in similar terms by Calderwood and Herries. The captain of Inchkeith refers to its colour as well, and in doing so corroborates the painting, 'd'une cotte rouge qui ne luy venoyt que à demie de la jambe.' He also explains that she borrowed this dress at Dunbar, after her ride from Borthwick Castle in male attire.

If, as is alleged, the small bronze cannon (Fig. 149) belonging to the Marquis of Lothian was presented by Mary to Sir Thomas Ker of Fernicherst, it must have been about or before this time. As the illustration shows, it is decorated with longitudinal ribs and ornamental scroll-work and foliage, and bears the monogram

A flower of eloquence, notably reared in letters,
Musical, skilled in arms, courageous, mild to all,
He flourished in innumerable gifts of a lofty mind.
Lo, how great the frame of his body, and how blessed
His face, with varied grace abounding in his limbs;
He flashed forth indeed like a celestial form.
He was, alas, of short life and alas, of doleful end;
Whom when fate had brought to be twenty-one years old,
And when he had been the father of a child, a noble prince,
A king of excellent promise, a husband of wondrous devotion,
He fell, O sad fate (Mary plotting against him,
His spouse, the Queen), slain with a murderous wound
This brilliant light fell, but with the body alone,
With the mind he lives to God, long too he lives in honour.

- (4) The slaughter of the said King and his servant in their beds.
 (5) After the slaughter they are found prostrate in the garden.
 (6) There come forth armed the Queen of Scots and the traitor Bothwell, against whom come the nobles of that kingdom, carrying this mournful banner which you may see. Bothwell, put to flight, fled to the Castle of Dunbar. The Queen, however, disfigured with a simple dress, gave herself into the hands of the nobles in whose assembly judgment was given on the two principals in the above slaughter.
 (7) Arise, O Lord, and avenge the innocent blood of the King my father, and defend me with thy right hand, I beg.
 (8) Hear, O Lord, our cry and avenge the innocent blood of the King, our dearest son. Give to the King his son a kindly fortune [and] long life, we pray.
 (9) Avenge, O Lord, the innocent blood of the King, my brother. I pray thee to make me the instrument of thy vengeance.
 (10) The cause of this work.

That the most honourable Earl of Lennox, and Lady Margaret Douglas his wife, caused this to be made at London in the month of January, A.D. 1567, that, as they are now beyond measure growing old, if they should be deprived of this life before the perfect age of the most excellent King of Scots their offspring, he might have from them a memorial, by which the most foul slaughter of the late King his father [might] not be shut out of his memory till God may cause the same to be avenged by him.

of Francis and Mary, and, on a crowned shield, the arms of Scotland and France. Fernieherst was one of those supporters of Mary who were 'forfaulted' by Parliament in 1571. After being in exile for several years he ventured back to Scotland, and obtained the King's pardon, though he had been suspected of complicity in the murders of Darnley and Lennox.

Mary's imprisonment in Loch Leven Castle began on 17th June, 1567, and lasted till 2nd May, 1568.

Ere she had been six weeks in the Castle she was induced to demit the government in favour of her infant son; to authorise his coronation (which was speedily acted on, her child being crowned at Stirling on the second anniversary of her marriage with Darnley); and to appoint Murray Regent. Three days after her escape, she issued a proclamation intimating that she had not freely resigned, and forbidding her subjects to obey the 'pretendit autorite.' She was then at Hamilton. As she marched towards Dumbarton her forces were intercepted and defeated by those of the Regent at Langside. The Queen's flight after the battle was rapid and lengthened. According to the *Historical Memoirs of Lord Herries*, 'she rode all night, and did not halt untill she came to the Sanquhir. From thence she went to Terregles, the Lord Herreis' hous, where she rested some few dayes,

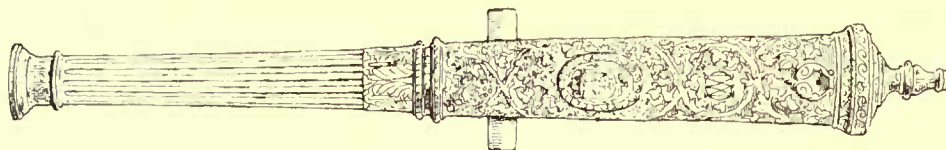


FIG. 149. Bronze cannon.

and then, against her friends' advyce, she resolved to goe to England and commit herselfe to the protection of Queen Elizabeth.' In her own account she says that she travelled sixty miles across the country on the first day, and afterwards proceeded only by night. She also mentions being at Lord Herries', but her stay there must have been very short, as the battle of Langside was fought on the 13th of May, and she crossed the Solway on the 16th.

Two days after crossing the Solway, Mary was conducted to Carlisle Castle, and there she remained until the 13th of July. Many of the letters which she wrote during these eight weeks are printed by Labanoff. The original of one,¹ omitted by Labanoff, is addressed, 'Au Roy Catolique, Monssieur mon bon frere,' is entirely in Mary's hand, and is dated and signed: 'de Kerlil ce xi de Juillet, votre bien bonne soeur, Mari R.'

In the graphic account of the murder of the Regent Murray, in the High Street of Linlithgow, on the 23rd of January, 1569-70, preserved in *The Historie of King James the Sext*, it is explained how James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, ensconced in a projecting wooden gallery, 'shot his hagbute directlie aganis the Regent's belt, whare thair entrit a bullet of steill temperit, that efter it had persit him throw the bodie, it persit also a horse nar by, to the death.' On the gun (Fig. 150), owned by Lord Hamilton of Dalzell, there is an oval brass plate inscribed: 'Bothwelhaugh's gun with which he shot Regent Murray upon the 23rd of January, 1571.' The extreme length of the gun is 3 feet 5½ inches, the barrel being 2 feet 4¾ inches. There are two sights, one of them ½ an inch and the other 22 inches from the muzzle. The iron ram-rod is split at one end, as if

¹This letter now belongs to Mrs. Alfred Morrison. Mignet, in his *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, has printed it from the archives of Simancas, but has partially modernised the spelling, and supplied accents and punctuation of which the original is wholly destitute. It is also printed in the *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, which Teulet published as a supplement to Labanoff.

to retain a brush for cleaning out the barrel. The bore is very small and is hexagonal, measuring from one flat side to another only $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch. The stock of the gun is inlaid with ivory. The lock, which is engraved and has a flint arrangement, is apparently eighteenth-century work. The trigger-guard seems to belong to an earlier type, but a mark on the stock indicates that it is not the original. In the thickness of the stock there is a small chamber, barely 6 inches long, closed by a wooden cover which slips into an angled groove, and is retained in its place by a steel spring. From a MS. in this chamber it is learned that the gun was presented by 'M. General Hamilton' to the Duke of Hamilton on the 12th of October, 1800. It was restored to the General's grandson, Lord Hamilton, in 1882, but it is yet to be proved that it is as old as the Regent Murray's time.

Writing from Tutbury to the Countess of Murray regarding her jewels, two months after the assassination, Mary referred to her grievances against the Regent, but expressed sorrow for his death. Ten months later she again wrote to the widow: 'Fra the bottome of my hart (notwithstanding his ingratitude usit toward me) I lament his miserable end.'¹ Seven months later still, she wrote to Arch-

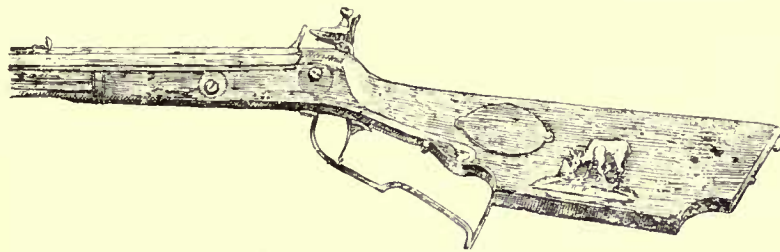


FIG. 150. Bothwellhaugh's gun.

bishop Betoun, her Ambassador in France, saying that what Bothwellhaugh had done was not by her orders, but she meant to reward him by a pension.² It was long affirmed that Bothwellhaugh was moved by private revenge; and a tragic tale was circulated to the effect that his wife, having been expelled by the Regent's orders from her house, went mad and died in the woods. Maidment, after looking into the matter critically, had no hesitation in denouncing the story as a fiction—a political falsehood got up to palliate the assassination.³

The Regent was buried, as the *Diurnal of Occurrents* has it, 'in Sanct Anthoneis yle' within the 'college kirk of Sanctgeill'; or, as Calderwood calls it, 'in the south ile' of 'the great Kirk of Edinburgh.' By his funeral sermon Knox drew tears from three thousand persons 'for the losse of suche a good and godlie governour.'⁴

During the regency of Lennox the country was rent by civil war. The Queen's lords, who had now been joined by Kirkcaldy of Grange, held a parliament in Edinburgh; and the King's lords held one in Stirling, at which the infant ruler, just over five years old, delivered a speech. By a skilfully planned enterprise the Queen's party made themselves masters of Stirling for a few hours on the 4th of September, 1571. The Regent was one of those who were temporarily captured and, having been shot, he died that evening. In addressing the nobles around his

¹ *Historical MSS. Commission, Sixth Report*, p. 638.

² Labanoff's *Recueil*, iii. 354.

³ See Maidment's *Scottish Ballads and Songs*, 1868, ii. 42, 43, 324-332.

⁴ Buchanan wrote the epitaph for his brass, which was engraved, by James Gray, goldsmith, on the reverse of the centre portion of an older brass. When the church was 'repaired' in 1829, the Regent's monument was demolished, but fortunately the brass was saved, and reinserted in the monument which was restored in 1864-5. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, i. 38, 39, 181-196; vi. 49-55. A reduced *fac-simile* of the brass is given, i. 196. The two masons who contracted to build the tomb were unable to write their own names (*Historical MSS. Commission*, vi. 646).

bed, he said: 'I . . . desire you to remember my love to my wife Meg (so he was accustomed to call her), whom I beseech God to comfort.'¹ Meg, or Margaret Douglas, was the daughter of Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, by Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. and widow of James IV. The Lennox or Darnley jewel was made to her order, it is supposed, as a memorial of her murdered husband and as a present to her royal grandson.² In the Darnley cenotaph, Lady Lennox is seen at the age of fifty-one. In the full-length life-size portrait (Fig. 151), owned by King Edward, she is seen at the age of fifty-five. This portrait is supposed to



FIG. 152. The Regent Mar.

be by Mytens, after an original miniature by Hilliard which belonged to Charles I. Her face is slightly turned to the spectator's left, her right hand rests on a table, and her dark dress is fringed with light fur. In the upper left-hand corner is this inscription: 'The Lady Margaret hir grace, late wife to Mathew Erle of Lennox Regent of Scotlande, and mother to Henry Kinge of Scotland, aetatis 55, anno Domini 1572.' She died suddenly of a colic at Hackney on the 9th of March, 1577-8.

The regency of John fifth Lord Erskine, and first Earl of Mar of that family, (Fig. 152) was brief and troubled. He died in Stirling Castle in October, 1572. 'It was constantlie affirmed,' says Calderwood, 'that about the time of his death the

¹ Spottiswoode's *History*, ii. 166.

² Albert Way, in his *Catalogue of Antiquities*, pp. 163-169, has summarised the description of the devices and emblems of this very remarkable jewel given by Patrick Fraser Tytler in his excessively rare little work entitled:—*Historical Notes on the Lennox or Darnley Jewel*.



FIG. 151

MARGARET DOUGLAS, COUNTESS OF LENNOX

Lent by His Majesty King Edward, from Hampton Court Palace

trough of the water of Montrose, where it runneth through his lands, was dry, the water running nevertheless above.' According to the *Diurnal of Occurrents* the chief cause of his death was that 'he luift peace and culd nocht have the same.' The handsome oak-chair (Fig. 153) with boldly carved arms and back, known as Lady Mar's nursing chair, belonged to Annabella Murray, the daughter of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine and wife of the Regent; her initials occupy a prominent place on the chair. After the Regent's death she continued to have charge of the young King—a charge from which she was partially relieved in September, 1577. The Privy Council declared that, from his birth till then, she had worthily performed her duty, without spot, negligence, or reproach; but henceforth he was to be served and attended in his chamber by men. In May, 1578, although he had now 'acceptit the government of the realme in his awin persoun,' it was deemed expedient that he should remain in Stirling Castle; and the Countess was still to have charge of 'his Hienes mowth and dyet.' Knox, rather ungallantly, speaks of her as 'a verray Jesabell,' and as 'a sweatt morsall for the devillis mouth.'

When Edinburgh Castle was surrendered on the 29th May, 1573, the cause of the Queen of Scots became desperate. Maitland of Lethington escaped Kirkcaldy's fate by a timely death, 'some supponyng he tok a drink,' says Sir James Melville, 'and died as the auld Romanes wer wont to do.' Lethington's diplomatic ability was recognised by all his contemporaries; and his craftiness and influence were dreaded by his opponents. Though latterly in league with Mary's supporters, she had little cause to mourn his death.¹

In January, 1568-9, the Queen of Scots was placed under the charge of George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, and for almost sixteen years she resided in one or other of the many mansions which belonged to him or to his wife. Mary was taken from Chatsworth to Sheffield in November, 1570, and was destined to remain there, though not continuously, until September, 1584. During the long period of his custodianship, she was, to use a Scotch phrase, 'a heavy handful' to him. She was not directly responsible for all his trials and difficulties, for he had to study the idiosyncrasies of three headstrong women—Queen Elizabeth, Queen Mary, and Lady Shrewsbury—and of the three the last named was not the least troublesome. She was his second wife; he was her fourth husband. After being Mary's keeper for a year the Earl found the expense to be very great. The ordinary consumption of wine was over two tuns a month, without including what the Queen took for her bath. Shrewsbury's portrait (Fig. 154) represents him at the age of fifty-eight.

A letter written at Sheffield in 1574, in the Queen's hand throughout, addressed to La Mothe Fénelon, the French Ambassador to the English Court, and dated 'de Chefild ce xv de Aurill,' is not in Labanoff's *Recueil*. She had received the work which La Mothe had sent, but still required a piece of black and red velvet taffeta.

¹The portrait, owned by the Earl of Ancaster, is half-length and life-size; and is ascribed to Meriwell. The face is slightly turned to the spectator's right, the eyes are dark brown, the beard is forked, a frilled collar encircles the neck, and the red robe is bordered with dark brown fur. This differs so much from the Thirlestane Castle portrait (for which see Skelton's *Mary Stuart*, 1893, p. 48) that it is difficult to believe that they represent the same man.



FIG. 153. Lady Mar's nursing chair.

She is pressed too for want of money. Her men are beginning to cry for their wages, and she herself is in need of more than a thousand little necessities. She wishes to be in the good graces of the English Queen and of her privy councillors, and specially desires to be recommended to the Treasurer (Burghley) and Leicester, by whose means she may have some testimony that Elizabeth is not irritated or irreparably offended with her afflicted cousin.¹

The reference to work and taffeta in this letter to La Mothe is by no means an isolated one. In the preceding February she had asked him to send her eight ells of crimson satin, the best he could find in London, to match her sample



FIG. 154. Earl of Shrewsbury.

of silk, and to get a pound of the thinner and double silver thread made for her.² Of this material she made with her own hands a skirt for Queen Elizabeth, to whom it was presented on her behalf by La Mothe on the 22nd of May, 1574. The Ambassador assured the King of France that Elizabeth prized it much, and to him she seemed 'much softened towards her.'³ All through her life Mary seems to have found an unflinching pleasure in needle-work. Her sewing at the meetings of her Privy Council in 1561 has already been alluded to. After being a month in Loch Leven Castle she requested that she might have 'an imbroderer to draw forthe suche worke as she would be occupied about.'⁴ When Nicholas White asked her in Tutbury Castle, in February, 1568-9, how she passed the time in stormy weather, 'she said that all the day she wrought with her needil, and that the diversitie of the colors made the worke seme lesse tedious, and continued so long at it till very

¹ This letter belongs to Mr. John Murray.

² Labanoff's *Recueil*, iv. 111.

³ Leader's *Mary in Captivity*, 1880, p. 329.

⁴ Stevenson's *Selections*, Maitland Club, p. 220.

payn did make her to give over. . . . She entered into a prety disputable comparison betwene karving, painting, and working with the needil, affirming painting in her owne opinion for the most commendable qualitie.¹ Her fondness for needle-work during her actual reign, and the leisure she had for it while a prisoner, are sufficient to account for even more specimens of her handiwork than the many which are attributed to her.



FIG. 155. Queen Mary's panel.

Of these a beautiful specimen is shown in Fig. 155. It is a panel, or rather perhaps—judging from the positions of the animals near the corners—a table cover, about five feet square. The embroidery is in silks and silver gilt and silver thread on canvas. The design is elaborate and effective. The armorial bearings in the centre of the panel correspond so closely with those on Lady Shrewsbury's seal that there can be no hesitation in ascribing this bit of work to the period of Mary's English captivity. The so-called purse (Fig. 156), which seems rather to have been a portfolio for papers, measures 17 inches by 12½, and contains two pockets, each of which is the full size of the purse, one opening from the top and the other from the bottom.²

¹ Wright's *Elizabeth*, i. 310.

² Each of the two mouths is closed by six pieces of silk-ribbon, two tying at either end, and two in the middle. The back is quite plain. The front is exquisitely done. The features and outlines of the faces are sewn; the bloom of the cheeks is painted. Each of the five ladies has a necklace of pearls. Besides silk, use has also been made of gold thread, small metal spangles or sequins, and twisted wire covered with silk of various hues. Several parts of the design have been—one still is—protected by mica. The dresses of the full-length figures are applique.

While Shrewsbury was Mary's custodian one of her most important portraits (Fig. 157), now owned by the Duke of Devonshire, was painted in oil, on panel—three boards joined vertically. It is life-size, and represents the Queen standing with her face slightly turned to the spectator's left, and her right hand resting on a table. Her dress is black, her cap, ruff, yoke, and cuffs are white. Her hair is dark brown, her eyes yellow-brown. A small crucifix hangs from her neck. She also wears a cross, on the centre of which is Susanna and the elders. The inscription in the upper left-hand corner is:—'*Marie D G Scotiæ piissima Regina Franciæ Doweria anno ætatis regni 36 Angliæ captiva (sic) 10 S H 1578.*' The letters 'S H' (for *salutis humane*) are also on the Earl of Shrewsbury's portrait. On the cross-rail of the table, on which the Queen rests her right hand, is the painter's name—'*P. Ovdry pinxit.*' In Sir George Scharf's opinion, this portrait, though harsh and



FIG. 156. Queen Mary's embroidered purse.

unattractive, bears an unmistakable air of truth; and has been the original source from which many modified types have been derived.

Bishop Lesley, who worked so hard in Mary's interest, and who wrote so much in her defence, had left England five years before she sat to Ovdry; but it was in the year of the Sheffield portrait (1578), that he published in Rome his *De origine, moribus, et rebus gestis Scotorum, libri decem*. It was republished in 1675. In the *De origine* there is a portrait of the Queen which is interesting as having been published in her own life-time. Lesley's professions of devotion to the cause of Mary were sadly blurred when he signed the bond—usually known as 'the Aynsley Band'—recommending Bothwell as a husband to her; and Joseph Robertson has shown that, although he tendered good moral advice to the Bishop of Aberdeen, his own character was not immaculate.

Few Scotsmen even of the sixteenth century had a more stirring career or suffered a more tragic fate than James Douglas, fourth Earl of Morton, otherwise the Regent Morton. He signed the 'Eik' lodged against Mary at Westminster, in 1568, charging her with commanding Darnley's murder; and yet in 1581 a jury found him guilty 'of airt, pairt, foirknowledge, and concealing' of that murder. Before he was beheaded, he solemnly declared that he was neither art nor part in that matter, but owned that he knew of it beforehand and concealed it, justifying



FIG. 157

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS. BY P. OUDRY

Lent by the Duke of Devonshire, K.G.

the concealment by the danger he would have incurred by revealing it. The Queen, he said, was the doer thereof; and he knew Darnley to be 'sic a bairne that thair was nothing tauld him but he wald reveill it to hir againe.'

The long imprisonment of his mother does not appear to have weighed unduly on the selfish, if sapient, James. The short letter of ten lines, dated 'de falklande ce 6 d'aoust 1586,' addressed to her as 'Madame et treshonorée mere,' and signed 'uostre humble et tres obeissant filz a iaimais, Jaques R,' does not by its apologies deepen one's respect for the royal writer. His excuses for his lengthened silence are the faults of the carriers and his uncertainty as to the place of her abode.

placet que pour mon ame ie soye payée de
 l'artye de ce que me debuez es que'n Choucheux
 de Jhesus Christ lequel ie prray demayn a
 ma mort pour vous me laysser de quoy fonder
 un obit & faire les salmons requis
 ce mercredy a deux heures apres mueret

Vostre tres affectonnée & bien
 bonne seur MARI R

FIG. 158. Queen Mary's last letter to the King of France.

The most pathetic of all Mary's letters is addressed, 'Au Roy tres Chrestien monssieur mon beau frere et ansien allye,' and was written at Fotheringhay a few hours before her execution. After referring to her long captivity and harsh treatment in England, she relates that this day after dinner her sentence was announced to her, and that to-morrow morning at eight o'clock she is to be executed as a criminal. She has no leisure to give him a full account of all that has taken place, but asks him to believe her doctor and her other disconsolate servants. She thanks God that she despises death, and protests that she receives it innocent of all crime while under the power of the English, the cause of her condemnation being the Catholic religion and the maintenance of the right God had given her to the crown of England. She pleads with him to pay her servants their wages, and to pray to God for a Queen who was called Most Christian, and died a Catholic deprived of all her goods. She recommends her son so far as he shall deserve, but cannot answer for him. She sends two rare stones for the health, and asks that an obit may be founded for her. She dates and signs the letter thus: 'Ce mercredy a

deulx heures apres minuict. Vostre tres affectionnee et bien bonne soeur, Mari R.' The whole letter is written in a firm, steady hand, showing no trace of fear or nervousness (see Fig. 158). It has been frequently printed. Bourgoing in his *Journal* and Caussin in his *Holy Court* make Mary give seven o'clock in the morning as the hour of her execution, but in the original the clause is, 'a huict heures du matin.' Like her other holograph letters of 11th July 1568, and 15th April 1574, already referred to, this one has neither punctuation nor accents.

In the portrait (Fig. 159), owned by King Edward, Mary is standing full length and life-size, a tall, stately figure, in a black dress, with a large ruff round her neck, a white cap, and a white veil reaching from her shoulders to the floor. In her right hand she holds a crucifix, in her left a book. The royal arms of Scotland with supporters are in the upper left-hand corner. Immediately below her right hand there is a representation of her execution superscribed:—*Avla Fodringhamij*. On her other side two of her women are introduced. There are also three long inscriptions—one at the bottom of the painting, one below the scaffold, and one in the upper right-hand corner. There are other two of these memorial portraits—one at Blair's College, and one belonging to the Earl of Darnley. Another, belonging to Lord Godolphin, was sold in 1803, and cannot now be traced. The versions agree in their chief characteristics; but differ in a few minute details, and also in the inscriptions. In the Blair's version the two women have their names painted boldly over them *Ioanna Kennethie* and *Elizabetha Curle*; and the execution is lower down than in the Windsor one, and the men standing round the scaffold are not arranged in exactly the same way. Some of the details of the execution scene do not agree with the account written by Robert Wyngfield, an eye-witness, and printed by Sir Henry Ellis. In that account the scaffold is described as being two feet high, twelve feet broad, with rails round about, hung and covered with black, with a low stool, long cushion, and block, also covered with black. The Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent sat on her right hand, and on the left stood the Sheriff, and before her the two executioners, while round about the rails stood knights, gentlemen, and others. In the picture no one is on the scaffold save the Queen and an executioner—the second executioner, who held her slightly with one of his hands, being omitted. The blood upon the upraised axe, the partially-severed neck, and the stream of blood, running down the block to the floor, accord with the account which says that 'she endured two strokes.' The inscription in the upper right-hand corner is:

Maria Scotiæ Regina Angliæ et Hiberniæ vere princeps et heres legitima Jacobi Magnæ Britanniæ regis mater quam scorum hæresi vexatam rebellione oppressam refugij causa verbo Eliz. Reginæ et cognatæ innixam in Angliam an^o. 1568 descendente 19 an^{os}. captivam perfidia detinuit milleq. calumnijs tradidit crudeli Senatvs Anglici sententia hæresi instigante neci traditor ac 12 Kal. Mart. 1587 a servili carnifice obtruncator an^o. ætat. regniq. 45.

Below the execution scene is this inscription:

Reginam sereniss^m regvm filiam uxorem et matrem astantibus commissariis et ministris R.Eli. carnifex securi percussit atq. vno et altero ictu trevelenter sacciatæ tertio ei caput abscindit.

The inscription at the bottom of the picture is:

Sic fenestram ascendit tabulatam regina quondam Galliarum et Scotiæ florentissima invicta sed pio animo tirannidem exprobrat et perfidiam Fidem Catholicam profitetur Romanæq. Ecclesiæ se semper fuisse et esse filiam planeq. testator.

In the other account of the execution written by Wyngfield, and printed by Mr. Dack, some additional details are given, including a description of her personal appearance as she left her own chamber for the last time:



FIG. 159

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Lent by His Majesty King Edward, from Windsor Castle

'The Queen of Scots being of stature tall and bodie corpulent, round shouldered, her face fatt and broad, doble chinned and hazell eyes, her borrowed haire auborne. Her attyre was this, on her head she had a dressinge of lawne edged with bone lace, a pomander chayne and an Agnus Dei about her necke, a crucifix in her hand, a payre of beads at her girdle with a goulden crosse at the end of them, a vaile of lawne fastened to her cowle, bowed out with wyer and edged round about with bone lace, her gowne was of blacke satten printed, with a trayne and long sleeves



FIG. 160. Queen Mary's gold rosary and crucifix.

to the ground, sett with acorne buttons of jett, trymed with pearls, and short sleeves of blacke satten cutt, with a payre of sleeves of purple velvett whole under them, her kertell whole of fine figured black satten, her peticote upper bodies unlaced in the backe of crimson velvett, her shoes of Spanishe leather with the roughe side outwarde, a payre of greene silk garters, her nether stocke of worsted coloured watchett clocked with silver and edged on the topps with silver, and next her leggs a paire of Jersey hose white.'

Wyngfield tells how the executioners and her two women took off her ornaments and apparel, 'saving her peticote and kirtell'; and how, 'duringe all theis actions of disrobginge of the said Queen, she never altered her countenance, but, smyling as yt were, said she never had such gromes before to make her unreadie nor ever did put off her clothes before such a companie.' He also tells that one of her women, having 'a Corpus Christie cloth,' folded it three-cornered ways, kissed it, put it over the Queen's face, and fastened it to the caul of her head; that the Queen kneeling at the block, without any token of fear, repeated aloud the Psalm beginning: *In te Domine confido*; that she lay upon the block most quietly, stretched out her arms, and cried three or four times, *In manus tuas, Domine*, etc.; that after the second stroke of the axe there was still 'one litle

grisle' not cut asunder; and that, when the dissevered head was held up to view, the lawn fell off, revealing her hair 'as grey as one of threescore and tenn yeares old, polled very shorte, her face in a moment being so much altered from the forme she had when she was alive as few could remember her by her dead face.'

In the course of her eventful life, Mary had unflinchingly faced many a trying ordeal, but she never showed more true courage or queenly dignity than in the last scene of that touching tragedy in the hall of Fotheringhay.

Fletcher, the Dean of Peterborough, whose exhortation she abruptly stopped, and to whose prayer she would not listen, says: 'No man was suffered to touche her bloude. Certaine bloudie clothes, with the blocke, were burned, and the hange-man not suffered to have so muche as a pinne, nor there owne aprons till they were washed. . . . The daye beinge verye fayre did, as yt were, shewe favoure from heaven and commended the justice. The vijth of Februarye that judgment was repayed home to her, which the tenth of the same monethe, xx yeares paste, shee measured to her husband.'¹ Wyngfield also tells that every thing having any of her blood upon it was either washed or burned; and that one of the Earl of Kent's objections to the presence of her servants was that they might 'seeke to wipe their napkins' in her blood.

One of the most exquisite relics of the Queen is the gold rosary with a crucifix (Fig. 160), belonging to the Duke of Norfolk. She is said to have bequeathed this to the Countess of Arundel. It is not referred to in the will which she wrote a few hours before her execution; but it may have been in that testamentary inventory on which she marked the names of those to whom she wished the various items to be given. In this rosary there are fifty beads divided into decades by five bigger beads, and from one of the bigger beads the crucifix is hung. All are of wrought gold, and on the crucifix and some of the beads there are traces of enamel. From the foot of the cross, and also from each arm, hangs a large pearl. The style in which the beads are decorated, the manner in which they are attached to one another, and the ornamentation of the front of the crucifix can be seen from the illustration. On the back of the cross there is a gold figure of the Virgin, uncrowned, and with the moon beneath her feet.

The deep and widespread interest in the Queen of Scots, and in everything pertaining to or relating to her, is partly due to the personal charm and beauty with which she has been credited; partly to the romance, tragedy, and mystery with which her web of life was woven; but above all, to the scaffold in Fotheringhay, which terminated the weary captivity of the fair fugitive, who, hoping for refuge, had crossed the Solway nearly nineteen years before.

The extraordinary power of fascination which she possessed was no doubt due in some degree to her manner and disposition, as well as to her beauty. In a passage already referred to, Brantome says that the whiteness of her countenance emulated and surpassed the whiteness of her veil; yet Sir James Melville admitted that Queen Elizabeth was whiter, but he took care to add that 'our Quen was very lusome.'² A few months after she entered England, Nicholas White, while affirming—as in duty bound—that Mary was not comparable to Elizabeth, advised Cecil to allow few English subjects to see her, 'for beside that she is a goodly personage . . . she hath withall an alluring grace, a prety Scottishe accente, and a searching wit, clouded with myldnes.'³

D. HAY FLEMING.

¹ *Manuscripts of Lord Kenyon*, p. 575.

² Melville's *Memoirs*, Maitland Club, p. 124.

³ Wright's *Elizabeth*, i. 311.

James the Sixth

THE personal reign of James the Sixth in Scotland covered a very critical period in the history of the country. The battle of the Reformation had been fought and won while his mother was still on the throne; and his first Parliament (1567), while he was yet a helpless child, had re-enacted the Acts of 1560 against the Papacy, ratified anew the Confession of Faith, and declared the Reformed Church to be 'the onlie trew and haly kirk of Jesus Christ within this realme.' The position of the Church, however, was insecure, and its form of government was not clearly defined. Through the paucity of the preachers, large tracts of the kingdom had never been permeated by the new doctrine. Many of the people, and not a few of the nobles, continued to adhere to the old faith. The policy of the young King was greatly shaped by his longing desire for the English crown: and it was soon perceived that he wished to guide and control ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland. To the projects which he then formed were primarily due the long-continued struggle betwixt Presbytery and Prelacy in the Scottish Church. The arbitrary power which he sought to set up eventually provoked a resistance which occasionally flagged but never ceased until that power was finally broken at the Revolution. He might have acted differently had he known that the carrying out of his principles was to bring his son to the block, and to drive his grandson from the throne.

In his own day James had no more resolute opponent than Andrew Melville, who sturdily withstood all his attempts to impose Episcopacy on the Church of Scotland, and vehemently denounced what he called 'the bloodie guillie of absolute authoritie.' The Presbyterians, who had little faith in the sincerity of the King's Protestantism, suspected that there were plots for restoring the power of the Papacy, and recent research has shown that their distrust of the King and also their suspicions were only too well founded. It is now known that Esmé Stuart (nephew of the Regent Lennox), who exercised a great and evil influence over James and was by him created Duke of Lennox, came from France for the double purpose of restoring Queen Mary and of overthrowing the new religion. The bond or covenant drawn up by John Craig—sometimes called the Second Confession of Faith, but more frequently the King's Confession—was subscribed by James and his household on the 28th of January, 1580-81.¹ It was enthusiastically described as 'the touch-stone to try and discern Papists from Protestants,' and any one who reads it may well imagine that no Roman Catholic would dare to sign it. Nevertheless, among the subscribers' names stands that of Lennox! The King not only signed it himself, but gave peremptory orders for obtaining the signatures of his subjects; and yet, as the *Calendar of Spanish State Papers* shows, he appealed for help, not

¹ There is a fac-simile of the original in the *National MSS. of Scotland*, iii. 70.

long afterwards, to the Duke of Guise and the Pope—‘that Romane Antichrist,’ whose ‘usurped authoritie,’ ‘divilische mes,’ ‘blasphemous preisthead,’ ‘false doctrine,’ and ‘bloodie decretes,’ he had so solemnly abjured!

No event during James’ personal reign evoked so much excitement and consternation as the expected arrival of the Spanish Armada. Long before the execution of the Queen of Scots, rumours reached England of a projected Spanish invasion; but, though ‘Philip of the leaden foot’ was stirred by Mary’s fate, his preparations were not completed until a year and a half after the tragedy of Fotheringhay. The dread with which the arrival of his huge navy was contemplated by the Protestants of Scotland is vividly set forth by James Melville, as is also the kindly reception extended to the ‘schipe full of Spainyarts’ who arrived at Anstruther ‘nocht to giff mercie bot to ask.’

The higher education of Scotland received a great impetus during James’ reign. Before he was sixteen years old he had granted a charter (14th April, 1582) authorising the foundation of Edinburgh University. Andrew Melville—distinguished alike for scholarship, zeal, and courage—had already thrown new life into the universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews. In 1592 Sir Alexander Fraser obtained a new infestment, which permitted him, *inter alia*, in his free burgh of Fraserburgh, ‘to found ane universitie, big and mak collegis, place maisteris and teachearis, with all privelegis and immuniteis that may pertene to ane frie universitie.’¹ And in 1593, George Keith, fifth Earl Marischal, founded Marischal College, Aberdeen. Andrew Melville’s Hebrew Bible (or rather eight of its thirteen parts) is among the most valued treasures in the New College Library, Edinburgh. It is in two substantial quarto volumes, bound in old leather, and on the title-page of each is the autograph, —‘Andreas Melvinas.’² In the Edinburgh University Library is preserved a copy of the ‘*De Regis Institutione et disciplina*,’ by Osorius, which belonged to Robert Rollock, the first professor and the first principal of that University, who has been described as ‘the most popular and respectable teacher in Scotland,’ and who died in 1599 at the early age of forty-three.

A marriage having been arranged between the King of Scots and Anna, the second daughter of Frederick II., the ceremony was performed in Denmark in the autumn of 1589, the Earl Marischal acting as proxy for James. The young Queen sailed for Scotland, but a violent storm drove her vessel to Norway, where she was detained for a considerable time. The storm was believed to be due to the Danish admiral having given a ‘kuff or a blaw’ to one of the Copenhagen bailies, whose wife in revenge consulted her associates in the black art. The Scotch witches were unpatriotic enough to combine with the foreign ones, and many lives and ships were lost. Having learned that the Danish ships were so damaged that his bride could not ‘perfyte hir voyage this yeir,’ James, though usually timorous, suddenly resolved to make possible on his part ‘that quhilk was impossible on hirs’; and, in the declaration which he emitted on the eve of his departure, he explained that he did not wish to be ‘unjustlie sklanderit as ane irresolute asse, quha can do nathing of himselff.’³ He landed at Slaikray, on the Norwegian coast, before the

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, iv. 148.

² The parts or divisions comprised in the two volumes are—Psalms, Proverbs, Daniel, the five ‘Megilloth’ (viz., Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther), Job, Ezra, Chronicles, also Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. The portions were printed separately in different years, from 1539 to 1544, ‘Parisiis: ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi Regii.’

³ This remarkable declaration, drawn up and written by the King, is printed in *Papers relative to the Marriage of James the Sixth*, Bannatyne Club; and also in the preface to the Maitland Club volume, entitled:—*Letters to King James the Sixth*.



FIG. 161

ANNA OF DENMARK, QUEEN OF JAMES VI.

end of October; and after 'great travell baithe upone sea and land,' he arrived at Upslo (Christiania) on the 19th of November. He immediately 'past quyetlie, with buites and all, to hir hienes. . . . His majestie myndit to give the Queine a kisse, efter the Scotis faschioun at meiting; quhilk scho refusit as not being the forme of hir countrie. . . . Efter a few wordis prively spokin betuix his majestie and hir, thair past familiaretie and kisses.'¹ Four days later they were married there,² but instead of again facing the wintry storms on the North Sea, James accompanied his Queen back to Denmark, and the royal couple did not arrive at Leith until the 1st of May, 1590.

Queen Anna's full-length, life-size portrait (Fig. 161), belonging to King Edward, is one of those which Horace Walpole regarded as indubitably the work of Van Somer. The west end of St. Paul's is seen in the background. On one side of her head, on the stand-up ruff, is the letter S crowned, and on the other side the letter E crowned. There is also on the ruff the monogram I.H.S., with a cross standing on the horizontal bar of the H.

According to Calderwood the country was never in greater peace than during James' absence. Meanwhile, the town council of Edinburgh, in their anxiety to give the King and his spouse a fitting reception, ordered 'all sort of beggaris' to 'despesche and remove thameselffis'; and commanded the citizens to 'purge and clenge the streits, calsayes, and gutteries, fornent thair awin housses to the mid-channel, als weill in the hie gaitt as in vennelles,' and, when the ships should come in sight, to 'set furth bayne fyres fornent their housses.'³ The Queen was crowned in the Abbey Church at Holyrood on Sabbath, the 17th of May, 1590. The 'solemnitie' is said to have occupied seven hours, and to have included three sermons (one in Latin, one in French, and one in English), besides a short oration by Robert Bruce and another by John Craig. 'The trumpets and drummes sounded a long tyme, and the cannons of the castell thundered.'⁴ The King and the Danes desired that the Queen's public entry into Edinburgh should also take place on the Lord's day; but the objections of the ministers prevailed, and it was delayed until Tuesday, when it was carried out amid much splendour and great rejoicings.

Of the seven children of this marriage, four died in infancy; the others, Prince Henry, Princess Elizabeth, and Prince Charles, were respectively born at Stirling on the 19th of February, 1593-4, at Dunfermline on the 19th of August, 1596, and at Dunfermline on the 19th of November, 1600. Before James knew that he would have to go to Norway to fetch home his Queen, the bailies of Edinburgh, apparently

¹ Moysie's *Memoirs*, Bannatyne Club, pp. 80, 81.

² Following Calderwood, Sir Archibald Dunbar gives the 24th of November as the date of the marriage at Upslo (*Scottish Kings*, pp. 268, 269); but in the letter of the officiating minister—David Lindsay—which Calderwood has preserved, it is distinctly stated that the marriage was on 'the next Sunday' after the 19th; and the 24th was a Monday.

³ Walker's *Documents relative to the reception of the Kings and Queens*, 1822, pp. 45, 46.

⁴ According to Spottiswoode (ii. 407, 408) the Presbyterians regarded the ceremony of anointing as Jewish and Popish; but when the King threatened to postpone the Queen's coronation until a bishop arrived, they consented to its use. Calderwood (v. 95) says that they agreed on the express understanding that it was merely a civil—not a religious—ceremony; and explains that, 'the Ladie Marre loosed her (*i.e.* the Queen's) right hand, which Mr. Robert Bruce anointed as also her forehead and her necke.' In an account of the coronation, preserved by the Mar family, the anointing is thus described:—'The Countes of Mar immediatlum cumis to the Quenis Majestie, and taks hir richt arme, and opens the craige of hir gowne, and lyes bake ane certaine part of boithe. Mester Robert Bruce immediatly puires furthe upon thois partis of hir breist and arme, of quhilk the clothes wer removit, a bonye quantitie of oyll; quhilkis partis, efter the annoyntment therof, wer coverit with sum quhyt silke' (*Papers relative to the Marriage of James the Sixth*, p. 53).

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at his instigation, appointed two of their number to borrow from the honest neighbours 'ane quantitie of the best sort of their naiperie to serve the strayngeris that sall arryve with the Quene.' When the King invited Dundas of Dundas to the baptism of Prince Henry, he asked him to bring his silver spoons with him, and also borrowed from him a pair of silken hose which he might wear in presence of the foreign ambassadors. In inviting the same laird to the baptism of Prince Charles, he requested him to send a present of venison, wild meat, capons, and such other provisions as were most seasonable.

James and Anna were not always on the best of terms. Before Prince Henry was eighteen months old he committed him to the care of the Earl of Mar, with strict injunctions that, in the event of his (the King's) death, he was not to give up the Prince to any one before he was eighteen years old, not even at the command of the Queen and the Parliament. In recording the murder of the bonnie Earl of Murray in February, 1591-2, Sir James Balfour, of Denmyln, says: 'It [was] given out and publickly talked that the Earle of Huntley was only the instrument of perpetrating this facte to satisfie the Kinges jelosie of Murray, quhom the Queine, more rashlie than wyslie, some few dayes before had commendit in the King's heir-inge, with too maney epithetts of a proper and gallant man.' The ballad puts it:

'And the bonnie Earl of Murray,
Oh he was the Queen's love.'

One of the theories propounded to explain the mysterious Gowrie conspiracy, of 5th August, 1600, is that it was designed to accomplish some object which the Queen and Alexander Ruthven had in view.¹ When James went to London, to take possession of the English throne, he was accompanied by the Earl of Mar, and so Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth were placed under the charge of the Countess of Mar, with instructions similar to those previously given to her husband. The Queen went to Stirling for the Prince, and when the Countess refused to give him up she was, of course, greatly enraged, and insisted on public reparation. The King urged her to forget her resentment towards the Earl, to whose last negotiations in England, next to God's goodness, he ascribed the peaceable possession he had obtained of that kingdom. The Queen spiritedly replied that she could rather have wished never to see England than to be obliged for it to the Earl. Soon after reaching London, however, she was reconciled to the faithful custodian.

Queen Elizabeth had died at Richmond early on Thursday morning, the 24th of March, 1602-3; and, riding hard, Robert Cary, in spite of an accident, had reached Holyrood with the news on Saturday night after James was in bed. On the day of Elizabeth's death he had been proclaimed King at Whitehall and at the cross of London. Next day the English Privy Council had sent a dispatch requesting his presence; and he had lost no time in complying. Having been proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 31st of March, he left on the 5th of April, reached London on the 7th of May, and on the 25th of July 1603 was anointed and crowned as 'James the First, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.' Anna, who had soon followed him, was anointed and crowned with him.

In leaving Edinburgh James parted from his Queen in the open street, 'in the

¹ It is said that, on a hot summer day, Alexander Ruthven fell asleep in the royal garden at Falkland. The King, happening to pass, noticed beneath the slumberer's cravat a ribbon which he had recently presented to the Queen, and hastened to the palace. One of the ladies, who suspected the cause of his haste, secured the ribbon, and taking a nearer way to the Queen's closet was there first; and, beseeching her to put the ribbon in a drawer, immediately left the room. The King entered and demanded a sight of the ribbon he had recently given her. When his better-half quietly went to the drawer and produced it, James scrutinised it closely, and retired muttering: 'Deil tak me but *like* is an ill mark.'

full eye of all his subjects, who spent teares in abundance to behold it.' But to Prince Henry he had only time to say farewell by letter, in which he gave him this advice: 'Let not this newis make you proude or insolent, a king's sonne and heire was ye before, and na maire are ye yett; the augmentation that is heirby lyke to fall unto you is but in caires and heaue burthens.'

An oak-press or cabinet which had been long known as Queen Anna's press, and was obtained in Stirling, is now owned by Sir John Stirling-Maxwell. It measures about seven feet in height, and barely six feet in width over the cornice. The three cupboards in the upper part are divided from the two in the lower part by a couple of drawers. The elaborate design is somewhat subdued by the way in which it has

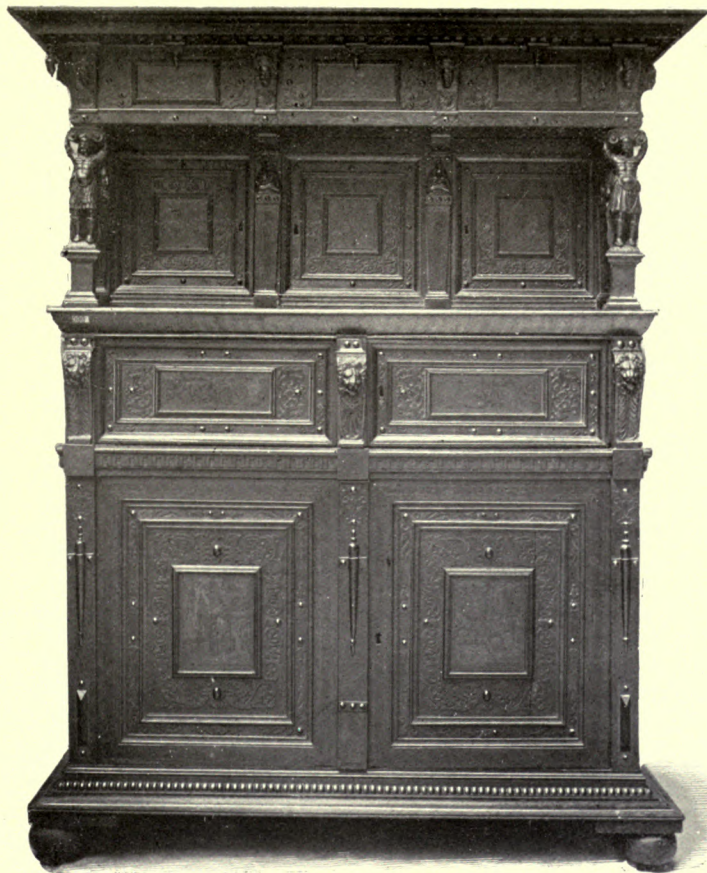


FIG. 162. Queen Anna's press.

been carried out. The inlaid work is in ebony and several shades of yellow and brown; and variety has been also secured by burning some of the inlaid pieces. This unobtrusiveness of the more delicate portions of the work militates against the effectiveness of an illustration (Fig. 162); but by careful examination, one may form a fair idea of the richness and beauty of the details as well as of the general design.

Few stories are more pathetic than that of Arabella Stuart, the only child of the unfortunate Darnley's brother, that brother who is seen praying in the cenotaph (see Frontispiece) that he may be made the avenger of the tragedy of Kirk-of-Field. When only seventeen years old he fell in love with and married Elizabeth Cavendish, a daughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury by her second husband. Queen Elizabeth so resented the marriage that she threw Lady Lennox and Lady Shrewsbury into the Tower.

JAMES THE SIXTH

Arabella was born at Chatsworth in 1575, and before she was a year old her father died. Her right to the earldom of Lennox was denied by the Regent Morton, who was then in power. She was still a mere child when her grandmother, Lady Lennox, died; but the Queen of Scots took an interest in the helpless babe, and tried to influence those about King James in her behalf. Arabella was not seven years old when her mother died, begging with her last breath that the Queen of England might be approached in the orphan's favour. Some two years afterwards that Queen suggested that the King of Scots should marry his little cousin; and in due time she received her at her own court, where she was treated with such consideration that she was regarded as a probable successor to the English crown.



FIG. 163. Lady Arabella Stuart.

Unluckily for herself, she became the object of various matrimonial schemes, and the unconscious centre of suspicious plots, with the result that she was practically banished from the court, and was virtually a prisoner under the charge of her maternal grandmother, and afterwards of the Earl of Kent. After the accession of James, she again became a favourite at the court, until, falling in love with William Seymour (grandson of the Earl of Hertford), who was her junior by twelve years, she plighted her troth to him. Despite the opposition of the King, they were privately married on the 22nd of June, 1610; but in a few days the secret leaked out, and on the 8th of July they were thrown into separate prisons. Seymour was confined in the Tower, where Andrew Melville greeted him with a witty Latin distich. Next summer, while Arabella was being transported to Durham, she and her husband managed to escape; he chartered a collier which conveyed him to Calais; she got into a French vessel, but was captured, brought back, and committed to the

Tower. She had eaten of the forbidden tree. The King was relentless, and a deaf ear was turned to her touching appeals. Broken down at length by imprisonment, disappointment, and despair, she found relief in death on the 25th of September, 1615. From the Tower she was carried to Westminster, and laid to rest in the vault of the Queen of Scots. The small portrait of Arabella by Oliver (Fig. 163) which belongs to Sir John Stirling-Maxwell has been very carefully painted, the eyes are blue, the hair reddish brown.

In a letter, dated at Newmarket on the 15th of December, 1616, and directed to the Privy Council of Scotland, King James thus opened his heart: 'Wee ar not achamed to confesse that wee have had these many yeiris a great and naturall longing to see our native soyle and place of our birth and breeding, and this salmon-lyke instinct of ouris hes restleslie, both when wee wer awake and manie tymes in our sleip, so stirred up our thoghtis and bended our desyris to mak a jorney thither that wee can never rest satisfied, till it sall pleas God that wee may accomplish it.' Ten months before, he had announced his intended visit, and already preparations were being made for his reception. Orders had been given for repairing his palaces. Half-a-dozen of the nobles, who had 'some pairt of his Majestie's tapestrie, bedding, and houshold stuff in thair keeping,' had been charged to compear personally before the Privy Council 'to declare upoun thair aithe of veritie' how much was in their custody; and the amount to which they subsequently owned was rather disappointing. Strict injunctions were now to be promulgated anent the preservation of game; and the penalties threatened to beggars who did not leave Edinburgh were made more severe. Lodgings were to be provided for five thousand strangers, and stabling for as many horses. The lodgings were to be furnished 'with honnest and clene bedding, and weele weshin and weele smellit naprie.' Competent craftsmen seem to have been rather scarce in Edinburgh in those days. Four beds were sent to England 'thair to be mendit and providit with furnitour answerable and sutable.' Nicolas Stone, a carver and citizen of London, was employed 'for repairing of his Majestie's chappell within the Palice of Halirudhous.' David Anderson, a plumber and burgess of Aberdeen, was engaged for the 'covering and theaking [with lead] of his Majestie's new worke and platforme within the Castle of Edinburgh.' The master of his Majesty's works desired James Patoun and George Coline, 'sclaitters in St. Androis,' and Thomas Greive, wheelwright there, and their men, to do some of the work in Edinburgh and Holyrood, promising them 'goode, thankfull, and tymous payment of thair wadgeis,' but they refused to go; and when John Knox, then provost of St. Andrews, was desired to authoritatively command them 'to enter in his Majestie's service at the workis foirsaidis,' he 'disdanefullie answerit that it wes not the custome of the cuntrey to press ony man to serve.' The Privy Council, having been appealed to, charged the tradesmen and the provost to appear before them in five days, which charge they did not obey, and order was given to denounce them as rebels. In a Convention of Estates held in Edinburgh on the 7th of March, 1617, it was resolved to make the King a voluntary offer 'of ane taxatioun of twa hundreth thowsand pundis,' as 'a signe and testimoyne of thair unfenyet affectioun and most sincere devotioun to his Majestie's service, and of thair unspeakable joy and gladnes to haif the happynes to see his Majestie in his native cuntrey.'

On the 13th of May, James entered Scotland by way of Berwick; and on the 16th was received at the West Port of Edinburgh by the provost, bailies, and town council, who, 'with ane hundreth honest men and mae, war all assemblit in blak gownes all lynit with plane velvet, and thair haill apparrell war plane blak velvet.' He was formally welcomed by the provost and town clerk, and 'ane purse

contening fyve hundreth double angellis, laid in a silver basing double overgilt, was propynit to his Majestie.'¹ In June he held a Parliament; and having visited Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, Falkland, Perth, Cupar, St. Andrews, Dundee, Montrose, Paisley, and Glasgow, he returned to England by way of Dumfries and Carlisle; and his native country, which had paid so dearly for his visit, saw his face no more.

In 1590, James had made a gushing speech in the General Assembly 'praising God that he was borne in suche a tyme as the tyme of the light of the Gospell, to suche a place as to be King in suche a kirk, the sincerest kirk in the world.' 'The kirk of Geneva,' said he, 'keepeth Pasche and Ynile [Easter and Christmas]; what have they for them? they have no institutioun. As for our nighbour kirk in England, it is an evill said masse in English, wanting nothing but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your puritie, and to exhort the people to doe the same; and I, forsuith, so long as I bruik my life and crowne, sall mainteane the same against all deidlic.' Calderwood records that at the conclusion of the speech 'there was nothing but loud praising of God and praying for the King for a quarter of an houre.' In June 1592, James had ratified, in Parliament, all the liberties of the church, and its government by assemblies, synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions; but this act—long regarded as the charter of the church—was rescinded by Parliament in 1612. Before that time Andrew Melville had been summoned to London and endured a long imprisonment in the Tower; other stern presbyters, who could not be cajoled, had been harshly dealt with; the Court of High Commission had been set up; Episcopal government had been erected; and the bishops had been consecrated. While James was in Scotland in 1617, Calderwood incurred his displeasure by opposing his ecclesiastical measures, and was committed to prison until he found caution to leave the kingdom.

Like many of his contemporaries, Sir James Balfour was exercised in spirit over the 'blazinge star' which was seen in November and December, 1618, and exclaims, 'Quhatsoever eivell this new comct may presage, the seinge be to them that hate us, and the interpretatione therof to our enimies.' An English annalist records that the common people were of opinion that it rather betokened the death of Queen Anna than 'that cruel and bloody war which shortly after hapned in Bohemia and other parts of Germany.' In the words of Sir Richard Baker, the 'knot of love' between James and his Queen 'was by death dissolved' in 1619, 'for on Tuesday this year the second of March, Queen Anne died at Hampton Court, whose corps was brought to Denmark House, and from thence conveyed to Westminster, where in the Royal Chapel, with great solemnity, it was interred: a princesse very memorable for her vertue, and not a little for her fortune, who, besides being a queen, was so happy as to be mother of such admired children as she brought into the world. But the dissolving of this knot cast the King into an extream sicknesse, and, after some recovery, into a relapse, from which, notwithstanding, it pleased God to deliver him, as having yet some great work to do.'

The 'great work' which James had been reserved to do detained him for six years. He died at Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, on the 27th of March, 1625. 'This Kinges charecter,' says Sir Anthony Welldon, 'is much easier to take than his picture, for he could ever be hardlie made to sitt for the taking of that, wich is the reasone of so few good peeces of him; bot his charecter was obvious to evrey eye. He

¹ Ample details of the royal visit and of the preparations may be found in Walker's *Documents relative to the Reception of the Kings*, pp. 53-68, and in the 10th volume of the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*.



FIG. 164

JAMES VI. OF SCOTLAND AND I. OF ENGLAND

was of a middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough; his clothes ever being made large and easy, the doublets quilted for stiletto proof, his breeches in great plaits and full stuffed. He was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the greatest reason of his quilted doublets. His eyes large, ever rolling after any stranger came in his presence, in so much as many for shame have left the room, as being out of countenance. His beard was very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him speak full in the mouth, and made him drink very uncomely as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup in each side of his mouth.

Of the four full-length, life-size portraits of James, lent to the Historical Collection shown in Glasgow in 1901, only the one belonging to the Marquis of Lothian, and attributed to George Jamesone, gave any indication of the defect about his mouth. It also did justice to the great plaits and ample stuffing of his breeches. These characteristics could hardly be expected, perhaps, in the portrait showing him in his robes (Fig. 164), which is one of those which Walpole declared to be indubitably by Van Somer. It shows Whitehall behind him, was probably painted shortly before or after his Queen's death, and belongs to King Edward. In his further description of James, Sir Anthony Welldon proceeds thus: 'His skin was as soft as tafta sarsnet, which felt so because he never washed his hands, only rubbed his fingers' ends slightly with the wet end of a napkin. His legs were very weak. . . He was not able to stand at seven years of age; that weakness made him ever leaning on other men's shoulders. His walk was ever circular. . . He was very temperate in his exercises and in his diet, and not intemperate in his drinking. . . It is true he drank very often, which was rather out of a custom than any delight; and his drinks were of that kind for strength as Frontinack, Canary, High Country wine, and strong ale, that, had he not had a very strong brain, might have daily been overtaken, although he seldom drank at any one time above four spoonfuls, many times not above one or two. . . In his diet, apparel and journeys he was very constant. In his apparel so constant as by his good will he would never change his clothes till almost worn out to rags; his fashion never. . . The best observing courtier of our time was wont to say, when he asleep seven years and then awakened he would tell whether the King every day had been, and every dish he had had on his table. . . He naturally loved not the sight of a soldier, nor of any valiant man. . . He naturally loved honest men that were not over active; yet never loved any man heartily until he had bound him to him by giving him some suite which he thought bound the other's love to him again. . . He was very witty, and had also many ready witty jests as any man living, at which he would not smile himself, but deliver them in a grave and serious manner. He was very liberal of what he had not in his own grip, and would rather part with 100 lib. he never had in his keeping, than one twenty shilling piece within his own custody. . . He loved good laws and had many made in his time. . . By his frequenting sermons he appeared religious; yet his Tuesday sermons. . . were dedicated for a strange piece of devotion. He would make a great deal too bold with God in his passion, both in cursing and swearing, and one strain higher verging on blasphemy. . . He was very crafty and cunning in petty things, as the circumventing any great man, the change of a favorite, etc., in so much as a very wise man was wont to say he believed him the wisest fool in Christendom, meaning him wise in small things, but a fool in weighty affairs. . . He was infinitely inclined to peace; but more out of fear than conscience. . . In a word, he was, take him altogether (and not in pieces), such a king I wish this kingdom

JAMES THE SIXTH

have never aney worse, . . . for he lived in peace, deyed in peace, and lefte all his kingdomes in a peaceable conditione, with his auen motto: *Beati pacifici*.¹

Among the worthies of this reign, John Napier, the renowned mathematician, deservedly holds an honoured place. He was born in 1550. His father, Archibald Napier, laird of Merchiston, was then only about sixteen years old, and his mother was a sister of that Bishop of Orkney who married Queen Mary to the Earl of Bothwell. Though much of a recluse, the inventor of logarithms maintained an interest in every-day affairs, and never lost sight of the practical problems of either church or state. In his epistle 'to the godly and Christian reader' of his 'Plaine Discouery of the whole Reuelation of Saint Iohn . . . printed by Robert Walde-

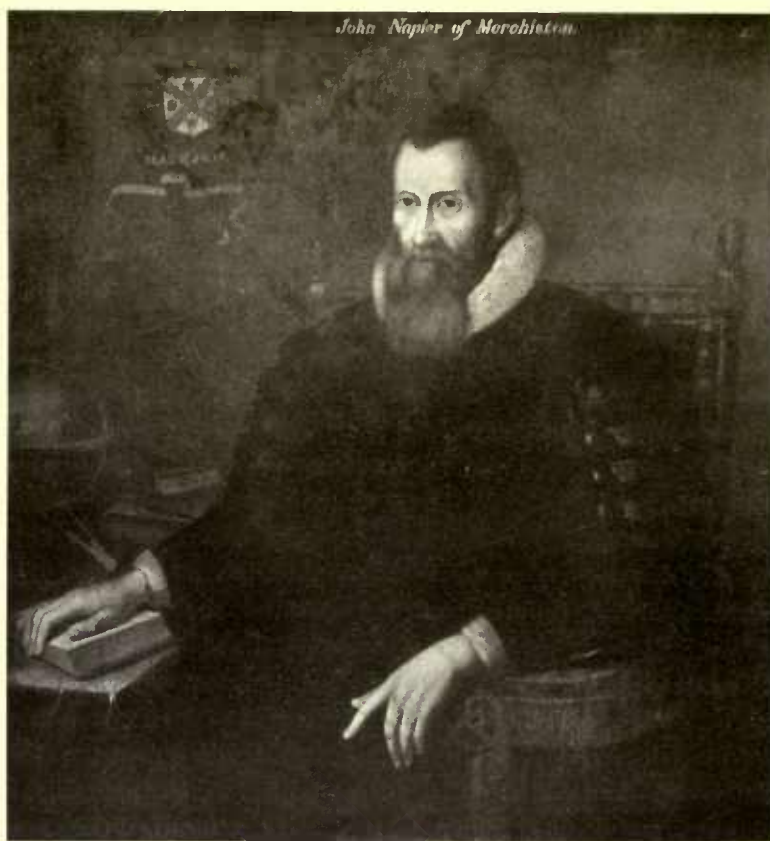


FIG. 165.—Napier of Merchiston.

graue, printer to the King's Majestie, 1593,' he explains that, although he had only of late attempted to write 'so high a worke,' it was long since he first began 'to precogitat the same.' 'For,' says he, 'in my tender yeares and barneage in Sanct Androis at the schooles, having on the one parte contracted a loving familiaritie

¹ Balfour's *Historical Works*, ii. 108-115. Sir James Balfour received this 'verey exacte charecter' from a friend who was one of the King's 'meniall servants.' In the *Secret History of the Court of James the First*, it is ascribed to Sir Anthony Welldon, who is said to have been one of the clerks of the Board of Green Cloth, and whose father is said to have held some such office as Clerk of the Kitchen in the household of Queen Elizabeth. The Venetian Secretary, who was received in audience at Greenwich on the 27th of May, 1603, thus describes the King:—'He was dressed in silver grey satin, quite plain, with a cloak of black tabinet reaching to below the knees and lined with crimson, he had his arm in a white sling, the result of a fall from his horse when out hunting, which occasioned more danger than damage; from his dress he would have been taken for the meanest among the courtiers, a modesty he affects, had it not been for a chain of diamonds round his neck, and a great diamond in his hat . . . As to the appearance, height, and complexion of his Majesty, let your Serenity recall the late illustrious Federico Nani, ten years before he died, and you may say that you have actually seen the King of England. I never remember such a striking resemblance.'—*Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, x. 39).

with a certaine gentleman, etc., a Papist; and on the other part being attentive to the sermons of that worthie man of God, Maister Christopher Goodman, teaching upon the Apocalyps, I was so mooved in admiration against the blindnes of Papists, that could not most evidently see their seven-hilled citie, Rome, painted out there so lively by Saint Iohn as the mother of all spirituall whoredome, that not onely bursted I out in continual reasoning against my said familiar, but also from thenceforth I determined with myselfe (by the assistance of God's Spirit) to employ my studie and diligence to search out the remanent mysteries of that holy book, as to this houre (praised be the Lorde) I have bin doing at al such times as conveniently I might have occasion.' In his 'epistle dedicatorie' to the King, dated 'at Merchistoun the 29 daye of Januar 1593,' he speaks of the time as one in which 'religion is despised, and justice utterly neglected; for what by atheists, Papists, and cold professors, the religion of God is mocked in al estates; againe, for partialitie, prolixitie, dearth, and deceitfulnes of lawes, the poore perishe, the proud triumphe, and justice is no where to be found.' He prays the King to attend personally to 'these enormities,' and to see that justice be done to the true and godly lieges; and beseeches him to proceed orderly in reformation, from his own person to his family, from his family to his court, until at last the whole country shall stand reformed in the fear of God, waiting for the 'destruction of that anti-Christian seat and citie Rome.' One of the features of the book is that—besides the dedication to the King, and the epistle 'to the godly and christian reader'—the author addresses an epistle 'to the misliking reader whosoever.' In 1596, Napier entertained several secret projects for defending Britain and withstanding strangers. These projects included a burning mirror for destroying ships, a piece of artillery of which the shot passing superficially should range abroad and destroy all those 'within the whole appointed place,' a chariot of metal acting as a rapidly moving fort, and a submarine boat. It was not until 1614 that the first edition of Napier's '*Mirifici Logarithmorum canonis descriptio*' was published by Andrew Hart. The Rev. David Ure, in his account of Killearn, written in 1795, says: 'Adjoining the mill [of Gartness] are the remains of an old house in which John Napier of Merchiston, inventor of the logarithms, resided a great part of his time (for some years) when he was making his calculations. It is reported that the noise of the cascade being constant never gave him uneasiness, but that the clack of the mill, which was only occasional, greatly disturbed his thoughts. He was, therefore, when in deep study, sometimes under the necessity of desiring the miller to stop the mill, that the train of his ideas might not be interrupted. He used frequently, in the evening, to walk out in his night-gown¹ and cap. This, with some things which to the vulgar appeared rather odd, fixed on him the character of a warlock. It was firmly believed, and currently reported, that he was in compact with the devil; and that the time he spent in study was spent in learning the black art, and holding conversation with Old Nick.' Napier, who was twice married, and had twelve children, died at his birthplace, Merchiston, near Edinburgh, on the 4th of April 1617. His life-size portrait (Fig. 165), belonging to the Marquis of Tweeddale, is dated 1616, and much resembles the one preserved in Edinburgh University.

D. HAY FLEMING.

¹ In Napier's time, and long afterwards, a dressing-gown was spoken of as a night-gown.

King, Kirk & Covenant

WHEN James the Sixth went to take possession of the English throne he left Prince Charles in the keeping of Lord Fyvie, President of the College of Justice, who, less than a month after the King's departure, informed him that the health of the Prince was improving, and that he 'eats, drinks, and usis all naturall functions as we wald wiss in onye child off his grace's age, except that his night's rest is nocht as yit 'sa sound as we hoipe in God it sall be shortlie.' He adds—'The greate weaknesse off his bodie, after so long and hevie seikness, is meikill supplet be the might and strenth off his sprit and minde: . . . he luiks als statlie, and bearis als greate ane majestie in his countenance, as could be requirit of onye prince, albeit four tymis above his age.'¹ A month later he wrote:—'Duke Chairles . . . is be-ginnand to speik suim words, far bettir as yit off his minde and tongue, nor off his bodie and feite; bot I hoipe in God he sall be all weill and prencelie, wordie off your majestie, as his grace is jugit be all veyre like in lineaments to your royall person.'² The prince was then two and a half years old. In the summer of 1604 he was taken to England, and for nearly seven years was under the care of the wife of Robert Cary, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, who says:—'When he was first delivered to my wife, he was not able to go, nor scant stand alone, he was so weak in his joints, and especially his ankles, insomuch as many feared they were out of joint. Yet God so blessed him, both with health and strength, that he proved daily stronger and stronger. Many a battle my wife had with the King, but she still [*i.e.*, always] prevailed. The King was desirous that the string under his tongue should be cut, for he was so long beginning to speak, as he thought he would never have spoke. Then he would have put him in iron boots, to strengthen his sinews and joints; but my wife protested so much against them both, as she got the victory, and the King was fain to yield.'³

By the untimely death of Prince Henry—the pride and the idol of the nation—on the 6th of November, 1612, Charles became the heir of the British throne. He had been successively known as Duke of Albany, Duke of York, Duke of Cornwall; and in 1616 was created Prince of Wales. He was proclaimed King in London on the afternoon of the day on which his father died, and in Edinburgh four days later—31st of March, 1625.

The manner in which elections were arranged and voters were managed in those days is illustrated by the following royal letter, directed to John, Eighth Lord Yester:—

'Charles R.

'Right trusty and welbeloved, wee greete yow well. Being informed of the

¹ *Letters and State Papers during the Reign of James the Sixth*, Abbotsford Club, p. 46. ² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

³ *Memoirs of Robert Cary*, 1808, pp. 140-142.

laudable custome of the gentrie of that our kingdome in choosing their commissioners, at the yearelie Michellmesse courts in everie shire, for attending at parlamentes, conventiones, or other generall meetings of the Estates of our said kingdome, wee have thought fitt, out of our princely care of both Church and Commonwealth, to recommend unto your and their choice and election such persones as yow know to be well affected to the same, and in speciall the Laird of Smithfeild, elder, and James Nasmith, of Possa, of whose abilities and affection to our service, and the publict good, wee are sufficientlie informed by such as wee trust; and therfor wee do not doubt but yow will have a speciall care duely to informe the gentrie within that shire of the good opinion wee have conceived of the said persones, and of their fitnessse to be commissioners for this next ensueing yeare; and so being confident that with one harmonic yow will all concurre togidder in so good a work, according to the trust wee have committed unto yow, wee bid yow farewell. From our Court at Oatekin, the 29 of August, 1627.'

Addressed:—'To our right trustie and welbeloved the Lo. Zester.'¹

As a token of his favour to Edinburgh, the King had already sent a sword and gown to be worn by the provost; and the town-council had appointed a sword-bearer with 'ane yeirlic stipend of twa hundreth pundis.' Having intimated his intention of visiting his ancient and native kingdom in September, 1628, his loyal subjects lost no time in beginning to prepare for his reception. The Privy Council set itself to see that his houses were repaired in 'comelie and decent ordour'; granted licenses for importing an enormous quantity of English beer; forbade the slaughter of wild-fowl; ordered the east style, leading to the church-yard of Holyrood, to be built up, so as to prevent the people from Musselburgh and Fisherrow passing under the window of His Majesty's gallery; declared that the lodgings and stables in the Canongate were to be reserved for the King's train and followers; authorised the removal of malefactors' heads from the West Port; and gave instructions for enlarging and mending many of the high-ways and making them passable for horses and coaches. The inhabitants of certain parishes were to come 'to the repairing of the saids hie wayes, furnished with mattockes, gavelockes, hurlebarrowes, uther barrowes, schuills, creills, skulls, and uthers necessarie instruments.' The town council of Edinburgh resolved that the King should be received into his northern metropolis in 'the most magnificent and solcme maner' that could be devised. Much attention was devoted to the sanitary condition of the streets. For the removal of all objectionable matter that might be thrown out of the houses, it was resolved 'to agree with some honest man for keiping ane hors and kairt to go through the town,' and because 'the said cairt cannot goe convenientlie through everie vennel,' other persons were to be appointed 'to pas with quheill barrowes through the saids vennelles, and to carye the same to the foote or heid of the said closes, to be caryit away af the commoun streett.' The royal visit was delayed for nearly five years. It was not until the 15th of June, 1633, that Charles the First made his triumphal entry into Edinburgh; but his reception was one to be remembered. 'For maney ages,' says Sir James Balfour, 'this kingdome had not seine a more glorious and staitly entrey, the streetts being all railed and sanded; the cheiffe places quher he passed wer sett outt with staitly triumphall arches, obeliskes, pictures, artificiall montains, adorned with choyse musicke, and diversse otheres costly shewes.' Three days later he was crowned in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, and this

¹The above letter is superscribed by the King, and is preserved in a volume, with nineteen other royal letters, belonging to the Marquis of Tweeddale. One is by James V., three by Charles I., four by Charles II., one by William III., nine by Queen Anne, and two by Frederick, Prince of Wales.

was 'the most glorious and magnifique coronatione that ever was seine in this kingdome.'

In the Parliament, which Charles proceeded to hold, he gave great offence by personally noting the names of those who voted against the third, fourth, and ninth Acts, which were sufficiently obnoxious in themselves. Of Act 3 the title is, 'Anent his Majestie's royal prerogative and apparell of kirkmen'; of Act 4, 'Ratificatioun of the Actes touching religione'; and of Act 9, 'The King's general revocatione.' The Lyon King was candid enough to allege that nearly thirty of the Acts and Statutes concluded in this Parliament were 'most hurtfull to the liberty of the subjecte,' and were as so many partitions to separate the King from his people; but, in his opinion, Acts 3 and 4 were 'the verey ground stones' of all the mischiefs which followed, while Act 9—though only intended 'to be ane awband' over those who should presume to oppose 3 and 4—'proved in the end a forcible rope to draw the affections of the subjecte from the Prince.' The Parliament, he says, was led on by 'the Episcopall and Courte faction,' which proved to be 'the fewell of that flame wich sett all Brittain a fyre not longe thereafter.'



FIG. 166.—Charles the First.

On the cover of an oval silver box belonging to King Edward there is a profile bust of Charles, embossed and chased in low relief. The illustration (Fig. 166), which is nearly as large as the box, shows the details of this beautiful piece of work, with its motto—'Vivat Rex cvrrat lex floret grex.' The life-size half-length portrait of him by Vandyck (Fig. 167) belongs to the Duke of Norfolk.

The reformation had been more thoroughgoing in Scotland than in any other country of Europe, hence the disfavour and opposition manifested towards the attempts of King James—whether insidious or open—to press a prelatic government and a ceremonial worship on the national church. Knowing 'the stomach of his people,' he had acted with some degree of caution; but they were soon to learn that the little finger of Charles was thicker than his father's loins. His ill-advised determination to force a book of canons and a liturgy on his recalcitrant subjects was not rendered more palatable by the help he received from the unpopular head of the English hierarchy.

The indignation of the populace found vent on Sabbath, the 23rd of July, 1637, the day which had been chosen for introducing the new liturgy into the Edinburgh churches. The tokens of disapproval manifested in the Greyfriars' were so significant and unmistakable that the officiating clergyman discreetly brought the service to an abrupt termination. The Episcopal display, however, was greater in St. Giles', and the opposition there evoked was in the same ratio. When Dean Hanna opened the service-book 'a number of the meaner sorte of the people (most of them waiting maides and women, who use in that towne for to keepe places for the better sorte) with clapping of their handes, cursings, and outcryes,' raised such a noise that no one 'could either heare or be hearde.' While 'the gentlewomen did fall a tearing and crying that the masse was entred amongst them, and Baal in the church.' David Lindsay, the Bishop of Edinburgh, increased instead of quelling the excitement, by reminding the people that they were in a church and entreating them to



FIG. 167

CHARLES I.

desist from profaning it. Stools (and even bibles it was alleged) were used as missiles. Archbishop Spottiswoode, then Chancellor of Scotland, who was present, next tried to quieten the multitude, but only became a sharer of the imprecations and bitter epithets so freely hurled at the heads of Hanna and Lindsay. The magistrates, having at length been appealed to, 'thrust the unruly rabble out of the church,' but the noise was continued outside. When Lindsay appeared on the street he was mobbed and so roughly handled that he had to take refuge in a house. It is as the heroine of this outburst that Jenny Geddes has been kept in memory; and a heavy folding stool, traditionally said to have been thrown by her on this occasion, is preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities; but her name does not occur in any of the contemporary accounts. In one of these, unfortunately anonymous, it is alleged that 'one did cast a stoole' at the Dean, 'intending to have given him a ticket of remembrance, but jouncing became his safegaird at that time'; and that 'a good Christian woman,' who, failing to get out, had betaken herself to a remote corner of the church, was so annoyed by a young man sounding forth 'amen' behind her, that, turning quickly round, she 'warmed both his cheekes with the weight of her hands,' and exclaimed—'False thee! is there no uther parte of the Kirke to sing masse in, but thou must sing it at my lugge?'¹ At the end of next month, for defending the Liturgy in a synod sermon, William Annan was mobbed in Glasgow by 'some hundredths of intraged women of all qualities,' who with 'neaves and staves and peats . . . beat him sore.' In November, for using this service, the Bishop of Brechin was driven out of his own cathedral by his enraged people, and was so terrified that he fled from the kingdom. It was not the mere reading of prayers which so stirred the populace. Though the *Book of Common Order*, which Knox had helped to frame, had partly fallen into abeyance it had not been wholly given up. Indeed, Patrick Henderson, the respected reader in St. Giles', who had declined to publish Bishop Lindsay's obnoxious edict concerning the service-book, read as usual the old accustomed prayers immediately before Dean Hanna made his unsuccessful attempt to read the new ones. Robert Baillie, afterwards Principal of Glasgow University, explains that the ministers opposed to the new book had made it their daily text, exposing the multitude of its 'Popish poynts' on the one hand, and the illegal manner in which it was being imposed on the other. The commotion in Glasgow he thought was mainly due to 'Mr. John Bell's vehement dislyke of the booke.'²

The King, Laud, and the Scottish hierarchy—heedless of or unable to read the signs of the times—instead of taking warning from the significant ebullition in Edinburgh, pressed onward, as the event proved, to their own destruction. Early in August, ministers in Fife and others in the West of Scotland, who had not obeyed the injunction that each of them should procure two copies of the book for his respective parish, were charged to do so under pain of horning. They petitioned the Privy Council, the members of which seem to have felt the force of the supplication

¹ This account is printed in the appendix to *Roth's Relation*, Bannatyne Club, pp. 198-200. The throwing of stools is mentioned in *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, Spalding Club, i. 7; *Row's History*, Wodrow Society, p. 409; *Spalding's Memorials*, Spalding Club, i. 79; *Baker's Chronicle*, 1660, p. 504; *Whitelock's Memorials*, 1732, p. 27. Kirkton says:—'First, an unknown obscure woman threw her stool at his head; a number of others did the like by her example' (*Secret and True History*, p. 31). Bishop Guthrie alleges that Eupham Henderson, Bethia and Elspa Craig were recommended to 'give the first affront to the book' (*Guthrie's Memoirs*, 1748, p. 23). Wodrow has preserved the tradition that the first stool was thrown by the wife of John Mean, merchant; and 'that many of the lasses that caryed on the fray wer prentices in disguise, for they threw stools to a great lenth' (*Analecta*, i. 64). Gordon also records the report that some men were there in women's clothes. An engraving in Richard Burton's *Wars* shows men throwing sticks, stools and chairs.

² Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, 1841, i. 17, 21; *Spalding's Memorials*, i. 82.

presented by Alexander Henderson of Leuchars and others. The Council explained that their Act had been mis-stated in the letters of horning, as the ministers were only bound to buy the books, not to use them. The Council also warned the King of the widespread opposition. One of the remedies prescribed by the Sovereign, in his reply, was that the Council should warn the burghs to choose no magistrates for whose conformity they could not answer. Petitions against the service-book poured in plentifully to the Council, who duly sent copies of them to the King, and multitudes of people gathered in Edinburgh to hear his answer. On the 18th



FIG. 168. George Gillespie.

of October the Town Council and several members of Privy Council were so hard bestead by the mob that they were glad to temporise.

By this time the controversy had evoked many pamphlets, and one notable book entitled:—'A Dispyte against the English-Popish Ceremonies obtrvded upon the Chvrch of Scotland. . . . Printed in the yeare of our Lord, 1637.' This small quarto, in four parts, bears no author's name, printer's name, or place of publication. It is known, however, to have been written by George Gillespie, then a youth of four-and-twenty. On the 17th of October the Privy Council ordered all copies to be brought in and publicly burned; but as Gordon of Rothiemay points out, 'The effects of this proclamatiōe wer non other, as to the booke itself, but for to macke evry one the more curiouse to know the contents therof, and consequently to macke the mercatt the better for the stationer.' Gillespie subsequently became minister of Wemyss without the sanction of the Archbishop, or, as Baillie puts it, 'maugre St Andrewes baird.' In 1642 he was translated to the Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh, and in 1647 to the High Kirk there. He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1648, and died on the 17th of December in that year. With the fire of youth he combined the wisdom of age; and, as a peerless debater, no one was more eagerly listened to in the Westminster Assembly. The half-length, life-size portrait


of him (Fig. 168), belonging to the United Free Church College, Edinburgh, shows the keen, refined, somewhat anxious countenance one would expect to see in such a man. The best known of his later works are:—‘An Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland,’ 1641; ‘Aaron’s Rod Blossoming,’ 1646; and his posthumous ‘Treatise of Miscellany Questions. . . . Published by [his brother] Mr. Patrick Gillespie, minister at Glasgow,’ 1649.

The King’s feelings towards his northern subjects were not mollified by the tumult of 18th October, 1637, nor did his policy become more conciliatory. As the situation developed, it became evident that the petitioners could not maintain their ground, far less hope for success, unless they were united by a strong bond of union. This bond they readily found in the Covenant, commonly called ‘The King’s Confession,’ or ‘The Negative Confession,’¹ drawn up by the famous John Craig, and first sworn by James the Sixth and his household in January, 1580-81. Two additions were now made to it, one by Archibald Johnston of Warriston and the other by Alexander Henderson of Leuchars. Warriston’s portion is known as the legal warrant; and Henderson’s was the bond suiting the Covenant to the times. In Henderson’s portion the swearers promise, *inter alia*, to cease ‘the practice of all novations already introduced in the matters of the worship of God, or approbation of the corruptions of the publick government of the kirk, or civill places and power of kirkmen, till they bee tryed and allowed in free Assemblies, and in Parliaments.’ For renewing the Covenant with an addition there was a precedent. At the time of the Spanish Armada scare, a bond or ‘band’ had been drawn up for strengthening the King’s hands in maintaining Protestantism, and opposing its overthrow; and, while James was in Denmark with his Queen, the Privy Council had authorised the printing of the Confession and of this ‘Generall Band,’ and empowered certain ministers to receive subscriptions. With Warriston’s and Henderson’s additions the Confession is usually known as the National Covenant; and in that form it was enthusiastically sworn and subscribed in the Greyfriars’ Church, Edinburgh, on the 28th of February, 1638, and next day by hundreds of ministers and commissioners of burghs. Bishop Guthrie, after referring to the joy and shouting which accompanied the subscribing, adds that when Archbishop Spottiswoode heard what was done he said, ‘Now, all that we have been doing these thirty years past is thrown down at once,’ and, fearing violence, presently fled to London. It was arranged that copies of the Covenant should be provided for the different shires, districts, and parishes. The members of the committees, known as ‘the tables,’ respectively consisting of nobles, gentry, burgesses, and ministers, signed the copies thus sent out. Within three months the Covenant had been accepted by nearly the whole nation. Gordon of Rothiemay affirms that ‘many subscribed with teares on ther cheekes,’ and frequently heard that some used their own blood instead of ink. John Livingstone testifies that he had seen ‘above a thousand persons all at once lifting up their hands and the tears dropping down from their eyes.’ When Charles found that the swearers could not be induced to abandon the Covenant, he tried to divide them by re-issuing for subscription the King’s Confession, with the General Band, as sworn in 1590; but this astute plan met with little success; and the rival forms were distinguished by the people as the Noblemen’s Covenant and the King’s Covenant.

In the Glasgow Exhibition (1901) there were six original copies of the National Covenant on parchment. One of these is described in *Scottish National Memorials*,

¹No one can read this old covenant without perceiving why the adjective ‘negative’ was applied to it. John Hamilton, the apostate, frequently refers to it, in his *Facile Traicte*, as ‘thair negative faith.’ It was affirmative, however, as well as negative, for, as Scot of Cupar and Calderwood point out, by one of its clauses the swearers accept the Confession of 1560 in all points.

pp. 90, 91. As few documents have exercised so much influence in Scotland, the other five copies may be briefly described here.

The most remarkable of these belongs to the Corporation of Edinburgh. It is written on a large skin, and, to secure more space, the neck-piece, as in three of the others, has been left on. The extreme measurements are, across the top 3 feet 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; and from top to bottom 3 feet 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.¹ At the end of the Covenant are the words: 'Writtin be James Davie schoolemaister in Edinburghe.' Then comes the sentence: 'The article of this covenant which wes at the first subscription referred to the determination of the Generall Assemblie being determined, and thereby the fyve articles of Perth, the governement of the kirk by bishops, the civill places and power of kirkmen, upon the reasons and grounds contained in the Acts of the Generall Assemblie, declared to be unlaifull within this kirk, wee subscribe according to the determination foirsaid.' As this sentence corresponds exactly with the deliverance of the General Assembly on the 30th of August, 1639, it is natural to infer that this copy of the Covenant must have been signed after that date. A number of the leading nobles (including Montrose, Rothes, Cassilis, and Loudoun) adhibit their names, as do also such well-known ministers as Harie Rollok, Edinburgh; David Dickson, Irvine; Alexander Henderson, Leuchars. There also stands the signature of the reader of St. Giles', who officiated immediately before Dean Hanna — 'M. Patrik Henrysone, publict lector.' The front of the document is literally crowded with names and initials, numbering in all about thirteen hundred and fifty. All are genuine signatures. Some are very emphatic. Johne Cunynghame appends to his name the two words, 'till daith'; and E. Johnestoun appends to his 'with my . Another has written in a small neat hand, 'Exurgat Deus et dissipentur omnes inimici eius Johannes Paulicius manu propria.' The back of this copy is also crowded with names. In the upper portion there are about seventeen hundred signatures. Then follow eighty-two names written by James Gordon, notary public. Next comes the statement: 'At the South Kirk of Edinburgh the threttein, twentie, and xxvij dayis of Marche, 1638 (*sic*),² We Johne Thomesone, stabular,' etc. Thomson's name, and about a hundred and fifty others, are written by William King, notary public. Then follow about six hundred and seventy names by notaries. After which there are about two hundred signatures. The total number of autographs on back and front is thus about three thousand two hundred and fifty. Most of them are very well written. Many of them are very bold, one or two are rather tremulous, and some are rudely printed. Some only print their initials. One man, whose initials are undecipherable, proudly adds 'with my hand.' The total number signing by notaries is about nine hundred; and these comprise craftsmen of various kinds; and many, simply designated as 'workman,' probably belonged to the class now known as labourers.

The copy preserved in the Library of the Church of Scotland does not have the sentence referring to the decision of the Glasgow Assembly. The total number of signatures is probably under two hundred. They include Rothes, Cassillis, Lothian,

¹As the copies were usually written upon 'great skinnes of parchement,' a scoffer of that day described the Covenant as 'the Constellatione upon the backe of Aries' (Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, i. 44). The copy subscribed at the Greyfriars' on the 28th of February, 1638, was 'a fair parchment above an ellne in squair' (Rothes' *Relation*, p. 78).

²It is not easy to explain this anachronism. Perhaps the year date 1638 is due to a clerical slip on the part of the notary. The 13th, 20th, and 27th of March fell, of course, on the same day of the week—on Tuesday in 1638, on Wednesday in 1639, and on Friday in 1640. There must have been a special reason for choosing the same day in three successive weeks. About that period the Lord's Supper was sometimes celebrated on three successive Sabbaths, and in this case the Covenant may have been subscribed on the preparation days. On the other hand, there are points in this copy which appear to indicate that it was signed before the 30th of August, 1639.

Lindsay, Loudoun, Boyd, Balmerino, Cranstoun; Alexander Henderson, Leuchars; James Sharpe, Govan; George Young, Mauchline. Only nine men sign by notaries, and of the nine two are designated as blacksmiths, and one as 'peuderer.' In the right-hand corner, immediately below the Covenant, there is inscribed: 'Samuell Walker puterer and present diken 1703.' This date has been altered.

Two of the copies belong to the United Free Church College, Edinburgh. One of these does not have the additional sentence referring to the determination of the Glasgow Assembly, the other has. In the former the signatures are in compartments separated by horizontal lines, and down the left-hand side there are marginal notes.



FIG. 169. Alexander Henderson.

This copy was evidently intended for the shire of Ayr, and contains many notable signatures. All the lines separating the compartments have been ruled except the last one; and below it are the signatures of ministers not of the shire who subscribed at a meeting in Edinburgh on the 15th of June, 1638. There are probably about eight hundred names at this copy, and few if any of them appear to have been written by a notary. The other copy has been trimmed and enclosed within an ornamental border. It was 'written be John Laurie writer in Edinburgh.' The additional clause runs thus: 'The article of this Covenant, which was at the first subscription referred to the determination of the Generall Assemblie, being now determined at Glasgow, in December, 1638, and thereby the five articles of Perth and governement of the kirk by bishops beeing declared to be abjured and removed, and the civill places and power of kirkmen declared unlauffull, wee subscribe according to the determination of the said lauffull and free Generall Assemblie holden at

Glasgow.' This agrees with the deliverance of the General Assembly on 20th December, 1638. Most of the signatures are arranged in nine columns. A tenth column has almost faded out. About two hundred names are still visible, and all of these seem to be autograph.

The Duns Castle copy of the Covenant, 'writtin be Johnne Trotter nottar publict,' does not have the additional sentence referring to the determination of Glasgow Assembly, and therefore does not lend itself to the theory that it was signed when the Scots army was encamped at Duns Law in the summer of 1639. Over a hundred names are appended to it, about four lines of these having been filled in by the notaries.

When the General Assembly met in Glasgow in November, 1638, Alexander Henderson, as the recognised leader of the Church, was chosen moderator, a position for which he was admirably adapted. The life-size portrait of him (Fig. 169), belonging to the Marquis of Tweeddale is attributed to Vandyck, and there is little reason to doubt that such an excellent piece of work is from his brush. Ere the Assembly had well begun its work, it was formally dissolved by the Marquis of Hamilton, the Royal Commissioner, who forbade the members to meet again under pain of treason, and ordered them to quit Glasgow within twenty-four hours. Guided by Henderson the Assembly continued to sit until it had effectually disposed of the innovations, deposed the bishops, and passed a number of far-reaching Acts. In closing the Assembly, Henderson is said to have used the memorable words: 'We have now cast down the walls of Jericho: let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite.'

In the strained relations then existing between Charles and his English Parliament, he could hardly afford to ignore the Assembly's defiance of his Commissioner; but neither could he summon the English Parliament to his aid. By a voluntary contribution he raised over £50,000, and marched with an army into Scotland, only to find that at Duns Law there was, under the veteran Alexander Leslie, a Scots Army nearly as large as his own. Fortunately for the English recruits they were not pitted in battle against Leslie's more ardent troops. This, 'the first bishops' war,' was peaceably closed in June, 1639, by the Treaty of Berwick, in which Charles agreed that a General Assembly should be held in Edinburgh in August, and immediately thereafter a meeting of Parliament to ratify the conclusions of the Assembly and pass an Act of Oblivion. Both Assembly and Parliament duly met. The former prevailed on the Privy Council and the Royal Commissioner to enjoin all His Majesty's lieges in time coming to sign the Covenant; and, by its own ecclesiastical power, ordained that all professors and schoolmasters, and all students 'at the passing of their degrees,' should subscribe. This Act and another, which rejected the service-book, the book of canons, the high-commission, Prelacy and the ceremonies, were voted on and passed by the Lords of the Articles; but until they should be ratified by Parliament the Covenanters had no real security against the King; and this ratification he was determined they should not have. From time to time the Commissioner adjourned the Parliament, until, on the 14th of November, it was prorogued to the 2nd of June, 1640, in virtue of a royal warrant—a proceeding against which the Estates protested.

