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A
HISTORY
OF THE
COUNTY OF RENFREW.

A

HISTORY

OF THE

COUNTY OF RENFREW

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

BY

WILLIAM M. METCALFE, D.D.

With a Map of the County.

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PREFACE.

IN the following pages I have tried to tell the history of the County of Renfrew in connection with the history of the country.

Use has been made of Crawford's History of the Shire and of the editions of it published by Semple and Robertson; but the contents of the volume and the references placed at the foot of the pages, will shew that the lines on which the present history has been written are different from those followed by Crawford, and that other sources, printed and unprinted, have been used.

My thanks are due to my brethren of the Presbytery of Paisley for the free use they have allowed me of their invaluable Records, and to those of the ministers and gentlemen in the shire who have so readily favoured me with information respecting their various parishes.

I have also to express my sincere thanks to Colonel King, the Chairman of the County Council, for permission to make use of the armorial bearings of the County; to James Caldwell, Esq., of Craigielea, for the use of the first volume of the Craighends Papers, which unfortunately reached me too late to be used in the body of the work, but from which extracts are given in the Appendix; to the Rev. Walter Macleod, Edinburgh, for reporting on the two Paisley Regality Books in the Register House; to the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, for permission to reproduce the Ordnance Survey Map of the County; and to the Director General of the Ordnance Survey.

The obligations I am under to my friend the Rev. R. D. MacKenzie, B.D., minister of the parish of Kilbarchan, and author of an excellent history of that parish, are very great, both for the care with which he has read the proofs and for the many and valuable suggestions he has given me.

Davidson - \$22.50

I can scarcely hope that I have escaped falling into error. In this respect those who have experience of the difficulty of attaining to absolute accuracy in a work where almost every page bristles with names and dates, will, I am sure, be my most lenient censors.

As a rule, I have adopted the spelling of the names of individuals and places which I found in the authorities before me at the time of writing. Hence a name is sometimes spelled in different ways on the same page. The plan has its drawbacks, but it has also its advantages.

W. M. M.

PAISLEY, *November, 1905.*

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION, - - - - -	9
Geographical extent—coast-line—-islands—surface—hills—rivers—lakes—geology— climate—soil—woods—ecclesiastical and civil divisions.	
CHAPTER I.—EARLY INHABITANTS, - - - - -	12
The Iberians—Goidels—Brythons—mixed population under the Romans—traces of Roman occupation.	
CHAPTER II.—AFTER THE ROMANS, - - - - -	15
Renfrewshire part of the kingdom of Strathclyde—Strathclyde and King Arthur— Caw Cawlyydd—Roderick the Liberal—removal of the Cumbrian capital to Dumbarton—wars between the kingdoms of Strathclyde, Dalriada, and Bernicia, etc.—advent of the Northmen—union of Strathclyde with the kingdom of Scotland.	
CHAPTER III.—RELIGION, - - - - -	19
Modes of burial among the Iberians and Celts—Celtic deities and priesthood— introduction of Christianity—its decadence and revival—age of the saints— S. Mirin—S. Berehan—S. Fillan—S. Convallanus—S. Winnoc—supposed monas- teries in the shire—influence of the saints.	
CHAPTER IV.—THE STEWARD'S SETTLEMENT, - - - - -	26
Walter Fitz Alan's introduction to David I.—descent of Walter Fitz Alan—his services to David I. and Malcolm IV.—his rewards—feudalization of Scotland— feudalization of Renfrewshire—foundation of the monastery of Paisley—invasion of Somerled (1164)—arrival of monks from Wenlock in Shropshire—election of a prior—removal to Paisley—the endowment of the monastery—death of Walter Fitz Alan—the priory raised to the rank of an abbey—further endow- ment by Alan Fitz Walter, Walter II., Malcolm Earl of Lennox, and others— influence of the monastery in the shire—Alan the fourth Steward—Walter the Steward—Alexander the Steward—prosperity of the shire and monastery.	

	PAGE
CHAPTER V.—THE RAGMAN ROLL, - - - - -	38
<p>Death of King Alexander III.—James the High Steward appointed one of the Six Guardians of the realm—Sir Robert Bruce—the Turnberry Bond—negotiations for the union of Scotland with England—death of the Maid of Norway—friendship between the Steward and Bruce—the Steward and Balliol—the Steward and Edward I.—some Renfrewshire names on the Ragman Roll.</p>	
CHAPTER VI.—SIR WILLIAM WALLACE, - - - - -	42
<p>Birth and descent—early years—the Lanark riot, 1297—the Sheriff of Lanark—supposed battle of Biggar—Wallace in the forest of Selkirk—invasion of Scotland by Edward I.—Irvine Moor—Wallace withdraws to the forest of Selkirk—Warrenne and Cressingham—the battle of Stirling—effects of the victory—Wallace writes to the towns of Lubec and Hamburg and invades England—Hexham—fruitless attempt on Carlisle—returns to Scotland—elected Governor of Scotland—the English Government and the Scottish nobles—renewed invasion by the English—Wallace retires before it—Edward appears on the scene—receives reinforcements—advances—is on the point of retiring—the battle of Falkirk—Wallace resigns Governorship of the kingdom—Edward marches to Ayr—Wallace lays waste the country before him—in July, 1299, Wallace is reported to be at Peebles—compels the castle of Stirling to surrender—is reported to have gone to France—the efforts made to secure his person—his capture and execution.</p>	
CHAPTER VII.—THE WARS OF BRUCE, - - - - -	60
<p>The Steward not present at the coronation of Bruce—his support of Wallace—his estates forfeited—his submission to Edward—receives back his estates—he holds aloof from Bruce—Walter, the sixth Steward, at Bannockburn—escorts the Queen and the Princess Marjorie from Carlisle to the Scottish Court—marriage with the Princess—is appointed joint Regent of the kingdom with Douglas—appointed Governor of Berwick and its castle—assisted in its defence by John Crabbe—signs the letter of protest from the barons of Scotland to the Pope—pursues Edward II.—the share of Renfrewshire in the first of the Wars of Independence.</p>	
CHAPTER VIII.—STUART AND PLANTAGENET, - - - - -	66
<p>David II.—the Steward and Balliol—Balliol and Edward before Berwick—Halidon Hill—Balliol and his Scottish adherents—Edward's share of Scotland—rupture between Balliol and his adherents—the Steward takes Dunoon Castle—is joined by Randolph Earl of Moray, and opposes Edward and Balliol—is made joint Guardian of the kingdom with Sir Andrew Moray—Parliament at Dairsie—Edward III. invades Scotland—he relieves Lochindorb Castle—his movements in Scotland—the Steward sole Regent—he seeks assistance from France and takes Perth—Edinburgh Castle taken—return of the King—Neville's Cross—the Steward again Regent—Scotland again invaded by the English—Scotland</p>	

CHAPTER VIII.—*continued.*

included by France in its treaty of peace with England—David II.'s ransom—his intrigues with the English—renewed invasion of Scotland by Edward III.—return of David—fresh intrigues with the English—his jealousy of the Steward, his nephew—the Queen foments it—the Steward and his son imprisoned—death of David II.—Accession of the Steward as Robert II.

CHAPTER IX.—THE ACCESSION OF THE STUARTS, - - - - 77

Causes of the Steward's success—erection of his estates into a Principality—erection of the barony of Renfrew into a shire—the baron-bailie—the sheriff—sale of the office of sheriff—other officials—the regality of Paisley and its officials—some baronies and lordships in the shire—the baron's court—ancient divisions of the county—contributions to the King's ransom.

CHAPTER X.—FAMILIES, - - - - - 85

Montgomery—Cathcart—Pollok—Maxwell of Nether Pollok—Maxwell of Mearns—Croc of Crookston—Lennox—Sprenll of Cowdon—Mure of Caldwell—Ross of Hawkhead—Logan of Raiss—Stewart of Raiss—Whiteford of that ilk—Ralston—Stewart of Cardonald—Knox—Porterfield—Erskine—Wallace of Elderslie—Hall of Fulbar—Cochrane of Cochrane—Crawfurd of Auchinames—Dennistoun—Cunningham of Kilmaurs (Glencairn)—Lyle—Houstoun of Houston—Fleming of Barrochan—Glen of Bar, etc.—Stewart of Blackhall—Semple of Eliotstoun.

CHAPTER XI.—FEUDS, - - - - - 131

Prevalence of private wars—efforts to suppress them—Montgomery and Cunningham feud—feud between Stewart of Darnley and Boyd of Kilmarnock—the Semple and Lennox feud—the Semple and Glen of Bar—the Semple and Eglinton—the Semple and Muir of Caldwell—the Semple and Cuninghame of Craighends—the feuds of the Mures of Caldwell—other feuds.

CHAPTER XII.—ROYAL VISITS, - - - - - 143

Early royal visits to the shire—the Duke of Ross—James IV., May, 1489—sieges of Crookston and Duchal Castles—James IV. in Paisley, December, 1490—intervenes in the feud between the towns of Renfrew and Paisley—is in the county in November, 1491, and in February, 1497-8—in the month of March following—publishes his formal revocation of grants made during his minority at Duchal—his gifts in Paisley and Whithorn—visits Duchal, February 22, 1497-8, and on March 16—sails from Newark for Kintyre, and returns to Greenock—probable visit in 1499—in Paisley, August 11, 1502, and in May, 1503—his gifts—his visit in June, 1504—his visit to Lord Semple in 1505—he passes through the shire in April, and again in August, 1506—in July, 1507, the King and Queen twice pass through county—purpose of the visits—the King's amusements.

CHAPTER XIII.—SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC, - - - - - 153

Population divided into free and unfree—free: vassals, tenants, farmers, husbandmen, cottars—unfree: natives—disappearance of neyfship—burgesses—bailies—kinds of burghs—castles in royal burghs—hospitals—streets in burghs—country roads—houses of burgesses—their furniture—houses of cottars—farm-houses—houses of proprietors—general character—Mearns Tower—Leven Castle—Inverkip Castle—Crookston Castle—Newark Castle—Duchal Castle—Barr Castle—Cathcart Castle—Stanely Castle—other castles—sites chosen for them—castle interiors—furniture—windows—bed-rooms—food—prices of food—beverages—excessive drinking—beverages of poorer classes—food—extravagance in dress—regulation of dress by Act of Parliament—clothes prepared for James IV. at his wedding—female attire—price of silks: of linen: of woollen clothes—inventory of Dame Margaret Ross—an inventory of plate and jewels—relations between landlord and tenant.

CHAPTER XIV.—ECCLESIASTICAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND RELIGIOUS, - 176

The monastery the ecclesiastical centre of the shire—its restoration—benefactors—controversies—Abbots de Lithgow, Henry Crichton, and George Shaw—churches not belonging to the monastery: Inchinnan, Renfrew, Erskine, Eaglesham—churches that belonged to the Abbey: Paisley, Cathcart, Eastwood, Killallan, Houston, Kilbarchan, Kilmacolm, Inverkip, Lochwinnoch, Neilston, Mearns—other churches belonging to the Abbey but not in the shire—the Collegiate Church of Lochwinnoch or Semple—chapel of S. Couval—other chapels in the shire—Temple-lands—provision for education—ancient schools in the country—compulsory education—school at Renfrew—school at the monastery—school in Paisley—were there any other parochial schools in the county?—apparently more provision for worship than for teaching—religious condition of the shire.

CHAPTER XV.—THE REFORMATION, - - - - - 197

The Reformation movement in Scotland at first largely political—leaders from Renfrewshire—Arran and the English party—the French party—Beaton and Arran reconciled—Lennox and the English Lords—Lords Maxwell and Sommerville imprisoned—Lennox and Glencairn offer battle to Beaton and his party—Glasgow besieged and taken by Arran—return of Abbot Hamilton from France—his influence—made Lord High Treasurer—appointed Bishop of Dunkeld—Arran in Paisley—Finlaystone Castle to be besieged—the Earl of Hertford and his fleet in the Forth—he devastates the country—his arrival saves the lives of Angus and Douglas—their intrigues—Henry VIII. dissatisfied with their conduct—Lennox attempts to secure Dumbarton Castle for Henry—Hamilton appoints Lord Semple his baillie and justiciary—a French fleet appears in the Clyde—Roslyn Moor—the English urged to invade Scotland—murder of Cardinal Beaton—the castle of St. Andrews taken by the French—death of Henry VIII.—Somerset endeavours to arrange peace—battle of Pinkie—Glen-

CHAPTER XV.—*continued.*

cairn offers to fortify a strong place on the Clyde for the English—his intrigues—Stewart of Cardonald reports on the movements of Abbot Hamilton—Hamilton in Fife—his intended journey to Berwick—accompanies Mary of Lorraine to the French fleet off Leith—Glencairn and Lennox—Mary of Lorraine supplants Arran in the Regency—influence of the French domination on the spread of the Reformation—Alexander, the new Earl of Glencairn, joins the Reformers—his activity—Abbot Hamilton, now Archbishop of St. Andrews, attempts to reform the Church—Claud Hamilton made Commendator of Paisley—the Granter of Paisley attacked—the year 1560 disastrous to the Catholic party—the Archbishop distressed—the Confession of Faith adopted—penal laws against Catholics—Paisley Abbey restored to the Archbishop—Lord Semple in trouble—his castle besieged and taken—Paisley Abbey “suppressed”—Renfrewshire and the Reformed Faith—Hamilton says mass in Paisley—his trial before the Lord Justice General—he baptizes James VI.—he is restored to his consistorial rights and is otherwise promoted—the escape of Queen Mary from Lochleven Castle—the battle of Langside—Lord Claud Hamilton accompanies the Queen to England—Archbishop Hamilton forfeited—Paisley Abbey besieged by Lennox—The Archbishop taken, tried, and hanged—his character.

CHAPTER XVI.—THE PRESBYTERY, - - - - - 220 .

Paucity of ministers in 1560—Mr. John Willock appointed Superintendent—Paisley regarded as a “nest of Papistry”—Mr. John Hay, minister of Renfrew—complaint against him—ministers and readers in the shire—their duties—policy of the Regent Morton—Andrew Hay appointed Superintendent—the Abbey the centre of contention in the shire—Lord Claud Hamilton restored—Lord Semple refuses to give up the Abbey and is compelled—Lord Claud again forfeited—the temporalities of the Abbey leased to Lord Cathcart—William Erskine appointed Commendator—he is forfeited—Lord Claud finally restored, 1587—Paisley Presbytery set up in 1581—the records of the Presbytery—Patrick Adamson, Andrew Polwarth, and Thomas Smeaton successively ministers of Paisley—the difficulties of their position—Mr. Andrew Knox appointed minister—his zeal against Catholics—apprehends Dr. George Ker and obtains the Spanish Blanks—he seizes Ailsa Craig and is charged with the death of Hugh Barlay—actions raised against him by John Maxwell of Stanely and John Gilchrist, reader and schoolmaster in Paisley—constitution and methods of procedure in the Presbytery—its zeal against Catholics, those who failed to communicate, and non-church-goers: John Maxwell of Stanely, the Countess of Glencairn, the Dowager Lady Duchal, John Knox of Ranfurly—other cases—Sunday observance—pipers and dancing greens—the case of Gavin Stewart—the Presbytery deal with Mr. Andrew Knox—his promotion to be Bishop of the Isles—establishment of the High Court of Commission—Episcopacy restored—the Five Articles of Perth—their reception—revival of Catholicism—renewed persecution of Catholics—Mr. Robert Boyd of Trochrig—proceedings against the Dowager Countess of Abercorn and her servants—her death—proceedings against the Earl and Countess of Abercorn—the Goodwife of Ferguslie.

CHAPTER XVIII.*—THE CIVIL WARS, - - - - - 246

Origin of the Civil War—King's edict of Revocation—Parliament—Act anent apparel of kirkmen—publication of *Canons and Constitution of the Church of Scotland*—the Service Book—it is read in the High Kirk of St. Giles', Edinburgh—its reception in Renfrewshire—a supplication presented against it by the Presbytery—the Covenant—Moderator of the Presbytery of Paisley deposed from office—Mr. John Crichton deposed—the General Assembly at Glasgow, 1638—representatives from the Presbytery—Presbytery sides with the Covenanting party—its increased zeal—drilling begun and a war chest formed—chaplains sent to the Covenanting army at Duns Law—Assembly of 1639—Parliament of 1640—the Treaty of June 18—Leslie appointed to command the Covenanters—the affair of Newburn—General Assembly at St. Andrews—the dream of a Presbyterian propaganda—the Solemn League and Covenant—Mr. Henry Guthrie and Mr. Matthew Brisbane and the Solemn League and Covenant—loyalty of the Presbytery to the Covenanting party—Scotch troops under Munro ordered to be recalled from Ireland—passage of some of them through the shire—the Marquess of Montrose—demand made upon the Presbytery for chaplains to attend the Scottish army in England—the battle of Kilsyth—Montrose in Glasgow—Malignants in the shire and their treatment by the Presbytery—the Plague in the shire—the Presbytery denounce the Engagement—protest against bringing over the army from Ireland—Sir James Turner in Glasgow—the Earl of Callender and Lieutenant-General Middleton in the shire—Lord Eglinton on the Engagers—the Duke of Hamilton's defeat at Preston—the Whiggamores—the Marquess of Argyll's flight—the Act of Classes—Proclamation of Charles II.—military preparations in the shire—landing of Charles II. at Speymouth—Cromwell marches north—the English and Scots army—Cromwell reaches Musselburgh—battle of Dunbar—Leslie followed to Stirling—Edinburgh Castle besieged—Colonels Strahan and Ker—Strahan interviews Cromwell—the Five or Western Shires Association—the Remonstrants—Paisley one of their centres—two ministers sent from the Presbytery to assist them—meeting of Parliament—Ker attacks Lambert and is taken prisoner—the shire supports the King—General Monk despatches Colonel Okey into Renfrewshire—he falls upon the King's levies and captures the Royal Commissioner and a number of ministers—troops quartered in the shire after the battle of Worcester—Commissioners appointed for Scotland—steps taken for an incorporating union between England and Scotland—how regarded in the country and in the shire and Burgh of Renfrew, and by the Remonstrants—the Remonstrants begin to lose their influence in the shire—arms discovered at Houston Castle and in the Abbey Church of Paisley—the General Assembly turned out by Lilburne and the Presbytery of Paisley by Captain Green—permission given to Paisley to elect a baillie—failure of the proceedings for the incorporating union with England—death of Cromwell.

* The mistake in the numbering of this Chapter affects that of those which follow.

CHAPTER XIX.—THE RESTORATION, - - - - - 285

Accession of Charles II.—appointment of state officials—promise to the Church of Scotland—the Act Rescissory—restoration of Episcopacy—Middleton's progress through the western shires—Act of Privy Council, October 1, 1662—Act of Indemnity—the committee on the Queensberry claims—the “outed ministers” —effect of their “outing”—“The Bishop's Drag-Net”—“The Five Mile Act”—the Presbytery of Paisley—the curates—Sir James Turner sent to coerce the West into conformity—his methods—ministers from the shire summoned before the Privy Council—the Court of High Commission—James Hamilton of Aikenhead—Porterfield of Duchal and Mr. Hugh Peebles—arbitrary arrests—Earl Rothes' progress in the West—conventicles—Presbytery's report on rebels and conventicles in the shire—Chitterfleet—Lady Caldwell—troops in the shire—charges against Sir James Turner—the First Indulgence—the Laird of Meldrum—the curates of Kilmacolm and Neilston—Archbishop Leighton—his efforts to conciliate—the Second Indulgence—Indulged ministers in the shire—complaints of the curates—conduct of Indulged ministers—commission appointed to suppress conventicles—the Proclamation and Bond—the Highland Host—the Town Council of Paisley charged with reset of rebels—persons in Renfrewshire charged with rebellion—Mr. W. Eccles—Mr. Ezekiel Montgomery—fugitives—marriage of Claverhouse in Paisley—the Secret Committee—Lord Melfort—his measures—the Test and Bond—Melfort leaves Glasgow—his influence in Scotland continues—a second Highland Host—an incident at Duchal—execution of John Park and James Algie—a new Commission issued for the Western Shires—the Earl of Argyll—Muirdykes—capture and death of Argyll—policy of James VII.—the General Meeting of the Presbyterian ministers in Edinburgh—meeting of the curates in Paisley—Presbyterian ministers of the shire—rabbling of the curates.

CHAPTER XX.—WITCHCRAFT, - - - - - 326

Early cases of witchcraft in the country—lateness of outbreak in Renfrewshire—“Auld Dunrod”—first recorded case in the shire—notoriety of Inverkip and Greenock—case of John MacGregor at Inverkip—the curates and witchcraft—increase of cases after the appointment of Mr. Thomas Blackwell as minister of Paisley—an Inverkip charmer—cases at Kilmacolm and Inchinnan—a commission applied for, to try Janet Wodrow—further developments—bewitching of Christian Shaw—a commission appointed for the trial of those whom she accused—the trial—the Presbytery and the accused—the condemned waited on to the fire by the ministers—a fresh case—translation of Mr. Blackwell to Aberdeen—cessation of witchcraft in the shire.

CHAPTER XXI.—THE REVOLUTION, - - - - - 324

Proclamation of William and Mary in London—assembling of the Convention in Edinburgh—expected descent of the French on the west coast—arrival of General Mackay in Edinburgh—further military preparations by the Convention—the throne declared vacant—the crown offered to William and Mary—Claver-

CHAPTER XXI.—*continued.*

house summoned to the Convention—pursued by General Mackay—troops raised in the shires of Renfrew and Ayr—death of Claverhouse—Montgomery of Skelmorlie's plot—Queen Mary and the conspirators—the men of Renfrewshire—paucity of ministers—the Presbytery support the Assembly—intolerance of the Presbytery—the Presbytery and the Quakers and other non-conformists—a sign of toleration in the Presbytery—the last private war in the shire—the shire and the Union of 1703—the county and the Rising of 1715—the Lochmond Expedition—the Shire and the Rising of 1745—William Cochran of Ferguslie—recruiting for His Majesty's army and navy—patriotism of the shire during the American and French wars—the Volunteer movement of the eighteenth century in the western part of the shire—forts built at Greenock—the Volunteer movement of the eighteenth century in the Paisley district—riots in the county during the early part of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XXII.—INDUSTRIES, - - - - - 350

Farming: the fame of the Cluniac monks as farmers; crops raised in the shire; the mill and multure; regulations in force among the tenants of the Abbey lands; apparent success of farming industry prior to 1588; decline of industry owing to inclement weather and civil wars; improved prospects; state of industry at the beginning of nineteenth century; the Renfrewshire Agricultural Society—the weaving industry: number of weavers—manufacture of thread—cotton spinning—bleaching—printworks—dyeing—cloth-finishing—tanning—mining and quarrying—shipbuilding—manufacture of boilers, engines, and tools—minor industries.

CHAPTER XXIII.—BURGHs, - - - - - 359

Burghs in the county—*Renfrew*: its position; foundation; its lands; landing of Somerled and his army; during the Wars of Independence; after the accession of the Stuarts; receives a charter; a royal residence; Lord Ross appointed governor of the castle; compared with Rutherglen and Glasgow; decline; feud with Paisley; agreement between the burgh and the Earl of Argyll; petitions the Convention of Royal Burghs for assistance; suspected of not husbanding its Common Good; disputes with Dumbarton, Glasgow, Ayr, and Irvine; complains against Dumbarton; obtains renewed permission to levy certain imports; prosecution of "unfree traders"; cleansing of the Clyde; complains against Glasgow; Provost Pollock; Peter Patton and his "right to pastorage"; common lands seized by the lairds of Duchal and Hapland (1669); Tucker's report on the burgh; repair of the Tolbooth; report on the burgh by the Commissioners of the Convention of the Royal Burghs; a new charter; want of prosperity; unfavourable report of the Royal Commissioners of 1835 on the management of the town's affairs; present prosperity; population—*Paisley*: original position; probable destruction in 1307; prosperity; feud with Renfrew; delimitation of boundaries with Renfrew; erected into a burgh of barony; renewal of feud with Renfrew; Abbot George Shaw presents the

CHAPTER XXIII.—*continued.*

Heyt House to the town to be used as a Tolbooth; the chapel of SS. Mirin and Columba; extension of town; splendour of Abbey; Lord Claud Hamilton appointed Commendator; destruction of the Abbey; Lord Claud restored to his estates; visit of Queen Anne; visit of King James VI.; the lordship of Paisley sold; property acquired by the magistrates; a new charter; Crawford's account of the burgh; silk manufacture; cotton spinning; weaving; the shawl trade; prosperity of town; decline of prosperity; revival; cotton thread industry; other industries; population—*Greenock*: origin of the burgh; its position; fishing industry; effect of the Union on its trade; fishing and commerce; trade with America; imports and exports; shipbuilding; prosperity—*Cartsburn*: lands of Cartsburn; village erected into a burgh of barony; Hamilton of Wishaw's account of the town; united with Greenock—*Gourock*: the barony of Finnart Stewart; the Stewarts of Castlemilk; Hamilton of Wishaw's account of the burgh; bay of Gourock; prosperity of the burgh; population and rental value—*Wemyss Bay*—*Port-Glasgow*: origin of the burgh; united to Newark—*Newark*: Tucker's report upon it; Hamilton of Wishaw's account; Wilson's; industries; population—*Pollokshaws*: its erection; charter; Robertson's description; industries; population; valuation—*Eaglesham*—*Mearns*—*Kilbarchan*—*Houston*—*Kilmacolm*—*Inverkip*—police burghs of Johnstone and Barrhead.

CHAPTER XXIV.—PARISHES, - - - - - 393

Parishes in the shire—*Eaglesham*: its situation, boundaries, and extent; soil; lands of Eaglesham; barony and lordship of Anchinhood; Temple lands; the old and new village; charter for holding fairs and markets; industries; population; annual rental; Robert Pollock; John Law; Patrick Wodrow—*Mearns*: boundaries and extent; surface and soil; streams and lochs; earliest inhabitants; early proprietors; castle and lands of Mearns; Upper Pollok and Pollok Castle; the lands of Balgray; the barony of Fingalton; Sir Robert Preston; the Temple lands of Capelrig; chief proprietors; the Common of Mearns; Busby; Netherplace; Hazelden; population; annual value—*Cathcart*: ancient limits; position of Renfrewshire portion; extent; physical features; the lands of Cathcart; of Newlands; other lands in the parish; the Castle of Cathcart; the battle of Langside; Castle of Bogton; Williamwood; antiquities; industries; population and valuation of the parish; valuation of Aikenhead—*Eastwood*: formerly consisted of two parishes; boundaries and extent; physical features; the lands of Pollok; of Auldhouse; of Nether Pollok; villages in the parish; industries; chief proprietors; Mr. Crawford; Mr. Wodrow; Mr. Geo. Campbell; Sir William Stirling Maxwell; population and valuation—*Neilston*: boundaries and extent; physical features; the lands of Neilston; of Caldwell; of Cowdon; industries; principal proprietors; population and rental—*Paisley*: the burgh of Paisley separated from it, and again for certain purposes united to it; boundaries of the Paisley (Abbey) parish; extent and physical features; the lands of Paisley; of Crookston; of Cardonald; the castle and barony of Hawkhead; other ancient estates; the Abbey Rental Roll; rents drawn by the monks in the burgh of Paisley; industries; Stanely and other castles; principal pro-

CHAPTER XXIV.—*continued.*

prietors; population and rental—*Renfrew*: boundaries and extent; physical features; the lands of Renfrew; of Wester Patrick and Blawarthill; of Scotstoun; of Jordanhill, Abbotsinch, Porterfield, Kirkland, etc.; the Knock; legendary fight there; monument in Renfrew Parish Church; Queen Blear-Eye's monument; the Butts; chief proprietors; industries; population and annual rental—*Inchinnan*: boundaries and extent; physical features; lands of Inchinnan; of Barns, Barnhill, Auldlands, and Newlands; of Cruikisfeu; of Wrichtland, Rassele, and others; the Lennox estates; Southbar; the Common of Inchinnan; Temple lands; castle of Cruikisfeu; the Place of Inchinnan; the Lady Acre; the ferry of Inchinnan; charters connected therewith; principal proprietors; population and valuation—*Erskine*: boundaries and extent; physical features; the barony of Erskine; the lands of Bargarran; of Bishopton; of Drum, Kirkland, Glenshinnoch; of Park, Millbank, Dargavel, Craigton, Fulbar, etc.; chief proprietors; villages; ferries; population and valued rental—*Houston and Killallan*: when united; situation and extent; physical features; the lands of Kilpeter; barony of Houston; house and barony of Barrochan; lands of Fulwood; of Blackburn; of Boghall; industries; market cross (1713); population and valuation—*Kilbarchan*: shape, boundaries, and extent; physical features; baronies and burgh in the parish; lands of Craigends; lands and barony of Auchinames; barony of Craiginfeoch; lands of Barr; lands of Selvieland; of Johnstone; of Blackstone; of Burntshields; of Waterston; the burgh of Kilbarchan; Linwood; Bridge of Weir; industries; antiquities; Habbie Simpson; population and annual valuation—*Lochninnoch*: boundaries and extent; physical features; a geological feature; the castle of Semple; baronies belonging to the Semples; the MacDowals of Garthland; the lands of Millbank; of Balgreen; of Beltrees; of Gavan and Risk; the barony of Cochran; the lands of Barr; of Glen; of Auchinbothie Wallace; of Auchinbothie Blair; of Auchingovan Stewart; the castle of Eliotstoun; of Auchinbothie; Barr Castle; Muirdykes; antiquities; Sir James Semple of Beltrees; population and annual rental—*Kilmacolm*: boundaries and extent; physical features; barony of Duchal; lands of Cairncurran; barony of Dennistoun; population and annual rental—*Greenock*: disjoined from Inverkip; boundaries and extent; physical features; lands of Easter and Wester Greenock; of Cartburn; chief proprietors; population and annual rental—*Inverkip*: boundaries and extent; physical features; chief proprietor; ancient families; population and valuation.

APPENDIX, - - - - - 431

INDEX, - - - - - 439

ERRATA.

- Page 78, line 10—*for* “adjudicature” *read* adjudication.
” 86, ” 1—*for* “Paisley” *read* Neilston.
” 105, ” 13—*for* “Muir” *read* Mure.
” 270, ” 4 from bottom—*for* “1849” *read* 1649.
” 367, ” 4—*for* “import” *read* impost.
” 405, ” 8 from bottom—*for* “nephew” *read* grandson.





MAP
OF THE
COUNTY OF RENFREW


REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF

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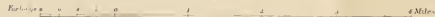
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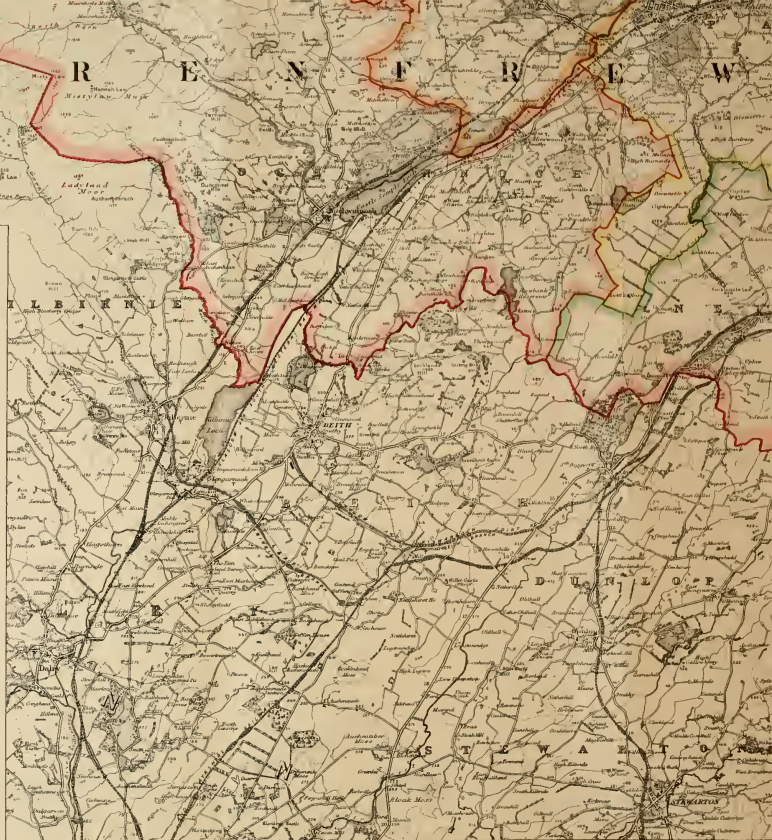
DR. METCALFE'S "HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF RENFREW"

ROADS  RAILWAYS 

RIVERS 

Scale. — 1 Inch = 1 Mile. —

 Miles.







M A P
OF THE
COUNTY OF RENFREW

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TO ACCOMPANY

DR. METCALFE'S "HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF RENFREW"

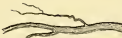
ROADS



RAILWAYS



RIVERS



— Scale: — 1 Inch = 1 Mile —

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A HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF RENFREW.

INTRODUCTION.

THE County of Renfrew lies between $55^{\circ} 40'$ and $55^{\circ} 58'$ north latitude, and between $4^{\circ} 14'$ and $4^{\circ} 54'$ west longitude. It is bounded on the east and north-east by the county of Lanark, on the south by Ayrshire, and on the west and north by the Clyde, with the exception of a small portion, opposite to the town of Renfrew, on the north bank of the Clyde, adjacent to the county of Dumbarton. The greatest length of the county, which is from south-east to north-west, is $31\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and its greatest breadth, which is from north to south, is $13\frac{1}{4}$ miles. Its area is 254 square miles, or 162,427 acres, 1294 of which are on the north of the Clyde. In 1901 the population of the county was 293,451.

The coast line of the shire, which on the west and north-west is bold and rocky, but elsewhere low and flat, extends from the Kelly Burn, near Wemyss Bay, to the lands of the House of Elderslie, in the parish of Renfrew, and is about 30 miles long. The chief promontories are Wemyss Point, Ardgowan Point, Cloch Point, Kempoch Point, Fort Matilda Point, and Garvel Point. The chief indentations are Wemyss Bay, Inverkip Bay, Lunderton Bay, Gourrock Bay, the Bay of St. Lawrence, and Newark Bay.

There are two islands in the shire: Newshot Island in the Clyde, about 50 acres in extent, and Colin's Isle in the Cart. Formerly the Clyde ran close to the Burgh of Renfrew and cut through the grounds of Elderslie House, and thus formed a third island, known as the King's Inch.

The general surface of the county is considerably elevated above sea level, but there are no great irregularities. There are extensive moors, the greatest of which is Duchal Moor, in the parish of Kilmacolm. The ground rises to the greatest height in the east and west. The principal hills are Blackwood Hill (1,200 feet) and Myers Hill (1,100 feet), in the parish of Eaglesham; the Hill of Staik (1,711 feet), East Girt Hill (1,673 feet),

Misty Law (1,663 feet), and Queenside Hill (1,540 feet), in the parish of Lochwinnoch; Creuch Hill (1,446 feet), Knockminwood Hill (1,253 feet), Hydal Hill (1,244 feet), and The Laird's Seat (1,054 feet), in the parish of Kilmacolm. In the south of the county are the Fereneze Hills and Neilston Pad. Lesser heights occur throughout the county. Parts of the shire are well wooded, and here and there are scenes of great beauty. To the north of Paisley is a beautiful piece of level country, about six miles long by three broad, known as the Laighlands.

Besides the Clyde, the principal rivers are the Cart and its parent streams, the White Cart, the Black Cart, and the Gryfe Water. The White Cart rises near the point where the three counties of Lanark, Renfrew, and Ayr meet. It flows through the parish of Eaglesham, along the boundary between Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire, through the parish of Cathcart, past Pollokshaws, Crookston Castle, and through Paisley to Inchinnan Bridge, where it is joined by the united waters of the Black Cart and the Gryfe. It receives the Threeland, Ardoch, and Holehill Burns, the Earn Water, the Auldhouse Burn, the Levern Water near Crookston Castle, and the Espedair Burn at Paisley. The Black Cart issues from the north end of Castle Semple Loch, and flows past Johnstone and Linwood to Walkinshaw, where it is joined by the Gryfe. The Gryfe rises among the high lands south of Greenock, and after flowing past Bridge of Weir and Crosslee, joins the Black Cart at Walkinshaw. Their united waters join the White Cart at Inchinnan Bridge and form the Cart, which flows into the Clyde. The Kipp and the Daff are small streams in the parish of Inverkip. The Calder rises in Kilmacolm Moss, and flows eastward into Castle Semple Loch.

The principal lakes are the loch just named in the parish of Lochwinnoch, Loch Long and Loch Libo in the parish of Neilston, Brother Loch and Black Loch in the parish of Mearns, and Binend Loch and Lochgoin in the parish of Eaglesham.

Rocks of volcanic origin abound, especially in the higher parts of the shire, and have been moulded into their present forms by glacial action. Among the uplands of Misty Law, in the heart of the Renfrewshire part of the Clyde volcanic plateau, is a remarkable group of vents with a connected mass of tuff and agglomerate occupying a space of about four miles in length and two and a half miles in breadth. Strata of tuff and lava occur also in other places. Near Paisley is a platform of glacial clay with Arctic shells. The markings on the rocks show that the motion of the ice was towards the south. The south-eastern portion of the county belongs to the great western coal-field of Scotland. At Quarrelton the coal bed was found to be of extraordinary thickness. Coal has been wrought at Hurler for over three hundred years.

The sulphates found in abundance in the mines there have given rise to important chemical industries. Coal is found as far west as Inkerman and Bishopston, and is usually accompanied by iron either in beds or in balls. Sandstone and limestone are found in several parts of the county. In the west, from Port-Glasgow south to Ayrshire, red sandstone prevails, intermingled with porphyry and greenstone.

On the moorlands the soil is thin, poor, and cold, though here and there excellent pasture is found. The arable land is chiefly in the north and north-east, in the middle of the county and along the banks of the Black Cart, where the soil is a rich loam varying in depth from a few inches to several feet. In the Laignlands, to the north of Paisley, the soil is generally a deep, rich loam of a dark brown colour, resembling carse clay.

The climate, owing to the western position of the county, is greatly influenced by the breezes from the Atlantic Ocean. West and south-west winds prevail during the greater part of the year. Hence the climate in the west is both mild and moist; but less moist in the eastern parts. The yearly rainfall at Greenock averages about 60·96 inches, and at Paisley about 37·90 inches.

The county was at one time well wooded, as is indicated by the names Eastwood, Stanely Wood, Fereneze Forest, and Paisley Forest. Ancient records show that the woods abounded in game, and the rivers in fish. The White Cart was at one time famous for its pearls.

Before the Reformation the county consisted of fourteen parishes, and of parts of three others. In 1589 the parish of Greenock was disjoined from the parish of Inverkip, and Port-Glasgow from Kilmacolm in 1694. Other parishes have been formed out of the parish of Greenock and the Abbey (Paisley) parish. The division of the county into two wards—the Upper and Lower Wards—was not officially recognised till the year 1815. For Parliamentary and other purposes the shire is now divided into two districts—the Eastern and the Western.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY INHABITANTS.

PASSING by the River-drift men and the Cave men, who belong to archæology rather than to history, we may take it as settled that the district was inhabited at a very early period by the Ivernians or Iberians—a short, black-haired, dark-eyed, and swarthy complexioned people, with long or oval heads, and speaking a non-Aryan language. The land of their origin is unknown, but by some it is placed in the Western Ocean and identified with the fabled continent of Atlantis. At one time they inhabited the whole of Europe west and north of the Rhone and the Rhine, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and the North of Africa, and are said to have had affinities with the Firbolgs in Ireland, the Silures in Wales, the Aquitani between the Pyrenees and the Loire, the Etruscans in Italy, the Sicani in Sicily, the Basques in Spain, and the Berbers in Africa. A people of the neolithic age, they were more civilized than their predecessors, the Cave men. They were acquainted with cereals, had domesticated animals, and are regarded as the founders of modern European civilization. Whatever may be the number of the remains they have left elsewhere, those which have been ascribed to them as found in Renfrewshire are few and of doubtful origin. Still, it is not altogether improbable that they fashioned the canoes which were dug up some time ago in the parish of Lochwinnoch, and that the personal ornaments found in a cist at Houston belonged to them.¹

The Iberians were followed by the Goidels or Gaels, the vanguard of that great Aryan army which was destined to rule the west. Of Celtic origin, the Goidels were in personal appearance altogether unlike the Iberians. They were tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed, with light complexions and broad heads. Armed with weapons of bronze they drove the Iberians into the west or reduced them to slavery. By some their arrival in Great Britain is set down as early as the ninth century B.C., and by others as late as the sixth or

¹For the Iberians see Elton, *Origins of English History*; Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i.; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*; Prof. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*; Freeman, *History of Sicily*, vol. i.; Rhys and Jones, *The Welsh People*; Fureux, *The Agricola of Tacitus*, Introduction and Notes.

seventh.¹ They were the builders of those vast megalithic structures which, though in ruins, still stir the imagination of the beholder at Avebury and Stonehenge, and of the smaller circles, which are scattered over the moors and hilltops of Great Britain.²

After the Goidels came the Brythons or Britons, who were also Celts. Their arrival in Britain is set down at from two to five centuries before our era.³ They were armed with weapons of iron. Landing on the eastern and south-eastern coasts of Britain, they gradually drove the Goidels into the west, who there inter-married with the Iberians, and often joined hands with them against the invaders. At one time the Goidels, it is said, occupied the whole of the west of England from the Solway to the Severn; but under the pressure of the Brythons they were forced back upon the mixed population of Wales and driven southward into Cornwall and Devon, and northward into Cumberland and Lanarkshire, and beyond the Clyde.

During the Roman occupation Renfrewshire was inhabited by the Goidelic Dumnonians, except in the east, where in the Mearns, as the name implies,⁴ was a tribe or clan or settlement of the Maeatae. The Dumnonians were related to the Damnonians of Cornwall and Devon, who were probably their superiors in the arts of civilization, in consequence of their more frequent intercourse with foreigners. The Maeatae are usually mentioned along with the Caledonians, and are supposed to have come like them from the north. Both are described as "living in utter savagery, without agriculture, or any dwellings but tents, and having wives in common, living in marshes on roots and other such food, naked, tattooed, armed with spears having a chain and knob attached to them to strike terror by noise."⁵ How far this description is true, and whether it represents "a Celtic people which by long isolation had gone back into savagery, or a race non-Celtic and perhaps non-Aryan, which had succeeded in overpowering its neighbours," are questions to which satisfactory answers have not been given. The two tribes are first mentioned towards the close of the second century A.D., by which time they appear to have got possession of the country adjacent to the Northern Wall; possibly

¹ D'Arbois de Jubainville gives 958-800 B.C., *Les Premiers Habitants*, ii. 283, and *Les Celts*, 21. Prof. Rhys and Mr. B. Jones appear to favour a later date. "On the whole we dare not suppose the Goidels to have come to Britain much later than the sixth century B.C.; rather should we say they probably began to arrive in the country earlier." *Welsh People*, pp. 11 and 34.

² Boyd Dawkins, 376-7.

³ D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Premiers Habitants*, ii. 283, 295; Rhys and Jones, 10, 35.

⁴ Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 155-6.

⁵ Furneaux, 29; see also Elton, 169-70. The original sources of the description are Dio, 76. 12; Herodian, 3. 14.

they had also gained a footing on the south side of the Firth of Forth.¹ In 208 Severus led an expedition against them. Soon after his return, the Maeatae were again in arms, and were joined by the Caledonians. Severus died in 211, and it was probably not till after this that a clan of the Maeatae settled in Renfrewshire. Whether this clan was among those who were subsequently called Picts, and along with the Scots became a terror to the Romanized Britons of the South, are questions which need not here detain us.²

Traces of the Roman occupation in Renfrewshire are few. A camp at Paisley and a few Roman coins, discovered near that town, are all that are recorded. Of the coins nothing is known. They were dispersed immediately after their discovery, and have gone no one knows where. The camp was situated on Oakshawhead, on the site now occupied by the John Neilson Institution. It had two outposts—one on Woodside, the other on Castlehead. The view from the three stations commands almost the whole of the lower reaches of the Clyde. Roads probably connected the camp with Carstairs on the south, with the camp at Loudon Hill on the west, and with the Clyde at a point opposite to the west end of the great Wall of Antoninus. Down to the end of the seventeenth century the Clyde above Dumbarton was by no means deep, and at low water was easily fordable at several places, and it is not improbable that the camps at Loudon Hill and Paisley were held by the Romans in order to prevent the natives on the north of the wall from out-flanking it, and then crossing the Clyde to invade Kyle and Cunningham and the country to the south.

¹ Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 91.

² Adamnan in his *Life of Columba* speaks of the Maeatae by themselves and calls them the Miathi (i. 8). The meaning and origin of their name appears to be unknown. Referring to Dr. Skene's derivation of it, Prof. Rhys remarks, "there is no reason whatever to think that it has anything to do with the Goidelic word *mag*, a plain or field, as some take for granted." *Celtic Britain*, 297.

CHAPTER II.

AFTER THE ROMANS.

ON the departure of the Romans, a cloud of thick darkness falls upon the history of the country and its inhabitants. When, about a century and a half later, it begins to rise, Renfrewshire is discovered forming part of the British Kingdom of Cumbria or Strathclyde, one of the four Kingdoms which were then struggling for supremacy in the country. Of the other three, two were on the north of the Forth and Clyde—the Scottish in the west and the Pictish in the east. The third was the Kingdom of Bernicia, which occupied the south-east corner of the country and stretched from the Firth of Forth to the Tees. Strathclyde extended from the river Derwent in Cumberland to the Clyde and probably beyond it. On the west it included the counties of Dumfries and Ayr. On the east it stretched beyond Edinburgh, and was bounded in that direction and to the south-east by the Anglian Kingdom of Bernicia.

Of the history of Strathclyde during the hundred and fifty years referred to, little is known. According to Dr. Skene, the first of the twelve battles fought by King Arthur against the Saxons took place at the mouth of the Glein, which falls into the Irvine in the parish of Loudon, after which he invaded the regions about the wall in the Lennox occupied by the Saxons, and there met them in four pitched battles.¹ If this was so, Arthur, unless he took a very round-about way, must have marched through Renfrewshire in order to reach the Lennox. There is but one place in the shire, however, which can claim even the remotest connection with this "more or less historical and unmythical hero," and that is, *Arthurlie* in the parish of *Neilston*.

At that time Renfrewshire appears to have been the seat of the family of *Caw*, commonly called *Caw Cawlwydd* or *Caw Prydyn*, one of whose sons was *Gildas* the historian. In one of the lives of *Gildas* he is said to have been the son of *Caunus*, who reigned in *Areclutha*. *Areclutha* signifies a district lying along the Clyde, and as a description may suit the Lennox just as well as Renfrewshire. But two stories told in the life of *S. Cadoc* show that the district referred to is the County of Renfrew. While the saint was building

¹ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 52, ff.

a monastery near the mountain Bannawc, he found the grave of a giant, who rose and informed him that he was Caw of Prydyn, and that he had been a king and had reigned beyond the mountain Bannawc. The monastery, according to the second story, was built *in regione Lintheami*, or Cambuslang, the church of which is dedicated to S. Cadoc. Running through the adjoining parish of Carmunnock, formerly Carmannock, and on the borders of Ayrshire is a range of hills, which terminates in Renfrewshire. This range of hills Dr. Skene has identified with the mountain Bannawc of the legend. Thus the life of the saint confirms the statement made in the life of the historian, and shows that during the century and a half which followed the departure of the Romans, the reigning family in the shire was that of Caw Prydyn. At the same period families of the race of Coel or Coil were reigning in Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick.¹

After the battle of Arderydd (A.D. 573), ten years after S. Columba landed at Iona, and two years before he secured, at the Synod of Drumceatt, the independence of Dalriada, Rydderch Hael or Roderick the Liberal, King of Strathclyde, took the important step of removing his capital from Carlisle to Alcluith or Dumbarton, the fort of the Britons—a place which he would hardly have selected for it, had the fortress stood, as is usually supposed, on the most northerly limit of his kingdom. His father appears to have reigned before him, and after his father, one Morken, of whom we hear in Jocelin's life of S. Kentigern,² though it may be that he was only one of the lesser reguli whose territories Roderick absorbed into his own.³ Roderick was acquainted with S. Columba, who, on being asked, assured him that he would die not by the hands of his enemies, but in his own house—which prophecy, Adamnan tells us, was strictly fulfilled.⁴

Renfrewshire lies under the shadow of the ancient capital of Strathclyde on the rock of Dumbarton, and, though for centuries its history, as far as our knowledge goes, is a perfect blank, there can be no doubt that during that period it passed through many vicissitudes and bore its share in the wars and privations and miseries which formed so large a part of the history of the ill-fated kingdom to which it belonged.

Of the three other kingdoms in the country, that from which the kingdom of Strathclyde had most to fear was the Anglian kingdom of Bernicia, more especially when united under one crown to the kingdom of Deira.

¹ *Four Ancient Books*, i. 173; Rees, *Cambro British Saints*, 350, 364.

² Chapters xxi.-xxiii.

³ Forbes, *Lives of SS. Ninian and Kentigern*, 347.

⁴ *Life of Columba*, i. 15. Rydderch is there called Rex Rodericus, filius Tothail; and Dumbarton, Petra Cloitha.

From the Dalriadic Scots it had least to fear. Like the Britons the Scots were Celts. The Saxons and the Picts were their common enemies, and they were often united in arms against them.

In 594, Aethelfrith, grandson of Ida, became King of Bernicia and proved himself one of the most powerful rulers of the time. According to Bede no ruler before him did so much harm to the Britons by reducing them to his sway and planting Angles among them. In their conflicts with him the Britons were for obvious reasons supported by the Scots, but at the battle of Degsastan, in 603, he so thoroughly defeated the allies that until Bede's day, more than a century after, it was said that no Scottish king dared to carry arms against the Angles. Edwin of Deira, who defeated and succeeded Aethelfrith, made his hand felt among the Britons still more heavily. He wrested Mynydd Agned from them and named it after himself, Edwinesburgh or Edinburgh. On his death in 633 the Britons regained their freedom, but they were soon reduced to subjection again by his son Oswald. They were free again in 642, and were then fighting against their natural allies, the Scots of Dalriada, whose King, Donald Brec, they defeated and slew at a battle fought in Strathearron. In the same year they were fighting with Oswiu, King of Bernicia. But having got rid of his enemy Penda, in 685, at a battle fought near Leeds, Oswiu shortly afterwards made himself master of Strathclyde, Dalriada, and part of the Pictish kingdom, and for nearly thirty years exercised an effective control over almost the whole of Scotland. In 670 he was succeeded by Egfrith, who extended his rule as far west as Cunningham, and gave Carlisle to S. Cuthbert. With the defeat of Egfrith at Nectan's Mere, in 685, Strathclyde once more regained its freedom. In 756 Eadberet of Northumbria and Angus Mac Fergus, King of the Picts, joined hands against the Britons, seized Dumbarton, and reduced Strathclyde to subjection. Its king at the time was Dungal, grandson of Beli. He is said to have reigned till the year 760; but from 758 to 789 the real master of Strathclyde, was Angus the Pictish king.

With the opening years of the ninth century came a new enemy. Already in 793 the Northmen had begun their work of havoc in northern Britain by attacking the Northumbrian kingdom. In 802 they burnt the buildings of Iona, and repeating their visit four years later slew sixty-eight persons, a number of whom were monks. About sixty-five years later, in the fourth year of Constantine II., son of Kenneth Mac Alpin, Olaf the White, the Norwegian King of Dublin, landed on the west coast of Scotland, and harried the country for two months and a half. Whether his raids reached as far east as Renfrewshire there is nothing to show, though it is not improbable that they did. Four years later he sailed up the Clyde, and, after a siege of

four months, took Dumbarton. In 872 Artga, the King of Strathclyde, was slain, as the chronicle puts it, by the counsel of Constantine II. The last native prince of Strathclyde was Eocha, son of Run, by the daughter of Kenneth Mac Alpin. During his reign the kingdom was again overrun by the Northmen. He died somewhere between the years 900 and 918, and was succeeded by Donald, brother to Constantine III., King of Scots.¹

But a Scots dynasty upon the throne of Strathclyde did not mean the union of the kingdom to the Scottish Crown. The Britons fought along with the Scots and Danes against Athelstane at the famous battle of Brunanburh in 934. Later on their territory was overrun by the Danes. Edmund Ironsides drove them out in 945, and then handed the Cumbrian Kingdom over to Malcolm I. of Scotland on condition that he should be his "fellow worker." But in 971 the Britons once more asserted their independence, and at a battle fought in that year defeated and slew Cuilean the Scots King and his brother, thus proving "that in spite of their misfortunes they were still formidable rivals to the Scots." In 1018 the two kingdoms were again in league, and at the battle of Carham on the Tweed, Owen, the King of Strathclyde, contributed largely to Malcolm's signal victory over the Northumbrians. Owen was the last independent King of Strathclyde. On his death Malcolm appointed his own grandson Duncan to succeed him, and Strathclyde was thenceforth an appanage of the Scottish Crown. It continued to be ruled by princes until 1224, when, on the accession of David, Prince of Cumbria, to the Scottish throne, it was finally united to the Scottish Crown, and Renfrewshire became an integral part of the kingdom of Scotland.

¹ According to a Welsh chronicle of somewhat doubtful authority, in "891 the men of Strathclyde who would not unite with the Saxons were obliged to leave the country and go to Gwynedd" or North Wales (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 24). If this was the case, the Saxon settlers in Strathclyde must have been fairly numerous.

CHAPTER III.

RELIGION.

MANY conjectures have been made respecting the religion of the early inhabitants of Scotland, but comparatively little appears to be known about it. Both Iberians and Celts were pagan, but what their faith and rites and ceremonies were is not so certain.

The Iberians buried their dead, sometimes in caves which they had previously used as dwellings, and sometimes in tombs, which probably represent the huts of the living. Both caves and tombs contain skeletons of all ages, and both of them appear to have been used as vaults common to the family or tribe. The interments were successive, not simultaneous. This appears from the bones being in various stages of decay, as well as from the fact that the bodies could not have been crowded into the space in which the skeletons are found. The tombs consist of barrows or cairns of different sizes, and are long, oval, or circular in plan. The more important contain a small chamber. In a number of instances the mounds have a boundary wall of rubble stone from two to three feet high, with large upright blocks at intervals, which recalls the saying of Aristotle that the Iberian people were in the habit of placing as many obelisks round the tombs of the dead warrior as he had slain enemies. From the number of cleft skulls found in these tombs, it has been argued that human sacrifices were offered, as was the custom in Gaul. The domestic and wild animals which were offered in sacrifice were afterwards eaten in honour of the dead. Along with the bones are found various implements, some of them broken, such as arrowheads, scrapers, celts and pottery, the presence of which indicates a belief in a future state.¹

¹ Boyd Dawkins, 284, ff. "The view that the tombs and their contents," Mr. Dawkins remarks, "imply a belief in a future state is fully borne out by an appeal to almost universal habits and modes of thought, current equally among civilized and barbarous peoples. The tomb was, to the Neolithic mind, as truly the habitation of the spirits of the dead as the hut was that of the living. It was the house of the dead chieftain, and the centre into which the members of the family or clan were gradually gathered, and where they led a joyous and happy life similar to that which they enjoyed on the earth. Hence the offerings made to them, and the superstitions which have clustered round them, to be remarked among the survivals from the Neolithic age into the Historic period. The little cups, bowls, basins, and hollows on some of the slabs of the stone chambers of the tombs were probably intended to hold offerings made to the spirits of the dead, such as on the capstone of the cromlech of Bonnington Mains, near Ratho, a few miles west of Edinburgh, on one of the props of the cromlech at L' Ancrese, Guernsey, and in many localities." P. 289.

The bronze-using Celts introduced the practice of cremation. Their barrows or cairns are usually round. In Scotland, as in Ireland and France, it is not uncommon to find large sepulchral chambers in them, and for a barrow or cairn to contain examples of both modes of disposing of the dead. In cases of inhumation the dead were usually buried in a contracted posture. Sometimes, however, the body was covered with a linen or woollen cloth, and laid at full length in a coffin formed of the trunk of an oak tree, split and hollowed. Drinking-cups, implements, weapons, and personal ornaments, as among the Iberians, were usually, if not always, deposited in the tombs. When cremation was practised, the ashes of the dead were collected into a funeral urn, usually from twelve to eighteen inches in height, and placed in a chamber, sometimes in an upright position with the mouth closed, and sometimes upside down. Various articles and implements in daily use were thrown into the fire, and their burnt remains were sometimes placed among the ashes in the urn. Cremation, it has been argued, indicates a change in religious belief. Possibly it does; but the practice of including the remains of charred implements, etc., in the urns containing the ashes of the dead, proves that the bronze-using Celts held, like their forerunners, the belief in a future state.

The Celts had a fairly numerous pantheon, which included female as well as male divinities. They were believed to be invisible, but were supposed to have the power of making themselves known under various forms whenever they chose. The priests and priestesses did not form an hereditary class, but recruited their ranks from among the people. As they were believed to be the depositories of all the wisdom of the time, to give instruction was regarded as a part of their ordinary duties. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls appears to have been one of the principal tenets of their faith. For their restoration to health, slave owners afflicted with a painful malady would sometimes cause one or more of their slaves to be offered in sacrifice.¹

Christianity was probably introduced into the district during the Roman occupation. About the middle of the fourth century the father of S. Patrick served as a priest or deacon at a Christian church situated on the north shore of the Clyde opposite to Renfrewshire, either between Bowling and Dumbarton or at one or other of these places, and it is not unlikely that the first preachers of the Cross in the shire came from there. Subsequently, if we may trust Ailred's narrative, Renfrewshire fell within the mission field of S. Ninian.

¹ The works dealing with the religion of the Celts are pretty numerous and somewhat bewildering. The authors and books consulted for this and the preceding paragraphs are chiefly Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*; Forbes Leslie, *Early Races of Scotland*; Wilson, *Pre-Historic Annals of Scotland*; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*; Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*; and M. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *La Civilisation des Celtes and Littérature Celtique*. There are some excellent articles on the subject in various numbers of the *Revue Celtique*.

During the interneceine strife which followed the withdrawal of the Romans there was a great falling away from the faith. "Different tribes," it is said, "poured into the kingdom of Cumbria and maintained paganism rather than the cultivation of the faith."

One of the first acts of Roderick the Liberal after the victory obtained by the Christian princes over the pagans at the battle of Arderydd in 573, was to invite S. Kentigern to resume the work of evangelization in Strathelyde, which he had been obliged to relinquish in consequence of the opposition of Morken. S. Columba had then been in Iona ten years, and his disciples were already beginning to pass to and fro in the land. S. Modwenna had also visited the country and built her seven churches, one of which was at Dundonald in Ayrshire, and another at Dumbarton. About the same time a number of monks from Ireland had crossed over, and penetrated into the County of Renfrew, and from their several churches were carrying on their work of conversion and civilization among the people.

Among the best known of these monks was S. Mirin, a native of Ireland who had been educated under the famous S. Comgall, at Bangor, where he had become a monk and was appointed prior of the monastery. Leaving Bangor and Ireland, he finally settled at Paisley, where he appears to have laboured long and successfully.¹ The church which he built had a parochial territory attached to it some time before the neighbouring monastery was built, and continued down to the period of the Reformation to be used as the Parish Church of the town of Paisley, the original part of which stood around or near it in the Seedhill. The priest who served it was known as the chaplain of Paisley.² The churchyard in which it stood and the priest's house are referred to as late as the year 1620, and the tomb of the Saint is mentioned in a charter dated at Paisley, May 21, 1491, whereby George Shaw, the Abbot, conveyed to the Bailies and community of the newly-erected Burgh of Paisley the Heyt House to be used as a common Tolbooth.³

S. Berchan or Barchan is less known for his labours in Kilbarchan than for the series of prophecies attributed to him but written in the eleventh century, when it was the fashion to write history in the shape of prophecy. The most important of them have been printed and translated by Dr. Skene.⁴ Doubt exists as to Berchan's date and even as to his day, there being

¹ For his legend see the *Aberdeen Ereviary*, Prop. SS. pars estiv., f. cvi. ; Forbes, *Kals. Scot. SS.* ; Lees, *Paisley Abbey*, 42, where the lections of the Breviary are translated ; Metcalfe, *Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Paisley*, xviii.

² *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet*, 51, 232.

³ Metcalfe, 41, 42, 44.

⁴ *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, xl., 79.

several saints of the same name. According to Dr. Skene he lived towards the end of the seventh century, and in the opinion of his latest biographer while "there is no reason whatever for putting him later than 700 A.D., he may have been as early as 550 A.D."¹ In the *Four Masters* he is mentioned in conjunction with Columba (521-597) and his contemporary and friend, Brendan of Birr. Ussher, says that he was "the contemporary of Keivinus," who died in 622, at the phenomenal age of 120. We shall not be far wrong, therefore, if we set him down as living in the second half of the sixth century and as contemporary with S. Mirin in Paisley and S. Kentigern in Glasgow. He was bishop of Clonsast, King's County, Ireland, and is mentioned by Colgan as one of the Four Illustrious, who gave a name to the church near which they are buried—a church in Inishmore, the largest and most northerly of the Aran Islands in Galway Bay. The Calendars mention a S. Berchan on April 6, August 1, August 4, and December 3. This last, as the old style of reckoning is used, agrees fairly well with the date on which the Kilbarchan fair is now held, the first Tuesday after December 12.² Of S. Berchan's labours in Kilbarchan nothing is known. He is supposed to have built a church there, and then, after labouring for some time, to have returned to Ireland. It may be, however, that the parish was the locality in which one of his disciples or admirers laboured, and that the church was built by him and dedicated to the saint's memory, just as the church at Whithorn was built by S. Ninian and dedicated by him to his friend S. Martin of Tours.

The church of the ancient parish of Killallan, which by a decree of the Court of Teinds in 1760 was united to the adjoining parish of Houston, is dedicated to S. Fillan. At a little distance from its ruins is a large stone with a hollow in the middle, called S. Fillan's chair. Under a rock, a little beyond it, shaded by overhanging bushes, is S. Fillan's well, to which sickly children used to be brought for the healing of their diseases. In the month of January a fair used to be held in the parish called St. Fillan's Day, and the festival of S. Fillan was kept by the church on January 9. With this evidence it is impossible not to assume that S. Fillan, or at least some disciple or admirer of his, built the church and laboured in the parish of Killallan, and that too at an early period.

The S. Fillan referred to was the son of Feradach, a nobleman, and Kentigerna, daughter of Killach Cualann, King of Leinster. His mother died in 734, and his maternal grandfather in 715. He was educated by S. Ibar, and received the monastic habit from S. Munna, who died in 635, and whose name is preserved in Kilmun, on the Holy Loch, in Argyllshire. Dedications to

¹ R. D. Mackenzie, B.D., *Kilbarchan: a Parish History*, 20.

² Mackenzie, 11, ff.

S. Fillan are numerous. The esteem in which he was held in Scotland was greatly increased by the part he was supposed to have taken in the battle of Bannockburn. Boece gives the Latin legend, which Bellenden has translated as follows:—"All the nicht afore the battall, K. Robert was right very, havand gret sollicitude for the weil of his army, and nicht tak na rest, bot rolland all jeoperdeis and chance of fortoun in his mind, and sum times he went to his devoit contemplatioun, makand his orisoun to God and Sanct Phillane, quahis arme, as he belevit, set in silver, ves closit in ane cais within his palyeon; traisting the better fortoun to follow be the samin. In the mein time the cais chakkit to suddanlie but ony motion or werk of mortal creaturis. The priest astonist be this wounder went to the alter quhare the cais lay; and quhen he fand the arme in the cais, he cryit, 'Heir is ane gret mirakle'; and incontinent he confessit how he brocht the tume case in the field dredand that the rellik suld be tint in the feild, quhair sa gret jeoperdeis afferit. The King rejosing of this mirakill, past the remanent nicht in his prayaris with gud esperance of victorie." It was to this "merakle" that the King alluded in his speech before the battle, after the Abbot of Inchaffray, had "said masse on ane hie mote, and ministret the Eucharist to the King and his nobillis."¹

The chief scene of S. Fillan's labours in Scotland appears, however, to have been Strathfillan, in Perthshire, where, besides a long stone called S. Fillan's seat, are seven small stones which he is said to have endowed with the power of curing diseases, and a pool, called the Holy Pool, in which insane people were dipped to cure them.² The name and the tradition alone connect the saint with Killallan, but considering the vagrant habits of his class, it is not an impossible supposition that he at one time laboured in the parish, though it is more likely that the church was erected and the traditions imported into the parish by one of his disciples or admirers.

Convallanus, to whom the ancient church of Pollok was dedicated and assigned, is described as abbot in Scotland and confessor under King Couranus. According to Boece, he introduced the Rogation or Gang Days into Scotland. The same writer makes him Abbot of Iona, but among the abbots of that monastery his name does not appear. The same writer's statement of the effect that he had the gift of prophecy is of about the same value as that just referred to. "This Convallanus," it is said, "was in the time of Arthure, quhilk was King of the Britonis efter the deith of Uter."³

¹ Forbes, *Kals. Scot.* SS. 341. His pastoral staff is still in existence. A number of years ago I saw in the manse of Forgan, Perthshire, a bell called S. Fillan's bell. Another bell which is claimed as his is preserved in the museum of the Antiquarian Society, Edinburgh.

² Forbes, 345.

³ Forbes, 314.

Convallus is said to have taken up his abode at Inchinnan. A recent writer¹ has identified him with Convallanus or Convallane of Pollok, but apparently on insufficient grounds. According to the legend, Convallus of Inchinnan was the son of an Irish prince, an ornament of the primitive Church of the Scots. "Wishing to leave his native country, the stone on which he chanced to be standing by the sea, suddenly became a skiff, whereon he was borne across the sea to the River Clyde, where he landed. The stone was thereafter called S. Convall's Stone, and by the touch of it men and cattle were healed."² The stone stood near the ancient fort of Inchinnan, and is now called Argyll's stone as marking the spot where the Earl of Argyll was taken in 1685. Boece attests that the relics of S. Convall were honoured at Inchinnan in his day. Cumnock is dedicated to him, and according to a pre-Reformation will his dust lay there. Leslie makes out that he preached at the coronation of Kenneth I., and Camerarius says that he was honoured by Aidan, whom S. Columba ordained King of the Scots.³

Another dedication to S. Convall stood in the village of Fereneze, to the south of Paisley. The church had no territory attached to it, and appears to have been of late date. It belonged to the Semple family, by whom it was given to the Collegiate Church of Semple, which they erected in the parish of Lochwinnoch.⁴

S. Winoc, who is said to have built the church around which the Kirktown of Lochwinnoch grew up, is described as an abbot. He is also described as a bishop, and sometimes bears the name of S. Gwynoch. He is said to have excommunicated the Scots for their war against the Piets, and to have assisted King Kenneth by his advice and prayers at a great battle in which the power of his enemies was completely broken. About 853, April 13, is given as the date of the saint's death.⁵

Two of the above mentioned saints—SS. Mirin and Convall—it has been conjectured, set up monasteries after the Irish type in the county. There is nothing incredible in the conjecture. The construction and organization of one of these monasteries were by no means formidable undertakings. For the construction all that was needed was a few huts made of wattle, a church, a hut somewhat larger than the rest for the abbot, a scriptorium, a guest house—all enclosed by a mound of earth, with a byre and mill standing beyond it.

¹ The Rev. George Campbell, *Eastwood: Notes on the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Parish*, 12.

² Forbes, 315. For the original of the story see the *Aberdeen Breviary*, pars estiv., f. 117.

³ Forbes, 315; Adamnan, *S. Columba*, iii. 5.

⁴ *Lochwinnoch Papers* (Archæological and Historical Collections for the County of Renfrew), ii. No. 22.

⁵ Baring Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, Appendix vol., 211.

The Irish monasteries were then teeming with students, all more or less capable of teaching the small amount of scholarship which was then to be had, and an abbot would have no difficulty in securing the assistance he needed.

But whether SS. Mirin and Convall set up monasteries or not, they and their companions who were labouring in Renfrewshire, would, as elsewhere, be obliged to keep school, in order to teach the men and boys, and probably the women and children, of their flocks to read and to chant the Psalms and to make the responses in the services of the Church. Doubtless, too, they were continually on the outlook for youths of promise to train and educate for taking up and carrying on the work they themselves had begun and would one day be obliged to lay down. If their success in spreading the lights of civilization and religion was not great, it was due less to their want of zeal and more to the barbarous condition of the people whom they tried to raise.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STEWARD'S SETTLEMENT.

WHEN the Empress Maud, daughter of Henry I. and mother of Henry II. of England, was struggling against Stephen on behalf of her son, her uncle, David I. of Scotland, chivalrously went to her assistance. At the Court of Matilda¹ he met with Walter Fitz Alan, whose brother, William, the Sheriff of Shropshire, was one of her chief supporters. On his return north, after the rout of Winchester, in 1141, David was accompanied or followed by Walter Fitz Alan, who brought with him a number of his followers from Shropshire.

Walter Fitz Alan was of Breton descent. His ancestors may have come over with the Conqueror, but the likelihood is that they crossed the Channel at a later period. The earliest of his ancestors known was Alan Dapifer or Steward of Dol. He had three sons—(1) Alan II., Dapifer of Dol and a leader in the First Crusade, 1097; (2) Flaald, who was present at the dedication of Monmouth Priory in 1101 or 1102; and (3) Rhiwallon, who became a monk of St. Florent.² Alan II. died childless and was succeeded by Alan III. or Alan Fitz Flaald, who founded Sporle Priory, on land he held in Norfolk, as a cell of St. Florent. He was a great figure at the Court of Henry II. and owner of the rich lordship of Oswestry, which he had probably received from Henry for services rendered to him when he was fighting for his own in Brittany.³ He married, not the daughter of Warine, Sheriff of Shropshire, as has been alleged, but Avelina, daughter of Ernulf de Hesdin, “a great Domesday tenant.” By Avelina he had three sons—Jordan, who succeeded him and became Dapifer of Dol; William, the founder of Haughmond Priory, and, as already mentioned, Sheriff of Shropshire, who married Isabel, Lady of Clun; and Walter, who subsequently became Steward of Scotland. Walter is said to have had another brother, Simon, but he was probably a bastard or an uterine brother.⁴

¹ The charter of Haughmond Abbey, which was signed at Oxford, is witnessed among others by the King of Scots, and by William and Walter Fitz Alan. At the same place David witnessed Matilda's charter to Miles of Gloucester. Horace Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 123.

² A Benedictine monastery situated in the diocese of Angers, in France.

³ Round, *Peerage Studies*, 124.

⁴ Round, *P. S.*, 115-130.

The services which Walter rendered to David after his arrival in Scotland are not known, but they were evidently regarded by the King as great and valuable. In return for them he was made Hereditary High Steward of the kingdom, and was given the lands of Renfrew, Paisley, Pollok, Talahec, Cathcart, the Drep and the Mutrene, Eaglesham, Lochwinnoch, and Inverkip—almost the whole of Renfrewshire. The charter by which these grants were made is lost, but the grants are enumerated in a later charter by Malcolm IV., who seems to have esteemed Walter as highly as his grandfather David did; for in the charter¹ referred to, Malcolm not only confirms the Steward in the gifts bestowed upon him by David, but also adds to them as much land in Perth as King David held, the lands of Inchinnan, Steinton, Hassendean, Legerwood, and Birchinsyde, together with a full toft in every one of his royal burghs and demesne dwellings, and with every toft twenty acres of land, besides several honours and privileges, for all which the Steward and his heirs and successors were to render the King the service of five knights.

When Walter arrived in Scotland the country had for some time been undergoing a process of feudalization. The process, though begun apparently under Alexander I., had probably not proceeded far; but from the day of his accession David, whose intimate connection with the English Court for upwards of a quarter of a century had effectually “rubbed off” from him “the Scottish rust,” and made him alive to the advantages of the system, was determined to feudalize the whole of his Kingdom and to place its leading dignitaries in the position of Crown vassals.² It was probably, therefore, with a view to the fulfilment of these plans as well as to reward him for his services that David conferred upon the Steward his vast estates.

At the time Renfrewshire was almost entirely waste or forest land, inhabited for the most part by natives, who passed from owner to owner with the soil. Here and there were the churches, around which villages were slowly growing up. David had already laid the foundations of his burgh of Renfrew and built in it his royal castle.³ Baldwin de Bigres, the ancestor of the noble family of Fleming, had land in the parishes of Houston and Inverkip,⁴ Grimketel had his carucate of land at Arkleston, and Scerlo a piece in the neighbourhood of Paisley.⁵ In the ancient parish of Pollok, Wadric had his stronghold,⁶ and probably as much land as he and his forefathers had been able to lay hands on. But until Walter Fitz Alan received his charter the district

¹ Metcalfe, *Charters*, 1. The charter occurs at the end of the Paisley Chartulary MS., and is printed in the Appendix to the *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet*, and in the *Acta Parl. Scot.*, i. 92.

² Robertson, *Early Kings of Scot.*, i. 187; Skene, *Celtic Scot.*, iii. 63.

³ *Regist. Glasg.*, i. 60.

⁴ Innes, *Orig. Paroch.*, i. 83, 87.

⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 5; Metcalfe, 5.

⁶ Campbell, *Eustwood*, 17.

was unfeudalized, and no one was responsible for its peace and good government, except the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, in which shire it was then and for some time after included.

As soon as Walter received his charter he built, it is said, a hunting lodge at Blackhall overlooking the White Cart, opposite to the village of Paisley, and castles, though the statement is somewhat questionable, at Renfrew and Neilston. He also took steps to parcel out his lands among his friends and companions. In the distribution which followed Eaglesham fell to Robert de Montgomery,¹ a nephew or a grandson of Roger, the great Earl of Shrewsbury; Cathcart, to Reinaldus, who afterwards assumed the surname of Cathcart;² part of the Mearns went to Rolland, who took de Mearns as his surname;³ another part of the Mearns went to Herbert de Maxwell;⁴ Pollok went to Robert, son of Fulbert;⁵ Nether Pollok, to John de Maxwell;⁶ Penuld, in Kilbarchan, to Henry St. Martin;⁷ Crookston and Neilston, to Robert Croc;⁸ Levernside, to Roger de Nes;⁹ and the lands of Duchal in Kilmaccolm, to Ralph de Insula, the ancestor of the Lyles.¹⁰ These also built their strongholds, and the district soon resembled a vast military encampment. At the same time the methods of a superior civil life were introduced and the land began to be reclaimed and cultivated.

One thing more was requisite in order that the district might be thoroughly colonized according to the ideas of the time, and that was, a monastery or house of religion. "A Norman knight of that age thought that his estate lacked its chief ornament, if he failed to plant a colony of monks in some corner of his possessions."¹¹ The practice of founding monasteries had by this time, indeed, become a fashion, and with some it was little more than a fashion. Subsequently a majority of the houses became hotbeds of luxury and vice; but for many years after their foundation they were centres of light and civilization and exercised a beneficent influence upon the semi-barbarous people among whom they were planted. While zealous for their Order, the monks were zealous for the welfare of their lands and tenants, for this reason, if for no other, that the welfare of these was bound up in their own prosperity and was essential to it. They encouraged agriculture and led the way in trade and in all arts and manufactures. They cultivated the learning of the time and enjoyed and taught others to enjoy, or at least to respect the amenities

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 6, 7.² *Reg. de Pas.*, 12.³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 12, 15, 49.⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 89, 101, 379.⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 6, 12, 98, 100, 378.⁶ Crawford.⁷ *Reg. de Pas.*, 48-50; Mackenzie, 32.⁸ *Reg. de Pas.*, 6, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 20, 23, 77; *Orig. Paroch.*, 96.⁹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 6, 15.¹⁰ *Reg. de Pas.*, 87, 112, 232; James Murray, M.A., *Kilmaccolm: A Parish History*, 231.¹¹ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, ii. 215.

and urbanities of a higher social position. They were generous in their hospitality and helpers of the poor.¹

When Walter was portioning out his estates, Europe was still ringing with the fame of S. Bernard, the great Abbot of Clairvaux (1091-1153), and Walter, it is said, was importuned by many to complete the settlement of his lands by planting upon them a colony of Cistercians. But at Wenlock, near to his Shropshire home, was a house of the Order of Clugny, upon which the wife of his brother William, the Lady of Clun, had recently conferred valuable endowments. His family may have been connected with it in other ways. Anyhow, and notwithstanding the favour shown for the Cistercians by his two royal patrons, David and Malcolm IV., Walter resolved to found a house after the Order of Clugny, and when at Fotheringay with the King in 1163, entered into an agreement with the Prior of Wenlock. According to this, Walter was to receive from Wenlock thirteen monks for the purpose of starting his new monastery, while Humbald, in return for them and for the good offices he was to use with the Abbot of Clugny and the Prior of La Charite sur Loire, of which Wenlock was a daughter, in order to obtain their consent to the new erection, was to receive a piece of property in the burgh of Renfrew and the right to catch salmon and herring in the Clyde.²

Soon after this agreement was made, and before there was time to implement it, the peace of the district was suddenly disturbed by an invasion from an unexpected quarter. In 1164 Somerled, Lord of the Isles, who for some time had made himself obnoxious to Malcolm, but had recently made his peace with him, for reasons not sufficiently explained, gathered together a large army and fleet, and picking up a number of auxiliaries in Ireland, swept up the Clyde and landed upon the coast. There are three accounts of the invasion. One is that the invader landed in the Bay of St. Lawrence, where the town of Greenock now stands, and marching eastward was met at the Bridge of Weir, and there defeated and slain.³ This, however, is so evidently a blundering attempt to account for the name of the place, where the battle is said to have been fought, that it is not necessary to discuss it. According to another account, Somerled sailed up to Renfrew, where he had no sooner landed than he and his son Gillicolm were treacherously slain, and his armament dispersed by a much inferior force. The third account also makes Somerled land at Renfrew; but it goes on to add that he then marched southward to the Knock, a slight

¹ C. Innes, *Sketches of Early Scot. Hist.*, 117. "Posterity owes them a debt were it but for bequeathing us those remains of their edifices which are only more interesting from their decay and for their simple and faithful chronicles," p. 118.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 1; Metcalfe, 3.

³ Crawford, *History of Renfrewshire*.

elevation about half-way between Renfrew and Paisley, where he was met by a number of country people and slain, and that his troops being dispersed, escaped to their ships and sailed away. Gregory is disposed to accept the second of these narratives, and cites the tradition that the corpse of Somerled was buried at Sadel.¹ On the other hand, the tradition which appears to be most accepted in the county is the third. As late as 1772, in a field situated near the Knock, Pennant was shown "a mount or tumulus, with a foss round the base, and a single stone on the top, which he was told indicated the spot where Somerled was slain."²

About the year 1168, the thirteen monks whom the Steward was to receive from Wenlock, arrived at Renfrew, and as the house at Paisley was not ready to receive them, they were lodged in the meantime near the Steward's Castle, on an island in the Clyde, at a church dedicated to SS. Mary and James. With the consent of the Steward, Osbert, one of their number, was appointed Prior, and soon after Humbald, the Prior of Wenlock, who had accompanied them, having inspected the gifts promised to him by the Steward in return for his services, exchanged both the property in Renfrew and the right of fishing in the Clyde for land at Manwede in Sussex, which was at least more accessible to him and his monks than anything in Scotland, and then took his way homeward.

At that time a journey between Paisley and Wenlock was not one to be lightly undertaken. In the absence of decent roads, it would at least involve a very considerable amount of fatigue. It had also its perils, and doubtless Humbald and the chosen thirteen were full of the adventures they had met with and the risks they had run at the hands of thieves and robbers. At the same time the journey would not be without its pleasures. Both in coming and in going Humbald would in all probability, if not certainly, arrange to travel by easy stages, and so order his going, that about nightfall he would arrive at some house or monastery where he was sure of a warm welcome, and an abundance of good cheer, in return for the news he brought.

The exact year in which Osbert and his twelve monks took up their residence in Paisley is not known, but it must have been in or shortly before

¹ *History of the West Highlands*. "From the well-known character of this celebrated chief," he says, "there seems great reason to believe the tradition that he was assassinated in his tent by an individual in whom he placed confidence, and that his troops, thus deprived of their leader, returned in haste to the Isles," p. 10. According to the *Book of Clanranald*, Somerled was slain by his page, who took his head to the King. Gregory mentions the tradition that Malcolm sent a boat with the corpse of Somerled to Iona at his own charges.

² *Tour in Scotland* (Chester Ed., 1774), p. 151. Pennant repeats the story that Somerled landed in the Bay of St. Lawrence.

the year 1172. In that year they were serving God in the Church of SS. James, Mirin, and Milburga there, that is, in the Church of the Priory, and probably in that portion of it which afterwards became the choir. In the same year, the monks' dormitory was built.¹ Five years later the chapter house was finished, and had become sacred to Walter and his wife, Eschina of Molla, as the place in which the body of their daughter Margaret lay buried.²

Meantime provision had been made for the support of the convent and monastery. The Steward's endowments were upon an ample scale. By his charter he gave to the monks the church and mill at Innerwick, the church of Legerwood, a carucate of land at Hassandean, the church of Cathcart, all the churches of Strathgryfe, with the exception of that of Inchinnan, which belonged to the Templars, a carucate of land held by Grimketel at Arkleston, the Drep, the church of Paisley, two carucates of land near to it, a piece of land on the opposite side of the Cart, another piece under the dormitory, and another which had been held by Scerlo, besides the whole of the island next to his castle at Renfrew, with the fishings between that island and Partick, the mill of Renfrew and the land where the monks had first dwelt, together with churches and land at Prestwick and Monkton, a salt work at Kalenter, a tenth of all his hunting, with the skins, and the skins of all the deer he slew in the forest of Fereneze, a tenth of all his mills, a tenth of his waste and forest lands that might be reclaimed, and other gifts and privileges, including, according to another charter, the tenth penny of all the rents he derived from his lands, with freedom from all secular servitudes.³ Thus richly endowed the monastery set out on its career.

The endowment of the monastery seems to have been regarded as the last thing requisite to complete the settlement of the county. Shortly after it had been arranged, the Steward felt that the work of his life was finished, and in 1176 retired from the world and became a monk at the monastery of Melrose, where, in the following year, he died. His career had

¹ See the Endowment Charter, *Reg. de Pas.*, 5. Mr. Innes places this document between the years 1165 and 1173, and in *Charters and Documents I* have followed him. But from the Bull of Alexander III. (*Reg. de Pas.*, 400), which is dated 1172, it is clear that it cannot be later than that year.

² See the Charter of Eschina of date 1177, *Reg. de Pas.*, 74, where it is said, "and for the soul of Margaret, my daughter, who lies buried in the chapter house at Paisley."

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 5-7. The names of the witnesses appended to these charters are interesting as indicating the men by whom the Steward was surrounded. They are, in addition to a number of ecclesiastics, his son Alan, Robert de Montgomery, Baldwin de Bigres, Robert de Costentin, Godfrey de Costentin, Robert son of Fulbert, Ewen son of Donald, Walter de Costentin, Nigel de Costentin, Alexander de Hesting, Hugh de Padinan, Richard Walas, Robert Croc, Roger de Nea, and Richard, chaplain. With two exceptions, the Highlander Ewen and Baldwin de Bigres, the whole of them were his followers from Shropshire, and of Norman descent.

been eminently successful. Coming north a landless knight, he died full of riches and honour. Besides the estates already referred to, he obtained possession, among others, of Kyle and Kyle Stewart in Ayrshire. He was buried in the monastery he had built and endowed, but no stone marks the place where his remains were interred.¹

When the Steward died, the monastery he had built was only in the second rank of religious houses. This was far from the Steward's intention. Serious inconveniences soon began to be experienced, and were declared to be detrimental to the spiritual life of the monks. From time to time the prior had to appear at Clugny, and there give an account of himself; reports had constantly to be sent there to the officials of the Order, and no one could attain to the full status of a monk in the house at Paisley without first going all the way to Clugny and there making his profession before the arch-abbot.² When applied to, the arch-abbot refused to relax in any way the rules and regulations of his Order. An appeal was made to Pope Honorius III., and in 1219 he gave the monks permission to proceed to the canonical election of an abbot.³ The Abbot of Clugny, however, refused to give his consent, and it was not till twenty-six years later, on the earnest solicitation apparently of a number of Scottish bishops, who were paying a visit to Clugny, on their way from the Council of Lyons, that the monks at Paisley obtained the full legal right to elect an abbot.⁴ For permission to wear the mitre and the ring,⁵ the abbot had to wait for more than a hundred years.

The endowments provided by Walter were the beginning of a rich stream of benefactions which continued to flow into the treasury of the monastery for many years. Among the first was the endowment provided by Eschina, his wife. It consisted of a carucate of land in the west part of Blackdam, at Molla, with pasture for fifty sheep.⁶ In 1170, seven years before Eschina's gift, Baldwin de Bigres, Sheriff of Lanark, presented the monks with

¹ Among other pious benefactions, Walter gave two bovates of land in Legerwood, and a toft and common pasture in frankalmoigne, for the souls of Kings David and Malcolm, and of his father and mother and predecessors, and for the safety of King William and himself, to the Hospital of S. Peter at York. The charter was confirmed by his son. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, i. 421.

² See the *Constitutiones of William of Hirsau*. Migne, tomus, cl.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 18, 19.

⁴ The Abbot of Clugny may also have been induced by the not over-scrupulous efforts the Cistercians were making to get hold of the house at Paisley. *Reg. de Pas.*, 16. Most of the Cluniac houses were priories or cells, and the abbots of Clugny were extremely slow to promote any of them to the abbatial rank. At the suppression of the monasteries there were thirty-two Cluniac houses in England, but of these only one—Bermondsey—was an abbey.

⁵ This privilege, together with the right of exercising episcopal functions in all churches and other places subject to the monastery, except when a bishop or papal legate was present, was granted by Benedict XII. in 1335.

⁶ *Reg. de Pas.*, 74.

the church of Inverkip.¹ Shortly after, the churches of Pollok, Mernes, Carmunock, Rutherglen, and Neilston came to them.² Somewhere between the years 1164 and 1207, Reginald, son of that Somerled who had invaded the county in 1164 and met with his death while doing so, granted them a penny a year for every house on his lands from which smoke issued, threatening with his malediction any one of his heirs who did not promptly pay the tax, while Fonia, his wife, gave to the monastery a tenth part of all the goods God had given to her, whether they were on land or had been sent out upon the seas for sale.³

But the greatest benefactors continued to be the Stewards. Alan the second Steward gave to the monastery the mill of Paisley and a piece of ground near to it for a miller's house, at a rental of four chalders of wheaten flour and four of grain.⁴ Besides this, he gave them valuable lands at Moniabroc, near the boulder stone of Clochoderick, rights of fishing in Lochwinnoch, and "the church of Kingaif in the island of Bute with all the chapels, and the whole parish of that island, together with the whole of those lands of which the boundaries, said to have been fixed by S. Blane, are still apparent from sea to sea."⁵ His son Walter, sometimes named Walter II., was, if anything, still more munificent in his gifts. Four years after his father's death, he gave the monastery all the land between the two streams of Aldpatrick and Espedair, and the land between the Maich and the Calder, with certain rights in his forests.⁶ Richest of all his gifts was the monastery he had built for the Gilbertines on the north bank of the river Ayr, at Dalmulin.⁷ This house, the monks and nuns of Sempringham, after occupying it for a few years, abandoned, and returned to their original home at Sixyle in Yorkshire, when Walter transferred it, with all its possessions, to the monks at Paisley. The Master of Sempringham, the head of the Gilbertines, agreed to waive all his rights on condition that he was paid forty merks a year—not a large charge, but quite sufficient to cause the monks heavy troubles in later days.

Another great benefactor of the monastery was Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, who gave it the church of S. Patrick in Dumbartonshire, with all the lands with which it was endowed.⁸ The gift was valuable, but for a long time a source of trouble.⁹ The lands were frequently raided by the neighbouring Highlanders, and the right of the monks to both church and lands was disputed by Malcolm's heirs and successors. But after a number of years, several of which were taken up with contests in the civil and ecclesiastical

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 112.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 98, ff.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 125.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 13.

⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 13, 15.

⁶ *Reg. de Pas.*, 17.

⁷ *Reg. de Pas.*, 24, ff.

⁸ *Reg. de Pas.*, 128, ff.

⁹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 164, ff.

courts, the property was finally secured to the monastery and became one of its richest possessions.

Other gifts were also received, but here it is not necessary to enumerate them. They are all carefully set out in the Transumpt of Pope Clement IV., which was drawn up in the year 1265, about a hundred years after the foundation of the monastery. Ten years later, the property of the monastery was valued in Baiamond's Roll at £2,666.

The influence of the monastery grew with its wealth, and was soon felt in every corner of the county. In many respects it made for good. The monastery was undoubtedly a centre of religion, learning, and civilization. In its cloisters the monks would in all likelihood carry on those studies for which some of the Cluniac houses on the Continent were famous. In their school the children of the neighbouring gentry were taught, and it is not at all unlikely that in addition they did something for the education of the children of their tenants. The monks were good landlords, and the Cluniacs were reputed to be among the best agriculturalists in Europe, and it can scarcely be doubted that it was owing to the inducements held out by the monks at Paisley, that their extensive possessions soon began to be dotted over with farm houses and the waste land to be tilled. It was due to their fostering care that the village of Paisley sprang up into a thriving town and before long outstripped the royal burgh of Renfrew in extent and population and as a seat of industry.

In one respect the influence of the monastery was not for good. From time to time mention has been made of the gift of churches to the monastery. In the Transumpt of Clement no fewer than thirty are enumerated as belonging to it. As a matter of fact, there was not a parish church in the county, with the exception of those at Inchinnan, Eaglesham, and Renfrew,¹ which the monks did not own. At the time the monastery was founded, and for long after, to present parish churches to monasteries was a fashion. The intention was no doubt good, but the policy was bad—bad for the parochial clergy, bad for the people they had in charge, and bad for the monks.