The King who was preparing for 'the second bishops' war' sent instructions again to postpone or prorogue the Parliament; but his instructions were not acted on. The Estates met on the 2nd of June, 1640, and by the 11th of June, when they adjourned, they had by their Acts effected a mighty change in Church and State. According to Sir James Balfour they had done more at one blow than had been previously

effected in six centuries; they had fettered monarchy, and set limits beyond which it could not legally go. Three of the Acts were of great importance from the ecclesiastical point of view. One of them ratified the Covenant, enjoined its subscription 'under all civill paines,' and ordained that at the beginning of every Parliament it should be sworn by the members. Another ratified the Act of the 1639 Assembly rejecting the service-book, etc. And another revived and renewed the Act of Parliament of 1592 ratifying Presbytery, and annulled the Act of 1612 by which that Act had been rescinded. The Scots had been preparing for war as well as the King, and under Alexander Leslie they marched into England. Montrose was the first to cross the Tweed. Before the end of August they had encountered and defeated a portion of the King's army at Newburn on Tyne and entered Newcastle. Again they were ready to treat with the King, and the terms of a new agreement were to be discussed in October at Ripon. Before they could be settled, however, the Long Parliament met (3rd November, 1640), and Charles was no longer supreme in England. Laud was thrown into the Tower, Strafford was led to the block, and the system of personal government overthrown, before the final agreement was made with the Scots Commissioners at Westminster on the 7th of August, 1641. In that Treaty it was stipulated that the King should publish in his own name the Acts of the Parliament of 1640, and that they should be held to have the strength of laws. By this time Montrose was a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle and the Scottish Parliament was in session.

Leaving England, Charles journeyed to Holyrood, took his place in Parliament, superscribed the Westminster Treaty before it was three weeks old, and, with consent of his Scottish Estates, enacted that it should stand for ever ratified and have the authority of an Act of Parliament; and so, sincerely or otherwise, he openly and fully approved the proceedings of the Parliament of June, 1640. In order to testify their respect and thankfulness towards him, and that he might 'joyfullie returne a contented Prince from a contented people to the settling of his royal affaires in his other dominiones,' the Scottish Estates unanimously decided, in November, to remit to him 'the fyve incendiaries and the plotters.' He declared that he would never employ any of these men in offices, or places of court or state, without the consent of Parliament. Montrose was one of the plotters. The Parliament closed next day, and on the following morning (18th November, 1641), Charles set out for England, never to return to his native kingdom.

Notwithstanding this peaceful parting with the King, when commissioners from the English Parliament arrived in Edinburgh, in August, 1643, to crave help from the Convention of Estates and General Assembly, both of which were then sitting, they did not ask in vain. The English proposed that the two nations 'should enter into a strict union and league,' in order to bring them closer in the form of church government, and that the foundation might be laid for 'the utter extirpation of Popery and Prelacie out of both kingdomes.' Alexander Henderson suggested that the league should be religious as well as civil, and his draft which was adopted was known as 'The Solemn League and Covenant.' On the 25th of September it was sworn by the Westminster Assembly and the House of Commons, and on the 15th of October the House of Lords followed their example. The Solemn League was neither intended to rival nor supersede the National Covenant; but its scope was much wider, and for a number of years it was much more in evidence. Unlike the National Covenant, nearly all the surviving copies of the Solemn League are in the form of printed quartos.

Next January, Alexander Leslie—now Earl of Leven—led another army into

England to oppose his King; and the help thus given by the Scots was of material service to the forces of the English Parliament at Marston Moor. Soon after that battle Montrose, with only two attendants and the King's commission, made his way into Scotland; and there raising a Highland army, and with the assistance of a contingent from Ireland, made a powerful diversion in support of the royal cause, winning victory after victory at Tippermuir, Aberdeen, Inverlochy, Auldearn, Alford, and Kilsyth. In response to a pressing demand from the Committee of Estates, a body of cavalry, under David Leslie, was detached from the Scots army then before Hereford. Leslie surprised and utterly routed the army of Montrose at Philiphaugh.



FIG. 171. George Jamesone, the artist; by himself.

on the 13th of September, 1645. The portrait of Montrose, belonging to the Duke of Montrose and attributed to Sir Anthony Vandyck (Fig. 170), has been cut down. Mark Napier claimed it for William Dobson.

After many disappointments and defeats, the King, in dire distress, if not in despair, rode into the Scots army, then before Newark, on the 5th of May, 1646. With their precious charge they retired towards Newcastle; and there Charles engaged in a formal discussion with Alexander Henderson on the respective merits of Presbytery and Prelacy. Henderson returned to Scotland and died in Edinburgh on the 19th of August, 1646. Had Charles agreed to establish Presbytery in England the Scots army would have fought for him; but he would not. Had they taken him to Scotland he would have proved a bone of contention. It was not, however, until January, 1647, after a satisfactory arrangement had been made for their own arrears of pay, that they left him in the hands of the English commissioners and marched back to their own country.

In 1644 there died in Edinburgh, and was laid to rest in the Greyfriars' Church-



FIG. 170.

THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE

yard, one of the most eminent Scotsmen of his generation, but one who took no prominent part in the complicated troubles of his time. George Jamesone, the son of 'Andrew Jamesoun, masoun,' burghess of Aberdeen, was born in or about 1588, and so distinguished himself as an artist that he has been justly denominated 'the Scottish Vandyck.' One of the most interesting of his productions is his latest known portrait of himself (Fig. 171), belonging to the Countess-Dowager of Seafield. Of the portraits in the background, one has been identified as that of Charles I.; another is supposed to be his Queen; and a third, Jamesone's own wife. The mythological and sea pieces are the only works of the kind which he is known to have done, and they are only known from these miniatures.

While the King was with the Scots army at Newcastle he was joined by William Douglas, eighth Earl of Morton, and grandson of that Sir William Douglas who was Queen Mary's keeper at Loch Leven. He is said to have been one of the richest nobles in the kingdom at the outbreak of the civil war, and to have advanced large sums in support of the royal cause. In political matters he was an opponent of his father-in-law, the famous Marquis of Argyll. His portrait (Fig. 172), belonging to the Earl of Mar and Kellie, has been unaccountably mistaken for that of the Regent Morton, whom he in no way resembled. The identity of the portrait is settled by another exactly the same at Dalmahoy, in the upper left hand corner of which is inscribed: 'William Douglas Earl of Morton Treasurer of Scotland anno 1635 obiit 7th Oct. anno 1648.'

The Scottish troubles in the cause of Charles the First were not ended when the Scots army left him to his fate in England. While virtually a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, in December, 1647, he entered into a secret arrangement with the Scottish Commissioners—Lauderdale, Loudoun, and Lanark—by which he agreed to confirm the Solemn League and Covenant, and establish Presbyterianism in England for three years, and the Scots army was to cross the Border to secure his restoration to power. The outcome of 'the Engagement,' as it was called, was a bitter controversy which so hopelessly split the Scottish nation that even the overwhelming defeat which Hamilton and his followers sustained at the hands of Cromwell in August, 1648, could not close the breach. Five months later, Charles was brought to Westminster to be tried, was accused of high treason for having appeared in arms against his subjects, and on the 30th January, 1649, was beheaded in front of his own palace of Whitehall.

Men, like Whitelock who sat in Cromwell's parliament, frankly owned that 'the King died with true magnanimity and Christian patience.'¹ Gilbert Burnet, who regarded his reign both in peace and in war as a continual series of errors, affirms that 'he died greater than he had lived; and shewed that which has been often observed of the whole race of the Stewards, that they bore misfortunes better than prosperity.'² A resting place in Westminster having been denied him, he was buried with little pomp in Henry the Eighth's vault at Windsor. His sympathisers thought it was not without significance that when the coffin was carried out of St. George's Hall 'the sky was serene and clear,' but ere the procession reached the west end of the Royal Chapel the black velvet pall was hidden under a thick covering of snow. Bishop Juxton, who was present, intended to use the burial service in the Book of

¹ Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 375. Sir Roger Manley, in whose opinion 'there was never any parricide except that of our Saviour so detestable as this,' declares that 'the scelerates of the faction,' not content with having 'raged against him living and dead,' endeavoured to kill his fame 'by the enslaved pen of a needy pedagogue, one Milton' (*History of the Rebellions*, 1691, pp. 204-206).

² *History of His Own Time*, 1823, i. 81.

Common Prayer, but was not allowed. When the coffin was opened in 1813, the countenance, notwithstanding its disfigurement, still bore 'a strong resemblance to the coins, the busts, and especially to the pictures . . . by Vandyke.'¹

The Ordinance for the trial of the King had been engrossed, and the Order to commit him close prisoner had been given, on the 5th of January. Next day the Scottish Commissioners in London had sent a letter to the House of Commons, urging that there should be no change in the fundamental government, and that no harm, injury, or violence should be offered to his Majesty's person, 'the very thought whereof the kingdome of Scotland hath alwayes abhorred.' After he was condemned, they besought both Fairfax and Cromwell to use their great influence in preventing the execution.² On the 5th of February—six days after the tragedy at Whitehall—Prince Charles was, by order of the Scottish Parliament, proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh as King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, 'whom all the subjects of this kingdome are bound humblie and faithfullie to obey, maintayne, and defend according to the Nationall Covenant, and the Solemne League and Covenant betuix the kingdomes, with their lyves and goods aganst all deadlie, as their only righteous Sovereigne Lord and King.'³ In vain the Scottish Commissioners pressed his just right and title upon the House of Commons.⁴ But whatever the English might do, the Scots were determined to maintain the monarchy, and to have Charles as its head. They were also determined, however, that before he was admitted to the exercise of his royal power he should come under solemn and satisfactory obligations regarding the Covenants, the form of church-government, and the power of General Assemblies and of the Estates of Parliament.⁵

The young king, who was only nineteen (having been born on the 29th of May, 1630), was not enamoured of the Scots conditions, and the first negotiations proved futile. Montrose began to prepare for another campaign. His forerunner, the Earl of Kinnoull, landed at Kirkwall in the autumn, but Montrose himself did not reach the Orkneys until the spring of 1650. This campaign was not destined to have even a temporary success. Having crossed to the mainland his forces were completely routed at Carbisdale on the 27th of April; and soon after he was delivered up to General Leslie. On the 18th of May he was ignominiously driven through Edinburgh by the hangman. On the 20th he made a long defence before Parliament, in which he manifested both courage and modesty. Next day he was taken to the market cross and 'hangit upon ane heigh gallows, maid for the view of the pepill more than ordinar, with his buikis and declaratiounes bund on his back.' After hanging three hours he was cut down; and, his head, legs, and arms having been cut off, his trunk was east into 'ane lytill schoirt kist, and takin to the Burrow-mure of Edinburgh, and bureyed thair among malefactouris.'⁶

The efforts of Charles to obtain help from Continental kings and potentates had brought him 'nothing but dilatory and generall answeres'; Ormond's resistance to the English Commonwealth in Ireland had been quelled; he had begun to realise that Montrose was hardly likely to break or bend the power of the Covenanters. His schemes shattered, his hopes blasted, he was advised by his friends 'to make an agreement upon any termes' with his Scotch subjects, as 'the only probable human means' to recover his other kingdoms.⁷ He took the advice,

¹ Clarke's *Life of James the Second*, 1816, ii. 670.

² *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, Vol. VI. Part II. pp. 694, 695, 697.

³ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, VI. Part II. p. 157.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 708.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 161; *Principal Acts of the General Assembly*, 1649, pp. 10, 11.

⁶ Nicoll's *Diary*, Ban. Club, pp. 12, 13.

⁷ *Maitland Miscellany*, ii. 472, 473.



FIG. 172

WILLIAM DOUGLAS, 8TH EARL OF MORTON

and again negotiated with the Scottish Parliament. Among the original documents in the Glasgow Exhibition (1901) there was a letter, dated from Jersey ¹⁵ of February 1649-50, addressed to Robert Douglas, Moderator of the General Assembly, in which he is entreated by the King to use his credit among the ministers, 'to persuade them to reasonable moderation, and to that confidence in me and kindness to me as may produce the like affections in me towards them, and be the ground of a right understanding between us for the lasting happiness of that nation.'

Before Charles knew of the disaster at Carbisdale, he sent instructions to Montrose to lay down his arms immediately, as he had come to terms; but, peremptory as these instructions were, he continued to vacillate. He was uncertain as to the real strength of the force led by Montrose, and he suspected the sincerity of 'the prevailing party' just as that party doubted his good faith.¹ The commissioners who accompanied him from Breda were surprised when he offered to subscribe the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant before he landed at the mouth of the Spey on the 23rd of June, 1650.² On the 16th of August, he agreed to a declaration, confessing that he desired to be deeply humbled in spirit before God for his father's opposition to the work of reformation and for his mother's idolatry; professing that he had not subscribed the Covenants with any sinister intention or crooked design, but sincerely; promising that he would have no friends or enemies but those of the Covenant; and affirming that he detested and abhorred 'all Popery, superstition, and idolatry, together with Prelacy and all errors,' etc., which he would endeavour to extirpate.³ Cromwell, who had led an English army into Scotland three weeks before, was at this time being out-manoeuvred by David Leslie, and had been discomfited in several assaults; but on the 3rd of September he had his revenge in the battle of Dunbar. The defeat led to great searchings of heart among the Presbyterians; and the Commission of Assembly sent out a timely warning against complying with the enemy, albeit the Lord had suffered 'that army of perfidious and blasphemous Sectaries to prevail.'⁴ Notwithstanding Cromwell's grip of a large part of the country, and the dissatisfaction of the extreme Covenanters, now known as Remonstrants, it was resolved that the King should be crowned at Scone on new-year's day. Then and there the ceremony was duly performed—the Marquis of Argyll putting the crown upon his head. The anointing with oil was omitted. Robert Douglas rose to the occasion in his long, faithful, and practical sermon and in his two exhortations.⁵ The King not only took the coronation oath, but again swore and subscribed the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, as he had done off Speymouth, in a bond by which he consented to all Acts of Parliament enjoining the Covenants, and fully establishing Presbyterian government, the Directory of Worship, the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, in Scotland, and promised to give his royal assent to Acts of Parliament, bills or ordinances, passed, or to be passed, in the Houses of Parliament enjoining the same in the rest of his dominions.⁶

¹ *Maitland Miscellany*, ii. 475-480.

² *Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, i. 181-183.

³ *Collection of Sermons, Speeches, and Exhortations at renewing and subscribing the Covenants*, 1741, pp. 534-544.

⁴ *Balfour's Historical Works*, iv. 100.

⁵ This sermon was greatly esteemed by the late Lord Bute. There is an old tradition to the effect that Douglas, who never needed to cast about for a text, had on this occasion the words in Ezekiel xxi. 25-27 borne in upon him; but he rejected them as unsuitable, and chose instead the more appropriate language as he thought of 2 Kings xi. 12, 17. He had always a difficulty afterwards in getting his texts. When, thirty years later, Donald Cargill felt impelled to excommunicate 'the perjured tyrant,' he took for his text the rejected words in Ezekiel.

⁶ *Collection of Sermons, Speeches, and Exhortations*, 1741, p. 489; S. R. Gardiner's *Charles the Second and Scotland in 1650*, p. xxii.

The Scots had now got a covenanted king; but, as Carlyle puts it, they had involved themselves in a sea of confusions by soldering Christ's crown to Charles Stuart's. Cromwell continued to strengthen his hold on the south of Scotland; and when in summer he broke into Fife and marched towards Perth, the King and the Scotch army, in order to counteract him, resolved to carry the war into England. The end came at Worcester, on the banks of the Severn, on the 3rd of September, 1651, when, after 'as stiff a contest for four or five hours' as Oliver had ever seen, he obtained what he called 'a very glorious mercy,' 'a crowning mercy,' the dimensions of which he said were above his thoughts. The power of Scotland had been broken at Dunbar exactly a year before; now it was helpless, and was to be under the heel of 'the Sectaries' for years to come. Cromwell as a member of the House of Commons had, in 1643, subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant; but he had proved no friend to covenanted uniformity, nor to that form of church-government which is commonly supposed to have been aimed at in the Covenant. Under his rule—a rule personal and despotic though paternal and religious—the free exercise of church-government was not tolerated in Scotland. Not only was the General Assembly dismissed and prevented from meeting again, but the synods and inferior courts were occasionally interfered with and dispersed, and presbyteries were often over-ruled in the settlement of ministers.

The task of subduing Scotland and holding it in subjection was rendered all the easier by the unfortunate dispute which had divided the Covenanters into two opposing sections. Fortified by the opinion of the Commissioners of the Assembly, the Parliament had, in December, 1650, admitted many into the army who had been previously excluded as unworthy; and, in June, 1651, had rescinded the 'Acts of Classes,' and so thrown open places of public trust. Those who supported the public resolutions by which the Royalists, or 'Malignants,' were thus restored to power were known as Resolutioners; and those who opposed were known as Protesters.

Scotland laboured under another disadvantage. A week before the fatal fight of Worcester the Committee of Estates had been captured by the English at Alyth. The Parliament of the Commonwealth, however, was disposed in some ways to be generous. The monarchy was, no doubt, formally abolished; but in its place political incorporation with the Commonwealth was offered. A Bill for union was introduced in the House of Commons in April, 1652, but it was still a Bill when a year later the Rump of the Long Parliament was dissolved by Cromwell. Of the members summoned to Barebone's Parliament, five were from Scotland; but the union was not completed when this Parliament—which, according to William Row, 'some called the Little Daft Parliament'—was dissolved and supreme authority placed in Cromwell's hands in December, 1653. In the Instrument of Government then prepared, thirty members for Scotland were allowed in the House of Commons, and the Ordinance of Union was completed by the Lord Protector's Council of State in April, 1654. Next year a separate Council of State was appointed for Scotland. Not until the 28th of April, 1657, did the Union rest upon the basis of Parliamentary sanction. Oliver dissolved his last Parliament on the 4th of February, 1658; and on the 3rd of September—the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester—'he passed away to the rest he had never known on earth.' (Fig. 173.) The day before Cromwell died, the Scots held a fast for his recovery; and a week after his death, his son Richard was proclaimed Protector at the Cross of Edinburgh. With the restoration of the Rump of the Long Parliament



FIG. 173.

OLIVER CROMWELL

Lent by Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart.

the Union lapsed. 'Of the transactions between the year 1652 and 1659 the House was officially unconscious.'¹ By Richard's abdication on the 25th of May the Protectorate came to an end. Monk, who was in command of the forces in Scotland, resolved to terminate the anarchy into which the country had drifted, and for that purpose left the Border with his army on the 1st of January, 1660.

Monk was joined by Fairfax at York, and on the 3rd of February entered London. On the 21st of that month 'the secluded members' who had been expelled from the House of Commons by Pride's Purge in 1648, were re-introduced; and so Presbyterians again sat at the helm of State. Early in March the Westminster Confession of Faith was (with the exception of chapters 30. and 31) re-approved; the Presbyterian form of church-government, with a toleration for tender consciences, was recognised; and orders were given for printing the Solemn League and Covenant and setting it up in the churches.² On the 16th of March an Act was passed finally dissolving this (the Long) Parliament; and so, in Whitelock's words, 'having from this day dissolved themselves, every one departed to their particular occasions.' The restoration of Charles was now a foregone conclusion.

After the battle of Worcester he had endured many hardships and run many risks of capture before he was able to cross the English Channel. Towards the end of his long exile he was somewhat cheered by the vague hope that Monk's march to London 'might produce some alteration that might be useful to him'; but this hope was so damped when he heard of the General's submission to the Rump that 'a greater consternation and dejection of mind cannot be imagined than at that time covered the small Court of the King' at Brussels.³ Yet his peaceful restoration was to be largely due to the influence and policy of Monk, to whose reputation it added a lustre tarnished by deep dissimulation.

In the Declaration of Breda (4th April, 1660) Charles said: 'Let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a King, solemnly given by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever, committed against us or our royal father before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against any of them.' Again, 'we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom.' In this Declaration he took care to avoid the rock on which his father had been wrecked—the claim to act independently of Parliament.⁴ The Convention Parliament, which had met at Westminster on the 25th of April, received the Breda Declaration with joy on the 1st of May, and unanimously resolved that, according to the ancient and fundamental laws, 'the government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons.' If the Scots had erred ten years before in attempting to bind an unstable youth by 'siccar' oaths and covenants, those who were now in power did not follow their example; but brought back the King confiding in his honour. On the 29th of May (his birthday) he was welcomed in London with unbounded enthusiasm and loyalty. 'Such a Restauration,' says Evelyn, 'was never mentioned in any history antient or modern, since the returne of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity; nor so joyfull a day and so bright ever scene in this nation.' The demonstrations on the north side of the Tweed were quite as enthusiastic and not less loyal.

¹ Terry's *Cromwellian Union*, 1902, Introduction.

² Neal's *History of the Puritans*, 1738, iv. 225; Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 697.

³ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, 1819, iii. 957.

⁴ Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 351, 352.

KING, KIRK, AND COVENANT

Though unable to re-impose conditions on their King, the zealous Presbyterian ministers of Scotland were not unmindful of their duties. In February a number of the leading Resolutioners had sent James Sharp, minister of Crail, the most diplomatic and astute of their number, to London to look after the interests of the church. In May he went over to Breda, had interviews with the King, and re-crossed the channel with the London ministers, in one of the royal frigates, in time to witness the triumphal entry into the English metropolis; and there he remained for three months to continue his negotiations. He led the Resolutioners to believe that although Episcopacy would be re-established in England, Presbyterianism would

Robert & Dear Brethren

Your letter came to my hand yesterday about 10 of the
 clock, I being abroad by business. I will not now give to be
 sent: I am sorry to have over-looked your trouble after your
 beginning a course of study, which I suppose is according to your
 usual way in the hope of your then from a present distance
 of bodies: I will not avoid your giving you of my going for London
 I provided if you want a reason why you of my going for London
 some weeks ago, yet it is a truly I know of no ground for it
 he finding left, yet how business and other did spread of it to
 me, & upon that subject you perambulate. I did willingly agree
 upon a letter (which was published by each member of the church) to
 be presented to his majesty by the Lord Chancellor and the Lord
 Kites whom you did advise to give for London speedily; since that time
 you have been very pressing why you to go along with you upon
 some particular things, say are important. Though you have
 said, I might say I would command me to go, yet I did not
 think of it, and for some of the particulars I did give an
 answer the day to me: they have refused to begin the journey
 yet pressing me to answer; it may be desired that I take no
 mark to a journey in his kind of matters of affairs, yet I have
 not yet to refuse you without pressing; that indeed may be
 you to be troubled if I say something of you for commencing
 about your refusal of my going, my mind would have been
 for, but since you was not yett there the day you are to go
 from your business, I might submit to your will in this: as it
 is not intended for I cannot meddle with your business, but I may say
 any thing I see from any church judicatories, only I may say
 that as I have not (through to be sure) done any thing to be
 done of your liberties & government of it, so I shall not by force
 of God take any exception by wronging of it; but as I have spoken

FIG. 174. Letter from James Sharp to James Wood.

be allowed to hold the field in Scotland; and skilfully fomented their distrust of the Protesters. The Committee of Estates, to whom the administration of Scotland was to be temporarily entrusted, was summoned to meet at Edinburgh on the 23rd of August. On that day, the leading Protesters—suspecting Sharp's integrity, and fearing the re-imposition of Episcopacy—met in a private house to draw up a supplication to the King. The meeting was abruptly terminated by the Committee of Estates arresting the supplicants and throwing them into the castle. When a week later Sharp arrived in Edinburgh, he was the bearer of a letter from the King to Robert Douglas for the Presbytery of Edinburgh. In this letter, dated 10th August, Charles says: 'We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation.' It was suggested that this passage was capable of two meanings; but the suggestion was rejected as

'an intolerable reflection upon his Majesty's honour and reputation.'¹ The unsuspecting Resolutioners were soon to be rudely undeceived as to his Majesty's honour. Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 1st of January, 1661, and not only passed an Act forbidding the renewing or swearing of the Covenants without royal warrant; but, on the 28th of March, rescinded the Parliaments which had been held in and since 1640, 'and all acts and deids past and done by them.' Immediately after the passing of this Act, a declaration was made of the King's full and firm resolution to maintain 'the true reformed Protestant religion in its purity of doctrine and worship'; to settle and secure the government of the church 'in such a frame as shall be most agreeable to the Word of God, most suteable to monarchicall government, and most complying with the publict peace and quyet of the kingdome'; and to allow in the meantime 'the present administration by sessions, presbtries,

kindly to you, and shall in my way handle your commotions, and not
at my own: I am a little unwell, but recovering, and for wear of my
to be better makes me put up what I would say in his way; I have
my best part do a little more a good measure, but I hope for God's sake
will be soon: I shall give you the news as by the morning's letter
at some length to you: let me hear more of his progress you
I am
yours every way
Ja: Sharp.
Edinb. the 29th of May
1661.

FIG. 175. Letter from James Sharp to James Wood (written on back of page shown in Fig. 174).

and synods.'² On Wednesday, the 24th of April, it was arranged that Glencairn, the Chancellor, and Rothes, the President of the Council, should go with a letter from the Parliament to the King. On Monday, the 29th, James Sharp was ordained to go with them,³ and they left that very day. On Friday the 26th, three days before leaving, Sharp, in a letter (Figs. 174, 175) hitherto unprinted,⁴ assured James Wood that he had done nothing against the liberties and government of the church; and would have no accession to the wronging of it; and was very hopeful that through God's goodness there would be no change. Yet his letter to Middleton shows, not only that he

¹Wodrow's *History*, i. 81, 227. ²*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vii. 18, 87, 88. ³*Ibid.* vii. 189, 193.

⁴The following is the full text of Sharp's letter to Wood:

Reverend and dear brother,
Your letter came to my hand yesternight about 10 of the clock. I being abroad the bearer could not sooner give it to me: I am sorry to have occasioned your trouble after your beginning a course of physick, which I hope is according to your usual way in this season of the year then from a present distemper of bodye: I could not avoyd the giving you this trouble; albeit I perceived that ther went a rumor with you of my going for London some weeks agoe, yet it is a truth I knew of no ground for it, till Fryday last, that the Commissionar and others did speak of it to me, and upon Weddensday the Parliament did unanimously agree upon a letter (which was subscribed by each member of the house) to be presented to his Majesty by the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Rothes, whom they did order to goe for London speedily; since that time they have been very pressing with me to goe along with them, upon some considerations they say are important; though the Commissionar was pleased to say he did command me to goe, yet I have not [*positively*—deleted] assented and they speak of the Parliament's adding there command this day to me: they doe resolve to begin ther journey poast this evening or to morrow; it may be beleevd that I have no stomach to a journey in this ticklish juncture of affairs, yet I know not how to resist the continued pressings; this made me sir putt you to the trouble, that having some time with you for communing about the reasons of my going, my mind would have been much eased, but since I can not gett over this day, and you are to goe from thence to morrow, I must submit to the Lord's will in this: as it is not intendit, so I can not medle with our church busines, not having any commission from any church judicature; only I may say this that as I have not (through

approved of the intended change after reaching London, but that he was well aware of it before leaving Edinburgh.

Sharp returned with Glencairn and Rothes on the 31st of August. They brought a letter, superscribed by Charles and subscribed by Lauderdale, informing the Privy Council of the King's firm resolution to interpose his royal authority for restoring the Church of Scotland 'to its right government by bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles'; and justifying his action by his promise a year before to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and by the recent Acts of Parliament.¹ Grub admits that 'this proceeding shook all confidence in the King's sincerity.'² On the 18th of October Sharp again set out for England; on the 14th of November a writ passed the great seal nominating him Archbishop of St. Andrews; and he was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on the 15th of December, after submitting to be privately ordained as a deacon and a priest. His somersault scandalised the Resolutioners who had trusted him implicitly. They regarded him not only as an apostate, but as the betrayer of the Church of Scotland. 'I did not suspect Mr. Sharp in reference to Prelacy,' says Robert Douglas, 'more than I did myself, no more than the apostles did Judas before his treachery was discovered.' He relates that Sharp, before going to London in the autumn of 1661, called upon him, and that he told him that 'the curse of God would be on him for his treacherous dealing.'³ Though much of Sharp's correspondence has been printed, it does not show exactly when his treachery began, but it suits the theory of long-continued duplicity; and Douglas, Baillie, and Burnet were afterwards satisfied that his dissimulation dated from the time of his visit to the King at Breda.

Before Sharp was rewarded with the mitre, the Solemn League and Covenant had been burned by the hangman at London, and two of the leading Covenanters had received the crown of martyrdom. The Marquis of Argyll and James Guthrie both suffered at the cross of Edinburgh in the same week (27th May—1st June, 1661); and both died owning the Covenants and showing marvellous courage and composure on the scaffold. During Cromwell's usurpation the Marquis had complied, but Guthrie was untainted with that 'epidemical sin.' Thirteen days after Sharp's consecration, the King ordered the Privy Council to forbid the meeting of synods,

the Lord's mercy) done any thing to the prejudice of the liberties and government of it, so I shall not by the grace of God have any accession to the wronging of it; but, as I have opportunity, tell my own single judgement of its case and condition, and doe what I can for preventing greif and affliction to honest men; and endeavour ther be no change made so farr as I can hinder: I hear the King is satisfied with the Parliament's rescissory acts; and shall I tell my thought to yow sir, I am very hopefull that [for] all this we shall have no change, through the goodnes of God: if you have any desires to lay upon me supposing I may goe, I hope yow will use freedome with me who bear an uncheangeable respect and indissoluble freindship to yow: and shall in my way tender your concernements as much as my own: I am a little indisposed this morning, and the beaur hastning to the tyde makes me huddle up what I would say in this way; I hear my brethren doe give me a hard measure, but I bliss the Lord [who] supports me with his peace: I shall either this evening or by the morning's tyde wreat at more length to yow; let the tender mercies of God preserve yow.

'I am sir your very loving and respective brother,

'JA: SHARP.

'Edinburgh this Fryday morning, 1661.'

A slip pasted on the back bears the address: 'For the ryth Reverend Mr. James Wood, provost of the Old Colledge.' The original letter, from which the accompanying fac-simile is taken, belongs to Mrs. Alfred Morrison. Sharp's letter to Middleton, the Commissioner, is in the *Lauderdale Papers*, ii., Appendix C.

To Principal Baillie, Sharp wrote: 'I am commandit to take a new toyle, but I tell yow it is not in order to a change of the Church. I easily foresee what occasion of jealousies and false surmises this my journey will give; but whenever the Lord shall returne me, I trust my carriage, through the Lord's help, shall be such as my dear freind Mr. Baily will not condemne me' (Baillie's *Letters*, iii. 460).

¹Wodrow's *History*, i. 230.

²Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 186.

³Wodrow's *History*, i. 28, 228.—The story of Douglas's reproof of Sharp is more dramatically told by Kirkton (*Secret and True History*, pp. 134, 135).

presbyteries, and sessions until authorised by the archbishops and bishops; bade them take special care that 'all due deference and respect be given by all our subjects' to these dignitaries; and required them to take 'severe and exemplary notice' of those who should 'presume to reflect or express any disrespect to their persons or authority.'¹ Parliament, having again met in the summer of 1662, re-established Episcopacy; rescinded the Act of 1592 ratifying Presbytery; ordained that no minister who had entered in or after 1649 should have any right to his stipend unless he obtained a presentation from the patron and collation from the bishop before the 20th of next September; decreed that ministers who did not observe the Act of 1661, appointing the 29th of May as an annual holy day unto the Lord for restoring the King, should be incapable of enjoying any benefice; declared the Covenants unlawful oaths; condemned the Glasgow Assembly of 1638; and enacted that no one should be admitted to any public trust or office until he signed a declaration acknowledging the Covenants to be unlawful.²

Episcopacy was now fully established, and further steps were taken to secure conformity. In September the Privy Council intimated that the archbishops and bishops were to hold their diocesan assemblies next month; and ordered 'all parsons, vicars, ministers' to repair to them; or otherwise to be 'holden as contemners of his Majesty's authority, and incur the censures provided in such cases.' On the 1st of October the Privy Council prohibited the ministers who had entered since 1649, and had not obtained the patron's presentation and the bishop's collation, from exercising any part of their ministry in their churches; commanded them and their families to leave their parishes before the 1st of November; and forbade the parishioners to pay them stipend, to recognise them as their pastors, or to hear them preach.³ It has been computed that by this drastic Act—commonly known as the Glasgow Act—above three hundred ministers were turned out of their charges.⁴ So much more quickly indeed were the pulpits emptied than the bishops could get them filled that the time for receiving presentation and collation was afterwards extended to the 1st of February, 1663; but those who did not comply by that time were not to be allowed to exercise any part of their ministry either in public or private, or to keep 'any meetings in families, upon pretence of religious exercises, except in and with their own families,' and were to reside in distant places. This later Act (23rd December) also struck at those other ministers who had not attended the bishops' synods; and appointed 'all his Majesty's subjects' to attend their own parish churches.⁵ The ministers, who were thus turned out in the winter season with empty pockets, are admitted to have been earnest, hard-working men, and greatly beloved by their people; while the hated and despised underlings, derisively termed 'curates,' with whom the bishops filled their places, were as a body totally unfit and unworthy. The Glasgow Act was impolitic as well as unjust. According to Sir George Mackenzie it was blamed by all wise and good men.

Even though the Scots had had no rooted dislike of Episcopacy, the treachery, the dissimulation, and the harshness with which it had been re-introduced were quite enough to prevent them from taking kindly to it; but sterner measures were now to be adopted. In January, 1664, the King, 'by virtue of his royal prerogative in all causes and over all persons,' granted the necessary warrant for erecting a special

¹ Wodrow's *History*, i. 249.

² *Acts of Parliament*, vii. 372, 373, 376, 378, 405, 406.

³ Wodrow's *History*, i. 280, 281, 283.

⁴ *Hind let Loose*, 1687, p. 101. Cf. Wodrow's *History*, i. 323-329. Sir George Mackenzie owns that two hundred ministers were thrown out at once (*Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 78).

⁵ Wodrow's *History*, i. 285, 286.

court or commission—usually termed the Court of High Commission—to enforce the Acts of Parliament and Council ‘for the peace and order of the Church, and in behalf of the government thereof by archbishops and bishops’; and in December, 1665, a proclamation was issued forbidding conventicles, either in houses or in the open air, the officiating ministers and those who harboured them being threatened with the highest pains due to sedition, and the hearers to be subject to ‘fining, confining and other corporal punishments.’¹ Three expeditions had already been sent to the south-west of Scotland to quell ecclesiastical troubles. In the spring of 1666 Sir James Turner, who was not new to the work, was sent there, as he says, sufficiently empowered with orders and instructions ‘for censing, quartering on and fining persons disobedient to church ordinances’; for apprehending ‘fugitive ministers,’ and finding out who harboured them and who attended conventicles.² Four of his soldiers having arrested an old man bound him hand and foot. The remonstrances of some neighbours led to a scuffle, in which the soldiers were worsted and next day more were overpowered. Fearing Turner’s vengeance, the victors and a number of sympathisers set out for Dumfries, and on the 15th of November surprised and captured him.³ The time had not come for successful resistance, nor had any preparation been made; but the country had been so galled by the military oppression that when Turner’s captors reached Lanark they were, he thought, nearly eleven hundred strong. There they renewed the Solemn League and Covenant, although the force under General Dalrymple, which had been sent to oppose them, was within two miles. Reduced in numbers, and exhausted by hunger, cold, and wet, they were brought to bay on the 28th of November at Rullion Green; and, though they fought well, were defeated by a disciplined force much larger and much better armed.

Fortunately for the defeated Covenanters, the battle was fought just before sunset, and ‘close upon the edge of Pentland Hills,’ which circumstances enabled most of them to escape. Fully forty of them were slain or died of their wounds. On the 7th of December, ten of the prisoners were hanged at the market-cross of Edinburgh, although nine of them had been promised quarter. Their heads were sent to various towns, and their right arms were fixed on the ports of Lanark, ‘being the place where they took the Covenant.’⁴ By the 2nd of January other two dozen had been hanged at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Ayr, Irvine, and Dumfries. Of these, Neilson of Corsack and Hew M’Kail were inhumanly tortured in the boots; and Rothes would apparently have subjected more of them to the same treatment had it not been illegal to torture after sentence.⁵ M’Kail, a young man in delicate health, had not been actually present at Rullion Green, but had given offence four years before by referring in a sermon to a Pharaoh on the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the church. At his execution ‘there was such a lamentation as was never known in Scotland before; not one dry cheek upon all the street, or in all the numberless windows. . . . Then all cursed the bishops who used to curse, then all prayed who used to pray, entreating God to judge righteous judgement.’⁶ His dying ‘farewell,’ so singularly touching and beautiful, has seldom if ever been equalled, and never excelled. The barbarous custom of beating drums to drown the victim’s voice was introduced at the execution of the Pentland prisoners at the cross of Glasgow. Sheilds, Kirkton, and Wodrow allege that the King wrote to stop the executions, but that Sharp kept up the letter.⁷

¹ Wodrow’s *History*, i. 384, 385, 430.

² Turner’s *Memoirs*, Ban. Club, pp. 142, 143.

³ *Naphtali*, 1667, pp. 137, 138.

⁴ *Samson’s Riddle*, pp. 9-20, 25, 26.

⁵ *Lauderdale Papers*, Camden Society, i. 268.

⁶ Kirkton’s *History*, pp. 249, 250.

⁷ Sheild’s *Hind let Loose*, 1687, p. 123; Kirkton’s *History*, p. 255; Wodrow’s *History*, ii. 37, 38. Gilbert Burnet, no friend to Sharp, throws the blame on Archbishop Burnet (*History of his Own Time*, i. 412).



FIG. 176.

FIRST MARQUIS OF TWEEDDALE

Lent by the Marquis of Tweeddale, K.T.

The undisguised discontent pervading the people comes out in various ways. From Ayr, Rothes wrote to Lauderdale that there was scarcely a gentleman in the country to be trusted, and not the hundredth person of the commonalty. He believed that they would join the Turks 'to feaght aganst the King and his guffernment.' From Kilmarnock, Dalryell wrote that, if foreign forces or arms were to come, the whole land would go into rebellion. Had not the Pentland rising been mis-timed, it would, he said, have been much more terrible. To him it seemed very strange that those who professed much for his Majesty should be so mercifully inclined 'to thois damnet crue.'¹ Mercy at all events was not one of his failings. Before setting out on this expedition to settle the west he felt confident that the task was impossible unless 'the inhabctens be removet or destroyet.'² The cruelty and oppression of Turner and Bannatyne had driven the Covenanters to despair; but now they were to learn that these men were saints compared with Dalryell and his soldiers. This brutal administration, however, was to be superseded for a time. Lauderdale found that his own influence was being endangered, by what Mr. Osmund Airy calls 'the cabal which had been formed, on the basis of mutual support in extortion and oppression, between the church and the military party'; and so in 1667 he broke it up.

So early as in May of that year John, Earl of Tweeddale, suggested to Lauderdale that some of the outed ministers should be settled in churches where they would not be a source of danger. It was this proposal which developed into what were afterwards known as the indulgences—the first of which was granted in 1669, the second in 1672, and the third in 1679. Against the first indulgence Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow and his diocesan synod formally remonstrated. To them it was a grave offence that the indulged Presbyterian ministers should be exempted from Episcopal jurisdiction, as 'thus the authority of an archbishop and synod (once venerable in the church of God) is become despicable.'³ The king and his lay advisers were enraged at this 'Episcopal Testimony,' or 'damned paper' as Sir Robert Murray angrily termed it.⁴ The strict Presbyterians also condemned the indulgence, because of the restrictions with which it was clogged, and the owning of the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical causes, which they held it implied. Logically carrying out their objections, many of them refused to own or hear the indulged ministers; and a few went so far that they would not have fellowship with those non-indulged ministers who did not testify against the indulgence. In this way the indulgence became a cause of division among the Presbyterians; and by many of them was regarded as a device of the enemy. Some of them might perhaps have denounced it in milder language had they known that its originator was John, Earl of Tweeddale, the only man in power who opposed the execution of James Guthrie; and who, according to Kirkton, 'was never cruell nor ane enemy to godly men.' His father, Lord Yester,⁵ had been created Earl of Tweeddale by Charles the First when he was at Newcastle with the Scots army. He himself had taken part in the Engagement in 1648 for that king's relief, and in the coronation of Charles the Second at Scone, in 1651; and had afterwards sat in Cromwell's Parliament at Westminster and in the Restoration Parliament at Edinburgh. He was yet to quarrel with Lauderdale, lose his place in the Privy Council, recover it again under the Duke of York's administration, comply with the Revolution government, and become Lord Chancellor

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, i. 265, 266.

² *Ibid.* i. 255.

³ *Lauderdale Papers*, ii, appendix, pp. lxxv, lxxvi.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 137-139.

⁵ Yester was twice married. His first wife was Jean Seton, daughter of the Earl of Dunfermline, whom he described, in 1621, as 'ane very comely wenche,' who might be 'a wyfe to the best in the kingdome' (*Correspondence of Earls of Ancrum and Lothian*, i. 18). She died eight days after the birth of her son, the future Marquis (Father Hay's *Genealogie of the Hayes of Tweeddale*, 1835, p. 27).

and High Commissioner. He was created Marquis of Tweeddale by King William in 1694, and died in 1697. His portrait (Fig. 176) is from a life-size painting.

Lauderdale, as a prominent and trusted Covenanter, had sat among the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland in the Westminster Assembly of Divines; but as a prime promoter of 'the Engagement' gave great offence to the prevailing party in Scotland. Having come over from Holland with the King in 1650, Parliament ordered him to leave the country; and only on his humble petition, and after a lapse of several months, repealed the act of banishment.¹ He was permitted to make public satisfaction in the Kirk of Largo, and there to swear again the Solemn League and Covenant.² Having been captured at the battle of Worcester he endured an English imprisonment until the spring of 1660. At the Restoration he was made Secretary of State for Scotland, an office from which Middleton was anxious to oust him. The Declaration condemning the Covenants, adopted by Parliament in 1662, was intended 'to incapacitate the Earl of Crawford from being Treasurer, and Lauderdale from being Secretary; but Lauderdale laugh'd at this contrivance, and told them he would sign a cartfull of such oaths before he would lose his place.'³ As Secretary he so guided and controlled Scotch affairs that 'he is to be regarded, not as the minister of a constitutional king, but as the grand vizier of an irresponsible despot.'⁴ He was a man of undoubted ability and great shrewdness; but, latterly at least, coarse, callous, sensual and unscrupulous. His worst qualities were fully developed under the pernicious influence of the notorious Countess of Dysart, who became his second wife. He was created Duke of Lauderdale on the 1st of May, 1672; and when he opened Parliament, in November, 1673, 'he found himself, to his astonishment, faced by an angry and organised opposition,' against which 'he struggled continuously to the end of his career.' The first in a formal list of grievances laid to his charge was the monopoly of salt, by which 'in many places the poor people were necessitated to send severall miles to the sea for salt water to supplie their indigence.'⁵ When at length he had to retire he was bled 'to prevent the ill consequences of his agitation and distress of mind'; yet, in sending the news to a confidential friend (13th September, 1680), he put the best possible face upon it—'Having now, at last, by God's blessing and the King's goodness, after long and earnest pressing, obtained his Majestie's leave to demitt my office of Secretary.'⁶ He is said to have been one of the greatest book-collectors of his time. His death, on the 24th of August, 1682, was due to 'discontent and age . . . if his Dutchesse and physitians be freed of it.' In preaching his funeral sermon, the Bishop of Edinburgh chose for a text: 'O death, where is thy sting; O grave, where is thy victory?'⁷ The portrait (Fig. 177) is from an original by Gaspar Netscher, a pupil of Koster and Gerard Terburg.

At the Restoration, Lauderdale is said to have advised the King to make sure of the Scots by keeping up Presbytery in their country; but Charles told him 'to let that go, for it was not a religion for gentlemen.'⁸ Considering the King's practical exemplification of the character of a gentleman, this was highly complimentary to Presbytery. But if Charles was destitute of moral virtue, he seems to

¹ Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 65, 75, 76, 200.

² Lamont's *Diary*, 1830, p. 25.

³ Mackenzie's *Memoirs*, pp. 64, 65.

⁴ *Lauderdale Papers*, i. p. xi.

⁵ *An Account of Scotland's Grievances by reason of Lauderdale's Ministrie*, p. 13.

⁶ Riddell's *Inquiry into the Law and Practice in Scottish Peerages*, i. 216, 217. 'A prince of the House of Brunswick once bluffly asked an Earl of Lauderdale if he was descended of that great blackguard, the Duke of Lauderdale. "No," was the cool reply, "but of his grandfather the Chancellor, who was a greater."' (*Ibid.* p. 217.)

⁷ Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, pp. 74, 93.

⁸ Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 184.

have had a superabundant quantity of healing virtue; and exploded the antiquated notion, that the kingly capacity of curing scrofula by touch was due to personal sanctity, and not to hereditary virtue in the royal line. The recorded instances of Edward the Confessor's healing power are few and far between;¹ whereas the ungodly Charles the Second effected numberless cures. So many indeed flocked to receive virtue from this faithless and licentious king that special days and seasons were set apart for the purpose. Charles also upset the theory that the virtue of the royal touch was due to the consecrated oil used at the coronation, for he was not anointed when crowned at Scone, and his coronation at Westminster did not take place until the 23rd of April, 1661; nevertheless, he 'began first to touch for the



FIG. 177. John Duke of Lauderdale. By Gasper Netscher.

evil' on the 6th of July, 1660, as Evelyn bears witness in his *Diary*. Evelyn tells that, as the sick knelt before the throne, the King stroked their faces or cheeks 'with both his hands at once'; and, when all had been thus touched, they came up again in the same order, and the King hung about the neck of each 'angel gold strung on white ribbon.' Two chaplains imparted a religious tone to the ceremony, which was concluded by the King washing his hands. During the first four years which followed his restoration, he is said to have touched nearly twenty-four thousand persons. The stream of patients seems to have been endless, and their faith boundless, and the King's virtue exhaustless. On twenty-four days, of five consecutive months in 1682, no fewer than three thousand five hundred and thirty-five afflicted persons were 'touched for the evil,' and each of these persons received a medal.² And yet, as Evelyn records, on the 28th of March, 1684, 'there was so greate a concourse of people with their children to be touch'd for the evil that six or seven were crush'd to death by pressing at the chirurgion's doore for tickets.' The gold touch-piece of Charles II.

¹ *Church Historians of England*, iii. 209, 210.

² *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Ninth Report*, ii. 457.

(Fig. 178) belonging to the Corporation of Glasgow is barely seven-eighths of an inch in diameter. The obverse bears a three-masted ship, and the legend: CAR. II. D. G. M. B. FR. ET. HI. REX. On the reverse there is a representation of St. Michael and the dragon, and the legend: SOLI DEO GLORIA.¹

In July, 1668, James Mitchell—described by Kirkton as ‘a weak scholar,’ and by Wodrow as ‘a preacher of the Gospel, and a youth of much zeal and piety’—laid wait for Sharp at the head of the Blackfriars’ Wynd, Edinburgh, and fired a pistol at him as he sat down in his coach; but Bishop Honeyman (of Orkney), who was stepping in after him, received the ball in his wrist. ‘The cry arose a man was killed. The people’s answer was, It’s but a bishop; and so there was no more noise.’ Mitchell was not apprehended until February, 1674; and then, on the Lord Chancellor solemnly promising to save his life if he confessed, he was simple enough to do so; but, fearing that faith would not be kept with him, he refused to adhere to the confession when brought before the Justiciary Lords. As no other proof could be produced against him, he was sent back to prison. In January, 1676, an attempt was made, by the torture of the boot, to compel him to confess that he was accessory to the Pentland Rising nine years before; but, though cruelly handled, he did not incriminate himself, and a year later he was sent to the Bass. In January, 1678, he was tried for his attempt on Sharp’s life. The Chancellor (Rothés) and the Treasurer-depute (Maitland of Halton) swore that they heard Mitchell make the confession before the committee; Lauderdale and Sharp swore that they heard him own it before the Privy Council. The four denied all knowledge of any promise of life having been given; and when the pannel’s advocates produced a copy of the minute, proving that such a promise had been made to him by warrant of the Commissioner (Lauderdale) and the Lords of Council, and craved that either the Register might be produced or the clerks obliged to give extracts, Lauderdale angrily said that he had come to depone and not to be staged for perjury. The request was refused, and next day Mitchell was sentenced to be hanged.

Mitchell was executed for attempting to shoot Sharp and accidentally wounding Honeyman. His condemnation had been attained by perjury, by stretching the law, and by packing the jury. Moved perhaps by the obloquy they had incurred, the Privy Council would have given him a reprieve, but to this the Archbishop would not consent.² On Sharp, indeed, the chief blame of his torture and judicial murder was laid;³ and on Sharp a terrible vengeance was wreaked. On the 3rd of May, 1679, he fell into the way of nine resolute Covenanters, who had been looking for



FIG. 178. Gold touch-piece of Charles II.

¹ In the Glasgow Exhibition (1901) there were also shown, by the Corporation, gold touch-pieces of James VII. and Queen Anne; and silver touch-pieces of James VII. and James VIII. All of them have the ship on the obverse; and on the reverse St. Michael and the dragon, and the legend: SOLI DEO GLORIA. When James the Sixth went to England, he said that neither he nor any other king could heal scrofula as the age of miracles was past; he was afterwards induced, however, to try his hand (*Venetian Calendar*, x. 44, 193). On the 24th of June, 1633, Charles the First, at Holyrood, touched about a hundred persons ‘that wer troubled with the King’s eivell, putting about evrey one of ther neckes a pice of gold (coyned for the purpois) hung at a whyte silk riband’ (Balfour’s *Historical Works*, ii. 201). At Chester, on the 28th and 30th of August, 1687, James the Seventh ‘healed’ eight hundred people (Cartwright’s *Diary*, Camden Society, pp. 74, 75). Some of the Jacobites held that the Brunswick line of kings did not possess this healing virtue because they lacked a full hereditary title to the throne. This could hardly be the real reason, for, in 1688, there was a horse in Annandale ‘that cured the King’s evil by licking the sore,’ and the country people resorted to it from all quarters (Wodrow’s *Analecta*, i. 179).

² Fountainhall’s *Historical Observes*, pp. 281-302; *Historical Notices*, i. 186.

³ When it was rumoured that Mitchell’s left leg was to be booted as the right had been, some of his friends, it seems, dropped a note to Sharp, assuring him that, if he persisted in this, he should have ‘a shott from a steddier hand’ (Law’s *Memorials*, pp. 85, 86).

and missed one Carmichael, a particularly obnoxious tool of the persecutors. The instrument had escaped: the principal had been thrown—providentially they thought—into their hands. After a hurried counsel, the coach was pursued, stopped, and the primate of Scotland—or Judas as they chose to call him—was mercilessly slain, in the presence of a daughter, at mid-day, and ‘within sight of his own metropolitan towers,’ after the Pentland pardon and James Mitchell had been thrown in his teeth. The accounts of the tragedy written at the time vary on no important point save one—the behaviour of the victim. Those friendly represent him as a saint praying for his murderers; the others, as most unwilling to pray at all, but one of these owns that at last he produced a prayer-book. Of the nine who were present, two declined to take any part; and it is rather remarkable that these two—David Hackston of Rathillet, and Andrew Gullan—were the only members of that small party who were tried and punished for the deed.

It is not surprising that in those days the detested Sharp was believed to dabble in *diablerie*. The actors on Magus Muir were probably much too excited to use their fire-arms with precision; but his apparent power to withstand shot suggested another explanation to them. ‘They saw shooting would not doe, and drew their swords.’ When his tobacco-box was opened ‘a living humming bee flew out,’ which was supposed to be his familiar.¹ Long afterwards it was said that on one occasion he sent a footman over from Edinburgh to St. Andrews for a paper that was required in prosecuting a Pentland prisoner. The footman was entrusted with the key of the closet and the key of the cabinet; and was directed distinctly to ‘the shottle’ of the cabinet in

which the paper lay. Though he made all haste, ‘when he opened the closet door and looked in, he saw the Bishop sitting at a table near the window, as if he had been reading and writing, with his black gown and tippet [and] his broad hat, just as he had left him at Edinburgh.’ He ran down stairs and told the secretary, or chamberlain, that the Bishop had come home; and as they went upstairs together ‘they both saw the Bishop standing upon the stair-head staring upon them with an angry look, which affrighted them in earnest.’ When the footman returned to Edinburgh with the paper, he told Sharp what he had seen, and was commanded, of course, to keep it secret.² One’s interest does not need to be whetted by such a story in order to appreciate the beauty of the oak cabinet (Fig. 179) which was obtained in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, and is said to have belonged to Sharp. The date ‘ANNO 1621’ is in the frieze. The doors are inlaid with ebony and box-wood. Each of the two drawers under the cupboard has a lion’s head as a handle. The extreme width of the cabinet is about four feet; and the total height barely six and a half feet.



FIG. 179. Archbishop Sharp's cabinet.

¹ Kirkton's *History*, p. 421.

² Wodrow's *Analecta*, i. 104-105.

The 'outing' of the Presbyterian ministers, and the popular contempt for the 'curates,' had led to what the rulers termed conventicles, and these they were determined to suppress. In 1570 Parliament declared that if non-indulged outed ministers, or other persons not allowed by the bishops, should preach, expound Scripture, or pray 'in any meeting, except in ther ounne housses and to those of ther ounne family,' they should be held guilty of keeping conventicles, and should be imprisoned until they found caution not to do the like again, or bound themselves to leave the kingdom; but those who preached or prayed at, or convoked people to, field-conventicles were to be punished by death and confiscation of their goods, while mere hearers were to be heavily fined. The Act explained that a house-conventicle became a field-conventicle, if there were 'moe persons nor the house contains so as some of them be without doors'; and a reward of five hundred merks was offered to any person for each officiator at, or convocator to, conventicles, whom they seized and secured; and the seizers and their assistants were indemnified 'for any slaughter that shall be committed in the apprehending and securing.'¹ With such a law in force, non-conformists had either to give up conventicles or carry arms in self defence; and they chose the latter alternative.

On Sabbath, the 30th of March, 1679, two officers and twenty dragoons were sent to Lesmahagow to 'dissipate' a field-conventicle which, it was learned, was to be held there that day. On the way they took several prisoners, and thought to surprise the conventicle; but on going over the hill 'perceived thrie companies of foot drawne up in order, about a hundreth a peece, and a troop of horse about sixty.' A command, in the King's name, to disperse, evoked a disdainful reply; and in the brief encounter which followed the Lieutenant, mortally wounded, and seven dragoons were taken prisoners. The report bears that the Covenant was read to the wounded officer as he lay upon the ground. After hearing four sermons and lectures the prisoners were dismissed, but their horses and arms were retained.²

Two months later, a party of armed men rode into Rutherglen, when the King's birth-day was being celebrated, and there extinguished the bonfires, burned the Act Rescissory and other obnoxious Acts, and, having read a short declaration and testimony, fixed a copy of it on the market-cross.³

Another tool of the oppressors now comes on the scene. The episode at Rutherglen happened on Thursday, the 29th of May; and, 'because of the insolency,' Claverhouse went thither from Glasgow on Saturday night to make inquiries. By six o'clock on Sabbath morning he had several prisoners at Strathaven, but, he says, 'I thought that we might mak a litle tour to see if we could fall upon a conventicle,' and he naively adds, 'which we did, litle to our advantadge.' This was the famous conventicle at Loudon Hill, and the encounter, from which he was thankful to escape on a sorely wounded horse, is known as the battle of Drumclog. He closed his report with the words:—'What theses rogues will doe next I knou not, but the country was flocking to them from all hands. This may be counted the beginning of the rebellion in my opinion.'⁴

As Claverhouse rightly surmised, this proved to be the beginning of a rebellion. The Covenanters who had taken part deemed it safer to remain together than to scatter; and the tidings of their success attracted many to them. Unfortunately, when their numbers increased, serious disputes arose in framing a declaration of the causes of their appearing in arms. The party led by Robert Hamilton, who had commanded

¹ *Acts of Parliament*, viii. 9, 10. ² *Lauderdale Papers*, iii. 162, 163. ³ Wodrow's *History*, iii. 66, 67.

⁴ *Lauderdale Papers*, iii. 164, 165. In a postscript, he says: 'I am so wearied and so sleapy that I have wryten this very confusedly.' That is perhaps the reason why he dated his letter the 1st instead of the 2nd of June, 1679.

at Drumclog, wished to ignore the King's interest and to testify against the indulgence. The other party, led by John Welsh, wished to declare their loyalty to the throne, and meanwhile to ignore the indulgence. The result was that many, who intended joining the Covenanters at Hamilton Muir, were discouraged; and many who were already in the camp left it. Their dissensions grew keener as Monmouth, who had been sent from London, approached with his forces. 'Never was a good cause and gallant army—generally speaking, hearty and bold—worse managed.' The Clyde was not

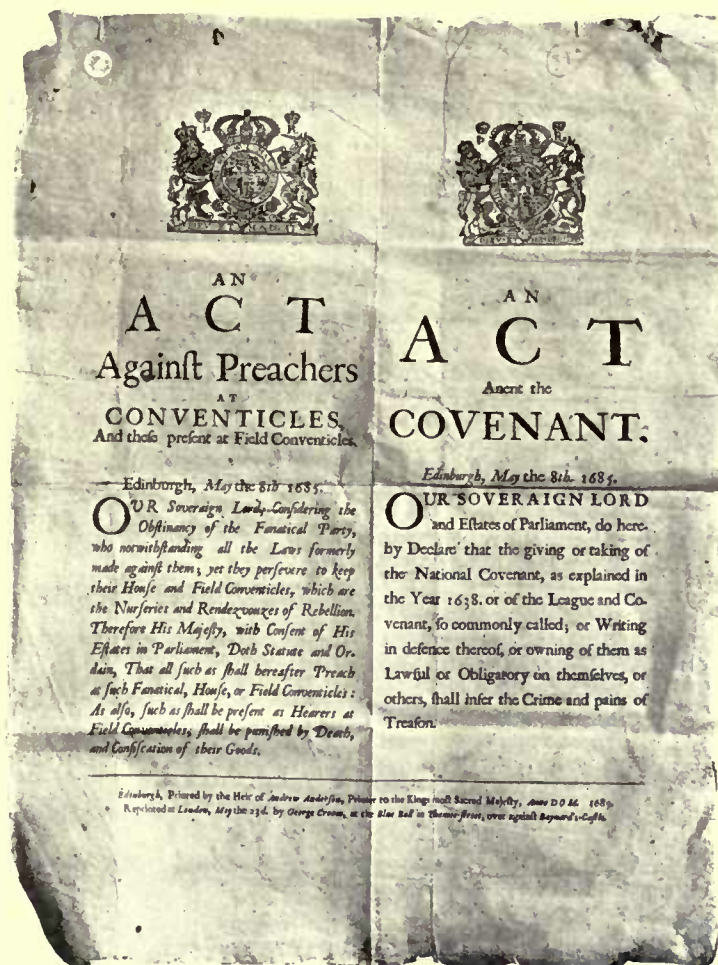


FIG. 180. Proclamation against Covenanters.

to be readily forded, and the brave men who held the bridge only quitted it reluctantly after their ammunition was exhausted. Once the King's troops were over the bridge there was little more fighting. Divided in opinion and badly officered the Covenanting army fell an easy prey. Hundreds were slaughtered, more than a thousand were captured. So ended the so-called battle of Bothwell Bridge on the 22nd of June, 1679.

The prisoners were marched to Edinburgh, and enclosed in an unused part of the Greyfriars' church-yard, standing on the ground by day and lying on it by night. Most of them were induced to sign a bond, promising that in future they would 'not take up arms without or against his Majesty or his authority'; but many declined to do so; and a goodly number escaped. After being kept in the church-yard until the middle of November, fully two hundred and fifty of them were placed on board a ship for transportation to America. The hardships they had already endured were soon eclipsed by their terrible sufferings between decks; but in December the vessel was

wrecked in the Orkneys, and two hundred of the helpless captives found rest beneath the waves. The two ministers taken at Bothwell Bridge—Kid and King—were hanged at the market-cross of Edinburgh; and five west-country men were hanged at Magus Muir though they had nothing whatever to do with Sharp's death.

Donald Cargill, who had been minister of the Barony, Glasgow, from 1655 to 1662, and Richard Cameron, who had been ordained in Holland, became, after the defeat at Bothwell, the trusted and devoted ecclesiastical leaders of the more rigid Covenanters—subsequently termed 'Cargillites,' but more frequently 'Cameronians.' Both gave an uncompromising opposition to the indulgence, and to all the defections of the times; and, in discharge of their ministerial work, they spared no pains, shunned no hardship, feared no danger. On the 22nd of June, 1680—the anniversary of Bothwell Bridge—a score of these men entered Sanquhar, and there, at the market-cross, Cameron's brother Michael read a paper disowning the King, declaring war against him, and protesting against the succession of the Duke of York. Within eight days the Privy Council offered a reward of five thousand merks for Richard Cameron, dead or alive, and three thousand apiece for his brother or Cargill. Three weeks later (22nd July) the two Camerons fell at Ayrsmoss. As the enemy closed round the little band, Richard prayed:—'Lord spare the green, and take the ripe.' Then, turning to his brother, he said:—'Come let us fight it out to the last; for this is the day that I have longed for, and the death that I have prayed for, to die fighting against our Lord's avowed enemies.' Before Richard's head and hands were fixed upon the Netherbow Port of Edinburgh, they were carried to his father then in prison. When asked if he knew them, he kissed them and said:—'I know them, I know them, they are my son's, my dear son's. It is the Lord; good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me or mine, but has made goodness and mercy to follow us all our days.'¹ Having at length been captured, Cargill was hanged at the cross of Edinburgh on the 27th of July, 1681, and went up the ladder, as he said, 'with less fear, confusion, or perturbation of mind,' than ever he entered a pulpit.

On the 31st of August, 1681, Parliament enjoined a new oath—known as 'the Test'—to be taken by all persons in public trust.² When, next November, the Earl of Argyll, as a privy councillor, took it, he did so with an explanation. For this he was tried and found guilty of treason. Disguised as a page, and bearing up the train of his step-daughter, he escaped from Edinburgh Castle; and three days later (23rd December) he was sentenced to be executed and demeaned as a traitor when he should be apprehended.

In November, 1684, the Cameronians, now under the guidance of the youthful Renwick, issued their 'Apologetick Declaration and Admonitory Vindication,' adhering to their former declarations, by which they had disowned Charles Stuart and proclaimed war against him; and intimating that, in future, those who sought their blood, and those who gave intelligence against them, would be regarded by them as 'enemies to God and the covenanted work of reformation,' and punished

¹ *Six Saints of the Covenant*, i. 232-235.

² By this oath the swearers were bound to 'the true Protestant religion' contained in the Confession of Faith of 1560: renounced all principles, doctrines, and practices, contrary thereunto or inconsistent therewith, 'whether Popish or phanaticall'; owned the King to be the only supreme governor of the realm, 'over all persons and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil'; affirmed that it was unlawful for subjects 'to enter into covenants or leagues, or to convocat, conven or assemble in any counccills, conventions or assemblies, to treat, consult or determine in any mater of state, civil or ecclesiastick, without his Majesties special command or express licence'; disowned all obligation by the Covenantants to endeavour any change in the government of church or state; and promised to maintain his Majesty's jurisdiction, and never decline the same (*Acts of Parliament*, viii. 244, 245).

as such.¹ This paper, posted on various market-crosses and church doors, so enraged the Lords of Privy Council that they ordained that 'any person who owns, or will not *disown*, the late treasonable declaration upon oath, whether they have arms or not,' shall 'be immediately put to death; this being always done in presence of two witnesses,

Forasmuch as Archibald Campbell late Earl of Argyll as being found guilty of the crime of treason as by warrant of the Lords of the High Court of Justice Council found in a letter from the said Magistrate Adjudged he wd be taken to the warrant rose of Edinburgh on the thirteenth day of this instant month of June next eight five years and for himself his and his heirs and assigns to be executed and his body to be affixed on the bellie of the on our high price of Iron these therefore require and Command the Magistrate of Edinburgh to see the said sentence and done put to down execution in all points as they will will be answerable and for that end to receive the person of the said Archibald Campbell late Earl of Argyll at the Castle gate of Edinburgh the thirteenth day of June at twelve o'clock precisely from whence they are to carry him down to the High town council house of Edinburgh with a strong guard where they are to keep him till God may give of execution And for the doing of all which this writt is to serve and forward Command Given at Edinburgh the thirteenth day of June 1685 years,

Smithson
 J. Foulis
 J. Lockhart
 David Balcanquhall
 Roger Hogg
 J. Stur
 G. Lyon

FIG. 181. Warrant for execution of Earl of Argyll.

and the person or persons having commission from the Council for that effect.'² The darkest day of the persecution, pre-eminently known as 'the Killing-time,' had dawned. Since the preceding August, those condemned to death had been hurriedly executed three hours after receiving sentence. Now the mercenary agents of the

¹ *Informatory Vindication*, 1707, pp. 185-191.

² *Wodrow's History*, iv. 154, 155.

Council were to put men or women to instant death, if they refused before a jury to disown on oath an obnoxious document which possibly they had never seen.

The death of the King on the 6th of February, 1685, and the accession of the Duke of York, brought no relief to the suffering Presbyterians. In 1681 two women—Isabel Alison and Marion Harvie—had been hanged in Edinburgh for their principles. Now, (May 1685), two women—Margaret Wilson and Margaret Lauchlison or M'Lauchlan—were drowned near Wigton. Among the brutal scenes of that time of blood, the one at Priesthill was only one of many, but the cruelty of



FIG. 182. Cap worn by Earl of Argyll at his execution.

Claverhouse in taking John Brown to his own cottage and shooting him, or causing him to be shot, in his wife's presence, has caused it to stand out in high-relief. In James' first Parliament an Act was passed (6th May, 1685), declaring that giving or taking the covenants, writing in defence of them, or owning them as lawful or obligatory, should infer the crime and pains of treason. By another Act (8th May, 1685) the penalty of death and confiscation of goods was extended to the hearers as well as the preachers, at either house or field

conventicles. These acts were issued as a broad-side, and as such were reprinted at London by the 23rd of May. In the reprint, as the reduced fac-simile (Fig. 180) shows, both bear the same date.

Much as the Cameronians were suffering, they hesitated to join the rising headed by Argyll. He had been a member of 'the bloody council,' and his manifesto did not meet their approval, as it practically ignored the Covenants, and opened the way for a confederacy with Sectaries and Malignants; but though designed to draw help from a wide circle, his attempt was doomed to failure, as was Monmouth's in England. On the 20th of June, Argyll was brought into Edinburgh, and led by the hangman through the same street in which four years before he had carried the crown in front of the man who was now King. That King, when he heard of the capture, instructed the Privy Council to 'take all ways to know from him those things which concern our government most'; but 'so as no time may be lost in bringing him to condign punishment.' And that punishment was to be the carrying out of the sentence pronounced upon him three and a half years before. The execution warrant signed by the Justice-General, the Justice-Clerk, and five Justiciary Lords (see Fig. 181) runs thus:

'Forsameikle as Archibald Campbell, late Earle of Argyle, as being found guilty of the cryme of treason, is by warrand of the Lords of his Majesties Privie Councill, foundit on a letter from his sacred Majestie, adjudged be us to be taken to the marcat croce of Edinburgh, on the thretieth day of this instant moneth of June, jm vj^c eightie fyve years; and ther, betuixt tuo and fyve a clock in the efternoon, to be beheadit, and thereafter his head to be affixt on the tolbuith of Edinburgh on ane high pine of iron; these therfor requyre and command the magistrats of Edinburgh to see the said sentance and doom putt to dewe execution in all poynts, as they will will (*sic*) be answerable; and for that end to receive the person of the said Archibald Campbell, late Earle of Argyle, at the castle gate of



FIG. 183. Medal struck to commemorate the flight of James VII.

Edinburgh the said threttie day of June, at twelve a clock preceislie, from which they are to cary him down to the Laigh Toun Council House of Edinburgh, with a strong guaird, wher they are to keep him till the ordinary tyme of execution ; and for the doeing of all which thir presentts are to them ane sufficient warrand. Given att Edinburgh the tuentie nynth day of June, 1685 years.'

Argyll regretted his 'gross compliances'; and, though it was said that he had 'never been very solid sen his trepaning of his scull in 1653,' manifested a wonderful composure at the near approach of a violent death. Before he was handed over to



FIG. 184. Straw-coloured flag of the Covenant.

the magistrates at the castle-gate, he dined, and then, following his usual custom, lay down and slept peacefully for a quarter of an hour.¹ He walked from the Council House to the scaffold-foot 'with his hat on.' When his neck was severed by the maiden, his kneeling body 'started upright to his feet till it was held downe.'² He is said to have worn a silk skull cap (see Fig. 182) at his execution.

Many believed that Charles the Second had become a Roman Catholic before his restoration;³ that, in 1669, he was one by conviction—if such a man could have any real convictions—seems certain enough; and when dying, Father Huddleston was smuggled into his room, in time to receive his confession, to reconcile him, to give him extreme unction and 'the blessed sacrament.'⁴ James ceased to be a Protestant long before he reached the throne; and, as the Convention of Estates in

¹ Wodrow's *History*, iv. 301, 302.

² Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, pp. 193, 194.

³ Neal's *History of the Puritans*, 1738, iv. 231-237; Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 126.

⁴ Clarke's *Life of James the Second*, i. 440-442, 483, 748, 749; *Stuart Papers* (Hist. MSS. Com.), i. 4.

Scotland took care, in 1689, to point out, he, 'being a professed Papist, did assume the regall power and acted as King, without ever taking the oath required by law, whereby the King, at his access to the government is obliged to swear to maintain the Protestant religion and to rule the people according to the laudable lawes.'¹ In order to advance his own religion, he tried to get the penal laws against Papists repealed in 1686; but the Scottish Parliament would not consent. He therefore, with the consent of the Privy Council, suspended these laws by his 'sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power'; and also granted toleration to Quakers and 'moderate Presbyterians.' These favours were neither intended for, nor approved by, the stern Cameronians; and Renwick—their worthy and beloved pastor—was brought to the scaffold on the 17th of February, 1688. In his dying testimony he said:—'Do not fear that the Lord will cast off Scotland; for he will certainly return, and show himself glorious in our land.' The deliverance was nearer than he imagined.

Before Renwick's martyrdom, a day of thanksgiving had been appointed for the Queen's being with child, and in order that public and hearty prayers might be offered

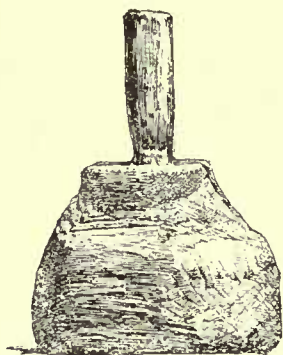


FIG. 185. Old Mortality's mell.

'that what she hath conceived may be preserved and happily brought forth to the joy of our Sovereign Lord the King, the further security of his crown, and the happiness and establishment of this kingdom.' The expected prince was born upon the 10th of June, 1688, and his birth did further the happiness of the kingdom, not by furthering the security of his father's crown, but by hastening his removal. Britain might have continued to tolerate the despotism of James, but the prospect of a Roman Catholic succession was not to be endured. The Prince of Orange landed at Torbay on the 5th of November, and next month James embarked for France. The medal

(Fig. 183) shows the Belgic lion, supported by the staff of liberty and the labarum, driving the King and his child towards the sea—the child in the arms of a priest, and the King's sword broken—where a French vessel awaits them.

Though the Cameronians were far from satisfied with the Revolution Settlement, they had done much to make it possible, and many of them assisted by their arms to guard the Convention, and to carry out its behests. To them, as to that year (1689), may be assigned the straw-coloured flag (Fig. 184), on the upper left-hand corner of which there is a Bible, open at Psalms cxxxiii.-cxxxvi., the words 'God's Psalms' being in the head-line, and 'Verbum Dei' across the pages. By the Revolution Settlement, much that the Covenanters had struggled for was permanently secured, although the Covenants—by which they had been bound together, and for which so many of them had suffered the loss of all things—were ignored. Prelacy was abolished as an insupportable grievance; the Westminster Confession of Faith was ratified; and Presbytery was re-established. No longer could a despot tyrannise over the people; no longer were men to be denied civil liberty; and ecclesiastical liberty was to be wider than the Covenanters had wished.

Of the many pious and enthusiastic Scots who by their pens have kept the memory of the Covenanters green, Wodrow, Patrick Walker, and John Howie stand in the front rank; while Robert Paterson—better known as Old Mortality, did what he could, by mell (Fig. 185) and chisel, to perpetuate the names and stories of the sufferers with whose graves Scotland is flowered.

D. HAY FLEMING.

¹ *Acts of Parliament*, ix. 38.

Before the Union

IN April, 1689, Edinburgh streets presented signs of unwonted commotion. There was excitement in every face. There were strange forms flitting along in the crowds that paced the Canongate and High Street. There were dragoons clanking their swords and jingling their spurs; stout Scots soldiers in their halberds and pikes, who had returned from service in Holland, and peasants lurking at the heads of wynds, with stern strong country faces, armed with swords and muskets, dressed in coarse home-spun grey clothes, and blue bonnets, who were Cameronians from the Westland Counties, eager as to what the Convention of Estates would do for the covenanted religion. There were nobles and gentlemen in bright costume and flowing periwigs, who had come from all parts of the country to attend the great Convention in Parliament House; and there were lacqueys as gay and more haughty than their masters as they stepped carefully over the garbage that polluted the causeway. On the fourth of April, after sitting some months, the Convention came to their momentous decision, after long and weary debate, that 'King James the Seventh had forfeited the right to the crown and the throne is become vacant.' A great revolution was accomplished. Seven days later the Estates had adopted a 'Claim of Rights' and thereafter a Statement of Grievances to be presented with an offer of the crown to William and Mary, and the new sovereigns were proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh.

While the Convention was debating, the Jacobites were acting. The Castle of Edinburgh, commanded by the Duke of Gordon, held out for the fugitive King—in March the Convention had sent to order its surrender, and the Commander promised to yield if an indemnity were made for all his friends, but as these friends turned out to mean all the Highland Clans, his offer was treated with scorn. A few days afterwards Viscount Dundee was seen ascending the slope to the Castle port when he bade the Duke hold out some weeks longer, promising his support at the head of a Highland army. Soon arrived in Edinburgh General Mackay with Scots regiments from Holland; the Castle was in earnest blockaded, and the garrison, reduced now to 45 men, short of food and ammunition, capitulated on honourable terms. On leaving the Convention in March Dundee (Fig. 186) went quietly to his mansion at Dudhope, having with him the trusty followers who had ridden with him from Edinburgh, and he in his retirement was secretly engaged in making arrangements with the chiefs to join him. A herald and trumpeter being sent by the Convention, ordering him to disarm on pain of being treated as a traitor, he, assuming fine virtuous indignation, complained that living peacefully in his own house he should thus be suspected. It was not long, however, before this innocent home-keeper, evading a troop sent to seize him, went to the wilds of Rannoch to join his Highland supporters, and General Mackay proceeded north to crush the insurrection. The rivals were unequally matched in this duel. The handsome, mercurial, alert

Jacobite contrasted curiously with the steady, honest, slow-paced Whig General. The one had shown skill and won experience in nimble desultory warfare, which needed tact rather than discipline; he was swift in movement and fertile in resource. The other was an old soldier and learned in drill, in the old-fashioned routine of attack and laborious formalities of war. Mackay was a Highlander of the Whig Sutherland clan, but Dundee, though a Lowlander from the flat country of Angus, easily attracted Celts by his courage and won them by his manner, and belonging to no clan his leadership roused no Chieftains' jealousy of supremacy. While Mackay was carrying his 500 men onwards in pursuit past the town of Dundee, where he left most of his forces, Claverhouse swiftly evaded him by unknown tracks, and when his pursuer reached Brechin all trace of the opponent had been lost. The Jacobite, with fleet movements, was making a circle round his pursuer, on through the rugged country which lies between the Don and the Dee, and then crossing the mountains he came to the basin of the Spey, and the laborious Mackay as he passed learned that Dundee was at Inverness. There Macdonald of Keppoch, who forgot his dignity as chief to act the part of freebooter, with 900 men was investing the town to plunder it on some dubious claims against his foes, the Mackintoshes, and was only pacified by his general making the inhabitants pay him a sum of dollars to satisfy his rapacity.



FIG. 187.
Claverhouse's
Killiecrankie
sword.

It is needless to follow the marches and counter marches of the rival leaders, the one pursuing, the other vanishing, from district to district; Mackay's Scots regiments getting worn out with trudging, Dundee's getting smaller as his Highlanders wearied of the game. Mackay having heard of a rumoured descent from Ireland on the west, was back in Edinburgh recruiting his forces, and now he learned that Dundee was preparing to take Blair Castle, whose owner, the Marquis of Athole, was in London, with Celtic prudence making up his mind what political side it was safe to take. Proceeding with 3000 infantry and 1000 dragoons, on his new expedition to intercept the Jacobites, he arrived at Dunkeld only to find that his enemy had been before him and his object was defeated. Early on the 26th of July he drew near to the pass of Killiecrankie, five miles from Blair, expecting the help of the Athole men under Lord James Murray. This proved a vain hope, for the Athole men would not follow their Chief's son against King James, and had joined Dundee. In the famous pass the road ran along the banks of a turbulent river, the Garry, while mountains and precipices rose on either side. A few men could hold this defile against enormous odds, but Dundee, instead of defending it, decided to let the government forces pass through and fight them in the open valley at the further end. On the 27th of July Mackay took his troops through the pass, surprised to find it unoccupied by the rebels. The wild mountains and the desolation, the silence broken only by the foaming river, struck with awe alike the English and the Lowland soldiers, fresh from the flats of Holland, who could see with dismay that through this narrow opening lay their only possible way of retreat from their assailants. At midday the army had passed the defile and was drawn up in one line three deep, along the southern extremity of the valley on which the pass opens. On a hill were stationed in readiness Dundee's men divided into columns. When they came in sight of each other the hostile armies shouted, but the cheers of the regulars were dull and heartless compared with the fierce yells

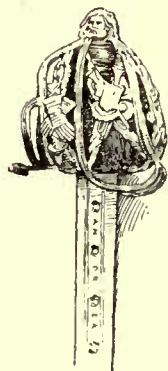


FIG. 188.
Claverhouse's
dress sword.



FIG. 186.

GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE, VISCOUNT DUNDEE.

Lent by Miss Leslie Melville.

of the rebels which rang loud and shrill among the mountains. While Dundee was engaged in widening the intervals between his columns to prevent being outflanked, only a few shots were fired; but about sunset he sent word to Mackay that he was about to attack, and at once gave the signal to charge. In an instant the Highlanders, casting off their plaids, and stripped to their shirts, began their headlong rush, to the accompaniment of wild strains of the bagpipes. As they went on they fired their muskets with well directed aim; then flinging them away they seized their broadswords, ran impetuously down and broke the thin line before them, working fearful havoc, slashing through the steel headpieces and cleaving the skulls of the soldiers, it was said, 'like night caps.' Guns, bayonets, and pikes could not withstand the terrific assault. Two regiments still stood fast, where no Highlanders had been placed opposite them, but the rest were driven headlong into the brawling river. Dundee in the fight was fatally prominent. After seizing Mackay's artillery—three wretched leathern-covered cannons—and putting to flight with some fifty horsemen two troops of horse, he galloped to the clan of Macdonald, ordering them to fall upon the regiments that still kept their ground. His arm was uplifted as he was bringing them to charge when a bullet pierced beneath the arm-pit, unprotected by his cuirass. He fell mortally wounded and died during the night.

The victory, however, was complete—cannon, baggage, and stores of the government troops were taken, 2000 were killed, wounded or made prisoners, while the Highlanders, by the volleys of the line, had lost 800 men. Mackay at the head of a few cavalry escaped to Stirling, but the two regiments which had kept their position on encountering the Athole men, while making their retreat from the pass, were almost destroyed. Had Dundee lived the Highlands and country down to Stirling would have been at his feet, and his progress to Edinburgh would have been unchecked. Now, however, by his death, the movement had received its death blow, for when he was gone there was no competent leader to take his place. Colonel Cannon, who had been sent from Ireland with 200 men, assumed command—utterly ignorant of Highlanders and their modes of warfare, baffled in a strange mountainous country and incapable of soothing ruffled jealousies of chiefs who despised him as an effete leader, and distrusted him as a foreigner. Having neither ability nor plans, he remained undecided, giving time for worthy Mackay, whose fame was sadly discredited, to collect troops and keep the rebels—4000 men—confined among their mountains. After many futile movements, however, by a stealthy march, evading the regular forces, Cannon surrounded Dunkeld. There 800 Cameronians of the new regiment had arrived, under a most competent young leader, Colonel Cleland.

The village, encircled by hills, was exposed to the artillery of the enemy and the fierce onset of the Highlanders from the heights. It was a Sunday, the 17th August, the day after their arrival that, in spite of breaking the Sabbath, the stern Cameronians began cutting trenches and making barricades. So hopeless seemed the chance of resisting the besiegers that five troops of horsemen who came the next day were withdrawn by Lord Cardross, leaving the obstinate zealots to their fate. On Wednesday the hills were swarming with 5000 Highlanders, eager to attack men whom they specially hated, who sought their defence in the church, an old mansion, and behind garden walls; but each time the mountaineers rushed down the heights they were met by pikes, muskets, and halberts, and forced to retreat. As those rebels who had got entrance to houses in the town kept up a hot fire of musketry on the church tower and mansion, some Cameronians

with flaming faggots set fire to the dry thatch of the dwellings and the place was soon in flames, and turning the keys in the doors they left the assailants to be burned to death. Every house was soon a smoking ruin and when the fight had gone on till eleven at night, the Highlanders fled from the town as swiftly as they had entered it. The victory lay with the Cameronians, but Cleland, their hero of the fight, was slain when giving an order to his men. The Highlanders, disgusted with their incapable general, retired with what booty they could get to their mountain homes, and the war was virtually over. One effort to revive it in winter, under a General Buchan, was foiled by the skirmish of Cromdale, when Sir Thomas Livingstone surprised at night the Jacobite army of 1500 men and defeated them without the victors losing a man. The Highlanders escaped up the mountains and into the mists that capped them with such speed that it was said they seemed like men 'received into the clouds.' Thus ended the war, and Mackay built, near Inverlochy, the fortress he named Fort William, which, commanding the roads to the centre of the Highlands, and having access to the sea, was invaluable for strategic purposes in future rebellions.

This last effort for King James involved in ruin many lowland Jacobites who had followed Dundee and his successor. Though offered service in William's army, they chose to follow their own King into exile, where they formed themselves into a company of private soldiers. Gentlemen of high birth and rank, they lived on threepence a day and a pound and a half of bread, in their poverty being reduced to sell their watches and their trinkets. Distinguished in many an action, those dying in battle were happier in their fate than their comrades who survived, many of them to live in penury, in rags, and in hunger. When at the Peace of Ryswick the little company was disbanded, only 16 remained to die unknown deaths. The last flicker of civil war was the defence of the Bass Rock by Jacobite officers, who, when prisoners, overpowered the garrison and defied the new government. By their boats they made predatory attacks on merchant vessels to secure provisions, and bore with impunity the attempts of men-of-war to batter their hold. It was only when weakened from want of food, reduced to two ounces of rusk a day to each man, that they surrendered in 1694—when happily they received honourable terms as due to brave men.

In 1690, when the Lowlands were peaceful, the Highlands were seething with disaffection. All efforts to pacify the chiefs by appealing to their loyalty having failed, the plan was now adopted by Government of appealing to their cupidity. The chiefs were poor, their lands were burdened with debt, their houses were crowded with lazy retainers sorning upon them, while, the rents being mainly paid in kind, in the form of cattle, sheep, game, butter, and meal, there was but little money to spend by chiefs whose lands were vast in extent, over which they reigned as kings. All this made the offer of a few hundred pounds an alluring bribe to the proudest and most powerful. The Earl of Breadalbane, as head of a great clan, was entrusted with £20,000 to distribute among the chieftains, on condition that they should submit themselves to Government, and support a force of their idle and predatory retainers, to act as soldiers of the King at home or abroad—a dangerous policy to adopt, for the men who were to serve King William for money, at any juncture would use their arms to fight for King James from loyalty. No one who knew Breadalbane trusted him; he had served and betrayed both parties; he was ever found upon the winning side, and could be relied upon for nothing, except to promote his own ends. At Glenorchy a conference was held with the heads of the Clans, most of them fitful friends or open enemies of

one another—each jealous for his rank, and all showing their Highland pride by demanding exorbitant bribes as the price for surrendering their conscience. The greater men demanded terms which could not be conceded; some were bought, others were intimidated into submission, but all complained frankly that Breadalbane had pocketed most of the funds. When the Government made an inconvenient inquiry of his lordship, the airy answer was given, 'The money is spent, the Highlands are quiet, and this is the only way of accounting among friends.'

All, however, was not secure; there were signs of dangerous disquiet in the wild mountainous regions, and in August 1691 a proclamation was issued, requiring all to make submission to Government before the first of January—those who held out to be subjected to the penalty of 'fire and sword.' This was done at the instigation of John Dalrymple, Master of Stair, who was Secretary of State. By him the Highlanders were considered as a menace to Government and a curse to civilisation from their lawlessness, their barbarism, their robberies; as a race only at peace with each other when there was a common enemy to attack. Any measures, he thought, were justifiable to break them in, or to prevent them breaking out. He was chagrined that the proclamation proved so successful; that instead of standing out and being deforced and defeated, they quietly took oaths of allegiance, having got secret orders from James to make a semblance of loyalty in order to throw off the mask when occasion required. One crumb of comfort the Master got at the news that the Macdonalds of Glencoe still held out. The Chief had been present at the meeting at Glenorchy, and had been a stalwart opposer of Breadalbane, who violently accused him and his people of having 'lifted' cattle from his lands which adjoined Macdonald's territory.

In the wild pass of Glencoe lived the Clan, numbering 200 armed men, and probably consisting of 1000 people in all. At the head of the pass, which opens out into a plain, they had their clachan, where they subsisted by cultivating their crofts in the marshy glen, raising cattle, of their own, and too often making raids to lift those of their neighbours—the Campbells of Argyll on the one side, and the Campbells of Breadalbane on the other. When the end of December drew near, the Chief had not yet taken the oath; but as the fateful day arrived, afraid of the deadly penalty, the old man repaired to Inverlochy or Fort-William, passing over the snow-covered passes and trackless wastes, to render his submission. There Col. Hill, being a military officer, had no power to administer the oath, and could only send him on to the Sheriff-Depute at Inveraray, with a letter urging him to receive the Chief 'as a lost sheep.' In utmost haste the old man sped over the pathless country, amid tempest and snow, crossing Loch Leven within half a mile of his house, not daring to waste time by visiting his home; but on his way through Breadalbane's country, he was detained a prisoner for a day, and did not reach Inveraray until the 2nd or 3rd January, when, to his horror, he found that the Sheriff, who was absent, would not return till the 6th. Then, however, with some hesitation, touched by the Chieftain's despair, he administered the oath. The old man now returned feeling perfectly safe, and calling his people together bade them live peaceably under King William.