So long as the patronage of the parish churches remained in the hands of laymen, the parish priest was entitled to the whole of the stipend, and being, as often happened, a younger son or relative of the lord of the manor, he was able to give his parishioners not only ghostly counsel, but also such material

¹ Inchinnan belonged to the Templars, and on the suppression of their Order was transferred to the Knights of S. John. The monks laid claim to the Church of Renfrew on the ground that it was within the parish of Paisley, but it was confirmed to Glasgow as a separate parish by Pope Urban III., 1185-7, and early in the following century the monks renounced all claim to it. *Orig. Par.*, i. 74.

helps and comforts as they were often in need of. The priest's house, indeed, came to be looked upon as a sure refuge in times of distress. But when a church passed over to an abbey or a monastery, the monks at once put in a claim for a share of the stipend, and the share they claimed was usually the chief part of it. Thus impoverished, the parish priest was no longer able to relieve his poor parishioners.

By and by, too, all such parishes came to be shunned by the better sort of clergymen and there was a difficulty in supplying them when vacant. This was not all. Some of the parishes were supplied from the monasteries by one of their own monks, in order that the whole of the stipends might find their way into the treasury of the monastery, and the only time the people saw the face of a priest was when he came to hurry through the service or to collect the teinds or dues.

For the monks the policy was bad in every way. It fostered among them the spirit of greed and over-reaching,¹ and brought them into conflict with the bishops. This was especially the case with the Cluniacs, who claimed exemption from Episcopal jurisdiction. The bishops insisted upon proper provision being made for the parochial clergy. The Cluniacs resented their interference. The consequence in Renfrewshire was that the monks were continually at variance with the Ordinary of the diocese. Good, therefore, as the influence of the monastery was on the county in some respects, in others it was not. Generally speaking, the possession of parish churches by monasteries had an influence detrimental to religion, and contributed as much as anything in the long run to the overthrow of the ancient Church.

Walter I. was succeeded by his son Alan, who married, firstly, Eva, daughter of Swan, son of Thor, Lord of Tibbermuir and Tranent, and ancestor of the Ruthvens; and, secondly, Alesta, daughter of Morgand, Earl of Mar. He was a friend of William the Lion, and is said to have been helpful to him both as a soldier and as an adviser. Beyond this nothing is known of him outside his gifts to the monastery. He died in 1204, and was buried before the high altar of the Priory.

Alan was succeeded by Walter II., son of his second wife Alesta, who held the stewardship for the long period of forty-two years (1204-1246). In 1231 he was appointed Justiciary of Scotland by Alexander II., and was sent in 1238 to negotiate a marriage between the King and Mary, daughter of

¹ Later on the monks in Paisley took compassion upon their parish priests and gave them doles over and above their miserable stipends, but they soon repented their generosity and authorized one of their number, William de Chisholm, to squeeze as much as he could out of them and to appropriate the result to his own purposes. *Reg. de Pas.*, 336.

Engleram, Count de Coucy ; but like his father, he is best known by his gifts to the monastery of Paisley. He married Beatrix, daughter of Gilchrist, who held the title of Angus. One of his last acts was to give an annual payment of two chalders of meal from the mill of Paisley for the support of a monk to perform divine service for the soul of Robert de Bruce, Lord of Annandale, who had died in 1245.¹ The friendship between the two great houses, of which this is the first indication, became more intimate in later years, and had a considerable influence both on the fortunes of the Stewards and on the destinies of the nation. Walter was buried in the Abbey he had so munificently endowed.

Alexander, who succeeded Walter II., his father, in the stewardship, appears to have usually resided during the early part of his life at his manor house or hunting lodge at Blackhall, which stood within easy reach of the monastery of Paisley, with the abbot of which he seems to have lived on intimate terms. The monks had built a mill on the Espedair, and he gave them permission to draw water for it from the burn.² Having taken a piece of their land for the purpose of extending a deer park he was forming on the east of the Espedair, he gave them in exchange land, acre for acre, near their church at Inverkip and their chapel at Lochwinnoch, and eight chalders of meal from the rents of Inchinnan.³ In 1252, after receiving the benediction of the Abbot in the Abbey Church at Paisley, he set out on a pilgrimage to the famous shrine of S. James de Compostella in Spain. Before starting he confirmed⁴ to the monastery all his own donations, and the donations of his ancestors. Of what befell him during his pilgrimage nothing is known. Eleven years later, October 2, 1263, he distinguished himself at the battle of Largs, where he led the Scottish army in repulsing the Norwegian King Haco, from the shores of Cunningham, and thus contributed largely both to the ruin of that formidable expedition with which Haco intended to overrun a great part of the country, and to the subsequent recovery of the Southern Isles and the Isle of Man. Bellenden represents "Alexander Stewart of Pasley" bringing up "a bachment of fresche men" just at the critical moment, forcing the Danes to give "bakkis," and then pursuing them with great slaughter throughout Cunningham. The exact year of Alexander's death is not known. Fordun gives 1281 ; later writers give 1283. If either of these dates be correct, he did not outlive the prosperous reign of King Alexander III. (1249-1285).

Upwards of a hundred years had now passed away since the colonization of the county under the Steward had begun. So far the plans of Walter Fitz Alan had borne excellent fruit—greater and more ample, perhaps, than any

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 87.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 88.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 88.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 90.

he had looked for. The land formerly waste or forest, had been extensively reclaimed, and the population had increased, insomuch that the Stewards, who were all mighty hunters, were obliged to take steps to preserve their forests from encroachment, and to protect the beasts and birds of chase that found their homes within them. The monastery by the White Cart which Walter had built, had grown in wealth and influence, and the little village nestling beneath its shadow had become a thriving town. Everywhere throughout the county as well as in the rest of the kingdom there were signs of a bright and happy future, but by the calamitous death of the King, all the promise of the time was suddenly broken, and the country was soon to be plunged into the long and bitter and desolating war of succession and the subsequent struggle for freedom.

CHAPTER V.

THE RAGMAN ROLL.

ALEXANDER III. was accidentally killed by a fall from his horse at Kinghorn, March 19, 1286. Within a fortnight after his death, the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, "in their own name, and in the name of the clergy, of the earls and barons, and of all others of the realm of Scotland, who had been present at the burial of the lord Alexander of good memory, the King of Scotland," sent from Dunfermline two Dominican friars charged with a letter and a secret verbal message to the English Court.¹ The exact purport of the message is not known, but their business was in all probability to acquaint Edward with the state of affairs in Scotland and to consult him as to the settlement of the succession to the Crown.

Shortly after, on April 11, six Guardians of the realm were appointed to carry on the government of the country in the name of the Maid of Norway, then residing at the Norwegian Court, who, during the life time of her grandfather, Alexander III., had been solemnly recognised by the prelates and nobles present at a great assembly of the Estates at Scone as his successor, in the event of his dying without male issue.² Among those present at this meeting were James, the High Steward, who had recently succeeded his father, Alexander, and Sir Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick. The Steward was appointed one of the Six Guardians.³

From the meeting of the Estates at Scone Sir Robert Bruce retired to Carrick, raised his men, attacked the castle of Dumfries, and having driven out the royal forces, advanced to the castle of Botil or Buittle, which belonged to Balliol.⁴ His intention was evidently to override the agreement come to at Scone, and to which he had been a party. Within six months he was joined at Turnberry Castle by the Steward and a strong body of adherents, who executed a bond of mutual defence, by which they undertook to defend each other in all matters, "saving their fealty to the King of England and the person who shall obtain the Scottish Kingdom, being

¹ Stevenson, *Historical Documents, Scotland*, i. 4; Bain, *Cal. of Doc. relating to Scotland*, ii. 82.

² 5 February, 1283-84. *Act. Parl. Scot.*, i. 286, 424; Bain, ii. 73.

³ May 13, 1288. Stevenson, i. 49.

⁴ Burnett, *Exchequer Rolls*, i. lxvii. 35, 37, etc.

of the blood of Alexander III., and according to the ancient customs of Scotland.”¹ In this document no mention is made of the Maid of Norway, from which it is clear that some other successor was contemplated. This, there can be little doubt, was Bruce, who had already taken up arms in defence of his claim and regarded himself as “of the blood of Alexander III.,” and also as heir “according to the ancient customs of Scotland.”

In the negotiations which followed for the union of the two Kingdoms by the marriage of Margaret to Edward, Prince of Wales—a project which appears to have been widely, if not universally, favoured in Scotland—the Steward as one of the Guardians must have taken a considerable share. Though not present at Salisbury, like Bruce,² when the treaty for the marriage was finally concluded, with the rest of the Guardians he sent a letter to Eric, the father of Margaret, urging him to send her to England immediately,³ and was present along with Bruce, the Abbot of Paisley, and others, at Brigham on the Tweed when the treaty was ratified by the Scots Estates.⁴

All through the negotiations the Steward and Bruce worked in the interest of the projected union. This was probably in virtue of the clause in the Turnberry band—“saving our fealty to the King of England.” Both of them were Norman knights, and both of them had much to lose with the loss of Edward’s friendship.

But the project on which Edward had set his heart, and to the consummation of which the people of Scotland were looking forward with the brightest hopes, suddenly came to naught. Margaret died in Orkney when on her way to England.⁵ The ship which Edward had with so much solicitude sent to fetch her, carried her remains to Norway, and the hopes which had been built upon her union with the English Prince⁶ vanished, disclosing a sea of trouble.

Meantime the Steward had been appointed Sheriff of Ayrshire in succession to Andrew de Moray.⁷ During the competition for the crown, as might naturally be expected from the long and intimate friendship between the two houses, he steadily supported the claims of Bruce. On June 11, 1291, as one of the four remaining Guardians, he delivered the kingdom into the hands

¹ 20 September, 1286. Stevenson, i. 22. Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and his sons, Patrick, John, and Alexander; Walter Steward, Earl of Menteith, and his sons Alexander and John; Robert de Bruce, Lord of Annandale; Robert de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and his son, Richard de Bruce; John Steward, brother of the High Steward; Angus Mac Donald of the Isles, and his son Alexander; Richard de Borg, Earl of Ulster, and Sir Thomas de Clare signed the bond as well as the Steward.

² 6 November, 1289. Stevenson, i. 106.

³ 17 March, 1219-90; Bain, ii. 101.

⁴ Stevenson, i. 129; 14 March, 1289-90.

⁵ 19 August, 1290.

⁶ Cp. Stevenson, i. xl. 142; Bain, i. 108.

⁷ Burnett, i. 37, 47.

of Edward, by whom he and three others, were immediately after appointed Regents and entrusted with the government of the country. Two days later he swore fealty to Edward as Over-lord of Scotland, and on July 12 was appointed along with Nicholas de Segrave to receive the oaths of fealty to Edward at the "new castle in Ayr." The following year he appears as Sheriff of Dumbarton.¹ In November of the same year, he laid down his office as one of the Regents, having received from Edward the promise of lands of the yearly value of £100. On January 16, 1292-3, he affixed his seal to an indenture testifying that King John de Balliol had done fealty to Edward, King of England, at Norham, on Thursday, the Feast of S. Edmund, King and Martyr.² Among the other seals attached to this document are those of the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the Earls of Buchan, March, Ross, Menteith, Alexander of Argyll, Alexander de Balliol, and Patrick Graham.

Whether the Steward supported Balliol in resisting the demands of Edward as Over-lord of Scotland is not clear. Nor is it clear that he favoured the treaty into which Balliol entered to support France against Edward. He is represented as renouncing the league with France, but it does not necessarily follow that he ever approved of it.³ The probability is that he was never at any time a supporter of Balliol and that he recognised his title only because of the decision of Edward, against which at the time there was no appeal.

In April 1296, Edward held a parliament at Berwick, and then, after inviting vagabonds and criminals to accompany him, began his march into Scotland, to punish Balliol for his rebellion, and to overawe the country. The Steward went to meet him at Roxburgh, and on May 13, having come into his peace, swore fealty to him on the Holy Evangelists, and especially to aid him against John de Balliol and all his abettors in Scotland or elsewhere.⁴ He was probably present in the cemetery of Stracathro "at the hour of vespers" on July 7, when "John, King of Scotland, renounced his league with France, and confessed his sins against his liege lord the King, desiring to be reconciled to him;" and, again, at Brechin Castle, three days later, when Balliol "of his own free will resigned his kingdom, his royal dignity, his lands and goods, homages and all rights, saving only incarceration, into the hands of the King of England, together with his royal seal in a purse under his privy seal."⁵

The affairs of the country had now sunk to their lowest ebb. Edward marched north to Banff and Elgin without opposition, receiving the castles and strongholds and leaving troops behind him to garrison them. The country was completely overawed. It may be remarked, however, that Edward came no further west than Stirling, and that he left the counties of Renfrew and Ayr,

¹ Bain, ii. 140.² Bain, ii. 155.³ Bain, ii. 193.⁴ Bain, ii. 175.⁵ Bain, ii. 194.

where the Steward and Bruce were supreme, unvisited, probably because he was sure of the adherence of these two powerful nobles and had no anticipations of trouble upon the lands they owned.

The Steward, as we have seen, swore fealty to Edward on May 13 at Roxburgh. His name stands first on the Ragman Roll, whereon are recorded the names of about two thousand individuals from all parts of the country who acknowledged Edward as King and swore fealty to him between May 13 and August 28, 1296. The second name is that of John Steward, brother of the High Steward, who signed on May 15.¹ The Steward's signature is repeated on August 28.² On the same day the Roll was signed, at Berwick-on-Tweed, by Patrick Earl of March, by Robert de Brus *le veil*, and by Robert de Brus *le jeovene* Earl of Carrick and Walter abbot of Paisley. Among other names upon the roll are :—Gilbert de Akenhead, John de Montgomery, Fynlawe de Hustone knight, William le Fleming knight, Hewe de Danielston knight, Thomas de Raulfestone, John de Irskyn, William de Shawe, Wautier Spreul, John de Glen, Gyles del Estwode, Robert de Kent, Patrick de Selvenland, John de Maxwell, Symon de la Schawe, Aleyn fitz Thomas de Fultone, Nicol de Fultone, William fitz Nicol de Stragryfe, Peres de Pollok, David de Cressvell, William le Porter, Henry de Foultone, Robert Cruk of Fingaldestone, John Hunter de la foreste de Passelay, John de Aneslye de' Crucsfeu, William de Coughran, Peres fitz Gerard de Stragrife, Hewe le Hunter of Stragrife, Richard le Hunter of Stragrife, Thomas le Breuster of the forest of Passelay, Thomas le Whright of the Blakehalle, William Knightessone of Eglesham, Johan Petyt del Miernes, Huwe de Grenhok, Gilbert fitz de Gregory de Crourotheryk, Gothic fitz Matthew de Crourotheryk.³ All these are said to be "del counte de Lanark," which still included what is now the county of Renfrew. They are all Renfrewshire names, and, with one or two exceptions, are all of Saxon or Norman origin. A number of priests' names stand on the roll, but, with the exception of that of the Abbot of Paisley, there is no name of a priest from Renfrewshire. Several Ayrshire Wallaces appear on the roll, but of the Wallaces of Renfrewshire there is none.

¹ Bain, ii. 193.

² Bain, ii. 196.

³ Bain, ii. 196, 197.

CHAPTER VI.

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE.

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE was born in the barony of Renfrew, at Elderslie, about two miles to the west of Paisley, where some remains of the Wallaces' house, it is said, still exist. He was descended from Richard Wallace, who built Riccarton, near Kilmarnock, upon land probably given to him by the first Steward,¹ and appears as one of the witnesses to the charter by which Walter conveyed to the Abbey of Paisley its first endowments.² Adam, his grandson, had two sons, Adam and Malcolm. The elder succeeded to the lands of Riccarton, while the younger obtained the lands of Elderslie in the barony of Renfrew. Malcolm married Margaret, daughter of Sir Reginald Craufurd, sheriff of Ayr, by whom he had three sons, Andrew, William, and John. The second was the Patriot.

The date of his birth is uncertain ; but may probably be set down at about the year 1270. He is said to have been educated by his uncle, who was priest of Dunipace, and afterwards at Dundee, but it is quite as likely that he attended the neighbouring monastery of Paisley, and received his education there. The whole of his early years, however, are involved in obscurity, and the accounts given by Fordun and the Minstrel are not always to be trusted. Both of them wrote considerably later, and often mistake legends for facts. The chronology of the latter is in several important particulars obviously wrong.

The first historical fact we have in connection with Wallace is the riot at Lanark, in May, 1297. Wallace had then arrived at man's estate. According to one account, he had been married a year. His wife, it is said, was Marion, daughter of Hugh Bradfute of Lammington, an orphan. Though urged by Hazelrigg, the sheriff of the county, to marry his son, she had preferred Wallace, and had been united to him privately. On account of this, Hazelrigg and Sir Robert Thorn, an English knight, it is said, observing him leave the church one Sunday morning, insulted him ; whereupon a riot broke out, and Hazelrigg was slain. That is the Minstrel's account. Wyntoun says nothing about Wallace's wife, and gives an entirely different account of the affair.

¹ He probably accompanied Walter fitz Alan when he came north after the rout of Winchester. "Wallace" signifies the Welshman ; and "Riccarton" Richard's Town.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 6.

According to him, a quarrel arose in the streets of Lanark between Wallace and an English soldier, who found fault with him for being clad in green and carrying a huge sword. The soldier belonged to a party of English troops who were gathered together in the market-place, whom, after collecting his followers, Wallace attacked. Overpowered by numbers, Wallace withdrew and found refuge in the house of "hys lemman," who helped him to escape. While the scuffle was going on, the English sheriff was absent, but on learning what had happened, he brutally put the "lemman" to death. Wallace, on hearing what the sheriff had done, returned with thirty men or more, and breaking into the place where Hazelrigg slept, slew him.

The story of the marriage is regarded by many as fiction, though by some it is accepted as true. The sole witness for it is the Minstrel, who in all probability invented it for the purposes of his story. It is not unlikely that the details given by Wyntoun are quite as unreliable.

As to the slaughter of the sheriff of Lanarkshire at this time in Lanark there is undeniable evidence. It is referred to in an inquiry made in 1304 respecting certain moneys in the official custody of the late Hugh de Cressingham which had gone amissing after his death at Stirling, and had been placed, it was stated, in Warkworth Castle in August before his death for fear of the Scots, "who had begun to rise against the King [of England] and had killed the sheriff of Lanark."¹ In the *Scalacronica*, Sir Thomas de Gray, who wrote some sixty years after the event, states that in May, 1297, when his father was in garrison at Lanark, Wallace fell at night upon the English quarters, slew the sheriff, and set the place on fire. He adds that in the conflict his father was wounded and left on the street for dead.² According to the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, the affair did not rise out of a mere accidental brawl, but was deliberately planned by the Bishop of Glasgow and the Steward.³ The only difficulty of any importance about the matter is in respect to the sheriff's name. At the time, Andrew de Livingstone is named as the sheriff of Lanark. The same Andrew appears on the Ragman Roll as a Lanarkshire freeholder, and in May, 1297, he was one of the barons south of the Forth to whom Edward sent a verbal message.⁴ After this date his name does not occur, and it is quite possible that he met with his death in attempting to put down the riot. It is quite possible, too, that "Heselrigg," as Mr. Burnett suggests, was his territorial designation. No such name, however, occurs in the English records. The nearest approach to it is in the papers printed by Dr. Stevenson, where the sheriff is called "William de Heselregg," a not unlikely mistake by a copyist not conversant with Scottish names.⁵

¹ Bain, ii. 418.² 124.³ 190.⁴ Bain, ii. 232.⁵ Bain, ii., xxvii., and note 8.

From Lanark Wallace is said to have gone to Biggar, twelve miles distant, and to have there received reinforcements under Sir John de Graham, son of the baron of Dundaff, in the district of Lennox.¹ At Biggar the Minstrel makes Wallace fight a great battle, in which, with a force of 7,000 men, he wins a great victory over 60,000 Englishmen, commanded by the King in person, killing Edward's two uncles, his second son, his brother Hugh, and the Earl of Kent; but as this battle is mentioned by no other writer, and for other reasons,² one may safely say it was never fought. Harry's story is probably a mangled account of the battle of Roslin, fought in February, 1303, nearly six years later.

On July 23, 1297, Sir Hugh de Cressingham reported to Edward that Wallace was still holding out in Selkirk Forest,³ a term used to designate a great part of the centre of Scotland south of the Forth. Before this, however, Wallace had been joined by Sir William Douglas, had driven Ormesby, Edward's Justiciary, out of Scone,⁴ and captured Perth.⁵ His example had become infectious. The rising began to spread. Many of the highest personages in the kingdom joined him and his band, and the English government was practically upset. When the news reached London, Edward refused to believe it, and sent Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham, post haste "with orders to find out the truth." Bek went back as hurriedly as he came.⁶ Edward, however, before there was time for any news to reach him from Bek, had received other information, and had determined to take strong measures at once.

On June 4, he commissioned, with extraordinary and extensive powers,⁷ Henry Percy and Robert Clifford to lead an army into Scotland. Ten days later he sent Warenne, Earl of Surrey, after them with powers to act as guardian of the kingdom.⁸ Surrey loitered on the way and did not reach Berwick till July 27. Percy and Clifford, however, reached Carlisle on June 24, and moved forward immediately. Their route was by Lochmaben, Sanquhar and New Cumnock.⁹ They were at Ayr by July 2 or 3. Here, it is said, they expected

¹ Roger, *Wallace Book*, ii. 113.

² These are given by Mr. Moir, *Schir William Wallace*, p. xxxvi. (S.T.S.). "First, Edward was in France at this time, and did not return till 14th March, 1298. He had left England on 22d. August, 1297. His movements can be traced during the whole of 1297 and 1298, and there is no probability of his having encountered in person any force of Scotsmen after the battle of Dunbar, in the spring of 1296, until the battle of Falkirk in August, 1298. Then again this Earl of Kent is said to have held Calais for King Edward, whereas Calais did not belong to the English until the reign of Edward II."

³ Bain, ii. 238.

⁴ Hemingburgh; *Wallace Papers*, 42-3; Rishanger, 170-71.

⁵ Hemingburgh, 43.

⁶ Hemingburgh.

⁷ Stevenson, ii. 170-73.

⁸ Stevenson, ii. 184.

⁹ Bain, ii. 235, where a letter occurs dated at Sanquhar June 30, 1297. See also *Wallace Papers*, 44-45.

to "receive the men of Galloway to the King's peace."¹ "But no one came to them," says Hemingburgh, "except a few horsemen, and after the space of three days it was told them that the army of the Scots was not more than four leagues away from them." According to Rishanger,² the Scots army was under the leadership of the Bishop of Glasgow, Andrew de Moray, the Steward, and William Wallace. Hemingburgh says that Douglas also was present.

Percy and Clifford expected a battle to ensue; but the Scots drew off to Irvine Moor, followed by the English. Instead of a battle, there took place what is known as the Capitulation of Irvine. Hemingburgh represents the two armies as facing each other across a small lake, and says:—"When the great men of the Scots who were there—that is to say, the Bishop of Glasgow, the Steward of Scotland, and William Douglas—saw that their cavalry was altogether unequal to ours, although as regarded infantry they were two to one, they took fright, and sent messengers over to our people, asking if there was any one present, on the part of the King of England, who was empowered to receive them to his peace. As soon as it was answered that it was so, that stout knight, Richard Lundy, who had never before taken fealty to our King, came over with his men, and submitted himself to the will of our King, saying he would fight no more along with people who were always quarrelling and changing their minds. When the other great men above-named saw this, they were consternated, and forthwith gave themselves up to the above-named Lord Henry Percy. Subject to the King's approval, they were promised by a formal treaty that, on giving hostages, they should be safe in life and limb, lands and chattels, and receive full pardon for whatsoever they had done up to that day." The treaty is dated July 7, 1297.³ Two days later, Robert de Brus Earl of Carrick, James the Steward of Scotland, Alexander de Lindseye, John, the brother of the Steward, who was killed the following year at Falkirk, and William de Douglas, confessed their rebellion against the King of England and placed themselves in his will.⁴

Executed on the same day is another document by which the Bishop of Glasgow, the Steward, and Alexander de Lindseye became guarantees for the loyalty of the Earl of Carrick until he gave up his daughter Marjorie as a hostage.⁵ There is nothing to show that either Marjorie or any other of the hostages was delivered. The Scots nobles began to think of their country. They deferred sending the hostages in and demanded the restoration of their laws and old customs. Percy and Clifford do not seem to have pressed for the hostages. They appear to have been content with having dispersed the Scots

¹ Hemingburgh.² 172.³ Stevenson, ii. 192; Bain, ii. 237.⁴ Palgrave, 197; Bain, ii. 237.⁵ Bain, ii. 237; Palgrave, 200.

forces. As late as August 1, Surrey is expecting the Bishop of Glasgow with the Steward and the Earl of Carrick at Berwick, on the Thursday before the day of St. Lawrence (August 10), to perform their covenants with Percy;¹ but there is nothing to show that they fulfilled his expectation.

In the Capitulation of Irvine Wallace had no hand. His presence in the Scots army may account for the quarrelling to which Sir Richard Lundy referred. Instead of signing the treaty, he withdrew to the Forest of Selkirk, probably smiting on his way the palace of the Bishop of Glasgow as a rough protest against the Bishop and his friends. On July 23 it was reported to Edward that on the tenth of the month Wallace was lying in the forest with a large company, and that he was still there when the letter was written.² After this his movements are for some time not clear. His friend Andrew de Moray was away in the far north raising the country³ and giving Edward's lieutenants a considerable amount of trouble. Harry the Minstrel sends Wallace north to meet and assist him, and then brings him back to Dundee, where, while engaged in storming the castle, he hears that Surrey is advancing upon Stirling. Buchanan, following Hector Boece, on the other hand, says that Wallace was besieging the castle of Cupar when this intelligence reached him. The Minstrel may have confused the doings of Moray with those of Wallace, and Buchanan's statement may be entirely wrong. But what is certain is that Moray and Wallace united their forces before the castle of Stirling, and that the following of both had by this time been very considerably reinforced. Speaking of Wallace, Knighton, the English chronicler, says, "that the whole of the followers of the nobility had attached themselves to him; and that although the persons of their lords were with the King of England, their heart was with Wallace, who found his army reinforced by so immense a multitude of the Scots that the community of the land obeyed him as their leader and their prince."⁴

Edward was in Flanders, but was keeping a sharp eye on affairs in Scotland. About the end of July he proposed to appoint Brian fitz Alan to the guardianship of Scotland, who, after some demur, accepted the appointment.⁵ Surrey and Cressingham, however, still continued at the head of the English forces, and towards the end of the month, Surrey, having apparently lost patience, set out on his march from Berwick to Stirling. As soon as the news of this reached Wallace, whether at Dundee or at Cupar, he hastened by forced marches to contest the passage of the Forth. When he arrived at the

¹ Stevenson, ii. 217; Bain, ii. 241.

² Stevenson, ii. 202; Bain, ii. 238.

³ Stevenson, ii. 202-214; Bain, ii. 238-39.

⁴ Knighton, apud Twysden, p. 2516, *quo.* by Tytler.

⁵ Bain, ii. 242-2; Stevenson, ii. 222.

northern bank of the river, he found that Surrey was already in the town of Stirling and that his forces were drawn up on the opposite side of the Forth in the neighbourhood of Kildean, apparently for the protection of the ford—which is said to have at one time existed there, though there is none now—and in readiness to cross. Wallace at once took possession of the Abbey Craig, a rugged eminence on the north side of the Forth, about three hundred feet high, and posted his men, unobserved by Surrey's army, on its north-eastern slopes. The place was well chosen.¹ It is within one of the loops of the Forth which sweeps almost all round it in a circle. Wallace is said to have had under him forty thousand footmen and one hundred and eighty men on horseback. On the English side were fifty thousand foot soldiers, and a thousand mounted men. The English were impatient to be led on; but the Steward and the Earl of Lennox intervened and desired that the battle might be postponed until they had reasoned with the Scottish commander. Their efforts, however, were unavailing. On September 10, the Steward informed Surrey that they had been unable to persuade their countrymen to yield, and that he and his friends would join him on the following day with sixty armed horsemen. In the evening the Earl of Lennox wounded an English forager, and a cry arose in the English camp that they were betrayed; but the rest of the night passed quietly.

Next morning by sunrise five thousand English and Welsh footmen had crossed the bridge of Stirling,² but finding that they were not followed by the rest of the army, they returned. The reason was that Surrey, an old man, was still asleep. Again the infantry crossed, but as the Steward and Lennox were seen approaching, they were recalled, and again they returned. The Steward and Lennox were almost unaccompanied. Their men, they said, would not follow them. Two friars were then sent to propose terms to Wallace. "Go back," he said, "and tell your masters, that we came here not to ask for peace, but to fight for our freedom. Let them come and attack us and they shall find us ready to beard them." Incensed by this cool defiance, the English clamoured to be led across the bridge; but Sir Richard de Lundy, who had deserted at Irvine, and was now in the English camp, pointed out

¹ Hemingburgh, the English chronicler, praises the generalship of Wallace, and says:—"Nec fuit aptior locus in regno Scotiæ, ut concludendum Anglicos in manus Scotorum, aut multos in manus paucorum," i. 128.

² From the evidence on a contemporary seal, the bridge appears to have been a stone structure. According to tradition, it was built of wood, and according to the same authority Wallace had so planned that by the withdrawal of a pin the structure would collapse and become impassable; but as no pin was withdrawn, and as the bridge did not collapse, it is not unlikely that the whole story is a fabrication and that the structure was of stone as represented apparently on the seal.

that over the bridge two horsemen could scarcely ride abreast¹ and that Wallace would take them in flank. He offered to show Surrey a ford where sixty might pass at a time, and undertook with fifty horse to come round upon the rear of the enemy while Surrey was crossing the bridge.

Cressingham refused to listen to this sound advice, and Surrey weakly yielded to him.² The order was given, and the army began to defile across the bridge, Sir Marmaduke Twenge and Cressingham leading the van. No disposition was made to guard the foot of the bridge. Slowly the troops of the English crossed and marched out into the plain towards the hill. When nearly one half of the army had crossed, Sir Marmaduke gave orders for a charge, and made his heavy-armed cavalry spur their horses up the hill. Meantime Wallace had sent a part of his army round by the English right to seize the foot of the bridge,³ and the moment he saw the communication between the van and the rear of the English army cut off and retreat impossible, he hurled his force down from the heights upon Twenge and Cressingham before they had time to form. In a moment all was disorder and confusion. The English were seized with panic. Many of them were slain, multitudes of their horsemen threw themselves into the river and were drowned, vainly trying to rejoin Surrey, who stood upon the opposite bank, a helpless spectator of the ruin of the flower of his army. While this was going on, the English troops were still pouring on across the bridge, but only to be cut to pieces. The rout was complete. Cressingham was slain. Twenge saved himself by an act which has covered him with fame. A comrade bade him swim the river as a last hope, for Scots and English were mixed and crowded in an inextricable mellay. "What," he exclaimed, "drown myself, when I can cut my way to the bridge! Never let such foul slander fall upon us." So saying, he clave his way through the spears, crossed the bridge, and rejoined his friends with his nephew and standard-bearer. The Steward and Lennox, who had held aloof, now let loose their men against the fugitive English, and the slaughter was immense. Surrey left Twenge to protect the town and castle of Stirling, promising to relieve him in ten days, and then turning his back upon the disgraceful field, never drew rein till he was safe in Berwick. He then proceeded to join the Prince of Wales in the south, and left the country which had been entrusted to him, exposed to ravage and destruction. According to the story, the Scots flayed the body of the detested Cressingham and divided morsels of his skin among them as relics. Sir Marmaduke Twenge, in obedience to Surrey's orders, threw himself with a number of knights into Stirling castle, the

¹ So also says Hemingburgh—"Bini equestres vix et cum difficultate simul transire potuerunt," i. 128.

² Hailes, *Annals*, i. 306.

³ Hemingburgh, 128.

governor and a great part of the garrison of which had been slain at the bridge, and for a time endeavoured to hold it for Edward, but was at last compelled to surrender from want of food.¹

The victory was complete, and its effects were soon apparent. Knighton writes :—"This awful beginning of hostilities roused the spirit of Scotland, and sunk the hearts of the English." Dundee immediately surrendered to Wallace and rewarded his army with rich booty in arms and money. The castles of Edinburgh and Roxburgh were dismantled; Berwick was evacuated on his approach, and Henry de Haliburton was sent to occupy and hold it. Soon not a single fortress or castle in the country remained in the hands of Edward; and thus chiefly by the efforts of one man, and that man the Knight of Elderslie, though often thwarted and opposed by the nobility, the power of Edward in Scotland was broken and the people set free. Nor was that all. The victory at Stirling became a source of strength and inspiration in days to come. It hardened the courage of commons and nobles alike, and reminded them that the enemy who had been beaten there, might be beaten again.

Unfortunately, famine soon followed in the wake of the battle and the shouts of victory were hushed by the cries of those who were perishing from want. Much booty had been left by the English, but it was a poor substitute for the food they had helped to consume and destroy.

At this juncture Wallace took two steps, one of which may be regarded as a sign of his ability as a statesman. On October 11, 1297, a letter was sent to the towns of Lubeck and Hamburg, in the joint names of Andrew de Moray² and William Wallace, "generals of the army of the kingdom and community of Scotland," in which, after thanking the worthy friends of their country in these towns for services and attentions which the unfortunate condition of their country had prevented its people from duly acknowledging, they assure their distant trading friends that commerce with the ports of Scotland will now be restored, since by "the blessing of God the country has

¹ Bain, iv. 381.

² There is considerable difficulty in identifying this Andrew de Moray. The Andrew de Moray who joined Wallace just before the battle of Stirling is supposed to have been killed in that battle, and Mr. Bain suggests that the Andrew here mentioned as joint leader with Wallace was the son of that Moray. But as he was only of about two years of age it is scarcely likely that he would be thus associated. It is remarkable too that in the charter to Scrymegeour, dated at Torphichen, there is no mention of him, and that Wallace's name stands alone. Fordun, however, says that the Andrew de Moray who was engaged at Stirling "fell wounded" (*cecidit vulneratus*, p. 328, Skene's edition). This would explain the difficulty. The absence of his name from the Torphichen document shows that he died before it was executed. The fact of his name occurring on the two Hexham writs shows that he was alive when they were granted. The probability is, therefore, that he died between November 7, 1297, and March 29, 1298. Cp. Hales, i. 306.

now been recovered by war out of the power of the English."¹ The trade between these towns and Scotland was of ancient date, and with the country suffering from famine it was desirable that the trade with the Continent should be resumed as early as possible.

The other step taken by Wallace was probably dictated partly by the desire on the part of the people for revenge, and partly by the necessity he was under of gathering supplies for his troops. Anyhow, assembling his forces on Roslin Muir, he crossed the border, and according to Hemingburgh, was in Northumberland on October 18. Fixing his headquarters in the forest of Rothbury, he ravaged the whole of the fertile country round about and despatched the booty he gathered at convenient intervals to Scotland.²

From the forest of Rothbury he moved to Durham, and was at Hexham on the 7th of November. The priory there had already been wasted, and when Wallace arrived at it, only three monks were found, who were cowering in a little oratory they had made for themselves in the ruins. Asked where their treasure was, they answered that the Scots had carried it off and that they who had taken it would know where to find it. Wallace, it is said, asked one of the monks to say mass and gave reverent attention to it. But when his back was turned, his rough followers plundered the altar of what sacred symbols were left.

Two writs of safe conduct—one to the prior and convent generally and the other to one of the monks—which he granted on this occasion, are preserved by Hemingburgh.³ The preamble in the one runs:—"Andrew de Moray and William Wallace, generals of the army of the King of Scotland, in the name of the illustrious Prince, the Lord John, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, with the consent of the commons of the realm"—and differs, as will be observed, from that of the letter to the towns of Lubeck and Hamburg, in which the Lord John, King of Scotland, is not mentioned.

Four days after his visit to Hexham, Wallace was at Carlisle, but against the stone walls by which it was surrounded his light-armed troops were of no use. We next hear of him at the Forest Kirk, which has been identified with

¹ *Wallace Papers*, 159.

² "At this time," says Hemingburgh, "the praise of God was unheard in any church and monastery through the whole country from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to the gates of Carlisle; for the monks, canons regular, and other priests, who were ministers of the Lord, fled, with the whole people, from the face of the enemy; nor was there any to oppose them, except that now and then a few English, who belonged to the castle of Alnwick, and other strengths, ventured from their safeholds and slew some stragglers. But these were slight successes; and the Scots roved over the country from the Feast of St. Luke (Oct. 18) to St. Martin's day (Nov. 11), inflicting upon it all the miseries of unrestrained rapine and bloodshed." i. 132.

³ i. 135.

the parish church of Carluke,¹ where, according to Fordun,² he was attended by Lennox, William Douglas, and others of the principal nobility, and elected Governor of Scotland, in name of King John, and with the consent of the community of Scotland. He then proceeded to reward his friends and fellow-soldiers. At Torphichen, on March 29, 1298, he conferred the Constablership of the Castle of Dundee upon Alexander Scrimiscur or Scrymegeour, and invested him with certain lands on the hill behind the town in reward for his fidelity in bearing the royal banner of Scotland. The writ³ is still in existence, and is one of those "luckily preserved morsels of real evidence which, in the minds of some, save the career of Wallace from being treated as that of a mythical person."⁴

In the meantime the English Government had taken steps to put down the "rebellion." But in order to follow the chain of events, it is requisite to go back to the day following that on which the battle of Stirling occurred. On that day, September 12, 1297, before he could have heard of his own supercession by Brian fitz Alan, and before the news of his defeat had time to reach London, a writ was issued in the name of the English King by the Prince of Wales directing the Earl of Surrey to remain in Scotland till the country was settled. Twelve days later (September 24) another was issued repeating the command, and ordering the sheriff of York and thirteen northern barons to join him with their forces.⁵ On the same day Robert de Clifford and Brian fitz Alan, "on account of some rumours which have reached our ears," were commanded to join Surrey in Scotland and act in conjunction with him;⁶ but three days later Surrey was in York writing to the Chancellor of England about the garrison of Stirling Castle.⁷ The day before this (September 26) a letter was addressed to the principal Scottish nobles, in which the English Government praised their fidelity to the King, informed them that they were aware that Surrey was on his way to England, and directed them to join Brian fitz Alan with all their forces, horse and foot, in order to put down the rebellion of the Scots. The nobles addressed were John Comyn of Badenoch, Patrick Earl of Dunbar, Umfraville Earl of Angus, Alexander Earl of Menteith, Malise Earl of Strathearn, James the Steward of Scotland, John Comyn Earl of Buchan, Malcolm Earl of Lennox and William Earl of Sutherland; Nicholas de la Haye, Ingelram de Umfraville, Richard Fraser, and Alexander de Lindeseye.⁸ The only nobles

¹ Rogers, *Book of Wallace*, ii. 146

² Goodhall's *Fordun*, ii. 174.

³ See *Act. Parl. Scot.*, i. 453 (*97), where it is reproduced.

⁴ Burton, *Hist. of Scot.*, ii. 196, but referring to the Hexham writs. ⁵ Bain, ii. 243.

⁶ Stevenson, ii. 231.

⁷ Stevenson, ii. 232.

⁸ *Rotuli Scot.*, i. 50.

not addressed were the Earls of Caithness, Ross, Mar, Athole, Fife, and Carrick.¹

The despatch of this letter was politic. It praises a fidelity which probably did not exist, and passes over in silence the assistance which the Steward and Lennox had given to Surrey, when "on his way to England," as his flight from Stirling Bridge is euphemistically described. The nobles addressed were apparently practising a waiting policy. Their absence from the field at Stirling shows that, with perhaps two exceptions, they were either not prepared to cast in their lot with Edward, or were unable to brook the ascendancy which Wallace had won for himself among the people.

When the news of the disaster in Scotland reached England the alarm of the Government deepened. Parliament was summoned, and met in London on October 10. But the Assembly, led by the Marshal and Constable, refused to listen to the proposals of the Regency until the Great Charter and the Charter of the Forests with an additional clause had been ratified. Edward was then in Flanders. The demand of the nobles alarmed him. He took three days to consider it, and seeing no alternative yielded. The ratification is dated at Ghent, November 5, 1297.

On October 12, two days after the meeting of Parliament, Douglas, who had been cast into prison, probably by Cressingham, in the month of July,² was placed in the Tower of London for his better security.³ Eight days later, Sir John de Fortone was released from Berwick,⁴ and on the following day, October 21, arrangements began to be made for a fresh invasion of the country.⁵ Surrey, notwithstanding his defeat at Stirling, was placed in command. The earls and barons of England were directed, as they valued their King's honour, to meet at York in January, and thence proceed to the invasion of Scotland. At the same time Edward sent letters to the magnates of Scotland to attend the muster at York.

At the appointed time the English barons assembled in great force at York and waited for some days for the coming of the nobles of Scotland, but in vain. A general muster was then ordered to be made at Newcastle-upon-Tyne eight days later. There they accordingly met. Both in numbers and in equipment the array was formidable. There were two thousand heavy

¹ Fife was a minor; Carrick was in the pay of the English Government; Atholl had lately been released and was with the King in Flanders; Mar had sworn, June 23, to serve the King in France; Ross was a prisoner, and Caithness had received a protection to last till Michaelmas, 1297. Tyler, *Hist. of Scot.*, i. 127; Bain, ii. 176, 220, 234, 240, 242, 247, 255, 268, 357; Stevenson, ii. 178; Palgrave, 187.

² Stevenson, ii. 220; Bain, ii. 238.

³ Stevenson, ii. 235.

⁴ Stevenson, ii. 236.

⁵ Stevenson, ii. 237, ff.

cavalry, both men and horses armed at all points, two thousand light horse, and a hundred thousand infantry. With these Surrey crossed the border and made his way towards Roxburgh, which was then invested by Wallace. On the approach of Surrey, Wallace retired, and the famishing garrison was relieved. Surrey, after skirmishing towards Kelso, returned to occupy Berwick, which had been in the hands of the Scots since the battle of Stirling. He found the Scots gone and the town in the hands of the garrison, which had stoutly held out against them.

Meantime, Edward, after hastily patching up his quarrel with the King of France, had landed at Sandwich on March 14. Three days later he wrote from Canterbury thanking his forces in Scotland for their good services against the Scots whilst he was beyond the seas, and begging them to continue their endeavours, as he was hastening to join them. He lost no time in making his preparations. No fewer than a hundred and fifty-four writs were issued by which he commanded the whole military power of England to meet him at York, on the Feast of Pentecost, in readiness to march against the Scots. The nobility of Scotland were also summoned to meet him at the same place and on the same day, unless they desired to be treated as vassals who had renounced their allegiance. To this summons there was no response. Those of the Scottish nobility who were with Edward in Flanders, as soon as they saw him embarked for England, had gone over to the French King. The others were probably deterred from obeying the summons through fear of Wallace and the vengeance he might inflict upon them as the Governor of the country.

On arriving at Roxburgh on July 3, Edward found himself at the head of an army consisting of seven thousand horse and eighty thousand infantry. Vast as this army was, he was soon after reinforced by five hundred splendidly appointed horsemen from Gascony. But when he proposed to advance, the Marshal and other of the great nobles refused to move a step until he had confirmed¹ *in person* the Great Charter and the Forest Charters. Edward had no choice and, dissembling his anger, got the Bishop of Durham and others to swear solemnly on the soul of their lord the King that on his return, if victorious, he would accede to the request. With this the nobles were obliged to be satisfied, and on Monday, July 7, the army moved to Redpath, and then by Lauder and Dalhousie to Braid and Kirkliston,² always looking for the enemy, but nowhere finding anything but a waste and desolated country, swept clean of every ounce of food.

At Kirkliston, Edward's army was in such straits for provisions that he was on the point of giving the order to fall back upon Edinburgh, hoping to

¹ The reason Rishanger gives is because the first confirmation was done *in terra aliena*, p. 185.

² Gough, *Itinerary of K. Edward I.*, ii. 167.

meet the fleet which he had sent round from Berwick with provisions, at Leith.¹ But at daybreak on Monday, July 21, two Scottish lords, Patrick Earl of Dunbar and the Earl of Angus,² caused the intelligence to be communicated to him that the Scots army lay encamped not far off in the forest of Falkirk, and that, having heard of his projected retreat, Wallace intended to surprise him by a night attack and to hang upon and harass his rear.

Edward was overjoyed by the news, and without a moment's hesitation, issued orders for his troops to arm and advance. By night they reached a heath near Linlithgow, where, to use the words of Hemingburgh, "each soldier slept on the ground, using his shield for his pillow; each horseman had his horse beside him, and the horses themselves tasted nothing but cold iron, champing their bridles." During the night the King, who shared the heath with his soldiers, had two of his ribs broken by a kick from his horse, which a page was holding near him. As the night was now far advanced, Edward, in spite of his broken ribs, mounted his horse, and before the sun had risen he and his army had passed through Linlithgow. On ascending a hill on the other side of the town, they saw the Scots in the distance arranging their lines and preparing for battle.

Wallace's plan ought to have been to continue to retreat, wasting the country behind him, but for some reason, just when there was every chance of success, he did not. That there were dissensions in his camp seems evident. The nobles were jealous of his ascendancy and afraid of his vengeance. Most of them, too, had estates in England and did not wish to lose them.

All told, Wallace's army did not amount to one-third of the English army. In cavalry, then the principal arm, he was poor. Dividing his infantry into four divisions composed of spearmen, he arranged them in four schiltrons, the equivalent of our modern formation of squares, to receive cavalry. The front rank knelt and every spear was pointed outward, so that all round the schiltrons presented a serried front, which it was well nigh impossible for the horsemen to break through. Between the schiltrons were placed the archers,

¹ At Kirkliston some of the Welshmen in his army got drunk, and there was a free fight between them and some of the English. Eighteen English priests were killed and eighty Welshmen were slain in revenge.

² Hemingburgh says, "Duo Comites, Patricius scilicet et de Anegos." Patricius is generally understood to be Patrick Earl of Dunbar. But why they should have taken the trouble first to approach the Bishop of Durham and then to send the intelligence to the King by a boy is somewhat strange. There is no doubt about Angus, nor need there be any about Patrick being Patrick Earl of Dunbar. The names of both Patrick Earl of Dunbar and Gilbert Umfraville Earl of Angus appear in the Falkirk Roll of Arms (Gough, *Scotland in 1298*, 135), and on November 19, 1298, Patrick Earl of Dunbar was appointed Guardian of Scotland south of the Forth by Edward, probably as a reward for his timely information. Stevenson, ii. 329; but cp. Bain, ii. 263.

and in the rear was drawn up the cavalry, consisting of about a thousand heavy-armed horse.

On learning the dispositions of the Scottish army, Edward hesitated to give the order to advance, and proposed to allow his men and horses time for refreshment, but he was overborne by his officers. The Marshal and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln led the first division in a direct line to the attack, but finding the Scottish front protected by an extensive moss, they made a circuit by the west. The second division was under the command of the Bishop of Durham, who inclined to the east in order to avoid the moss. Having cleared it, he fell upon the first column of the Scots, while the first division, having got round on the west, threw itself upon the other flank. Now was the moment for the Scots cavalry to act, but either from treachery or from cowardice, instead of attacking the English horse while engaged with the Scots archers and infantry, they shamelessly fled from the field without striking a blow.

Unable to penetrate the schiltrons with his horsemen, Edward called up his archers and slingers. These showered their stones and arrows upon the Scots with such effect, that their ranks were soon thinned and broken, when the English horsemen, seizing the opportunity, penetrated the schiltrons, threw all into confusion, and an indiscriminate slaughter ensued.

Sir John Stewart¹ of Bonkill was slain early in the battle while marshalling the archers from the forest of Selkirk; Sir John Graham, whom Wallace was wont to call his "Right Hand," was killed; and one of the Macduffs,² with many of his vassals, from Fife. Wallace and the remnant of his army escaped into the Torwood, and burnt Stirling, town and castle, and Perth as they passed. On the English side only two men of note were killed, Sir Bryan le Jay, Master of the English and Scottish Templars, and Sir Alexander de Welles, Prior of Torphichen, the Chief Preceptory in Scotland of the Hospitallers. Bruce fought on the side of the English,³ but for

¹ He was the younger brother of James, the High Steward of Scotland, and by his wife, Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir Alexander Bonkill of that ilk, progenitor of the Darnley or Lennox branch of the Stuarts, of which was Henry, Lord Darnley, husband of Mary Queen of Scots. Sir John's grave, it is said, is still to be seen in the churchyard of Falkirk, where a monument has been erected by the late Marquess of Bute in memory of the Scots who fell in the battle.

² Probably Duncan, great-uncle of Duncan, the young Earl of Fife. Gough, *Scotland in 1298*, xi., n. 2.

³ So Wynthoun, Fordun, Boece. Bruce, father of King Robert, had a safe conduct, dated at Kirkham on June 8, 1298, on going with Edward to Scotland. His name does not appear on the roll of commanders on the English side, but neither does that of Sir Brian le Jay nor that of the Prior of Torphichen. See Gough, *Scotland in 1298*, xi., n. 5.

the last time. While the remnant of the Scots army was crossing the Carron, Wallace, it is said, held an altercation with him across the river.

Soon after the battle, Wallace voluntarily resigned the Guardianship of the Kingdom, in the hope, probably, of putting an end to the dissensions which were practically bringing about the ruin of the country. Henceforward his movements are from time to time somewhat obscure.

From Falkirk, Edward marched to Stirling, where he remained laid up in the convent of the Black Friars, on account of his broken ribs, from July 26 to August 9. During the interval, detachments were sent out to lay waste the kingdom of Fife and to seize Perth. On August 9, Edward was at Torphichen, but returned the following day to Stirling. The next day he was at Abercorn. On the 19th he was at Braid. From thence he moved to Glencorse, and on Thursday the 26th he was at Ayr.¹

During the same month great difficulty was experienced in getting the provisions, which had been sent round from Berwick, up to Edinburgh Castle from Leith, because of the Scots.² They are reported also as being in considerable numbers in the forest of Selkirk, and Richard de Bremesgrave was enjoined by Edward to make frequent expeditions against them.³ On the 9th of the month, John de Kingston, Constable of Edinburgh Castle, informed the Lord Treasurer of England that "the Earl of Buchan, the Bishop of St. Andrews, and other earls and great lords who were on the other side of the Scottish sea [the Forth], had come to this side and were at Glasgow,"⁴ about the 6th or 7th of the month. When Edward arrived at Ayr on the 26th, he found the town in flames, and was obliged to shorten his stay on account of the want of provisions. All this looks as if Wallace and those with him had doubled back on Edward,⁵ and knowing the way he was to travel, had got before him, and laid waste the country as they went. Edward intended to overrun Galloway, but for lack of supplies left Ayr, and returned through Annandale, to Carlisle, taking Bruce's castle at Lochmaben on his way. Before leaving Ayr, Edward granted a castle belonging to "James late Steward of Scotland" to Alexander de Lindeseye,⁶ and while at Carlisle he entertained himself with distributing among his followers the lands of the rest of the Scottish nobles who had not gone over to him.

For a year nothing is heard of Wallace. But on August 20, 1299, through the medium of a spy, he is heard of at Peebles. According to the

¹ Gough, *Itinerary of Ed. I.*, ii. 168.

² Stevenson, ii. 291-93.

³ Stevenson, ii. 296.

⁴ Stevenson, ii. 302.

⁵ Marquess of Bute, *Burning of the Barns of Ayr*, 18 ff.

⁶ Stevenson, ii. 306; Bain, ii. 257. Lindsay's name appears on the Falkirk Roll of Arms, Gough, *Scot. in 1298*, 141.

spy's account, the Bishop of St. Andrews, the Earls of Carrick, Buchan . . . , and Menteith, Sir John Comyn le fitz and the Steward of Scotland, had met in Selkirk forest with the intention of attacking Roxburgh, when dissensions broke out among them. Sir David de Graham, it appears, demanded the lands and goods of Sir William Wallace, because he was going abroad without leave. Sir Malcolm Wallace, Sir William's brother, objected, and he and Graham gave each other the lie. Dirks were drawn. Sir John Comyn seized the Earl of Carrick by the throat, and the Earl of Buchan laid hands on the Bishop. Fortunately no blood was drawn. An agreement was arranged, by which the Bishop, the Earl of Carrick and Sir John Comyn were to be Guardians of the realm, the first having the custody of the castles. They left Peebles together; the Earl of Carrick and Sir David Brechin going to Annandale and Galloway, the Earl of Buchan and Comyn to the north of the Forth, the Steward and the Earl of Menteith to Clydesdale,¹ and the Bishop to Stobo. Wallace probably accompanied the Earl of Buchan and Comyn. On August 24 he cut off a convoy of provisions when on its way to Stirling Castle, and thus compelled the garrison to surrender.²

We next hear of him in France.³ A letter found upon his person when he was betrayed and taken, and dated the day after All Saints' Day, shows that the French King had commended him to Pope Boniface VIII., who, five months before (June, 1299), had intervened and commanded Edward to desist from his attempts to conquer Scotland, which he claimed to belong to the Holy See. At the same time he had demanded the release of the Bishops of Glasgow and Sodor, and of other churchmen.⁴ The fact that this letter was found upon Wallace shows that it was never delivered, and that his supposed journey to Italy never took place.

Whether he was back and present at the battle of Roslin, said, though on somewhat doubtful authority, to have been fought February 24, 1303, is uncertain. The older historians affirm that he was, and led, but their evidence is unsupported. Edward, after making vast preparations, reached Roxburgh on May 16, and spent the rest of the year in over-running the country. He wintered at Dunfermline, where he was chiefly employed in receiving to his peace the Scottish barons and others of the great men who had not submitted to him during his progress through the kingdom.

The castle of Stirling still held out. Comyn marched to its relief, but was defeated on the very ground where Wallace had gained his victory over

¹ Bain, ii. 525. ² Bain, ii. 518. ³ Bain, ii. 303; National MSS. of Scotland, i. No. lxxv.

⁴ Bain, ii. 271. Boniface, however, soon deserted the Scots and addressed a letter to Wishart, the Bishop of Glasgow, commanding him to desist from all opposition to Edward.

Cressingham and Surrey. This was Comyn's last effort as a Guardian of the realm. On February 9 he met the Earls of Pembroke and Ulster, with Sir Henry Percy, at Strathorde, in Fife, when a treaty was arranged by which, on condition that they retained their lives, liberties, and lands uninjured, he and his adherents should deliver themselves up and submit to the infliction of any pecuniary fine the conqueror might think fit to impose. From the operation of this treaty, the Steward, Wishart Bishop of Glasgow, David de Graham, Alexander de Lindesey, and Simon Fraser were exempted, being reserved for more signal punishment.

Wallace also was excluded from the operation of the treaty. He was known to be lurking in the woods between Stirling and Dunfermline. Sir Simon Fraser appears to have joined him, and spies were set to discover their whereabouts.¹ Later on, they appear to have been in the upper parts of Strathearn or Menteith. On March 3 Edward wrote to Sir Alexander de Abernethy, who was watching the fords of the Forth in the hope of intercepting the patriot, telling him that he was on no account to desert his post or to receive "William le Waleys" and his men to his peace, unless they surrendered unconditionally.² Sir Alexander's efforts were futile. A few days later, Wallace and Sir Simon Fraser were in Tweeddale, and being attacked by Sir William Latimer at Hoppewe, were defeated.³ Next, a Scotsman, John Musselburgh by name, was employed by Sir John Segrave and Sir Robert Clifford to lead them to the place where the two fugitives were lurking in Lothian.⁴ After this Sir Simon Fraser, despairing apparently of effecting anything for the relief of the country, appears to have submitted to Edward.

Wallace was now alone, and every effort was made to take him. Made furious by Wallace's success in eluding his pursuers, and ready to stoop to anything in order to effect his capture, Edward, with a sort of brutal indifference towards the character of others, decreed that—"Messire Jehan Comyn, Messire Alexander de Lyndeseye, Messire David de Graham, and Messire Simon Fraser, who are to go into banishment, and all other folk of Scotland in the King's peace, shall bestow their toil between now and the twentieth day after Christmas, to take Messire Williame le Waleys, and give him up to our King, that the King may see how each man will bear himself herein, and may show better favour to the man who takes him, in the matter of shortening his exile, or lowering his ransom."⁵ A more discreditable proposal could scarcely have been made. Ralph de Haliburton, a prisoner in London, was temporarily set free and brought down to Scotland to join in the chase.⁶

¹ Bain, iv. 482.² Stevenson, ii. 470.³ Bain, iv. 474.⁴ Bain, iv. 475.⁵ Palgrave, 276; *quo.* by Lang, *Hist. of Scot.*, i. 194.⁶ Bain, iv. 373.

Haliburton had been one of the defenders of Stirling Castle and appears to have been willing to blacken his character in order to regain his freedom. Sir John de Mowbray gave himself as security for his safe return to prison. At last Wallace was taken near Glasgow. The Lanercost chronicler, who is contemporary, says, "Wallace was taken by a Scot, Sir John Menteith."¹ Other documents confirm the chronicler.² Langtoft adds some particulars as to the way in which the capture was made.³ A kind of feud is said to have existed between Menteith and Wallace, but the only excuse that can be made for the deed is that Menteith was in Edward's service and was in duty bound to effect the capture if he could.

Wallace was taken to London, and there after a trial, if trial it can be called, was condemned for rebellion against a King whom, as he said, he had never acknowledged. He was beheaded and dismembered. His head was set on London Bridge; his limbs were exposed at Newcastle, Berwick, Stirling, and Perth.⁴

The execution of Wallace fixed an indelible stain upon the character of Edward, and was the beginning of better things for Scotland. The edifice which the great Plantagenet believed he had securely cemented together with the blood of the national hero, soon crumbled beneath his hands. Wallace was beheaded on October 15, 1305, and within six months, on March 27, 1306, Bruce was crowned at Scone, and though often hard pressed, at length succeeded in clearing his country of its enemies, and reigned in peace.

¹ 203.

² Fordun (Skene), i. 340; Palgrave, 295; Fraser, *Book of Menteith*, 433, 449.

³ "Sir Jon of Menetest sewed William so nehi,
He tok him whan he wend lest, on nyght his leman bi.
That was thortht treson of Jak Schort his man,
He was the encheson, that Sir Jon so him nam (took).
Jak brother had he slayn, the Waleis that is said,
The more Jak wes fayn to do William that braid.
Selcouthly he endis the man that is fals,
If he trest on his frendes, thei begile him als
Begiled is William, taken is and bondon."—P. 329.

⁴ *Wallace Papers*, 190, 193; August 23, 1305. There is a warrant for Wallace's delivery from the Tower, dated August 18, 1305 (Bain, ii. 454), and a record of fifteen shillings paid for the carriage of his dead body to Scotland in a *comptus*, dated December 1, 1305. Bain, ii. 373.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WARS OF BRUCE.

AT the coronation of Bruce at Scone, March 27, 1306, Renfrewshire, if it was represented at all, was represented by the Earl of Lennox, a descendant of Walter fitz Alan. The Steward was not present. Less versatile than Bruce,¹ and less perjured than Wishart the Bishop of Glasgow,² while Bruce was fighting for Edward he was steadily supporting Wallace. His Renfrewshire and other estates had been given to the Earl of Lincoln.³ But on February 9, 1304, he made his peace with Edward,⁴ and on November, 1305, appeared in Westminster Hall before the Lord High Chancellor of England, confessed his broken faith to the King, and submitted himself and his lands in Scotland and elsewhere to his will.⁵ A year later, November 22, 1306, the Earl of Lincoln restored the Steward's estates in Scotland into the King's hands for the sum of four thousand merks.⁶ Three months before this, Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, was accused of handing over to Robert de Bruce the Steward's son and heir, Andrew; but denied it.⁷ Apparently the charge was not well founded, for on the 25th of the same month (August, 1306) Malise Earl of Strathearn and John Inchmartyne undertook to produce him bodily to the King under pain of forfeiture of their lives and goods.⁸ Whether they did produce him is uncertain. Nothing further is heard of him. The Steward continued to hold aloof from Bruce. Perhaps he was not sure of him, or he was hopeless of his success; or perhaps he preferred to make sure, whatever might happen to Bruce or to Scotland, of his estates.

¹ The conduct of the Bruce family down to the coronation at Scone was peculiar. Bruce, Lord of Annandale, the competitor, after Edward's award of the crown to Balliol, retired to his estates in Essex, and dwelt upon them during the remainder of his days. His son and heir, Robert de Brus "le veil," did homage to Edward I., July 4, 1295. He had charge of Carlisle Castle, and delivered it to the new Governor in October, 1297. He died before April 4, 1304, and was succeeded by Robert Bruce "le jeovene," who was first on one side and then on the other. During the whole of the period from 1286 to 1306, "whenever his name occurs, it is nearly always connected," Dr. Stevenson remarks, "with some measure hostile to the independence of his country." *Documents*, i. liii.

² He is said to have violated his oath eight times. But oaths in those days, however solemnly sworn, do not seem to have gone for much.

³ Bain, ii. 286, 496.

⁴ Bain, ii. 470.

⁵ Stevenson, ii. 494; Bain, ii. 463.

⁶ Bain, ii. 496.

⁷ Bain, ii. 488.

⁸ Bain, ii. 489.

His son and successor, Walter, the sixth Steward, threw himself on the side of Bruce with enthusiasm. At Bannockburn, according to Barbour,¹

“ Valtir, Steward of Scotland, syne,
That than wes bot ane berdless hyne,
Com with a rout of nobill men,
That all be contynans mycht ken.”

Though but a youth of seventeen or eighteen years, he was given, along with Sir William Douglas, the command of the third battle or division of the Scots army, and, by his gallant bearing in the fight, commended himself to the favour of the King.

After the battle, when “it rained ransoms in Scotland,” and the Earl of Essex was exchanged for the Scots Queen, her sister, the princess Marjorie, and the Bishop of Glasgow,² the King entrusted their safe conduct from the border to the young Steward. Soon after, Marjorie was wedded to the Steward, and became the mother of Robert, later Robert II.

During Bruce's quixotic expedition in Ireland, Walter was appointed joint Regent of the Kingdom with Douglas. In 1316, his son was acknowledged by Parliament heir to the crown in the event of the King dying without male issue.³ Berwick was surprised and captured on March 28 in the same year, and after holding out sixteen weeks longer, the castle surrendered.⁴ Anticipating that Edward would endeavour to recapture both town and castle, the King entrusted the keeping of them to his son-in-law, the Steward.

Edward was not long in making the expected attempt. He summoned his forces to meet him at Newcastle-on-Tyne, on July 24, 1319, and began the siege of the town on September 7.⁵ Walter was materially assisted in the defence by John Crabbe, the Flemish engineer,⁶ whose doings, as well as

¹ *The Brus*, xi. 216-219.

² Bain, iii. 74. Later on (p. 77) we have the following entry:—“To Sir Stephen Blount for expenses of the Lady de Bruys coming as far as Carlisle towards Scotland in October this year, value of 2 casks wine 8*l*.” She had been captured in the north, and was then sent to Windsor. Later on she was at the abbey of Barking from whence she was removed to Rochester castle, where she was permitted to have in her retinue Elena Edgar, John de Claydon, Samuel de Lynford, and William de Preston. Twenty shillings a week were allowed for her expenses. Bain, iii. 49, 68.

³ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, i. 265 (105).

⁴ Barbour says that the castle surrendered six days after the town was captured; but see Bain, iii., xv. 115, 125.

⁵ Bain, iii. 124.

⁶ “This man was an outlaw. After doing much service to the Scots during this reign and standing in great favour with Randolph while Regent, he changed sides, and was as active in attacking Berwick for Edward III. in 1333 as he had been in defending it against his father. See pp. 77, 126, 196, etc.” Bain, iii., xxvi., p. 5.

those of the Steward, are described in vigorous language by Barbour.¹ In order to create a diversion in favour of the besieged, the Scots King sent Douglas and Randolph with a force of 15,000 men by another route into England. They advanced, laying waste the country, as far as Ripon, and thence to Boroughbridge, without meeting with resistance. At Myton-on-Swale, the Archbishop of York had

“ . . . gaderit in-till full gret hy
 Archeris, burgess, with yhemenry,
 Prestis, clerkis, monkis and freris,
 Husbandis, and men of all mysteris,
 Qubill at thai sammyn assemmyllit var
 Weill twenty thousand men and mair.”²

In the battle which followed, called by the Archdeacon of Aberdeen The Chapter of Mitton, because of the number of priests slain, the English were utterly routed. On hearing of the disaster, Edward at once raised the siege,³ and was forced to consent to a truce for two years.

At the Parliament held at Arbroath, April 6, 1320, Walter the Steward signed the celebrated letter to the Pope from the barons and lay community of Scotland, in which they accused Edward in much the same terms as he had accused them, protested against the attitude which His Holiness had taken up against them, and maintained their right to live without molestation as a free and independent nation.⁴

On March 16, 1322, the Earl of Lancaster, who was aiming at the English crown, and had entered into a secret league with Douglas and Randolph, was defeated at Boroughbridge before the Scots could join hands with him, by Sir Andrew Harcla, governor of Carlisle.⁵ When the two years' truce had expired, encouraged apparently by his success over Lancaster and his adherents, Edward resolved to resume hostilities against Scotland, and, as it turned out, for the last time. While his army was mustering at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the Scots, under Douglas and Randolph, entered England by the western marches, and, penetrating beyond Preston, did enormous damage. Their raid began on July 3. On the 12th of the month, after burning the town and castle of Lancaster to the ground, they returned by Carlisle,⁶ At Carlisle, they lay for five days, and left it on the 24th, after an inroad lasting three weeks and three days, during which they apparently encountered little or no opposition.⁷

¹ *The Brus*, Bk. xvii.

² *The Brus*, Bk. xvii. 539-544.

³ The battle was fought on September 20, and the last pay was issued to the besiegers on September 24. Bain, iii. 126.

⁴ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, i. 474 (114).

⁵ As a reward, he was made Earl of Carlisle.

⁶ Bain, iii. 142.

⁷ *Chron. Lan.*, 246.

Early in August, Edward entered Scotland¹ with his army, and marching up Lauderdale, descended upon Edinburgh. There he found no one to oppose him. The Scots King had adopted the old plan of clearing the country of provisions and retiring before the invader, and had fixed his camp beyond the Forth at Culross. The invaders, many of whom perished from hunger, were soon compelled to retreat. The Scots lost no time in following them. By September 17, when Edward was at Newcastle, they appeared before Norham² with a small force of 200 men. Edward pressed on from Newcastle, which he left on the 25th, by Durham and Barnard Castle to Rievaulx Abbey, whence he despatched a letter, on October 13, to Aymer de Valence, ordering him to join the Earl of Richmond and Henry Beaumont at Byland on the following day. The main army of the Scots had gone round by Carlisle³ and by a rapid march surprised Edward at Rievaulx on October 14, the day after the despatch of the letter to Aymer de Valence. Edward's baggage was captured, many prisoners were taken, but the King escaped, though hard pressed by the Steward, who followed him, at the head of 500 men, almost up to the gates of York.⁴ This was Walter's last achievement.

The war with Scotland was resumed by Edward III. after the deposition of his father, Edward II., but a treaty was soon concluded by which England undertook to acknowledge Scotland as an independent country, and a marriage was arranged between David, Bruce's infant son, and Joanna, Princess of England and sister to the King. Before the treaty was concluded, Walter was dead. He died at Bathgate, April 9, 1326, ten years after his wife Marjorie, and left behind him a boy of ten, who afterwards became Robert II. Walter was a great favourite with both King and people. His death was universally lamented. "Than," says Barbour,⁵

"Than mycht men heir folk gret and cry,
 And mony a knycht and ek lady
 Mak in [apert] richt evill cher ;
 Sa did thai all that evir thair wer.
 All men hym menynt comonly ;
 For of his elde he wes worthy.
 Quhen thai lang tyme thar dule had maid,
 The corss to Paslay haf thai had,
 And thar, withe gret solempnite
 And with gret dule, entyrit wes he,
 God for his mycht his saull he bring
 Quhar ioy ay lestis but endyng—Amen."

Wallace, James the Steward, and Walter—Renfrewshire had a large hand in the wars against Edward I. and Edward II., and in freeing the

¹ Bain, iii. 142.

² Bain, iii. 144, 154.

³ Chron. Lan., 247.

⁴ See *The Brus*, xviii. 486 ff.

⁵ *The Brus*, xix. 215-226.

country from their yoke. Wallace revived the drooping spirit of his countrymen in their darkest hour, and gave them their first victory over their foes. James the Steward, after vacillating for a time, threw in his lot with the popular party. Until the ranks of the magnates, his companions in arms, were thinned by death and desertion, and he and the remnant of them were forced to yield, he fought steadily against the Plantagenet; and when at last he was obliged to sue for peace, he was among those who were excepted from the treaty as deserving to be more severely dealt with because of the more stubborn character of their resistance. Walter came in on the full tide of victory, and though but a boy in his teens when he began, did brilliant service in the cause of his country at Bannockburn and Berwick, and in the campaign in which the power of the Second Edward was completely broken.

The name of one other deserves to be added to theirs—that of

“ Vorthy and vicht, stalward and stout
Curtass and fair, and of gude fame
Schir Alane of Catcart.”

Sir Alan Cathcart was a comrade of Edward Bruce, and accompanied him and Bruce during their wanderings in Scotland, when their fortunes were lowest. From the way in which he speaks of him, Barbour was evidently acquainted with him. It was from him, he tells us, that he obtained the story of the discomfiture by Edward Bruce with fifty men of Sir John St. John with fifteen hundred men in Galloway, at which feat of arms Sir Alan was present.¹

Among the defenders of the Castle of Stirling when it capitulated to the English, July 24, 1304, were Fergus de Ardrossan and his brother Robert, whose family, though not then connected with Renfrewshire, was afterwards.² Another name in the same list is that of Robertus de Ranfru (Renfrew). Among those belonging to the county who are said to have fought on the patriotic side during these wars, were Robert de Semple of Castle Semple,³ and Matthew of Renfrew. The latter was a prisoner first in the castle of the High Peak, Derbyshire, and afterwards in Nottingham Castle.⁴ Robert of Renfrew was imprisoned in Salisbury and then in Old Sarum, where he died, December 22, 1306.⁵ For his conduct at Bannockburn, Sir Reginald Crawford

¹ *The Brus*, ix. 572, ff. The same family had a representative on the English side in the person of Sir William Cathcart, a knight of the garrison of Roxburgh in 1310. He was there with Sir John Comyn of Buchan. Bain, iii. 23.

² See the list in Tytler, *Hist. of Scot.*, i. note S. Fergus de Ardrossan afterwards swore fealty to Edward, was discharged from Corf Castle, December 20, 1310, and obtained the barony of Bishopland, near Kirkintilloch, Bain, iii. 53. Robert was discharged from the Castle of Rochester, August 30, 1311.

³ MacKenzie, *Hist. of Kilbarchan*, 204, 212.

⁴ Bain, iii. 6, 17.

⁵ Bain, iii. 35.

of Crosbie received from Bruce a grant of the lands of Auchinames in the parish of Kilbarchan; and, for his services on the same field, Semple was rewarded with a grant of part of the lands of Balliol in the parish of Largs.

Renfrewshire stands a little apart from the main road leading from England by the west into the centre of Scotland, and hence during the various marching and counter-marchings of the English armies in the country, they seldom passed through or were present in it. Yet the English troops were by no means unknown in the shire. The strong castle of Inverkip early fell into their hands, and, as Barbour puts it, "ves then stuffit all with Ynglis men." Sir Philip de Mowbray escaped to it after the battle of Loudon Hill, May 10, 1307. The Renfrewshire estates of the Steward, as already mentioned, were given by Edward I. to the Earl of Lincoln. The people were restive, and the patriot army lay about. In 1299, John the Mareschal, bailiff of the Earl of Lincoln, wrote to the King in great trepidation, pleading for help. The Guardian of Scotland, he reported, with three hundred men-at-arms and a multitude of foot, who had been lurking in Galloway, had entered Cunningham after the King's son, afterwards Edward II., had left, and taken his bailiffs, and totally rebelled against their late fealty. He prays for immediate aid, and says that without the King's help he cannot defend the barony against so many Scots.¹ Five years later things were no better. The King's escheators had to be escorted through the county by an armed force. Their names were James de Dalileye and John de Westons. Ten foot soldiers were required to escort them from Dumbarton to the town of Renfrew, Sir John Wallace and Robert Boyd assisting them with ten men-at-arms. The same escort was required to convey them from Renfrew to Ayr. Without such escort, it is said, "they could no ways have done their work."²

In 1307 the monastery of Paisley was burned³ almost to the ground, and in 1310 Edward II. penetrated to Renfrew with his army. The leaders of those who set fire to the monastic buildings are not known. The town of Paisley was probably burned at the same time. Edward seems to have entered and left Renfrew on the same day, though it is not improbable that his stay in the royal burgh extended over one or more days. Some of his writs were attested at Lanark on October 15, and others at Renfrew on the same day. The next that occur are tested at Linlithgow on October 23 and 28. On the other hand, his lieutenant was at Lanark on October 15, and he himself appears to have reached Biggar on the 16th.⁴

Altogether, though a number of the inhabitants had signed the Ragman Roll, the county suffered and did much in the cause of freedom.

¹ Bain, ii. 286.

² Bain, ii. 443.

³ Goodall, *Fordun*, ii. 238.

⁴ Bain, iii. 31-32.

CHAPTER VIII.

STUART AND PLANTAGENET.

ON the death of Robert I., Randolph Earl of Moray became Regent. Douglas died in Spain, when on his way to the Holy Land with the heart of Bruce. Soon after this disaster, David II., then in his eighth year, was both crowned and anointed at Scone, November 24, 1331. The heir-apparent to the crown was the Steward, then about seventeen years of age. David married an English princess. The early part of his reign he spent in France. Twice he was a captive in England. After his release he became little better than a tool of the English court, and would have handed down the crown his father had won to an English successor. Towards the end, the war between Scotland and England virtually resolved itself into a conflict between the Steward and the Plantagenet.

Of the Steward's earliest days, nothing is known. The first notice we have of him occurs in the beginning of David II.'s reign. Probably he was at Dupplin Moor, August 12, 1332, when Balliol and the disinherited nobles won their remarkable victory over the forces of the Crown under Donald Earl of Mar, the successor of Randolph in the Regency.

From Dupplin, Balliol went to Perth, and thence to Scone, where he was crowned. Returning to Perth, he set out for Galloway; going by "Coil" and "Conyngnam," probably after passing through Renfrewshire.¹ He then crossed Crawford Moor to Roxburgh, where he swore fealty to Edward III. and covenanted to give him Berwick and lands of the value of £2000 on the Border. Near Jedburgh, he defeated Archibald Douglas, who was lying in ambush to attack him. At Roxburgh bridge he captured Sir Andrew Moray, the son of Wallace's friend, who was now Regent, and sent him to England, where he remained till he was ransomed. Balliol then returned to the West March, near Annan. It is here that we first meet with the young Steward. About daybreak, on December 16,² along with the Earl of Mar and Archibald Douglas, he suddenly fell upon the sleeping court of Balliol, killed about a hundred of his men,³ and nearly captured Balliol himself, who with difficulty escaped half naked to Carlisle.

¹ There is a charter granted by him at Glasgow on September 25, second year of his reign (1333). *Reg. Glas.*, i. 248.

² *Chron. Lan.*, 270.

³ Among these were Henry Balliol, Sir John Moubray, and Walter Comyn.

The Scots now raided across the Border. Edward accused them of infringing the Treaty of Northampton, which he himself, by his encouragement of Balliol, had helped to turn into waste paper. Balliol re-crossed the Border, and Edward summoned his levies to meet him at Newcastle on March 21, 1333, preparatory to laying siege to Berwick, which, though ceded to him, was still in the hands of the Scots. He was joined by Balliol, and the two sat down before Berwick, the King of England and the titular king of the country fighting together against it.

The Guardian of Scotland was now Archibald Douglas, youngest brother of the "Good" Sir James. By a raid into England, in which he threatened to carry off Edward's Queen from Bamborough Castle, he tried to divert the English army from its immediate object, but failed. Re-crossing the Tweed, he found the English army drawn up on the slope of Halidon Hill. The positions at Bannockburn were here reversed. The front protected by the moss was that of the English army, not that of the Scots. The battle was won by the English archers,¹ and the defeat of Bannockburn was avenged. The whole of the Scots army of nearly 15,000 men were either slain or made prisoners. The Regent Douglas fell mortally wounded, and six earls—Ross, Sutherland, Menteith, Lennox, Carrick, and Atholl (John Campbell)—besides many others, some of them veterans in the wars of the Bruce.² Randolph, who led the first line, escaped to France; the Steward, who led the second, found refuge in Bute. The Earl of March, one of the defenders of Berwick, joined Edward, and was rewarded by the English King with a grant of £100 of land to himself and his wife, "Black" Agnes Randolph;³ John Crabbe, the Flemish engineer, having, it is said, been badly treated by the Scots, also changed sides, and distinguished himself in the siege of the town, which, fifteen years before, he had so skilfully defended.⁴

The whole country now seemed to be at the feet of the conqueror. A few places of strength were in the hands of a number of resolute men, but so precarious was the condition of affairs that it was deemed advisable to send the young King and his Queen to France⁵ lest they should fall into the hands of the invader. Balliol held a Parliament at Edinburgh in February, 1333-34, at which were ratified all the promises he had made to Edward at Roxburgh. Among the Bishops at this Parliament were Aberdeen, Brechin, Ross, Galloway, the "King's own Bishop" William Sinclair, who in

¹ July 19, 1333.

² *Chron. Lan.*, 274.

³ Bain, iv. 195; *Baker de Swynbroke*, 52.

⁴ *Chron. Lan.*, 270; Bain, iv. 196, 204, 229.

⁵ The date is uncertain; but the royal party landed in France, May 14, 1334. Burnett, i. clviii. 464, 467.

Bruce's day had rallied a Scottish army and routed an English force, and the scarcely less famous Bishop of Dunblane, who, as the Abbot of Inchaffray, had marched barefoot, cross in hand, down the ranks of the Scots before Bannockburn. Among the barons were the English Earl of Atholl, Beaumont of Buchan, Talbot Earl of Mar, Alexander de Mowbray, Alexander de Seton, William de Keith, and the lately converted Earl of March, who had held Berwick against Balliol and his master Edward. At Newcastle, on June 12, 1334, Balliol by a formal instrument made over to the English Crown the forests of Jedburgh, Selkirk, Ettrick, and the counties of Roxburgh, Peebles, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Haddington, and Dumfries, with their burghs and castles.¹ Over this new domain Edward appointed his own officials, but gave instructions that the laws of Scotland should be preserved and maintained in it.

Fortunately, dissensions soon broke out amongst the adherents of Balliol, and Mowbray, one of the most prominent of their number, joined Sir Andrew Moray, who had been ransomed; and the two sat down to besiege Beaumont's Castle of Dundearg in Buchan. The castle was taken and Beaumont sent to England. Talbot also was made a prisoner.² Watching his opportunity, the young Steward, whose estates had been forfeited and conferred upon the Earl of Atholl, crossed over from Bute under cover of night to Inverkip. Here horses were waiting for him, and hastily mounting he pressed on to Overcumnock,³ from whence he re-crossed the Clyde to Dumbarton, where he was heartily welcomed by Malcolm Fleming, the governor. With the assistance of Colin Campbell of Lochow, he stormed Dunoan Castle in Cowal. As soon as this was known in Bute, his vassals there rose against the English governor, Alan de Lyle, put him to death, and carrying his head before them, proceeded in savage triumph to join their chief. Rothesay Castle was soon in the hands of the insurgents. Thomas Bruce co-operated with the Steward in Carrick; William Carruthers was active on the same side in Annandale. Randolph Earl of Moray returned from France and joined the Steward. Renfrew with Kyle and Carrick was cleared of the invaders. The Earl of Atholl (David of Strathbogie), hitherto one of the most notable of the English party, was won over to the popular side; and Balliol had again to flee across the border. But late as the season was, Edward at once marched northward. About the beginning of November he joined Balliol at Berwick, and then proceeded to overrun the south of Scotland. Christmas

¹ Foedera, ii. 888; Bain, iv. 203.

² Baker, 53.

³ This is Wyntoun's account. Overcumnock does not appear in the Ordnance Survey Map; but may probably be identified either with the West Ferry in the parish of Erskine or some place near to it.

he spent at Roxburgh,¹ strengthening the fortifications of both town and castle, and then returned to Newcastle to meet the French Ambassadors who had come on behalf of Philip to arrange for peace with the Scots.² Balliol came west to spend his Christmas at Renfrew,³ and in the castle of the Steward held high court and festival, distributing gifts among his friends, and doubtless causing many searchings of heart in the neighbouring monastery, where the Abbot had just received from Benedict XII.⁴ the right to wear the mitre and the ring and other coveted privileges.⁵ Balliol did not remain long in the Steward's castle at Renfrew. He knew that he was in the midst of enemies, and preferring the better part of valour, made haste to follow Edward across the Border.

The Steward and Sir Andrew Moray were now made Guardians of the Kingdom. In April they held a meeting of Parliament at Dairsie in Fife. To this Parliament came the Earls of Moray, Atholl, and March, who by this time had renounced his allegiance to Balliol and joined the popular party. Atholl is said to have caused a misunderstanding between the two Regents,⁶ but the statement may be doubted. Assuming, however, that he did, the misunderstanding cannot have been of much importance. It did not prevent them from settling their military policy and working it out in harmony.

Edward rejected the overtures of Philip. Their only effect was to harden his resolution to conquer the Scots. In the beginning of July he sent a fleet of 180 ships to the Forth with supplies. On the 2nd of the month he was at Carlisle,⁷ and thence led an army into Scotland by the west. Balliol led another from Berwick, and the two met at Glasgow,⁸ when a great riot occurred. The united forces reached Perth by August 13,⁹ devastating the country as they went, and sending parties out in all directions to carry fire and sword among the people. Edward returned to Berwick by way of Edinburgh, where he was from the 10th to the 18th of September.¹⁰ In November, the Castle of Kildrummy was besieged by Atholl, who had been left as Balliol's

¹ Baker, 56 ; Knighton, i. 471. Mr. Lang makes both Edward and Balliol spend Christmas at Renfrew. But Baker's statement is explicit, Knighton says nothing about Renfrew, but agrees with Baker so far that he says that Edward went on to Roxburgh.

² Knighton, i. 472 ; Baker, 56.

³ Wyntoun and Fordun.

⁴ Dr. Lees says Benedict XI., but Benedict XI. died July, 1304.

⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 249.

⁶ Burnett, i. cxlv. The statement rests upon an assertion made by Buthirgask, a not altogether reliable witness, when making his defence to Sir Reginald More, the Chamberlain, who was not satisfied with the way in which he had discharged his duties as deputy Chamberlain, nor with the account he had given of his intrusions with the King's revenues. See *Excheq. Rolls*, i. 435.

⁷ Bain, iii. 211 ; Foedera, ii. 912.

⁸ *Scalacron.*, 165.

⁹ Bain, iii. 212 ; Foedera, ii. 918.

¹⁰ Bain, iii. 212.

regent, and was bravely defended by Christina Bruce, the wife of Sir Andrew Moray. Moray went to her relief. Atholl raised the siege to meet him, and was slain.¹ Moray used his victory to bring back the whole of the country north of the Mounth to the side of King David. Then he came south and laid siege to Cupar, in Fife, which was strongly held by William Bullock, the priest, and a number of Balliol's adherents.² At the request of the French ambassadors, the siege was raised. A Parliament was held by the patriots at Dunfermline, and then Moray went north to lay siege to Atholl's Castle of Lochindorb.

In May (1336) Edward despatched Balliol and Henry of Lancaster to Perth with a large army, and in June he followed them. After fortifying Perth,³ he marched northward with a picked body of men to relieve Lochindorb and to punish Moray. On his way, he heard that Moray was lurking in the wood of Stronkaltere, and turned aside to pursue him. His approach was seen, and Moray and his troops vanished, and eluded all his efforts to overtake them.⁴ After relieving Lochindorb, Edward laid waste the fertile lands to the north of the Mounth, burning towns, castles, and cornfields. Turning eastwards, he sacked and burned Aberdeen, and then returned to Perth, strengthening the garrisons on his way. About the beginning of September he left Balliol with a strong force in the Fair City and took his way south, believing that at last he had overawed the country and broken its spirit; but he was soon to learn that he was wrong.

His back was scarcely turned when Moray issued from his fastnesses, and re-took castle after castle. Before June (1336) he had taken Falkland, Leuchars, and St. Andrews in Fife; but in his attack upon Cupar he failed. It was defended by Bullock, the ecclesiastic, and was effectively relieved by Sir John Stirling, warden of Edinburgh.⁵ After paying a passing visit to his own castle of Bothwell, which had been captured in the preceding March, Moray made a foray into Cumberland, and then turning back, laid siege to Edinburgh, till the approach of an English force compelled him to retire. In April and May, 1337, he was besieging Stirling. Edward hurried to the rescue, and Moray once more drew off into the Highlands,⁶ where he waited until the English army had withdrawn. He then swept down into the Lowlands, conquered Lothian, again laid siege to Edinburgh, routed an English force advancing to its relief at Crichton, and pursued the fugitives to Galashiels.⁷ This was his last exploit. He withdrew to Avoch, and died. He was the son

¹ Knighton, i. 475.² Fordun, i. 360; Foedera, ii. 930.³ Baker, 57; *Chron. Lan.*, 286.⁴ Wyntoun, ii. 430.⁵ Bain, iii. 354; *Chron. Lan.*, 285.⁶ *Chron. Lan.*, 290.⁷ *Scalacron.*, 167; *Chron. Lan.*, 293.

of Wallace's friend, Andrew de Moray, who fell wounded at Falkirk in 1297, and was about forty years of age.

The Steward, afterwards Robert II., a young man of about twenty-three, now became Regent. The patriotic party rallied round him, and the battle for independence went on as vigorously as ever. Fortunately for the Scots, Edward became more and more embroiled with France, and while his hands were full of affairs there, he was obliged to leave matters in Scotland to his lieutenants. In 1337, the Earl of Salisbury was besieging Dunbar Castle, but in the following year, owing to its heroic defence by Black Agnes of Dunbar and its timely relief by Sir Alexander Ramsay, the siege was raised.¹

The Steward first sent the Knight of Liddesdale for French aid, and then, having assembled a force, laid siege to Perth. He is said to have been assisted in the siege by the ecclesiastic Bullock, Constable of Cupar, but as Bullock received pay from the English as Constable of Cupar as late as December 12, 1339, that is not likely.² The Governor of Perth was Sir Thomas Ughtred. He was badly provisioned, and after holding out as long as he was able, surrendered the place to the Steward, August 17, 1339. Following the example of Robert I., the Steward levelled its walls with the ground. He then marched to Stirling, but after an attempt to take the castle by assault, he appears to have left it aside.³

In 1340 a foray was made into England under the leadership of the Earls of March and Sutherland. Much damage was done in the northern counties, but the raiders were obliged to beat a speedy retreat across the Border.⁴ On April 16, 1341, Edinburgh Castle was captured by a clever stratagem, said to have been devised by the ecclesiastic Bullock, who by this time must have come over to the Scots side, and carried out by the Knight of Liddesdale. The portcullis of the castle was blocked by the waggon of pretended wine merchants, who were Scots men-at-arms in disguise; the Knight then rushed in with a chosen band, and the castle was taken.⁵

The country being now regarded as sufficiently cleared of its enemies to admit of the King's return, an invitation was sent to him, and on June 2, he

¹Bain, iii. 231, 232; Knighton, ii. 2. Richard, Earl of Arundel, and Henry de Percy were associated with Salisbury. Edward also appears to have been present at the siege, Bain, iii. 230, where there is a writ tested by him at Berwick, January 28, 1337-38. The siege was raised June 10, 1338.

²Bain, iii. xlvi. 240.

³Bain, iii. 241. The computus ends January 26, 1340; but it does not follow that the place was then taken.

⁴Knighton, ii. 17; Baker, 69-70; *Chron. Lan.*, 335; Bain, iii. 262. The Lanercost chronicler says that the raid was led by David II.; but that is obviously a mistake. Knighton follows the chronicler, ii. 22.

⁵Bain, iii. 252; Wyntoun, ii. 459.

landed with his Queen at Inverbervie, and thence proceeded to Aberdeen.¹ The King was a lad of eighteen years of age. The Steward, as in duty bound, surrendered the kingdom into his hands.

During the Steward's regency, Edward of England had been fully occupied in France in a vain attempt to make good his claims to the French crown. Towards the end of the year of David's return, he unwillingly agreed to a truce for nine months with the French King, and was expected to spend the winter in Ghent. But he suddenly landed in England, and coming north, marched through Ettrick forest in an extremely bad season, and then spent Christmas at Melrose.² But affairs in France were of more interest to him now than those of Scotland, and instead of prosecuting the war against the Scots, he went south to raise money for his French wars.

On March 30, 1342, the castle of Roxburgh was taken.³ Its garrison numbered about one hundred and thirty, among whom were twenty-three Scotsmen. Sir Alexander Ramsay is said to have won it by escalade. According to the *Scalacronica*, "al they that were captayne of this covyne dyed after an il death."⁴ This was the case with the gallant Ramsay, who was starved to death in Hermitage Castle, "through envy that William Douglas bare hym."⁵ The next castle to fall was Stirling, which surrendered "from defect of victual," as Sir Thomas Rokeby says, April 10.⁶ On June 2, the Earl of Moray was released from his six years' captivity in England in exchange for the Earl of Salisbury, a prisoner with the French,⁷ and David and he are said to have led several forays into England.⁸

After Edward III. had again declared war against the French, on April 24, 1345, David, in an evil hour for himself and his country, resolved, at the instigation of France, to invade England. An army was assembled at Perth. About the 9th of October,⁹ while Edward was besieging Calais, it entered England by the west marches under the leadership of the King and the Knight of Liddesdale. The peel of Liddel was taken by assault, and its constable, Sir Walter Selby, beheaded. Contrary to the advice of Douglas, who counselled a return, the King marched through Gilsland, skirting Tyndale, to Hexham, where he is said to have numbered his forces, consisting of two

¹ Fordun, *Annal.*, clx. ; Burnett, i. 481-483.

² Bain, iii. 250 ; Knighton, ii. 23 ; *Chron. Lan.*, 335. Knighton says that he came to Scotland about November 30, and mentions that with Edward's permission William Douglas jostled in his presence with Henry of Derby, son and heir of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, at Berwick.

³ Bain, iii. 252.

⁴ Apud Leland, 299.

⁵ David had himself given him the Sheriffship of Teviotdale, and thus superseded the Douglas who held the office for good service in that district.

⁶ Bain, iii. 252.

⁷ Foedera, ii. 140.

⁸ *Scalacron.* ; *Chron. Lan.*, 341.

⁹ Baker, 86.

thousand men-at-arms and a great number of light-horsemen and light-armed foot. At Bishop-Auckland, to the south-west of Durham, the Archbishop of York and other English leaders had assembled their forces. While marching to intercept David's further progress they unexpectedly encountered a foraging party under Douglas, who was put to flight. An attack was then made upon the main army. The Steward led the second division. Twice he drove back the English archers and footmen; but the Bishop of Durham coming up to their rescue, the Steward's lines were broken and his troops dispersed. The rest of the Scots with the exception of the King's division had, by this time, been scattered or taken prisoners. The King fought bravely, but was at last forced to yield. The Steward and the Earl of March, who led the third division of the army, escaped unhurt, but the loss on the Scots side, both in killed and prisoners, was enormous. Five hundred and forty knights and men-at-arms were slain, and over twelve thousand common soldiers. These numbers were swelled by Lord Lucy, who, arriving too late to take part in the battle, took up the pursuit of the fugitives, who were also exposed to attack by the garrison of Berwick. Thus ended the battle of Durham or of Neville's Cross—a tremendous calamity to Scotland, and a proof that, however great the personal courage of David Bruce may have been, he had neither the military skill nor the prudence of his father.

The Steward had again to take the leading part in the management of the affairs of the country, and to do his best to repair its misfortunes. Fortunately "King Edward was so distressed with his affairs beyond the sea that he took little regard to the Scottish matters."¹ Still the task of the Steward was not easy. By the defeat at Neville's Cross and the loss of its King and the flower of its nobility, the country had been thoroughly stunned; it was greatly impoverished; Berwick and Roxburgh were already in the hands of the English, and in the summer of 1347 two English armies crossed the borders. With twenty thousand men Lord Percy harried Tweeddale, the Merse, Teviotdale, and Ettrick, and then swept down upon the Lothians. Balliol, starting from Carlisle, raided Annandale and Galloway, and then pushing northward, effected a junction with Percy. Turning westward, the united armies marched by Falkirk to Glasgow, and then through Renfrewshire into the counties of Ayr and Dumfries, devastating the country as they went. Balliol had hoped to hold his court in Perth, but was fain to rest in the castle of Caerlaverock on the Solway, within easy reach of Carlisle.²

But the Scots were by no means subdued. In the following year, 1348, Lord William Douglas, son of Sir Archibald Douglas, and nephew of the good

¹ *Scalacron*., quo. by Bain, iii. lii.

² Knighton, ii. 47.

Lord James, returned from France. The Steward appointed him Governor of Edinburgh Castle, in succession to Sir David Lyndsay. After chasing the English out of Douglasdale, he collected a large force in Ettrick forest and continued his operations in Tweeddale and Teviotdale. Other Scottish lords co-operated with him, and "a little by a little," they "won al that they had lost at the bataille of Duresme."¹ Calais was taken, and a truce, in which Scotland was included, was arranged between the English and French, on October 22,² and renewed from time to time during the next six years.

During the peace, the Steward was mainly occupied in arranging for the King's ransom. Edward was in no hurry to set him free, and David was not impatient of his captivity. In the beginning of 1352, he was allowed, after leaving pledges for his return, to visit Scotland, in order to persuade the Scottish nobles to accept Edward's terms.³ The Knight of Liddesdale bound himself to serve Edward in all his wars, "except against the Scots, unless at his own pleasure," on condition that he received the Hermitage and lands in Annandale and Moffatdale.⁴ There were secret negotiations also between David and Edward, in which David acknowledged Edward as his Lord Paramount. Edward's terms indeed were the same as his grandfather's—the recognition of his supremacy over Scotland. In July, 1354, negotiations for David's ransom were begun at Newcastle. The Scots were to pay 90,000 merks sterling in nine years and twenty hostages were to be given.⁵ The negotiations, however, were suddenly broken off. A French knight arrived with sixty French cavaliers and 40,000 moutons, worth four shillings a piece, or about £8,000, equal to about £300,000 of present money.⁶ The moutons were accepted, and a raid was made across the border. Norham and the surrounding district were plundered, and as the raiders were retreating with their booty, Sir Thomas Gray, the governor of Norham Castle, set upon them. He and his son were taken prisoners, and to their subsequent enforced leisure in Edinburgh Castle we owe the *Scalacronica*, one of the best contemporary records.⁷ The Scots and French took Berwick town, after which the latter were thankfully dismissed to their homes.

In the following year, Edward, whose finances had been amply replenished, came north with an army of 80,000 men. Berwick town was won back and the castle relieved.⁸ Balliol went to Roxburgh, and there resigned into the

¹ *Scalacron.* ² Baker, 92-95. ³ Knighton, ii. 69. ⁴ *Foedera*, iii. 246-347; Bain, iii. 286.

⁵ Bain, iii. 288. Among the hostages were the sons and heirs of Sir John de Danielston of Dennistoun, in the parish of Kilmacolm, and of Sir John Stewart of Derneley, who was connected with Crookston. The indenture as to the ransom is dated November 12, 1354. Bain, iii. 289.

⁶ Knighton, ii. 79.

⁷ Knighton, ii. 81; *Scalacron.*, 304.

⁸ Baker, 126; Knighton, ii. 84-86.

hands of his master the crown and kingdom, which had never been his.¹ Edward then advanced to Edinburgh, finding the country everywhere wasted before him. His fleet with provisions never reached him, and he was forced to retreat with the Scots hanging either on his rear or on his flanks. Satisfied, apparently, that the reduction of the country was impossible, he consented to a truce. Negotiations were opened for the ransom of David, and in October, 1357, the treaty of ransom was ratified. The Scots were to pay 10,000 merks in ten years. Hostages were given for its payment, the Steward's eldest son being one of them. One of the commissioners who arranged the treaty was Barbour, the author of *The Brus*.²

On the return of David, the Steward resigned his office into his hands, as did also William Lord Douglas, who had been appointed joint Regent with him. The rough congratulations of his subjects were not much to the taste of David, and he made no secret of his dislike for them.³ Nevertheless, when the Estates met at Scone, November 6, 1357, everything was done to raise the money due as his ransom.⁴ Complaints were soon made, however, that the sums collected were mainly absorbed by David's private expenses, and in the spring of 1363 the Earl of Douglas, thinking that David "was not a good lord to him," took up arms, seized Dirleton Castle, then in the King's hands from ward, and entered into a formal bond with the Earl of March, the Steward, and the eldest and second sons of the latter, to compel their sovereign to change his counsellors. The rising was promptly suppressed by the King. The Steward swore fealty at Inchmurdach on May 4, 1363, and the Earls of March and Douglas made submission separately.⁵ Immediately after this David married Dame Margaret Logy, a widow and an old friend, "solely through the force of love."⁶

In the following October David repaired to London, where a plan was matured for setting aside the parliamentary rights of the Steward and for bringing about a union of the Crowns of England and Scotland. According to the scheme as agreed to November 27, 1363, the ransom money was to be immediately discharged on condition of the crown of Scotland being settled on Edward III. in default of David's male issue, careful and elaborate provision being made for preserving the separate uses and institutions of the kingdom.⁷ David was jealous of his nephew and apparent heir, and probably expected that the prospect of being relieved of the taxes for his ransom would commend the scheme to the body of the nation. When the proposal was laid before

¹ Bain, iii. 290. ² The negotiations were lengthy. See Bain, iii. 293, 296, 299, 300, 301, 302-307.

³ Wyntoun, ii. 497,-98. ⁴ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, i. 133.

⁵ *Scalacron.*, 203; Burnett, ii. xlix.

⁶ *Scalacron.*, 203.

⁷ *Foedera*, iii. 715.

Parliament at Scone, March 4 following, it met with a decided and peremptory rejection.¹

The ill-will of the King towards the Steward was fomented by the Queen, who, soon after her marriage (it was her fourth) seems to have placed herself at the head of a political faction formed specially to oppose the Steward and the Earls of March and Douglas. Under her influence, the extravagant expenditure of the Court continued. David is also said to have been incensed against the Steward because of some supposed failure in his duty at the battle of Neville's Cross, and at what he regarded as encroachments upon his royal prerogatives by the Steward while Regent. Bower asserts that, at the instigation of the Queen, the Steward and his three oldest sons were each confined in separate fortresses. That the Steward himself and the "Wolf of Badenoch"—Alexander, his third son—were thrown into prison, is certain, but whether it was at the instigation of Margaret, is not. Alexander was kept in the Castle of Lochleven for three weeks before the audit of January 20, 1368-69, and possibly for some time longer. The Steward's imprisonment, which was in the same place, ended before the said audit and began after the Parliament of June, 1368. It is possible, if not probable, that the incarceration of both was connected with the troubles in the Highlands. The prominent offender there was John of the Isles, the Steward's son-in-law, and the two were suspected of acting together.²

On February 22, 1370-71, David died in Edinburgh Castle, when, in accordance with the settlement of 1318, the Steward became King under the title of Robert II.

¹ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, i. 135 ; *Bain*, iv. 21, 22.

² *Burnett*, ii. li.-lxii.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ACCESSION OF THE STUARTS.

IN his contest with Edward III. of England the Steward had won. The southern parts of the Lowlands were still in the hands of the English, but the rest of the country had been cleared of their troops. In his intrigues to unite the Scottish to the English crown, and, in the event of his failure, to place his son Lionel upon the throne of Scotland, Edward, though strongly supported by David II., had failed. All through, the Steward had the support of the people, of the Church, of the Douglasses, though latterly the Knight of Liddesdale had turned traitor, and of a majority of the nobles, who, though almost entirely of Norman extraction, had at last identified themselves with the country in which they had settled. The success of the Steward was also due to the assistance he had derived from the old French alliance, and in a negative way to the fact that Edward was so fully occupied with affairs in France, that he had neither the means nor the leisure to prosecute his designs in respect to Scotland with the energy success required. Edward was survived by his rival, who lived long enough to hear of the battle of Otterburn, to see his country entirely delivered from its enemies, and to leave it in the enjoyment of peace.

To his tenants in Renfrewshire, as well as to those of them on his other estates, the accession of the Steward was an event of some moment. Instead of being vassals of a vassal, they now held practically of the Crown.

During the long English wars the estates of the Stewards had here and there been encroached upon, and on December 10, 1404, with the view of preventing their further dilapidation, and in order to protect his son in their possession, Robert II. erected the barony of Renfrew, the earldom of Carrick, the King's Kyle, and his other estates, into a principality and granted them in free regality to the Prince during his term of life.

Subsequently, the barony of Renfrew was disjoined from the county of Lanark and erected into a separate shire. The exact date at which this was done is not known. According to Crawford, the date is 1404, but according to Chalmers, the charter relied upon for this date does not allude to the barony having been erected into a shire. Macfarlane of Macfarlane reports that in a transumpt dated August 12, 1414, he found among the witnesses "one Dominus Finlayus Buntyr Vicecom. de Renfrew," and this,

Chalmers remarks, "affords sufficient evidence that Renfrew was a sheriffdom in 1414." His further remark, however, that it is highly probable that the establishment was due to Robert III., who died in 1406,¹ is untenable. In a charter dated August 7, 1413, granted to Robert Cunningham by the Duke of Albany, it is styled "the barony of Renfrew."² Assuming, therefore, that Macfarlane is correct, the inference is that the erection of the barony into a shire took place somewhere between August 7, 1413, and August 12, 1414.

The High Steward exercised jurisdiction over his barony by means of a baron-bailie, who held courts, punished crimes, exacted fines, and referred disputes among the tenants to his birleymen for adjudication. The baron-bailie in 1361 was Sir John Stewart of Crookston, the predecessor of the Stewarts of Darnley and Earls of Lennox.³ Under the baron-bailie was the steward, who administered the revenues and managed the lands of the barony. In 1246, under Alexander the High Steward, this office was held by Thomas de Bosco.⁴ Under James the High Steward, who succeeded his father in 1283 and died in 1309, the steward, or seneschal, of the barony was Robert Semple.⁵

Like the date of the erection of the barony into a sheriffdom, the date of the appointment of the first sheriff is uncertain. There can be little doubt, however, that the two events fell about the same time.

The first of the sheriffs mentioned is John Semple of Eliotstoun.⁶ He is named Sheriff of Renfrew in a charter granted by Rankyn of Fullarton, lord of Conly, under date December 15, 1426. William, second Lord Semple, in 1531, sold the office of sheriff of Renfrew within the parish and barony of Bathgate—a detached portion of the shire—to James Hamilton of Fynnart, who was confirmed in the office by James V.⁷

The Semples of Eliotstoun continued to be sheriffs of the county down to the year 1635, when Hugh, fifth Lord Semple, resigned both the office of hereditary sheriff of the county and the office of hereditary bailie of the regality of Paisley into the hands of Charles I. In return, he was to receive from the King 3,000 acres in the first intended plantation in Connaught, in Ireland. In the event of his not being sufficiently secured in this land, the King undertook to repon him in the offices he had resigned. The business had been negotiated by Bryce Semple of Cathcart, who, for his service to the King "in the valuation of tithes and apprehending of one who had committed a fowle murder," was to receive 1,000 acres in Connaught, and was appointed

¹ Chalmers, iii. (vi.) 772.

² Laing, No. 94. The designation in Laing's text is correct, but the designation in the index is wrong.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 66.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 87-9, 113.

⁵ Chalmers, iii. (vi.), 772; Crawford, 75.

⁶ Laing, No. 105.

⁷ *R. M. S.*, No. 983.

to the office his kinsman had resigned, until Michaelmas, 1637.¹ Neither he nor Hugh Lord Semple, received the promised acres in Connaught. The sum of £5,000 to be paid out of the Irish Exchequer was substituted for them. During the non-payment of this sum, the offices were made hereditary in the Cathcart Semples, and in December, 1647, Bryce Semple and his son James had transferred them to Lord Ross of Hawkhead.² Soon after this the offices appear to have been conveyed back to Lord Semple, by whom they were transferred to Hugh Earl of Eglinton. But, from the retour of Robert, seventh Lord Semple, in 1648, and from that of Hugh Earl of Eglinton, in 1661,³ the transfer, it would appear, was not absolute, but redeemable. The first-mentioned retour bears that the heritable offices still pertain to the Semple family; in the second it is stated that they are held by the Earl of Eglinton as security for the repayment of £5,000. This sum, it appears, was never repaid, and the offices remained with the Eglintons till 1748, when Lord Eglinton received £5,000 from the Government as compensation for the extinction of the offices.

The sheriff, who, as need hardly be said, was the permanent representative of the Crown, had his deputies. Some of these appear to have been appointed temporarily or for special purposes, while the other and more important class of these officials received permanent appointments.⁴ Other officials were the coroners and mayors and sergeants of fee.⁵ There

¹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 41-2.

² *Eglinton MSS.*, 42.

³ For a time, at least, the two offices seem to have been in different hands, for in charter No. 2562 in Laing's collection, and dated October 15, 1662, Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall is designated bailie of the regality.

⁴ Among others, the following were sheriff-deputes: Patrick Colquhoun, 1505 (*Lochwinnoch P.*, i. 83); John Semple, 1529-32 (*R. M. S.*, No. 778); John Robeson, burgess of Renfrew, and William Hamilton, 1532 (*R. M. S.*, No. 1227); John Houston of that ilk and William Semple of Boghall, 1533 (*Loch. P.*, i. 162); Patrick Ross, 1543 (*R. M. S.*, No. 3277); Cuthbert Semple of Auchenbothie, 1575 (*Laing*, No. 916); Alexander Gudlad, 1579 (*Laing*, No. 990); Sir James Semple of Beltrees, March 9, 1602 (*Burgh Recs. of Paisley*; Metcalfe, *Charters*, etc.); James Semple of Brintschellis, 1605 (*Laing*, Nos. 1487-1688); James Semple of Millbank, 1606 (*Laing*, No. 1494); Bryce Semple of Craigbet, 1622 (*Laing*, No. 1914); Ezekiel Montgomery, 1678 (*Loch. P.*, i. 67, etc.).

⁵ On September 5, 1439, John de Cathcart was appointed coroner of the half of the barony of Renfrew. In 1505, several persons were denounced for attacking and wounding William Cunningham, the coroner of Renfrew. In 1540-44, William Lord Semple, was coroner of Renfrew between the Lovern and Black Cart (*R. M. S.*, No. 2125). In 1544, the office was in the hands of his son Robert, Master of Semple (*R. M. S.*, No. 2991), who retained it as late as 1572 (*R. M. S.*, No. 2104). In 1616, William Cunningham of Craighends was served heir of his father to, among other things, the office of coroner and mayor of fee in the west ward of Strathgryfe and upper ward of Renfrew (*Chalmers*, vi. 774). The emoluments of the coroner appear to have been considerable. In the barony of Renfrew his fee, down to the year 1530, was "ane thraif of corn of ilk pleuch and iiij of ilk hous within the said barony"; but in the year mentioned, William Cunningham of Craighends, who was then coroner, exacted "half ane merk for his fee." The freeholders appealed against him to the Privy Council, but lost their case (*Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 146).

were also the sheriff's clerks, the sheriff's serjeant, and the officers of the sheriff.¹

In the reign of Queen Mary, Robert Lord Semple, obtained a Commission of Justiciary over the whole barony and sheriffdom of Renfrew, but, having abused his office by cruelly oppressing Glen of Bar and his family, the Privy Council, on the complaint of Glen, suspended his commission, October 10, 1564.²

On April 5, 1396, all the lands belonging to the monastery of Paisley,³ with the exception of those situated in the Lennox, were erected into a barony of regality, and those of them in the barony of Renfrew were thus taken out of the jurisdiction of the sheriff and placed under that of the abbot of the monastery as lord of the regality. The lands of the monks in the Lennox had already been erected into a barony of regality as early as October 27, 1381, in virtue of a charter granted by Robert II.⁴ On January 13, 1451, the two baronies of regality were united into one by a charter of James II., which conferred all the usual privileges upon the Abbot, and included the four points of the crown,⁵ which, in the case of the Lennox regality, had been reserved. On August 19, 1488, the three charters just mentioned were confirmed and extended.⁶

Another regality in the shire was of later erection. On January 24, 1563-4, Queen Mary granted a charter to Sir James Sandelands, Preceptor of Torphichen and Lord St. John, by which the whole of the lands and property of the Knights Templars and Hospitallers were incorporated into the free barony of Torphichen and erected into regalities, on payment of the sum of 10,000 "crownis of the sone" and a yearly rental of 500 merks.⁷ The Temple lands in the shire of Renfrew appear from Crawford's statement to have been known as the regality of Greenend.⁸

"A grant of regality," to use the words of Professor Innes,⁹ took as much out of the Crown as the Sovereign could give. It was, in fact, investing the

¹ In 1529, William Lesuris was serjeant and officer of the Sheriff of Renfrew (*R. M. S.*, No. 1203). For serjeants, see *R. M. S.* No. 778, etc., and for officers, No. 894. For sheriff clerks, see Laing, Nos. 916, 1914.

² *Lochwinnoch Papers*, ii. 67.

³ These were in the barony of Renfrew, Kyle Stewart, Molla, and Huutlaw in the lands of Hassen-dean in Roxburghshire, and Orde in Peebleshire; *Reg. de Pas.*, 91.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 206.

⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 72, 255; *R. M. S.* (1423-1513), 523; Metcalfe, 19.

⁶ *Reg. de Pas.*, 84; Metcalfe, 125.

⁷ *R. M. S.*, No. 1499.

⁸ Robertson's Edition, 105-6. The Lennox lands in the shire are also said to have been erected into a regality; but, so far as I am aware, no authority has been given for the statement. In the *Register of the Great Seal* they are designated lordships and baronies. The detached part of the shire in Bathgate has also been spoken of as a regality, but that also was not a regality, but a free barony.

⁹ *Legal Antiq.*, 40.

grantee in the sovereignty of the territory." The lords of regalities had their courts and officials like the sheriffs, or like the King. The principal official was the baillie, who, within the limits of his bailiary, especially when the four points of the crown were granted, as was the case in the grants to the Abbot and Convent of Paisley and Lord Torphichen, exercised an authority as great as that of a sheriff in a county. He had his deputies, coroners, sergeants, and officers, and held courts, in which he inflicted punishments and exacted fines. He had his pit and gallows, the first for drowning women in who were convicted of capital crimes and the other for executing men.

The Abbot and Convent of Paisley had also the right of replegiation, in virtue of which, when any of their tenants or farmers were arrested or were indicted before the sheriff courts of Ayr, Renfrew and Dumbarton, they could demand deliverance of them in order to their trial in their own court of regality and by their own officials, assisted by an assize of the King's burgesses and the King's chamberlain or his deputy sitting with the Abbot's baillie as assessor.¹

The first baillie of the regality of Paisley of whom there is any mention was John Lord Semple. He was appointed by Abbot George Shaw (1472-98) to the office for three years, and further during "his gude bering"; but Abbot Robert Shaw, shortly after he succeeded his uncle in 1498, called upon Lord Semple by a summons before the Lords Auditors to give an account of his intromissions as baillie of the regality. Lord Semple asked the Lords to confirm him in the office. The case was heard, February 14, 1509, when the Lords refused to grant the confirmation desired.²

For some time after this there appears to have been no baillie. At any rate, there is no reference to a baillie of the regality having been appointed. According to a document preserved in the Register of the monastery, John Hamilton, who succeeded Robert Shaw as abbot in 1529, appears to have contemplated placing the defence and administration of the affairs of his regality in the hands of a commission, by appointing certain "noble and powerful men" as his procurators, bailies, etc., but, as no names are inserted in the document, it is probable that the commission was never issued. Later on, however, the aspect of affairs throughout the country had become so serious that, on April 13, 1545, he appointed Robert Master of Semple hereditary justiciary and baillie of the whole of the regality of Paisley, except in the lordship of Kyle and the lands adjacent in the county of Ayr. According to the narrative of the charter of appointment, the lands and property of the monks had already been seriously interfered with and the Master of Semple had on

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 257; Metcalfe, 22.

² *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 92.

more than one occasion come to the assistance of the abbot and convent. His yearly stipend as justiciar and baillie of the regality was fixed at three chalders of wheat and three shillings and fourpence from the lands of Glen called Locheid. Semple and his father, William Lord Semple, on their part, bound themselves to protect the monks and their property or to resign office.¹ During the wars that followed, the bailiership passed through several hands. In 1662, the office was held by Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall.² When the heritable jurisdictions were abolished in 1748, it was in the hands of the Earl of Eglinton.³

Scattered up and down the shire were a number of lordships and baronies. The most important among them was that of the Stewarts of Darnley, which included the lands of Crukisfeu, Inchinnan, Perthaykscot, Wrightland and Rassele, Craigtoun and Flures, beside those of Darnley, Crookston, and Neilson-syde.⁴ Crukisfeu and Inchinnan are mentioned separately,⁵ the first on January 28, 1530, and the second on July 29, 1532.⁶ Among others were the free baronies of Eaglesham, Mearns, Cathcart, Duchal, and the lordships of Boghall, Dunrod, Erskine, Fereneze, and Thorntown. On March 17, 1540, James V. granted a charter of confirmation to William Lord Semple, of the lands of Fernynes, Raiflat, Bar in Kilbarchan, Brandiscroft, Weitlandis, Haris-pennaldis, Bordlandis, Mechelstoun and Craiginfeach, Auchinfour, and the third part of Auchinames, and incorporated them, with certain lands in the county of Ayr, into the free barony of Craiginfeach. On the same day, the King confirmed to the same noble the lands of Cassiltoun, Eliotstoun, Schuttirflat, Nethir-Pennel, Hairstentoun, and the lands of Lavern, Bargany and Lechland, and the lands of Southennane in Ayrshire, and the lands of Glasfurd in Lanarkshire, and incorporated them into the free barony of Semple.⁷

According to Chalmers, the barony of Greenock belonged of old to a family named Galbraith. In the reign of Robert III. it was divided between the two heiresses of Malcolm Galbraith, one of whom married Shaw of Sauchie, and the other Crawford of Kilbirnie. The two divisions were then held as separate baronies until 1669, when Sir John Shaw of Greenock purchased the eastern barony from the female heir of Crawford of Kilbirnie, and thus became the proprietor of both Eistir and Westir Greenock.⁸ Greenock was erected into a burgh of barony by a charter under the Great Seal in 1635.

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, App., ii., iii.

² Laing, No. 2562.

³ See ante 79.

⁴ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 387 (19, 26), 389 (64), 391 (99), 494 (162); *R. M. S.* (1546-89), No. 2868.

⁵ For Crukisfeu, see *R. M. S.* (1513-46), Nos. 894, 1203, 1229; for Inchinnan, 1203, 1229.

⁶ *R. M. S.*, No. 482.

⁷ *R. M. S.* (1513-46), 2124, 2125.

⁸ Chalmers, iii. (vi.) 845; Williamson, *Old Greenock*, i. 18.

In the parish of Kilmacollm, besides the barony and lordship of Duchal, were the baronies of Finlaystone¹ and Newark. In the letters patent issued by Charles II. to John Earl of Glencairn, March 4, 1671, the lands of Dennistoun are said to be in the barony of Kilmacollm.²

By a charter of James V., March 5, 1539-40, the incorporation of the seventh part of the lands of Auchenbothie, called the Castell-wallis, in the barony of Robertland, the greater part of which lay in the county of Ayr, was confirmed to David Cunningham of Robertland.³ In 1571, the Mearns, Drips, and Nethir Pollok were united into one barony.⁴

The owners of the baronies had their courts like the lords of the regality, over which they presided either in person or by deputy. The courts were held in various places, sometimes in a church and sometimes in the open air. In 1371, Robert Lord Maxwell, reserved to himself and his heirs the mount nearest to the village of Drips and the great shrine erected on the top for the purpose of holding courts as often as necessary, to prosecute the inhabitants for injuries committed against himself and his heirs only.⁵ The grant of a free barony carried with it not only the highest and most privileged tenure of land, but also "a great jurisdiction over the inhabitants and all the fees and emoluments that of old made such jurisdictions valued." The true mark of a true baron in the ancient time, Professor Innes remarks, was the right of pit and gallows, or jurisdiction in life and limb. The form of process in the barons' courts was similar to that in the higher courts. In criminal cases, where slaughter or theft was alleged, the accused were tried by an assize of fifteen. Those who thought themselves unjustly dealt with had the right of appeal to the Privy Council. For the most part, in grants of barony the Crown reserved its own jurisdiction in what were called the Points of the Crown—murder, rape, arson, and robbery—though jurisdiction in these was sometimes granted,⁶ as in the grants of regality to the Abbot and Convent of Paisley and to Lord Torphichen.

The principal official in the barony or lordship was the baron-bailie, whose chief duty was to preside over the baron's court in the absence of his superior, and generally to manage the business of the barony. In 1442, William Semple acted as baron-bailie to Lord Lyle in the barony and lordship of Duchal.⁷

¹ Robert III. granted a charter, January 19, 1339, to Robert de Danyelston, confirming to him the lands of Danyelston and Finlayston, and incorporated them into one whole barony, to be called the barony of Finlayston.—*R. M. S.*, i. 213. In 1574, there was a barony of "Finlastoun et Ranfourlie-Cunningham," the proprietor of which was Alexander Earl of Glencairn.—*R. M. S.*, No. 2254.

² *Inaug.*, No. 2672.

³ *R. M. S.*, No. 2115.

⁴ *R. M. S.* (1546-80), No. 2012.

⁵ *Scottish Review*, xxx. 237.

⁶ Innes, *Legal Antig.*, 42, 58, 60.

⁷ *Reg. de Pas.*, 249.

Until the year 1490, when the village of Paisley was erected into a burgh of barony and regality, there was but one burgh in the county, the royal burgh of Renfrew, which, though founded by David I., did not receive its charter until the year 1396.

As early as the year 1360, the practice of dividing the county or barony into the eastern and western districts may be said to have begun. The dividing line was formed by the Cart. On April 21 in that year Sir Peter Garland, on behalf of himself and his brother collector, John Gray, paid to the Auditor of the Royal Exchequer at Perth the sum of £36 11s. 2d. which they had collected in the barony of Renfrew "east of the water of Cart" towards the third contribution for the King's ransom. In 1361, the sum paid to the same fund for the same district was only £26 13s. 10d. The next payment is recorded for the year 1366, when the contribution was £49 12s. 1d. for "the barony of Renfrew." In the same year the burgh of Renfrew contributed £4 6s. 0d.; Irvine, £10 0s. 6d.; Dumbarton, £9 0s. 11d.; Rutherglen, £5 5s. 3d.; Aberdeen, £47 13s. 4d.; and Glasgow, £5 10s. 1d., or only £1 4s. 1d. more than Renfrew. America was then undiscovered, and the chief commercial ports of the kingdom were on the east coast.¹

¹ Burnett, *Exchequer Rolls*, ii. 37, 74, 257.

CHAPTER X.

FAMILIES.

AFTER the settlement of the county by Walter Fitz Alan in the second half of the twelfth century, the families with which he then planted it, underwent many vicissitudes, much of their property changed hands, and new families were introduced among them. Most of the old families were still represented, and what I propose in the present chapter is to give some account of the chief among them down to about the time of the Reformation.

Among those who came north with Walter Fitz Alan was Robert de Montgomery, grandson or nephew—grandson, according to Sir William Fraser¹—of Roger de Montgomery, the great Earl of Shrewsbury, the companion and kinsman of William the Conqueror. From Walter he received the lands of Eaglesham. He and his son and grandson appear frequently as witnesses in the Register of the monastery of Paisley.²

John de Montgomery, grandson of the first Robert, swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, August 28, 1296, and is said, like the rest of the Renfrewshire men who signed the Ragman Roll, to be of the county of Lanark.

John de Montgomery, the ninth of Eaglesham, is celebrated for the part he took in the battle of Otterburn, in the year 1388, where, with his own hand, he captured Henry Percy, known as Hotspur. With the money he received as his ransom he is said to have built Pulnoon Castle, the ancient residence of the family. By his marriage with Elizabeth, sole heiress of Sir Hugh Eglinton, he acquired the estates of Eglinton and Ardrossan. The mother of Elizabeth was Egidia, or Giles, Stuart,³ a half-sister of Robert the Steward, afterwards King Robert II., who bestowed upon his brother-in-law, Sir Hugh Eglinton, various lands and dignities. In the year 1348,⁴ he gave him the lands of Meldrum. On January 15, 1366, he appointed him bailie and chamberlain of the barony of Cunningham, and gave him as his fee a third part of the fines and issues of the bailie and chamberlain courts.⁵ Four years after his accession he bestowed upon him the lands of Lochleboside, in

¹ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, Rep. x. ; *Eglinton MSS.*, l. ² Pp. 6, 7, 21, 1, 12, 14, 337, 400, etc.

³ Her first husband was Sir James Lindsay.—Burnett, ii. 221.

⁴ Burnett, i. 543.

⁵ *Eglinton MSS.*, 9. Sir Hugh is commemorated by Wyntoun and Dunbar as among the poets of Scotland. He is the reputed author of the "Gest of Arthure," the "Gest of the Brut," the "Adventure of Sir Gawyn," and the "Pystyl of Swete Susan."

the barony of Renfrew and parish of Paisley, which had been forfeited by Michael de Lardner, "to be held by Hugh and Egidia his spouse, the King's dearest sister and their heirs of the King and his heirs, Stewards of Scotland, for giving yearly ten merks sterling for the support of a chaplain to celebrate divine service in the Cathedral Church of Glasgow."¹ In 1371, Sir John had a pension from the King of forty merks sterling from the great customs of Edinburgh, to be paid to him and his heirs in equal portions at Whitsuntide and Martinmas, and granted, as it is expressly stated, for "retinencia," or support to be given to the King and heir-apparent.²

The son of Sir John Montgomery and Elizabeth Eglinton, after the dispute respecting the bailiership of Cunningham had broken out, and with a view evidently of compromising matters, at least for the time being, executed an indenture with Sir Robert of Cunningham, Lord of Kilmaurs, whereby the latter "is oblist to wed Anny of Mungumry, the dochtir of Schir Ione of Mungumry, and to gyfe to the said Anny joynt feftment of twenty merkis worth of his Mudir landis; and gife it hapynnys the said Schir Robert and Anny hafand sonnys of lyfe, the joynt feftment beande of na value," Sir John is bound to give Sir Robert for the marriage three hundred merks and forty pounds, to be paid by yearly sums of forty pounds, from the lands of Eastwood and Lochleboside: "Als it is accordit at the said Robert sal joyse and browk the Balzery of Conyngham, with al the profytis pertenande til it, for the terme of his lyfe; and the said Schir Robert is oblist at he sal nocht mak na ger mak the said Balzery sekirar til him, na til his ayris, in to the mentyme na [than] he was in to the entra of the Balzery; the said Schir Ione of Mungumry and his ayris hafand recourse to the said Balzery eftir the dede [death] of the said Schir Robert, in the samyn forme and effect as it was in the tyme of the makyng of thir [these] evidentys: Als, because of kynrend thar behufys to be a purchas; and gife it may be gotyn in Scotlande, the said Sir Ione of Mungumry sal pay tharfor, and gife it be outwyth, it sal be gotyn on bath thair costys: And gyfe it hapynnys the said Schir Ione of Mungumry not to ga in hostage for the Kyng, he sal hald the said Anny his dochtir and a damysale with her and Schir Robertis resonabyl repayr for twa yer in met and drynk, and buch of court, with sex horssis fyndyng at the liking of the said Schir Robert; and gife he gais in hostage, the said Schir Robert sal se for his wyfe hymself." It is further agreed that Sir Robert shall not enter to the said bailiary till he and Anny be married, and also that if he or Anny die before being married, he or his heirs shall restore what he has taken up of the said marriage to Sir John or his heirs.

¹ The charter is dated at Perth, October 12 [1374]. *Eglinton MSS.*, 7.

² Burnett, iii. 280.

This singular document is dated at Irvine, June 16, 1425. In the transumpt in which it occurs there is a discharge, dated at Finlayston, February 20, 1432, from which it appears that Robert of Cunningham, Lord of Kilmaurs, received from Alexander Montgomery, Lord of Ardrossan, the sum of 300 merks and forty pounds on account of the marriage of his sister "Angnes of Mungumry" as agreed upon between Sir John Mungumry and the said Robert, who fully discharges the sum. The transumpt was made at the church of St. Giles of Edinburgh, in the presence of, among others, "Master Thomas Mowngumry, rector of Eglishame."¹

At the time of the marriage of his sister Agnes (from which it would appear that Anny was dead), Sir Alexander Montgomery had succeeded his father. In 1430, he was appointed Governor of Kintyre and Knapdale. On May 15, 1438, he executed an indenture, similar to the above, whereby he agreed that his eldest daughter, "Mergaret off Mongomry," should marry John Stewart, son and heir to Alan Stewart, Lord of Darnley. Her tocher was to be 600 merks Scots, and the Lord of Darnley obliged himself to infest the young couple in conjunct fee in the 40 merk lands of Dreghorn and Dromley. It appears from the indenture that neither of the couple was "off lachfull eld." It was therefore provided that "geff it hapynys, as God forbid, the forsayd son or dochter to dysses [die], the next son off the forsayd Alan sall mary the forsayd Mergaret, and falzand off hyr, the next dochter of the forsayd Alexander; and sa furth, geff it falzes off ane or off ma [more], quhyll aythyr [so long as either] off thaim has dochteris or sonnys, quhyll [until] the forsayd matrimonie be fullyly complet and endyt, as is forspokyn."²

About the year 1445, Sir Alexander Montgomery was made a Lord of Parliament, with the title of Lord Montgomery of Ardrossan. He married Margaret, second daughter of Sir Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock, and had issue: (1) Alexander, who had a grant from James II. of the of bailiary of the barony of Cuningham, June 30, 1448, and predeceased his father; (2) George, from whom descended the Montgomeries of Skelmorlie; (3) Thomas, rector of Eaglisham; (4) Margaret, married in 1438 to John first Earl of Lennox, in terms of the above indenture; and Elizabeth and Agnes, the first of whom married John, second Lord Kennedy, and the second, William Cunningham of Glengarnock. Alexander, the first Lord, died in 1461, and was succeeded by his grandson, Alexander, who married Catharine Kennedy, daughter of Gilbert Lord Kennedy.

Hugh, third Lord Montgomery, was a zealous supporter of King James IV., and, as a reward for his services, was created, in 1506, Earl of Eglinton. After

¹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 10.

² *Eglinton MSS.*, 11; *Com. Hist. MSS.*, Rep. III., 388.

the battle of Flodden, he was one of the peers who met in Parliament at Stirling, September 19, 1513, when the coronation of James V. was fixed for the next day but one. He was nominated one of the Queen Dowager's counsellors, and held several important offices, among which was that of tutor to the young King. In 1533, he was appointed Admiral Depute of the bailiary of Cunningham, in the county of Ayr, and, in 1536, he was named one of the joint governors of Scotland during the King's absence in France.¹ Much of his attention was taken up with the Cunningham feud. In 1528, Eglinton Castle was burned and destroyed, and along with it all the muniments of the family, by the Cunninghams.² The feud may be said to have culminated in the murder of Hugh, the fourth Earl of Eglinton, on April 18, 1586—a murder deliberately planned by the Cunninghams and perpetrated by Cunningham of Robertland.³

Hugh, the first Earl, had charters to himself and Helen Campbell, third daughter of Colin, first Earl of Argyll, his wife, of the lands of Eastwood, December 18, 1515; to himself of the lands of Dreghorn, May 20, 1520; to himself and his wife of the lands of Langside, in the barony of Cathcart, July 26, 1527; to himself of the lands of Woodhill, in Ayrshire, forfeited by Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, September 5, 1528; and of part of the lands of Langside to himself, March 15, 1530-31. On February 21, 1526-27,

¹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 25.

² In consequence of this, the Earl received from King James V. a charter narrating "that it plainly appeared to the King and the Lords of his Council that the Earl and his predecessors were hereditarily infeft in the lands and others underwritten, held of the King and his predecessors for ward and relief, namely the lands and barony of Ardrrossan extending to 180 merks of old extent; the 40 merk land of Eglinton; the lands of Snotgers, Robertown, and Allhallow Chapell, all in Ayrshire; the lands of Eaglesham with patronages, extending to 100 merks of old extent, Eastwood and others in Renfrewshire; Bonnington and Polton in the shire of Edinburgh, and Lochransay in the island of Arran; and declaring that the aforesaid lands of Robertown and Eastwood belong to the said Earl and Helen Campbell his spouse in conjunct infeftment; also that it clearly appeared that the Earl's principal messuage and manor house of Eglintoun were lately burned and destroyed by William Cunynghame, Knight, and his accomplices, enemies of the said Earl, together with his charters, instruments of sasine, infeftments and evidents of the said lands, which were kept in the said manor house; and that his Majesty now declared and admitted the said Earl as the immediate and legal holder from himself of all the foresaid lands; To be held of the King and his successors hereditarily by the service of ward and relief as if the burned writs still existed to show; and that this present declaration and admissiun should be to the Earl and his heirs a sufficient charter, sasine and infeftments of the foresaid lands in all time coming. Given under the Great Seal at Edinburgh, 23rd January, 1528." *Eglinton MSS.*, 24.

³ *Eglinton MSS.*, 29. For the Earl's will, see the same MSS., p. 26. In it he acknowledges that he has in gold, in deposit, 2500 merks, desires his executors to remember his brother, James Montgomery, and his servant, Adam Montgomery, "for their friendship and services," and to cause three priests to pray for his own soul and for the souls of those whom he had not satisfied for injuries done to them, and that for five years after his decease. He leaves various sums for masses to be said for himself and others.

he was appointed Justice-General of the northern parts of Scotland, till the King should attain his perfect age of twenty-five years. On July 24, 1535, he received the office of Coroner of all lands within the limits of Cunningham, and had a charter of the island of Little Cumbrae, on the resignation of Robert Hunter of Hunterstoun, June 11, 1537. He died in June, 1545, in his eighty-fifth year.¹

Hugh, the second Earl, was the second son of John, Master of Eglinton, the second son of the first Earl. From Pope Clement VII he obtained a dispensation, permitting him and Mariota Seton to marry, notwithstanding that they were within the third degree of consanguinity. He had a charter of the lands of Tarbolton, in Ayrshire, and of Drumclog and Brintsnab, in the county of Lanark, which had been forfeited by Mathew Earl of Lennox, November 29, 1545. He died at Montredding, near Kilwinning, September 3, 1546. By his will, he nominated Mariota Seton, his wife, Hugh, his elder son and heir, and James Houston, sub-dean of Glasgow, his executors. The elder of his two daughters, Agnes, married Thomas Kennedy of Bargany.²

Hugh, the third Earl, succeeded his father, and, being under age, had for his curators Robert Lord Semple, Richard Maitland of Lethington, and Hew Wallace of Carnell. He was made Commendator of the monastery of Kilwinning, May 19, 1552, and had the office of chamberlain, justiciary, and bailie of all the lands belonging to that monastery. Siding with Queen Mary, he was engaged fighting for her at Langside, May 15, 1568, for which the Parliament held by the Regent Moray, August 19 following, declared that he had committed treason. In April, 1571, he submitted to the authority of James VI., and was sent to Doune Castle, but, being released, he appeared in the Parliament held at Stirling in the month of September of that year. He died in June, 1585, and left issue by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir John Drummond of Innerpeffrey, who, in 1588, married Patrick, third Lord Drummond: Hugh, who succeeded to the earldom; Robert, from whom descended the Montgomeries of Giffen; and two daughters, Margaret and Agnes, the latter of whom married Robert, fourth Lord Semple.³

Hugh, the fourth Earl, as already noted, was the victim of the Cunningham feud. He succeeded his father in June, 1585. On April 18, 1586, when riding from Pulnoo to a tryst at Stirling, he was waylaid and attacked about six miles from his house at Pulnoo by the lairds of Robertland, Aikit, and other of the Cunninghams, and shot dead.⁴

His son, also named Hugh, succeeded as fifth Earl. He married his

¹ Douglas, *Peerage*, i. 496-97.

² Douglas, i. 499.

³ Douglas, i. 499-500.

⁴ Douglas, i. 500. For the feud, see the next chapter.

cousin-german, Margaret, daughter of Robert Montgomery of Giffen, and died without issue. He was the last of the direct male line of the Montgomeries. His cousin, Sir Alexander Seton of Foulstruther, third son of Lady Margaret Montgomery, elder daughter of the third Earl of Eglinton, who was Countess of Robert, first Earl of Winton, inherited the estates and assumed the name of Montgomery and the title of Eglinton. This he did in terms of a family arrangement, confirmed by a charter from the Crown, dated November 28, 1611. His assumption of the dignity, however, was at first strongly opposed by James VI., but, after a controversy of two years, the King, who appears to have been more anxious to assert his prerogative than to prevent Sir Alexander attaining to the earldom, relented, and confirmed the previous grant of the Crown. Sir Alexander was the sixth Earl, and was popularly known as "Greysteel." From his fourth son the present Earl is lineally descended.¹

In the reign of Charles I., Greysteel took an active part in favour of the country party. He was one of the Councillors nominated by the Parliament of Scotland, November 13, 1641, a commissioner for receiving brotherly assistance from the Parliament of England and for conserving the articles of the treaty between England and Scotland. In 1642, he was a member of the General Assembly, and in the same year had command of one of the regiments sent over to put down the rebellion in Ireland; and, as we shall see, he was with the Scottish troops at Marston Moor and opposed to the Engagement. When Charles II. came to Scotland in 1650, the Earl waited upon him, was made captain of his horse-guards, and remained in his service till he was taken prisoner and sent, first to Hull, and then to Berwick, where he was confined till the Restoration. He died, January 7, 1661. He married Lady Anne Livingstone, eldest daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Linlithgow, by whom he had issue: Hugh, his successor; Sir Henry Montgomery of Giffen; Colonel Alexander Montgomery, who died in Ireland; Colonel James Montgomery of Coylsfield; Major-General Robert Montgomery, of whom we shall hear in the sequel; and two daughters, Margaret and Anne.²

Rainaldus de Ketkert (Cathcart), who evidently took his surname from the lands bestowed upon him by Walter Fitz Alan, was also a companion of the High Steward when he came north with David I. He appears in the Register of the Monastery of Paisley as a witness to the endowment charter of the Abbey, which mentions, among other donations, the gift of the church of Cathcart.³

He was succeeded by Ranulfus de Ketkert, who witnessed a charter in 1202, by which Alan, the son of Walter the Steward, conveyed to the monks

¹ Douglas, i. 502; *Eglinton MSS.*, 3, 40, 41.

² Douglas, i. 502.

³ *Reg de Pas.*, 12.

of Paisley an annual rent of ten pennies, which the monks of Melrose were in use to pay him for their lands at Mauchline.¹

Ranulfus was succeeded by William de Cathcart, who, with his son Alan, witnessed an agreement, which Dugald, the son of Christinus, Judge of Lennox, and his wife, Matilda, made with the Abbot and Convent of Paisley, whereby, because they were oppressed by poverty and burdened with many debts, they exchanged the lands of Cnoc (Knock) for certain lands near Walkinshaw, soon after the year 1234.²

Alan succeeded his father. He appended his seal to a resignation made by the Judge of the Lennox to the Abbot and Convent of Paisley, of the lands of Culbethe, in 1234, and witnessed a charter, dated the Thursday before the feast of S. Barnabas, 1240, of the High Steward to Sir Adam Fullerton, of the lands of Fullerton, in the bailiary of Kyle.³

He was succeeded by his son William. William had a sister, named Cecilia, who married John de Perthec. Cecilia and her husband fell into great poverty, and, after parting with all the rest of their lands, sold the last piece they had, a burgage in Rutherglen, to the monks of Paisley. After the death of her husband, Cecilia in her "free widowhood" gave the monks a new charter. She affixed her seal to it, and "my brother William" signed as one of the witnesses. The date of the charter is the Monday next after Ascension Day, 1262.⁴ Another, or the same William de Cathcart (Ketekert) swore fealty to King Edward I. in 1296, and has his name on the Ragman Roll.

Sir Alan Cathcart, who followed, was one of the companions of King Robert I. He accompanied him through the mountains when his fortunes were lowest, and was present at the battle of Loudon Hill, when the English were defeated, in 1307. He marched with Edward Bruce into Galloway, was present at the defeat of Sir John de St. John, and is eulogised by Barbour, as we have seen, as "worthy and wight, stalwart and stout, courteous and fair, and of good fame."⁵

Like many other Scottish families, during the Wars of Independence, the Cathcarts had representatives on both sides. In 1310, Sir William of Cathcart was one of the knights who were holding the Castle of Roxburgh for the English.⁶

During the reign of Robert II., in 1387, Sir Alan Cathcart obtained the baronies of Sundrum and Auchincrew, in Kyle, as the heir of his uncle, Sir

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 14.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 180.

³ Douglas, i. 339.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 376.

⁵ See *ante*, 64.

⁶ Bain, iii. 23. He was there on December 17, along with Sir James de Ros and Sir John Comyn of Buchan.

Duncan Wallace of Sundrum.¹ In 1399, he was summoned before the King, along with Sir William Cunningham and Sir Hew Wallace, to answer a charge of calumny preferred against them by Sir Thomas Boyd and his men.²

Alan de Cathcart, *dominus ejusdem*, entered himself a hostage for King James I. in England, June, 1432, in room of Malcolm Fleming, son and heir of Malcolm Fleming.³ On September 5, 1439, James I. granted a charter to John Cathcart and his heirs, of the lands of Ristonholm, Snodgers, and Little Calderwood, in the county of Lanark, with the office of coroner in half of the barony of Renfrew, forfeited by Agnes Vair.⁴

On April 23, 1451, Alan Cathcart (Kethkert) of that ilk, along with Sir James Douglas of Ralston, and about a hundred others, received a safe conduct from the Lord High Chancellor of England for "on hoole yere." If Crawford⁵ and Nisbet⁶ be right, this was not the Sir Alan Cathcart who was raised to the peerage as Lord Cathcart by James II., in 1447. Alan Lord Cathcart first appears in the Acts of Parliament on October 11, 1464, in the reign of James III.⁷ But on June 18, 1452, Alan Lord Cathcart witnessed an instrument narrating that Alexander Cunningham of Kilmaurs had resigned into the hands of King James II. certain lands, which are specified, and had received them back in free barony to be called Kilmaurs, in terms of a charter to be made therefor.⁸ According to Douglas also, the peerage was created in 1447.⁹ If this date be right, there were evidently two Sir Alan Cathcarts who were contemporary—one who obtained a safe conduct from the Chancellor of England on April 23, 1451, and another who was created Lord Cathcart in 1447. But the probability is that Nisbet, Crawford, and Douglas are wrong, and that the date of the peerage is 1452, though the date is not without its difficulties. Burke gives October 8, 1460, as the date, but against that is the charter of 1452. Alan, first Lord Cathcart, had a charter of the barony of Auchincruive and Glavanys, in Ayrshire, July 2, 1465, and another from Robert Dalrymple, of the whole office of mayor of fee within the bounds of Kyle, to which Hugh Cathcart of Kitzotham is a witness, and a royal charter confirmed his Lordship in the office on March 7 following. He was one of the lords who, on July 10, 1466, seized the King's person at Linlithgow.¹⁰ He was

¹ Crawford, *History of Renfrewshire* (Robertson's Edit.), 29. According to Douglas, i. 339, the charter was dated October 22, 1373. He also states that in 1384 Alan de Cathcart pledged part of the lands of Dalmellington to Roger de Crawford for £46 3s. 4d. stg. ² *Act. Parl. Scot.*, ii. 84.

³ Douglas, i. 339.

⁴ Bain, *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, iv. 250.

⁵ Robertson's Edit., 29.

⁶ *Heraldry*, i. 242.

⁷ *Act. Parl. Scot.*, ii. 84.

⁸ Laing, No. 134.

⁹ *Peerage*, i. 339.

¹⁰ Sir H. Maxwell, *House of Douglas*, i. 241. The other lords were Boyd, Crawford, Hamilton, Livingstone, and Montgomery. They were assisted by Bishop Graham of St. Andrews, and led by Lord Fleming.

made Warden of the West Marches, April 11, 1481, and had a grant from James III. of the custody of the Castle of Dundonald, and of the dominical lands of Dundonald, in Ayrshire, December 13, 1482. He also obtained the lands of Trabeach, in King's Kyle, which had been forfeited by Lord Boyd, and was made Master of Artillery in 1485. He died before August 12, 1499, and was buried in the convent of the Black Friars at Ayr. Hugh, his second son, was the first of the Cathcarts of Trevor.¹

Alan, the first Lord, was succeeded by John, his grandson and heir, who married Margaret, daughter of Kennedy of Blairquhan, and secondly, Janet, daughter of Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig (ancestor to the Duke of Queensberry) and of Elizabeth Crichton, daughter of Lord Sanguhar. As the tocher of Janet, her mother, Elizabeth Crichton, Lady Drumlanrig, bound herself to pay to John Lord Cathcart the sum of 700 merks. John Lord Cathcart was a member of the Privy Council in March, 1507.² By his first wife, his Lordship had issue, Alan, Master of Cathcart; and by his second, Robert, who was killed at Flodden, September 9, 1513; John, who was also killed at Flodden; David, from whom the Cathcarts of Carbiston descended; Hugh, the ancestor of the Cathcarts of Corf; and four daughters, Janet, Elizabeth, Jane, and Margaret. Elizabeth married John Wallace of Craigy, and Margaret, John Hunter of Hunterstown. During the lifetime of John Lord Cathcart the estates of the family were considerably diminished, part of them being sold to Hugh Earl of Eglinton, and to John Craufurd of Drorgane.³

Lord John lived till 1535, or after, and was succeeded by his grandson and heir, Alan, son of Alan, Master of Cathcart. Alan is styled magister, August 2, 1531,⁴ and dominus on June 25, 1537.⁵ His grandfather was certainly alive on August 5, 1535,⁶ and must have died, therefore, between that date and June 25, 1537; but how long he lived after August 5, 1535, is apparently unknown.

Alan, the third Lord, had charters of the baronies of Sundrum, Dalmelington, and other lands in Ayrshire, July 8, 1541, to himself and his heirs male, which failing, to Robert Cathcart of Carleton, David Cathcart of Duchra, Hugh Cathcart of Aroy, William Cathcart of Carbiston, Alan Cathcart of Troweir, William Cathcart of Bardawrath, James Cathcart of Drumjowan, William Cathcart of Drumsmodden, John Cathcart of Glendeweis, and the

¹ Douglas, i. 349.² *Milne Home MSS.*, 30.³ *R. M. S.*, pp. 220, 225 (Vol. 1513-1546).⁴ *R. M. S.*, No. 1229, n. 2.⁵ *R. M. S.*, No. 1618.⁶ *R. M. S.*, No. 1501. Craufurd says that he lived till 1550; Douglas, that he was succeeded in 1535.

heirs male of their bodies, successively.¹ In November, 1543, he sold the castle, fortalice, and part of the lands of Cathcart to Gabriel Semple of Lady-muir, brother-german of William Lord Semple, and his wife, Janet Spreul,² who assumed the name of Cathcart, which remained in their family for some time. He married Helen, eldest daughter of William, second Lord Semple, by whom he had issue, Alan, his successor, and Mary, who married Gilbert Graham of Knockdolian, in Carrick. He fell at Pinkie, September 10, 1547.

Alan, the fourth Lord, married Margaret, daughter of John Wallace of Craigy. On April 17, 1564, he became surety for his father-in-law, who for some time had been engaged in a private war with Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar.³ He was one of the lords of the West country who, on September 5, 1565, subscribed a bond at Glasgow in presence of the King and Queen, that they would "trewlie and faythfullie serve the King and Queen's Majesties and their lieutenant Lord Mathow, Erle of Lennox";⁴ and when the Queen took the field in the month of October in that year, he was one of the leaders in the vanguard of her army, along with Lords Semple and Ross.⁵ Subsequently, like Lord Semple, he deserted the Queen, and fought against her at Langside. On October 8, the Queen's Commissioners protested against the unlawful acts done by him, Glencairn, Semple, and others, and on November, 1568, he was charged by the same Commissioners with besetting the Queen on her way to Dunbar, with imprisoning her in Lochleven, and with pretending to crown her son at Stirling, then "bot of threttene monethis auld."⁶ He was present at the Convention of Perth, July 28, 1569, where also were the Earl of Glencairn and Lord Robert Semple.⁷ He was appointed Master of the Household in 1579, and had charters of the lands of Easter Carbistoun and of the barony of Dalmellington, March 4, 1607. He died in 1618, and was succeeded by his grandson, Alan, fifth Lord Cathcart.⁸

The Polloks also, like the Cathcarts, were descended from companions or followers of Walter Fitz Alan. The first of their family known, but not of their name, was Fulbert, whose name occurs a number of times in the Register of the monastery of Paisley. In all likelihood he was a follower of Walter. He had three sons, Peter, Robert, and Helias, all of whom appear to have accompanied Walter in his migration to the north. Helias was a priest, and owner of the church and church lands of Mearns, which he had probably received from the High Steward. He afterwards gave them to the monastery of Paisley.⁹ Peter and Robert were apparently conspicuous figures at the

¹ Douglas, i. 340.

² *R. M. S.*, No. 2982. Confirmed by Queen Mary, December 23, 1543.

³ *Reg. Privy Seal*, i. 275.

⁴ *R. P. S.*, i. 363.

⁵ *R. P. S.* i. 379.

⁶ Bain, ii. 520, 553.

⁷ Bain, ii. 663.

⁸ *R. M. S.*, 2982.

⁹ *Ann. de Pais.*, 100.

courts of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. Each of them assumed the style and designation of Pollok.

Peter bestowed the church of Pollok, with its lands and pertinents, upon the monastery of Paisley, and confirmed to it the gift of his brother Helias.¹ In 1180, he witnessed a charter by which King William gave to the monastery of Kinloss the whole land of Burgin. Between the years 1187-1203 he witnessed a charter, by which Richard Bishop of Moray took the Abbot and monks of Kinloss and their whole possessions under his protection. According to this same charter, he was one of the benefactors of the monastery.² He and his brother Robert witnessed the charter of Alan, son of Walter, the founder of Paisley Abbey, by which, in or about the year 1204, he gave to the Abbot and Convent of Paisley the church of Kingarth and other donations in the isle of Bute.³

Robert, who, as he is named first in the charter just referred to, was probably the older, witnessed the charter (1165-1172) by which Walter Fitz Alan conferred upon the monastery of Paisley its chief endowments.⁴ Among other charters in the same Register, he witnessed that by which Eschina of Molla, the wife of the High Steward, bestowed upon the monastery of Paisley the lands of Molla.⁵ Another witness to the charter was Helya the chaplain, who may have been Helias, his brother. His son, Robin, or Robert, witnessed the gift of the church of Pollok to the Paisley monastery.⁶

In the year 1230, Robert de Pollok was dead, and had been succeeded by his son Robin, or Robert, who, for the souls of Walter, son of Alan, and of Alan himself, and for the souls of Peter de Pollok and of Robert, sons of Fulbert, gave, for a term of years, twelve pennies from the rents of his lands of Pollok.⁷

Four years later, we meet with Peter de Pollok and Thomas de Pollok as witnesses to the charter of Dugald, son of Cristin, judge of Lennox, by which he resigned whatever claims he had on the lands called Culbuthe and on other lands in dispute in the Lennox.⁸ Peter does not again occur in the Register; but we continue to meet with Thomas down to about the year 1272.⁹

Peter de Pollok signed the Ragman Roll in 1296. He appears to have been succeeded by Robert de Pollok, who married Agnes, daughter of Sir John Maxwell of Mearns. John Pollok, son and heir of Robert, obtained, in 1372, by a charter, dated at Caerlaverock, the lands of Pollok from his grandfather, Sir Robert Maxwell.¹⁰ On October 8, 1392, he witnessed a charter by John

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 98, 99.

² *Stuart, Monastery of Kinloss*, 109, 112.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 15.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 6, 7.

⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 75.

⁶ *Reg. de Pas.*, 100.

⁷ *Reg. de Pas.*, 378.

⁸ *Reg. de Pas.*, 176.

⁹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 53, 180, 190.

¹⁰ Crawford.

Montgomery, Lord of Eaglesham, granting to William of Blakeforde, for homage and service, the whole land called Little Benane, which had been resigned into the grantee's hands.¹

Charles of Pollok, laird of Over Pollok, the successor of John Pollok, was appointed Keeper of Rothesay Castle by John Earl of Lennox. In 1485 his appointment was renewed for a period of five years, for payment yearly of 60 merks at the castle of Crookston, 5 chalders of beir to be delivered at Govan, 50 mas of sea-salted herrings and 10 mas of red herrings to be delivered at Renfrew. The Earl, on the other hand, was to allow him 45 merks yearly of the said sum for all bypast terms, in consideration of which the Laird of Ovir Pollok discharged the Earl and his heirs of the lands of Langlochmuir, Portatoun, etc.² The following year, Charles de Pollok received a charter of his lands of Pollok from Robert Lord Maxwell. He married Margaret Stewart, daughter of the Laird of Minto, by whom he had two sons, John and David. He died in 1508, and was succeeded by his son and heir, John, who, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother David.

In 1523 David de Pollok obtained a charter of his lands, and died in 1543, leaving issue by his wife, Marion, daughter of William Stewart of Castle-milk, John, his successor, and a younger son, from whom descended the Polloks of Balgray. John Pollok of that ilk married Margaret, daughter of Gabriel Semple of Cathcart, and died in 1567. His son and successor married Janet, daughter of William Mure of Glanderstoun, by whom he had John, his son and heir, who married Maud, daughter of Sir Niel Montgomery of Langstoun, and, secondly, Dorothea Stewart, daughter of James Stewart of Cardonald. He was killed at Lockerbie in 1598.³

The Maxwells of Nethir Pollok are said to be descended from John Maxwell of Pollok, brother of Sir Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock, to whose donation to the monks of Paisley out of his lands of Mearns he was a witness, in the year 1273 or shortly after.⁴ In the charter he is styled "John Maxwell Lord of Pollok." He had a brother named Peter, who witnessed the same deed of gift. John de Pollok occurs several times in the Register of the Paisley monastery as a witness. In 1224 he witnessed a charter of King Alexander II., whereby a gift of certain fishings on the part of the Earl of Lennox to the Abbot and Convent of Paisley was confirmed.⁵ Four years later he witnessed another charter by the King, confirming to the monks of the same house the church of Kilpatrick, with all its pertinents, which had been given to them by the same Earl of Lennox, and soon became a source

¹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 8.

² *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 390.

³ *Crawford.*

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 103.

⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 214.

of trouble and litigation, and continued to be so for many years.¹ His name appears also amongst those of the witnesses to the charter by which Alexander confirmed to the Paisley monks the gift to them by Walter the Second, High Steward of Scotland, of the monastery and lands of the Gilbertine monks and nuns, who, after a stay of a few years at Dalmulin, had returned to their parent house in Yorkshire.² In 1250 he witnessed a charter of Alexander III., by which he confirmed to Robert Hertford, clerk, the lands of Dollenrach, which had been given to him by Dugald, son of Alwyn Earl of Lennox.³ A John de Maxwell "of the county of Lanark" signed the Ragman Roll in 1296; but whether he was this John de Maxwell or his son, is uncertain.

On September 26, 1357, as one of the magnates of Scotland, John de Maxwell, in conjunction with others, was appointed a plenipotentiary to treat with Edward III. of England for the ransom of David II.⁴ Ten years later, 1367, John de Maxwell, Lord of Pollok, witnessed the charter by which Robert Earl of Strathearn and John, his son, sought to settle the controversy between the house of Abercorn and the Abbey of Paisley, respecting the pension the former had bought in connection with the convent at Dalmulin from the Master of Sempringham, the head of the Gilbertine Order.⁵ He was present and took the oath at the coronation of Robert II. at Scone, March 27, 1371.⁶ In 1372 he obtained from the Earl of Strathearn a part of the lands of Badruel in the earldom of Strathearn, which in 1398 he exchanged with Sir Bernard Hauden, ancestor of the lairds of Gleneagles, for the lands of Jackstoun in the barony of Kilbride and County of Lanark.⁷ In 1373 he was present at the Parliament when the Act was passed settling the succession to the crown.⁸ John of Maxwell, Lord of Pollok, Knight, was one of the witnesses to a charter by Malcolm Fleming, Knight, Lord of Biggar and of Leigne in favour of his grandson, William Bryde, Lord of Galvane, granting for his service done and to be done, the lands of Badynhache in the granter's barony of Leigne in the sheriffdom of Dumbarton. The charter was confirmed by the King at the Castle of Rothesay, July 7, 1395.⁹ Sir John had issue, by his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Lindsay of Crawford, and niece of the King: Sir John, his successor, and Robert, from whom descended the Maxwells of Calderwood, which produced the family of Newark, of whom issued the Maxwells of Stanely, Dargavel, etc.

To the Sir John just mentioned, succeeded another Sir John, who lived in the reign of James I. His successor bore the same name. In 1477 he

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 172.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 48.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 215.

⁴ Bain, iii. 302.

⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 30.

⁶ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, i. 545 (183).

⁷ Crawford.

⁸ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, i. 549, (185).

⁹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 8.

obtained the lands of Glanderston from John Lord Darnley. He left three sons: Sir John, his successor, Master Robert, rector of Tarbolton, and successively Dean of the Collegiate Church of Dumbarton and Bishop of Orkney; and George of Cowglen, whose son married the heiress of Pollok.

The fifth Sir John Maxwell de Pollok lived during the reign of James IV., by whom he was knighted. He married into the family of Houstoun of that ilk, and had one daughter, his sole heiress, Elizabeth. She married her first cousin, John Maxwell, son of George Maxwell of Cowglen, and is returned in the year 1558 heiress of her great-grandfather, Sir John Maxwell of Pollok. This Sir John was knighted by Queen Mary and adhered zealously to her. After her escape from Lochleven Castle in 1568, he continued with her to the defeat of her troops at Langside. He died in 1578, and was succeeded by his son, who was killed in the conflict at Lockerbie between Lord Maxwell and the Laird of Johnstoun in 1593.

The family of Mearns, which, in the reign of King Alexander II., was merged into that of the Maxwells of Caerlaverock by the marriage of an heiress of the surname of M'Geachin, had its seat at the Castle of Mearns in the barony of Mearns. The first using the designation was Rolandus de Mearns, who witnessed the donation which Eschina de Molla, the wife of Walter Fitz Alan, gave to the monastery of Paisley.¹ He witnessed also a charter, by which Henry St. Martin gave to the same monastery, with the consent of his heirs, two carrucates of land in Penuld in the Parish of Kilbarchan, which had been given to him by Walter the High Steward,² as well as another by which Nicholas de Costentin gave to the same religious house a piece of land situated in Innerwick, near to the cemetery of S. Michael,³ in or about the year 1200. He appears to have had two sons, Robert and Richard, both of whom are witnesses to charters in the Paisley Register.⁴

Eymer de Maxwell also occurs in the Register. He belonged to the same family, and was contemporary with Robert and Richard.⁵ According to Burke, he was Sheriff of Dumfries (1232-1255), and married Mary, daughter of Roland M'Geachan, heiress of Mearns. According to the same authority, he had three sons, Herbert, Edward and John, from the latter of whom descended the Maxwells of Pollok, Springkell, and Calderwood, the Maxwells of Cardoness, Newark, Stanely, Dargavel, etc.

In the year 1300 Herbert de Maxwell was in possession of the lands of Mearns, and gave to the monks of Paisley, in exchange for other lands, eight acres and a half and twenty particates in the Newton of Mearns.⁶ According

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 74.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 49.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 116.

⁴ *Pp.*, 214, 377.

⁵ *Pp.* 19, 225.

⁶ *Reg. de Pas.*, 379.

to Crawford, "John Maxwell lord of Mearns" granted a charter to John, his grandchild by Agnes Maxwell, his daughter, in 1372. Sir Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock and Mearns was, according to the same authority, created a Lord of Parliament, with the title of Lord Maxwell, by King James II., about the year 1445. In the reign of King James VI., John Lord Maxwell, in right of Elizabeth Douglas, his wife, and daughter of one of the co-heirs of James Earl of Morton, Regent (his brother-in-law), upon the forfeiture of Morton, in 1581 obtained the Earldom, but on the restoration of Archibald Earl of Angus, in 1585, to the Earldom of Morton, Lord Maxwell was obliged to relinquish the title. In 1617 his son was declared Earl of Nithsdale with precedency from 1581, the date at which his father had assumed the title and dignity of the Earldom of Morton.¹

The Crocs of Crookston or Darnley, as they are indifferently styled, descended from Robert Croc, a follower of Walter Fitz Allan. Once he is called Robert Croc de Neilston, the lands of which belonged to him. He appears to have had three sons: Alan, Thomas, and Simon. The names of both father and sons occur in all about thirty times in the Register of the Paisley monastery.² Robert witnessed the endowment charter of the Abbey and several charters by Alan, the son of Walter. Sometimes Robert and his son Alan are witnesses to the same charter. The name of Thomas often occurs alone of the family. Simon's name occurs but once, in 1225, where it immediately follows that of his brother Alan.

In or about the year 1180, Robert Croc and Henry de Nes, whom the monks call "special friends of our house," asked and obtained permission from the Prior and Convent of Paisley to build chapels or oratories in their courts for the purpose of celebrating divine worship in them.³ Robert Croc also asked and obtained permission from the same ecclesiastics to have a chapel in a hospital he had built upon his lands for sick brethren (*infirmis fratribus*) and also a chaplain, for whom he undertook to provide a stipend and all things required for celebrating the divine offices.⁴

About the year 1200, Alan, son of Walter, Steward of Scotland, for the 100 shilling land he owed him, gave to Robert Croc and his heirs a charter of the lands of Kilbride, with the waste, by the marches perambulated by the granter's father, in the valley towards his forest which extended eastward

¹ Crawford.

² They occur between the years 1164-1272. For Robert see pp. 6-12, 14, 15, 18, 20, 23, 49, 71, 75, 100, 105, 118; for Robert and Alan his son, 13, 18, 20, 50, 86; for Thomas, 19, 24, 53, 91, 225, 233, 377; for Simon and Alan, 209.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 78.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 77.

to the marches of Morne and so around the long lake to the marches of Cunningham. It was to be held of the granter and his heirs in fee for the service of one knight. The same charter also assigned to Croc and his heirs and their men in Cuglin, pasture in the granter's forest.¹ On November 27, probably in the year 1225, King Alexander confirmed a charter by which Malcolm Earl of Lennox gave to Simon, the son of Robert Croc, the lands of Brengrochane and Kynmonedhane and Gartbethe.² About the year 1272 these same lands were resigned by Simon Croc, knight, into the hands of Malcolm, fourth Earl of Lennox, and in favour of Sir Patrick of Grahame.³

Robert, the third son of Walter II., High Steward of Scotland, married the daughter and heiress of Robert de Croc, lord of Crookston and Darnley, from which marriage came the Stewart family of Lennox. From his father he received the lordship of Tarbolton in the County of Ayr. He was succeeded by Robert Stewart, Lord of Crookston, his son and heir. By a letter dated at Tarbet, June 4, 1330, Robert the Steward of Scotland, with the consent of his guardians, granted licence to his cousin, Sir Alan Stewart, to purchase heritably from Adam of Glasfreth his land of Crukysfu, in the barony of Renfrew, reserving to himself and his heirs the services used and wont.⁴

Sir Alan, who fell at the battle of Halidon Hill, July 19, 1333, was succeeded by Sir John, to whom Robert, the Steward of Scotland, granted a charter of Novodanus confirming to him all the lands and tenements which he held of the granter in chief: to be held by Sir John and his lawful heirs, or failing them, by Walter Stewart, his brother, for rendering the service used and wont. The charter is dated at the Castle of Rothesay, February 2, 1356.⁵ The following year, May 16, 1357, the same Sir John, Lord of Crookston, received from Robert, the Steward of Scotland, the fee of the principal tenement of Tarbolton, in the barony of Kyle, upon the resignation of John of Grahame.⁶ By a charter dated at Darnley about January 10, 1361, the same Sir John Stewart received anew the lands of Crokyisfou, Inchenane and Perthaykscot, in the barony of Renfrew. By a similar charter of about the same date as the preceding, and dated at Darnley, he received back, after resigning them, the lands of Tarbolton and of Dromley in the barony of Kyle, from John Stewart, Lord of Kyle Stewart.⁷ Robert the Stewart appointed Sir John his bailie in the barony of Renfrew, and on July 20, 1361, addressed from Cluny a precept to "Sir John Stewart, lord of Crukston, our bailie of Renfrew."⁸ He received on October 24, 1358, a safe conduct to come into, or

¹ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 386, 2.

² *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 386, 3.

³ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 386, 13.

⁴ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 387, 19.

⁵ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 387, 23.

⁶ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 387, 24.

⁷ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 387, 26, 27.

⁸ *Reg. de Pas.*, 66.

pass through England, with sixty horse or foot, and died before January 15, 1369.

His grandson, Sir Alexander, had a charter from John, Earl of Carrick, Steward of Scotland, of the manor and tower of Galston. He was succeeded by his son and heir, Sir John Stewart, May 5, 1404, who had a great share in the victory of Bauge in Anjou, and afterwards received a grant of the lands of Aubigny and Concessault from Charles VII. of France. On July 17, 1428, he received a charter, under the Great Seal, from King James I., of the lands of Tarbolton in the barony of Kyle Stewart, in Ayrshire, which belonged to the granter heritably and had been resigned by him: To be held, all and sundry the foresaid lands, with the tenandries of Rath, Neutirtane, Previk, Clune, Colaim, Carngulane, Welchtoun Lital and Welchtoun Mekil, Park of Tarbolton, Smithistoun, Skeok and the Vairtoun, in a free barony to be called the barony of Tarbolton. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Duncan Earl of Lennox, in consequence of which a great part of the estates of the earldom of Lennox subsequently came into the Darnley family. His third son was John Stewart, Lord of Aubigny and Concessault, in France.

Sir John was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Alan, in 1429, who, on August 4, 1437, received, from Charles VII. of France, letters granting him an extension of time during which to pay certain debts he had incurred for his support while engaged in His Majesty's service.¹ A marriage contract was made by which John Stewart, son and heir of Alan Stewart, was to marry Margaret, daughter of Alexander Montgomery, Lord of Ardrossan, and by which the latter became bound to pay, in name of tocher with his daughter, Margaret Montgomery, the sum of 600 merks Scots, while the former became bound to provide his son and Margaret in conjunct fee in the 40 merk lands of Dreghorn and Drumley and others. The indenture is dated at Houstoun, May 15, 1438. He was treacherously slain at Powmathorn, near Falkirk, in 1439, by Sir Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock, "for auld feud that was betwixt them," and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir John Stewart, who appears to have been made a Lord of Parliament, probably at the Coronation of James III.

In December, 1460, Alexander Stewart, brother to and procurator for John Stewart, Lord of Darnley, exhibited before the Chancellor of Scotland and others at Ayr, two petitions of Lord Darnley, requesting that briefs should be directed from Chancery to the sheriffs of Stirling and Dumbarton for making enquiry as to what lands and annual rents Duncan Earl of Lennox, father of Elizabeth Lennox and grandfather of John Lord Darnley, died vested and

¹ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 388, 44 and 46.

seised of, and whether the Lord John Darnley was one of the lawful heirs of Duncan. This was the beginning of a process which lasted for some time, but ended in the transference of the earldom and dignity of Lennox to the Darnley family.

James III. gave, on July 20, 1461, John Lord Darnley and his wife, Margaret Montgomery, a new charter of the dominical lands of Tarbolton Drumley, Dreghorn and Ragalhill, in Ayrshire.¹ Two years later, Lord Darnley presented a petition to Parliament praying to be served heir to half of the lands of the earldom of Lennox for one year, offering to bind himself to maintain, at his own expense, for one year, a hundred spears and a hundred bows in any part of the realm against His Majesty's enemies; or otherwise to find fifty spears and fifty bows for a year, and to find caution that his occupation of the half of the earldom should not prejudice any claims His Majesty might have to it.

In 1465 he was appointed Governor of Rothesay Castle at a fee of 40 merks till the King (James III.) attained his fifteenth year. Two years later, his term of office was extended to the King's twenty-first year, and his fee increased to 100 merks. In 1470 he was directed by warrant of the King to deliver to Henry Crichton, Abbot of Paisley, or his assignees, a quantity of lead that his Lordship had in keeping in the Castle of Bute. In 1472 the term of his governorship of Rothesay Castle was again extended, this time to the King's twenty-fifth year.

The Lennox business was settled in 1473. Sir John Colquhoun of that ilk, Sheriff of Dumbarton, on July 23 of that year returned John Lord Darnley as heir of his great-grandfather, Duncan Earl of Lennox, of the principal messuage and the half of the lands of the earldom, as lawfully descended from the eldest daughter of the deceased Earl. Four days later, Lord Darnley received sasine of the principal messuage and half of the lands, etc., of the earldom, and on the 31st of the month a discharge of all the sums of money and compositions due to the Crown connected with his entry to the earldom.²

Mathew, the fourth Earl, of whom we shall hear again, was forfeited and exiled, October 9, 1545. He was recalled by Queen Mary in 1564, and restored to his honours. On July 11, 1570, he was appointed Regent of Scotland, and was slain at Stirling, September 4, 1571.

The Spreulls have long ceased to own their ancestral estate of Cowdon, in the parish of Neilston. During the period here dealt with, they were a family of considerable note. The first of them I have been able to meet with is Walter Spreull, Lord of Coldame, in the shire of Dumbarton, who, about the

¹ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 389, 47, 48, 49.

² *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii., 389, 53, 54, 55, 57, 65, 66; 390, 67.

year 1294, was seneschal or steward to the Earl of Lennox, and with others, at the Earl's direction, was holding courts in the Lennox property of the monks of Paisley, and in various ways seeking to deprive them of the donations conferred upon their house by one of the Earl's predecessors. The cause of the monks was espoused by Robert Wishart, the famous Bishop of Glasgow, and afterwards "the best perjured man in Scotland." The Earl and his Steward paid no attention to the appeals of the Bishop. Robert at last directed the vicars of Carmunnock, Cathcart, Pollok, Kilmacolm and Kilbarchan to attend the courts the Earl and his steward were holding, and to warn them against interfering in the affairs of the Abbot and Convent "contrary to God and to justice," and in the event of their paying no heed to their warning, the vicars were, with all due solemnity, to proceed to excommunicate the Earl and his steward and all who adhered to them, and to lay the churches and chapels in the district under an interdict.¹ This was only the beginning of the trouble between the Earl and the monastery. The controversy continued for many years, and was not settled until after the close of the English wars.

In 1296, Walter Spreull signed the Ragman Roll and took the oath of fealty to Edward I. of England. Among the garrison holding the Castle of Edinburgh for the English in 1335 was one Thomas Spreull, an esquire;² but whether he belonged to the Cowdon family is uncertain, though it is not unlikely that he did. The same, or another, Thomas Spreull ("Sproule") is mentioned in the Exchequer Rolls for 1368, 1368, 1372, as the receiver of stores for the Castle of Edinburgh.³ Under the year 1366, in the same Rolls, a Walter Spreull is mentioned as paying into the Exchequer the contribution of the barony of Glasgow towards the King's ransom.⁴ At Bar, on August 29, 1483, Master William Spreull witnessed a charter whereby Hugh Lord Montgomery and Giffying gave to Alexander Montgomery, son and apparent heir of Robert Montgomery of Giffying and his spouse Jonet of Dunlop, the five merk land of Bar, lying within the lordship of Giffying and in the bailiary of Cunningham. With the exception of Sir Thomas Petcon, chaplain, the witnesses were Montgomeries.⁵

In 1531 "the laird of Cowdoun" was engaged in a feud with the laird of Colgrane.⁶ One of the witnesses to the charter by which Alexander Porterfield sold his lands of Porterfield in the barony of Renfrew to his brother germane, Master John Porterfield, and his wife Beatrice Cunningham, on August 16, 1540, was Thomas Sprewill de Coldon.⁷ (Cowdon).

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, *201.

² *Bain*, iii. 215.

³ *Burnett*, ii. 306, 349, 368, 393.

⁴ *Burnett*, ii. 259.

⁵ *Eglington MSS.*, 16.

⁶ *Stirling Maxwell MSS., Com. Hist. MSS.*, X. i. 72.

⁷ *R. M. S.*, 2211.

According to Nisbet there were several branches of the family, as the Spruells of Ladymuir, of Castlehill, and of Blachairne.

John Spreul, a younger son of the Cowdon family, was, in 1507, made vicar of Dundonald. At the same time he was one of the professors of philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Afterwards he was appointed Rector of the University. Subsequently he was advanced by Bishop Dunbar to be one of the prebends of his Cathedral Church, and in virtue of his prebendary became vicar of Ancrum. In 1541 he was a canon of Glasgow, and is so designated in a charter, according to which he bought from Lord Lyle, on the 25th August in that year, the lands of *lie* King's Meadow, King's Orchard, and Castlemilk, all lying within the territory of the burgh of Renfrew.¹ Two years after this, he bought from Gabriel Semple of Ladymure, his wife Jonet Spreul consenting thereto, the lands of Ladymure in the lordship of Duchal and the parish of Kilmaccolm, then occupied and cultivated by John Cochrane, George Lyle, and Jonet Caldwell. The contract was signed at Cathcart, April 25, 1543.² On November 25 in the same year, Gabriel Semple and his wife Jonet Spreule purchased the lands and town of Cathcart, and assumed the designation of Cathcart.³ On July 27, 1545, the Queen granted to James Stewart of Cardonald, together with other lands, those of Dalmore and Dalquhorne⁴ in the lordship of Coldame in Dumbartonshire, the latter of which Walter Spreull of Cowdon had received from the Earl of Lennox in the time of Alexander III. In addition to the lands above mentioned, Master John Spreull is said to have purchased the lands of Blachairn in the lordship of Provan, and "a fair lodging" within the city of Glasgow. He died in the year 1555, leaving the whole of his property to John Spreull, his nephew, and son of his brother Robert, a burghess of Glasgow. At the Reformation, John is said to have become rector of Cambuslang.⁵

In 1610, James Spreull of Cowdon was witness to a precept of *clare constat* by James Earl of Glencairn, dated at Glasgow, June 12.⁶ John Spreull, his successor, sold the lands of Cowdon to William Lord Cochrane, father of the first Earl of Dundonald, in 1622. John Spreull, the vicar of Cambuslang, was succeeded by his son and heir,⁷ whose son was Provost of Renfrew, and attended the Parliament of 1630 as one of the Commissioners of the Royal Burghs.⁸ The Provost was succeeded by his son, who was bred to the law, and was appointed Town Clerk of the city of Glasgow, and subsequently was one of the principal clerks of the Court of Session. In the Parliament of 1645 Renfrew was again represented by a John Spreull.⁹

¹ R. M. S., 2428.

² R. M. S., 2981.

³ R. M. S., 2982.

⁴ R. M. S., 3141.

⁵ Nisbet.

⁶ Laing, 1574.

⁷ Nisbet.

⁸ Balfour, *Annals*, ii. 355.

⁹ Balfour, iii. 310.

The Mures of Caldwell are descended from Sir Reginald More, Lord High Chamberlain of Scotland. He first appears in that office in the year 1329, the first of the reign of David II.¹ He had three sons and a daughter named Alicia. Alicia married Sir William de Herch of Terregelis, and, secondly, Sir John Stewart of Ralston, son of Walter, Steward of Scotland, by Isobel Graham, and half-brother to King Robert II. Of the sons, John, the youngest, entered the Church and became vicar of Kincardine. William, the eldest, succeeded his father. He died without male issue, and his estates of Abercorn, etc., passed with his daughter and heiress, Christian, to Sir John Lindsay of Byres, ancestor of the Earls of Crawford and Lindsay, while the estates of Cowdams, Camseskane, etc., passed to his nephew, Godfrey Muir, son of Gilchrist, second son of Sir Reginald More.

Godfrey Muir is the first who is designated of Caldwell. The estates of Caldwell, in the counties of Ayr and Renfrew, are understood to have been acquired about the close of the fourteenth century by a marriage with the heiress of Caldwell of that ilk, then a family of some note, having given a Chancellor to Scotland in 1349. Godfrey was succeeded by John, to whom, and to Archibald Mure of Polkelly and Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock, by a letter dated October 29, 1409, the Regent Albany granted a remission for the slaughter of Mark Neilson of Dalrymple. On January 19, 1340, he witnessed a charter by Fullerton of Crosbie respecting the lands of Dreghorn. To this John succeeded another John, who, probably during the life-time of his predecessor, under the title of John Muir, junior, of Cowdams, acted as a boundary commissioner for the burgh of Prestwick in 1446. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Lindsay of Dunrod, by whom he had, besides his son Sir Adam, who succeeded him, a daughter, Marjorie, who married Sir John Ross of Hawkhead, ancestor of the present Earl of Glasgow, Lord Ross, and to whom and to her husband a monument was erected in the parish church of Renfrew, where it may still be seen.

Sir Adam was knighted by James IV., and is described by Crawford as "a gallant, stout man, having many feuds with his neighbours, which were managed with great fierceness and much bloodshed." He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Semple of Eliotstoun and sister of John, first Lord Semple, by whom he had four sons: Constantine, John, Hector, and Robert. Hector was killed in a feud at Renfrew, in 1499, by John and Hugh Maxwell, eldest son and brother of the laird of Nether Pollok, who narrowly escaped a similar fate at the hands of Hector's brother John. Robert, the youngest son, was

¹ See the *Caldwell Papers*, Part First, from which this account is taken.

granted a remission under the Privy Seal, dated January 24, 1500, "for the slaughter of umquhile Patrick Boure, and for the forthocht felony done upon the Laird of Ralston." Sir Adam had also two daughters: Elizabeth, who married George Lindsay of Dunrod, and Janet, married to John Stewart of Ardgowan, ancestor of the present Sir Hugh Shaw Stewart, Baronet.

John, who succeeded Sir Adam, joined the Earls of Lennox, Arran, and Glencairn against the Duke of Albany, and on February 20, 1515, battered with "artalzerie," took and sacked the castle and palace of Glasgow, which is described as "one of the principal fortresses in the kingdom," and was then in the possession of James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow and Chancellor of Scotland. He was cast in heavy damages for the injury done, and in order to pay them was apparently compelled, in 1527, to mortgage his estate of Cam-seskane. The Earl of Eglinton, to whose daughter his eldest son was married, came to his relief, but the relief was purchased at a great price. Among other conditions, the laird of Caldwell bound himself to perform military service to the Earl so long as the sum lent was unpaid—a hard condition, but this was the age of feuds. The laird married Lady Janet Stewart, understood to be a daughter of Mathew Earl of Lennox, grandfather of Darnley, husband of Queen Mary. Their daughter Agnes was married to Patrick Montgomery of Giffen, and their daughter Elizabeth became the wife of William Ralston of that ilk. On their second son, Alexander, were bestowed, in 1537, the lands of Kittochside in Lanarkshire. On his death without issue they returned to the family, but, about the year 1600, they were alienated to the Reids of Kittochside.

John, the eldest son of John Muir and Lady Janet Stewart, succeeded his father in 1538. He was married to Lady Isobel, daughter of Hugh, first Earl of Eglinton; and, secondly, to Christian, daughter of Ninian Lord Ross of Hawkhead. In right of his mother he acquired the lands of Glanderstoun, part of the Renfrewshire property of the Stewarts of Lennox. He bestowed them upon his second son, William, whose descendants, the Mures of Glanderstoun, continued a distinct Renfrewshire family till 1710, when, on failure of the elder line, they inherited the Caldwell estates, and thus re-united the two branches of the family after a separation of a hundred and fifty years. The Laird of Caldwell, who, like his father and grandfather, was extensively engaged in the feudal strife of the district, died about the year 1554, and was succeeded by his eldest son, John, who was knighted by James V. He married Jonet Kennedy of Bargany in Ayrshire, by whom he had several sons. He was killed in the Cunningham and Eglinton feud, September 10, 1570. One of his letters to his kinsman, Hugh, third Earl of Eglinton, has been preserved and partly printed in the *Eglinton MSS.*

It is not without interest.¹ He was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Robert, who, like his father, was mixed up in the feuds of the time. In 1580 he was appointed one of the Commissioners to try Lord Ruthven, High Treasurer of Scotland, for the murder of David Rizzio. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Kincaid of that ilk, by whom he had three sons: John, James and Hugh; secondly, Barbara, daughter of Sir George Preston of Valleyfield, and relict of Robert Master of Semple, and mother of Robert fourth Lord Semple. He was succeeded in 1620 by Robert, eldest son of his second son James. Robert married Jean, daughter of John Knox of Ranfurle, and is described in a decree of the Parliament of 1641 as having "deyed in his country's service," on which account certain immunities were granted to his son and successor.²

The Rosses of Hawkhead are said to be descended from Robert Ross of Wark in Northumberland. A Robert de Ross occurs as a witness to a letter of licence granted by Alexander III. on June 1, 1250.³ Between this and 1281 we hear of no fewer than four bearing the surname de Ros: Sir James, two Godfreys, father and son, and William. The fact that their names all occur in a charter⁴ in connection with a piece of land in Stewarton, may probably be taken as indicating that they belonged to the Montgreenan branch of the family. The next we hear of is Sir Godfrey de Ross, who, in 1296, was a prisoner in Rochester, and was there evidently because he had been fighting on the patriotic side against Edward I.⁵ According to Nisbet, Robert de Ross is often found as a witness in the charters of Alexander III.

Upon the Ragman Roll are the names of James, son of Godfredi Ross, senior, James de Ross, filius Godofredi, junior, Andrew de Ross, filius Godofredi, William de Ross in the shire of Edinburgh, Robert de Ross in the shire of Ayr, and Robert Ross, Knight, dominus Castri de Wark. It is from this last that the Barons of Hawkhead are supposed to be descended. On December 17, 1310, Sir James de Ross and Sir William de Cathcart formed part of the English garrison of Roxburgh.⁶ On July 26, 1313, we hear of the arrest in London and of the committal to the Tower of Robert de Ross, son of Robert de Ross

¹ It was written from St. Andrews, May 10, 1569. The following occurs in it: "As for novellis I haif na vderis bot as I haif writing, except Niknevin thollis ane assyiss this Tysday: it is thought scho sall suffer the detht; sum vderis belevis nocht. Gif scho deis it is ferit scho doe cummer and caus mony vderis to incur danger; bot as yit for no examinatione me Lord Regent nor the ministeris can mak, scho will confess no wytheraft nor gilt, nor vderis, bot sayis to me Lord Regent and the examineris that it is nocht that hes causit her to be taen bot the potingaris; and that for invy, be resson she wass the help of thame that wass onder infirmate; and spakis the most crafte spakein as is possibill to ane woman to be sa far past in yeiris quha is ane hundrit yeiris."—*Eglinton MSS.*, 43.

² Balfour, *Annales*, iii. 29.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 215.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 380.

⁵ Bain, iv. 359.

⁶ Bain, iii. 23.

of Cunningham, who said he had been studying in the schools of Paris and was on his way home.¹ This again was probably one of the Rosses of Montgreenan.

John and Stephen de Ross witnessed a charter of Robert, Steward of Scotland, in favour of the Abbot and convent of Paisley in the year 1361,² and in 1388 Sir John de Ross of Hawkhead witnessed another charter in favour of the same monastery.³ He appears as a witness in 1390 and in 1397.⁴ It was in this Sir John that King Robert III., by a charter dated March 30, 1390, vested the lands of Auchinbach and part of the lands of Hawkhead.⁵ To his descendant, also named Sir John Ross of Hawkhead, Knight, King James II., by a charter dated 1450, gave the lands of Tarbert in the shire of Ayr, and the lands of Auchinbach, on the resignation of Robert Ross of Tarbert.⁶ Sir John afterwards renounced his rights over the lands of Auchinbach in favour of Charles Ross upon condition that he should marry the daughter of Nether Pollok—a marriage which was accepted as if he had married Sir John's own daughter.⁷

In 1480, the Abbot and convent of Paisley raised an action before the Lords of Council against Sir John Ross of Hawkhead, Knight, for the wrongous detention and withholding from them of certain annual rents from the lands of Ingliston, when judgment was given against him.⁸ On September 21, 1484, Sir John Ross of Hawkhead was appointed one of the Conservators of the three years' truce between Scotland and England.⁹ Some three years later he was raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Ross of Hawkhead. On December 6, 1488, he granted an instrument of sasine to the three daughters and heiresses of the late James Young for infesting them in three oxgangs of the lands of Walterston in the shire of Linlithgow, formerly held by their father.¹⁰ In a royal citation connected with the dispute between the burghs of Renfrew and Paisley, a John the Roys is mentioned as one of "our Sheriffs."¹¹ Lord Ross's name occurs in one of the curious marriage contracts of the time. The contract was between Hugh Lord Montgomery and Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, and is as follows: that John Montgomery, son and apparent heir to the said Lord Montgomery, shall marry Bessie Edmonstone, daughter to Sir Archibald, and failing either John or Bessie by decease or dissent, "the said Lord byndis his second sone, and falzeand of the second, the

¹ Bain, iii. 63, 72.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 68.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 340.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 364, 368.