Meanwhile, the news had come to London that Macdonald had not complied with the orders. Breadalbane was delighted that his old enemy was now in the clutches of the law; Dalrymple was charmed that here was one nest of robbers which he could destroy. It was only necessary to get an order from the King, and that was written, addressed to Sir Thomas Livingstone,—'If M'Ean of Glencoe and that tribe can be well separated from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of

public justice to extirpate that set of thieves.' Probably the King did not know the whole truth of the case, and did not weigh the full force of his words, but certainly he was responsible for the bloodthirsty order. He was not a man to be ignorant of the contents of any paper he signed, and his eye could not have missed the words which were written immediately above his signature. Dalrymple played the part of Iago to his master in this tragedy. The plan adopted was to massacre the whole race, and the passes were to be secured that not one man should escape. And this was done though Colonel Hill had been sending reports that there had been perfect peace in the Highlands for the past year—'no robberies and perfect civility among all the people.' Dalrymple wrote to Livingstone, the Commander-of-the-Forces, to see that the attack be sudden and secret. Livingstone thereupon told Colonel Hamilton that he had orders from Court not to spare any, and not to trouble the Government with prisoners. Colonel Hamilton was to head a detachment of soldiers taken from the Duke of Argyll's regiment, consisting of Campbells, who looked on the Macdonalds as their natural enemies. In February a company of 120 men, under Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, marched into Glencoe, he having been politicly chosen, because the fact that his niece had married Alexander, the son of the Chief, would disarm all suspicion of ill will (Fig. 189). The Glen, stern and wild in summer, was now dreary and desolate in the season when the mountains and huts were covered with deep snow. 'The winter is the only season in which the Highlanders can not clude us or carry their wives and children and cattle to the mountains. This is the proper season to march there in the dark night,' are the words of the devilish scheme of Dalrymple. 'They must be slaughtered, and the manner of execution must be sure and secret and effectual.' As the red-coats were seen coming up the pass, Macdonald's eldest son met them and was assured that they only sought quarters as friends; and in the homes of the Chief's kinsmen and the rude shielings of the people, they were entertained with the hospitality characteristic of the Highlands. They ate and they drank of the best. The officers would often come to Glencoe's house, friendly and merry, drinking and playing cards with their entertainers. The old Chief had invited Glenlyon and two other officers to dine with him on the very day of the massacre. While these amicable relations existed, Glenlyon received an order from Major Duncanson, who was acting on the orders of Colonel Hamilton. 'You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have extreme care that the old fox and his sons do not escape. This is by the King's special command, that these miscreants be cut off root and branch.' By five o'clock in the morning the murderous work was to begin, while detachments, under Duncanson, were to come to his aid. Some suspicions being raised at seeing the soldiers late at night ready and dressed, Glenlyon allayed them by saying they were preparing a march against some of Glengarry's men; and 'if they were ill-intended, would he not have told Sandy and his niece?' In the darkness of the winter morning, when the victims were asleep, the work began. Lieutenant Lindsay, with soldiers, came to Glencoe's house as if on a friendly errand and killed him with several bullets as he was rising from bed. Mrs. Macdonald, putting on her dress, was stripped of her clothes, and her rings were torn, by teeth, from her fingers, and other inmates of the house were shot dead. By Glenlyon's orders the very host he had lived with was slain, and a child clinging to his knees was killed with a bullet by Captain Drummond. From house to house, from hut to hut, the bloody work went on. John Macdonald escaped by thrusting his plaid in the faces of the soldiers who had dragged him out to be shot and

disappeared in the snow and the darkness. Fortunately, the sound of the firing echoing through the valley gave warning to many, and from fifty huts in the detached clachans the half-clad occupants flew bewildered, some only to fall into the hands of the soldiers and meet instant death. When at 11 o'clock Colonel Hamilton arrived there lay 40 corpses (two women among them) before the doors, or charred in the burning huts. One old man over seventy was still left, and, by orders, he was murdered in cold blood; the thatched houses were set on fire, the cattle and sheep were driven away, for those who had slain the Macdonalds for being robbers, acted the part of robbers themselves. The only regret felt by the leaders



FIG. 189. Captain Campbell of Glenlyon.

of this villainous expedition, was that any one had escaped. It is impossible to tell how many of the poor wretches lived to tell the terrible tale—exposed as they were to the elements, worn out by cold, by fatigue, by hunger, by terror; with the nearest shelter twelve miles distant, to be reached over moor, mountain, and the trackless snow. When the soldiers had marched off, the survivors furtively came back to cover the bodies of their dead and to bring the charred corpses from the smoking cabins, and, after weird 'wakings' and coronachs, to give their kinsfolk burial. To give more picturesqueness to this dismal scene, Lord Macaulay says that Glencoe means the 'Valley of weeping,' but more prosaically and accurately it means the Glen of the Cona, the stream that runs into the Loch. It needs no fictitious colouring to make the tale of treachery grim and lamentable. Of this tragedy the world did not ring. News travelled slowly in those days from the unknown Highlands; the Highlanders had few friends in lowland towns, and the death of a few score of them affected the world as little as the fate of Red

Indians in North America. The story was, however, written from Edinburgh, and appeared in April in the *Paris Gazette*, while in the same month a circumstantial account was published in London. At Brentford, where Captain Glenlyon and Drummond were quartered, a visitor heard the tale from the mouth of the soldiers, one of whom declared 'Glencoe hangs about Glenlyon night and day; you may see Glencoe in his face.' (Fig. 190.) The matter, however, did not rest. Scots Parliament ordered a commission which brought evidence clear and damning, though it did not inculpate the King, on the ground that his order did not authorise the slaughter. All the other accessories, from Breadalbane, Dalrymple to Glenlyon, were condemned by the Commission. Dalrymple was deprived of office, though afterwards to be restored to favour by the King on the ground that he 'had no hand in the barbarous manner of execution.' What then was done to those who had 'a hand' in the barbarous work, whose condign punishment Parliament demanded? Colonel Hill became Sir John; Glenlyon became a Colonel; Livingstone became Lord Teviot; Dalrymple had his title of Viscount raised to an Earl. It is not strange that King William's popularity did not increase, when he condoned so readily, if he did not authorise, the actors in a deed so dark and ruthless.

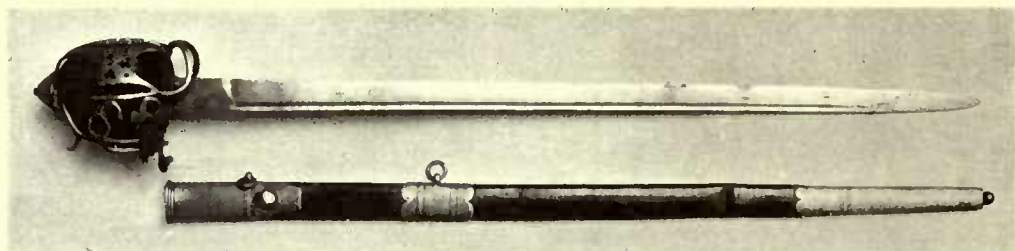


FIG. 190. Sword belonging to Captain Campbell of Glenlyon.

While Scotland was stirred by the strife of arms in the north and political disputes in the south, ecclesiastical questions were at stake more dear to the heart of the people than the most momentous concerns of the State. The advent of William of Orange in England had been the signal for uprising of the Presbyterians in the western and south-western shires, where the covenanting feeling was keenest. The eve of Christmas, 1689, was chosen as the time for attack on the thatched manses of the obnoxious 'curates.' Their windows were smashed, their doors battered in. The Episcopal ministers, with their families, were thrust forth into the snow; their furniture and books were burned; their cassocks—emblems of 'black prelacy'—were torn from their backs, and the keys of the poor-boxes wrested from their grasp. By this violent 'rabbling' many were ejected, and old bitter wrongs of persecution rudely avenged by the peasantry. Another process thinned still further the Episcopal ranks. This was the Oath of Allegiance imposed on all clergy, which was repulsive to a class notoriously Jacobites, and many were thrust from their livings for evading or refusing to take it.

Episcopacy was abolished, but who were to re-form the Presbyterian Church? Of the ministers who had been deprived of their parishes when prelacy was set up in 1661, only 60 survived out of 350—veterans who had suffered for their opinions twenty-eight years of persecution, privation, and poverty, while they preached to their flocks on the moors and hillsides at risk of their own lives. This remnant was now restored to their own manses, and formed the nucleus of the restored Church. In 1690 the first General Assembly met, and to it was intrusted

the dangerous power of making visitations to each parish 'to purge out all insufficient, scandalous, and erroneous ministers.' This commission was most zealously carried out, and gravely and eagerly the visitants listened to charges brought by cantankerous parishioners against their Episcopal rivals; of swearing, drinking, card-playing, Sabbath-breaking; and in scores such neglectors of morality or victims of prejudice were ejected from their benefices. To the north proceeded deputations to visit districts that clung to their Episcopal pastors, and they were usually greeted by showers of stones and imprecations from hostile mobs, and found the manses nailed up and the kirks barred in their faces. Some of these Presbyterian ministers remained bravely in the parishes on which they were thrust, but others prudently re-saddled their nags and jogged back to the south, leaving the curates in victorious possession to their dying day. The Church was now securely re-established. Parliament had sanctioned the Confession of Faith, after it had been read out while most of the members slumbered and slept. By 1694 the Church consisted of the sixty old martyrs, called by the prelatists the 'sixty bishops,' and by their admirers the 'antediluvians,' with addition of former Episcopal ministers who had conformed to the Confession and to Presbytery, of ministers who had been 'indulged' to preach in 1672, and many young men, for whom there were hundreds of vacant pulpits to fill, whose education, culture, breeding, and tolerance, were far to seek. By the wise guidance of Principal Carstairs, the wise counsellor of the king and the loyal friend of the Kirk, for which he himself had suffered, ecclesiastical government began to be tempered with tolerance and prudence. A new religious régime had now begun, possessed, however, of a sombreness and bigotry which became all too powerful to hamper society, and lay upon men and women burdens of creed and of discipline most grievous to be borne.

Yet one party remained discontented—for Parliament had not authorised the Solemn League and Covenant, which asserted the glorious duty of State and Kirk to suppress by force 'all popery, prelacy, and schism.' What did all the liberty allowed themselves of worship and belief avail if they could not deprive others of similar liberty? The Cameronians, 'Hill men' or 'Society men,' lifted up their testimony against such godless laxity with characteristic dourness, intolerance, and self-opinionativeness. These pious weavers, shepherds, and ploughmen cried aloud and spared not at a corrupt State, a backsliding Kirk, an abandoned land. They found themselves deserted by their ministers, whom they persistently ruled and who were glad to enter the ruined national Zion. These Cameronians retained their own opinions with all the greater unction, denounced defections with full-bodied freedom, fostering a spirit of religious arrogance, which wrought harm and dispeace in the hearts of the peasantry for long generations.

While Scotland was steeped in poverty, with its trade decayed, its sea ports in ruins, its harbours empty, there began in 1695 the bad years of blight and frost in spring, drenching rains in summer, easterly 'haars' in autumn, and terrible storms in winter. During these dismal years the scanty crops of grain were often not reaped till December or January, and then were green and worthless. There was little meal for the people, scanty forage for the starving sheep and cattle, and hundreds of people died of starvation throughout the country. Districts became in a few years depopulated by the people being driven to seek food and work in towns, or to migrate to Ireland; thousands (Fletcher of Saltoun asserts there were 200,000) were reduced to beggary and robbery. These 'ill years' or 'hungry years,' as they were called, lasted for seven years, during which farms were deserted, and tilled lands, from lack of tenants to farm them, and men to work them, passed into waste. Meanwhile the lairds were poor, being paid in

kind, silver was scarce, gold was unknown, and land rack-rented at 2s. and 1s. 6d. an acre brought in little money. Consequently, gentry and lords were deeply in debt, and their lands were burdened with wadsets; and it is said that after Parliament broke up at Edinburgh, half the members were in the debtors' sanctuary at Holyrood. In such a condition of general impecuniosity, any outlet for the energies of the people, and chance of increasing their means, was eagerly sought in the impoverished country. While the land was bewailing its poverty—a poverty which the succession of 'hungry years' now begun was to turn to destitution—there unfolded before landowners and citizens visions of untold wealth and endless prosperity, which became more entrancing as the years of famine ran on. All this came from the brain of William Patterson, who had come originally from Ayrshire. He had led an adventurous life: he had become a merchant's clerk in London, and thus learned business; he had been in the West Indies, and there seen the resources of the New World; he had been a missionary, sneered his detractors; he had been a buccaneer, asserted his enemies. Certain it is he gained money, became noted as a financier; and to his planning was due the Bank of England, of which he became a director, until ousted by men of more wealth or influence. In 1695 he devised the scheme of establishing a company to trade with India, America and Africa. The main plan, which he whispered in the ears of those he tried to enlist, was the planting of a colony on the Isthmus of Darien which should become the emporium of trade for the world—on one side with India and China and the Moluccas, on the other side with Europe—thus joining the commerce of the Pacific with that of the Atlantic. By this means, instead of cargoes of spices, gold, sugar, tobacco, silks, voyaging from the east by the long and stormy passage round Africa, they should be borne across a narrow isthmus, and thence across the sea. In London coffee houses he spoke of it, to merchants of Amsterdam he expounded it; but they listened dubiously to the ingenious Scot. In London Fletcher of Saltoun, however, met him, and that patriotic soul was soon aglow at a scheme which might make his poor country rich. The schemer and the patriot came north to offer the project to Scotland, where it was greeted with enthusiasm.

The Scots Parliament passed an act in 1695 granting privileges and a charter to what was named the 'Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies,' with power to plant colonies and build ships in places not already owned by European nations. The capital was to be £600,000 in £100 shares, half of which were to be held by Scotsmen. At first English merchants favoured it, and subscribed largely, until Parliament, fearful lest the commercial interests and trading monopolies of their country should suffer, addressed the King to oppose an enterprise whereby the Indian trade should be hurt and their imports reduced, while goods would enter Scotland free of duty and be smuggled across the border to the loss of the revenue. It was further protested that these colonies would be planted on shores claimed by Spain, and thereby involve their country in war for the sake of Scots adventurers—forcing them to spend ships, money, and lives in defending an aggressive company that was damaging their own trade. As Englishmen now held aloof from the business, the Scots entered into it with redoubled enthusiasm. There was now sought a capital of £400,000, and by February, 1696, all had been subscribed. Physicians, shopkeepers, lawyers, widows, and spinsters sent money from their hoards; lairds, who had no money, wadsetted or pawned their lands to buy shares. Thirty peers were among the subscribers, and Lord Breadalbane, always eager for money whether his own or other people's, took £3000 of shares, as did also the Dukes of Queensferry and Hamilton. The sum of £400,000 seems small in our day, but it was enormous for a poor country like Scotland, whose whole currency at that time was only about £600,000, and whose annual revenue was but £60,000.

While the land was suffering from scarcity of food, owing to the 'ill years' that were running their dreary course, towns were busy preparing merchandise for the cargoes to barter in the distant shores, and manufactured articles to exchange for the expected gold, spices, pearls, and silks of the east and west. Dunfermline weavers were busy making 'huckabacks,' Musselburgh its 'stuffs,' Aberdeen its wool, stockings, and 'fingrams,' Perth its gloves, Culross its girdles, and Kinross its knives. In Edinburgh barbers were engaged night and day making peri-wigs; fishing villages were curing herring and salmon, Glasgow was making shoes and ropes. In private houses and in such trade centres as then existed, the spinning wheel and the shuttle, the hammer and the needle were busy.¹ Miln Court in Edinburgh, where goods were being stored, was in crowded confusion, as these nondescript products of home manufacture were being borne on pack-horses or by boat to Leith. The people never reflected that woollen goods were too hot to wear in the tropics, that 4000 perukes and bobwigs were superfluous for the Chinese, and that the vast store of Bibles supplied would be a

'drug in the market' among natives who could not, and ribald colonists who would not, read them. As no ships over 180 tons burden were to be got in any Scots port, vessels were bought in Amsterdam and Hamburg.

It was in July, 1698, that four vessels set sail, with 1200 men, the sons of gentry and weavers, sailors, adventurers, and rascals, laden with incongruous cargoes, seeking the Eldorado. It is said that the fleet were kept ignorant of their destination on starting, lest it should reach the ears of the English, and only when they anchored at Madeira, which was not till September, were the sealed orders read directing them to the Gulf of Daricn. November had come before they landed on the promontory upon which they proceeded to erect huts and forts, to found 'New Edinburgh,' to be the capital of the future 'New Caledonia.' At first all seemed promising—a warm sun, luxuriant vegetation, fish and fruit in abundance, a rich soil which only needed 'to be tickled with a hoe to laugh with a harvest.' To provide for the spiritual needs of an unruly band of settlers, austere ministers had been brought out, who began to model New Caledonia after their own land with the blessings of Kirk Sessions, discipline, fast days, long Communion seasons, and discourses which proved soporific in the sultry air and abhorrent to wild adventurers and swearing 'tarpaulins.' A Council of seven leaders had charge of the settlement; but Patterson, who with his wife accompanied the colonists was



FIGS. 192, 193.
Distaffs.



FIG. 191. Countess of Airlie's spinning wheel.

¹The spinning wheel shown in Fig. 191 once belonged to a Countess of Airlie. The two distaffs, Figs. 192-3, which are finely carved, belong to about this period and are dated 1688 and 1712.

ignored, though he was the only competent man among them, and even on the voyage out was told to mind his own business. Fortune, which at first smiled on the colonists, soon laughed at them. The councillors squabbled and blundered; there were outrages and murders of the natives by the reckless settlers; the season changed, and there came deadly malaria from the rank and rotten vegetation in the swamps, with overpowering heat which disabled all for work; food ran scarce, and news came that the Governors of the English Colonies treated the adventurers as pirates, and refused provisions to their ships in exchange for goods. The settlement which lay midway between the towns Portobello and Carthagena, was attacked by the Spaniards. Death quickly thinned the baffled, despairing, and starving colony; and soon it was felt necessary to abandon the place. Patterson, who had lost his wife, was carried on board ship ill and demented; and on the 19th June a miserable remnant set sail. After terrible storms two of the vessels reached New York, and a few survivors, with emaciated yellow visages, disembarked, while the other vessels reached Jamaica, where supplies were denied them. Of all these disasters Scotland was meanwhile ignorant. It was rejoicing over its hopes and boasting of future triumphs, and next May two vessels, and two months later four other vessels with 1300 men, set forth from the Clyde. It was in November, 1699, that the ships cast anchor opposite New Edinburgh. The sight that met the new adventurers was disheartening—a few ruined forts, many deserted huts, and the mounds of the dead. Where they expected eager welcome from prosperous countrymen, they found dreariness and the silence of death. They set about repairing the waste places and former desolation; but again came the old trouble from unruly, disorderly crews, from quarrelling, incapable councillors—each of whom took rule for a week in turn. Some played the tyrant, others played the traitor, all played the fool with the settlement. The only one bright, fleeting episode was a successful attack by Colonel Campbell, of Finab, on the Spaniards who were marching against them. The glory was short to the colonists in that pestilential district, for a Spanish fleet blockaded the port, and in despair in March they capitulated, being allowed with their goods and their vessels to leave the waters. Thus ended this ill-judged, ill-managed expedition, which brought poverty and shame instead of wealth and glory to their land. No other end was possible to an impracticable scheme.

News of the calamity came with a shock to Scotland—it seemed the ruin of its hopes, its fortunes, and its pride. The national rage was directed against King William, who had left the Scots unaided, who had encouraged the English in the Indies to leave them to starve. Every house and tavern rang with fury. The General Assembly, with pious inconsequence, ordained a day of fast and humiliation for the sins of Sabbath breaking, blasphemy, witchcraft, and what not, which had brought this signal judgment of the Almighty on their land; but the people went to church more disposed to curse the iniquity of the English than to confess any sins of their own. Patriots resolved to drink no foreign wine or brandy, but only home-brewed ale, to wear no clothes except of stuffs woven in Scotland. In the Scots Parliament, which met in 1701, indignation ran high, the House became a babel of angry voices and furious menaces, and the Lord Commissioner in vain tried to maintain order, as the members wildly declaimed, harangued, and denounced the English and all their works. The luckless expedition brought ruin to thousands, though only £200,000 of the capital had been paid up; it discouraged trade, fostered disloyalty, and sorely diminished attachment to a King, whose frigid nature never did awaken much affection in any of his subjects. Yet one good result it had, it made more than ever obvious that the Union of the two countries was

the only means of bringing peace between peoples hostile in spirit and unequal rivals in trade.

The death of King William in 1701 brought into striking relief the characteristics of the different parties, and the strangely antagonistic interests in Scotland. The accession of Queen Anne showed what were the aims and policy of rival political sections. There were the Tories, Jacobites, or 'Cavaliers,' who were attached to King James; the Whigs, who favoured the Revolution; and the Country Party, or 'Patriots,' with whom every political feeling was subordinated to the peculiar interests of their country, rallying in defence of everything which maintained its prosperity, its trade, its independence. Compared with such concerns, what mattered it to them whether King James or Queen Anne sat on the throne? So urged vehemently Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, the sour-faced, pock-marked man in brown wig, with surly look, fierce eyes, and forcible speech, a republican rather than royalist. All parties acquiesced in the accession of Queen Anne, but in 1703 an opportunity was afforded for testing Scots feeling. When the last of her children was dead it became necessary to make provision for the succession to the throne. The son of King James, being a Roman Catholic, was impossible, and Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, grand-daughter of Charles the First, being the next nearest heir, was chosen by the Act of Succession in England. That Bill, however, did not bind Scotland, and if the queen were dead the two countries might fix on different sovereigns. This threw a new power into the hands of the Scots. They could coerce their neighbours in the South to concede much to them by threat of thwarting their desire for a common sovereign—they could hold out, so long as the wrongs of the Darien Scheme were not redressed, so long as their commerce was clogged, and their trade was hampered by English monopoly. In the Scots Parliament, therefore, an Act of Security was proposed—by which, in the event of the Queen dying childless, they might choose a successor of the royal line and Protestant faith, on condition that the honour and independence of their country was maintained, and that it should have equal rights of trade and commerce with England. Should these terms not be conceded Scotland would select any ruler it pleased. Further, it was enacted that all men capable of bearing arms should be trained, supplied with weapons, and drilled for service. While this was being debated wild was the excitement in the Parliament Hall of Edinburgh; voices rose high as each article was discussed, and finally carried; and when the Commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, refused to give the Royal sanction, the supplies were refused to be voted, the hall ringing with shouts, 'Liberty before subsidy!' Here was, indeed, a startling measure, which the Queen might naturally hesitate to sanction; but, as it was felt more dangerous to oppose than to accept it, it received the Royal assent, to the grim triumph of Scots patriots.

HENRY GREY GRAHAM.

The Union

NEGOTIATIONS meanwhile were proceeding to effect a union of the two countries. In 1702 Commissioners from England and Scotland had been appointed, and had met in the Cockpit at Westminster. Fitfully they consulted, languidly they debated the terms, in which the Scotsmen were supposed to imitate the policy of the Dutch in 'giving too little and asking too much'; and the conferences had ended in nothing. Not till 1706 was a serious effort made to effect a union of the inimical countries; and in the Cockpit, the former scene of futile meetings, new Commissioners from both kingdoms met in April. Calmly the proceedings went on, though each side bargained like hucksters at a fair; and in July they solemnly proceeded to St. James's with their conclusions in 25 articles, happy to announce that their deliberations were successfully completed. The Scots Commissioners, in their coaches or on horseback, rode home, taking twelve days to the journey, under the happy delusion that they would be greeted by a grateful nation. They had gained free trade between the two countries; they had secured the privilege, hitherto denied, for Scotsmen to have trade with the Indies and other English colonies; they had arranged the duties and taxes on a fair footing; they had secured an 'Equivalent Grant' of over £400,000 to make up inequalities of fiscal burdens, and to compensate for the losses of the Darien Company. They had done much in a task involving vast ingenuity, fine diplomacy, and rare financial skill. They had not, however, got from the English enough to settle the grievances and satisfy the demands of their jealous and exacting countrymen. When the terms of the proposed union came out, there burst forth indignation at a bargain by which the country was sold, its independence obliterated, its interests neglected, and its glory tarnished. Every party which had been hostile to each other seemed now united in hostility to the union. The Jacobites saw in it the death of their hopes, when both kingdoms should be joined under a Hanoverian dynasty; presbyterian people and clergy dreaded a union, which might issue in the favouring of abhorred episcopacy; the Cameronians were wild at recognising a prelatial and uncovenanted King; tradesmen foreboded the withdrawal of the gentry and nobility from Edinburgh to London, to the ruin of their business; the populace, influenced by furious pamphlets and speeches, cried out that the Scottish Crown and Sceptre would be carried off to England. The temper of the country was now at white heat, and all interest centred anxiously on the Scots Parliament which was about to meet.

It was convoked in 1707. For the last time Edinburgh was to witness the great pageantry which filled Scots hearts with pride. The 'Riding of Parliament' was a relic of feudal splendour and ceremony, which kept up the historic memories of an ancient kingdom. The long street from Holyrood to the Parliament Square was cleared for the occasion of its filth and garbage, and railed on either side to



FIG. 195.

JAMES, FOURTH EARL OF FINDLATER AND FIRST OF SEAFIELD

Lent by the Countess Dowager of Seafield

let the gorgeous procession pass. All the members—peers, gentry, and burghers—were on horseback, and for unwieldy, awkward citizen members, to whom a horse's back was a perilous and painful eminence, arrangements were made for safe mounting and dismounting. As the cortège proceeded, first came the representatives of the Burghs; then the country members and lesser barons, followed by the nobles—all two abreast. The commoners, clad in foot-cloaks, were each attended by one lacquey; and the nobles in their brilliant costumes (Figs. 194, 196), were each attended by two lacqueys in velvet, with their coats emblazoned with the arms of their lords. Last came the Lord High Commissioner with splendidly bedizened retinue, the crown and sceptre and sword of state borne before him, preceded by the Lion King at Arms in heraldic coat, and pursuivants and heralds, with full blare of trumpets, to signal the august approach of the representative of royalty. At last the historic House was entered, that scene for generations of grandeur and of strife, of great deeds and weary wrangling. All this was witnessed from the street and windows of high houses by people, whom the presence of famous men, the tread of finely caparisoned horses, the fanfaronade of trumpets, the splendid dresses, filled with patriotic pride. All this was now seen for the last time. The town was crowded, every lodging was full, for persons from all parts of the country had assembled to be present at this fateful meeting.

The House was presided over by the Duke of Queensberry, 'a man of genteel address, of easy access, turned 45 years old, a friendly affable man, a complete courtier, with the habit of saying obliging things to everybody,' says a contemporary. This noble proved himself, by his velvet manners and firm purpose, a perfect president for a stormy assembly, which he was determined to sway to Government measures. The head of the Government party was Lord Seafield, the Chancellor (Fig. 195). His enemies allowed that he was 'finely accomplished, a just lawyer, courteous and good natured'; but he could change sides with wonderful agility, and could nimbly abandon his political convictions to serve the Court. He had the support of Lord Stair, whose easy manners and facetious speech could not make the world forget that his was the cruel, subtle brain that had devised the treachery of Glencoe. As Secretary of State the Earl of Mar proved an adroit supporter of the Union, for 'bobbing John,' as he was familiarly nick-named, was nimble in tongue and plausible in intrigue, possessed of a crooked body and a tortuous mind. Opposed to the Treaty was the Country party, of which



FIG. 194. Mantle of Earl of Perth.

Lord Belhaven was the eloquent orator, and Fletcher of Saltoun the most honest spokesman, believing that the Union would bring ruin to their country. The Duke of Hamilton was an indefinite article in politics, a Whig by office, a Jacobite in opinion, certain never to take any part where risk was involved, and in any dangerous emergency where action was called for always sure to be absent—conveniently ill, suffering from toothache, or ‘taking the waters.’ A third party was known as the ‘Squadron Volante,’ or flying squadron—a military term for a moving phalanx, which might be moved to support any measure, an independent party which could never be depended upon. This was headed by the Marquis of Tweeddale, ‘a short brown man towards 60 years old’—‘the least ill-meaning man of his party,’ owns the clever Jacobite Lockhart of Carnwath.

As the debate proceeded indoors, public feeling outside ran high. The favour or quiescence with which the prospect of the Union was formerly regarded, changed to fury



FIG. 196. Thistle Badge.

against it. Pamphlets came forth in shoals in villainous type from the miserable little printing presses, full of vituperation, appealing to every prejudice and interest, political or religious, of the community. On October 23rd the popular feeling rose to frenzy, for the all-important article was to be put to the vote. Parliament Square was a moving mass of people. In the evening, as the Duke of Hamilton passed to his lodgings, the mob followed his supposed Jacobite Grace, cheering the brave opponent of the Treaty. And the Duke of Queensberry wended his way to Holyrood, guarded from assault by soldiers, while those who were for the Government held their meetings in secrecy, and one subterranean tavern was long pointed out as the

‘Union cellar’ in the High Street from having been one of the haunts of the frightened Unionists.

We have seen that the Act of Security had allowed the people to drill and bear arms. Results of that measure were now apparent. The Cameronians of the west had been supplied with muskets and ammunition, and drilled in the moorlands, and in great numbers marched to Dumfries, where they burned the Articles at the Cross. Their leader boasted he could assemble 8000 men with guns and swords, and 1000 horsemen to march on Edinburgh and disperse the Parliament. This would have been done if Government had not employed Ker of Kersland, powerful with these people, to damp out the conspiracy by suggesting that they were playing into the hands of their enemies, the Jacobites and Episcopalians, against whom he stirred up the bitter memories of the persecutions; while the Duke of Hamilton, whose influence was great with the hill-men through his mother, who was a stout Presbyterian, sent emissaries to postpone the insurrection. In Glasgow the tumult had arisen, and during a general fast a popular preacher had incited his congregation to enthusiasm by a holy harangue, winding up with the inspiring words, ‘Wherefore, my brothers, up and be valiant for the city of our God,’ which the citizens modestly thought must mean their own city of St. Mungo. No support, however, coming from the Cameronians, and the troops being too strong, the riot died out. As warlike measures had failed, peaceful measures were tried to kill the obnoxious treaty. Four hundred noblemen and gentry of the first rank assembled in Edinburgh to present the Commissioner with addresses for the Queen. Petitions came from all quarters, burghs, and county parishes, but all were treated with contempt,

the Whig Duke of Argyll saying they were only fit to make kites. During the debate of days the spirit was fierce on all sides, personal hatred was added to patriotic animosity. To the strife of tongues seemed about to be added the clash of swords, fierce menaces and wild reproaches making the hall ring with civil war rather than political discussion. On the side of the Union there were only prosaic arguments of policy and expediency to offer; but against it were arrayed patriotic sentiment, the pride of national history, the romance of tradition, fierce appeals to racial prejudice, loud lamentations over a cherished independence lost in bondage to hereditary foes.

In the strife these politicians were influenced by diverse motives, sordid and selfish, noble and patriotic. As a speaker against the Union the most brilliant and rhetorical was Lord Belhaven, a soul that was dissatisfied with every party and every policy. With a swarthy figure and a passionate temper he was ambitious and vain of his rhetorical gifts, which he loved to display, interlarding his oratory with classical lore to show his learning. One of his speeches is historical, and when published was powerful in fomenting popular passion as it depicted in lurid terms the awful disasters that awaited his land when the Union was accomplished—peers of glorious ancestry sinking into servitude to Englishmen; Scots barons dumb before their masters; lawyers mute in a strange land; merchants excluded from trade, while English tradesmen imported their goods; artisans starving from want of custom; gentry living in abject poverty; while all should be taxed, till the Scot must drink water, the salt burdened with duty till he could not cure a herring, and the farmer would die cursing the day of his birth and dreading the expense of his burial. With theatrical gestures and apocalyptic words he uttered his Cassandra prophecies, ‘Hannibal, my lord, is at our gates; he is come the length of this table, he is at the foot of the throne, he’ll seize upon the regalia and whip us out of this house, never to return again!’ It is said that this speech of rhodomontade, which was so influential with the populace when issued as a pamphlet, was heard in the House with indifference, and members chatted as his lordship orated. The effect was cruelly spoilt by Lord Marchmont, who got up to reply, and said he had been much struck by the noble lord’s vision, but that it could be expounded in a few words, ‘I awoke, and behold it was a dream.’ The debate came at last to a close. Its fate greatly depended on the action of the ‘Squadron Volante,’ numbering 22 votes. They gave their voice in favour of the Union, and the cause was won. And then broke out the sardonic voice of the Chancellor Seafield as he put his signature to the Treaty: ‘There’s an end to an auld sang.’

If the country was so dead against the Union, if people, both Jacobite and Presbyterian, were so opposed to it, how was it that Parliament carried the measure? The Government, by the adroit management of its Scots ministers, had secured the election of members in their favour. There were men who had favours in the future to seek, and it was firmly believed that bribery had gained the adherence of unwilling supporters, and had bought the votes of the ‘flying squadron.’ Jacobites protested that this support had been secured by the £30,000 paid by Government—by £12,000 to the Commissioner for expenses; by £20,000 paid to various nobles and lairds. It was not indeed an age when the political conscience was troubled with scruples. Through most of the century town and country votes in England were purchased if not by money, certainly with posts, titles, and pensions. Most English politicians ‘had their price,’ and we need not suppose that Scotsmen were more fastidious. But that they were bought the list of the recipients of £20,000 affords no proof. Sums were paid to men who needed no pecuniary inducement to vote for the Treaty. A thousand pounds were given to the Duke of Athole who voted against it. Some persons received paltry sums—Lord Banff got £11 3s.—for which no

man would sell his vote, far less his country, while the Earl of Mar—Jacobite to-day, Whig to-morrow—was paid nothing. Probably some of the money was allotted for travelling expenses, but most of it was in payment of secret services or arrears of salary, as in the case of Lord Marchmont, who could not for years get his salary as Chancellor paid up, and who, on receiving £1104 13s. 7d., gave back five pence in coppers as change. At the time, however, every taunt was flung, every suspicion was entertained, and every scandal believed against the Unionists. As the treasure consisting of Equivalent money was sent down by waggon from London, to be deposited in Edinburgh Castle, its arrival was greeted with execration. The dragoons that guarded it were cursed, the waggoners who urged on their poor horses were assaulted for bringing the Judas price to the Scots who had betrayed their country. When Lord Seafield told his brother, Patrick Ogilvie (who, like many Highland younger sons of his station, lived by dealing in cattle), that he was degrading his position, he got the sturdy retort: 'Tak' your ane tell hame, my lord and brother; I only sell nowt, but you sell nations.'

The Union now effected gave vast satisfaction in England. The Duke of Queensberry, the able diplomatic pilot through political storms, made his progress to London, and was received with almost royal honours as he passed through the towns on his route. Very different was the feeling in Scotland. Citizens and tradesmen lamented that people of rank would now spend their money, and buy their goods in London; merchants and manufacturers soon saw that the splendid hopes of increased trade and free commerce to colonies were delusive, for they had few goods to send as exports, they had no money wherewith to buy imports, no ships for their cargoes, or cargoes for ships. No longer could they get wine, brandy, or lace from France free of duty; they could no longer make fortunes by getting articles cheap from abroad and selling them dear to England. The people saw with disgust Englishmen settling down with their families in their towns as customs officers, bringing contemptuous ways, new-fangled fashions, and episcopal practices—excisemen who taxed with a rigour which had never been experienced before, and were ignorant alike of Scots weights and measures, laws and feelings. Lawyers saw the supremacy of their legal courts dethroned, and the decrees of their judges submitted to and reversed by English lords, temporal and spiritual, who knew nothing about them. Dissatisfaction penetrated every class and every quarter down to the artisan at his loom, the farm labourer at his plough, and peasantry quitted kirks where the ministers favoured the Union, and resorted to meetings of staunch Covenanters, where they denounced a prelatie, uncovenanted king. The more astute parish ministers tried to humour their hearers on Sabbaths by having in all their sermons 'a slap at the Union,' which at once awakened the most slumbrous congregation to interest and earnest approval.

The nation's extremity seemed the Jacobites' opportunity. By them the general discontent was viewed with much satisfaction. Now there seemed a chance for the true king to get his own again. Men of all parties, Highland and Lowland, seemed of one mind; for if the Stewarts returned they would annul the hated Treaty, and restore to Scotland its lost glory. At St. Germain's King James had lived quietly, had seen plot after plot hatched, and hope after hope vanish away. In 1701 he died, bequeathing his son and his forlorn cause to his royal host, Louis Fourteenth. A touching scene had taken place at his deathbed. The Grand Monarch came to bid eternal farewell to his luckless and inconvenient guest, and before the courtiers, he promised the dying exile that he would take the son under his protection and recognise his claims. All present were moved to tears as James, with failing breath



FIG. 197.

PRINCE JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD STEWART. BY H. RIGAUD

Lent by the Earl of Rosebery, K.G.

spoke his gratitude. Thus was a promise sealed by death, which Louis felt himself bound in honour to keep to a man who, as a cynical Cardinal said, 'had lost three kingdoms for an old mass.' Six years later news of the prevalent feeling in Scotland raised the hopes of the Scots followers at the mock Court of St. Germain— that court with its impecunious courtiers, full of jealousies, little intrigues, and petty gossip with which they beguiled or embittered their many years of exile. The Chevalier de St. George (Fig. 197) was not quite a hero, though he had shown courage at Malplaquet. He is described in 1708 as 'tall, straight, and slender, he has a graceful mein, walks fast, uses exercise more for his health than diversion, shoots or hunts every day, but is not a keen sportsman'; 'he is always cheerful, but seldom merry, thoughtful, but not dejected'; 'he frequents the public devotion, but there is no bigotry about him'; 'he has great application to business, writes much, is critical in the choice of words'; 'he is very affable, and has something strangely engaging in his voice and deportment.' Altogether he appears as a likeable man, though not a leader of men, fit to be a highly esteemable citizen, and a very incapable king. In order to gauge the amount of Jacobite sympathy and support, an emissary, in the person of Colonel Hooke, an Englishman who had followed James into exile, was sent to Scotland to engage nobles and gentry in a scheme of rebellion, and to give them on behalf of the French King vague promises. Louis was willing to keep his promise, but at another's expense and for his own ends, and was most anxious to be rid of an impecunious pensioned royalty.

In 1707 Hooke arrived in Scotland and took up residence at Slains Castle, in Aberdeenshire. Many offers of help he gained, but all warned him not to trust his fickle Grace the Duke of Hamilton, in whom his royal master had implicit confidence, and who was of importance owing to his influence over the Westland Whigs. The Chevalier's orders were that his adherents should follow the directions of the Duke, 'and not declare themselves until the Duke had declared himself when they might with safety follow his example'—which was perfectly true. Hooke was baffled in his efforts to see his wily Grace, who had always some bland excuse—he was too ill to write, he was sorry he could not see the Colonel, for attendants were always about his sick bed; but expressed himself anxious to know what help King Louis would give. His chaplain reported that his Grace was reduced to the last extremity, having had fifteen fits of fever; but sent his loving respects. There is a touch of comedy in all these manoeuvres. The more he professed illness the more, like Talleyrand, was he suspected of lying. However, many Scots peers signed an engagement to rise at the summons. Reports were given that the whole nation would rise on the king's appearance; that 5000 Cameronians were ready, and other 8000 Presbyterians had arms, only needing officers for their companies and lead for their muskets—for the weapons had remained in their hands since the drilling and arming allowed by the Act of Security. They needed, however, help from France, and on that point the emissary was cautiously evasive. Hooke left Scotland with a memorial from Scots Jacobites for King Louis, craving assistance and asserting that they could raise 25,000 foot and 5000 mounted troopers, that they had food for their men, plenty shoes and bonnets, but with respect to money the state of the country was deplorable, owing to the Darien expedition, years of famine, and the constant residence of peers in London. They therefore desired 100,000 pistoles, and arms for 30,000 troops. As Hooke departed he promised the King would be in Scotland in August.

Never did there seem a more opportune time for a rebellion than this. There were only 2500 soldiers in Scotland, while thousands of the peasantry were provided with

arms, and the 'Equivalent' money stored in Edinburgh Castle might be seized to furnish the sinews of war. The English troops were engaged in war abroad under Marlborough, leaving only 5000 men to defend all England. After tedious months of delay news came that the Prince was ready to set sail. Louis was anxious that the English forces arrayed against himself on the Continent should be diverted to attack the followers of his friend and guest in Scotland, and he magnanimously encouraged the Chevalier to invade Scotland, knowing that whether this ended in failure or triumph for the Jacobites, it would meanwhile further his own ends. He presented the Chevalier with a royal wardrobe, a sword with the hilt set in diamonds, services of gold and silver plate, splendid liveries for his servants, uniforms for his friends; and he gave the valedictory hope in words very equivocal, but very sincere, that he might not see his guest's face again. After much delay, which caused the plans to ooze out, the little squadron set sail from Dunkirk on the 8th of March, 1708, seizing the chance when a storm had driven the English ships off from their blockade. The vessels had as commodore Comte de Forbin, who thought the expedition an act of utter madness, and did not hesitate to say so. After meeting with a storm, which, the cynical admiral was pleased to observe, made the whole band of Jacobites deadly sick, the vessels entered the Forth. When arrived opposite Crail, signals were made to summon Jacobites in Fife, but there came no response from the shore. At midnight guns were heard, and when day broke on March 13th there were 38 English ships of war four leagues off, enclosing them in the Forth. Forbin felt the only plan was to escape. As the men-of-war made on them and shot whistled in the shrouds, the Chevalier and his suite, in terror, desired to land at Wemyss Castle on the Fife coast. The Count, however, was masterful. 'I am answerable for your safety,' he bluntly said. 'I will never consent to your being exposed in a ruined castle in an open country to your enemies,' and the Chevalier perforce complied. The French vessels, hard pressed by the English, made for the north east. The winds were high, the shores unknown, no pilots were to be had, there were no ports to make for, when they reached the Buchan coast. It was there the gloomy Forbin pointed out to the baffled Prince the straits in which they lay, with the chance of a storm coming at any hour to drive them out to sea, and even if they got a landing it was on an unknown shore. The luckless Chevalier had no choice, his suite, including Lord Drummond, titular Duke of Perth (figure 198), Lords Galloway and Middleton, agreed that there was nothing left but to find their way back to Dunkirk. The fiasco caused dire consternation to the Jacobites as well as chagrin to Louis, who so soon saw his unwelcome guest back again on his dominions. Before the Chevalier's arrival in the Forth his party had been full of hope. In Edinburgh, it was said, one might know a Jacobite by his jaunty air and smiles of confidence, and a Whig by his looks of anxiety as he passed along the streets. Gentlemen of Stirlingshire had risen in arms, and advanced towards Edinburgh to await and support their King in full expectation of a general rising, and now Jacobites were in dismay.

To suppress disloyalty open aiders and abettors were seized and lodged in Edinburgh and Stirling Castles, or in prison, and prisoners were sent to London to stand their trial, hooted and railed at in every English village as they passed. The Duke of Hamilton was taken into custody; but his admirable adroitness and plausibility not merely secured his own release, but also the release on bail of other prisoners on the understanding that they should submit to Government. Those gentlemen in Stirlingshire who had been taken in arms were sent to be tried in Edinburgh, where conclusive evidence was not to be extracted from witnesses far more steadfast to their chiefs than to veracity, who perjured themselves freely. The butler of the laird of Keir lied

loyally for his master, protesting, 'I would rather trust my soul to the mercy of God than your honour's body to the mercy of the Whigs.' When the Chevalier returned to France after his failure the Duke of Melfort, his secretary, frankly told him that 'he had ruined his affairs, the time was not ripe or the country prepared, and he had now exposed his schemes to the world, and the necks of his friends to death.' The Chevalier, who had abundant good humour, only replied, 'My good lord, Rome was not built in a day. You will see a turn in my favour.' The Chevalier, as the Duke owned, proved right after all.



FIG. 198. James, Second Duke of Perth, known as the Marquis of Drummond.

While these events were taking place in Scotland, the Scots Members of Parliament, lords and commoners, quickly discovered that their old power and dignity in the Scots Parliament had been exchanged for obscurity and contempt in England. Sixteen peers and forty-five commoners were utterly insignificant at St. Stephen's. Their uncouth speech and homely manners raised smiles, their poverty stirred ridicule, their lack of aptness in debate and their ignorance of affairs made them of no importance. Even when they did take part in matters that affected their own country, they found themselves ignored and outvoted. In vain they protested when the old Privy Council was abolished; when the law of Treason in Scotland was changed, taking the trials from the hands of their judges and putting them under a special Commission; when the eldest sons of Scots peers were declared ineligible for the House of Commons. They were indignant when, on the Queen having created the Duke of Hamilton a peer of the realm, with the title of Duke of Brandon, the House of Lords decided by a majority that no Scots peer receiving an English title should sit in their House. They were furious when the House of Commons imposed a malt tax on Scotland, equal to that of England, which they considered iniquitous, as the Scottish barley or bere—a miserable grain—grown in the poor farms was only equal to a third, of the

value of that grown in the fertile soil of the South. Debate was high, Scots members were vehement, English members were insolent, and the able sturdy Jacobite, Sir George Lockhart of Carnwath declared, before their faces, fiercely that 'the English, in the security of their majority, said more than man to man they would dare to say in the field.' All these slights and insults united the Scotsmen into one band—peer and commoner, Whig and Tory, together demanding the rescinding of the Union. They formed a nationalist party, which has a parallel in our own day, who cared not for what side they voted, or what English measures they opposed, if only they could forward their own country's interests. The intensity of feeling was shown by the fact that those who had been most zealous for the Union became foremost in the efforts to revoke it. In the House of Lords in 1713 the motion was made by Lord Seafield, the Chancellor of Scots Parliament, who had signed the last adjournment with the light jest, 'There's an end to an auld sang.' He was followed by the Whig Duke of Argyll, whom flouts and jibes flung at his country had stung to vehement opposition, while he had a personal grievance against the Government which had left him a Commander-in-chief in Spain without troops or supplies to carry on the campaign, and forced him to retire on Minorca to save his army, whence he returned with mortification and bitter resentment. Another denouncer of the Union was John, Earl of Mar, who, as Secretary of State for Scotland, had furthered it with his glib eloquence. He at least had no private grievance to avenge, for he became Secretary of State for Great Britain. It was a strange scene in the House of Peers that day—Scotsmen demanding the abrogation of the Union for which before they had voted; English Whigs trying to wreck the very Treaty they had formed, and English Tories as hotly defending a measure on which they had been lukewarm. After keen debate, on which a momentous issue hung, the vote was taken, the members present were equally divided, but by a majority of four proxies the motion was defeated. Had the balance been slightly turned, the history of the whole country might have been changed.

All this ignoring of Scots members in Parliament did not, however, affect the Scots people so much as some Acts passed which raised their ecclesiastical passions and bigotry. These were the Toleration Act and the Abjuration Oath. The Toleration Act was a simple measure of justice. The episcopal clergy had been treated as outcasts; their right of free worship, of administering sacraments, denied, even a chaplain was forbidden to serve in a private house, and the use of a liturgy was a crime. When James Greenshields, a curate, set up worship in a house in the Canongate, wherein he read the prayer book, having knocked down a partition wall to form a meeting-house, he was hindered by the bailies and sentenced to prison by the judges for following his profession, for, having been ordained an 'outed bishop,' they held that 'a deprived bishop had no more power to ordain than a ballad crier in the street,' or a 'cashiered colonel to give commissions to subalterns.' After lying two years in prison, Greenshields' case was heard in the House of Lords, and the decision of the Court of Session reversed; and this was followed by the Toleration Act, permitting pastors, ordained by protestant bishops, to worship in their own manner. To take the sting out of this Act the presbyterian Whig members got inserted a clause that they must take the Oath of Allegiance and Abjuration, which they knew would exclude most of the episcopal ministers who were notoriously Jacobites. Upon this the Tories insisted in reprisal that this oath should apply to presbyterian ministers as well. The Whigs found themselves hoisted by their own petard, for the Oath was abhorrent in the eyes of the Kirk. On taking it ministers had to swear allegiance to a successor to the throne

as secured by Acts of Parliament,' and by these Acts it was provided that the Sovereign should belong to the Church of England. Could anything be more atrocious to Whig, presbyterian, or covenanter, than to recognise prelacy? Wild was the clamour. The ministers were in sore straits, for if they refused the Oath they would be fined £500, and if they took it, they would be deserted by their people. In agony of mind devout pastors held private fasts and prayers, when they laid their troubles 'before the Throne.' Some, like Mr. Thomas Boston, the minister of Ettrick, disposed their property to friends that their goods might not be forfeited by the law. The suspicious flocks would not take communion from the hands of a minister, which might be held up 'before Lammas' to take the ungodly oath. Poor Thomas Boston was sorely perplexed, surrounded as

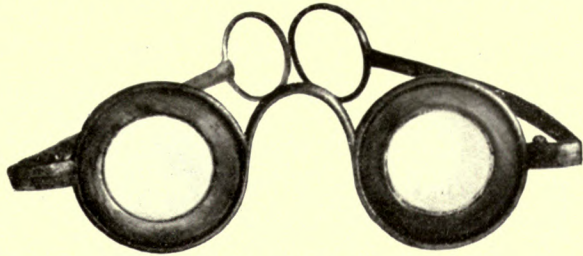


FIG. 199. Rev. Thomas Boston's spectacles.

he was in his dreary parish by rancorous sectaries, among whom he plaintively says he was 'as an owl in the desert,' though the author of the grim *Fourfold State of Man* was afterwards to become the most revered preacher and teacher of the people. Further trouble came when the Jacobites and Tories, in 1712, passed an Act re-establishing patronage, abhorrent to all the people who chose only ministers who echoed their own views, and taught their beloved Calvinistic doctrine. They felt that Jacobite lairds would give them ministers without grace or godliness. This was another blow which the Union with prelatic England had brought upon the Scottish people, and it would have broken up the Church had it not been that for the next twenty years patrons were afraid to exercise their rights, and usually appointed men who were the choice of the people.

HENRY GREY GRAHAM.

The Jacobite Risings

IT is impossible to tell in short space, and it would be tedious to narrate in much space, all the turns of events and the course of intrigues which were gradually shaping the history of the country. Towards the end of Queen Anne's life prospects for the Jacobites were becoming better. She had no love for the Hanoverian Court. Her interests, if not her heart, were in favour of her own family, and the political rivals, Harley and Bolingbroke, were both plotting to help the Chevalier and outwit each other. The Duke of Hamilton, with his wiles and mysteries, was named Ambassador to Paris, in order to further Jacobite designs. Fate, however, decreed otherwise, for, having quarrelled with the disreputable Lord Mohun, he fought a duel, in which his opponent was killed, and the Duke himself was mortally wounded—as was strongly suspected, by the sword of his enemy's second. In 1714 Queen Anne died, her death being hastened by the agitation of a violent scene, in her presence, between Lord Treasurer Harley and Bolingbroke. This event seemed a death-blow to the Chevalier's hopes, for his plans were foiled and preparations were unmade, and in Paris was Lord Stair, the most expert, tactful, watchful of ambassadors. When George the First landed at Dover, Harley was impeached and laid in the Tower, and Bolingbroke fled to France, where he became Secretary to James. Meanwhile, Lord Mar, whose principles were elastic and ways past finding out, who had acted latterly as a Tory and follower of Bolingbroke, anew turned Whig. In August, 1714, he went to King George, who was in Holland, pleading fervently his deep loyalty and devotion, and in order to display his influence procured a letter signed by chiefs of the clans, addressed to himself, instructing him to testify to his majesty their humble submission, and that they would join Lord Mar in serving the King as they had served Queen Anne. The startling result was that he was brusquely informed by the King, on whom he waited, that he would not receive an address which had been concocted at the instance of the Pretender (which was really the case), and that the Earl must give up his Secretaryship of State, as the King had no further need of his services. This command, given in his majesty's rudest manner and worst guttural English, flung Mar into the arms of the Jacobites. Wiser would it have been to pretend to be deceived, and to have retained a man who could be a pliant servant as well as a dangerous enemy.

During these past years discontent in the Lowlands had been dying out; the people had become accustomed to the new system, their industries had slowly increased, their trade had improved, their grievances had passed away. In the Highlands the people were quiet, and the chiefs had been kept submissive by annual donations of money from the Government, to the extent of £4000. In William's time subsidies had been given as so much blackmail to prevent them from disturbing the State, as the caterans were bribed to keep them from lifting cattle. But the donations given by Harley and his Tory ministers were really to further the interests of the

Pretender. On the Queen's death this pay ceased, and now was the time for the Chevalier to come. Now, too, came Mar's opportunity for revenge, and his chance of ousting from the throne the King who had ousted him from office.

It was in the beginning of August, 1715, that, in a coal sloop at Gravesend, three men engaged to work their passage to Scotland. In that humble disguise were the Earl of Mar, General Hunter, and Colonel Haig. They landed at Elie, in Fife, not without having made preparations for their arrival, among the Jacobite gentlemen. In the plain old mansions were muskets and swords, which had been furnished in the days of the Act of Security. With these men Mar was adroit and persuasive,



FIG. 200. John, Sixth Earl of Mar. By Kneller.

and they drank themselves deep into Jacobitism, each time they pledged 'the King over the Water.' Everywhere emissaries reported that the English also were eager to rise, that the Duke of Berwick and the popular Duke of Ormond were coming over from France with troops and with arms. Gentry in Stirling, Perth, and other counties set forth on their horses, and along the trackless moors and glens messengers travelled to bid Highland chiefs await great events. A large convocation was arranged to concoct plans of campaign, and the chiefs of the North were summoned for a Tenchal. This was a great hunt of red deer, when, over a circuit of miles of forests, moors, and mountains, huntsmen were stationed, and gradually pressing in till the circle was narrowed, the deer were enclosed and driven down some strait defile, where the chiefs and their men awaited their victims. It was to such a favourite function the leaders of the North with their retainers were called, when they held high revelry, from night till morning the rooms, halls, and stables of the gaunt old castle being crowded with their hundreds. Rare sport could be got in the vast forest of Braemar; but sport was the pretext, war was the purpose; feasting was the pleasure, but strategy was the business. When they met Mar addressed his guests with that plausible address, which was his main talent. There were tears in his eyes as he owned his folly in promoting the Union and supporting the Government,

but now he protested there was only one hope for them, and that was to oust the Hanoverian from the throne, and put the rightful King in his stead. He promised assistance from France; he prophesied a general rising, so, with ears well filled with mellifluous words, bosoms swelled with eloquent sentiments, and bodies filled with good sack and brandy, the guests drank loyal toasts, and saddled their horses to make their way to their homes to prepare their clans for the fray.

Time passed by without the field being taken, and with each week chances of success slipped by. Time was being gained for the Government to make preparations. The whole forces in Scotland at first had been only 1500 mounted and foot, which were sent to Stirling to keep the rebels in check. Regiments of dragoons and infantry quartered in England were now being marched to support them, and Parliament sought to deter rebellion by enacting that if a feudal superior rebelled, his estate should be forfeited, and his vassals, if loyal, should have their land from the Crown on lease free for two

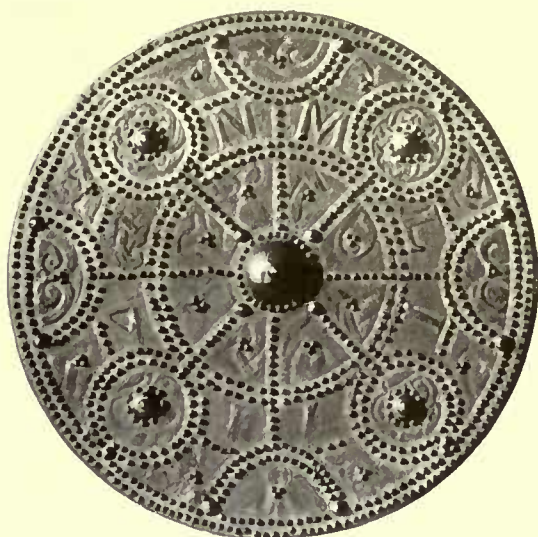


FIG. 201. Rob Roy's shield.

years. All settlements of land made after January, 1714, were declared void, precluding the device of a chief disposing of his land to a kinsman, to be whistled back when the Rising was ended. Summons were also sent to some fifty noblemen and gentlemen suspected of Jacobite leanings—from Lord Mar to Rob Roy (see Figs. 201-2)—to appear and make submission at Edinburgh, their failure to come being held proof of their treason. In the burghs and rural districts of the Lowlands, volunteers were rising in favour of the Government, for the Whigs had lost their keen rancour at the Union, they were anxious now for quiet, and feared

loss of trade. Even Glasgow, seven years before so hostile to the Treaty, was prosperous, with its rattling looms, Renfrewshire and Ayr offered four thousand men, and Dumfries loyally raised four hundred. Even ministers took up rusty muskets, and drilled their parishioners to fight the wild Highlanders. At last, on September 2, 1715, at Aboyne, a great number of Jacobite chiefs, nobles, and lairds with their followers, were assembled. The Earl of Mar raised the Royal Standard at Braemar, proclaiming with due solemnity James the VIII. King of Scotland and III. of England. It was a stormy day, and the Highlanders, watchful of omens, felt there was something mischancy when the gilt bull at the top of the staff was blown to the ground. Forth through passages and over mountains messengers were despatched with the fiery cross, one branch singed with fire, the other stained with blood, symbolising burning to the homes, death to the body of those who held back from the cause. In town after town in the North, the King was proclaimed, his health solemnly or festively drunk. Lords Panmure, Strathmore, Tullibardine (whose father the Duke of Athole kept prudently loyal), Huntly, Southesk, and others rallied round Mar. Perth was seized, an important strategical centre for the Jacobites, and 4000 rebels were gathered there. The Earl of Mar, appointed by the Chevalier Commander-in-chief, was aided by Generals Hunter and Clephane, who had seen some service. But Mar knew nothing of arms or of warfare; he was without military tact or tactics, had neither skill to form a

plan nor decision to carry it out. As the rebels increased, the difficulty of equipping them also increased, their muskets were few and old and rusty. The ammunition was scarce; the horses, except those of the gentlemen, were miserably meagre, emaciated beasts; the roads to traverse were ruts filled with boulders and sunk in mire, and the winter was coming on when they would be impassable. It was only by making forays that arms could be got; only by laying a cess on small towns in name of James VIII. that money could be gained. Mar needed all his wily adroitness and gift of tongue to keep at peace chieftains rancorously jealous one of another, and who would not add their little bands of 100 or 200 men together to form one regiment to be led by the chief of another clan; so that each led his own separate men, choosing officers of his own kin. In the hard pecuniary straits some nobles, like Southesk and Panmure, gave money, and at last a welcome supply arrived from France.

While the rebels were kept inactive in Perthshire—for Mar was always delaying till more men and chiefs arrived—a rising took place in the lowlands. In East Lothian Lord Winton, an eccentric young Jacobite, who had once acted as bellows-blower to a blacksmith in France and was subject to fits of melancholy, raised some men, and in Dumfriesshire and Galloway others were recruited by Lords Nithsdale and Kenmure. When the Whigs of Dumfries proved too strong for them to take that town, they set forth for England to join the county gentlemen of Northumberland, with their ill-armed men and yeomen, who proved more fit for the hunting than for the battlefield, and more ready for flight than attack.

While in Perth Mar was still waiting, more accessions arrived from the clans; the Marquis of Huntly with 4000 men, Earl Marischal with eighty horses, and Glengarry, the principal Chief from the Braes of Glenorchy, rough, rugged and wily, with the qualities of the lion, the fox, and the bear. Forced at last to decide, instead of attacking the enemy at Stirling, Mar resolved to send a detachment to join Kenmure and Forster in England, under the command of the sturdy and capable old Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum. Avoiding the dangerous forts of the Forth defended by Argyll's men, they crossed in boats from Pittenweem, Crail, and Elie, the English ships being deceived by pretended preparations into thinking they were intending to depart from Burntisland. As they crossed one boat was captured, others with young Lord Strathmore and his men took shelter on the Isle of May, while Mackintosh landed on East Lothian with 1500 at North Berwick and Aberlady. Suddenly he marched towards Edinburgh, hoping to reach the town before Argyll had hastened from Stirling on October 14th. The Duke, however, with horse and infantry started forth, arriving at ten o'clock at night at the West Port, just as Mackintosh reached Piershill, one mile from the eastern gate. The rebels turned towards Leith, where they entrenched themselves in the old citadel built by Cromwell, a half ruined fort guarded by a drawbridge. The Brigadier blocked up the doorless gateways with barrels filled with stone and lined the ramparts with guns from vessels in the harbour. Early next morning Argyll arrived before the fort, with 500 dragoons and 2000 infantry, and some 600 volunteers consisting of students, shopkeepers, and writers. The Duke, soon finding that he could not succeed in attacking a fort without artillery, retired to make preparations for an assault, while Mackintosh, equally prudent, abandoned the place during night and marched to East Lothian, fortifying himself in Seaton House. There he remained safe, for Argyll, hearing that Mar was advancing on Stirling, had marched on to meet him, leaving a few troops whose futile attempts against the rebels were three times repelled, and Mackintosh was left free to carry his men south to Kelso, where they proclaimed James the Eighth at the market cross. There the leaders of English and Scots Jacobites met, debated, disputed, and delayed, and at last with divided interests, but united forces of 2000 followers, they

decided to proceed along the Borders, leaving the future to decide whether they should pass into Lancashire or not.

In the North important events were about to take place. Sheltered in Perth lay Mar and his men, the commander delaying less from want of troops than from want of decision. He was always waiting 'for something to turn up,' and the last thing to turn up was usually himself. Now, however, news having arrived that Brigadier Mackintosh was tightly invested at Leith, Mar summoned a council of his nobles, chiefs, and commanding officers to deliberate on Borlum's predicament. The resolution was to march against Stirling to draw off Argyll from the attack, a plan which proved thoroughly effective. There was another reason for leaving Perth. Provisions were scarce, the men had little meal for themselves or provender for their horses. Sir Walter Scott blames Mar's want of foresight, in not having laid in stores of grain in September, seeing he was quartered near the fertile Carse of Gowrie, whose farmyards and granaries must have been full. Scott, however, was oblivious of the fact that at that period the Carse was not a district of fine tillage and fruitful harvests, but full of marshes and bogs, which were the haunts of lapwings and sources of ague, which disabled half the peasantry every year.

The Jacobite army was now in great strength, though Mackintosh was in the South and General Gordon was investing Inveraray Castle more to spite the Duke than to advance the Cause. Lord Seaforth, who had been occupied keeping back the Whig clansmen of the far north, the Grants and the Mackays of Sutherland, had now joined with 4000 men. We may reckon that Mar had under him about 9000 men,—numbers which further delay would quickly diminish, for the Highlanders, weary of inaction, were beginning to desert, some carrying off booty from the enemy, many departing with booty stolen from the baggage of their own camp. Winter was now on them, the country was barren, and the country people had not enough food even for their own families, far less to feed a whole army. The prospect of a fight gave heart to the rebels. In the vanguard, led by General Gordon, were the Fifeshire squadron, under the Master of Sinclair, the Marquis of Huntly's cavalry, the western clans under their chiefs, Clan Ronald, Glengarry, and Keppoch, Camerons, and Stewarts of Appin. The rest of the army followed under Mar in person, in his incompetence being assisted by General Hunter. As the van passed on upon their way, news came that Argyll was hard marching to Dunblane. All night they lay at a farmhouse near the Alian, where they got fodder for their horses. They lay on the ground and wrapped in their plaids, the Highlanders felt the biting frost less than their lowland comrades. Day broke on Sunday, November 13. The rebel army was drawn up in two lines of battle on a plain above their resting place, near Sheriffmuir, and soon a squadron of horse was seen on a height towards the south—this was the Duke and his officers watching the enemy. Mar called a council to consider the situation. He made a moving speech with his wonted affable fluency, appealed to their courage and their loyalty to strike that day one great blow for their cause. Lord Huntly, incredulous of success, asked what chance there was of any help being gained from France; but the ready Earl swept these questions aside and put the final question 'Fight or not?' All were eager for battle, and shouted forth, 'Fight!' and as the lines of ranks, who were keenly eyeing the eventful debate, caught the word, they roared out in full chorus, waved their bonnets in the air, delighted that the weary vacillation was over at last.

The rebels were drawn up on a moor in two lines, each broken up into two columns, and they crossed the morass which the frost had rendered passable both for horse and foot. All this having been viewed by the Duke from the eminence, he drew up his little

army of 4000 men, extending his two lines with three squadrons on the right and three on the left of his front ranks, having in the centre six battalions of infantry, supported by dragoons. Thus disposed, the royalist forces ascended the hill, while on the other side the rebels were also marching up hidden from the enemy. With all their wild impetuosity the Highlanders rushed on—the horse galloping after to keep up with their speed. On the height the two armies encountered each other, being only a pistol shot apart when they became aware of the other's nearness. The rebels awaited the word of command impatiently as they saw the foe getting into order, one old chief crying out bitterly, 'O

My Lord
 Portsmouth, Novr 12th 1707
 I Long to see your L^os
 and I presume, to tell your L^os that I
 have the honor, to have some of your
 L^os Family, and shall keep my dependency
 fixtalle to the same of which I told
 your L^os when I parted with your L^os
 last and what I sayed to your L^os or
 ever promised, I shall be kept while I
 live. My nephew is to see your L^os whom
 I hope will be capable to serve your L^os
 and will do it tho I were in my grave,
 he is a young man so My Lord give him
 your advice he is begging his love and
 I hope your L^os will give him a precept
 for the four times your L^os promised him
 the last time I was there I Beg pardon
 for the hilt or wrong and I am
 My Lord
 Your L^os L^os servant
 R. Campbell

FIG. 202. Rob Roy's Letter to Lord Breadalbane.

for one hour of Dundee!' Opposed to each other were the left wing, under General Witham, and the right wing under Mar, formed of Western Highlanders, Macdonalds, Macleans, and Breadalbane's Campbells. When General Gordon hesitated to attack, the angry oaths of old soldiers and the demands of the chiefs forced the order from his lips. With a smothered, hurried prayer in Gaelic the Celts stripped off their plaids, and in their wool smocks began the fray. After a volley they flung away their muskets, drew their swords, and with one wild yell rushed on the bayonets of the opposing ranks. A well-directed fire from the soldiers laid many mountaineers low at the onset, among them brave young Clan Ronald, mortally wounded. But instantly old Glengarry rallied the staggering ranks, waved his bonnet over his head, and exclaimed, 'Revenge, revenge to-day; to-morrow for mourning!' and in fury they broke the lines of the regulars, beating down with their claymores the soldiers who were burdened with empty, clumsy muskets. Argyll's left was routed with great slaughter, for the Celts gave no quarter, and fled, hotly pursued by squadrons under Lord Drummond (Duke of Perth), while

General Witham rode as fast as horse could carry him ingloriously to Stirling. While this was taking place, on the right of the army matters fared differently. There the furious attack of the Highlanders was met firmly, the soldiers keeping their ground, and at orders from Argyll a body of horse crossed the frozen morass, to assail the enemy on the flank. Mar's left wing, with its two lines, though containing the bravest of the Camerons, was driven back and put to flight. During this battle of Sheriffmuir Lord Huntly with his men, and the Master of Sinclair with Fifeshire followers, remained inactive, hostile to Mar and incredulous of success, and Rob Roy, who had charge of a band of Macgregors and Macphersons, also remained aloof. Already the freebooter had served as a guide and informer to Argyll, for well he knew every pass and ford through which to convey his stolen cattle; and he showed his cynical impartiality by acting with the Jacobites, and revealing their movements to the Royalists. Always wily, he could be obsequious to a patron, and grovel before a lord one week (Fig. 202), whose interests he would betray and cattle he would rob the next. In the battle, when ordered to charge, he coolly replied, 'If they cannot do it without me they cannot do it with me.' To the reiver, Hanoverian and Jacobite were of less importance than a good drove of 'nowt.' The battle was strangely ended; the right of each army was victorious and pursuing, the left of each army was defeated and flying. Each side claimed the victory, but the advantage lay with the Government troops. The rebels had lost about 800 and the Government forces 500 or 600 when night fell on the confused fight. Mar, leaving part of his artillery behind him, fell back on Auchterarder, but of the 8000 men who had entered the battle in the morning, 4000 had disappeared by evening, making off with their booty to their mountains, while the Lords Seaforth and Huntly carried away their men, causing disaffection among the rest. Provisions for only a few days remained, the ammunition was expended, the troops were in a barren district in winter time, where the people were destitute and had no fodder or meal to sell. No resource seemed left for Mar but to retire to his old quarters at Perth. On the night of the battle Argyll, falling back on Dunblane, awaited a renewed fight next day; but, when he revisited the field, to his surprise he found no signs of the enemy, save the wounded and dead on the moor, and fourteen colours and six pieces of cannon which the rebels had no gunners to serve. On the field one old forlorn figure was found, guarding the body of his dead master, young Lord Strathmore, and when asked who that was, 'He was a man yesterday,' was his weird reply.

Mar was now effectually shut up in the North. In vain he issued lying gazettes from the press of Fairbairn, the printer, to keep up the hearts of his men and delude the minds of the Jacobites, claiming the victory, and announcing that Kenmure and Forster were triumphant in England, though at that very time they had been miserably beaten and lodged in prison. The little army of 1400, under Mackintosh, the men of Galloway and the Lothians, under Kenmure and Winton, to the number of 600 men, had been persuaded to go to the assistance of the English Jacobites, though many Highlanders deserted, saying they would not go to England to be made slaves. In Westmoreland they at first encountered 1200 men and horse militia, an ill-ordered, ill-armed mob, which fled before the face of the wild Highlanders, whose claymores, scythes (Fig. 203) and dirks, strange tongue, unkempt locks, half naked forms and bare feet, struck peasantry and yeomanry with terror as an inroad of savages. But General Wade's regiment set forth in November to meet them, while General Carpenter advanced from Newcastle. The rebels under Forster reached Preston and resolved to withstand the enemy there. It was on Saturday, the day before Sheriffmuir, that General Willis began operations against the town by a double attack—though the entrances to the town were barricaded, the streets were protected

by cannon, and all the houses adjoining filled with defenders. Mackintosh of Borlum was vainly stalwart in the defence, while the English battered down the houses, set on fire the barricades, and through the night fought by the light of blazing houses. Next morning, at the very time when the battle was raging in the frozen moor of the North, the fight at Preston was renewed. But the rebels were effectually blockaded, cooped up as in a trap, and no alternative being left but to capitulate, 1400 men and gentlemen, including Mackintosh of Borlum, surrendered at discretion.

Lord Mar continued aimlessly in the north while from England were advancing the forces which, by the collapse of the Rising in the South, were set free; and from Holland were despatched 6000 troops which, by treaty, the Dutch were bound to furnish in case of invasion. Add to these the fact that Simon Fraser of Lovat was keeping his clan on the side of the Crown to disconcert all Jacobite schemes. Simon Fraser was now playing one of these fantastic tricks of cunning which were habitual to that wily, unscrupulous scoundrel, who could not keep his mind from intrigue, or his tongue from lies. His whole life was one continued duplicity. In his youth, when disappointed in his effort to marry by force the daughter of the last chief of the Frasers and thereby succeed to the estates and chieftainship, he seized her widowed mother, who had opposed him, and by brutal violence forced

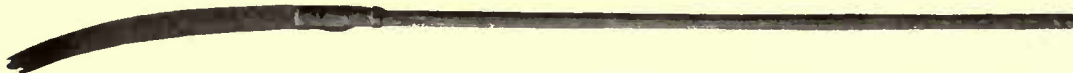


FIG. 203. Old war scythe.

her to marry him, expecting by that means to secure his end. The result of his treachery had been that letters of fire and sword were granted against Simon Fraser and his followers, and to escape death he had to flee to France. Winning there, by his wheedling ways and false tongue and an opportune conversion to the Popish faith, the confidence of Mary, the consort of James VII., he was next despatched on a Jacobite plot in 1703, which he betrayed to the Duke of Queensberry. On his return to France he was confined in the Bastille for a while, but he bided his time, for he had further schemes of his own to hatch. When the rebellion now broke out he appeared at Dumfries, offering his aid to the Whig townsmen against the attack of Nithsdale and Kenmure; but utterly distrusted, and being notorious for rape, murder, and treason, he with difficulty got back to his own country. He curried favour with Forbes of Culloden, the Lord Advocate. Never were any less alike than these two men. The one generous, humane, open, and honourable; the other false, cruel, and treacherous. But politics, like misfortune, brings strange bedfellows together, and Fraser had influence too great to be ignored, and power too great to be lost. He therefore received his pardon, and was placed in position as rightful chief of his clan. In his new guise as loyalist he recalled the Frasers who had followed Lord Mar to battle at the call of Fraser of Fraserdale, who had married the last chief's daughter, and at their chief's beck they were as ready to fight for George as for James. The wits and the men of Lovat were now ranged against the Jacobite party, for whom matters were looking dark; for in the North the Whig Lord Sutherland was hanging on the frontiers of Lords Seaforth and Huntly, in the absence of these chiefs, and there was coldness, jealousy, and dissension among the various leaders. Another council was summoned and Mar again was eloquent and fluent; but he had hostile elements to deal with. The lowland leaders were for making terms with Argyll, because resistance seemed hopeless, while the Highland chiefs were in favour of continuing the war, having nothing to gain by surrender, and pay and posts, and possible rewards, to

lose. Emissaries sent to Argyll, asking what terms he would grant, got the reply that he had no power to treat with them as a body. In disgust with a cause he had never at heart, Lord Huntly departed with his men, on pretext that he must protect his own territory, and the Master of Sinclair, with his party, rode off in his wake, hurling imprecations at Mar. During this time of depression the news that came did little to rekindle enthusiasm. It was that the Chevalier was about to arrive. The Regent Orleans, who, on the death of Louis XIV., ruled France, was less willing even than the dead King had been to embroil the country for the sake of an inconvenient prince, to spend money or ships or men, and besides, being bound by the Treaty of Utrecht, he had expelled the Chevalier from France. In spite of the coldness of France deluded by vain hopes, the Prince set sail in a little vessel laden with brandy, and on the 22nd December, with a retinue of six gentlemen, landed at Peterhead; the rest of his train, equipage and adherents, being to follow in two other ships. Mar, the Earl Marischal, and other chiefs went forth to meet their King, whom they found at Peteresso suffering from ague. The tidings that greeted him were not cheering—tales of defeat, of disaster, of discontent; information that they were no longer safe in the civilised quarters of Perth, but must retire in the bleak winter to the wild and barren mountainous Highlands. At such a prospect a gentleman bred in France and used to the delicate ways of a court, however shabby, might well shudder. The Chevalier was not one to excite enthusiasm, to give new life to a dead cause—he was not a hero for whom to die was glory. He had courage enough, shrewdness, and pleasing manners, but when they saw him the Highlanders were struck with vexation. As they gazed on his tall lank figure, his inanimate face, his dejected looks, his slow punctilious movements, he seemed to them ‘like an automaton.’ With a sneer the hillsmen asked one another ‘if it could speak.’ Then his popish views, his refusal to worship with his Scots followers, disgusted the presbyterian Jacobites. His first public act was to call a Privy Council, to which he made a speech, in words as bold as he could produce, uttered with the air of a martyr who had come to do his duty, without any hope of doing it. Freebairn’s press was busy again with proclamations, with orders for general thanksgivings for the King’s safe arrival in every church, and summons for all fencible men to join the royal standard, and the 6th of January was appointed as the day of Coronation at Scone. All these events soon turned to mockery.

Argyll, after the engagement at Sheriffmuir, had remained near Stirling, partly expecting the Rising to fail, partly because in the winter movement was difficult over the trackless moors, morasses, and snow-covered straths. In the name of the Prince, Mar, on January 17th, gave orders for Auchterarder and other villages to be burned, and all corn and forage destroyed ‘lest they might be useful to the enemy,’ and this was carried out amidst a snow-storm, the cries of the women and children moving the Highlanders to tears. On 24th January, recruited by English and Dutch troops, Argyll set forth after hard frost and thick falls of snow until within eight miles of Perth, greatly to the delight of the rebels, for they were longing for the excitement of fighting. Chiefs embraced each other in their joy, and pipes skirled martial strains, and soldiers looked to their arms in preparation for battle. All their hopes were turned to disgust and utter contempt when, after hot and angry debate in Council, it was decided not to attempt to defend Perth, but to retreat, under pretext of rallying at Aberdeen, to renew the war with increased force. Men assailed their officers with bitter taunts: ‘Why had the King come here? Was it to see his subjects butchered like dogs without striking a blow?’ Now ensued the retreat of a discontented army, with bitter

words on the lips and sour looks in the faces of men and officers and chiefs. The Chevalier himself showed little manliness, and was seen at times in tears, whimpering that 'instead of bringing him a crown they had brought him a coffin.' 'Weeping is not the way to conquer a kingdom' was Prince Eugene's comment when told of this. After crossing the Tay, hard bound by frost, the remains of the army arrived at Montrose. While they were seeking their quarters in the darkness, the Prince, attended by Mar, Lord Drummond, and a few of his suite, walked down unobserved to the shore. There a boat was in readiness to convey them to a vessel in the offing, and on rising in the morning the followers beheld the sails of their ineffectual prince and incapable leader spread to the breeze conveying them back to France. Mutiny among the deluded and deserted men was only kept down by the knowledge that the Duke of Argyll was close on their track. On their arrival at Aberdeen a letter was opened from the Chevalier, who thanked the men for their faithful services, stated that disappointment had forced him to return to France, and bade them make what terms they could and disperse to their homes. The end had come. In rage the men flung down their arms, and raised their voices in curses on their King and on their faithless leaders. Quickly the Highlanders sought their mountain homes, the Lowland gentlemen skulked wherever they could find shelter, and many nobles and gentry sought safety abroad. Never was there a movement more doubtful, a leader more ineffectual, a prince less heroic. The surprising thing is that the glamour of the Stewart race should survive such disenchantments as this. Mar was a nimble courtier, familiar with the strategy of the drawing-room, the Court, and the back stairs, but not of war and campaigns. In his ignorance he never could decide; waited when he should have advanced, retreated when he should have fought, and fled when he should have stayed at his post. His later years were spent in the mock court, till losing his master's confidence by incessant intrigue, he lived in retirement and died in 1732—a man, said Bishop Atterbury, who 'never could play a fair game or mean only one thing at a time.'

It only remains now to trace the fate of those men who suffered for their share in the rebellion. Of those who surrendered in England a few were shot, many were transported to the plantations of America; the more notable captives were dragged to London, being insulted and jeered at in every town through which they passed, and borne on horseback into the capital, with their hands tied behind their backs, followed by a mob beating warming pans in taunting allusion to the legend of the Chevalier's birth. After being conveyed through the streets to make a London holiday they were lodged in Newgate and other jails. A kindly reception, however, met them from Tory sympathizers, who treated them as martyrs, supplied them with wine and food, and tried to invest them with the halo of romance, though too many of them rioted and drank with a conduct more befitting a Bridewell than a State prison, as Lord Derwentwater said. As months went by, and bills of High Treason were brought in, some of the adventurers made their escape. Forster in April, 1716, by means of false keys got out of prison and safely to France. Mackintosh and some friends, freeing themselves of their irons, stationed themselves at the door of the jail at midnight, and as a servant was being admitted the warder was knocked down, and they escaped. Not so fortunate were Lords Kenmure and Derwentwater,—they were executed in February. Romance has fixed its affections on Lord Nithsdale, who escaped from the Tower in woman's dress with cloak and riding hood, which his wife brought with her into the prison chamber. Of inferior officers less than thirty were hanged. The treatment of the rebels cannot be

called harsh, indeed, under the dictates of policy it was even lenient. True, there was dissatisfaction in Scotland that the prisoners, whose offence had been committed in Scotland, should be tried in England—an unconstitutional act, which was due to fear lest Scots judges should be too favourable to their countrymen. Eighty-five were tried at Carlisle, twenty-four were condemned, but not one was executed, and pardons were issued to those who had quitted the Cause before the Rebellion ended, and chiefs and their people got immunity by submitting and surrendering the most worthless of their arms. On the other hand, the Duke of Argyll, to whom the suppression of the Rising was really due, who on his passage through Edinburgh had been received as the saviour of his country, met with little favour at Court. There were personal piques, political jealousies at work, which ended in the Duke being deprived of all his appointments as soldier and as statesman.

We must pass over in a sentence a later abortive effort to revive the Jacobite cause. Charles XII. of Sweden, that brilliant, erratic King, had designs of making an invasion in favour of James, and to spite England. In 1719 the Spanish Court, anxious to stir up turmoil in Great Britain, sent forth 6000 troops in ten ships of war, under the Duke of Ormond; but a storm arose and drove them back. Two frigates, however, with arms, ammunition, and money, containing the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl Marischal, and Lord Seaforth, arrived in Lewis, where, after fitful skirmishes—the most successful fight being at Glenshiel—the movement flickered out, the nobles retreating to their exile, and the Spanish soldiers surrendering, leaving in concealment arms and money, which proved useful in the '45.

In 1719 there proceeded some coaches from London to Scotland, which lumbered along the roads for twelve weary jolting days. In one was a hot faced, good-natured little man, with a huge periwig, who, with an Irish accent, was trying to speak French with a foreign gentleman. This was Sir Richard Steele, beguiling a long, tedious journey by learning the French tongue from a master. He and the occupants of the eleven other coaches were five Commissioners, with their clerks, appointed by Act of Parliament to inquire into the condition of the lands of attainted noblemen and gentlemen whose estates were forfeited for their part in the Rising of 1715. A difficult task lay before the English gentlemen, ignorant of the wiles of Scots law, and the ingenuity of patriotic Scots brains. Every device that human wit and legal quibble could devise was used to circumvent the plans of Government. Most of the estates were burdened by heavy wadsets, some had been transferred to nominal owners; unknown creditors suddenly started up, with plausible prior demands on the property. To all these the Scots Judges readily listened, and they appointed factors whom the pretended creditors themselves nominated, and were in the interests of the outlaws. For instance, the lands of Keir, in Stirlingshire, with £300 a year, were sequestrated at the petition of two nail makers, a blacksmith, and a shopkeeper, though they could prove no debt owing to them. Earl Marischal's own agent, a Peterhead merchant, was appointed factor over his estate, and the old Lady Carnwath was made agent over the land of her widowed son. By a further device, claimants to the property mysteriously turned up, asserting that the lands did not really belong to the exile, but had been long ago 'conveyed' to some child, or friend, or kinsman, and the poor Commissioners were bewildered. A further difficulty was to find purchasers for all this land thrown suddenly on the market, for Scotsmen were too poor, too burdened to buy. At last a purchaser was found in the 'Company of Undertakers for Raising the Thames Water, in York Buildings, London.' This Company was being reconstructed in 1720, and had raised stock for the purchase of land in the country. When, therefore, the

wide estates of Lords Kilsyth, Panmure, and Winton were set up for sale in the Court—the Chairman standing with the sandglass in his hand, which in judicial sales he must hold till half an hour had run out—the friends of the exiles could not compete with a rich Company, and estate after estate fell to their bids, from that of Lord Panmure with a rent-roll of £3486 to that of Rob Roy, valued at £26 a year. To the Company fell estates to the value of £250,000. Scotsmen were too poor to buy up the forfeited lands of their unlucky kinsmen, though Erskine of Grange secured those of his brother the Earl of Mar. In these transactions the State fared badly, for though in 1725 £411,000 had been paid into the Exchequer as the proceeds of the 48 estates, when all the debts on them and the grants by the Crown were paid off only £85,000 was left. Yet even that vanished, for the expenses for nine years of the Commissioners amounted to £84,000, leaving a miserable £1000 as gain to the Government. Nor did the York Company make a happy bargain. Most of their lands lay in inaccessible tracts occupied by tenants to whom they were odious, and who continued to remit their rent to their exiled lords; they had to lease them to gentlemen with whom money was scanty, and litigations with creditors vexatious and prolonged ensued. They embarked in speculations which ended in failure; they bought woods in mountainous regions, hiring workmen, building sawmills, making roads and rafts to remove timber over bogs, rocky rivers, and pathless moors; they reared works for working iron, erected fire engines for raising coal, made salt pans, and tried to raise copper and lead—schemes all of which utterly failed. Verily the fugitives had their revenge.

After the storms of insurrection had passed into calm and time was found amid the turmoil and chicanery of English politics for consideration of Scottish interests, measures were discussed for the pacification of the Highlands, and the opening up of the wild unknown tract peopled by a wild, uncouth, barbarous race, whose existence was a menace to peace, while they dwelt secure from law in their inaccessible fastnesses. In 1724 Marshal Wade, an engineer of skill, a soldier of repute, was sent North with orders to report on the state of the Highlands, and to take means for the opening up of the country by roads and bridges. The condition of the country and its people is vividly pictured in the *Letters from the North*, by Edward Burt, one of the engineer officers, who had a shrewd eye and a graphic pen and by whom all social ways and characteristics of land and people were keenly observed.

General Wade had authority to receive submission and to give protection to Jacobite chiefs and their retainers, to grant licenses to drovers and cattle-dealers to carry arms for the protection of their gear, and also to receive from pardoned rebels all their arms. Soon he fancied he had wrought a marvellous change in the people. He reported that now they went to kirk and market armed with innocent staffs instead of claymore and dirk; in his simplicity, never guessing that they had only yielded up useless matchlocks and worn-out broad-swords, while keeping good weapons under their heather beds and fern thatch. There were also thousands of arms, which Spanish frigates in 1719 had landed and left in the caves of the coast, which came forth from their concealment when the '45 caused swords to leap from their scabbards. A further scheme was carried out by Wade, who formed six companies of Highlanders to act as police to suppress the gangs of robbers and cattle lifters, on the policy of 'setting a thief to catch a thief.' Equipped and dressed in their national costume, they were placed under officers who were deemed trustworthy, though in fact they were often confederates of those they were raised to suppress, and sent in reports of musters that never took place.

This watch of 'Black Soldiers,' as they were called to distinguish them from the red coats of the army, was afterwards developed into the honourable regiment which retained the name of the 'Black Watch.' More useful, indeed brilliantly successful, were the military roads, which were constructed by Wade's men, through wild and desolate districts—a work which was designed not so much for the benefit of the people as for the advantage of the Government in giving easy access to the troops to put down revolt and coerce unruly natives. Hitherto there had been no roads, only tracks over moor and bog and mountain made by the hoofs of the cattle which the raiders 'lifted' to their retreats, or the drovers brought to market, or to the Trysts of Crieff or Falkirk; tracks impassable by cart or carriage. The first coach that ever entered Inverness was that of General Wade, causing amazement to the people, who bowed obsequiously to the liveried coachman, taking him for the august owner. Even the more frequented thoroughfares were ruts of mire and boulders, which in winter became torrents of water that swirled round rocks—passages which no troops, far less baggage and artillery, could traverse. By employing his soldiers as labourers, Wade soon wrought a marvellous transformation; roads, broad and smooth, were laid down, opening communications with the most remote and dangerous parts of the North. One of these King's highways set forth from Crieff towards Dunkeld, making its way over moor and stream to Dalnacardoch. Thence it passed north-west over the formidable pass of Corryarick to the spot where Wade built Fort Augustus. Another passed north by Lochaber to Inverness; and thence passing westward reached Fort Augustus, penetrating the country to Fort William, the seat of the untractable Camerons and the Macdonells of Glengarry. Two hundred and sixty miles of roadway were constructed, doing more to give command of the Highlands and security to the Kingdom than all other measures put together; while it gave an opening for trade and industry by means of carts, which had hitherto been unknown, and the transit of goods and cattle for sale to sea-port and market. Yet it was with jealous eyes the Highlanders watched all these operations. They saw that their immunity from law and force would soon vanish; they grumbled that the hard roads hurt the unshod hoofs of their horses, while a smithy to shoe them was not to be found within forty miles. In the '45 the benefit of these free passages was to be felt by rebels and royalists alike.

The great danger of the Highlands had been their inaccessibility. In these unruled regions the law had no force, and tyranny or outrage could be practised with perfect impunity. The story of Lady Grange is an instance of this. James Erskine, Lord Grange, brother of the Earl of Mar, was a saint among Presbyterians—none more devout in worship, more fervent, even to tears, at communion, more instant in private devotions, more zealous as an elder. Anxious to improve the occasion, he even converted a barber's boy who was engaged in shaving him to a sense of his soul's danger, and in Parliament how devoutly did he oppose the repeal of the Act against Witchcraft in 1734 as a sin against God's holy word! Yet in real life he was sensual and debauched; politically and religiously so successful a hypocrite that he even could deceive himself; a profligate in the guise of a saint, a Jacobite in the guise of a Whig. In this respect he was worse than his brother, who was a hypocrite only in his politics. Lord Grange, Lord Justice Clerk, had a wife who was drunken, a termagant, and almost mad, for she had inherited the wild taint in her blood of her father, Chiesly of Dalry, who had murdered President Lockhart. She had also a dangerous tongue, which could tell unpleasant tales about her lord. One winter night in 1732 some Highlanders in Lovat tartan entered her chamber, carried her beyond the walls of Edinburgh, and,

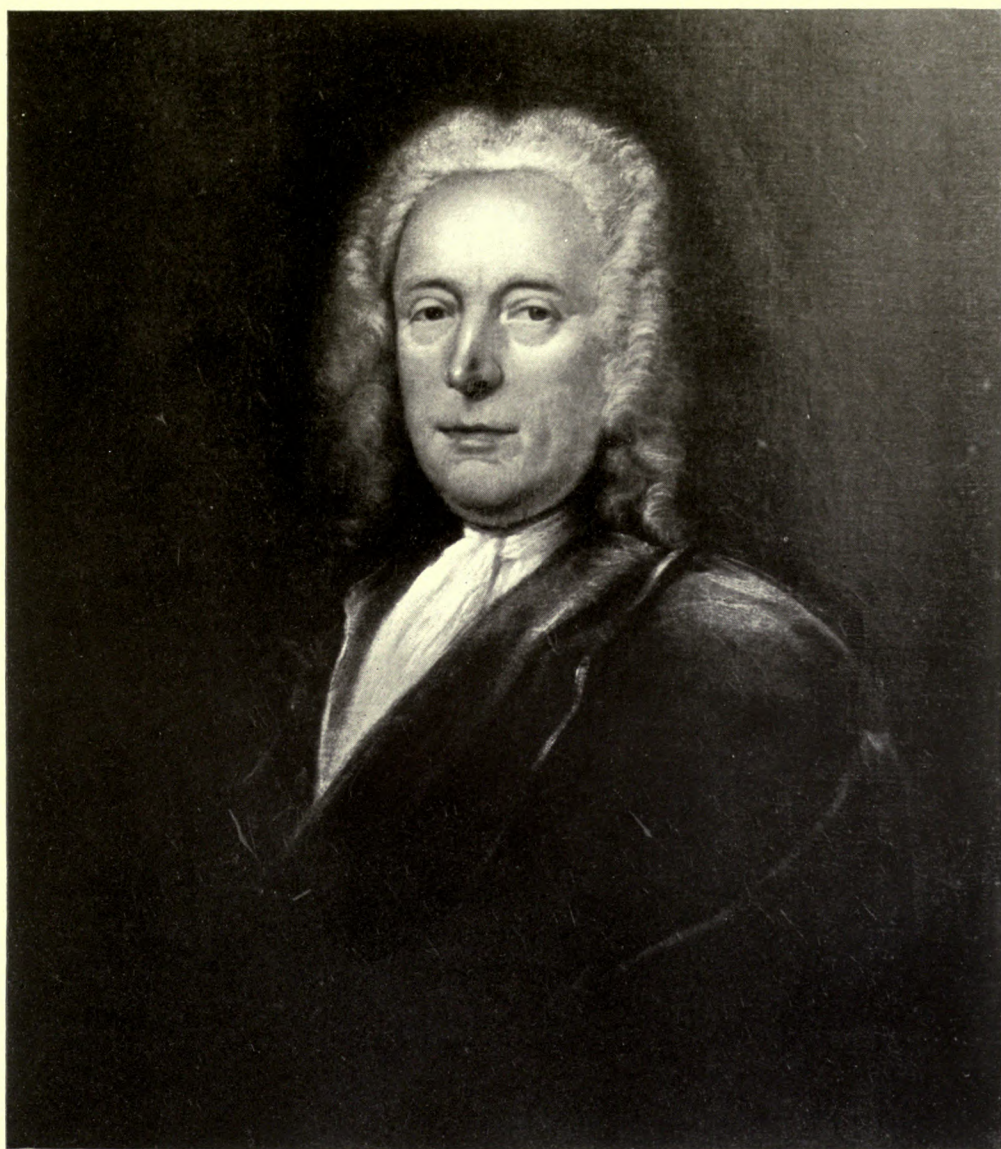


FIG. 204.