⁵ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 406.

⁶ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 406; but cp. Robertson, *Index*, 126. According to the charter cited there the lands of Auchinbach were resigned by John de Robertson of Ernochsabunsoy.

⁷ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, 406.

⁸ *Reg. de Pas.*, 60.

⁹ Bain, iv. 309; *Foedera*, xii. 235.

¹⁰ Laing, *Charters*, p. 51.

¹¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 404.

third, and falzeand of the third, the ferd; and in likwiz falzeand of the said Besse, Kateren, and falzeand of Keteren, Mergaret, and falzeand of Mergeret, Ellen." For this marriage Sir Archibald bound himself to pay to Lord Montgomery 1,300 merks Scots, who on his part bound himself to give conjunct infeftment conform to the tocher at the sight of the Earl of Argyll, the Earl of Lennox, "my Lord of Pasley," and Lord Ross of Hawkhead. The penalty for failing to observe the contract is set down at two thousand merks.¹ The contract is dated at Stirling, June 1, 1498.

John Ross of Hawkhead had a charter of part of Auchinbothie Wallace, February 17, 1490-1, and obtained a charter under the Great Seal confirming him in the possession of the island of King's Inch in the Clyde, March 11, 1501-2. He had a charter also of the lands of Dykebar, Castlebar, and Mathewbar, July 30, 1502, and another of Ralston in the county of Renfrew.

In 1504 he was again in trouble with the monks of Paisley. This time he was summoned along with certain others before the Lords of Council for having unjustly occupied lands belonging to the monks at Moniabrok in the parish of Lochwinnoch and the lands of Thornley in the parish of Paisley, and for withholding the teinds of the lands of Hawkhead.² What the result was is unknown. The probability is that some compromise was made. At any rate the case does not appear to have gone beyond the issue of the summons.

He was succeeded by his son, the second Lord, in 1505. On April 21, 1505, the latter is styled Lord Melville. Twelve days later he is styled John Lord Melville of Hawkhead.³ The barony of Melville, in the shire of Edinburgh, came to him through his marriage with Agnes, daughter and sole heiress of Sir John Melville of that ilk. In the month of April, 1509, he received the Earl of Lennox at Hawkhead, when he bound himself not to "host" the Earl, under a penalty of two hundred merks. His son married the Earl's daughter. Her tocher was five hundred merks, and some difficulty appears to have been experienced by her father in paying the sum.⁴ The second Lord Ross was one of the many Scots nobles who were slain with the King on the field of Flodden, September 9, 1513.

He was succeeded by Ninian Lord Ross, his son and heir, whose eldest son and apparent heir, Robert Master of Ross, being killed at the battle of Pinkie, September 10, 1547, his estates and honours passed to James, his second son and heir.

James Lord Ross was one of the peers who sat upon the trial of James Earl of Bothwell for the murder of Darnley in the year 1567. He adhered constantly to the interest of Queen Mary, and was one of the lords who met

¹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 17. ² *Reg. de Pas.*, 61. ³ *Laing*, No. 253. ⁴ *Lennox MSS.*, *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 392.

her at Hamilton, after her escape from Lochleven Castle in 1568. He had charters of the lands and baronies of Melville, Halkhead, and Auchinbak, on his father's resignation, dated September 3, 1547, and September 13, 1548. He married Jean, daughter of Robert Lord Semple, and had two sons: Robert, who succeeded him, and Sir William Ross of Murestoun. Robert Lord Ross died in 1596, and was succeeded by James, his son and heir, by Jean, daughter of Gavin Hamilton of Raploch.

James, sixth Lord Ross, married Margaret Scott, daughter of Walter, first Lord Scott of Buccleuch, by whom he had James, his successor, and several daughters, of whom Margaret married Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Elizabeth, who married Sir Robert Innes of that ilk. In 1647 Robert Lord Ross was appointed Sheriff of Renfrew and Bailie of Paisley.¹ He was colonel of foot in the counties of Ayr and Renfrew, 1648, and one of the Commissioners of Estates in 1649. By Cromwell's act of grace and pardon he was fined, in 1654, in the sum of £3,000 sterling. He died in the same year.

George, eleventh Lord Ross, was made a Privy Councillor by Charles II., and appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Guards. Under the direction of Claverhouse he took an active part in the enforcement of conformity. We shall hear of him further on. He married Lady Grizel Cochrane, daughter of the first Earl of Dundonald.

South from Hawkhead lie the lands of Raiss, once the property of the ancient family of Logan. In the reign of Alexander II. an Adam de Logan witnessed a charter by which the King confirmed to the monastery of Paisley the churches of Turnberry, Stratton, and Dalmakeran,² but whether he belonged to the family of Raiss is uncertain. John Logan, who is the first to be met with bearing the designation de Rass or of Raiss, witnessed an instrument, by which, in 1409, William Urry resigned the whole of his lands of Fulton into the hands of the Abbot and convent of Paisley.³ Another John Logan of Raiss formed one of an assize respecting certain lands of the then deceased Mathew Earl of Lennox, in 1532.⁴ Later on, in the same year, he performed a similar office in connection with the lands of Auchenbothie, formerly belonging to Agnes Langmure, spouse of John Ross.⁵ At Raiss, on August 16, 1540, Alexander Porterfield executed the agreement⁶ whereby he

¹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 42.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 428.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 57.

⁴ *R. M. S.*, 1203, n. 1.

⁵ *R. M. S.*, 1234, n. 1. The other names on this assize are Ninian Lord of Ross, Pat. Maxwell of Newerk, Wil. Cunningham of Craiganis, Jas. Stewart of Ardgowane, Gabriel Symple of Ladymure, John Knox of Ranfurrie, Joh. Birsbane of Bischoptoun, David Caldwell of that ilk, Tho. Rallstoun of that ilk, Adam Qhitefurd of that ilk, Joh. Stewart of Bultreis, Joh. Marscheale of Clochodrik, John Marscheale of Grenesyde (or Gorneside), John Stewart of Barsenbin.

⁶ *R. M. S.*, 2211.

sold his lands of Porterfield, in the County of Renfrew, to his brother germane John Porterfield and his spouse Beatrice Cunningham. One of the witnesses was James Logan.

South from the lands and house of the Logans of Raiss are the lands and house formerly owned by the Stewarts of Raiss and Halrig, who were a branch of the powerful family of Darnley. Crawford says that he saw a charter granted by John Lord of Darnley and Earl of Lennox of the lands of Halrig and Raiss to Alexander Stewart, "consanguineo suo" upon the resignation of Hector Stewart of Raiss, his father, dated in the year 1484. This same Alexander Stewart de Raiss appears as a witness in a transaction connected with the church at Largs and the monastery of Paisley, in the year 1450.¹ By a document, dated June 11, 1522, his descendant, John Stewart of Halrig, bound himself to resign in favour of John Earl of Lennox the lands of Over Darnley, in which he was infest, under reversion, upon payment to him and his heirs by the Earl of the sum of one hundred and fifteen merks.² In 1545 George Stewart of Raiss sat upon an assize in connection with certain lands in the county formerly belonging to his kinsman, Mathew Earl of Lennox. Upon the same assize was his neighbour, Logan of Raiss.³

Between the lands of Hawkhead and Paisley, upon the banks of the White Cart, are the lands of Whiteford, once the residence of the Whitefords of that ilk. The first of their family was Walter de Whiteford, who, for his good services at the battle of Largs, in the reign of Alexander III., under Alexander the High Steward, received these lands from the latter. According to Nisbet,⁴ there is a tradition that one of the heads of the family who stood firm for his country in the time of King Robert Bruce, surprised a party of English, who lay encamped on the opposite side of the White Cart, by the stratagem of putting great quantities of sheaves of wheat and other corns into the water, and then crossing unseen, engaged and overthrew them. On this account, and as a memorial of the incident, they carry, he says, the wheat sheaves. The probability, however, is that the story has been invented to account for the sheaves. John de Whiteford was present in the church of Rutherglen on September 12, 1388, when the Abbot and convent of Paisley appealed to the Pope against Mathew, Bishop of Glasgow, who had laid them and their churches under the ban of excommunication.⁵ In the reign of Robert, John Whiteford of that ilk resigned his estates in favour of Patrick, his son and apparent heir. The resignation was confirmed in 1431 by James I. Patrick was succeeded by John, and John by Quintin Whiteford of that ilk, who was

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 246.

² *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 393.

³ *R. M. S.*, 3121, n. 1.

⁴ *Heraldry*, i. 368.

⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 334.

seised in the lands of Whiteford in 1507. He was succeeded by Adam Whiteford of that ilk, retoured in 1519. John, his eldest son and successor, lived in the reign of James VI., and died without issue in 1606. His estates passed to Adam Whiteford of Milton, his brother, son of John Whiteford of that ilk by Margaret, daughter of Robert Lord Semple. This Adam married the daughter of Sir James Somerville of Camnethan, by whom he had two sons: James, his successor, and Dr. Walter Whiteford, sub-dean of Glasgow, afterwards parson of Moffat, and in 1635 Bishop of Brechin.¹

A little to the north of Whiteford lie the lands of Ralston, once the possession of the Ralstons of that ilk. The Ralstons are said to be descended from Ralph, a younger son of the Earl of Fife, who received these lands from the High Steward of Scotland, and called them Ralphstoun or Ralston from his own Christian name.² Anyway, the name is of great antiquity in the county. Hugh de Ralstoun and Thomas de Ralphiston, both of whom are supposed to have belonged to this family, signed the Ragman Roll. Nicolas de Ralston witnessed the grant of Fulton to the monastery of Paisley by Sir Antony Lombard, the Physician, in 1272.³ James de Raulyston, lord of the same, was witness, in 1346, to the privilege granted to the monks of the same house of choosing an abbot.⁴ Sir John Stewart de Railstoun in 1388 had a pension granted to him of the sum of £20 by Robert II.⁵ In 1488 the name of John de Ralston appears several times in the Register of the Abbey of Paisley. He witnessed the liberty granted to the monks by the representatives of the Pope to feu their land in the neighbourhood of the monastery, in order to form the burgh of Paisley.⁶ He also acted as one of the arbiters on behalf of the Abbot of Paisley in the dispute the latter had with the bailies of Renfrew in respect of the boundaries of their lands.⁷ His name stands among those of the witnesses in the charter granted by the Abbot of Paisley to the inhabitants of his village when it was erected into a free burgh of barony and regality.⁸ In 1505, Thomas Ralston of that ilk obtained a charter of his lands of Ralston from Lord John Ross.⁹ The same Thomas, or his successor bearing his name, witnessed a decree arbitral, pronounced on May 2, 1530, by Robert, Bishop of Argyll, Patrick Maxwell of Newark, John Lockhart of Bar, and others, betwixt Hugh Earl of Eglinton and his kin on the one part, and Robert Boyd in Kilmarnock, Mungo Mure of Rowallan and others on the other part.¹⁰ Hugh Ralston of that ilk subscribed the solemn bond entered into by many in 1560 for maintaining "the new evangell."¹¹

¹ Nisbet and Crawford.

² Nisbet expresses great doubt of the truth of this tradition.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 51.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 10.

⁵ Burnett, iii. 692, 700.

⁶ *Reg. de Pas.*, 262.

⁷ *Reg. de Pas.*, 406, 407.

⁸ *Reg. de Pas.*, 268.

⁹ Crawford.

¹⁰ *Eglinton MSS.*, 25.

¹¹ Hamilton of Wishaw, *Sheriffdom of Lanark and Renfrew*, 79.

The Stewarts of Cardonald, the lands of which lie near Crookston Castle on the opposite side of the Cart, originally descended from Alan Stewart, natural son of John, first Earl of Lennox. Alan and his wife, Marion Semple, obtained the lands in 1487.¹ In 1519, February 15, Alan witnessed an indenture between John Earl of Lennox and Hugh Earl of Eglinton. The indenture was a marriage contract providing for the intermarriage of the two families when any of their children came of lawful age. A special condition of the contract is that there should be a sure bond of kindness between the two Earls against all others excepting the King, the Bishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Arran, and the Abbot of Kilwinning.² The last of the race on the male side was James Stewart, who left three daughters: Elizabeth, who married Robert Stewart of the family of Garlies; Margaret, married to Sir John Stewart of Minto; and Dorothea, who married John Pollok of that ilk.³ On January 6, 1532, James V. confirmed a charter of Alan Stewart of Craighall, granting to James Stewart, his nephew and apparent heir, the lands of Wrychtland, Cardonald, and Easter Henderson in the county of Renfrew. The witnesses to the original charter are Robert Master of Semple, Alan Master of Cathcart, William Semple of Thridpart, Robert Semple, and Gilbert Law.⁴ On February 1, 1545, both James Stewart and John, his son and apparent heir, were dead.⁵ They were succeeded by James Stewart, to whom Queen Mary gave part of the lands of the Easter Mains of Inchinnan and the lands of Cragton, besides others, on June 15, 1545.⁶ Further grants were made to him by the Queen in the following month.⁷ During the wars of the Reformation he was in the pay of the English, and apparently was set to watch and report the movements of Hamilton the Archbishop, when at Paisley. On March 29, 1565, Letters of Charge were issued against him by the Queen, at the instance of Mathew Earl of Lennox, charging him to restore, under the pain of treason, 360 thraves of grain, which he had carried off, though they had been arrested, from the Mains of Inchinnan.⁸ In the next reign the lands of Cardonald fell into the hands of Walter Stewart, Prior of Blantyre, son of Sir John Stewart of Minto, who received them in feu from the King by a charter under the Great Seal, November 3, 1587.

Between Paisley and Renfrew, on the east bank of the Cart, lie the lands of Knock from which the family of Knox, it is said, took their name, though on somewhat doubtful authority. The family, however, is very ancient, though not one of the oldest, and may be traced back in the Register of the Monastery of Paisley, to the year 1260.⁹ John Knox—Johannes de

¹ Crawford. ² *Eglinton MSS.*, 23. ³ Crawford. ⁴ *R. M. S.*, 1105. ⁵ *R. M. S.*, 3052.

⁶ *R. M. S.*, 3121. ⁷ *R. M. S.*, 3140. ⁸ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 394. ⁹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 58.

Knok—then witnessed one of the Abbey's charters. In 1270, 1272, 1273 and 1276, and in later years he witnessed others.¹ In a charter of the year 1281 his son William witnessed along with him. William was alive in 1313.² One of his successors, Robert Knock, received in the reign of King Robert III. (1390-1406) a charter of the lands of Knock on the resignation of them by William Cunningham, son of the Sheriff of Ayr.³ The earliest known proprietor of them was Dugald, the son of Christinus Judge of Lennox, who held them of the monastery of Paisley, and about the year 1200 exchanged them for a piece of land in Abbot's Inch.

In 1488, Uchtred Knox of Craigend acted as one of the arbiters between the Abbot of Paisley and the Bailies of Renfrew as to their mutual boundaries.⁴ On November 20, 1503, John, his son and apparent heir, witnessed an indenture between James Earl of Arran and Alexander Earl of Menteith, by which they bound themselves to "stand in afauld band of kyndenes" to each other.⁵ The family failed in Uchtred Knox of Ranfurly, who had but one daughter, and in 1663 sold the estate of Ranfurly to the first Earl of Dundonald.

The Porterfields of that ilk, whose lands also lay between Paisley and Renfrew, on the east side of the Cart, and who were once a family of note in the county, may be traced back to the twelfth century. In 1180, Walter de Porter witnessed the document by which the Prior of Paisley gave permission to Robert Croc and Henry de Nes to have private chapels for the celebration of divine worship.⁶ In 1262, John Porter witnessed a charter by Walter Earl of Menteith, confirming the donation to the Abbey of Paisley, by Dugald, son of Syfyn, of the church of S. Colmanel in Kintyre.⁷ Stephen, one of John's successors, gave to the monks of the same abbey twelve pennies of annual rental from subjects in the burgh of Renfrew, and in 1398 his son, "Robert lord of Porterfield," added to the gift a further annual rental of sixteen pennies.⁸ In 1460, Robert Porterfield obtained a charter of confirmation of the lands of Porterfield from King James III. Robert, one of his successors, obtained a similar charter in 1500 from James IV. In 1544, Master John Porterfield of that ilk purchased the barony of Duchal from Lord Lyle, and, in 1565, obtained in the same way the lands of Spangow in the parish of Inverkip from Sir Matthew Campbell of Loudoun. By his first wife, Beatrix, daughter of William Cunninghame of Craigends, he had William, his son and heir, and by his second wife, Jean Knox, daughter of the laird of Ranfurly, he had two

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 186, 204, 51, 53, 59. ² *Reg. de Pas.*, 376. ³ Robertson, *Index*, 137; *Reg. de Pas.*, 186.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 406. ⁵ Hamilton MSS., *Com. Hist. MSS.*, XI, vi. 31. ⁶ *Reg. de Pas.*, 78.

⁷ *Reg. de Pas.*, 122. ⁸ *Reg. de Pas.*, 374.

sons : Gabriel of Blairlin, and John of Greenend. His daughter Elizabeth married Sir James Maxwell of Calderwood. He died in 1575.¹ The family suffered severely during the reign of Charles II. through refusing to conform.

The Erskines² go back to the year 1225, when Henry de Erskine witnessed the charter whereby King Alexander II. confirmed the gift of the church of Roseneath, by Amalec, brother of Malcolm Earl of Lennox, to the monastery of Paisley.³ His successor, who was probably his son, John de Erskine, witnessed three other charters, one of which is dated at the Park of Erskine in the year 1262.⁴ His son, also named John, swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296.

Sir William, who succeeded the second John, was contemporary with King Robert Bruce. His son, also Sir William by name, was in the expedition to England under Randolph and Douglas, and was knighted under the royal banner. His second son was Adam Erskine of Barrowchan ; his third, Sir Alan of Inchturre ; and his fourth, Andrew Erskine of Raploch near Stirling.

Sir Robert, who succeeded Sir William, was a strong adherent of David II. In or about the month of April, 1348, he received a safe conduct to visit England. The safe conduct was to continue in force till September first of the same year.⁵ He was appointed Great Chamberlain of Scotland in 1350. On July 13, 1354, his son and heir was named one of the hostages to be sent to England as security for the payment of 90,000 merks in nine years as David's ransom.⁶ About a year later (January 17, 1355-56), he was appointed a Commissioner to treat for the King's ransom and for peace.⁷ Later on, September 26, 1357, he was appointed by the Magnates of Scotland one of the following plenipotentiaries to treat for the King's ransom, and on the third of the following month he affixed his seal to the treaty, executed at Berwick upon Tweed, by which David II. obtained his freedom and a truce was made with England during the ten years in which the 100,000 merks of ransom money were to be paid.⁸ The same day, October 3, 1357, Thomas, his son and heir, was surrendered at Berwick to John de Coupland as a hostage. Among the

¹ Crawford.

² Douglas recounts the following traditions as to the origin of their name :—" It is said that, in the reign of Malcolm II., a Scotsman having killed with his hand Enrique, a Danish general, at the battle of Murthill, cut off his hand, and, with the bloody dagger in his hand, showed it to the King, saying in the Gaelic, *Eris Skyne*, alluding to the head and dagger, and in the same language, also said, I intend to perform greater actions than what I have done, whereupon Malcolm imposed on him the surname of Erskine, and assigned for his armorial bearing a hand holding a dagger, with *Je pense plus* for motto ; still the crest and motto of this noble family." He adds the sensible remark that the name is more probably derived from the barony of Erskine on the Clyde, the property of the family for many ages. *Peerage*, i. 206.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 210.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 58, 122, 192.

⁵ Bain, iii. 279.

⁶ Bain, iii. 288.

⁷ Bain, iii. 293.

⁸ Bain, iii. 305.

other hostages delivered on the same day were Robert, son of Sir William Cunninghame; Robert, son and heir of Sir John Stewart of Darnley; and Robert, son and heir of Sir Robert de Danyelstone.¹ For some reason or other, Sir Robert Erskine was in England in 1370 as well as his son Sir Thomas, and were both in debt to King Edward III.²

Sir Thomas, who succeeded his father in 1385, appears to have been in great favour with King Robert II., and also with his son. On October 2, 1389, a safe conduct was granted to "Sir Thomas of Erskine, Knight, Master Duncan Petit, canon of Glasgow, and Adam Forster Esquire of Scotland, with forty horsemen, to pass through England to France in the affairs of Scotland."³ The following year he was appointed a conservator of the truce on the marches.⁴ Robert, his son and heir, was taken prisoner at the battle of Homildon Hill, September 14, 1402.⁵ He claimed the Earldom of Mar, on the death of Lady Isobel Douglas, Countess of Mar, and in 1438 was served heir to her. He was one of the hostages for James I.,⁶ but on November 9, 1427, he was allowed to return home, the Earl of Menteith taking his place.⁷

His successor, Thomas, first Lord Erskine, was dispossessed of the Earldom of Mar by an assize of error in 1457. He was contemporary with King James III. His son Alexander was father of Robert, third Lord Erskine, who fell at Flodden (1513), leaving two sons: John his successor, and James, from whom came the Erskines of Balgony.

John, fourth Lord Erskine, married Margaret, daughter of Archibald Earl of Argyll, by whom he had Robert, Master of Erskine, who fell at Pinkie and left no issue, John, his successor, and Sir Alexander of Gogar, ancestor of the Earl of Kelly.⁸ John, fifth Lord of Erskine, was Sheriff of Stirling in 1537.⁹ On May 15, 1525, he had been made hereditary Constable of Stirling Castle.¹⁰

John, his successor, sixth Lord Erskine, obtained the state and dignity of Earl of Mar from Queen Mary in 1562, with the precedence of the ancient Earls. During the minority of James VI., he succeeded Lennox in the Regency in 1571,¹¹ and died, October 20, 1572.

¹ Bain, iii. 434.

² Bain, iv. 40. Sir Robert witnessed a number of charters in the *Hamilton MSS.*; see pp. 3, 13, 14, 207, 210.

³ Bain, iv. 88.

⁴ Bain, iv. 92.

⁵ Bain, iv. 403. In the *Paisley Register* his name occurs on pp. 70, 92, 98, 366; and in the *Hamilton MSS.* on pp. 15 and 210.

⁶ He is valued at 800 merks. The Earl of Athol is set down at 1200, and Alexander Lord of Gordon at 400. Bain, iii. 193.

⁷ Bain, iii. 207.

⁸ Crawford.

⁹ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, X. i. 69.

¹⁰ Douglas, i. 210.

¹¹ Crawford; Douglas, i. 212.

The Wallaces of Elderslie, as already remarked, descended from Richard Wallace of Riccarton, a companion of Walter Fitz Alan, the first of the High Stewards. Malcolm Wallace, the elder brother of the Patriot, died without leaving issue, and the estates of Elderslie and Auchinbothie reverted to the house of Riccarton. Towards the close of the reign of King Robert III., they were inherited by a younger branch of the Wallaces of Craigie. In 1406, John Wallace of Elderslie, witnessed a charter granted by the Regent Robert, Duke of Albany, to William of Cunningham, conveying to the latter an annual rent of ten merks out of the barony of Ochiltree. On January 9, 1409, he witnessed a charter whereby the lands of Fulton were conveyed to the Abbey of Paisley. On August 28, 1413, he resigned the lands of Auchenbothie Wallace in favour of his son Thomas. John Wallace, probably the son of the last mentioned, witnessed, March 31, 1432, the gift of half a stone of wax yearly to the Abbey of Paisley, by John Lord of Kelsoland. In August, 1466, George Wallace of Elderslie witnessed the instrument by which Lawmund of Lawmund conveyed to the same house of religion the church of S. Finan in Argyllshire. Patrick, the son and heir of George, held office in the household of James IV. On the resignation of his father, Patrick received a charter of the lands of Elderslie from John Wallace of Craigie, the superior, February 3, 1499-1500. In 1554, a charter of the same lands was granted to William Wallace by William Wallace of Craigie. In 1583, this same William Wallace of Elderslie was confirmed in the lands of Helington, and in 1597 in the lands of Rysewaeth and Windyhill. He died in May, 1599, leaving "free gear" worth £1,478 5s. 4d. His first wife was Janet Hamilton of Ferguslie, known as "auld Lady Ellerslie." Gabriel Wallace, the third son of William Wallace of Elderslie and Janet Hamilton, married Geillis, elder daughter of William Wallace of Johnstoun, and widow of Gabriel Maxwell of Stanely, who in her will, dated at Stanelie, April 20, 1598, appointed him her executor. John, the youngest brother of the above named Gabriel, and fourth son of William Wallace and Janet Hamilton married his cousin Margaret, daughter of John Hamilton of Ferguslie, to whose persecution by the Presbytery of Paisley we shall have to refer later on.¹

The Halls of Fulbar were descended from Thomas de Aula, surgeon, who obtained from Robert II. the four merk land in the tenement of Stanely, known as the lands of Fulbar. The direct line of the family became extinct in the person of William Hall of Fulbar in the reign of Queen Mary, when the estate descended to Adam Hall of Tarquinhill, his cousin, whose grandfather, also Adam Hall, was slain at Flodden.²

¹ Roger, *Book of Wallace*, i. 25.

² Crawford.

The Cochrans of Cochran are said to go back to before the year 1262, when Waldenus de Cochran witnessed a charter, which "Dungallus, filius Suryyn" gave to Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith, of the lands of Skipness in Argyllshire.¹ A William de Cochran signed the Ragman Roll in 1296. In 1346, John de Cochran, if such be the right reading of "Johanne de Coweran," witnessed an instrument for the election of an abbot to rule over the monastery of Paisley.² In 1367, a "Glosmo de Couran" witnessed another document in the Paisley Register.³ Crawford mentions Gosolinus de Cochran, and says that he had frequently found him as a witness to charters belonging to the reign of Robert II. The only one in the Register of Paisley in which his name occurs is the one just referred to. Robert II., it appears, conferred the barony of Cochran upon William de Cochran by a charter, dated at Kilwinning, September 22, 1389.⁴ Alan Cochran lived in the reign of James II., and witnessed the charter by which Robert Lord Lyle conveyed to the monks of Paisley a third part of the fishing of Crukatshot, in 1452.⁵

Alan was succeeded by Robert, his son and heir, who had sasine of his lands of Cochrane and Corseford in 1498. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Semple of Fulwood. To him succeeded John, his son and heir. For the sum of £40 Scots, William Wallace of Elderslie promised to renounce to this John the mill and mill land of Cochran with the kilns of the same and a cow's grass in the mains of Cochran, which had been mortgaged to Wallace.⁶

John Cochran died in 1556, and was succeeded by William, who obtained a charter of confirmation from Queen Mary of the lands of Cochran in 1576. Elizabeth, his sole heiress, married Alexander Blair, a younger son of John Blair of that ilk, who assumed the surname and arms of Cochran of that ilk. He was succeeded by Sir John, his eldest son and heir, who died without issue, when the estates fell to his brother, Sir William Cochran of Cowdoun, who was raised to the peerage in 1647 by the title of Lord Cochran of Cowdoun and Dundonald.⁷

The Craufurds of Auchinames, one of the oldest families in the county, trace their origin back to Reginald Crawford, Sheriff of Ayr, who married Margaret, daughter and heiress of James de Loudoun, and received a grant of the barony of Loudoun in the time of William the Lion. He died in 1226, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Hugh, who died in 1246. His son and

¹ Crawford.² *Reg. de Pas.*, 10.³ P. 31.⁴ Crawford.⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 220, 252.⁶ Laing, No. 409.

⁷ Crawford. There was another family of Cochranes in the county. In the year 1425 David Coghane, lord of the north half of Ovirlee, granted a charter to his son, Edward Coghane, for his services, of all the lands of Ovirlee in the barony of Renfrew and sheriffdom of the same. They owned also the lands of Ascog in Bute. *Eglinton MSS.*, 9.

successor was that Sir Hugh Crawford, whose daughter was the mother of Sir William Wallace, the Patriot. Sir Reginald, the fourth Crawford of Loudoun, was murdered at Ayr in 1297. Susan, the daughter and heiress of his son Reginald, married Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochawe and Redcastle, and from them the Earl of Loudoun descended.

The Auchinames derive from Sir Reginald Crawford of Crosbie, second son of the first Sir Hugh Crawford, Baron of Crawford and Sheriff of Ayr, who, for his services on the field of Bannockburn, received from King Robert Bruce a grant of the barony of Auchinames and the privilege of adding to his shield *two lances in saltire*. Reginald, his son and heir, who succeeded him, is said to have witnessed, about the year 1358, a charter by Robert the Steward. Thomas, the son and successor of Reginald, founded and endowed the altar and chapel of S. Katharine in the graveyard of Kilbarchan. The patronage of this he vested in himself and his heirs and successors. The foundation was confirmed by Robert III. at Arneall, October 24, 1401. His name appears in a charter granted by John of Montgomery, lord of Eaglesham, dated October 8, 1392. "Thoma de Crawford de Hauinnamys" witnessed the deed whereby William Urri resigned his rights to the lands of Fulton in favour of the monks of Paisley. Archibald, who succeeded him, was the father of Thomas Craufurd, the progenitor of the Craufurds of Thirdpart.

The successor of Archibald was his elder son and heir, Robert, who married Margaret Douglas, sister of Archibald, the great Earl of Angus, who married the widowed Queen of James IV., the daughter of Henry VII. of England; and, secondly, Marioun, daughter of Houstoun of Houston. In 1488, Robert acted as one of the oversmen in a dispute between the Bailies of Renfrew and the Abbot of Paisley in connection with the boundaries of their lands. He fell at Flodden, September 9, 1513, and was succeeded by James, the eldest of his three sons by his second marriage. In 1498 Sir James Campbell of Loudoun granted him a charter of the lands of Corsbie and Manoch, which he resigned to the Master of Glencairn for a new infeftment in favour of his eldest son and successor, Thomas, October 20, 1533. Thomas was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Cunningham of Craigends, and secondly, to a daughter of Montgomery, laird of Hazelhead, by whom he had three sons: John, William, and Patrick, who were successively lairds of Auchinames. On October 2, 1539, he received the lands of Auldmuir, which appear to have been lost to the family for over a century. His eldest son, John, fell at the battle of Pinkie. William, the second son, died in 1582, and left no male issue, his son, James Craufurd, having predeceased him. He was succeeded by his brother Patrick, who has the reputation of having been "very contentious and needy as well." For not producing "ane goldin

chenzie and silver pece," he was put to the horn and declared a rebel. His son, William, was also declared a rebel. Margaret Houstoun, William's wife, died in 1642. She was dealt with by the Presbytery of Paisley for not communicating, and retaliated on the minister of her parish by calling him "a fifty-year-old plague." Her will is a curious document.¹

The Dennistons, who were afterwards merged into the Cunninghams, and from whose lands the Cunninghams took their designation of Glencairn, were among the oldest families in the county. Their "lands of Danziel" are first mentioned in the original charter of the barony of Houston, which was granted in the reign of Malcolm IV. (1153-1165). Their progenitor was in all probability a companion of Walter Fitz Alan. At any rate it was from him that he is said to have received the said "lands of Danziel." The name of Hugh Dalnестon, or Denniston, appears upon the Ragman Roll of 1296. In 1343 the same or another Hugh, probably the son of the one just mentioned, had been wounded in England, and was staying in Edinburgh under the care of a physician, by direction of the King, who ordered a present to be sent to him of cloth and furs.² On July 13, 1354, the son and heir of Sir John Denniston was named as one of the hostages for King David II.,³ and on October 3, 1357, "Robert filz et heire a sire Robert de Danyelstone" was delivered into the custody of Sir Richard Tempest as hostage.⁴ Either there is a mistake here, or the Sir Robert de Danyelstone belonged to another branch of the Dennistons,⁵ for in 1359 the Sir John just mentioned was still alive. In 1359 he was Sheriff of Dumbarton and keeper of Dumbarton Castle.⁶ The lands of Tillicoultry were also in his hands. The same year he gave in his accounts to the Exchequer as Sheriff of Dumbarton. The same year, too, it is noted that the barony of Cadzow was in his hands for the sustentation of the Castle of Dumbarton, where a cask of wine was delivered to him.⁷ In 1362 his son was still a hostage in England. In 1364 the sum of £100 was paid to Sir John for wine and victuals, and for the repairing of the Castle of Dumbarton. Among his prisoners in the castle was Thomas Earl of Angus, who died there in 1364. Four years later he sold a horse to the King for £20; and in 1379 the King sent him a pipe of wine.⁸ His son and heir, Sir Robert, succeeded him. Sir Robert, like many others, had a pension from Robert II., and

¹ MacKenzie, *Kilbarchan*, where many particulars respecting this family will be found. I have used it throughout this and the preceding paragraph.

² Burnett, i. 521, 534.

³ Bain, iii. 288; Foedera, iii. 281.

⁴ Bain, iii. 434.

⁵ There was also another Danyelstone at this time—John of Danyelstone, who was Sheriff of Perth. See Burnett, i. 553, 555, 618.

⁶ His predecessor as Governor of Dumbarton Castle was Sir Malcolm Fleming.—Burnett, i. clxvii.

⁷ Burnett, i. 572, 574, 582, 600.

⁸ Burnett, ii. 116, 165, 115, 167, 308; iii. 3.

appears to have first drawn it on February 6, 1379-80. On May 8, 1395, he was dead.¹

By David II. and his two immediate successors the Dennistons appear to have been highly esteemed. Judging by the grants made to them, they must have rendered to these princes considerable service. From David II. Malcolm Denniston obtained the lands forfeited by Giles Somerville and Thomas Awnfrayis;² Robert Denniston, the barony of Glencairn in Dumfriesshire;³ Hew Denniston, the lands which belonged to Margaret Muschett, one of the heirs of William de Montefixo, and the lands forfeited by David Marshall, Knight, with certain exceptions;⁴ and Robert, in 1360, the lands of Thriepwood, in the sheriffdom of Lanark, forfeited by one Horsley.⁵ On December 31, in the following year, he received a new charter of the barony of Glencairn, *cum bondis, bondagiis, nativis, et sequelis eorundem*, which his father, John de Danyelston, had resigned.⁶ From Robert II. John de Danyelston obtained the lands of Maudsley, Law, and Kilcadjow in the barony of Carluke,⁷ while from Robert III. Sir Robert de Danyelston received the lands of Stanely, near Paisley,⁸ and following on his own resignation, a new charter of Denniston and Finlaystone.⁹

Sir Robert had a younger brother, Walter by name, a canon of Glasgow, who is described as a "discretus vir," and was as militant as Robert Wishart, the fighting Bishop of Glasgow. He seized the Castle of Dumbarton and refused to surrender it except on condition that he was appointed Bishop of St. Andrews. He carried his point so far, it is said, that he obtained the rents of the see during the vacancy between the death of Walter Trail in 1401 and the installation of Henry Wardlaw in 1404.¹⁰

About 1400-5, a later Sir Robert Denniston died without male issue. He had two daughters: Margaret, married in 1405 to Sir William Cunningham of Kilmaurs, to whom she carried as her dowry the baronies of Denniston and Finlaystone in Renfrewshire, the lands of Kilmaronock in Dumbartonshire, and the barony of Glencairn in Dumfriesshire. Elizabeth, her sister, married Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood, and had for her portion the lands

¹ Burnett, iii. 7, 63, 351. Sir Robert witnessed a charter, which was confirmed by the King, July 7, 1395, by Malcolm Fleming, Knight, lord of Biggar and of Leigne, in favour of his grandson, William of Boyde, lord of Galvane, granting him for his services done and to be done, the lands of Badyname, in the granter's barony of Leigne, in the Sheriffdom of Dumbarton.—*Eglinton MSS.*, 8. Another of the witnesses was John of Maxwell, lord of Pollok.

² Robertson, *Index*, 33, 37. ³ Robertson, *Index*, 53.

⁴ Robertson, *Index*, 59. The exceptions were "Danyelstoun, which Thomas Carno gat by gift, and the lands of Costerphing, whilk Malcolm Ramsay gat."

⁵ Robertson, *Index*, 65, 88.

⁶ Robertson, *Index*, 91.

⁷ Robertson, *Index*, 117.

⁸ Robertson, *Index*, 152.

⁹ Robertson, *Index*, 158.

¹⁰ Keith, *Scottish Bishops*, 27-28.

of Maudsley, Kilcadjow, Stanely, etc., and the barony of Newark or Nether Finlaystone.

The Cunninghams, who, by the first of the marriages just referred to, became the lairds of Denniston and Finlaystone, traced their origin back to a certain Warnebaldu de Cunningham, who flourished about the year 1100. One of his descendants, Sir Henry de Cunningham, is said to have distinguished himself at the battle of Largs. At the time of the union of the Denniston and Cunningham families, the latter was in possession of large estates in Ayrshire and elsewhere. In 1364 Sir William de Cunningham received a charter of the Earldom of Carrick from King David II. In 1374 he was Deputy Sheriff of Ayr. Two years later he was Sheriff.¹

Sir William, who married the Denniston heiress, founded the church of Kilmaurs in 1403; he also enriched the Abbey of Kilwinning with the lands of Grange. He witnessed a confirmation of grants to the Abbey of Paisley by Robert II. in 1393, and another in 1404. He took part in the battle of Harlaw in 1411, and died in 1418.

Sir Robert, his son and heir, married Anna, the only daughter of Lord Montgomery. He sat as a Baron of Parliament on the trial of Murdoch Duke of Albany and his sons, and in 1434, two years before the murder of King James in the monastery of the Black Friars at Perth, he was appointed to the command of Kintyre and Knapdale. He was succeeded by his son Alexander, whom, in 1445, King James II. raised to the dignity of a Baron of the realm. He stood loyal to James III., by whom he was created Earl of Glencairn, and fell at the battle of Sauchieburn, June 11, 1488. James IV. revoked the patent creating him Earl of Glencairn, and Robert, his son and successor, had to be contented with the title of Lord Kilmaurs. From William, the second son of Alexander, descended the Cunninghams of Craighends.

Robert, second Lord Kilmaurs, died in 1490, and was succeeded by his son and heir, Cuthbert, who was permitted to assume the title of Earl of Glencairn in 1491. William, the son and successor of Cuthbert, was taken prisoner on the field of Solway in 1542, and will meet us again. He died in 1547. From his second son, Andrew, descended the Cunninghams of Corsehills, and from Hugh, his third son, the Cunninghams of Carlung. The Cunninghams of Carncurrin descended from William Cunningham, a younger son of William Cunningham of Craighends.

The origin of the Lyle family is somewhat obscure. Randulphus de Insula witnessed three charters in the Register of the monastery of Paisley between

¹ Burnett, ii. 165, 463, 530.

the years 1164 and 1177.¹ His son, William, witnessed another between the years 1207 and 1214.² Sir Alan de Insula, again, witnessed four charters in the same Register some time between 1240 and 1252,³ and Peter de Insula witnessed two others in 1273.⁴ In 1296, we hear of a Duncan de Lyle, who figures in a ghost story which was thought sufficiently marvellous to be gravely recorded in the Chronicle of Lanercost. When Robert the Steward stormed and captured Dunoon Castle with the help of Campbell of Lochaw, the governor of the island of Bute was named Sir Alan de Lyle, but whether he came north with the English army or belonged to the Lyles of Duchal, is uncertain. Nisbet says he belonged to the latter, but gives no authority.⁵ From David II. Sir John de Lyle received in 1340 a charter of the lands of Buchan in Stirlingshire.⁶ From the same monarch he also received "ane tene-ment near the cock-stool" in Aberdeen, which he afterwards gave to one Andrew Watson, a burgesse there.⁷ On May 25, 1360, he witnessed, at Edinburgh, a charter granted by Thomas Stewart Earl of Angus to Sir Hugh Eglinton, of the lands of Ormidale in the lordship of Cowal and the shire of Argyll.⁸

He was then keeper of Edinburgh Castle. In 1364 he was Steward of the household of Queen Joanna. In the same year also he appears as Steward of the King's household. Two years later he was sent along with John Mercer as an envoy to Flanders.⁹ On November 6, 1375, John le Lyle was; along with a number of Scotsmen, discharged from Newgate prison, having been lately arrested on suspicion of being concerned in "a great robbery on William Bokerelle of Scotland and others at sea,"¹⁰ but there is no reason for supposing that he was in any way connected with the Renfrewshire Lyles. The next we hear of is Sir Robert of Lyle, son and heir to the last Sir Robert. On December 13, 1423, he received a safe conduct, which was to last till April 30 following, to go to Durham, in order to meet King James I., who was then on his way home. He was one of the hostages for the King. Among the others were John Semple of Eliotstoun, Master Patrick Houstoun, and Robert of Erskine lord of Erskine.¹¹ At first Sir Robert was detained in Knaresborough, but in May, 1424, he was transferred to the Tower of London. On February 28 following, he was sent from London to Durham for exchange, and in July was permitted to return to Scotland until Martinmas, his son George taking his place as a hostage.¹² Sir Robert does not appear to have returned to England. His son was exchanged in November, 1427, for Walter lord of

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 87, 232, 112.² *Reg. de Pas.*, 20.³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 21, 87, 91, 113.⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 204, *201.⁵ *Heraldry*, i. 215.⁶ *Heraldry*, i. 215.⁷ Robertson, *Index*, 38, 46.⁸ *Eglinton MSS.*, 7.⁹ Burnett, ii. 50, 78, 129, 134, 140, 173, 261.¹⁰ Bain, iv. 50.¹¹ Bain, iv., 190-91, 193.¹² Bain, iv. 195, 199, 201.

Fenton.¹ On the death of Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar, he laid claim to the Earldom, but it was taken possession of by King James I.²

In 1452 we meet with Alexander, William, and Robert de Lyle. Alexander and William are Robert's uncles, and Robert is Robert Lord of Lyle, the most distinguished member of the family. The two uncles witnessed the charter by which their nephew conveyed to the Abbot and monks of Paisley the fishing of Crukatshot.³

Robert, the second Lord Lyle, was employed on various missions. On September 21, 1484, he was one of the Scottish Ambassadors who concluded the treaty for the marriage between James Prince of Scotland and Lady Anne de la Pole, niece of Richard III. of England, for a three years' truce between the two Kingdoms, and for the settlement of the affairs of the Marches.⁴ In October, 1488, as one of the royal justiciars, an appointment he had received from King James III., he sat upon the trial of James Stewart, first Earl of Buchan, known as "Hearty James," who was charged with intercommuning with the English and fighting against the King at the field of Stirling.⁵ In the following year, Lord Lyle joined the Earl of Lennox and others who raised the bloody shirt of James III., and appealed to the people to avenge his death. They were totally defeated by the King (James IV.), at Talla Moss, about sixteen miles from Stirling, and were forfeited. With singular leniency the King speedily restored them to his favour, and spared their estates.⁶

In 1490, Lord Lyle was sent by James IV. as an envoy to the English Court, and two years later he was employed as an Ambassador to the King and Queen of Castile and Aragon.⁷ He was back in 1496, and may have been early in 1495, though that is doubtful, since at the Justice Ayre Court held at Selkirk, March 4, 1494-5, he was not present, he and John Lord Glamis being represented by John Lord Drummond, their *locum tenens*.⁸ On January 30, 1496, he signed a bond of reversion in favour of Mathew Earl of Lennox, Lord of Darnley and Inchinnan, of the ten merk lands of the town of Inchinnan, the four merk lands of the park of Inchinnan, and the three merk lands of Wrichtland and Rassele, and the three merk lands of Craigtown and Flures, in the parish of Inchinnan and lordship of Crukisfew, for payment of sums amounting to 1200 merks.⁹ This was in accordance with the terms of a marriage contract drawn up and agreed to between the two families, December 14, 1471. The Earl failed to complete the marriage, and paid the 1200 merks in order to redeem his lands.¹⁰ A curious provision in the contract was, that if Lord Darnley's friends *objected to the marriage*, the fine was to be 1800 merks.

¹ Bain, iv. 207.² Nisbet, i. 215; Douglas, i. 163.³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 250.⁴ Bain, iv. 308.⁵ Pitcairn, *Crim. Trials*, I., i. *3.⁶ Pitcairn, I., i. *13; *Act. Parl. Scot.*, ii. 217.⁷ Bain, iv. 319.⁸ Pitcairn, I., i. *22.⁹ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 391 (90).¹⁰ Laing, No. 164.

The family continued in lineal male descent to the reign of Queen Mary, when John Lord Lyle left a son, James, who died without issue, and a daughter, Jean, his heiress, who married Sir Niel Montgomery of Langshaw. By this time, however, the property of the family had been to a large extent alienated.¹ James Montgomery of Langshaw tendered his vote as Lord Lyle at the election of representative peers in 1721 and 1722, but it was not received. Sir Walter Montgomery tendered his vote as Lord Lyle, at the general election in 1784, and at subsequent elections, with the same result.

The Houstoun family trace their descent back to Hugh de Padinan, to whom Baldwin de Bigres gave the lands of Kilpeter in the parish of Houston, and who was one of the witnesses to Walter Fitz Alan's endowment charter to the monastery of Paisley.² There is some doubt as to what Hugh's surname exactly was. It may have been Padninan or Padvinan or Padinan. However, the village on the lands of Kilpeter took the name of Hugh's town or Houston, and Houstoun became the family name. Hugh was probably of Norman origin, and may have been a follower of Walter Fitz Alan. He was succeeded by his son Reginald, who obtained a charter from Robert, the son of Walden, son of Baldwin de Bigres, of the lands of Kilpeter, ratifying the original grant by Baldwin.³

To Reginald succeeded his son Hugh, who obtained a charter of confirmation of his lands from Walter Fitz Alan, and bestowed upon the monks of Paisley an annuity of half a merk out of his lands of Achenhoss in the year 1225.⁴ Hugh's successor was Sir Finlay, who signed the Ragman Roll in 1296.

From the above descended, in the reign of James II., Sir Patrick Houstoun of that ilk, who witnessed an indenture between Alexander Montgomery, Lord of Ardrossan, on the one part, and Alan Stewart, Lord of Darnley, on the other, by which a marriage between the two families was arranged.⁵ Sir Patrick died in 1450, and was buried in the Chapel of Houston. His wife, Mary Colquhoun, in 1456 was buried by the side of her husband. A fair monument was erected over their remains. Their son and heir and his wife also died in 1456. They were buried in the parish church of Houston, under a freestone canopy, with their effigies as large as life. Around the border of the tomb is the inscription, "Here lyes John of Houstoun, Lord of that ilk and Annes Campbel his Spouse, who died Anno 1456."⁶ In all probability they

¹ See Laing, *Charters*, Nos. 520, 525, 583, 636, 916; Douglas, i. 164.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 6.

³ Crawford.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 372.

⁵ *Eglinton MSS.*, 11-12.

⁶ In 1546 an Act was passed by the Scots Parliament entitled "The Rule of the Pestilence," which appointed "the Prelates to make general procession throughout their dioceses twice in the week, for stanching the pestilence, and to grant pardon to priests that gaug in the said processions."—*Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 46.

fell victims to the plague which, in the year of their death, was extremely virulent in all parts of the country.

Sir Peter, who succeeded, married Helen, daughter of Schaw of Sauchie. He fell at Flodden. His son and heir, Patrick, was knighted by King James V., and associating with John Earl of Lennox, to rescue the prince out of the hands of the Earls of Arran and Angus, he was slain in conflict at Aven, near the town of Linlithgow, in the year 1526.¹ John, his son and heir, married Anna Hopepringle, a daughter of Hopepringle of Torsonce. In 1528, the King is said to have granted him a charter by which he was confirmed in the baronies of Houston, etc. The charter which the King did confirm in connection with these baronies was one by which a considerable part of the estates of the Houstoun family, including the lands of Houston called le Nethirmaynis, together with the Castle and the Park of Houston, was in 1529 alienated and granted to William Hammilton of Maknaristoun in liquidation of a debt of 1800 merks due to him by John of Houston.²

Patrick, John's son and heir, who succeeded in 1542, was knighted by James VI. His wife, Janet, daughter of Gabriel Cunningham of Craighends, bore him four sons: John, his successor; Patrick of Colt; Mr. Peter of Wester Southbar, and James of Commonsides; also several daughters, of whom Janet married John Fulerton of Dreghorn, and afterwards George Craufurd of Liffnoris; Elizabeth, who married, first, John Whiteford of that ilk, and secondly, William Lord Ross; Agnes, who married Alexander Porterfield of that ilk; Marion, who married James Hamilton of Bardine; and Margaret, who became the wife of William Craufurd of Auchinames.

Sir Patrick was succeeded by his eldest son, John, who died in 1609. John's successor was Sir Ludovick of Houston, who became a conspicuous figure in his day. His mother was Margaret, daughter of Sir James Stirling of Keir. Jean, his elder sister, married William Semple of Fulwood. Helen, another sister, became the wife of John Shaw of Greenock, while two other sisters, Margaret and Mary, married respectively William Livingston of Kilsyth, and Alexander Cuninghame of Corsehill.³

The Flemings of Barochan are evidently of Flemish origin, and appear to have settled in the county as vassals of Baldwin de Bigres before the district came into the possession of the High Steward, though of this in their armorial bearings they show no trace. The first of the family to be met with is William Fleming of Barochan, in the reign of Alexander III., who witnessed a charter granted by Malcolm Earl of Lennox to Walter Spreul, Steward of Lennox, of the lands of Dalquharne. William Fleming of Barochan was a witness to a

¹ Drummond of Hawthornden, *History*, 192.

² *R. M. S.*, No. 817.

³ Craufurd.

charter granted by James the High Steward of Scotland (1263-1309), and grandfather of King Robert II., to Stephen, the son of Nicolas, of the land near the burgh of Renfrew, which had been given to Patrick of Selviland.¹ Another William Fleming of Barochan was, in 1488, one of the arbiters chosen to fix the boundaries between the lands of the town of Renfrew and the regality of Paisley.² According to Crawford, he was Sheriff of the county of Lanark, and was slain at Flodden with six of his sons, in the year 1513. He was a great falconer, and his tersel having beaten the King's falcon, the King unhooded his favourite falcon and placed its hood, adorned with many precious jewels, upon the head of the tersel. He married Marion, daughter of the Laird of Houston, and was succeeded by James, his son and heir, who, in 1518, witnessed a charter by which John Knok of Selviland granted to his son and apparent heir, John Knok, and Elizabeth Walkynschaw the lands of Selviland.³ His successor, William Fleming, witnessed the charter by which John Lord Lyle sold to Canon Spreul of Glasgow, Castlehill and other properties within the territory of the town of Renfrew, on August 25, 1541.⁴ In 1543 his name appears in another charter as one of an assize for the valuation of certain lands belonging to John Lord Lyle.⁵ On March 29, 1554, William Fleming gave to Patrick Fleming, his son and apparent heir, and his wife Margaret Mure, the lands of Barlogane and Killillanis in the barony and county of Renfrew.⁶ The family intermarried with those of Semple, Houstoun, Bishopton, Rowallan, Robertland, Ladyland, etc.

The Glens of Bar go back to the year 1452.

The Maxwells of Brediland date from the year 1488.

The Walkinschaws are said to derive from Dungallus filius Christini, *Judicis de Levenax*, who, with the consent of his wife Maud, arranged, in the year 1235, an excambion of his lands of Knoek with the Abbot and convent of Paisley, for the lands of Walkinschaw,⁷ from which he afterwards took his surname.

The family of Lindsay of Dunrod was founded by Sir James Lindsay, the constant companion of Robert I., from whose successor, Robert II., John Lindsay obtained the mains of the barony of Kilbride, a gift confirmed in the year 1382. The family was conspicuous for many years, and intermarried with the families of Eglinton, Semple, and Elphinstone. Alexander Lindsay of Dunrod alienated the barony of Dunrod, in 1619, to Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall.

¹ Crawford.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 406.

³ *R. M. S.*, 190.

⁴ *R. M. S.*, 2428.

⁵ *R. M. S.*, 3121, n. 1.

⁶ *R. M. S.* (1546-80), 930.

⁷ *Reg. de Pas.*, 178.

The Stewarts of Blackhall and Ardgowan are descended from Sir John Stewart of Ardgowan, natural son of King Robert III., from whom he obtained the lands of Auchingoun in Renfrewshire in the year 1390, the lands of Blackhall, near Paisley, in 1396, and the lands of Ardgowan in 1404. A charter of confirmation was obtained for these lands from King James IV. by his successor, John Stewart, in 1508. In 1576 James VI. granted James Stewart a charter by which the lands of Ardgowan, Blackhall, and Auchingoun were erected into a barony.

The Shaws of Greenock descended from the Shaws of Sauchie. In the reign of Robert III. they obtained, by marriage with one of the heiresses of Galbraith of Greenock, the lands of Wester Greenock.

Other families to be mentioned are the Bannatynes of Kelly, Montgomeries of Scotstoun, Brisbanes of Bishopton, Maxwells of Newark, Stewarts of Castlemilk, Maxwells of Dargavel, and Montgomeries of Skelmorlie.

The Semples of Eliotston, who, like the Glencairns, played a conspicuous part in the history of the country during the period of the Reformation, claim a far back ancestry ; but the first of their family of whom there appears to be any definite information, and of whom there is any record, lived in the reign of Alexander II. and Alexander III. He is said to have been Steward of the barony of Renfrew, and witnessed two charters : one by the Earl of Lennox, about the year 1280, and another by James, the High Steward of Scotland. He left two sons : Robert, named after himself, and Thomas, both of whom, during the Wars of Independence, espoused the national cause, and were on intimate terms with the Bruce. Thomas, the younger, received from Robert I. a grant of half of the lands in the town and tenement of Longniddery, forfeited by Nicolas de Dispensa, "our enemy."¹ From the same monarch Robert, the elder, received the whole of the lands in Largo, which had formerly belonged to John Balliol, to be held by him and his heirs in free barony.²

The same Robert witnessed Walter the Steward's charter, by which he gave to the monks of Paisley the church of Largs in memory of his wife, Marjory Bruce,³ in 1318. He died before 1330, and was succeeded by his son William, who, in 1330, witnessed a charter granted by Malcolm Earl of Lennox,⁴ and in 1340 was one of the auditors of the Exchequer.⁵ In 1341 he was a receiver of the old arrears due to the Exchequer, and continued to be connected with the Exchequer down, at least, to the year 1358, when he held the lands of Rait.⁶

¹ *Archæological and Historical Collections for the County of Renfrew: Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 36.

² *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 35.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 237.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 206.

⁵ Burnett, i. 464.

⁶ Burnett, i. 471, 554.

He was succeeded by his son Thomas, who, between the years 1358 and 1370, witnessed a charter of Robert Steward of Scotland, Earl of Strathearn, to Sir Hugh of Eglinton and Dame Egidia (Giles), his wife, and their heirs, of an annual rent of one stone of wax due to the Steward from the land of Monfodrevy in the barony of Cunningham.¹ In 1380 the King made him a gift of fifty-three shillings and fourpence.²

His son and heir, Sir John, obtained a charter from Robert II. confirming the grant which John Earl of Carrick, the King's eldest son, had made to him of Glassford and other lands in the county of Lanark, July 22, 1375.³ Under the title of "John Symple Lord of Eliotstoun," he witnessed a charter by "John of Montgomorri," Lord of Eaglesham,⁴ October 8, 1392. In the same year he and Robert, his uncle, witnessed a deed by which Alan Fullerton conveyed to the Abbot and convent of Paisley an annual rental of forty pence from his lands of Russelland.⁵ In 1397 and in 1409 he witnessed other charters in the Register of the monastery of Paisley.⁶ In 1400 he received the first payment of an annual pension of £20 he had obtained from the King, to be drawn from the great customs of the city of Edinburgh.⁷ His daughter, Jean, was married to Sir John Stewart, Sheriff of Bute and ancestor of the present Marquess of Bute.

John, his son and successor, sat in the Parliaments of 1400 and 1401, was one of those who, in December, 1423, were sent to meet King James I. on his return from captivity in England, and received a safe conduct for his journey to Durham. He was also sent to England as one of the hostages for the King.⁸ An indenture between Alexander Montgomery, Knight, Lord of Ardrossan, and Alan Stewart, Lord of Darnley, was witnessed by him on May 15, 1438.⁹ The indenture was also witnessed by his son, Sir Robert, as Sheriff of Renfrew, who himself and his wife obtained, October 31, 1451, a charter of the lands of Southennan in Ayrshire.¹⁰

In 1474 Sir William Semple of Eliotstoun, son and apparent heir of the above Sir Robert, paid a composition of £66 13s. 4d. to the King for a writ, to prevent his father from alienating his lands, and on October 4, in the same year, he paid a further composition of the same amount for a charter, on his father's resignation, of the lands of Eliotstoun in Renfrewshire, Glassford in Lanarkshire, Southennan in the county of Ayr, and Rossie in Perthshire.¹¹ Sir William was appointed hereditary Sheriff of the county by King James III. He also held the office of Bailie to the Abbot and convent of

¹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 6.

² Burnett, iii. 53.

³ *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 37.

⁴ *Eglinton MSS.*, 8.

⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 364.

⁶ Pp. 368, 57.

⁷ Burnett, 489, etc.

⁸ Bain, iv. 190.

⁹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 12.

¹⁰ *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 38.

¹¹ *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 45.

Paisley for their lands in Renfrewshire, an office which, in 1545, was made hereditary in the Semple family by a grant of John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, to Robert Master of Semple,¹ who succeeded his father as Lord Semple in 1553.

Sir William Semple married Margaret, daughter of Lord Cathcart, and was succeeded by his son, Thomas Semple, who sat in the Parliament of February 24, 1483-4, and several others, and fell fighting for the King at Sauchieburn, June 11, 1488. His heir and only son, John, was raised to the peerage by King James IV. somewhere about the year 1489. He was the founder of the Collegiate Church of Semple. With many other nobles he fell at the disastrous battle of Flodden. His second son was Gabriel Semple of Cathcart.

His eldest son, William, the second Lord Semple, was made a Privy Councillor by James V., and appointed justiciary and bailie of the regality of Paisley. He was one of the lords who assented to the marriage between Queen Mary and Edward VI. of England. His death took place in 1548. From David, his second son, descended the Semples of Craigbetts.

Robert, third Lord Semple, who succeeded to the title in 1548, is usually known as the Great Lord Semple. As we shall see, he was greatly mixed up with the public affairs of the time, and played an important part in them. From his second son, Andrew, descended the Semples of Bruntscheils and the Semples of Beltrees.

Robert Master of Semple predeceased his father, and his son, Robert, succeeded his grandfather as fourth Lord Semple. As grandson and heir of Robert, third Lord Semple, he had charters of the baronies of Semple and Craignfeoch, confirmed December 15, 1572. He was of the Privy Council of James VI., and was sent as Ambassador to Spain in 1596. He died, March 25, 1611. By his first wife, Lady Anne Montgomery, second daughter of Hugh, third Earl of Eglinton, he had issue: Hugh, who succeeded him, and four daughters; and by his second wife, Dame Johanna de Evieland, Sir James Semple of Letterkenny in Ireland, whose daughter married into the house of Southwell.

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, Appendix II. ; *Lochwinnoch Papers*, ii. 7.

CHAPTER XI.

FEUDS.

DURING the fourteenth and two following centuries, but especially during the fifteenth and sixteenth, Scotland was seldom free from internecine strife. There was scarcely a family of note which had not one or more private feuds upon its hands, or which was not more or less mixed up with the feuds of others. Neither property nor life was secure. The damage done to property was enormous, and the misery occasioned incalculable. The lord or laird might lie down to rest in fancied security, and awake to find his cattle driven away or his house in flames about him. Sometimes the sleeper never awoke again, but was cruelly murdered as he lay—the victim of a brutal and insatiable desire for revenge or blood.

Much of the blame for this state of lawlessness has been laid at the door of the Douglasses, but there were others who, in proportion to their power, were quite as blameable as they were. Acts of Parliament were passed and remedies were applied, but from the imperfect manner in which they were used, they usually failed to restore order.

On August 2, 1440, Parliament assembled at Stirling for the purpose of taking into consideration the disordered state of the country. "Many and innumerable complaints," writes Lindsay of Pitscottie, "were given in, whereof the like was never seen before. There were so many widows, bairns, and infants seeking redress for their husbands, kindred, and friends, that were cruelly slain by wicked and cruel murderers, sicklike many for heirship, theft, and rief that there was no man but he would have ruth and pity to hear the same. Shortly, murder and slaughter were come in such dalliance among the people, and the King's Acts had come into such contempt, that no man wist where to seek refuge, unless he had sworn himself a servant to some common murderer or bloody tyrant, to maintain him against the invasion of others, or else had given largely of his gear to save his life and to obtain some peace and rest."¹

Parliament determined to have recourse once more to the remedies which had so often failed. It was ordained, as usual, that Holy Church should

¹ *Chronicles of Scotland*, i. 39; Mackay (S. T. S.).

be maintained in freedom, and that the persons and property of ecclesiastics should be universally protected. It was also ordained that, according to ancient usage, the justiciars on the southern and northern sides of the Firth of Forth, or "Scottis See," as it was called, should hold their courts twice in the year, that the same duties should be faithfully performed by lords of regalities within their jurisdiction and by the judges and officers of the King upon royal lands. It was ordained, further, that when a feud broke out the King should at once ride to the spot, summon the Sheriff of the county before him, and see immediate justice done upon the offenders, for the more speedy execution of which the barons were directed to assist with their persons, vassals, and property on the outbreak of rebellion, slaughter, or robbery.¹

The bitterest and most inveterate of the feuds in Renfrewshire was that between the Montgomeries and the Cunninghams. It was introduced into the county by the Cunninghams, and most of the families in the county were gradually drawn into it. The subject of contention was the office of bailie of the barony of Cunningham. On January 15, 1366, Sir Hugh Eglinton was appointed to the office by Robert, Steward of Scotland and Earl of Strathearn, who commanded all the inhabitants of the barony to obey him and his heirs. He also appointed him chamberlain of the barony and of the burgh of Irvine, and gave him as his fee one-third of the fines and issues of the chamberlain and burgh courts.² Sir Hugh, it would appear, had no sooner entered upon the office of bailie than his right to it was contested, and in 1370 he had either been forcibly extruded from it or was compelled to stand by and see the office administered, and its stipend drawn by another; for on May 30, in that year, a letter was issued by the Steward authorising him or any of his heirs to re-enter the office, "notwithstanding another then ministered it through Sir Hugh's sufferance and consent."³

The office appears to have descended to his grandson, Sir John Montgomery, since, in a marriage contract between Sir John's eldest daughter and Sir Robert Cunningham of Kilmaurs, in 1425, it was agreed that Sir Robert should hold the bailiary during his life, but on condition that he should not attempt or cause any attempt to be made to make the "said bailiary more secure to himself or to his heirs in the meantime than it was at his entry upon it."⁴

In 1448 the office was formally bestowed by the Crown on Alexander, eldest son of the first Lord Montgomery, whose son, the second lord, succeeded him in the office, and, in 1482, procured a transumpt of the chief documents

¹ *Act. Parl. Scot.*, ii. 32, 33.

² *Eglinton MSS.*, 9.

³ *Eglinton MSS.*, 10.

⁴ *Eglinton MSS.*, 10.

relating to it.¹ In 1498 the Montgomeries had another charter of the office from the King, who also issued letters to enforce obedience.²

Meantime both parties appear to have appealed to the sword, for in 1488 Kerrielow, one of the strongholds of the Cunninghams, had been pulled down and destroyed by the Montgomeries, probably as a retaliation. The Cunninghams appealed to the King; but on October 14, 1488, King James IV. remitted all actions against Hugh Lord Montgomery for the destruction of Kerrielow, and for all other offences committed by him prior to August 29 then last, in consideration of "the good and grateful service done to him by Lord Montgomery, especially in the field near Stirling, on June 11, when the royal forces under James III. were defeated, and among others who were fighting for the King against his disloyal son, Lord Kilmours, the head of the Cunninghams, who had recently been created Earl of Glencairn, was slain."³

The two parties next sought to come to terms with each other, and, on January 12, 1509, a Decree Arbitral was pronounced with their common consent, which declared that the Earl of Eglinton had full right to the disputed office.⁴ The quarrel, however, still went on. A second Decree Arbitral was pronounced in 1517, and a third in 1523. The last of these contains a list of no fewer than twenty-two "spulzeis" or raids made by the Cunninghams on the Montgomeries, for which the Earl of Glencairn and his son were condemned to pay to the Earl of Eglinton and his friends the sum of £1,218 14s. 2d., less certain sums for spulzeis done by the Montgomeries, which reduced the amount to be actually paid to £481 Scots. By the terms of this Decree Arbitral the parties were bound to observe it under a penalty of £3000 Scots.⁵

¹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 9.

² *Eglinton MSS.*, 18.

³ *Eglinton MSS.*, 16.

⁴ The principal arbiters were Andrew Bishop of Moray, and Archibald (fifth Earl of Angus), chosen by Cuthbert Earl of Glencairn, and Robert Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, on the one part, and Hugh Earl of Eglinton on the other, with their respective kinsmen and friends; also between Lord Eglinton and his son John, and their friends, etc., on the one side, and William Cunningham of Craighends (see Pitcairn, i. *44), and William his son, in respect in both cases to all debates and controversies between the parties on any occasion before November 28 preceding. The arbiters found that the Earl of Eglinton had full and heritable right to the office of bailliary of Cunningham, and therefore that he and his heirs should peaceably enjoy it in time to come, and also that the Earl of Glencairn and his son should renounce all right he or his heirs had to the Earl of Eglinton and his heirs, he paying to the former 600 merks Scots: further, the arbiters adjudged the Earl of Eglinton to pay Cunningham of Craighends and his son 200 merks, the Earl paying 150, the Bishop of Moray 20, the Earl of Argyll 10, the Earl of Cassillis 10, and William Lord Borthwick paying 10 to complete the sum; the Earl and his son doing such honours as the arbiters think fit to William Cunningham, younger, for amends for hurt and damages: the parties being enjoined that they "sall hertfully forgiff vtheris all ranour and malice betwix thame," etc., with other conditions, the parties breaking which were to pay 500 merks to the church of Glasgow, £1000 Scots to the church of Moray, the same sum to the King, and 2000 merks Scots to the party observing the contract. Four months later the Eglintons had the sum adjudged in the decree. *Eglinton MSS.*, 21.

⁵ *Eglinton MSS.*, 23, 24.

The feud, however, in spite of the decree, was continued with increased animosity. Early in the year 1528, or more probably late in the preceding year, the Cunninghams attacked the manor house of Eglinton, where all the muniments of the family were kept. The house was burnt to the ground, and the muniments were consumed in the flames. The King gave the Eglintons a charter confirming them in the possession of their lands and offices, but the earlier records of the ancient families of Montgomery, Ardrossan, and Eglinton were irrecoverably lost.¹

The feud, to use Sir William Fraser's words, may be said to have culminated in the murder of Hugh, fourth Earl of Eglinton, on April 18, 1586. The murder was deliberately planned by the Earl of Glencairn and certain conspirators, and perpetrated by David Cunningham of Robertland.²

The murderer was forgiven,³ and the feud continued. In 1606 the King made an attempt to arrange matters. Both the Earls and Lord Semple were summoned before the Privy Council for having caused a "broyle" in the streets of Perth before the meeting of the Red Parliament. When required to give in their submission conform to the Act of Parliament, the two Earls distinctly refused; the Earl of Glencairn alleging that there was a quarrel between him and his brother Earl, and that a submission was unnecessary. Eglinton asked for time to consider, and was given to November 20. Semple offered to submit.⁴

The reconciliation between Glencairn and Semple took place in a formal and public manner at the command of the Privy Council, nearly three years afterwards, May 22, 1609, on Glasgow Green, when, "for the eschewing of all inconvenients of trouble whilk may happen (whilk God forbid!)," the Town Council arranged that the provost, with one of the bailies and the whole Council, should go to the place, attended by forty citizens in arms, and that the two other bailies, each attended by sixty citizens armed with "lang weapons and swords," should "accompany and convoy the said noblemen with their friends, in and out, in making their reconciliation."⁵

On May 13, 1439, Alexander Montgomery, Lord of Ardrossan, and Alan Stewart, Lord of Darnley, met in the manor house of Houston and executed the curious marriage contract, the principal provisions of which are given on a

¹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 24. See *ante*, p. 88.

² See the Memoranda and letters relative to it. *Eglinton MSS.*, 29 (81).

³ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, iii. 610.

⁴ *Pitcairn*, iii. 580. The "broyle" "lasted fra seven till the hours at night with great skaith." One man of the Cunningham party was slain outright.

⁵ *Burgh Records of Glasgow*, May 19, 1609.

previous page. The document which was in the form of an indenture, was witnessed by John Semple Lord of Eliotston, Sir Robert Semple, Sheriff of Renfrew, John of Colquhoun, Lord of Luss, William of Cunningham, laird of Glengarnock, Patrick Houstoun of that ilk, John of Lindsay, laird of Dunrod, Thom of Park of that ilk, John Locart of the Bar, John Semple of Fulwood, and many others. In the month of August following, probably before the marriage took place, Sir Alan Stewart,¹ who had held the high office of Constable of the Scottish army in France, was treacherously slain by Sir Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock, at the thorn of Polmaise, three miles from Glasgow, for "auld feid" that was betwixt them. In revenge, Sir Alexander Stewart, brother of Sir Alan, collected his vassals and, in "plain battle," set upon Sir Thomas Boyd, "who was cruelly slain," as the old historian puts it, "with many valiant men on every side." The ground where the conflict took place was at Craignaucht Hill, a romantic spot near Neilston. "It was fought that day," says Pitscottie, "so manfully that both the parties by mutual consent retired and rested at sundry times, and then recommenced to fight at the sound of the trumpet, till the victory at last declared for the Stewarts."² Along with Sir Thomas Boyd, some twenty of his men were slain, which, according to Sir James Balfour, "kindled such a flame of civil discord in Kyle, Barronfrew (Renfrew), Carrick, and Cunningham, that had not the death of the Earl of Douglas quenched it, it had consumed a great part of the west of Scotland."³

The Semples were mixed up in most of the feuds of the county, and had enough of their own upon their hands. The first of the latter of which there is any mention was with the Lennox family. Its origin is obscure. But whether it originated in the slaughter of Robert de Semple, Captain of Dumbarton Castle, on the night of July 15, 1443, by Galbraith of Culcreuch,⁴ or was of less ancient standing, a serious feud existed between the two families during the second half of the fifteenth century. There appears to have been nothing in particular at stake between them, and the damage they had inflicted upon each other seems to have been about equal; for when they submitted their case to Robert Lord Lyle and others as arbiters, their finding was, that John Earl of Lennox and Mathew, his son, and Sir John Lord Semple should

¹ *Eglinton MSS.*, ii. The other part of the indenture is among the Lennox MSS. *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 388, 47.

² *Chronicles*, i. 24.

³ *Annales*, i. 168.

⁴ There are two very dissimilar accounts of this. One is given by Pitscottie's *Chronicles*, i. 49, and the other in the *Auchinleck Chronicle*, 35. Of the two, Pitscottie's is the more picturesque. According to him Semple was killed, but the Auchinleck chronicler says no more than that Galbraith "put out the said Schir Robert of the nether balye and remainit, yit with the hale eastell eftir that."

“mutually remit and forgive all unkindnesses and injuries done to each other in times past, and that the retainers of both parties should satisfy each other for mutual injuries done by themselves to one another.”¹ The advice appears to have been taken, for nothing more is heard of the feud.

The other private wars of the Semple family were not so quietly or so easily settled. There is nothing romantic to relate about them. For the most part they are stories of theft, pillage, burning, wounding, and slaughter. Sometimes they are stories of the oppression of the weak by the strong; and sometimes of resistance to the officials of the Crown. The only value of the narratives is in the light, usually, if not always, lurid, which they throw upon the lawlessness, barbarity, and ferocity of the times.

About the beginning of the year 1526 some of the tenants of the lands of Bar were put to the horn and declared rebels, and Archibald Hodge, a Crown messenger, was sent to point certain of their goods and chattels. Soon after he had arrived on the ground, Hodge was surrounded by William Lord Semple, William Semple, his son, John Semple of Fulwood, and some two hundred others, “bodin in feir of wer with bowis, speiris, culveringis, and uther waponis.” They took the goods he had pointed and violently deforced him in the execution of his office. Lord William was Sheriff of the county, and responsible for its peace, but here he was making war upon the Crown. He was summoned before the Privy Council, but both he and his accomplices failed to appear, and they were condemned to remain a year and a day in prison, and letters were issued against them.²

Three months later, the John Semple of Fulwood above mentioned, John his son, Robert Maxwell brother to the laird of Stanely, John Semple of Kirkinhead, William Semple of Blackburn, Walter Cochran in the Hag, and others, were summoned before the Lords for ejecting John Knox and James Erskine, tenants of the Abbey of Paisley in the lands of Auchinche, and stealing their cattle.³

On June 12, 1527, Parliament assembled in Edinburgh. Lord Semple had already been concerned with the Earl of Eglinton, Sir Neil Montgomery, and Stirling of Keir, in the death of the laird of Lochleven, and on the 21st of the month the Lords Temporal thought it expedient that Semple and his associates should be indicted for treason.⁴ While Parliament was sitting, Semple, whether aware of this resolution or not, entered Edinburgh at the head of a strong force. With his men he set upon one Cornelius de Mathetema, a Dutchman, near the Tolbooth, and put him to death. The affair created a

¹ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 391, 90; *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 48.

² *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 118.

³ *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 119.

⁴ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, iii. 305.

great stir, but on the 17th of the following month the King issued a letter of respite, protecting Semple and his followers against all that might follow from this "treasonable slaughter" for nineteen years. The letter gives the names of Semple's accomplices. In all they number 586.¹

At the same time William Lord Semple had other feuds on hand. Towards the close of the year 1526, he and his son, Robert Master of Semple, and their friends, invaded and besieged John Mure of Caldwell in "feire of weire with bowis, speiris, gunnys and uthir waponis" at the Place of Caldwell. For this he was summoned before the Privy Council, in the beginning of the following year; but though often called, he failed to appear.² An action was at the same time running against him, which had been raised by Craufurd of Auchinames. Craufurd was not altogether in the right, but he had the powerful support of William Master of Glencairn, and a compromise was arranged.³ The feud, however, was by no means stanchd. In 1537 Sir John Walker, chaplain, was indicted for lying in wait for Thomas Craufurd of Auchinames "at his fishing of Cart, and invading for his slaughter in company with William Lord Semple and his accomplices."⁴

Another affair in which William Lord Semple was engaged, had more serious results. In the month of July or early in the month of August, 1533, along with his son, the Master of Semple, and many of their friends, he had waylaid and murdered William Cunningham of Craigends and his servant, John Alanson. At the time the young King was doing his best to put down these private feuds, and on hearing of the slaughter of Craigends and his servants, he gave orders for the most resolute measures to be taken against the murderers. The consequence was that Lord Semple, his son, and many others, were summoned before the Court.

Sir John Semple, vicar of Erskine, was accused of being art and part in the slaughter, and on August 19, appeared before the Court, but was repledged to the Archbishop of Glasgow to the Church Courts, John Brisbane of Bishopton, his parishioner, becoming surety for the due performance of justice. The following day, Lord Semple, the Master of Semple, Semple of Ladymure, Stewart of Barscube, Semple of Fulwood, Mathew Semple and a number of others, appeared and found surety to appear before the Justiciar on November 17. The caution money for Lord Semple and his two sons and grandson was a thousand merks each. Semple of Fulwood and his son had to find surety to the amount of five hundred pounds each, and Mathew Semple to the

¹ *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 124. They are by no means all Semples, but their names are all common in the county, and in this, as in other respects, the letter is valuable.

² *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 129-30.

³ *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 132-140.

⁴ *Pitcairn*, i. *204.

amount of a thousand merks. A number who were implicated failed to appear and were put to the horn.

For the trial of the case in November, the Justice-General, Archibald Earl of Argyll, appointed Robert Lord Maxwell, and Thomas Scott of Pitgorno, to be his deputies.¹

The Semples were now fairly alarmed, and on the day after their appearance in Court, entered upon a bond of mutual assurance with the Cunninghams, by which the two parties undertook not to molest each other till November 25, five days after the case was to come up for trial.²

The trial of the accused began on November 12, when Alexander Pinkerton and John Bruntscheils were found guilty of being art and part in the slaughter of the Laird of Craigends and his servants, and were beheaded.

On November 20, the Cunninghams were summoned before the Court—Alexander, son and heir of the Master of Glencairn, and over thirty others, among whom was Craufurd of Auchinames. They were charged with “unbesetting the highway, by way of murder, to William Lord Semple, lying in wait for his slaughter, with a great company, between his Castle of Semple and his Place of Lovell, on the fifth and seventh days of August last.” Cunningham of Glengarnock, and D. Cunningham of Robertland, both of whom had entered into the bond of mutual assurance only a few days before, were accused of being “art and part of the forethought felony and oppression done to Robert Snodgrass, Mark Semple and Patrick Young, coming with convocation of the lieges to the number of one hundred persons, in warlike manner on the (3rd) day of September last, within the lands of Robert Snodgrass, and forcibly seizing and imprisoning him,” etc. Alexander Cunningham and his accomplices had to find sureties for their appearance at the next Justice Ayre at Renfrew; while in the second case both the Cunninghams and the Semples were bound over to keep the peace under the pain of 5,000, 2,000 and 1,000 merks each, according to their respective ranks.³

The trial of Lord Semple was fixed for February 26. Meantime, it became known that it was to be held not before the Deputies previously appointed, but before the Justice-General himself, Archibald Earl of Argyll. The relatives of Craigends now began to fear a miscarriage of justice, and presented a petition against the Justice-General presiding at the trial, alleging in their petition that he was not a competent judge, because he “stood in tenderness of blood” to Lord Semple, and “was taking plain part in thair contrar.” The King issued a letter directing justice to be done and all

¹ Pitcairn, i. *163.

² *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 159.

³ Pitcairn. i. * 164.

suspected officials for the time being to be removed. The Master of Glencairn petitioned further that the Justice-General "wes suspect to sitt," inasmuch as he had received David Semple and others of the accused within the Place and town of Dunoon. The Lords Auditors therefore counselled the Earl "to remufe him self to sitt as Judge in the said mater and to appoint a deputy against whom there was no suspicion."

The result of the trial appears to have been a foregone conclusion. William Lord Semple and nine others who stood their trial with him were acquitted. On the other hand, John Stewart cousin of the Laird of Barscube, Matthew Semple servant of the Laird of Stanely, and James Kirkwood, residing in Kilbarchan, were beheaded. Robert Master of Semple failed to appear and was put to the horn, and his father, Lord Semple, was fined a thousand merks for not producing him. His Lordship was also fined in a similar sum for the non-appearance of Gabriel Semple, who, like the Master of Semple, was put to the horn. The plaintiffs in the case were by no means satisfied with the verdict, and demanded a new trial, but beyond having to pay a number of fines or the caution money for those for whom he had given himself as surety, William Lord Semple escaped.¹ There can be little doubt that so far as the principal actors in the slaughter were concerned there was a great miscarriage of justice. But to obtain justice in those days was not easy.

William Lord Semple appears to have been thoroughly well supported by his wife, Marion Montgomery. Some time after his death, on November 8, 1555, she was charged with a number of serious offences, and having no defence, she "came in the Queen's will for consenting to the slaughter of Gilbert Rankin in Lecheland, committed by the servants of the said Lady, March 17, 1553, under silence of night: and for approving the cruel hurting and wounding of John Fynné and mutilation of his arm, and the hurting and wounding of John Roger in sundry parts of his body, to the effusion of his blood, committed at the same time —by resetting of her servants, who had committed the said crimes, red-hand, that same night, within the Castle of Laven, immediately after the perpetration thereof: and also for approving of the taking and apprehending of Humphrey Malcolmson and Archibald Scherare, they being conducted by her servants in the same night to the Castle of Laven, seeing she received them into her said Castle: also, for the incarceration and subjection of the said persons in the foresaid Castle by the space of twenty-four hours, without food or drink; thereby usurping the Queen's authority."²

¹ Pitcairn, i. * 163-79.

² Pitcairn, i. * 381.

The Semples had feuds also with the Lyles of Duchal, with Houstoun of that ilk, with the Polloks, and with the Mures of Caldwell. Like the Glencairns and Cunninghams, they had their private wars also beyond the bounds of the county, and on one or more occasions they were in arms against the Government.

William, fourth Earl of Glencairn, was taken prisoner at Solway Moss, and ever after was in the pay of the English. Semple remained true to his country for some time longer, but he also, as we shall see, finally deserted his Queen and found salvation in the ranks of the Protestant party—for a while.

The Mures of Caldwell had fewer private wars than the Cunninghams or the Semples, but they had enough of them, all of which help to illustrate still further, if any further illustrations are needed, the utter lawlessness and anarchy of the times.

As early as October 29, 1409, a remission was granted to John Mure of Caldwell, Archibald Mure of Polkelly, and Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock, for the slaughter of Mark Neilson of Dalrymple.¹ Sir Adam Mure, the son of John Mure, probably of Cowdams, who succeeded the John Mure just mentioned, is described as "a gallant stout man, having many feuds with his neighbours, which were managed with great fierceness and much bloodshed."² His sons took after him. Hector, his second son, was killed in a feud at Renfrew, in 1499, by John and Hugh Maxwell, eldest son and brother of the Laird of Nether Pollok, with which family the Mures had a long-standing quarrel. They had another with the Ralstons. On January 24, 1500, a remission under the Privy Seal was granted to Robert, son of Adam Mure of Caldwell, for the slaughter of the late Patrick Bourne and for "forthocht felony" done upon the Laird of Ralston.³

John, the second son and successor of Sir Adam, joined forces with the Earls of Lennox, Arran and Glencairn, and on February 20, 1515, battered with "artalzerie," took and sacked the "Castle and Palace" of Glasgow, then in the possession of James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, Chancellor of Scotland.⁴ The act was directed against the government of the Duke of Albany, but in that age it was not always easy to distinguish between private and public wars. Neither the Regent nor the Chancellor was of a temper to forgive, and the sacking of the Chancellor's palace and castle brought the Mures into considerable trouble. In order to meet his share of the heavy expenses of the proceedings raised against them, Caldwell was under the necessity of mortgaging his estates of Camseskane. Hugh, first Earl of Eglinton, to whose daughter his eldest son was

¹ *Caldwell Papers*, i. 6.² *Caldwell Papers*, i. 8.³ *Pitcairn*, i. *101.⁴ *Caldwell Papers*, i. 54.

married, relieved him from the incumbrance, but at the expense of a Bond of Manrent by which the Laird bound himself to be the Earl's man and to render him military service as long as the sum lent remained unpaid, a condition which simply involved him still more deeply in the Montgomery-Cunningham feud.¹

On March 27, 1549, this same Sir John was indicted for having "with his fyve brothers and twenty-six others, armed in warlike manner, invaded Robert Master of Sempill and his servants for their slauchter near the place and tour of Caldwell, and put them to flight."² Six years before this he had taken part with the Earl of Glencairn in the bloody battle called the Field of the Muir of Glasgow, fought by the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn and headed by the latter against the Regent Arran. For his share in this adventure he was held responsible till the year 1553, when he and his brothers, Archibald Mure in Hill of Beith and James Mure of Boldair, were granted a remission for it.³

Three years before this, on April 11, 1550, Robert Mure, one of the Laird's sons, was killed by Sir Patrick Houstoun of that ilk and others. The records of the Justiciary Court⁴ describe the act as "a crewall slauchter, committed under silence of night, on ancient feud and forthocht felony." Two months later, Archibald Houstoun, the actual perpetrator of the crime, was tried and beheaded. This, however, was not considered a sufficient atonement for the deed, and the feud between the two families was not settled for thirty years. By a written agreement, dated December 7, 1580, between Sir Robert Muir, then of Caldwell, and the same Sir Patrick Houstoun, the amount of compensation due by Sir Patrick for his share in the matter was referred to the arbitration of eight of the leading men in the counties of Ayr and Renfrew. For Sir Patrick, John Shaw of Greenock, Alexander Fleming of Barrochan, William Wallace of Johnstone, and John Fullarton of Dreghorne were named; and for Sir Robert, John Blair of that ilk, John Mure of Rowallan, Thomas Spreull of Cowdon, and Hugh Ralston of that ilk.⁵ The next in succession at Caldwell, Sir John Mure, whom James V. knighted, was killed, September 20, 1570, by the Cunninghams of Aitkett and the Ryeburns of that ilk,⁶ who were also amongst those who slew his kinsman, Hugh, third of Eglinton, April 18, 1586.

There were other and lesser feuds in the county, such as those between Stewart of Barscube and Hamilton of Ferguslie, Pollok of that ilk and White-

¹ The Bond of Manrent is an excellent specimen of a sort of document common in the fifteenth and sixteenth and following century. It is curious, too, as showing that, like others of his class at the time, the Laird of Caldwell was not able to sign his name. *Caldwell Papers*, i. 58-62.

² Pitcairn, i. * 343.

³ *Caldwell Papers*, i. 12.

⁴ Pitcairn, i. *359, 183.

⁵ *Caldwell Papers*, i. 77.

⁶ Pitcairn, i. 91.

ford of that ilk, Bruntscheils and Montgomery of Scotstown, Porterfield of that ilk and Brisbane of Middle Walkinshaw, the Stewarts of Ochiltree and the Mowats of Busby, the Whitefords of that ilk and the Maxwells of Stanely, and between Fleming of Barrochan and the Porterfields.¹ Many of these families were mixed up in the Eglinton and Cunningham feud, which seems to have fairly well divided the county. But enough has been said to show how utterly lawless the county was during the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation. Things were no better when the Reformation movement began. If they grew worse—and it is impossible to prove they did not—it was only what might naturally be expected.

¹ Pitcairn, i. *382, *384, 62, 69, 79, 133, 377.

CHAPTER XII.

ROYAL VISITS.

SOME royal visits to the county have already been noticed. They were mostly to the head burgh of Renfrew. About the middle of the fifteenth century the castle there fell out of favour as a royal residence. In 1464, the royal gardens and orchards were let to Lord Lyle, and in the reign of James III., Lord Ross of Hawkhead was appointed hereditary Governor of the Castle. James IV. paid a long series of visits to the county, but not to the head burgh.

Early in the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century, his younger brother, the Duke of Ross, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews, was residing in the monastery of Paisley under the tutorial care of James Shaw, the Abbot, his governor. James IV.'s first visit to Paisley appears to have been paid in the month of May, 1489. At anyrate, on the fifteenth of that month he was residing in the Abbey of Paisley.¹

For the Abbot, his presence just then was exceedingly opportune. Under the fostering care of the monks Paisley had gradually become the largest and most flourishing town in the county. Quite recently a feud had broken out between the Abbot's men in Paisley and the King's men in the neighbouring royal burgh. The origin of the feud is not clear; but the men of Paisley, taking the law into their own hands, after the fashion of the times, had marched to Renfrew under cover of night and committed considerable depredations there. For this they were tried at the Justice Ayre at Renfrew and heavily fined. The Abbot seized the opportunity afforded by the King's visit to plead for his men, and pled so successfully, that the King granted them a remission of the fines, and protection against any further actions arising out of the raid that might be brought against them.²

The Abbot, who was the brother of Shaw of Sauchie, the Governor of Stirling Castle, who, at the critical moment had gone over from the side of James III. and joined his rebellious nobles, carrying with him the Prince, had just received two other valuable tokens of the King's favour. One was a charter confirming the monastery of Paisley in all its rights, privileges, and property, while the other was a charter for the erection of the town of Paisley

¹ *Treasurers' Accounts*, i. 112.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 273; Metcalfe, 27.

into a free burgh of barony. The burgh was not erected, or rather, the charter was not given effect to until June 2, 1490 ;¹ but at the time of the King's visit, the Abbot was busy making the necessary arrangements.

Within little more than two months the King was on his way back to the county. Already, on April 8, about a month before he paid his first visit, Bute pursuivant and Nisbet macer had been sent with letters to Lord Lyle's Castle of Duchal and to the Castle of Dumbarton, the keeping of which had been entrusted to the Earl of Lennox and his eldest son, Mathew Stewart.² A week later, Rothesay herald and Montrose pursuivant carried other letters to Dumbarton.³ Lord Lyle was Chief Justiciar, and to him and to the Earl of Lennox had been entrusted the keeping of Renfrewshire, the Lennox, and the Lower ward of Clydesdale, till the King should come of age. For some time they had been intriguing with Lord Forbes, who had recently displayed the bloody shirt of James III. at Aberdeen, and was afterwards joined by the Earl Marischal and the Master of Huntly.⁴ Both Lyle and Lennox had been well rewarded in the distribution of honours on the accession of the young King, but, having quickly garrisoned Duchal Castle and the Dumbarton stronghold, together with Lennox's own castle of Crookston, they were now bidding defiance to the Government.

Meantime, as the summons to surrender served upon them in April had been disregarded, the King had been making preparations to take the field against them ; and it was probably in connection with these preparations that his visit to Paisley on May 15 was made. On the 18th he was in Stirling. Parliament met in Edinburgh on June 26, and on the second day of its sitting a decree of forfeiture was passed, in their absence, against Lord Lyle, the Earl of Lennox, his son Mathew Stewart, and their abettors.⁵ It was further determined, that for the recovering of the castles held by the rebels in the west, the King should pass in person to Duchal and Crookston, to be there on July 19, accompanied by all the barons, gentlemen, and freeholders south of the Forth, and that on the day of the King's arrival at Glasgow, the Chancellor should proceed with the men of Argyll, Lennox, Menteith, and Strathearn "from Tay west" to besiege the Castle of Dumbarton.

The King arrived in Glasgow on the 18th, whence he at once despatched messengers to Edinburgh "to haist the gunnis west." The gunners "cartit Mons," the great bombard, from the Castle of Edinburgh towards Dumbarton, and the great gun known as "Duchal" to Renfrewshire. At the time the

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 264 ; *Metcalf*, 32. The charter is in the Town Archives.

² October 20, 1488 ; *R. M. S.*, lib. xii., n. 61 ; *Dickson, Treas. Accs.*, lxxxviii.

³ *Dickson*, 108.

⁴ *Dickson*, lxxxviii.

⁵ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 213, 214.

transport of heavy artillery was a slow process. Men "that kist the gayt" had to go before, and the sheriffs of the districts through which the guns passed, had to provide oxen to draw them. At Paisley, the King obtained a body of labourers with spades and mattocks, and then proceeded to invest Duchal.¹ The siege did not last beyond a few days. About the 28th of the month the King left Duchal for Linlithgow, to meet the Spanish Ambassador, and on August 4 the artillery was at Kirkintilloch on its way home, Duchal and Crookston having surrendered.²

Dumbarton still held out. The siege made no progress; and the besieged making a bold sally, dislodged their assailants, and by setting fire to the town, compelled them to raise the siege and withdraw to Dunglass. Lennox then took the field with a force of two thousand men for the purpose of obtaining reinforcements. The King summoned the lords of the west and south-west to meet him at Glasgow, and was there himself on the 22nd and again on the 28th of October and during the early days of November, engaged apparently in making arrangements in connection with the siege. Three boats conveyed "the gun callit Duchal fra Archil to Dunglass," and from time to time the King was present with the besieging force. On November 10 he was in Glasgow on his way to Linlithgow. On the 23rd he returned to Dumbarton and finally left it on December 13, the place having surrendered two or three days before. During these frequent visits to Glasgow and Dumbarton the King does not appear to have entered Renfrewshire, his journeys having apparently been made on the north side of the Clyde.³

Parliament met in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh, on February 3. On the third day of its meeting,⁴ the Earl of Lennox, his eldest son Mathew Stewart Master of Lennox, and Lord Lyle boldly appeared before it in presence of the King. They declared that the summons served upon them for their compearance on June 27 preceding was informal, and that the diet had not been adjourned according to custom; they demanded, therefore, that the sentence of forfeiture and death then pronounced upon them should be annulled.

Nothing shows more clearly the pitiful condition into which the country had fallen and the powerlessness of the King than the treatment which these three noblemen, who had been in arms against the Crown, then received. Their demand was granted, and the King, on the same day, issued a precept⁵ to the Clerk Register, commanding him to "tak furth in the said process of

¹ Dickson, 116.² Dickson, 117.³ Dickson, 121-126.⁴ Dickson, xeviii. 147; *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 216.⁵ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 213.

forfaltour of the bukis of Parliament, and to distroy the samyn proces in sic-wise, that it be never sene in tyme tocum." A remission was further given with the consent of the Estates, on February 12, to the Master of Lennox and three of his brothers, with a hundred and twenty-nine others, for being art and part in the treasonable holding of Dumbarton Castle against the King and in the burning of the town.¹ Three days later, a full pardon was extended to all on the south side of the Water of Forth who had taken part with Lord Lyle.²

After the surrender of the castles of Duchal and Crookston, the King does not appear to have visited the county again until December 23 in the following year (1490), when he was probably returning from Whithorn. At anyrate, on December 5 he was at Lochmaben,³ and at the date mentioned he was in the Abbey at Paisley.

His arrival in Paisley was again exceedingly opportune. The feud between the royal burgh of Renfrew and Paisley, now a burgh of barony and regality, had broken out afresh. When Abbot George Shaw issued his Charter of Erection in the month of June preceding, the people of Paisley had at once begun to erect their Market Cross. But the work had not proceeded far when the men of Renfrew, moved probably by jealousy, stole into Paisley "under silence of nicht," threw down the building, and destroyed the stones and "hewin work" that were being prepared for the "Croce." On the arrival of the King, the Abbot laid a complaint before him, upon which the King issued a letter to the Earl of Lennox and his son, Mathew Lord Darnley, directing them to make proclamation of the privileges he had granted to the town of Paisley at the Market Cross of Renfrew, and at "all uthir places nedefull," and to search for and punish any who were convicted of having taken part in the outrage.⁴

On this occasion the King's intervention was apparently without effect. There is no record of the apprehension of any of the midnight marauders. Nor were the men of Renfrew by any means overawed.

Within twelve months after the issue of the King's letter, the customars and officers of the royal burgh, acting under the authority of its bailies, appeared in Paisley on the market day and poinded a quantity of goods for the King's customs. But before they could get off with their spoils, the bailies of the Abbot appeared upon the scene and forcibly seized the goods

¹ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, xii. 33.

² *Acta Parl. Scot.* ii. 223.

³ Dickson, 171 : "Item, on Saturday the V^o of Decembris in Lowmabane, to the King, xxⁱ lewis . . . xviii. lib."

⁴ Sir W. Fraser, *The Lennox Book*, ii. 140 ; *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 391, 89 ; Metcalfe, 39.

pointed, so that the officials from the royal burgh were obliged to return empty handed. Upon this the bailies of Renfrew raised an action before the Lords Auditors against the bailies of Paisley, charging them with defrauding the King of his customs, and usurping the privileges of their burgh, and taking the pointed goods from their "customars and officiaris." After some delay the case was decided in favour of the bailies of Paisley, the Lords Auditors holding that they had done no fraud, neither usurped upon the privileges of the burgh of Renfrew, because the "said toun and landis of Pastlay are creat in fre barony and regalitie as wes previt be a charter under King Robert's grete sele of the date precedand the infeitment maid to the said toun of Ranfrew, and also becaus the said toun of Ranfrew is prevlegiit bot [only] of the landis within the burgh and the barony of Ranfrew."¹ Nine days after this finding was delivered, on June 22, 1493, it was confirmed by the King under the Great Seal.² The affair, however, was not yet ended. In the following year Abbot George Shaw raised an action against the bailies and community of Renfrew for the wrongous taking and intermitting with the customs of the regality of Paisley, and the detention and withholding of them from the Abbot and convent of Paisley for the past hundred years, also for the costs of the recent action, for the damage done to the Market Cross at Paisley, for unlawfully fishing in the water and lands of Bernis in Dumbartonshire, and for the destruction of a house belonging to the monastery at Arkleston.³ Whether this case was persevered in is unknown. There is no record of it beyond the summons. The amount of money involved was very considerable, and the probability is that a compromise, which served to put an end to the feud between the two towns, was arranged and agreed to.

While these legal proceedings were going on, the King was in the county again. In the month of November, 1491, he set out on a pilgrimage to the shrine of S. Ninian at Whithorn, and on his return passed through Ayr, and reached Paisley on the 21st of the month, when he was reconciled to the Church for the part he had taken in the death of his father. According to the Treasurers' Accounts, he then gave to the masons who were employed upon the buildings at the Abbey, the sum of ten shillings,⁴ probably "to the drink," as at Whithorn.⁵

His next visit to the shire was on February 22, 1497-8, when he rode from Glasgow to Duchal, where his mistress, Marion Boyd, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw, was then residing. The Treasurer, "be the Kingis command," then gave eighteen shillings "to the noris that fosterit Marioun Boydis barne and fourteen to a harper."⁶

¹ *Acta Dom. Audit.*, p. 162, 176; Metcalfe, 40, 47, 48.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 403; Metcalfe, 49.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 404; Metcalfe, 50.

⁴ Dickson, 183.

⁵ Dickson, 182.

⁶ Dickson, 379.

James was then on his way to visit the Western Isles. He was met at Ayr by Lord Kennedy, and set sail on March 8. He returned by way of Ayr to Duchal, where, on March 16, having now completed "his perfyte aige of twenty-five yeiris," he executed his formal revocation of all grants made by him during his minority.¹ The notary who attended him was given four shillings, and the nurse and harper thirteen shillings and fourpence each.

During the following month the King was probably in the shire on two occasions. On April 2 he was at Dumbarton, on his way to Whithorn, and on the evening of the same day he was at Ayr. On the fourth of the month, again, he was back at Ayr, and either that night or on the following day was at Dumbarton, on his way to Stirling, where he was on April 9.² Both in going to Whithorn and when returning, it is not unlikely that he crossed the Clyde at the ferry a little above Langbank, in the parish of Erskine.

After spending Eastertide at Stirling, he paid a visit to Dunbar, and returned by Restalrig to Linlithgow.³ In the beginning of May he was again at Dunbar, and on the fifth of the same month he set out for Dumbarton, on his way to Kintyre, when he crossed over into Renfrewshire and took ship at Newark, now Port-Glasgow. He was at Loch Kilkerane on the 16th, and, if the evidence of charters may be trusted, he was in the county again on his way back to the Loch on June 18, for on that day he granted a charter on board ship at Greenock—in *navi apud Grenok*—when about to sail to Loch Kilkerane, where he remained some days.⁴

The Treasurers' Accounts from May, 1498, to February, 1500-1, are lost, and their guidance as to the King's movements during that period fails us. But, according to the Register of the Great Seal, he was in Ayr on March 24, 1499, and at Dumbarton on April 2.⁵ The probability is, therefore, that he was in the county at least once during that year.

The next visit of the King to the county, of which there is any record, occurred in August, 1502. He was then on his way to Whithorn, on one of his numerous pilgrimages. On the 11th of that month he was in Paisley, when he caused twenty shillings to be given to the priests. He had come from Glasgow, and went on to Ayr, where he remained till the 16th of the month. On the eighteenth he was at Whithorn, from whence he returned by Muirkirk and Glasgow.⁶ About December 10 in the same year he was in

¹ Dickson, 383.

² Dickson, 385. That the King crossed at a ferry, which was doubtless the one mentioned in the text, is shown by the entry—"Item, to the feryar, cumand hame agane—ixs."

³ Dickson, 387-9.

⁴ Dickson, clxvi.

⁵ Balfour Paul, *Treas. Accs.*, ii. xviii. n.

⁶ *Treas. Accs.*, ii. 80-1.

Glasgow to meet Sir Thomas Darcy, the English envoy, but does not appear to have come further west. In April, 1503, he set out on another pilgrimage to Whithorn, but neither when going nor when returning did he pass through Renfrewshire.¹

He was at Whithorn again in May. On the seventeenth and eighteenth of the month he was at Ayr on his return, and then travelled to Paisley and on to Glasgow and Edinburgh. Of his stay in Paisley we have the following record:—

“ Item, the xx day of Maij, in Paslay, to twa preistis, be the Kingis command, 	xxvijs.
Item, to the masonis and werkmen in Paslay, of drink- silver, 	xiijs.
Item, the xxj day of Maij, to ane man brocht ane fed ox fra Lady Levingstoun, be the Kingis command,	xiijs.
Item, be the Kingis command, to ane man brocht lxx hurd pennys to the King to see, 	ixs.”

Abbot Robert Shaw was at the time apparently occupied in completing the work begun at the Abbey by his predecessor and uncle, Abbot George Shaw. Treasure trove in the shape of silver and copper coins was frequently brought to the King for his inspection. The occurrence of these “finds” may be easily accounted for by the character of the times.

The next time the King was in Renfrewshire he was accompanied by the Queen. In June, 1504, he was holding a Justice Ayre Court at Dumfries, and on the twenty-fifth of the month, accompanied by the Queen, he went on to Whithorn. On the twenty-ninth they were at Ayr on their way back, and on the last day of the month they were in Paisley. Lord Semple’s harper performed before them, and was paid fourteen shillings for his trouble. On their way to Glasgow on the following morning, the King and Queen looked in upon Lord Ross at Hawkhead, when the King gave “to the masonis of Halkhed in drinksilver xiijs,” where building was evidently going on as in Paisley.² According to the Treasurers’ Accounts, it cost four shillings and twopence to “turse” (*i.e.*, convey) the King’s coffers from Ayr to Paisley, and about the same to convey them from Paisley to Linlithgow, as a charge “for girs to the Kingis chamir in Edinburgh” is reckoned in the five and fivepence for the “item.”³

¹ *Treas. Accs.*, ii. 365.

² *Treas. Accs.*, ii. 442-43.

³ *Treas. Accs.*, ii. 444, 447. The “girs” or grass was evidently intended to do duty in the King’s chamber for our modern carpets and rugs. There is a charge also of fifteen pence for “tursing of the silver weschale” from Ayr to Paisley, but what sort of a vessel this was is not said. P. 44.

In the beginning of June, 1505, the Court was at Dumbarton. On the seventh of the month the King paid a flying visit to Paisley, when he directed twenty shillings to be given to the priests of the town. On the tenth he was back in Dumbarton, where the Court remained till the fifteenth, when it removed to Ayr for a couple of days, and then returned to Stirling by way of Auchinleck and Craighernard."¹ In the following month the King passed from Dumbarton to Whithorn.² On his way he visited Lord Semple at Eliotstoun, probably for the purpose of inspecting the Collegiate Church,³ which had just been built by John Lord Semple, in the parish of Lochwinnoch. Fourteen shillings were given as His Majesty's offering to it.⁴ From Whithorn the King went to Edinburgh by way of Peebles.

Next year "the leaves were hardly green when the indefatigable monarch was again off on one of his southern pilgrimages." Going by Glasgow, he called at Hawkhead, where he gave thirteen shillings to the masons as drink-silver, and then went on to Paisley, where, on April 26, he gave the same number of shillings to the masons at work there. From Paisley he went by Ayr and Glenluce to Whithorn, where, on May 1, he gave eighteen shillings to an English pilgrim "that Sanct Ninian kythit miracle for."⁵ Returning by Wigton, Dumfries and Peebles, he was in Edinburgh by the twelfth of the month.

In the month of August of the same year (1506) the King was off again to Whithorn. He was at Glasgow on the fifth of the month, at Ayr on the sixth, and at Whithorn on the ninth,⁶ but whether he passed through Renfrewshire, though he probably did, is not said. On the return journey he came by Ayr and thence to Inchinnan, where six French crowns, worth £4 4s. Scots, were given to the wrights, masons and workmen who were engaged in altering or rebuilding the old manor house, known as the Place, then in the possession of Mathew Stewart Lord Darnley, second Earl of Lennox. From Inchinnan the King was rowed down and across the Clyde to Dumbarton.⁷

On February 21, 1507, the Queen gave birth to a son, "quhairof," says Leslie, "albeit the King was exceeding blyth, yit because that sickness put his wyfe in perrel, grevet him sa sair, that he would not be comforted; nouthier of man wald receive ony consolatioun. Quhairfor al hope

¹ *Treas. Accs.*, iii. 146.

² *Treas. Accs.*, iii. 62.

³ The charter is dated April 21, 1504. *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 64.

⁴ *Treas. Accs.*, iii. 62. Sir J. Balfour Paul (ii. xviii.) says that on the twenty-sixth a gratuity was given to Lord Semple's harper. A gratuity was given to him, as we have seen, on an earlier date, but in the accounts published for this visit there is no mention of one.

⁵ *Treas. Accs.*, iii. 192-3.

⁶ *Treas. Accs.*, iii. 280.

⁷ *Treas. Accs.*, iii. 281, 331-333.

of her helth putting in God only, referring al to His gudnes, for her he passis a pilgrime, on fute to S. Ninians of Galloway, for devotioun." ¹ He started on March 11 or 12, but neither in going nor in returning did he pass through Renfrewshire. But in the month of July following, when the Queen had recovered, both their Majesties, when on their way to Whithorn ² to give thanks, passed through Renfrewshire. They reached Paisley from Edinburgh on the ninth, when the sum of three pounds was given to Schir Andro Makbrek, the King's almoner, "to dispo." ³ From Whithorn they returned as they went by Ayr, a stop being made on the way at Maybole. After Ayr the route followed was the same as on a previous occasion, viz., to Inchinnan, and down and across the Clyde to Dumbarton, and thence to Paisley ⁴ and Glasgow. They were at Paisley on the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, and at Glasgow on the twenty-seventh. To the boatmen that rowed the King from Inchinnan to Dumbarton ten shillings were given. Before leaving Paisley for Glasgow, the King was presented by Abbot Robert Shaw with a couple of horses. ⁵

These frequent vists of royalty must have occasioned no small stir in the county. When the Court rested at the Abbey of Paisley or at the Place of Inchinnan there would be considerable gaiety. Before his marriage the King was in the habit of travelling lightly and rapidly. Afterwards, when accompanied by the Queen, his movements were more stately and at a slower pace, in consequence of the Queen's numerous impedimenta.

On most of the occasions on which the King passed through the county he was either making a pilgrimage to the famous shrine of S. Ninian in

¹ *History of Scotland*, ii. 123 (S.T.S.). The Prince referred to was named James, and died in little more than a year.

² "A lytil efter, the Quene was betir; now quhen al vehemencie of her seiknes had left her, and sche began to be stark, al her helth sche referit to the pietye and devotioun of her housband throug the help of S. Ninian under God. With her housband thairfor, baith of ane mynd and wil, in pilgrimage tha pas, of devotioun the Julie neist following, to the selfe S. Ninians." Leslie, ii. 123.

³ *Treas. Accs.*, iii. 291.

⁴ In the *Treas. Accs.*, iii. 292, the following entries occur:—

Item, the xxiiij day of Julij, to the priestis in Dumbertane,	...	...	xxx.
Item, the xxv day of Julij, in Paslay, to the Kingis offerand to the reliques,	...	...	xiiijs.
Item, to the Kingis offerand at the hie mes,	...	...	xiiijs.
Item, the xxvj day of Julij, in Paslay, to Schir Andro Makbrek to dispo,	...	...	iiijlb.
Item, Sanct Annes Day, to the Kingis offerand at the mes,	...	...	xiiijs.
Item, to the Kingis offerand on the bred, to Sanct Annes lycht,	...	...	xiiijs.

From the entries on page 405 of the same volume we learn that on July 24 the King distributed among the servants of the Provost of Dumbarton 28s., and gave 2s. "to the said Provestis gardinar," and that the men "that rouit the King our the watir," when on his way to Paisley, were paid 14s. The same day the King gave the same amount to the workmen in Paisley "in drinksilvir."

⁵ *Treas. Accs.*, iii. 405.

Galloway, or returning from one. On some occasions, however, he was on business.¹ But whether on business or devotion, during his numerous journeys he usually contrived to combine with the one and the other a considerable amount of amusement. He was a keen sportsman, and as a rule his falcons and hounds either preceded or accompanied him. In Renfrewshire he would find abundant sport in the forests of Paisley and Fereneze, in the wood of Stanely, and along the moors or muirs, as the high lands in the neighbourhood of Kilmacolm were called; and his evenings in the Abbey of Paisley or in the Place of Inchinnan, if they were occupied as they were elsewhere, as they most likely were, would be filled in with card-playing, chess or backgammon. Elsewhere they were often spent in listening to clareschaws or performers on the Irish harp, to fiddlers, pipers, singers, lutars, tabourers or drummers, or to the jests of "Sande fwle," or to Currey, who after 1495 was the Court fool. Sometimes the amusements of the evening were varied by watching the performances of players, gysaris or mummers, dancers, spelaris or rope-dancers, and many were the payments made for them out of the funds of the Lord High Treasurer. In March, 1500, twenty-eight shillings were given at Stirling to a blind lutar, and thirty-six to "Jacob lutar to lows his lute that lay in wed" (*i.e.*, in pawn). At Montrose, in October of the same year, fourteen shillings were given to a "brokin bakkit" or hunchbacked "fithelar." Among singers the "crukit vicar" of Dumfries was an especial favourite with the King, and on several occasions entertained him. To "the madinis of Forres that dancit to the King" nine shillings were given. At Elgin the same or another set of "madinis" danced before His Majesty. There are references also to certain "Moor lasses," who were probably full-blooded negresses, and in all likelihood dancers, like the "madinis" of Forres or Elgin and Darnaway.² It is not unlikely that they were the same that attracted the attention of Dunbar and inspired his poem "Of ane Blackmoir." There is nothing to show, however, that when he was at Paisley or Inchinnan the King was entertained either by "fithelaris," "lutaris," "gysaris," "spelaris," dancing "madinis," or by—

" My ladye with the mekle lippis,
That landed furth of the last schippis."

The only indication we have of the way in which he was amused in the evening, during any of his visits to Renfrewshire, are the gratuities given to John Haislet, Lord Semple's harper, and to the harper at Duchal.

¹ Most of his journeys on business were made to hold Justice Ayre Courts. Speaking of him in the year 1506, Sir James Balfour says:—"The King in person holds justice courts in divers parts of the Kingdom, wherein, to the great joy and contentment of his people, he shows many acts of a prudent King and a wise justiciar, without partiality" (*Annals*, i. 227). I can find no record of his having held a "justice court" at Renfrew.

² *Treas. Accs.*, almost *passim*.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC.

THE population of the shire, like that of the country, was divided into the free and the unfree. The free consisted of the greater and lesser vassals, free tenants, burgesses, and other freemen not included in any of the foregoing classes.

Before the accession of Robert II., the chief vassal was, of course, the Steward, who held the whole of his estates in the county for the service of five knights. Afterwards the chief vassals were the Prince of Scotland, and the heads of the great county families already enumerated. The lesser vassals, with the exception of the burgesses, were the smaller landed proprietors.¹ Probably they were those who are designated in the charters *probi homines*. Among the free tenants the most important were those who held their land by lease for a term of years—or for one or more lives. When the land had been held for more than three generations, a tenure in perpetuity was acquired. The land then became the absolute property of the tenant, and he might sell or alienate it as he chose without consulting his overlord. On the first opportunity this class, as may be readily supposed, converted their tacks or leases into chartered freeholds. A more numerous class, freemen but not chartered freeholders, were the *firmarii* or farmers, who held at will by a tenancy removable from year to year, and paid rent in carriages and kind, and sometimes in money. Such were the tenants of many of the lands of the Abbey of Paisley. Farmers holding in perpetuity, but without a charter were “fee farmers.” So long as they fulfilled their obligations they could not be removed, and on resigning their holding into the hands of their lord they could “go where they willed.” Next to these came the husbandman, the tenant of a quarter holding or husbandland of twenty-six Scots acres, paying a rent and services, which as time went on were gradually commuted for money. Below the farmers seems to have been the free labourer, the man with a cow and a cow’s grass.²

¹ In the reign of Charles I. the great vassals of the Abbey of Paisley were those who held land the yearly value of which was above 500 merks Scots; the lesser vassals were those who held land of a less yearly value. *Com. Hist. MSS.*, IX., ii., p. 246a; Metcalfe, *Charters and Documents*, 95.

² Robertson, *Early Kings*, ii. 155-57; Lang, *Hist. of Scot.*, i. chap. vi.

On the church lands, near to each grange or farm-stead of the Abbey, where were gathered the cattle, implements and stores needed for the cultivation of the surrounding estate, and which was generally presided over by a lay brother or *conversus* who dwelt there, were the cottars, *cottarii*, a class good deal above that which we call cottars, since each of them had from one to nine acres of land along with a cottage, for which he paid rent (though the term "rent" was seldom used) in the shape of money and services in seed-time and harvest. Beyond the cottar town were the farms of the husbandmen, each of whom lived at his separated farm-house or steading and held a definite quantity of land.¹ The terms on which the free tenants of the Abbey of Paisley held their lands, are carefully stated in the Rental Book of the Abbey, which was begun by Abbot Henry Crichton, and is now preserved in the British Museum.

The unfree were natives, *nativi* or *neyfs*. In a very limited sense they were free; technically they were not. In the laws of William the Conqueror, we read:—"The *nativus* who flies from the land on which he was born, let none retain him, or his chattels" (which in the eyes of the law were his lord's), "if the lords will not send these men back to their lands, the King's officers are to do it." The terms used to designate this class, however, are but vague and indefinite in their meaning. Two classes of slaves appear to have been recognised—the *neyf in gross*, "the out and out slave," and the *neyf regardant*, that is, astricted to certain land.² While the latter could not be removed at the mere will of his lord from the soil on which he was born, the former could be transferred both from one estate to another, and from one owner to another, like any of his lord's goods and chattels. Both in England and Scotland the *nativi* are regarded as the remains or descendants of the original Celtic population, whom the invader had reduced to slavery by capture or purchase.³ Among them were probably many broken men—men who were unable to pay their debts and men who had sold themselves and their families in order to avoid starvation. The status of the *nativi* descended to their children; all their posterity, unless the chain was broken by emancipation, were born slaves.⁴ Stud books were kept in which their pedigrees were recorded from generation to generation. Steps were taken to prevent their escape, and fugitives were sought for, and claimed in the courts of law. The last claim of neyfiship or serfdom proved in a Scottish court of law was in 1364,⁵ and in that and the following century

¹ C. Innes, *Sc. Legal Antiqq.*, 244.

² C. Innes, 51.

³ C. Innes, 50; Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, i. 89.

⁴ Stubbs, i. 89.

⁵ C. Innes, 159.

the institution appears to have gradually died out, "not by legislative enactment, nor purely by aid of philanthropy, but mainly by pressure of circumstances and interests."¹

The burgesses were a class by themselves, having their own privileges and obligations. The qualification for burgesship was the holding of a rood of land in a burgh and residence upon it.

Burghs were of three kinds—royal burghs, burghs of barony, and burghs of regality. Between the two last there was but little difference, a burgh of regality being a burgh of barony situated in a regality. In royal burghs, as in Renfrew, the burgesses held of the King; in the others, they held of the lord of the barony, or, as in Paisley, of the lord of the regality. The burgesses of a royal burgh had the right to choose their own Provost, Bailies and Town Councillors, and to be governed and judged by the ancient code of laws known as the *Leges Burgorum* or "The Burgh Lawis." Collectively the burgesses were called "the community." Over them were at first four bailies, one for each of the four wards into which the burgh was divided. Originally the bailies were the King's officers for the collection of the dues and cess. They were entrusted with the administration of the laws in the burghs, and when the Chamberlain came on ayre, they had to give an account of their stewardship. No King's bailie or servant could keep a tavern or bake or sell bread in a burgh. Many of the royal burghs enjoyed the protection of the King's peace; but their privileges, while in some cases the same, in most they varied according to the terms of their charters.²

Renfrew is said to have been a royal burgh as far back as the time of David I.; but it was not until 1396 that it obtained a charter. Most royal burghs had a merchant gild and crafts. Renfrew would have its crafts and may have had a merchant gild from the earliest times, but it may be doubted whether its gild existed before the year 1614.³

The burgesses of Paisley had privileges similar to those of a royal burgh; but the Abbot reserved to himself the right to appoint one of the two bailies authorised to be appointed by the charter; he also reserved the right to veto the appointment of any of the officials of the town, to dismiss any who were in office, and to appoint others in their place, but otherwise the burgesses

¹ Lang, *Hist. of Scot.*, i. 141.

² See the collection of Charters in the Appendix to the General Report of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations (Scotland) 1835; also at the end of vol. iv. of the same Report.

³ According to an enactment of William the Lion, all burghs were to have a merchant gild; but the gild is not always mentioned in the charters. The language of the charter granted to Renfrew in 1614 suggests that previously there was no merchant gild in the burgh.

had the right to elect their own rulers and to be ruled and judged by the burgh laws.¹ The Abbots appear never to have exercised their right to veto the appointment of any of the officials of the town, but they appear to have appointed one if not both of the bailies.

Each of the burghs—Paisley as well as Renfrew—had its court of justice, its market day and its market cross, at which all goods brought into the burgh for sale had to be exposed and sold between certain hours, at the prices fixed by the visitors appointed to appraise them. There were obligations of watch and ward. At the stroke of a staff upon the door of a house an inmate was bound to come forth, unless the house was that of a widow, armed with two weapons, to join in keeping watch and ward over the sleeping burgh from *couvre feu* to cock-crow. Each burgh had also its fair or fairs to which all comers were welcomed, and where pedlars and others offered their wares for sale, and were amenable to the justice of a temporary Court of Dusty Foot.

As a royal burgh Renfrew had, as we have seen, its royal castle. As elsewhere, the constable had a right to three yearly gifts of food from the burgesses, and the burgesses had to keep watch and ward in the castle for forty days, an unpopular service which was later compounded for by a money payment to the constable. Most burghs had their hospitals, chiefly for lepers.² There was one probably in Renfrew,³ but there is no trace of one in Paisley. In the parish of Kilmacollm is a place named Leperstoun.⁴ Here, it may be, the lepers of the county resorted or were compelled to live.

The tendency of towns is usually to the expansion of trade. Renfrew appears to have done a fair trade for the time in fish⁵ and probably in agricultural products; but as a town it was soon outstripped by Paisley, which, owing to the beauty of its Abbey and the veneration in which it was held, became one of the chief places of pilgrimage in the country. In Paisley, whatever was the case in Renfrew, there were no crafts, *i.e.*, no societies of workmen with exclusive privileges, and no merchant guild. Many of the burgesses while carrying on a trade or practising a handicraft, were farmers. A good example was set them by the monks, who, besides being farmers, had a fulling mill on the Espedair. In each of the two burghs was a number of individuals, who, though not burgesses, were yet free. These

¹ For the privileges conferred see the *Charters, Reg. de Pas.*, 263, 274; Metcalfe, 29, 32.

² See the Burgh Lawis in *Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland* (Burgh Records Society).

³ *Charters.*

⁴ *R. M. S.*, vol. 1513-1546. No. 3037.

⁵ "To this towne is privelege of salmoute taken of granted be thair foirbearis betwene the two brayes [shores] of Clyde. The takeris gyve sik labour to fisheng that thair oft may be sene hail lx of fisher botes occupiet in fisheng all baith the spring and summer tyme." Leslie, i. 15.

were for the most part children of the burgesses, labourers, and orray men. Beggars, sorners and idle men were numerous.¹

The streets of the burghs were narrow, crooked, ill paved and ill kept. Down each side of the streets ran a gutter into which all manner of refuse was cast. Standing in front of it on the street, each house had its midden, the favourite hunting-ground of pigs, ducks and geese, and fowls. Butchers slaughtered sheep on the streets, and even on the High Street, or, as it was often called, the King's High Way, and left the offal upon the road, where it was scavenged by dogs and vermin.

Roads in the country were few and usually in wretched condition. For the most part they were mere tracks—intended for horses, not for wheeled carriages. Travelling was done chiefly on horseback. When the artillery had to be moved in the reign of James IV., men, as we saw, had to go before to “cast the gait,” and the sheriffs had to provide oxen to draw the guns. As late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, and still later, the roads continued almost impassable for wheeled carriages. In 1612, the Countess of Eglinton applied to her mother, the Countess of Linlithgow, for the loan of carriage horses to convey her from Craigiehall to Linlithgow. The distance is short, but the Countess of Linlithgow promised to send her a dozen horses with panniers and ropes in place of “tumeler” (tumbrel?) carts. Later on, the Earl of Eglinton, when writing to his wife, asks her to send her coach and horses for him and to cause six of the ablest tenants to come with the coach to Glasgow “to put the coach by all the straits and dangers.”²

The houses of the burgesses were usually of one storey, built of rough stone, thatched³ with heather or straw, and rigged with turfs. The chimneys were generally on a level with the ridge; the sides of the houses fronting the street were often faced with planks of wood painted or white-washed for protection against the weather. In Paisley two or three houses upon the High Street were built of rough ashlar, were a couple of storeys in height, and were roofed with tiles.

Behind each house was its “yaird,” in which vegetables and sometimes corn was raised. Each yaird was expected to be securely fenced in; but the fences were often broken down by cattle, horses, goats and pigs, and the

¹ The Acts of Parliament passed against these classes of individuals are numerous. See *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 8, 11, 49, 117, etc.

² *Eglinton MSS.*, 43, 44.

³ As late as the end of the seventeenth century the houses in Edinburgh continued to be thatched with straw bent, and in 1681 an Act of Parliament was passed enjoining that all houses to be built in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee and Stirling should be “thatched with lead, slate [brown], scailzie [blue slates], or tile, and no otherwise.”

vegetables and corn consumed or destroyed.¹ In the most ancient part of Paisley, now known as the Seedhill, there was a village green.² Attached to the houses of the burgesses, which seldom consisted of more than two or three rooms, or separated from them by a short distance in the yaird, was the workshop, in which the burges and his journeymen and apprentices carried on their business. Sometimes there were also a brewhouse and a barn.

The room most in use in the house was the kitchen, which was usually the most commodious, but dimly lighted, ill ventilated, and having an earthen floor. Plaster was almost unknown, and the walls were bare or hung with cloth or faced with deal boards. The furniture was rough and scanty, consisting usually of a table, a settle, and a few stools or chairs. Utensils were costly, and, except those in common use, would be obtained at the fairs. The floor of the "ben room" would be covered with straw or reeds or rushes—and some slight attempts at comfort and elegance might be visible. In the bedrooms were bedsteads, and feather and other sorts of beds were in use. Sheets were in use and blankets. Most, if not all, of the rooms in the house were furnished with bedsteads built into the walls.

Some idea of the furnishings of a burges's house may be derived from the fact that when a burges died, his heir could always claim the following articles, which are termed "necessare thyngis": the best board (table) with the trestle, a table cloth, towell, bason, lavar, the best bed with the sheets and all the rest of the clothes pertaining to it, the best feather bed (or flock bed if there was no feather bed), a lead with a masking tub, a fermenting vat, a barrel, cauldron, kettle, gridiron, bason or porringer called a "posnet," a chymney, a stoup, a crook or sway for hanging pots over the fire. These things, it is said, "ought not to be left in legacy from the house." The heir was entitled also to everything that was built, set, or sown in the ground. Further, he could claim a chest, a reaping hook, a plough, a wain, cart and waggon, a brass pot, a pan, a roasting iron, a girdle, a mortar and pestal, a large wooden platter, a drinking cup, twelve spoons, a shelf, bench and stool, a set of scales and weights, a spade and an axe.³

There were other inhabitants in the burghs, such, for instance, as

¹ The most frequent of these depredators appear to have been goats and geese. An old law says: "Gyf ony fyndis gayte or geiss in his scath, he sal tak the hedis of the geiss and festin the nebbis in the erd, and the bodyis he sal ete, the gait forsuth he sal sla and hold the bodyis for eschet." *Ancient Laws and Customs*, 179.

² Laing, *Charters*, No. 2480. Other greens either public or private are mentioned in the Records of the Presbytery of Paisley, as at Little Caldwell (Parish of Neilston), June 19, 1606; Over Pollok, August 21, 1606; Kilbarchan, July 2, 1607.

³ *Ancient Laws and Customs*; Burgh Lawis, No. 116.

journeymen and labourers, who were not so well set up as the heir of a burgess. But in those days, as in the present, there would be a good deal of borrowing and mutual accommodation among the poor.

In the rural parts the cottars and tenants of the Abbey, it may be assumed, were better housed than those of the lay proprietors. The Grange was always a substantially built and commodious structure, and the steward and the Abbot's bailiff would see that the houses of the cottars and tenants were maintained in a fair state of repair and cleanly kept. Fully occupied with their feuds and always impecunious, the lay proprietors left their natives and tenants to take care of themselves. The houses of their natives and labourers were usually of the most wretched kind. They were built of rough stones picked up in the fields, held together by mud or lime or by their own weight, and perhaps faced inside and out with a coating of lime or mud. They were thatched with heather or straw, which was held down by ropes and stones. The floors were of earth; the rafters were boughs of trees, which formed a convenient roosting-place for the few hens the native possessed and for a stray pigeon or two from the dovecote attached to the manor house. Light was obtained from the doorway and through unglazed apertures in the walls. The fire often stood in the middle of the floor and sometimes there was no chimney, the soot being allowed to accumulate in the thatch, from which it was collected in the spring and used for fertilizing the land. The fuel used was peat and wood, and sometimes coal, which in places was given away as alms to the poor.¹ Outside these wretched hovels was a patch of ground where the native or labourer raised corn and vegetables and kept his pigs.

The houses of many of the farmers or free tenants were not much better than those of the serfs and labourers. Usually they consisted of a long, low building of rough, unhewn stones covered with thatch. What may be called the front of the building was pierced with two and sometimes more windows often unglazed. The door was on the same side and near one of the ends. It opened into the byre, where the cows were kept. Opposite to the stalls was another door which opened into the kitchen, at the further end of which was a third door opening into the "ben" room or rooms according to the wealth or taste of the occupier. The kitchen might boast of a chimney or it might not. In the other rooms fires were unknown. They were used as store rooms or as sleeping rooms, and one of them was usually kept for the entertainment of company on high occasions. It is difficult to obtain a description of any of the houses actually inhabited by the farmers or free tenants of the

¹ Aeneas Sylvius saw it given away to the poor at church doors during his visit to the country in the early years of the reign of James II.

period under review. The description just given applies to the houses of many tenant farmers in the beginning of the last century, and though some of the class might occupy houses of a superior kind during the reigns of the first four Jameses, it is not likely that the houses of the majority of them were in any way better than those described.

The houses most in request among the proprietors were chiefly in the castle or tower style, which was then considered as connected with birth and station. Besides, amid the anarchy and feuds of the time, no one with any pretensions to birth or station thought himself safe or could depend upon sleeping securely at night unless his house was sufficiently strong to withstand the attacks of freebooters or of his private enemies.

These castellated dwellings were of different sizes, according to the wealth of the proprietors. Though not all built upon the same plan, they had certain features in common. They were surrounded by a deep moat, and had walls of great height and thickness. Access by an enemy was made as difficult and dangerous as possible.

The entrance to the building was narrow, and strongly protected by a heavy door, consisting of massive bars of iron. The lower windows were small and carefully guarded; and from these and from the turrets over the entrance and at the adjacent angles, as well as from the battlements, stones and other missiles could be showered upon assailants, while those who were within were under cover. The interior of these buildings usually consisted of three or four floors, the first of which formed a spacious hall, which was used for purposes of hospitality, upon which no expense was spared, and which it was necessary to dispense, in order to caress the vassals and dependants and to secure their assistance.¹ The upper floors were apparently of the same size as the first. The kitchens where the dishes were prepared for the entertainment of the great companies which often assembled, were on the ground floor. They were usually vaulted, and sometimes spacious and lofty.

Most of these towers had their pit or thieves' hole. They were usually beneath the ground, somewhat in the shape of a bottle, though at times they were above ground, in the form of an oven. They were badly lighted and badly ventilated, and were a reproach to humanity. Men and sometimes

¹ "The nobilmen had levir dwel in the feildes, quhair nocht only ar palices bot castilis of strenth and towris, quhilkes ilk hes conforme to his substance; heir I sey had thay levir dwel than in the townes. Gret families thay feid, and that perpetuallie, partlie to defend thame selves frome thair nychtbouris, with quhome oft thay have deidlie fead, partlie to defend the realme. With glade wil and frillie thay use to luge [lodge] kin, freind and acquaintance, ye and strangers that turnes in to thame. A Sclandirous thing thay esteime it to be to deny this and a poynt of smal or na liberalitie." Leslie, i. 103.

women were thrown into them before conviction, merely to gratify the resentment of those into whose hands they had fallen, and many a hapless and innocent victim was allowed to languish in them unheard. Here, too, private enemies taken with arms in their hands or caught in a treacherous ambuscade were thrown, and detained as long as it suited the interest or caprice of their captors.¹

Parts of a number of these castellated dwellings still remain, from which it is possible to form a fairly accurate conception of what they were. Many of them have been described by Messrs. Macgibbon and Ross in their excellent work on the *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, from the pages of which the materials for the following paragraphs have been taken.

Mearns Tower, which stands in an upland district overlooking the valley of the Clyde, is situated on a small knoll having a level platform round the building, with a precipitous slope of about 25 feet. The tower is oblong, and measures 44 feet from east to west, 29 feet 6 inches from north to south, and 45 feet high to the top of the corbels. It contained three floors, two of which are vaulted, and still remain. The entrance, which is at the east end, leads directly into the basement or lower vault, which is lighted by two widely splayed slits. The eastern wall is here 10 feet in thickness; the other walls are about 8 feet thick. From the entrance passage a straight flight of steps leads to the first floor, and in continuation a corkscrew stair leads to the top. Immediately over the entrance to the basement is the separate round arched doorway, forming the principal entrance to the castle on the first floor. The height from the ground to the door sill is 11 feet. This doorway enters directly into the hall, which occupies the whole of the first floor as a single apartment, measuring 27 feet 9 inches long by 16 feet 6 inches wide, and 21 feet high. The object of the great height of the vaulting appears to have been to introduce in the east wall an entresol, entering off the corkscrew stair, forming what is usually called a minstrel's gallery and a wall closet. Adjoining the first floor is a lighted wall closet, and at the opposite end is a fire-place with windows in the side walls having stone seats. The upper floor is very similar in arrangement to the first. From its wall closet a garde-robe is projected on the south front. The stair was continued to the battlements, where it was protected by a "cape house." Herbert Lord Maxwell was granted a licence to build this tower by James II., on March 15, 1449, and there can be little doubt that it was built shortly after that date. According to the licence, Lord Maxwell was "to build a castle or fortalice in the Barony of Mearns in Renfrewshire, to surround and fortify it with walls and ditches,

¹ Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. 92 and foll.

to strengthen it by iron gates, and to erect on the top of it all warlike apparatus necessary for its defence." In 1589 it was one of the castles William, fifth Lord Herries, was called upon by James VI. to surrender. About the middle of the seventeenth century it was sold by the Earl of Nithsdale to Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollok. Shortly afterwards it passed into the possession of the ancestors of its present owner, Sir Hugh Shaw Stewart.¹

Leven Castle stands upon the steep bank of a stream near Gourrock on the Clyde. It consists of a double tower, but appears to have been originally a simple keep similar to the one already described, the wing to the south-east being probably a later addition. The ground floor contains two vaulted cellars, one of which has a private stair communicating with the hall above. The entrance door was on the ground floor, with a narrow straight stair to the first floor landing, which is continued as a newel stair in the south-west angle to the upper floors. The hall windows have square recesses furnished with stone seats. From the style of the corbel table, the south-east wing seems to have been added about the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the old keep appears to have been re-modelled and the same cornice continued all round the building. At this period, too, a kitchen appears to have been added in the form of a wing, and other buildings. Before 1547 this castle belonged to the Mortons. At that date it passed to the Semples, by whom it was probably re-modelled. It is now the property of Sir Hugh Shaw Stewart, Bart.²

Crookston Castle was built about the year 1180, when Robert Croc and Henry de Nes asked and obtained permission from Robert, Prior of Paisley, to build chapels within their courts.³ It is very doubtful, however, whether any of the original structure now remains. "It is not unlikely," Messrs. Macgibbon and Ross write, "that the site of the existing structure was occupied with a castle at an even earlier date (than the thirteenth century). The great ditch and mound which still surround the summit of the hill on which the castle stands, seem to point to this as one of the ancient fortresses whose site and defences were made available in connection with a castle of later date." Some of the features of the existing castle certainly indicate considerable antiquity, but the distinguishing features of thirteenth century castles are entirely wanting. There is no great wall of enceinte with towers and donjon, but simply a central keep. "The main block of the castle is a parallelogram 60 feet long by 40 feet wide, having in the basement a finely vaulted hall. Over this vault is the great hall, with pointed vault 28 feet high, and the

¹ Macgibbon and Ross, i. 230.

² Macgibbon and Ross, i. 230.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 78.

usual large fireplace and windows with stone seats. At each of the four corners was a square tower. One of these towers is still standing, another is in ruins, and the two others can be traced. Over the door from the basement in the north-west tower, is a hole or machicolation in the wall, from which missiles might be thrown on assailants below. The entrance door, which is on the ground level, adjoins the north-east tower, and was defended by two doors and a portcullis, the inner door having the usual sliding bar, which, when drawn back, crosses the staircase of the north-east tower at such a level as to prevent entrance by it. The doorway projects from the face of the wall, so as to leave ample room for the portcullis, and the latter was worked from the window of the hall above." A straight stair in the thickness of the wall leads from the entrance door to the hall, and under this stair in a well-finished chamber, entering from the basement, is the well. A small stair in the wall of the north-east tower leads to a guard-room in the tower, under which, entering from a trap in the floor, is the vaulted dungeon, with the usual small aperture to the exterior for ventilation. In the basement of the south-east tower is a vaulted cellar. Access to the upper floors of this and of the north-east tower is by a newel staircase entering at the south-east corner of the great hall, from which passages run in the thickness of the east wall to the north-east tower. This stair also conducted to the apartments over the great hall where were a moulded fireplace and a mullioned window. Among the most interesting features connected with this castle are the ditch and mound surrounding it. The ditch is from 12 to 13 feet deep, and the mound on the outside of it is still raised from 2 to 10 feet above the level of the surrounding ground. Being on the top of a hill the ground beyond the ditch slopes somewhat steeply away from it, so that the mound when covered with a formidable palisade, as it no doubt was, would afford a secure defence. The entrance was at the south-west angle. The estate in which the castle stands was purchased in 1330 by Sir Alan Stewart, and granted in 1361 to John Stewart of Darnley. It was held by his descendant, Henry Lord Darnley (1546-67).¹ As we have already seen, it was surrendered by the Earl of Lennox to James IV. in 1489.

Newark Castle, a fine specimen of Scottish domestic architecture of the advanced type, is situated at Port-Glasgow, and is now closely surrounded by shipyards. The building is entire, and is partly inhabited. The uninhabited portion is in a state of great dilapidation. The castle is built round a courtyard, and forms three sides of a quadrangle, being open towards the south and partly to the west, the latter side not extending so far south as

¹ Macgibbon and Ross, i. 533-38.

the eastern side. The courtyard was at one time enclosed, when the principal entrance was through an arched passage in the west range of buildings, with a guard-room entering off it. The castle is of three periods. The oldest part is the keep at the south-eastern corner. It measures 29 feet by 23 feet 1 inch over the walls, and is 48 feet high to the top of the present parapet, which has been raised so as to obtain an additional storey, thus making three stories above the vaulted basement. The present entrance doorway to the keep from the lobby of the more modern buildings is the original one. A corkscrew stair in the north-east corner leads to the upper floors, which contain the usual wall recesses, garde-ropes, and fireplaces. The building of the second period is at the south-west corner, and was evidently the gatehouse to the courtyard. It measures 23 feet 6 inches by 20 feet 1 inch over the walls. The passage into the courtyard has the usual stone seat, and a slit so placed as to command the outside of the western enclosing wall. A corkscrew stair leads from the guard-room to the two upper floors, which, like those in the keep, consist of single chambers. The buildings of the third period form the remainder of the castle. These are by far the most important parts of the edifice, and unite the two detached portions into one whole. The principal and only entrance doorway is at the north-east corner of the courtyard. Above it is the date 1597 and the inscription: "The blessingis of God be heirin." Inside the door is a small porch, and opposite to it a handsome scale and platt stair leading to the first floor. The whole of the apartments on this floor are vaulted. Above them is the hall, a splendid apartment, measuring 37 feet 4 inches by 20 feet 8 inches, lighted by windows on all sides. The fireplace, which is of good design, is on the north wall and measures about 8 feet 7 inches wide by 7 feet 6 inches high. At the side of the hall door, in the south-east corner of the room, is a small low closet, about two or three feet above the floor, provided with a small spy-window or shot-hole just over the entrance doorway. The upper floor is reached by a separate stair adjoining the landing of the main stair. It is at present open from end to end of the building, and is 83 feet 9 inches long. It appears to have been divided off at one time by moveable partitions into several apartments. Entering off this floor are several fine turret closets. The barony of Newark came into the possession of the Maxwell family about the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the whole building was erected by this family. The keep dates from near the end of the century, probably about the year 1484. The buildings of the third period bear the dates 1597 and 1599.¹ James IV., as we have seen, was here in 1495, when on his way to put down the disturbances in the Western Isles.

¹ Macgibbon and Ross, ii. 425-31.

Duchal Castle, the stronghold of the Lyles, besieged by James IV. in 1498, and later the residence of Marion Boyd, his mistress, has now almost entirely disappeared. It is situated about two miles south-west from Kilmacolm on a detached mass of rock which is almost entirely surrounded by a deep ravine, through which run the river Gryffe and a confluent. The sides of the rocky site to the height of about 20 feet are either perpendicular or very precipitous. The whole position, which measures about 70 yards in length from east to west by 30 yards wide, was enclosed with a strong wall of enciente, portions of which still remain. Outside this wall to the west, the neck of the peninsula was cut across by a deep ditch. The entrance was probably at the north-west angle. The surface of the enclosure is fairly level except at the south-east angle, where a precipitous pinnacle rises about 20 feet above the courtyard. On this seems to have stood the keep, the foundations of which, surrounded by a higher wall, are yet traceable. The wall of enciente was of a much stronger character than the ordinary enclosing walls of courtyards, and may possibly be the remains of a thirteenth century castle.¹ In 1544 the property passed into the Porterfield family.

Barr Castle, in the parish of Lochwinnoch, is in a fine state of preservation, and though uninhabited is well cared for. It is a simple parallelogram in plan, and measures about 35 feet 6 inches from east to west, and 26 feet from north to south. On the west side it had a courtyard containing buildings. The entrance to the courtyard is by a round arched doorway in the north side, defended with shot-holes in the adjoining wall. There was also a wing on the south side of the keep communicating with it by a doorway on the first floor. The entrance doorway to the keep from the courtyard is by a porch, which is of later construction. The original doorway is above it, entering upon the first floor. Upon the ground floor are two vaulted apartments, one of which is the kitchen, and has a finely arched fireplace, 11 feet wide by 4 feet 6 inches deep. Behind the fireplace is the usual drain and an inflow for water supply. A wheel stair in the north-west corner leads to the upper floors and to the battlements. The hall, which as usual is on the first floor, measures 24 feet by 17 feet. It is lighted by four windows, one on each side, and has a fireplace in the west wall. In the north-east corner is a wall closet. There is a sink in the hall and various cupboards. A narrow private stair in the south-west corner leads to the second and third floors, to which the main stair also gives access.² The dates 1680 and 1699 appear on the walls, but the building may be older.

¹ Macgibbon and Ross, iii. 156.

² Macgibbon and Ross, iii. 183.

Cathcart Castle occupies a strong position on the steep and lofty banks of the White Cart, which defends it on two sides. The keep is a simple oblong structure, measuring about 51 feet by 30 feet 9 inches, and is surrounded at a distance of about 10 feet by curtain walls, strengthened with round corner towers. The ground floor is vaulted: above it were three floors. The entrance through the curtain was at the east end, and opposite to it is the door to the keep. A passage in the east wall leads to a wheel stair which ascends to the top and served the various floors. Adjoining the door at the south end of the passage is a small chamber, about 6 feet by 5 feet, which was probably used as a guard-room or as a dungeon, with access from above. The hall on the first floor measures about 32 feet 6 inches by 17 feet, and was well lighted with windows. One of the windows had stone seats, and two of the others have lockers in the ingoing. The fireplace stands in the centre of the south wall.¹ The property, as we have seen, passed from the Cathcarts to Gabriel Semple of Ladymure in 1546. The building is apparently of the fifteenth century, and is not likely to have been the one originally erected by the Cathcarts.

Stanely Castle now stands upon a peninsula in the reservoir of the Paisley Water Works, about two miles south of the town, but originally it was in all probability protected by a marsh. The exterior walls are well preserved, but the interior is entirely gutted. The castle is of the L shape, and the doorway is, as usual, in the re-entering angle. The ground floor is pierced with several loops, which have an ancient appearance, being formed with a circular eyelet at the lower end. The walls are built of coursed work, and the parapet has run round the whole castle, with corbelled bartizans at the angles. A similar bartizan is introduced over the entrance doorway, with a machicolation for its defence. In the fourteenth century the castle and barony of Stanely belonged to the Dennistons of that ilk, from whom it passed by marriage to the Maxwells of Calderwood, and through them, in the following century, to the Maxwells of Newark. It is said to belong to the fifteenth century.²

Scattered through the county were other of these castles. Some of them are in total ruins; others of them have been restored or are in a fair state of preservation. Among these may be mentioned Hagg's Castle, Dargavel Castle, and Johnstone Castle. The ancient house of the Semples of Eliotstoun, of the Erskines of Bishopton, Blackhall—the favourite hunting lodge of the Stewards—Ranfurly Castle, and the Castle of Pulnoon are in various stages of decay.³

¹ Macgibbon and Ross, iii. 233.

² Macgibbon and Ross, iii. 281.

³ For a detailed description of most of these, or of such parts of them as remain, see the work to which reference has been made, and from which the descriptions given here have been taken. According to

The site selected for these castles was not always chosen because of its natural beauty. Many of the castles were set down at the very extremity of the estate, next to the most powerful or turbulent neighbour, or to the one who was most likely to encroach. Light was admitted to the apartments from the south, windows being but rarely found on the north side of the buildings, even where the northern prospect is pleasing and picturesque and the southern consists only of barren hills or moor or morass. The kindly influences of the sun and shelter from the bitter north wind appear to have been more highly appreciated than a beautiful prospect. Many other castles, however, are finely situated. Taking the royal castles as their pattern, the builders appear to have chosen the most beautiful sites at their command.¹

The life led in these somewhat gloomy buildings, though often rude and rough, was usually gay and lively. The standard of comfort changes from age to age, and what was considered comfort or luxury in those days would not be considered such in the present. The walls in the various apartments, including the great reception hall and the rooms above it, were usually roughly plastered and then hung with tapestry, cloth, or stamped leather.² A cloth or carpet of small size, called a "lyare," with one or more cushions upon it for the feet, was sometimes placed on the floor in front of a chair of state,³ but otherwise carpets, as usually understood, were unknown; the floors, even in the greatest houses, being strewn with bent or rushes mingled with sweet herbs. The most conspicuous article of furniture in the hall, besides the table, was the cupboard—"an open sideboard or buffet, often of considerable size, usually containing three shelves—sometimes a larger number—covered with carpets or rich cloths, on which articles of gold and silver plate . . . were displayed. Above it there was usually a canopy with rich hangings."⁴ The furniture was substantial and heavy. "All the furniture that is used in Italy, France, or Spain," says Don Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador to the Court of Scotland in 1497-8, "is to be found in the Scots dwellings." "It has not been bought in modern times only," he adds, "but inherited from preceding ages."⁵ The windows, which, as we have seen, were usually on the

Ramsay of Ochtertyre, the middling and smaller gentry that sprang up in great numbers during the fifteenth and sixteenth century adopted another style of buildings for their homes. They resembled the "religious houses, which were generally set down in low and sheltered situations near some lake or river." "Their embellishments without doors," he says, "were professedly copied from the convents, where, before the Reformation, the arts of polished life were chiefly studied."—*Scotland and Scotsmen*, ii. 101.

¹ The inside walls of the royal chapel at Falkland were lined with painted boards.

² Ramsay, ii. 100.

³ Dickson, *Treas. Accs.*, i. ccii.

⁴ Dickson, i. cci., n. 1.

⁵ Bergeuroth, *Cal. Spanish Papers*, i. No. 210; Dickson, i. cc.

south side of the house, were small, and provided with stone seats. Glass had been in use long before the beginning of the fourteenth century, but was still costly in the fifteenth and sixteenth. The casements were, consequently, often made to fit not only different windows in the same house, but also windows in different houses, and when the owner shifted from one house to another they were taken out and either laid up in store like the moveable furniture, or packed up with the arras and cupboard and carried to the place to which he was removing.¹

The second floor was probably used as a withdrawing room for the ladies. In some instances the third or uppermost floor bears signs of having been divided off by wooden partitions into smaller apartments, which were probably used as bedrooms or as private sitting-rooms. The bedrooms were usually of scant dimensions, consisting merely of a recess in the thickness of the wall, the bedstead occupying almost the whole of the floor. Light and ventilation from without were obtained through a narrow slit in the wall. Even in the King's bedchamber the floor was covered with grass.²

The beds and bedsteads differed little from those now in use, except that the latter were made of wood. The hangings and furnishings were sometimes sumptuous. Usually the blankets were made of fustian, and were frequently called fustians. They were also made of broad cloth. The sheets were of linen. A narrow sheet called the "head-sheet" was spread over the pillows, and a corresponding "foot-sheet" was spread across the foot of the bed. These were generally of cloth or linen, but sometimes of silk or fur, or cloth of gold. "The account of articles furnished for the royal nursery in 1473-4, when Prince James was yet an infant, includes two ells and a half of French brown cloth 'to covir my lordis creddill,' four ells and a half of tartar to be a 'sparwort' or canopy above it, 'bucram' to bind the curtains, 'small' or fine broad cloth—linen or Holland cloth—for sheets, and white fustian 'for blankatis to my lorde.' His nurse, Agnes Preston, had twelve ells of linen for a pair of sheets."³ Infants and nurses in some of the castles would be provided for in a similar way.

The small number of bedrooms in the keeps would at times prove inconvenient; but on occasions many of the guests would find accommodation on

¹ Dickson, ccii. ; Turner and Parker, *Domest. Architect.*, iii. 122. "In 1430, 12s. were given for the carriage of glass windows from Dundee to Perth for the Queen's chamber."—Dickson, cciii., n. 2, where the charge is quoted from the Exchequer Rolls.

² "Item, payit to Johnne Forman, that he payit for tursing of the Kingis coffir fra Paslay to Linnithgw, and for girs to the Kingis chamir in Edinburgh, vs. vd." Balfour Paul, *Treas. Accs.*, ii. 447.

³ Dickson, i. cciv., and 39-42. Many of the facts in the text are taken from Dr. Dickson's extremely valuable Preface.

the floor of the hall, which, like the room above it, had at one or at both ends a huge fireplace, in which grates were rarely used, the fire being kindled on the hearthstone. During the long winter evenings the rooms were lighted partly by the blazing logs on the hearthstones, and partly by candles fixed in brass chandeliers, pendant from the ceiling.

The food provided from the vaulted kitchens, if not always delicate, was at least abundant. Besides the ordinary dishes of beef, mutton, venison, grouse and other game, some dishes were served up which are now entirely discarded. A favourite dish at great entertainments was the crane, a bird which was once common in the country, but has now disappeared. The swan, heron, bittern, solan goose and other birds of coarse flavour were also esteemed delicacies. Sturgeon, both fresh and cured, was accounted a dainty. Porpoise during the fourteenth century and later was a regular item at the King's table. The flesh of the seal was also served. The porpoise and seal continued to be used till the end of the sixteenth century, if not later. Other fish served as food were, besides salmon, herring and trout, bream and ged or pike.¹ In the Archbishop's Palace at Glasgow when it was sacked by Muir of Caldwell in 1527, there were fifteen swine, valued at ten shillings each, six dozen salmon, each valued at four shillings, a last of salt herrings worth twenty-eight shillings the barrel.²

The chief drink, at least among the upper classes, was wine. In the cellars of Archbishop Beaton in Glasgow, on the occasion just referred to, no less than twelve tuns, valued at £10 the tun, are said to have been destroyed.³

¹ Dickson, ccv. Among the dishes served up to Sir William Fairfax in 1572, at his house in Yorkshire, were roast goose, roast swan, crane pie, cormorant, peacock and heron, besides plover, snipe, woodcock, moor hen, quail, bittern, pheasant and partridge. Porpoise pie was also an occasional item. Sir William's steward sets down an ox as costing 28s., a cow 16s., a sheep 4s. to 6s., a "veal" 4s. to 5s. Chickens cost 1½d. or 2d. a piece; geese varied from 3½d. in summer to 8d. in winter, and rabbits in like manner from 2d. to 8d. a couple. Snipe or teal were 2d. each, a partridge 4d., pigeons 2d. a pair. A salmon cost 2s., and a conger eel the same. Beer was from 4s. 2d. to 6s. the hogshead, and wheat 2s. to 2s. 8d. a bushel. *Com. Hist. MSS. Reports; Wombwell MSS.*, xii. 67, ff. In Scotland in the middle of the fifteenth century a chaldor of oats cost £6; a chaldor of meal, probably oatmeal, £6 13s. 4d.; and a boll of the same, 11s. An ox could be bought for £1, a mart or carcass of salt beef for 17s., and a carcass of mutton for 2s. 10d. In 1329 two barrels of sturgeon cost £8 13s. 6d.; three barrels were bought in 1331 for £10 10s. In 1329 a barrel of porpoise and a porpoise cost £2 8s. 2d. A seal was bought at Linlithgow for 5s. A hogshead of herring cost £1 12s.; a maize or six hundred, 10s.; a dozen keling, 5s. to 8s.; a hundred haddocks, 3s.; and the same price was paid for a salmon. Cheese was from 2s. 2d. to 5s. a stone; a hundred cherries cost from 4d. to 6d. Dickson, ccv.-vii. The following are some of the prices fixed by Parliament in 1551:—Bordeaux wine, the pint, 8d.; Rochelle, 6d.; the best crane, 5s.; the best swan, 5s.; the best wild goose of the great kind, 2s.; the best claik, 1s. 6d.; the best quink, 1s. 6d.; moorfowl, 4d.; blackcock, 6d.; gray hen, 6d.; the best laverock or lark, 4d. per dozen; the best tame goose, 1s. 4d.; best capon, 1s.; the best hen, 8d.; the best gryse or pig, 1s. 6d. *Maitland, Hist. of Edinburgh*, 13.

² *Caldwell Papers*, i. 56.

³ *Caldwell Papers*, i. 57.

In the fifteenth century the wines "chiefly in use in Scotland," Dr. Dickson writes, "were those of Guienne and Gascony, Burgundy, the Rhine countries, and the Levant. Claret, which was most in favour, was imported by French and Scottish traders from Bordeaux. The growths also of Anjou and Poitou found their way to Scotland from Nantes and Rochelle. The Rhine wines were brought from Middleburgh or Campvere, Sluys and 'the Dam.' The two latter, however, were illegal places of shipment, the trade being rigidly restricted to the Staple. Malmsey—Malvoisie—which was brought from Candia and Cyprus to the chief ports of Europe by the galleys of Genoa, Venice and Pisa, was in high esteem. Muscadel and Bastard are also sometimes mentioned. . . . Much of the wine then in use is not distinguished by name, being merely described as 'red' and 'white.' The wines of the Peninsula also were brought from Bayonne, Lisbon, Alicant, and other ports."¹

Wine could only be sold in towns² and in villages where the lord of the manor was a knight,³ and in such exceptional places as the Monastery of Paisley, which had a charter authorising the Abbot and Convent to sell wine within their gates.⁴

Several statutes were passed to encourage the importation of wine. In 1314 Parliament ordained that those who exported salmon should sell or barter it only for English money—silver or gold—for one half of the price, or for Gascon wine, "or siclyke gude pennyworthis," for the other half. The importation or sale of corrupt or mixed wine was prohibited under the severest penalties. The mixing of wine was forbidden "on pane of dede."⁵

The excessive drinking of the period is referred to by Boece⁶ and Leslie,⁷ and also by various travellers. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Privy Council complained of the "grite excesse of wyne-drinking," by "both nobilman, baron, and gentilman," and imposed a tax of four pounds per tun on all wine sold by retail. Large quantities of aromatic spices and of

¹ Dickson, ccix.

² When a cargo arrived it was first proved by the tasters, and the price was then fixed at which it was to be sold in the taverns. *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 245, 252, 373. When on aire the Lord Chamberlain or his deputy had to enquire whether tavern keepers sold wine without first having it proved, whether they sold by measures which had been tested, whether they mixed "corrupt wyn with hal [sound] wyn;" whether they sold it at the price fixed by the tasters. *Anc. Laws and Customs*, 146.

³ See the Charter of Alexander II. to Aberdeen. ⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 257; Metcalfe, *Charters*, etc., 22.

⁵ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 20, 144, 348. According to Gower, the London wine-seller did not always take the trouble to mix his wines or to draw them from different barrels. In his "Mirour de l'Omme" he gives an amusing picture of how the vintner offers the city dames, his customers, the choice of Verazza and Malvoisie, wine of Candia and Romagna, Provence and Montresso—not that he has all these, but to tickle their fancies, and make them pay a higher price—and draws ten kinds of liquid from a single cask.—*Works*, Macaulay's edit., i. lxvii.

⁶ Dr. Hume Brown, *Scotland Before 1700*, p. xiv.

⁷ *Hist.*, i. 115.

sugar¹ were imported and mixed with the wines then generally in use, in order to counteract their harsh and acrid qualities.

The drinks of the poorer classes were milk, whey, ale and beer. The ale was home brewed. It could not be sold before it had been proved by the tasters, and to sell it at any other price than that fixed by these officials was an offence, involving fine and confiscation.² The beer used during the greater part of the fifteenth century appears to have been imported, chiefly from Germany. In Bishop Leslie's time (1578) it was extensively made in Govan.³ "There was no settled rule," says Dr. Dickson, "as to the grain best suited for malting. Ale was made both from oats and barley or bere, or from a mixture of both; and in the absence of hops, it was flavoured with ginger and other spices and aromatic herbs to fit it for keeping. Women—'browster wives'—were then the only brewers, and most of the alehouses were kept by them."⁴ Excessive drinking occurred among the lower classes as well as among the upper, and in 1436 an Act was passed ordering all taverns to be closed at nine o'clock at night, and directing the bailies to apprehend all who were found drinking in them after the hour had struck.

The food of the lower classes was plain and simple. Bread was made of wheaten flour and from barley. Oatmeal in the shape of porridge and cakes was used extensively. As sold by the baxters or bakers, the bread was of different qualities and prices, and like other articles of food had to be proved and priced by the official visitors before it could be sold. Brose and kail and soup were common dishes. Fish was plentiful and cheap. Hens, capons, ducks and geese found their way to the table of the burghs as well as to the table of the lord. Beef and mutton were sold in the towns, and in the beginning of winter ox and cow beef was salted down by the farmers. Times of dearth were frequent all over the country. The earliest mentioned in Renfrewshire occurred in 1601,⁵ but it is scarcely likely that this was the first time the district suffered from famine. It was not the last.

¹ Archbishop Beaton professed to have in his castle at Glasgow, when it was sacked by the Muirs, 2 pounds of saffron, 4 pounds of ginger, 9 pounds of sugar, 2 of cloves, 2 of camella, besides half a barrel of prunes, 26 pounds of almonds, and 6 of raisins. The cloves are priced at 40s. the pound, and the saffron at 3s. He had also 12 pounds of pepper priced at 6s. 8d. the pound. *Caldwell Papers*, i. 56. Two centuries earlier saffron was sold at from 5s. to 7s. per pound; mace at 2s. 8d. to 6s.; camella at 1s. to 2s.; nutmegs at 5s.; sugar at 1s. 5d. to 1s. 9d., though Archbishop Beaton valued his at 3s. A distinction was made, however, between loaf sugar and the coarser sugar in barrels for culinary purposes. Most of the sugar then in use was manufactured in Italy, Sicily and Cyprus. Alexandria was famed for its coloured sugar, which was sold in every country in Europe.

² Confiscated ale or beer was given to the poor. Rotten pork and putrid salmon when confiscated were given to the lepers. *Burgh Laws*.

³ Later on beer was imported from England.

⁴ Dickson, ccxii.

⁵ Metcalfe, *Charters*, etc., 87.

Extravagance in dress was a feature of the times and was frequently inveighed against. An Act of Parliament of the year 1447 begins as follows: "Since the realm in each estate is greatly impoverished through sumptuous clothing both of men and women, and in special within burghs and commons to landward, the Lords think it speedful that restrictions hereof be made in this manner:—That no man within burgh that lives by merchandise, except he be a person in dignity, as alderman, bailie, or other good worthy men that are of the Council of the town, and their wives, wear clothes of silk nor costly scarlet in gowns, nor furrings of martens." It then goes on to enjoin the men to make their wives and daughters to be in like manner dressed fitly and corresponding to their estate—"that is to say, on the head short kerchiefs with little hoods as are used in Flanders, England, and other countries. And as to the gowns, that no woman wear martens nor grey fur nor tails of unbecoming magnitude nor furred under, except on holiday; and in like manner without the burghs of worthy poor gentlemen and their wives that are with xl of auld extent." On working days labourers and farmers were to be clad in white or grey, and on holidays in light blue or green or red. Their wives were to be clothed in the same colours and in addition might wear upon their heads a kerchief, but of their own making and not of greater value than forty pence. Women were forbidden to attend kirk or market with their faces muffled or covered under pain of escheat of the kerchief.¹ In 1471 the wearing of silk by men in gown, doublet and cloak was forbidden, except knights, minstrels and heralds, unless the wearer could spend a hundred pounds worth of land-rent. In the same way the wives of men with an income of less than a hundred pounds were forbidden to wear silk in lining, and were only to wear it "in collar and sleeves."

Of female attire during the latter half of the fifteenth century, Dr. Dickson writes: "The chief items were the kirtle, a close-fitting garment covering the whole body from the neck to the feet, and buttoning at the wrists; and the robe or gown, which was worn over it, generally open in front, showing the kirtle . . . These garments were made of the most showy colours and the costliest materials, and adorned with the most expensive trimmings and embroidery. The kirtle required three ells to seven and a half of satin, velvet, silk, camlet, or other narrow cloth; the gown and riding gown from three and a half to five ells, and the long gown from eight ells and a half to fifteen ells. They were lined with broad cloth, silk, buckram, or fur, and were also trimmed

¹ This part of the Act was a source of great trouble, as the women set the law at defiance. Town Councils at a later period, and Kirk Sessions, did their utmost to put down the practice, but without success.

with broad cloth, or with bands of fur at the bottom of the skirt. Five 'tymmir,' or two hundred skins, of cristy gray, were required to line a gown, and as much of gris, merely to 'purple' a gown of crimson satin for Queen Margaret. A stomacher of satin or velvet, richly ornamented and lined with ermine or other costly fur, was worn over the kirtle, and covered the breast. A tippet, or a collar of satin or velvet similarly lined, worn above, sometimes under, the gown, completed the costume. The cloak of cloth, lined and furred, was worn over all. A collar required one ell of satin, and a tippet two quarters and a half; and twenty-six 'bestis' or skins of gris sufficed to line it. With collars are found associated 'birlatis,' perhaps ruffs, also of satin."¹ There were no dressmakers, and the dresses of women as well as of men were made by tailors.²

Many of the silk stuffs came from the East; others of them came from the looms of Italy and France. They varied in prices according to their colour as well as according to their quality. Taffeta, a light soft silk, sold at 8s. to 20s. an ell. Camlet of silk cost 36s. to 50s.; damask, 32s. to 50s.; satin of good quality was sold at from 24s. to 50s.; except crimson-coloured, which, being more expensively dyed, cost from 70s. to 100s., and when pirnit or brocaded with gold thread, 110s. the ell. Velvet, which, like satin, was mostly from Italy, cost from 32s. to 70s., but crimson-coloured velvet cost from 80s. to 100s. Raw silk sold at 5s. 6d. per ounce, and silk thread from 4s. to 5s.

Fine linen or Holland cloth, imported from the Low Countries, of which sheets and kerchiefs and shirts were made, cost from 5s. to 18s. the ell. Home-made linen cost as low as 10d. the ell.

Most of the woollen cloths were imported. The finer cloths of all colours, black, blue, brown, scarlet, etc., came from Lille and Rouen, and cost 20s. to 45s. the ell; ingrained 50s., but scarlet 50s. to 70s. The finer English cloths ranged from 20s. to 35s. Home-made fabric rarely exceeded 13s. or 14s. an ell. French black cost 28s. to 60s., and Rissilis 30s. to 40s.; but Scotch black could be had at from 5s. to 12s. The colours which brought the highest prices were black, brown, green and scarlet. Blue, gray, and russet were worn by the lower orders—gray and russet were the colours for work, and blue for holidays.³ Spinning went on in most houses. Many farmers' wives spun and dyed, as in some parts they do now, the wool from their own sheep,

¹ *Treas. Accs.*, Preface, p. clxxx.-lxxxii.

² The tailors claimed the exclusive right to make women's garments as well as men's. See *Excerpts from the Records of the Incorporation of Tailors of Glasgow*, pp. 40 ff.

³ For the above facts I am indebted to Dr. Dickson's preface to his volume of *Treasurers' Accounts*. The value of this Preface can hardly be overrated.

and then sent it to the village weaver to be woven. Afterwards the cloth was made up at home or sent to the tailor. Much of the rougher sort of linen was home grown, home spun and home bleached. During the fifteenth century cotton does not appear to have been used as a fabric for clothes.

On March 10, 1633, died Dame Margaret Ross, daughter of Lord James Ross, and wife of Sir George Stirling of Keir. She left behind her an inventory, which is interesting as showing the amount of money spent upon a lady's dress in her day and the state of her affairs. In the inventory, among other possessions are included "ane gowne of Flourence setoune in blak and orience flowris layid over with gold leise," price £133 6s. 8d.; "ane gowne of orience pan velvet laid over with silver leice," £160; "ane petticoat of Millan satine," £100; "ane uther of grein seitine," £80; "sextine ellis of fyne florit satine to be another gowne," £120; "Item, ane kirk cushione of red velvet," £40; "Item, ane chaine and ane pair of bracetis of gold," £200; "Item, ane compleit holland clothe bed," £160. Among the debts owing to the deceased was a legacy to her and her husband by the late Dame Jane Hamilton, Lady Ross, namely, "ane silver baisoune, ane silver laver, twelff silver spunis," valued at £333 6s. 8d.; "Item, als meikle fyne tapestrie as wald hing twa chalmeris, pryce iiij^o lib.; Item, ane grein dames [damask] bad, viz., bedis, bousteris, codis [pillows] with blankettis, with ane grein dames mat, fyve pair of greine dames courtines, pryce iiij^o lib." The lady's debts exceeded her assets by nearly £13,000 Scots.¹

In the absence of banks, money was usually invested in plate and jewels, but more especially in the latter. With the plate the sideboard or cupboard and the table in the great hall of the castle were on high occasions splendidly garnished. The jewels were worn by the ladies, who sometimes carried on their persons a great part of their own and their husbands' fortunes. An inventory of the jewels possessed by Lady Ann Hamilton, the first wife of the seventh Earl of Eglinton, at the time of her death, which were seen and entered October 24, 1632, while her husband was still Lord Montgomery, affords some idea of the jewels owned by a young lady of position in the first half of the seventeenth century.

"Inprimis a great jowall given to her Ladyship be my Lady Eglinton, all set with great diamonds, quhilk was gevin conditionall that it should remain as a jowall dedicat to the house of Eglinton, and to the hopeful young lady, my Lady Anna Montgomerie, her use till the tyme of her marriage, if it sall please God. Item, a great jowall in form of a feather all sett with great and small diamonds, given by my Lady Marquies of Hamilton, her Lady-

¹ *Stirling Maxwell MSS.; Hist. MSS. Com., X., i. 75.*

ship's mother, to her ladyship, quihlk should be furth coming to the said hopefull lady, Lady Anna Montgomerie." A jewel in form of an S with six diamonds, one pearl and two empty holes; a little jewel in form of an anchor with seven diamonds; "ane faire emerald" set in gold, in oval form, with a pearl; a diamond ring containing seventeen diamonds; another with four diamonds in form of a crowned heart; another ring with "elevin diamond sparks," and a diamond enclosed, in form of a heart; another ring with "aucht sparks lyke saphirs," and two empty places. Another with "thrie little emerals" and two empty places; another ring "with a great blood-staine, with a face sunk in it"; "Item ane garnison, conteining in it twintie-sevin peice of gold-smith work of gold, everie ane of them conteining four pearls, and a rubie set in the midst; twa rubies onlie wanting"; a chain of goldsmith work with agates; a chain of pearl and coral with gold beads intermixed; a chain of small pearl; a chain of greater pearls, "about twa ells and thrie quarters lenth." "A great blacke chaine like agates blacke colourit;" portrait in gold of the Marquis of Hamilton; a red blood-stone set in gold, in form of a heart; "a jowall of gold quihlk Grissal Seton affirms to be in my Lady Marqueis of Hamilton's custodie, sett with diamonds and blew saphire"; and lastly, a cup of mother of pearl set in silver gilt, with a corresponding cover.¹

Jewels and ornaments of gold and silver were often given and taken in pledge for money lent or borrowed among all classes, from the King downwards.

As a rule, the tenants lived on excellent terms with their landlords. It was the interest of the landlord that they should do so, for in the unsettled state of the country during the wars and the long minorities, he never knew how soon he might need their assistance. As in other counties the tenants in Renfrewshire sometimes saw their goods seized for the debts of their landlords, and were at times turned out of their holdings when these changed owners, but on the whole the tenants, and the labourers as well, were fairly well off for the period. They enjoyed life on easier terms than those of the same classes in any other country in Europe. The tenant was always sure of his lord's protection as long as it could be given, and with his cow and his cow's grass and field of oats or beans, the labourer was always sure, except in times of dearth, of the bare necessities of life.

¹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 35.

CHAPTER XIV.

ECCLESIASTICAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND RELIGIOUS.

THE ecclesiastical centre of the County continued to be the Monastery of Paisley. After the wars, during which, in the year 1307, the Monastery was burnt to the ground by the English, the Abbot and Convent set themselves to restore the fallen fortunes of their house and to renew their abbatial buildings in more than their ancient glory. In their endeavours they were favoured with much sympathy and support.

Among the first to come to their help was the Bishop of Argyll, or "Brother Andrew" as he called himself, who, commiserating the common table of the monks, "which was not sufficient," he declared, "for their maintenance and to enable them to respond to the calls of hospitality and the onerous duties incumbent upon them as the law of charity demands," gave them, with the consent of his chapter, the rectorial tithes and dues of the churches of Kilkeran, Kilfinan and Kilcolmanel, situated in his own diocese.¹ John Lindsay, Bishop of Glasgow, also came to their aid. "In consideration," as his charter bears, "of the great damage the Monastery of Paisley had sustained during the dreadful war, so long waged between the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, and for the rebuilding of the fabric of the Church which had been burned during the said war," he relieved them from all burdens in connection with the church at Largs, with the exception of his own fees, and gave and confirmed to them the church with its chapel of Cumbrae, and all their dues, both great and small, and allowed them to hold the benefice without presenting a vicar, provided they served it by priests removable at pleasure and responsible to him for the discharge of their duties.² Many and valuable rights and privileges were also conferred upon them, as we have seen, by the Earl of Lennox and King Robert II. and his successors. The monks did not receive many endowments in the shape of lands or houses; the time for the bestowal of these was passing away; but they received a few, chief among them the ten merk land of Thornley in the barony of Renfrew and parish of Paisley,³ which with the remains of their ancient revenues appear to have been sufficient to enable them to carry on their work.

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 137.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 238.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 80.

Fortunately, the Monastery was presided over by a series of able and for the most part conscientious men, who devoted themselves with zeal to the husbanding of the revenues of their house and to the restoration of its buildings. The work of these Abbots was not easy, nor was it altogether without distractions. They had their customary conflicts with the Bishops of Glasgow on the question of jurisdiction; they had to defend their rights and property in Argyllshire against "Lord Martin,"¹ the successor of Brother Andrew, as also against Lamont of Lamont.² Sir William More violently forced his way into their precincts, broke some of their windows, wounded one of their servants, and demanded payment of the pension due for Dalmulin which he had bought from the Head of the Gilbertines, and which the monks had undertaken but failed to pay in exchange for the convent and property of Dalmulin.³ They had other troubles to contend with; but they were assisted by the Crown and by the Pope, and their work went on surely if slowly.

The first of these Abbots was John de Lithgow, who, after presiding over the Monastery for fifty years, died, January 20, 1433. His name occurs in an inscription in the north porch of the Abbey Church, which bears that he had selected the porch as the place of his interment. On account of this the suggestion has been made that the north side of the church was his part of the restoration. The suggestion is plausible, but unsupported by evidence, and may or may not be correct. While young, Lithgow appears to have ruled the convent with vigour and wisdom; but in his later years he allowed the place to go out of "all good rule." He had two coadjutors—Chisholm and Morwe—and shares with the former of these the discredit of trying to reduce the miserable payments which the convent was in the habit of making to its vicars in its parish churches.⁴

Thomas Tervas, who succeeded Richard de Bodwell, the successor of Morwe, though he had paid five hundred and ninety florins into the Papal Treasury for the appointment, proved himself an excellent Abbot. He paid off the debt into which the Monastery had fallen, reduced the monks to order and discipline, and won the approval of his sovereign for the many admirable reforms he brought about. A great reformer, he was also a great builder. He carried up the walls of the church, and built the remarkable, if somewhat heavy triforium, and the clerestory. He put on the roof, "rigged" it with

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 140-145.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 149.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 24-43.

⁴ The monks were in habit of giving doles to their vicars over and above their legal stipends, and were desirous of discontinuing them. Chisholm was instructed to squeeze as much as he could out of them and either for his trouble in the matter or for the services he had rendered the monks as a lawyer in their controversies with the Bishop of Glasgow and others, he was allowed to use it for his own purpose. The bargain between him and the monks was drawn up and sealed with the seal of the Chapter. *Reg. de Pas.*, 336.

stone, and "theekit it with sclait." He built also a part of the steeple and "ane staitlie yethouse." On May 20, 1453, he set out for Italy and Rome, and returning shortly afterwards, brought with him, for the adornment of the church, "mony gud jowellis and claithis of gold, silver and silk, and mony gud bukis." He also made "staitlie stalls and glassynnit mekle of all the Kirk." He brought home, too, "the staitliest tabernakle that was in all Scotland and the maist costlie." "And schortlie," as the old Chronicler, whose words I have been using, continues, "he brocht all the place to fredome and fra nocht till ane mighty place, and left it out of all kynd of det and at all fredome to dispone as thaim lykit; and left ane of the best myteris [mitres] that was in Scotland and chandillaris of silver and ane lettren of brass, with mony uther gud jowellis."¹

Henry Crichton and George Shaw were worthy successors of Tervas. Crichton had serious difficulties to face. Pope Pius II. seized the revenues of the Abbey, and directed him to pay three hundred florins yearly to Pietro Barlo, Cardinal of St. Mark's, Venice, and to account for the rest to himself. Crichton refused and was deposed, but on February 27, 1469, Pope Paul II. reponed him, and at the same time rescinded the Bulls that had been issued against him. Building operations were going on at the Monastery under both Crichton and George and Robert Shaw. George Shaw enclosed the Monastery and its gardens and deer park with a magnificent wall of hewn stone, surmounted at regular intervals by stone statues. In short, by the end of the fifteenth century, the Abbey of Paisley, which had already become one of the four chief places of pilgrimages in Scotland, was regarded as one of the most splendid ecclesiastical structures in the country, while the town of Paisley had spread from the Suedhill to the opposite side of the Cart, and was surrounding the Monastery on almost every side.²

With four exceptions, the whole of the parochial churches in the county belonged to the Monastery of Paisley. The exceptions were Inchinnan, Renfrew, Erskine, and Eaglesham.³

¹ *Auchinleck Chronicle*.

² The following is Leslie's description of the place in 1596:—"Paslay quhilke is situat among enowis, grene woodis, shawis, and forrest fair one the River Carroun (Cart), quhair is an ornate brig of astlare warke and weil decoared, be quhilke surlie is past over till a magnifike and a riche monaster thair of the same name erected at the toun syde, quhilke with a verie magnifike wal, al hail with four square stane was walled round about above a myle of gate, stiking and standing out verie fair images and verie mony of thame. The pulchritude of quhilke Temple, bewtie of the biging, and ecclesiastical vestements, and decoare of the yardes, may esilie contend with mony kirkes, quhilkes this day ar halden maist ornat in uthir cuntreies."—*Hist.* i. 15-16. The last of the statues were sold in 1760 at 1s. 10d. per stone.—Kibble's *Ac. of Charge and Discharge with Lord Dundonald*, p. 9, MS.

³ For the greater part of the information contained in the following paragraphs I am indebted to Professor C. Innes' *Origines Parochiales*, vol. i.

Prior to the arrival of Walter Fitz Alan in Scotland the Church of Inchinnan had been given by David I. to the Knights Templars, and when he bestowed the churches of Strathgryfe upon his Steward, it was especially exempted from the gift.¹ On the suppression of the Knights Templars in 1312, the church passed into the hands of the Knights of St. John. The rectorial tithes were administered by the house of Torphichen, and the cure appears to have been served by a vicar down to the time of the Reformation. The ancient church, which was situated where the present one stands, near the confluence of the Gryfe and the White Cart, is supposed to have been built in 1100. It was fifty feet long by eighteen broad. When it was taken down in 1828, the floor, on being dug up, was found to be literally paved with human skulls. Belonging to the church are three sculptured stones, called by the country people "the Templars' graves."² Within the church was an endowed altar, dedicated to the Virgin. Part of the endowment of this altar was an acre, called the Lady's Acre, the superiority of which is still enjoyed by the incumbent. The parsonage or rectorial tithes were let to the laird of Crookston, at a yearly rental of £20. The *Libellus Tax. Reg. Scotie* values it at £26 13s. 4d. At the Reformation the rental of the vicarage pertaining to Sir Bernard Peblis, with all its profits and dues, was given up for the assumption of the thirds of benefices at three score pounds. Within recent years the church built in 1828 has been taken down, and a sumptuous Gothic structure erected in its place by Lord Blythswood.

The Church of Renfrew, or Arrenthrew,³ as the parish is popularly called, was in existence in the beginning of the twelfth century, when it was given by David I. to John, Bishop of Glasgow, who erected it into a prebend of his cathedral, probably soon after 1136. Some thirty years later Walter Fitz Alan, having conferred the Church of Paisley upon his new monastery, the monks there claimed the Church of Renfrew as being within the parish of Paisley, but on an appeal to Rome, it was confirmed as a separate parish to Glasgow by Pope Urban III., 1185-1187, and in the following century the monks renounced all claim to it.⁴ The cure was at first served by a chaplain, but afterwards the duty was discharged by a vicar. The original church appears to have occupied the site of the present, and was probably dedicated to S. James. It had three endowed chaplainries—one dedicated to S. Thomas the Apostle, another to S. Thomas the Martyr, and the third to S. Christopher. The last was in the Lord Ross's aisle, commonly known as "the Lord's aisle," on the south side of the church. Mention is also made of the chapel and

¹ *Reg. de Pas*, 5.

² *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, 457.

³ Part of the lands of the parish lie upon the north bank of the Clyde.

⁴ *Reg. Glas.*, 60, 96.

chaplainry of SS. Andrew, Conval, and Ninian, founded by James Finlaid (or Moderwel), vicar of Eastwood, on the north side of the church. A chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary is described as "built on the walls of the Parish Church."¹ In Baiamond's Roll and in the *Libellus Tax. Reg. Scot.*, the rectory is taxed according to a value of £106 13s. 4d. In the taxation of the sixteenth century its stated value is £90 7s. 6d. In 1561 it was given up for the assumption of the thirds of benefices at 19 chalders of victual, let for 240 merks. The prebendary of Renfrew paid twelve merks for a choral vicar in the cathedral, and three pounds for the ornaments of the service;² and the benefice was restricted to a yearly payment of six and a half merks to the hospital of Glasgow. In 1561 the vicarage was let for twelve merks, after the Pasque offerings and other dues had been discharged by Act of Parliament.³ The present church was built in 1862.

The Church of Erskine was one of the churches of Strathgryfe given by Walter Fitz Alan to the Monastery of Paisley. It was confirmed to it by name by Florence, bishop-elect of Glasgow, between 1202 and 1207. In 1227 a composition was made between Paisley and Glasgow as to the procurations payable to the Bishop by the Abbey Churches, when the arbiters taxed all the churches of Strathgryfe at only two receptions (hospicia), and, to make up for some loss sustained, decreed that the Church of Erskine, which then belonged to the Monastery, should go to the Bishop.⁴ The parsonage was afterwards erected into a prebend of the cathedral, but at what time is unknown. It was taxed among the prebends of Glasgow in 1401. The cure was served by a vicar.⁵ The old church stood in the middle of the present churchyard. The stoup which was attached to its principal entrance still stands there. In Baiamond the prebendal rectory is taxed at £80; in the taxation of the sixteenth century it is valued at £68. In 1561 it was let for 200 merks. The vicarage is valued in Baiamond at £26 13s. 4d., and in the taxation of the sixteenth century at £34. In 1561 it was valued at £40. The vicar's glebe with the manse seems to have covered about 11 acres.⁶ William, parson of

¹ A notarial instrument was executed in it, August 7, 1478. *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 77, 390.

² *Reg. Glas.*, 344, 346.

³ The notarial parish appears to have comprehended the King's manor of Renfrew.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 327; *Reg. Glas.*, 121.

⁵ *Reg. Glas.*, 299.

⁶ With the exception of Freeland the rest of the parish formed the ancient manor of Erskine, and must have been granted to the Stewards among their other possessions in the county. In 1225 its possessor was Henry de Erskine. In 1635 the lordship and barony of Erskine was returned at 100 merks of old extent and 500 of new. Attached to it were the ferry boats of the east and west ferries to and from Dumbarton and Kilpatrick. *Inquis. Ret.*, 94.

Erskine, witnessed an agreement, in 1223, between the see of Glasgow and the canons of Gyseburn.¹ In 1505 the vicar was Mr. Archibald Craufurd.²

The Church of Eaglesham was a free parsonage, the patronage of which belonged to the lords of the barony until about 1430, when Sir Alexander Montgomery Lord of Eaglesham, the patron, consented to its being erected into a prebend for a canon of Glasgow, reserving the right of patronage.³ Roger Garland was rector of the parish in 1368-70, Thomas de Arthurlry in 1388,⁴ George Montgomery in 1483, and Alexander Crawford in 1551.⁵ After the erection of the church into a prebend, a vicar was appointed with a salary of 20 merks.⁶ About a mile distant from the church, which stands in the village, is the old castle of Pulnoon, upon the banks of a small stream which joins the Cart. The old church, which stood in the centre of the present churchyard, and is described as "a very diminutive place," was in use till about 1788, when the present church was built. In Baiamond the rectory is valued at £106 13s. 4d., and in the taxation of the sixteenth century at £90 7s. 6d. It paid £3 for the ornaments of the cathedral, and nine merks for a choral vicar.⁷ At the time of the Reformation the rectorial tithes produced 14 chalders 13½ bolls of meal, let for £186 13s. 4d.⁸ The parish was co-extensive with the ancient manor of Eaglesham, a 100 merk land of old extent, bestowed upon the Montgomeries by the first Steward. The old Eaglesham manse stood in the Drygate of Glasgow.⁹

The rest of the parish churches in the county belonged to the Monastery, and were as follows:—Paisley, Cathcart, Eastwood, Killallan, Houston, Kilbarchan, Kilmacolm, Inverkip, Lochwinnoch, Neilston, Mearns.