THE HON. JAMES ERSKINE, LORD GRANGE, LORD JUSTICE-CLERK

BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER, 1707

Lent by the Earl of Mar and Kellie

after being kept for months in a closet at Polmaise, she was borne off in a sloop to the Island of Hesper, and ten months later was taken to St. Kilda, which was her prison for seven years. No friend knew where she was, no one sought for her, and probably none cared for her, and it is remarkable that several Highland chieftains, Lord Lovat, Sir Alexander Macdonald, and others, were privy to the affair. In these remote tracts, illegal things could be done even to the wife of a Lord Justice Clerk (Fig. 204), more freely and more safely, than in Central Africa to-day.

While there was comparative peace in the North, there occasionally broke out dispeace in the Lowlands. The affairs were mere local trifles, it is true; and the fact that they bulk so largely in the Scottish History of the period shows how quiet the country really was. One of the incidents was the imposition of a tax on ale, which stirred the feelings of the people to their depths. Hitherto the public revenue of Scotland had not covered the expenses of the country, or paid the cost of troops stationed in it to maintain order. The malt tax, which stirred strife in 1712, had never been exacted, but now it was resolved to exact a tax of sixpence a barrel, which was afterwards reduced to threepence. Scots members of Parliament did not oppose it, but the popular feeling was excited to fury at the levy of an impost on the beloved 'twopenny,' as it was called, from being sold at twopence a Scots pint (equal to two English quarts), the ale brewed in every country house, and sold in every tavern as the national beverage when whisky was scarcely known in the Lowlands. Glasgow led the way. It was now a town of 16,000 people, becoming prosperous, but filled with men with all the dourness of westland Whigs, as tenacious of their drink as of their worship. Angry mobs gathered in the Saltmarket and High Street, who barricaded the brewers' doors with piles of wood and stone, defying the excise officers to enter; the guard rooms were seized, the town house of their member, Campbell of Shawfield, who had spoken in Parliament in favour of the tax, was destroyed, while its cellars afforded supplies to stimulate the patriotic zeal of the mob. Two companies of soldiers marched from Edinburgh, and found the guard room in the hands of rioters; and next day the rabble surrounded the troops, chased and assaulted them with stones, till the soldiers were obliged to fire upon them. The alarm bell was rung, the city magazine of arms was pillaged, till, at the Provost's entreaty, the troops removed their irritating presence to Dumbarton. Peace was not restored till Lord Advocate Forbes arrived at the head of a considerable force. As a penalty for these riots the city was mulcted of £12,000 to indemnify the unpopular member for the damage to his goods and gear. In Edinburgh opposition was more dogged and silent. The brewers threatened to brew no more till the tax was removed—a terrible threat, implying that thirsty citizens of a city of 50,000 population should get no ale to drink, and their wives and bakers no yeast to make their bread. With high hand the Judges threatened with prison those who ceased to brew, and the brewsters' address, protesting that they would no longer carry on a losing trade, was burned by the common hangman, and only on three recusants being thrown into prison did the others sulkily submit. Drink was a matter that intensely interested the people, and it was noticed that after the imposition of this tax ale brewing was discouraged, and the way was paved for the introduction of whisky as a popular drink, while it increased the smuggling of wine, brandy, and rum everywhere on the coasts.

Seven years passed, and then an incident took place which, from being merely a local affair, became a national event, and has been invested with the glamour of romance by Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*. Smuggling was one of the most popular and not the least respectable trades in Scotland. It was prevalent on every shore

from the coast of the Solway to the caves of Buchan, from the fishing villages of Fife to the lochs of Ross-shire and the Moray Firth. It was a profitable business to run in cargoes of silk and brandy, claret and lace, because the profits, though meagre in an Englishman's eyes, were wealth to a thrifty and impecunious Scot. To 'jouk the gauger' was the favourite delight. The weavers who ran their guilty wares, and the lairds who bought them, and drank them, and wore them, and even douce elders, after a solemn fast day, would leave their houses for the shore as twelve o'clock struck. The extent to which smuggling was carried on was disastrous to steady trade. Villages, which might have prospered by honest industry, fell into decay, and their inhabitants into vice and idleness from depending on a precarious,



FIG. 205. Jacobite glass.

but exciting illegal traffic. In Fife smuggling was general among the many small fishing villages, and the excisemen needed both vigilance and courage. Two men, Wilson and Robertson, whose stores of contraband goods had been seized by the excise officers at Pittenweem in 1736, to indemnify themselves broke into the customs house and stole its contents. Being caught and tried by the Justiciary Court in Edinburgh, they were condemned to death. When lying in the Tolbooth—the 'Heart of Midlothian'—by means of a file they freed themselves from their irons, and cut a bar in the window. Both might have escaped, had not Wilson, a bulky man, insisted on going first, when, sticking fast between the bars, he was secured by the jailer. On the Sunday the prisoners were brought, as was customary for those under sentence of death, to attend service in the adjoining church, under a guard. The service was just ended when Wilson, as strong as he was big, seized a soldier by each hand, and calling on his companion to run, gripped a third soldier with his teeth. Robertson escaped in the confusion, and Wilson was left to his fate—a fate which he had got by his chivalrous aid to his friend. The populace had always a sneaking sympathy with smugglers, and an

admiration of this act of self-sacrifice. The day of the hanging came round, and the city guard, under Captain John Porteous, escorted the prisoner to the scaffold. It was on April 14th, 1736, that Wilson was hung, without any demonstration from the mob; but when the body was cut down, the crowd in their usual rough play began to abuse the hangman and pelt him with stones, some of which struck the guard. Losing patience, the guard fired a volley of musketry on the crowd, killing and wounding several. Public feeling was so high that Porteous was tried for murder, as the instigator of the firing. Evidence was conflicting. Porteous protested that he never gave the order, and that he had in his hands an undischarged musket; others asserted he had given the word of command, and having taken a musket from one of his men had fired at the people. The captain was personally unpopular, coarse, officious, and arbitrary. The result of the trial was that he was condemned to die, and hanged he would have been had not Queen Caroline, then acting as Regent while George II. was in Hanover, been advised to grant a reprieve.

This news was received with popular indignation by all ranks in the city, for on the fatal day some of the soldiers had fired high, to spare the people, and had killed one or two persons of better rank watching the proceedings from their

windows. On the 7th September, the day which had been fixed for his execution, Porteous was in triumph at his reprieve, entertaining his friends in the prison with drink and jollity. Suddenly the mirth was checked. While they were revelling within, the mob, which had been silently gathering in the dark wynds, attacked the prison doors with Lochaber axes, snatched from the guard-house. As the huge iron doors resisted axes and sledge hammers, a fire was lit which burnt a hole in the massive iron-studded wood, and the jailer flung his keys through the opening. Porteous was found by the rioters hiding in the chimney and was dragged out and along the street, down the narrow West Bow, to the Grassmarket, the usual place for executions. In quiet orderly procession the people tramped with torches flaring down in the night, two men carrying their terrified victim, 'King's cushion' fashion, as he refused to walk. Ropes were taken from a shop, and a guinea being left as payment, suspicions afterwards rose that some of high degree were among the rioters. There being no gallows the poor wretch was hung on a dyer's pole projecting from a wall. Orderly, silently but swiftly the mob dispersed and soon the night was still and the streets deserted as a churchyard. In the morning the only signs of the tragedy were the charred tolbooth door, the arms strewed in the streets, and the dead man dangling from the pole.

Enraged at such open defiance of order and proofs of gross civic incapacity, Government brought a bill into Parliament to punish the city, to demolish the city walls, annul the city charter, and disqualify the feeble Provost. Such severe measures were opposed by the Duke of Argyll and Forbes of Culloden, and others of weight, and these clauses were dropped. The penalties were reduced to the payment by the city of £2000 to the widow of Porteous, and with that the matter might have ended as a local disturbance to be forgotten in a year. End, however, it did not, for a foolish clause in the Act commanded all ministers of the Church to read a proclamation from the pulpit once a month throughout the year, offering £200 reward for any who discovered the offenders, and calling on the congregations to use all efforts to hand the murderers up to justice. A more ridiculous Act was never passed, enjoining ministers in Caithness and Skye and Shetland, to read out a summons to folk who had never before heard of the crime to give up the culprits, and ordering in Gaelic inhabitants of Ross-shire and the Hebrides to discover miscreants whose identity baffled detection in their own city. But it was as impolitic as it was grotesque. Englishmen little knew the horror entertained of any interference of the Crown with the Church. At this time the Seceders under the Erskines were forming a stalwart sect hostile to state control. Here was a secular proclamation to be read as part of divine service before the sermon, thus, as the people cried out 'putting Caesar before Christ.' The ecclesiastical turmoil was fierce. Ministers, more afraid to offend the people than to neglect the law, refused to read it; others read it, but told the people they were not bound to hear it, on which the congregation would march out of the sanctuary; others who read it without



FIG. 206. Jacobite glass.

apology, found that many of their people shook the dust of the Erastian Kirk from their feet, and never entered it more. Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk describes the sore perplexity and keen soul exercises felt in many a manse as to what course to take, whether to brave the law or the people. When the communion season came round, the table at which one of those preachers subservient to the state officiated was sure to be empty. The Seceders gained what was lost by the Church.

It was a time of ecclesiastical strife. For some years the Church had been in trouble, as the Act of Patronage had begun to work dispeace. Ebenezer Erskine, his brother Ralph and others, had broken with their kirk upon this matter. They were violent and contumacious, as they denounced the Erastian measures and declared fiercely the rights of the people; while the General Assembly was hot and impolitically harsh with these worthy and obstinate brethren. Since 1733 a new sect,

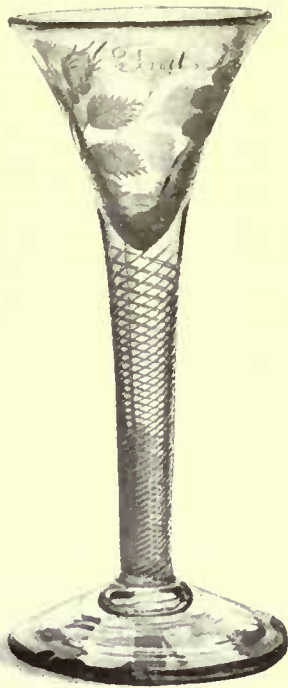


FIG. 207. Jacobite glass.

the Associate Presbytery, had been founded, to which in time flocked all religious persons with a pious grievance or holy prejudice who found peace in those meeting-houses where orthodox Seceders preached the unadulterated gospel free from 'pagan morals'; and where they maintained that the Church was deserting Christ for Caesar, that the repeal of the Act against Witchcraft was a denial of God's Word, and that the Establishment was a sink of corruption and infidelity. While ecclesiastical turmoils were disturbing the souls of the peasantry, there was, however, peace to satisfy the bodies and fortunes of the people; trade was prospering, industries were rising, towns were growing. Glasgow, with its population at the beginning of the century of 12,000 inhabitants, by the year 1740 had grown to 30,000, becoming wealthy by commerce with the West Indies, whose tobacco and rum were bringing fortunes to merchants. In rural districts, however, there was still stagnation, though some landowners were improving their lands, enclosing the open country, planting trees in the barren wastes, reclaiming the soil from moor and morass and bog, introducing better grain than the grey oats and wretched bere, which made bad bread and worse malt. But still the lumbering ploughs

with mingled teams of eight oxen and emaciated horses groaned over the rigs, and on the meagre and sterile unmanured ground the people fed badly and were clothed in rags. In the Highlands matters continued as of old—they could hardly be worse; though the frequent residence of chiefs in London or France deprived their retainers of the old lavish hospitality, while their own more expensive tastes as addicted to fashion made them more exacting of their rents, and more obliged to burden their lands. Still there remained a keen Jacobite feeling for the Stewart House. It was an heirloom of sentiment, for distance had lent to that family a glamour of romance. In many old Tory houses in England and Scotland they had their favourite 'sentiments' or toasts which were an 'excuse for the glass,' and pledged with clinking bumpers the health of the 'King over the Water.' In their cupboards were kept the treasured long thin-stemmed glasses engraved with Jacobite emblems and mottoes, which were brought forth on high occasions when trusty friends of the cause were present. On these were often graven the oak stem with two leaves to signify the branch of the Stewart family from which sprang Charles Edward and Henry, the two last hopes of the Jacobites, with the motto 'Floreat,' to denote

that it would flourish once more; the star with the word 'Radiat' (Fig. 205), to show that its glory still shone; the portrait of James or Charles with the word 'Redeat' (Fig. 206) beneath, signifying that he should return to his kingdom again, and the favourite Jacobite legend 'fiat' (Fig. 207). But all this enthusiasm was not due so much to love of the family—for what had they done to kindle enthusiasm or to inspire respect?—as to contempt of the Hanoverian kings and aversion to the Whigs.

We may now look abroad to note the fortunes of the royal house of Stewart. After the ignoble fiasco of '15, Chevalier de St. George (see Fig. 197) had been obliged to leave France and Spain, in deference to the demands of Great Britain, and he retired to Rome, being safe in the Papal territory, from the punctilios of States and the interference of



FIG. 208. Princess Clementina Maria Sobieski.

English ambassadors. There he had his impecunious little Court, with its little intrigues and gossip, quarrels over precedence and favours among the exiled lords and their ladies who, on small pensions, had to keep up a mimic style. It was considered right, on his thirtieth year, that the Chevalier should marry, and after two or three princesses had been inspected and their claims sounded by the clever and devoted Charles Wogan, his emissary, Princess Clementina Sobieski (Fig. 208), daughter of Prince John of Poland, was fixed on as an eligible bride; especially as her fortune, which was deemed vast in those days, was very much needed. To this princess, whose romantic desire since a child had been to be Queen of England, the proposal was welcome. Straightway preparations were made for the Princess to proceed to Bologna, but on this scheme being discovered by the lynx-eyed emissaries of England the intended bride, by orders of Austria, was arrested at Innsbruck, and, with her mother, she was detained in the cloisters. The enterprise of a devoted Irish Jacobite was the means of rescuing her. Charles Wogan, who had been one of the prisoners of Preston, obtained a passport in favour of a Count and Countess Cernes, whom a Major Misset and his wife were to personate, while Wogan was to pass

as the Count's brother, and Mrs. Misset's servant was to be introduced into the chamber of the Princess, who should change clothes with her, and pass out of the cloisters personating the maid. The whole scheme was successfully carried out, and on a cold dark night, amid a snowstorm and over villainous roads, the party, in a coach, went on their adventurous way, suffering fatigue and fright and perils till they reached Bologna on 2nd May, 1719. When they arrived the Chevalier was on an expedition to Spain, but nevertheless she was married, a sturdy adherent acting as proxy for the absent bridegroom. On December 31, 1720, Prince Charles Edward was born, and five years later Henry, the future Cardinal.

The marriage, so romantically begun, passed into a fretful, inharmonious prose. A lively bright woman found herself allied to a dull spouse, laboriously busy with vast futile correspondence, living in a circle of impecunious Scots exiles, always engaged in some futile intrigues, varied by little jealousies. Clementina was fiery, passionate, and hysterical; James was placid, obstinate, domestically masterful. She wished her sons brought up rigidly in the Catholic Faith; he was indifferent, finding bigotry an awkward quality for the seeker of a Protestant throne. In time Europe rang with the unseemly discords and domestic squabbles; the wife hating her husband's friends, he suspecting his wife's companions. The wife took refuge in a convent, and there sought solace for her family troubles in austere devotion, and the turmoil ended in a patched-up reconciliation, which proved happy to neither. All this afforded a poor home in which to train Princes. In this unsatisfactory household the boys grew up—the younger thoughtful and gentle, the elder bright, active, devoted to sports and exercise. At thirteen Charles's education under governors ended, from the first being unwilling to learn, and to the last being unable to spell; a pretty fair-haired, brown-eyed boy, spoiled by his attendants and tutors, petulant and rude to his people, little moved by religion and little attached to his faith, for his training being half Protestant left him with a contempt for priests, in whom his brother delighted. Honest James Edgar, his father's much worked secretary, had a keen affection for him, and many a quarrel in after years the worthy man had to pacify, many futile counsels had he to give Charles in his most intractable days, while he devoted many years over King James's weary correspondence, which did nothing but waste ink and time and patience. Bred up in the proud tradition of his family, fed by its flattery of satellites, and buoyed up with wild rumours from Britain of discontent with the reigning King and of yearning for the old dynasty, Charles early set his heart on a new venture for the throne of his fathers. He believed in the loyalty unto death of English Tories, many of whom were Squire Westerns who hiccupped their convictions in their cups, and others respectable sentimental gentlemen who more soberly drank the royal healths. He did not know that those so ready to raise their glasses with toasts to the Restoration would not lift a hand or risk a shilling for its support. Their affection was as thin and brittle as the stems of the Jacobite glasses they used.

The Stewart Cause did not interest France till England was assisting the Empress-Queen Maria Theresa with troops and money, and then it was thought that to divert the attention of England from interference abroad by encouraging turmoil in Scotland was a cheap piece of chivalry and a fine piece of policy. Charles Edward (Fig. 209) was invited to repair to Paris, and there was promised an army of 12,000 men, who should descend on the English coast under the brilliant Marshal de Saxe. With such projects arranged, Charles took up residence incognito at Gravelines in February, 1744. When all seemed ready and the French had embarked, they were confronted by a fleet under Admiral Norris. A great storm arose, and the French ships were dispersed and the expedition was abandoned. Charles Edward was not, however, discouraged by this mis-



FIG. 209.

PRINCE CHARLES' EDWARD STEWART. BY B. GANNARI

Lent by Sir J. H. W. Drummond, Bart.

chance or the indifference of the French Court to his schemes. He had all the audacity of youth, a spirit of adventure, a glow of romance, and he resolved that another attempt should be made, though he made it single-handed, and he spent his money on buying muskets, and swords, and ammunition for the expedition. When discouraging reports came from Scotland, where chiefs protested that the scheme was needless unless supported by French soldiers and French money, Charles replied that at all hazards he would try his fortune, even in spite of the opposition of his father and the neglect of the French King. The Highlands could no longer be regarded as one great stronghold of the Jacobite party. Against that side were the chiefs of the Grants and the Mackintoshes, and the Duke of Gordon; Lord Seaforth, the head of the Mackenzies, was now loyal; the Frasers depended on the wily tactics of Lovat; the Mackays in the Sutherland, the Munroes of Ross-shire and the Campbells were traditional Whigs. It was on July 5th (1745) that the adventurer secretly embarked on board the *Doutelle*, a frigate belonging to a trusty Jacobite trader, accompanied by a man-of-war, which another Jacobite subject used as a privateer and placed at his disposal. Escaping many risks of attack, the frigate arrived at South Uist, on a wet, stormy day, the 23rd July, Eriska was reached, and in a hovel the Prince first rested on the land of his ancestors, gazing as he cooked some fish in the hut on the wild sea and the wilder inhospitable mountains around him. Macdonald of Boisdale, the uncle of young Clanronald, who lived in South Uist, was summoned to meet his Prince, who urged him to enlist his powerful neighbours, Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Macleods, in his cause, for they could bring with them to his standard some 1400 men. Boisdale plainly told him that these chiefs would not join, and that his enterprise was utterly vain, upon which the obdurate chief was dismissed. All his adherents in fact were agreed that the Prince should return to France, but, backed up by the obsequious Irishmen of his suite, Sir Thomas Sheridan, his old tutor, and others, Charles determined to keep to his purpose.

The ship, leaving Uist, entered the loch Aylort, between Moidart and Arisaig, on 25th July, 1745, and messages were sent to trusty supporters like Clanronald, who were dismayed to find that their Prince had arrived with only a miserable retinue of seven followers instead of a French army. The Prince stayed at Boradale, where Cameron of Lochiel came, resolved to dissuade his master from the forlorn task; but as the chief had been forewarned, his coldness soon warmed in the light of the royal countenance. 'You, Lochiel,' said the Prince, 'you, whom my father esteemed as the best friend of our family, may remain at home, and learn your Prince's fate from the newspapers.' 'Not so,' replied the chief, stung to resolution, 'if you are resolved I will go with you.' The adherence of Lochiel, the most influential of supporters, was decisive with others, and summonses were sent to the Clans to assemble at Glenfinnan on the 19th of August, when the royal standard should be unfurled. The day arrived, and early in the morning the Prince with a few Macdonalds was watching anxiously, from a hut in the wild lonely glen, scanning the mountain ridges, wondering what welcome he should have. After waiting in suspense two hours the Camerons, 700 strong under Lochiel, were seen approaching. The Marquis of Tullibardine, who had lived in exile since '15, unfurled the standard, and Charles addressed his friends, declaring the right of his father to the throne, and assuming that he had come to bring peace to the kingdom. His address, his confidence, his youthful grace of manner were certainly winning. An hour or two after this, Macdonald of Keppoch with 300 men arrived, and some minor chieftains followed. After a few days spent at Lochiel's house, Charles set forth with forces which had been further strengthened by Stewart of Appin, Macdonald of Glencoe, and other clans to about 2000 men. News travelled slowly in those days, and the 9th of August arrived before definite news reached Edinburgh that the Prince had landed in Scotland. As on former

occasions the Government was unprepared to resist the rebels, only 3000 troops in all Scotland being available—a mixed lot of troops, raw recruits, wavering Highlanders under Lord Loudon, and two scratch regiments of dragoons. Sir John Cope was appointed Commander-in-chief, and displayed an energy which the Government was slow to imitate, and set forth in full confidence that he could easily crush the insurgents. On the very day that the standard was raised in Glenfinnan he marched towards Stirling. There he left behind the dragoons, as being useless in mountain regions, and with 1400 men, heavy cumbrous baggage, and a lumbering train of artillery, marched towards Fort Augustus. As he went north to the Highlands the Pretender was proceeding south to the Lowlands. Passing Dalnacardoch before him lay the rugged pass of Corryarick, shut in by mountains, over the summit of which Wade's military road, wound by a series of zig-zags, appropriately called the Devil's Staircase, traverses foaming torrents by slender

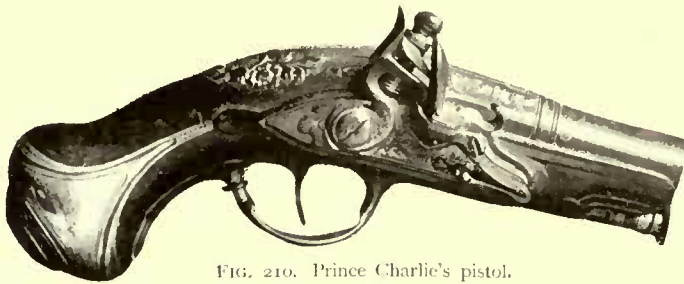


FIG. 210. Prince Charlie's pistol.

bridges. Ascending from the other side Charles and his men toiled up, eager to attack. But when they reached the top they looked down and no enemy was to be seen. All was silent and desolate; only a few deserters being found, who said that the English

General had changed his route and was proceeding to Inverness. Cope had called a council of war, at which it was decided that the foe was too strong to attack, and the fastnesses were too perilous to pass. This resolution showed a disastrous want of tactics, for had he remained at Dalnacardoch, he could have kept the rebels back, chosen his own ground, and fought on the field with the advantage of his artillery. Now, the whole country was left by him undefended, and the way was clear for Charles to advance. Truly Wade's roads were proving as convenient for the rebels as for the Government. As the Jacobite army marched on, more clans came to the flag, and when on 3rd September they had reached Perth,



FIG. 211. Prince Charlie's pistol. This pair of pistols is now in the collection of King Edward.

powerful reinforcements came under the titular Duke of Perth (who had been collecting men while in hiding from a warrant for his arrest), and Lord George Murray, brother of the Duke of Athole, who had gained the title and estates which his elder brother, the Marquis of Tullibardine, had forfeited. The Duke of Perth (Fig. 212) was one of the finest of the Jacobite party; a man of great courage, but of no military talent, gracious in manner, gentle and winning in nature. Having been so long abroad he spoke English with a foreign accent, which he hid by speaking broad Scots. Murray was a veteran in 'Risings'—having been out in the '15 and present at the battle of Glenshiel in 1719. Since then he had submitted to Government and had even sought a commission in the English army, but now he showed himself in his true colours. He had a military skill and resourcefulness, which could be matched by none on his side; tall and strong, he could brave it with the hardiest Celt; dauntless, he fought sword in hand with the foremost man. Yet his faults of temper, his pride, his ambition, his blunt supercilious

manners made him the least popular of the party, and gained the dislike and unfounded suspicion of his Prince, whom he did not hesitate to contradict. Murray of Broughton, his secretary, helped to foster Charles's distrust of his best general, and incessantly urged the superior claims of the Duke of Perth. This discord was fruitful of disastrous results.

Money grew scarce as forces increased. Only one guinea was left in the Prince's purse of the sum he had brought from the *Doutelle*. But with the country defenceless, money was got by cessing in the name of his father, James VIII., Perth, Montrose, Dundee, and other towns. The army was now making its way to Edinburgh. At the approach of the Highlanders the city was in consternation; for the defences were miserable, and the defenders were few. Round part of the town ran walls, three centuries old, like high garden walls, on which guns could not be set; the entrances were guarded by gates at the Netherbow and Westport, which a cannon shot could scatter to shivers; the guardians were trained bands of citizens who had rarely fired a musket and whose activity was chiefly displayed in junketing in taverns; while a few decrepit soldiers under the name of the City Guard, burdened with Lochaber axes, acted as police. The only actual soldiers were two troops of dragoons, whom Cope had left to defend the city. Professor Colin Maclaurin, the brilliant mathematician, was employed to engineer the ramparts. In the general alarm Cope's aide-de-camp arrived from Aberdeen, directing transports to be sent to bring his men to Leith; and, gaining more confidence, volunteers to the number of 400—students, citizens, and clerks—now began hurriedly to drill and learn to shoulder arms, if not to fire them. It was arranged that the dragoons and



FIG. 212. James, third Duke of Perth.

volunteers should be ready to join Colonel Gardiner's regiment at Corstorphine to meet the foe. On Sunday, the 15th September, the fire-bell rang, and the people rushed wildly from church, at the ominous signal. The dragoons flourished and clattered their swords to raise the flickering courage of the volunteers, round whose necks anxious mothers and wives hung to persuade them to keep to their homes, and away many timid patriots slunk back to their wynds; and though some marched to the West Port, only a few students ventured beyond the city walls. Next morning dragoons were drawn up to intercept the rebels stationed near the town at Coltbridge, but when some mounted Jacobite gentlemen rode towards them, and fired their pistols, the horsemen took flight and did not cease their ignoble retreat till many miles off from the foe. This flight, long jeeringly known as the 'Canter of Coltbridge,' taking place in sight of the tremulous inhabitants increased their terror, and they became eager to surrender, while the volunteers returned their muskets to the city magazine. Then came the summons of the Prince that the city should be given up, or it would be taken by force. A deputation of tremulous bailies set forth in a hackney coach to deprecate his wrath,

but the answer was that the gates must be opened by 2 o'clock in the morning. Lochiel and 500 men meanwhile were passing silently round the city walls, and they stood and watched at the Netherbow. As grey morning dawned the down-hearted bailies returned and entered by the West Port; but the coach, whose driver had his stable in the Canongate, had to go through the Netherbow Port, and as that gate was opened to let him pass, the Camerons rushed in 'with a hideous yell,' the watchman was disarmed, the other gates were quickly occupied, and the city was in their power.

By noon Charles Edward was occupying the palace of his ancestors. As he came on horseback towards Holyrood below Salisbury Crags the crowds to see him were huge, enthusiastic Jacobites among them trying to touch his clothes or to kiss his hand. The presence they saw was captivating. A young man, handsome, gracious, dignified, with an air of languor and sadness in his face in the midst of his triumph, dressed in short tartan coat, a green velvet bonnet, with gold lace and with a white cockade. 'He was a slender young man about five feet ten



FIG. 213. Lord Balmerino.

inches high; of a ruddy complexion, high nosed, large rolling brown eyes, long visage; his chin was pointed and mouth small in proportion to his features; his hair was red, but at the time he wore a short peruke.' Such he appeared to a Whig observer: but while Whigs pronounced the Pretender's hair was red, the Jacobites loyally swore that his hair was brown. Alarm had changed to curiosity. The Whigs were calm; the Jacobites were rapturous. The wild, unkempt, bearded Highlanders proved quiet and inoffensive, accepting courteously the oatmeal the citizens politicly offered them, and when they demanded alms in Gaelic they were satisfied with a halfpenny. The outer Parliament House became the quarters of the ragged hordes, barefooted and bonnetless, many armed with only

one weapon, some with a sword, a dirk, or a musket, others with scythe blades tied straight on the shank, or with cudgels and clubs. Contrasting with these men were the gentlemen, *Duinne Wassals*, clad in full Highland garb with gay clan tartans, dirk, broadsword, and targe. Among the followers of the Prince were noticed Lord Elcho, who brought supplies to the Prince's purse and a rough temper to vex him, Hamilton of Bangour, the poet, Lords Balmerino and Kelly.

James VIII. was proclaimed at the Cross—the provost and bailies being forced to attend in their robes, and a splendid ball was given at Holyrood, when the historic room was filled with the rank and fashion of the town and Jacobite nobility.

While the Prince was resting in Holyrood, and more adherents came to strengthen his forces, General Cope landed at Dunbar on the 17th September. He had 2000 infantry, the runaway horsemen, some volunteers under Lord Home, all forming an array of 3000 men, 6 pieces of artillery, though with no gunners to serve them. He marched towards Haddington, on his way to Edinburgh. News of his approach being brought, Charles set forth without delay to meet the foe, in high enthusiasm, and the city was left virtually unoccupied by the rebels; and that it was not captured by the soldiers in the Castle was owing, it is said, to a report resting on the testimony of a drunken Highlander, that there were 500 of his comrades lurking in wynds and cellars of the town. Putting himself at the head of his little army, the Prince drew his sword and said, 'Gentlemen, I have flung away the scabbard,' and acclamations came forth from thousands of Gaelic throats. When the hill above Tranent was mounted, there lay before them wide unenclosed stubble fields, and to the west of the plain

the regulars were stationed. In front of both armies was swampy ground and morass, while a thick hedge ran along a ditch, covering the royal forces. With difficulty the Highlanders were restrained from instant attack, but they lay down for the night in a field of pease which were in sheaves. While the Prince was resting on a bunch of pease-straw information was given of a path that led through the deep impassable swamp to a level ground by the left of Cope's army. The men swiftly set forth—the coveted place of honour, the right of the army, being after hot dispute allotted to the Macdonalds, whose chief claimed it on the ground of his descent from the Lord of the Isles. Silently they marched in two columns three abreast, the first led by Clanronald, the second led by Lord George Murray, while Lord Strathmore headed some sixty horsemen in case of emergency—on their way the men sinking knee deep as they stepped on the morass in the darkness.

When morning of the 21st dawned a thick frosty mist hid them from the foe. At last their movements were discovered, and Cope, finding his flank was being turned, changed the position of his forces so as to face the enemy, and placed his right wing next the morass, and made his left extend towards the sea. At his rear were the walls of Preston Park (the residence of Lord Grange), and Bankton, Colonel Gardiner's house. The infantry were in the centre, the cavalry at either wing. Swiftly the Highlanders formed into line and moved over the level field covered with stubble which lay between the two armies. After the hurried prayer before battle, which was never omitted, the pipes sounded, and the clansmen rushed forward, each company forming a separate wedge. Then the sun broke out and the mist cleared away, 'like the rising of a curtain,' revealing to the rebels the line of regulars, with bayonets glittering in the sunshine like a wall of steel; while it showed to the royalists in front of them a wild, strangely accoutred mass of uncouth mountaineers.

These now were pressing on in fury, first firing their muskets, and then flinging them to the ground they drew their claymores or wielded their scythes. Terror-stricken the few old soldiers and sailors, serving the cannon, fled taking their fuses with them. The doughty dragoons, heroes of the 'Canter of Coltbridge,' when ordered to advance, in a panic dispersed, under the fire of the Highlanders, riding down their own artillery in their flight. The horsemen under Colonel Gardiner, in spite of his entreaties, followed their example—all excepting a score who resolved to stand by their brave leader. Meanwhile on the left wing the assault of the rebels was resistless. At the volley of the Macdonalds, Hamilton's dragoons broke into disorder, scampered wildly, unable to control their horses or their nerves, in their confusion even rushing into the midst of the enemy. As the Prince wrote to his father, 'they ran like rabbits.' The infantry in the centre, assailed by the formidable scythes and demoralised by their cowardly comrades, broke before the onset of Lochiel on the left and Clanronald on the right. Colonel Gardiner, the bravest and best of the Royalist officers, was killed by a scythe blow when in front of his house. According to Home, the author of *Douglas*, who was present as a volunteer: 'in a very few minutes after the first cannon was fired the whole army, with horse and



FIG. 214. Prince Charles Edward, from coloured engraving by Cooper, Edinburgh, 1745.

foot, were put to flight; none of the soldiers attempted to load their pieces again and not one bayonet was stained with blood.' When the spoils were reckoned up, of 2500 regulars only 200 had escaped; 500 were killed, the rest wounded or captured. All the artillery, colours, chests, with some much needed gold, fell into the hands of the Prince, on whose side there were only four officers and thirty men killed, and six officers and seventy men wounded. Throughout the battle of Prestonpans the Prince showed coolness and courage, and though placed in the second line he kept as near the front as he could.

Onwards flew Cope and Lord Loudon with the fragments of the frightened horsemen, till they reached Berwick, dishevelled, dirty, and disgraced. Lord Mark Kerr, on receiving Sir John, is said to have taunted him with being the first General in Europe who was the first to bring news of his own defeat; but other officers, still more expeditious, had arrived before him. Poor Cope lives on in song and history preserved in ridicule, yet his character was fully cleared by court martial, and the battle was lost rather by a panic-stricken army than by an incompetent general. Instead of having slept comfortably at Cockenzie, to be awakened by 'the drums in the morning,' according to satiric song, he had been alert all night and disposed his forces with skill. To Edinburgh rode dragoons, who clattered up the High Street to the Castle gate, where the governor bade them be gone for a set of cowards, whereupon they pursued their ignominious flight to Stirling.

Two days later Prince Charles was again in Holyrood, receiving from the populace acclamations more vociferous than sincere. Proclamations reassured the inhabitants, ministers were allowed to pray on Sabbath for King George if they pleased, the minister of the West Kirk supplicating, 'as to this young person who has come among us seeking an earthly crown, so Thou in Thy mercy send him a Heavenly one.' This youth seeking his earthly crown won confidence with all classes, gracious, considerate, debonair, awaking sentiments of devotion in feminine bosoms and favour in less romantic manly breasts. 'Wha wadna' fecht for Charlie?' might be a problematical question, but there were few who would not pray for him, cajole for him, sing of him, drink to him. Amid the festivities Charles did not dance: he was grave and reserved, and while rousing romantic sentiment and enthusiasm in others, displayed little himself. 'These are my beauties,' he said, pointing to a huge bearded Highland sentinel, when reproached with indifference to his fair admirers. Politicly and humanely he gave up the blockade of the Castle, that the people might be spared the threatened fire on the town. Amid festivities and parades the prince and his staff took stock of their gains, their forces, and their chances. Notwithstanding their successes they had not conquered an inch of land; they had not fortified one place, or established rule in one district; and had left no more permanent impression as they passed through the country than the keel of a vessel on the sea. The Prince's army was even smaller now than when he first came, for after a victory Highlanders always made off with their spoil to their families, as a fox takes a captured fowl to its cubs, and many had already started north laden with booty from the field of battle. To add to the insecurity regiments had returned from Flanders to increase Cope's discredited forces. Six companies of Hessians were about to start for England, while a force was under old Marshal Wade at Newcastle. Soon, however, to counterbalance these disadvantages, the Prince had the satisfaction of seeing recruits coming to his victorious standard; among others, Gordon of Glenbucket, Lord Ogilvie, the venerable Lord Pitsligo, Nithsdale, and Kilmarnock. Inspired by tidings of victory France became more favourable to the Rebellion, and ships laden with

supplies reached Montrose with five thousand pounds, 2500 stand of arms, and the arrival of Marquis d'Eguilles was hailed with delight and received with honour as an ambassador from King Louis. All this time Lord Lovat had been playing a double game, at the same moment pretending to his powerful neighbour, President Forbes of Culloden, to side with the Government, and to the Prince to be favouring the Jacobite cause. Had the wily old man boldly taken the side of the Stewarts he could have brought to them not merely his large force of Frasers, but also the powerful alliance of Macdonald of Uist, and Macleod of Macleod, who both held aloof from the Pretender's Standard. By his double dealing he fell between two stools, and he fell with a crash. He acted with most laborious subtlety, arranging that his son, the Master of Lovat, with 800 well armed Frasers, should join Prince Charles, as if without his father's consent, while the plotter himself professed loyalty to the crown.

Flushed with his triumph over Cope, Charles resolved to march to England, expecting in the northern counties to win support from Jacobite families. On a Council being held, keen opposition was given to this step. It seemed a perilous enterprise to start with 5500 men into a populous hostile country, with large forces to meet. The hauteur and obstinacy of the Prince, who did not readily brook opposition, then came out, and he angrily protested: 'I see, gentlemen, you are determined to stay in Scotland, and defend your country; but I am resolved to try my fate in England though I should go alone.' What could be done but follow him?



FIG. 215. Garter and ribbon of Prince Charles Edward.

It was on 31st October that the insurgents marched out of Edinburgh, never to return. In time Carlisle was reached, and after a feeble defence a triumphal entry was made. Unfortunately dissensions broke out at each step of their progress. Lord George Murray, naturally angry at the Duke of Perth being put forward in the siege operations, resigned his command as Lieutenant General, though he expressed his readiness to serve as a volunteer, and the Prince coolly accepted his demission of office. The feeling in the army, however, was roused at the most capable General being lost, and a Papist like the Duke being put in front, when already the Prince was surrounded with Papists enough, and Irishmen to boot. Too chivalrous to be a source of dispeace, the Duke expressed his willingness to serve where unappointed, and the raw wound was healed for a time. Now his Highness announced his resolve to make his way to London, a project which in a council of war was hotly resisted as an act of madness; for behind were Whigs in Scotland arming against them; Edinburgh occupied by the English troops; Argyll raising men in the Western Highlands; while before them lay a hostile country and a formidable army. Trusting sanguinely to raising Jacobite favour in Lancashire, the resolution of the Prince overcame all opposition, and with forces now reduced to 4400 he again set forth. He charmed his men by his powers of physical endurance, won the respect of sturdy Celts who saw him stoutly walking the rough roads, in lashing wind and wet and cold, sharing their poor fare, yet always in good humour and full of inspiring confidence. Clad in his Highland garb he walked at the head of his column, while he put frail old Lord Pitsligo in his carriage; he lay down to sleep without undressing, and was up by four o'clock in the morning.

As the Highland army passed on their way, their appearance was not such as to call forth English enthusiasm. The sight of thousands of men in strange garb, with bare legs, and long hair covering head and face, speaking an unintelligible tongue, equipped with heterogeneous weapons from swords to scythes, from muskets to clubs, with pipes droning weird, wild, agonising strains—all seemed more like the invasion of barbarians or of madmen from Bedlam than of brother Jacobites and fellow countrymen. The people thronged to see them as they passed, raised a few cheers, but gave no recruits. The forces went through Lancashire to Preston, a place of ill-omen to the Highlanders ever since the '15; but Lord George Murray led them across the Ribble to break the spell of defeat. Even at Manchester, where white cockades were donned and bonfires blazed in honour of the Stewarts and many rapturously kissed the royal hand, only 200 men, the scum of the place, were induced to enrol themselves in his cause, headed by a few Jacobite gentlemen.



FIG. 216. Star of the Garter of Prince Charles Edward.

Still hoping, the rebels reached Derby only to find less and less favour as the miles passed by. The Prince was now only ninety miles from London; but two days' march off was an army of 10,000 under the corpulent but competent young Duke of Cumberland; two or three marches distant in Yorkshire was another body of men as numerous as the rebels; and in London George II. was preparing to set himself at the head of his forces and reviewing train bands at Finchley, and Marshal Wade was advancing on Carlisle from Newcastle. In spite of all this, at table Charles spoke with unshaken assurance of how he would enter London, discussed whether he should be on horseback or on foot, whether in uniform or in Highland garb, for of retreat he never dreamt. Soon his sanguine hopes were rudely shocked. As he was refreshing his forces at Derby, he was waited upon by Lord George Murray and the commanders of the Clans, and they plainly told him they were all agreed that no more could be done. They had marched into the heart of England and won no support, and there was no prospect of a descent on the coasts being made by the French. Only one course seemed left, and that was to make their way back to Scotland, where 4000 clansmen were awaiting them in arms, and it was better among friends than among enemies to fight for the cause. Stung to rage by disappointment, the Prince insisted on his own course, and, bitterly charging those who opposed his will as traitors, the Council was dismissed; Sir Thomas Sheridan and the rest of his retinue alone being obsequiously on his side. Against such vigorous opposition, however, obstinacy was futile, so, sulky and angry, with his pride wounded and his hopes shattered, the Prince gave way: though he bluntly told his officers that never again would he call a council, for he was accountable for his actions to heaven and his father alone.

In the grey morning of December the 6th the retreat began. The men who had been ignorant of the decision now raised their voices in clamour and lamentation, as they saw their expectations of taking London balked. Hitherto the wild mountaineers had kept wonderful order and restrained their predatory instincts, but now they broke

loose, and sought for plunder to take home to their kin. With savage simplicity things which were worthless seemed valuable in their eyes, and at Derby, fascinated by the sight of iron, a scarce commodity in their country, men were to be seen marching with bars of iron on their shoulders, to carry to their straths. The Prince had now lost heart; his cheerfulness, his courage, his fine endurance were gone. Instead of marching briskly in front, he lagged behind dejected and sullen. The country people, cowed by the advance of the rebels, grew bold at their retreat, and hooted and fired at them, though Lord George Murray showed his skill and the courage of his men in a successful skirmish at Clifton. Carlisle again was reached, and there a defenceless garrison was foolishly left, while the rebels passed to Dumfries levying a fine of £1000 and 1000 shoes on the whig town, and at Glasgow, which had raised volunteers for the King, £10,000 and clothing were exacted. As they passed through the country the villagers gazed with wonderment at the motley mass of ragged, dirty Highlanders, who demanded shoes for their sore feet, and sometimes stole the poor's money from kirk boxes and leaden communion tokens which they mistook for coins. In a few days they were at Stirling vainly besieging General Blakeney in the Castle, and while there, by the arrival of clansmen, the rebel host was increased to a formidable body of 9000 men.

During the absence of the Duke of Cumberland, General Hawley was made Commander of the Forces in Scotland, which amounted to 8000, and he came north blustering and self confident, expecting quickly to crush an uncouth horde of barbarians. He had been a lieutenant at the battle of Sheriffmuir and had formed contempt for the rabble he had seen in '15. This swearing, coarse, rough old soldier, now seventy years old, resolved to make short work of the rebels. When in Edinburgh he gathered his forces to advance and raise the siege of Stirling Castle, and commissioned the town folk of Linlithgow to furnish provisions and forage for his troops. Hawley had halted at Falkirk, and there he delayed. He was hospitably entertained at Callander House by Lady Kilmarnock, whose weak spouse was with the Prince. Her ladyship's company made the blustering old general forgetful of his duties, and while he was dallying, and feasting, and philandering cumbrously, his army was waiting, and his enemy advancing. The Prince had started from Stirling to meet him. Lord John Drummond set forth with his horsemen along the main road to Falkirk displaying the Stewart Standard, to divert the attention of the Royalists, while Lord George by a circuitous road advanced toward Falkirk Moor. The feigned approach was watched by General Huske, but he could not move till old Hawley made his tardy appearance. The whole line then was ordered to advance and make for the height to which the moor rose before the Highlanders appeared. These on their part came along in columns formed in line and passed towards the ridge from the other side about four o'clock in the dusk of that winter's day. They were charged by the cavalry, in whose faces blew violent wind and rain, but all at once the Highlanders, who had retained their fire till Lord George presented his musket at ten yards' distance, discharged a deadly

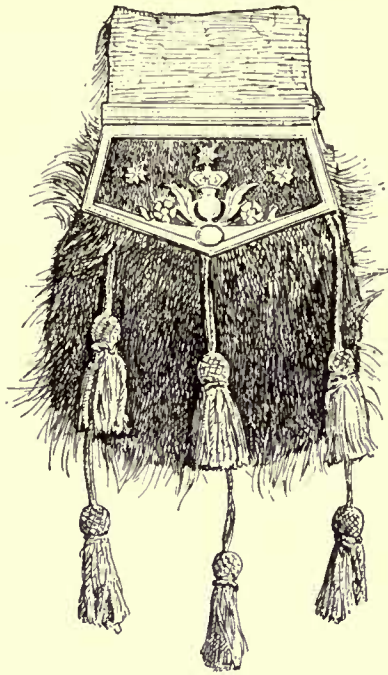


FIG. 217. Sporran worn by Prince Charles Edward.

volley which broke the ranks, and, flinging their discharged muskets away, they fell on the enemy with their claymores and put the right and centre of Hawley's troops to flight. Matters fared very differently on the other wing, where the regulars were protected by a ravine, and under their volleys their foes took to their heels, believing that the day was lost. Here were strangely repeated the events of Sheriffmuir—the rebels victorious at one wing, the regulars victorious at the other—both armies in flight at the same time. The whole engagement continued only about a quarter of an hour from the first shot to the last. The English forces who had been beaten, fled, horse and foot, in dire confusion, down hill towards Falkirk, though General Huske brought up the rear with the regiments which had stood firm, in good order, with colours flying and drums beating. Hawley caused his tents to be set on fire, and carried his broken troops to Edinburgh in miserable plight. The Government troops lost 20 officers and 400 or 500 men, besides prisoners, some of whom, including John Home, the author of *Douglas*, were lodged in Doune Castle. This disaster, which took place on the 18th of January, carried consternation into the hearts of the Whigs and joy to the bosoms of the Jacobites. At the very time that the rebellion seemed dying out it now again rose into full flame. It was said there were only two cheerful faces at Court when the news was brought to London—George II., who was always brave, and Sir John Cope, whose dull face beamed jubilantly that General Hawley had blundered, had been beaten, and been put to flight as ignominiously as himself.

To repair this calamity the Duke of Cumberland set forth to assume command. Although only twenty-five years old, he was worth a dozen old Hawleys; for this obese youth, whom when he was restored to his father's favour, wits pronounced the prodigal son and the fatted calf in one, had shown military capacity in Flanders. He arrived in Edinburgh in time to revive the spirits of downcast Whigs, and to save from the gibbet dragoons who had incurred the wrath of the irritated Hawley. With him were twelve squadrons of horse, fourteen battalions of infantry and with these he proceeded to relieve the feeble siege of Stirling, which the Prince was prosecuting under the fatuous engineering of M. Mirabelle, the Frenchman, by the Highlanders nicknamed 'Mr. Admirable.' Charles was eager to engage his royal cousin, though his army was weakened again by the desertion of booty-laden Celts. Not another council would he hold, after his former bitter experiences, but the leaders met together and drew up a paper urging a retreat to the north, as they had no artillery for a siege, and insufficient soldiers for the field, while there were chances of finding more recruits in the Highlands, and renewing the war with 10,000 men next spring. Here was another severe blow to Charles; his royal authority set at nought, his schemes thwarted, his opinions condemned. 'Good God, have I lived to see this!' he exclaimed as he read the paper, and dashed his head against the wall in his despair. His wrath waxed fierce against Lord George Murray, who though his best friend, he regarded as his evil genius, and his suspicions were anew fanned by his flatterers and servants in the Irish suite. Now ensued a retreat more like a flight; in haste and confusion the men crossed the Forth, leaving cannon and baggage behind them.

As far as Perth they were pursued by the Duke, who when he arrived found that most of them had dispersed, the Highlanders having returned in great numbers to their homes. The Prince stayed at Moy Castle, the seat of the Mackintosh, where the Jacobite wife of the Whig chieftain proudly entertained his Highness, riding out at times at the head of 300 clansmen, attired in man's bonnet, and tartan riding habit with pistols at her saddlebow. To her retainers Charles owed

a narrow escape from capture. Lord Loudoun, who with 2000 men had been cooped up in Inverness, sent a party to seize the almost unprotected adventurer. But this scheme was balked by a blacksmith of the Mackintoshes, who had been on the watch for the enemy. One February night 1500 men came cautiously towards Moy, when suddenly in the moor from various quarters rose the war cries of Lochiel and Keppoch and Breadalbane, with the sounds of bagpipes playing the gathering airs of several clans. The party believing that there was a huge number of rebels in ambush fled in dire confusion, little dreaming that all these warlike notes and cries proceeded from a blacksmith with half a dozen followers. 'The rout of

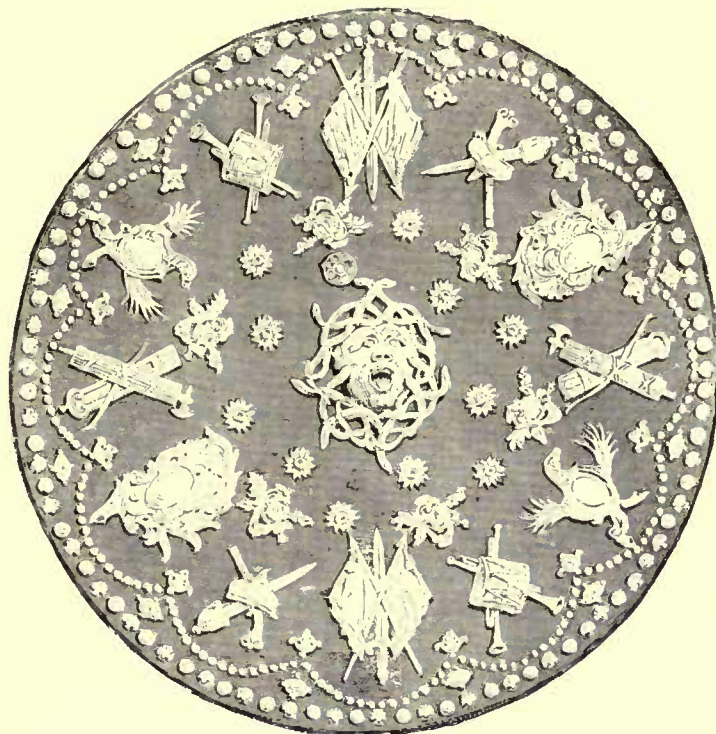


FIG. 218. Target of wood, covered with leather and studded with silver ornaments, made in France for Prince Charles Edward and borne by him at Culloden. This is now in the possession of Cluny Macpherson.

Moy' long remained a pleasant joke with the Jacobites and a sore memory with the Whigs.

Next morning, gathering such forces as he could, Prince Charles made for Inverness, forcing Loudoun to withdraw his men. Fort George was taken, Fort Augustus was besieged, one defended place after another fell before the rebel attack that winter. Then joyful tidings came that French supplies of money, ammunition, and troops were on their way—all this, however, came to nought as, owing to the Duke of Cumberland being at Aberdeen, the chance of getting these much needed supplies was gone, and the ships returned to France, leaving the treasury so low that the men through lack of money were paid in meal. An effort of Lord George Murray to blockade Blair, the seat of the Duke of Atholl, failed, the suspicious Prince believing the slanders of liars and flatterers at his ear, that his best General had been unwilling to assault his brother's house.

Winter had passed and March had come. From Ross-shire Lord Cromarty had ousted Lord Loudoun and his forces, and the rebels had harried the territory of the Whig Lord Sutherland, and taken Dunrobin. Now Charles resolved upon a last stand. His followers, dispersed through the Highlands to their homes or on skirmishes,

were summoned to join the standard at Inverness; while the Duke of Cumberland quitted his quarters at Aberdeen and moved with his army to meet his foe, and in a few days his vanguard was encamped at Nairn. The final contest was at hand. With a well equipped, well disciplined army, the Duke was prepared for battle. On his side Prince Charles had an uncouth ill armed horde of men, many of them scattered over the Highlands; he had commanders jealous of precedence, officers divided in council, flatterers who stirred up strife and suspicion. With the common soldiers the Prince maintained his popularity by his good nature, his affability, his courage; though to men of rank he showed hauteur. This disorganised array was at this time diminished by great numbers of stragglers. The camp was full of muttered discord, for the army was without food. The Prince saw that it was necessary to decide the issue immediately by battle, for delay, to a starving army, could only result in desertion or disaffection. The rebels were stationed on the wide moor of Drum Mossie, five miles from Inverness, known to us as Culloden, drawn up in two lines—the first consisting of 4700, the second of 2500 men. The ground which had been fixed on by the Irish officers was condemned by Lord George as singularly chosen. During the 15th of April the troops had no food except one bannock each man, and if the battle did not take place the next day the men must have dispersed in search of provisions. As it was, many were away foraging. At this crisis a council of war was necessary, and as usual opinions clashed. Lord George Murray, who gave the first opinion, of which Charles approved, proposed to lead the first line in the dead of night to Nairn and attack the Duke's camp in rear, while the Duke of Perth should attack it in front, trusting in the surprise of attack and darkness of night that the enemy would be thrown into confusion and become an easy prey. This was finally agreed to. The day was one of high revelry in Nairn, being the Duke's birthday, and the soldiers were less likely to be vigilant. The march was begun at eight at night; the heather was set on fire to give the impression that the army retained their position, no firearms were taken, only the silent dirks and claymores, with Lochaber axes to cut the tent-ropes, and the watchword was 'King James the VIII.' The march over the 10 miles of rough waste land was slow. Weary and faint with hunger, many staggered from the ranks and lay down to sleep, and by two o'clock in the morning they had only travelled seven miles, and before the other three were traversed daylight would come. In the distance was already heard the roll of the enemy's drums. 'They are awake!' cried Lord George, and he saw his plan had failed. A retreat was ordered, and performed with such speed that by seven o'clock the army had regained the moor of Culloden.

Here was another failure to lay to Lord George's account. It was he who had demanded the retreat from Derby and the flight from Stirling, and Charles' suspicions and dislike grew keener and darker at the retreat from Nairn. By eleven o'clock in the forenoon news came to the tired and hungry men that Cumberland's forces, which had started at five in the morning, could be seen in the distance marching towards them. The Prince, with the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, and Lord George Murray mounted horse, ordered the drums to beat and the pipes to play their most stirring tunes to stir up the men, who were half dead with sleep—while 3000 were absent, most of them in search of food. The Prince remained cheerful and confident of victory, though he had only 5000 fatigued men to meet 9000 in finest trim. As the King's forces came in sight the Highlanders cheered, for the Celtic blood was up at the nearness of combat. The English were drawn up in two lines, supported on the right and left by squadrons of horse, while between each of seven

battalions were cannon. As the hostile lines approached at one o'clock, the Jacobite artillery opened a feeble, ineffectual fire, while that of the enemy, well served, made lanes in the Highland ranks. For half an hour the cannonade lasted, the Highlanders restraining themselves till Lord George gave the order to advance, and from centre and right they rushed tumultuously on the enemy, from whom they received a fierce fire of cannon and grape shot, which huddled them together in confusion. Yet they sped on like a torrent with axes and claymores, upon the steady ranks before them three deep, till when within a yard's distance from Sempell's regiment there came a bewildering fire which forced them back. Meanwhile on the left were the Macdonalds, sulking at not getting their wonted position of dignity, though the Duke of Perth called out to them 'Claymore!' and told them 'that they might convert the left into the right, and that he would call himself Macdonald.' In vain Keppoch tried to make his clan follow him, but they remained doggedly without firing a shot. 'Good God,' cried the Chief in dismay, 'have the children of my tribe forsaken me!' and as he spoke he fell dead, pierced by a bullet.

The Argyllshire regiment broke down the park walls which were protecting the Highland right wing, so that the dragoons were able to get on the moor and threaten both flank and rear of the Prince's second line. The day was clearly lost; Lord Elcho, however, entreated his Prince to lead his troops which yet remained and either win the day or die as one bravely contending for a crown. A hesitating answer being given, the blunt-spoken lord, it is said, turned from him with a curse and declared he would never look on his face again. Those jealous for Charles' good name more plausibly asserted that he was forced off the field by his Irish officers. No efforts, however, could have retrieved the day. In front the Duke had two lines still ready for attack—on the flank were the Campbells, and on the rear were the dragoons. The Gaels sulky and dissatisfied grudgingly quitted the field, and most of them fled in confusion, though part of the second line quitted the ground in order, with pipes playing and colours flying. Many ran to Inverness, most of them to Badenoch and their mountains, and fear gave strength to their jaded limbs. In the battle, which lasted only about forty minutes, the victors only lost 310 killed and wounded and missing, while the rebels lost 1000 men. The stragglers were pursued by dragoons, who gave no quarter, and for days after the battle parties of wounded men were dragged from places of concealment and shot by platoon firing,—those still living being knocked on the head with butts of the muskets. This brutality contrasted badly with the humanity and even chivalry shown by the wild Highlanders to the foes that at any time fell into their hands.

With a few followers and his favourite Irish attendants Charles fled from the field of disaster. In battle he had proved himself cool, self-possessed, brave in emergency, and in privation and danger he was to show himself cheerful, considerate, and fearless. But in the hour of disaster as in rebuff, all his good qualities failed him; he became suspicious, querulous, dejected and selfish, like a spoiled child. The royal qualities shone in prosperity and vanished in defeat.



FIG. 219. Chair from Culloden House, formerly in the bedroom occupied by Prince Charles Edward.



FIG. 221.

FLORA MACDONALD. BY W. ROBERTSON
* PAINTED FROM LIFE IN 1750

drying himself before the loyal peasants' fires, and travelling through the night to evade the soldiers who were eager to secure the £30,000 reward (Fig. 220) offered for capturing the Pretender dead or alive. In South Uist were hundreds of soldiers, searching every cave and hut, while the shores were watched by cutters and armed boats. His capture would have been certain had it not been for Flora Macdonald (Fig. 221). Related to the family of Clanronald she was keeping house for her brother in South Uist; her stepfather—belonging to the clan of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat who was hostile to the Prince—was in command of the Macdonald militia. When skulking from the notice of the soldiers, one of Charles' followers found Miss Macdonald in a shieling at night and asked if he might introduce a friend. She soon perceived it was the Prince; and after a little hesitation—for there was danger to her family as well as to herself—she undertook his protection. From Captain Macdonald, loyalist as he was, a passport was made out for her, a man servant and a woman servant, by name Betty Burke. The party arrived at Skye, the Prince in the guise of the Irishwoman, clad in a garment of Lady Clanronald's and astonishing the natives by her strange manners, hirsute face, masculine voice, and long vigorous strides. They came to the house where Lady Margaret Macdonald already was enlisted in the Prince's interest, in spite of her husband's hostile sentiments. The house was full of English officers, who were on the outlook for the fugitive, little thinking that he was lurking within a stone's throw in a woman's dress. Lady Margaret confided him to the care of Macdonald of Kingsburgh, a clansman, and accompanied by Flora, the gaunt wild Irishwoman with a sprouting young beard, arrived at Kingsburgh at nightfall, where her conduct and freedom created amazement among the servants. The Prince changed his woman's garb for a kilt, at Portree parted affectionately from Flora, and after taking shelter in the Island of Raasay, went ashore at Loch Nevis into a country swarming with soldiers. There for safety he was obliged to rest in caves or cow-byres, or squalid huts, entrance to which he got by crawling on his knees through the holes that served for doors. With perfect good humour he would lie on heather beds, cook his own food—some fish or a bird which his expert gun had brought down—roasting it at the end of his dirk at the fire; he would smoke from a broken clay pipe tied with string, and warm himself by drinking whisky or brandy with a copiousness which his poor hosts envied; for, as he said, 'in my skulking I have learned to take a hearty dram.' In the most dismal surroundings he could be merry with a jest, a song, or a game. When wandering with humble and faithful Highlanders, buoyed up with the hope of hearing of a French vessel, he made his way through the wild mountains of Strathglass, and found shelter in a cavern with seven outlaws who provided food by stealing sheep, and procured clothing and what comforts they could for their royal guest. Tradition tells how two of the gang, in order to secure articles for the Prince's dress, waylaid and killed an officer's servant going with his master's baggage to Fort Augustus, and how another going to the Fort to learn news of the whereabouts of the troops brought back as a choice present for his guest a pennyworth of ginger-bread. These hosts, 'broken men,' who had served in the Prince's army, albeit lawless, reckless, and in poverty, disregarded all the offers of £30,000 to betray their guest. For three weeks Charles remained in the cavern, and the men parted from him with reluctance, sending two of their party as guides and guard of his person. Effecting a junction with his followers Cluny and Lochiel, he sought refuge in a hut called the Cage, hidden by a thicket in the side of a mountain in Cluny Macpherson's land, and there the three lived with more comfort than the fugitive had enjoyed for weary months. It was on the

THE JACOBITE RISINGS

18th September that news at last reached them that two French frigates had arrived at Lochnanuagh to carry him and his adherents to France. Two days after, Charles, with a hundred of his followers embarked—Cluny Macpherson remaining behind to wander in his own country for years. On the 29th September, 1746, Prince Charles landed at Roscoff in Brittany. Since July 25, 1745, when he landed at Boisdale, fourteen eventful months had passed, five of them being months of flight, of wandering, or of peril and privation courageously borne. All this has made his story the finest romance of history.



FIG. 222.
Dirk worn by
Cluny in 1745.

While the Prince was safe in France, treated as a hero, his followers at home were enduring their fate. The Duke of Cumberland, in private good natured and genial, as his comely fat face betokened, showed himself remorseless as a conqueror. His resolve was to strike terror into the land of rebellion, and he gave orders for 'the destruction of the country.' From his camp at Fort Augustus, parties of soldiers were despatched into far-off glens to make havoc of house and home; the flying inhabitants were shot; the mansions of chieftains were burned; men, women, and children alike suffered brutality; their flocks and herds were driven off, their poor supplies of food were pillaged, and in their despairing hunger they would prowl in the wake of the soldiers to pick up the scraps left after meals on their stolen cattle. These things occurred in many centres of rebellion in the North, earning for 'The Butcher,' as the Duke was called, the reprobation of men of all parties. Against such harshness Lord President Forbes, who for his loyalty deserved well of the Government, pleaded in vain. A pretext for such enormities was a Jacobite general order 'to give no quarter,'—which, even if it had not been a forgery, certainly could be but a sorry excuse.

In July the duke was in Edinburgh receiving obsequious homage, and passed on to London to be dowered with honours and additional £25,000 to his income. Though the excesses of the soldiery were curbed and order began to prevail in the unruly districts, punishment was meted out to the prisoners of the 'Rising' in jails of England and Scotland. Defended as policy it was repugnant to sentiment. Here was a crime, which came from misdirected loyalty and conviction lighted up by romance, glowing with heroism and self-sacrifice. Only the cynical as they saw the heads of the Jacobites exposed on the spikes, could say that if the victims' 'hearts were in the right place' their heads were in the right place too. Lords Kilmarnock, Cromarty, Balmerino, and Tullibardine were brought to London and lodged in the Tower (Fig. 223), where the last died before trial. The House of Lords was crowded as the Scots Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino stood their trial for high treason, and the verdict of 'guilty' was inevitable. Kilmarnock pleaded for his life. He owned that he had been brought up in loyalty by his father, and had inculcated loyalty in his son Lord Boyd (who was an officer in the King's army, and had fought against the rebels at Culloden). He urged for himself that he had protected the lives and property of the loyalists, and he spoke with a simple dignity which moved many of his audience to tears. Lord Cromarty owned his crime, and cast himself pitifully on the mercy of the House for the sake of his wife, near her confinement, and his family of eight children. Lord Balmerino spoke proudly of the part he had taken in the Risings of '15 and '45, neither asked nor expected pardon, and his bearing stirred admiration, where that of the others roused only compassion. When petitions were made in favour of Kilmarnock and Cromarty, who was re-

prieved, King George who, brave himself, could admire courage in others, asked, 'Heaven help me, will no one speak a word for Balmerino?' The rebel Lords knew how to die. As Kilmarnock ascended the scaffold and he saw the executioner holding the axe and the empty coffin ready to receive his body and the vast concourse of greedy spectators, 'Heaven, this is terrible,' he whispered to a friend, but calmly with a prayer for the reigning family he knelt down to his death. Balmerino took the executioner's axe and ran his finger along the edge to test its sharpness, and, returning it, bade the man strike sharply, 'for in that, my friend, will



FIG. 223. Interior of Peter's Chapel in the Tower of London during the imprisonment of Lords Nithsdale, Kilmarnock, and Balmerino. By William Hogarth.

consist your mercy.' Kneeling on the block, praying for King James, and entreating pardon for his sins, at the second blow the sturdy Jacobite was dead. In time it came to be Lord Lovat's turn. Slippery, double, evasive, it was difficult to find direct evidence to inculpate him. The Judas of the Jacobites, however, Murray of Broughton, turned informer. Secretary to Prince Charles he was in every secret, he had been behind the scenes during the great drama; he had attended his master, poisoned his mind, fostered suspicions against officers, and discord among leaders. After Culloden he had fled into the Highlands, but afterwards returned to his native district in Peeblesshire, where he was taken prisoner. To save his head from the block, he was ready to substitute the heads of others, and revealed the plot and the plotters of the rebellion. It is true that he did not tell everything and against everybody; he had nothing to gain by such wanton maliciousness; but he told enough secrets to save himself, and his evidence against Lovat brought the old man of 80 to the block. Lovat had fled to the Western Isles, where he was caught. All his trickery and deceit had been in vain; the evidence of Murray proved him a Loyalist without sincerity, a Jacobite without honour, a rebel without courage, one who had deceived and betrayed both sides, and been in every insurrection since he was fifteen years old. After a trial lasting in the House of Lords several days, he

was found guilty; with leering contempt he received the sentence: 'I bid your lordships an everlasting farewell; sure I am, we shall never all meet again in the same place.' In his imprisonment the true nature of the man came out, his cynical humour, his hypocrisy, his plausibility. All know from Hogarth's portrait taken in prison the appearance of the ancient chief, his cunning ugly old face, calculating look, jeering mouth and treacherous eyes, and his huge ungainly body. When his whining letters to the Duke of Cumberland proved fruitless, he turned at bay and revealed the fierce courage of a Highland chieftain. When his unwieldy frame was assisted to the scaffold by two warders, as he gazed on the enormous assemblage of people, he said with a sneer, 'God save us, why should be such a bustle about taking off an old grey head from a man who cannot get up three steps without two assistants?' A stand containing spectators breaking down, by which several persons were killed, 'The mair mischief the mair sport,' the old cynic remarked. So defiant and sneering died the old rascal whom even age could not render venerable.

Elsewhere honourable men fell on the scaffold, officers left to garrison Carlisle, hooted by the mob as they bravely died. At York and Coventry and elsewhere, 70 men were sentenced to death; some were pardoned on the ground that they had been forced by their chiefs to join the rebel ranks. Eighty in all, English Jacobites and Scottish chiefs and their followers, were executed, meeting their end with courage and with fine impenitence, praying for their Prince with their dying breath. The dark side in this historic episode was the conduct, not of poor peasants, but of gentlemen like Murray of Broughton, young Glengarry ('Pickle the Spy'), the drunken, savage, robber chief, Macdonell of Barisdale, who, in terror of their lives or for sake of gain, turned informers and traitors to their cause.

Time softens animosity, years bring calmness, and moderation in the end proves the best policy. In June, 1747, an Act of Indemnity was passed granting pardon to all guilty of treason, with, however, a formidable list of 80 exceptions, most of whom had followed the Prince abroad. It is pleasant to think that the trusty protectors of Charles in his wanderings suffered little hardship. Macdonald of Kingsburgh was only imprisoned for a while; Flora Macdonald was liberated after being confined in the Tower; and, touched by her romantic story, English Jacobites loaded her with kindness and presents which formed a useful dowry of £1500 when she married Macdonald, her companion and helper in the wanderings of the Prince. She disappears from history and from England with her husband to America, whence she returned to live and die in her home in Skye.

HENRY GREY GRAHAM.

After the Rebellion

THE Rebellion, source as it was of vast evil, of bloodshed, discord, disaffection and widespread ruin, proved in certain respects a great benefit to the country. The old patriarchal clan system was abolished, round which has gathered much sentiment because it fostered loyalty to chiefs, whom their men would follow impartially either for George or for James, and secured obedience among clansmen, who could be controlled by no laws. But it also fostered idleness, extinguished industry, made dependence a habit and work a curse and indignity. After the rebellion the system was broken up. Chiefs hitherto had exercised despotic authority over their tribe, having Hereditary Jurisdiction, without control of or regard for law, with right of sentencing to pit or gallows, to imprisonment or death; but in 1748 this hereditary jurisdiction was abolished, sheriffs were appointed, and great chiefs, deprived of ancient prestige and often ill-used power, were made as much subject to the law of the land as the laziest retainer of their family and the most worthless crofter on their territory. Further, the Highlanders who, armed with dirk and claymore and musket lived on their chief's bounty and followed him blindly to war or to raid, were deprived of the power of wearing weapons by the Disarming Act, and those who disobeyed this law were obliged to serve in the Government's army, under penalty of £15—an impossible forfeit for a starving Celt to pay. A second offence incurred a penalty of seven years' transportation. These men were now forced to labour on their crofts and fisheries, to serve as soldiers, or migrate to towns to work. Over the further Act forbidding the wearing of their tartans under penalty of imprisonment or transportation, sentiment wept but commonsense rejoiced, for the jealousy between clans was lessened when the badge of distinction was no longer visibly flaunted to incite it, and hostile feelings were lessened, which on the slightest provocation between clans flared up into strife. The fighting spirit was carried now from feuds of tribes to wars against national enemies in the Highland regiments which were formed, who exchanged the narrow devotion to their sept for patriotic loyalty to their country. That the Act was regarded as an insult and as wanton brutality was only natural, but the State is not moved by considerations of sentiment, of romance, or of poetry.

For years after the '45 the Highlands remained unsettled and troubled, for too long accustomed to the adventures of war, the mountaineers took unkindly to inaction and peace, and still less kindly to industry. It is true also that the loss of control of their old chiefs increased for a while disorder and acts of violence, for when crime was committed, the criminal in districts where the King's writ did not run, remained safe from arrest. But that immunity passed away as communication by road through these regions improved. The Act of Attainder, forfeiting to the Crown the estates of condemned or fugitive Jacobites brought into the market vast territories which were acquired by men of means and enterprise, who took the place of chiefs

burdened with debts and retainers, who were unable through poverty to improve their land, on which tenants starved all summer and begged all winter. Such were some of the undesigned social effects of the famous '45.

Let us now return to the fortunes, or rather misfortunes of the unlucky Pretender. When he arrived in Paris he was an object of wonder, attention, and praise for all his romantic adventures. But he soon proved a most inconvenient guest to France, then at peace with Great Britain, and his conduct ceased to render him attractive. Quickly he lost his mental and moral balance. He broke with old friends and followers. He engaged in hopeless and flighty political intrigues in France and Spain to revive his attempts at fortune; he became the favourite of



FIG. 224.—James Edgar.

foolish and fond female admirers, though himself no devotee of women; he deserted his wiser counsellors; disdainfully and offensively refused presents and a pension from Louis; quarrelled with his father, and heeded no advice. Being in vain bidden to leave Paris, he was taken by force and had to undergo the ignominy of arrest and of being bound, though 'with silken cords,' and was carried head foremost 'like a corpse' into a coach and driven to Vincennes. There he was kept under guard till he agreed to leave France, and was then conducted to Avignon. Even from there he was expelled at the instance of England. For years he lived a wandering existence. He furtively appeared in divers towns and countries on strange pretexts, in strange disguises, flitting like a phantom through the records of the times, but ever, as his father called him, 'a continual heartbreak.' One time he turns up in Berlin, another in Stockholm or Madrid. In 1750 he appeared in London, to some trusty Jacobites, and when there, with a view to gain Protestant support, he declared his 'religion to be that of the Church of England.' But, as Lord Elcho long before had said, 'his religion was always to seek.' James Edgar (Fig. 224), the faithful, much-tried secretary at Rome—who must often have looked back with regret on the old happy days when, with Allan Ramsay and other choice spirits, he had been

merry at the 'Easy Club' in Edinburgh--had a hard task with his wayward prince, advising, imploring, and pleading with what he called 'our dear wild man.' The prince is reported as being disguised now as a lacquey, a dominican friar, a grandee, or a capuchin monk, with blackened eyebrows, always going on meaningless intrigues. We read of him in foreign capitals and chateaux of France; of his making rendezvous at night in the Tuileries with Marshal Keith, and in lace shops of Paris with fair admirers. Amid all his goings he at last thought of Clementina Walkinshaw, whom he had met in '45 at her uncle's, Sir Hugh Paterson's, near Bannockburn. Mutually enamoured, she had then promised to 'follow him where providence should lead him.' Whether 'by providence' or not, she was a canoness in the Netherlands



FIG. 225.—Henry, Cardinal York.

when Charles was there in 1752. A message brought her quickly to his feet at Ghent. This connection was utterly distasteful to his best friends, who in vain begged him to get rid of the Walkinshaw, his *liaison* with whom was bringing disgrace on himself and discredit on his cause. But after all, it was only one disgrace among many, with a man who was making himself obnoxious to all, pestering his adherents for money, discarding his tried servants, suspecting his long-suffering friends, addicting himself to drink,—the habit which may be traced to his whisky and brandy imbibing during his Highland wanderings. Soon even his mistress could abide his company and his violent treatment no longer, and fled with their daughter from his house, and found refuge in a convent with a pension from Louis XV., protesting she would rather kill her child than return to him. The old Chevalier, broken in health, begged him to come to him, but go he would not. The man seemed to act like a madman. All the fine qualities which had marked his early days seemed dead: his courtesy, his dignity, his grace were all gone.

'Everyone talks of your conduct with horror, and from once being the admiration of Europe you are become the reverse,' expostulated one of his once most devoted followers. Meanwhile, ignorant of the sordid life of the **damaged**

hero, in faithful companies of Jacobites at home the favourite songs were being sung of Prince Charlie, and as the plaintive strains came forth from the lips of fair ladies, the audience could not choose but weep and mingle grief and sentiment. There was a sadder reason for weeping over Prince Charlie, of which they happily were ignorant. In 1766 died the old Chevalier, about whom nobody sang, over whom nobody wept, though a much more respectable subject for song or sentiment than his now sodden son, who inherited a mock title, a mimic court and an historic memory. James might possibly have gained the throne of England had he renounced papacy, as Henry of Navarre gained that of France by renouncing Protestantism—holding that ‘Paris was well worth a mass.’ The



FIG. 226.—Prince Charles Edward.

Pope denied Rome to Charles as a residence, and he settled in Florence. Henry ‘Duke of York’ (Fig. 225), who was now a cardinal, resigned to his discredited brother his 20,000 crowns of pension from the Pope, as well as all the money left him by his father, to enable him to sustain his royal dignity. There at Florence the sordid years went by, at first somewhat more quietly and soberly. With his new kingship he felt it his duty to look out for a queen to share his empty title. After many proposed matches one was fixed upon—the Princess Louisa de Stolberg, who was living with her mother at Brussels. The accommodating mother expressed herself willing to give the King either Louisa—who, according to the report of the emissary who viewed her, ‘has a good figure, a pretty face, and excellent teeth, and all the qualities which your majesty can desire’—or her third daughter, aged 15. Louisa was sufficient for him, and she was eager to be a queen, whatever the character of the King might be. She duly set forth, arrived at Macerata, and on the same day, in April, 1772, married the broken-down roué. A vivacious, clever, pretty, young woman, she found herself married to a man, dull, selfish, obstinate, quarrelsome, addicted to solitary drinking, and inclined to apoplexy, while to

counterbalance all these drawbacks there was no court, no throne, no majesty. Soon there appeared upon the scene the fascinating presence of Count Alfieri, the poet, who came into the strange, homeless house consisting of two—one, a lively, sentimental disillusioned woman; the other, a gambling, bibulous, discontented, somnolent, unlovesome man, with rheumy eyes and bloated face. One night when his Majesty was both intoxicated and jealous, he struck his consort, and—so she alleged—even tried to strangle her, and the servants hearing her screams rushed into the room. Louisa's misery was Alfieri's opportunity, and under his ready escort she drove off in a coach to her brother-in-law and remained for a while prudently with Cardinal Henry. But not long after



FIG. 227. Lady Nairne and her son. By Sir John Watson Gordon, R.A.

she joined her lover permanently. The last days of the Pretender were softened by the care and tenderness of his daughter, Charlotte Walkinshaw, who had come to him and tried to restrain his excesses of drinking and temper. On January 31st, 1788, he died, towards his end having been formally restored to the faith of the Church, to the favour of the Pope, and the friendship of his brother. 'There was the end of an auld sang.'

Still lingered in Scotland the old Jacobite legend, and still to a spinnet and harp were sung the fine lays that had stirred affection in former times for the luckless house of Stewart, which gained interest not from the intrinsic merit any one of that family possessed, but from its association with the traditions and history of Scotland through eventful centuries. As time passed by, the memory of the old and the imagination of the young dwelt on the bygone romantic days, and fondly lingered over the traditions of the chivalrous hero, so distinguished in Jacobite eyes for his graces, his virtues, and his misfortunes. Venerable Scots mansions were long haunted with recollections of Prince Charlie's gracious presence—the carpets he had danced on, the beds he had slept in, the chairs he had

deigned to sit upon, and the cups he had so often drunk out of; all these were preserved and regarded with awe as too sacred for profane touch or for common use. Fine old gentlemen like Laurence Oliphant of Gask, treasured an old brogue, a tattered bit of ribbon, or a weather-stained cockade, and handed them down as heirlooms to a curious, if less adoring posterity. It was in such a home as this—the ‘auld house of Gask’—that Caroline Oliphant, afterwards Lady Nairne (Fig. 227), inspired by those traditions of wild hopes and high adventure, of a luckless hero and a dead cause, wrote Jacobite lyrics that kept alive the charms of the past. But it was the genuine humour of the ‘Laird o’ Cockpen,’ and the exquisite pathos of the ‘Land o’ the Leal,’ which were to survive when ‘Charlie-over-the-waterism’ was a forgotten enthusiasm and an obsolete sentiment.

While emotional lips were singing of the past, the practical minds were busy with the present. About the middle of the century a new birth took place of social and industrial life in Scotland, independent of all concern as to whether Hanoverian or Stewart sat on the throne. The failures of civil war were forgotten in the triumphs of peace. Six years after the Rebellion was over Gilbert Elliot of Minto was able to write: ‘Since 1746 a surprising revolution has happened in the affairs of the country. The whole system of our trade industry and manufactures, which has hitherto proceeded by slow degrees, began to make rapid advance, and increased communication between the Highlands and Lowlands, and the Lowlands and England, broke down the barriers which ignorance and prejudice had served to raise’ (*Scots Magazine*, 1752), and he was able to show how during that brief period in husbandry and commerce and trade a sudden transformation had already begun, though the amount of whisky distilled in Edinburgh



FIG. 228. Sir Walter Scott as a boy.
Medallion by James Tassie.

had quadrupled. In a few years the efforts of enterprising gentry and noblemen to overcome the lazy and crude methods of agriculture showed signs of success, though bucolic minds retained prejudices with rare tenacity. By degrees the old method of farming gave way to new: the run-rig system was abolished, by which fields were divided into ‘rigs’ each alternate one tilled by different and quarrelsome fellow tenants; the wretched grey oats and bere on which long generations had fed and starved gave place to more prolific grain; the cumbrous ploughs dragged by eight or ten oxen or emaciated horses, and attended by four or six men, gave way to light two-horse ploughs; the land, which once was all open, was enclosed into fields by wall and hedge; vast wastes of moor and bog and morass were reclaimed and brought into cultivation; large tracts of the country which had been bleak and bare and barren, to the ridicule of the jeering Southern traveller, were planted with trees of all kinds, and forests and woods sprung up, which sheltered the land and beautified the landscape. A Turnpike Act had resulted in changing vile ruts and bridle-paths and tracks over moors into smooth roads, over which carts could convey grain and goods, which hitherto had been brought, one boll at a time, on horse-back. As years went by wages of ploughmen and workmen were doubled and trebled, and the hovels and rags which had formed their homes and their dress disappeared; landlords who of old had lived in poverty, with their land burdened with debt, and themselves often obliged to seek shelter from despairing creditors in the Sanctuary at Holyrood, earning thereby the bye-name of ‘abbey lairds,’ rejoiced in increased rent rolls; and yet the tenants also grew richer from more

plentiful harvests, though they paid pounds for their acres where their poverty-stricken fathers had paid shillings. Trade was advancing all over the country, manufactures started up to give life to stagnant districts, and villages grew into active towns; shipping was filling once deserted harbours, loading and unloading goods for and from far-off shores.

In the Highlands poverty remained great and depressing, for energy is a virtue difficult to rear in a race accustomed to fitful labour and prolonged idleness. But the old lawlessness was gone. The disaffection which had been less due to disloyalty to the throne than to loyalty to chiefs passed away, and the soldiers who formed regiments recruited from Highlanders were fighting as bravely for King George in North America and the Continent as they had ever done for the Prince at Culloden. This scheme of enlisting the services of the Celts in defence of the country it was the boast of Lord Chatham to have initiated. 'I sought for merit where it could be found,' he said with pride in the House of Parliament. 'It is my boast that I was the first minister who sought for it and found it in the mountains of the north. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men whom the jealousy of party had made a prey to the artifices of our enemies.' And yet the Government was so distrustful of Scotland after the part Scotsmen had taken in the Rebellion that it was not allowed to take its share with England in the privilege—or the burden—of forming a militia, to the indignation of the people and the wrath of the Poker Club! The privilege of wearing clan tartan was restored to Highlanders in 1782.



FIG. 229. Sir Walter Scott's travelling desk.

While social and industrial progress took place with rapid strides, in literature and science an advance quite as remarkable and as sudden occurred. Before 1750 men of letters and science had been scarce indeed. Of science there had in olden days been so little that Napier of Merchiston, who was inventor of Logarithms, had the air of a wizard, and 'Napier's bones' were regarded as dark devices of the devil. Since then David and James Gregory, Robert Simson, Colin Maclaurin, and Alexander Monro had redeemed the land somewhat from reproach; but it was only in the later part of the century that in Cullen, Dr. Gregory, Joseph Black, Playfair, Robison, and James Watt, Scotland showed its real intellectual strength. In literature the early part of the century had been even more barren. There were learned grammarians now all unknown; laborious dry-as-dust antiquaries, great and unreadable as old charters; pamphleteers, being old pedagogues, who flagellated their opponents as they had flogged their pupils; and poetasters and song-writers long since forgotten—all save Allan Ramsay, who with some choice spirits wrote vernacular song and verse to admirable purpose. But not one Scotsman had written any permanent work in purely English literature except David Hume, whose Essays had as yet stirred little interest on either side of the Border.

But after the middle of the century the change from literary barrenness to fertility was startling. The church, in which polite letters were scarce as snakes in Iceland, sent forth its eminent writers in drama, history, philosophy, rhetoric, and economics ; and Home, Blair, Ferguson, Robertson, Reid, with David Hume, Kames, Adam Smith, Dugald Stewart, made their country illustrious in prose literature, while the genius of Burns made it glorious in song. When these literati were old or dead, young men were living, as yet unknown, who in other fields of literature were brilliantly to continue their labours in a new generation. Walter Scott (Figs. 228, 229), at the close of the century, was in the leisure hours of a sheriff's life collecting relics of ancient Border minstrelsy before blossoming into a poet himself and becoming a superb painter of the bygone times he studied so lovingly ; interested in the story of the old wizard Thomas the Rhymer, little thinking that he was himself to become the true ' wizard of the north.'

HENRY GREY GRAHAM.

ASPECTS OF SCOTTISH LIFE

Scottish Burghs, Guilds & Incorporations

IT is not in accordance with the nature of things that a system of burghal organisation and administration should have sprung up, rounded and complete, throughout Scotland at any fixed and definite date. The name existed before the organisation; the system of government and administration evolved before the chartered grant; and the obligations, duties, and privileges were only codified and legislatively recognised long after they had been practically enforced and acted on in many communities. Use and wont, practice and precedent, are yet recognised as efficient law-establishing agencies; and in early times, when parliaments and legislative councils did not exist, when printing was not, and when writing was a rare accomplishment, established custom was law, when not overridden by arbitrary power. Throughout the whole experience of Scotland as a separate nation it is remarkable how little influence written enactment had on the law and practice of the people. If the law followed and merely expressed and sanctioned the established custom, well and good; if it ran counter to the use and wont of the people it was in effect null and void.

The development of burghal rule and privilege demanded first, the formation of communities, next, the spread of settled rule and the recognition of central authority. It was really only in the twelfth century that such conditions began to prevail in Scotland, and it cannot be said that civilised rule and authority were established throughout the land till the reign of David I. In the absence of evidence to the contrary—that is in the absence of positive testimony to the origin of burghal organisation, the obsolete historians claimed for the Scottish burghs ‘a lang pedigree.’ So recently as 1685 a ‘Zealous Lover of Bon Accord,’ in *A Succinct Survey of the Famous City of Aberdeen*, writes:—‘This City was Erected into a Burgh Royall by Gregorius who for Justice, Temperance, and Fortitude was surnamed the Great and was the 73 King of Scotland whose honorable Acts both in Scotland, England and Ireland are set down in Hector Boyce’s History and in Buchanan’s in the year after the birth of Christ 893 years.’ At such claims to long descent we now only smile.

In Charters of David I. frequent mention is made of Burghs. To the Abbey of Dunfermline that monarch granted a toft in his burgh of Haddington and another in his burgh of Perth. In other instruments he mentions and makes grants of revenues or property in his burghs of Dunfermline, Stirling, Edinburgh, and Elgin. Charters granted in later times also proceed on the assumption of the existence of burghal constitution and rule in the days of King David. Thus William the Lion in his Charter to Rutherglen grants to the burgesses all the rights and privileges they enjoyed in the reign of King David, and the document mentions the boundaries within which these privileges extended. Whilst from this it might be inferred that a documentary grant had been made to Rutherglen in the

days of King David, no direct evidence is to be found of the issue of chartered grants enumerating the privileges and duties of burghs previous to the reign of William the Lion. The most ancient extant Charter of erection of a Burgh Royal in Scotland is that granted by William in favour of his town of Ayr about 1202-7. The original document with others granted by his immediate successors is preserved among the Council records of Ayr. That this document is the earliest extant Charter of Erection granted in Scotland may be safely affirmed, for all other Charters of William the Lion proceed on the assumption of already existent privileges and obligations.

These earlier Burghs were invariably erected on lands belonging to the Crown, and for the possession of such lands the burgesses paid yearly rents to the King's bailies. The normal grant to the burgesses embraced the Burgh and certain adjacent lands, the right to establish trading or merchant guilds among the burgesses, the establishment of markets and annual fairs, with power to levy tolls and customs, a monopoly of trading rights over a wide area around the parent Burgh, and freedom from tolls and customs for the goods of burgesses throughout the Kingdom, and the right of foreign trade to the exclusion of all but freemen of Royal Burghs.



FIG. 230. Aberdeen carved panel dated 1510 with arms of the weavers' trade.

Such were some of the privileges of Burghs Royal. At a very early period another class of Burgh, of a lower status, in which the nobles and great ecclesiastics occupied the place of the sovereign in relation to the burgesses. These were Burghs of Barony, or regality, in which the grant authorised Earls, Barons, Bishops, or Abbots to hold Burghs within their territories. The jurisdiction and the privileges granted under such Charters were of a much more limited

nature than in the case of Burghs Royal; and their terms were sometimes such as to justify the conclusion that their main purpose was to strengthen and extend the judicial authority of the Lords over the people, and to create a source of revenue for them from the tolls and duties collected in the markets and fairs, they were authorised to establish. These powers and privileges, such as they were, when actively exercised were found frequently to trench on and clash with the extensive rights previously conceded to Royal Burghs, and hence arose much violent quarrelling and bitter and prolonged litigation between neighbouring communities.

The comparatively meagre powers of jurisdiction conferred on the Ecclesiastics and Barons under their Charters erecting Burghs of Barony, did not satisfy the arrogant and overbearing nobles. From a weak Crown, therefore, grants of regality were frequently demanded under which absolute and exclusive power of criminal jurisdiction over extensive districts was conceded to the superiors of Burghs of Barony. Such Burghs then assumed the higher position of Burghs of Regality or Regalities, and these dangerous and extensive powers continued

to be exercised, till at the settlement of the country after the last Jacobite rising, hereditary jurisdiction of that unlimited character was swept away for ever.¹

When to such burghs the privilege of foreign trade was conceded, they differed from Royal Burghs only in being subject to a Baron or Ecclesiastic instead of holding directly under the Monarch. Several such Burghs—of which Glasgow is an outstanding example—flourished under their superiors, and had conceded to them all the rights and privileges of Royal Burghs, excepting direct holding, and the right to nominate their own Magistracy. Glasgow, indeed, centuries before it became a centre of any commercial importance, was enrolled among the Burghs Royal, and sent representatives to the Scottish Parliaments and to the Convention of Royal Burghs; it had the privileges of foreign trade, and it paid quota of the Land Tax as fully and freely as Edinburgh or any other Royal Burgh. Only it was not a direct feudal vassal of the Crown, and in the election of its Magistrates the City was subject to the

authority of the Archbishop or other lord of the regality.

At a period which cannot be accurately fixed, but which certainly was not later than the reign of David I., a code of laws and regulations—*Leges et Consuetudines Quatuor Burgorum*—applicable to Scottish Burghs was in existence and these laws were latterly administered by a Court composed of representatives of Four Burghs—Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Berwick, and Stirling—hence the Laws of the Four Burghs and the Court or Parliament of the Four Burghs. Primarily this Court was presided over by the Great Chamberlain of the Kingdom, and one of its functions was to review the decisions in burghal questions of that State Functionary in his Annual 'Air' or visitation of the several Burghs. Edward I., during his victorious career in Scotland, ordered the Court of the Four Burghs to be consulted on a question affecting succession to property before giving his decision on the point. In 1368 under David II. Lanark and Linlithgow were substituted for Roxburgh and Berwick as representative Burghs—the two latter having fallen into the hands of our auld enemies—the English. How this Court gradually developed into a kind of Commercial Parliament, having



FIG. 232. The Hammerman Chair of Aberdeen, gifted by Laurence Mercer, and bearing his initials and the arms of the family of Mercer of Aldie. Or, on a jesse between 3 crosses pattée. Gu. in chief and a star in base az. 3 besants.

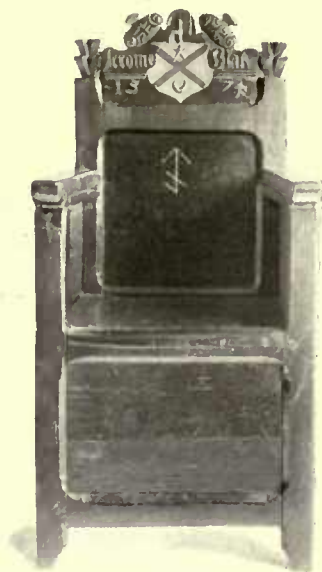


FIG. 231. 'Ane cheer,' gifted by Jerome Blak, Couper, 1574, and now owned by the Trades' House, Aberdeen.

representatives from each royal burgh is not plain from the record. In 1405, at a meeting in Stirling, the Court ordained that yearly two or three burgesses from every burgh south of the Spey should attend the Annual Convention wherever

¹ Acts of Parliament 20, George II. C. 43.

held. About the middle of the 15th century the Constitution of the Convention—still, however, known as the Court or Parliament of the Four Burghs was after various recastings fairly well settled. An Act of Parliament passed in the reign of James III. in 1487 ordained that certain Commissioners of all burghs both north and south convene yearly in Inverkeithing to treat on the welfare of merchandise, the good rule of burghs, and to provide remedies for skaith and injuries sustained within burghs. Acts of Parliament at that period were, however, not obeyed to the letter, and although Inverkeithing was named as the statutory meeting place, the Conventions were held in Edinburgh, and although a specific day of annual meeting was named, the meetings were convened at such times as the

representatives of burghs deemed necessary. Subsequent Acts of Parliament indeed sought to regulate the meetings of the Convention and the order of its business; but these were unhesitatingly disregarded. The Conventions were summoned to meet in such Burghs and at such times as the Commissioners determined, but Edinburgh, at all times the principal meeting place, has with rare exception been the town in which the Convention has assembled since 1704.

Throughout centuries during which the claims of the people were but little regarded, this Court of the Four Burghs and Convention of Royal Burghs exercised a remarkable amount of independent and uncontrolled authority. Without reference to King, Council, or Parliament, it



FIG. 233. The Stirling Standard Stoup in the custody of the Burgh of Stirling.

exercised authority over the several Burghs; it regulated the commerce and industry of the nation; it planted trading stations in foreign countries and entered into treaties for their privileges and protection; it took supervision of the weights and measures of the country, and in many ways it powerfully affected both national opinion and social progress.

Charters granted by William the Lion to Aberdeen and Inverness point to the existence in the days of David I. of a Hanse or Union of Burghs in Moray and all Burghs north of the Munth (the eastern Grampian Hills), but of any effective or practical union of that character no trace remains.

Among the most important duties of the Convention of Burghs was the supervision of the Standard Weights and Measures of the nation. Uniformity of weights and measures was from time to time decreed by the Sovereign and the Scots Parliament: Standard Weights and Measures were made and sent to the several burghs, and the duty of stamping and certifying the measures in use was confided to the burgh magistrates. But from the days of David I. down to the present hour

local custom has always proved too strong for, or quite regardless of, legislative enactment. In most Scottish towns, although uniformity of weight is now rigidly enforced, much traffic is carried on in quantities and divisions of both weights and measures peculiar to the locality, and recognised only within a limited area.



FIG. 234. The Stirling standard jug preserved by the City of Edinburgh.



FIG. 235. Standard choppin or half-pint in the custody of the City of Edinburgh.

A system of metts and measures was established under David I., these were revised and modified by James I. in 1426, and periodically down to our own day the standards have been affirmed, modified, or changed. Long established habit



FIG. 236. Lanark stone weight.



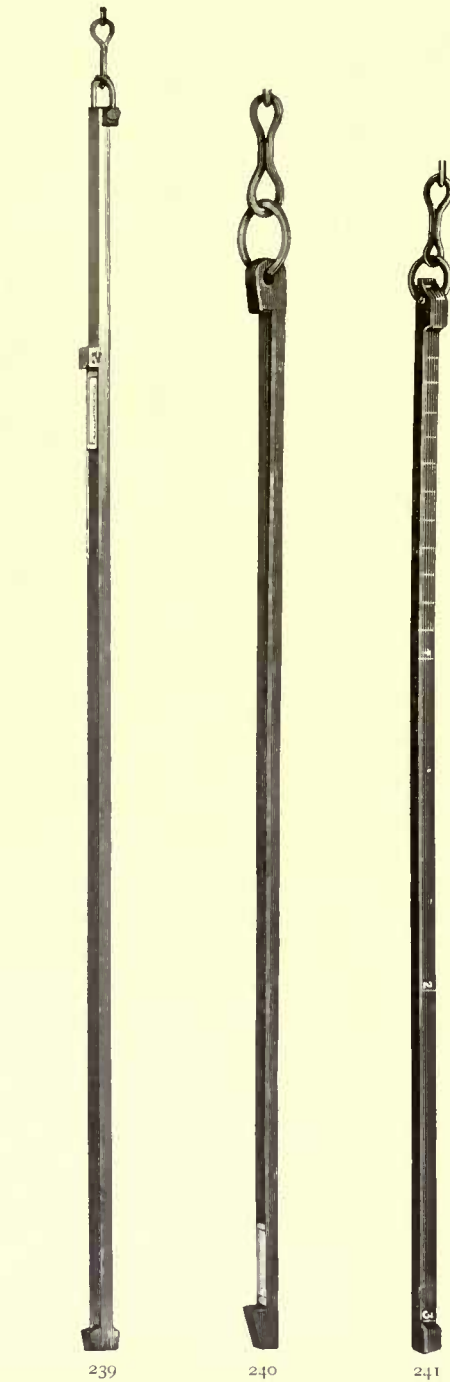
FIGS. 237, 238. Linlithgow branding irons for the firlo.

and the intense conservatism of the people, however, made entirely nugatory all well-meant attempts at uniformity of commercial practice. The most ancient, and in a sense the fundamental Scots measure,¹ is the Stirling Pint or Stoup (Fig. 233) so called from having been delivered by order of the Estates of Parliament into the custody of the Burgh of Stirling in the early half of the fifteenth century. In 1426 it was ordained that the pint should contain 41 oz. 'be weicht of clear water of Tay,' and no doubt it was a vessel of that capacity that was deposited in Stirling.

¹Vide *Mediaeval Scotland* by R. W. Cochran-Patrick, page 151.

Under the Act of 1457 the Pint was made 'the mette and measour general to serve all the Realme,' and all measures of capacity were derived from it. Three

standard copies were under that Act ordered; one to be sent to Aberdeen, one to Perth, and the third to Edinburgh. From the proceedings of the Convention of Burghs in Edinburgh in 1552, it is evident that previous to that time the duty of keeping of certain standards had been assigned to particular towns, and while Stirling was recognised custodian of the Pint, Edinburgh had charge of the Ell-wand, Lanark kept the stone-weight, and to Linlithgow was entrusted the Firlot. The 'stone' weight from Lanark (Fig. 236), it must be parenthetically remarked, although obviously a weight of considerable antiquity, has no claim to be regarded as the official standard confided to the keeping of that burgh. In an Act passed in 1587 these local custodies are recognised, and regarding the measures themselves the Act states 'that every one of them comptrollis utheris, and be just conference makis and establishis, ane certaine measure and wecht.' Under a subsequent Act passed in 1618 it was ordained that two Standard Firlots, one for Wheat, Rye, Peas, Salt, etc., and the other for Oats, Barley, and Malt, should be kept at Linlithgow (Figs. 237-238). These latter had in earlier times been sold by the heaped Firlot, two of which were reckoned equal to three 'straiked' Firlots, but the heaped measure was unsatisfactory, and the larger straiiked malt Firlot was devised to take its place whilst heaped measure was rendered illegal. But alas! the present writer has seen the heaped measure in use. The same Act further defined the capacity of the Stirling Pint, confirming its custody to Stirling: to Edinburgh was again confided the Ell (Figs. 239 to 241); and to Lanark the Stone, all as of old. The only other local measure recognised by the



Standards of the Ell in the custody of the City of Edinburgh.

FIG. 239. Imperial yard and English ell (= 45 inches), 1707.

FIG. 240. Ancient Scottish ell standard of iron = 37 inches.

FIG. 241. Scottish ell of copper = 37 inches made in pursuance of Act of 1663.

legislature was the Chalder of Culross, which was fixed upon in the reign of Charles II. as the measure by which customs duty on coal was to be calculated.

In the royal burghs of Scotland as at first constituted all the burgesses were free and equal, and election to office was made by the voice of the whole

community. A weekly market, an annual fair or fairs, privilege of foreign traffic and exclusive trading rights over a wide area were also conditions of the burghal charter. The establishment of a merchant guild was a necessary outcome of the exercise of these privileges, hence class distinctions arose, and as these guilds grew in strength, local importance, and dignity, their members grew in arrogance and grasped at power. Gradually they succeeded in usurping office and authority, and in excluding the humbler



FIG. 242. Inverkeithing¹ standard ell measure.

citizens from any share in government, and even from any voice in election. The various craftsmen also for their own defence, to maintain the privileges of their calling, and to resist the tyranny of the merchant class formed themselves into Incorporations, and thus two rival bodies of burghesses were as a rule, active and mutually opposed in the various burghs. A share in the sweets of office had to be conceded to the craftsmen, and so it came that in their later days, and down till the date of the



FIG. 243. Halbert of the Fleshers' craft of Selkirk.



FIG. 244. Halbert of Cordiners' craft, 'the souters' of Selkirk.

Burghs Reform Act of 1833, Magistrates and Town Councils were constituted exclusively of members of these bodies, the majority being of the merchant class. And to prevent all heartburning on the part of rank outsiders, the Councils were in effect self-elected bodies, the expiring Councils, with the addition of certain ex-councillors, electing their successors. Nominally the exclusive trading rights of merchants and craftsmen continued till that relic of a mediæval method of fostering industry was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1846.

Monopolizing in this way municipal office and power, and holding in their control the whole trade, commerce, and industry of their communities, the Guilds and Incorporations became all powerful factors in the social life of the burghs. The clergy may be said to have been the only class who exercised an independent and co-ordinate sway. As the burghs flourished or decayed, so did the Guilds and Incorporations wax and wane. The Guild esteemed itself a body much more lofty

¹Vide *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. VII. Third Series, page 215.

and grand than the Craft, and among the Crafts there were also degrees of dignity. The Guildry was a homogeneous body to which certain administrative and semi-judicial functions were assigned, the Incorporations were separate entities, which combined for common purposes under a Convener of Trades or a Deacon Convener. Keen rivalries and jealousies existed among the various crafts; but generally the animosities between the Guilds and the combined Crafts were such as to threaten even the foundations of civic life. As they grew in age the Guilds and Crafts gathered gear, they frequently acquired local habitations of greater or less dignity, and from their revenues they became the dispensers of charity to brethren fallen into decay, and in times of need, to others in distress. In the principal burghs various relics of the dignity and state of the crafts still exist. In Aberdeen there is a fine series of carved oak chairs and shields (see Figs. 230-232), which at various dates had been presented to the several Crafts by members who had attained to the office of Deacon. Some of these date back to pre-reformation times, and taken altogether they form a most valuable illustration of the taste and skill of Scottish craftsmen of the 16th and 17th centuries.¹



FIG. 245. Irvine halbert in use for more than two centuries.

to have dipped three of his fingers in the blood of Camus and drawn with them three strokes on the upper part of his valiant follower's shield.

The baton was presented to Marischal College in 1760 by George, tenth Earl Marischal. The Earl had been attainted for taking part in the rising on behalf of the exiled Stewarts in 1715, and took refuge on the Continent, where he gained

A relic of special significance in connection with Scotland as a separate Kingdom is in possession of the University of Aberdeen. It consists of the Marischal Staff of Scotland, a plain silver-gilt rod, three-fourths of an inch in diameter, with steel ends, one of the latter bearing the royal arms of Scotland (Fig. 246), the other (Fig. 247) the well-known coat of the Keiths, Earls Marischal—*Argent* on a chief *gules* three pullets *or*.² These arms, according to legend, were bestowed on the founder of the family, Robert, a chieftain of the Chatti (whence Keith!), who rendered valuable assistance to Malcolm II. in his victorious contest with the Danes at Panbride and slew Camus the Danish King. In recognition of his services Malcolm is said (Boece, II. 17)

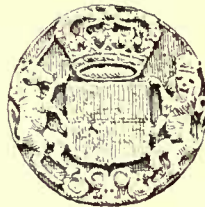


FIG. 246. Royal arms on Marischal staff.

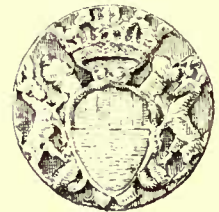


FIG. 247. Arms of the Keiths on Marischal staff.

¹The oak panel with the arms of the Earl of Kinnoull (Fig. 248) although not a burghal relic is inserted as an example of skill in woodcarving.

Arms of Earl of Kinnoull:

Quarterly 1st and 4th *Az.* a unicorn saliant, armed, maned and unguled *or*, within a border of the last charged with eight half-thistles vert impaled with as many demi-roses *gu.* for augmentation. 2nd and 3rd *Arg.* 3 inescutcheons *gu.*

Crest. An aged Lowland Scots countryman, coupéd at the knees, vested in grey waistcoat *gu.*, bonnet *az.*, bearing on his shoulders an ox-yoke *ppr.*

Supporters. Two young Lowland Scots countrymen habited as the crest, the dexter holding over his shoulder the coulter of a plough, the sinister a paddle, both *ppr.*

²In this, as in many other passages, the publishers have to thank Mr. J. D. G. Dalrymple of Woodhead for assistance on points of Heraldry.

the friendship of Frederick the Great, who held him in high regard. While ambassador from Prussia to Madrid in 1759 he became aware of the family compact between the French and Spanish Bourbons against Great Britain, and revealing it to Pitt was rewarded by the latter with a free pardon. He returned to Britain in the following year, and was cordially received by George II. It was at this time he presented the baton to Marischal College, it is said, on the suggestion of David Hume. He intended to remain in Scotland, but Frederick induced him by entreaties to come back to Prussia, where he remained till his death, which took place at Potsdam in 1778. His brother was the celebrated Marshal Keith, one of Frederick the Great's best generals. The office of Marischal was hereditary in the Keith family from a very early date. Marischal College was founded by George, fifth Earl, in 1593. The date of the baton is not known.

Other memorials of bygone Corporate dignity and usages, such as banners, batons of office, halberts, etc., are preserved by various Corporations throughout the country. The Guildry and Corporations still exist; in four cities historic continuity is maintained by certain *ex-officio* representation in the Town Council; the Guild Court continues to exercise its important judicial functions in municipalities; but otherwise Guilds and Crafts merely administer their Corporate funds for charitable, educational, and such other public objects as may commend themselves to the bodies.



FIG. 248. Arms of the Earl of Kinnoull.

JAMES PATON.

Scottish Burghal Charters

CHARTERS and other official documents belonging to various Scottish Burghs were issued at a very early period in national history and may be looked on as relics of a period when written documents were not essential to the conduct of government or administration of law. In many cases these documents forcibly illustrate early customs, generally they have a bearing on the status and history of the towns with which they are connected, and in other respects they touch upon the larger events of the Kingdom.

A charter granted by King Duncan to the monks of St. Cuthbert at Durham, about the year 1094, is still preserved and is considered to be the oldest original charter connected with Scotland now extant. Other charters granted to the same monks by King Edgar (1097-1107) and his successor, Alexander I. (1107-24) are likewise preserved, and during the reigns of King David I. (1124-53) and Malcolm IV. (1153-65) various charters were granted to churches and monasteries, some of which can still be produced, while the remainder are only known from transcripts preserved in chartularies and confirmatory charters.

Though, as we have seen, royal burghs existed and laws regulating their constitution and securing their privileges were in operation in the reign of the first David, no charter to any individual burgh, either original or transcript, has been traced of an earlier date than the reign of King William (1165-1214). But it is noticeable that, except in the case of Ayr, the charter to which appears to mark a new foundation, King William's burgh charters bear to be in favour of communities already existing. These charters usually confer exclusive privileges of trade over a specific district, exemption throughout the kingdom from toll or custom on goods belonging to the burgesses, the right to have a merchant guild and power to levy dues on goods coming to the burgh market. Though it was customary to state the day and month on which the charter was granted, the year was seldom given, and thus the precise date cannot always be ascertained.

After having built at Ayr a castle for protection against the unruly people of Galloway, King William, by a charter dated 21st May, some time between the years 1202-7, made it known to all good men throughout his whole land that he had founded a burgh at his new Castle upon Ayr, and to that burgh, and his burgesses dwelling therein, he granted all the free customs possessed by his other burghs and burgesses dwelling in them. A weekly market was established, the burgesses got a grant of lands and it was ordained that they should be quit of all custom on their own goods, and should be entitled to exact custom from those trading within the jurisdiction of the burgh. Confirmatory charters were granted by King Alexander II. on 9th May, 1223, and by King Robert on 20th January, 1324-5.¹

¹These documents are printed and a facsimile of the first charter given in 'Charters of the Royal Burgh of Ayr,' issued by the Ayr and Wigton Archaeological Association in 1883.

Perth is understood to have attained the status of a royal burgh in King David's reign, but its earliest charter, of which there is any trace, was granted by King William on 10th October, 1210. This charter (Fig. 249) was expressly cited as the model of a charter granted by King Alexander II. to the burgh of Aberdeen. As translated Perth charter is in these terms:—'William by the grace of God, King of Scots. To all good men, clerics as well as laics, greeting. I firmly forbid that any stranger merchant within the sheriffdom of Perth, outwith my burgh of Perth, shall buy or sell, upon my prohibition; but the stranger merchant shall come with his merchandise to my burgh of Perth, and there sell the same and interchange his pennies. If any stranger merchant shall against this my prohibition, be found



FIG. 249.—Perth Charter.

buying or selling anything within the Sheriffdom of Perth, he shall be apprehended and detained till I declare my will regarding him. I firmly prohibit also that any stranger merchants shall cut their cloth for sale within my burgh of Perth, except from the day of the Ascension of our Lord till the feast of St. Peter, within which terms I will that they cut their cloth for sale in the market of Perth; and there buy and sell their cloth and other merchandises in common with my burgesses, in the same manner as my chief burgesses, saving my rights. I command also that whatsoever men who may dwell in my burgh of Perth and are willing to share in the market with my burgesses shall share with them in rendering to my aids. I forbid also that any one have a tavern in any town within the sheriffdom of Perth unless where a knight shall be lord of the town and dwell therein, and there he shall have no tavern except one. I grant also to my said burgesses of Perth that they shall have their merchant guild except fullers and weavers. I firmly forbid also that any one dwelling outwith my burgh of Perth in the sheriffdom of Perth shall make or cause to be made cloth dyed or shorn within the sheriffdom of Perth, except my burgesses of Perth who are in the merchant guild and share in paying my aids with the burgesses and excepting those who heretofore have a charter with this liberty. Wherefore I

firmly forbid that any person in the shire of Perth shall presume to make cloth, dyed or shorn, upon my full forfeiture. Moreover, if any cloth shall be dyed or shorn against this prohibition I appoint my sheriff of Perth that he cause the cloth to be seized according to the custom which was in the time of King David my grandfather. Likewise I justly grant my firm peace to all those who bring wood or timber to Perth. Wherefore I forbid that any one shall disturb them in the said selling or buying after they come within a league of Perth. Moreover these liberties and customs I grant to them and by this my charter confirm. Also I firmly forbid that any stranger outwith my burgh of Perth shall buy or sell hides or wool unless in my burgh of Perth. Witnesses: Earl David my brother, Philip of Valoniis, my chamberlain, Robert of London, my son, William Cumyn, William of Bosco and Hugh, my clerks of the seal, Alexander, sheriff of Strivelyn, Henry son of Earl David, Roger of Mortimer, David Marschall, John of Strivelyn. At Strivelyn the tenth day of October.¹

As part of the preliminary arrangements for the return of King James I. the burghs of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen guaranteed the payment of 50,000 merks on account of expenses incurred during his captivity in England. The documents embodying the terms of guarantee were granted in February, 1423-4 and are still preserved in the Record Office at London,¹ while in the Aberdeen



FIG. 250.—Aberdeen Seal prior to 1430.



FIG. 251.—Aberdeen Secret Seal.

archives there is likewise preserved a letter granted by the King at Durham on 26th March, whereby he undertook to indemnify the burghs from any loss. It has been conjectured that the Seal of the City of Aberdeen, made in 1430, was granted to the burgh by James I. as a recompense for the share taken by the town in his ransom (see Figs. 252-3). A portion of the Seal of the City in use at an earlier date is still attached to Bond of Ransom granted for David II. in 1359, preserved in the Public Records Office (Fig. 250). The Secret Seal of the City in use in the fifteenth century is shown in Fig. 251.

After his return King James held a Parliament at Perth (26th May, 1424) at which it was arranged that a general tax should be levied towards payment of the ransom money, and auditors of the accounts were appointed to meet at Perth on 12th July. The magistrates of that Burgh appear to have received from the auditors money to be forwarded to England. By the obligation dated 27th August, 1424, David Ferme, alderman, John Spens and John Hall, burgesses and commissioners of the Burgh of Perth, acknowledged that they had received from the Bishop of Dunblane and the other auditors the sum of £600 Scots, and they on behalf of themselves and the community promised to pay on demand

¹See Bain's *Calendar* IV., No. 946, also *Edinburgh Charters*, pp. 56-61, where Edinburgh's obligation, which is similar to the others, is printed.

200 gold nobles, English money, commonly called *noblis de payse*, towards the ransom of the King.

In the year 1442 a question had arisen between John of Ruthven, Knight, sheriff of Perth, on the one part, and the community of the Burgh on the other, 'anent the holding and the keping of the Midsomere fayre and the court therof to quhillkis of the parties the richt therof pertenet.' The Abbot of Cupar and other influential persons were asked to decide, and by a decret arbitral dated 19th June, 1442, the referees found that 'the saides alderman and communitie has full rycht to the halding and keping of the said Mydsomer fayre and the court therof, with the pertinence, efter the tenoure of thare charters.' Till within recent years the holding of the Midsummer market was a prominent event in Perth.

No charter to the Burgh of Dundee of a date prior to the reign of King Robert the Bruce has been preserved. An application for a re-

newal charter seems to have been made in 1325, and the King on the 22nd June of that year appointed commissioners to investigate and report regarding the liberties belonging to the Burgh in the time of King Alexander III.

As the result of this inquiry, Bruce on 4th March, 1327-8, granted a charter confirming to the burgesses of the Burgh of Dundee all liberties and rights possessed in the time of William, before that King conferred the Burgh on his brother David. It would thus appear that for a time the Earl of Huntingdon had been superior of Dundee, depriving it of one of the essential characteristics of a Royal Burgh, viz.: the holding by the burgesses of their property direct of the sovereign. In the reign of Alexander the original privileges had probably been restored, as the confirming charter proceeds with a ratification of all the liberties and customs, free

harbour, market and fair, which the burgesses enjoyed in the time of Alexander III., all as these had been 'lately certified by trusty and faithful men of the Kingdom and neighbouring Burghs at Dundee.' To remove any dubiety, it was expressly provided that in future Dundee should possess the same privileges as those enjoyed by Berwick and other burghs, and there were the usual exemptions from toll and customs throughout the Kingdom, the liberty of having a merchant guild and



FIG. 252.—Aberdeen Seal, 1430.



FIG. 253.—Aberdeen Seal, 1430.

of holding markets and fairs, with special trading privileges within the Shire of Forfar.

In early times the royal treasury had no great command of ready money, and, therefore, it was usual for the crown officials to meet expenditure throughout the year by issuing precepts requiring payments to be made by those who collected or accounted for the revenues. When settling day arrived the auditors of exchequer credited the amounts paid on these precepts, and it was only the balance which reached the treasury. It happens that the accounts of the revenues collected by the sheriffs of Shires, the bailies of Burghs, and the 'custumars' or collectors of the great customs are preserved in a fairly complete series from about the middle of the 14th century, and from these sources, in consequence of the financial system just referred to, much valuable information on both national and local affairs is procurable. Dundee being a seaport town its revenues were accounted for in two divisions, one being applicable to the burgh revenues for which the bailies were responsible, and the other to the King's great customs or export dues collected by the 'custumar.' In the accounts of customs rendered to the Lords of Exchequer, subsequent to 1404 credit is taken for £5 annually

paid to the chaplain of the altar of St. Salvator, founded in the parish church of Dundee for the celebration of masses for the soul of David, Duke of Rothesay. The authority for this payment was the charter granted by King Robert III. on 8th February, 1404-5.

The great altar and choir of the parish church of St. Mary of Dundee had been under the control of the



FIG. 254.
Old street oil lamps formerly used in Stirling.

FIG. 255.

monastery of Lindores, but in consequence of complaints it was in the year 1442 arranged that these should thenceforth be maintained by the burgesses and community, who should in return receive from the monastery revenues amounting to five merks yearly. The indenture between the monastery and the town embodying the terms of compromise is dated 10th March 1442-3, and it was confirmed by John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, on 4th May 1443.

A monastery of Greyfriars was established in Dundee at an early date. Subsequent to the Reformation and the dispersion of the Friars, Queen Mary by a writing subscribed by her own hand, at Dundee on 11th September 1564, narrates that the existing 'Kirkyarde of our burgh of Dundee is situat in the myddis thair of quhairin the commone traffique of merchandis is usit and als the deid of our said haill burgh is buryit.' This was deemed prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants, and, therefore, the Queen granted licence to them 'to bury their deid in that place and yardis quhilk sumtyme wes occupyit be the Gray Cordeleir Freris outwith and besyd our said burgh.'¹

That Stirling was a royal burgh in the time of the first David is evidenced by the King's grant to the Abbot of Dunfermline of a dwelling 'in burgo meo in Strivelin.' At a later date King William bestowed on the bishop of Glasgow a toft 'in burgo meo de Strivelyn.' On 18th August, 1226, King Alexander II. granted and confirmed to his burgesses of his burgh of Strivelyn right to hold a weekly market and have a merchant guild. The trading and other privileges common to royal burghs are likewise enumerated and there is a reference to the procedure in the

¹ The Dundee documents above noticed are printed in the volume of Dundee Charters published in 1880.

time of King David. A supplementary charter was granted on 20th July 1227, whereby the burgesses were exempted from custom on their own goods throughout the kingdom. Alexander's charters are not preserved, but they are incorporated



FIG. 256.—View of Stirling, 1673-4 from an oil painting by John Vosterman, with figures by John Van Wyck.

and confirmed in charters granted by King David II. at Scone on 26th and 27th October 1360.¹

The Black or Dominican Friars were established in Stirling about the year

¹ The facsimile of one of David's Charters, and copies of it and the other Stirling writs referred to in the text, are given in the volume of Charters printed for the Corporation in 1884.

1233. Originally the followers of St. Dominic professed poverty, but in course of time that principle was relaxed, and at the period of the Reformation many representatives of the order in Scotland had large possessions. The friars in Stirling owned lands, mills, and fishings, and it was no doubt with the view of preserving part of the revenues for the benefit of the dispersed brethren that the whole stock was conveyed to a brother of Lord Erskine for payment of an annual feu-duty. King Francis and Queen Mary confirmed the conveyance by a precept given under their secret seal at Edinburgh on 10th May, 1560, but it is probable that the grant, as was done with a similar alienation in Glasgow, was set aside on the ground of having been carried through subsequent to the change of religion. In 1567 the town council got from Queen Mary a grant of the kirk livings, including the possessions of the Blackfriars.

The view of Stirling in the 17th century gives a fair conception of the external appearance of a Scottish mediæval town. The more important towns were walled,

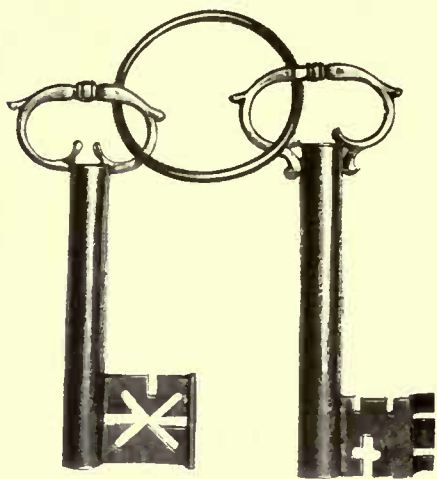


FIG. 257.—Silver Keys of Aberdeen.

but whether so protected or not, all had ports or gates by which alone ingress and egress could be obtained. These were essential for the collection of the customs and market dues which formed an important item in municipal revenues, as well as for the control of landward visitors, travellers, wandering beggars, sorners, and undesirable vagrants. In times of excitement and riot, and when plague threatened to visit the land these ports were guarded with most scrupulous care, they were locked at stated hours, and the keys were deposited with the magistrates. Possession of the keys was a symbol of supreme command within the gates, and certain towns are yet owners of ceremonial keys, which are placed in charge of their chief magistrate. When the monarch, or

his representative, the Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly visits Edinburgh, the keys of the city are formally offered to him, and graciously returned to the Magistrates of the city. The silver keys of Aberdeen (Fig. 257), which belong to the 17th century, have on two occasions been presented to the Sovereign.

Linlithgow is another burgh which can trace its municipal existence as far back as the reign of David I. Notwithstanding its importance as latterly one of the four burghs which constituted the *Curia Quatuor Burgorum*, it appears that Linlithgow had no provost till the year 1540. On 31st August of that year King James V. granted a charter or precept authorising the bailies, council, and community to elect a provost yearly, which provost and bailies were to be sheriffs of Linlithgow within the burgh, liberty and territory thereof. Mr. Waldie, the historian of Linlithgow, mentions that the new arrangement was the outcome of the religious persecution then in progress, as the sheriff of the shire had been forced to leave the country on account of his favouring the reformed doctrines.

The bailies and community appear to have been patrons of the altar of *Corpus Christi* in the parish church. An interesting obligation, dated 24th February, 1455-6, and written in the vernacular, records how the chaplain undertook the faithful observance of his duties 'in matutinis, messis, evynsang, Ladymes, salve, and processionis'; and agreed to preserve and keep in repair the 'altare, bukis, chalice, chesabill, albis, towallis, and the apparaling of tham.' With regard to his personal

conduct the chaplain says, 'I sal govern my person in honeste and be of honest conversation in mete and drink, lying and rising, and at I sal not use unreasonable excessis no continuale concubine;' and it is added, 'In tymes to cum I sal leyr diligentli to rede and sing in augmentation of Goddis service and for plesance of the said baleyheis and communitie.'

Lanark, another member of the Court of Four Burghs, is known to have existed as a royal burgh in the twelfth century, though its earliest preserved charter was granted by Alexander II. in 1227. Confirmations were obtained from Alexander III. in 1285, and from Robert III. in 1393. By the latter charter the sum payable by the burgesses and community into the royal exchequer as burgh maill was six merks 'sterlingorum' yearly. Previous to 1602 the payment had been made in Scots money, but in that year the Crown officials insisted on obtaining payment in sterling money. The burgh thereafter paid £40 Scots yearly under protest, till 1646, when the Lords of the Exchequer were persuaded to modify the claim to £4 Scots on condition that the difference between that sum and sterling money should be expended on the maintenance of a bridge. A 'signature' (the technical designation of the warrant for a charter) sanctioning the change and also conferring various other privileges on the burgh, was superscribed by King Charles I. at Newcastle on 30th October, 1646, but owing to the troubles of the time the charter itself was never executed, and the contemplated arrangements did not receive effect.

The Town Council records of Lanark commence in 1488, but the series, as in most other burghs, is far from complete.¹

The earliest volume of Dunfermline Records is described by Dr. E. Henderson in his *Annals* as a 'large broad folio, on strong paper, in a leathern envelope, to which the leaves are attached. One of the outer boards has various designs embossed on it relating to the Virgin Mary, one of which is a representation of the visit to her of the three kings from the east, one of them being in the attitude of kneeling and presenting an offering, with the star above which guided them.' In early times the burgh belonged to the abbey of Dunfermline, but in the year 1395 the abbot and convent in consideration of a payment of thirteen merks yearly granted the burgh to the aldermen and community, conferring on them the petty customs, issues of courts, and all the usual rights and privileges, as freely as any royal burgh in the kingdom, but excepting the lands and revenues belonging to the abbey and the right to correct the bailies as often as they should act unjustly in the execution of their office. The burgh affairs seem to have been managed much the same as those of a royal burgh. The head of the municipality, designated in the vernacular 'alderman' and in Latin *aldermanum* or *prepositus*, and two bailies were elected yearly. These elections, as in royal burghs, took place at Michaelmas. Other officers, such as sergeants, liners 'appreciatores' of flesh and ale, and 'birlawmen' were likewise chosen. Statutes or resolutions were commonly passed by 'the alderman, balyies and communitie.' Courts for the disposal of both civil and criminal cases were regularly 'haldyn in the tolbutht' by the bailies, assisted when necessary by an assize or jury, consisting sometimes of seventeen persons, but the number varied. The proceedings were conducted with great formality, and there is occasionally a pithy expression, as in the case of the appellant who alleged that the doom pronounced against him was 'cvyl, fals, and rottyn.' The contents of the book, which range in date from 1487 till about the middle of the sixteenth century, are of a miscellaneous character. Besides ordinances by the magistrates and court

¹Selections from these records down to the year 1752 were given in *Lanark Charters and Records*, printed for subscribers in 1893.

proceedings, the admission of burgesses and the transfers and tacks of properties are recorded. There are also some accounts of petty expenditure and lists of household plenishing, while towards the end of the book there is the 'burrow roll of Dunfermlyn' containing a list of about 300 properties and the names of their owners. About half a dozen burgesses were enrolled yearly. Most of these were admitted in consideration of a money payment of half a merk or 6s. 8d. each. Others were admitted on account of their relationship to previous burgesses, such entries as these being frequent: 'be resone of his fader'; 'be resone of his wyfe,' probably the daughter of a burghess; 'be resone of his eme,' *i.e.* uncle; 'be resone of his broder.' One entry 'be resone of his moder and her resignation maid be hir tharapon in jugment,' suggests that the widow of a burghess possessed privileges which she could communicate to her son. Other burgesses were admitted on account of meritorious services, such entries as these occurring: 'for his gud service,' 'to wyrk to the common work quhil he have plesit thame;' 'for covering of the burn with flaggis stanis and mending tharof;' 'for a new firлот, pek and pynt and uphold of them.' In 1499 one John Thomson 'wes maid burges for his lifym at the command of my lord of Mar.' In 1508 a burghess was admitted 'for his lifyme and nocht to his airis,' and another was admitted 'be resone of his wif for her tyme allanerlye.' There are several admissions of females for payment of half a merk and others on account of relationship, such as 'the dochter umquhill of Robyn Purson be resone of her fader' and 'the spous of David Kyngorne enterit to hir faderis fredome.'

The port of Leith belonged to the burgesses of Edinburgh as early as the 14th century, and is included in their charter granted by Bruce in 1329. Additional land for enlargement of the port was acquired from a neighbouring laird, Sir Robert Logan of Lestalryk, in 1398. In the town's accounts for 1552-3, there is detailed expenditure for work at the shore of Leith including the 'stane-wark of the bulwark,' and it is shown that the hewn stones were procured from Granton Quarry, whence they were brought to Leith in boats. It was in connection with these works that on 28th July, 1553, a charter by Queen Mary under her signet, and subscribed by the Duke of Chatelherault, governor of the kingdom, was granted to the town council and community who thereby acquired portions of the sands within the flood-mark for the purpose of building a bulwark of stone and lime. A new port had been established at a short distance from Leith, and this port, still called Newhaven, was granted to Edinburgh by King James IV. in 1510-1. On 12th May, 1567, the town council agreed that part of the lands of Newhaven should be set in tack for fifty years to 'Anthonie Hikman, John Achille, and Cornelius du Vois, Inglischemen,' the purpose to which the land was to be applied being the making of salt. The letter from Queen Mary and the Earl of Bothwell, her husband, authorising the transaction, was granted twelve days later, and the formal tacks were executed by the town council on 18th June, 1567.

According to an ancient practice, craftsmen in royal burghs had been accustomed to elect deacons for supervision of work and management of their affairs; but in June, 1555, parliament passed an act abating these privileges, and directing that instead of the former deacons, town councils should elect visitors with restricted powers, and the privileges of the craftsmen were in other respects abridged. The new law caused dissatisfaction, to remove which, Queen Mary by letters under her great seal, dated 16th April, 1556, granted dispensations to the craftsmen and restored their privileges, including the right to have deacons as formerly. The order dated 14 March, 1556-7, and subscribed by the Queen Regent, charging the

town council to admit the deacons and craftsmen to their old privileges and liberties was only applying to Edinburgh, in special, the dispensations in the general letters of the previous year. In answer to the command, the bailies on 2nd April 'declarit that thai wald obey the Queen's grace wryting.'

A Warrant subscribed by the Queen Regent in 1555 (day and month are blank) bears pointed reference to the disasters which Edinburgh had experienced between 1543 and 1550. 'We understand that, be the byrning and crewell invasiounis maid be our ald inemeis within our burgh of Edinburgh, the maist parte of the best and maist honest ludgingis, houssis and biggingis, speciallie on the hie gait thairof, wer halelie brynt and destroyit; and now ane grite parte thairaf being sensyne weill biggit and reparallit, it is thocht expedient be the counsale of oure said burgh that certane mercatis quhilkis hes bene of ald and yit ar situate in sic places thairof as ar ellis reasonable biggit be changit and sett in utheris places of the same, quhilkis ar nocht yitt biggit bot standis almaist waist, weill myndand thairbi that be the confluence of people quhilkis resortis to mercatis the next inhabitantis may be enrecht and thairthrow obtene in proces of tyme substance to big thair waist and decayit landis.' It is then narrated that 'becaus it is statute of ald be our predecessouris that everie mercate salbe haldin severalie in certane assignit and appointit places within our said burgh, quhairthrow it is dowbtit be the provest, bailies, and counsale of our said burgh now present that thai may nocht change the same without our licence had thairto.' The Queen Regent, considering the change to be advantageous for the inhabitants, authorised the magistrates and council to transfer the usual markets to such places as they might from time to time deem expedient.

ROBERT RENWICK.

Scottish Sports

I.—DEER STALKING, FISHING, AND FALCONRY

SCOTTISH sportsmen are entitled to the agreeable reflection that, although their princes and barons of old seem to have been just as deeply devoted to the chase as those of other lands, the forest laws of Scotland never reflected the ferocity of those which the mediæval rules of France and England considered necessary for the protection of game. Under the code of William the Lion, if one of the King's foresters found a stranger in the forest, his duty was to put him on the nearest 'common way, and there sall suffer him to passe away without anie trouble.' But if the trespasser was 'ane knawin man'—that is, known to the forester—he was to be arrested, and his captor was allowed to take from him, before witnesses, his 'vpmaist claith,' or top-coat, and all the money in his purse, and the prisoner was to be detained during the King's pleasure. Mild enough this compared to the brutal Savernake code, under which any man found poaching was offered a triple alternative—loss of life, loss of both eyes, or—loss of what in a gentler age cannot so much as be mentioned without offence.

Scottish field sports, therefore, are free from those harrowing associations which still haunt the glades of the New Forest and the precincts of Plessis-les-Tours; yet do they retain more of their pristine wildness, despite the restless inroads of fashion, than can be found in richer lands. Here is intended no slight upon fox-hunting, always somewhat of an exotic in Scotland. True it is that there are pastures in the land of the Westland Whigs—also vale and upland on the Eastern Marches—where stout foxes run straight and far before hounds of purest blood; true, that Scottish names—Little-Gilmore, Anstruther-Thomson, Baird and many others—are inscribed on the roll of fame of 'the Shires'; nevertheless, in the 'sport of kings' it is not upon our own ground that we may dispute the palm with 'our auld enemies of England.' It may be that the practical bent of our people has hindered them from entering heartily into the spirit of chivalrous emulation in pursuit of an animal which, when captured, is absolutely worthless for table or market. The late Lord Eglinton, indeed, once gave signal proof of his entire devotion to the Noble Science by causing a fox, killed by his hounds, to be roasted and served for dinner. Once only!—he never repeated that sacrifice to Diana.

One were slow to suggest that the sportsman's pure zeal required any stimulus from either culinary or mercenary considerations; nevertheless, the stalker would rather have you make a clean miss than hit your stag in the haunch; a goodly bag of grouse is not without ulterior consideration of bread sauce; and will any honest angler (a pleonasm, that, for it is well known that *all* anglers are honest)—will any angler, I say, lay his hand on his heart and maintain that the pang of losing a twenty-pound salmon in March is totally disconnected with the price current at Billingsgate—three and sixpence a pound, as it was in this present year of grace? Not for a moment is

it suggested that three pounds ten would have come into his pocket had he landed that fish, but he would have had it in his power to send a gift of some value to a friend.

After all, from the Judgment of Paris to Sir John Lubbock's Hundred Best Books, comparison has always been an invidious matter, seldom leading to any good. It is far from my purpose to cry up Scottish field sports at the expense of the English; only let us be grateful that there still remains a tolerably distinct character to each.

There are, I believe, but two spots in the British Isles, outside Scotland, where the wild red stag may be stalked and shot. One of these is among the Cumberland lakes, little known to the stream of tourists which pour continually along the high-



FIG. 258. Stag's head from Ardverikie Forest, shot by Lord Iveagh in 1890. 17 points.
Length, 32 inches; width, 30 inches.

ways of that fair region; the other is at Killarney. In two other places the noblest of our native fauna still survives—on Exmoor and in the New Forest; but there the red deer are only taken with hounds. In the Scottish Highlands, however, not only are the red deer to be numbered by tens of thousands, but the area where they are to be stalked has very much increased during the last fifty years. To some anxious-minded people this fact presents itself as a crying scandal. What! drive away cattle and sheep from the hillsides—men and women from the glens—that wild deer may enjoy the solitude which they require, and idle folk may take their pleasure in killing them? Verily, upon such a proceeding public opinion at the present time would be unanimous, and absolute prohibition would be the consequence. But there is no foundation for the charge against Highland proprietors that they evict crofters to make way for deer. The clearance took place long ago, and in too many instances it was carried out in a heartless manner. It was not to make way for deer, but for sheep, that the crofters were removed, in obedience to the same economic principle of developing the resources of landed property which had already swept away the crofts and their hand-to-mouth peasant tillers from the

Scottish Lowlands, and replaced them with arable farms from 150 to 1000 acres in a high state of cultivation, under substantial tenants living in circumstances of considerable comfort.

However much we may deplore the disappearance of the primitive pastoral and cultural conditions, and the hardy frugal race which they kept upon the land, the result of the improved system of sheep-farming was to increase enormously the national wealth. It was part of that redintegrating process which began with the legislative union of Scotland with England in 1707, and which redeemed Scotland from the reproach brought upon her by centuries of war with a stronger and wealthier nation, whereby she had become a byword for poverty and parsimony.

The *vates sacer* of deerstalking is William Scrope. He published the *Art of Deerstalking* in 1838, and gave therein an estimate of the extent and contents of Scottish deer-forests at that time, when sheep-farming was an exceedingly profitable industry, and had encroached very considerably upon the ancient deer ground. Speaking of the Sutherland forests, he said that about thirty years previously (that is, at the beginning of the nineteenth century) the deer in Sutherland had been reckoned to number about 3000, and adds that 'the introduction of sheep farms, and other causes, have materially lessened that number,' so that the number of deer of all ages and both sexes was probably not greater than 1500. In regard to Strathspey, he remarks that Gaick, containing 10,777 acres and Glenfiddich, containing 5522 acres, 'are the only ones of all these ancient forests now strictly preserved for deer; the others are pastured by black cattle or sheep, and are therefore only partially stocked with the nobler animals.' The famous forest of Corrichibah, or Black Mount, is proved by the Black Book of Taymouth to have been kept exclusively for hunting deer from very early times, until the introduction of sheep towards the close of the eighteenth century tempted the proprietors to realise a large profit by letting the grazings, and the deer diminished to about one hundred head. So matters continued till 1820, when the second Marquess of Breadalbane, for love, not of lucre, but of sport, restored 35,000 acres as forest, and in Scrope's day the deer had increased to some 1500. Again, down to 1748 the extensive forest of Glenartney was preserved for deer, 'but,' says Scrope, 'since that period it has been greatly reduced, and, indeed, in some measure relinquished as to forest purposes.' Of Balnagown, also, he observes ruefully that 'it is much to be regretted that hardly any part of this fine forest is kept properly clear of sheep.' In short, some sixty years ago deer were receding before the all-devouring sheep, and Scrope expressed melancholy anticipation of their ultimate extinction in the Highlands.

How comes it, then, that the present generation have witnessed a prodigious increase both in the acreage of forest and the number of deer therein, so as to justify Mr. Millais in reckoning 132 several forests in Scotland, covering upwards of 2,000,000 acres, and yielding annually about 5000 stags to the rifle? It is the result of the action of economic laws under the system of free imports, adopted by Great Britain, alone among the civilised nations of the earth. The extension of deer forests has had no connection with the dislodgement of the crofters, who disappeared to make way for pastoral industry on a large scale. But for free trade, the legislature would undoubtedly have maintained or imposed such duties on imported wool and mutton as would have protected the home industry of sheep farming. Be it far from me in this place to raise any question as to the merits of the contrary policy which has been pursued. We have only to accept facts as we find them. Foreign competition has reduced the price of

mutton and wool to a point which renders sheep-farming unremunerative; the outgoing tenant of a sheep farm is entitled to receive from his landlord the price of his entire stock at valuation; if a fresh tenant cannot be found, as is most usually the case in these days, the landlord has to protect himself from ruin by turning his land into forest, when he has no difficulty in getting a good rent. It is, therefore, most unjust to hold him up to obloquy, which is frequently done, as a tyrant who drives out the people to make room for deer. The utmost that has been done is to replace the shepherds who were originally imported from the



FIG. 259. Stag's head from Guisachan Forest, shot by the late Lord Tweedmouth, near Farmer's Wood, Guisachan, on 9th October, 1880. 12 points. Length, 39 inches; width, 39½ inches.

Lowlands, and whose occupation ceases with the disappearance of sheep, by well-paid stalkers, gillies, and their families.

Moreover, it is usually considered an advantage to attract the expenditure of money to a naturally poor region. It has been calculated that every stag killed costs the lessee of a forest about £50. Taking Mr. Millais' estimate of 5000 stags killed annually, here is a round sum of £250,000 expended each year within a limited, sparsely populated, and indigent region, besides what is spent by those who visit the lessees of forests as guests. Utilitarian—sordid if you like—may be the view that those who declaim against deer-forests would deal a deadly blow against the prosperity of the Highlands, and the comfort of hundreds of humble but comfortable homes therein, if they succeeded in putting an end to the deer stalking industry; nevertheless it is the view which must be taken by every man of commonsense who applies himself to understanding the subject and its bearings.

Unhappily in Scotland the bondage of fashion has been extended to our remotest playgrounds. Affluent A. insists on treating his guests to nightly libations of champagne, and, seeing that his liquor is of the best, who can blame the thirsty souls if they drink what is set before them. But why cannot benevolent B. and convivial C., who cannot afford to give high-class wine, understand that good whisky and seltzer is infinitely preferable to bad champagne? They have not the moral courage to entertain on a humbler scale than their neighbour the millionaire: and so the affair goes on, until a dinner table on the Moor of Rannoch differs very little from one in Mayfair. It may be good for trade, but it is uncommonly bad



FIG. 260. Stag's head from Glenquoich Forest, shot by Lord Burton in 1893. 20 points.
Length, 35 inches; width, 29 inches.

for the digestion, besides robbing sport of much of its illusion. There is no stopping the mischief, until some great man establishes by his example a better way.

In one respect the practice of the forest has altered very much for the better in the last half century. In William Scrope's day the usual plan was to drive deer to the rifle; stalking was the exception, as in Invercauld forest, whereof he writes—'the old method of stalking the deer against the wind is the one generally practised in all this district . . . the deer are seldom driven, and never hunted with dogs, unless to bring down a wounded animal.' He describes a day spent in Glen Tilt, in the course of which, by following the herd from pass to pass, and assisted by the forester and three gillies, he killed eight fine stags; also another occasion, on which he killed seven. Now, of course, this was very exciting sport, and Mr. Scrope, the only rifle in the field, had some pretty hard work in getting from one pass to another; but it will scarcely be denied that the sport has gained in refinement by the general adoption of stalking as the recognised legitimate way

of killing deer. Perhaps the chief reasons for giving up driving were, first, the greater degree in which it disturbs a forest, and second, that mentioned by Scrope, as follows—‘the hinds of course are far more numerous than the harts, as none but yeld-hinds are killed, except by accident. It must be allowed, however, that these accidents happen pretty often, and, indeed, in almost every deer-drive; for young sportsmen still fire at all hazards when they have rifles in their hands—ay, and old ones too sometimes.’

The main drawback to stalking as a sport has often been felt and expressed. The sportsman is but a puppet in the hands of the stalker, who regards him but as ‘a rifle,’ and often not of much account at that. It is the stalker who, by inscrutable perceptive powers pronounces this stag to be ‘shootable,’ and that other, which may have taken the stranger’s fancy, to be ‘a poor beastie in the body

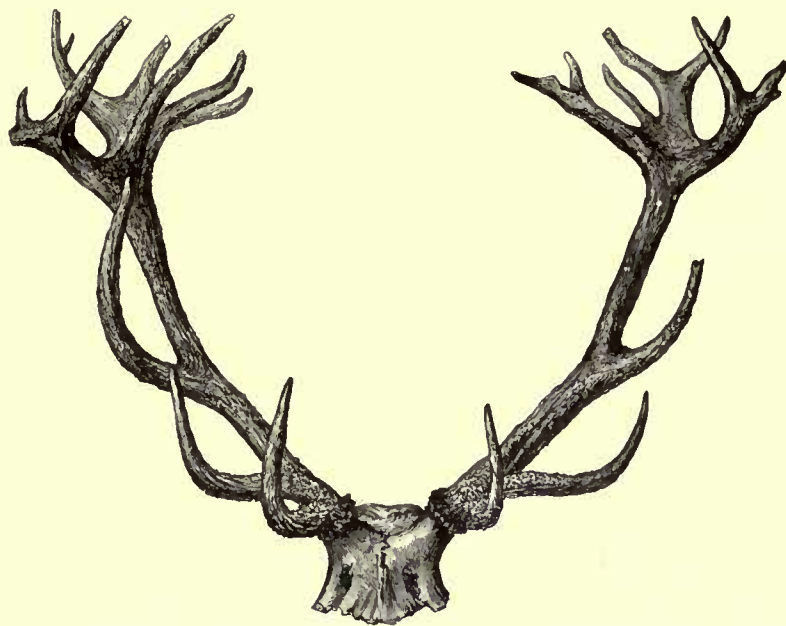


FIG. 261. Red stag's head of 24 points. Found in marl, under peat, at Ashkirk, Roxburghshire. Length, 38 inches; width, 46 inches.

though his head is not that bad.’ It is the stalker alone who cons the ground, considers the wind and decrees the mode of approach; who commands the sportsmen when to stoop, to crawl, to run, to stop, and, finally, when to ‘take him!’ heartlessly indifferent, it must often seem, to the physical suffering of his instrument, who, with throbbing temples, blinded with perspiration, gasping painfully for dear breath, and lying, it may be, with his head considerably lower than his heels, in a driving snow blast or under a burning sun, may well despair of his bullet finding the right billet. Yet deer stalking remains at the head of Scottish field sports, for not only does it offer the noblest quarry as a prize, but more than any other exercise does it test the endurance of the sportsman and his patience under every vicissitude of weather.

Surgit amari aliquid—there is a tinge of melancholy inseparable from Highland deer stalking, imparted, not by the desolation of the forest, nor by the mist that broods so often on the hillsides, nor by the implacable winds that spend themselves in fury on the tops, but arising from the knowledge that Scottish red deer are a degenerate race. Not willingly have they sought the high ground; their primitive home was in the forest—the real forest of pine and oak which once covered nearly the whole face of Scotland from sea to sea. There, in the shelter and warmth of

the woodland, red stags attained a weight of body and a strength of horn to which their mountain-haunting descendants can show but a sorry counterpart. Many fine heads according to the modern scale, were displayed in the Loan Collection at Glasgow in 1901, notably the famous twenty-pointer, shot by Lord Burton in Glenquoich in 1893 (Fig. 260); the seventeen-pointer shot at Ardverikie by Lord Iveagh in 1890 (Fig. 258); the fifteen-pointer killed in that hunter's paradise, the Isle of Arran, by the late Duke of Hamilton; and, handsomest of all, though far from largest, the Earl of Leven's ten-pointer from Mamore. A typical 'royal' head, that is, one of twelve points, is that shot by Lord Tweedmouth on Guisachan in 1880 (Fig. 259). But, one and all, these antlered trophies appear shrivelled and scant compared with the mighty horns which, from time to time, are exhumed from river clays or peat mosses in all the three kingdoms. Such is the magnificent head of twenty-four points preserved in the Museum of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries. It was dug out of marl, under peat, near Askkirk in Roxburghshire (Fig. 261). Perhaps the most remarkable deposit of prehistoric deer-remains in the United Kingdom exists in the alluvial deposit at the estuary of the Galloway Cree. There, among thousands of great oak stems, as hard and sound and sometimes almost as fresh in colour as when they were borne upon the winter floods thousands of years ago, lie the great horns of beasts which roamed the forest before envious man came upon the scene—the huge Irish elk, the great white Caledonian cattle, and the red deer. It is indeed a treat to handle some of the red-deer antlers which have been recovered from this plain. In thickness of beam and sweep of horn they approach the size of wapiti, testifying to the superior conditions of food and shelter which these animals enjoyed.

However, if man has ousted the red deer from their heritage, and driven them to the wind-swept wastes, let it be set to his account that he has also delivered the antlered race from their most inveterate foes, the wolves. The Acts of the Scottish Parliaments testify to the solicitude of our legislature for the extermination of wolves and their 'birds.'¹ It was after 1450 that Margaret, Lady Lovat, 'who travelled in our hills afoot, and perhaps outwearied good footmen,' undertook 'the purging of Caplach,' the highest crest of the Aird, beside the Beaully Firth. She succeeded pretty well for the time, but the wolves came back again, and in Queen Mary's reign 'spittals' [hospitals] were still being erected on lonely roads, where travellers overtaken by storm or darkness might take shelter from the wolves. At Achnacarry is preserved the firelock with which it is said that Lochiel killed the last wolf in Lochaber in the reign of Charles II. The Glen of Loth was the scene of the destruction of the last wolf-brood in Sutherland towards the end of the 17th century; but it was as late as 1743 that M'Queen of Pall-a'-chrocain, who died in 1797, won a lasting place in the traditions of the Findhorn by hunting down a great wolf which had killed two children on the track between Cawdor and Drynachan. Macintosh, the chief, had summoned a *tainchiel*, or general hunting party, for the destruction of the creature. M'Queen, a gigantic fellow standing six feet seven in his brogues, was late in putting in an appearance at the tryst; but he was the best hunter in the strath of Findhorn, and a start could not be made without him and his dogs. When he did turn up at last, Mackintosh reproached him roughly for wasting the best part of a fine morning.

'*Cìod e a' chabhag?*' retorted M'Queen—'what's the hurry?' and drew from under his plaid the bloody head of the wolf. '*Sin e dùibh!* there you are!' quoth he, and flung it at his chief's feet.

¹ 'Wolf birds' is a common expression in old Scots for wolf cubs; the modern word 'bird' being from the same root as 'brood'—what is bred.

If the first place among Scottish field sports be yielded to deer stalking, surely the second may be claimed for salmon fishing. Indeed, if abundance of literature be any test of merit, deer stalkers are not in it with anglers, so greatly do books on angling exceed in number those upon any other branch of sport.

Angling as a pursuit has this peculiarity—either it takes possession of a man, or it disgusts him. There is no mean between absolute devotion and repugnance. Men tire of shooting, give up hunting, decline from the extreme exertion required in deer stalking; but he who has once realised the fascination of the river side never becomes insensible to its charm. Unhappily, although anglers have multiplied an hundredfold in the last half century, Scottish angling waters, especially salmon angling waters, have become greatly less productive. In a few rivers such as the Tay, Aberdeenshire Dee, and, lately, the Deveron, measures have been taken to regulate the netting, so as to allow a fair proportion of fish to escape and afford sport to the rod. In a few others, such as the Helmsdale and Thurso, netting has been entirely stopped by the action of a few enterprising sportsmen; but the proprietors of some of our fairest streams have not yet realised what a splendid revenue may be derived from angling rents. It generally happens that the lower waters and estuary of a river, where netting is carried on, are in the hands of different owners from the upper waters which afford angling; it is not surprising that the representatives of these conflicting interests do not often see eye to eye, and seldom it has happened that an agreement has been arrived at in the common interest of the whole river. Where that has happened, where the upper proprietors have had the chance, and the prudence to seize the chance, of reducing

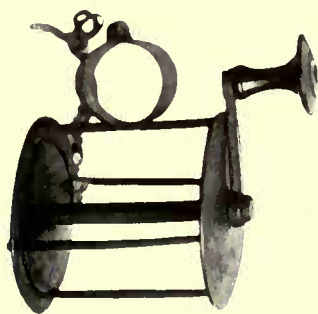


FIG. 263. Salmon reel which belonged to Sir Walter Scott.

the number of nets in the lower waters by lease or purchase, the results have been magnificent from a sporting point of view, and exceedingly remunerative as an investment. A conspicuous instance of this is afforded in the history of the Aberdeenshire Dee. The Dee Salmon Fishing Improvement Association was formed in 1872, the net fishings in that year being valued at £6018 and the rod fishings at £1012. Since that time the Association has spent £700 a year to keep off certain nets between Banchory and the sea; the annual rent of the remaining nets had risen to £7613 in 1893, and at the present time the rod fishings alone command a rent of upwards of £10,000. Nor has the food supply suffered. Owing to the general increase of salmon in the Dee as the result of wise protection, the existing nets at the mouth of the river send as many boxes of salmon annually to Billingsgate as were despatched formerly from the whole of the nets in upper and lower waters together.

This satisfactory result has been achieved by suspending the netting in the waters above the tide, whereby a portion of every run of fish *at all seasons* has been allowed to reach the spawning grounds. How far different has been the treatment of that once famous angling stream the Tweed. The weekly close time of thirty-six hours no doubt allows a fair number of fish to run past the nets in the tidal water below Thomas's Island; but from that point up to Lees there are nets rented at £600 or £700 a year, which catch on Monday mornings almost every

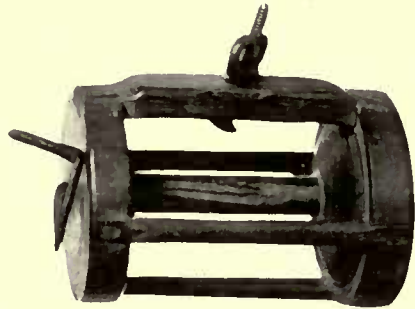


FIG. 262. Old wooden fishing reel.

fish that has escaped the lower nets during the weekly slop. Thus spring and summer angling in the Tweed has well-nigh ceased to exist, and the same may be said of the Spey, the Findhorn, and the Kirkcudbright Dee; the early run of fish is all swallowed up by the nets, and the gentle craft is only worth plying in autumn after the netting season is over, when the fish are scarcely worth taking.

The condition of most Scottish salmon rivers, therefore, at the beginning of the twentieth century is very discouraging to the angler; nevertheless, it only requires sagacious management to restore them to their pristine abundance. A beginning has been made; even the Leven at Balloch, which twenty years ago seemed to be polluted beyond redemption, has undergone wonderful improvement, so that salmon and sea-trout obtain ready access to the vast reservoir of Loch Lomond and its tributary streams. When Richard Franck, the ex-Ironside, travelled through Scotland about the year 1655, angling and arguing about theology, he found that he could take as many salmon with the fly at Balloch as he had a mind for. Franck was a good fisher, and bitterly derided his contemporary Isaak Walton, who never hooked a salmon in his life; yet the verdict of posterity has weighed unfairly on his memory, for whereas Isaak's book has exhausted upwards of one hundred editions, Franck failed for forty years to find a publisher for his entertaining and instructive *Northern Memoirs*, the first edition whereof, published in 1696, has but one successor, to which Walter Scott wrote a prefatory letter.

One hundred and thirty years after Franck fished at Balloch, Colonel Thornton came there. Although, strange to say, he preferred pike to salmon, he condescended, on 30th June, 1784, to rise at five o'clock and rode down to the Leven. Having prevailed on the tacksman to allow him a couple of hours angling before the nets were shot, the gallant colonel killed five salmon before eight o'clock, one of which weighed 41lb. and another 22lb. Deeply, deeply sighs the modern angler when he contrasts his own chances with those which awaited the tourist of the eighteenth century. Still, as above said, much has been done lately to restore the Leven, and it is no extravagant dream that pictures the splendid pools and rapids of the Clyde above Glasgow¹ teeming once more with the king of fishes.

From the long list of Scottish field sports I have chosen two only, deer stalking and salmon fishing; and at no former period of the history of our country did either of these stand in higher esteem than at the present day.

¹ Glasgow is the only Scottish town which bears a salmon on her shield, and the legend which recalls the origin of that emblem brings back vividly the primitive landscape and its inhabitants.

Before the year 640 a young cleric named Kentigern came to Cathares, now called Glasgow, built himself a cell beside the cemetery and planted a number of trees round it. As late as the year 1500 'St. Kentigern's trees' are mentioned as landmarks in the deeds of the City of Glasgow. In 640, being then about five-and-twenty, Kentigern—usually known as Munghu or Mungo, the well-beloved—was consecrated bishop, and travelled much upon evangelist work. Returning in 673, he settled himself once more in Glasgow, under special patronage of the King of Strathclyde. Now the said King had a beautiful wife, of whom he was very fond, and to whom in token of affection he gave a fine ring. The Queen, being a light woman, bestowed the jewel upon her lover, a certain soldier. Not long after, the King's suspicion was aroused by a tale-bearer, who bade him, if proof were wanted of the Queen's guilt, ask why she did not wear the ring which he had given her. When the King put this question to her, she showed some confusion, for in fact her lover had lost the ring when bathing in the river, and she knew it was past recovery.

'Three days hence,' said the King gravely anticipating by ten centuries the well-known scene between Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria touching the diamond pendant, 'three days hence will be held the revels to celebrate our birthday. We desire that you do not fail to wear it on that occasion.'

In her distress the beautiful Queen had recourse to the holy Bishop Kentigern, who, though devout, was a kindly father in God. After hearing her full confession and receiving her vows that she would amend her life, he bade her make a fisherman cast his net into a certain pool in the Clyde, and bring her the first salmon he landed, which she was to open at once. Kentigern's directions were obeyed; the salmon was duly caught and opened; and lo! within its stomach was the lost ring, which the Queen proudly displayed at the birthday festivities.

Mention may be made of two others, once prime favourites, which have fallen into disuse. The first of these is coursing, which dates its decline from the passage of Sir William Harcourt's Ground Game Act, 1880, a measure which, however reasonable for the protection of growing crops, was undoubtedly fatal to the preservation of a sufficient stock of hares to provide material for the meetings which five-and-twenty years ago marked the local calendar in every Lowland county. Coursing is well-nigh defunct in Scotland, and our regret for its demise is the less poignant because it was a pastime which called for no skill, personal effort, or endurance on the part of the sportsman, and because its attractions consisted largely in the stakes and the money wagered on competing dogs. The pecuniary and gambling element is wholly alien to every legitimate branch of what of old was termed woodcraft, so we may bid farewell to coursing, with no more than a transient sigh for the exhilarating outing it used to provide for farmers and townsfolk. To refresh our memories, let us cast an eye over Lockhart's description of the start of a coursing party from Abbotsford on a bright September morning, and the comical determination of the little black pig, which had conceived such an invincible affection for Scott, to join the cavalcade.¹

The other obsolete field sport referred to is falconry, for obsolete it must be termed, despite the diligence wherewith a select body of enthusiasts still pursue it. No doubt it is sport of a very high order, implying the triumph of human will over the peregrine, the goshawk, even the mighty eagle—the very types, one might suppose, of ir reclaimable freedom.

Who was the first man to obtain such dominion over a bird of ravin as to be able to command it forth and compel it to return and surrender its quarry for his use? The answer is lost in the mists of antiquity. Homer, who knew the right value of a good hound, set no store by the falcon, though he mentions it as *ελαφρωτατος πετεηνων* the nimblest of birds. Sophocles is silent about hawking in his recapitulation of the services of animals to men. It is the later Roman writers who first refer to it as a practice among certain barbarians. Strange to say, this means of taking game, which in the Middle Ages became more closely associated than any other with Christian chivalry, seems to have had its rise among that mysterious race, the Chinese. Falconry was well established in Lombardy, before A.D. 600 and a century later was in high favour in England. References to the royal hawks appear among the very earliest entries in such of the Scottish Exchequer Rolls as have been preserved; for instance, payments were made for supplies to William de Hamyll, falconer (*prehendinans*) to Alexander III., at Forfar in 1264—for the pay of other two, his falconers at Forres, 16s. 10d. for forty-two weeks—for other four at Dunipace, just outside the King's new park, then being enclosed for the chase; and so on.

Scottish falcons were highly prized by English chevaliers; doubtless, therefore, Sir Walter de Moncy thought he had got something good when, in 1298, he obtained from Edward I. a grant of all the eyries of 'falcons gentilz' in the royal demesnes in Scotland. King Edward lived not to realise the barrenness of his gift, nor could he foresee how, some thirty years later, Robert the Bruce, having secured



FIG. 264.
A Hawking call or whistle.²

¹ Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, Vol. V., pp. 7-10.

² A hawking call or whistle, carved from a solid piece of ivory, and adorned with a grotesque head. Formerly the property of the Flemings of Barochan,

substitutes; modern hawkers do not 'group' well, though the birds are as beautiful, as brave and as obedient as ever.

Take your pleasure, gentle hawkers, where you may find it! none shall say you nay; many will watch with admiration the flight of your favourites. But be not dispirited should you make few disciples, for the world is in a hurry in these latter days, and will not brook what requires much time and delicate patience.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

II.—ARCHERY, GOLF AND CURLING.

WHILE this trio of Scottish Sports have many links of connection, ARCHERY holds a unique position in Scotland and elsewhere, for it provided food for mankind and defended nation against nation in the days before gunpowder came into use. Indeed it was not till within a few years of the end of the sixteenth century that bow and arrow were quite dispensed with as weapons of war, and even to a later date they were still found useful in the chase. Before its virtues in the field of war were appreciated, Archery was highly prized as a form of sport. Indeed, hunting only excepted, it may be regarded as the oldest sport in the world. In the *Rig Vedas* which was written thousands of years ago there is an invocation to the bow which Schrader in his *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan People* renders thus: 'May the bow bring us spoils and oxen, may the bow be victorious in the heat of the fight; the bow fills the foe with terrible fear; may the bow give us victory over the world.'

The sculptures of Assyria and Persia, the Egyptian mural decorations and the Greek vases and coins which portray the archers, their bows of olden times and the legends of Robin Hood and his merry men ever interest the imagination. At Thermopylae, in the Trojan war, and all the classic battles the archers had their share. At Bannockburn, Hamildon Hill, Agincourt, and Flodden they took their part worthily, and so the history of Archery is mixed up with the history of the world, while there is not a country except perhaps Australia where prehistoric remains may not be found to testify to the use of bow and arrow by the aboriginal tribes.

Although the bow was not a Roman weapon, the remains of arrow heads of iron found along the line of Hadrian's wall show that it was used by certain of their legionaries in Britain.

In his *Memoirs of Montrose* Napier says that at the battle of Tippermuir in 1644 Lord Kilpont commanded the bowmen who were on the left of Montrose's army. This is about the last we hear of the use of the bow as a war weapon in this country, though tradition exists of a great clan battle fought with it in 1688 between the Laird of Mackintosh and Macdonald of Kippoch.

That Archery was a popular pastime while it was also a defensive art in war, there are many proofs—kings, queens, and commons all engaged in the sport, and at public schools, such as Eton and Harrow, it was such a favourite with the boys that it infringed upon the regular school work, which was one of the reasons why it was eventually abandoned. When the bow was discarded as a martial weapon societies sprang up whose object was to practise the pastime, the Finsbury Archers being perhaps the earliest. The Kilwinning papingo is referred to in 1665 as set up by the Magistrates of Irvine, 'conforme to old ancient practice so that the Burgessis might address themselves theirto with their bowis and arrows.' The Silver Cup belonging to the Society of Archers of Kilwinning is a comparatively modern relic for it bears date

1817, but that ancient home of Freemasonry was quite as ancient a centre for Archery, which can be traced back there to 1482. Trophies belonging to St. Andrews, Irvine and Glasgow bear testimony to the fact that Archery was encouraged by Scottish towns in the seventeenth century and prizes awarded for competition. The Irvine Toxophilites, though only formed into a regular society in 1814, had enjoyed the sport long before that time, and its members to the number of sixty had the honour of acting as bodyguard to the Queen of Beauty, Lady Seymour, at the famous Eglinton Tournament in 1839.

The Royal Company of Archers is the oldest in Scotland and perhaps in the United Kingdom, for its records go back to 1676. A charter of incorporation was granted to the Company in 1703 by Queen Anne, the *reddendo* or service to be performed being the presentation of a pair of barbed arrows when required. This service has since then been rendered on two occasions. The first was when George IV. visited Edinburgh in 1822, when the then Earl of Hopetoun as Captain-General presented His Majesty at Holyrood with a pair of barbed arrows on a green velvet cushion. The shafts were composed of snakewood, and the feathers were from the Argus pheasant, the heads being made of silver. The Company rendered their services as bodyguard to the King on that occasion, and received royal permission to use this title afterwards. The Earl of Dalhousie performed the second ceremony when Queen Victoria visited Edinburgh in 1842, and in view of an expected visit from King Edward this year designs are being prepared for the barbed arrows to be presented on that occasion.

The Baroness Nairne gives us an interesting glimpse of the dress of the Archer in her description of Sir Archie M'Vie, whose head was as high as his purse was short, busy preparing his darts to wound the heart of some rich heiress:

'Archie's an archer, and a guid shot is he,
 But though he's hit mony he's never hit me;
 How handsome he looks, how stately his mien,
 Wi' his bannet and feather and braw coat o' green!
 Wi' his white gauntlet glove, an' his stiff stannin' ruff,
 His clean shining buckles, his neat turned cuff;
 Wi' his bow, and his quiver, a' filled wi' his darts,—
 Oh! leddies, beware, beware o' your hearts!
 Beware, beware o' Sir Archie M'Vie.'

The Archer's dress has changed greatly from time to time, the present simple design of green and gold being a great contrast to the days when a fighting costume had to be worn, or even to that worn when George IV. gave them their royal privilege, when each was attired in a green tartan coat and trousers, large white gauntlets, with an Elizabethan ruff round his neck.

It is generally supposed that Scotland owns the game of GOLF, which has for four or five centuries been identified with the nation as one of its favourite sports, to Holland. That a game akin to golf was played by the Dutch is sufficiently proved by the number of Dutch tiles and engravings extant which represent the players engaged at their game on the ice. Dr. Fowler, honorary secretary of the National Skating Association, some time ago discovered in a poem by the Dutch poet, Bredero, what is the earliest reference to golf hitherto brought to light. Mr. Martin Hardie, of the National Art Gallery, gives the following free translation of the passage:

'The golfer binds his ice-spurs on,
 Or something stiff to stand upon
 For the smooth ice all snowless lying
 Laughs and jests at polished soles.'

SCOTTISH SPORTS

Sides drawn by lot, the golfer stands
 Ready to smite with ashen club
 Weighted with lead, or his Scottish cleek
 Of leaded box, three fingers broad, one thick,
 The feather ball, invisible from drive to fall,
 By forecaddies is keenly marked,
 As he golf forward to a limit post,
 Or strikes for the furthest, stroke against stroke,
 At a white mark or a flag in the hole,
 Notching the strokes on a slender branch,
 Which each sticks deep in his jacket ;
 Who of his tally takes no heed,
 Shall be out of it altogether.'

While this early reference shows that the game was known to the Dutch, it rather, by the mention of the *Scottish cleek*, favours the idea that its practice in Scotland was antecedent to that in Holland. While a 'flag in the hole' would imply that the Dutchmen did sometimes come so near our game as to make a

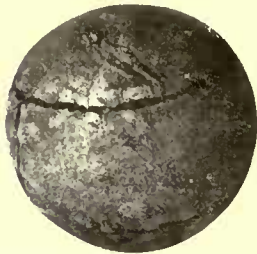


FIG. 267. Feather ball
 (Allan Robertson).



FIG. 268. Gutta ball
 (Allan Robertson).



FIG. 269. Old hammered ball
 (Tom Morris).

hole for the ball to be putted out, most of the engravings simply indicate that a post or mark was put up on the ice, the winner evidently being the player who made the ball touch this in the fewest strokes. In a 'Book of Hours' (1500-1510) in the British Museum, Mr. Henry W. Maybeer, in 1894, unearthed a miniature illustration of players evidently putting at a hole, of which in the *Illustrated London News* of June 9th, 1894, he gives a full account as disproving Mr. Andrew Lang's contention that the early Flemish golfers never putted at holes. He even goes on to show that the players wore red coats, and that like some modern patents the clubs had steel faces. This is all very interesting, but still not conclusive. That a kind of golf was played in Holland need not be denied. It, however, was given up. On the other hand Scotland at quite as early a period was in the possession of this game, and to Scotland it owed at least its progress and development on its present lines.

The great popularity of the game of golf among the common people of Scotland some centuries ago, and the value set upon the practice of archery at that time, are well illustrated by some Acts of Parliament. In March, 1457, the Scots Legislature 'decreetted and ordained that wapinschawwingis be haldin be the Lordis and Baronis spirituale and temporale, four times in the zeir, and that the Fute-ball and golf be utterly cryit doune, and nocht usit; and that the bowe merkis be maid at ilk paroch Kirk a pair of buttis, and schuting be used ilka Sunday.' In May, 1471, a similar Act was passed, the object as expressed being for the opposing of 'Our auld enimies of England,' who were evidently then superior to the Scots as bowmen. Again in May, 1491, it was ordained 'That in na place of the realme there be usit *Fute-ball, Golfe, or uther sik unprofitabill sportis* but for the common gude of the realme, and defence thair of, and that bowis and

schutting be hautit, and bow-markes maid therefore ordained in ilk parochin, under the pain of fourtie shillings, to be raised be the Schireffe and baillies foresaid.'

These Acts are the earliest reliable records of the existence of this game and its popularity in Scotland. They do not give us information as to its nature or the clubs and balls used, but it is probable that the game of those days was more allied to shinty than in the modern game.

'During the Time of the Sermons,' an oil painting by J. C. Dullman, R.I., represents a common occurrence in the olden days when golfers were so keen on the game that they played during the time they should have been at Church, and came under arrest for what was then considered a crime. In 1592 and 1593 the Town Council of Edinburgh expressly forbade this Sunday golf, and John Henrie and Pat Rogie were prosecuted 'For playing off the Gowff on the Links of Leith every Sabbath the time of the sermons.' In Kirk Session records numerous cases are quoted where delinquents had to sit several Sundays on the cutty-stool or suffer even worse punishment for this misdemeanour.

Perth, where Robert Robertson sat in the seat of repentance in 1604, must have been a sporting place in those days, for it is there that we come upon the

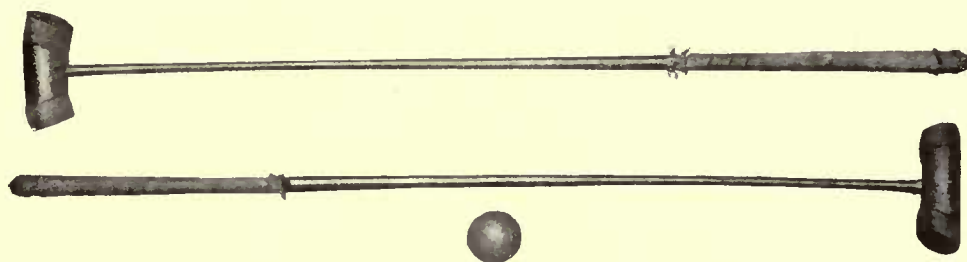


FIG. 270. Old clubs known as Pall Mall clubs.

earliest literary reference in this country to Golf and Curling, and curiously enough they are allied in their reference with Archery. In the *Muses Threnodie* written in 1620, and published in 1638, Henry Adamson, a 'stickit' minister of the Fair City, along with George Ruthven (1546-1638), a physician and surgeon in Perth, and a relative of the Earl of Gowrie, who suffered there in 1600 for alleged treason, mourn the death of a personal friend of both, and the trio were all addicted to Archery, Golf, and Curling.

About the time here referred to the game of Golf was in high repute with the Stuart Kings. They not only enjoyed the game themselves, but they encouraged it among the people, and as through Puritan influence the views of Sunday had been so narrowed that no recreations were allowed on that day, they did what they could to get their subjects to change their minds and their manners.

James VI. in 1618 declared his desire to be "That after the end of divine service, our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation—such as dauncing, either men or women, archerie for men leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation,' but prohibiting 'the said recreations to any that are not present in the Church at the Service of God before their going to the said recreations.'

In 1603 the same King had appointed William Mayne to be royal club-maker, and James Melville, ball maker. The clubs cost one shilling each, and the balls fourpence each, the latter being of leather stuffed with feathers (Fig. 267), His ill-fated son, Prince Henry, was a golfer, and from a Harleian MS. by one who saw him play the game, is described as 'not unlike to Pale-Maille.' It is evident that this was not golf, but as the Stuarts, and especially Charles II., were

devotees of Pall Mall as well as of golf, the spectator referred to might readily have mixed them up. A set of the mallets and balls used in Pall Mall is shown in Fig. 270.

The oldest set of golf clubs extant (Fig. 271), were discovered in a boarded-up cupboard at 160 High Street, Hull, along with a paper bearing date 1741. The house, which has been rebuilt, was for the greater part of the eighteenth century the residence of a family of burgesses named Maisters. The clubs came into possession of Mr. Adam Wood, their present owner, through Mr. W. J. Hammond, who got them from Mr. Sykes, the present proprietor of the old mansion. Mr. A. J. Balfour, who has seen them, gives his opinion that they belong to the period of the Stuart Kings. There was every facility in the hundred and one specimens

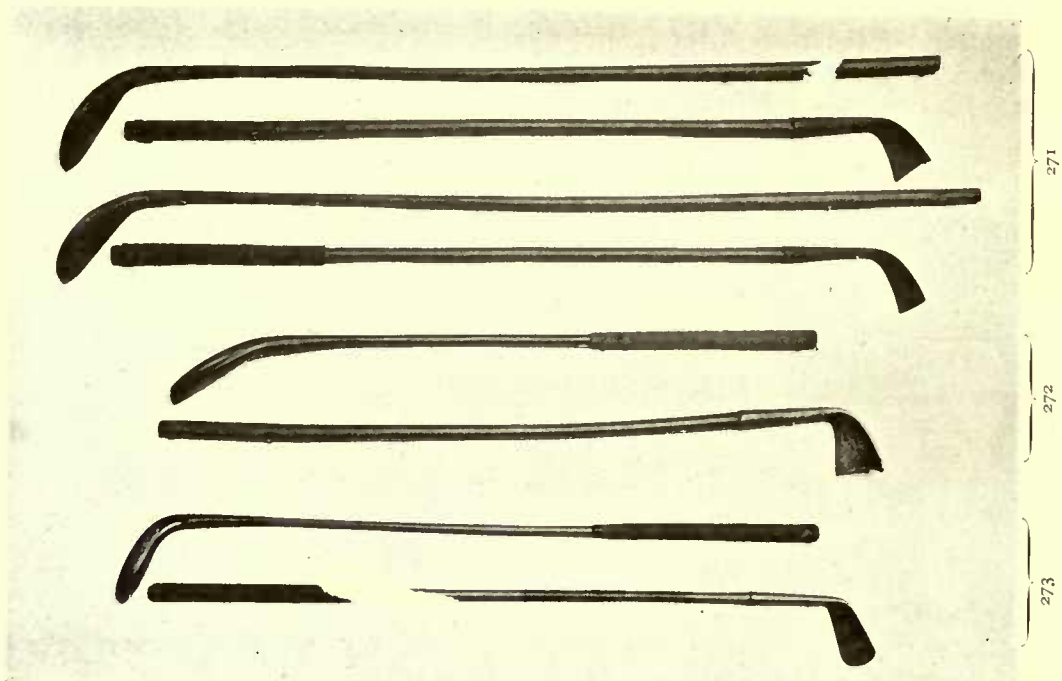


FIG. 271. Four clubs from the oldest set of golf clubs extant.

FIG. 272. Old wooden club and old iron club belonging to the Earl of Wemyss.

FIG. 273. Old wooden club and old iron club (Philp).

exhibited in Glasgow in 1901, for studying the development of the club from this most ancient set to comparatively modern times, the list closing with a complete set of Davie Strath's making. This brought the club-making up to 1878, since which year there has been considerable development in the way of bulging the face and shortening the head of the clubs. The lang-nebbit head is the peculiarity of the older form of club, and was singularly prominent in the case of the two clubs used by His Majesty the King, when as the Prince of Wales and a student in Edinburgh, he played golf at Musselburgh in 1859.

The cases owned by the Royal and Ancient Club, the Glasgow Club, the Royal Musselburgh Club, and the Edinburgh Burgess Club are all valuable as containing clubs and balls showing the various stages in the evolution of both. Perhaps the most notable complete set, after the Hull discovery, was that sent by Mr. J. E. Laidlay, a set of Philp's clubs, presented to him by the late Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart., of North Berwick. Philp was the most finished club-maker of his day, and even yet his renown is as fresh as ever, for the exquisite finish of his workmanship has not been surpassed and an old 'Philp' is a valuable relic wherever it is found. Young Tommy Morris' fame is commemorated by the championship belt (Fig. 274) which having been won by

him three times in succession at Prestwick (then the only venue of the open championship) viz., on Sept. 23, 1868—154 strokes; Sept. 10, 1869—157 strokes; Sept. 15, 1870—149 strokes; became his absolute property.

The trophy of Glasgow Golf Club, 1727-1828—a silver club and twenty-four balls attached, exhibited by Mr. Wm. McInroy, is valuable as showing the make of the club and the appearance of the ball from year to year, for in this and other old clubs it was the custom for the captain each year to annex a ball of silver of the pattern of the period with his name and the date inscribed.

The balls on this trophy are all of the leather type, but the Honourable Company own three silver clubs and balls which run direct from 1744 to the present time, and on these the evolution of the ball could be fully traced. The leather was displaced by the gutta (Fig. 268) about 1846, one Paterson being the reputed inventor, though others disputed the claim. At first the gutta was almost smooth, but as it was used in play it flew better and this led to hand-hammering, which soon gave way to the cheaper process of casting in a mould.

The various changes may be noted in Figs. 267, 268, and 269. What further changes in clubs and balls may be in store it is not easy to predict, but the royal and ancient game is not likely to lose its place among Scottish sports.



FIG. 274. Championship belt.

While numerous Dutch tiles and Dutch pictures showing that in Holland something like golf was practised long ago and that chiefly on the ice, there is no evidence to prove that CURLING was ever indulged in by the Dutch. The influences of the low countries on our arts, industries, and literature is yet an unwritten chapter in British history. On many of our manufactures and arts they have impressed their versatility and skill: even our agriculture is said to owe to them the method of drainage to which its development is in great measure due. But to the Flemings we say, 'Hands off,' when curling is concerned. That is 'Scotland's ain game.' It is Scottish in its origin; Scottish in its nature, and cannot be played properly in any but the gude braid Scots tongue, and its development has been Scottish all through, from the time the first river-worn kute went skimming along the ice to the time when the Ailsa Craig or Crawfordjohn were dressed up as things of beauty and mounted with silver and ivory handles. In the words of the old Duddingston motto:

'Sic Scoti: alii non aequae felices.'

If ever the game was played by other nations they had given it up. But Scotland, finding its virtue, stuck to it and made it her national game.

By the love Scotchmen have shewn to it, and the glory they have thrown around it in thousands of bloodless bonspiels; by the sociality, the robustness, the 'smeddum' and the enthusiasm it has imparted to our national life, they have made it as truly a national institution as the haggis, the parritch-pat, the pibroch, or the Auld Kirk; and it is as truly our national game as the thistle is our national emblem or Saint Andrew our national saint. A poet in the old *Scots Magazine* gives an account of the origin of curling which is not very wide of the mark. He represents auld Daddy Scotland sitting bare-leggit on a snawy brae while the snell wind blew mercilessly. In his despair he appeals to Albyn Jove 'for a cheery heartsome game,' and Jove makes this answer to his appeal:

SCOTTISH SPORTS

'Gae, get twa whinstanes, round and hard,
 Syne on their taps twa thorn roots gird,
 Then soop the ice for mony a yard,
 And mak' baith tee and colly:
 If in the hack your fit ye hide,
 And draw or inwick, guard or ride,
 Syne wi' your besom after't stride,
 We'll hear nae mair o' cauld aye.'

There are still many specimens of the old whinstone, and, if the thornroot handle has decayed, the marks are there. But there are old stones that go a stage farther back. This type was the *loofie*, kuting-stone, or piltycock, which had merely a niche for the finger and thumb of the player, and was delivered from behind with a curving sweep toward the tee. These early specimens were much smaller than those of later periods, and ranged from 5 to fully 25 lbs. in weight. Fig. 275 is of this earliest type. The stone here reproduced (Fig. 276) belonged to Covenanter

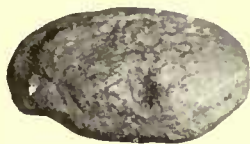


FIG. 275. Roughly hewn stone weighing 26 lbs. with notches for finger and thumb of player.



FIG. 276. Covenanter Guthrie's stone.



FIG. 277. Jubilee stone weighing 117 lbs.

William Guthrie of Pitforthie (1620-1665), and was in use in 1644 and following years when Guthrie was minister of Fenwick.

The first reference to the game is in the *Muses Threnodie*; and there the *loadstones* from the Lake of Lednoch, which were among Dr. Ruthven's 'gabions' were of the earliest pattern. The lake, situated about four miles from Perth on the banks of the river Almond, was the place where the Perth curlers got the best curling-stones for their diversion on the frozen river, and all that they required was a hollow niche for the thumb and finger.

In *Baillie's Letters and Journals* we read, under date December 11, 1638: 'Orkney's process came before us; he was a curler on the ice on the Sabbath day.' This bishop who was deposed along with others by the General Assembly which met at Glasgow under Alexander Henderson, George Grahame by name, was translated from Dunblane to Orkney in 1615, and no doubt he had at the former place enjoyed Curling with the Kuting-stone, so that the old game was even then a bond of brotherhood between Episcopalian and Covenanter.

Two of the most interesting specimens of these old stones, the one weighing 15½ lbs., the other 26 lbs., may be seen in the Macfarlane Museum, Smith Institute, Stirling. The latter has the date 1511 engraved upon it, with the lettering St. Js. B. STIRLING, but the lettering is evidently later than the date.

The *second* type of Curling-stone is the rough block or boulder, usually taken from the river—hence the term 'channel-stane.' With the aid of the handle it was possible to use a much larger boulder than with the finger and thumb. The Jubilee Stone (Fig. 277) weighed 117 lbs., so that there were evidently giants in those days. It must be remembered that then the rink was shorter and each player used only one stone. Figs. 278 and 279 are other specimens of this type. The former is dated

1698. The latter, dated 1700, was dug out of a pond on the estate of Mr. Drummond Murray, when it was drained some years ago. It is lettered M. W. H., and it is almost certain that it belonged to the Rev. Mr. William Halley, first minister of Muthil after the abolition of Episcopacy in 1690, for in the records of the Muthil Club which go back to 1739, his is the first name found on the list of members.

The greatest advance in the development of Curling was made when the third or *round* form of stone was adopted. Among the earlier specimens of this type are the pair which belonged to Sir Walter Scott. The Canonmills picture, belonging to Prof. Chiene, represents the same stones in a primitive shape, with a game proceeding under the auspices of the oldest Curling club, the Canonmills, whose



FIG. 278. Stone dated 1698.