The Parish Church of Paisley was the ancient Church of S. Mirin, or another erected in its place, situated in the Seedhill, the original site of the town of Paisley. It was conveyed by Walter Fitz Alan, along with its pertinents, to the monks of the Monastery which he built beside it.¹⁰ It had a parochial territory attached to it as early as the time when David I. was founding the royal burgh of Renfrew and restoring the cathedral of Glasgow.¹¹ Among its pertinents was the chapel of Lochwinnoch, and for some time the monks of Paisley claimed for it the Parish Church of Renfrew. What other pertinents it had in the shape of chapels and lands is unknown. After the erection of the Abbey, the Church of the Abbey appears to have been used as the church for the landward part of the parish, and the Church of S. Mirin as

¹ *Reg. Glas.*, 105.² *Eglinton MSS.*, 19.³ *Reg. Glas.*, 340.⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 329, 337, 427.⁵ *Glasgow Protocols*, i. 38.⁶ *Reg. Glas.*, 340.⁷ *Reg. Glas.*, 344, 347.⁸ *Rental of Assumptions.*⁹ *Old Ludgings of Glasgow.*¹⁰ *Reg. de Pas.*, 5.¹¹ *Reg. Glas.*, 60.

the parish church of the town. It was served by a priest, called the chaplain of Paisley.¹

The Church of Cathcart was bestowed upon the Monastery by Walter Fitz Alan between 1165 and 1172. It was confirmed to the monks *in proprios usus* by Bishop Jocelin,² and continued in their possession till the Reformation. The church was dedicated to S. Oswald, probably the Northumbrian King, who lived in the sixth century and was commemorated by the Church on August 5. Jonetta Spreull, lady of Cathcart, who died there, October 22, 1550, directed her body to be buried in the choir of S. Oswald in Cathcart.³ Before the Reformation the rectorial tithes of Cathcart were let by the Abbey for £40. By the settlement of 1227 the vicarage was fixed at the produce of the altar dues, with three chalders of meal. In Baiamond it is taxed as of the value of £16 13s. 4d. The third of the vicarage in 1561 was £16.⁴

The parish of Eastwood included the two ancient manors of Nether Pollok and Eastwood, each of which had originally its own church and formed a separate parish.⁵ Before the end of the twelfth century, Peter, the son of Fulbert, gave the church of Pollok to the monks of Paisley, and the gift was confirmed to them by Bishop Jocelin, who died in 1199.⁶ In 1227, at the general settlement of the allowances to the vicars of the Abbey churches, the vicar of Pollok was appointed to have the altar dues and two chalders of meal and five acres of land near the church, the rest of the church land remaining with the monks. The church of Eastwood came into the possession of the monastery somewhat later than that of Pollok. Its donor is unknown. It may have been founded by the monks themselves upon their own manor. It was certainly the property of the Abbey in 1265, when Pope Clement IV. confirmed the churches of Eastwood and of Pollok to the monks, with their other possessions. After that, Pollok disappears as a separate parish, the extent of which is not exactly known. The ancient church of the parish, which, as already stated, was dedicated to S. Convallus, probably stood beside

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 51, 163, 176, 186, 232. In 1452, "Thomas de Preston, notary, curate of the parish church of Paisley," is a witness to a document, *Reg. de Pas.*, 250. Luca, chaplain of Paisley, is witness to a charter about 1230, *Reg. de Pas.*, 378; and about 1300 two chaplains of Paisley witness another. Their names were William and Bryce, *Reg. de Pas.*, 380.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 5, 109.

³ *Commis. Records of Glasgow.*

⁴ At first the parish seems to have embraced at least two ancient manors, Cathcart and Drep, which were both granted to Walter Fitz Alan along with other estates by David I. The land of Drep was granted by the Steward to Paisley Abbey at the time of its foundation. The land of Aikenhead was confirmed by Robert II. to John de Maxwell, Knight, and his wife, Isabella de Lyndesay, the King's grand-daughter, in 1373. Langside, where Queen Mary fought her last battle, is in the parish.

⁵ Rev. George Campbell, *Eastwood: Notes on the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Parish.*

⁶ *Reg. de Pas.*, 98, 99.

the castle on the bank of the Cart, and may have continued to exist as a chapel. Since the thirteenth century the parish of Eastwood has comprehended the lands both of Nether Pollok and of Eastwood. Whether it ever included those of Upper Pollok, now a part of the parish of Mearns, is not known. The ancient church of Eastwood stood about a mile to the west of the present church, near the junction of the Eastwood and Shaw burns, and near to Auldhouse, which in 1265 belonged to the Abbey of Paisley. In the rental of Paisley, 1561, the parsonage of Eastwood is stated at one chalders, seven bolls, three firlots of meal, and one chalders, three bolls, two firlots of barley. The vicarage is taxed in Baiamond according to a value of £26 13s. 4d. In 1561 the third of the vicarage was £17 15s. 6²/₃d.

Killallan was one of the churches of Strathgryfe given to the Monastery of Paisley by Walter Fitz Allan, and confirmed to it by name by Florence, bishop-elect before 1207, and by Pope Clement IV. in 1265. In 1227, the vicar serving the cure was appointed to have all the altar dues and offerings and one chalders of meal. The old church, which now stands in ruins about a mile west of the old house of Barrochan, was dedicated to S. Fillan. At a little distance from it is a large stone, with a hollow in the middle, called S. Fillan's Chair, and under a rock a little beyond, shaded by overhanging bushes, is S. Fillan's Well, to which until recently the country people used to bring their sickly children. The rectory is valued at £13 6s. 8d. in the *Libellus Tax. Reg. Scot.*, and in the rental of Paisley, 1561, it is given up as set for one chalders of meal, eight bolls of bere, and £19 6s. 4d. in money. The vicarage is valued in the taxation of the sixteenth century at £34; it was given up at the Reformation for £40 for the assumption of thirds of benefices. A few score yards south of the mill of Barrochan, and close to the public road, formerly stood an ancient cross, now removed to the site of the old castle of Barrochan, about 12 feet high, 20 inches broad, and 9 inches in thickness. On each front are two rows of small figures, and much wreathed carving is on all its sides, but no letters are apparent. It is a good deal weather worn. In the upper compartment of the east face are four men bearing spears or battle-axes in their hands. In the corresponding compartment on the west face is a combat between two horsemen and a person on foot, and below it are three figures, the centre one of diminutive stature; the figure on the right hand is interposing a shield to save him from the uplifted weapon of the other. The costume of the groups seems to be of different kinds. In its old situation this monument, known as Barrochan Cross, was set on a pedestal of undressed stone.

The Church of Houston is not one of the churches of Strathgryfe confirmed to the Monks of Paisley by Bishop Florence in the beginning of the thirteenth century. At that time the territory, and probably the church, were the

property of others. The Stewards acquired the superiority of the land soon afterwards, and with it probably possession of the church. At any rate it had become the property of the monks before 1220-32, when it is mentioned by name among the churches confirmed to them by Bishop Walter. The cure was served by a vicar, who, by the settlement of 1227, was to draw the altar dues and offerings, with three chalders of meal. The old church, around which the village of Houston grew up, was in existence in 1791, and contained several old monuments of the Houston family.¹ It was dedicated to S. Peter. Near to it, on the north-west, is S. Peter's Well, "covered with a wall of cut free-stone, arched in the roof." A stream hard by is called S. Peter's Burn, and a fair that used to be held in the month of July was called S. Peter's Day. In the *Libellus Tax. Reg. Scot.*, the rectory of Houston is valued at £20. It was given up in 1561 as yielding 2 ch. 2 b. 1 f. meal, and 7 b. 1 f. bere. In the *Libellus Taxationum* the vicarage is valued at £6 13s. 4d. A handsome new church for the united parishes has been built near the site of the old church of Houston.

Kilbarchan has already been referred to as said to have been founded by S. Berchan or by one of his admirers in the sixth century. It was among the churches of Strathgryfe conferred by Walter the High Steward upon Paisley and confirmed to the use and support of the monks there by Bishop Jocelin, before the end of the twelfth century. The ancient church stood probably on the site of the church built in 1724, which was superseded in 1904 by the present handsome and commodious structure. The cure was served by a vicar. In the general assumption of the thirds of benefices in 1561 the rectory of Kilbarchan was given up among the churches of Paisley as let for money, at £65 13s. 4d. The vicarage was then let to William Wallace of Johnston for forty merks. In Baiamond the vicarage is valued at £40, and in the taxation of the sixteenth century at £34. At Blackstone on the Cart was one of the Abbey granges, said to have been built as a summer residence by Abbot George Shaw in the reign of James IV. It was here that the aged Abbot resided after he had laid aside the mitre and become the "Pensioner of the Abbey."²

The Church of Kilmaccolm, said to have been dedicated to King Malcolm III., but more likely to S. Columba, was among the churches granted by

¹ Some of these are still preserved in the modern church.

² There is a remarkable stone in the parish called Clochodrick, the stone of Roderick—the name by which it was known when it served as a boundary of the lands of Moniabrok, 650 years ago (*Reg. de Pas.*, 13). It stands on the bank of Saint Bride's Burn, which bounds the parish on the west. It may have taken its name from Roderick Hael, King of Strathelyde, or from one of the first settlers on the fief of Houston.

the High Steward to the monks of Paisley, and confirmed to them by name by Florence, bishop-elect of Glasgow,¹ between 1202 and 1207. In 1227 the cure was served by a vicar pensioner, who had 100 shillings yearly from the altarage.² Hugh de Parcliner, perpetual vicar of Kilmacolm, was witness to a charter granted by Donald Makgileriste lord of Tarbard,³ after the middle of the thirteenth century, bestowing upon the monks of Paisley the right to cut wood within all his territory for the building and use of the Monastery; and on Monday next after the feast of the Purification in 1303, Sir Hugh de Sprakelyn, vicar of Kilmacolm, lent his seal to authenticate a deed granted at Paisley by Roger, son of Lawrence, clerk of Stewardton, whose seal was not sufficiently known.⁴ In the *Libellus Tax. Reg. Scot.*, the rectory of Kilmacolm is valued at £40. At the time of the Reformation it was let for 200 merks. In Baiamond the vicarage is taxed according to a value of £53 6s. 8d. It was let at the time of the Reformation for 50 merks. The parish stands among the heights which separate the county from Ayrshire, and were known to the monks as "the moors."

The Church of Inverkip beyond the moors, with the pennyland between the rivulets Kyp and Daff, where the church is built, and the church dues of its whole parish, was granted about the year 1170 by Baldwin de Bigres, Sheriff of Lanark, to the monks of Paisley as freely as they held the churches of Strathgryfe by the gift of Walter Fitz Alan, the Steward. The gift reserved the tenure of Robert, chaplain of Renfrew, as long as he lived, or until such time as he became a monk. The nature of the tenure is unknown. Baldwin de Bigres' charter was granted and sealed in the presence of a number of known retainers of the first Steward.⁵ The vicar serving the cure in 1227 had a pension of 100 shillings from the altar dues. In Baiamond the vicarage is valued at £40, and in the taxation of the sixteenth century at £34. At the Reformation it was let for 100 merks. In the *Libellus Tax. Reg. Scot.* the parsonage is valued at £40. It was let along with Largs and Lochwinnoch at the time of the Reformation for £460. To the pennyland lying between the Kyp and the Daff, which was granted to the monks by Baldwin de Bigres, were added in 1246 certain acres in exchange for land belonging to the monks on the west of the Espedair, which Alexander, son of Walter, had enclosed in his park.⁶ The parish of Inverkip included the parish of Greenock, which was not separated from it till the year 1589, when John Shaw of Greenock had a Crown Charter, confirmed in 1594,⁷ for erecting "his proper

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 113.² *Reg. de Pas.*, 321.³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 157.⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 381.⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 112.⁶ *Reg. de Pas.*, 113.⁷ The charter was ratified by an Act of Parliament. *Acta Parl. Scot.*, iii. 549.

lands and heritage of Grenok, Fynnartie and Spangok, with their pertinents, extending in all to £28 13s. 0d. worth of land of auld extent, lyand within the parochin of Innerkipe," into a separate parish. In 1591 the erection was sanctioned by the ecclesiastical courts. In 1592 licence to bury within the churchyard was granted by the Synod of Glasgow, and in 1600 it was ordered by the Presbytery of Glasgow that "Over and Nether Greenock should meet in one congregation."

Lochwinnoch was originally a dependant chapel of Paisley, and was conveyed to the Abbey there, by Walter Fitz Alan when he granted the monks the parish church of Paisley "with all its pertinents." Before 1207, Florence, bishop-elect of Glasgow, confirmed to the Abbey the chapel of Lochwinnoch.¹ It is mentioned afterwards as a chapel in connection with the Place and Monastery of Paisley.² At what time Lochwinnoch became a separate parish and its chapel a parish church is not known; but in 1504 the lands of Moniabrok were described as situated in the parish of Lochwynok. The cure was probably served by chaplains or monks from the Abbey. At the period of the Reformation the rectorial tithes had been let, along with those of Largs and Inverkip, for £460, and the vicarage tithes, along with those of the parish of Paisley, for £100. In the *Libellus Tax. Reg. Scot.* they are valued together at £40. The office of parish clerk was in the gift of the Lords Semple.³ In the parish of Lochwinnoch the monks of Paisley had considerable property. They owned the lands of Moniabrok, which were granted to them about the year 1202, by Alan, son of Walter the High Steward,⁴ who also granted to them half of the fishing at the issue of the Black Cart from Lochwinnoch and the right of fishing in the lake, as often as he himself or his successors fished there.⁵ About the end of the same century James the Steward granted to the monks free passage of the water of Kert Lochwinnoch between the yare of Auchindunan at the issue of the river and the monks' yare of Lynclaf, so that there might be no impediment between them to the injury of the monks' fishing.⁶ About the middle of that century Alexander Fitz Alan, the Steward, gave them six acres of land adjoining their chapel of Lochwinnoch in exchange for property which they had resigned to him at Innerwick.⁷ They had also the lands of Glen and Bar between the Maich and the Calder and the pasture lands of Peti Auchingowin, the last of which had formerly belonged to the house of Dalmulin. When the possessions of the Monastery were erected by James II. into a regality, those in Lochwinnoch comprised the lordship of Glen,

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 113.² *Reg. de Pas.*, 308, 410.³ *Reg. Glas.*, 509; *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 58.⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 13.⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 14.⁶ *Reg. de Pas.*, 254.⁷ *Reg. de Pas.*, 88.

which, in the rental of 1525, is stated as yielding 32 styrks, 24 boles of grain, £34 4s. 4d. in money, and 285 hens.

The Church of Neilston was the property of the Abbey early in the thirteenth century, and was probably given to the monks by their patrons, the Stewards. William de Hertford, who was perhaps the rector, gave them the rectory in farm for his life in exchange for half of the great tithes of Thornton,¹ and in 1227 the monks were allowed by the Papal Commissioners to hold it for their own use exempt from procurations, on condition of presenting a qualified chaplain.² About the middle of the century Robert Croc, who had claimed some right in the church, resigned it in favour of the monks and in presence of Walter the High Steward.³ The rectory and the vicarage are estimated in the *Libellus Tax. Reg. Scot.* at £33 6s. 8d. They were let in 1561 for £66 13s. 4d. The church lands of Neilston were of 13s. 4d. old extent.

The Church of Mearns was granted in 1188, with all its pertinents, to the Abbey of Paisley by Helias, the son of Fulbert and brother of Robert and Peter de Pollok, all followers of the Steward, and himself a clerk, for the souls of Walter Fitz Alan and Alan his son, the patron (*advocatus*) of the granter, and Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow.⁴ The charter was confirmed by Peter de Pollok and by King William the Lion.⁵ Bishop Joceline allowed the monks to hold the church for their own use and support.⁶ The cure was served by a perpetual vicar. The vicar's pension was fixed in 1227 at 100 shillings, or the altar dues, with two oxgangs of land beside the church.⁷ In the *Libellus Tax. Reg. Scot.* the rectory is valued at £50. In 1561 it yielded the Abbey of Paisley £104 in money and 6 ch. 10 b. 3 f. of meal. In Baiamond the vicarage is rated at £40, and in the taxation of the sixteenth century at £34. The vicar's lands were 13s. 4d. of old extent. In the end of the thirteenth century the church was situated near the south-eastern extremity of the parish, between the Kirk Burn and the Brown Burn, on the other side of which were the old village and the castle of Mearns. In or about the year 1300 Herbert de Maxwell, knight, endowed a chapel in the parish church with six merks payable from his mills of Mearns.⁸ The monks of Paisley owned 8½ acres and 28 perches of land in the Newton of Mearns, which the knight just named gave them before 1316 in exchange for a like quantity of the land of Aldton.⁹

The twelve, or, counting Pollok and Greenock, the fourteen parish churches now enumerated as belonging to the Abbey of Paisley, were all

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 104.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 321; *Reg. Glas.*, 121.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 105.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 100.

⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 98, 100.

⁶ *Reg. de Pas.*, 101.

⁷ *Reg. de Pas.*, 421.

⁸ *Reg. de Pas.*, 103.

⁹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 102.

within the county of Renfrew. Scattered through other counties the monks had many more. The transumpt of Clement IV., which is dated as far back as the year 1265, enumerates no fewer than thirty parish churches as belonging to the monks, all of which they retained down to the time of the Reformation, with the single exception of the church of Carmunnock, which in 1552 was united by John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, to the collegiate church of Hamilton.¹

Besides the parish churches, there was a considerable number of other churches or places of worship in the county.

Chief among these was the Collegiate Church of Lochwinnoch or Semple. It was founded by John Lord Semple in 1504, within his own park of Lochwinnoch, by the authority of the Bishop. Provision was made in the foundation for a provost, six chaplains, a sacrist and two singing boys. The provost had part of the rectory of Glasfurd, amounting to £45 yearly. The first and second chaplains had part of the tithes of Glasfurd, amounting to 18 merks yearly; the third was endowed with the parish clerkship of Lochwinnoch, valued at eighteen merks; the fourth chaplain had the lands of Upper Pennal with a mansion, gardens and orchard, and a pension of forty shillings from the lands of East and West Brintschells in the parish of Kilbarchan, extending to eighteen merks; the fifth chaplain had the whole lands of Nether Pennal with the mill, extending to twenty-six merks yearly. He was to be organist, to teach a singing school within the precinct of the church, to give lessons daily to boys in the Gregorian chant and prick-song, and to maintain the two singing boys for the service of the church, for whose support he had the emoluments of the parish clerkship of Kilbarchan, valued at ten merks yearly, deducting the necessary expenses for a person filling the office. The sixth chaplain had the lands of Auchinmond with its mill, mill lands and pertinents, extending to twenty-two merks yearly; he was to be learned in grammar and skilled in the Gregorian chant, both plain and pointed, and was to teach, at least, the first and second parts of grammar to the two singing boys gratuitously. The sacristan was to be of respectable appearance, and had for his support the emoluments of the parish clerkship of Glasfurd, valued at six merks yearly, after deducting the necessary expenses for filling the office. He had also land beside the collegiate church for a house and garden. His duties were to take charge of the church, the ornaments

¹ The right of presentation was given to the Duke of Chatelherault and his heirs for ever. The gift was made by the Archbishop and the Convent of Paisley "for the Duke's good merits towards them, and in consideration of his rooting out and extirpation of heretics raging in this wicked time, and his defence and protection of ecclesiastical liberty and the ministers of the Church of God." Hamilton MSS., *Hist. Com. Hist. MSS. Rep.*, xi. 6.

and the vestments, to regulate the clock, ring the bell at matins, vespers, compline, at Sunday mass, at curfew, and for prayers. On fast days, as the custom was, he was to double the ringing. He had also to sweep the church, to deck it with herbs and flowers, to collect the oblations for the Sunday light and the offerings in lesser procurations, passing through the church at the times proper and customary. The provost and chaplains had ten roods of land within the park of Lochwinnoch and near to the church, for erecting dwelling houses and forming gardens and orchards. Provision was made for supplying the church with bread, wine, and wax. The dresses of the provost and chaplains are all minutely described. The provost and chaplains were bound to continual residence and to perform certain services.¹

A number of the chapels or churches now referred to were in and around Paisley. In the village of Fereneze, lying to the south of the burgh, was the church of S. Conval, already mentioned as belonging to the Semples and bestowed by them upon their collegiate church in the parish of Lochwinnoch.

The Stewards had a chapel at their manor place of Blackhall. The chapel may have stood on what is now called Chapel Hill. It was served by a chaplain, known as the chaplain of Blackhall.²

In 1180 Robert Croc of Crookston and Henry de Nes, retainers of the Stewards, obtained permission from the Prior of Paisley to build chapels in their courts, for the convenience of their families and guests. Robert Croc also obtained permission to build a chapel for a hospital he had erected for sick brethren, probably on the west side of the Levern, between old Crookston and Neilston.³ Two other chapels are said to have existed in this parish—one at a place near Arthurley, called Chapel, and another at a sequestered spot called “’Boon the Brae.” At each of these places there is a fine spring.

Not far from the parish church of S. Mirin in Paisley, and giving its name to the Lady Burn which flows to the Cart on the east, was a Lady Church.⁴ Another Lady Church probably gave its name to what is now known as Lady Lane. On the south side of the School Wynd stood a church dedicated to S. Nicholas. After the Reformation its site was occupied by the original Grammar School of Paisley, the charter for which was granted by James VI. in 1577.⁵ On the south side of Wellmeadow stood the Church of S. Roque, or

¹ *Reg. Glas.*, 506; *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 57. At the end of the latter is a number of excellent drawings illustrative of the architecture of the church. See also Macgibbon and Ross, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, iii. 351.

² “Dominus David Capellanus de Nigra aula.” *Reg. de Pas.*, 232. The charter belongs to the year 1272.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 77, 78.

⁴ Records of the Town Council of Paisley (MS.) January 28, 1619.

⁵ Brown, *History of the Grammar School of Paisley*. Metcalfe, *Charters and Documents*, lxxiii. 58.

Roche, or Rollock, the stones of which were afterwards used for building an hospital in the burgh for six aged and infirm men, while its seven roods of land, together with certain other ecclesiastical revenues, were directed by the charter of James VI. to be funded for the maintenance of the Grammar School.¹ Lastly, attached to the south transept of the Abbey Church was the beautiful chapel of SS. Mirin and Columba, built and endowed by James Crawford and Elizabeth Galbraith, his wife, out of the savings of their industry, in 1499.²

In the royal burgh of Renfrew, near the mill which belonged to the monks of Paisley, was a chapel dedicated to the Virgin.³ In the same town, on an island formed by an arm of the Clyde, was a church dedicated to SS. Mary and James.⁴ It was here that the thirteen monks whom the "Holy Humbald" brought from Wenlock in Shropshire, to start the House at Paisley, had their first and temporary lodging.

In the parish of Kilbarchan there appear to have been three chapels. In 1401 Thomas Crawford of Auchinames built a chapel in the churchyard of the parish church in honour of S. Catherine, and endowed it, together with an altar to the Virgin in the parish church, with the lands of Lynmnocht, two merks from the lands of Glentayne, three merks of the annual rental of the lands of Calzachant, Colbar and Auchinames. The chapel was independent of the parish church and under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the diocese.⁵ At Ranfurly, on a farm called Prieston in the same parish, a little to the east of the castle of Ranfurly, was a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, founded by the Knoxes. The foundations were visible in 1795, and, until recently, what is said to have been the priest's house, was inhabited. In the south-west corner of the parish, in the village of Kenmure—a village which has now entirely disappeared—was a chapel dedicated to S. Bride, which had lands bestowed upon it by the Semples. In 1504, John Lord Semple transferred these to his new collegiate church of Lochwinnoch and gave other property in the parish of Kilbarchan to the same church.⁶ No vestige of the chapel now remains, but the burn is still known as Saint Bride's Burn, and the mill there as Saint Bride's Mill.

Near Westside, and not far from the old castle of Duchal in the parish of Kilmacolm, was a chapel which seems to have been endowed by the family of Lyle, the lords of the manor. Among the witnesses to a deed in 1555 was

¹ Metcalfe, 58, 63, 88.

² Metcalfe, 52.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 6, 247.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 249.

⁵ Mackenzie, *Kilbarchan*, 48, where an abstract of the foundation charter is given. Nisbet, *Heraldry*, ii. App. 88.

⁶ *Reg. Glas.*, 511; *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 59.

Master David Stonyer, hermit of the chapel of Syde.¹ In 1635 the lands of Auchinquhoill, Easter and Wester Syde, with the chapel and chapel lands of the same, were the property of the Earl of Glencairn.² A chapel and endowed chaplainry stood in the barony of Finlayston-Maxwell, or Newark, afterwards included in the parish of Port-Glasgow. The names of other places in the same barony, as Priestsyd, Kylbride, and the 20 shilling land of Ladymuir, perhaps mark endowments belonging to that chapel or to some other, or it may be to altars in the parish church.

The chapel of Christwell in the parish of Inverkip was founded at least as early as the reign of Robert III.³ In 1556, Sir Lawrence Galt, who is styled prebendar of the prebend or chapel of Christwell, granted the whole chapel lands to Sir James Lindsay, a chaplain, and his heirs in feu ferm. In 1675, James Stewart was served heir of Robert Stewart of Chrystwall in the forty penny land of old extent of the prebend or chaplainry of Chrystwall and the chapel lands of the said chapel. A chapel, dedicated to S. Lawrence, is said to have stood on the site of the present town of Greenock, from which the bay of S. Lawrence took its name.

Besides the collegiate church of Semple, there was in the parish of Lochwinnoch in addition to the parish church, a church or chapel dedicated to S. Winnoc, whose festival is held on November 9. It was situated along with its kirk-town on the west side of the loch to which it gave its name. There appears also to have been another chapel in the parish, endowed by the Semple family before the erection of the collegiate church, the lands of which were merged in that foundation. A place still called Chapeltown near their park and castle probably marks its site.

Were these chapels and churches, which were not parochial churches, intended as protests against the way in which the vicars of the Abbey were discharging their duties? Some of them certainly were not. The chapels built by Robert Croc and Henry de Nes, were built by permission of the Prior and Convent. The chapel of Syde was evidently a private chapel of the Lyles. The chapel at Blackhall would be a private chapel of the Stewards, being close to their hunting lodge at Blackhall. All the chapels in Paisley would undoubtedly be in close connection with the Abbey. The chapel of S. Catherine's in Kilbarchan was in a curious position. It was situated in the graveyard of the parish, but was under the immediate charge of the Bishop of Glasgow. But what of the collegiate church of Lochwinnoch? Was the founding of it a pure act of devotion on the part of the Semples or did it originate in a desire

¹ Crawford.² Retour.³ Robertson, *Index*, 145.

to see the ministries of religion more carefully attended to than they were by the monks and their substitutes ?

The Templars, and after them the Hospitallers, owned the church of Inchinnan, and probably had a church or chapel at Capelrig in the parish of Mearns, and another in the ancient parish of Killallan. Scattered throughout the county they had certain properties. In Inchinnan they are said to have received "considerable grants of lands." These were acquired from the first Lord Torphichen by Sir James Semple of Beltrees, who was seized "in the temple lands and tenement within the barony of Renfrew, united into the tenandry of Greenend." In the parish of Erskine they had Frieland, a two and a half merkland of old extent. In the lordship of Barrochan, within the parish of Killallan, they had a half merkland, and a place still known as Chapeltown, on the west side of Barrochan Burn, may perhaps mark the site of their settlement. The lands of Capelrig were of 6s. 8d. old extent.

Of the provision made in the county for the education of the young, little is known. Schools or places of education are known to have existed in the country from the remotest times. S. Ninian kept school at Whithorn,¹ S. Serf taught at Culross,² and S. Columba at Iona ; and it is not unlikely that the Irish monks who settled in Renfrewshire from the fifth to the seventh century or later, made the teaching of the young a part of their labour as well as the preaching of the Gospel. Of the existence of schools at a later period there is abundant evidence. The schools in connection with the church of St. Andrews were of note as early as the year 1120. About the same time there were schools at Roxburgh, Perth, Stirling, Lanark, Linlithgow and Aberdeen.³ In 1411 the University of St. Andrews was founded ; in 1450 the University of Glasgow ; and in 1494 the University of Aberdeen. Two years later, in 1496, a memorable Act of Parliament was passed, which may be regarded as the first attempt at anything like compulsory education.⁴ It ordained that all barons and freeholders of substance should send their eldest sons and heirs to school "fra thair be aucht or nyne yeiris of age" and that they should keep them there "quhill thair be competentlie foundit and have perfitte Latyne." The statute further provided that the sons should be kept at schools of arts and law three years longer. The purpose the Act was to serve was a high one, namely, that "justice may reign universally throughout the realm, and that those who are sheriffs or judges may have knowledge to do justice, so that the poor people should have no need to see our Sovereign Lord's principal Auditors for every little injury." The penalty for neglect was

¹ Ailred, *Vita S. Niniani*, c. x.

² Jocelin, *Vita S. Kentigerni*, cc. v. vi.

³ Grant, *Hist. of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*, 2 ff.

⁴ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 238.

twenty pounds. Whether the Act was enforced or not, it evidently runs upon the assumption that there was no lack of schools in the country.

There was a school at Renfrew before the Reformation, but at what time it was founded is not known. One of its pupils was Ninian Winzet, schoolmaster at Linlithgow about 1551, and afterwards Abbot of Ratisbon. That there was a school in Paisley at the same period is evident from the fact that Sir John Robeson, a priest, who gave evidence against John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, is designated "the schoolmaster of Paisley." But here again there is nothing to show how long the school had been in existence. In the monastery of Paisley a school had existed from the time of its foundation. The ordinary pupils were the noviciates, and the probability is that a number of the sons of the landowners in the district were educated along with them. Among these was probably at one time, as has already been remarked, Sir William Wallace. It is not unlikely that the school in the burgh was under the direction of the monks of the Abbey. Mention has already been made of the duty imposed upon the sixth chaplain of the collegiate church of Semple to teach the two singing boys there the first and second parts of grammar, and of the fifth chaplain being required to give them daily lessons in the Gregorian chant and prick-song. Here also it may be assumed that other boys were taught as well as the two singing boys. Whether there were schools in connection with the parish churches is uncertain. Such schools were common in other parts of the country; but Renfrewshire was somewhat peculiarly circumstanced. Almost all the parish churches in the county, as we have seen, were in the hands of the monks and were served by vicars, whose stipends the monks took care, especially under Lithgow and Chisholm, to reduce to the lowest possible sum. The best men fought shy of the Abbey's vicarages, and the men who took them may have done as little for their parishes as they could. On the other hand, they may have set up both schools and song schools, in the latter of which music or singing alone was taught, in order to eke out their stipends. But in the absence of information about them, nothing definite can be said.

If information is scarce respecting the condition of education in the county prior to the Reformation, it is still scarcer in respect to its religious condition. Apparently there was an abundance of places of worship. The furnishings in the Abbey Church at Paisley were sumptuous, and it may be assumed, I suppose, that in the parochial and other churches throughout the county the decorations and furnishings were not neglected and that the services of public worship were performed there too with becoming decency, though with less splendour of ceremonial than in the church at the Abbey.

As to the conduct of the clergy, both regular and secular, it may be held

that the stringency of some of the provisions in the foundation charters, both of the collegiate church at Lochwinnoch¹ and of the chapel of SS. Mirin and Columba in Paisley² suggests that in the opinion of the founders there was, generally speaking, much laxity prevailing and much to be desired in the way of reform. Particular attention may also be drawn to the fact that the Abbey at Paisley was among the monasteries to which James I., in 1424, addressed a remarkable letter, in which he exhorted them, "in the bowels of the Lord Jesus Christ to shake off their torpor and sloth and to set to work to restore their fallen discipline and to rekindle their decaying fervour, so that they might save their decaying houses from the ruin which menaced them,"³ as well as to the fact that by one at least of the ancient chroniclers the place was condemned as "out of all gude rewle."⁴ On these grounds it may be argued that the condition of religion in the shire was much the same as in any other of the Lowland counties. Possibly it was.

But other things require to be taken into consideration before coming to any conclusion on the subject. The provisions referred to in the foundation charters may have been inserted from purely prudential motives, and may have no reference whatever to what was then actually happening in the shire. King James's letter and the condemnation of the Auchinleck chronicler both refer to one and the same period in the history of the Abbey—the time when Lithgow and Chisholm were its rulers—and never at any other time is there the slightest hint of any irregularities among the monks at Paisley. As late as 1492 Abbot George Shaw was making provision for the augmentation of the pittance and comfort of his monks, which would seem to show that even then, some sixty-eight years before the Reformation, they were living according to the rule of their order and observing it in all its strictness.⁵ In 1499, six years before Knox was born, James Crawford and Elizabeth Galbraith, his wife, devoted a great part of the savings of their industry to the erection of the chapel of SS. Mirin and Columba in Paisley, and to the endowment of a

¹ If the provost was absent for fifteen successive days in one quarter of a year without leave asked and obtained from the patron, the patron could dismiss him. He and the chaplains and boys were to be present at every service—matins, Sunday mass, high mass, vespers and compline. If they were absent on festival days they were to be fined and their absences noted in a book. Other rules are also laid down in the foundation charter and fines prescribed for their violation. *Lochwinnoch Papers*, i. 55.

² The chaplain was obliged to reside continually in Paisley. If he absented himself without permission asked and obtained from the patrons without reasonable excuse for fifteen days, his office became *ipso facto* vacant, and another person was to be appointed in his place. The Archbishop was also empowered to dismiss him if found guilty of any fault or of unfitness. Metcalfe, *Charters and Documents*, 52.

³ Robertson, *Statuta Eccles. Scot.*, i. p. lxxxix.

⁴ *Auchinleck Chronicle*.

⁵ Metcalfe, 44. The date of the document is 1492 not 1892.

chaplain for it.¹ Crawford was in constant touch with the Abbot George Shaw and could scarcely fail to be acquainted with the religious condition of the county, and if things were as bad there as they are said to have been elsewhere, it is scarcely possible that he and his wife would have devoted their hard won savings to any such purpose. At the beginning of the Reformation, the people of Renfrewshire appear to have taken no active part in the movement. Knox was at Finlaystone Castle in 1555, where he preached and administered the Sacrament, but did not appear in the county publicly. Not until twelve years after the Reformation was regarded as an accomplished fact, was a Protestant minister appointed to Paisley, which even then continued to be spoken of as a "nest of Papistry," and, as we shall see further on, the Presbytery, though backed up by the secular arm, had much trouble in getting its way with the people both high and low. If the Catechism which goes under Archbishop Hamilton's name, had been written by him, we might have supposed that in many passages in that excellent but unfortunate volume, in which the irreverence and irreligion of the people are dwelt upon, he was describing what had come under his own eyes in Renfrewshire; but, as is known, it was not written by him, but in all likelihood by writers who were better acquainted with other parts of the country than they were with the county of Renfrew. Altogether, in the absence of precise information, it is impossible to give a description of the religious condition of the county of the accuracy of which one can be sure.

At the same time we are not without indications of what its moral condition was. The feuds, slaughters, and fire-raising which were continually going on, show that in respect to morality Renfrewshire was no better than any other part of the country. For a couple of centuries or more the feuds were perpetual, and often attended with much cruelty. The barons fought for revenge, and their retainers fought alongside of them because they were their lords; probably also they had scores of their own to settle. Sunday was not religiously or carefully observed; nor does it seem to have been so observed in Scotland, until many years after the Reformation. The leaders of the Reformation were themselves not particularly careful in their observance of it. The Reformed Commendators of Holyrood and Coldingham, both Lords of the Congregation, rode at the ring on a Sunday, dressed in women's clothes. The reformed municipality of Edinburgh gave a grand banquet to the King's French kinsfolk on a Sunday. John Knox wrote letters on a Sunday, travelled on a Sunday, and had the Duke of Châtellherault and the English Ambassador to sup with him on a Sunday.² Before the Reformation the day was regarded

¹ Metcalfe, 52.

² Robertson, Preface to the *Inventory of Queen Mary's Jewels*, 79.

rather as a holiday, and was for the most part given up to amusement. The shops and taverns were kept open, and often men were made to work in the fields on Sunday. In summer, the Sunday afternoons and evenings were often spent in piping and dancing on the green. The proof that this was the case in Renfrewshire will appear by and by. There is no record of clerical or ecclesiastical oppression in the shire, but if Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism may be taken as applicable to the county in which his abbey was situated, there can be little doubt that there was much crass ignorance among the clergy and much irreverence among the laity. The Catechism, which is in reality a series of homilies, was prepared for the use of the clergy. They were directed to read it to their congregations on Sundays, and in order that they might not excite ridicule by stammering or stumbling in their reading, they were enjoined to prepare themselves during the week by frequent and daily repetition of the portion that fell to be read on the following Sunday. As to the moral and spiritual condition of the laity, the following, which is taken from the chapter on the Third Commandment, may possibly, though not certainly, afford some hints:—"And above all this, all men and wemen with diligens, nocht only suld forbeir vice and syn on the Sunday and all other dayis, bot specially on the Sunday, suld eschew all ydilnes, vaine talking, bakbyting, sclandering, blasphematioun of the name of God, and contentioun, and also all occasionis of syn, as dansyng, unnecessarie drinking, wantones, lecherous sangis and tweching, hurdome, carting and dysing, and specially carreling and wanton synging in the kirk, and all uthir vice quhilk commonly hes bein maist usit on the Sunday."¹ The advice is sound and may have been as much needed in the west as in the east where the Catechism was drawn up. After the Reformation the moral and religious condition of the shire was bad enough, but by that time things had changed, and probably not altogether for the better.

¹ Dr. Law's Edition, 68.

CHAPTER XV.

THE REFORMATION.

THE movement in Scotland which ended in the Reformation of religion, was at first largely political. During its earlier stages its significance was scarcely realized, and, except in the eastern counties, the people generally took no particular interest in it. Whatever was done in connection with it at this period in Renfrewshire was due less to the desire for religious reform and more to the political ambitions of its leaders. Chief among them were William second Earl of Glencairn, Mathew fourth Earl of Lennox, William Lord Semple, his son Robert Master of Semple, and John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld and Archbishop of St. Andrews. The Earls of Glencairn and Lennox belonged to the English party, while the rest sided with the French or Catholic party. James Stewart of Cardonald was in the pay of the English, and appears to have been chiefly occupied in watching the movements of the Abbot of Paisley.

On the death of James V., James Lord Hamilton, second Earl of Arran, as the next heir to the Crown, was appointed Regent of the kingdom and tutor to the infant Queen. A man of no great ability, he was unequal to the position in which he was placed. At home he was opposed by the whole of the clergy, with Cardinal Beaton at their head, while in Henry VIII. he had a friend or a foe according as he followed or did not follow his bidding. Henry's object was to bring about a marriage between the young Queen and his son, Edward Prince of Wales. With a view to compassing this, as soon as the death of James was known in London, he set free the captives taken at Solway Moss, loaded them with presents and pensions, and sent them to work for him in Scotland. Joining Arran, the "English Lords" or "assured Scots," as they were called, seemed at first as if they would be the prevailing party in the country. Beaton was seized "in the Governor's chamber, sitting at Council," and warded in the Earl of Morton's house at Dalkeith.¹ A meeting of the Estates was held, March 12, 1543, when three ambassadors were appointed to proceed to England for the purpose of treating with Henry for

¹ *Hamilton Papers*, i. 367-372.

the marriage of the Scots Queen with his son, Edward Prince of Wales. On July 1 the negotiations were concluded at Greenwich, the Earl of Glencairn and Sir George Douglas being present and assisting. Henry did not get all he desired. On two points the Scots refused to give way. They declined to give up their ancient league with France¹ and to send the young Queen to England. Mary was to remain in Scotland till the time of her marriage, and the French were to be included in the treaty of peace.²

Meantime, the French party had been bestirring themselves. French gold was poured into the country as liberally as English, and it was believed that the Duke of Guise was only waiting a favourable opportunity to sail with a great armament to Scotland. In the beginning of April Beaton was at large. At a meeting held at St. Andrews immediately after, the clergy offered to devote their own plate and that of the Church to defeat the policy of Henry. Towards the end of June a French fleet appeared off the east coast, when Beaton resolved to bring matters between him and Arran to an issue. Three weeks after the negotiations had been concluded at Greenwich, he entered Linlithgow, where the young Queen was staying under the care of Arran, at the head of six or seven thousand men, with the intention of seizing her. Negotiations followed, and on July 26 the Queen was removed to Stirling to be out of Henry's way. On September 4, Arran and Beaton were reconciled, and on September 8 Arran abjured his religion and did penance for his apostasy in the Church of the Franciscans in Stirling. Beaton's victory was complete.³

In the opposite party, besides the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn, were the Earls Angus and Cassillis, the Lords Fleming, Maxwell, and Sommerville, Sir George Douglas, brother of Angus, and a number of lesser barons. In craft and resolution Sir George Douglas was a match for Beaton, and more than a match for Henry. Lennox was a Catholic. He had been invited over from France by Beaton, who, having used him, had cast him off. In the hope of outwitting Beaton, he had joined the English Lords. Subsequently he married Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Angus, niece of Henry VIII., and afterwards mother of the unfortunate Darnley.

In October, 1543, a French fleet of ten vessels, bringing ten thousand golden crowns, and fifty pieces of artillery, and having on board a French ambassador and a papal legate, Marco Grimani, arrived at Dumbarton. The money and artillery were sent by Francis I. to Lennox, who, in the meantime, unknown to him, had changed sides. These valuable gifts Lennox, accom-

¹ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 411; Sadler, *State Papers*, i. 65.

² Rymier, *Foedera*, xiv. 786-796.

³ *Hamilton Papers*, i. 363, 501, 384, 505, 512, 590, 597, 626; ii. 38.

panied by Glencairn, made haste to secure, and afterwards used them against those whom they were intended to help.¹

Elsewhere, the English party were less fortunate. Lords Maxwell and Sommerville were seized while on their way to England with treasonable papers, and lodged in the Castle of Edinburgh. In the beginning of November feeling ran so strong against Henry that Sir Ralph Sadler, his ambassador, was obliged to seek refuge in Tantallon Castle, one of the Douglas strongholds. Towards the end of the month, the Earl of Rothes, Lord Grey, and Balnaves of Halahill, with other members of the English party in Forfarshire, fell into the hands of Beaton.

On December 11, Parliament met at Edinburgh, when the English treaties, though solemnly ratified in the Abbey Church of Holyrood so recently as August 25, were declared null and void, in consequence of Henry having seized some Scottish ships, the treaties with France were renewed, stringent laws were passed against heresy, and Beaton was appointed Chancellor of the Kingdom.²

In January, 1544, aided by the French gold taken at Dumbarton, Angus, Lennox, Glencairn and Cassillis collected their forces at Leith and tried to draw the Governor and Cardinal out of Edinburgh to give battle. The Governor and Cardinal sat still, and Angus and Glencairn and the rest of them, unable to keep their forces together, while those of their opponents were daily increasing, were obliged to come to terms. They formally abandoned their alliance with Henry, and undertook to take "a plane part in the defence" of the kingdom, each of the leaders giving pledges for his good faith and fidelity to Arran and Holy Church.³ Lennox, however, fled secretly to Glasgow, where he fortified the castle and prepared to defend himself to the utmost. As soon as the news of this reached the Regent, he gathered together such forces as he could and marched to Glasgow. In the meantime Lennox had gone off to Dumbarton to fetch more troops, and had left Glasgow in charge of Glencairn. When the news of the Regent's coming was known to the garrison, Glencairn with Houston and Buchanan and other barons and nobles of the Lennox and of the shire of Renfrew, went out to meet him at the head of a numerous force, which they had gathered from the neighbouring towns, and without waiting for Lennox offered battle. Victory leaned first to the one side, and then to the other, but at last Arran prevailed, and the leaders of the Lennox party fled, leaving many of their partisans dead upon the field. Arran entered the city and treated the people with leniency. Glencairn fled to Dumbarton and rejoined Lennox. For some

¹ *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 92-3, 102-4.

² *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii.

³ *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 250.

time the two sat quiet; but a rising of their partisans occurring again in Glasgow, they proceeded thither and placed themselves at their head. The Regent at once summoned the nobility of the south to meet him at Glasgow, and then besieged the place, and, having taken it, hanged "eighteen of the nobilitie quhome Lennox luvet weil, but lat the rest pas."¹ Among the prisoners was the Earl of Angus, whom Henry and his advisers strongly suspected was playing a part to deceive them.² Glencairn and Lennox escaped, and continued to plot and work against Arran in the west.

In the meantime the man who was destined in a few years to succeed both Arran and Beaton as the head of the Catholic party, had returned and was rapidly making his way to the front. This was John Hamilton, a natural brother of Arran the Governor, and Abbot of Paisley.

In or about the year 1540, having "a fine genius for letters," he had gone to France for the purpose, it is said, of pursuing his studies in the University of Paris. He returned in 1543, and arrived in Scotland between the 2nd and 18th of April. On his way he was feted in London by Henry and dismissed with rich presents.³ In Scotland his arrival was awaited with anxiety. Knox and his party expected that both he and his companion, David Panter, would at least "occupye the pulpit and trewly preach Jesus Christ."⁴ On their arrival, however, they disappointed the Protestants. Both attached themselves to the Catholic party, and Hamilton soon proved himself one of its most effective members. According to Knox and Sadler, his influence with the Governor was all powerful. It was through him, it is said, that Arran was reconciled to Beaton and to the Catholic Church. Writing to Henry VIII. on April 18, 1543, immediately after Hamilton's return, Sir Ralph Sadler says of the Regent: "Ever since his brother, the Abbot of Paisley, came home, he hath been chiefly ruled and counselled by him, who, they assure me, is altogether at the cast of France and the Cardinal's great friend; and whatever they do mind with the Governor to-day, the Abbot of Paisley changeth him in the same to-morrow." A few days later, he reports Sir George Douglas as using almost his own words. "The Abbot, he saith, hath been the only cause of the Governor's alteration; which Abbot is all for France and the Cardinal's great friend, and since his coming home the Governor hath been altogether ruled by him."⁵

In the year of his return Hamilton was appointed by his brother Keeper of the Privy Seal. Shortly afterwards he was promoted to the office of Lord

¹ *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 297, 343, 717; *Leslie, Hist. Scot.*, ii. 271.

² *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 323, 325; *Salisbury MSS.*, 32.

³ *Balfour, Annals*, i. 278. ⁴ *Knox, Hist. of Reformation*, i. 105. ⁵ *Sadler, State Papers*, i. 145, 160.

High Treasurer, in room of Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange, a distinguished member of the English party. In 1544, Hamilton appears as one of the Senators of the College of Justice. As a member of the Privy Council his attendance at its meetings was frequent. On the death of George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, he was appointed to succeed him. His right to be presented was contested by Robert Crichton, nephew of the late Bishop and Provost of St. Giles, who claimed the See in virtue of an alleged decree of the Pope, by which the appointment of Hamilton to Dunkeld was made conditional upon Crichton's appointment to Ross, failing which he was to be Bishop of Dunkeld.¹ Ross had been filled up by the appointment of David Panter. Hamilton appealed to the Court of Session, where he accused Crichton of barratry at Rome, and gained his case. Crichton then appealed to Rome. The Pope referred the matter to certain Cardinals, who gave their decision in favour of Hamilton. Whether Hamilton was ever installed in his northern bishopric is doubtful. He is styled Bishop and Abbot in June, 1548,² and Bishop of Dunkeld as late as May, 1549,³ though some historians give him Archepiscopal rank previous to that date.

In the beginning of April, 1544, shortly after the capture and sack of Glasgow, Arran was the guest of his brother in the Abbey of Paisley. Notwithstanding their engagement in January to renounce their alliance with Henry, and to take "a plane part in the defence of the kingdom," Angus, Glencairn, and the rest of their party, were still in correspondence with England. In the month of March, they were urging Henry to send a "main army" into Scotland for their relief.⁴ The army did not come as they expected, but they continued their treasonable practices; and on April 9, while still the guest of his brother, Arran issued a commission to the Earl of Argyll and others to charge the keepers of Finlaystone Castle, which belonged to the Earl of Glencairn, to surrender the castle into their hands and keeping, and authorized them "to raise fire gif need be."⁵ Whether the place was then actually besieged does not appear. Arran and his associates had soon a much more formidable enemy to contend with.

On Sunday, May 4, a fleet suddenly appeared in the Firth of Forth under the command of the Earl of Hertford, and having on board that "main army" which Angus and Glencairn were longing for. The Regent and Beaton hastily gathered their forces, but after a feeble show of resistance, fled to Linlith-

¹ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 469.

² *Lochwinnoch Papers*, ii. 16.

³ *Hamilton MSS. (Com. Hist. MSS. Rep., XI., vi. 23)*; see also page 24, where on July 4, 1549, he is styled Archbishop of St. Andrews.

⁴ *Salisbury Papers (Com. Hist. MSS. Rep.)*, 23-41.

⁵ *Com. Hist. MSS. Rep.*, IV., p. 488.

gow, leaving Hertford to do as he liked. Leith was taken and Edinburgh was given to the flames. The country round about Edinburgh and to within six miles of Stirling was laid waste. Hertford then took his way south, working such havoc as he went, that he could report to his master, without exaggerating, that "the like devastation had not been made in Scotland these many years."¹ One effect this invasion had was to set the people of Edinburgh against the Cardinal.² It was intended by the English that it should. Wherever they went, they nailed up upon the church doors and scattered among the people printed leaflets, telling them that they had the Cardinal to thank for the miseries which were then inflicted upon them.³

Hertford's arrival in the Forth probably saved the heads of Angus and his brother, Sir George Douglas. Their treasonable correspondence with Henry had been intercepted, and they themselves were warded in the Castle of Blackness. On April 27, a week before Hertford's arrival, they had been compelled to sign an order to deliver the Castle of Tantallon into the hands of the Abbot of Paisley, and the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn were summoned to underlie the law with them on a charge of treason on May 6.⁴ For them, at least, the arrival of Hertford in the Firth, on May 4, was opportune. Dreading what might happen, and in the hope of securing their assistance, Arran at once set them free.

To Henry the conduct of Angus and his brother had never been altogether satisfactory, and after their liberation from Blackness, he began to regard them with extreme suspicion,⁵ though probably without real cause. Both Angus and Douglas were working against Arran and Beaton, and in appearance played fast and loose with both sides, but always apparently with a view to furthering the English alliance, or, at any rate, the downfall of Arran and the advancement of their own party. Still, their conduct was extremely perplexing and suspicious.

In November (1544), Angus, Glencairn, and Douglas, received a remission for all their treasons and offences, and were to all appearance reconciled to Arran.⁶ Henry was now thoroughly exasperated. To their frequent letters he paid no attention, but offered 2000 crowns for the head of Angus, and 1000 for his brother's.⁷ Angus, who in July had been appointed Lieutenant of the Border, and Glencairn, were with Arran at Ancrum Moor, February 27, 1545, where Sir Ralph Eure and Sir Bryan Layton were defeated and slain, and where, in the first moments of joy over their victory, Angus and Arran fell

¹ *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 360 and foll.

² *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 369.

³ *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 311.

⁴ *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 353. May 1, Hertford reports a rumour that Angus and Sir George were to be executed on May 6. *Ibid.*, 359.

⁵ *Salisbury MSS.*, i. 41.

⁶ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 450.

⁷ *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 538.

upon each other's necks, the latter exclaiming that the loyalty of Angus was now beyond suspicion.¹ On June 26 following, Glencairn, Angus, Cassillis and Sir George Douglas, were among those who signed a new bond with France, pledging themselves to harass the English to the utmost of their power.² Yet incredible as it may seem, they were all the while in correspondence with Henry or his agents, keeping the Earl of Hertford, who had succeeded Sir Ralph Eure on the border, well informed of what was going on in Scotland, and advising him as to the best means to adopt.³ Lennox was in Ireland arranging for the capture of Dumbarton Castle with the help of the Islesmen and the English.⁴ The Isle of Bute was taken, but owing to the stern patriotism of Stirling of Glorat, who was in charge of Dumbarton Castle, the attempt on that stronghold failed, though its possession was much desired by Henry. Lord Maxwell failed also to secure for him the three great castles of Caerlaverock, Lochmaben, and Threave.

On April 16 in this year (1545), Hamilton, the Abbot of Paisley, took a step which, though eminently prudent at the time, must have caused him many regrets later on. For some time his regality had been without a baillie and justiciar. In 1529 he appears to have entertained the intention of filling up the office by the appointment of certain "noble and powerful men" to act as his procurators, bailies, and commissioners, but as the names of these "noble and powerful men" are not inserted in the document it is probable that the commission was never issued.⁵ But since then things had changed. The

¹ *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 565. "And then he [Arran] turned his back, and by and by met the Earl of Angus, who asked him, if he were merry. The Governor answered him by these words—'My lord, I am much the merrier for you'—and took the said Earl of Angus about the neck and kissed him twenty times, saying—'Woe worth him that caused him to have any suspicion or mistrust in the said Earl for England's cause, for he had that day showed a true part and done a great good day's work to Scotland.' Whereunto the Earl answered, that God knew and should judge his part and loyalty to his native country." Cp. *Pitcottie*, ii. 41 (S. T. S.).

² *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 594.

³ On August 16, Angus, the Earl Marischal, and Cassillis, wrote to Hertford: "Right worshipful, after most hearty commendation, Ye shall understand, that we have commenced together and are determined all in our union to save the King's Majesty [Henry] at the uttermost of our powers in the setting forward of the peace and marriage, which we know surely stands with the pleasure of God, the King's Majesty's contention, the common weal and quietness of both realms. Therefore we think for our opinion, if it stands with the King's Majesty's pleasure, that His Grace should hastily prepare his strong armies in this time of harvest, both at the east and west borders, provided to remain a good time; for without long remaining there can no high purpose be made to the King's Majesty's pleasure. Therefore look well on that point, and when the King's armies come in this realm, ye must set forward your proclamations declaring how that your purpose is not to hurt this realm, nor no subject that is in it that will assist to the sure performing of the peace and marriage." Fraser, iv. 160, *quo*, by Sir H. Maxwell, *Hist. House of Douglas*, ii. 118.

⁴ Gregory, *Hist. of the W. Highlands*, 168 ff.

⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 435.

country was on the verge of anarchy. Glencairn and Lennox had declared themselves, and with two such powerful enemies for his neighbours, it was necessary to procure what protection he could from other neighbours. Some time previous to the year 1541 he had appointed William Lord Semple as his bailie, but apparently only for a term. On April 16, 1545, he filled up the office permanently by appointing Robert, Master of Semple, hereditary bailie and justiciar of the whole lands of the monastery, with the exception of those in Ayrshire.

The narrative of the instrument upon which the appointment runs, unless the language of it is exaggerated, affords a lively picture of the times, and shows that the Abbot and his monks had already been indebted to the Master of Semple for timely help. "In these days," it says, "the wickedness of men so increases, that nothing pleases them better than to invade the possessions of monks and to overturn their monasteries; nor had we ourselves been saved from that disaster but for the help and assistance of that noble man, Robert Semple, Master of the same, the son and apparent heir of William Lord Semple. We who are unwarlike and whom it becomes to abhor arms, have by the same Master been valiantly defended with arms not only against the madness of heretics, but also against the insults of more powerful tyrants, and unless he continue unweariedly in our defence with arms, counsel, and assistance, soon nothing will remain safe to us. But so far as we are concerned, nothing must be left undone that may tend to our greater security; for according to the old proverb 'To preserve what we have is not less a virtue than to acquire what we have not.'" The deed then proceeds to appoint Robert and his heirs bailies and justiciars of the lands named, with the usual powers, at a stipend of three chalders of oatmeal yearly from our "granary" and forty-three shillings and fourpence from the lands of Glen in the parish of Lochwinnoch. Lord Semple, on the other hand, bound himself, his heirs and successors, to bring the whole power of his family, whenever necessary, to the defence and protection of the monks and their property, failing which the appointment was to become null and void.¹

In the beginning of May, Hamilton's party was cheered by the arrival of a French fleet in the Clyde, off Dumbarton. Mindful of the device practised on their countrymen by Lennox and Glencairn, the French were very chary of landing. But as soon as it was known who they were, the townspeople received them with enthusiasm. The troops, three thousand foot and five hundred horse, were under the command of Lorges de Montgomery, an experienced soldier.

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, Appendix 2.

In the Parliament held at Stirling in the following month, it was ordained that these troops should be joined on Roslyn Moor, on July 28, by all the men in the country, capable of bearing arms, between the ages of sixteen and sixty. There accordingly the two forces assembled and numbered in all from six thousand to seven thousand men. The object was an invasion of England, but the enterprise came to nothing. According to a letter written by Angus, the Earl Marischal, Cassillis, and Sir George Douglas, "all that they," *i.e.*, the Regent, Beaton and Montgomery, "devised was stopped by us that are the Kingis freendes." The troops crossed the Border, but within four days they returned, and were disbanded. Dissensions broke out among the allies, and the Frenchmen were glad to get back to their own country.¹

As a reply to this invasion, Angus and his friends, in the letter just referred to, urged Hertford to prepare his "substancious" armies and to invade Scotland during the following harvest. Hertford did so, and with cruel effect. The Scots themselves testified that they had never before been "so burned, scourged and punished." Besides five market towns, two hundred and fifty-three villages and sixteen fortified places, Hertford in this invasion left behind him the Abbeys of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, Roxburgh and Coldingham in ruins, to mark his track.

On May 29, 1546, Cardinal Beaton was foully murdered in St. Andrews Castle, and the castle taken possession of by Norman Leslie and his five fellow assassins. Shortly afterwards they were joined by John Knox and other reformers. Within a fortnight after Beaton's murder a meeting of the Privy Council was held at Edinburgh, which was attended by the leaders of both political parties. Huntly was appointed Chancellor, and the rejection of the English alliance was unanimously confirmed.² Parliament met on June 30, when all concerned in the slaughter of Beaton were declared guilty of treason, and steps were taken to press on the siege of St. Andrews Castle with vigour.³ The defenders of the castle hoped for aid from England; but a French fleet hove in sight under the command of Leo Strozzi, the Prior of Capua, and on July 21 the place was surrendered. The prisoners were carried away to France, where part of them were distributed among various prisons, and the rest, among whom was Knox, were sent to the galleys.

After the fall of this stronghold, the various political parties in the country appeared to be united and to concur in the prosecution of the French policy. The union, however, was only seeming. From his castle at Duchal,

¹They remained in Scotland for some time. Knox writes of them: "That winter following so nurtured the Frenchmen that they learned to eat (yea, to beg) cakes which at their entry they scorned. Without jesting they were so miserably entreated that few returned to France again with their lives." *Hist. i.* 123.

²*Iteg. P. C.*, i. 26.

³*Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 467.

in the parish of Kilmacollm, the Earl of Glencairn was still keeping the English Government informed as to what was going on in Scotland, and the rest of the English lords were still at the service of Henry.

In January, 1547, Henry died, and the Earl of Hertford, now Duke of Somerset, as Lord Protector, was at the head of affairs in England. In Scotland, notwithstanding the intrigues of the English lords, the French or Church party remained supreme, and was strongly supported by the Prior of Capua and his fleet. Somerset's first effort was to recall the Scots to a sense of their real position, but encouraged by Strozzi, they refused Somerset's proposal to discuss terms of peace, took the offensive, and captured the castle of Langholm, then in the hands of the English. On Sunday, September 4, Somerset crossed the border with eighteen thousand men, and took his way along the East coast, attended by a fleet under the command of Lord Clinton. At Musselburgh he found the Regent with Angus, Huntly, and Argyll awaiting him with from twenty-three thousand to twenty-five thousand men. Both sides prepared for battle on the morrow, and so confident were the Scots of victory, that during the night they played games of chance with their future prisoners' ransoms for stakes. On the following day, long afterwards known in Scotland as Black Saturday, was fought the battle of Pinkie. The rout of the Scots was complete. Fifteen hundred of them, among whom was Huntly the Chancellor, were taken prisoners, and the number of their slain was reckoned at ten thousand. The loss of the English was inconsiderable.

Glencairn, who is usually said to have been killed at the battle of Pinkie, was not on the field.¹ The Governor had forbidden him to be present, and on January 12 of the following year he was sitting in Council with the Queen Dowager at Stirling.² In July, 1547, he wrote to Somerset offering to raise a thousand men "of my friends and surname and a thousand more assisters and favourers of the Word of God, and to break and divide the country till your army comes—holding Kyle, Carrick, Cunningham and Renfrew." In the same letter he proposed to Somerset to fortify a strong position on the Clyde, opposite the town of Greenock. Had this been done, it "would have been as disastrous for the country as Lord Gray's delivery of Broughty was to the borders of the Tay."³ In August the Governor is reported to have said that

¹ Bain, *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, i. 16.

² Bain, i. 62. He was alive, February 20, 1547-8, and dead by 22nd April following (*Privy Seal Register*, xxi. pp. 68, 87). Bain, i. xi. u. 5.

³ Bain, i. 10. "Your Grace may fortify a strength called Ardmore on the west seas within 18 miles of Stirling, one of the best havens in Christendom—desiring but 3 of your ships to lie there, and with 400 Scots and but six men of 'ingyne' over them. I will fortify it with earth in 8 days, when your men can enter and keep it—building a town for there is a natural rock round about, 'schoire deip,' where ships may lie at all times. The fort can stop all vessels from Glasgow, Renfrew and Dunbarton, passing without license, and moreover have all the country to the gates of Stirling."—Glencairn to Somerset, *Ibid.*

he dreaded "mair the furth byding of Glencairn than the incoming of the army [*i.e.*, Somerset's]; for the Earl had made sik ane brulzie within the realme, that he wist nocht surelie quhom of to be siker when he had ado."¹

On September 6, two days after Somerset had crossed the border, Glencairn wrote to Lennox and Wharton, who forwarded his letter to the Duke, saying: "I could not go outside my bounds for the watch kept on me by the Governor, but have spoken with, and sent your proclamations to Kyle and 'Lowdeane,' who promise to do their 'devoir,' and my lord Lennox will be assured of Kyle, Cunningham, his and my part of the barony of Renfrew, and his own Earldom, except the Laird of Buchanan—and Glasgow and Dumbarton are determined to live and die with him."² Lennox was then at Carlisle planning with Wharton an invasion of Scotland from the west. On October 23, Glencairn wrote from Duchal to Somerset, urging him to seize "a little house Crawford-John," which, if won, he assured him, would be of great service. On the same day he wrote to Lennox, saying, "Na thing laikis your presens. The Lennox is your own and all Renfrew, except the 'Simples.' George Douglas has spoken with the lieutenant and I am with him and talkis him one hand to be of your lordschippis partie. As for Angus I doubt not he will be sure. . . . If you come not now, your friends will never look for you. Ye need none with you but the assured men 'sik as Closburne, Lag, my baronrie of Glencairne, the Captane Crawford, and my lord of Angus' folkis, and thir [these] may bring you saifelie aneuche to our bondis'; when we will pass with you to Glasgow or Paisley."³

On the second of April in this year, Stewart of Cardonald, cousin of Lennox, reported to Wharton that Hamilton, the Abbot of Paisley, was about to go secretly to France, in order to obtain the consent of the King of France to the Governor's desire to have the princess, and to get the red hat to himself to be cardinal and the bishopric of Mirepoix, formerly held by Cardinal Beaton, and urges that strict watch be kept for him.⁴ Whether Hamilton went is uncertain. He attended the Privy Council, April 5, and May 3 and 20. On June 20 he was present in Parliament, but his name is not in the sederunt of the Privy Council on July 24. On July 30, however, he attended Parliament, and again on August 4. On August 22 he was present at a meeting of the Privy Council. So that if he went to France during this year (1547), it must have been between this last date and October 9, when Lord Grey of Wilton was expecting a visit from him to discuss the Queen's

¹ Bain, i. 17.² Bain, i. 18.³ Bain, i. 30, 31.⁴ Bain, i. 4. On March 20 the Queen of Scots wrote to Edward VI., requesting a safe conduct for the Bishop of Dunkeld (Hamilton) through England to France, he being "evil vexed with an infirmity and continual sickness." Bain, i. 2, 3.

marriage.¹ In October, Cockburn, a spy in the pay of Grey of Wilton, reported that he had gone to Clydesdale to ask the gentlemen to await aid from France.² On the 15th of the following month, Brunston reported that he had taken two cannons out to Leith—so secretly, he added—that none knew where they were going, though he was of opinion that they were being conveyed either to Broughty Crag or to St. Colm's.³ Two days later Cockburn reported again, and this time that Hamilton had gone to Fife and the Governor to Perth, to raise the men of Fife and Angus, preparatory to laying siege to Broughty Castle.⁴

On March 29 of the following year (1548), Huntly, then a prisoner at Newcastle, asked Somerset for a safe conduct for Hamilton for a month, that he might come and speak with him.⁵ Four days later Grey of Wilton informed Somerset that Hamilton (now Bishop of Dunkeld) was coming to Berwick commissioned to treat of peace, and asked for instructions as to how he was to deal with him.⁶ Nothing seems to have come of the commission. His safe conduct was missent,⁷ and it is doubtful whether he went.

In June, at the invitation of the Regent, a French fleet appeared in the Forth, and when, on the 16th of the month, Mary of Lorraine, the Queen Dowager, interviewed D'Essé, the Lieutenant-General of the forces on board, Hamilton accompanied her. The troops landed at Leith and made their way to Haddington, then in the hands of the English, and on June 30 began to attempt its capture. A week after this, Parliament met in the Abbey near Haddington, when it was definitely resolved that Mary, the young Queen, should wed the Dauphin.⁸

In the meantime, the Earl of Glencairn had hastened home in the month of February to defend himself against his late friend the Earl of Lennox,⁹ whom shortly before he had been urging to come to Scotland, assuring him that his own part of the barony of Renfrew as well as other places were all for him. In the raid which followed, under the leadership of Lennox and Wharton, one of Glencairn's sons was taken prisoner.¹⁰ We hear no more of the "old Earl," as he was subsequently called. On April 22 he was dead, and his career of duplicity and treachery ended.

On April 12, 1554, the Queen mother, who for some time had been intriguing to supplant the Earl of Arran, now Duke of Châtellherault, was publicly proclaimed Regent. Attention had been called to the new doctrines taught by the Reformers by the murder of Beaton, but nothing contributed so

¹ Bain, i. 26.² Bain, i. 34.³ Bain, i. 41.⁴ Bain, i. 41.⁵ Bain, i. 104, 108.⁶ Bain, i. 107.⁷ Bain, i. 108.⁸ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 481.⁹ Bain, i. 79.¹⁰ February 23, Bain, i. 82.

much to their diffusion as the French domination which the Queen Regent now tried to establish, and her attempt to reduce Scotland to the position of an appanage of the French Crown.

Whether these doctrines were spreading among the people in Renfrewshire there is little or no direct evidence; but it is scarcely possible that they were not. The conduct and example of Alexander, the new Earl of Glencairn, afterwards a Lord of the Congregation, could hardly fail to give a strong impetus to their spread. He was one of the two who were sent to intercede with the Queen Regent for the preachers whom she had summoned to appear before her on May 10, 1559, and to whose request for "some performance of her manifold promises," she replied that it "became not subjects to burden their Princes with promises farther than it pleased them to keep the same."¹ He was probably in Perth on May 11, when Knox's "rascal multitude" began their work of destruction. When the French troops were removed from Stirling to Auchterarder, to be in readiness to seize Perth and inflict punishment for the destruction of its buildings, he appears to have been in the west; but on the receipt of Knox's appeal for assistance, he rode up hastily at the head of some two thousand men and was just in time to prevent D'Oysel from attacking the reformers.² He was probably at Cupar Moor, and again at St. Andrews when Knox preached in spite of Hamilton's threat to turn the culverines against him. On July 19 he wrote along with Argyll and others from Edinburgh to Cecil and Elizabeth, "humbly beseeching" the latter, "her Council, subjects, and realm to assist them in their present danger from the designs of France and in the Reformation as she had enterprised in her own realm,"³ and a few days later was told by Cecil, who replied for himself and his royal mistress, that he doubted if they were taking the right way with the papist kirkmen, that he liked to see good things put to good uses, and that he thought them negligent in not expelling the French.⁴ After the futile attempt on Leith, and while waiting for the result of Maitland of Lethington's mission to England, when the Earl of Arran, Lord James, and Knox, left Edinburgh and went to St. Andrews, Glencairn, the Duke, and Argyll came west and made their headquarters in Glasgow.⁵

Meanwhile the Abbot of Paisley, who had been appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews and Primate of Scotland, had been doing his utmost to defeat

¹ Knox, *Hist.*, i. 316.

² Knox, *Hist.*, i. 343; Calderwood, *Hist.*, i. 456.

³ Bain, i. 226-8.

⁴ Bain, i. 234. It is not a little remarkable that Glencairn, though remarkably zealous for the English cause, was all the while along with others on the same side in receipt of a French pension (Bain, i. 445). Cecil probably knew this, and hence his remark about the negligence of the English lords in not expelling the French. The greed and duplicity of the times are amazing.

⁵ Bain, i. 268; Knox, *Hist.*, ii. 5.

the English party and to set back the Reformation. Immediately after his enthronization he summoned a General Council by which a number of regulations were passed for the reformation of the lives of the clergy and for the introduction of decency and order into the Church. To make up for the want of preaching power among the clergy, he caused the series of homilies already referred to, and known as "Hamilton's Catechism," to be drawn up, and was at the expense of its publication. He also completed the College of St. Mary at St. Andrews, and largely endowed it out of his episcopal revenues for the better education of the ministry. But his attempts were made in vain. They were too late. The new doctrines were spreading at a continually accelerating pace, and the possibility of saving the old Church was rapidly receding. Hamilton probably saw this. At any rate, in 1553 he resigned the Abbacy of Paisley in favour of his nephew, Claud Hamilton, a mere child.

The Bull by which Julius III. confirmed this deed is dated December 9, 1553, and states that the boy's age was fourteen, but according to another and more reliable account he was only seven.¹ According to the Bull of Julius, the Archbishop was to administer the temporal as well as the spiritual affairs of the Abbey, until his nephew reached the age of twenty-three. In the event of the Prelatè dying before that time, the Claustal Prior of the Abbey was to take charge of them. After deducting one-fourth of the revenues of the monastery if he kept a separate establishment, or a third if he lived in the Abbey, for the maintenance of the fabric, the purchase of ornaments for the Abbey Church and for the relief of the poor, the fortunate youth was to retain the whole of the rest of the income for himself.²

Two years after this, July 26, 1555, Mathew Stewart of Barscube and others, twelve persons in all, came to Paisley, "by way of hamesuikin," and assaulted John Hamilton, son of John Hamilton of Ferguslie, "grynter" of Paisley.³ The assault had probably nothing to do with the Reformation. In all probability it arose out of the feud between the Lennox and Hamilton parties, and was a piece of private revenge.

After Glencairn and Argyll had retreated before the French and taken up their quarters in Glasgow, they were joined by the Duke, and appear,

¹ Bain, i. 844, where in 1560 he is said to be fourteen. In 1553, therefore, he would be only seven.

² At the time the whole revenues of the Abbey were valued at six hundred gold florins in the Roman Camera, and two-thirds or three-fourths of them, as the case might be, were bestowed upon a child of seven, upon one who had not even assumed one of the minor orders. According to the Pope's Bull this handsome gift was bestowed upon him on the petition of "our beloved son the Duke of Châtelherault, Regent of the Kingdom and Guardian of our beloved daughter in Christ, that illustrious minor, Mary Queen of Scots, by whom your moral life and other qualifications have been highly extolled to us." For the Bull see Dr. Lees, *Abbey of Paisley*, Appendix.

³ Pitcairn, i. 382.

according to Whitelaw, a pensioner of the English, to have at once set out to take possession of Semple Castle. Writing from St. Andrews, early in the month of December (1559), Whitelaw informed Sadler that the Duke was gone to take Lord Semple's house.¹ Whitelaw, however, is not always a reliable witness; neither is Sadler. Both of them sometimes repeat the merest gossip. On September 27 the latter wrote to Cecil saying that a commission had been given to the Earl of Glencairn and the Laird of Dun to suppress the Abbey of Paisley,² and two days later he conveyed to the same quarter the report made to him by the same Whitelaw that the Abbeys of Paisley, Kilwinning, and Dunfermline had been suppressed.³ The statements are quite unsupported.

To the Catholic Church in Scotland the year 1560 was disastrous. To Hamilton it was the beginning of the end. In February one of his chaplains, who was following the French troops in Fife, was taken with a list of the names of those whom the Archbishop desired to be saved from spoliation.⁴ A few days later Hamilton was greatly discouraged, and desired "some poor place to retire to";⁵ but after staying for a few days with the Queen Dowager, he appears to have regained his spirits.⁶ On June 21, Randolph wrote to Killebrew:—"We think to see next Sunday the Lady Stanehouse,⁷ by whom the Bishop of St. Andrews has had without shame five or six children, openly repent herself" *i.e.*, before the congregation in the Church of S. Giles, Edinburgh.⁸ In July, Hamilton was in Paisley, where "he has had private masse since he came," and "perseveres," Randolph goes on to inform Cecil, "a sore enemy to this cause as much as he is able to do with his tongue, for otherwise he has not much wherewith to do."⁹ On August 15, Hamilton was in Edinburgh, when he dined with the Duke, who expressed himself as having great hopes of winning him round to sign the contract.¹⁰ Two days later the Estates met and adopted the Confession of Faith. Hamilton was present, but made no strenuous opposition to its passing, excusing himself from doing so on the ground that he was not ready to give an opinion, because he was not sufficiently acquainted with the book.¹¹ But when he saw how completely the

¹ Bain, i. 275.² Sadler, i. 465.³ Sadler, i. 468.⁴ Bain, i. 310.⁵ Bain, i. 313.⁶ Bain, i. 322-323.

⁷ Lady Grizel Semple, the oldest daughter of Robert Lord Semple, who succeeded his father as third Lord Semple in 1548, was the second wife of James Hamilton of Stenhouse, who was appointed Governor of Edinburgh Castle in 1543. Five years later, when endeavouring to quell a tumult between some of the auxiliary troops quartered in the Canongate and the inhabitants, he was slain. At the time he was Lord Provost of Edinburgh. Two of his widow's children by Hamilton were legitimated. See Laing's *Knox*, i. 124-5, 280-281 and notes.

⁸ Bain, i. 430.⁹ Bain, i. 452.¹⁰ Bain, i. 461.¹¹ Bain, i. 465.

Reformers intended to destroy the old Church, he ventured to remonstrate and to counsel moderation.

The day of moderation, however, was past, and Hamilton was soon to learn that passion and violence alone would prevail. On August 24, the jurisdiction of the Pope in Scotland was formally abolished. To say or hear mass was made a criminal offence, punishable on the first occasion with confiscation of goods; on the second, with banishment; and on the third, with death. Three days later Hamilton was deprived of his livings.¹ In October there was a rumour that he was "like to become a good Protestant," though "my Lord of Arran is not so easy of belief, that he will credit much before he see some token of heartier repentance than I can think will proceed out of so dissembled a heart." So Grange wrote to Randolph.² Before the year was out, however, one piece of good fortune came to the distressed Archbishop. Writing to Cecil, on October 7, Randolph informed him that the Duke had restored to Hamilton the Abbey of Paisley.³

Things had been going equally ill during the year with the Archbishop's friend and Bailie, Lord Semple. In the month of July a treaty had been concluded between the ambassadors of England and France, acting on behalf of Scotland, by which it was agreed that there should be a general peace and reconciliation among all the lords and commons and that there should be "no convocation of men of war, but in the ordinary cause approved by the law and custom of the realm."⁴ But Robert Lord Semple, along with others, it was complained to the Privy Council, had, in spite of this, committed many slaughters and "heirschippis," burned houses and corn, and "kest down stane howsis only on private feuds with his party." Instead of appearing before the Justice-General to answer for this, he had set himself to fortify and garrison Castle Semple, and had "off new fortit ane hows⁵ within ane ile in the loch of Lochquhinyeoch," daily reiving and spoiling, "not sparand to slaauld men of fowr skoir yeris off age, lyand decrippit in thair beddis."⁶ In August the Lords heard that he had lately retired to Dunbar, then held by Captain Charlebois for the French, and left Castle Semple in the charge of his son, with a strong garrison. A messenger was at once sent to Charlebois to demand that the rebel lord should be delivered to the Justice-General at Edinburgh. Charlebois refused; and, when the demand was repeated in the following month, refused again, maintaining that Semple, being in the King and Queen's service, was no rebel, and that before he could accede to the demand it was necessary that he should have their Majesties' command.⁷

¹ Bain, i. 474. ² Bain, i. 486. ³ Bain, i. 486. ⁴ The treaty is printed by Calderwood, *Hist.*, ii. 2 ff.

⁵ The peel.

⁶ Bain, i. 463-4, 481.

⁷ Bain, i. 480, 481.

Meantime the Earl of Glencairn had been collecting men and artillery in order to besiege Semple's stronghold.¹ From Glasgow the Earl of Arran had sent to demand the surrender of the castle from the Master of Semple, who had replied that, as his father had put him there, he would be loth to do anything contrary to his command, but was quite willing to ascertain what his father would agree to. The date of this is not quite clear²; but on Wednesday, September 18, an attack was made upon the place by a few "hagbutters" under the command of the Earl of Glencairn's brother, who apparently penetrated within the enclosure and carried off a number of sheep in proof of his prowess.³ The negotiations with Lord Semple came to nothing, and early in the month of October Arran appeared before the place, prepared to besiege it. For seven days he was unable to do anything in consequence of a violent storm. So "evil" was the weather, Randolph reported to Cecil, "that neither approach could be made nor artillery planted." But "his ardent desire and his servants' good will was such," he told Maitland, "that the eighth day in the morning the artillery was placed so nigh that it 'astunysshed' his enemies and was to be wondered at of all men that beheld it." By three o'clock in the afternoon of the following day the artillery had played with such effect that the gate-house tower fell "one half from the other," giving entry to the besiegers, but the defence was so stout that they were obliged to retire. Next morning, however, "a whyte bannard" was hung out, and the place was surrendered, October 19, 1560.

The castle and peel⁴ were left in charge of Captain Forbes, with ten men; also "the things in the house reserved unspoiled, not worth 40 crowns, besides the artillery and victuals whereof they had good store." The soldiers were all dismissed well pleased—the one side happy to escape with their lives, the other well rewarded above their wages—and "the country round," Randolph continues, "well delivered of such combersome neighbours, and think this a good example to others." "To rehearse our incommodities," he adds, "were too good a pastime for you to know. Never," he declares, "was camp better victualled, saving lack of houseroom and fire. My Lord and his nearest friends lodged in a barn, 'wher I was my self the least of vi that lay in one bedde.'"⁵ The Master of Semple was carried by his captors to Hamilton,

¹ Bain, i. 480.² Bain, i. 486; Randolph to Cecil.³ Bain, i. 480.⁴ The peel was called "Defender of the Faith."⁵ Bain, i. 489-490. According to Knox the castle was besieged and taken "because the lord thereof disobeyed the laws and ordinances of the Council in many things, and especially in that, that he would maintain the idolatry of the Mass, and also that he beset the way of the Earl of Arran with a great gathering as he was riding with his accustomed company." *Hist.*, ii. 130.

where they were all "merry" on the day after the surrender. Lord Semple was reported to have sailed from Dunbar for France. The report, however, was untrue. His son, the Master of Semple, pled his cause with the Duke and others, and in February of the following year he was released from the horn.¹

In the month of June, 1561, the "suppression" of the Abbey of Paisley, which had probably often been threatened, actually occurred. The only account given of this sacrilegious deed is from the hand of Knox. Knox is not always a reliable authority, but in this matter, so much to his taste, he may probably be wholly relied on. The Lords of the Privy Council, he says, "maid ane act, that all places and monumentis of ydolatrie suld be destroyit. And for that purpose was directed to the West, the Erle of Arrane, having joynd with him the Erlis of Argyle and Glencarne, togidder with the Protestantes of the West: quha burnt Paislay (the Bishop [of St. Andrews, its Abbot] narrowlie escapit), kest down Failfurd, Kilwynning, and a part of Corsragwell."² Glencairn and his rabble appear to have done their work effectually. The buildings were partly pulled down, a great part of the Abbey Church was destroyed, its splendid tabernacle was broken up, the chandelier and other furnishings which Tervas and his successors had so laboriously accumulated were shattered to pieces, the altars in the church were thrown down, the tombs of kings rifled, and the whole place, which for centuries had been the chief ecclesiastical centre and ornament of the county, and which was capable of being turned to good and profitable uses, was desecrated and left in ruins.³

¹ Bain, i. 490, 491, 523.

² *Hist.*, ii. 167.

³ That the church of the Abbey was splendidly furnished there can be no doubt (see *ante*, p. 178). There can be no doubt, too, that it was rich in "Mass Books," and that the Abbey was furnished with a considerable library like the rest of the Cluniac monasteries; and it is remarkable how few relics of this ancient institution have survived. Besides the buildings, all that remains is some four MS. volumes and a number of charters and documents, also in MS. The volumes are:—

1. The Register of the Monastery, so often referred to in the preceding pages, preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, printed by the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, and reprinted in 1876.

2. The Chartulary of Paisley, containing the few charters issued by the Abbots from John de Lithgow of lands situated within the burgh of Paisley, and now preserved in the Free Library and Museum of Paisley. At the end of it are copies of Malcolm IV.'s Charter to Walter Fitz Alan, and of two deeds relating to the tenure of the heritable bailiary of Paisley by Robert Master of Semple, afterwards third Lord Semple.

3. The Black Book of Paisley, a transcript of Fordun's *Chronicle* as continued and enlarged by Bower, a large stout vellum folio, written in double column, preserved in the Royal Collection in the British Museum, and marked MS., 13 E. X.

4. The Rental Roll of the Abbey (1460-1529), preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. A transcript of it is in the Free Library and Museum of Paisley. It is printed in the Rev. Dr. Lees' *Abbey of Paisley*.

The charters and documents referred to are in the Charter Chest of the Town Council of Paisley, and a few are in the Laing Collection in the Library of the University of Edinburgh. Some of them have been printed or summarised in *Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Paisley*.

Probably with the Abbey went the other churches and chapels in the town, and among them the ancient church of S. Mirin in the Seedhill and the church of S. Roque in Broomlands. It is scarcely likely that these furious iconoclasts would leave anything they could reach untouched, and as they marched along they would hurl to the ground every cross or chapel or sign of religion that came in their way.

The effect which all this was having upon the people of the county is extremely difficult to make out. Whether it was inclining them towards the new doctrines or setting them against them, there is little or no evidence. In the spring of 1556, Knox preached and administered the Lord's Supper in Finlaystone, but the preaching was evidently done in private, and those present when he "ministrat the Lord's Table" were only Lord and Lady Glencairn, two of their sons and certain other friends¹—a proof that at that time the doctrines of the Reformers had not made much way in the county or even upon Lord Glencairn's estate there. A description of those who assisted the Earls in the destruction of the Abbey of Paisley might throw some light upon the subject, but, in the absence of any such description, we are under no necessity of supposing that any of the iconoclasts, with the exception of Glencairn himself and perhaps a few of his followers, belonged to Renfrewshire. In Paisley, at least, the Reformers seem to have had no following. As soon as Glencairn and his rabble were gone, Hamilton returned and continued to say mass unmolested, and nearly ten years had to elapse before a Protestant minister was appointed to the town.

In 1562 the Catholics resolved to hold the festival of Easter with something of the old pomp. For celebrating the festival in Paisley, Hamilton and thirteen others were, on May 19, arraigned before the Earl of Argyll, as hereditary Lord Justice-General, in the Court of Session.² Scant courtesy was shown to the Archbishop. He was compelled to take his place in the dock as an ordinary criminal. Knox, who had carefully warned Argyll not to be absent from the trial, gloated over the incident. "A merry man," he wrote, "who now sleeps in the Lord, Robert Norwell, instead of the bishop's cross, carried bare before him a steel hammer, whereat the Bishop and his band were not a little offended, because the Bishop's privileges were not then current in Scotland." The penalty was death, but the Archbishop and his associates came under the Queen's will and were warded in different parts of the country. Hamilton was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. According to Knox, his imprisonment was not severe. "The Lady Erskine (a sweet morsel

¹ *Hist.*, i. 250.

² *Pitcairn*, i. 429.

for the devil's mouth)," he says, "gat the Bishop for her part."¹ In July, William Semple of Thirdpart, in Kilbarchan, and Michael Naismyth of Posso, became sureties for him, and he was set free.²

In 1566 Hamilton baptised the Queen's son, James VI., at Stirling Castle, according to the ritual of the Roman Church, to the great scandal of the Reformers. The same year he was restored to the consistorial rights he had possessed as Archbishop of St. Andrews, and one of his first acts was to divorce Bothwell from Lady Jane Gordon; but, on the representation of Moray, the grant of jurisdiction was withdrawn.³ Later on, Hamilton was re-appointed one of the Lords of the Articles, and was soon again the leading spirit of the Catholic party. His name appears in the Dumbarton band.⁴ He refused to be present at the coronation of James VI.,⁵ and took an active part, along with his nephew, Claud Hamilton, the Commendator of Paisley, and others, in furthering the escape of Mary from Lochleven Castle.

The Queen's escape from Lochleven Castle was the precursor of the downfall and ruin of the Catholic party, and it was at Langside, in the parish of Cathcart, that its ruin was wrought. From Lochleven, Mary rode straight to the Ferry, crossed the Firth and galloped to Niddry, the residence of Lord Seton, being met on the way by Claud Hamilton with about fifty horse. After a few hours' rest, she again took horse and rode to Hamilton, where she deemed herself safe. The Regent Moray was at Glasgow, about eight miles off, where he was holding a session of justiciary for the trial of criminals, attended only by the officers of the law and his personal servants. At Hamilton Mary found herself at the head of about six thousand men, and desired to avoid bloodshed. Moray acted promptly. Missives were at once issued for the assembling of his friends, and he was soon surrounded by about four thousand. Among his supporters were the Lords Glencairn, Morton, and Lennox. He was advised to retreat, but refused, and drew up his troops in battle array on the muir of Glasgow. Mary wished to take refuge in Dumbarton Castle. The Hamiltons, on the other hand, seeing themselves the stronger party, hoped by an engagement to crush Moray and to obtain an ascendancy over the Queen and Government. The Queen succeeded so far that her supporters consented to march with her from Hamilton to Dumbarton. The van, 2000 strong, was commanded by Lord Claud Hamilton. He defiled

¹ *Hist.*, ii. 380. At the time this was happening, Randolph was writing to Cecil:—"Your honour will take it a great wonder when I write that Mr. Knox shall marie a verie nere kynsewoman of the Dukis, a lordis daughter, a yonge lass not above xvj yerres of age. I rather think you will laugh at my madness to write so unlikely a mater than believe it true." *Bain*, i. 680. Knox would then be nearly sixty.

² *Pitcairn, loc. cit.*

³ *Bain*, ii. 310.

⁴ *Bain*, ii. 339.

⁵ *Bain*, ii. 370.

behind Clincart Hill, on which the Queen's artillery was posted, and proceeded along the Bus' an' Aik Road, so as to storm the village of Langside. On reaching the Lang Loan he was suddenly assailed from hedges which lined the narrow road on both sides, by a number of hagbutters who had been brought by Grange across the Clyde and placed there to intercept him. But, confident in his numbers, Lord Claud pressed on up the steep hill that lay before him. When arrived at the summit, his men, exhausted with the climb, came face to face with Moray's advance, composed of the flower of the Border pikemen, under the command of Morton, who, without giving the Hamiltons time to regain their breath, ordered the charge. It was here that most of the heavy fighting took place. For a time the victory seemed doubtful; but a well-directed charge by Grange on Hamilton's flank compelled him to fall back upon the main body of the Queen's troops, which at once threw the whole army into confusion and resulted in a headlong flight.

Meanwhile the Queen was eagerly watching the fight from the Court Knowe, a hill about two hundred yards to the east of Cathcart Castle. Among those who were by her was Archbishop Hamilton, whose two sons were on the field.¹ When she saw that all was over, finding it impossible to reach Dumbarton, the Queen fled in terror, and never drew rein till she reached Sanquhar, on her way to Dundrennan Abbey.² Archbishop Hamilton and Claud Hamilton were among those who accompanied her. The Archbishop urged her not to place herself in the power of Elizabeth.³ Lord Claud accompanied her in her flight to England, while the Archbishop returned and took refuge in Dumbarton Castle, where he afterwards wrote to Elizabeth demanding the release of Mary, and to the Duke of Alva asking for help against the English Queen.

When Parliament assembled in the following August, the Archbishop was forfeited and the Abbey of Paisley given to his bailie, Lord Semple, who in the meantime had gone over to the Protestants, and, according to one account, was the Regent's most influential adviser on the eve of the battle of Langside.⁴ The Archbishop is said to have been one of those who received Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh with congratulations after his assassination of the Regent Moray. In the confusion that followed that event, the Archbishop returned to Paisley and took possession of the Abbey, which, according to a letter he wrote to Queen Elizabeth in defence of his seizure of the place, was standing "waist," or empty, and there was "na man in it, but onlie ane boy

¹ They were taken prisoners. Bain, ii. 405.

² A. M. Scott, *Battle of Langside*, 25-52.

³ Nau, *Memoirs of Mary Queen of Scots*, 128-129.

⁴ Nau, 94.

that had the key of the yeit."¹ He did not long retain possession of it. On February 14, 1570-1, Lennox, the Regent, accompanied by the Semples and a great force, passed to Paisley and laid siege to the Abbey. Three days later the defenders surrendered on condition that their lives should be spared. The condition was not observed. On March 7, thirty of the defenders were ruthlessly hanged on the Easter Burrow Muir of Glasgow.

On the 2nd of the following month the Castle of Dumbarton, to which the Archbishop had fled for refuge, was treacherously given up, and Hamilton fell into the hands of his enemies. Two days later he was conveyed, along with Fleming of Boghall, to Stirling, where on the 7th of the month he was accused before Lord Ruthven, the Lord Justice-Clerk, and George Buchanan, the Humanist and Pensioner of Crossraguel, of the murders of Darnley and the Regent Moray and of other crimes. The Archbishop pled not guilty, and protested his innocence, but was found guilty, chiefly, it would appear, on the evidence of a priest, Sir Thomas Robeson, sometime schoolmaster in Paisley, and "as the bell struck at six hours at even, he was hanged at the Market Cross of Stirling upon the gibbet."² His body was quartered and his mangled remains are said to have been interred in the Abbey of Paisley, where there is still a tablet with the Archbishop's arms, his initials, J. H., and the motto "Misericordia et Pax."

Archbishop Hamilton was neither great nor good. He was able and zealous. In an age when men changed sides in religion, as well as in politics, as readily as they changed their clothes, he was conspicuous for his fidelity to his Queen and Church. His unchastity can only be condemned. For their religious opinions he sent two victims to the stake, but in judging of this one

¹ Lees, *Abbey of Paisley*, Appendix, p. xxxii.