FIG. 279. Stone dated 1700.

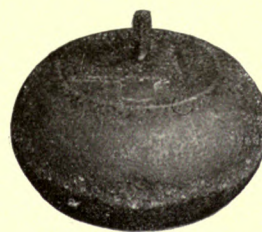


FIG. 280. Tam Samson's stone.

winter diversion the Magistrates of the city used to open with a procession headed by a musical band.

One very interesting specimen we reproduce, viz., Tam Samson's stane (Fig. 280). The owner of this, a seedsman in Kilmarnock, was a great friend of Robert Burns. Burns was not himself a curler, but he evidently knew well the points of the game.

The formation of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club in 1838 was a great event in the development of Scotland's ain game, for this club took up the government of the game and advancement of its interests all over the world, and under its fostering care Curling has been made more and more popular. Under this club's auspices a great battle takes place every year, when conditions permit, between the Curlers of the North and those of the South of Scotland, in which about 250 rinks or 1000 players on each side usually compete.

JOHN KERR.

Scottish Weapons

AS a general principle, the same armament was common to all the nations of Western Europe about the same period, modified, however, in each country by certain peculiarities more or less distinctive. In Scotland early types remained in use till a late period.

The BODY ARMOUR in Scotland was similar to that in England at the same period, except that the open bascinet with camail appears to have survived



FIG. 281. Shirt of chain mail.

in the former for some time after it had gone out of use in the latter. In fact, this helmet, along with the quilted canvas hauberk and mail shirt (Fig. 281), seems to have survived in the Highlands as late as the 17th century, to judge from a description of the Highland levies brought down to overawe the Covenanters in 1678, which is quoted by Wodrow from an anonymous writer.

Mail would naturally be more suitable for the Highlands than plate armour on account of the roughness of the country, which demanded considerable freedom of movement and a pliable and light defensive covering.

Although troublous times showed that there was 'na sic quantity of armour made within this realm'¹ as could supply the demand and consequently necessitated its importation along with arms, still we have the craft of Armourers

¹ *Ancient Scottish Weapons*, Drummond, page 1.

in the towns, the Hereditary Armourers of the Highland Clans, and Royal payments to the 'factor armorum,'¹ to show the existence of the industry in Scotland.

We have few specimens of Scottish SWORDS anterior to the 17th century, and a comparison of the early West Highland tombstones² with English monumental effigies of the 13th century³ shows that the swords represented thereon differ only in an exaggerated depression of the quillons in the Scottish type.⁴ These weapons probably remained in use in the Highlands till the 17th century. The Scottish variety of the two-hand sword called in Gaelic "Claidheamhmor" (Fig. 282),

unmatched for its beautiful proportion and fine balance, was modelled on the foregoing with the addition of a pierced quatrefoil termination to the quillon. It probably made its appearance in the 15th century, when the two-hand sword began to come into general use, and remained in evidence till the close of the 17th century. It was less in size than others of the same type, being about 4 feet 6 inches long in comparison with 5 to 6 feet, and was carried in a sheath probably slung on the back. In the Lowlands the heavy German type of from 5 to 6 feet long was used (Figs. 283, 284, and 285). It was carried at the slope on the shoulder, and does not appear to have been furnished with a sheath.⁵ One can readily understand how these differences suited the Claidheamhmor for the long distances it had to be carried and for the rough and uneven ground

of the Highlands, where it was mainly, if not exclusively, used.

The two-hand swords now shown as the weapons of Wallace and Bruce (see Fig. 129), and their supporters, belong to this period. The legends attached to them probably arose from their being preserved in houses or localities intimately

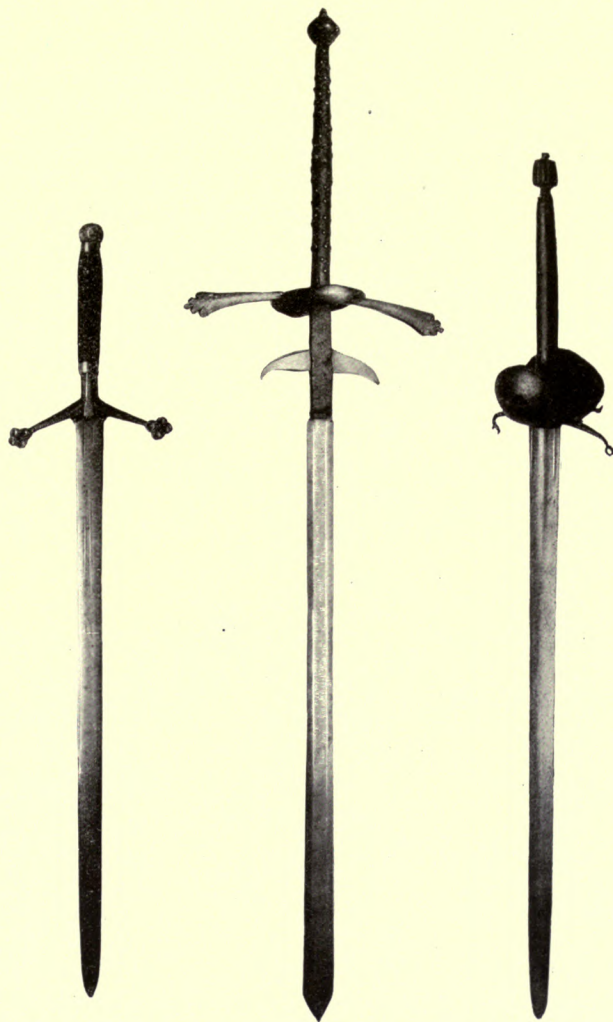


FIG. 282. Claidheamhmor.

FIG. 283. Two-hand sword of Macpherson the Freebooter.

FIG. 284. Two-hand broadsword.

¹ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, Vol. I., page 180.

² *The Carved Stones of Islay*, Graham; *Antiquities of Iona*, Grahame; *Sculptured Monuments of Iona and the West Highlands*, Drummond.

³ *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*, C. A. Stothard, plates 20 and 22.

⁴ The only authentic example I know of, belonging to this early period, is in the Museum of Scottish National Antiquities, Edinburgh.

⁵ *Ancient Scottish Weapons*, Drummond, plate on page 11.

connected with these celebrities and the popular fancy associating great deeds with great physical strength. What could be more suggestive in this respect than the immense two-hand sword of the 16th century!

When in the 16th century armour began to fall into disuse and with it the iron gauntlet, a protection for the hand became necessary, and hence the basket hilt. The basket-hilted broad sword appears to have come into use in Italy and Germany about the middle of the 16th century,¹ and would naturally find its way into Scotland by the close of that century or the beginning of the next. The German hilts show by far the stronger resemblance to the Scottish, many of them having the 'S' form (Fig. 291) included in the same manner as in the latter. This connection



FIG. 285. Two-hand sword of Archibald, Bell the Cat.

is further strengthened by the fact that most of the Scottish sword blades were imported from Germany, as shown by the proof marks. The earliest Scottish varieties are Figs. 290 and 289. In Fig. 289 the 'pas d'âne' of the antecedent German type, a contrivance for protecting the first finger which it was the custom to place round the quillon, has been reduced, on account of the disuse of this practice, to two loop-like projections to protect the lower part of the hand, a feature altogether wanting in Fig. 290 where protection is provided otherwise. The long and sometimes counter curved German quillons are eliminated in the Scottish variety, and are only suggested by little curled projections; on the later hilts probably retained to guard the wrist from an upward cut. The simple form of basket had, by the close of the 17th century, gradually improved in design by perforation and fluting in parts (Figs. 288, 291).

The close of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century saw many finely executed basket hilts (Fig. 287); several of elaborate and fanciful design were in the Historical Collection shown in Glasgow, 1901 (see Fig. 188).

The upper terminations of the guards, which originally fitted into a groove in the pommel, were shortly after 1700 united to a ring on which the pommel sat. Latterly the baskets became very heavy, and we find on the inner or thumb side, to reduce weight, a large oval ring substituted for the diagonal counter guards, eventually leading, towards the close of the century, to the complete cutting away of that side of the basket.

This hilt was not originally polished as now seen, but, to suit our climate enamelled usually in black picked out with gold ornamentation. Some of the finest examples were oxydised, engraved, and inlaid with silver in the manner of the pistols.

Some varieties of the 'Scottish' type were certainly in use in England in the 18th century, and probably earlier. The English 'Mortuary' basket hilt of the Commonwealth period (Fig. 292) and other types used abroad (Figs. 286, 293) were also in common use in Scotland.

The manufacture of weapons appears to have been carried on in all the principal towns of Scotland, and the minute books of the Incorporations of Hammermen show an industry of considerable importance as far back as they take us.

¹ *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe*, Hewitt, Vol. III., p. 617.

SCOTTISH SWORDS

- FIG. 293. Broadsword, hilt of single knuckle guard with side scrolls; double-edged blade, $35\frac{1}{4}$ " long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ ", with three short flutes, signed "—DREA FERARA," and wolf mark.—Seventeenth century. From Fence, Tillietudlem.
- FIG. 292. Broadsword, with chiselled basket hilt of "Mortuary" type; blade 30" long, double-edged, with short flute and wolf mark inlaid in copper.
- FIG. 291. Broadsword, with pierced basket hilt of "S" type; double-edged blade, 32" long by $1\frac{3}{8}$ ", with short flute, signed "FERRARA."—Late seventeenth century. From Barnhill, Lesmahagow.
- FIG. 290. Broadsword, with basket hilt of early form; broad, double-edged blade $35\frac{3}{4}$ " long by $1\frac{3}{4}$ ", with three short flutes, signed "ANDRIA FARARA," and ball-and-cross mark.—About 1650.
Said to have belonged to Captain John Paton, the Covenanter, hanged in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, 9th May, 1684.
- FIG. 289. Broadsword, with basket hilt of early form; double-edged blade, 36" long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ", with two flutes running close to point, signed "ANDREAS FERRARA."—About 1650.
Belonged to Wm. Clelland, one of the leaders at Drumclog and Bothwell Brig, who fell at the battle of Dunkeld, 21st August, 1689, at the head of the Cameronians, of which regiment he was the first Lt.-Colonel.
- FIG. 288. Broadsword, with pierced basket hilt; double-edged blade, $36\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ", with central ridge, showing traces of engraving.—Late seventeenth century. From Kinloch-Rannoch.
- FIG. 287. Backsword, with finely fluted and pierced basket hilt, of type with oval opening on inner side; blade $35\frac{1}{4}$ " long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ", with two flutes running close to point, engraved with scrolls and signature "ANDREA FARARA."—Early eighteenth century.
- FIG. 286. Broadsword, hilt with two knuckle guards and thumb ring; double-edged blade, $35\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $1\frac{1}{8}$ ", slightly hollowed, and signed "ANDREA FERARA," and wolf mark.—Seventeenth century.
This sword was used by Brownlee, a Newmilns Covenanter, at the Battle of Drumclog.

SCOTTISH SWORDS

FIG. 293. Broadsword, hilt of single knuckle guard with side rings. Blade with three short hilted, signed "DREA PERRA" and well marked with a ridge. From Penon, Thibodeaux.

FIG. 294. Broadsword, with chiseled basket hilt of "MORNING" type. Blade with three short hilted and well marked with a ridge.

FIG. 295. Broadsword, with beveled basket hilt of "MORNING" type. Blade with three short hilted, signed "DREA PERRA"—late seventeenth century. From Penon, Thibodeaux.

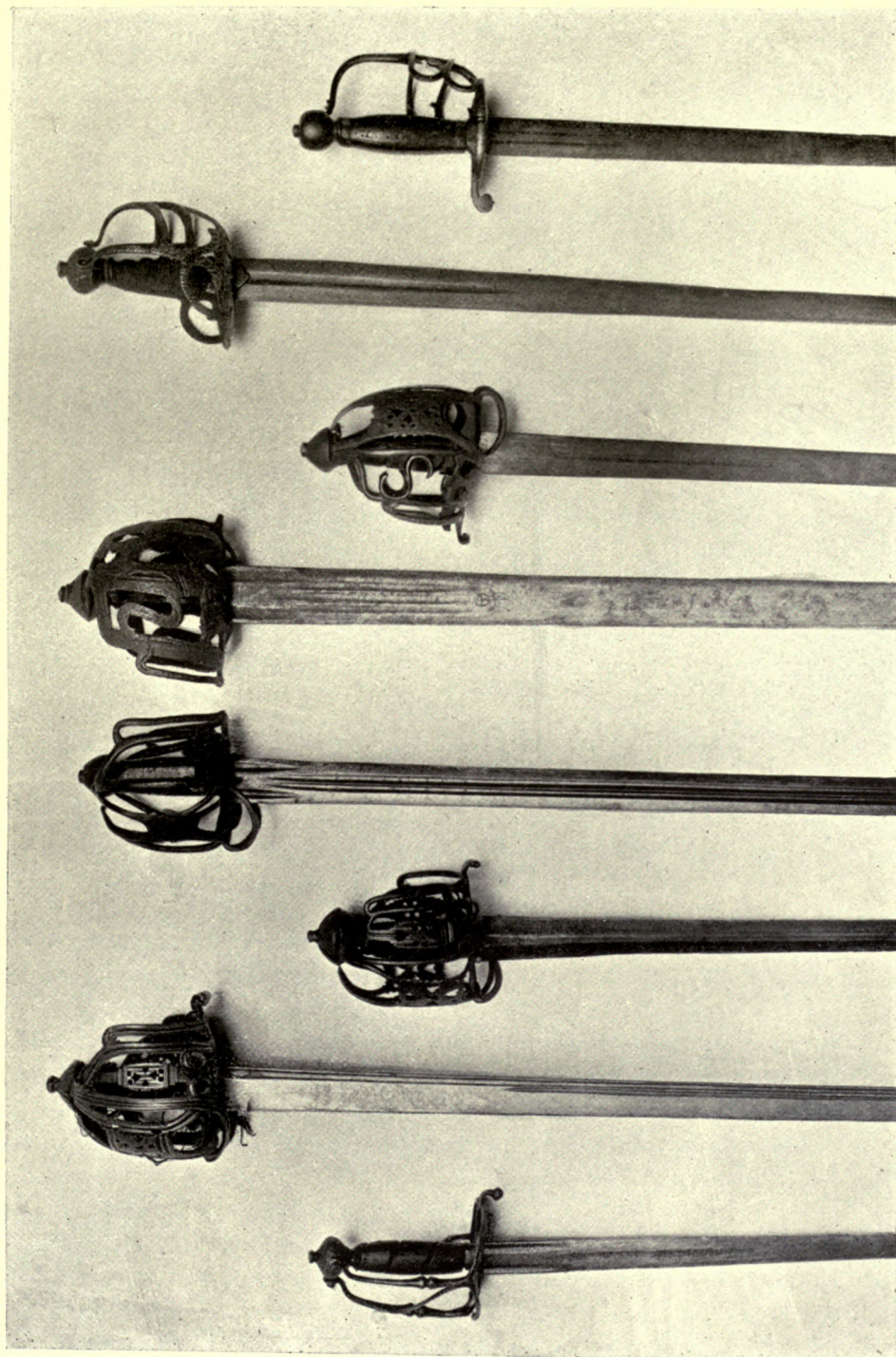
FIG. 296. Broadsword, with basket hilt of early form; hilt with rings and side rings. Blade with three short hilted, signed "AZORRA PERRA" and well marked with a ridge. Said to have belonged to Captain John Perre, of the "MORNING" of Edinburgh, 17th May, 1684.

FIG. 297. Broadsword, with basket hilt of early form; hilt with rings and side rings. Blade with three short hilted, signed "AZORRA PERRA" and well marked with a ridge. Belonged to Wm. O'Connell, one of the leaders at the battle of Dunkeld, 1719. Signed "AZORRA PERRA" and well marked with a ridge. He was the first Irish-born.

FIG. 298. Broadsword, with beveled basket hilt of "MORNING" type. Blade with three short hilted, signed "DREA PERRA" and well marked with a ridge, showing traces of engraving.

FIG. 299. Backsword, with hilt of "MORNING" type. Blade with three short hilted, signed "DREA PERRA" and well marked with a ridge. Side; blade 35 1/2" long. From Penon, Thibodeaux.

FIG. 300. Broadsword, hilt with two knuckle guards and rings. Blade with three short hilted, signed "DREA PERRA" and well marked with a ridge. This sword was used by Broadsword, 17th century, at the battle of Dunkeld.



FIGS. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293.

SCOTTISH SWORDS

Four trades seem to have participated in the production of swords : Armourers, Gairdmakers,¹ Cutlers, and Lorimers.²

A statute of 1548 refers to cutlers making 'byknyves, quhingaris³ dudgeons⁴ sowrds, grithand,⁵ sowrds with hilt and plummet' and Lorimers making 'gairds.'⁶

In 1583 a Gairdmaker wrought for his essay 'a pair of clain skellit gairds and ane pair ribbit gairds.'⁷ At this time a Lorimers' essay was 'ane pair of small ribbit sword gairds,' and 'ane bridle bit, etc.'⁷

In 1590 the Armourers' essay was 'a great hit sword.'^{5,7} We find mention of the broad-sword in 1600, when an Armourer's essay was 'an mounted braid sword, sufficiently wrought'⁷; and apparently of the Highland basket hilt in 1649



294 295 296
 FIG. 294. Dagger knife, heavy single-edged blade.
 FIG. 295. Highland sporran of sealskin.
 FIG. 296. Highland dirk.
 FIG. 297. Highland sporran of badger skin.

298 299 300
 FIG. 298. Highland dirk, silver mounted.
 FIG. 299. Highland sporran of doe skin.
 FIG. 300. Highland dirk, brass mounted.

when the essay of the Armourers consisted of 'ane mounted sword with a new scabbard and ane Highland gaurd.'⁷ That many of these hilts exhibited a high quality of workmanship and finish is evident from the fact of a Dalmascar⁸ submitting as his essay in 1590 'a pair gairds dalmash'd and gilt with lief gold.'⁷

The best sword blades in use in Scotland, including those marked 'Andrea Ferara,' were imported from Germany and Spain, but principally the former as shown by the guild and armourers' marks. That blades were made in Scotland at least in the 17th century, as was the case in England, is most probable although no direct evidence has yet been produced.

The frequency of Andrea Ferara's name on Scottish sword blades is remarkable. The most probable explanation is that some importer of blades brought over a consignment marked 'Andrea Ferara,' which being found of good quality created a demand for more, and the sword smiths of Solingen and Toledo took

¹ Hilt makers.

² Bridle makers.

³ A light short sword, generally with a single-edged curved blade and a light ornamental hilt.

⁴ Dagger, with a boxwood handle.

⁵ A two-hand or a bastard sword?

⁶ *The Perth Hammermen Book*, Colin A. Hunt, 1889.

⁷ 'Observations on the Hammermen of Edinburgh,' *Archæologia Scotica*, Vol. I., p. 170.

⁸ Damascener.

care to satisfy it.¹ A careful study of the marks shows where the majority came from and in some cases who made them.

Previous to, say, the 16th century, a DAGGER was used, similar in features to the swords with the depressed quillons,² but the weapon of this nature, showing distinct national characteristics, is the Highland dirk. It has a heavy, single-edged fluted blade, with a handle of alder, briar root, box, heather root, or such like, mounted with brass, silver, or pewter, and carved with interlaced work. The sheath is of leather, stamped with ornament and furnished with two side pockets containing a knife and fork. The earliest examples carry a knife only.

It developed from the dagger-knife used in the Lowlands, England, and abroad from about the 14th to the early part of the 16th century (Fig. 294),

and known in England as a 'ballok knife.'³ It had a diamond-section or heavy single-edged blade, straight grip of circular or octagonal section, kidney-shaped haunches, and a slight mushroom-shaped pommel finished by a small metal cap. The sheath contained a small knife in a side pocket.

The Highlander, probably late in the 16th century, proceeded to bring his artistic taste to bear on it by slightly swelling the grip, enlarging the haunches and pommel, and decorating with interlaced work. Fig. 296 illustrates the transition and Fig. 298 the perfected weapon. (See also Fig. 222.) The decadence set in during the latter half of the 18th century. This is shown

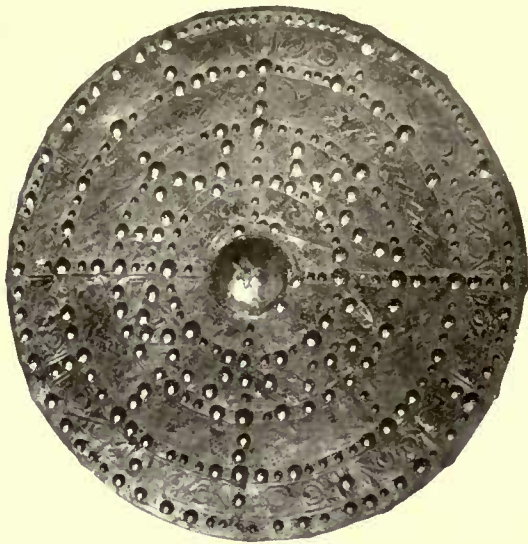


FIG. 301. Targe from the Meyrick Collection.

by the exaggeration of proportion (Fig. 300) and the degeneration in the ornamentation, which finally, about 1800, culminated in the balluster shaped article now in use. There has been much fruitless discussion as to whether the *sgian dubh* (a small knife carried in the stocking) was known before the late 18th century or not. The custom of carrying a knife in the stocking existed in England in Chaucer's time⁴ (14th century) and we may infer that it was also practised in Scotland and elsewhere.

The sporran very closely resembled the pouches made at Nürenberg in the 16th century, but had only one compartment and a simple catch mechanism. The earliest examples were hung, like the dirk, from the waist-belt by a loop (Figs. 295, 217), the later (Fig. 297, 299) being slung on a separate strap over the haunches. An average size was 8 in. by 6 in.

Until the introduction of the rapier towards the close of the 16th century, the sword and buckler were the necessary equipment of a man in his daily walks. During the 16th century, the buckler was about a foot in diameter with a short central spike about 4 in. or 5 in. long; it was held in the left hand by a central handle. The target was larger, about two feet in diameter, and was

¹This form of forgery and the stamping of fictitious early dates was a common practice in the 17th century.

²*Sculptured Monuments of Iona and the West Highlands*, Drummond, pl. xl.

³*The Reliquary*, Jany. 1887, 'On some of the smaller weapons of the Middle Ages,' by the Hon. Harold Dillon, F.S.A.

⁴Chaucer in the *Reeves Tale* says of the miller, 'a Scheffeld thwitel bar he in his hose.'

intended for the battle-field; it had a spike about 10 in. or 12 in. long, and was held on the left fore-arm by two loops.

Scotland conformed to the general practice, except in the Highlands where we find the TARGE a compromise between the buckler and the target, its width being about 1 ft. 8 in., and weight about $4\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. It was held on the left fore-arm by two loops, the hand holding the dirk point downwards for use in closing. It was constructed of two ply of light boards running crosswise, the whole covered with leather, the inside padded, the outside divided by circles and lines of brass studs into panels filled with tooled Celtic ornament. It had in addition a central boss, and sometimes also side bosses, engraved or pierced. (See Figs. 201 and 301.) The boss survives in the targe as an ornamental feature, but on the earlier shield served to cover the hand and central handle. The latter part of the 17th and first half of the 18th century have left a number of examples to show how such articles could be made the medium of most beautiful and imaginative decoration. They were still



FIG. 304. Gun of John, Fourth Earl of Montrose.

in use in the Highland regiments for a few years after 1745.¹

The first form of portable FIREARM was the match-lock musket. It was a long cumbersome weapon fired from a rest, and remained in use as late as the reign of William III. The invention about 1517 of the wheel lock (which gave rise to the pistol) revolutionised all classes of weapons. Later on in the century came the snap-haunce which developed into the flint-lock about 1630-40. Scotsmen were not slow to avail themselves of these great improvements, and (in the 16th century) every merchant trading abroad was ordered to bring home each voyage two or more hagbuts, or *metal to make them*.² From the Privy Council records, etc., we learn that at least by the latter half of the 16th century firearms were in general use both in the Highlands and Lowlands, and that their manufacture was then an established industry. The records of the Incorporations of Hammermen contain definite information on this point, dagmakers, being mentioned, in 1594, as submitting as essay, 'a hagbut³ and a dag⁴.'⁵ The inventory of the house of Balloch belonging to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy of date 1600, mentions 'ane long hagbute that was maid in Dundie gilt with the Lardis arms,' one 'stockit with

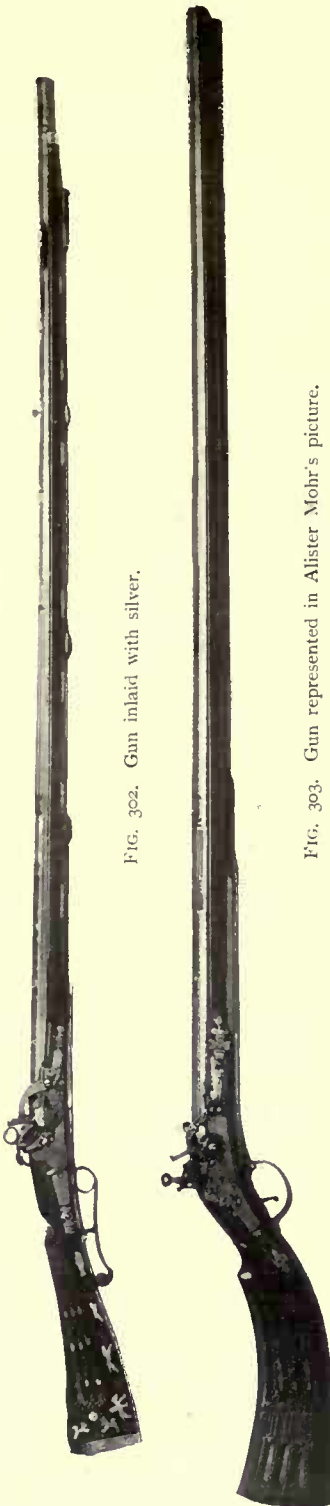


FIG. 302. Gun inlaid with silver.

FIG. 303. Gun represented in Alister Mohr's picture.

¹ *Military Antiquities*, Grose, Vol. 1. p. 156.

³ Arquebus.

⁵ Observations on the Hammerman of Edinburgh, *Archæologia Scotica*, Vol. I., p. 170.

² *Ancient Scottish Weapons*, Drummond, p. 12.

⁴ Pistol.

SCOTTISH WEAPONS

Brissel,¹ and 'a hagbot that come out of Menteith,' etc. The pistols were also sometimes mentioned as of brass. We cannot say whether or no the wheel lock was

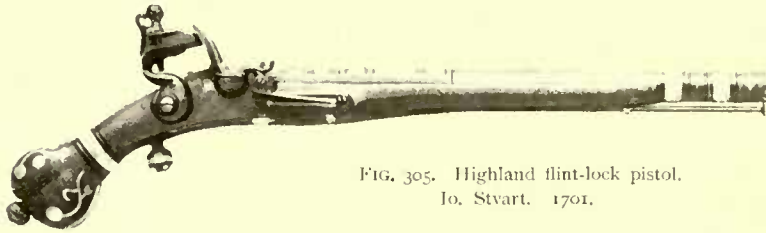


FIG. 305. Highland flint-lock pistol.
Io. Stvart. 1701.

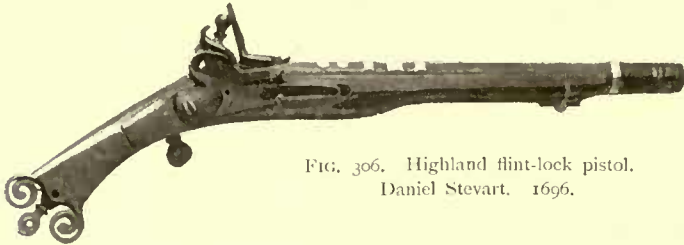


FIG. 306. Highland flint-lock pistol.
Daniel Stevart. 1696.

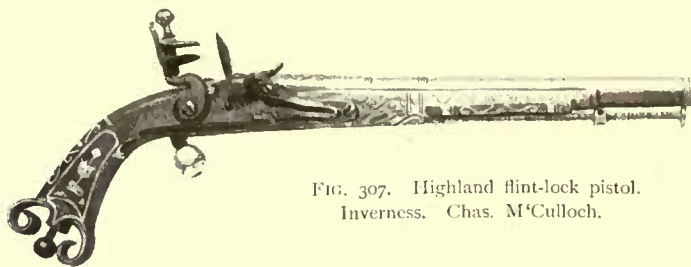


FIG. 307. Highland flint-lock pistol.
Inverness. Chas. M'Culloch.

303), the latter, made apparently in 1634,³ is one of the finest now existing; Fig. 304 is a very characteristic piece. The gun seems to have lost its individuality by the close of the 17th century.

The earliest known examples of Scottish firearms are three pair of pistols in the Dresden Museum, dated respectively 1598, 1611, and 1615.⁴ The date of the oldest shows how remarkably abreast of the times the Scottish dag-makers were. At this period the stock is of wood, steel, or brass, the butt finished by a scroll-outlined mount, or a globose terminal of ball or lemon shape, sometimes pierced, and resembling in form those of contemporary foreign wheel locks,⁵ while the locks are the same as those of the guns, but generally left-hand.⁶ There is usually a hook or 'slide' on the stock for attachment to the belt.

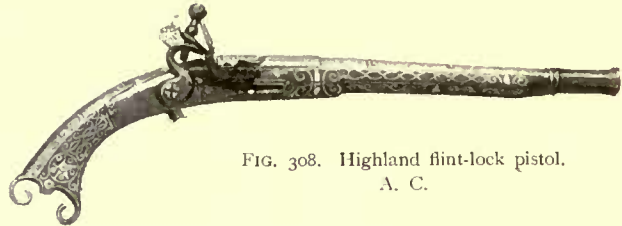


FIG. 308. Highland flint-lock pistol.
A. C.

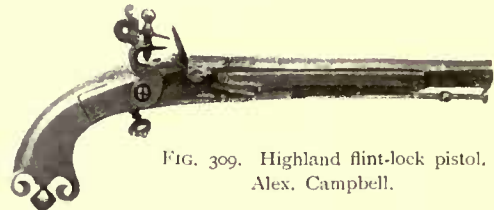


FIG. 309. Highland flint-lock pistol.
Alex. Campbell.



FIG. 310. Highland flint-lock pistol.
I. Murdoch.

¹ Brazil Wood.

² The greatest country for the invention and manufacture of firearms.

³ This date, now only partly legible, is on the pan. The inscription and date (1434) on the barrel are clearly fictitious.

⁴ Trans. Soc. of Antiquaries (London), 1897-98, p. 107. Note on a pistol by the Hon. Harold Dillon, F.S.A.

⁵ See Illustrated Catalogue of Brett Collection, 1895.

⁶ On the left side of the pistol.

made in Scotland, or was altogether imported, but this is certain that snap-haunce weapons of high quality and finish were manufactured there at a very early date, with mounting and decoration marked by distinctive national characteristics; although the mechanism and general form of the lock resembled to those in use in Germany² and France. The makers' initials were stamped by a square die on the face of the lock-plate, not inside as usual abroad. Of the guns of this period (Figs. 302 and

Early in the latter half of the 17th century when the flint lock had come into use, the whole pistol was made of metal, steel or brass. The flat wooden butt with the scroll-outlined metal mount developed into the 'scroll-ended butt' (Fig. 306),¹ and the globose into the heart-shape (Fig. 305).² The steel stocks and butts were oxydised dark blue, and ornamented with slight engraving, inlaid bands and circular or heart-shaped plaques of silver.

Shortly after 1700 we have this weapon at its best. The form was gracefully proportioned and the surface almost completely covered with beautiful scroll-work, engraved and inlaid with silver. (Figs. 307-309.) In rare examples gold and niello were also used. The latest form of butt was the lobe-shape, which developed about the middle of the 18th century (Fig. 310). Some makers employed two or more varieties of butt, but the scroll-ended type seems to have been most favoured in the Highlands, and the heart-shaped in the Lowlands.

The lock mechanism of these 18th century pistols shows certain peculiarities. There is no bridle, and a feature of the snap-haunce is retained, or rather revived, by the sear being prolonged into an arm with a hook-like projection protruding beyond the lock-plate and in front of the dog head to retain it at half-cock.

Many with the scroll-ended butt show a unique feature in having a perforated disk behind the dog head (Figs. 308 and 309). This industry died out shortly after 1800.

The following makers' names are found on pistols of the late 17th and the 18th centuries :

Thos. Caddell, Doune.	D—l Walker, Dumbarton.
John Campbell, „	W. Hunter, Stirling.
Alex ^r . Campbell, „	David M'Kenzie, Dundee.
Jo. Murdoch, „	And. Strahan, Edzell.
James Paterson, „	T. Murdoch, Leith.
Charles M'Culloch, Inverness.	M'Nab, Dalmally.
MacLeod, Perth.	Alex ^r . Shireff, Old Meldrum.

Locality not yet ascertained:

Daniel Steuart.	David Dunbar.	S. Michie.	J. M'Rosty.
Jo. Chrystie.	Jo. Petcairn.	Alex. Murdoch.	Bissell.
Jas. Sutherland.	Jo. Stuart.		

¹ Earlier examples are figured in C. N. M'I. North's *Book of the Club of True Highlanders*, Pl. XLV. and XLVII.

² Drummond's *Ancient Scottish Weapons*, Pl. XXVIII. illustrates one dated 1665.



FIGS. 311-313. Powder horns.

Some of the above were doubtless descendants of the old clan armourers,¹ and made dirks, sporrans, etc., in addition to pistols. It would be difficult to say who was the best maker, but I am inclined to give the palm to Alexr. Campbell, of Doune.

The Highland POWDER HORN was made from a neat's horn flattened and mounted with brass, pewter or lead. The broad end was closed by a wooden bottom occasionally furnished with a perforated lug for suspension, and the narrow end plugged by a moveable stopper a short distance below which was a second loop for suspension. As will be seen (Figs. 311-313) the surface and nature of the material afforded scope for artistic treatment, which was taken advantage of by engraving thereon interlaced work, conventional foliage, figures and mottoes. The oldest date I can quote is 1643.² Fine Celtic work remained the form of decoration during the 17th



314

315

316

FIGS. 314-316. Old iron axes.

century, but in the early 18th it began to deteriorate and become mixed with other forms, degenerating into compass work, and finally dying out by the close of the century.

Contemporary documents mention HAFTED WEAPONS, such as halberds, gysarms (bills), which seem to have had no particular national characteristics, excepting the Jedburgh staff and the Lochaber axe. These were both pole-axes about 5 ft. long, and the latter had a heavy broad blade, resembling the German and Swiss 'Voulge' of the 14th-16th centuries, but differing in usually having a hook on the top of the shaft. We find mention of them in the 17th century, but they were no doubt in use earlier.

The three AXE-HEADS, Figs. 314-316, were dug out of peat-mosses on the borders. Fig. 314 belongs to the Anglo-Saxon period. This form of axe is figured in the hands of the centaur on the sculptured stone at Meigle (10th century). Fig. 315 is also a Norwegian type of the Viking period.³ It is remarkable in having a hard steel cutting edge welded on to a soft steel or iron body. Fig. 316 appears to be also of the Anglo-Saxon period⁴ but may possibly be later.

CHARLES E. WHITELAW.

¹ This is particularly stated of M'Nab, who claimed that his family had been hereditary armourers to the Knights of Lochawe for 400 years. See *Travels in Scotland, England, and the Hebrides*, B. Faujas de Saint-Fond, 1799, p. 290. 'Rob Roy's' pistol, now in the possession of the Marquis of Breadalbane, bears this maker's name.

² *Ancient Scottish Weapons*, Drummond, Pl. XXIII.

³ See *Ryghs Norske Old Sager*, Nos. 558, 560.

⁴ *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe*, Hewitt, Vol. I., Pl. VII.

Old Scottish Plate

THE prevalence of gold and silversmiths' work may be said to have commenced in Scotland in early Christian times when the Celtic artificers fabricated those objects of ecclesiastical use or personal ornament described as Celtic, which for refinement of design and skill in execution are unrivalled to this day. From the vast treasures possessed by the Crown which in medieval and later times are fully detailed in the Inventories, it might have been expected that some would have survived. But apart from the Royal Regalia which happily escaped many threatened disasters and perhaps one or two isolated articles which may have been royal possessions, not an object remains. The great dispersion of the royal treasures occurred on the downfall of Queen Mary after her marriage with Bothwell. The gold font (weighing 333 ounces) sent by Queen Elizabeth for the baptism of the Prince was converted into money; when the Queen's jewels and valuables fell into the hands of the Confederated Lords, 1300 ounces of her silver plate was also coined, and after the surrender at Carberry the Palace of Holyrood was broken into by the mob and the contents pillaged. Although some of the Queen's valuables were afterwards recovered they in their turn have also disappeared.

In early times the Church was the nursing mother of the fine arts; but it is questionable if there is a single vessel now in existence which was used in a Scottish Church before the Reformation. Civil wars, the cupidity of the guardians to whose care it was entrusted, the local needs of the burghs who had taken possession of it, the general lack of appreciation of its artistic value, and the spirit of destruction which prevailed after the Reformation, unquestionably led to most of it being melted or applied to baser uses. That the Scottish Church was rich in vessels of gold and silver is unquestionable as may be seen from the Inventories of the great Cathedral Churches. Of the post-Reformation Church plate the larger proportion is still preserved and in regular use. Most of it is of Scottish manufacture, and its general characteristic is massive plainness, with however a distinct character of its own. Besides the ordinary types of chalices it includes many cups of secular type which have been appropriated for the Communion, such as the medieval mazer, the early seventeenth century standing cup with cover, the eighteenth century two-handled cup, the beaker of the Low Countries, and the typical Scottish quaich.

The Universities of Scotland have been more fortunate than the Church, as they are in possession of most of their pre-Reformation maces, and several of their post-Reformation mazers and cups.

The city of Edinburgh still possesses one old mace and the sword presented by Charles I., while the College of Justice has the mace of the last Lord High Treasurer of Scotland and the other silver maces it acquired at different times.

The cultivation and encouragement of different sports and pastimes in Scotland

OLD SCOTTISH PLATE

have led to the preservation of more royal, university and municipal gifts than almost any other circumstance. Silver arrows were frequently presented for archery prizes, silver clubs for golf trophies, silver bells and cups for horse racing prizes, and silver guns for shooting competitions. Many of these possess a special interest from the circumstance that it was customary for each winner to attach his medal to the prize. They not only thus annually increased in value but preserved, attached to them, the record of their history, in most cases unrecorded elsewhere.

The exigencies of national dress may be said to be responsible for the numerous and varied kinds of Scottish brooches. Commencing with the simplest form of dress fastener they include at different periods, the Celtic, Medieval, Talismanic, old Highland and Luckenbooth brooches, covering a period of at least twelve hundred years.

The social habits as much as the genius of the Highlanders probably also evolved the unique form of drinking vessel known as the quaich. This was made in many sizes, of wood, silver, and other materials, and was peculiar for centuries to the Highlands of Scotland. The habit of snuffing has left as its heritage a vast number of snuff-boxes and mulls, many of which possess a peculiar interest from their historical associations.

The domestic and corporation plate of Scotland has few outstanding features. In medieval times there appears to have been very little domestic plate, even in the castles of the great barons. Wooden vessels, horn spoons, and pewter plates were the articles in common use. Even in later times, when the trade incorporations were flourishing, little seems to have been manufactured but the most ordinary articles for domestic use. The Universities have preserved a few articles, used at their College tables, such as standing salts, mazers, and cups, while Hospitals and other corporate bodies have their Loving Cups and some of the more ordinary articles of domestic plate. But the specimens thus preserved are few in number compared with those belonging to similar institutions in England. There were many reasons which contributed towards this. The poverty of the country was unquestionably a main factor, while the long period of depression in Scotland after the Union, combined with the troubles ensuing upon the rebellions and wars of the eighteenth century, rendered it impossible for such an art as that of the goldsmith to flourish.

The *MACES OF SCOTLAND* may be divided for convenience into two general groups. The four oldest, with tabernacle or shrine-shaped heads, belonging to the Universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow, form one group, while the others, with bell-shaped heads, belonging to the University of Aberdeen and the City and University of Edinburgh, form another group.

The Mace of the Faculty of Arts, St. Andrews, is the oldest mace in Scotland. It is made of silver in the form of a cylindrical rod surmounted by a hexagonal head of Gothic tabernacle work in three stages. The lowest stage has six shields with the armorial bearings of Scotland, Archbishop Spotswood (added between 1615 and 1639), Bishop Henry Wardlaw, founder of the University, the Earl of Mar, Archibald fourth Earl of Douglas, and Robert, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland. On the middle stage are representations in enamel of John the Baptist, the Virgin Mary, St. Andrew, St. Leonard, St. Michael, and a nimbed figure trampling under foot a horned dragon. The upper story is filled with open window tracery work. The Proceedings of the Faculty of Arts show that it laid aside money for the mace in 1414 and 1415, that in 1418 the order for it had been given, and that in 1419 it was in its possession.

The Mace of the Faculty of Canon Law, St. Andrews, is of silver, and very similar in design to the Arts mace, but it is as manifestly of Scottish manufacture as the latter is French. It has sustained much more damage than the latter, and the shields with the armorial bearings are amissing. The middle stage has representations in flat chasing of the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, St. Mungo, the Good Shepherd, St. Andrew and St. Peter. The first mention of this mace occurs in a Register of the Vestments of St. Salvador's College, drawn up about the year 1461, but its architectural features point to the early portion of the fifteenth century as the date of its manufacture. It appears to be the work of one of the early burgh craftsmen in Scotland, and is probably the oldest specimen of such work that has survived.

The Mace of St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, is made throughout of silver gilt, and was the gift of Bishop Kennedy, who founded the College in 1450. The mace was made in 1461 in Paris by John Maiel, goldsmith to the Dauphin. The head is in the form of an elaborately designed open shrine containing an image of the Saviour (Sanctus Salvator, to whom the College was dedicated) standing upon a globe, beneath which is a dungeon, surrounded by angels bearing the symbols of the Passion. The three alternate spaces of the lower stage are filled with statuettes, representing a king, a bishop and a mendicant. In front of gateways in the corbelled-out niches between these sit grotesque figures with ropes round their waists and clubs in their hands, supporting with their legs three shields, bearing respectively the arms of the see of St. Andrews, of Bishop Kennedy and of St. Salvator's College. The rod is divided into four divisions by knops of Gothic character.

The Mace of the University of Glasgow (Fig. 317) is of silver, partially gilt, and is wrought out with cast figures, buttresses and crocketing, with engraved panels and shields and with a little enamelling. In its form and general outline it is similar to the Arts mace at St. Andrews, but differs from it in many details. The head is of Gothic tabernacle work in three stages. The bays in the first stage are filled with figures of angels grasping shields bearing the arms respectively of the Regent Morton, Lord Hamilton, Scotland, Bishop Turnbull, founder of the University, and the City of Glasgow (Figs. 318-322), and this inscription: *Hæc Virga empta fuit publicis Academiæ Glasguensis sumtibus A.D. 1465, in Galliam ablata A.D. 1560: et Academiæ restituta A.D. 1590* (Fig. 323). The engraving on these shields is all of later date than the manufacture of the mace. The Regent Morton's arms appear to be the oldest, and may possibly date from 1590 when the mace was recovered from Paris, while the engraving of the Arms of Glasgow is clearly not earlier than late eighteenth century work. The bays in the middle stage are filled with engraved panels, and each side of the top stage contains miniature window tracery work.

The history of this mace is well authenticated. In 1460, when Master David Cadzow, Canon of Glasgow, was again elected Rector, he started a subscription for it by himself giving twenty nobles toward it, and in 1465 a committee of four was appointed to collect funds for its completion by taxing the several 'nations.' In

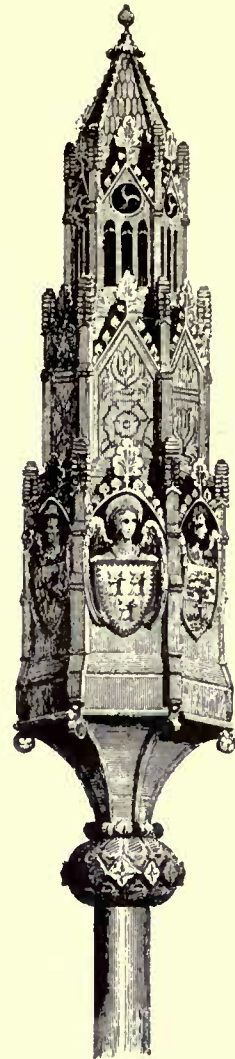


FIG. 317. Mace of the University of Glasgow.

1469 it seems to have been in use, as it was then borne before the Rector on the greater double feasts. The story of its abstraction and restoration is told in the 'Inventur of the guddis' of the College (c 1614): 'Item, in the Principal his studi ane silver staff callit the Rector's staff of five pund sevin unce ane quarter unce weight quhillk Mr. James Balfure deane of Glasgow Rector the yeir of God 1560 gave to the Bischop of Glasgow quho carijt the same with all the Silver Warke and hail Juels of the Hie Kirk to Paris with him. Notwithstanding the said staff be the Travels of Mr. Patrick Sharpe Principal was recoverit mendit and augmentit the year of God MDXC as the dait on the end of the staff bears.'

The four maces already described are entirely different in design from the others in Scotland, and probably derived their origin from the pastoral staff or crosier of the bishop, which often had a head of tabernacle work from which the crook sprang.

The other maces still preserved in Scotland are all of one type, with bell-shaped heads. There are certain features common to them all. The upper portion of the bell head formed the fillet of the crown and was enriched sometimes with silver ornaments shaped like jewels, and in others with figures of thistles, roses,



FIG. 318.
Regent Morton.



FIG. 319.
Lord Hamilton.



FIG. 320.
Scotland.



FIG. 321.
Bishop Turnbull.



FIG. 322.
City of Glasgow.



FIG. 323.
Inscription.

Coats of Arms on the Mace of the University of Glasgow.

harps and fleurs de lis. The top of the bowl was closed with a plate bearing the Royal Arms, and from the cresting of the crown sprang the arches surmounted by the orb and cross. The shafts were sometimes baluster-shaped, sometimes cylindrical, and were enriched at the neckband with scroll brackets. In size, weight and workmanship these maces differed much, but the purpose for which they were used was the same—to enhance the dignity of those before whom they were borne and to 'induce the common people to greater reverence.'

The Mace of the City of Edinburgh is of silver, partly gilt, and was made by George Robertson, an Edinburgh goldsmith, in 1617. It took the place of an older and smaller mace, which was used till that year. The head is decorated with representations of the city arms and a thistle surmounted by a crown placed between the letters I.R. The shaft is baluster shaped, and is enriched with fluting and leaf ornamentation. Authority to bear a mace before the Lord Provost was granted in 1609 by Charter of James VI. The same charter granted authority to bear a Sword also before the Lord Provost, but the Council did not possess one until Charles I. presented the sword now in use.

The University of Aberdeen possesses two maces, the older of which belongs to King's College. It is of silver, and, as appears both from its hall-mark and an inscription, was made in 1650 by Walter Melvill, an Aberdeen goldsmith. The Mace of Marischal College, Aberdeen, is of silver gilt, and has the head divided into four panels by embossed winged cherubs' heads. The receipt granted for the payment of its cost, £31 14s. od., is dated 1671.

The Mace of the University of Edinburgh is of silver, and has the head divided into four circular compartments. It was made, as appears from the

hall-mark, by William Davie, an Edinburgh goldsmith, in 1789. This is not the ancient mace of the University, for the Records show that the College had one in 1640, which was not only used at University ceremonies but was borrowed in 1651 by the Town Council 'for the use of the public,' and was again in 1660 'lent to the Macer of the Committee of Parliament till they get one of their own.' In 1787 this mace was stolen, and in 1789 the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council gave the present mace to the Senatus. Public opinion attributed the theft of the old mace to one of the Town Council—the notorious Deacon Brodie; and it is said that the Council was 'so black affronted' at the disgrace brought on it by one of its own number that it hastened to get the matter hushed up by presenting the new mace to the College. It came just in time to be carried in procession at the laying of the foundation-stone of the new University buildings in November, 1789.

The Lord President's or Old Exchequer Mace is the most important of the maces belonging to the College of Justice. It is made of silver gilt, and bears the London hall-mark for 1667. It appears to have been originally made for the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and on the constituting of the Court of the Barons of Exchequer to have been handed over to the Chief Baron. Since the abolition of that Court, when its judicial functions were transferred to the Court of Session, it has been used by the Lord President. Once a year, however, when His Majesty's Lord High Commissioner attends the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, it is carried before the Commissioner.

Sport and amusements in Scotland have furnished some interesting pieces of silver work. The Royal Company of Archers, the King's Bodyguard for Scotland,

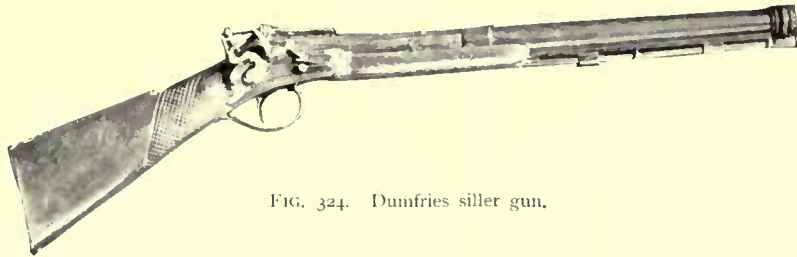


FIG. 324. Dumfries siller gun.

possesses the most important archery prizes in Scotland and among them the arrows presented by the burghs of Musselburgh, Edinburgh, Peebles, and Selkirk for the promotion of archery in their respective districts. St. Andrews, Aberdeen, and Kilwinning had also their archery trophies. The Silver Bells of Lanark and Paisley are horse-racing prizes, the only ones of their type surviving in Scotland. Many Golf Clubs have their silver clubs and balls.

Musket shooting in Scotland was hardly a popular pastime when King James VI. presented the Silver Gun (Fig. 324) to the seven Incorporated Trades of Dumfries in 1598, on condition that it was competed for at the *wappenscharwings* appointed by Parliament to be held several times a year. At first this condition may have been strictly complied with, but in 1785 it was resolved that it should be shot for once in five years, but since 1831 there has been no competition. It is now in the possession of the Town Council of Dumfries. The burgh of Kirkcudbright also possesses a siller gun, the gift of the same sovereign.

[A very full account of the Silver Bell of Lanark appears in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. 1890-91, pp. 174-188; of the University Civic and Judicial Maces of Scotland, Vol. 1891-92, pp. 440-514, and of the Archery Medals of the University of St. Andrews and the Grammar School of Aberdeen, Vol. 1893-94, pp. 343-469. These elaborate studies are all by Mr. Alexander J. S. Brook, F.S.A.Scot.]

Editor's Note.

The BROOCH, unlike the earring and the bracelet, appears to have originated more from the necessities of ancient dress than from the desire for personal adornment. The earliest dress-fastener of metal was a fibula made of bronze wire, the pin end doubled back on a coil to serve as a spring, and the point of the pin engaging in a hook-like catch at the other end on the principle of the modern safety-pin.

In Scotland the dress of women in early times included a large woollen mantle or plaid that, when brought over the shoulders, reached down to the shoes, and was fastened by a brooch at the breast. The plaid was also an indispensable article of male attire, and was similarly secured. The brooches of

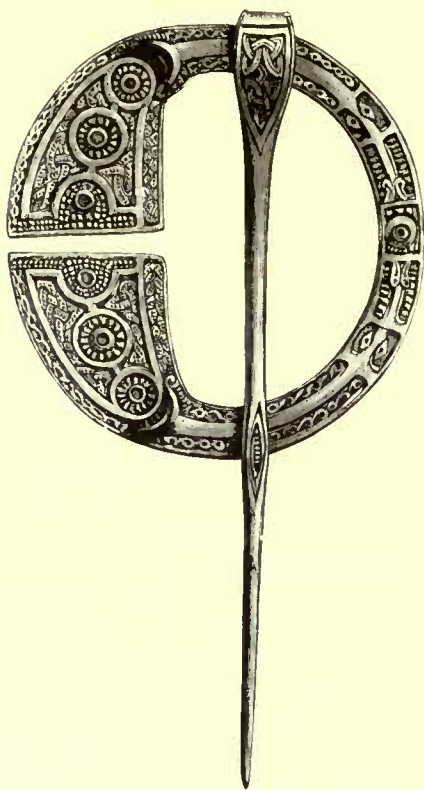


FIG. 325. Celtic penannular brooch of silver.

Scotland may be divided into five divisions, each of which is in the main typical of the period it covers.

1st. Celtic Brooches. These range in date from the eighth to the eleventh or twelfth centuries and among them will be found some of the finest specimens of Celtic art. They are made either of bronze or silver (Fig. 325), decorated with interlaced patterns in panels, and sockets filled with coloured glass or amber. The ornamentation is usually of interlacing bands or intertwined animal forms, executed sometimes in filigree work of notched wire, sometimes in repoussé work on thin gold plaques fitted within the panels, while at other times the ornament is cut in the solid fabric of the brooch and overlaid with gold. The Hunterston Cadboll, Dunbeath, Croy, Tara and Ardagh brooches are the finest examples. The style of their ornamentation resembles that of the illuminated Celtic manuscripts of the gospels of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. Brooches of the same character have been found in Viking graves in Scandinavia and are recognised by the Scandinavian archaeologists as of Scottish or Irish

design and workmanship, brought over by the Vikings. It is impossible to generalise upon the decoration of these brooches. The minuteness, variety, and wealth of detail of the patterns and the great skill shown in fabricating them, show them to be the work of individual artists who, besides possessing the skill to work in gold and silver, may possibly also have been familiar with the process of illuminating manuscripts.

Their date can often be approximately ascertained from the circumstance of coins having been found along with them. For example, the three very fine brooches found at Croy were found along with coins of Coenwulf, King of Mercia, A.D. 785-818.

2nd. Medieval Brooches. The brooches which prevailed from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century were principally flat and circular, and usually made of silver and decorated with inlaid niello and engraved ornamentation. Their characteristic feature is the talismanic formulæ which most of them bear. The commonest of these formulæ are: JESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDEORVM and AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA. These are found used together and separately, sometimes

abbreviated and contracted, almost invariably in debased capitals or black letter characters of the period, and treated generally in an ornamental manner as part of the decoration of the brooch. Other formulae were also used such as I.H.S. MARIA and the old Latin prayer O MATER DEI MEMENTO MEI. One brooch bears the curious reversible word ANSOGANAGOSNA, while on others and on the Glen Lyon brooch are engraved the names of the three Magi CASPAR MELCHIOR BALTAZAR. The use of these names was supposed to act as a charm against the bites of serpents as well as particular diseases. A gold brooch found in the Water of Ardoch has an inscription in old French—AVEZ DE MOY MERCE ET PITE, MONN COER EN BONN REPOSE.

These talismanic formulae were a prominent feature of the middle ages and they may be met with at almost every turn on medieval seals, signets, brooches, and rings. With the decay in the use of Latin the formula gave way to a simulated black letter inscription consisting of the letter **m** repeated of which there are many examples.

The date of these brooches can sometimes be fixed through their having been found associated with coins. Along with the Canobie Brooch there were coins of Edward I. and II. and Alexander III. and John Baliol of Scotland, so that it may be assigned to the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.

3rd. Reliquary Brooches. These have been designated reliquary brooches because they have a receptacle for holding a relic. There are very few specimens known. The best known is the Brooch of Lorne (see Fig. 128). It is of silver, circular in form, and about four inches in diameter. The centre, which is raised, is surmounted by an uncut stone and is surrounded by eight delicately wrought tapering cones, placed on the border of the brooch, each of which is set with a pearl.



FIG. 327. Highland brooch of silver, inlaid with niello.

The Lochbuy Brooch, which was acquired by the British Museum at the sale of the Bernal Collection in 1855, is traditionally said to have been made by a local 'tinker' or *ccard* from silver found on the estate of Lochbuy in Mull in the early part of the sixteenth century, and to have been handed down in the family of Maclean till the failure of the male branch. When Pennant saw it in 1772 it was in the possession of Dr. Lort, and its subsequent history is traced in the catalogue of the Bernal collection. It is of the same form as the Brooch of Lorne, with a round central reliquary box or capsule surmounted by a globular setting of crystal and surrounded by ten circular conical obelisks, each set with a pearl at the top, the whole being surrounded by a low embattled margin. It measures $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter.

The Lossit Brooch, preserved in the family of the Macneals of Ugadale in Kintyre, is of similar form. It is of silver gilt, measuring five inches in diameter across the base and consisting of a central capsule of oval form as the reliquary, surmounted by a rock-crystal of oval form and surrounded by eight circular conical obelisks topped with settings of red corals and pearls alternately.



FIG. 326. Highland brooch of brass.

All these brooches appear to be of Scottish workmanship of the sixteenth century.

4th. Highland brooches of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. These are made either of brass or silver and vary in size from three to seven inches in diameter. During the period of Martin's Tour they seem to have been so large as to justify his description of them as 'plates.'

They are usually flat and circular with the tongue acting on a pin connecting the two penannular ends. The ornamentation is principally incised and examples of zoomorphic, foliaceous, floral, twisted rope, interlaced ribbon (Fig. 326), nail head, lozenge, fret and geometric patterns with an occasional use of niello (Fig. 327) will be found on different examples.

The earlier brooches of this class appear to have been sometimes made by the men who wore them, in other cases by the Highland *ceards* who were skilled

in working in silver, brass, and copper—as opposed to the *gow* who wrought iron—and who travelled over the country supplying the wants of the people. Towards the end of the eighteenth century these brooches were frequently made by the silversmiths and jewellers in Glasgow and Inverness, but the same patterns were reproduced and the characteristic form of the brooch remained unaltered.

5th. Luckenbooth Brooches. These were small in size—sometimes very small—and were principally made of silver, frequently engraved, and occasionally enriched with garnets, crystals, and coloured glass. They derived their name from the Luckenbooths, a narrow range of buildings close to St. Giles' Church in Edinburgh, where many of

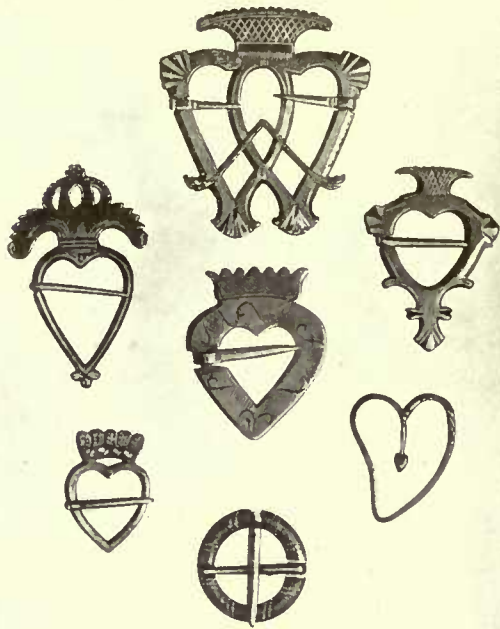


FIG. 328. Luckenbooth brooches.

the jewellers and silversmiths of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had their booths. They were subsequently made in many other parts of Scotland—probably in every burgh that had a silversmith or jeweller, for they were very generally used—but they continued to be known by the old name. They were principally love-tokens or betrothal brooches, and the prevailing form was that of a heart or two hearts intertwined, frequently surmounted by a crown (Fig. 328). They had occasionally engraved upon them initials or mottoes or 'posies,' as was common on the wedding rings of the period, such as 'WRONG NOT THE HEART WHOSE JOY THOU ART'—'LET ME AND THEE MOST HAPPY BE,' etc.

These small brooches, like their medieval predecessors, were also believed to be endowed with the property of protecting children from witchcraft. The Rev. James Hall describes how they were used at the close of the eighteenth century. 'They always fix it to girls somewhere on the left hip and on boys about the middle of the left thigh.' The same writer remarks that he once met an old woman who had worn a brooch fixed on her clothes upon the left hip for more than fifty years 'to preserve her from mischief.' Mothers when nursing frequently wore them 'to prevent the witches from taking away the milk and to keep off evil from infants.'

SNUFF may be said to have formed an integral part of the life of the eighteenth century. Notwithstanding Papal interdicts and medical opinions, the habit of taking it flourished and increased until it was almost universal with both sexes and among all classes. The snuff box was the sign of friendship. This is expressed on an old Scotch box by the motto 'Amicitia hoc tibi dedit.'

Snuff boxes were made of the commonest as well as the costliest materials, and were used not only by individuals, but by trade incorporations, burgh councils, regimental messes, and by all corporate bodies when they met for social or business purposes.

The Scots were so noted a race of snuff takers that after the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 had drawn attention to their manners and customs, the figure of a Highlander became the popular sign for a snuff shop.

Snuff boxes may be divided into two classes:—

the larger, which were used by corporate bodies and also by private persons for table use after dinner (Fig. 329); and the smaller, which were carried in the pocket or sporran. The former are in many respects the more interesting, as they frequently have attached to them silver shields or bands engraved with the names of corporation officials. They are frequently made of cow's or ram's horn, more or less elaborately mounted in silver, and have often attached to them by chains the tackle which consisted of a hare's foot or brush, a spoon, a rake, and a mallet.



FIG. 329. After-dinner snuff mull, mounted in old pewter.



FIG. 330. Lady's snuff box.

The most interesting historical snuff box is that belonging to the Society of the Trained Bands of Edinburgh (Fig. 332). It consisted originally of a cow's horn mounted

in silver, to which was attached the medal of the commandant for each year. As the hanging space became too limited it was mounted in 1874 on an ebonized plinth with silver bands, and the medals, which date back to 1733, are now arranged in eight tiers or stages.

In the Corporation Museum at Edinburgh are preserved, amongst others, the snuff mull presented to the Incorporated Trades of Calton in 1810 (Fig. 333), a ram's horn mounted in silver with a shield engraved with the burgh arms, and with twenty-seven silver bands engraved with the names of the Conveners; and the snuff mull presented to the Society of High Constables of Canongate in 1826 (Fig. 331), a cow's horn, silver mounted, engraved with the crest of the burgh, and with twenty-nine silver bands bearing the names of the moderators.

Snuff mulls for private use were made from many materials:—silver, pewter,

OLD SCOTTISH PLATE

brass, cow's or ram's horns, sections of ivory tusk, nuts, sea-shells, tortoise-shell, and mother o' pearl, frequently mounted in silver and other metals.

There was no fixed type of design, but the larger proportion of the Highland mulls appear to have been made of a section of a cow's horn or the end of a ram's horn, curled up into a more or less elaborate spiral. The lid holding the cork was mounted in brass, silver, pewter, and iron of simple patterns, the hinge plates often taking the form of a thistle displayed. Many of the mulls are decorated with incised ornamentation, some with interlaced patterns, and very often they bear the owner's initials and date. They are found dating as far back as 1676, but most of them are of the eighteenth century.

As might be expected in objects to a large extent made by those who used them, many fanciful and grotesque ideas were introduced, and boxes

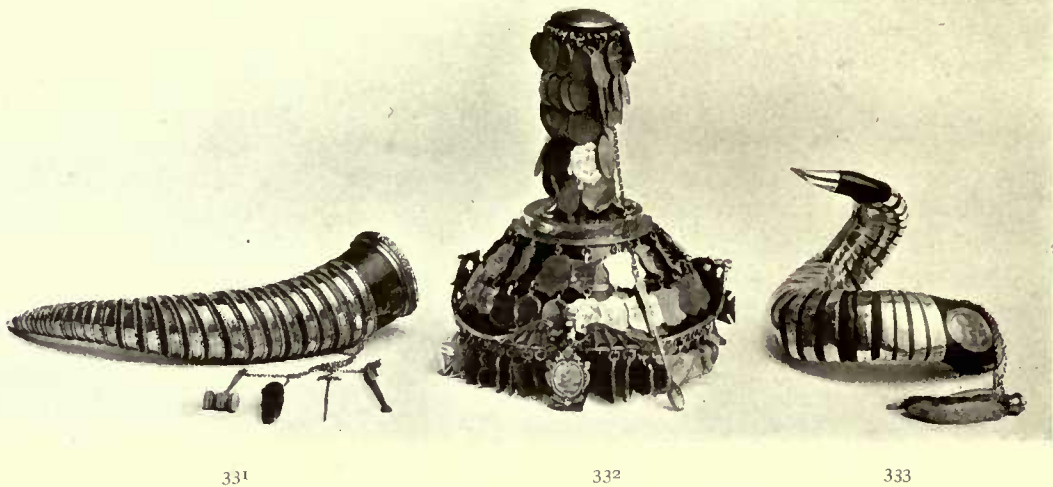


FIG. 331. Snuff mull of the Moderator and Society of the Ancient Burgh of Canongate Constables.

FIG. 332. Snuff box, the property of the Society of the Trained Bands of Edinburgh; in the official possession of the Captain of Orange Colours of the City.

FIG. 333. Snuff mull of the Incorporated Trades of the Burgh of Calton.

were made to represent a dog's head, a top-boot, a lady's shoe, a bucket, etc., while some were so constructed as to render their opening a puzzle, and a few were made so that they could be used by a one-handed man.

Ladies' snuff mulls were principally bucket shaped, with gracefully moulded sides. They were made of ivory tusk, or like barrels in staves of two different coloured materials, such as ivory and ebony, tortoise-shell and mother o' pearl. The top was often enriched with a setting of amber, pebble, or enamel, and occasionally with the owner's initials in cipher pierced out in silver (Fig. 330).

One curious type of snuff mull is rare, that which was used in inns and public-houses. It was made of horn, of large size, mounted in iron, with a substantial iron chain attached to it, by which it was fixed to the bar or table that it might not be stolen or mislaid.

Many snuff boxes, otherwise of no importance, are invested with a considerable interest because of their personal associations. Among these may be mentioned several gold ones presented by Prince Charles Edward, and others which were used by Flora M'Donald, Rob Roy, Cluny Macpherson, and Adam Smith.

The ordinary type of snuff box prevalent at the end of the eighteenth

century was a flat oblong box made of gold, silver, shell, horn, wood, or papier maché. This had no distinct characteristics, and varied little in type or detail.

The two principal centres for the manufacture of wooden snuff boxes in Scotland were Mauchline, in Ayrshire, and Laurencekirk, in Kincardineshire.

DOMESTIC AND CORPORATION PLATE.—

The MAZER was one of the commonest forms of drinking vessels in the Middle Ages, and there is abundant evidence of its use in Scotland. In the Inventories of the Royal Treasures there are mentioned four mazers which belonged to King Robert the Bruce, and in the list of the spoil taken by King Edward I. from Edinburgh Castle in 1296 several mazers are included. St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, possesses a most interesting specimen. It has a bowl of maple wood with a silver rim and stalk, and from its hall-mark it appears to have been made in Edinburgh between 1552 and 1561, while it is engraved with the date 1567. It is said to have been used as a chalice, but is unquestionably one of the old College mazers.

St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, also possesses one, the wooden bowl of which has been replaced by silver. Although it bears no hall-mark it is of Scottish manufacture, and may be the mazer referred to in a College Inventory of 1544 as then in the possession of the Principal.

The Earl of Galloway owns another mazer of Scottish manufacture which in point of design and workmanship is superior to both of these.



FIG. 335. Old silver mug the property of George Heriot's Hospital.

Next in importance to the mazer comes the SALT, which in medieval times was of imposing appearance and occupied a prominent position on the table. The superstitious regard for salt, which led to its being placed at the dividing line between the guest and the servant, was also perhaps the cause of its being the last of the great medieval table-vessels to fall into disuse.

There is a specimen in the possession of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, of considerable interest, for it shows that the type which prevailed in England throughout the whole of the seventeenth century was also then prevalent in Scotland. This salt is circular in all its stages and entirely plain, and is similar in design to the salts belonging to the Mercers' and Clothworkers' Companies in London. It bears the hall-mark of a silversmith who worked in St. Andrews about 1670.

Interest attaches to another salt, the property of Sir John Stirling Maxwell, because it is believed to have belonged to Mary Queen of Scots. It is a composite vessel, which has been originally an Italian *orologio* and has been afterwards adapted for use as a salt.

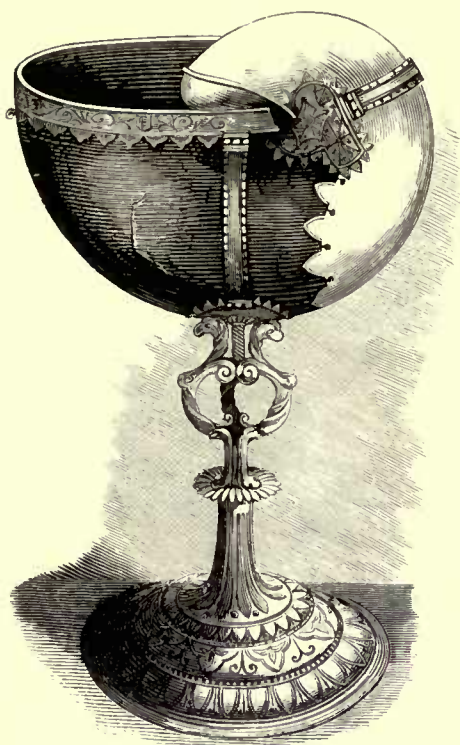


FIG. 334. The Loving Cup of George Heriot, founder of Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ROSEWATER BASINS AND EWERS were in common use in most of the great mansions, and were offered to guests at the close of a banquet, when scented water was poured over their fingers.

A very fine specimen of both basin and ewer is now in the possession of the Old Kirk, Edinburgh, where they are used as baptismal vessels. They bear the London stamp of 1602 and the basin is almost identical with that at the Merchants' Hall, London.



FIG. 336. Silver mug, Glasgow mark, made by James Luke.

sixteenth century specimens are known. Some of these are heirlooms and are supposed to have been used at the baptisms or the feasts of princes; others are curious from the light they throw on the habits of the people. A tankard of a later date, for instance, owned by Sir John Stirling Maxwell, and bearing the Edinburgh hall-mark, circa 1663-1681, has a row of pegs inside for the purpose of regulating the drinking.

The most interesting old Scotch STANDING CUP is that in the possession of the Governors of George Heriot's Trust. It is known as the Loving Cup of George Heriot (Fig. 334), goldsmith to King James VI. and Founder of Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh. It is a nautilus shell mounted in silver gilt after the style of the old German and London cups of the same class. From the hall-mark it appears that it was not made by George Heriot himself, but by a contemporary goldsmith in Edinburgh.

There are a few specimens of these standing cups, which are in the possession of the Church where they are used as Communion chalices. The Mid Kirk in Perth possesses four most interesting cups of this class. Two of them are of German origin, and one of these—the Queen Mary Cup—has a traditional history of exceeding interest. The other two are of London make and bear the stamps for 1610 and 1611. These have covers surmounted by open work pyramidal spires. In design and decoration they bear a striking resemblance to the Edmonds Cup at Carpenters' Hall, London, and to many other cups of that period. The cup (Fig. 338) presented to John Palmer for his services in connection with the introduction of mail coaches recalls the time when Edinburgh and London were very far apart.

In addition to the large cups there were also smaller ones, for personal use, known from their form as TAZZE, BEAKERS, and MUGS. In England these were

Another silver gilt basin and ewer, the property of the Earl of Ancaster, is of the same period and style of decoration.

It is curious to note that for more than a century this type of vessel was adopted for baptismal purposes in many churches in Scotland.

Of old Scotch TANKARDS, or covered jugs, a number of



FIG. 337. Old silver mug the property of George Heriot's Hospital (see also Fig. 335).

very common, but in Scotland they are rarely met with. A characteristic specimen is in the possession of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. It bears the London hall-mark for 1613, and is engraved with a family crest—which would suggest that it had been in private use before being presented by Dr. Guild to the College in 1628. Many communion cups, principally for the smaller parish churches, were in the seventeenth century made after this type of vessel. There may be mentioned under this head a small silver cup of the form of a wine glass, which is said to have been used by Prince Charles Edward in 1745. It is engraved with the mottoes "In defence" and "Nemo me impune lacesset," and the initials C.P.R., and bears the mark of a Glasgow silversmith of that period. It was exhibited in 1888 by Cluny Macpherson.

Many other types of drinking vessels have prevailed in Scotland during the last three centuries. In the middle of the sixteenth century and later the plain globular cup, with everted lip and without handles, was common. Plain beakers appear about the commencement of the seventeenth century, but were less used in the south of Scotland than in the north, where this form of vessel was appropriated for the communion.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century mugs with fluted ornament (Fig. 336) *appliqué* came into fashion both in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Fine examples (Figs. 335, 337) of these, dated 1685, are in the possession of the Governors of George Heriot's Trust. There also prevailed about the same time two handled porringers of similar type to contemporary vessels in England. Plain mugs of all forms with straight and shaped sides, with and without collet feet were plentiful in the nineteenth century.

The *QUAICH* is the most distinctive of all the Scottish drinking vessels. It prevailed for centuries, was made in all sizes, of many materials, and served, not only as a drinking vessel for all classes of the community, but also as the loving cup of corporate bodies, and in one instance, at any rate, as the Communion cup of a church and as the offertory plate of other churches. The quaich was, from its form, a social vessel, for it usually had not less than two handles, called lugs, that it might be passed from hand to hand. The features of the Scottish quaich, as we know it, are peculiar to Scotland, and it is surprising how little it altered in type.

Quaichs appear originally to have been made either of a solid block of wood or of miniature staves of wood, often of different colours, held together by hoops after the fashion of a cask. They usually had two or three handles. Besides wood (Figs. 339, 340), they were made of stone, brass, pewter, horn, and



FIG. 338. Silver cup presented to John Palmer, Comptroller General of the Posts of Great Britain, by the Chamber of Commerce of Glasgow in 1789, for his improvement of the postal services by the introduction of mail coaches.

silver. It is worth noting that the commonest style of decorating silver quaichs was by engraving with lines and bands in imitation of the staves and hoops of wooden examples, and they were further enriched by filling the alternate panels thus formed with chevrons and flowers.

The quaich appears to have originated in the Highlands, and was frequently the workmanship of the owner or of some local skilful handyman. Towards the



FIGS. 339, 340. Two wooden quaichs in the collection of the Marquis of Breadalbane.

end of the seventeenth century and later they were frequently made in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and late in the eighteenth century Inverness and Perth silversmiths also made them, as may be ascertained from the hall-marks appearing on many specimens.

While the small quaichs were used for ale or brandy for private individuals, the larger were applied to other purposes. There are four two-handled silver



FIG. 341. Silver Punch Bowl with wavy edge. Glasgow, circa 1783.

quaichs bearing the Edinburgh hall-mark of 1722, which are still used by Ayr Parish Church as Communion cups. There is also at Alvah, Banff, a large silver quaich, Edinburgh stamp, circa 1663-1684, in which were placed the offerings taken at the Communion service. Cullen possesses a brass quaich which was employed for a similar purpose, and from an entry in the Kirk-Session Records of Kinellar it appears that pewter quaichs were used in 1770 in that church for collecting the tokens and holding the collection.

Donaldson's Hospital, Edinburgh, possesses for its Loving Cup a large silver quaich with the Edinburgh stamp for 1724, which belonged to the founder of the Hospital.

Many old quaichs are interesting because of their associations, as, for instance those said to have been used by Prince Charles or the quaich made from the Wallace oak in the Torwood, Stirlingshire.

In the eighteenth century PUNCH BOWLS were in very general use in Scotland. The large proportion of them were of china even among the wealthier classes, but

there are a few specimens in silver which appear to have been made principally for presentation.

A fine bowl of Glasgow manufacture was presented by the Magistrates and

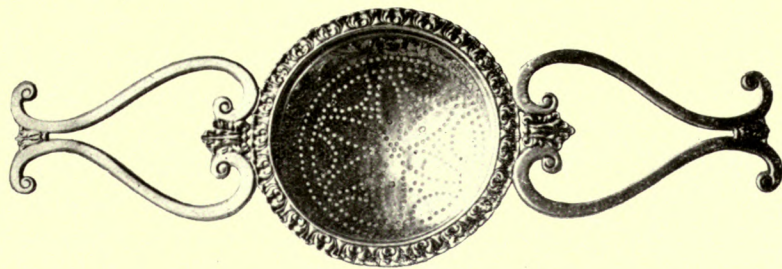


FIG. 342. Silver lemon strainer presented to George Young, 1825.

Town Council of Glasgow to Mr. M'Gilchrist, their Clerk, in 1732. There is another of rather rare style with a wavy edge, also of Glasgow manufacture (circa 1783) in the possession of the Marquis of Breadalbane (Fig. 341). Another of Edinburgh make (1809-10) has an engraved band round the edge. It was presented



FIG. 343. Silver Kettle and Stand presented to James Stirling.

to George Brown, Esquire, of Capelrig, by the Renfrewshire Volunteer Infantry, and is in the possession of Mr. James Barclay Murdoch.

No specimens have as yet been met with in Scotland with the Monteith border, so characteristic of the early eighteenth century punch bowls made in England.

A common adjunct of the punch bowl was the lemon strainer, which was often most artistically designed and elaborated with much detail (Fig. 342).

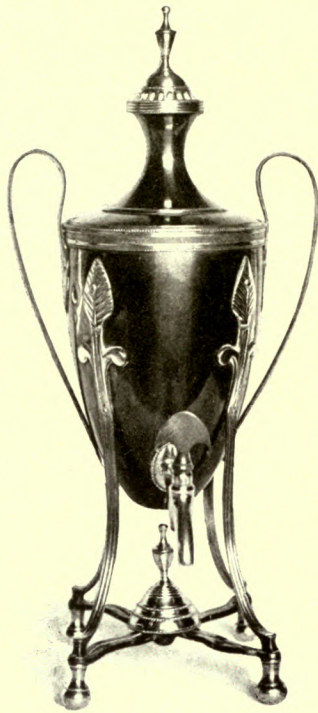


FIG. 344. Bronze tea urn, silver mounted. Early eighteenth century.

Tea was introduced into Scotland during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and became established as a fashion about 1720. The oldest TEAPOTS that have been met with bear the Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen hall marks and date from about 1730. The earliest style was a plain globular form without decoration, shortly followed by a similar shape with flat chased ornamentation. About 1743 a double bellied form came into fashion, and towards the end of the century an oval or octagonal form with straight sides and engraved decoration.

Comparatively few early eighteenth century teapots have been found in Scotland. This may be accounted for in several ways. Tea was a very expensive luxury—green tea selling at twenty-five shillings and Bohea at thirty shillings a pound. This alone served to confine its use to the wealthier classes; but these were by no means all enamoured of the new fashioned beverage. Town Councils, heritors, doctors, and ministers all denounced it, and in 1744 an agitation of considerable force was raised against it. It was not till after 1750 that it became at all popular.

The TEA-KETTLE was a necessary adjunct of the teapot, as it also was of the punch-bowl. A fine specimen of Edinburgh make (Fig. 343), was presented to James Stirling, the mathematician, for his services in surveying the Clyde.

In the early portion of the century the URN (Fig. 344) was even more prevalent than the kettle. Complete tea sets comprising teapots, coffee pots, kettles, sugar basins, and cream ewers were not manufactured until near the close of the eighteenth century.

ALEXANDER J. S. BROOK.

Records of Freemasonry

THE historical relics of Scots Freemasonry are of exceptional importance, and no country of Europe possesses minutes of Lodge meetings of the same antiquity, though England, in her copies of the "Old Charges," also owns documents of very great value. It must, however, be admitted that during the eighteenth century in a number of the "Rites" which were established on the Continent, French and German craftsmen, for their own purposes, or from a belief in

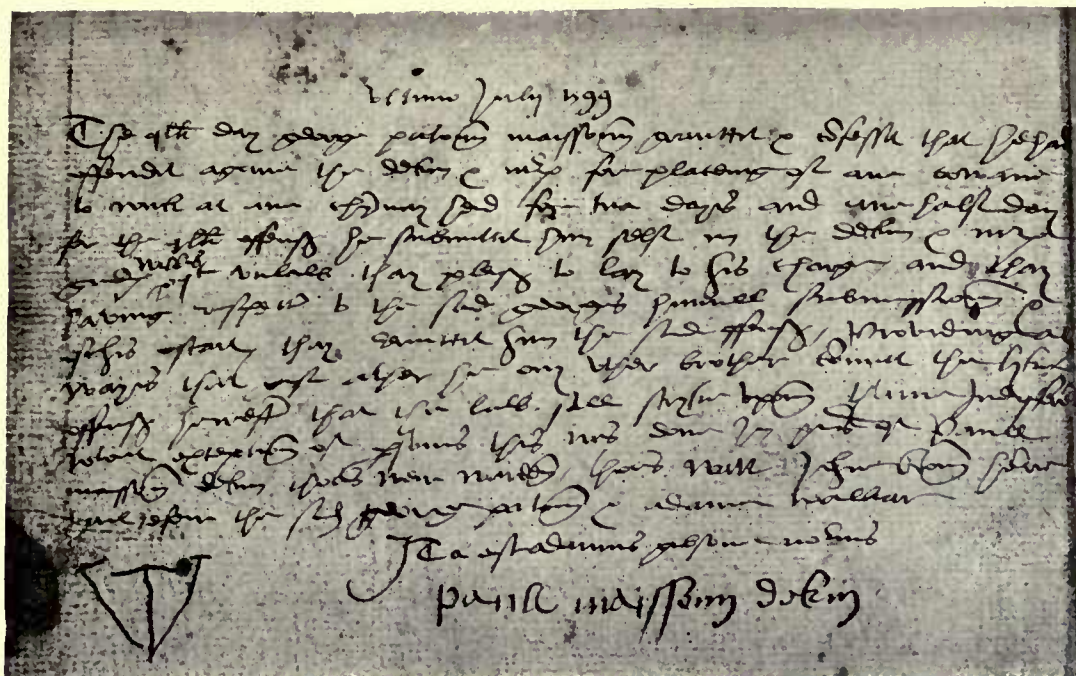


FIG. 345. Oldest known Masonic Minute 'ultimo Julij 1599,' in Minute Book of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel) holding of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, No. 1.

the Chevalier Ramsay's preposterous assertion that James, Lord Steward of Scotland, sat as the Grand Master of the Kilwinning Lodge in 1286, and there admitted the Earls of Gloucester and Ulster,¹ credited Scots Freemasonry with a legendary antiquity to which it has no claim. The Grand Lodge of England is of older establishment by some years than her sister of Scotland, the former dating from 1717, while the latter was only established in 1736.

The most interesting of Scots Masonic records is the oldest existing Minute Book (Fig. 345) of the famous Lodge of Edinburgh, No. 1, best known among members of the craft as 'Mary's Chapel.' This is a thin folio volume, embracing minutes of the Lodge from 1599 to 1686, not, however, arranged with any strict regard to chronological order. Every now and again *hiatus* occur,

¹ Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, Vol. III., p. 88.

which Mr. Murray Lyon in his invaluable history of the Lodge explains as due to the disturbed state of Scotland at the time or the carelessness with which the detached pages on which the minutes were written were preserved.¹ The minute book includes the famous 'Schaw Statutes' of 28th December, 1598, or the 'Statutis and Ordinances to be obseruit be all the maister maissounis within this realme, sett doun be Williame Schaw, Maister of Wark to his majestie and general wardene of the said craft,' as well as the oldest minute of a lodge meeting in existence, recording, under date 'ultimo Julii 1599,' that 'George Patoun maissoun grenttit and confessit that he had offendit agane the dekin and mrs for placing of ane Cowane to wirk at ane chymnay heid.' The deacon and masters 'haveing respect to the said George's humild submissioun and of his estait remittit him the said offenss.'

Other interesting minutes in the volume record the presence at a meeting on 8th June, 1600, of 'the Laird of Auchinleck,' the first authentic instance of a non-operative appearing as a member of a lodge, and under date 'this 20 day of May 1641' the holding of a lodge at Newcastle for the purpose of admitting 'Mr. thie Right Honorabell Mr. R. Moray General Quarter Mr to the Armie off Scotlan,' the occasion being the occupation of Newcastle by the Scots army after the defeat of the Royal Forces at Newburn.

Another valuable relic is the first Minute Book extant of the old Lodge, 'Mother Kilwinning.' Its records, however, do not extend further back than 20th December, 1642, a circumstance which after the formation of the Grand Lodge in 1736 led to the Lodge of Kilwinning being given the second place on the roll, the first being awarded to the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel). This arrangement was at first acquiesced in by Kilwinning, but about 1743 the brethren of the Ayrshire lodge on the ground that they were only called second in order and that another lodge was called before them, withdrew their allegiance and remained independent till 1807, when during the Grand Mastership of the Earl of Moira an agreement was come to after a lengthened conference, in terms of which Mother Kilwinning returned with all the lodges holding under her, to the bosom of the Grand Lodge. The minutes are contained in a small vellum-bound quarto, but are not kept regularly or systematically.

Two other Masonic documents of great importance are the St. Clair Charters, the property of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. The first of these, the probable date of which is 1600-1, was granted by the 'deacones maisteris and frie men of the Maissones wⁱⁿ the realme of Scotland with express consent and assent of Wm. Schaw Maister of Work to our sov^{ane} lord,' and on the narrative that 'from aige to aige it hes bene observit amang us that the Lairds of rosling hes ever bene patrones and p^{te}ctors of ws and our privileges lyckas our predecessors hes obeyit and acknowlegeit thame as patrones and p^{te}ctors' concludes with a formal agreement that 'Wm. Sinclar now of rosling for himself and his heires purches and obtaine at ye hands of our sov^{ane} Lord libertie fredome and jurisdiction vpon ws and our successoures in all tymes cumyng as patrones & juges to ws and the hail p^{fe}ssoris of our craft wⁱⁿ this realme' 'Swa that heirefter we acknowledge him and his aires as our patrons and juges vnder our sov^{ane} Lord w^{out} any kind of appellatioun or declynyng from his judgement.' It is signed by duly accredited representatives of the Lodges of Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Haddington, Dunfermline and Acheson's Haven. There were probably, however, other signatures as the lower part of the sheet is wanting.

¹ Murray Lyon's *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, 2nd edition, p. 7.

to the craft and vocation of Masonrie, whereof I am a member,' renounced and resigned the office. The Laird of Roslin's claim to the position from which he so gracefully withdrew would have been difficult to substantiate, but his action so pleased the assembled brethren that he was unanimously elected the first Grand Master Mason of Scotland. The Deed of his Election on 3rd November, 1736, was presented to the Lodge Canongate Kilwinning, by the late Professor Aytoun of Edinburgh, R. W. Master, 1839.

Another interesting old Lodge record is the second Minute Book of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning, No. 2, 1735-1760. This Lodge is a daughter of Mother Kilwinning, from which it obtained a charter in 1677. The earlier minutes have been lost. The book contains the first mention of the Master's degree in Scotland *anno* 1735. In the minutes of a meeting on 1st December, 1742, it is narrated that the Lodge was visited by the then Grand Master of Scotland, William, 4th Earl of Kilmarnock, who was subsequently beheaded in London for his share in the rising of 1745. On this occasion the afterwards notorious John Murray of Broughton acted as Junior Warden at the request of the Master, and both Broughton and Lord Kilmarnock sign the minute, though at a later date the name of the former in



FIG. 347. Masonic Chest, property of the Lodge of Glasgow St. John, No. 3 *bis*.

this and a succeeding minute, as well as his signatures, were by a formal resolution ordered to be deleted. They were accordingly scored through as is shown in the illustration (Fig. 346).

The unfortunate Kilmarnock was evidently an active Freemason and held office as Master of the Falkirk Lodge, No. 16. He was elected to the post on 27th December, 1740, and on several occasions attended meetings of the Lodge, as did Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunipace, a prominent Jacobite also subsequently executed by the Hanoverian Government.

The close connection between the Jacobites and Freemasonry is very remarkable, a further illustration of this being found in the minute book of a Lodge of Scottish Freemasons established in Rome, now in the possession of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. The Minutes run from 1735 to 1737 in which latter year the Lodge was suppressed by Pope Clement XII. A prominent member of this Lodge was George, 5th Earl of Winton, who, having been sentenced to death for his share in the rising of 1715, escaped from the Tower and took refuge in Rome. He was admitted on 16th August, 1735, and in the following April was elected 'Great Master.'

Murray of Broughton was admitted a member on 20th August, 1737, the meeting before the suppression. There is no authority for the statement that Prince Charles Edward was a member of the Lodge.¹

The earliest minute of St. John's Lodge, No. 3 *bis*, the oldest of the Glasgow Lodges, is contained in the Minute Book of the Masons' Incorporation, and refers to the entry of an apprentice named John Stewart in the Lodge under date 31st December, 1613. An interesting masonic chest (Fig. 347), belonging to this Lodge, has carved on it among other devices the inscription 'God save the King and Masons' Craft, 1684.'

The first Minute Book of the old St. Mungo Lodge, No. 27 Glasgow (1762-93), has several interesting minutes. The Lodge also owns a curious old box in use from 1729 to 1762, the front of which is ornamented by a number of masonic emblems in brass (Fig. 348).

Other masonic records of early date are in the possession of the old Lodge of Melrose, which remained independent and refused to recognise the authority of the Grand Lodge of Scotland till 1891, in which year it was formally received as a daughter and given the high position on the Roll of No. 1 *bis*, next to the Lodge of Edinburgh. Its earliest recorded minute is dated 28th December, 1674.

The Lodge of Aberdeen claims to have been founded in 1541, but its written records do not go further back than 1670. The oldest document belonging to the Lodge of Scoon and Perth is a Contract or Mutual Agreement laying down regulations for the guidance of the members of the Lodge in their business relations, dated 24th December, 1658.

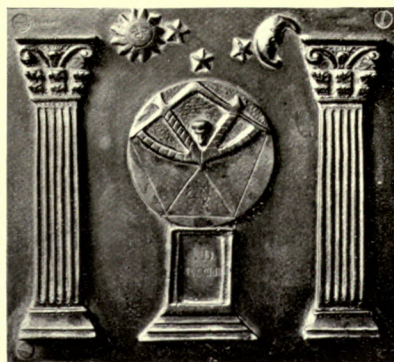


FIG. 348. Brass Plate on Box in use in Lodge Glasgow St. Mungo, No. 27. 1729-62.

J. D. G. DALRYMPLE.

¹ Murray Lyon's *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, 2nd edition, p. 350.

Early Literary Manuscripts

TO say that historically charters precede literature would be too absolute a generalisation. Adamnan's *Life of Columba* is earlier than any Scottish land-grant or other voucher of private right, but it was an echo of Irish culture and of the amazing missionary zeal of primitive Irish Christianity. No early Scottish copy of Adamnan exists. The holograph of the Scot is of excessive scarcity until the beginning of the twelfth century. Save for a stray chapter of saintly legend the written word of Scotland under her early kings occurs only in royal, monastic, baronial, and feudal land charters. Saints' lives, scraps of law, and rudimentary annals of the kingdom and its fortunes are hardly more than literary beginnings. Ecclesiastical cartularies were to become fairly numerous, although chronicles were always somewhat rare. In Scotland the period of Anglo-French settlement and dominion, from the reign of David I. down to the death of the Maid of Norway in 1290, displays no such development of romance culture as prevailed in the south. England had if not a great at least an extensive and highly promising Anglo-French literature, while during the same epoch Scotland, notwithstanding a few Old French traces of the Arthurian legend, apparently had no distinctive output in the imported language. One cannot affirm that in the north prior to the fourteenth century romance was a cult or Anglo-French a literary medium. Old French thought and language both were to furnish notable models and suggestions to Scottish poets, but that was not till the fourteenth century. Edinburgh Castle, if we may believe a knightly scholar,¹ who was a prisoner there in 1355, was well stocked with chronicles in rime and prose, Latin, French, and English. The native vernacular came into force as a vehicle of historical and romance song and narrative when Scotsmen had something passionate to say. Keen inducement to it arose from the national circumstances. The earliest fragment of Scottish verse surviving is the melodious and plaintive lament for the death of Alexander III. The War of Independence was the supreme gift of the gods to literature, stirring the national heart with a most direct provocative towards heroic poetry and imparting for centuries a dominating tone.

Misguided as was the policy of Edward I., it certainly started the great tradition of Scottish letters with an inspiring sense of wrong. Even before John Balliol's ill-starred revolt an indignant voice was heard in popular song. In 1291 English chronicle burst into self-congratulating melody in riming-Latin praises of the 'blessed peace' assured for Scotland 'under the shield' of Edward I. This English view did not reflect prevalent Scottish opinion,² as the chronicler soon found. In 1295 he deplures and anathematises—this time in prose—the bitterness of tongue of wicked Scotsmen 'composing lyrical songs full of irritations and abominations in blasphemy of the illustrious Edward and in scorn of his native people.' No longer plaintive as in the dirge of Alexander III., but vehement and shrill was the strain. The literature of patriotism had begun.

¹ *Scalacronica*, 1, 2, 20.

² *Lanercost Chronicle*, 143, 166.

Henceforward through centuries from John Barbour and the unurnamed Blind Harry down to Robert Burns and Walter Scott an almost aggressive love of country was to be an outstanding motive of literary effort. This intense nationalism,

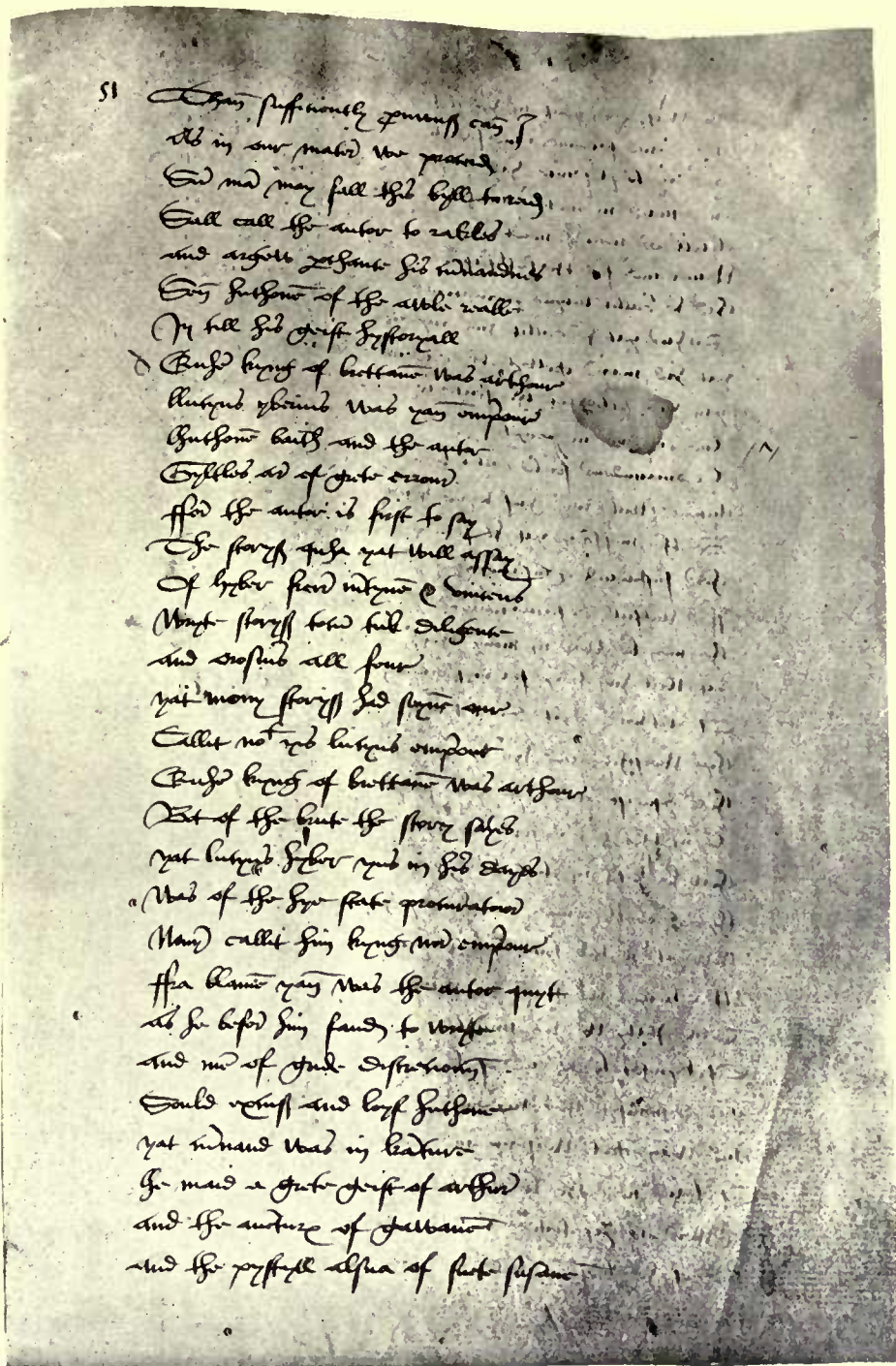


FIG. 349. Wyntoun's Chronicle of Scotland, MS, written about 1500, showing commencement of passage concerning 'Huchone of the Awle reale' and his 'grete geist of Arthure.'

the memory of an epoch of peril, constitutes probably the most marked contrast between the literature of Scotland and that of England.

Early manuscript literature impresses most in Ireland by its specialised devotion to the peculiar and limited forms of Art which the Irish scribes most likely borrowed originally from Italy, but made so wonderfully their own. In their hands

interlacing ornament as developed in manuscript became an art in itself. England, on the other hand, far more zealous about substance than form, impresses by its unique profusion and completeness of records, surpassing all the other charter chests of the world by its wealth of parchment. Of Scotland what can be said? Neither the worship of an artistic form seen in Irish penmanship nor the fulness of English rolls and chronicles is ours. Scottish manuscript has preserved practically only the faintest trace of the Celtic type of decorated marvellously interlaced and richly illuminated writing for which the Irish earned such a celebrity. *The Book of Deer*,



FIG. 350. The Arbutnot Missal, written about 1480, showing a figure of St. Ternan. Size of page, $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

with its margins decorated after the Irish manner, stands almost alone as a Scottish example. Yet the sculptured crosses and some other fragments of early date, expressing in stone the very art of the Irish manuscripts, are quite numerous enough to make very anomalous the all but entire absence of manuscripts of the same type from the surviving memorials of Celtic Scotland.

In the manifestations of literature down to the sixteenth century the ecclesiastical note is bold. Churchmen were long our chief men of letters. Bernard of Arbroath, King Robert the Bruce's Chancellor, who wrote the 'Song of Bannockburn,' was a bishop. John of Fordun, the historian, was a priest. John Barbour, who rimes so successfully the story of Bruce's life, was an archdeacon. Andrew of Wyntoun, whose '*Orygynall Cronykil*' (Fig. 349) has been ever since the first quarter of the fifteenth century a metrical mainstay of Scottish history, was a canon regular and a prior. Walter Bower, the garrulous but inexhaustible author of the indispensable

Scotichronicon, was an abbot. It is true that there were several grand exceptions: 'the good Sir Hew of Eglintoun' was a layman and so of course was the royal author of the *Kingis Quair*. But uninterruptedly the church's cult of the Muses flourished. James the First's confessor has been made a claimant to the authorship of *Ratis Raving*, and Holland, author of *The Howlat*, written about 1455, was a priest. Gavin Douglas, who in 1513 first made Vergil's pious Aeneas speak in rich and stately Scots, was a bishop.

No surprise can be felt that so many of the best examples of early pen-craft and illumination are liturgical. Their dates are relatively late. Famous among these Church books are the Arbutnot Missal, Prayer-Book, and Psalter, all written by James Sybbalde, vicar of the church of St. Ternan, at Arbutnot, Kincardineshire. The text of this Missal was in 1864 learnedly and sumptuously edited by Bishop Forbes of Brechin, whose preface describes not only the Missal but the companion Prayer-Book or Office of the Virgin, and the Psalter. The illuminations of the Missal, of course not reproduced by Bishop Forbes, are chiefly marginal decorations

floral in pattern, but with occasional grotesques. Some miniatures appear in the form of capital letters. There is only one large illumination—a figure of Saint Ternan in pontificals, shown in Fig. 350, so life-like as to have given rise to the suggestion that it might have been a portrait of some bishop of the St. Andrews diocese. The Prayer Book also contains an illuminated St. Ternan, but the absence of any resemblance to the St. Ternan of the Missal seems to support other considerations in forbidding the acceptance of a personal identification of either figure. Artistically, the illuminations of the Prayer Book (Fig. 351) are inferior to and by a different hand from those in the Missal. A series of very interesting extra leaves at the end contains the obits of the Arbuthnots of that ilk from the fourteenth century down to the sixteenth, including occasional details, such as the death of David Arbuthnot, rector of Menmure, on 10th September, 1547, *apud Pynkyleuch in prelio*. The Psalter, written in 1482, is rather more coarsely executed than the other two books. Like them, it was a gift of Sir Robert Arbuthnot (who died in 1506) to the chapel of the Virgin at Arbuthnot which he founded. His oddly-expressed wish for the devotion of the book to its pious purposes for ever—till an ant should drink the sea and a tortoise walk round the globe—deserves a quotation :

Stet liber hic donec fluvios formica marinos
Ebibat, et totum testudo perambulet urbem.

The Perth Psalter, the date of which has been given as 1450, is of more interest in respect of the calendar prefixed to it than of the text. Like a number of the northern church calendars, it makes a strong display of the Scottish saints, whose cult and commemorations form such important traces of the old Celtic influence. The two pages rendered in Fig. 352 show the calendar for the months of August and September. Opposite 3rd September will be observed the words *Dedicacio Ecclesie de Perth*, from the noting of which anniversary the connection of the book with Perth was established.

Not so well known but inherently of at least equal historical interest with the Arbuthnot books is the Aberdeen Book of Hours written in 1499, and noting specially in its calendar for 3rd November the *Dedicacio ecclesie Cathedralis Aberdonensis* as well as for 12th November the principal festival (*festum principale*) of St. Machar. Of much greater specialty, however, is a red-ink addition made at the foot of the second page of the calendar for September in the form of a memorandum of the promotion of Prince James, brother of King James IV., to the primacy of Scotland in 1497, with particular reference to the services in that connection of Mr. James Brown, Dean of Aberdeen, as the prince's procurator at the papal court. Elsewhere is noted



FIG. 351. The Arbuthnot Prayer Book, written about 1480, showing a figure of St. Ternan. Size of page, 11 inches by 7½ inches.

the obit on 11th June, 1494, of Elizabeth Lauder, a daughter of Sir Robert Lauder of Bass. But the highest distinction of this manuscript arises from its illuminations, executed with a skill and delicacy surpassed by very few continental examples of the period. Although the correctness of the script in the rendering of the Scottish saints' names and the like as well as the unity of the handwriting throughout may countenance the wish to accept the entire execution as Scottish, the art of the illuminations is certainly far beyond anything that can be claimed for any native artist in the fifteenth century. Fig. 353 shows a youthful almost boyish figure

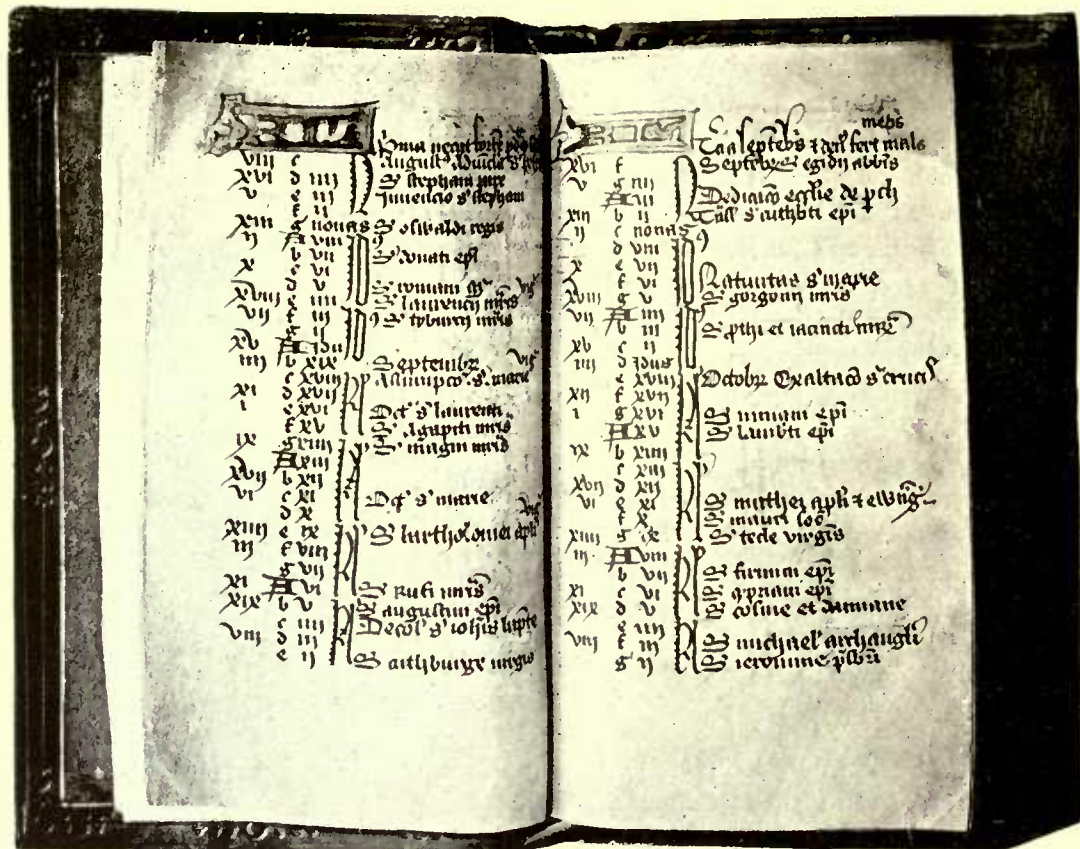


FIG. 352. The Perth Psalter, Calendar for August and September (very slightly reduced).

kneeling before the Virgin and Child, while behind him stands a bishop with mitre and crozier. Fig. 354 shows the illumination placed opposite the beginning of the seven penitential psalms, picturing a king kneeling on the grass outside a large building, probably a cathedral, with his crown and sceptre deposited in front of him. Perhaps it is not too daring to conjecture that the King is James IV., and that this, as well as the other illumination, is a spiritualised memorial of the subject dealt with in the rubricated addition to the calendar. Be this as it may, the Aberdeen Book of Hours is of extreme value both for history and art. The flesh tints in what may be called the portraits are handled with remarkable success and the drawing is true. Other marginal illuminations are finished types of the French or Flemish floral decoration in vogue at the close of the fifteenth century.

He would have been no ill-advised defender of the unreformed church who should have pointed to relics from its cloisters like these, along with its more purely literary labours, as credentials for the educational service of the Scottish clergy. The prayer of the giver of the Arbutnot books, however, was not destined to be heard, and soon the transition was made from such missals, torn up and

burnt, to the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* so much emancipated from the restraint of traditional ideals that the recent venerable and pious editor had to expurgate certain of these robust utterances of sixteenth century devotion.

The medieval scribe deserves much more gratitude than he receives. We are apt to hear far oftener of his faults of copying than of the patient virtue of his labours, by which alone the ancient texts have been handed down. Not one of the large collections of miscellaneous verse but has its unique pieces not garnered elsewhere. The scribe was the publisher of the Middle Ages deserving all the sympathy so cordially withheld from that industrious, and sometimes ill-requested, calling. Some of the best known Scottish manuscripts are in their fashion cartularies



FIG. 353. Aberdeen Book of Hours, 1499, showing a youth kneeling, with a bishop standing before a figure of the Virgin and child. Size of page, 5 inches by 4 inches.

of verse. Such, for example, is the great Auchinleck folio, the nationality of which, however, cannot be reckoned as by any means established. The MS. containing the sole copy of the *Kingis Quair* was a product¹ of the literary environment of St. Andrews under the rule of the enlightened Archbishop Schevez. James Graye's little pocket manuscript—half chronicle, half note-book of verse—was just such another composite album. The Bannatyne MS. and the Maitland MS. are both comprehensive and laborious sixteenth century examples of the same process. Sometimes, as in the case of at least one copy of *The Bruce*, the manuscript was the execution of an order by a patron to a scribe. Sometimes, as in the case of the Graye, Bannatyne, and Maitland MSS., the collection represents the individual selection of the scribe himself made for his own use or delectation. Not a few historical manuscripts can be traced to the scholarly influence of Archbishop Schevez and to the taste and munificence of the Lords Sinclair of Roslin. Thus copies multiplied, each reproduction increasing the chances of survival, until the printing press came to relieve the scribe of much of the burden of his trust for posterity.

One feature about the literature of Scotland for three centuries was the degree to which it radiated from the King and the Court, while, at the same time, not

¹See my note in the *Athenaeum* of 16th December, 1899.

disfigured by sycophancy towards royalty. We saw national song begin, as it were, with the lament written soon after 1286, 'quhen Alysandyr ourc kynge wes dede.' A French chronicler need not have been critically informed on such a point, but certainly Jehan le Bel¹ used as an authority for his own chronicle, a 'history' which, he says, was made by Robert the Bruce himself—*hystoire faite par le dit roy Robert*—about his adventures in Galloway when hunted in 1306 by the troops and bloodhounds of Edward I. The peace-seeking journey of Queen Johanna, wife of David II., to the Court of her brother, Edward III., in 1358, was commemorated in the 'Awntyrs of Arthure' by Sir Hew of Eglinton. King Robert II. pensioned Barbour, who, besides being an archdeacon, was an auditor of Exchequer, for



FIG. 354. Aberdeen Book of Hours, 1499, showing a king kneeling. Size of page, 5 inches by 4 inches.

compiling, in 1375-6, *The Bruce*, his stirring biographical poem. The soil of the Stewart Court was kindly to literature, and the ill-fated Prince David, who was 'cunnand in literature,' was the elder brother to James I., whose *Kingis Quair*, although somewhat too formally imitative, is certainly entitled, both for matter and manner, to rank as a first-class embodiment of post-Chaucerian poetical culture. How literary the Court of King James may be surmised not only from chronicle but also from the probably correct ascription to his confessor, David Rate,² of a variety of poems. The processes of identification are slender, yet in harmony with facts. What somewhat heightens the interest of this, is a possible companion identification not hitherto advanced. Two obscure 'makaris' named by Dunbar in his *Lament* were Roull of Aberdeen and Roull of Corstorphin. If the words 'Quod Rate' imply that the poetic utterance was that of David Rate, confessor of King James, one of the 'Roulls,' may well have been Master Thomas Roull, clerk and chaplain of the same monarch. The propositions for a missing Christian name in each case are equally legitimate, although the proofs for each are equally incomplete. They are on the lines of the general fact that in the fifteenth century the official circles of the Court

¹ *Les Vraies Chroniques de Messire Jehan le Bel*, ed Polain. Brussels, 1863, vol. i. p. 106.

² See Mr. J. T. T. Brown's article in the *Scottish Antiquary* for April, 1897.

were literary. Among the 'makaris' mourned by Dunbar, Quintin Schaw was a Court dependant; Reid or 'Stobo' was the clerk successively of James II. and James III.; and Patrick Johnstone was a Court player. When we recall that Gavin Douglas dedicated his *Palice of Honour* to James IV., that Dunbar was long the Court poet, that James V. was himself accredited a ballad-maker, and that for him also Bœce was translated into verse by William Stewart and Livy into prose by John Bellenden, D.D., we can the better appreciate the sonneteering of Queen Mary, and the reasons which made James VI. a 'prentice' in poesy.

In the page from the Auchinleck manuscript of Wyntoun's *Cronykil* (Fig. 349) here figured the poet-chronicler is shown as not having been without a half prophetic sense of the part the Court was to sustain in the story of national literature. When he penned those first words of genial vernacular comment on the author of the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, he was inaugurating Scottish criticism, not only with the praise of the poet but with an enunciation of the connection between literature and the Scottish 'Awle Realle.'

GEO. NEILSON.

Some Scottish Ecclesiastical Relics

THE three bells of St. Fillan, Birnie, and the Earl of Cawdor which are depicted here are very good examples of the unscripted quadrangular type of bell peculiar to the Celtic church and ranging in date from the sixth century, or perhaps earlier, down to the eleventh century. The home of the type is undoubtedly Ireland, whence it spread to Great Britain and to the Continent. Many of these bells are closely associated with saints and bear their names; perhaps most of those which have survived until later times were preserved during the Middle Ages as relics.



FIG. 355. The Buidhean or Bell of St. Fillan, from the Old Parish Church of Strouan.



FIG. 356. The Ronnell Bell of Birnie, from the Church of Birnie, the first seat of the Bishopric of Moray.

Such is unquestionably the bell of St. Fillan (Fig. 355), sometimes called the bell of Struan, and locally known as the Buidhean, now preserved in the House of Lude in Athole. 'It measures,' says Dr. Joseph Anderson,¹ '11 inches in height, exclusive of the handle, and 7 inches by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the mouth. It has an iron tongue or clapper fastened into it by nuts and screws, and was actually used as the church bell till about 1828, when the late Mr. M'Inroy of Lude gave the congregation a new bell, and received the old one in exchange. The church seems to have been dedicated to St. Fillan of Strathfillan, as there was a fair held in the parish on his day called Feile Fhaolain.' St. Fillan lived in the early part of the eighth century, and this bell is quite possibly of that period. It is of iron of the usual riveted quadrangular form, and has been coated with bronze, much of which remains.

The bell of Birnie in Morayshire (Fig. 356) is much the same, but unusually tall, being 15 inches high. It is quadrangular, riveted at the sides, and has

¹ *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, i. p. 183.

evidently been coated with bronze. The mouth measures 6 inches by 4 inches. Birnie church is dedicated in the name of St. Brendan, a famous Irish saint of the 6th century, founder of the Abbey of Clonfert and renowned for his voyages to the Fortunate Islands, probably some part of America. It is more than likely that he visited Moray and the bell may have had some connection with it. It is locally called the 'Ronnell Bell of Birnie.' The learned writer already quoted says, 'Although the legend ascribes it, probably with truth, to the first bishop, there is no reason to accept its further statement that the bishop referred to was the first Bishop of Moray, and that he brought the bell from Rome.'

The bell in possession of the Earl of Cawdor is of the same type, but smaller. The angular handle is unlike those of the majority of bells of this kind and may



FIG. 357. Ancient bell, of hammered iron, clasped with nails, a relic of the old chapel attached to the castle of the Thanes of Old Cawdor.



FIG. 358. Deid or Mort Bell, of the Parish of Glass.

perhaps be of later date. Barevan, the old church of Cawdor, was named after St. Ewen, and the bell may possibly have been connected with him.

The Deid or Mort Bell of Glass, Aberdeenshire, is inscribed :—

JOHN.MOWAT. FE. GLASS 1754OLD ABD

This bell is somewhat overloaded with mouldings, like most of John Mowat's. It has a shank head pierced with a single hole through which a bolt is passed joining the two parts of the handle, which is 4 inches in height. The clapper appears to be the original. Diameter, 7 inches. Note c.

The Deid Bell of Mortlach, Banffshire, has no inscription. It is a small bell seemingly made of brass and without any feature of special interest. There are rough mouldings on crown and sound-bow, but the waist is quite plain. There is a shank head pierced with two holes, through which bolts are passed joining the two parts of the handle as in the case of the Glass bell, the handle of which is very similar. This bell may belong to any period within the last three centuries, but it is probably of no great age. Diameter, 7 inches. Note D (rather sharp).

The Town Council of Perth has six bells of various makes and dates, ranging in size from 5½ inches to 8½ inches, which have formed part of a carillon. All are uninscribed and shank-headed, and have no ornament except a few mouldings. One, which has a large and peculiar shank, certainly seems to be of early 16th century Flemish or Dutch manufacture; another *may* be the same. The rest are later.¹

Bells are peculiar to no division of the Christian Church. The Celtic Church unfortunately has scarcely left any other relics. Of the more distinctively Roman Obedience there should have been, one might think, far more surviving

¹ The notes on bells have been kindly contributed by Mr. F. C. Eeles.

relics than there are. The Church was very rich at the time of the Reformation, and it seems strange that great as was the then destruction of the ornamenta of the Church (not perhaps so much by the followers of the Reforming party, as by the armies of Henry VIII.), so little should remain to show what were the riches of the Church.

No doubt much treasure was removed to France; much passed into the hands of men who thought it safer to melt down any portable articles which in the popular



FIG. 359. Pieta in stone, found in the Churchyard of Banff.



FIG. 360. Bronze figure of Christ, being part of a crucifix found when the foundations were being dug for the present Greyfriars Church, Dumfries.



FIG. 361. Stone figure of bishop, found in foundation of Rutherglen Church. The ancient Church of Rutherglen (of which only a fragment now remains) dated from the twelfth century.

opinion had ceased to have any value save as gold or silver. The half of an ivory diptych, formerly in Elgin Cathedral and said to date from 1320, is delicate and beautiful. The Pieta in stone, from Banff (Fig. 359), speaks with a singular pathos to us, as it is the only known example of such a stone pieta in all the length and breadth of Scotland. It was found in the churchyard of Banff, on a spot on a line with the interior of the north wall of the ruin of the old church of Banff, which was begun in 1471 and occupied as a place of worship till 1789. It measures 1 foot 5 inches in length by 11¼ inches in breadth and is 6 inches thick. The material is the same as the Classock (Morayshire) sandstone. The stone is flat at the back and has a socket in the base. It is conjectured that the pieta stood against a wall and rested on a pillar.¹

It is not known that any communion Scottish plate of an earlier date than the Reformation still exists.² A silver chalice owned by St. Mary's College, St.

¹ It is described and figured in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1885-86, vol. viii. New Series, p. 356.

² A golden chalice, part of the spoil of Iona, was preserved in a Roman Catholic Church in Glasgow until 1845, when it was stolen and melted.³ Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, ii. 483.

Andrews University, dates from 1613-14, as it bears the London trade mark of that time. Very different in appearance is another, also owned by St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. The bowl is of maple wood, mounted with a rim of silver and the stem is silver, and it has no knob. It is more correctly described as a mazer than as a chalice, though chalices of wood were in occasional use in the primitive Church. They were forbidden (as were the more common glass chalices) by Pope Leo IV., and the prohibition was renewed by the Council of Tibur, held in



FIG. 362. Chalice bearing date 1567.

895. St. Boniface is said to have been asked in the Council of Trier what he thought of the practice of saying Mass in wooden chalices, and he replied: 'In ancient times golden priests said Mass in wooden chalices, but now wooden priests say Mass in golden chalices.' Durandus on Symbols, 1843, p. 80, thus puts it: 'Now in the Primitive Church, the Sacrifice was offered in vessels of wood and common vests: for then were CHALICES OF WOOD, AND PRIESTS OF GOLD: whereof

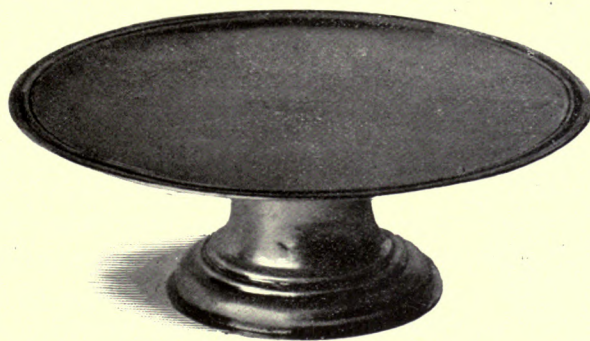


FIG. 363. Silver paten.

the contrary is now. But Severinus, Pope, decreed that it should be offered in glass: but because such vessels were easily broken, therefore, Urban, Pope, and the Council of Rheims decreed that gold or silver vessels should be used: or on account of poverty, tin, which rusteth not: but not in wood nor in brass. Therefore it might not be in glass on account of the danger of effusion: nor of wood since being porous and spongy, it absorbeth the Blood: nor of brass nor of bronze, the rust of which is unseemly.'

Two solid silver communion cups owned by Earl Cawdor (see Figs. 403, 404) are unique, as they are the only examples which have a print inside the bowl. Each cup bears: 'THIS . CUP . IS . DEDICAT . FOR . YE . SERVICE . OF . GOD . TO . YE . KIRK . OF . CALDER . BVLDT . BE . SIR . JOHNE . CAMPBIL . OF . CALDER . 1619.'

The ornaments of the Reformed Church in Scotland were limited to cups and platter (sometimes called the 'basin,') a pulpit, an hour-glass, and pewter, basin for holding water for baptismal purposes, and a collecting ladle.

The very large communion jugs and platters owned by the kirk-session of the High Church, Glasgow, tell of themselves what numbers were expected to partake of holy communion, and such pewter cups as those belonging to the parish of Cawdor, and the pewter cup from Rosneath (which, however, owns one of the earliest post-Reformation silver chalices) speak of the poverty of the average country parish.

The communion cup known as King Charles' Cup is purely English, but has a special historical interest in Scotland from its association with a Stewart King. The following description is taken from the report on the plate at Welbeck by Mr. Wilfred Cripps, 1883, kindly placed at the writer's disposal by his Grace the Duke of Portland: 'The Charles I. communion cup is of London make, date 1629-30. The maker's mark is well known; it occurs upon the communion plate at St. Margaret's, Westminster, date 1624-5, and also upon a flagon, date 1625-6, at St. Thomas Church Bristol.

The inscription upon the cup is "King Charles the 1st received the communion in this boule on Tuesday the 30th of January, 1698, being the day in which he was murthered." This inscription is contemporary with the date of that event, and has not been an addition of more recent date. This was the usual form of communion cup in fashion about 1625 to 1650.'

Coming down to very recent times a memorial of curious interest is a silver Disruption brooch (Fig. 365). These brooches, now rare, were not specially issued to the wives of ministers of the first Assembly of the Free Church, but appear to have been made as a private venture and sold to any one who desired to buy them. That



FIG. 365. Silver disruption brooch (numbered 167), commemorative of the disruption in 1843.

such a special memorial should have been made, purchased, and treasured, affords a striking testimony to the extent and intensity of feeling engendered by the great ecclesiastical controversy which ended in the formation of the Free Church of Scotland. The brooch was designed and made by Rettie, of Aberdeen, jeweller and silversmith.



FIG. 364. Communion cup, with which Charles I. received the Sacrament on the day of his death.

Aspects of Social Life in Scotland

OF the social characteristics of a country we often learn more from a foreigner than from a native. It is true the alien traveller presents often the impressions of a man whose observations are exceedingly shallow, and whose national prejudices are remarkably deep. Yet he is sure to notice keenly the features which are peculiar to the land and its people; he is sure to point out the aspects in which they differ from his own. In this respect the observations, however perfunctory, of a foreigner passing through a strange land, of which he sees little and knows less, have considerable value and interest. It is to the narrations of such travellers to Scotland in olden times—often violently prejudiced—that we owe much of our knowledge of the social condition of the Scots—to Aeneas Sylvius (afterwards Pope Pius II.) in the fifteenth Century; to John Ray, the naturalist, in 1661; to the invaluable 'Letters from the North,' by Burt, an engineer with General Wade, in 1724; and to others who record their experiences of travel north of the Tweed. These men described a condition of life which was fresh to their eyes, while the people of a country themselves do not record scenes and facts which are familiar to them all their days, and sometimes unpleasant to expose: as Ray remarked, 'The Scots cannot endure to hear their country or countrymen spoken against.' Therefore the information of these English visitors, after their inaccuracy has been corrected and prejudice has been discounted, is to be gladly received for the light they throw on the past. There seemed spread before their eyes as they travelled over the bridle paths, never-ending bleak, bare tracts of moor, and morass, and whins, which now are covered with rich harvests; naked land, on which, through a day's journey, not a tree was to be seen, which is now adorned with rich wood; miserable patches of ground on hill sides, on which in spring the unwieldy wooden plough was dragged by a team of eight small, meagre oxen and horses, attended by five men, as lean as their beasts, and on which in summer grew miserable grey oats, and bere half choked with nettles, thistles, and boulders. There were rude hovels, covered with turf, in which dwelt a peasantry in rags, with their faces begrimed with dirt and black with smoke, who bore their loads on sledges or horseback, as carts were unknown. The land presented a strange aspect of poverty in spite of districts, chiefly in the Lothians, abundant in fertility and cultivation. Such was the appearance of the land to the travellers in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

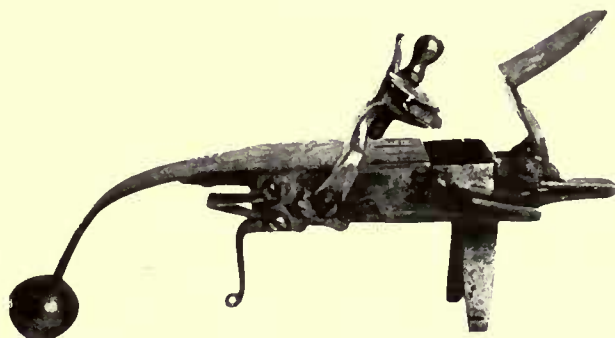


FIG. 366. Pistol-shaped flint and steel.

It will be sufficient for our purpose and our space to note here some of the social aspects of Scotland during that time, and in that period many habits and much of the condition of the lands and the town had remained little altered since a far earlier period. We shall look first at the rural districts. The condition of the

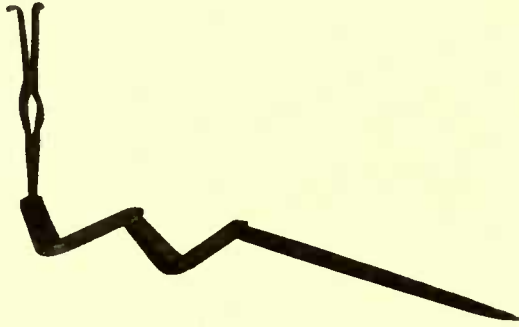


FIG. 367. Old candlestick: Peer man.

dwellings no traveller exaggerated—the huts of stones, clay and turf without mortar, thatched with fern and heather—for straw was too scarce for such use. Holes in the walls served for windows, and in bad weather these were stuffed with rags or heather to exclude the wind and sleet and rain. Inside was the peat fire in the middle of the room, and the dense smoke sought an outlet by the loose door, or by a hole in the thatch. At

night the family slept on heather or brackens in one part of the hut, while in the other end, without partition, were the cow and the hens—noisy and malodorous companions. In the dark nights the inmates were perhaps content with the blaze of the peats, for they went early to bed, as they began labour at



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369



370

FIG. 368. Old Scottish candlestick, from the Clachan of Rashfield.

FIG. 369. Cruisie, from near Crinan.

FIG. 370. Tinder box, with bunch of spunks.

daybreak; but if they needed more light they used a 'ruffy'—split pieces of fir found in peat moss. The farmer and the artisan, however, had their cruisie (Fig. 369)—an open, shallow, triangular vessel of oil, with its wick of flax tow or pith of rushes projecting from the spout. Candles were scarce, and the tallow candles with wicks made of rags afforded a meagre light when stuck in the iron bracket known as the 'peer [poor] man's candle,' (Fig. 367) from its being used by the beggar or the pauper lodged in the house, when he helped the goodwife in the dark recesses of her hut. It was in 1675 that cotton wicks were first used in candles, because then it was ordered by the Privy Council that rags and clouts which had hitherto been used for the wick should henceforth be collected for making the grey and blue paper begun to be manufactured by the aid of French workmen near Edinburgh—paper having hitherto all been imported. Of rags for making

either paper or candles there need have been no lack, for they were generally found on the persons of the poor. The men often wore no shoes, and the women never, except on Sundays, when they trudged to kirk with them slung over their shoulders, and when the kirk was in sight, they put them on and painfully 'hobbled' to the house of preaching. The people were clad in the coarsest woollen stuff from yarn spun at home, the women having plaids over shoulders and heads, and the men their woollen bonnets. The fare for every meal, through centuries, was the same—the kail or cabbage, boiled or as broth, the sowens made from husks of grain soaked in water; the oat meal in brose or in cakes, either roasted at the peat fire, or, if the family could afford the luxury, on one of those girdles or gridirons which the little burgh of Culross had a monopoly of making—and 'Cu'ross girdles' long brought fame to the town and prosperity to its inhabitants. A monotonous fare these people had, year after year, varied only on the occasions when at table—where farmer and servants sat together—the boiled remains of an aged, infirm, or diseased cow or sheep regaled their not too fastidious palates. There at the board on trestles sat or stood the household, the horn spoons which men kept in their blue bonnets diving into the common dish, while to cut the meat the 'jocteleg' or clasp knife was used, except in the seventeenth century where a townsman employed his whinger or dagger by his side, with which he was as expert at cutting living neighbours as dead mutton.



FIG. 371. Knife and fork (carvers) with rude deer-horn handles which belonged to the Marquis of Montrose.

Money was chronically scarce; the copper coin was in the minute forms of bodles or turners, placks, and bawbees, fractions of the shilling Scots—itsself equal to one penny English—and wages and profits were low. While the artisan in the seventeenth century earned about 6d. a day; in the country the ploughman got £2 or £3 a year, while the men servants who lived in the farm house had 25s., and the women servants 10s. These wages, indeed, rose slowly in time till in the middle of the next century the ploughman got with his house £7 a year, and at its close was rich with £14. Provisions it is true were cheap with mutton at 1½d. or 2d. per lb., and a dozen eggs for 1d. or 1½d., but of these the people in the country got none. They found it hard enough to buy shoes at 2s. 6d. a pair.

The farmer in the seventeenth century and well on in the eighteenth was often as poor as his servants, who were, indeed, of the same class as himself, and included his own family. He tilled some twenty or thirty acres of ground, for which he paid 2s. 6d. each for the part called the 'infield' or croft, and 1s. or 1s. 6d. for the 'outfield,'—the 'infield' being the only part cleaned and tended, to manure which he would unroof the turf thatch of his house; the 'outfield' being the greater part of his farm, and yielded, perhaps, two or three seeds for every one sown, and in which the grey oats and bere struggled through weeds and dirt and stones into a meagre harvest which barely paid his rent and fed his family and foddered his few cattle. After harvest the cattle and sheep wandered over the whole land, as if it were common, for there were no dykes or hedges to enclose them, but in winter all were kept tethered indoors, fed on whins and straw in quantities so small that the beasts perished in bad years, and when the survivors were let out in spring the oxen and horses were so emaciated that they could hardly walk, and when put to the

plough fell from weakness into the furrows. Then for months they were herded lest they should trample the crops and trespass on the neighbours' rigs and fields, as there was not a dyke to confine them. Hay there was little, for they had only the rank herbage that grew in the hollows or in the morasses, and this was not dried, but sent for sale into towns, which accounts for there being of old the places called 'Grassmarkets,' instead of 'Haymarkets.' It is not surprising when one knows the miserable condition of husbandry practised that there should prevail constant poverty and frequent dearths; that bad years brought starvation, till the middle of the eighteenth century when new methods of farming were adopted, which brought food, comfort, and prosperity to the people. The tenant with his rent of £5 to £8 was poor, indeed, living in dwellings nearly as sordid as those of his workmen, harassed as to how he should pay his landlord, chiefly 'in kind'—so much barley, oats, pease, hens, eggs, besides so many days ploughing, sowing, reaping, 'casting' peats for his fires, getting thatch for his offices; while he was forced after thrashing and winnowing his own grain on some hill, to send it under heavy penalty to some distant mill to which he 'thrilled,' though there was one close to his door. Such a farmer had no heart, and certainly no capital to improve his lot or his land, and it must be owned that when in the eighteenth century he did have encouragement, agrarian traditions, prejudices, and superstitions engrained through generations, so hide-bound his mind that he grumbled at every change—whether it was to make an enclosure to plant a tree or hedge, to lime his fields, to plant turnips or potatoes, which were unknown on farms till the eighteenth century—and regarded every improvement as a fresh step in the road to ruin. This agricultural stagnation is found from the days of the Jameses to those of the Georges, with the inevitable accompaniment of poverty. In husbandry there had been a sore declension since the days of the monks, who in abbey lands like those at Melrose and Dryburgh, displayed an enterprise and skill in cultivation, far exceeding that of the presbyterian farmer who despised their religious darkness and ignorance.

The country was poor—for it must be remembered that there were few industries in the country, few manufactories, till at the end of the seventeenth century foreign workmen assisted Scotsmen to make glass, paper, broad-cloth, fine linen and cambric; there were few products except wool, hides, dried herring and salmon to export in the biggest vessels of 50 or 80 tons burden in their harbours, and little money wherewith to buy imports, though people needed to get from Sweden and Norway iron for their girdles and wood for their ships. It is a sign of this poverty that from early days we find complaints of the swarms of masterful beggars, vagabonds, thiggers, sorners, who infested town and country, and in the sixteenth century came the Egyptians or Gypsies to add to the poverty and danger to the lieges. Sturdy beggars and limmers 'were everywhere, disguised with false beards or in fool's garments,' or 'pretending they were passing to chapels or wells' before the Reformation, and they did not decrease in numbers as the population increased. In vain statutes were issued against them; persecuted in one city they fled to another, banished from towns they passed into the country. Branding, scourging, imprisoning could not out-root them. Towards the end of the seventeenth century they swarmed more than ever, for social dispeace and civil war, religious strife, the lack of industry, and at the end of the century the terrible dearth that lasted for years, all served to form partly a cause, partly an excuse for the vagrants and vagabonds that crowded the towns and rural districts. Parliament had in despair passed statutes for the 'staunching of maisterful beggars,' encouraging persons engaged in mines and manufactories to seize them and employ them as serfs.

By the growth of industries, aided by the hand of the law, this social nuisance in time was reduced in the next century.

There was then enforced the system of licensing a certain number of beggars in each parish to ply their business, and sometimes children were also given the right. This was a necessity, for begging could not be suppressed, seeing that there were neither poorhouses nor poor rates, and the only means of providing for paupers was the poor box at kirk, in which weekly there might be a collection of 6d. or 2s. in bodles, doits, and bawbees. In the seventeenth century a pauper got 2d. a week, in the next century 1s. 6d. or 2s. 6d. a month; begging was therefore within limits a necessity. These licensed beggars—called ‘gaberlunzies’ from the wallet, so called, which they carried for their alms—were clad in blue gowns, with a small leaden medal (Figs. 372, 373) as badge of their license. They lived a pleasant, idle existence, subsisting on the charity of the people as poor as themselves, who never refused their handfuls of meal, and listened to their gossips from hall and farm by the fireside. Edie Ochiltrees were welcome visitors at farms, separated in those days from the world by the dreary expanses of moor and morass, over which lay tracks worn only by the hoofs of sheep and cattle, or the rough bridle paths, which were impassable in bad weather, and wretched in any weather at all.



FIG. 372. Beggar's badge, Eglesgrig Parish, 1773.

In the villages—collections of poor, dark, heather-covered houses—there was the clatter of looms, for the main occupation of the country was that of weaving—woollen for the coarse undyed grey plaiding worn by the people, and linen for the gentry.

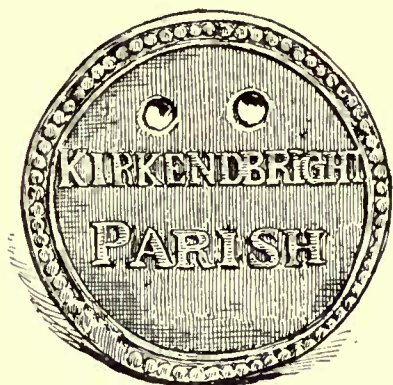


FIG. 373. Beggar's badge of Kirkendbright Parish.

Every farmer, and most cottagers, had a patch of ground on which flax was grown, and the spinning of this was the employment of the women, who spun with their rock and reel (or distaff and spindle), as they walked on the road, or as they sat by the door. In the manse and in the mansion wife and maids were always busy making their yarn; and to their doors came the pedlars to exchange pirns and needles, ells of silk, ‘fingrams,’ or Musselburgh stuffs ‘for so much threed’; and there came the village weavers to get so much yarn to make into cloth for the household, and this, which was called ‘customer’s wark,’ kept the

looms active. Of old only the rock and reel were used for spinning, and in the cottages were once heard the weary re-iterated muttering as the yarn was transferred to the hand reel,

‘Thou’s ane, and thou’s no ane, and thou’s jist ane,
Thou’s twa, and thou’s no twa, and thou’s jist twa,’

and so on for hours.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century spinning wheels see (Figs. 191-193) came into vogue in Scotland; though not till later did they displace the old rock and reel. But not till the rebellion of ’45 were they introduced into the Highlands, and then the women resisted them, regarding the innovation as a suspicious device of the ‘Sassenachs.’ ‘They came in with the Red Coats,’ they grumbled,

for this new fashion, like many others, appeared among the Celts contemporaneous with the appearance of British soldiers to garrison the north. The 'little wheel' for flax or lint, the 'muckle wheel' for wool, was however in a short time to prove a source of industry and profit in every glen of the Highlands and every isle of the Hebrides. While the weaver was busy making cloth for his customers and for sale to the packman, the tailors were busy making it into garments, alike for the peasants and the lairds. With his men he came to the houses, sat cross-legged for days, earning a groat per diem, acting as dressmaker for the ladies and tailor for the gentlemen, for the common dress was simple—the laird wearing hodden gray on week days like his farmers, and his wife a cheap gown of Musselburgh stuff; though on Sundays the laird had broadcloth coat and perwig and sword, and his lady her one silk dress, hoop and fine plaid. No butcher set up shop, for no meat was used by the people, and the laird and the minister got their food killed for themselves. Out of the world, all materials and parcels from town were brought by cadgers on horseback in creels, or by the packman who brought news to relate and needles and chap-books, pious or amatory, to sell; and went on his way with thread bought from the people, and hair of which he had shorn the heads of young women to dispose to wig makers in towns to make into perukes. Life was simple, and the world seemed far off.



FIG. 374. Seneschal's baton, inscribed 'Castle of Glamis, 1686.'

traveller found an intolerable amount of dirt, for it was not confined to towns; the houses filthy, the inns wretched hovels, foul in gear and in fare—the butter filled with cow hairs, which had come from churns that had never been cleaned, under a superstition that it was 'uncanny' to cleanse them, for the cows would cease to give milk if the cans were ever washed. It is a significant fact that in the seventeenth century the common people never used soap—indeed at the beginning of that period there was none made in the country, and only 400,800 lbs. were imported from Flanders—an amount which may be reckoned at half a pound a year for each inhabitant, not merely to be used for the person, but for all household and manufacturing purposes. In 1619 a monopoly of making that now essential article of cleanliness was given to a manufacturer in Leith, with prohibition by the Privy Council for any more to be imported from abroad; and one factory seems to have sufficed for the whole population of 800,000 or a million of people till the end of the century—the only complaints made being that it was very bad, and that merchants required to get it conveyed by horse or creel from Leith, while formerly they could get it at the sea ports.

While such was the condition of the people, there were different grades of gentry whose condition varied with their fortunes. At the highest were noblemen, with their fortunes of a few thousands a year, who lived in spacious castellated mansions, with their lofty massive walls, battlemented roofs, or towers and turrets with conical tops, and moats, with their spacious rooms reached by turnpike stairs. Of such mansions, built in the fashion of French chateaux, Glamis, Fyvie, Castle Fraser—in which nobles maintained ample style—are fine specimens. Next to them in degree were men of perhaps £1000 or £800, who lived in houses with walls six feet thick and tortuous passages, or in peel towers with iron stanchioned windows, where there was one bedroom to each successive floor, reached by narrow stairs, as in Fren draught, where, in 1630, by accident or by malice, were burned the son of Lord Huntly, Rothiemay, and others; each sleeping in the one room, in successive floors, up to the stone-

covered turret. The majority of the abodes of gentry were dingy and mean, even in the early part of the eighteenth century—for lairds abounded, with incomes from £30 to £80, possessed of long pedigrees and very short rent-rolls. All lived more by payment 'in kind' from their tenants, than by money rent. Even an income valued at £800 would probably consist of only £200 in 'silver' money—gold was never seen—the rest being paid, like the minister's stipend, in oats, barley, pease (besides poultry and eggs), which were deposited in the granary attached to the house, while the minister put his stipend in a barn or 'giral' beside his thatched manse. A courtyard was formed by the house, flanked by byres, stables, and granary, and adorned with a midden. Entering from the door, there was the narrow dark lobby, with a dining-room used only on special occasions, and sometimes a drawing-room, in which was a bed for guests. While great houses had the walls covered with tapestry, or with richly stamped and gilded leather, the smaller houses were half-wainscotted with oak, or only coloured plaster—for wall-papers were not made in Scotland till the eighteenth century. No carpets covered the floors, for none were used till about 1740; and although in newspapers about 1690 we find these articles advertised for sale, they were meant for tables, not for floors—for 'carpet' was the common name for a table-cloth. In castles and large mansions were



FIG. 375. Tappit hen.



FIG. 376. Bread spade for turning girdle cakes, found near Elgin.

found such articles of luxury as silver forks and spoons—though even these were few and ornamental, pewter being chiefly used. There were few plates of earthenware—for a manufactory for 'loam' or earthenware was not set up till the close of the seventeenth century—and most gentlemen contented themselves with pewter or with wooden trenchers. In the houses was no hung bell, and the servants were summoned to table with a call, or stamp on the floor, if there was no hand bell. In his bed-room with open hearth the laird chiefly lived; there he saw his friends and dined them, there his family sat and the girls span, and, after they were gone, the parents slept—in a room without ventilation, except by the ill-fitting door, for the windows had no sashes. The fare at these dinners consisting of one course, was monotonous. These were broth, the 'kain' fowls, the everlasting salt beef, through most of the year, and moorfowl, ale and claret in pewter cups handed round from one to another—for glasses were few, or seldom used. Only in summer could any fresh meat be got, for after the cattle had been confined and half-starved all winter they were not fit to be killed for food till June; and after Martinmas—when every one, killed his 'mart,' that is, his supply of meat for winter use—for long months he lived on salt meat. Only in Edinburgh, when gourmands got some flesh from Berwick, was fresh meat seen on almost any table, from November to June, even far on in the eighteenth century. As the rents were paid in kind, there was little money to spend on luxuries; and most lairds had their lands heavily wadsetted or in pawn, and remained in difficulties and debt all their lives. In this they had the consolation of companionship, for their

neighbours who would come on a visit without notice on horseback, with their wives on pillion, and dismounted at the 'loupin-on-stane' at the front door, were all in the same case. At table they extracted philosophical views of life from plentiful draughts of ale and brandy, or from the 'tappit hen' (Fig. 375),—the pewter tankard with its three quarts of claret,—and the use of the snuff-box, handed round the table in sympathetic friendliness. It was the poverty, rather than the wealth of the gentlemen, which caused their sons to go abroad. Those who



FIG. 377. Passport to David Kinloch, M.D., signed by King James VI., March 20th, 1596.¹

got their passports (Fig. 377) for their travels, to secure them attention, were more often men of high birth going to seek a fortune than to spend it, and to serve in foreign armies or study in universities. Many went to gain a living, or make a career, for which there was no scope at home.

Let us pass from the country to the towns. Even the cities were small in the seventeenth century—Edinburgh with a population of 20,000; Glasgow, 8,000; Aberdeen and Perth about 5,000; St. Andrews, Ayr, and Stirling, 2,000. In that century there lingered still not a few old customs of the middle ages. Many of the burghs were still enclosed by walls, and there was still the feeling of insecurity born of former wars and feuds and raids. At night the gates or 'ports' were locked, and

¹ Passport granted to David Kinloch, M.D., on March 20th, 1596, bearing the signature of James VI. This document (which is written on vellum in Latin) shows the importance attached in old days to ancestry and gentle birth. It is addressed by the King of Scots to all kings, princes both ecclesiastical and secular, dukes, marquises, earls, barons and nobles throughout Europe, and on the narrative that Dr. Kinloch is going to reside for some years in Rennes (*quum ipse in Gallia presertim vero in Rhedonensi Armoricarum civitate per aliquot annos moram trahere decreverit*), vouches for the fact that he is of noble blood (*genere nobilem legitimoq. toto procreatum*), as is indicated by the coats of arms (*imagines*) appended to the passport showing his descent and by a short detailed account of his genealogy. The Kinloch family are described as of moderate knightly rank (*ex mediocri equestri nobilitum ordine*),

the entrances by wynds were guarded. By eight or nine o'clock the town drummer set forth through the streets, beating his 'swysche' to warn all honest folk to return to their homes—to 'family exercises' and to bed. From the Tolbooth the citizens whose turn it was to form the night-watch proceeded to their several quarters—armed with hackbut or musket, with dirk and halbert and steel caps, guided by a horn lantern (Fig. 378) or bowat in the darkness. With their halberts they smote at the door of any deserter from the watch, who was to be fined for neglect of his turn. They perambulated the lanes and streets till daylight. Each ale house was closed at ten at night—any 'vagner' found in the streets after that hour was haled to the Tolbooth; no one dare leave the town after its gates were locked, or leave by a window giving on the outer walls. The presence in the town of any stranger overnight was to be certified to the provost. No lamps illumined the narrow thoroughfares, and though in 1688 the magistrates of Edinburgh got 24 lanthorns 'to be fixed on sweyes' in the Canongate and High Street, the rest of the city was in darkness; and up to 1809 lamps were lighted only in winter. It was not till the eighteenth century that a few lanterns with tallow candles, that were exhausted before the day dawned, were common in towns (see Figs. 254, 255); and each passenger to find his way over gutters and middens guided his course by carrying his own light.

At four o'clock in the morning the town drummer or piper again set out to waken the public with his music for their work; in Aberdeen a man with a tabor being enjoined to play tunes that the citizens be 'warnit and excitat' to the labours, and by five work began. The children were at school at six o'clock, and there they remained, with intervals, till six in the evening.

Every privilege belonged to the burgher or freeman: except by him no trade or calling dare be carried on. He paid his fee, varying from £2 to £20, to the town council, and was presented with a musket, halbert, and steel bonnet, wherewith to defend his town when needed, to serve for the king when required, and to prove his readiness, at the annual meeting called the 'Wappenschaw' or show of weapons, which took place on the burgh moor (see Fig. 324), he was bound to appear with his fellow-burghers duly armed. Whatever craft he entered, he was jealous of its rights and privileges, and the guilds were arrogant and aggressive. No one dare pursue a trade in a

taking their name from that of their lands, but on the mother's side her family of Ramsay is said to be indeed noble, as '*nemo ignorare potest qui historias nostras perlegerit,*' while the maternal grandmother is stated to have been a daughter of the house of Lindsay and nearly related to the Earl of Crawford (*primariae nobilitatis*). It is therefore requested that the dignitaries to whom the passport is addressed will recognise Dr. Kinloch as noble, receive him with grace and favour, and grant him all official appointments (*munia*) and privileges, honours, and dignities which are usually bestowed on persons of noble birth, in return for which the like grace and favour would be shown to persons coming to Scotland provided with a similar recommendation.

The Passport is granted under the Great Seal at Holyrood (*e regia nostra Sancruciana*).

The coats are four in number, the first of them being Kinloch, Baro, *Azure* on a chevron *argent*, a mullet *gules* between two mascles in chief of the second and a boar's head erased in base *or*. Next comes the coat of Ramsay, Baro, *Argent*, an eagle displayed *sable*, and then the arms of the House of Crawford, Quarterly, 1st and 4th *Gules* a fesse, chequé *argent* and *azure* (Lindsay). 2nd and 3rd, *Or* a lion rampant *gules*, debriused of a ribbon in bend *sable* (Abernethy). Crest, an ostrich holding in his mouth a key. Supporters, two lions sejant guardant *gules*. Lastly appears the well-known coat of the Hays, *Argent* 3 inescutcheons *gules*. Supporters, two ox yokes. [J. D. G. D.]



FIG. 378. Horn lantern (formerly in the lighthouse of Buddon Ness.)

town unless he had served as apprentice with them for three years, and had made some work as proof of his skill. In 1727 William Ged, the inventor of stereotype or block printing, was forced by Edinburgh letterpress printers to seek

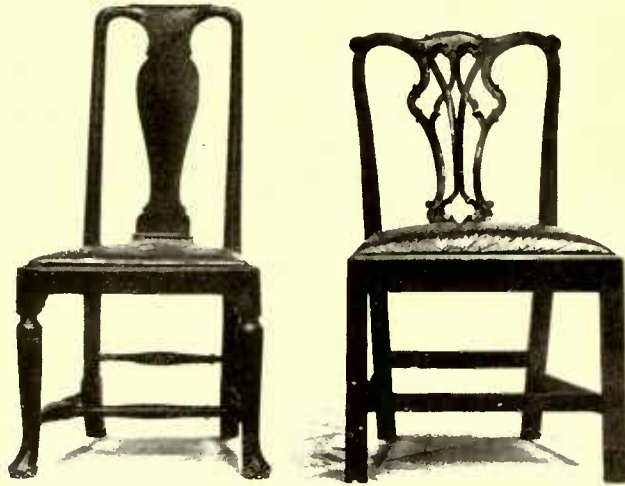


FIG. 379. High-backed chair of elm. FIG. 380. Chair of carved mahogany.
From the Old Council Chambers, Glasgow.

safety by quitting the town, and it is well known how in 1757 the hammermen of Glasgow prevented James Watt from setting up his shop. The deacons of the several crafts exacted fines under the name of 'calsay penny' on the



FIG. 381. Badge of chain of gold of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, formerly in use, made in 1750.

market day, when people from outside brought their wares, and confiscated their goods if they deemed them insufficiently made. We find these crafts constantly in strife one with another—if the joiner touched a chisel, if the lorimer or bit-maker encroached on the smith, if the saddler trenched with his leathern work on the rights of the cordiner. In towns, with rival burghs, they fought—if a mason in the Gorbals wrought in Glasgow, and if the wrights in the Canongate burgh did work in an adjoining street which lay in Edinburgh proper. The deacon of a guild was as formidable as a provost. Every week all articles for sale must be produced at the market before it could be sold in the shops, and on that day from other towns there came the vendors of shoes and skins and wool, whose goods were jealously inspected by the deacons. At ten o'clock, and not one moment before, the market was open. Anyone who had bought grain or hides before they were brought to the town was sentenced as a forestaller.

Every year the council was elected by the burgesses, and, once installed, provost, bailies, and councillors were omnipotent during their reign. To speak disrespectfully of a magistrate was a heinous offence, to refuse to doff the bonnet

to him was publicly censured, to swear at him was only expiated by begging pardon on the knees at the cross or sea-shore, to lift the hand at him involved prison and banishment. Magistrates were censors of morals, keepers of peace, and guardians of religion. They appoint 'clandestine captors,' who should pass stealthily through the crowds at the Cross or Meal Market, listening for oaths and imprecations, the utterer of which was to be taken to judgment. They order boxes to be set up in every house into which a penny is to be put for every curse spoken in the household, which box is to be opened every month by a bailie and the contents extracted for the good of the town; they enjoin that no water beyond two pints shall be drawn from the public well by any woman on the Lord's Day. They have 'perlustrators' who pass along the streets on Fast Day or Sabbath to mark for fine any loiterer, and exact fines from all, including even bailies, who absent themselves from Kirk; 'for the down-bearing of sin' they debar all women from serving drink in any ale-house, and this order was read publicly in all the kirks of Edinburgh; they visit all apothecaries' shops each year, to throw away any stuff that is old and stale. There is nothing they did not pry into, nothing they did not rule, yet they have occasionally the wisdom to set up spinning classes for children and force parents to send them to school.

There were crimes enough in those days—especially in the seventeenth century—to call for suppression, for it was an unruly age, and there were singularly unruly tongues. It is not fair to estimate average morals of a community

by the records of kirk sessions or of police courts, but it must be owned that the number of charges and committals is startling. In small towns where in our age years would roll by without the excitement of a theft or an assault, hardly a week passed by these without some violence 'to the effusion of blood,' and the custom of wearing a whinger or dagger was a dangerous temptation in an age of assaulting propensities; abuse, 'miscalling' and cursing were rampant, and these held dangerous, for the imprecation of a woman was believed to bring about the death of her enemy; and, judging from the proclamations of Parliament, blaspheming and swearing were woefully abundant in that most Puritan age. The crime of house robbery was singularly scarce, although the houses were almost unprotected, at the best the house might have only wooden locks (Fig. 382), with a wooden key, at which a child burglar would laugh,—but probably there was little within to tempt to robbery.

Prisoners were deposited in the 'thieves' hole,' or in a room in the steeple of Tolbooth, and while the warder caroused at the ale-house, the prisoners caroused in the jail. Debtors were even allowed out by day, on promise that they would return, while expert criminals could pick a simple lock or make a hole in the wall and escape at his pleasure. The safeguard was that if he got out he had nowhere to go to, for no one could reside in any place until he had a certificate of character from his kirk session. For the offences there were varied penalties, some of which were as grotesque as they were harsh—the 'notour thief' is to be sentenced to 'sit upon the tron and have his nose pinched,'—the 'tron' being the pillory

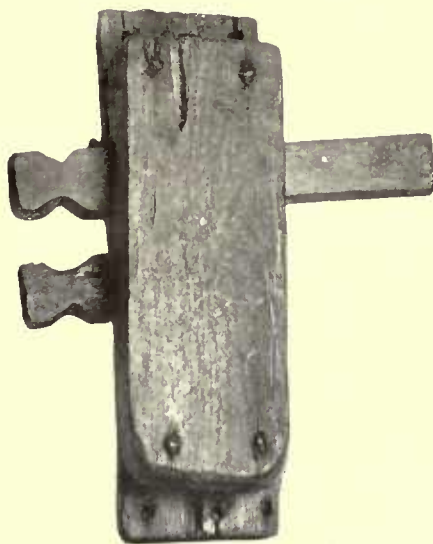


FIG. 382. Wooden door lock and key, St. Kilda.

at the weighing-house, the 'pinching' being done by irons;—a woman, for stealing a sheet, is 'to have her lug nailed and her nose to be pinched,' with a label on her breast, stating 'I stand here for theft'; the beggars are to be whipped and



FIG. 383. Hangman's ladle, which was used by the hangman in taking his custom from meal and flour sold in bulk in Kelso Market.

to be drummed out of the town, 'for ye terror of others'; harlots are to be flogged at the back of a cart by the hangman at each street and the Cross; and criminals are, after being imprisoned, to be expelled from the burgh. Magistrates never concerned themselves that they were sending out their offenders to become pests to other towns and people. It requires

some force of imagination to-day to realise the severity of the sentence when we read of an offender being 'banished from the Gorbals,' on pain of branding on the cheek, or prison if he dare to return to that at present not too attractive district. Sturdy beggars and thieves are also branded with hot irons on the cheek nearest the eye; for immorality, offenders stand in the pillory, with placards on their foreheads stating 'thir are adulterers,' and rioters are borne hand fasted, with a placard on the head of the ringleader with the warning sentence, 'Fear God, and obey your lawful magistrates.' For scolds there are the branks,—the iron cap, with the iron prong which, inserted into the mouth, stopped effectually the railer (Fig. 406); to Tolbooth and to kirk wall there were fastened to the jongs or jags—the iron collar for the neck of the curser—and the stocks for the feet of the drunkard, and the ducking-in pond or sea for the ribald. The town hangman had much work for his hand, for all these operations were conducted by him. He was known as the 'lockman,' from his being entitled to a 'lock,'—that is a hand-full of grain from every sack that came to the market, or sometimes as the 'ladle-man' from his having an iron ladle (Fig. 383) (or sometimes a wooden cap) (Fig. 384) to extract his dues.

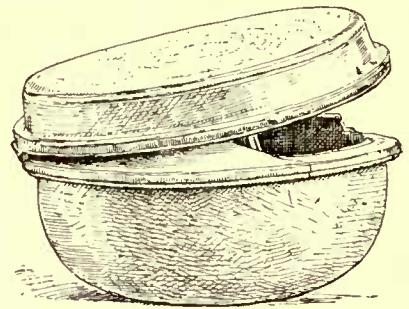


FIG. 384. Wooden vessel or hangman's cap.

While magistrates exercised authority and punished misdemeanours in burghs with most rigorous hand, over wide districts, certain lairds and noblemen and chiefs as Lords of Regality possessed heritable jurisdiction,—a hereditary privilege to judge and condemn. They had the power *fossa et furca*—that is, of pit or of gallows—to sentence criminals to scourging or prisons, to hanging or drowning. This hereditary right was often, especially in the Highlands, wielded with remorseless severity, and



FIG. 385. Stocks used at Paldy Fair Market, Fordoun. They were last used there in July, 1841.

not seldom the verdict of the Lord or his bailie was determined more by humour, prejudice, or clan partiality of the judge, than the real merits of the prisoner or his case. Whether the judgment was right or wrong, the Lords of Session were too far to hear of it, and it was too late for them to revise a verdict when the delinquent was drowned or hanged. In narrow dungeons or holes beneath the castle the prisoner would remain for days in the pitch darkness, standing on stones to avoid the water that lay deep at the bottom; if caught 'infang,' or with the article

stolen in his hand, the thief might be strung up at once without trial; for stealing a horse the man was probably hung on the gallows tree on the moor, or some hill, or where two roads met, or the woman guilty of removing a sheet might be drowned in the loch near at hand. Fortunate was the culprit if he only were sentenced to lose an ear and be banished from the country. The laird of Grant in 1692 has a poor wretch who had stolen the 'socke of ane pleuche' sentenced 'to be naillit be the lug with ane irene naile to ane poste, and to stand ther for the spaice of ane hour without motione and be allowed to break the gress without drawing the naile.' The Books of these old Courts of Regality contain many curious entries of harsh arbitrary law; but they do not record how in the eighteenth century chiefs exercising hereditary jurisdiction gave criminals the choice of death or transportation to the plantations, making a pleasant addition to their income by selling the prisoners to ship captains for servitude over the seas.

The criminal code of Scotland was on the whole less severe than that of England; fewer crimes were liable to death sentence, the thief only if he were 'notour,' that is, by habit and repute, being sentenced to be 'hangit'; but there were the prison, irons, scourging, tongue boring, pillory, stocks, branding, banishment for common offences, at the hands of the hangman, who in each burgh had his house and his salary, and lived more feared than esteemed, as he had probably accepted the office to escape a sentence of being hanged for his own misdeeds. The block was reserved for persons



FIG. 386. Double anklet.

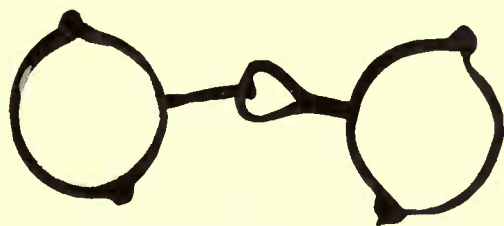


FIG. 387. Handcuffs found at Draffan, parish of Lesmahagow.

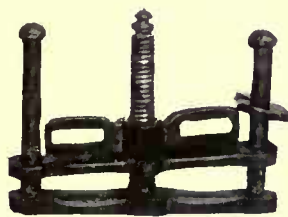


FIG. 388. Set of thumbscrews.

of high estate, and specially for the crime of treason; and after the middle of the seventeenth century the headsman's axe (Figs. 389-391)—which had taken the place of the 'heiding sweird' or two-handed sword of a previous age—was rarely called into requisition. Up to 1710 the maiden (Fig. 392), which had been made in 1565, was used; and under its blade 120 persons, including Regent Morton, had surrendered their heads, which were thereafter placed on the Netherbow on a pike in the Tolbooth. This instrument was a guillotine, an oak beam five feet long, fixed on two upright posts. Between these uprights was a deep groove for a steel blade laden with lead of 75 lbs. The rope being unloosed by the executioner the axe fell on the neck of the criminal, which rested on a cross beam, and the head rolled from the block.

The use of torture to extract confession was retained long after England in 1640 had abandoned it as barbarous. The instruments were many and diabolical in art and cruelty—the caspieclaws, a heated iron frame which burned the flesh; the boot, an iron cylinder in which the leg from foot to knee was placed while the hangman drove in wedges with a mallet till flesh and bones were crushed

to pulp; the pilniewicks, an iron screw which thrust nails into the flesh till the blood spurted from the finger tips; and the fire tongues, the heated points of which were extended between the shoulders and applied to each arm or under the armpits, burning the flesh to the bone. Time brought no refinement of feeling, but rather refinement of cruelty; and Scots Privy Council in 1684 are proud to sanction 'the new invention or engine, called the thumbkins,' as 'very



FIG. 389. Axe used at the execution of Baird and Hardie, in 1820.

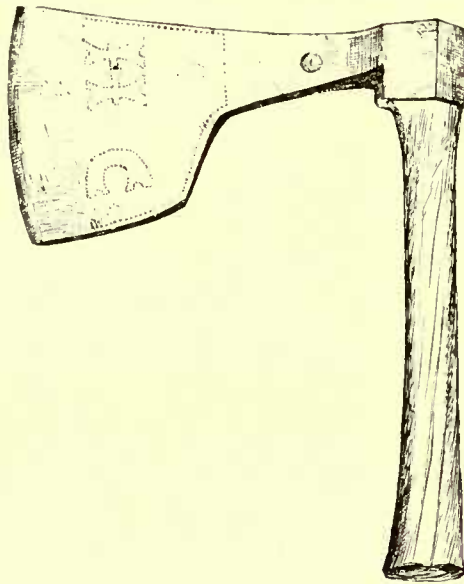


FIG. 390. St. Andrews heading axe.

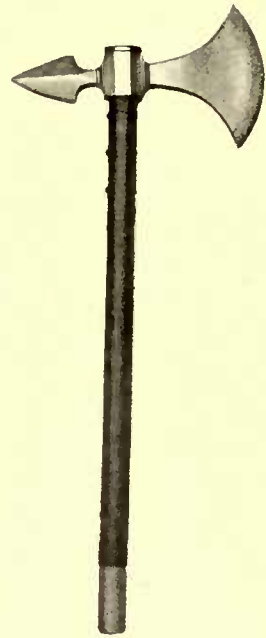


FIG. 391. Scottish headman's axe.

effectual to expiscate matters relating to government.' On this 'engine' (Fig. 388) the thumbs of the victim were thrust into two openings, and the upper bar was screwed down till the bones were crushed. This was useful to apply to obstinate Covenanters; while General Dalzell, following a congenial taste, had also contrived a new method of torturing rebels and malignants by a prickling shirt. In 1689 Scots Parliament at last declared 'that the use of torture without evidence and in ordinary crimes is contrary to law.' Some traces of humanity at last had emerged.

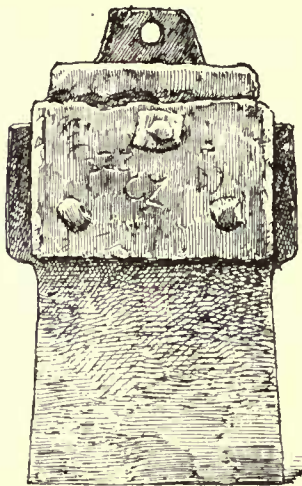


FIG. 392. Blade of the 'Maiden.'

While harsh punishments were imposed up to the early part of the eighteenth century, we find them gradually lose their grotesqueness, if not their severity—lug nailing, placarding, ducking, scourging were omitted as the people advanced in civilisation and good taste if not in sense of humour. Drinking certainly did not become less common, as a stimulus to crime, when about 1750 whisky began to supersede ale, or 'two-penny'—from its costing 2d. a Scots pint—as a popular beverage; and there were usually 30 to 40 change houses, not devoid of custom, in every town of 2000 inhabitants. But by the eighteenth century assaults by arms and tongue on body and character were less rife. There was less stabbing and maiming in the streets, less imprecating and cursing by viragoes. The passions and violence common in the seventeenth century seem like a far-off history, a remote memory of barbarism, in the quiet modern days of Robertson, Hume, and Blair.

The efforts of the magistrates to secure purity of morals were equalled in failure by their attempts to secure cleanliness of streets. The dirt of many towns was abominable, as we learn from records of Parliament and conventions of Burghs. In 1619 the Privy Council indignantly tell the magistrates of Edinburgh that 'the city is now become so filthy, the streets, vennels, and wynds so overlaid with middings and with the filth of man and of beast as that the noble councillors, servants, and others of His Majesty's subjects who are lodged in the burgh cannot get a clean passage to their lodgings,' so that they resolve to lodge in Leith. 'Further this shameful and beastly filthiness is most detestable and odious in the sight of strangers, who, beholding the same, are constrained with reason to give out many disgraceful speeches against this burgh, calling it a puddle of filth and uncleanness the like of which is not to be seen in any part of the world.' Efforts were made time after time to secure cleanliness, but still the middens stank in the causeway, gutters rolled down their garbage, swine fed on the offal, domestic abominations were flung from the windows, and passengers on sultry evenings held their noses, anxiously watched their wigs and picked their steps, and in the unlighted nights fell into the foetid heaps. Other burghs were in a similar but less nauseous case. In vain magistrates order the inhabitants to remove their dirt and employ 'muckmen'; Ayr and Dundee, even go so far as to employ a man with 'a substantious wheel-

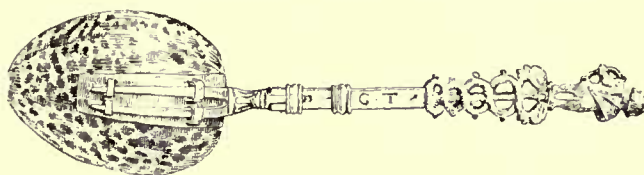


FIG. 393. Plague spoon, once believed to possess talismanic or medicinal virtues.

barrow' to wheel off the fish guts and stuff which accumulate. After all, the pigs which the people kept under the forestairs of their houses were the most effectual scavengers, though they were dangerous and fierce to the inhabitants. In the beginning of the eighteenth century we learn that the Town Council of Glasgow employed two scavengers for the city of 12,000 inhabitants.

It is not surprising that the pest broke out again and again in many forms, carrying off in towns a sixth of the people, and disease called 'leprosy' or scurvy, from bad food and dirt, 'the pock,' the 'wame-ill,' or 'land ill' wrought terrible havoc. Such outbreaks usually came after a dearth when people were half starved and too weak to resist them. When there was a sign of their approach the magistrates took their rigorous measures. All beggars were thrust into 'thieves-holes,' communication with outside was cut off, the 'ports' were locked and guarded, and any who tried to enter were to be summarily 'hangit'; the stricken were isolated in huts in the burgh moor. Cleansers were hired who watched them, and had boiling cauldrons to disinfect their clothes. The Town Council assembled daily 'for prayer and sermon.' In Perth in 1646 it was believed that the relaxing of church discipline had been a cause of the plague at the 'hand of the Lord,' and the magistrates as a propitiatory sacrifice straightway sentenced to death a man and woman guilty of immorality—the woman being hung 'forenent her mother's yett.' Probably this was as effective a means as that adopted by the people's charms to avert the disease, when they used that 'plague spoon' (Fig. 393) made of cowrie shell set in silver, which was deemed of marvellous power to dispel the malady. The Kirk Session had days of fasting to avert the wrath of the Almighty at the nation's awful iniquities of cursing, blaspheming, and Sabbath breaking, and in terror the people bewailed their sins instead of cleaning their persons, their houses, and their streets.

Gradually the recurrence of the pest became less frequent and disappeared in the eighteenth century when ways and houses were not so dirty and food not so scarce, and medical art not so deplorable. The huts and hovels, thatched with turf and heather, and fronted with timber, which often were burnt down in whole streets in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and Aberdeen, were replaced by orders of Town Councils by houses of stone and covered with slates, and all new buildings were obliged to be built of the same less flammable material. The destruction of these dirty, miserable houses and lands towering to the skies such as occurred in 1700 at Parliament Close was spoken of as a 'fearful rebuke of the Lord,' but proved merciful dispensations to the towns. It is well known that dirt and middens still remained in burghs long after the seventeenth century had closed; that the lofty houses of Edinburgh were entered by dirty wynds and by turnpike stairs, dark and begrimed. The perilous height to

which they rose was due, like the high streets of Old Paris, to the city being circumscribed by walls. Yet there was grandeur with all this dirt. In wynds and vennels, up narrow stairs, there were houses with rooms spacious, with mantel-pieces richly carved, wainscots of fine skill, ceilings of fine art. The windows of the best houses in the seventeenth century had been only half glazed, the lower part having wooden panels for opening. On the door was not the knocker, but the 'tirling pin' (Fig. 394), otherwise the 'risp.' It was a bent iron, notched inside, fastened to the door with a ring which as it was 'tired' or rasped; made a grating raucous sound which got for it the popular name of the 'craw.' This was used far on in the eighteenth century, till the conventional knocker took its place on every door. In spite of dirt in the streets, there was a pleasantness in the old Scots towns before population crowded them—quaint houses, with gardens and orchards, which gave a beauty to towns like Glasgow and Aberdeen in the seventeenth century.



FIG. 394. 'Tirling pin,' the early Scottish form of door knocker.

The social aspect of the country may strike us as poor and uncomfortable; but in those days there is no sign that people felt ill at ease, for to their condition custom had enured them. The better-off classes had their games—their bowls, their quoits, their golf; the country gentlemen—their shooting, their hawking, and their social meetings in their homes and in taverns. As for the people there was much merry making, in spite of the denunciations of the kirk—at the christenings, at weddings, which then all took place in church, the procession to the kirk, the piper preceding the party as it went, and the mirth of the people in the evening, with rude rites and rough rural humour, especially at 'penny bridals,' when the friends contributed originally one penny to the expenses, and the farmers and lairds sent food and drink for the people. Among the pleasures of the peasantry—indeed persons of all classes—may be included the funerals. In the house of a dead laird a huge gathering took place, who drank without restraint, enjoying heartily the burial of their dearest friend—the cost of the entertainment for meat, brandy and claret probably impoverishing the heir for a year. With the poor there were similar rites, though of simpler fashion. As with their betters there was the lyke-wake (from *lyc*, a corpse, and *wician*, to watch), when friends watched in the room over the dead, and gossiped and drank through the night to keep their spirits up, and evil spirits away. The moment the breath was out of the body the beadle was summoned, and he passed through the streets, perhaps in the dead of night, ringing the 'deid bell,' and

he would be heard chanting: 'All brothers and sisters I let you to wot that there is a brother departed out of this present world according to the will of Almighty God—A. B., at the third door, in the vennel, and all are to come to his burying at twa o'clock on Thursday.' Here was a relic or perversion of the old Roman Catholic custom of the bell being rung in the streets to inform all Christians that a person was on the point of death, in order that prayers should be offered that the soul might depart in peace. On the funeral day, the crowd was great at the door, and guests entered in relays to partake of food and drink, after a grace from the minister or an elder to sanctify 'the mercies' (and this was the only religious service); the snuff-mull was handed round, the pipes were filled, the pints of ale were emptied, the short-bread less copiously eaten, and the procession moved on to the kirk-yard with the coffin borne on spokes. If the grave were far off, there was a horse litter hired from the kirk session or town council,—the coffin

being placed on a frame placed across the backs of two horses that walked side by side. In the seventeenth century, the bodies of the poor were often put in a parish coffin let out for a shilling, and at the grave the hinged bottom was unbolted and the corpse plumped into the grave. But after all a coffin could be got by the session for 3s. 6d. The funeral party was preceded by the beadle ringing the dead bell, which was placed at the head of the grave to ward evil spirits off. The obsequies over, the company returned to the house of mourning, which became the house of feasting, and chosen guests partook of the 'dredgy'—a word corrupted from the 'dirge' of forgotten papistry—where they soon forgot both their dead friend and themselves over many a mutchkin. Days after this scene fresh cause for mourning arose, for there came from the change-house, the heavy bill, a mild specimen of which may be given. For the funeral of William Allan, seaman, at Alloa, in 1725, there are the following charges: 'Twentie



FIG. 396. Bronze tripod pot found at Clockeasy, Morayshire.

pints eall £13 6s., two pints aquavitae £2, shortbread £2 3s. 6d., tobacco and pipes £13 6s., four pundis chees 12s. Truly 'a half-penny worth of bread to an intolerable deal of sack,' for as each pint Scots equalled two English quarts, here is a gallon of aquavitae and ten gallons of ale to a few cakes of shortbread. So

¹These old bronze pots show the shape in use several centuries before this date. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these pots were frequently made without feet so as to hang over the fire,



FIG. 395. Bronze pot found in Aberdeen with 12,000 coins in it. It was probably buried about 1330 A.D.¹

1725, there are the following charges: 'Twentie

necessary were drink and tobacco as ingredients of a funeral feast that kirk sessions even provided them at the funerals of paupers. The concourse of beggars who gathered from all quarters like vultures, especially on the news of the death of a laird, for these occasions was huge, for they shared in the leavings of the guests, got gifts of meal, and the shoulder blades of mutton, which from being bestowed on the mendicants were called the 'poor man.'

Among the people religious or church life formed a most prominent element, whether prelacy or presbytery was in the ascendant, and under both much the



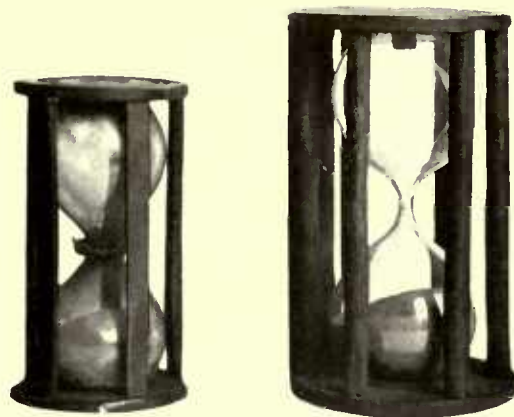
FIG. 397. Bible (printed by Robert Barker in 1617), in the Cathedral Church of Glasgow. In original binding, with clasps and chain, as 'sauld by James Saunderis at the Ilie Kirk of Glasgow, anno 1625.'

same discipline, creed, and forms of worship prevailed—so that English travellers in 1686 could not understand why 'those should differ who are so much like brethren.' Episcopalians, like their rivals, had elders and met in presbyteries; they all sat at communion, seldom observed feast days, preached 'without paper,' gave extempore prayers, and used no Liturgy; the chief difference was that the curate said the Lord's Prayer, repeated the Gloria at the end of the Psalm, and wore a gown in the pulpit. Church life was much the same in the clerical reigns of both Archbishop Sharp and Principal Carstairs, and indeed in the early part of the eighteenth century. The ministers lived in mean thatched dwellings, with three or perhaps four dark little rooms, with timber partitions, and stone floors on the ground. The churches were dark, narrow and mean, covered with straw or heather; the floor was earthen, and in those unluxurious days the people did not wince so much at the rain dripping through the thatch making pools of water, and the light struggling through little windows with

their upper part only glazed. The deplorable condition of the churches was the bitter complaint of ministers up to the end of the eighteenth century,—ugly, damp, dirty, cold and comfortless, especially in the winter, when in the unheated, draughty buildings the worshippers sat shivering and rheumatic during the prolonged services. Kirks were unseated in the seventeenth century, and many up to the middle of the following century, except when a laird, or merchant or bailie set up a 'desk' or scat at his own expense. Many people brought their own stools or 'creepies' to sit upon, while the others stood, and there was often scandal caused by people jostling and fighting to the 'effusion of blood,' for room at the beginning of the service. At ten o'clock—in earlier days at nine—sounded the 'first' bell—which perhaps hung from the branch of a tree—and the people assembled, while the schoolmaster, as reader or precentor at the lectern, read chapters from Scripture; and when the minister entered the church the psalm was sung till the signal was given to stop. By the pulpit stood the sand-glass (Figs. 398-401) in an iron or wooden frame to time the sermon. This, especially if it was a half-hour glass, was reprobated by ministers, whose powers of preaching whole hours did not exhaust, as 'limiting the

Lord's mind'; though less exception could be taken on the score of circumscribing the fervid inspiration when, as in the glass at Haddington, the sands of time took two hours to run out.

Through protracted discourse and lecture the men stood or sat with their blue bonnets on, and the women wore plaids over their heads and shoulders, or spread them on the ground to sit upon. But very jealous was the minister lest these coverings should be used to conceal their slumbers, and by vigilant kirk sessions the bellman was provided with a pole to raise them up, or with a pint of tar wherewith to paint the plaids of women who muffled their faces. The tendency to slumber seems to have been strong, for while the schoolmaster kept his pupils awake, the Incorporated Trades provided a pole to arouse the apprentices. Twice a day these divine ordinances were everywhere held, and between sermons people resorted to the ale-house for food and drink, while the lairds might have cold refectations in a room adjoining their galleries; and for the edification of persons remaining in kirk, two boys from the Grammar School asked and answered each other, 'in a loud voice,' questions from the Catechism. While the pious-minded listened to the warm and 'affectionate preaching' with sighs and sobs of approval or of terror, the younger worshippers on Sabbaths found pleasant excitement in witnessing penitents in sackcloth standing at the kirk door, and afterwards undergoing their solemn rebukes on the pillory from the minister, when he delivered to them what the people called the 'wee sermon.'



398

399

FIG. 398. Hour-glass from the Cathedral of Glasgow.

FIG. 399. Pulpit sand-glass, now owned by the Corporation of Glasgow.



400

401

FIG. 400. Church sand-glass, now in the Smith Institute, Stirling.

FIG. 401. Two-hours sand-glass of Haddington Church.

Important were the church collections, for on these depended the support of the poor, sick, and distressed, in days when there were no public funds to relieve paupers. The money was collected by the ladle (Fig. 402), or by the plate placed and guarded at the entrance to the kirk-yard. The contributions were deposited in an iron-bound box having two locks, given in charge of two elders, each of whom had a key for a different lock, so that the dishonesty of one official could not tamper with the precious contents. Twice a year the chest was opened and the metal counted out by the anxious session. Then a marvellous assemblage of coins came to view; for among the honest coins which poor folk had given out of their scanty earnings were doits, 'base turners,' clipped and bad money, foreign coins which were useless. The quantity of bad money put into the ladles, in spite of the ministers' fulminations

against those who 'mock the Lord and defraud the poor,' became still greater after the Union of 1707, when old Scots money fell out of circulation; then doits, bodles, placks, 'Irish harps,' clipped English were hawked round to blacksmiths by the elders and sold for what they would bring as old copper.

Communion in the seventeenth century—and often also in the eighteenth—took place after long intervals of years, not from carelessness, but because the rigid minister did not consider the people sufficiently prepared or too ignorant for the 'Great Solemnity,' as it was called. Before it took place every family was visited and every tremulous member rigidly examined on the Scriptures and Catechism. When Presbytery was re-established in 1690, sacramental vessels were not to be found in many kirks, though, in not a few cases, these had been abstracted by the curates, when they were rabbled and taken to the houses of gentlemen and noblemen to whom they became chaplains. Hence is it that on side-boards in Scottish mansions may be seen communion cups of which churches were despoiled; and it is significant that in Cawdor Castle are the fine old silver vessels, belonging to the parish, and in Cawdor Kirk are used only old pewter. It was in the middle of the seventeenth century that there began the well-known communion seasons and preachings for days, which in time degenerated into Holy Fairs.