² *Diurnal of Occurrences*, 204. On the gibbet were written the two lines—

" Cresce felix arbor, semperque vireto
Fundibus, ut 'nobis talia poma feras."

[" Grow long, happy tree, and ever let thy leaves be green
That thou mayest bear such fruit for us."]

There were some in Stirling, however, who sympathized with the hapless Archbishop and deplored his fate, and at dead of night these other lines were posted on the door of the church—

" Infelix pereas arbor, si forte virebis
Imprimis utinam carminis authoreas."

which have been rendered—

" Perish, thou wretched gallows tree,
Or if perchance thou flourish should,
That rhymster vile, I pray to God,
May quickly find his way to thee."

has to remember the intolerance of the times, and that in a subsequent age many who plumed themselves on their godliness, sent many more to a similar fate, because they believed them to be workers of witchcraft and sorcery and to be in league with the devil.

By the death of Archbishop Hamilton the last formidable opponent of the spread of the doctrines of the Reformers in Renfrewshire was removed; but, as we shall see, prejudices in favour of the old Church still remained.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PRESBYTERY.

WHEN the reformed religion was formally established in 1560, Protestant ministers were scarce. According to one authority, there were not above twelve,¹ but the accounts vary. Some of those who were available were distributed among the towns, while the rest were appointed, along with certain laymen, to act as superintendents. John Knox was appointed to serve at Edinburgh, Christopher Goodman at St. Andrews, Adam Heriot at Aberdeen, John Row at Perth, William Christeson at Dundee, David Fergusson at Dunfermline, Paul Methven at Jedburgh, and Mr. David Lindsay at Leith.² In the towns of the west, with one exception, no minister was appointed.³ Mr. John Willock⁴ was made superintendent of the Church, first at Glasgow and subsequently of the district. Whether he took in hand the affairs of the Church in Renfrewshire, there is nothing to show.

¹ Row, *Hist. of the K. of Scot.*, 13.

² Spottiswood, *Hist. of the Ch. of Scot.*, i. 325; *Cp. Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scot.*, i. 3-4.

³ Six "Reidars" were appointed for Kyle, and one John Chalmer as "apt to teach."

⁴ He was incumbent of Loughborough in England, and came to Scotland or rather returned to it, for he was a native of Ayrshire, in 1558. He had been a Franciscan, but having left the Order he had been employed as a preacher in S. Catherine's, London, and as chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk. On the accession of Mary, he escaped to the Continent and practised as a physician at Embden, in Friesland, and returned to England on the accession of Elizabeth. Whether he was in the pay of Cecil or Elizabeth is not clear. He appears to have looked upon his stay in Scotland as merely temporary. At any rate, he did not resign his living at Loughborough. When admitted superintendent at Glasgow, on September 14, 1561, "little I assure you," Randolph says, "to the content of those that thought neither to have Mr. Knox or him in Scotland" (Bain, i. 55), the Duke, Arran, Glencairn, Boyd, Ruthven, and Ochiltree were present. He was several times chosen Moderator of the Assembly, and appears to have been held in very great esteem by the Reformers. In May, 1562, when his living at Loughborough seemed likely to be taken from him, Randolph interceded on his behalf and asked Cecil to use his influence with the Queen that he might be allowed to retain it, and appoint a *locum tenens* for five years. The suit seems to have succeeded. About the close of 1566 he appears to have left the country, for in January, 1567, the Assembly addressed a letter to him urging him to return. He was back in 1568, and was chosen Moderator of the Assembly on July 1, but seven days later he wrote to Cecil:—"Touching my own state: 'I have easily obtained licence of the whole, as well Regent as Church, to return to my old place in Loughborough, whereof I praise God.'" Bain, i. 522, 555, 561, 598, 629; ii. 412, 421, 453. *B. Universal Kirk*, i. 120, 131.

At Paisley, Archbishop Hamilton, as we have seen, was celebrating mass as late as 1562. Then, and for some time after, the town was looked upon as a "nest of papistry," and was one of the places where the church doors were "steikit" against the preachers of the new doctrine.¹ Whether the town of Renfrew leaned to the new faith is uncertain. Probably it did; for its parson, Mr. Andrew Hay, was zealous enough to be accused of being concerned in the murder of David Rizzio.²

At the meeting of the General Assembly on Christmas day, 1563, a complaint was lodged against Willock, "that he did not his endeavour to procure the extirpation of idolatrie in his bounds."³ This may have arisen partly out of the doings of Hamilton at Paisley, and the fact that Willock blames the Duke as well as the Earl of Cassillis may show that his accusers had their eye upon Renfrewshire. However, in June, 1564, "Mr. George Hay, minister to the Secreit Counsell, was appointed to visite the kirks of Renfrew, and to remane there twentie dayis,"⁴ but of the result of his visit nothing is known.

In other parts of the country, the rural parishes were, as a rule, destitute of ministers, and were left to readers and exhorters and the superintendent. This was pretty much the case in Renfrewshire. There were few ministers in the county. At Renfrew, as already noted, was Mr. Andrew Hay; at Inchinnan was Sir Bernard Peblis; and at Killallan, Mr. Robert Maxwell. All the rest of the vicars appear to have left their charges rather than change their faith, and many of them carried their stipends with them. Maxwell of Killallan was deposed, and in 1573 was succeeded by Robert Cuik, who became minister of Kilbarchan, in 1576, and of Kilmacolm, in 1578. Where there were no ministers, readers were appointed, though at first the supply of even these was short. Many of them had been priests. Among the earliest appointed in Renfrewshire were Adam Watson at Kilbarchan; Robert Maxwell at Kilmacolm; Ninian Semple at Lochwinnoch; and Patrick Wodrow at Eaglesham. The duty of the reader was to read the prayers from the prayer book and a portion of Scripture. The exhorter, besides doing the work of the reader, exhorted. Neither the reader nor the exhorter could marry or dispense the Sacraments. These offices could be discharged only by ministers. To the superintendents was assigned the task of wiping out every trace of the old religion in their districts. In the town of Paisley there was no minister or reader until the year 1572, when Patrick Constant or Adamson, who afterwards, on the death of Douglas, became Archbishop of St. Andrews, was appointed.

¹ *Universal Kirk*, i. 53.² Pitcairn, i. 486.³ *Universal Kirk*, i. 39.⁴ *Universal Kirk*, i. 51.

For some time, owing partly to the paucity of ministers and partly to the policy of the Regent Morton,¹ one minister had often to take charge of more than one parish. In 1574 the minister of Paisley had charge of the four parishes of Paisley, Neilston, Kilbarchan, and Mearns. In the same year James Craw was in charge of the parishes of Kilmacolm and Lochwinnoch, and in 1576 Robert Cuik was ministering not only to his own parishioners in the parish of Kilbarchan, but to those also of the parishes of Houston and Killallan.² This state of matters continued for some years, but as the ministers multiplied, the vacant charges were filled up. In many places, particularly in towns, as in Paisley, the services of the reader were retained—the reader in such cases being usually the schoolmaster of the town or parish.

After Mr. Willock resigned the superintendency of the west, and returned to his own "rowme" at Loughborough, praising God, Mr. Andrew Hay, the parson of Renfrew, was appointed to succeed him as superintendent of the west. The district over which he was placed included Clydesdale, Renfrew, and the Lennox. As few or no complaints were made against him, it may be assumed that his former zeal had not deserted him, and that he discharged his duties to the satisfaction of the brethren. His office was no sinecure. The times were troublous and the old religion was by no means suppressed.

In Renfrewshire the Abbey of Paisley continued to be the centre of contention. Alexander Earl of Glencairn was still the leader of the Protestant party in the county, and stood high in the esteem of the General Assembly of the Kirk.

The Commendator of Paisley, Lord Claud Hamilton, after remaining some time in England in the neighbourhood of the Queen,³ was allowed to

¹ By fair promises he drew out of the hands of the Church the third of the benefices which had been assigned for the support of the ministry, offering to the ministers more sure and ready payment than was made by their collectors, and undertaking to make the stipend of every minister local and payable in the parish where he served. "But no sooner was he possessed of the thirds, than the course he took for providing ministers was, to appoint two, three and four churches in some places to one minister (who was tied to preach in them by turns), and to place in every parish a reader, that in the minister's absence might read prayers, who had allowed him a poor stipend of twenty or forty pounds Scots." Spottiswood, ii. 195. Cp. Bellesheim, *Hist. of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, iii. 222-23, and note.

² A register of ministers and readers was drawn up in 1574, with the salaries of each. From the Register it appears that at the time it was drawn up, there were in the Church 289 ministers and 715 readers. See Wodrow, *Miscell.*, i. 329-396.

³ He landed with Mary at Workington, May 16, 1568; lived in Carlisle at his own charges while the Queen was there in the beginning of June, was prevented from returning to Scotland in July, was sent by Mary from Lowther Castle while on her way to Bolton Castle with letters and messages to her friends in Scotland, and was permitted to go. He was with the Archbishop, his uncle, in Dumbarton in August, surprised and took Hamilton Castle from Lord Semple in October, but failed in his attempt on Draffen Castle. Bain, *Cal. Scots. Docs.*, ii. 408, 422, 451, 457-62, 479, 516.

leave that country, and returning to Scotland, took part in the surprise of Stirling in September, 1571, where he is said to have given orders for the shooting of the Regent Lennox.¹ In the following year he was in the neighbourhood of Paisley, and as Lord Semple was, upon July 10, "passing furth to have reft sum pur tennentis, Lord Claud set on him, chaissit him bak, slew 42 of his souldiors, tuik 15 of thame as prisoneris, and thaireftir layit men about the hous sa lang, till a grit power was cum forth of another pairt to persewe the Lord Semple."²

On February 23 in the following year, the Pacification of Perth brought a short-lived peace to the country, and restored Lord Claud to his possessions, his forfeiture being recalled. Lord Semple, who was directed to restore to him his estates, refused. The Abbey was therefore seized in the King's name by the Earl of Argyll, who gave Lord Semple six days in which "to transport his geir."

On August 1, 1574, Lord Claud married Margaret, only daughter of Lord Seton, "at Niddrie with great triumph," and took up his abode in the Abbey of Paisley; but was allowed to remain in peace only a short time. Through the influence of Morton he was again forfeited, and a commission was issued to "search for and administer justice to him." The Abbey was besieged again in 1579, and was surrendered to the Master of Glencairn, but the "Abbot," it was found, had conveyed himself quietly to "sic pairt as no man knawis."³

After this the monastery passed from holder to holder with a rapidity characteristic of the insecurity and anarchy of the times.

Immediately after Lord Claud's forfeiture, a lease of the temporalities of the Abbey was given to Lord Cathcart, Master of the King's Household. In the same year they appear to have been transferred to John Earl of Mar, who appointed his nephew, William Erskine, parson of Campsie, his chamberlain. Anyhow, on September 24, 1579, Erskine complained, as chamberlain of the Abbey of Paisley, to the Privy Council that he had been interfered with by Andrew Master of Semple in the execution of his office and in the collection of the dues of the tenants, and the Council ordered that he should be allowed to receive all the duties unpaid or to be paid until such time as Lord Semple established his claim to be infeft in the lands to the satisfaction of the Lord Ordinary.⁴ Two months later, November 20, 1579, the King, with the consent of his Council, appointed Erskine Commendator of Paisley, and

¹ Calderwood, *Hist. Kirk of Scot.*, iii. 140.

² *Hist. of K. James VI.*, 176.

³ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, iii. 125, 129, 137, 159; *Moyses, Memoirs*, 22.

⁴ *Reg. Privy Council*, iii. 219, 220.

conveyed to him for his lifetime the whole of its lands and revenues ; but in consequence of the part he took in the seizure of Stirling by the Earls of Angus and Mar, in 1584, he was forfeited and banished.¹ Subsequently he was relieved of his disabilities, allowed to return home, and appointed Archbishop of Glasgow. The Presbytery admitted him, but the General Assembly, on June 20, 1587, held his admission to be illegal, and ordered it to be annulled.²

In April, 1585, Lord Claud, who for some time had been a fugitive in England, returned to Scotland, whence he was at once ordered by the King to pass into France and forbidden to return to England, Ireland, or Scotland.³ Later on in the same year, however, he was in Paisley, and so increased in favour with the King, that, on July 29, 1587, he was restored by Act of Parliament to his Commendatorship and former possessions, including the monks' thirds, with the title of Lord Paisley and a seat in Parliament.⁴ His Spanish tendencies were known, but abandoning politics after the death of Mary Stuart, to whose cause he adhered to the last, he settled down in the Place of Paisley, and for the rest of his life occupied himself chiefly with the management of his estates and the fostering of the burgh of Paisley.

Presbyteries were not set up till the year 1581.⁵ The form of Church government hitherto prevailing since 1560 was a sort of modified episcopacy. An attempt to set up a form of Church polity which was strictly episcopal was made during the regency of Lennox, but on the return of Mr. Andrew Melville from Geneva, the "wicked Hierarchy"⁶ was condemned and set aside. Renfrewshire was at first included within the Presbytery of Glasgow, but in the year 1590 all the parishes in the county, with the exception of two, were formed into the Presbytery of Paisley. The two exceptions were the parishes of Eaglesham and Cathcart, which remained in the Presbytery of Glasgow.

Unfortunately, the extant records of the Presbytery of Paisley do not go further back than September 16, 1602,⁷ so that during the first twelve years

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, iii. 803 (No. 2922) ; *Reg. Privy Council*, iii. 623, 644, 663 ; *Acta Parl. Scot.*, iii. 332-34.

² Spottiswood, ii. 375 ; Calderwood, iv. 615-638 ; *Reg. P. C.*, iv. 191, 266.

³ Bain, *Cal. Border Papers*, i. 26, 93, 179. ⁴ *R.M.S.*, Lib. 37, No. 423 ; Metcalfe, 66.

⁵ Calderwood, iii. 523. ⁶ Calderwood, iii. 505.

⁷ There is a break in them from 1608 to 1626, and another from 1660 to 1663, but with these exceptions the extant records are continuous down to the present day, and are the source from whence much that follows is drawn. It is rather remarkable that the Records of the Paisley Town Council, which begin September 10, 1594, have two very similar breaks, viz., 1614 to 1616, and 1660 to 1666, as well as another, 1638 to 1645.

of the existence of the Presbytery we are without their guidance, but from the little evidence which can be gathered elsewhere, the brethren appear to have found plenty to do.

Mr. Andrew Hay, the parson of Renfrew, who under the episcopal scheme had been scheduled for the deanery of Glasgow, continued to be superintendent of the west. Mr. Patrick Adamson, through the favour of Morton, became Archbishop of St. Andrews, and consequently one of "My Lord's bishops."¹ He was succeeded by Mr. Andrew Polwarth, who, after an incumbency of little more than two years, went to Glasgow to be sub-dean. In 1578 he was succeeded by Thomas Smeaton, a man of rare virtue and great scholarship, who, on the translation of Melville to St. Andrews in 1580, succeeded him as Principal of the University of Glasgow.²

None of the above-mentioned ministers appear to have met with much success in Paisley. Both in the town and in the county the old religion was still openly favoured, and at Paisley the opposition to the ministers and their doctrine was general.

Adamson was not liked either by the people or by his brethren. Appointed Commissioner for Galloway, he owned, when examined, that "he had not used that diligence which lyeth to the full execution of his office, because no stipend was appointed for the same." When reporting this, Calderwood adds the contemptuous remark :—"This man could not worke without wages."³ During his incumbency a priest named Sir Thomas Robeson, at one time schoolmaster of Paisley, it is said, was put to death in Glasgow for saying mass.⁴ In 1574 Mr. Andrew Hay found so little encouragement in his attempts to suppress the old religion, and to further the new, in the district

¹ When Archibald Douglas was appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews, Adamson, who had been looking forward to receiving the appointment himself, was called upon to preach at the induction service, when he took the opportunity of speaking his mind as it then was respecting bishops. In his sermon, says Calderwood, "he made three sorts of bishops : 'My Lord bishop,' 'my lord's bishop,' and 'the Lord's bishop.' 'My Lord-bishop,' said he, was in time of Papistrie ; 'my lord's bishop' is now, when my lord getteth the benefice, and the bishop serveth for a portion out of the benefice to make my lord's title sure ; 'the Lord's bishop' is the true minister of the Gospell." When Adamson became Archbishop he was "my lord's bishop," and Morton took possession of the benefice.

² Smeaton also succeeded Melville as Principal of St. Andrews. He was twice Moderator of the General Assembly, and received £100 Scots from the King for his book against Hamilton's *De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos*. *Reg. P. C.*, xiv. 349.

³ Calderwood, iii. 342. He is pilloried by Sempill in his satire on the Tulchene Bischope of Sanct Androis. Sempill, *Ballatis*, 200.

⁴ According to Buchanan he had appeared as witness against Archbishop Hamilton, and by revealing what he had heard in confession, secured his condemnation, or at least contributed greatly thereto. By Catholic writers Buchanan's story is regarded as fictitious. See Bellesheim, iii. 230. In 1574 Ninian Winzet, a native of Renfrew, was, among others, declared a rebel and an outlaw.

over which he was placed, that he resigned his commission as Commissioner of Clydesdale, Renfrew, and the Lennox, into the hands of the Assembly, and prayed the Assembly "to provide some qualified zealous person in his place, that the country grow not to all kind of insolence and dissolution."¹

Because of the opposition he met with, Mr. Andrew Polwarth was fain to be set free from his charge in Paisley, and at the tenth session of the Assembly in 1577, "he was discernit to be frie and at libertie fra the Kirk at Paislay, that he may serve uther quhere it pleases God to call him, because of the contempt of discipline, thair manifest vyses, minacing and boasting [threatening] of him doing his duetie, his labours cannot be profitable to them."²

Mr. Smeaton, who succeeded Mr. Polwarth, had a rude experience of this "boasting." While "diligently occupied in examining and instructing the people for the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood," on May 2, 1579, one Henry Houston, who, in the preceding June, had been excommunicated by order of the Assembly at Glasgow for heresy, broke into the place where he was engaged, and "did what lay in him to draw away the simple sort from the doctrine of salvation, plainly dissuading them to give any credit, and in a great rage oftentimes repeating that the said Master Thomas and all other heretics should be hanged before he renounce the mass or any part of papistry, with sundry other threatening speeches."³ About July 15 in the same year, another outrage was perpetrated, but of a different kind. As William Cunningham, the reformed minister of Lochwinnoch, who was "lamyt of ane leg," was riding in the town of Paisley, "upon ane meir," the mare, "be sum eivill treatment chancit to de." Whereupon Robert Alexander, William Mudy, and John Wilson, three inhabitants of Paisley, who are described in the complaint made by Andrew Hay, Melville, and Smeaton, as "ennymeis to all sic as professis the trew religion," "come, with aill and uther provisioun, and pourit drink in the meiris mouth, and thaireftir dansit and sang the saule mass and dairie for the ministeris deid meir, as they callit it," all to the contempt of "sic as fearis God." The culprits denied the charge, but the Privy Council found them guilty, and ordained them to "be punished in their persons and goods at the will of our Sovereign Lord."⁴

The time was coming, however, when to make open profession of the tenets of the old Church, or even to hold them in secret, was to be dangerous. Mr. Andro Knox, who followed Smeaton as minister of Paisley, was a different

¹ *Book of Universal Kirk*, i. 311.

² *Book of Universal Kirk*, i. 396.

³ He was cited before the Privy Council, but failing to appear, was denounced rebel and put to the horn. *Reg. P. C.*, iii. 190.

⁴ *Reg. P. C.*, iii. 215.

man from his gentle predecessor. His zeal against Catholics was fanatical, and his success in discovering them had commended him not only to the brethren, but also to the King and Privy Council. He belonged to the Knoxes of Ranfurlie in Kilbarchan, and for some time had been minister at Lochwinnoch. His appointment to Paisley seems to have been made in 1585, or shortly before the time when Lord Claud Hamilton finally returned.

The first indication of his activity in his new charge is probably to be found in the "greeves" or complaints given in to the King by the General Assembly in February, 1588.¹ Among the "greeves" is the complaint that the "Abbot of Paisley" and Robert Aldjo,² burgess of Paisley, were receivers of Jesuites, and that the former "since his last coming into Scotland refuseth to subscribe and communicat." It would be doing an injustice almost to Mr. Knox's zeal not to suppose that this "greeve" was made at his instance. "Stern Claud," however, stood high in the favour of the King, and was not the sort of man to be rashly meddled with, and his presence and influence in Paisley may have had a restraining influence upon the minister's zeal, at least in the town of Paisley and county of Renfrew. Anyhow, we hear no more of his doings in the county till perhaps the year 1596, when he may have had some hand in inducing the magistrates of Paisley to enforce the Act against absentees from Church.³

But long before this, before even the year 1592 was ended, Mr. Knox had obtained a fame which was much more than local; the whole country was talking of his doings. So successful had he been in his favourite occupation of detecting Catholics, that he had obtained a commission from the King, empowering certain noblemen and barons and himself and any others "whom he thought meitest to imploy," to seek and apprehend "all excommunicat papists, Jesuits, seminarie priestis, and suspect trafficuaris with the King of Spayne and utheris foreynaris to the subversioun of Goddis trew religioun."

Goaded on by the fierce persecution to which they were subjected, the Catholics had begun to intrigue for the overthrow of the Government, and were already negotiating with Philip II. of Spain in the hope that with foreign assistance they might be enabled to obtain relief from the oppression of their tormentors. Suspicion was everywhere; Philip was supposed to be making vast preparations in order to avenge the disaster that had befallen his Armada, and an attempt on the part of the Spaniards to land troops upon the coast was daily expected. One of the conspirators was Mr. George Ker, a

¹ Calderwood, *Hist.*, iv. 663.

² Aldjo or Algeo was a man of substance, and was a baillie of the burgh in January, 1602. Metcalfe, *Charters*, etc., 132-134, 233, 241; Laing, *Charters*, No. 1432.

³ Metcalfe, 182.

Doctor of Laws, and brother of the Abbot of Newbattle, whom the Presbytery of Haddington had recently excommunicated for Popery. Hearing that Ker was in the neighbourhood of Paisley, and of his intended Spanish mission, Knox, accompanied by some students from Glasgow and other friends, traced him to Glasgow and thence down the Clyde, where he managed to lay hands upon him in Fairlie Road, by the Isles of Cumbrae, just as he was about to sail. His chests were searched, but no compromising papers were found. At last in the sleeves of a sailor's shirt were discovered, along with other documents, the famous Spanish Blanks. Ker was immediately seized, and conveyed by Lord Ross of Hawkhead as far as Calder, but such was "the dread entertained of the power which might lie behind this solitary man and his packet of Letters, that he was detained in Calder until the magistrates of Edinburgh summoned up courage to go out on Sunday evening (New Year's Eve, 1592) with 60 horse and 200 footmen to convey him to the Tolbooth."¹ For this notable capture Knox received the thanks of the Privy Council.

Before five years more had passed, Mr. Knox had done another notable deed, which, though quite as successful, was not quite so happy in its results, at least to himself. Hugh Barclay of Ladyland, who had already been imprisoned for his religion, but having escaped, had passed to Spain and there "traffiqued and had intelligence with the enemyis of the trew religion," was known to be hovering about the Clyde with the intention of seizing Ailsa Craig, and of then, after fortifying and provisioning it, holding it for the King of Spain. Knox, as soon as he heard of this, acting under the commission referred to above, "imployit himself" and a number of his friends to prevent the seizure. When Barclay arrived, he found Knox and his friends already in possession of the Craig. When called upon to surrender, Barclay drew his sword, and being hard pressed in the fight, stepped backward, and falling into the sea was drowned. His friends charged Knox with his death, and resolved to make it the occasion of a deadly feud. It was now Knox's turn to be alarmed, and in his anxiety he appealed to the King in Council, who, on June 8, 1597, justified what he had done, declared his execution of his commission in the manner described, to be "loyal and good service done to His Majesty and country," forbade any to molest him, and charged all magistrates and others in office to assist in protecting him.²

¹ See *Scottish Review*, vol. xxii., where the subject of the Spanish Blanks is treated in an interesting article by the late Mr. Thos. Graves Law, LL.D. The article has recently been reprinted in Mr. Law's *Collected Essays*, 244 ff.

² *Reg. P. C.*, v. 393. For a slightly different account of the affair, see *Salisbury MSS.*, vii. 246. On July 7, 1597, Scrope reported to Broughty that Lord Herries had been convicted before the Privy Council of supplying Barclay with a "great sum" of money for his enterprise. *Bain, Cal. Border Papers*, ii. 357.

These successes acting upon a mind naturally overbearing and stuffed full with spiritual pride, did not in the least abate Mr. Knox's fanatical zeal or contribute to the pleasure of living in Paisley or in the county, or even to the pleasantness of Mr. Knox's own days. He was disliked in Paisley, and must have been feared in the county. From his watchful and suspicious eye no one was safe. In 1598 Lord Claud Hamilton retired from public life, and gave the management of his burgh and of his property into the hands of his son, the first Earl of Abercorn, who, unlike his father, was a staunch Protestant, and on more than one occasion sat as a member of the General Assembly. Under him Mr. Knox appears to have had greater freedom. At any rate, he used more.

On May 18, 1599, John Maxwell of Stanely brought an action against him before the bailies of Paisley for encroaching upon his property on the south side of the High Street, and was successful in his suit.¹ Shortly before the Presbytery Records open, Knox was sued before the Privy Council by Mr. John Gilchrist for having dismissed him without warrant of the Kirk "fra his service and cure" in the Kirk of Paisley as reader, and for having induced the bailies to displace him "fra teiching of thair seule," and the Presbytery to convict him on the insufficient "depositionis and testimonies of wemen husies and bairdis" of having committed adultery with Margaret Ralston, daughter of the Laird of Ralston, and wife of John Vaus, who continues to esteem Margaret "ane honest and faithful wyfe," and "will not concur in any sic persute aganis her, bot hes altogidder dissented thairfra and is verie hiechlie commovit with the said Maister Andro . . . for sclandering of his said wyff." The Presbytery and bailies appear to have been ashamed of the business; for when the case was called, neither Mr. Andro nor any of the Presbytery nor either of the bailies answered, and all were forbidden to take any further proceedings against Gilchrist, till he had been tried before the civil courts.²

When the extant Records of the Presbytery at length open, September 16, 1602, that reverend body is disclosed fully occupied with its manifold duties. As much will have to be said about it in the sequel, it will be as well to pause for a moment, in order to describe its constitution and method of procedure.

As already indicated, it consisted of the ministers of the parishes in the county,³ with the exception of those of Cathcart and Eaglesham. It was

¹ Metcalfe, *Charters*, etc., 226.

² *Reg. P. C.*, vi. 171.

³ In 1591 the Parish of Greenock was formed out of the Parish of Inverkip, and added to the parishes already enumerated. The first minister was Andrew Murdoch, who was translated from Kippen in the Presbytery of Dunblane. Williamson, *Old Greenock*, ii. 50.

presided over by a moderator and met about once a month, or once a fortnight, apparently according to the pressure of business or the convenience of the members. Before the actual business of the day was entered upon, certain "preliminaries" were gone through, which must have been long and wearisome. First, one of the brethren engaged in prayer; next, another brother gave an exercise upon a selected portion of Scripture; then, a third brother gave an "eik" or "additions." This was followed by an essay by another of the brethren on some controverted point of theology or church polity. Then followed criticisms and discussions; the object of all being to test the soundness and gifts of the brethren engaged. After these preliminaries had been gone through, similar preliminaries were fixed for the following meeting, and then came the actual business of the Court. The first business was usually to hear and consider the reports of diligence by the members to whom any duty had been assigned at previous meetings, together with "complaints" or reports concerning fresh delinquents. The cases which came before the Court were various, such as suspicion of Popery, absence from communion or from church, "adherence,"¹ irregular marriages, observance of Yule or other "superstitious days," adultery, fornication, banning and swearing, keeping or attending dancing greens. The accused were ordered to be summoned to appear before the Court by the minister of the parish in which they lived, by his substitute, or by the Presbytery officer. On refusing to appear, they were *summoned* from the pulpit of their parish church for the first, second, and third time; if they still refused to appear, they were *admonished* the first, second, and third time; if this did not break down their obduracy, they were *prayed for* the first, second, and third time; and if after this they still failed to appear, steps were taken to excommunicate them—a sentence to which the General Assembly sometimes added banishment.

The Presbytery had one virtue, and that was impartiality. They had also zeal and perseverance; but zeal and perseverance, when not according to knowledge are hardly virtues, they are sometimes vices. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the impartiality of the Presbytery was always wise or entitled to be regarded as a virtue. However, the members of the Presbytery, when assembled as a Court, appear to have been thoroughly impartial in this: they showed no respect unto persons. High and low, rich and poor were treated in the same way and had the same law meted out to them without fear or favour. When once a case was taken up by this reverend Court, it was never let go

¹ These were really cases of non-adherence between husband and wife. Any such who were known to be living apart were summoned before the Presbytery, admonished, and directed, under certain penalties, to live together.

until it was brought to a final issue. The accused might refuse to attend, and then at the last moment go into voluntary exile, in order to avoid the dread sentence of excommunication, but the case was simply "continued," and the moment he was known to have returned, either to the parish or to the county, the case against him was revived. In this way a process against an individual might be spread, and often was spread, over a number of years. Toleration, or anything of that sort, was as little thought of as compromise. The Presbytery must have their way in every matter down to the smallest detail, and that way was often harsh, intolerant, fanatical. At the same time, it requires to be borne in mind that toleration was a virtue then unknown; and further, that at this time the profession of the Catholic faith was supposed, by all who were not Catholics themselves, to be dangerous to the State, and that not only the clergy, but also all who were engaged in the government of the country, from the King downwards, held, or professed to hold, the faith of Rome in abhorrence, and saw, or professed to see, in every one who adhered to or favoured it, an agent who, if not already engaged in actually plotting against the King and country, was ready at any moment to do so.

As might be expected, the cases which came most frequently before the Court and occupied the greater part of its time and attention, were those in which the accused were charged with nonconformity either in faith or in practice, or in both, to the established religion. Attendance at church, and especially at the Communion, appears to have been regarded as the test of orthodoxy, and absence therefrom as a sure sign of Popish leanings. And even when there was no suspicion of these, absence from Communion or kirk was often severely punished.

Singularly enough, the first case recorded in the extant Minute Books of the Presbytery is one in which John Maxwell of Stanely, who, as we saw above, raised an action against Mr. Andro Knox, his minister, for encroaching upon his property on the south side of the High Street of Paisley, is denounced for refusing "to communicate the Holy Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ with the remanent his parochiners within his parochie Kirk of Paisley." His accuser, there can be little doubt, was his minister, Mr. Andro Knox, to whom he appears to have given as his excuse that "he came there" [*i.e.* to the church] "to that same effect the day of the celebration of the said Holy Supper," but "had been stayit be the sicht of som of his unfriendis present at the holy action." When laid before the Presbytery, this excuse was set aside as not relevant, and Knox was ordained to summon his parishioner before the Presbytery, on September 30, 1602, for "receiving of injunctions to remove the sclander." He did not compare before the Court until October 14, when he "confessed himself penitent for the giving of the occasion of the sklander"

laid to his charge. Thereupon "the brethren," so runs the record, "hes ordanit that in respect the said John Maxwell of Stainlie alledgit that he nicht not convenientlie resort to his paroch Kirk of Paisley for sindrie occasiounes of deidly feud, he find caution, under the pane of five hundredth merkis money, that he and his family sall keip ordinarilie the paroch Kirk of Renfrew and subject themselvis to the discipline of the Kirk thair and sall compare personalie in the Kirk of Paslay upon Sunday next in tyme of sermont and confess himself penitent for not communicating with his brethren and neichtboours, and that his abstinence thairfra procedit of no scrupill in Religion, bot of laik of dewe preparation,¹ the quhilk he salbe oblist under the penaltie aforesad to amend be his communicatting at the Holy Table of the Lord apou the first occasioun that the samin salbe ministrat within ony Kirk of the Presbyterie of Paslay, dew intimation being made to him thairof be Mr. John Hay, for the observing of the quhilk promisses Thomas Inglis, burgess of Paslay, became caution and seuertie under the pane abovewritten."

At first sight the penalty inflicted appears to be absurdly heavy, but there was evidently a suspicion of Popish leanings. That Maxwell had any such leanings is not clear; but the keen scent of Mr. Knox, quickened by the recollection of Maxwell's action against him before the bailies, may have discovered some, and, led by him, the Presbytery may have resolved to lay their hand heavily upon the laird as a terror to evil doers and misbelievers.

The Countess of Glencairn's case had been in hand for some time when the Presbytery books open. The following is the earliest notice of it:—"10th February, 1603. Anent the grief proposit by Mr. Daniel Cuninghame, minister at Kilmacolme, touching the detaining of my Lord Marquis Hamilton, my Lord Erle of Glencairne and other families, within the Place of Finlaston upon the Lord His day, fra resorting to their ordinar paroch Kirk of Kilmacolme, and that by the domestick preaching of Mr. Patrick Walkinshaw and Mr. Luke Stirling, being absent fra their kirks in the companie forsaid for the time: The brethren for remeid of the quhilk offence, have ordainit the said grief to be proposit to the next Synodall Assembly, and the judgment of the brethren there to be receavit thereanent."

The first of the noblemen mentioned in the "grief" was the second Marquess of Hamilton, who succeeded his father in 1604, and his uncle, the Earl of Arran, in 1610. The second was James, the seventh Earl of Glencairn, one of the Commissioners nominated by Parliament in 1604 for the projected union with England. He appears to have submitted to the Presby-

¹ There is no word of this in the excuse given by Maxwell as recorded in the Minute Book. It may have come out, however, in the course of his examination.

tery. Not so his Countess, Mariot or Margaret, second daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchy, who had apparently Popish tendencies. Mr. Patrick Walkinshaw and Mr. Luke Stirling were evidently priests, and the "domestick preaching" at which they officiated in Finlayston Castle, was in all likelihood a private mass. At any rate, the Presbytery had a suspicion of these things, and resolved to ascertain whether they were so.

Under February 24, 1603, the following entry occurs in the Books of the Presbytery: "For so mekill as Mr. David Cuningham delaited to the brethren the sklander and evill example given by the continuale absence and byding fra the Kirk of the Countess of Glencairne, to the evill example of the haill parochin quhair sche dwells, notwithstanding of her manifauld promisis mad to divers of the Commissioners of Presbytery send to her to desire her to have removit the said sklander, quhilk promisis sche had no wayes as yet begun to keip, the Brethren yet, as before, hes direct thare Commissionaris, viz., Mr. Pat. Stirling and Mr. W. Brisbane to travell with her Ladischip and press her be reasonis and the autoritie of God His Word and His Kirk to remove the said sklander be repareing Sondalie [*i.e.*, every Sunday] to her parochie Kirk forsaid, and, in case sche be found contumax, they ordane the saidis Commissionaris to receive ane summons of thare Clerk and to summone the said Ladie tharewith to comper before the brethren judiciaillie the twentie four of this instant, to give the confession of her faithe."

Her ladyship was found to be "contumax." The Synod met, April 11, 1603, and three days later we read in the Presbytery's Minutes: "Mr. Pat. Hamilton and George Maxwell, Commissionaris direct be the Synodall Assemblie to my Ladie Glencairn, to try the cause of her not heiring the Word and communicating at her ordinarie parochie Kirk of Kilmacolme, and to sie Mr. Patrick Walkinshaw and Luk Stirling acknowledge thare offence in preiching in ane privat hous in the Place of Finlaston, upon the Lord His day, the ordinar pastor being preiching at the parochie Kirk thareof: Reportit that the said Ladie allegit her to be unable to travell, althocht they saw no signes thareof, and that she had promest to heir the Word in her ordinarie parochie Kirk so soone as helthe of bodie suld permit and to communicat as occasion suld be offerit. For tryell quharof all furdur process is ordanit to be continuit aganes her for the space of ane monthe: as lykwayis reportit that the saids Messrs. Patrick Walkinshaw and Luk Stirling did nothing anent thare acknowledging of thare offence forsaid, quhilk is ordanit to be reportit to the next Synod."

The one month allowed to her ladyship "for tryall" was somehow extended to eleven, nothing being heard of her case till March 15, 1604, when "the Brethren," it is said, "having used all kind of diligence according to the

Act of last Synod, baith be commisionaris and uther wayes, at the Richt Noble Ladie, Dame Margaret Cambell, Countess of Glencairne sould have reparit to the Kirk of Kilmacolm, her ordinarie Kirk, for the heiring of the Word of God and communion with the Bodie and Blude of the Lord Jesus, and yit to remayne obstinat and disobedient, and as lykwayis understanding that the said Richt Noble and Potent Ladie will not compeir in Paslay befor thame : Therefor they . . . ordenit . . . the Moderator to pas to the Moderator and Clerk of the Synodall Assemblie and purchass summones to summond the said Noble Ladie befor the nixt Synodall Assemblie to be hauldin at Glasgow the xxvij day of Marche, to heir hirself decernit to have done wrong in her continuall absenting hirself fra the reverent heiring of the Word and resort of the Sacramentis, as said is, at the Kirk of Kilmacom for ten years bygane or therby, and to be ordenit in all tyme cuming to resort to the said Kirk, that be hir example the meiner sort may not longer be mooved to contemn the Word of God." What happened after this is not known. Her ladyship died in 1610, seven years after the Assembly referred to. Had the Presbytery succeeded with her, some entry to that effect would have been made in the records ; but the probability is that they failed.

The case of the Dowager Lady Duchal, a daughter of the Knoxes of Ranfurle and second wife of John Porterfield, who had purchased Duchal from Lord Lyle, was still more protracted. On the death of her husband, Lady Duchal removed to her dower house near Renfrew, the original seat of the Porterfields. Here she came under the spiritual jurisdiction of Mr. John Hay, the parson of Renfrew. Her case first appears in the Records under date March 10, 1603, but from the terms in which it is referred to by Mr. Hay, it is evident that it had been going on for some time. At the date mentioned, Mr. Hay, it is said, reported that "Jean Knox, Lady Duchal, remaynes contumax, refusing to hear the word of God preichit in the Kirk of Renfrew or to communicat the Holy Sacrament." For some reason her case was allowed to drop, and nothing is heard of it for more than a year. But after its revival by Mr. Hay, on May 24, 1604, she was summoned and admonished and prayed for, but in vain, until after she had been prayed for the third time, on August 9, when for some reason she gave in and conformed, but only for a season. On May 2, 1605, Mr. John Hay again "delaitet the auld Lady Duchall for not communicating," and was ordered to summon her to appear the next Presbytery day. Not appearing as directed, she was summoned the second and third time, but without effect. On July 26, she was ordered to be prayed for the first time, and on August 1 the old lady appeared before the Presbytery, and "being demandit upon what occasion she had refusit to communicate the Bodie of Jesus Christ," she boldly answered "that it was for plane malice that she had

conceived in her heart against her pastor, Mr. John Hay, for sindrie wrong she allegit done by him to her, whilk she tuk in hand to give in befor the 8th instant." The Presbytery accepted her proposal, and fixed the day named for hearing the case, and ordered her to attend. But when the day came she was absent, and the process of praying for her was ordained to be resumed. On September 5, when the third prayer was appointed, the Moderator and Mr. Gabriel Maxwell were directed "to confer with her, to see if they can bring her to any conformitie." Whether they conferred with her is unknown. Her name suddenly vanishes from the Records. The old lady was about ninety years of age, and the probability is that she found relief from her spiritual tormentors in death.

Many others were at this time cited before the Presbytery for non-attendance at church and Communion. Among them were John Knox of Ranfurle, the younger Muir of Rowallan, William Wallace of Johnstone, and William Semple of Brintshiels. Knox gave as his excuse for not attending the Sacrament that the "sclander he lay under for the slaughter of his father's brother was not yet removed."¹ Semple's excuse was that he was lying under a charge of adultery. Strange as it may seem, the Presbytery, after "advysing" upon their cases, directed both Knox and Semple "to hold themselves ready to communicate within the Kirk of Houston at the next occasion as they shall be advertised thereto by the ordinary pastor." Knox and Semple may have been penitent and may have satisfied the Church for their offences, but nothing is said in the record on either point. There is no sign that the record is incomplete. Still, it is scarcely possible that the brethren could regard an adulterer and a murderer unshriven of their sins as fit and proper persons to be admitted to the most solemn action in which the Church engages, or to suppose that they attributed to the mere act of communicating the same power to cover a multitude of sins as is assigned to charity. The only plausible explanation of their decision is that they had no desire to increase the apparent number of Papists by excluding Knox and Semple from the Communion, and that rather than do so, they compelled them, unshriven as they were, to attend it.

In 1605, the number of those who refused to communicate appears to have increased. At any rate, the Presbytery resolved to take more strenuous measures with them. On June 13, a resolution was passed directing every minister to give in the names of such of his parishioners as "had not offerit

¹"2nd August, 1604 :—The quhilk day the brethren being informit of the filthie fact of murther committit be the laird of Ramfurle in slaying of his father brother : Therefore the brethren directed Mr. Daniel Cunninghame and Mr. Patrick Hamilton Commissioners to deal and confer with the said Laird of Ramfurle quhether if they find any signes of trew repentance in him for the sclander and to report the same to the Presbyterie."

themselves to be communicants with the Lord Jesus and the members of His Kirk, that, their names being known, the causes of their absence might be tryit, and such as suld be found contemners of the Holy Sacrament, and so adversaries of the trewth of God, might be delaited to the Civil Justice according to the laws of the country."

The trial of Lady Duchal was then going on, and her example and that which the Countess of Glencairn had recently set, may have been affecting others. But whether or not, among those whose names were given in, were "auld Ladie Newerk," and Gabriel Cunningham of Carncurran, and in the following year, Robert Algeo of Greenock, William Wallace, "auld Laird of Johnstone," and Margaret Houston, Lady Auchinames.

The Maxwells of Newark appear to have given the Presbytery considerable trouble. Margaret Cunningham, relict of George Maxwell of Newark, was twice dealt with by the Presbytery for absence from communion. David and John Maxwell, brothers of Sir Patrick Maxwell of Newark, were noted Papists, and were put under the ban of excommunication. On petitioning the Presbytery, David was restored to church privileges, but John, known as John Maxwell of Barfill, though he was willing "to renounce papistry," and had asked to be relieved from the ban on several occasions, was not "relaxit fra the fearfull sentence" till November 6, 1606. Cunningham of Carncurran was a nephew of "auld Lady Newerk," who was herself a daughter of William Cunningham of Craigends. Algeo of Greenock was delaited by his minister, Mr. John Lang, and stated that "the cause of his not communicating was ane variance fallen out betwixt him and Mr. John Shaw." The brethren, however, "being surelie informit the cause thereof to be because he favoured the papisticall heresies and used to reason the same," ordained the Moderator and Mr. Lang to confer with him "in the ground of trew religion and to informe him in the trewth of the same." Twelve days later, June 17, 1606, they reported that "they found the said Robert to have no knowledge and reason in the poyntes of religion controvertit." Wherefore the Presbytery ordained him "to be readie whensoever they sall charge him to subscribe the articles of the faith presentlie professed within this realm," "to communicat the Bodie and Blude of Jesus Christ at the next occasion," under pain of excommunication, and to cease in all time coming "to reason with vulgar people in poyntes of religion that are controvertit betwixt us and the adversaries of Godis trewth, whereby he may engender in the humble erroneous opinions." These were some of the fruits of the Reformation. Presbyter had become priest, writ large.

As might be expected, these rigid formalists objected most strenuously to the use of any portion of the first day of the week, or "the Sabbath," as they

erroneously called it, for purposes of social enjoyment or recreation. The day had never been strictly observed in Scotland, and after the reforms introduced by Queen Margaret, the ecclesiastical as well as the public conscience was satisfied if half the day was given to religion, and the other half to social or other innocent pleasures. Even the Reformers, as we have seen, were not particularly strict in the observance of the day. But the brethren who formed the Presbytery of Paisley, that is, the ministers, with two exceptions, of the county of Renfrew, like their brethren throughout the country, being thoroughly imbued with the Sabbatarian notions of the Puritans of England and Geneva, were of opinion that the whole of the day, except a short interval allowed for the mid-day meal, should be spent in the church, taking part in its services and listening to their own dreary prelections, which, as a rule, occupied the greater part of the time, and set themselves to rebuke and punish those who absented themselves from any of the services, or ventured to use any part of the day otherwise than they directed. The peasantry, by whom the day had, from time immemorial, been regarded as a holiday, struggled hard to retain their liberty, and continued for many years to observe the day as they had done in Catholic times, the King himself siding with them.

One of the most popular modes of recreation was that of dancing on the village green, to the sound of the pipes, on the Sunday afternoons and evenings in summer. The practice was kept up into the beginning of the seventeenth century, and probably drew many away from the church during the afternoon and evening services. At any rate, these "greens," as they were called, were well attended, and in the summer of 1606 the Presbytery resolved to suppress them. The first to which their attention was directed, was the green of Little Caldwell, to which it was said "the parochiners of Neilstoun and Lochquhenoch especiallie does resort." On June 19, 1606, all persons were strictly prohibited from attending it, and Hugh Erstoun, the piper or keeper of the green, was summoned to appear before the Presbytery on July 3. Other greens were reported to the Presbytery to be held at Over Pollock, Kilbarchan, Dovecot Hill, Lochwinnoch. Resorting to them was prohibited as in the case of Little Caldwell, and the pipers summoned. The pipers, however, defied the Presbytery. One of them continued to hold the green in spite of the Presbytery's prohibition. How the various cases ended it is impossible to tell, owing to an unfortunate break in the Records. But as there is no mention of the keeping of greens for some years in the extant Records, it is more than probable that the brethren succeeded in suppressing them. They appear to have been equally successful in suppressing several attempts to continue the old customs observed at Yule.

The rage for the discovery of witchcraft and witches, which subsequently threw so much work on the civil and ecclesiastical courts of the country and was the cause of so much cruelty and misery, had not yet broken out, at least in the county of Renfrew, otherwise the following case might have had, and in all probability would have had, a very different ending. "16th September, 1602.—Anent the sclander given be Gavan Stewart, burgess of Paisley, in prostrating himself before Martha Pinkerton upon his kneis, craving the helthe of Gavan Ralstoun youngir of that ilk fra her as was allegit. The said Gavan compeirand, as he was lauchtfullie summoned to answer for the sclander foirsaid, and beand accusit of the givin of the said occasioun of sclander foirsaid, confessit that he yed [went] to the said Martha and said to her: 'It is said thou hes tane the helthe of this man Gavan Ralstoun fra him, the quhilk if thou hes done, I pray thee for Godis sake, gev him agane'; but he denyit any humiliation to have been made upon his kneis to her or lifting of his bonnett. Therefore and in respect of the said Martha's affirmatioun conforme to the said accusatioun, the Brethren hes summond the said Gavan *apud acta*, and ordanit also the said Martha to be summoned before them in the Kirk of Paslay the last day of this instant for fardar tryell takin in the said cause." Stewart satisfied the Presbytery, and Mr. Andro Knox, who, as his minister, had his case in hand, was directed, on the 14th of the following month, to pass from all further admonitions against him, and no case was raised against Martha as a witch.

On October 4, 1604, the brethren were interrupted in their trial of persons accused of Papistical leanings, and had to take in hand and deal with one of their own number. This was no less an individual than Mr. Andro Knox, minister of Paisley, the famous Papist catcher. On the first of the month, in the Town Council House of Paisley, and in presence of the Earl of Abercorn, the Provost, he had committed an assault upon Gavin Stewart, one of the burgesses of the burgh. Gavin was in all probability the same Gavin Stewart whom Knox had denounced to the Presbytery and charged with having gone down on his knees to Martha Pinkerton. Anyhow, Stewart had used threatening language towards Knox, for which the minister summoned him before the Magistrates, who, having heard the case, bound Stewart over to keep the peace and not to molest Knox under pain of a penalty of a hundred pounds.¹ Unfortunately for Knox, Stewart let fall some words in his hearing, which so incensed him, that, while they were yet in the presence of the Court, he struck Stewart violently upon the head with a key, to the effusion of blood.² The Magistrates appear to have referred the "sclander" thus committed to

¹ Metcalfe, *Charters and Documents*, 266.

² MS. Records of Presbytery.

the Presbytery, and that body, at its meeting on October 4, three days after the assault had been committed, suspended Mr. Andro from the ministry during its own will and that of the Session of the Kirk of Paisley. At the next meeting of the Presbytery, October 25, Knox presented a petition, "he himself being absent, quhairwith the Brethren was not weil satisfieit," especially as "they understood that the said Mr. Andro (since the act of his suspension) hes mellit with the Sacrament of Baptism and sua contravenit the said ordinance." Solemn intimation of his suspension was ordered by the brethren to be given from the pulpit of the Abbey Church, and Mr. John Hay and Mr. Patrick Hamilton were directed to take the case in hand. Knox now appeared to be aware of his misdeeds and of the gravity of the affair. On November 9 he appeared before the Town Council and offered to make amends; but the Town Council refused to listen to him until Lord Abercorn, in whose presence the assault had been made, was present.¹

Later on in the day, a joint meeting of the Presbytery, Session, and Town Council was held, when it was agreed that Mr. Andro should be "repossesyt of the hail poyntes of the office of the ministrie apoun sonday cum eight dayes, being the 19 day of November instant." Seven days later the three bodies met again, and the following is the minute adopted and inserted in the Presbytery Records in reference to the case:—"16th November, 1604.—The quhilk day the Brethrein with advyse of the Sessioun and Counsall of Paisley advysing upoun the forme of the repossessioun of Mr. Andro Knox to his lawful and ordinarie functioun of all the poyntes of his ministrie at Paisley, hes ordeint that the said Mr. Andro sall sit in the maist patent place of the Kirk of Paisley upon Sounday nixtocum befor noone, being the 19 day of November instant, and ther, efter that Mr. John Hay, appoyntit be the Brethrein to supplie the place that day, hes delaitit the fault and offence of the said Mr. Andro to the people, the said Mr. Andro in all humilitie sall confes his offence to God, his brethrein, and the partie offendit, and sall sit down apoun his knees and ask God mercie for the same. The same being done the Baillies and sum of the honest men of the parochin sall receive him be the hand." It is to be feared that not a few who assembled in the Kirk of Paisley on Sunday, November 19, 1604, would view the scene of Mr. Andro Knox, their minister, going down upon his knees confessing his fault and asking mercy, with feelings of more than satisfaction. It is to be hoped that Mr. Knox himself was chastened by the experience. Shortly after this event he was appointed Bishop of the Isles, and probably viewed his appointment as a sort of compensation for his recent humiliation. He tried hard to retain his

¹ Metcalfe, 271.

charge in Paisley, but was at length obliged to resign, and Mr. Patrick Hamilton was appointed in his place, November 12, 1607.

With the minutes of its meeting on December 24, 1607, the first volume of the extant Records of the Presbytery abruptly terminate, and we lose the guidance of these interesting documents for a period of close on twenty years. These years witnessed many stirring incidents in the history of the country, but of what was done in Renfrewshire little is known. At the Assembly held in Glasgow in 1610, Episcopacy was restored, and the bishops secured in their civil rights. Earlier in the same year, a Court of High Commission was erected by the King in each of the provinces of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the members of which, or any five of their number, the Archbishop being always one, had power to call before them and try all scandalous offenders in life or religion, and to enforce their sentences by fine and imprisonment, and also by excommunication, to be pronounced by the minister of the parish where the offender resided under pain of suspension or deprivation. With certain modifications, the Acts of the Glasgow Assembly were ratified by Parliament in October, 1612. The Five Articles of Perth, which enjoined kneeling at the Communion, the administration in private of the Sacrament of Baptism and, under certain conditions of the Lord's Supper, the revival of Confirmation and the observance of Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday, were passed by an Assembly held in Perth in the month of August, 1618, and ratified by Parliament in July, 1621. To the party formerly led by Melville—the strict Presbyterian party—the Articles of Perth were specially objectionable, particularly that which required the Communion to be received kneeling. A number of ministers, on the other hand, as well as of the bishops, approved of the Articles, and as usual, when a difference of opinion on ecclesiastical or religious matters occurs, a quarrel broke out. The Government, as might be expected, assisted those who sided with it, and inflicted pains and penalties upon those who opposed it.

While the Protestants were quarrelling, the Catholics took courage, and either openly professed their faith or took no pains to hide it. They were joined by others, who, by this time, had grown tired of the new doctrines and of the methods by which they were enforced, and had returned to the Church of Rome. The Presbyteries, however, if they were divided respecting the lawfulness of bishops, or as to the propriety of kneeling to receive the Communion, were still unanimous in their fear and hatred of Popery. Consequently, when the Records of the Presbytery in Renfrewshire again become available, the brethren there are found as busy as ever in dealing with Catholics and Popish suspects. When the volume opens, April 20, 1626, they are found dealing with James Stewart of

Caversbank, and John Baillies and his wife Johnet, "anent their not frequenting the house of God for hearing the Word of God preached and for not communicating at occasion offered," and with "two servitors to the Countess of Abercorn," who, because they neither communicated nor attended preaching, "gave just occasioun of their apostacie and defectioun from the true religion." Fifteen days later, a process was started against the Countess herself—a proceeding of which she had already been warned by authority of the Assembly held at Glasgow on the fourth day of the preceding month.

The minister of Paisley at the time was a relative of her own, Mr. Robert Boyd of Trochrig, one of the foremost scholars of the day, and recently Principal of the University of Edinburgh. A zealous protester against the late Episcopalian innovations and a rigid Presbyterian, on his arrival in Paisley he had been coldly received by the Countess, and refused possession of the manse. He was lodged instead in the "forehouse" of the Abbey. Into this one Sunday afternoon, while the minister was away preaching, the Master of Paisley and some others forced an entrance, flung the minister's books on the floor, and locked the doors. A complaint was laid before the Privy Council, but on the Master expressing his sorrow, and at the intercession of Boyd, the matter was allowed to drop. Soon after, the bailies of the town attempted to put Mr. Boyd in possession of his manse, but on going to it, they found the locks filled with stones and other things, and as they were not permitted to force an entrance, they were unable to get in. As he was going away, "the rascally women of the town, coming to see the matter—for the men purposely absented themselves—not only upbraided Mr. Robert with opprobrious speeches, and shouted and hoyed him, but likewise cast dirt and stones at him; so that he was forced to leave the town and go to Glasgow not far off."¹

From Glasgow, Mr. Boyd went to Carrick, "his own dwelling," and, though strongly urged by his friends, refused to make any complaint as to his usage by "the rascally women." The Bishop of Glasgow, therefore, "for his own credit," to use the words of Wodrow, "complained that justice should be

¹ The women were afterwards by commission of the Synod proceeded against by the Presbytery. On April 27, 1628, they were cited "to hear and see themselves decerned to make satisfaction for the malicious abusing of unquihile Mr. Robert Boyd of Trochrig, sometime minister of Paisley, by their violent resisting of him in taking possession of his Manse of the parochin of Paisley and for boasting and threatening to slay him, the King's messenger and others who accompanied him for giving him possession of the said Manse according to the lawes," etc. At the next meeting of the Presbytery, May 8, 1628, Isobell Greinleis in Smithhills, one of the said rascally women, was put upon her trial, evidence was led, and a verdict of not proven was recorded. The Court appears to have been satisfied either that there was no case against her and her companions, or that it was impossible to obtain sufficient evidence to convict. None of the others were put forward for trial.

done to the minister, and caused summon the said Master of Paisley and his mother, the Ladye thereof, who was thought to have the wyte [blame] of all, to compear before the Council to hear and see order taken for the contempt done to the minister. Likeas the Lady and the Earl, her eldest son, and the master, her second son, in great pomp, with her eldest son's gilded carosche (he being lately come from his travels), accompanied with many gentlemen and friends, came to Edinburgh to the Council day; and there the matter being handled in Council and reasoned where the Bishop of Glasgow was and five or six other bishops were, all that was resolved upon by the Council was, that it was promised by the Earl and his brother and their friends that the minister, Mr. Robert Boyd should be repossessed and no more impediments made to him, and no order taken with delinquents and contempt done him by the rascally women; and this was one of the fruits of Papistry in the West." As for Mr. Boyd, he appears to have had enough of Paisley. Though urged to continue his ministry there, he refused, and demitting his office, was succeeded by Mr. John Hay of Killallan.

The proceedings against the Dowager Countess of Abercorn still went on. Thomas Algeo, one of her servants, was believed to be a priest, and was prosecuted with the utmost rigour. As for the Countess, time after time she was visited, summoned, admonished, and prayed for. In her distress she appears to have fled to the Archbishop; for on August 31, 1626, the Presbytery received a letter from him directing all proceedings against her ladyship to be stopped.

Her son, the second Earl, made no secret of his adherence to the Church of Rome. It was said of him that he "made apostacie and defectioun from the true religioun," that he "openly avowed himself to be a papist, and verie contemptuouslie despiseth the word of God preached publictlye or redd privatelie and all other publict religious services used in the Kirk and Kingdom." This, of course, was not to be tolerated, and on April 19, 1627, he was delatid before the Presbytery and ordered to appear before it on the third of May following "to hear and see himself excommunicated," or else to give satisfaction to the Presbytery. On the day appointed he failed to appear and was ordered to be summoned the second time. On the same day, the proceedings against his mother were revived by order of the Archbishop.

The zeal and pertinacity with which the Presbytery carried out the orders of the Archbishop and prosecuted the case against the Earl and his Countess—for she was included in the same condemnation as her husband—were worthy of the Holy Office.

On January 20, 1628, the Countess Dowager was excommunicated. Seeking refuge in Edinburgh, she was there apprehended and cast into the

Tolbooth. Her imprisonment caused her to suffer from "many heavy diseases, so that the whole winter [1628-29] she was almost tied to her bed," and she now "found a daily decay and weakness in her person." Representations were made to the King on her behalf, who, being inclined to do nothing that would derogate from the authority of the Church, and at the same time being unwilling that her ladyship should be "brought to the extremity of losing her life for want of ordinary remedies," ordered, on July 9, 1629, that she should have license to go to the baths of Bristol, but only on condition that she should not attempt to appear at Court, and that after her recovery she should return and put herself at the disposal of the Council. Her journey to Bristol never took place, for the reason probably that she was physically incapable of making it. After a further restraint of six months in the Canongate jail, and subsequently in Duntarvie House, she was permitted, in March, 1631, after a restraint of three years, to go to Paisley for the "outed" of some weighty affairs, but only on condition that she should not while there "reset Thomas Algeo nor no Jesuits," and should return by a certain day under penalty of five thousand merks. The poor lady never returned and the five thousand merks were never paid. She reached Paisley utterly broken down, suffering from *squalor carceris*, and died shortly after, the victim of an odious system of persecution.

In the meantime the Presbytery had been pushing on the proceedings against her son, and against a number of her servants. On October 21, 1627, Mr. John Hay and Mr. Andrew Hamilton reported to the Presbytery "that they had proceeded against the said noble Earl by prayer *pro secundo*, and were directed to proceed by the third prayer." "Notwithstanding of which ordinance," the minute continues, "compeired William Hamilton, brother germane to the said Erle, ane commisioner from him, who shewed that his Lordship would willinglie have compeired himself that day if his absence had not been occasioned through some important business, and therefore most humblie entreated the Brethren that they would supersede any ferder proceeding till his Lordship's return, at which time he hoped he shuld give them satisfaction." The case was therefore continued to the next Presbytery day, but the Earl failed to appear. On January 31, Mr. John Hay reported that he had pronounced sentence of excommunication against the Earl's mother, Marion Boyd, the Countess Dowager, and further "that because the said noble Erle [of Abercorn] had taken journey to Court for his necessarie and lawfull business, he had consulted the Bishop of Glasgow anent his excommunication, who advised him to continue [*i.e.*, delay] to pronounce the said sentence till his Lordship's return; wherewith the Brethren condescended."

From the minute of the proceedings of the Presbytery on April 27, 1628, it appears that the Earl had left the country, taking with him Mr. Robert

Pendreiche and Francis Leslie, who had been ordered to be excommunicated along with the Dowager Countess and her woman, Isobel Mowatt, but were not, owing to the negligence of Mr. Andro Hamilton, who had been charged with the duty, and who, for his remissness, was ordered to be reported to the Archbishop and charged to carry out the instructions he had received from the Presbytery.

As soon as the Earl returned, the process was revived against him. His wife also was proceeded against. Their case was reported to the Assembly, which demanded the delivery of the Earl's children, in order that they might be educated in the Presbyterian faith. As late as the year 1647, the Commission of the General Assembly was still "dealing" with the Earl and his Countess. On July 8 in that year, it directed the Presbytery of Edinburgh to confer with him as long as he remained in Edinburgh, and "if he go to his house in the countrie," it recommended the Presbytery of Paisley to deal with him there. Finally, in the year 1649, he was excommunicated by the Assembly and ordered to transport himself out of the kingdom, and the sentence being enforced, he sold the lordship of Paisley to the Earl of Angus, and went abroad to escape his spiritual tormentors, and to live in peace.

Lord and Lady Semple, and many others of different ranks, were similarly "dealt" with by the Presbytery, though not to the same length. Some, after being "dealt" with for a while, made a real or feigned conversion; others were excommunicated or fled; and others, after tasting the bitterness of excommunication, which involved social and religious ostracism or, to use the modern term, boycotting, craved to be reconciled, which they usually were, after suffering certain pains and penalties.

One case deserves to be particularly mentioned. It was extremely harsh, and the closing scene of it must have aroused strange feelings in the minds of those who beheld it. Margaret Hamilton, "the Goodwife of Ferguslie," was suspected of Popish leanings. So was her sister Bessie. Bessie boldly defied the Brethren, and was soon excommunicated. Margaret was of a different temper, and withal in poor health. For a long time she resisted all the efforts of her minister, Mr. Henry Calvert, and others, to get her to submit. Her chief excuse was that she was unable, though willing, to attend the Kirk of Paisley. Doctors' certificates were produced testifying as to her inability to attend. Her husband pled for her. Commissioners from the Presbytery visited her again and again. They prayed with her, catechized her, and instructed her. At last the Brethren were satisfied as to her orthodoxy. This, however, was not enough. In their zeal and fanaticism they became foolish. Nothing would please them but that this brand plucked from the burning should be publicly exhibited. The poor woman could not walk;

she could not bear to be jolted over such roads as then existed between the Kirk of Paisley and Blackstone, where she was living. The only way of getting her to the church was to carry her on a bed. And carried on a bed she was. All the way from Blackstone to the Paisley Kirk, a distance of about four miles, this strange procession moved at a funereal pace. Arrived at the kirk, the bed with its living burden was carried down the aisle, and deposited in "the most patent part of the church," probably on the very spot where Mr. Andro Knox had formerly done penance. And all to the glory of a few men whose fanaticism had deprived them of their common-sense, and who, in so using an invalid, believed they were doing glory to God.

The Presbytery had other duties to discharge, but the suppression of Catholicism was the one which engrossed the most of their time and attention. That the Brethren did something towards the purification of the morals of the people may probably be admitted, but that they did much towards making the people Protestant and Presbyterian may be doubted. The prime agents in making the country a thoroughly Presbyterian country were the arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings of Charles I. and his two sons, who succeeded him upon the throne.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CIVIL WARS.

THE war which broke out in England between Charles and his Parliament in 1642, was preceded by a civil war in Scotland. The English war was fought out mainly on political grounds; the war in Scotland originated in ecclesiastical or religious affairs.

Charles had been upon the throne but a few weeks when the whole of Scotland was startled by the proclamation at the Market Cross of Edinburgh of his well-known Edict of Revocation. By this he announced his intention to revoke all grants by the Crown of Church lands, and all acquisitions of them to the prejudice of the Crown, whether made before or after his father's Act of Annexation in 1587. On October 12, 1625, the Edict passed the Privy Seal,¹ and thus became law.

In Renfrewshire the individual most seriously affected by this Act was the Earl of Abercorn. To him it meant, if it were rigidly enforced, nothing less than the resumption by the Crown of the whole of the lands of the Abbey of Paisley, which had been granted by James VI. to his grandfather, Lord Claud Hamilton, in 1587, and the spirituality,² which he had received in 1592.³ Others also in the county were affected by the Act, or would be if it were enforced. As early as 1552, Abbot Hamilton, probably seeing what was coming, probably also to meet his expenses, had begun to alienate for "large sums of money" and for other considerations, lands belonging to the Abbey.⁴ Others of them had been parted with by Lord Claud, and all to whom the lands had been thus alienated would be affected by the enforcement of the Act. For the object of it, as Hill Burton has aptly remarked, was to sweep up "not only the grants made by the Crown, but the transactions made in a countless variety of shapes, by which those in possession of Church

¹ Masson, *Reg. P. S.* (New Series), i. xli. ; 150 n.

² *i.e.*, the teinds or tithes, or tenth part of the produce of the land set aside for the maintenance of the clergy. For an excellent account of them see the Introduction to Professor Masson's volume of the *Register of the Privy Seal*, referred to above. ³ Masson, cxlv.

⁴ See *Reg. M. S.*, 154-60, pp. 760, 831 ; (1546-80), pp. 540, 543, 537, 571, 578. *Com. Hist. MSS.*, Rep. VIII., 309A ; XI., vi. 49.

revenues at the general breaking up, connived at their conversion into permanent estates to themselves or to relations, or to strangers who rendered something in return for connivance in their favour or for assistance in some shape to enable them to take possession.¹

The passing of the Act met with so bitter and vehement a storm of opposition that its enforcement was rendered impossible. After a heated controversy, a compromise was arranged, by which the teind policy was adjusted on its present basis, and a statute passed for the endowment of parochial schools. But, in spite of this, the irritation continued, and bore serious results. Sir James Balfour, who lived at the time and was well able to judge of the effects of the Act, calls it that "revocation of which the Kingdom conceived so much prejudice, and in effect was the ground-stone of all the mischief that followed after, both to this King's government and family," and adds, "whoever were the contrivers of it, deserve, they and all their posterity to be reputed by these three Kingdoms, infamous and accursed for ever."² "It was virtually," says Hill Burton, "the first act of the war."³

Parliament met on June 29, 1633,⁴ immediately after the coronation of the King at Holyrood. The teind policy was settled, the Acts of the preceding reign were renewed, and, among others, an Act was passed by which the King was empowered to regulate the apparel of Kirkmen and others. The passing of this Act was vehemently opposed, and was passed, it was said "without pluralitie of suffrages." This the King denied as a calumny "foule and blacke." However, a supplication was prepared against it, and shown to the King by Lord Rothes, the leader of the Opposition.⁵

From Edinburgh, Charles returned to London, shocked at the condition of the Church in Scotland and thoroughly bent on its reformation. In 1634, he established the Court of High Commission in Scotland. Among the Commissioners were Sir John Maxwell of Pollok, Sir Robert Montgomery, younger, of Skelmorlie; Mr. John Hay, parson of Renfrew; and Mr. William Brisbane, parson of Erskine. Nine bishops were in the same year appointed members of the Privy Council, and, in the following year, Archbishop Spottiswood was made Chancellor. The appointments of the bishops and of the Archbishop were extremely unpopular. They estranged the Presbyterians from the King and set the nobles against him.

¹ *Hist. of Scotland*, vi. 75.

² *Annals*, ii. 128.

³ *Hist. of Scotland*, vi. 76.

⁴ The same year a college was founded at Madrid for Scots Catholics by Colonel William Semple. It was soon afterwards transferred to Valladolid, where it still exists.

⁵ His Majesty is reported to have said to Rothes, when he presented the supplication, "No more of this, my lord, I command you."

In 1636, there issued from Raban's press in Aberdeen a volume with the title: "Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, gathered and put in forme for the Government of the Church of Scotland: ratified and approved by His Majestie's Royall Warrant, and ordained to be observed by the clergie, and all others whom they concerne." The character of the volume is sufficiently described by its title. Its imposition upon the Church was a piece of pure autocracy. The saintly Bishop Juxon, who afterwards accompanied his royal master to the scaffold, predicted that it would "make more noise than all the cannons in Edinburgh Castle."¹ Never was prediction more literally fulfilled. With the exception of the most Erastian, the whole country cried out against it. But the crisis was not yet.

In the same year, the Book of Ordination was issued, but this and the Book of Canons were only preliminary to one which was to appear in the following year. This was the famous Service Book.² It was the joint work, it is said, of two Scottish and two English bishops, working under the directions of Charles himself, and was designed to bring the ritual of the Church of Scotland into closer conformity with that of the Church of England. An Act of the Privy Council in 1636 decreed the universal use of the book on pain of condign punishment, and ordered "everie Parish betwixt and Pasche next [to] procure unto themselves twa at the least of the said Booke of Common Prayer." It ordained also that the use of the book should begin on the following Easter Sunday. The Act was a little premature, as it was not till close on Easter that the book appeared. When it did appear, the bishops met and decided that the use of it in public worship should begin in Edinburgh on Sunday, July 23.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the appointed day, the familiar prayers from the Book of Common Order were read in the High Kirk of St. Giles by Henderson, a favourite reader. When he closed the book, his eyes filled with tears, and, addressing those present, he said: "Adieu, good people, for I

¹ Baillie, i. 43.

² *The Booke of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other parts of Divine Service for the Use of the Church of Scotland.* It was also known as "Land's Liturgy," as "that noble and beautiful, but ill-fated Liturgy," as "this obnoxious publication," "that fatal book," "a Black Popish English-Scottish Masse-Service Booke."—Kinloch, *Studies in Scot. Eccl. Hist.*, 31-32. Clarendon blames the bishops who drew up the Canons and the two other volumes for the order of their publication and for not submitting the Canons to the Assembly or to any convocation of the clergy. He expressly exonerates the Archbishop of Canterbury from any blame in connection with them. "In this consideration," he says, "the Archbishop of Canterbury had always declared to the bishops of Scotland that it was their part to be sure that nothing they should propose to the King in the business of the Church should be contrary to the laws of the land (which he could not understand); and that they should never put anything into execution without the consent and approbation of the Privy Council."—*Rebellion*, Bk. II., 4.

think this is the last time of my reading prayers in this place." By ten o'clock many others had arrived. Among them were Spottiswood, the Chancellor, several bishops and Privy Councillors, and the Provost and Magistrates of the city. The scene which ensued when Dr. Hanna, the Dean of Edinburgh, began to read the prayers from the hated Service Book, is well known. It was caused chiefly by a number of serving-maids,¹ who were keeping the seats which their mistresses, who cared nothing for the prayers, intended to occupy when the time for the sermon came. The disorder was put down by the Magistrates, who turned the unruly out of the building and locked the doors. Outside, the crowd surged hither and thither, hammering at the doors and throwing stones in through the windows. As soon as the bishops appeared on the streets, at the conclusion of the service, they were set upon by the crowd, and with difficulty escaped with their lives.

Similar scenes occurred in other parts of the country whenever an attempt was made to use the book in public worship. At Brechin, the bishop (Whiteford) "went to the pulpit with his pistols, his servants, and, as the report goes, his wife, with weapons. He entered early, when there were few people; he closed the doors, and read his service; but when he had done, he could scarce get to his house; all flocked about him, and, had he not fled, he might have been killed: since [then] he durst never try that ploy over again."² "At Lanark, Mr. John Lindsay, at the bishop's command, did preach. . . . At the ingoing of the pulpit, it is said, that some of the women in his ear assured him, that if he should touch the Service Book in his sermon, he should be rent out of the pulpit. He took the advice and let that matter alone."³ Mr. William Annan had preached in the same place the day before and had commended the Service Book. "At the outgoing of the church," after Mr. Lindsay's sermon, "about thirty or forty of our honestest women, in one voice, before the bishop and Magistrates, did fall in railing, cursing, scolding with clamours on Mr. William Annan: some two of the meanest were taken to the Tolbooth. All the day over, up and down the streets where he went, he got threats of sundry in words and looks, but after supper, while needless he will go to visit the bishop, he is no sooner in the causeway, at nine o'clock in a mirk night, with three or four ministers, but some hundreds of enraged women of all qualities are about him with neaves (fists) and staves and peats, but no stones: they beat him sore; his cloak, ruff, and hat were rent: however, upon

¹ Baillie has no word about the servant-maids being apprentices in disguise. Writing on July 22, 1638, he says: "This day twelve moneth, the serving-maids in Edinburgh began to draw down the bishops' pride, when it was highest." i. 94.

² Baillie, i. 41.

³ Baillie, i. 21-2.

his cries, and candles set out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds, yet he was in great danger, even of killing. This tumult was so great, that it was not thought meet to search, either in plotters or actors of it, for numbers of the best quality would have been found guilty."¹

The women, whether "of our honestest" or "of the best quality" or "of the meanest," seem always to have taken the lead in these disturbances. There can be no doubt, however, that the position of affairs caused by the imposition of the Service Book was very serious. Baillie was thoroughly alarmed, and anticipated nothing short of "a bloodie civil war" as the result of forcing the hated book upon the nation, and declared: "I think our people possessed with a bloodie devil, far above anything that ever I could have imagined though the masse in Latin had been presented."²

How the book was received in Renfrewshire, there is little to show. The probability is that it was used in Paisley, where Mr. John Crichton, a great admirer of it, was minister. It may also have been used by Mr. John Hay, the parson of Renfrew. But it may be doubted whether it was used in any other parish in the county. There is no word of any disturbance having taken place in consequence of its use in any part of the shire.

In the Presbytery no action was taken against the use of the book till October 13, 1637, nearly three months after the serving-maids of Edinburgh had vindicated their orthodoxy. On that day the brethren "thought it necessary to draw up a supplication unto the Lords of His Majesty's Secret Council, and to give a commission to some of the brethren to go to Edinburgh and present the same unto the said Lords."³

The following is the text of the supplication:—

"Unto your Lordships humbly meane and show we the Brethren of the Presbytery of Paisley, notwithstanding that hitherto partly in respect of our vacation in time of harvest we did not apprehend or suspect that the charge given to us to buy the Service Book did stretch further than our own private perusing of it for our better information that we may give our judgments touching the fitness thereof to be received and embraced in our Kirk, we have been too negligent in supplicating your Lordships with the rest of the clergy and others well affected Christians. Yet perceiving now, partly by the proclamations made in December 1636, partly by His Majesty's declaration of his pleasure thereanent, it is His Majesty's will that the said Book of Service shall be presently embraced and perused throughout this whole Kirk and

¹ Baillie, i. 20-21.

² *Letters and Journals*, i. 23.

³ Presbytery Records. The Presbytery were a little late with their supplication. By the twentieth of the preceding month, sixty-eight supplications had already been sent in to the Privy Council.

Kingdom, we cannot but think ourselves bound in conscience to join with the rest of our brethren and other good Christians in supplicating your Lordships most humbly to deal with His Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased not to urge upon his good and loyal subjects the said Service Book after such a fashion in our judgment contrary to the practice and custom of this Kirk and Kingdom, wherein as far as we know nothing hitherto of this kind hath been established without the consent of the General Assembly and Parliament: And seeing we have had a Liturgy established by authoritie, wherewith we have been bred and educated ever since the Reformation, and the same not abolished and the Liturgy now urged seemeth to us in sundry particulars to be different from that we have embraced and professed, it would please His Gracious Majesty to use such a fair course whereby His Majesty's pleasure may be accomplished without impeachment to the good and peace of the Church and without grief and offence to the consciences of His Majesty's most loving and loyal subjects. And your Lordships' answer humbly we desire."

Only one of the brethren, Mr. William Brisbane, minister at Killallan, was appointed to convey this supplication. He was directed to appear before the Lords of the Privy Council, on the 17th of the month, and to present the supplication to their Lordships in the name of the Presbytery. At the same time, he was instructed "to advise and consult with the rest of the Brethren or other good Christians that shall happen to be in Edinburgh or elsewhere, concerning such a wise or fair course as shall be thought fit or expedient to be taken concerning the Service Book presently urged."

There is no evidence to show how Mr. Brisbane fared in Edinburgh with the supplication; but in February of the following year a royal proclamation was read in Stirling, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh, in which all the supplications presented against the Service Book were severely condemned.

Meantime, "The Tables" had been formed, and on February 28 the National Covenant, "the grand result and conclusion of the Tables," which was to be the occasion of much trouble and bloodshed, was signed in the churchyard of the Greyfriars in Edinburgh. It was afterwards signed, either willingly or under compulsion, in Renfrewshire, as it was elsewhere in the kingdom, with the exception of Aberdeen, where the Covenanters and all their ways met with the utmost resistance so long as resistance was possible.

On May 24, the brethren in Renfrewshire, keeping pace with the brethren elsewhere, ordained a solemn fast to be held on "Sunday come eight dayes . . . throughout the whole Churches of the Presbytery for the removing of the sins of the land, especially, the contempt of the Gospel, which justly hath provoked God to permit Innovations to creep into the Church, and that it would please God to save the Kirk of Scotland from all innovations of

religion, and that peace, with the profession of the present religion may with liberty be entertained."¹

"With the advice of the meeting of the Reverend Brethren in Edinburgh," the Presbytery, on the 22nd of the following month, took a further step. Mr. John Hay, who had been appointed Moderator of the Presbytery by the Archbishop of Glasgow, and held the office permanently, was asked whether "he was content to lay down the office as recommended by the ministers in Edinburgh." Mr. Hay's reply shows that if he was not altogether opposed to the Covenanters, he was not altogether in favour of them, and that the supplication laid by Mr. Brisbane before the Privy Council was in all probability not unanimously agreed to. "He had received his office," he said, "of the Archbishop of Glasgow with the consent of the brethren of the Assembly, and therefore could not, unless his office were discharged by them of whom he had received the same." Fifteen days were given him for further consideration, with an intimation that, in the event of his not giving satisfaction "according to the said advice, the said Brethren of the Presbytery of Paisley would do according as they were advised by the Reverend Brethren of the meeting in Edinburgh." When the Presbytery next met, Mr. John Hay was absent. Without more ado he was deposed from his office, and Mr. Matthew Brisbane was appointed to succeed him, but only for six months.

As already remarked, Mr. John Crichton, the minister of Paisley, was an admirer of the Service Book. He was known to approve of the Five Articles of Perth, and was suspected of "Arminianism."² His cousin, Mr. Baillie, minister of Kilwinning, and afterwards Principal of Glasgow University, took much trouble to correct his theological opinions, and addressed to him a series of letters on the subject, but apparently in vain.

On July 19, fourteen days after the deposition of Mr. John Hay from the office of Moderator, the Presbytery resolved to deal with Mr. Crichton. A number of his parishioners presented a petition to the Presbytery, on the day mentioned, in which they brought an indictment against him on no fewer than thirty-five counts. The Presbytery, who were no doubt well posted up in the matter and had probably had some hand in drawing up the indictment, were in hot haste to purge themselves, and ordered Crichton to appear before them on the 26th of the month to answer the charges.

For the great occasion of his trial, the brethren, acting under instructions from Edinburgh, associated with them six other brethren from the adjacent

¹ Presbytery Records, MS., which are the authority here when no other is mentioned.

² "Arminianism" seems to have stood for any Protestant theological opinions which differed from the opinions of the Covenanters.

Presbyteries. When he appeared before them, Crichton "gave in his appellation from the brethren of the Presbytery of Paisley, declining always thereby the authority and judicatory of the foresaid Presbytery, and that for the pretended reasons contained in the said appellation." The reasons are not given in the Presbytery's records; but, after examination, Mr. John Hay, the deposed Moderator, found them sound. The rest of the brethren condemned them as "frivolous," and rejected them as "not relevant." Crichton, who in the meantime had left the court, was sent for, but refused to return. Whereupon, he was suspended and ordered to be summoned before the court for August 2. When the day came, Crichton failed to appear, and the brethren proceeded to take evidence. Among the witnesses against him were Robert Semple of Beltrees, Archibald Stewart of Orchardyardstoune, John Maxwell, eldest son of John Maxwell of Stanely; Mr. Gabriel Maxwell, his brother; John Vaus, formerly bailie of Paisley; Robert Alexander, town clerk of Paisley; and Robert Park, notary of Paisley.

The charges included errors in ritual and doctrine and faults of conduct. The errors in doctrine need not detain us. For the most part, they appear to have consisted of pieces of gossip, misunderstandings, or misrepresentations. As for the rest, they were such doctrines as an upholder of the Five Articles of Perth may be supposed to have held. He was further accused of advocating the wearing of surplices and the use of prayers for the dead, of abusing the sacraments, of striking a beggar to the effusion of blood, and of drunkenness. One witness testified that he had baptized a child "without prayer or exhortation." Four others swore that he profaned the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper . . . by casting away the long table and placing a short table altarwise with a fixed rail about it, within the which he stood himself and reached the elements unto the people kneeling without, about the rail."

During the whole of this trial, which spread over a couple of months, Crichton never appeared in the court and no evidence was led in his favour. He was found guilty, not merely on the charges of "scandalous life and conversation," but on all the counts of the indictment, and, on October 11, his case was referred to the Assembly summoned to meet at Glasgow on November 21 immediately following.

For some months back the disorders in the country, arising out of "the fear of innovations," had been increasing. As they increased, the Covenanting lords and ministers became more imperious and more determined to have their way in things ecclesiastical; the King, though somewhat alarmed, was quite as determined to have his way, whatever concessions he might make in the meantime. Of disorders in Renfrewshire at this time there is no mention; but there are abundant signs that the ministers of the county were in full

sympathy with "the Brethren of the meeting in Edinburgh," and shared their spirit.

Affairs throughout the country grew more and more critical. On April 5, 1638, Baillie wrote to his cousin, Mr. Spang: "Our country is at the point of breaking loose; our laws this twelvemonth have been silent; divers misregard their creditors; our Highlanders are making ready their arms, and some have begun to murder their neighbours." Douglas, Abercorn, and Semple, three Catholic lords, two of whom belonged to Renfrewshire, were said to be openly arming, and other noblemen were expected to follow their example immediately. The Covenanters were arming, and the King was known to be making ready his fleet as fast as his depleted treasury would allow him.¹

In May, the Marquess of Hamilton was sent down as the Royal Commissioner with authority to suppress the obnoxious Service Book on condition that the Covenant was given up, and to summon a meeting of the Assembly and of the Estates, but when, on July 4, the proclamation, signifying the King's pleasure and embodying his instructions to the Commissioner, was read at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, the Covenanters were dissatisfied with it, and refused to give up their "bond with the Almighty."²

On the day appointed, November 21, the Assembly met in the nave of the Cathedral of Glasgow. About two hundred and sixty members were present, who, as far as possible, had been carefully selected by the Covenanters. Each of them was accompanied by from one to four assessors. Not a gown was to be seen among them, but many had swords and daggers.³ Writing to the King on the following day, to announce his arrival in Glasgow and the opening of the Assembly, the Marquess of Hamilton said: "There is such a crew assembled together, and that in such equipage, as I dare boldly affirm, never met since Christianity was professed, to treat of ecclesiastic affairs."⁴

¹ Baillie, i. 65, 71.

² They were not unanimous. Some were for coming to terms with the King. "Mr. William Cochran," writes Baillie, "a sharp and busy man, was like to have incurred great disgrace and public censure at the gentles' table for holding privy conference with the Treasurer and letting some overtures fall that favoured of altering upon conditions some clauses of the Covenant" (i. 84). The Mr. William Cochran referred to is supposed to have been Cochran of Cowdon, who was afterwards knighted and raised to the peerage, first as Lord Cochran, and then as the Earl of Dundonald.

³ Burnet, *Dukes of Hamilton*, 91.

⁴ *Hamilton MSS.*, 99. Baillie, who was a scholar and a man of moderate opinions, seems to have been not a little ashamed of the conduct of those who were present. When giving an account of the first day's meeting, he says: "The magistrates with their town guard, the noblemen, with the assistance of the gentry, whyles the Commissioner in person, could not get us entry to our places, use what force,

To this singularly constituted and famous Assembly the Presbytery of Paisley sent the three ministers, Messrs. William and Matthew Brisbane and Mr. Alexander Hamilton; Sir Ludovic Houston of that ilk; Porterfield, the goodman of Duchal, and John Brisbane, the laird of Bishopston. "Mr. John Hay, abler much than any of them, was passed by for his too much countenancing of Mr. John Crichton, and other reasons not inconsiderable," says Baillie.¹ The Earls of Eglinton and Glencairn and Lords Montgomery and Ross were members. Eglinton arrived in Glasgow "backed with great numbers of friends and vassals."² Glencairn was apparently silent. Eglinton and his son played conspicuous parts in the conduct of the business, Lord Montgomery being especially active against the bishops.

The Covenanters were not slow to show their temper. From the first they paid no respect to the wishes of the King, and carried everything with a high hand. After they had sat six days, the Marquess of Hamilton, finding himself unable to restrain them or to carry out his instructions, dissolved the Assembly. The members, however, with the Moderator, Henderson of Leuchars, and the Earls of Argyll and Rothes at their head, continued to sit, and "went on at a great rate now that there was none to curb them." They condemned all the Assemblies which had been held during the past forty years as prelimited and not free, declared Episcopacy to be unlawful, included the Service Book, the Book of Canons, the High Commission, and the Articles of Perth under the same condemnation, ordered the Covenant to be taken by all under pain of excommunication, arraigned the bishops and such of the ministers as were not of their way of thinking in ecclesiastical or political matters, and dealt out sentences of deposition or excommunication to them all. On December 21, they ended their business by drawing up a letter to the King, in which they endeavoured to justify their proceedings, and prayed His Majesty to regard them as good and dutiful subjects and to be satisfied with what they had done.

what policy they could, without such delay of time and thrumbling through, as did grieve and offend us. Whether this evil be common to all nations, at all public confuences, or it be proper to the rudeness of our nation alone, or whether in these late times, the love and admiration of this new reformation, have at all public meetings stirred up a greater than ordinary zeal in the multitude to be present for hearing and seeing, or what is the special cause of this irremediable evil, I do not know; only I know my special offence for it, and wish it remedied above any evil that ever I knew in the service of God among us. . . . It is here alone, where, I think, we might learn from the Pope, from the Turks, or Pagans, modesty and manners; at least their deep reverence in the house they call God's ceases not till it have led them to the adoration of the timber and stones of the place. We are here so far the other way, that our rascals, without shame, in great numbers, make such din and clamour in the house of the true God, that if they minded to use the like behaviour in my chamber, I could not be content till they were down stairs." *Letters and Journals*, i. 122-23.

Letters and Journals, i. 104.

² Baillie, i. 120.

Of the ministers deposed, Mr. Crichton, minister of Paisley, was the first. "I held off his sentence," writes his cousin, "for some days: for I found him after his return from the Court of England, a much dejected man and willing to clear himself of many things laid to his charge, to confess his errors, and be directed by the Assembly for all time to come, on condition that he might brook [enjoy] his place; but when no assurance could be made of his continuance in Paisley, in regard of the parochiners great and universal just dislike, he did not compear at all: so sentence went against him in all was alleged."¹ According to Balfour, he was deposed on December 5, "being found by witness that he was a professed Arminian and a Popish champion."²

After the rising of the Assembly, the Presbytery of Paisley began with renewed zeal to set their house in order. On January 24, 1639, the brethren took note of the conduct of the less zealous in the town of Paisley, and ordered them to be summoned to the bar of their court. Two men who confessed "their sin of profaning the Sabbath day by drinking and deboshing in time of sermon," were remitted to the Kirk Session of the burgh for punishment. At their meeting on February 14, the Presbytery ordered Mr. Matthew Brisbane to proceed to Edinburgh and to attend the War Committee which had been ordered to sit there. A month later they took steps for the appointment of a successor to Mr. Crichton. Mr. Henry Calvert, the man upon whom they finally fixed,³ was of a quite different temper from his predecessor. A stern Presbyterian of the strictest sect, he had no weakness for surplices, prayers for the dead, or for railings about the Communion table. He could not abide even the final crosses on the Abbey Church, but had them taken down, and the fact of their removal noted in the Presbytery Records.

At Glasgow the Covenanters had gone too far in their opposition to the King to hope for forgiveness. They knew that the King was arming; for some time they had been arming themselves. In the month of January, 1639, they held a meeting in Edinburgh, when the War Committee already referred to was appointed to sit constantly in the capital. Similar committees were ordered to be formed in every shire in the country and in some parts in every Presbytery. They were to give orders in all military affairs, to enlist soldiers, to obtain provisions, and to raise money. A commissioner was ordered to be sent from every county to attend the committee in Edinburgh, and for the receiving and transmitting of orders. Arms and ammunition were collected and forbidden to be sold, except to such as were favourable to the cause. General Leslie sat daily with the General Committee, and rendered much help

¹ *Letters and Journals*, i. 172.

Annals, ii. 368.

² The process was a long one. Calvert was not appointed till July 1, 1641.

by procuring officers and munitions of war from the Continent. "In all the land," writes Baillie, "we appointed noblemen and gentlemen for commanders; divided so many as had been officers abroad among the shires; put all our men who could bear arms to frequent drillings; had frequent, both public and private, humiliations before our God, in Whom was our only trust; every one, man and woman, encouraged their neighbours: we took notice at Edinburgh of the names, disposition, forces, of all who joined not with us in covenant; appointed that in one day the castle of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and all the chief adversaries should be essayed; that, with diligence, Montrose, with the forces of Fife, Angus, Perth, Mearns, with the advice of Leslie and sundry of his officers, should go and take order with Huntly and Aberdeen; that Argyll should set strong guards on his coasts; that Leith should be fortified."

Their success was almost greater than they expected. More soldiers were enlisted than they could arm or maintain. The castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Straven, and Douglas were soon in their hands. Aberdeen was taken and Huntly was compelled to flee.

In Renfrewshire, Lord Montgomery was appointed to the command, and his brother, Captain Montgomery, who had seen service abroad, was appointed commander in the county of Ayr. Under the latter, the West country had already furnished a double company of troops from the shire of Ayr, "which," according to Baillie, "was most commended, even publicly from the pulpits, for example in pious, obsequious, and stout carriage." But when, in the month of May, the Marquess of Hamilton appeared in the Forth with a fleet containing a considerable land force, orders were given to send out every fourth man in the country. Twelve thousand horse and foot were thereupon raised in Ayrshire under Lord Loudon. The men raised in Renfrewshire under Lord Montgomery were not sufficient to form a company, and were joined by a number of men from Glasgow. "This accrese to Baranthrow" [Renfrew], writes Baillie, "with divers lands of Cunningham, made my Lord Montgomery's regiment among the strongest; but the piety and military discipline of his people was commended above all the rest; yea, none did doubt but in all our camp those of the West were the most praiseworthy. They came out most readily, in greatest numbers; they made most conscience of the cause and their behaviour; the fear of them made others stand in awe, who else were near whiles in mutinous insolence."¹

When the Covenanters set out for Duns Law² the Presbytery of Paisley

¹ *Letters and Journals*, i. 201.