We have seen what was the rigorous rule of magistrates over civic morals and manners; but in the domination of the Church we find one still more exacting and



FIG. 402. Old kirk ladle from Birnie, Morayshire.

ubiquitous and remorseless, especially under the reign of presbytery in the seventeenth century. It was verily then a reign of terror. The discipline of the kirk was in fact, even in the forms of its penalties, a continuation of the penance of Popish days. Kirk-sessions had power to submit delinquents to corporal punishment, to prison, to the stocks, to the branks, and the jugs, which were attached to church doors or walls. They could impose fines of money, or, if money could not be got, they extorted 'ane iron pot' or 'ane coat' from the penniless offenders. Slanderers are made to stand 'at the kirk stile' with branks upon their mouths and afterwards made to ask forgiveness of the offended parties 'on their knees, publicly in the street before their own doors'; the scold who miscalls and abuses her husband stands 'in her linens' at the cross on market days and seven days at the kirk door; the swearer forfeits money, stands at the pillory at the town cross and in the jugs at the church; a woman for 'denouncing the toune' of Dunfermline stands at the cross on market day 'with ane paper on her head,' and before the congregation on Sabbath confesses 'her sinfulness.' Sins of impurity were punished by ducking, by head shaving, and banishment; in gross cases delinquents stood for twelve Sundays successively at the kirk door, clad in sackcloth, bare-legged and bare-footed, and sometimes in a pail of water, and stood thereafter in the place of repentance before the congregation for 26 Sabbaths. Sometimes, indeed, they were obliged to repeat their penance at every church in the bounds of the presbytery. In 1643 the Glasgow session even decreed for such heinous offenders three hours in the jugs, a public scourging, imprisonment in common jail, and banishment from the city. On all pleasure the Church cast a blight—children were punished who played at 'guisards'; 'penny bridals' were sternly forbidden as causes of scandal and sin, and guests and fiddlers were fined and denied the communion; 'promiscuous dancing,'—that is a man dancing with a woman,—was denounced as sensual; Sessions rebuked

publicly the person who spoke lightly of the minister and admonished the man who passed him without doing him reverence. The Church inquired into everything and everybody; forced servants on oath to reveal the private affairs of families; paid boys to act as 'clandestine censors' or spies on their schoolmates; enjoined each master of a household to have a rod or 'palmar' to punish his children and servants for swearing; investigated if every house had its family exercises twice a day, and debarred from the Lord's Supper those who neglected them. The discipline on Sabbath was relentless and the supervision unceasing. Elders perambulated the streets to mark any absent from kirk, and even entered private houses to search for deserters. Those who did not attend ordinances were punished; those who left church before service was over were fined 3d. or 1d.; persons were forbidden to discuss secular matters in the kirkyard or at home; to go out of doors except to church; to sit on door-steps 'chattering after sermon'; to shave; to draw water from the well. To take snuff during sermon entailed a fine of 20s. Scots for each fault, and a bellman was ordered to take notice and delate any guilty of taking 'sneising tobacco' in kirk. This inquisitorial rule culminated in the excommunication of contumacious offenders, who were delivered over to Satan with terrors here and hereafter, and who were driven to live henceforth as outcasts, whom to associate with, to give food or shelter, was a crime most heinous.

As no one could settle in any parish or town without a 'testimonial' from his last kirk-session, the excommunicated were quickly reduced to despair or submission.

Those to whom Scotland has been notable or notorious for rigid Sabbath observances are usually ignorant of the difficulty with which this reverence was implanted in the minds and habits of the people. Before the Reformation, Sunday had been as much a holiday as a holy day. On it popular games were played on the burgh common; fairs and markets were held. It was not easy under the discipline of the Reformed Kirk to suppress these old pleasures and customs and change all to silence, austerity, and pious discipline. Under the reign of presbytery and prelacy in the seventeenth century, kirk-sessions, even with the strenuous aid of Acts of Parliament and orders of town councils, had a hard struggle to conform the people to rigorous ways. In the old records we read of fines and punishments imposed on those who still strangely profaned the Lord's Day—in seaports those who



FIG. 404. Inside of Cawdor silver communion cup.

defiantly sailed, and fished, and dried their nets; in rural districts millers who ground the corn, farmers who threshed or took in their grain; in towns tailors and barbers who plied their trades; burghs, like Lanark, where the people played ancient games; while in the Highlands markets were often held. At the beginning of the eighteenth century in the north, as in Fordyce, in spite of the ministers, there sometimes were football after service and markets for snuff and cattle in the kirkyard. In time,



FIG. 403. One of two solid silver communion cups, dated 1619 for the Parish Church of Cawdor. Edinburgh hall-mark.

however, the Kirk prevailed, till women dared not make broth on the Lord's Day, and men circumspectly clipped their beards with scissors on Saturday night.

In this there was a rigour from which England was free. And yet during the Puritan reign that country too had a discipline as stern and a creed as austere—indeed, the Confession of Faith was the work of English divines at the Westminster Assembly. But at the Restoration England happily got rid of both—it exported the austerity and gloom of Puritanism over the sea to New England, and it left the cast-iron creed as a gift to Scotland, and lived comfortably free from burdens it transferred to the shoulders of others.

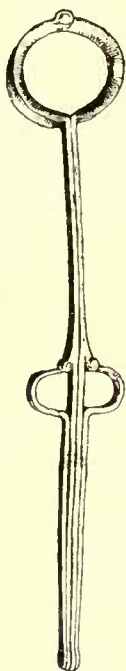


FIG. 405. Jougs, formerly attached to Market Cross of Stirling.

The superstitions of the country exercised greatly the attention of ministers and elders, whose espionage over the people overlooked nothing. These were the 'charmers' who wrought cures of diseases by fantastic operations, by gibberish that sounded weird and mysterious. The highest classes were not free from these beliefs any more than the poorest, and placed profound trust in the miraculous virtues of the Lee Penny or in that of the Glenorchy charm stone of Breadalbane (Fig. 407), which was a talisman against arrows or bullets in war, against leprosy or the pest in peace. There were persons possessed of the evil eye who, by a look, could blight a life or deprive a cow of its milk; crones who, with a malediction could bring sickness or death. All these were condemned as using arts which were diabolical; for ministers believed as much as their people in their efficacy and infernal origin, and those who exercised them and those who for their purposes sought for them, got the heaviest penalty of the session. But worst of all crimes was witch-

craft, practised by those supposed to have personal intimacy and dealings with Satan, who, by selling their soul, gained magical powers over the elements; could kill or cure, could send tempests and blights, by curses could cause a boat to sink, or incantations, and strange spells could make sickness go or come at will. Of the reality of these diabolic arts and powers the magistrates and ministers were equally convinced, and both Privy Council and General Assembly enacted their laws to suppress them—and the penalty was death by fire. The remarkable fact is that personal acquaintance with Satan was possessed almost solely by women—though why the prince of darkness should have set his affections on hideous, bearded, toothless, old hags for his Sabbaths and meetings is a perplexing problem of taste on his part. Women confessed themselves witches, owned that they had seen and given themselves up to the devil, whose appearance they circumstantially, though not always consistently described, and they would inculcate others as fellow-partners with Satan, either in spite or delusion. To make the accused own their crime, torture was applied. For nights they were kept awake by watchers, till poor wretches, demented, owned their guilt, preferring death to the continued agony of being fastened to a wall in a dungeon by iron hoops or chains round the person, to the weight of 30 stone; of the fingers being thrust into old harrows to lacerate the flesh and break the joints; of fire-tongs applied to the arm-pits; and the witches' 'bridle' with the iron



FIG. 406. Branks.

bit with four sharp prongs thrust into the mouth, piercing tongue and palate and cheek. To prove that the poor creatures who were arrested were guilty, men who pretended skill as witch-prickers were employed, who sought for devil's marks on the person, and thrust pins into different parts of the body, and that the victims showed no signs of pain and no blood was drawn, was conclusive evidence of guilt. These men were employed by Town Councils and the Court of Session to ply their trade—were paid largely for 'brodding' their victims, and of course never failed to find the betraying marks upon them. A high reputation long sustained as witch pricker could not be lost even when the pricker of Glasgow condemned as witches twelve honest persons in Lanarkshire, who had been charged by a lunatic. There were epidemics of witchcraft when the jails were filled. Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions, after prayer 'for light,' took evidence of witnesses. Commissions were sent to try old women in batches, and on too many burgh moors the gibbets were set, the faggots and tar barrels lighted, and poor wretches were burned amid the fury of hooting mobs, victims of a cruel superstition, and often victims of personal spite. The church hounded on the law to action, and long after the last burning for witchcraft—in 1722—Seceders lamented that traffickers with Satan were allowed to live contrary to God's word. Still the people persistently believed and trembled in the devil and his partners. Old crones with the reputation of being witches were feared and obsequiously humoured with gifts of peats or bread to ward off their malice, and sometimes in popular terror they were 'scored above the breath'—the mark of a cross drawn in blood being supposed to nullify all diabolic power.

The people were full of superstitious notions, though probably not more than those of any other country. Many of the superstitions had their origin in dead faiths. To pagan times were due the Beltane fires on hills, lighted in May, round which shepherds danced, and into which they threw their sacrificial cakes. To half pagan, half popish origin, may be traced the practice of going to lochs or pools, believed to possess miraculous virtues, the sick and diseased being carried that they might bathe in waters once named after some Catholic Saint, to whom they gave thanks by leaving on the bushes votive offerings of rags or ribbons, bread or cheese. This was practised from Loch Doo in Galloway to Loch Maree in Ross-shire. There was also the profound faith in the magical powers of ancient bells, which had remained hallowed by age beside ruined chapels for centuries. In remote districts of the Highlands, in the ages when Christianity was first spread in the wilds of Scotland, small cell chapels were built, rude and uncouth enough, but magnificent in the eyes of the natives, accustomed to huts of wattles, and clay and turf. The little hand-bell—baptized and dedicated to God's service—used for worship was regarded as specially holy; the clergy themselves believed in its miraculous powers. It could by its sound chase off evil spirits, if borne to a house it could dispel disease which was the work of Satan; if carried to a field it could banish blight, and when the tempest raged, when rung, it could hush the winds to rest. By priests a peculiar sacredness was ascribed to it—a special warder of the sacred instrument was appointed, land was assigned to him, and the charge of the holy bell became hereditary in his family. Centuries went by, the old

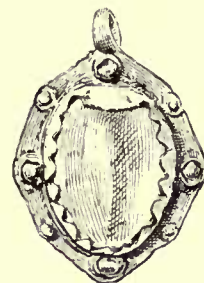


FIG. 407. The Glenorchy Charm Stone of Breadalbane.¹ Circa 1440.

¹This charm is first mentioned in the *Black Book of Taymouth*, where it is described as 'ane stone of the quantitie of half a hen's eg sett in silver, being flatt at the ane end and round at the uther end lyke a peir, quhilk Sir Coline Campbell first Laird of Glenurquhy woir quhen he faught in battell at the Rhodes agaynst the Turks, he being one of the Knychtis of the Rhodes.' Circa 1440.

popish worship died, the chapel went to ruins; but still, where the bell remained, faith in its virtues remained intact. Up to the close of the eighteenth century, the people believed more in the virtues of such rusted rude articles, than in the drugs of physicians or the prayers of preachers. The ancient sanctity attached to them was felt after the lapse of centuries unimpaired by a people no longer of the old faith, and ignorant of the sanitary saints in whose honour they had been used. The stoutest presbyterians regarded them still as wonder-working. Crowds would repair yearly with their maimed, and their sick, to drink of the healing waters from the pool of St. Fillan, near Killin, and remain all night, bound with ropes, in the ruined chapel dedicated to the old saint, with the bell placed solemnly upon their heads. This was believed to dispel madness as well as disease and deformity and the Devil. It was popularly believed that if it were stolen the little rudely rivetted bell would return home ringing all the way. Equal veneration was given and similar virtues attributed to the antique bell at Struan (see Fig. 355) associated with the favourite St. Fillan, which was used till 1828 at the parish church. These and other remains of old traditions long continued in full vigour in the Highlands.

Superstitions die hard; especially in the north and the Highlands where of old the influence of religion was scanty, and over vast tracts of land schools were unknown. After the Reformation the Highlands, described as a 'remote and dark country,' inhabited by 'wild Scots,' were neglected. Up to the middle of the seventeenth century, in spite of schemes of the church and of Parliament to enlighten them, Protestant ministers were almost unknown amid those regions, and then teachers and ministers were appointed who knew not one word of Gaelic to instruct those who knew not one word of English. It was difficult to get men to take livings which were so poor as not to 'afford bread,' which had no manses, and often no kirks. Rev. L. Shaw, in his *History of Moray*, writing about 1790, says he remembers 'when from Speymouth, Strathspey, Badenoch and Lochaber to Lorn there was but one school, namely, Ruthven in Badenoch'—where by the way 'Ossian' Macpherson taught in his youth. All the energetic efforts of the church in that century could not uproot the ignorance and superstition of long past ages.

Even in the lowlands the system of parochial education so admirably planned by Reformers, and enjoined by statutes, was long of being effected. The people were too poor, the funds too small, heritors too reluctant to encourage and establish education. Up to the beginning of the eighteenth century a great proportion of the common people could neither read nor write, for in many parishes there was neither school nor schoolmaster. Even in burghs a teacher was often reduced to painful expedients to get a room; town councils were frugal, and he was obliged to assemble his pupils in the steeple or aisle of a kirk, even in a vault, a granary, a hut. He was allowed no dwelling, but some 9s. sterling a year as 'chambre maill' or house rent; or he might lodge in the houses of peasant parents of the children in succession. His salary was meagre, and often unpaid; his fees were in the seventeenth century 6d. a quarter. If he had a school-room with a hearth, each pupil brought a peat for the fire, and rushes or bent for the floor; and on this floor, as at St. Andrews, the boys lay on their stomachs learning to write—desks being usually an unknown luxury. By daybreak in winter and at six o'clock in summer, the scholars were at their lessons, and with intervals of two hours continued till six in the evening. In olden days hours of work were early. In 1595 Glasgow Grammar School even met at five o'clock in the morning. To the schoolmaster's toil there was no cessation, and Sabbath was no day of rest to masters of Burgh schools. The edict of the Town Council of Elgin in 1649 is a fair sample of

old burgh rules: 'Upon the Lord's Day the master and school shall convene at 8 o'clock a.m., and after prayer the several classes shall be exercised—the seniors in exposition of a sacred lesson which has been taught betwixt 1 and 2 o'clock on the preceding Sunday out of Buchanan's paraphrase of the Psalms or Ursin's or Calvin's Catechism; and the juniors by getting by heart English Psalms or the ordinary Catechism. They shall return to school in the afternoon at first bell after sermon and be exercised till the second bell in reading their sacred lesson; after the second service they shall return incontinent to school; when after a short prayer by the master, thanking God for the *liberty* of His own day and the use of His ordinances, the master settling himself at the desk, and all the scholars observing deep silence, shall call up several of every class and require their observations of both sermons, and enlarge points to them occasionally for their capacities as they have been taught; and after a large hour's space spent in exercise and exhortation he shall dismiss them with psalms and prayer.' Such exact and exacting rules were carried out by grammar schools till the middle of the next century, when they were felt too great a burden for life to bear and passed out of use. The schoolmaster led his pupils to kirk, and watched over them as they sat in the loft, with a long rod by his side to suppress levity and dispel sleep, induced by soporific discourses.

The lot of a schoolmaster in those days was not a happy one, and it was a shamefully ill-paid one up till the end of the eighteenth century. His earnings in a country parish, as teacher, precentor, session-clerk, were only about £12 a year—less than a ploughman's wages—and to gain even that a schoolmaster has been known to officiate as grave-digger. No wonder that at the annual school cockfight on Shrove Tuesday he was glad to sell combatant fowls to his pupils and received as his perquisite the bodies of the slain. Yet in spite of all discouragements classical education in burgh schools was often excellent. In those poor buildings where met in classes the sons of lairds and weavers, of noblemen and farmers, a knowledge of Latin—which was not then given in College—was acquired, which gave a skill in reading classics and writing respectable Latin verses to Scots country gentlemen in the beginning of the eighteenth century which few of their descendants possess.

By the middle of the eighteenth century a vast change had come over the social condition of the country by the improvement of husbandry, the increase of trade, the growth of industries. A new era of prosperity and comfort had begun. In towns there had vanished many old customs of the previous century which had descended from the Middle Ages. The walls that guarded the burghs had been levelled to make room for streets; the quaint houses with timber fronts and corbelled gables to the front had gone; citizens no longer wore hackbut, or musket, spear and steel cap as watchmen, but as burgesses, armed only with a staff, acted as city guards; the artisan had laid aside his whinger, and even the gentleman had changed a sword for a gold-headed cane; the ladies wore no more the plaids that till 1725 daintily covered head and shoulders and the masks that had piquantly concealed their faces in the streets. The once denounced dancing assemblies were crowded with ladies and gentlemen clad in London fashions, and no longer did ministers assail them from the pulpit as the devil's nurseries for vice. A new tolerant and pleasure-seeking age had come; the Kirk and its dismal theology had lost its terror; gentlemen-transgressors of the commandments paid a money fine to the sessions and left their poorer fellow-culprits to stand on the stool of repentance while they amusedly sat looking on in their gallery. But the old discipline was dying out.

In rural quarters much had altered for the better—dingy, thick-walled, country houses with half-glazed windows, protected with iron bars, destitute of trees, and with fields coming up to the front door, had given place to more comfortable dwellings, well sheltered by wood and with pleasant avenues. Instead of having dinners at twelve o'clock on monotonous fare, when turnips were a luxury and potatoes unknown, by the end of the century gentlemen had dinners at three or four, with three courses, varied viands, and magnums of claret, of which they drank too often, too long, and a great deal too much. It had become a most convivial age.

Not less was the lot of the peasantry improved. Towards the end of the eighteenth century country ministers in the Statistical Accounts of their parishes gave curious contrasts between rural life as it was when they wrote and as it had been sixty years before. They tell of the days, not long since, when in many a parish hardly any could read or write, when people lived in hovels of stone and turf, with holes for windows, stones for chairs, heather for beds, and cattle as their companions in the room; when they fed only on kail and oat and barley meal, took their fingers for forks, had coarsest woollen for clothes, 'changing plaiding shirts twice yearly, Whitsunday and Martinmas'; when no shoes were worn, and fermented whey was the drink, and wheat bread never seen. They speak of the people in their own day as well fed, fairly housed, and comfortably dressed, and on Sundays gay in their bright attire. The blue bonnets had gone and the bonnet trade had died out; flax was no longer grown in the crofts, spinning was no longer the occupation of homes; for there was broadcloth for the men, calico or cotton for the women from the busy factories, instead of the miserable, coarse, undyed woollen plaiding of rude times. Old people, while they enjoyed the rise of wages, grumbled at the rise of prices—that eggs which some years before had cost 1d. or 1½d. a dozen had risen to the enormous price of 4d.; that beef had risen from 2d. a pound to the ruinous sum of 4d. or 6d. But while they had been formerly too poor to buy such articles when they were cheap, they were now rich enough to buy them when they were so dear. By the progress of industry and manufactures there was work for all, dearths were unknown, vagabonds had ceased to swarm, and indeed in Glasgow in 1750 it is said that not a beggar was to be seen, because trade gave employment to all. The former fashions were passing away, a modern life more comfortable if less quaint and picturesque than the old was rapidly taking its place.

HENRY GREY GRAHAM.

The Scottish Universities

SCOTLAND has four Universities; three of them dating from the fifteenth, one from the sixteenth century. The Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen were founded respectively in 1410, 1450, and 1494, in virtue of Papal Bulls, Royal and Episcopal Charters. That of Edinburgh had a somewhat anomalous genesis towards the close of the sixteenth century.

In Scotland, as elsewhere, education in early times was in the hands of the church. Secondary education was supplied by the Grammar Schools, under the supervision of the chancellor of the diocese, and in some cases by the Abbey Schools, and embraced instruction in grammar and logic, arithmetic and music, with a competent knowledge of the Latin language. In the Cathedral schools canon law, theology and philosophy were studied to a limited extent; but those who desired to continue their studies at a University had to travel abroad, and many young Scotsmen were to be found at Paris and Padua, at Montpellier, Orleans, and Oxford. The schism which arose in the Roman church on the death of Pope Gregory XI. in 1378, and the election of two pontiffs, incidentally led to a considerable extension of the University system. The great University of Paris having stood forward as the champion of the Popes of Avignon, the Popes of Rome, with the view of curtailing its influence, readily granted bulls for setting up new Universities. The Anti-Popes followed suit and were equally forward to gratify the wishes of their adherents and to neutralize the effect of the new foundations of their opponents. In 1379 the Anti-Pope Clement VII. granted a bull of foundation to the University of Erfurt, and in 1389 his rival, Urban VI., totally disregarding it, issued another. In 1402 a University was established at Würzburg under a bull from Boniface IX., and in 1409 his successor, Alexander V., sanctioned the Universities of Aix and Leipsic; while in 1405 the Anti-Pope Benedict XIII. founded the University of Turin.

Scotland supported the Popes of Avignon; England supported those of Rome. On the death of Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, in 1401, Henry Wardlaw, Precentor of Glasgow, was nominated his successor by Benedict XIII. and appointed Papal Legate, with plenary power throughout Scotland. In 1410 the Bishop founded a University in the city of St. Andrews; in 1411 he granted it a charter of privileges, and this grant and the foundation of the University were confirmed by Pope Benedict two years later. The Bulls were presented in the refectory of the monastery; the whole clergy and convent sang *Te Deum* at the high altar, and the citizens gave themselves up to general festivity. It was part of the traditional policy of the Bishops of Glasgow to secure any privilege or advantage obtained by St. Andrews, and accordingly in 1450 Bishop Turnbull obtained from Pope Nicholas V. a Bull for the establishment of a University in Glasgow, 'as a notable and convenient place, distinguished for the salubrity of its climate and its supply of provisions and other necessaries.' In 1483 William Elphinston,

Official of the diocese of Glasgow, a graduate and regent of the University, became Bishop of Aberdeen, and no doubt, desiring that Aberdeen should be as well provided as Glasgow, obtained in 1494 from Alexander VI. a Bull for establishing a University in his cathedral town, the burgh of barony of Old Aberdeen.

Whilst differing somewhat in detail, the constitution of these three Universities was substantially the same, and followed the continental type. Glasgow was expressly modelled upon the University of Bologna, and Aberdeen upon it and that of Paris. In each University there was a chancellor and a rector; and the supposts were divided into four nations. In Glasgow, as in Bologna, the supposts assembled in their *comitia* were the governing body; in the other two universities they had no direct power, but acted through representatives whom they elected. Various privileges, such as exemption from taxation and the like, were conferred upon the universities, but they had nothing in the shape of endowments and no buildings. Until a comparatively late period neither Paris nor Oxford possessed any buildings or enjoyed any endowments. The students paid certain fees of moderate amount, but the university had no property; meetings of the members were held in some church or convent; the professors lectured in their private houses or in hired rooms. Glasgow remained without endowment until the Reformation, but succeeded in providing a *paedagogium*. In St. Andrews three colleges were established; St. Salvator's in 1455, St. Leonard's in 1512, and St. Mary's in 1537, and were respectively endowed for a certain number of graduates and a few students. In Aberdeen the College of the Holy Virgin in Nativity—afterwards King's College—was founded in 1505, and endowed for the support of a certain number of foundationers, doctors, masters, regents, and scholars. The result, both in Aberdeen and St. Andrews, was the creation of endowed teachers.

As in the case of foreign universities many of the early students were beneficed clergymen. The immediate object of the establishment of the Scottish universities was the better training of parish priests and other ecclesiastics, particularly by affording them an opportunity of studying law. Benedict XIII., by a second Bull to St. Andrews, authorised all doctors, masters, licentiates, bachelors, and scholars of the university who were beneficed clergymen in Scotland, after having sought licence of their ordinaries and even although it was refused, to reside in the university for a term of ten years, either for the purpose of studying or lecturing, and even after the expiry of that period if engaged and so long as engaged in public lecturing, and to enjoy the profits and revenues of their benefices secular and regular, even the dignity of canonry and prebend. In like manner Bishop Turnbull provided in the case of Glasgow that beneficed clergymen of his diocese, who were regents or students, should, with the approval of the bishop, be excused from residence within their benefices and that they should be entitled to the fruits thereof, provided they made satisfactory arrangements for the work of the cure. In Aberdeen there was a similar arrangement.

Theology and law—civil and canon—were the subjects which the universities aimed at teaching, but continuous instruction was given only in philosophy and humanity.

All the arrangements of the universities were dislocated by the Reformation; but the Protestant party were alive to the benefits of learning and the advantages of education, and the General Assembly, Parliament, and the Burghs, assisted by the Crown, took active steps for their reorganisation and better endowment. The revenues were slender and inadequate for carrying on anything like a complete

university course, even in a single Faculty; but a definite shape was given to the curriculum and the university system was developed along the lines then laid down, until comparatively recent years.

At the era of the Reformation the University of St. Andrews had the three colleges, already referred to, each with a separate constitution and distinct powers. In 1579 their constitutions were altered by Parliament, on the suggestion of the church. St. Mary's became a theological school. St. Salvator's and St. Leonard's were restricted to humanity and philosophy, and, after some minor changes and the creation of additional professorships, were united in 1747.

A charter of Queen Mary of 1563 recites that 'within the citie of Glasgow ane College and Vniversitie was dewysit to be hade, Quahairin the youth mycht be brocht wp in lettiris and knowlege, the commoun welth servit and vertew inccressit,' but that part only of the schools and chambers had been built, and that the provision for teaching had almost ceased so that 'the samyne appearit rather to be the decay of ane universitie, nor any wayis to be rekint ane establischit fundatioun.' This has been interpreted to mean that Glasgow was a failure for fully the first century of its existence. This, however, is a mistake. The university carried on its work continuously until the Reformation, and it was resorted to by students from all parts of the country, many of them representatives of noble families. The eccentric Andrew Boorde, writing to Thomas Cromwell in 1536, says, 'I am now in Skotland, in a lytle Vnyuersyte or Study, namyd Glasco, wher I study and practyse Physyk.' What Glasgow suffered from was the lack of endowments, and this Queen Mary attempted to remedy, 'that tharin the liberall sciences may be plainelie teachit'; but the provision she made was too modest to be of much practical use. In 1572 the Town made further provisions, and in 1577 King James VI. added largely to the endowments and modified the constitution of the university by a charter known as the *Nova Erectio*, which directed that the college should consist of the principal, three permanent regents, four poor scholars, a house-steward and servants. These foundationers were added to in after years and the college, as thus established, came to have an existence independent of the university.

At the Reformation the majority of the regents of Aberdeen, having adhered to the old faith, alienated the greater part of the college revenues. In 1578 an effort was made to rehabilitate the university and a new scheme of education, similar to those of St. Andrews and Glasgow, was sanctioned. In 1593 another college was founded in the neighbouring Royal Burgh of New Aberdeen by George Keith, Earl Marischal of Scotland, which claimed to be an independent university with power of granting degrees, not only in arts, but in divinity, law, and medicine, a claim which was recognized and validated by various Acts of Parliament.

In 1582 James VI. granted a charter to the town of Edinburgh empowering the provost and town council to repair and build houses for the reception and habitation of professors of all the faculties, and of any other liberal sciences and schools for training the students. At the end of the following year classes were opened under charge of a single regent. In 1584 the King conveyed certain property to the town for the benefit of the college, and in 1612 he confirmed what had already been done by a fresh charter. In 1621 an Act of Parliament ratified the erection of the college as a college for the profession of theology, philosophy, and humanity, and granted 'in favour of the burgh of Edinburgh, patrons of the said college, and of the regents and students in the same, all liberties and privileges pertaining to any college within the realm.' It is in virtue of this enactment that the right of the university to confer degrees has been recognized. As, however, the

institution had no chancellor, there was no channel, it was said, through which the right could be transmitted in accordance with the customary law of universities; and the title of Edinburgh to confer degrees was challenged as late as the eighteenth century.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the conditions and requirements of the universities were kept steadily in view by the Church and by Parliament, and various commissions were appointed to inquire into their management and regulate the courses of study to be pursued. Their labours need not be detailed.

In England residence within a college, under strict supervision and instruction by means of college tutors, has been so much developed that the idea of a university has almost disappeared. The functions of the university have been superseded by the colleges and almost all that remains to the university is the right of conferring degrees. In the University of Paris students might live in a *paedagogium* or boarding-house attached to one of the colleges, or in the college itself. On the other hand they were free to live in private lodgings and attend the classes in some particular college or the public classes of the Nation to which they belonged. Keeping Edinburgh out of consideration, the same custom prevailed in the Scottish universities. All of them made provision for the residence of students, foundationers as well as those not on the foundation, within a college and for a common table, and this continued during the sixteenth and seventeenth and the greater part of the eighteenth centuries and in Aberdeen until the early part of the nineteenth century. Residence within college was not, however, compulsory, and many students either lived at home or occupied private lodgings. These extra-mural students were subject to a certain amount of supervision. They were obliged to attend church on Sunday and were subject to discipline in the event of any breach of good manners outside of college.

In the three older universities the use of academic dress has always been required. In these students of arts wore, as they now wear, a scarlet gown,—a much handsomer and more picturesque costume than the dark gown of the English universities. Regents and Professors lectured and still lecture in a black gown of a particular shape. A biretta or cap of black velvet was the appropriate mark of a graduate. Hoods (*epitogia*) do not seem to have been generally used in post-Reformation times; but have been introduced within recent years. An Act of Parliament of 1633, regulating the apparel of churchmen, prohibited clergymen from using tippetts unless they were doctors.

Originally a degree was a license to teach in the public schools, technically *regere*. Hence a master or doctor of any faculty upon his creation became a *regent*. The advantage of a Papal Bull of constitution was that the degrees conferred by the University were everywhere recognized, and gave the *jus ubique docendi*. Thus the Bull of Pope Nicholas V. expressly provided that the degrees granted by the University of Glasgow should be valid throughout Christendom. In the earlier days of the Scottish Universities any graduate, who chose to do so, seems to have lectured, but such lectures were only occasional and the work of teaching fell into the hands of a few specially appointed for the purpose (*actu regentes*). After the Reformation this was the universal rule, and the work of education was wholly entrusted to a certain number of regents, who might be graduates of the particular or of any other university. The appointment was often thrown open to public competition and Professor William Forbes gives a quaint account of the election of James Dalrymple, afterwards President of the Court of Session and Viscount

of Stair, as a regent in the University of Glasgow, of which he was M.A. :— 'The First Imployment Mr. Dalrymple betook himself to, was the War; and he soon had a Company of Foot in the Regiment commanded by *William E. of Glencairn*, afterwards Chancellor. Upon the solicitation of some of the Professors in the University of *Glasgow* of his old Acquaintance, a *Martis ad Musarum castra traductus fuit* (to use his own Phrase) he stood a Candidate in Buff and Scarlet, at a comparative Trial for a Chair of Philosophy then vacant there, to which he was preferred with great Applause, tho' he kept his company a considerable Time after.'

In all the universities, except Aberdeen, the practice was for each Regent to carry his students through the whole course required for a degree, that of B.A. at the end of the third, and of M.A. at the end of the fourth year. In Aberdeen, both in King's College and in Marischal College, the Regents from the first had particular subjects assigned to them and this plan was ultimately adopted by the other three universities at various dates during the eighteenth century. In the Faculty of Theology this rule always prevailed, although on account of the small number of the professors each had to take charge of several subjects. The faculties of law and medicine had practically no existence until a comparatively recent period.

The method of instruction, in the classes of philosophy and theology, was by means of a text-book, which the regent or professor selected at pleasure, supplemented by his oral explanations and additions, known as *dictata* or 'dictates,' that is, certain general propositions and deductions which embodied the substance of his own particular opinions and teaching. Attempts were made in the seventeenth century to provide a text-book of philosophy for all the universities, but although several drafts were prepared, none of them was ultimately accepted. Gerschom Carmichael, the founder of the Scottish school of philosophy, used as the foundation of his lectures, Puffendorff's small treatise *De officio Hominis et Civis juxta legem naturalem*. His notes were published for the use of his students in 1718 and again in 1724 along with the text.

Candidates for degrees were called upon to defend, in public disputation, certain theses in logic, ethics and physics, prepared by the Regent or Regents in charge of what was known as the Magistrand, that is the graduating class. These theses were the substance of the course of study through which the graduands had passed, and the disputations were an evidence of their understanding and grasp of the subjects. Degrees were in the older universities conferred by the chancellor or, in his absence, by the vice-chancellor. The graduation ceremony was followed amongst the students, by a dinner or some other kind of social entertainment. The theses were printed and circulated amongst the graduates' friends, and are still of value as indicating the nature and scope of the teaching of the period.

Graduation was 'commencement,' and a newly-made M.A. was a 'commencing Master' or 'commencer,' a survival of the mediaeval rule under which the master was not recognised until he had actually commenced (*inceptit*) teaching. 'Commencement' is still the term in universal use in America. There students are referred to as 'boys,' and a University Calendar is a 'College Catalogue,' terms which were at one time in common use in the same sense in Scotland.

The administration of the funds, the government and patronage of the university, came to be vested in St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, in the *Senatus Academicus*, subject to a limited control by the Chancellor and Rector. In Edinburgh the sole government of the university in all points, even in regulating the conditions of graduation, the course of study, and method of instruction, was

vested in the Town Council. The *Senatus Academicus* had no legal existence, and although it was permitted by the Town Council to regulate minor matters of detail any of its determinations could be reviewed and disallowed at any time by the municipal corporation. Anomalous as this arrangement was it worked well on the whole.

A commission was appointed in the years 1826 and 1830 to visit and report upon the universities, which collected a large amount of information and prepared an elaborate report containing many valuable suggestions for the better organisation and administration of the universities. Very little, however, followed upon this report until the year 1858, when, as the result of renewed discussion, the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1858 (21 and 22 Vict. c. 83), was passed, which effected several radical changes upon the constitution of the universities. Amongst others it introduced, as the supreme governing body, the University Court, although it still left the greater part of the executive functions in the hands of the Senate. In the case of Edinburgh the Town Council was divested of its powers and a *Senatus Academicus* was established, with functions similar to those of other universities. Edinburgh was likewise authorised to appoint a chancellor and a rector. The two colleges of Aberdeen, which still remained separate and independent, were united. The graduates were for the first time recognised, and in each university a General Council was established, of which all graduates,—and for a time old students who had given certain attendance at the university but had not taken a degree,—were entitled to become members. The Act also appointed commissioners, for a limited period, with extensive powers for regulating various matters in the different universities by ordinances to be made by them and approved by the Queen in council. Still greater changes were introduced by the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889 (52 and 53 Vict. c. 55). The *Senatus Academicus* was deprived of all executive power, and the administration of the finances, the exercise of patronage, and generally the government of the university—subject to the assent of the Senate on certain points—have been vested in the University Court. The Court, in the case of the three junior universities, consists of the Rector, the Principal, an Assessor nominated by each of the Chancellor and the Rector, four Assessors elected by the General Council and as many of the *Senatus Academicus*, the Provost of the town and an Assessor nominated by the Town Council. In St. Andrews the arrangement is slightly but not materially different. An executive commission was appointed under the Act with powers to reorganise nearly every department of the universities. Power was given to admit women to graduation and to provide for their instruction, and provision was made for establishing a Students' Representative Council. The Commissioners of 1858 and 1889 issued a long series of ordinances, which now to a large extent regulate the affairs of the universities. Entrance examinations have been established. Honours degrees have been encouraged. New professorships and lectureships have been founded.

The greater part of the alterations made by the Acts or by the Ordinances are improvements. Some would, however, require reconsideration.

One of the defects of the Scottish University system has been that it did nothing for the student after he had graduated. No means existed for attaching distinguished graduates to the university, as teachers or as research students. The result was that old students lost interest in their university, and that university studies were kept at mere graduation level. In the Report of 1878, Dr. John Muir advocated the appointment of lecturers in any of the faculties on subjects which may not be at all or but inadequately represented in the university, in the

hope of raising up 'that learned class, which at present is very much wanted in Scotland, and which, if it existed, might be expected to lead to the more thorough cultivation of all the branches of learning, and would supply a choice of qualified candidates for the various professional chairs.' Provision has been made in the recent Ordinances for the appointment of such lecturers, and many have been appointed with excellent results; but the system might be extended with great advantage. The number of lecturers should be largely increased, and lecturers should not be restricted to the subjects which qualify for graduation. The Court should have power to authorise any competent graduate to take up and lecture on any subject proper to be dealt with in a university. Encouragement should be given for the creation of a teaching staff similar to the Professors Extraordinary and the *Privat-Dozenten* of the German Universities. Lecturers do not sit in the *Senatus Academicus*, and, as their interests are not always identical with those of the Professors, it is a question whether they should not be allowed to nominate an assessor to the Court. The Ordinances have likewise made provision for the admission of graduates to prosecute some special study or research in the university, and for the appointment of Research Fellows. A considerable number of such students have been admitted in the various universities, and some valuable work has already been done by them. When Lord Kelvin retired from the Chair of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, he was appointed a Research Fellow. As things stand, however, there are no funds to provide stipends for working Fellows.

Another weakness of the Scottish University system, and one which still exists, is the absence of the student spirit, the want of common life. There is little or no solidarity amongst the students. They take too little interest in one another or in their university. There is no doubt the Students' Representative Council; there is the Students' Union; there are debating societies, literary and scientific societies, social clubs, athletic and games clubs, but these do not constitute a bond of union amongst the students as a body. Many students belong to no society or club, but if all did so, mere membership of a debating society or of a football club does not create a university spirit. What is required is something that will stimulate sentiment, that will make each student feel and realise that he is a member of an honourable and venerable society, that he is a constituent part of it, and that the university is in truth his *alma mater*, and he her son, bound to work for her, to live for her, to spend and to be spent for her. The Class system of the American universities has had a wonderful influence in developing university life and in promoting the prosperity of the universities themselves, and something of this nature is needed in Scotland. The student life of the ordinary Scottish undergraduate, at least in the larger universities, is a dull one; the university does nothing for him as a student but worry him with lectures and examinations, and does nothing for him after he leaves her care except to keep his name upon the books. There is no machinery to knit any one group of students together; to create a college life amongst them. The effect is that the students lack enthusiasm for their university, and they do little for it as compared with what American graduates do for their universities. There are no Class meetings as in America. We never hear that the Class of one year presented a special library of Political Economy to their University, or that the Class of another year built a new Physical Laboratory.

The revenues of the Universities amount to what might appear to be a large sum, but are balanced by an almost equally large and settled expenditure, while modern methods necessitate increased and higher teaching, additional apparatus,

museums, laboratories, libraries, and the like. Vigorous efforts have been made to raise funds for these purposes and with considerable success, but much remains to be done. The creation of the Carnegie Trust has consequently been very opportune, and will be of great service to the universities. But large as is the sum at the disposal of the Trustees, the actual benefit which the universities will receive will not be nearly so much as would at first sight appear.

Mr. Carnegie has vested in trustees certain five per cent. securities, representing \$10,000,000, or say £2,000,000 stg. One half of the income, or approximately £50,000 a year, or such part thereof as in each year may be found requisite, is to be devoted to the payment of the ordinary class fees of students in the universities and certain other institutions. The payment of class fees, however, is no benefit to the universities. These would be received in any case, and so far as the universities are concerned it makes no difference whether they are disbursed by the students or by some one on their behalf. The fees themselves are so small that it is safe to say that they never stood in the way of any one who desired a university education. This object of the Trust, therefore, is merely a revival on a great scale of the small bursary system which has been over and over again condemned as prejudicial to the best interests of the universities.

The disposal of the other half of the income is much more satisfactory. It is to be applied 'towards the improvement and expansion of the universities in the Faculties of Science and Medicine; also for improving and extending the opportunities for scientific study and research, and for increasing the facilities for acquiring a knowledge of history, economics, English literature, and modern languages, and such other subjects cognate to a technical or commercial education as can be brought within the scope of the university curriculum by the erection and maintenance of buildings, laboratories, class-rooms, museums or libraries, the providing of efficient apparatus, books and equipment, the institution and endowment of professorships and lectureships, including post-graduate lectureships and scholarships, more especially scholarships for the purpose of encouraging research, or in such other manner' as the Executive Committee of the trustees may decide. This direction seems to give the trustees ample power to apply the income as they may consider most judicious in the interest of each of the universities. The demand of the hour is the teaching and pursuit of science for professional or commercial purposes, the exaltation in short of the *Brodwissenschaften*, the Bread and Butter sciences; and prominence is given to science in the Deed of Gift. It is, however, so broadly drawn as to include research of any kind. We want culture as much as science; scholars as well as scientists. Man doth not live by bread alone; and the German universities, to which so much attention is now being directed, are distinguished just as much by scholarship as by science.

No institutions have done more for Scotland than her universities. They belong to the people, not to a class; and have been able to adapt themselves to changing circumstances and the requirements of the time. They have produced a long roll of men distinguished in scholarship and science, in philosophy and in practical affairs; but above all they have brought learning and the higher studies within the reach of every capable student in the country, and the people have not been slow to avail themselves of these advantages. According to the census of 1901 the population of Scotland was 4,472,000, something less than that of London. In 1900 there were 6031 students in attendance at the four universities, and 19,730 graduates on the rolls of their General Councils.

DAVID MURRAY.

MEMORIALS OF GLASGOW

Memorials of Glasgow

AN admirable series of views, portraits, plans, maps, and other objects, calculated to throw light on the city's history, was gathered together at the International Exhibition held in Glasgow in 1901. Some of these objects have already been referred to in this volume, under *Prehistoric Remains*¹ and *Old Scottish Plate*,² and in this chapter it is not proposed to give a history of the city, but rather by reference mainly to the series of charters, plans, and views to afford some idea of its rapid growth, from the time that it was little more than a quiet town lying between the Cathedral and the river.

The extant early Charters connected with the city are the property of the Corporation. By charter of William the Lion, dated Traquair, 1175-8, there was granted to the Bishop of Glasgow the privilege of having a Burgh, with all the liberties and customs of King's Burghs, within the city. The oldest Charter however owned by the Corporation is one by King James



FIG. 409. The deid or mort bell of the City of Glasgow, 1641. (³)

II. to William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow, and his successors, Bishops of the Church of Glasgow, erecting the city of Glasgow, the barony of Glasgow, and the lands commonly called 'Bishop's Forest' into a regality, in this way extending both the bounds of rule and the powers of the Bishop and his council. It is dated Edinburgh, 20th April, 1450, and has the great seal appended.

A few years later, on 12th June, 1467, there is an indenture between the Provost, Bailies, and Community of Glasgow, and the Prior and Convent of the Friars Preachers, as to the feuing of certain roods adjacent to the Friars' Place and Cemetery. This is the earliest record we possess of a transaction between the Corporation and the Church.

During the subsequent century the power of the Corporation increased considerably, but apparently their actions did not always meet with approval in high quarters, for, on 1st October, 1606, we find a letter superscribed by King

¹ See page 33.

² See pages 245 to 257.

³ See Article on Four Old Glasgow Bells by John Oswald Mitchell, LL.D., in the *Regality Club*. Second Series, page 33.



FIG. 408. Stone carving of the arms of the City of Glasgow, from Old College Church, Glasgow.

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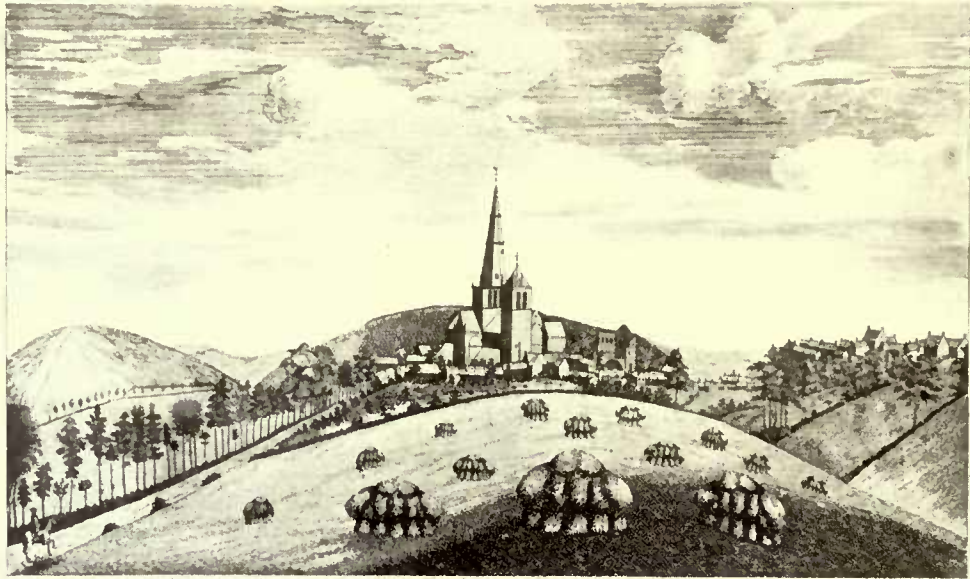
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James VI., and dated Hampton Court, directed to the Bailies and Council of the City of Glasgow, referring to the offence given to His Majesty by the Commons of the Burgh, who were distracted into factions, mainly in regard to competitions for the office of Provost, and requiring them to choose Matthew Turnbull, Thomas Muir, and Robert Howat to be bailies for the ensuing year, to whose election the archbishop had consented, and delaying the appointment of a provost.

Another letter dated Theobalds, 22nd September, 1617, also directed to the Provost, Bailies, and Council of the City of Glasgow, after referring to former differences in the election of the Council and to the good effect of the King's



View taken from the West of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow.
as it appeared in the Academy at Glasgow by R. Paul 1617.

FIG. 410. The Cathedral from the West. By Robert Paul; drawn in the Academy of the Brothers Foulis.

orders for equality of Merchants and Trades, alludes to the fact that turbulent heads endeavoured to alter those orders, and requires their continued observance.

But meantime in 1611 a Royal Charter had been granted whereby the liberties of the Burgh were still further enlarged. Under that document the city was erected into a free Royal Burgh, reserving the right of the Duke of Lennox to whom the temporalities of the Bishopric had been alienated, and his heirs in the office of bailiary and justiciary of the barony and regality, and without prejudice to the Archbishop's right of nomination and appointment of magistrates.

Further, in 1636 the great charter of the city granted by Charles I. declares that to his knowledge and satisfaction, the city had been erected by his noble and worthy predecessors into 'ane entire Royal Burgh.' He therefore confirmed and ratified all former gifts to the Magistrates, Council, and Community of the Burgh, giving this time to them alone and to their successors, the Burgh and City of Glasgow with all the privileges of trade and traffic of merchandise, under the burden of 20 Marks Burgh mail, payable to the Exchequer, and 16 Marks payable to the Archbishop and his successors. But there were still reserved to the Duke of Lennox his special liberties and privileges during the Fair of Glasgow, and his heritable jurisdiction and bailiary over the city.

It would seem from a letter, superscribed 'William K.' and subscribed

'Melville,' dated Hampton Court, 19th September, 1689, that the Crown was by that time less inclined to interfere with the Corporation's choice of a head, for in



FIG. 411. Glasgow Cathedral. From Water Colour by Thomas Hearne, about 1775.



FIG. 412. Glasgow Cathedral. From Water Colour by Edward Dayes, after sketch by J. Moore, 1794.

this letter they authorise our trusty and well-beloved the present Magistrates and Town Council of our City of Glasgow to choose their own provost for the ensuing year, and in that year an Act of Parliament was passed confirming and

ratifying a charter of William and Mary, to the effect that the City of Glasgow and Town Council thereof shall have power and privilege to choose their own 'Magistrates, etc., als fully and als freely, in all respects as the City of Edinburgh, or any other Royal Burgh within the Kingdom enjoys the same.'

Other MSS. show how the city was affected by the wars of the times. On 9th May, 1651, King Charles II. wrote from Stirling to the Magistrates, Council, and the Community of the town of Glasgow asking them to send him £500. The Magistrates complied in part with this demand, and on 21st May the King super-



FIG. 413. Cottages in High Street. From Water Colour by Andrew Donaldson in 1817.

scribed a letter at Stirling acknowledging receipt of £100, and on 19th July, from the Royal Camp near Larbert, he again writes to the Magistrates asking them to send thirty sufficient carters, twenty workmen, and eight carts.¹ These were to aid in opposing the forces of Cromwell, which were doing their utmost to dislodge the army of the King.

In 1745 the city's connection with the troubles attending the Jacobite Rising of 1745 are vividly recalled by the requisition from leading inhabitants of Glasgow to Andrew Aiton, Andrew Buchanan, Lawrence Dinwoodie, and Richard Oswald, merchants; Allan Dreghorn, wright; and James Smith, weaver, drawing attention to the alarming fact that 'the City of Glasgow is in danger of being attacked by a force which they are in no condition to resist,' and entreating these gentlemen, in the event of that force approaching the city, to 'meet with the leaders of the said force, and make the best terms you possibly can for saving the City, and its trade and inhabitants.'² In this crisis, four of these public spirited citizens set out for Kilsyth to meet the approaching foe, and to do their best to arrange terms, when, finding that the army of Prince Charles had retreated towards Edinburgh, they returned to Glasgow in the belief that the impending danger had

¹ Facsimiles of these will be found in the *Memorial Catalogue of the Old Glasgow Exhibition*, 1896.

² This is printed and facsimiled in the *Cochrane Correspondence*, p. 132. See also the *Scottish National Memorials*, p. 213.

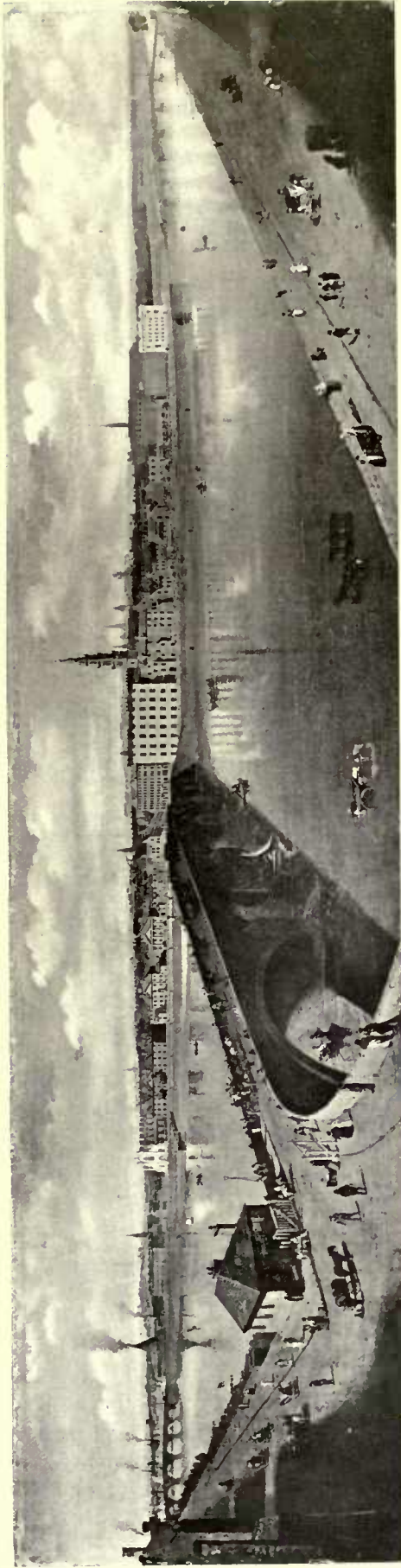


FIG. 414. Bishop Rae's Bridge about 1817. From Oil Painting by John Knox.

passed. Later on, however, they found that the evil day was only postponed, and the upshot of the matter was the payment by Glasgow of £5500, 'mostly money and bills and part goods' in settlement of a series of irritating but irresistible claims.

Nothing shows more vividly the growth of the city of St. Mungo than a chronological series of accurate maps. The oldest extant is the plan prepared for the famous law-plea of William Fleming *v.* the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow relative to the removal of his saw-mill on the Molendinar Burn. From this keen and prolonged encounter in the Court of Session the miller emerged victorious, and was awarded by the court for the illegal demolition of his mill by the defenders £610 1s. 4d., and a further sum of £100 as 'dues of extract.' Although somewhat rudely executed, this plan is of special interest from the fact that it is the first known delineation of one of the older portions of Glasgow; its date is 1764. Following this in 1773 is the Map of the Shire of Lanark by Charles Ross of Greenlaw, which includes the earliest complete plan of Glasgow. In 1775 comes the plan of the City of Glasgow and of the villages of Calton and Gorbals, with a part of the adjacent country, by James Barry, a well-known local surveyor, and in 1782 another plan of the City, with an exact delineation of its Royalty from the same hand. Between these two dates John M'Arthur published in 1778 his Plan of the City of Glasgow, Gorbells, and Caltoun. Other maps of the City belonging to the eighteenth century were J. Lumsden's, engraved for the *Glasgow Almanac* of 1784; Thomas Richardson's, 1795, which embraces a radius of seven miles round the town, and is interesting as furnishing the names of the occupants of the various mansion-houses within that area; and James Denholm's, 1797, prepared by the author for his *History of Glasgow*.

Among later maps may be mentioned Chapman's plan of 1806, prepared for his 'Picture of Glasgow'; Peter Fleming's large map of the City and Suburbs, 1807, and a reduction of the same published in the following year; David Smith's plan of 1828; a map of the ten parishes within the Royalty, and the parishes of Gorbals and Barony, prepared for Dr. Cleland's enumeration of the inhabitants in 1831; Franchise map of 1832 by J. Miller; a map published by W. Edwards, London, in 1835; Nichol's (Montrose), 1841; and a plan showing proposed railway termini in 1846, interesting in many ways.



FIG. 415. The Drygate, with Cathedral. From Oil Painting by Horatio McCulloch, R.S.A., 1832.

In addition to these may be noted Timothy Pont's, 'The Nether Warde of Clyds-Dail and Baronie of Glasco,' from Blaeu's Atlas, published at Amsterdam, 1654; Lieutenant Campbell's map of the Glasgow district, 1794; Map of southern part of Lanarkshire, by W. Johnson, Edinburgh, 1832, with plan of Glasgow to the right; a good map of Anderston in 1840 by Andrew Macfarlane, and George Scott's map of the Clyde dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Trustees of the Clyde Navigation have also an interesting and important series of plans connected with the development of the river and harbour, and the construction of docks and bridges, the earliest of these drawings dating back to about the middle of the eighteenth century.

It is to a Dutchman that Glasgow owes its first pictorial records. These are three views, the work of Captain Slezer of 'The Artillery Company and Surveyor of their Majesty's Magazines in Scotland,' who visited the City in the latter half



FIG. 416. House of James Ewing, Dean of Guild, 1831, on site now occupied by the Queen Street Station of the North British Railway.

of the seventeenth century. They comprise (1) 'The Prospect of ye Town of Glasgow from ye North-east,' showing the Cathedral and Bishop's Castle as seen from the Fir Park, now the Necropolis, with the Molendinar Burn in left fore-



FIG. 417. Port Dundas, with Canal House and Passage Boat. From Water Colour by Robert Carrick.

ground. (2) 'The Prospect of ye Town of Glasgow from ye South.' Prominent to the left is the bridge of Bishop Rae, and in the centre of the picture the Merchants' House in the Bridgegate, with its fine old steeple, which is all that to-day remains of it. (3) 'The Colledge of Glasgow,' a bird's-eye view of the general

aspect of the old College, with its outer and inner court, its beautiful gardens behind, and to the right the Church of the Blackfriars.



FIG. 418. Broomielaw Bridge, 1850. From Water Colour by Sam Bough, R.S.A.

Following these views by Slezer, but at an interval of something approaching a hundred years, occurs a most interesting series of views of Glasgow and



FIG. 419. Stockwell Bridge, 1853. From Water Colour by Sam Bough, R.S.A.

the neighbourhood, executed by pupils of the Academy of Art, founded in 1754, by the two great Glasgow printers, Robert and Andrew Foulis. The

operations of this, the first School of Art in the City, were conducted in rooms within the College walls, granted by the University; and aided by the generosity of several public-spirited citizens, the teaching of painting and engraving, modelling and sculpture, was, in the face of many discouragements and difficulties, carried on for fully twenty years. The only complete set of these views that is known belongs to the Earl of Home, K.T. They range in date from about 1756 till 1769. One of the series—'The Cathedral from the West'—by Robert Paul, is reproduced as Fig. 410. The value of this and of the other drawings of the series lies not so much in their artistic quality as in the care with which the draughtsmen of nigh a century-and-a-half ago made record of what they saw. This view most vividly suggests what a change has taken place in the aspect of the spot since the obscure Robert Paul



FIG. 420. The Clyde at Govan during widening operations, 1859. From Water Colour by Sam Bough, R.S.A.

made his drawing of 'The Cathedral from the West,' with its field of autumn stooks closely bounding the now vanished 'Gutty Steeple' and Consistory House. To the right of the Consistory House may be seen the ruins of the Bishop's Castle.

Among other eighteenth century drawings of the Cathedral there is a water colour by Thomas Hearne (Fig. 411) showing in foreground the valley of the Molendinar :

'A flowerie howm between twa verdant braes,
Where lassies used to wash and spread their claes,'

with the ancient Kirk perched upon its banks. Its date is prior to 1779, for an engraving from it was published in that year. A water-colour drawing, in some respects similar, but a few years later in date, is the View of the Cathedral by Edward Dayes (Fig. 412) in 1794. It gives an excellent rendering of the old Western Tower and Consistory House.

A picture by Andrew Donaldson (Fig. 413), painted in 1817, gives a vivid impression of the picturesque dwellings which lined some of the leading thoroughfares in bygone days. It also shows well the timber front and roofs of thatch, once so common and dangerous a feature of old Glasgow dwelling-houses, as was proved by frequent conflagrations of a most disastrous character. It is a low-toned, broadly painted work in water-colour.

An extremely interesting oil picture of Glasgow was painted in 1817 by John Knox (Fig. 414). The artist was a brother of Robert Knox of Kelvingrove, and the early teacher in art of Horatio M'Culloch, Sir Daniel Macnee, and W. I. Leitch. The perspective of this picture indicates that it was taken from some elevated point of view on the south side of the river, somewhat to the east of Bishop Rae's Bridge, which figures prominently in the centre. The details of the picture, all most carefully executed are full of interest. To the left may be seen the first Broomielaw Bridge, with its circular openings between the arches, and, at its northern end, the conspicuous 'lum' of the Bottle-work. To the right is St. Andrew's Cathedral, at this time just completed, and adjoining it on the east the Town's Hospital, and the mansion of Allan Dreghorn, built in 1752, and occupied in later days by his



FIG. 421. Drawing the salmon nets at Govan.

nephew, the well-known 'Bob Dragon' of Glasgow story. Immediately east of this we come upon the mansion of Bailie John Craig, erected in 1736, when M'Ure was engaged on his *History of Glasgow* and which he characterises as 'a stately house of curious workmanship.' It was certainly one of the finest mansions of the Glasgow of its time. The steeple of the Merchants' House in Bridgegate towers prominently in the centre, and between it and the Jail on the bank of the river the Shows are depicted in full swing. To right of the Jail may be seen the timber bridge thrown across the river in 1803 by the Patrons of Hutchesons' Hospital. A good example of a toll-house with its posts and gates guards the south entrance of the bridge of the worthy bishop. The abolition by Act of Parliament in June, 1883, under the Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Act, 1878, of this method of raising revenue for the maintenance of roads has swept out of existence these collecting bars, formerly only too familiar objects on our streets and highways.

Holiday life in Glasgow in the early part of last century is admirably suggested by a large canvas (Fig. 422) representing Glasgow Fair about 1832, also painted by John Knox, to whom reference has already been made. It is a gay and active scene as witnessed on the Green from the front of the Jail. Hundreds of figures in

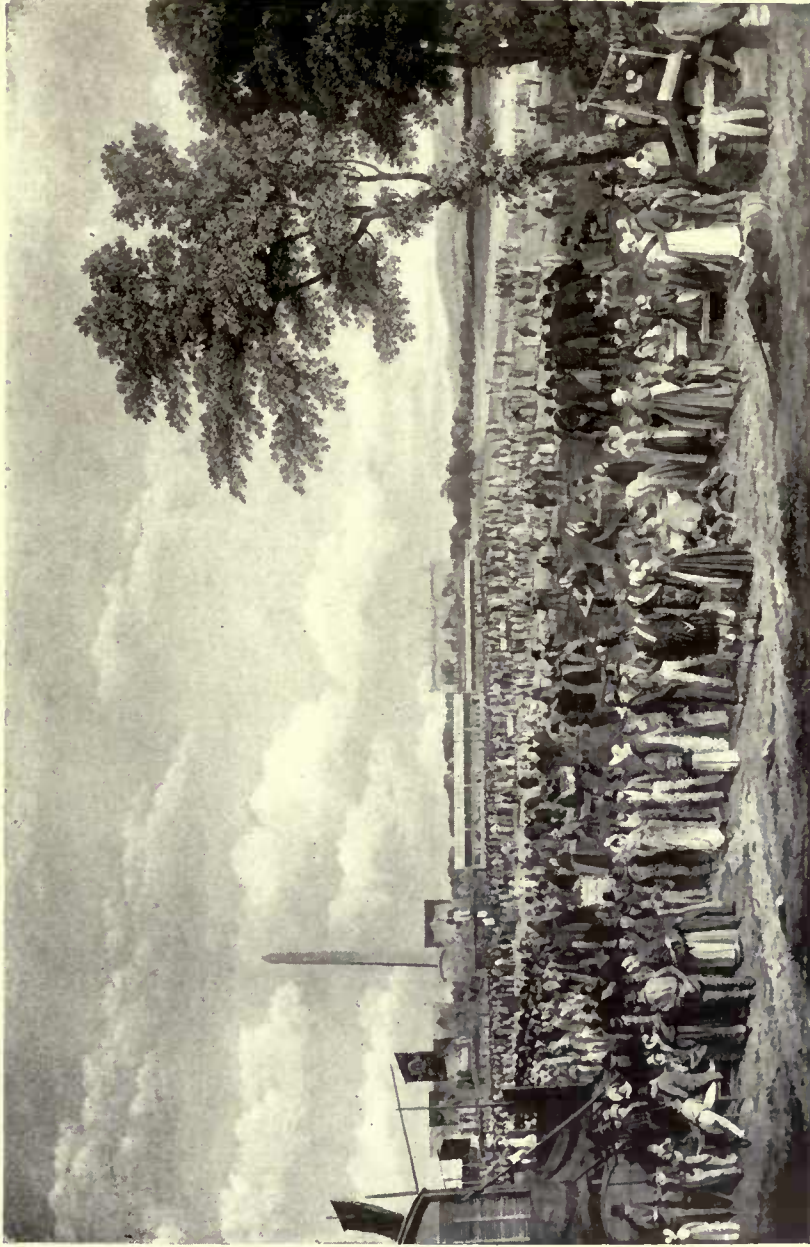


FIG. 422.

GLASGOW FAIR ABOUT 1832. BY JOHN KNOX

most varied costumes crowd the picture, while beyond are seen the Shows, which for long were the important feature of the Fair. Fig. 415 is an interesting early picture by Horatio M'Culloch, R.S.A., a native of Glasgow, of a picturesque portion of the City surrounding Drygate-foot. It was painted in 1832, and shows the Cathedral with its Western Tower rising high in the distance. Although the spot is much shorn of its old-world aspect since that time, one or two of the old houses depicted in the foreground survive until to-day. A part of the town which has undergone far greater changes is suggested by Fig. 416, a small drawing in sepia of the house of James Ewing, Dean of Guild, 1831-32—known as 'Craw Jamie,' from the rookery within his grounds. It is hard to realise that this old mansion with its rural air, its lawn, trees, and rookery, did actually occupy within comparatively recent years what is now the site of the North British Railway Station,



FIG. 423. Partick Castle in 1817. From Indian Ink Sketch by James Denholm.

Queen Street. The cawing of the rooks is now supplanted by the scream of the steam whistle.

In a water-colour drawing (Fig. 417), probably belonging to the forties, one sees the Canal at Port Dundas with the passage boat moored at the wharf, and the omnibus which ran in connection to the heart of the City. Some of the features of this view are still to the fore, but what was then a semi-rural neighbourhood now forms a densely built area. The artist is Robert Carrick, R.I., born in Calton in 1820, who was trained in Glasgow, but has since 1844 resided in London. He is perhaps the only surviving knight of the brush who painted pictures of Glasgow in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Coming down to the fifties, the Clyde is well represented by two large and important water-colour drawings by Sam. Bough, R.S.A., one giving Telford's beautiful bridge at the Broomielaw (Fig. 418), as seen from its southern end, with its ceaseless cross-river traffic cleverly suggested. This picture was painted in 1850 when Bough was a scene painter in Mr. Edmund Glover's 'Prince's Theatre' in West Nile Street. Its companion picture (Fig. 419), painted in 1853, when Bough had become a professional landscape painter, is a view looking down the river with Stockwell or Victoria Bridge in the foreground, bearing about as busy a stream of traffic as its neighbour further down. Another view of the Clyde (Fig. 420) at a slightly later date, showing

the widening operations in active progress at Govan in 1859 when the picture was painted, is also by Bough. There is fine suggestion of wind in sky and trees, and the peep of the sleepy old village with its church spire rising from its encircling elms contrasts strangely with the energetic burgh of to-day.

Glasgow in its onward course has swept many smaller local authorities within its borders, but Govan and Partick still stand as neighbours, and not as parts of the city. Govan has, however, greatly changed since the salmon nets were drawn in the Clyde at the Water Row. Fig. 421, a reproduction of an old picture by an unknown hand, furnishes interesting record of the Clyde at Govan in the first quarter of the 19th century. In this rural view the salmon-fishers may be seen at work on the south side of the clear-winding stream. Some of the quaint old houses of the

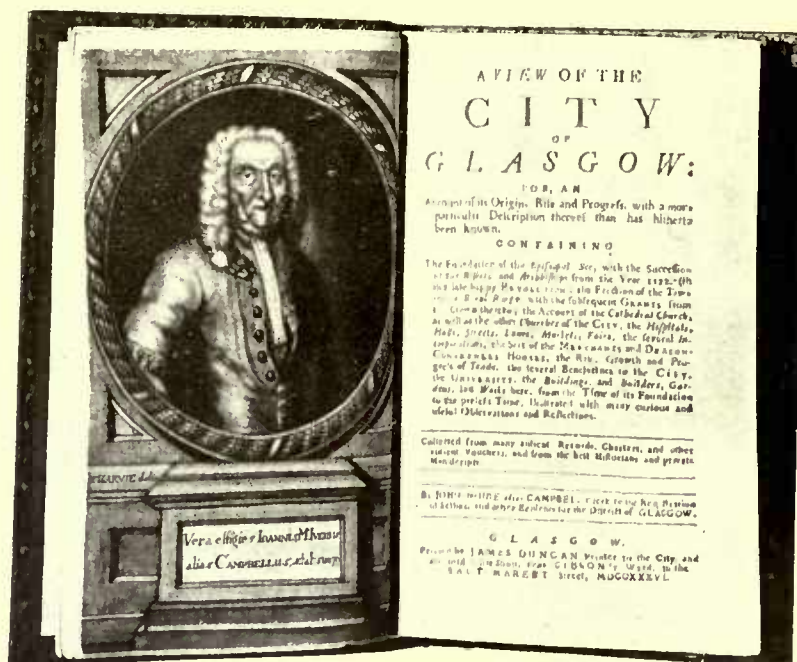


FIG. 428. A view of the City of Glasgow by John M'Ure.

Water Row, still standing but now situated amid alien surroundings, appear on the left within their summer screen of greenery, and adjoining these, one of the huts of the fishermen, in bygone days, familiar landmarks along the river side. The ancient steamboat of the 'Comet' type conspicuously figuring in the foreground, with its tall, thin, vertical funnel, is, as the name on its paddle box denotes, the 'Clyde,' a pioneer in steam navigation. She was the third steamer whose paddles churned the waters of our noble river, and was built and launched in 1813, the year immediately succeeding the appearance of Henry Bell's historic craft. Her hull, like that of the 'Comet,' was constructed by John Wood & Co., Port Glasgow, a famous name in the early history of steam navigation, and her engines, of 10 horse power, 4 horse in advance of those of the 'Comet,' were designed and built by John Robertson, the builder of the 'Comet's' engine.

Partick, like Glasgow, can also claim a respectable antiquity, and that suburban burgh has ever had an intimate connection with the parent city. In early days the romantic banks of the Kelvin attracted the ecclesiastical dignitaries, and on the Partick side of the stream, near its confluence with the Clyde, the Bishops established a summer residence—Partick Castle. The illustration (Fig. 423) has been thought by some to represent that ancient pleasance, but the probabilities are that the



FIG. 424. West India Merchant.

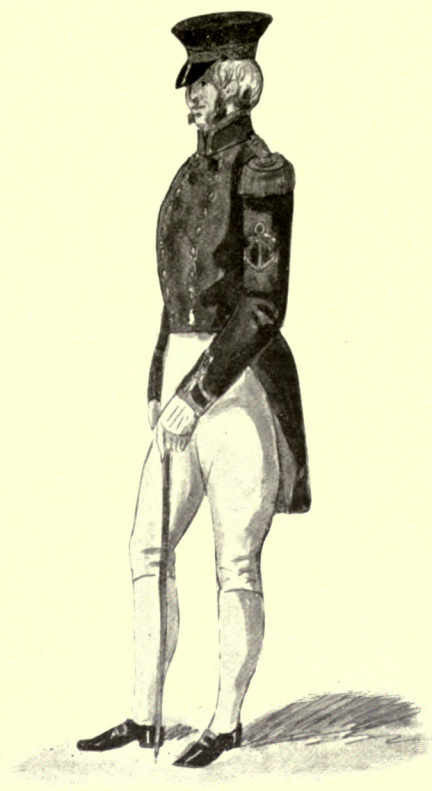


FIG. 425. Judge of Course, Clyde Regatta.



FIG. 426. Guard, Edinburgh, and Glasgow Railway.



FIG. 427. Police.

OLD GLASGOW COSTUMES

original structure, fallen into a state of decay and ruin, was used by one of the brothers Hutcheson (George) as a source of material for a mansion he erected on or near the site of the castle in 1611. This view of the edifice gains additional interest by being the work of James Denholm, one of the early historians of the city.

The first history of Glasgow is a quaintly written and curious book (Fig. 428) from the pen of a loyal octogenarian citizen. It is entitled 'A view of the City of Glasgow: or an Account of its Origin, Rise, and Progress with a more particular description thereof than has hitherto been known.' It was the work of 'John M'Ure, *alias* Campbel, Clerk to the Registrators of Seisins, and other evidents for the District of Glasgow,' and was printed by James Duncan, and issued from his shop in the Saltmarket in 1736. The 'vera effigie' of its aged author faces its old-fashioned title-page. The book is now rare. A copy, the property of Mr Bernard Macgeorge, curiously associates Glasgow's famous historian and her great printer, for it bears the inscription: 'This book was given to me when I was in Glasgow in Aug. 1749, by Mr. Robert Foulis, Printer and Bookseller in that City. William Cole, Cantab', A.M.' A first and only reprint, edited by Duncan Macvean, its publisher, was issued in 1830.



FIG. 429. Clappers formerly used by the Glasgow Police as fire alarm.

Four illustrations of old Glasgow costumes (Figs. 424 to 427) are reproduced from a series of coloured drawings in the possession of David Murray, LL.D. These drawings show us a West India Merchant (Fig. 424) in black suit, with silver shoe buckles and scarlet cloak, his head surmounted by the cocked-hat so fashionable among gentlemen throughout the eighteenth century; a Judge of the Course, Clyde Regatta (Fig. 425), in uniform of blue coat and blue 'scooped' cap flat and wide on top, both showing red and yellow facings, white knee-breeches, and shoes with silver buckles; an Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Guard (Fig. 426) in dark blue coat of surtout cut and drab trousers, his hat of the low-crowned 'tile' order with flat brim; and lastly a Policeman (Fig. 427) in dark blue uniform and the shiny 'sugarallie' hat, which many citizens can clearly recall. Probably, however, no specimen of this strong leather head-gear is now in existence.

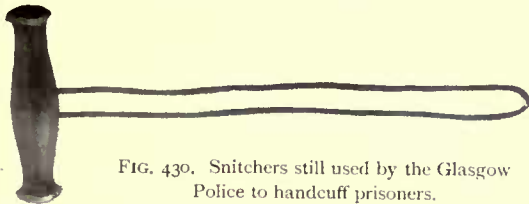


FIG. 430. Snitchers still used by the Glasgow Police to handcuff prisoners.

In the Historical Collection shown in Glasgow in 1901 there were one or two curious exhibits connected with the police and the preservation of law and order, which are represented in this volume. The clappers (Fig. 429), which succeeded the 'rickety'¹ as a fire-alarm, were carried by the night police, and were in use up till about twenty years ago, when they were superseded by the more effective street fire-alarms set up throughout the length and breadth of the city. The snitchers (Fig. 430) have for long, in time of trouble, lent valuable aid to the police. A curious point regarding this simple but effective instrument is that it forms no part of the official equipment of a constable, like the whistle and baton, but while that is so, every member of 'the force' provides himself at his own expense with this form of handcuff, which occupies at all times when its owner is on duty a quiet corner in a convenient pocket of his uniform. Old and stirring times are suggested by the gun of the Glasgow Sharpshooters (Fig. 431). In 1819 this fine regiment, 1000 strong, composed of the 'pick and wale' of citizens, mostly young, of education,

¹ See illustration No. 1655 in the *Memorial Catalogue of the Old Glasgow Exhibition*, 1896.

character, and ability, had for Lieut.-Colonel the popular editor of the *Glasgow Herald*, Samuel Hunter. Apart from his journalistic labours, he rendered excellent service to the city in his patriotic work connected with what has been not inaptly termed the 'Old Guards of Glasgow.' The gun, it will be observed, is an old flint-lock muzzle-loader. Another of these relics was a small baton, the insignia of office of



FIG. 431. Old flintlock gun of the Glasgow Sharpshooters.

a Glasgow Commissioner of Police (Fig. 432). It measures seven inches in length. The handle is of turned mahogany, and its other and larger part including the surmounting open crown, of brass. The Board of Police Commissioners existed during the first half of last century as an independent body quite apart from the Town Council, and was chosen as such by ballot by the ratepayers, but by an Act of Parliament of 1846 it was merged in the Town Council *qua* Police Board.

A comparison of the early maps to which we have referred and the post office map of Glasgow in 1902 will show how vast the growth has been. Whether or not this expansion of our cities is all for good is not a point to be discussed here. But the process of development which has gone on in Glasgow is only typical of that in many other towns in Scotland and elsewhere. Some have had fewer natural advantages, and others may have preferred more of the eighteenth century leisure. It has depended largely on a small number of citizens in each age who have pitched the key note. It may be that they were eager in the pursuit of learning, or the encouragement of art or science, that they longed to push their city's trade in new markets abroad or at home, or that they went in and out among their fellow citizens, preaching the Gospel and healing the sick.



FIG. 432. Baton of Glasgow Commissioner of Police.

Here we only refer to one or two of these citizens. The eminent surgeon, Dr. Peter Löwe, born circa 1550, and died 15th August, 1610, was a leading citizen of his day and Founder of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, Glasgow. His portrait (Fig. 433), by an unknown hand, is evidently a copy of an older picture, and suggests a gentleman of ability and distinction. In addition to the surgeon's knife, he could wield the pen to good purpose, his book on 'The Whole Covrse of Chirurgerie' published at London in 1597 running through six editions. His crumbling tombstone at the south wall of the Cathedral Burying Ground is the property of the Faculty, and from its quaint inscription and other sources we learn that this early and distinguished Glasgow Doctor was of a happy and humorous temperament. The old stone informs us:

'Yea when his physicks force oft failed
His pleasant purpose then prevailed
For of his God he got the grace
To live in mirth and die in peace.

The Faculty in recent years have further perpetuated his memory by erecting, within the nave of the Cathedral, a bronze memorial tablet, designed by Mr. Pittendrigh Macgillivray, R.S.A.

David Dale,¹ the wonderful old Glasgow Merchant, Magistrate, Banker, Philanthropist, and Pastor, is shown in an excellent Tassie Medallion (Fig. 434). He started life as a herd laddie on the outskirts of his native village, afterwards becoming a weaver, and later on a pedlar of yarns on an extremely modest scale. By and bye he developed into a large dealer in these and other commodities. Steadily working his way he eventually blossomed into a Glasgow Merchant and Cotton Manufacturer, founding and conducting with conspicuous ability large and important works throughout the country. He was appointed the first agent of the Royal Bank of Scotland in Glasgow, occupying in this capacity a small office in



Fig. 433. Dr. Peter Lowe.

High Street at a rent of £2 10s. per annum, and afterwards at the south-east corner of St. Andrew's Square. For thirty-seven years in the midst of the active labours attaching to his busy career he found time to act as the revered pastor of the congregation of 'Old Scotch Independents' worshipping in their plain little church in Greyfriars' Wynd. He was besides a magistrate of Glasgow, and helped to found the City's Chamber of Commerce. He died in 1806, and lies buried in the Ramshorn Churchyard. One of his daughters became the wife of Robert Owen of socialistic fame. Dale's house in Charlotte Street is still in existence.

An interesting silhouette by Frith of four well known Glasgow men of a past generation is reproduced in Fig. 435. The stout gentleman to the left in this quaint old portrait group is Andrew Stephenson Dalglish, 1793-1858, a man of mark in his time, and held in high esteem by his fellow citizens. For many years he took

¹ For an account of David Dale's life in Glasgow see article in the *Regality Club* by William George Black, Fourth Series, part ii. 1902.

an active share in the social life of Glasgow, and played a prominent part in procuring and getting erected the fine equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington by Marochetti, which adorns the space in front of the Royal Exchange. He figures in a group forming one of the bas-reliefs of the pedestal supporting the equestrian statue of our late Queen Victoria in George Square. 'Steenie,' as he was called by his intimates, was the son of Robert Dalglish, one of the founders of the famous old calico printing firm of R. Dalglish, Falconer & Co., and at the time of the Reform Bill Lord Provost of our city. He was the elder brother of Robert of Kilmardinny, for many years an able and popular representative of Glasgow in the House of Commons.

Facing Mr. Dalglish is Sir James Campbell, 1790-1876, his head surmounted by the tapering dress hat of the period, with its broad encompassing band of crape gathered into a bunchy knot behind, a singular token of mourning now seldom seen in our cities, but still in use throughout the remoter corners of the country. He was a founder of the great firm of J. & W. Campbell & Co., and throughout his active career a public spirited citizen of credit and renown, who did much good work for Glasgow. He was Lord Provost of the city from 1840 till 1843, and is the father of two distinguished sons, the Right Hon. James Alexander Campbell, LL.D., the able representative in Parliament since 1880 of the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, and the Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, K.C.B. (which additional surname he assumed in 1872, in accordance with the will of his uncle, the



FIG. 434. David Dale.

late Henry Bannerman, Esq., of Hunton Court, Kent), to-day the well-known leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons.

The third and shortest figure in the quartette represents Bailie John Alston of Rosemount, 1778-1846, who is here depicted in his every-day costume, comprising the old swallow-tail coat, the stand-up collar and stock, and the tapering tile-hat of the time. He was a member of the Town Council from 1823 till 1833, bailie 1827, 1828, and Deacon Convener 1829, 1830. This successful Glasgow manufacturer took throughout his life a deep interest in the blind, and was honorary treasurer of the asylum conducted on their behalf. It was he who introduced the raised Roman type, a priceless boon to its inmates and others so afflicted, and in addition to this printed for their use the Scriptures, and works of natural history with illustrations. A portrait of this worthy citizen by John Graham Gilbert, R.S.A., which has been engraved in mezzotint, belongs to the managers of this valuable institution.

Facing the Bailie is James Oswald of Shieldhall and Auchincruive, 1779-1853, who in the thirties and forties of last century represented the city in the Imperial Parliament. He was a prominent member of the Lanarkshire Hunt, and figures in the interesting old Glasgow picture representing the meet of the Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire Foxhounds at Crookston Castle about the year 1825, by a local artist

named John Mitchell, which hangs in the Western Club. He commanded the Glasgow Light Horse at George IV.'s famous visit to Edinburgh in 1822. Mr. Oswald owned ground lying to the south of Argyle Street, and took part in the formation of Maxwell Street, which originally ran from Glasgow's main thoroughfare in unbroken line to the river side, but whose course has since been blocked by the clamant needs of railway extension. His statue, hat in hand, by Marochetti, now occupying a conspicuous position at the north-east corner of George Square, was removed in 1875 from its original site at Charing Cross, now occupied by the Grand Hotel.



FIG. 435. A group of Glasgow men.

A. S. Dalglish.

Sir James Campbell.

Bailie Alston.

James Oswald.

Two famous literary contemporaries of these four business men were Lord Jeffrey and John Gibson Lockhart.

Francis Jeffrey, 1773-1850 (so widely known apart from his legal and political career as a distinguished literary critic of his time, and one who took an active part in founding the *Edinburgh Review*, of which he was for long editor), in his earlier years, before proceeding to Oxford, was a student in the Old College in High Street. Later on he was twice elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, first in 1820, and afterwards in 1823. His portrait (Fig. 436) by Raeburn enables us to realise the look and habit of the man.

John Gibson Lockhart, 1794-1854, a mainstay in its early days of *Blackwood's Magazine*, afterwards editor of the *Quarterly Review*, and author of, among other works, the life of Sir Walter Scott, his father-in-law, is represented by an excellent sketch in water colour by Daniel Maclise, R.A., dated July, 1830 (Fig. 437).

One of his books is the curious little pseudonymous volume, *Northern Sketches, or Characters of G******, with sub-title, *Characters of a Great Town*, in which a number of leading ladies and gentlemen of Glasgow, under veiled names, receive at the hands of the writer in most cases somewhat sharp and caustic treatment. The only exception in the depreciatory series is the sketch dealing with 'Dr. L*****,' headed with the laudatory lines of Beattie:—

'The good alone have joys sincere,
The good alone are great.'

From beginning to end this article is a generous tribute to, in all likelihood, his father, to whom the seven asterisks of the title, and what is known of the man, seem to point.

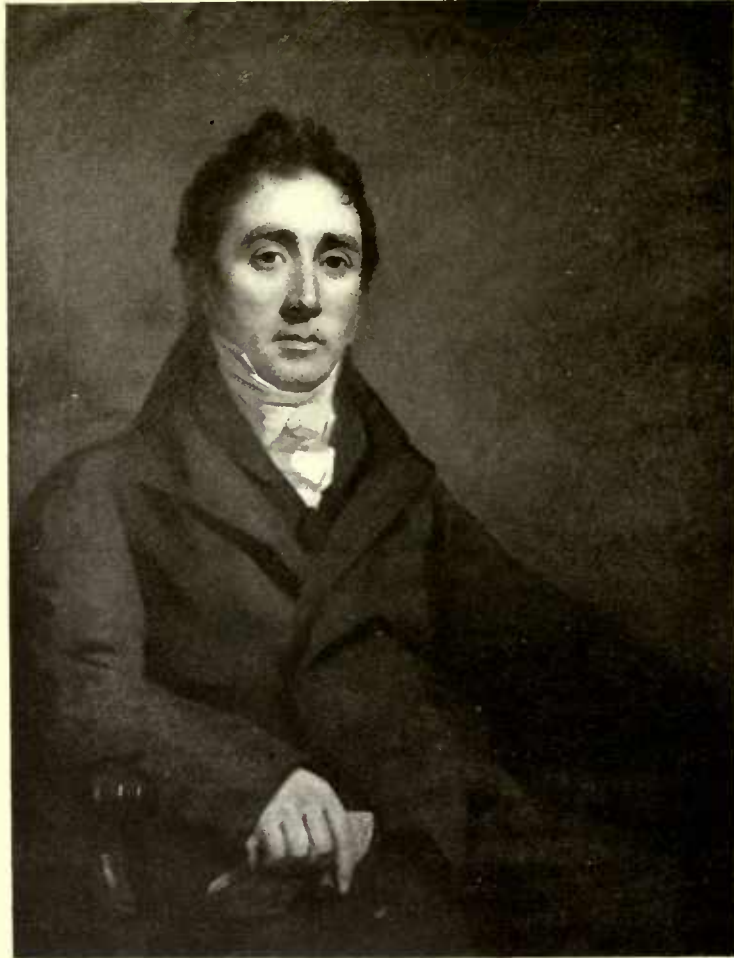


FIG. 436. Lord Jeffrey. By Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A.

It is well nigh certain that this early skit on Glasgow Society is the germ or first edition of *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk* on the wider subject of Scottish Society, and is the volume referred to in the author's 'epistle liminary' to the second edition of that well-known book, in which he darkly speaks of 'the first edition being but a coarse job, and so small withal.' If this is not so, it may be pertinent to ask—Who has seen a copy of the first edition of Peter's famous letters?

The author was the son of the Rev. John Lockhart, D.D., minister from 1796 till 1842 of Blackfriars Church, which adjoined on the south the Old College in High Street. An interesting stone from this ecclesiastical edifice, bearing a deep and clearly cut carving of the City Arms in perfect condition, is engraved on

page 313 (Fig. 408). The doctor occupied the house still standing at the south end of Charlotte Street on its eastern side, and immediately facing the residence of David Dale.

In passing, it may be noted that this once fashionable eastern thoroughfare has other interesting literary associations. It was here that the enthusiastic and patriotic Scot, the late Professor John Stuart Blackie, was born in 1809; and forty years thereafter, in 'his snug little room' in this street, Alexander Smith, after finishing his day's work in pattern designing, was wont to sit late o' nights in writing some of the earlier poems which made his name first known to the reading public.



FIG. 437. John Gibson Lockhart. By Daniel Maclise, R.A.

Although not a native of Glasgow, John Gibson Lockhart spent his boyhood there, receiving his education first at the Grammar School, and afterwards at the University of Saint Mungo. He has left a lasting link with the old city in his *Lament for Captain Paton*:

'. . . this prince of worthy fellows,
And a pretty man also,
That has left the Saltmarket
In sorrow, grief and woe;
For it ne'er shall see the like of Captain Paton no mo!'

WILLIAM YOUNG.

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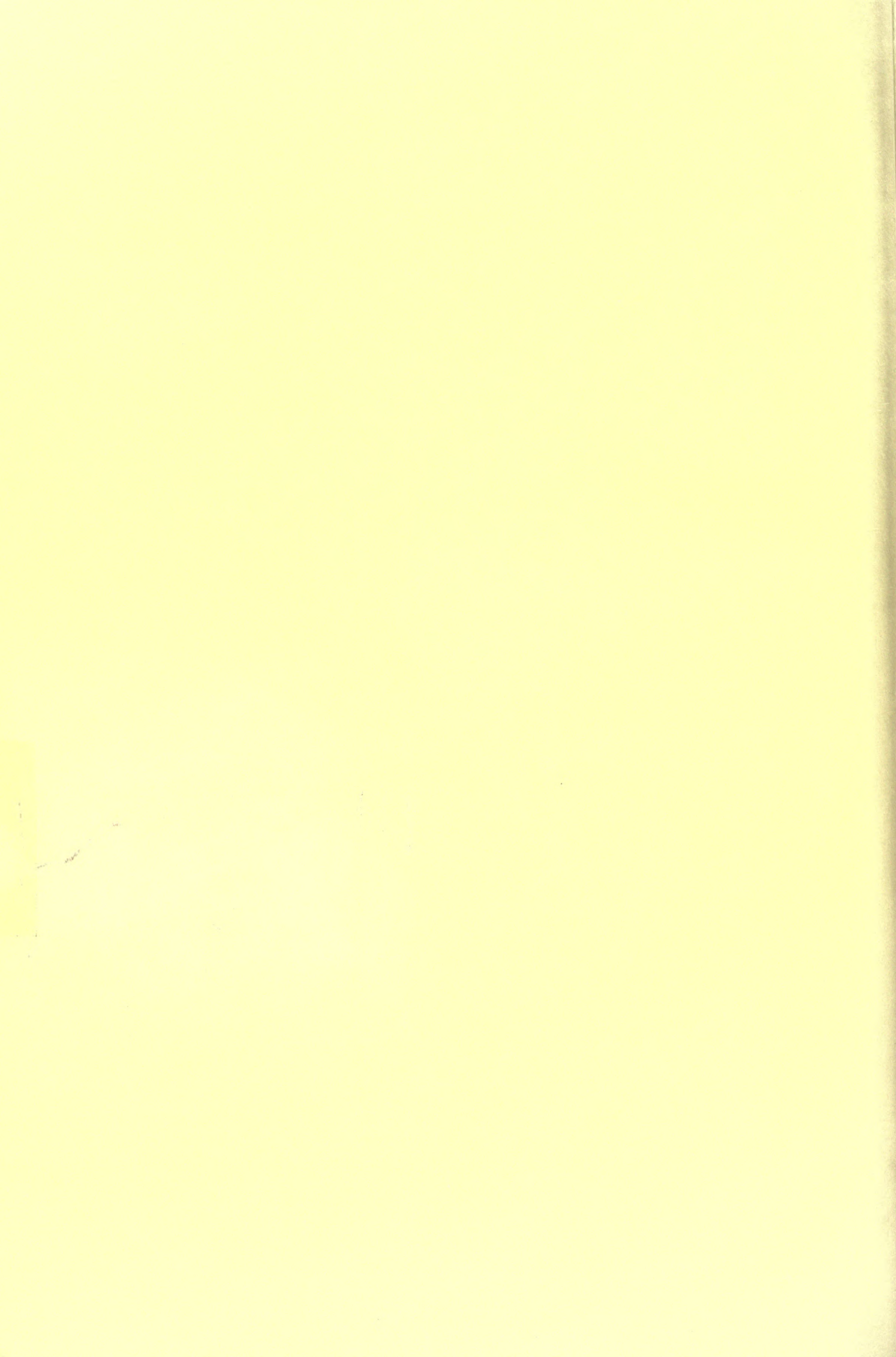
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