² Alexander, eighth Earl of Eglinton, Lord Montgomery's father, took with him to Duns 1000 foot and 100 gentlemen, with 200 yeomen "with jack and speir." He spent 10,000 merks in equipping them, and was summoned by a letter from the Committee, subscribed by Messrs. Alex. Henderson and David Dickson, bidding him come "ether to bury thame or to helpe thame." *Eglinton MSS.*, 35.

“thought it most expedient and necessary that Mr. Matthew Brisbane,” their commissioner at the War Committee in Edinburgh, “should go with Colonel Montgomery and the Company with him to Duncie Hill for their comfort and other exercise of devotion.” On May 23, the day on which the King set out with his army from Alnwick on his way to Berwick, the unwilling chaplain asked to be relieved, and Mr. John Hamilton was sent in his place, and appears to have remained at Duns until the breaking up of the armies in consequence of the treaty of June 18.

In accordance with the terms of that treaty, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh on August 12. The Presbytery of Paisley “elected and chose the Right Honourable my Lord Montgomery commissioner as ruleing elder” to attend it. Parliament also met, but in the month of November was prorogued to June, 1640.

To the Covenanters the proceedings neither of the General Assembly nor of the Parliament were satisfactory, and before the prorogation of the latter it was plain to the Committee in Edinburgh that the Covenant could be established only on the field of battle. “I hear credibly,” wrote Sir Michael Ernley from Berwick, on October 28, “that the Scots have given their officers satisfaction for the present, and have taken them in pay till May next.” On the day that Parliament was prorogued General Leslie arrived in Edinburgh, when preparations were at once set on foot for renewing the war, and on July 1 Leslie was again at Duns with his army.¹

To the General Assembly which met at Aberdeen on the 28th of that month, the Presbytery of Paisley sent Mr. Hew Blair, Mr. Robert Burnie, and the Goodman of Duchal, as their Commissioners, and such was the enthusiasm of the brethren that they offered to pay their expenses.²

On the same day that Charles left London for the north, August 20, Leslie crossed the Tweed. Among the commanders with him was Lord Montgomery, the Colonel of Renfrewshire. The affair of Newburn was fought eight days later, and on the following day Leslie marched into Newcastle. Negotiations were begun soon after, and on October 26 the treaty of Ripon was ratified by the King. January 9 was appointed to be kept as a solemn thanksgiving to God for establishing peace in the kingdom of Scotland, but the Scots army was not disbanded till August 28, 1641, the anniversary of what Clarendon calls “that infamous rout at Newburn.”

¹ *Calendar of State Papers* (1639-40), 57.

² Presbytery Records MS. The Assembly sat until Wednesday night, August 5. No business of any consequence was done, “but only a persecution against all such ministers as did not relish the Covenant well, was raised, and the execution thereof remitted to a committee of ministers and ruling elders.” Balfour, ii. 382.

In the General Assembly which met at St. Andrews, July 20, 1641, the Presbytery of Paisley was represented by Messrs. Hew Blair and Ninian Campbell, ministers, and the Earl of Glencairn, ruling elder. At the meeting of the Estates held in Edinburgh on the 25th of the month, at which the treaty made with Charles was ratified, Renfrewshire was represented by Sir Ludovic Houstoun of that ilk and Sir Patrick Maxwell of Newark. The concessions which were there made by the King were such that, besides completing the overthrow of Episcopacy, the whole government of the country was practically placed in the hands of the ministers.

By their various successes, the temper of the Covenanters was far from improved. During the sitting of the Assembly at St. Andrews, one of its members, while on his way to Leith, drew his whinger on a man with whom he had an altercation, and stabbed him fatally. According to Burnet, "the strictness of piety and good life which had gained them so much reputation before the war, began to wear off; and instead of that, a fierceness of temper and a copiousness of many long sermons and much long prayers came to be the distinction of the party." "As every war broke out," he adds, "there was a visible abatement of even the outward shews of piety."¹ In Renfrewshire, their zeal and oppression became more and more intolerable. They forced every one to sign the Covenant, persecuted the Catholics and all who were suspected of leanings towards the ancient Church, prohibited piping and dancing, forbade penny-weddings, and began a campaign against kirk-burial.

By the successes of their troops in England, a new prospect was opened up to the Covenanters; and their leaders began to dream of a great Presbyterian propaganda. The first indications of this in Renfrewshire occur in the Presbytery Records, under date April 1, 1641, when we have the minute: "This day the Brethren declared that they had kept a solemn fast with the Church of Scotland, appointed to be kept the fourth of this instant, for the preservation of the Scottish armie, keeping of the union and bond of peace among ourselves, the advancing of the reformation of all neighbouring countries with the disappointing of the practices of our adversaries and settling of religion and solid peace." This was after the battle of Newburn, and while the Scots army was waiting to be paid for the "brotherly assistance" it had rendered to the English Parliament.

After Edgehill, the Parliament of England sent a letter to the Assembly, in which they expressed a desire to see one Confession of Faith and one form of Church government in all His Majesty's dominions, and appealed for help. The letter was received with joy, and the prospect of "the religious reform-

¹ *Own Times*, I., Pt. i. 58 (Airy's Edit.).

ation of neighbouring countries" seemed to brighten before the zealots. Mr. Henry Guthry, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, less enthusiastic and with a cooler head than many who were present, suggested that the English Commissioners should give them a clear declaration as to whether, after having uprooted Episcopacy, those who had sent them meant to establish Presbyterianism or Independency, but he "was cried down as a rotten malignant and an enemy to the cause."¹ The following day, the Solemn League and Covenant, which had been hurriedly drawn up during the night, was produced in the Assembly, and, after being twice read, the brethren were asked to vote upon it at once. "Mr. Matthew Brisbane, minister of Erskine, a worthy reverend man," to use the words of Guthry, "desiring only that before men were urged to vote about it, leisure might be given for some days to have their scruples removed; and for that he was as much spoken against as Mr. Guthry had been the day before."²

Mr. Matthew Brisbane was speaking for himself only. In Renfrewshire, the brethren, whom he represented, had no scruples in the matter. They accepted whatsoever measures were suggested by the Committee in Edinburgh, and adopted the Solemn League and Covenant as a matter of course. They read the "Warning for the Ministers and the Declaration of the Cross Petition" which had been circulated in print from Edinburgh,³ held two

¹ Guthry, 136-7. Guthry says that the English Commissioners on their arrival "presented to the Assembly a letter from the Divines assembled at Westminster together with a declaration from the Parliament of England, both in one sense, viz., that they purposed to extirpate Episcopacy root and branch and to introduce that which they should find most agreeable to the word of God" (*Memoirs*, 136). Mr. Gardiner (*Great Civil War*, i. 271) says that he is in error, and disposes of him by saying that "the declaration of the Lords and Commons (*L. J.*, vi. 140) has nothing in it about the word of God." That is true; but the fact that it has not, proves nothing at all as to Guthry's accuracy. The Declaration is dated April 8, 1642. Things were then moving rapidly, and on July 26 in the same year the Commons drew up a declaration in which they assured the General Assembly in Scotland that they did not doubt that we shall settle . . . such a reformation of the Church as shall be agreeable to God's word" (*L. J.*, v. 228). See Shaw, *English Church during the Civil War*, i. 132. Guthry's statement is further borne out, almost literally, by the instructions given by the two Houses of Parliament to their Commissioners, who were commanded "to remind our brethren of Scotland," among other things, that "there is not any thing expressed to them in their former or later declarations which they [the two Houses] have not seriously taken to heart, and earnestly endeavoured to effect, that see the two kingdoms might be brought into a neare Conjunction, in one forme of Church Government and Directory of Worshippe, one Catechisme, etc., and the foundation laid of the utter extirpation of Popeny and Prelacy out of both kingdoms." *Hist. MSS. Com.*, XIII, i. 127-8.

² *Memoirs*, 138.

³ Presbytery Records, February 16 and March 16. The Cross Petition, which was drawn up by the Marquess of Hamilton and the Earl of Traquair, begged the Lords of the Council not to pledge themselves, either to the King or to the English Parliament, to anything which might jeopardise the peace of the Church or of the kingdom, and asked them to bear in mind that while they rendered unto God the things which were God's, they should also render unto Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's. It was signed by many noblemen and gentlemen; "but the preachers," says Burnet, "threatened damnation to all the authors and subscribers to it; and detestable neutrality became the head on which they spent their eloquence." *Memoirs*, 204-5.

solemn fasts to obtain a blessing upon the Convention of February, 1643,¹ and, in obedience to a letter from the Estates, each of them declared his willingness to furnish a man, along with the brethren in other Presbyteries, for the expedition into England.² Copies of the Solemn League and Covenant were afterwards circulated throughout the county and were largely signed;³ and, down to the execution of Charles, a majority of the people, as well as their clerical rulers, appear to have been as blindly infatuated with the idea of Presbyterianizing England as the Committee in Edinburgh was.

On January 19, 1644, Leslie crossed the Tweed for the second time at the head of the Covenanters. Before, he had crossed it as a patriot; this time he crossed it as a proselytizer.

In the beginning of February orders were sent to Ireland recalling the troops which were serving there under General Munro. They were required, partly, to reinforce Leslie, who was meeting with a much stouter resistance than he expected, and, partly, to overawe the burghs which were refusing to pay the cess which the Covenanters had imposed upon them for the maintenance of the army. The soldiers were starving, and anxious to return; their officers, who were neither starving nor anxious to return, cast lots as to which of their regiments should sail first. The lot fell upon the two commanded by Lord Sinclair and Lawers and upon the Lothian regiment.⁴ Attempts were made to detain them; but in April, or the beginning of May, Sinclair's regiment landed at Irvine, and the Lothians at Greenock.

Their fame appears to have gone before them. The two regiments marched eastward with the intention of lying at Paisley. The bailies of the burgh were advised of their intention by a letter which reached them at eleven o'clock at night and threw them into a state of great consternation. After

¹ Presbytery Records, February 16, 1643.

² Presbytery Records, September 23, 1643. "The Commission of the General Assembly, to show their zeal for the cause, would needs have a regiment of black coats set forth; and therefore ordained every minister throughout the kingdom, as he would be answerable, to afford a soldier for making up a regiment, to be under the command of Arthur Erskine of Scotsraig, which many of them obeyed willingly, others of them by constraint." Guthry, 143.

³ This was not done apparently till 1648. See MacKenzie, Kilbarchan copy of the Solemn League and Covenant. *Supplement to the History of Kilbarchan*. In Kilbarchan, some 350 names appear to have been subscribed with respect to the Covenant. Under date January 4, 1644, there is the following entry in the minutes of the Presbytery: "The Brethren having received a letter from the Commissionaris of the Generall Assemblie requiring thereby their diligence anent the subscriptiones of the Covenant be their parochiniers, The Moderator did particularlie inquire of the brethren if any within their severall parochines had refused to subscribe the same. The brethren present did all declare that none within their several parochines had refused." Unfortunately, the names of the brethren present are not given.

⁴ Carte, *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, iii. 74; *Eglinton MSS.*, 52, Baillie, ii. 104. Munro declared that he would be the last man to leave.

consulting Sir William Ross of Muriston, who chanced to be staying at Hawkhead, they resolved to resist the entrance of the troops into the town. Hastily summoning the men and gentry of the town and parish, they collected over 700 men and nearly 200 horsemen. Their preparations were hardly made when news was brought to them that the Lothian regiment was at the Granter's house at Ferguslie. The bailies at once marched at the head of their men outside the West Port, where they met Lord Sinclair, who had come to await the arrival of his men. He demanded that the town and county should lay down their arms; but the bailies, supported by the Earl of Glencairn, who in the meantime had arrived, and by Sir William Ross and others, refused. An altercation ensued which lasted about a couple of hours, when it was arranged that the first three companies of the Lothian regiment should pass through the town to Renfrew, Govan, and Pollok, and that the remaining two should be quartered in Paisley. Lord Sinclair proceeded to Glasgow, where he was refused admission.

Lawers' regiment soon followed. On March 9, 1644, Sir William Ross wrote: "We hear there are landed at Greenock three hundred of Lawers' regiment, and we fear the over coming of the rest, which affrights the country very much, both in staying their labour and spoiling their houses."¹ The regiment appears to have passed through the town and afterwards to have quartered itself in Clydesdale upon the Earl of Carnwath's land. From Glasgow, Lord Sinclair marched to Stirling, where he took up his quarters and was joined by the rest of his men.²

Shortly after this, the Marquess of Montrose began that brilliant campaign which so soon ended in disaster to one of the noblest of Scotsmen. While Argyll and others were pursuing him among the hills, the men of Kyle, Cunningham, Clydesdale, Renfrew, and the Lennox assembled in Glasgow under Lords Montgomery and Lanark, waiting for they knew not what, and in great fear lest a new army from Ireland should fall upon the West.³

Meantime, the brethren of the Paisley Presbytery were troubled by demands for chaplains for the army. Serving under Leslie were Lord Loudon and the Earl of Eglinton. The latter was a cavalry commander, and under both were apparently troops from the shire. Anyhow, both were in need of chaplains, and appealed for them to the Presbytery of Paisley. On May 16, 1644, "the brethren ordained Mr. Ninian Campbell to go to the army now in England and supply there as minister till he be liberated, and that, in my Lord Loudon's regiment, and ordained Mr. John Hay to write to his Lordship to that effect." The same day, "the brethren, having received letters from the Earl of

¹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 52.

² Guthry, 150; Sir J. Turner, *Memoirs*, 35.

³ Baillie, ii. 234.

Eglinton and Mr. Robert Douglas for relief of Mr. Robert Wise, now at the army in England, and that the regiment might be supplied by one of their number, did then as now answer that they were few in number, some kirks unplanted, and many men old and weak and unable to undergo the charge, and have presently appointed one of their number to be preacher to my Lord Chancellor's regiment, and could not spare any more at this time, which answer Mr. John Hamilton undertook to deliver to his Lordship."¹

On January 2, 1645, Montrose was forfeited and his estates were seized. All the same, he went on in his victorious career. On August 15 came his victory of Kilsyth, which appears to have struck terror into the hearts of his opponents. According to Guthry, the Marquess of Argyll, "who was present at the battle, never looked over his shoulder, until, after twenty miles riding, he reached the South [North ?] Queensferry, where he possessed himself of a boat again."² Glencairn, who was busy raising levies, as soon as he heard of the battle, fled with the Earl of Cassillis to Ireland, while the Earls of Lanark and Crawford-Lindsay, with others, joined Argyll in Berwick.

From Kilsyth, Montrose moved to Glasgow, and from thence to Bothwell Kirk. Commissioners waited upon him from the shire of Linlithgow, "with an acknowledgement of bypast disloyalty for which they begged his mercy ;" "and which is more," continues Guthry, "so did the shire of Renfrew and others in the West. Bishopton, Greenock, and Duchal junior, were their commissioners, who acknowledged rebellion as fast as any, laying the blame thereof upon their ministers."³ Strongly Covenanting as the county was, Montrose was not without sympathisers in it ; but whether they sympathised with him or not, all who had any dealings with him came under the condemnation of the Presbytery, even though their dealings had only been such as common-sense dictated or necessity in the presence of a victorious army compelled.

Soon after the battle of Philiphaugh, September 13, 1645, the Presbytery received instructions from Edinburgh as to the steps they were to take in regard to them, and on February 12 of the following year their instructions were renewed. At the two meetings of the Presbytery in March, and again at the meeting in April, the attention of the brethren was further called to the business, and instructions were given to them "to inform themselves of malignants and complyers with the enemie."

¹ Presbytery Records.

² *Memoirs*, 194, cp. 174.

³ *Memoirs*, 195. According to Baillie, "Glasgow came out (i.e., to Bothwell) and componed, as some say, for eighteen thousand pounds. . . . After Glasgow, the rest of Clydesdale and Linlithgowshire componed. Edinburgh sent him out Crawford and Ogilvie and all the prisoners, and, they say, thirty thousand pounds." ii. 314.

At their next meeting, May 7, 1646, the brethren began to report the results of their diligence. The two ministers of Paisley, Messrs. Calvert and Dunlop, declared that they had "caused cite Sir William Rosse, John Wallace of Ferguslie, Allane Wallace, his sonne, Robert Wallace and Robert Fork, late baillies of Paisley, Archibald Stewart, John Vaus [bailie], James Alexander, William Wallace and James Rosse. The said Johne and Allane Wallace and James Rosse compeirit and gave in their declarations in writte; the rest compeirand, the Presbitrie remittis thame all to the Kirk Sessione of Paisley to be processed be the Sessiounis for the despatch of the bissness, and to be reported be the said Sessioun to the Presbitrie what they do in the bissines." The minister of Houston reported that he had no knowledge of any malignants in his parish; but the ministers of the rest of the parishes had each one or more to delate, and were ordered to proceed against them.

The malignants of the parish of Inverkip were taken in hand by the Presbytery itself, and were at once dealt with. The minute concerning them runs as follows: "The quhilk day (May 7, 1646) Mr. Jon. Hamilton, minister at Innerkippe, declares he has causit summond Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall knight; Jon. Stewart fiar thereof his son, and Mr. Thomas Younger servant to the said Sir Archibald, to compeir this day for the fawlte foirsaid. The said Sir Archibald sent in with his said sonne his letter excusing his absence, not being able to come be reasoun of his disease of the gowte in his fette, quhilk being known to be a reall excuse by the presbitirie was admitted: And it being dilated of Blackhall younger that he went in companie with his father and saluted Alexander M'Donald and wes in companie with him, declared that he being occasionallie at Glasgow, had Alexander M'Donald be the hand without speaking to him or farder dealings with him or onie of the reste: and declaired he wes verie sorie for that step; and for which the presbitirie did sharply rebooke him and accept his confession for satisfaction. And sicklyke it is dilated against Master Thomas Younger that he wente ordinarlie with Blackhall elder, his master, to James Grahame and Alexander M'Donald to their leiger [camp] and elsewhere and writte Blackhall's letters for obedience of their orders when he callit their demands juste—he carriet intelligence betwixt thame, and his not being weill affected in speach concerning the Covenants, and shook hands with James Grahame and Alexander M'Donald: The said Mr. Thomas compeirand, confesses he wes at the leiger, but had no conference with ather of thame, except James Grahame towld him over his showlder that thir were not the dayes he had seine in Edinburgh Castell: He confesses he writte letters for his master to the gentlemen of the shire anent just and reasonable demands fra James Grahame, albeit dyted be his master: He confesses he carriet a letter to Alex. M'Donald writte be Blackhall elder,

at direction of the gentlemen of the Shyre, and being also challengeit for sayeing that James Grahame wes a defender of the Covenant, he denyit the sammyne. The Presbitirie concludes the said Mr. Thomas salbe suspendit from using family exercise or prayer in Blackhall's familie; quhilk is now intimat to the said Mr. Thomas *apud acta*, and is appointit to be signified to the laird be Mr. Henrie Calvert, moderator, and furder, the said Mr. Thomas is appointit to confess his fawlt publickly on the publick place of repentance In the kirk of Innerkippe."

Though the brethren excused Sir Archibald's presence on account of his attack of "gowte," they did not excuse his "fawlte." After being allowed to "sleep" for about eight months, the charge against him was revived. The following is the Presbytery's minute concerning it, under date January 7, 1647: "The quhilk day compeirit Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, knicht. Challengeit for compliance with the enemy James Grahame and Alexander M'Donald"; he answered, that "he went to their leiger and wes with thame and had conference with thame. He receivit letters fra James Grahame quharin wes shewn the gentlemen of the shyre had broken promise to him, and therefore desyred the shyre should be advisit to levie ane troupe of horse to send to him, and that he receivit the letter and advisit the gentlemen of the shyre thereof. He anserit: he wes at the leiger, and that James Grahame sent a threatening letter to him (bot no promise of the shyre allegit therein) quhilk lettre he receivit and finding thereby both danger to himselfe and his friends and nighbors, he acquaintit thame that they nicht convene, lest being silent he had both wrongit them and himself; and thereafter they met at Renfrew, quhare it was concludit to levie a troupe of horse bot not of intentione to send thame out, and onlie of purpose to temporise with the enemy, and after the day of randevouze wes apointit, he shiftit and contenowit the samin be lettris, quhilk he sent to some of his parochiners. The presbitirie having considered the premisses, ordered the said Sir Archibald Stewart to mak his repentance conform to the Acts of the Generall Assemblée, viz., First, humble to acknowledge his offence on his knees before the Presbiterie, and there efter in the congregation of Innerkippe on ane Sabothe daye before the pulpit also on his knees. He thar presently obeyit the first part before the Presbiterie."

After this edifying spectacle, Andrew Semple, former Clerk of Renfrew, was called before the Court to be dealt with. He "grantit he wis at the meeting of the gentlemen of the Shyre of Renfrew quhar there wis ane act made for outputeing a troupe of horse for James Grahame. The Presbiterie hes warnit him *apud acta* to this day twentie dayes to give up ane roll of the gentlemen that were there." When he appeared before the Presbytery as directed on the 28th of the month, Semple denied that he knew "wha were at

the meeting of the gentlemen at Renfrew," alleging that he had given up his papers to the Commissioners of Ayr and Renfrew, who met at Kilmarnock, and was cited to appear again.

Meantime the malignants resident in Paisley had been dealt with. On October 1, 1646, Mr. Alexander Dunlop, one of the ministers of the parish, reported that "last Lord's day Sir William Rosse, John Wallace of Ferguslie, Robert Wallace, Robert Forke" and the rest "had publiclie in face of the congregation declairit themselfis greivit and sorie for haveing hand in taking protection for the towne and parochin of Paisley, and withall confessit their fawlte."

Brisbane of Bishopton, who, according to Guthry, "acknowledged rebellion as fast as any" at Bothwell, appeared before the Presbytery on April 1, 1647. He admitted being at Bothwell, but "seeing bissiness there to be dangerous, he went," he said, "to Ireland with the Laird of Greenock without furdur [dealings]." Six weeks before this the Laird of Greenock had made a statement; and both in his case and in that of Brisbane the brethren declared themselves satisfied. The reader can choose between the account given of these two men by Guthry and that which satisfied the Presbytery. Guthry's seems more likely to be true than that given by Bishopton and Greenock in self-defence. Their flight to Ireland is against them. Duchal younger is the only one mentioned by Guthry who does not appear to have been dealt with by the Presbytery. On the whole, the conduct of the Presbytery is much more open to censure than that which they condemned.

While the incidents just narrated were going on, the county was visited by the plague, which for more than a thousand years had been continually hovering about the country, and from time to time sweeping away vast numbers of its inhabitants. Its first recorded visitation occurred in the year 664, when, according to Tighernach, "innumerable Kings and Abbots" were carried off by it, and when, according to Adamnan, it laid waste all the countries of Western Europe with the exception of the small tract of country inhabited by the Picts and Scots. In the year 1456, it became the subject of legislation in Scotland, and as the Act then passed was in subsequent years frequently re-enacted, there can be no doubt that the scourge against which it was directed was frequently here. The fact that in or about the year 1456 the monks of Paisley set down in their copy of the *Scotichronicon*, or what is usually known as the *Black Book of Paisley*, a version of the smaller of the two treatises, written by John de Burgundia, otherwise known as Sir John de Mandeville, would seem to show that the plague was then either in the shire or was not far off.¹ That it was in the county in

¹ D. Murray, *Black Book of Paisley*, 20.

the year 1588 is certain. Its prevalence in Paisley in that year is thrice referred to in the Town Council Records of Glasgow.¹ It was in Paisley, again, in January, 1602,² while in October, 1603 and 1604, it is evident from the Acts then passed by the Paisley Town Council that it was in the neighbourhood and was daily expected.³ Nothing more is heard of this terrible scourge in the county till the year 1645, when it raged with great virulence both in Paisley and in the surrounding country. The people of Paisley were reduced to such straits that, in order to relieve their necessity, the Town Council of Glasgow, on December 6 in that year, voted them twenty bolls of meal and made them a money grant of the same amount as had been sent to Kelso. By the middle of the following year the plague had abated in Paisley, and the town was able to send assistance to Glasgow,⁴ where, notwithstanding the attempts to ward it off, there was a great mortality. During the prevalence of the plague in Glasgow in this year, the Town Council applied to the bailies of Paisley for temporary accommodation for the University in Paisley.⁵ The bailies were willing to provide the accommodation, but the proposal fell through.

The Presbytery continued to follow the instructions of the Committee in Edinburgh. In obedience to that body, they denounced the Engagement,⁶ by which, among other things, Charles agreed to confirm the Covenant by Act of Parliament, so far as to give security to those who had signed it, but refused to allow any one to be constrained to take it in future. When, on May 3, Parliament ordered a levy of 30,000 foot and 6,000 horse, and despatched Lord Cochran and the Laird of Garthland to bring over General Munro and his army from Ireland, and the Assembly's Committee protested against the measure,⁷ the brethren in Renfrewshire, acting upon instructions from Edinburgh, read the Committee's "protestation" from their pulpits, and, on the last Sunday in May, backed up the protest with a public fast.

In Glasgow, the levy ordered by Parliament was resisted. A couple of the bailies of the city were promptly arrested, conveyed to Edinburgh, and there imprisoned,⁸ and Sir James Turner, having been sent to enforce obedience, "anticipated the methods by which Louis XIV. afterwards attempted to

¹ October 23, 26, 31.

² Paisley Town Council Records, January 28; Metcalfe, 248.

³ Metcalfe, 253, 264.

⁴ Glasgow Town Council Records, December 6, 1645.

⁵ Paisley Town Council Records, October 7, 1647.

⁶ The Moderator's letter to the brethren in Edinburgh, in which the brethren of Paisley are made to say, "We have resolved to supplicate the Honorabill Court of Parliament against this present Engagment," is dated May 25, 1648. Mr. James Taylor and the Laird of Barrochan were sent with the petition. *Proc. of General Assembly* (Sc. Hist. Soc.), p. 532.

⁷ Guthry, 269.

⁸ Guthry, 272.

convert the Huguenots.¹ From Glasgow, he marched to Paisley with his regiment, and quartered his troops in the neighbourhood. "But the people from the several parishes came to me," he says, "so fast, offering their obedience to the Parliament that I knew not where to quarter my present men."

On Saturday, June 10, 1648, he was joined by the Earl of Callender and Lieutenant-General Middleton, who were on their way to Stewarton, where they had appointed to meet the regiments commanded by Turner and Hurry, on Monday, the 12th.² Callender and Middleton were met by the Earls of Glencairn and Eglinton, and, acting upon the information they gave, Middleton, taking along with him Hurry's regiment, immediately set out for Mauchline, where, though not without difficulty, he dispersed the gathering from the Western shires which he and Callender had been sent to suppress.

In their passage through the county the Engagers, though unopposed, appear to have dealt roughly with the people, and to have provoked considerable resentment. Writing to his son, Colonel James Montgomery, from Eglinton, on the 21st of the following month, Lord Eglinton, who was a strong Anti-Engager, said: "I see no appearance they have God's direction in their ways, and there is small appearance they shall have good success to their intentions. They have been most rigorous in plundering this country, and as malicious against those that were not against them in the conflict at Mauchline, as those who were against them. . . . The nobility, gentry and country people are so incensed at their proceedings, it will not fail but will draw to a mischief."³

¹ Turner, *Memoirs*, 53, 55. "At my coming there," he says, "I found my work not very difficult, for I shortly learnt to know that the quartering of two or three troopers and half a dozen musketeers was an argument strong enough in two or three nights' time to make the hardest-headed Covenanter in the town to forsake the Kirk and to side with the Parliament." Baillie, also, who was then living in Glasgow, tells of this. "Some regiments of horse and foot," he writes, "were sent to our towne, with orders to quarter on no other but the Magistrates, Counsell and Session, and their lovers [supporters]. These orders were exercised with rigour; on the most religious people of our towne, huge burdens did fall: on some ten, on some twenty, on some thirty sojourns, and more, did quarter; who beside their meat and drink, wine and good cheer, and whatever they called for, did exact cruelie their daylie pay, and much more. In ten dayes they cost a few honest, but mean people, above forty thousand pounds [Scots] besides plundering of those whom necessity forced to flee from their houses. Our losse and danger was not so great by James Grahame (Montrose)." *Letters and Journals*, iii. 47.

² Guthry, 227; Baillie, iii. 43; Turner, *Memoirs*, 55. Turner and Hurry had 1,600 "good horse" and "above 2,000 foot."

³ *Eglinton MSS.*, 56. Referring to the engagement, he says: "I doubt not bot ye have heard the certainty of the conflict at Mauchling; the Lieutenant General new maid, callit Middletoun, was evill hurt in the heid and cuitt in thrie partis on his back, and verrie hardlie persewit be ane blacksmyth; and Colonell Hurrie evill hurt alsoe on the heid; as for the common tronperis their was almost as many slaine as was of the cuntrye people; bot gif the cuntrye men had had officers to have comandit them, it had not gon as it did; for the ministeris that war with the cuntryemen diswaddit the moist part of the cuntrye people and maid them goe of the feild to eschew scheduling of blood." Cp. Turner, 55-6.

The Engagers who set out under the Duke of Hamilton, Callender, and Middleton to retrieve the royal cause in England and to rescue Charles I. from the hands of his enemies, were defeated at Preston, on August 17, by Cromwell. Immediately after, a fresh rising of those who were opposed to the Engagement took place in the West under the Earl of Eglinton. The Committee of the Estates at once resolved to call out all the fencible men in the kingdom for its suppression.¹ They were placed under the command of the Earl of Lanark. But, instead of leading them straight to the West, he led them round by East Lothian to the border, under the pretext of going to meet General George Munro, who had recently brought over his troops from Ireland and with a part of them had escaped the disaster at Preston. Time was thus given for the rising in the West to spread, and the result was that Kyle, Cunningham, Renfrewshire, Clydesdale, Evandale, and Lesmahagow joined together and marched towards Edinburgh 6,000 strong, with the Chancellor, Loudon, and the Earl of Eglinton at their head, accompanied by Mr. Dickson and other ministers from the districts. In Edinburgh they were received with joy, the magistrates and ministers of the city going out to meet them and lead them in.

In the meantime, Lanark had been joined by Munro and his troops and by many others who had escaped from the rout at Preston. Marching by Haddington, they moved upon Edinburgh. Loudon and Eglinton took up a position with their forces on the craigs east of the town, as if to give battle. Munro was impatient to attack, but Lanark and his Committee refused. Presently the whole of the Engagers drew off to Linlithgow, and thence marched towards Stirling. The Marquess of Argyll, who in the meantime had joined forces with Loudon, and appears to have assumed the chief command of the Whiggamores, as the men from the West were called, unaware of Lanark's intention, also resolved to move upon Stirling, and, marching at a quicker pace and by a shorter route, arrived there first. Having posted his men and held a meeting with his officers and the magistrates, Argyll went off to dine with the Earl of Mar. "But," to use the words of Guthry, "while the meat was setting on the table, his lordship was alarmed with the approach of Munro's army; whereupon he presently mounted his horse, and taking his way by Stirling Bridge, fled with such speed, as if his enemies had been at his heels, and never looked behind him, until, after eighteen miles riding, he reached the north Queensferry, and there possessed himself of a boat again, now the fourth time."² On hearing that Argyll was escaping, Munro, without asking the permission of Lanark or his Committee, pushed on with all haste, cut down

¹ Guthry, 285; Turner, 57 ff.

² *Memoirs*, 270.

about a hundred men who were posted at the Bridge of Stirling, and then pressed on in pursuit; but he was too late.

The Whiggamores fell back to Falkirk. Lanark and Munro's officers argued strongly in favour of attacking them, believing that it would be easy to obtain a victory; but the Committee of the Estates had other plans in view. Negotiations were opened with the Whiggamores, and on September 26 the Committee of the Estates abandoned all claim to the government of the country.

The Covenanters, with Argyll at their head, were now more firmly placed in power than ever. The two armies were disbanded, Munro quitted the country, and in the month of November Cromwell was received in Edinburgh by Argyll and the Committee of the Assembly. From his communings with Argyll and the leaders of the Covenanters, Cromwell hastened south, and shortly after the King was brought to trial and beheaded.

The Estates met in the beginning of January, 1649, when the dominant party proceeded to weed out of the new Parliament the Engagement element, and to form a Committee of the Estates entirely after its own mind. The Act of Classes for purging the judicatories and other places of public trust was passed, all who had been concerned in the "sinful Engagement" were excluded from public office for a period measured by their iniquities, and the intolerance of the Covenanters knew no limits.

In Renfrewshire, John Wallace of Ferguslie and his son Allan, Robert Fork, elder, and Robert Alexander, late bailies of Paisley, were, on April 12, 1649, made to appear before the Presbytery there to answer "for their accession to the late sinful Engagement," and "referred to the Assembly." A month later (May 16) the same Presbytery appointed a "solemn thanksgiving for the overthrow given by the Majesty of God to James Grahame," to be held "on Wednesday eight days." Five days after this appointment was made, Montrose, that "pure-souled champion of monarchy," was beheaded, and the joy of his adversaries was great.

But neither the brethren of the Paisley Presbytery nor their masters, the Committee in Edinburgh, were to enjoy their unbridled licence long. They were soon to learn that there were others in the island who on occasion could be as fanatical as themselves, and that the undisciplined armies they were able to place in the field were no match for the trained troops of those to whom they had once given their "brotherly assistance."

The proclamation at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, on February 5, 1649, of Charles II. as "King of Great Britain, France and Ireland," was tantamount to a declaration of war against those who had usurped the royal authority in England. Charles was not then in Scotland, and he was not to be permitted

to land upon its shores until he became a Covenanter; all the same, the execution of Charles I. at Westminster and the proclamation of his son in Edinburgh made war between the two countries inevitable. So at least thought the Covenanters, and, immediately after the proclamation, preparations began to be made, men were drilled, and soldiers were hired.

On April 2 the Town Council of Paisley resolved that "all inhabitants of the town shall be restrained in time coming during the time of levying to take on to be soldiers with any but the town;" and further, that the wives and children of those who had already "taken on with gentlemen outwith the town" should at once be sent to dwell on the lands where the husbands and fathers were serving, in order to prevent them becoming a burden upon the inhabitants. On the same day, the Council ordered the sum of two hundred pounds to be levied upon the burgesses, heritors, and inhabitants of the town for the "outrike" of a troop of horse. On July 8 the same Town Council resolved to "outrik twa horse on the towne," and to raise "the town's part of thirtey seven footmen." Twenty-one days later a resolution was passed "to appoint the town presently [*i.e.*, immediately] to be put in a position of war, and appointed guardmasters to see the town drilled."

On June 23, 1650, Charles II. landed at Speymouth and was recognised throughout Scotland as its Covenanted King. Five days later, Cromwell set out for the north with the intention of preventing an invasion of England by the army which it was known in London the Scots had been preparing to that end. On July 19 he halted near Berwick, where he mustered about 18,000 men, of whom about 5,500 were cavalry. The Scots army numbered about 18,000 foot and 8,000 horse. Its nominal head was "old Leslie," now Earl of Leven, but practically it was commanded by his nephew, David Leslie. Though more numerous than the English army, the Scottish was inferior to it in quality, consisting for the most part of men drawn, and even dragged, from their homes, and possessing very little of the military instinct and still less of military discipline. The best regiment in it had been levied by means of voluntary contributions from the ministers, among whom not the least enthusiastic were the ministers of Renfrewshire. It was commanded by Colonel Strahan, who had defeated Montrose at Carbisdale.

Cromwell left Berwick on Monday, July 22, and, marching by Cockburnspath, Dunbar, and Haddington, reached Musselburgh on the evening of Sunday, the 28th, where he quartered his troops, "the enemy's army," he says, "lying between Edinburgh and Leith, about four miles from us, entrenched by a line flanked from Edinburgh to Leith; the guns also from Leith scouring most part of the line, so that they lay very strong."

Next morning he "resolved to draw up to them, to see if they would

fight us." Leslie was well posted, and for good reasons refused to fight or to come out of his lines. Cromwell was obliged to retire, and "the enemy, when we drew off, fell upon our rear." But the cavalry under Lambert and Whalley coming up, "our men charged them up to the very trenches and beat them in." In the next encounter, which happened early on the following morning, we hear of the men from Renfrew and Ayrshire and the ministers' regiment. The description is Cromwell's. "We came to Musselburgh that night [July 29]: so tired and wearied for want of sleep, and so dirty by reason of the wetness of the weather, that we expected the enemy would make an infall upon us. Which accordingly they did, between three and four of the clock this morning; with fifteen of their most select troops, under the command of Major-General Montgomery and Strahan, two champions of the Church:—upon which business there was great hope and expectation laid. The enemy came on with a great deal of resolution; beat in our guards, and put a regiment of horse in some disorder; but our men, speedily taking the alarm, charged the enemy, routed them, took many prisoners, killed a great many of them, did execution to within a quarter of a mile of Edinburgh." "This is a sweet beginning of your business, or rather the Lord's, and I believe is not very satisfactory to the enemy, especially to the Kirk party."¹

After much manœuvring and a little fighting, but nothing decisive, Cromwell, through sickness and uncertainty of provisions, was obliged to draw off from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and on July 31 set out for Dunbar, which he reached on Sunday, September 1, Leslie hanging on his rear all the way, and finally hemming him in on the south from the hills overlooking the town. Two days later the Scotch army was broken to pieces. Ten thousand fell into the hands of Cromwell. David Leslie reached Edinburgh at nine o'clock at night—"old Leslie" did not get there till two o'clock next morning.

From Dunbar, Cromwell marched to Edinburgh and Leith, which he occupied without resistance, the Castle of Edinburgh alone holding out. Leaving a force behind him to block the Castle and complete the fortifications of Leith, he marched, on September 14, to assail Leslie, who had retreated with his shattered forces to Stirling. Here Leslie's skill as a strategist stood him in good stead again. Finding him too strongly posted to be attacked with advantage, Cromwell let him alone and returned to Edinburgh to push on the siege of the Castle.

Meanwhile, Colonels Strahan and Ker had charged Leslie with being the principal cause of the defeat at Dunbar. Leslie resented the accusation and

¹ Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters*, Letter cxxxv.

threw up his command, but withdrew his resignation at the urgent entreaty of the Committee of the Estates. Immediately after, Strahan and Ker, in order that they might be out of the way, at least for a time, were appointed with Sir John Chiesley to levy troops in the West. But before going there, Strahan took upon him to write a letter to Cromwell offering that if the English army would leave Scotland, he would undertake that England should suffer no harm. The letter was intercepted, and Leslie being refused permission to punish the officer on whom it was found, resigned again.

Cromwell pushed on the siege of the Castle, keeping a watchful eye upon the coalition which was now being formed between the Committee of the Estates and the leading Royalists and Engagers, and always hoping that Strahan and Ker and the leaders in the West would, out of their bitter hatred for Malignants of any kind, join him. Shortly before October 8, Strahan wrote another letter to him, which was more fortunate in its bearer than the former. To Cromwell it seemed of such importance as to induce him to start for Glasgow. He arrived there on Friday evening, October 8, 1650, and remained over Sunday, listening calmly to Mr. Zachary Boyd as he "railed" upon him and his officers "to their very face in the High Church."¹ But on Monday, hearing that Leslie was about to interrupt the siege, he hastened back to Edinburgh. Strahan and Ker he had failed to win over, but he had the satisfaction of finding that they were not likely to give much assistance to his enemies.

Among the supporters of the Western leaders, none were more eager than the ministers and people of the shire of Renfrew. From its beginning they had taken part with the Western Association, the spiritual leaders of which were Mr. Patrick Gillespie, minister of Glasgow, and others of the more intolerant ministers. At its meeting in September, about a month before Cromwell's visit to Glasgow, the Presbytery of Paisley resolved that "in respect of our army in the field against the Sectaries is scattered at Dunbar, and that the gentlemen and ministers of the Western Shires² are to meet at Kilmarnock, the Presbytery appoints Messrs. Alexander Dunlop and John Mauld to repair thither, and to concur with them in any good and necessary course for the safety of the cause and kingdom."³

This meeting at Kilmarnock was attended by "some of the chief gentlemen and ministers of the sheriffdoms of Ayr, Clydesdale, Renfrew, and Galloway."

¹ Baillie, iii. 119.

² Burnet names them—"Clydesdale, Renfrew, Ayr, Galloway, and Nithsdale." *Own Times*, I., i. 98.

³ At the same meeting, instructions were given to all the ministers within the bounds "to summon all who were fit and able for service against the enemy to enroll their names and to offer themselves cheerfully and willingly to the work." Presbytery Records.

The principal figure at it was Gillespie, at whose suggestion it was resolved, in view of the "present necessity, to raise a strength of horse and dragoons, as they had designed in their Association, but far above the proportion of any bygone levy," and "to put them all under the command of four colonels, the likeliest men to act speedily against the enemy, Ker, Strahan, Robin Hacket, and Sir Robert Adair."

The resolution was not unanimous. "My Lord Cassilis kept off Carriek; Galloway also did disrelish the matter;" and the committee of Renfrew, seeing the "vast expense of the enterprise (for the very first 'outrek' would amount to five hundred thousand pounds, and the daily charge to four or five thousand pounds¹ upon the shires aforesaid) were generally averse from the motion." It was carried, however, by the committees of Clydesdale, Kyle, and Cunningham. Gillespie, Sir George Maxwell, and Glanderstone were sent with this "voluntarie offer" to Stirling, where, "though many did smell and fear the design of a division," "they obtained an Act of State for all their desires," which "did quash all farther opposition."²

Paisley, as we saw, had already been put into a "state of war," and men and money were now raised with zeal for the strengthening of the Western army, which, the Committee of State had assured Strahan, would be permitted to act apart and not be troubled with any orders from David Leslie, under whom Strahan was unwilling to serve. According to the Town Council Records of Paisley, under date September 10, four men had "con-descended and undertaken to go forth for the town in the present expedition, and the Town Council undertook to procure the best horse in the town to send to the army," for the payment of which horse the bailies and councillors were to give their bond. On the 23rd of the month a levy of £959 8s. Scots was made upon the inhabitants of the burgh, in order to discharge the town's share in the cost of the "outriek" of the Five Shires Association.

Just before Strahan and Ker had their interview with Cromwell in Glasgow, somewhere between the 11th and 14th of October, Ker's regiment was in Paisley; for on the 7th of that month a levy of four-score pounds was ordered to be made upon its inhabitants to pay the cost of quartering it in the town during the week preceding, and for the former expense of the "outriek of sexe trowp horse." Paisley at this time, indeed, appears to have been one of the headquarters of the Association, and a depot for its military stores. Later on, November 11, the bailies and Town Council record that, "in obedience of the letters and acts of the Committee of the Association," they

¹ Scots money. £500,000 Scots = £41,666 13s. 4d. stg. £1,000 Scots = £83 6s. 8d. stg.

² Baillie, iii. 111-112.

had appointed the powder, match, and balls in Paisley to be carried to the castle of Avondale, and on the 8th of the following month they ordered the shire arms in the Tolbooth to be conveyed that night "to some convenient place, where they might be hid from the enemy." The reason for this we shall see.

In the meantime Strahan and Ker, in conjunction with Gillespie and those with him, had issued at Dumfries, on October 17, a Remonstrance, in the drawing up of which Messrs. Dunlop and Mauld may possibly have had a hand. It was a remarkable manifesto. In it the leaders of the Western army declared their intention not to fight for the King until he gave satisfactory evidence of sincere repentance and ceased to have dealings with Malignants. Their intention to issue this manifesto may have been, and probably was, the only piece of satisfaction which Cromwell obtained in his interview with Strahan in Glasgow some three or six days before. Shortly after its issue, Strahan, finding his position between Cromwell and the King's Government untenable, resigned his commission, and after a while joined Cromwell. Ker, who now became commander of the Western army, resolved not only not to entangle himself with the English, but also to take no orders from the Committee of the Estates.

Parliament met at Perth on November 26. Neither the county nor the burgh of Renfrew was represented in it. One of the first acts of the Parliament was to send Colonel Montgomery to the west to bring Ker to his senses. But before he could reach him, Ker had rushed upon destruction. On the 30th of the month a letter was read in Parliament showing that Lambert had marched west with 7,000 dragoons¹ to watch the movements of Ker, and if possible drive him north of the Forth. That same day Lambert reached Hamilton. Ker was then lying at Carmunnock² with his army, and at four o'clock next morning (December 1) attempted to surprise him. The attempt was an utter failure. Ker was wounded and taken prisoner, and his troops, which were easily beaten off, were pursued that day to Paisley and Kilmarnock, and immediately thereafter to Ayr.³ One of the leaders under Ker was the "Laird of Rallistoun." Montgomery, who had been sent to Ker, was in the neighbourhood of Glasgow when Lambert was pursuing the shattered army of the West, and must have had some 3,000 horse with him, but on hearing of Ker's defeat he marched back to Stirling without attempting anything against Lambert, or in aid of the men he was pursuing. After this, troops were kept moving about the county for some time, and on December 16 the Town

¹ Carlyle says "Three thousand horse."

² Baillie, iii. 125.

³ Douglas, *Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns*, 186.

Council of Paisley ordered a levy of 300 merks to be made upon the inhabitants to defray the cost of "Colonel Kennedy's quartering of his regiment."

After the coronation of the King at Scone, January 1, 1651, the authorities of the Church, led and almost compelled by the Committee of the Estates, were reconciled after a sort to the employment of Malignants in the army, and in places of public trust, on condition that they went through some form of penance. In this new and almost unexpected arrangement—an arrangement, however, which had for some time been commending itself to the laity—the shire of Renfrew appears to have acquiesced, and began to do its utmost for the support of the King and the Royalist army.

For military purposes the headquarters for the shire were at Dumbarton, where the committee charged with the military administration of the district appears to have sat daily. In the Records of the Town Council of Paisley, almost the only source of information there is for the county at this time, numerous payments are set down as having been made by the Burgh for the King's troops. From an entry under date May 14, 1651, it appears that the town was assessed in the sum of 89 merks a day for the maintenance of a regiment of dragoons, stationed in the shire of Dumbarton. Bailie Sprewl was sent to obtain, if possible, some relief from the assessment; and, having met Colonel Campbell at Erskine, appears to have accomplished his mission, though to what extent is not stated. A later minute shows that a sum of £150 was required to be paid by the town. About the same time, or in the beginning of May, a number of English troops were quartered in Paisley. They appear to have made free with the property of the farmers resident in the surrounding country, much of which they brought into the town and left behind them, from which it may probably be inferred that their departure was somewhat hurried.¹ Anyhow, on May 19, a small engagement was fought near the town, in which the Royalist Lieutenant Buntine defeated a troop of sixty horse belonging to the enemy, killing and taking prisoners most of them.² A little later, a part of the Laird of Preston's regiment was quartered in the town for a night, and were sent from Paisley to assist in the protection of the town and parish of Dumbarton. Numerous other entries occur in the Town's Records showing the extent to which the Burgh was taxed for the support of

¹ Town Council Records, May 5, 1651. The Act of Levy of the preceding year required at least one trooper, well mounted and armed, for each thousand merks of yearly valued rent, and over and above that, the heritors and young men within burghs who were able to mount themselves.

² Balfour, iv. 307. Buntine had probably been despatched by Montgomery; and the English troopers were in all likelihood levying the cess.

the Royal cause. Similar assessments were laid on the shire. They were frequent and heavy ; but, notwithstanding one or two complaints, they appear to have been cheerfully borne.

When Cromwell set out in pursuit of Charles II., on August 4, 1651, he left behind him Lieutenant-General Monk to complete the conquest of Scotland. Monk's first object was to capture Stirling. The town surrendered on August 6, at the first summons, and the castle, unable to resist Monk's well-served artillery, yielded on the 14th.

During the siege, Colonel Okey was despatched with his regiment to Glasgow and the West country, where, according to information received, "some Lords" had returned from the King with full commissions to raise in these parts 600 horse and foot, and had their Commissioners sitting at Glasgow and Paisley levying them. Okey started on the 11th, and marched to Glasgow, Paisley, and Irvine. Then, dividing his forces, he sent out parties in all directions, who "so scoured the country that we may now march 100 horse from this place [Stirling] all over the West and South." At Paisley, a regiment was being raised for Colonel Cochrane. Okey fell upon the new levies, sent them flying, and captured some of the King's chief Commissioners, one of whom was "the Lord Orbiston." He fined Glasgow £900, Paisley £150, and Lord Ross £50.¹

"A party of ours also," Okey adds in his letter, "which I sent to Boghall, brought me 14 ministers prisoners, who were all met together in a barne by a wood side 6 miles from Glasco, but were released again, being about a work that I hope will prove advantagious to us. It is thus : The General Assembly having silenced many of them and forced them to preach both in publique and in private, they were there met together to seek the Lord, whether they should obey or disobey the Generall Assembly's order. And they assured us, as in the presence of the Lord, that they were about no other work ; and that God had set it upon their hearts, that it were better to obey God than men, and so accounted their Generall Assembly a malignant usurped Authority, and ought not to be obeyed. And therefore they, being set at liberty by us, did on the last Lord's day, in Glasgow and other parts, preach publickly against that wicked authority. The Lord hath done great things for us in these parts, whereof we have great cause to be glad."

After the battle of Worcester, September 3, 1651, Cromwell's troops were quartered in Renfrewshire as well as in the rest of the Western shires. Those sent to Paisley were under the command of Captain Robeson, whose immediate chief, Major-General Deane, had his headquarters at Dumbarton. His own

¹ Okey to the President of the Council. Frith, *Scotland and the Commonwealth* 316 ; ep. 5.

headquarters Robeson fixed at Castle Semple, and was careful to exact payment from the inhabitants of the shire, not only for the maintenance of his men,¹ but also for certain losses one of his cornets had sustained in the parish of Cathcart. In the town of Paisley, his exactions appear to have been bitterly resented.

Under date February 13, 1652, the town's official Minute Book bears:— "John Sprewell is appointed to go to Dumbarton to Generall-Major Deane, and there represent to him the many burdings that the town of Paisleye have borne beyond the shire of Renfrew within which it lies: And that now, albeit that they have common burding with the said Shire in the payment of the assessment, that yet notwithstanding Captain Robeson's trowpe now keeping guard on them, the said towne, doth burden them with coill and candle both day and nicht to the said guard, nevertheless that all the burdings that the said town doth beare besyde on sending of posts, guyds, and horses to send: And to labour for remedie with the said Major-Generall." Whether the bailie succeeded, is uncertain. One demand made by Captain Robeson the Town Council indignantly refused to comply with. This was that they should furnish him with feather beds and send them out to Castle Semple. As nothing further is heard of the demand, it is probable that the captain thought it prudent not to press for the beds.

As early as January 23, 1651, four months after Cromwell's victory at Dunbar (September 3, 1650), the Long Parliament had recommended the despatch of Commissioners to settle the army's accommodation in Scotland, and to ease the charges of its administration in the districts within its occupation,² but after the "crowning mercy" of Worcester, the circumstances were changed, and the English Parliament contemplated nothing less than the entire annexation of the country as a conquered province.

On September 9, six days after Worcester, a Committee was appointed by Parliament to bring in a Bill "for asserting the Right of this Commonwealth to so much of Scotland as is now under the Power of the Forces of this Commonwealth, how the same may be settled under the Government of this Commonwealth."³ The Council of State next received instructions to nominate "fit persons to be sent as Commissioners to Scotland" for the settling of its affairs. On October 22, seven were nominated, among whom were Chief-

¹ In January, 1652, the situation [in Scotland] was recognised, so far as the military authorities were concerned, by the assessment on each county of an enforced contribution in lieu of the free quarters demanded for the English soldiers as long as a state of war was understood to prevail. Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protec.*, ii. 65.

² Terry, *The Cromwellian Union*, xvi. From this volume most of the following is taken.

³ Terry, xvi.

Justice Oliver St. John, the younger Sir Harry Vane, and Major-Generals Lambert and Deane; and on the following day, October 23, their appointment was confirmed. On the same day, the Scottish and Irish Committee was directed by the Council of State to prepare instructions for the Commissioners, and upon December 4 the instructions they had prepared were presented to Parliament, where, after amendment, they were passed on December 11.

In these instructions¹ the idea of annexation was abandoned and the policy of political incorporation adopted. The Commissioners were provided with ample powers, and those of them who were not already in Scotland, set out from London, and, on January 15, 1652, arrived at Dalkeith, where "the great hous and castle belonging to the Erle of Buccleuch was ordered for thaim."²

The Commissioners began their work by putting forth a Declaration, by which they abolished all "Power, Jurisdiction or Authority derived from, by, or under Charles Stuart . . . or any of his predecessors, or any otherwise than from the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England," and undertook to create temporary magistrates for the administration of justice.³ Some time had evidently to elapse before these temporary justices were appointed. As late as April 26 the Town Council of Paisley resolved to meet upon Thursday, "the penult of this instant," not in the Tolbooth, their official place of meeting, but in the "heigh hall" of James Alexander, one of the bailies, to choose a treasurer, admit burgesses, and to transact any other business relating to the town.

On February 12 the Commissioners issued the Parliament's Declaration, in which the policy they were sent to carry out, was set forth, and at the same time circulated an order directing the shires and burghs to meet at convenient places and elect representatives "of integrity and good affection to the welfare and peace of the Island," who were to appear at Dalkeith in the course of the month, "with full power" on behalf of their constituencies, to assent to the proffered Union.

By the people generally the proposed Union was regarded with favour,⁴ but Gillespie and the rest of the Remonstrants were strongly opposed to it. They feared that it would "draw along a subordination of the Church to the State in the things of Christ," and predicted that it would be followed by "the gathering of private churches, toleration as in England, a reversing of righteous laws established relating to religion, or rather to their Carnall

¹ *Firth Scotland and the Protec.*, 393-98.

² Terry, xxiv.; Firth, *Scotland and the Protec.*, 31; Nicoll, *Diary*, 79.

³ Terry, xxxi.

⁴ The Convention of Royal Burghs was wholly in favour of it. See Records, 1615-1676, pp. 360 ff.

Interest, together with an introducing [of] magistrates of contrary principles to the Kirk, and a pressing of oaths, etc."¹

The shire and burgh of Renfrew were ordered to send their representatives to Dalkeith on Thursday, February 12. Of the five shires belonging to the Western Association, three sent their deputies on the days appointed for them, but neither Ayrshire nor Renfrewshire did. Of all the counties, with the exception of Kirkcudbrightshire, they were the only two non-assenters to the Tender of Union. Among the burghs, nine sent no representatives. Renfrew was one of them; others were Irvine and Ayr.² In the shires of Renfrew and Ayr the Remonstrants were strong, and it is not unlikely that their refusal to send deputies and to assent to the Tender of Union was due to the influence of Gillespie and his friends.

Their influence, however, in the county of Renfrew and in the county of Ayr was rapidly on the wane. After many meetings, the gentlemen of both these counties, which had hitherto been "the greatest pillars of the Protesting party," in the month of September suddenly seceded from the Remonstrants and owned the General Assembly at St. Andrews, "which was the Assembly that voted in the King and Cavaliers." They also sent commissioners to several presbyteries within their shires, which consisted for the most part of Protesters, "to intimate their dislike of their protesting against and separating from the Kirk of Scotland and to let them know that if they did not insist [cease] in their way of protesting and labouring to heighten the breach, and thereby entangle the people of their shires, they would take all the ways they could to obviate [frustrate] their design."³

The antipathy towards the English did not abate. Their soldiers were murdered whenever an opportunity occurred. Arms were procured, and great care was taken to conceal them. In the month of December, Colonel Overton's regiment was stationed in the shire, with its headquarters apparently at Paisley, under the command of Major Richardson. Some of the troopers under Captain Weddel were quartered at Houston Castle. Here, hid behind some hangings, they found sixty muskets, with bandoliers and boxes of powder and of "new cast bullets." The discovery was communicated to Richardson, who, having heard that arms had been concealed in the churches, sent for the magistrates and ministers of Paisley and interrogated them. All protested that they had no knowledge of any arms being concealed in the

¹ Terry, 8.

² The deputies of Glasgow gave in reasons for dissent. *Hist. MSS. Com.*, XIII., i. 628. There follow on the same and following pages the "Desires" of several of the burghs and counties of Scotland, also the "Doubts" and "Scruples" of others of them.

³ *Spottiswood Misc.*, ii. 86-88.

churches. The Major was not satisfied, and, going to the Abbey Church, a search was made. A part of one of the walls appeared to have been quite recently built up. On being asked whether any arms were hid there, the magistrates and ministers persisted in their denial. Again the Major was not satisfied. The soldiers were ordered to break down the newly-built wall, and took out from behind it 155 muskets, 63 pikes, 120 bandoliers, 313 swords, together with match and powder.¹

The relations between the ministers and the English Government, which had never been friendly, had for some time been growing in hostility. The Government had hoped to win over the Remonstrants, and, with a view to this, the Commissioners appointed in February by Parliament to visit the universities, had forced Patrick Gillespie, their chief leader, upon the reluctant College of Glasgow as its Principal. But "a Government which allowed soldiers to dispute publicly with ministers in churches, and sheltered the few Independent and Anabaptist congregations which defied the sacred authority of the Presbytery, could hardly long retain the good-will of ministers to whom submission to the Presbyterian order was a matter of Divine obligation."²

The General Assembly was to meet on July 21, 1653. The prospect of its meeting filled Lilburne, who was then in command, with anxiety "in regard of the fickleness of the times and present designs that are amongst many." To his request for instructions, Cromwell gave him no immediate reply, and being informed that the assembled ministers were likely to open a correspondence with the Royalists in the Highlands, he resolved to act on his own responsibility. When the Assembly met, after two sermons had been delivered, before each of which the preachers offered up a prayer for the King, Lieutenant-Colonel Cotterell, acting under the orders of Lilburne, and supported by Captain Hope, entered the Assembly House and, mounting upon a bench, ordered all who were present to disperse, on the ground that they had no warrant to sit as an Assembly "either from the Parliament of England or from the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland." The Moderator appealed to the law of the land and to the "power and warrant" which the Kirk had received from Jesus Christ. Cotterell paid no heed to the appeal, but, calling in his soldiers, the ministers, guarded by horse and foot, were marched out to Bruntfield Links, and there told to go home with all speed.³

On August 10, 1653, the Presbytery of Paisley met within the Abbey Church, when, according to the Records, "unexpectedly Captain Grene, one of the English army, with some parties of soldiers, invadit the Presbytery

¹ *Spottiswood Misc.*, ii. 98.

² Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protec.*, ii. 393.

³ Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protec.*, ii. 394; Baillie, iii. 225; *Spottiswood Misc.*, ii. 116.

and by violence interrupted their sitting, carried them out to a house in town, and detained them there as prisoners, alleging that all presbyteries were discharged and had no power to sit. Thereafter, they being dismissed, did again convene, and considering the distractions of the times, and the uncertainty of the continuation of their liberties, appointed the ordination of Mr. William Thomson to the ministrie at Merns to be at Merns to-morrow, and the day to be observed as ane day of humiliation."

This rough usage may be accounted for in the same way as Lilburne's treatment of the Assembly. Lilburne had suspicions that the shire and Presbytery were sympathisers with the Highlanders in the North who had risen under Glencairn, and were about to join or assist them. By the 22nd of the month a number of the gentlemen of Renfrew had been apprehended and searched for evidence. But, so far as the gentlemen of the shire were concerned, the suspicions were unfounded. A number of them met in Paisley on August 22, and sent a deputation to the colonel to "endeavour by all fair means to vindicate and clear the shire of any design, correspondence or intercourse, directly or indirectly, with any in the North in arms or any purpose of rising or troubling the peace of the country." The deputation met Lilburne at Falkirk when on his way to Stirling, and subsequently, when they appear to have satisfied him.¹

The Presbytery ventured to sit again on the first of the following month, when, according to the Records, "Compeared Captain John Grene, one of the English officers, who, declaring that he was come to sit with the Presbytery, exhibitet ane warrant from Collonell Lillburne for that purpose. The Presbytery did declare their great dissatisfaction therewith, and that with their consent he should not sit with them. Whereupon he did forbear for the time." The captain² had evidently received instructions to watch the brethren, and, if necessary, to use force to bring them to submission.

Paisley, which was then, though not a Royal burgh, the most important town in the county, was faring no better than the Presbytery. Its municipal authorities had been abolished, the Tolbooth was occupied by the English soldiery, and it was with the utmost difficulty that any business connected

¹ Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, 196, 198.

² He was afterwards promoted to command the dragoons sent to assist Colonel Morgan at Aberdeen, and appears to have been well thought of both by Lilburne and Lambert. The former writes of him—"I appointed Captain John Grene, who was High Sheriff of Clydesdale and Renfrew shires and had some other civill employment (being an able and discreet man) to command the said troope. I suppose Major-Generall Lambert is able to give your Highness a better character, being better knowne to him than to mee; only this I doe heare his conversation is honest, and hee is able for any businesse as most men of his qualitie." Lilburne to Cromwell: Firth, *Scotland and the Protec.*, 41.

with the affairs of the burgh could be transacted.¹ The election of Bailies and Town Councillors, which was to have taken place on September 29, 1653, was postponed to November 22, and then again till January 16, 1654. In the month of November in that year the town twice begged in vain for liberty to elect a baillie to hold courts and administer justice. A petition presented to General Monk² in January, 1655, was more fortunate. On the 17th of that month John Wallace, a notary, who had been employed in the business, returned from Edinburgh, and intimated that he had obtained for the town "a liberty and license to choose a baillie in place of umquhile James Alexander Baillie, with power to administer justice and use regular uplifting of the cess and other burdens."³

The Protectorate and the Union of Scotland with England were proclaimed in Edinburgh on May 4, 1654, and the first United Parliament, in which Scotland was to have thirty representatives, was summoned for September 3. The Shire of Renfrew sent no representative. The Burgh was associated with Lanark, Glasgow, Rutherglen, Rothesay, Ayr, Irvine and Dumbarton, and was represented by John Wilkie of Bromhouse.⁴ In the second Parliament of the Protectorate, which was summoned to meet on September 17, 1656, Renfrewshire was associated with Ayrshire and was represented by William Lord Cochrane of Dundonald.⁵ Renfrew and its associated burghs were represented by George Lockhart of Tarbrax, Commissary of Lanarkshire.⁶ When the Parliament of Richard Cromwell met, on January 7, 1659, the shire was unrepresented, but the burghs with which Renfrew was associated had for their representative Captain John Lockhart.

¹ Municipal elections in Scotland were abolished in 1652. Permission was accorded only after each burgh had accepted the Tender of Union and the officials chosen had taken an oath of fealty to the Commonwealth. No elections were held in 1653. In 1654 permission was granted, but afterwards withdrawn. Terry, lx.

² Monk had returned to Scotland in 1654 to repress the rising under the Earl of Glencairn and Middleton, and had taken over the chief command of the English army.

³ The liberty and license was granted by the new Scottish Council of State, whose first act was to grant to the burghs full liberty to elect their magistrates, with the proviso that persons disaffected to the Government should not be eligible for office. The elected magistrates had to swear fidelity to the Lord Protector. Terry, lx. According to the new valuation made out in 1653, of the £90,000 levied in the country, the shire of Renfrew paid £190 15s. 6d. and the burgh £6. Terry, 178.

⁴ He was elected at a meeting held in Hutcheson's Hospital at 10 a.m., July 28, 1654. *Glasgow Town Council Records*, p. 292. Glasgow advanced him the sum of £1404 Scots for his expenses. The proportion for Renfrew was £52 8s. *Recs. Convention of Royal Burghs, 1615-1676*, pp. 397, 436.

⁵ He had been fined £5,000 under the Ordination of Grace and Pardon of 1654. He was created Earl of Dundonald in 1669.

⁶ Terry, lxiii.-lxiv. Lord Cochrane and George Lockhart were among the Scottish Members who were in favour of Cromwell's acceptance of the royal title. Terry, lxxiv.

The right of the Scottish Members to sit was challenged, but on a vote taken after considerable debate, their right was affirmed. The Union which Cromwell contemplated was never legally consummated. Before marching to London, Monk summoned the Scots Parliament to meet in Edinburgh, where it continued to meet until the Union of 1707.

There were two things, if not more, which the representatives of the shires and burghs, whether they were Deputies or Members of Parliament, steadily kept in view and aimed at. These were the reduction of the cess and relief from the quartering of soldiers.¹ Both were bitterly complained of by the people both in town and country. The country people had to bear their share of providing coal and candle for the soldiery equally with the burghs when the soldiers were acting as garrisons,² and in a county like Renfrew, where the soldiers appear to have been fairly numerous, the burden seems to have pressed heavily upon all classes. The county was re-valued in 1653, and when the cess was not paid, the collectors of it appear to have resorted to Colonel Turner's plan of quartering soldiers upon the "passive resisters" until such time as it was paid. The plan, needless to say, was speedily efficacious. The efforts to obtain relief from the burdens were unavailing. Before returning to Scotland from Cromwell's first Parliament, the Scottish representatives visited Cromwell to take their leave and to represent how burdensome the maintenance of the English army in Scotland was. "His Highness told them that the reason thereof was because the Ministry did preach uppe the interest of Charles Stuart, and did much inveigh against the present authority, soe that there was a necessity of their continuance, but if they could propose any expedient with a salve to the security of the Nation, hee was willinge to answer their desires therein: whereupon the said members are now [February 8, 1653] consideringe of an expedient."³ No expedient was discovered, and the cess continued to be levied and the soldiers to be quartered in the shire until close upon the time when Monk gathered his forces for his famous march upon London.

¹ Terry, xlv., xlv.

² *Recs. Convention of Royal Burghs, 1615-1696*, pp. 367-67.

³ *Clarke Papers*, ed. Firth, iii. 22; Terry, lviii.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE RESTORATION.

THE accession of Charles II. was the occasion of many rejoicings; but the fears which were expressed by the less sanguine were not long in being verified. While retaining a lively recollection of some things that happened in Scotland after his landing at Speymouth, there were others which, after his accession, Charles conveniently forgot. Among them were things he had said and promised in connection with religion during his stay among the Covenanters. These were not an altogether lovable people, but they had excellent memories.

The Remonstrants continued irreconcilable, and had in the meantime been joined by Argyll and his party. On May 27, 1660, he and Gillespie were "at the Communion in Paisley with a world at their back." "Neither fair nor other means," writes Baillie, "are like to do with them, if God Himself put not the evil spirit of causeless division from among us, both in Kirk and State, which now again is burning."¹

When it was known that Charles was returning, the lords and lairds hurried up to London to meet him, and the offices of State were soon filled up. The Earl of Glencairn was made Chancellor; the Earl of Middleton, His Majesty's Commissioner; the Earl of Crawford, Lord Treasurer; and the Earl of Lauderdale, Secretary of State. Sir Thomas Nicolson² was dead, and his office of Lord Advocate was given to Sir John Fletcher. The Committee of Estates, which had been surprised and dispersed at Alyth in 1651, was re-assembled and entrusted with the government of the country.

In August, 1660, James Sharp, the minister of Crail, who had been sent up to London to look after the interests of moderate Presbyterianism, returned, bearing a letter to Mr. Robert Douglas, minister at Edinburgh, in which the King promised "to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland as it is settled by law without variation." The ministers of Edinburgh were delighted, and in the greatness of their joy purchased a silver box in which to preserve the precious letter. On December 31, Middleton, the

¹ *Letters and Journals*, iii. 404.

² He was a native of Greenock.

Royal Commissioner, arrived in Edinburgh, and on January 1, 1661, the Estates met.

The country was now to learn how the royal promise contained in the letter, for which the ministers at Edinburgh had bought their silver box, was to be kept. The famous Act Rescissory was passed, by which the Parliamentary legislation of the last twenty years was repealed with a stroke of the pen.¹ Contrary to the advice of Lauderdale, steps were at once taken to restore Episcopacy. Of the old bishops, only one, Sydsersf of Galloway, was alive. He had gone up to London expecting to be made Primate, but was translated to the see of Orkney, one of the richest in the kingdom. Fairfoul, Hamilton, Sharp, and Leighton were pitched upon for the first appointments to bishoprics, and, going up to London, they were consecrated in Westminster Abbey, December 15, 1661. Three days before this the Privy Council in Scotland had forbidden presentations to benefices to be addressed to Presbyteries. On January 2, 1662, the King commanded that the jurisdiction in Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessions should be by appointment and authority of the archbishops and bishops. In March, the newly-consecrated bishops returned, and on May 7, consecrated, in the church of Holyrood Abbey, six ministers to the sees of Moray, Dunkeld, Ross, Caithness, Brechin, and the Isles. The Estates met on the following day, and on May 27 passed an Act "for the restitution and re-establishment of the ancient government of the Church by archbishops and bishops." The bishops took their places in Parliament, and were admitted to all the privileges they had enjoyed previous to the year 1638.

So far all might have been well. The country was spent and the people were desirous of peace.² But, on June 12, an Act was passed which made peace almost impossible. In 1649 Parliament had abolished patronage, and from 1649 to 1660 ministers had been appointed by Kirk Sessions. By the

¹ "The Lords of the Articles grew weary in preparing so many Acts as the practices of former times gave occasion for. . . . So Primrose [the Clerk Register, who had the drafting of the Acts] proposed, but half in jest, as he assured me, that the better and the shorter way would be to pass a general Act Rescissory (as it was called) annulling all the parliaments that had been held since the year 1638, during the whole time of the war, as faulty and defective in their constitution." Burnet, *Owen Times*, I., i. 314-15.

² In June, 1658, Baillie wrote: "For our state, all is exceeding quiet. A great army, in a multitude of garrisons, lives above our head, and deep poverty keeps all estates exceeding under; the taxes of all sorts are so great, the trade so little, that it's marvel if extreme scarcity of money end not, ere long, in some mischief."—iii. 357. In the following November, shortly after Cromwell's death, he wrote in a similar strain, saying: "The country . . . is exceeding poor; trade is nought; the English have all the moneys. Our noble families are almost gone; Lennox has little in Scotland unsold. . . . Eglinton and Glencairn are on the brink of breaking; many of our chief families' estates are cracking; nor is there any appearance of any human relief for the time." iii. 387.

Act referred to, ministers who had been appointed in this way were declared incapable of holding their livings unless they obtained presentations from the old patrons, who were obliged to give them, and got themselves instituted by their several bishops. They were given until Michaelmas following, when the parishes of those who failed to comply with the Act were to be declared vacant. The majority of them resolved not to obey the Act, and to look on and see what the State would do.

In consequence of a complaint made to him by the Archbishop of Glasgow, respecting the fewness of those who were seeking institution, Middleton, who was then on a progress through the Western counties, summoned a meeting of the Privy Council at Glasgow, on October 1, when a proclamation was drawn up and issued, requiring all who had not obeyed the Act to cease from preaching and to remove from their parishes by the first day of November following, and authorising the military, who lay about the country, in the event of the ministers attempting to preach, to pull them out of their pulpits.

From Glasgow, Middleton passed through Renfrewshire to Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick. He spent some days at Ayr, where he and his companions are said to have drunk the devil's health at the Market Cross one midnight. From Ayr, he went to Dumfries and Wigton, and, on the last day of October, arrived at Holyrood House, expecting, on the assurance of Fairfoul, Archbishop of Glasgow, to find that the proclamation of October 1 had accomplished its purpose. To his surprise, he found that it had not, and that, rather than obey the Act, about 300 ministers had voluntarily left their manse, and that a great part of the benefices in the country were vacant. The bishops also were surprised; their plan had turned out otherwise than they expected, and an emergency had arisen which they were utterly unprepared to meet.

By the unwise proclamation of October 1, Middleton had set the clergy and a large body of the people against the Government. Before his fall, he was destined to perpetrate a blunder which estranged many of the nobility and gentry. Towards the end of the session of 1662 he got an Act passed through Parliament, which, though it professed to be an Act of Indemnity, excepted some seven or eight hundred noblemen, gentlemen, and burgesses from the King's pardon and fined them in various sums to the amount of upwards of £1,000,000 Scots.¹ It was hoped that the passing of the Act would be kept secret, but it became known, and, though never formally acted upon, the mischief was done.

¹ Wodrow, *History*, i. 271.

By this Act, Middleton proposed to exempt in the shire of Renfrew no fewer than forty individuals, and to fine them in sums varying from £200 to £4,000 Scots, to the amount of about £21,000. Among those marked down were Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollok; Hugh Forbes, sheriff-clerk of Renfrew; Montgomery of Weitlands, the younger Walkinshaw, three of the bailies of Paisley, Semple of Balgreen, Barber of Rushfield, Harrison in Titwood, John Spreul in Renfrew, Rankin of Newton, Pollok of Millburn, John Orr of Jeffraystack, Thomson of Corsehill, and Mr. Laurence Scott of Paisley. Fortunately the Act, as already remarked, was not put into operation.

One of the first in the shire to feel the power of the Privy Council¹ was Mr. Dunlop, now minister of the first charge in Paisley. In his preaching he made use of a peculiar sound called a "holy groan," in which many of his admirers found great spiritual comfort. As we have seen, he was despatched by his Presbytery to Kilmarnock to attend the meeting of the Association of the Western Shires, and probably had a hand with Gillespie in drawing up the famous Remonstrance. On January 6, 1662, he appeared, in obedience to a summons, before the Privy Council, and was asked to take the oath of allegiance. On refusing, he was ordained to be banished the King's dominions. Their lordships took time to fix upon the place. Meanwhile, he was ordered to confine himself within the bounds of the dioceses of Aberdeen, Brechin, Caithness, or Dunkeld.²

About the end of the year 1661, the Earl of Queensberry complained that his lands had suffered seriously at the hands of the forces under Colonels Ker and Strahan in 1650. A committee, of which the Earl of Eglinton and Lord Cochrane were members, was appointed to meet at Cumnock and there to inquire as to who were with the colonels and to allocate the damages. The committee reported that forty-eight individuals had taken part with the Remonstrants, and fixed their fines at upwards of £23,896 Scots. Among those fined were the following from Renfrewshire:—Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollok, James Hamilton of Aikenhead, Gavin Walkinshaw of that ilk, John Gordon of Boghall, Hugh Wallace of Underwood, Alexander Cunningham of Craighends, and Ralston of that ilk. Their fines ranged from £41 16s. to £1,044 9s. Scots.³

When the roll of the ministers within the shire who were outed or had refused to conform to Episcopacy was made up in 1663, it was found that the

¹ It was set up July 13, 1661. Its President was the Earl of Crawford; the Earl of Callander was Vice-President; and Sir Peter Wedderburn, Clerk. Among its members who may be mentioned, as belonging to the county of Renfrew, were the Earls of Glencairn and Eglinton and the laird of Blackhall.

² Wodrow, i. 318.

³ Wodrow, i. 290.

list contained the names of the whole of the ministers¹ of the Presbytery, with the single exception of Mr. James Taylor, minister of Greenock. Hamilton of Inverkip afterwards conformed. It was the beginning of winter when the ministers were forced to leave their manses, and many of them knew not where to find shelter for themselves and their families. The privations and hardships which many of them suffered were great.

The inconveniences to which the people were put were sufficient to exasperate them. In most parts of the country the ordinances of public worship were suddenly stopped. "Parish churches, generally speaking, through the western and southern shires," says Wodrow, "were now waste and without services, which had not happened in Scotland since the reformation of popery."² In the shire of Renfrew there was but one parish in which the ordinary services were continued, and that was the parish of Greenock, the minister of which had conformed. The consequence was that the people were obliged to go to other places of worship. "In many places," Wodrow says, "they had twenty miles to run before they heard a sermon or got the spiritual manna, which of late fell so thick about their tents. Some went to the elder ministers, not directly touched by the Act of Glasgow.³ Such who could not reach them, frequented the family worship and exercises of the younger ministers, now outed of their churches. And so great were the number who came to their houses, that some were constrained to preach without doors, and at length to go to the open fields. This," he adds, "was the original of field meetings in Scotland, which afterwards made so much noise, and in some few years was made death by law, first to the ministers, and then to the hearers."⁴

On July 10, 1663, an Act was passed for the impracticable purpose of compelling people to attend their own parish churches. Many of the churches were vacant, but the Act denounced "all and every such persons as shall hereafter ordinarily and wilfully withdraw and absent themselves from the ordinary meetings for divine worship in their own parish churches on the Lord's Day." This Act, known as the "Bishop's Drag-net," was soon followed by "The Mile Act," which required that no recusant minister should reside within twenty miles of his old parish, six miles of Edinburgh or any cathedral

¹ Of these, Dunlop and Drysdale of Paisley were outed by particular acts; four survived till the Revolution, viz.: Patrick Simpson of Renfrew, James Hutchison of Killallan, Hugh Peebles of Lochwinnoch, and James Wallace of Inchinnan. James Alexander of Kilmacolum and Wallace of Inchinnan were permitted to reside in their parishes. The rest were forbidden.

² *History*, i. 331.

³ These were the ministers who had been inducted or ordained to their benefices before 1649, and were exempted from the operation of the Act.

⁴ *History*, i. 331.

town, or three miles of any royal burgh. The punishment for violating the Act was, in general terms, the same as for sedition.¹ On October 7, still another Act was passed. Its object was to prevent Presbyterian ministers coming over from Ireland and finding shelter and employment among the Presbyterians in Scotland. Among others, the Earls of Glencairn and Eglinton and Lord Cochrane, afterwards Earl of Dundonald, were appointed to enforce it, and all noblemen, sheriffs, magistrates of burghs, justices of the peace, and officers of the standing forces were required to give their assistance to put it into effective operation.²

With the outing of the ministers at the end of 1661, the Presbytery of Paisley ceased to exist. In the meantime efforts had been made to supply the vacant parishes, and the following appointments were made: Mr. John Hay to Renfrew, Mr. William Pierson to Paisley, Mr. Alexander Abercrombie to Lochwinnoch, and Mr. Alex. Kinneir to Neilston. These, with the exception of Mr. Abercrombie, met in Paisley on October 27, 1663, together with Mr. James Taylor, the conforming minister of Greenock, and several correspondents from the neighbouring Presbyteries, when, by virtue of an act of the Archbishop and Synod, the Presbytery of Paisley was formally constituted afresh. Mr. John Hay was appointed moderator, and Mr. Alex. Kinneir clerk. Mr. Hew Peebles, minister of Lochwinnoch, Mr. James Wallace of Inchinnan, and Mr. Hamilton of Inverkip had also been summoned to the meeting, but failed to attend, and were directed to be summoned to the next meeting for the second time. Shortly after, Mr. Robert Young was appointed to the parish of Erskine. The ministers of Inchinnan and Lochwinnoch continued refusing to attend, and were first suspended and then deposed. Hamilton of Inverkip was also deposed, but for other reasons. A libel was lodged against him, and, being found guilty on most of the charges, he was set aside as unworthy. On June 22, 1665, Mr. Alex. Leslie laid before the Presbytery a presentation to the parish from the Laird of Blackhall, which, being sustained by the Presbytery and approved by the Archbishop, he was inducted to the charge. The other vacancies were gradually filled, but slowly, owing to the paucity of men.

It has been the fashion, and still is, to condemn the curates as wanting in scholarship, manners, and morality, and to contrast them unfavourably with the men they succeeded.³ The older men were doubtless excellent in their way, and according to their light did excellent service, and a number of the

¹ The Act is printed in Wodrow, i. 340.

² The Act is printed in Wodrow, i. 344.

³ For a description of the two classes of men, see Burnet, *Own Times*, I., i. 271 ff. He did not always hold the opinions he there expresses about the curates. See his earlier work, *A Vindication of the Authority, etc., of the Church and State of Scotland*, 148-9, Ed. 1724.

curates were doubtless defective in education, breeding, and morals. But to condemn the whole class, because of the failings and sins of a number of them, is as unfair as it would be to condemn the older men because one of them, Hamilton of Inverkip, was found guilty of a number of offences, one of which was that of scandalous living.

The curates who from time to time composed the Presbytery of Paisley appear as a rule to have been at least respectable and diligent, and were probably as a rule unwilling to see their parishioners harshly treated. No one was admitted to a charge or to a seat among them until he had obtained a presentation from a patron, passed his "trials" or examinations¹ before the Presbytery, and received the approval of the Archbishop. A number of them appear to have been graduates of a university. They were kept well in hand by the Archbishop, dealt strictly with each other, and had frequently to give an account to the presbytery of their work and of the condition of their parishes² for the information of their ordinary. Presbyterian visitations³ of parishes were at least as frequent among them as among the Presbyterians. They were as zealous against Roman Catholics,⁴ as forward to punish offenders against the moral law,⁵ and as opposed to dancing greens and penny weddings⁶ as their predecessors were. If they were hated—and they certainly were—the fault was not theirs, but that of the system which forced them upon the people. The difficulties they had to contend with were enormous; perhaps they were insurmountable. Episcopacy may be as divine in its origin as Presbyterianism, but when a number of people have made up their minds that the origin of the one is not divine and that the origin of the other is, no amount of argument will alter their opinion and no amount of patience or kindness will induce them to look favourably upon those who are identified with the polity they reject.

¹ They were much the same as they are now: A Latin thesis, an exercise, etc., with proficiency in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and in Theology. The standard of proficiency is another matter.

² Presby. Recs., May 5 and 12, September 22, November 16, 1670; December 20, 1671; March 26, 1673; January 12, August 20, September 28, 1681; September 7, 1682.

³ Presby. Recs., Neilston, March 23, 1665; Kilmacolm, April 24, 1666; Renfrew, July 12, 1666; Lochwinnoch, September 29, 1668; Greenock, February 25, 1680; Erskine, December 27, 1682.

⁴ Presby. Recs., July 7 and 21, 1664; March 2, 1665; January 14, 1674. The cases of Lord and Lady Semple occupied the attention of the Presbytery for many months.

⁵ Presby. Recs., August 7, 1664. March 2, June 8, and September 14, 1665; May 22, June 14, 1656; January 10, October 4, 1867, March 29, 1669; January, 1673.

⁶ Presby. Recs., August 18 1664. On March 3, 1675, the Presbytery ordered a complaint to be laid before the Archbishop respecting the use of the ferries on Sundays.

The task of reducing the West and South of the country to submission was given to Sir James Turner, naturally a not unkindly man, but when drunk, as he frequently was, capable of great cruelty. His chief business was to compel the people to attend their own parochial churches and to levy fines upon absentees. "In order to facilitate the soldiers' work," it is said, "the curates formed in most parishes a roll of their congregations, not for any ministerial work they gave themselves the trouble of, but to instruct their parishioners with briers and thorns by their army; and in order to the soldiers visiting their families, and examining their people's loyalty. Sermons were all the curates' work,¹ and these short and dry enough. And after sermon the roll of the parish was called from the pulpit, and all who were absent, except some favourites, were given up to the soldiers; and when once delated, no defences could be heard, their fine behoved either presently to be paid or the houses quartered upon; and some who kept the church were some time quartered upon, because the persons who last term lived there, were in the curates' lists as deserters of the church."² How much of this went on in Renfrewshire, it seems impossible now to tell. In 1663, a Committee of the Privy Council, of which the Earls of Glencairn and Eglinton and Lord Cochrane were members, was acting in the shire,³ and on October 13 in the same year the Privy Council ordered Sir Robert Fleming to march with all convenient speed to the West two squadrons of His Majesty's Life Guards, and to quarter one of them in Kilmarnock and the other in Paisley.⁴ Wodrow believes that these squadrons were "abundantly active" in exacting fines from those who were absent from their parish churches, but adduces no evidence that they were.

Of the use of another of Turner's methods in the shire there appears to be abundant evidence. While divine service was being conducted by one of the Presbyterian ministers, the church was suddenly surrounded by soldiers; the doors were secured, and guards placed over them; a party of soldiers then entered the church, interrupted the service, and compelled the worshippers to pass out one by one by the same door. There they were interrogated, and those who could not swear that they belonged to the parish in which the church was situated, were rifled of all they had and frequently imprisoned. According to Wodrow, many instances of this procedure occurred during the years 1663-64, particularly at the churches of Eaglesham, Stewarton, Ochiltree, Irvine, and Kilwinning. Turner and his troopers were evidently adepts in the art of levying fines, and, as most of the fines they levied found their way into their own pockets, they were probably not over scrupulous in their exaction.

¹ The curates did much more than preach, if their records are to be believed.

² Wodrow, i. 375.

³ Wodrow, i. 340.

⁴ Wodrow, i. 373.

In the year 1663, two of the ministers of the shire were summoned before the Privy Council, namely, Mr. Hugh Smith of Eastwood and Mr. James Blair of Cathcart. Blair acknowledged that he had been admitted since 1649, and that, contrary to the law, he had exercised the functions of the ministry by preaching, baptizing, and marrying. The Lords prohibited him from exercising any part of the ministry without warrant from his ordinary, and warned him to remove from Mauchline, where he last preached, to beyond the river Ness, and forbade him to transgress the bounds of his confinement under the highest peril. Smith's offence was the same. For some reason, he and Matthew Ramsay, late minister at Old Kilpatrick, and Walkinshaw, late minister at Baldernoch, were treated somewhat more leniently. Ramsay was remitted to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and Smith and Walkinshaw were dismissed with an injunction to obey the law.

In the following year, the Court of High Commission was set up. Glencairn and Lauderdale were against its restoration; the bishops were for it. A more tyrannical court never existed. It was described as a Commission for executing the laws of the Church, and the Commissioners were authorized to summon and call before them, besides Catholics and "Popish traffickers," all obstinate contemners of the discipline of the Church, or for that cause suspended, deprived, or excommunicated; all keepers of conventicles; all ministers who, contrary to the laws and Acts of Parliament or Council, remain or intrude themselves in the function of the ministry in their parishes or bounds inhibited by these Acts; all such as preach in private houses or elsewhere without licence from the bishop of the diocese; all such persons as keep meetings at fasts, and the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which are not approved by authority; all who speak, preach, write, or print to the scandal, reproach, or detriment of the estate or government of the Church or Kingdom now established; all who contemn, molest, or injure the ministers who are obedient to the laws; all who do not orderly attend divine worship, administration of the Word and sacraments performed in their respective parish churches by ministers legally settled for taking care of these parishes in which these persons are inhabitants; all who, without any lawful calling, or as busy-bodies, go about houses and places corrupting and disaffecting people from their allegiance, respect, and obedience to the laws; and in general, without prejudice to the particulars above mentioned, all who express their disaffection to His Majesty's authority, by contravening Acts of Parliament or Council in relation to Church affairs.¹ Among those named in the Commission were the Earls of Glencairn, Argyll, and Eglinton, the Bishops and Arch-

¹ Wodrow, i. 384.

bishops, and Lord Cochrane. Any five of them, one being a bishop, formed a quorum.

One of the first victims of this Court, which was also known as "The Crail Court," from Crail, in Fife, the scene of Archbishop Sharp's first ministry, was James Hamilton of Aikenhead, in the parish of Cathcart. While Hamilton was from home, Mr. Hay, the curate of the parish, had quarrelled with some of his tenants. In the course of the squabble, Hay used threats and ill names, and, but for the presence of Mr. Blair, the deposed minister of the parish, things would have gone very badly with him. In return for his good offices, Hay promised Blair that he would let the matter drop and that nothing more should be heard of it. But shortly after, notwithstanding his assurances to Blair, Hay denounced the tenants to the Archbishop, who at once sent Sir James Turner, with his soldiers, into the parish and had the tenants arrested. On his return home, Hamilton was informed of what had happened, and resolved to disown Hay as minister of the parish and never to attend worship in the parish church while he was there. When summoned before the High Commission, he was fined a fourth of his yearly rents; and when called upon to make payment of the fine, he gave such an account of Hay's doings in the parish, that the Archbishop promised to remove him. But, before leaving the Court, he was pressed to engage judicially to hear and be subject to the minister whom the Archbishop should place in the parish in Hay's stead. This he peremptorily refused to do. Whereupon, he was fined another fourth of his rents and remitted to the Archbishop. Burnet, who was then Archbishop of Glasgow, not being satisfied, summoned him again before the High Commission upon a charge of keeping up the session books of Cathcart and the utensils of the church; and further, with refusing to assist the minister in the session and suffering some of his family to be absentees. Asked to take the oath of supremacy, he refused. He refused also to enter himself surety in the books of the Court for his tenantry. In the end, the Court fined him in the sum of £300 stg., and ordered him to be imprisoned till he paid it, and then to proceed to Inverness and to remain there under confinement during pleasure. He paid one half the fine, and his estate was sequestered for the other. Three weeks later he presented himself before the magistrates of Inverness, and remained there till he was set free from restraint at the end of about eighteen months. On his return home, he was not allowed to go further than a mile from his own house for six months; but before the six months were ended he was suddenly, without warning or reason given, carried off to Edinburgh, and there imprisoned in the old Tolbooth. After being there for some time, he learned that he was charged with harbouring some soldiers who, about fourteen

years before, had refused to march with Ker to Hamilton until satisfaction was given them as to what the Remonstrance really meant. His answer to the charge was that he could not depone that none of them had lodged in his house. The charge was foolish, and if true, Hamilton deserved to be rewarded. He was kept in the Tolbooth nineteen weeks, and obtained his release on payment of eighty guineas.¹

Others from the shire who were summoned before the Court of High Commission were John Porterfield, laird of Duchal, in the parish of Kilmacolm, and Mr. Hugh Peebles, the deposed minister of Lochwinnoch. Porterfield was summoned for not "hearing" or attending the ministry of the curate of the parish in the parish church of Kilmacolm. His defence was that it was impossible to attend the church, because the curate took every opportunity possible of accusing him publicly of the most heinous offences, of which he was entirely innocent. His statements were corroborated by witnesses. Whereupon, he was called upon to take the oath of supremacy, and refusing, was ordered to confine himself within the parish of Kilmacolm, till the Court had made up its mind what to do with him. Shortly after, he was fined £500 stg., and ordered to confine himself to the burgh of Elgin. It was four years before he was allowed to return to Duchal.²

Mr. Hugh Peebles was summoned for preaching one Sunday evening in his own house. He frankly admitted the charge, and argued that he had done no wrong, since his preaching alienated no one from the parish church and prevented no one from attending the service there. He was ordered to leave the West and to confine himself to the town of Forfar, about a hundred miles from the place where he lived and had an estate.³

But in spite of its extensive powers, the bishops soon discovered that the Court of High Commission was not fulfilling their purpose. They therefore fell upon the plan of ordering those whom they most suspected to be arrested. No warrant was issued, no reasons were alleged, no charge was made; simply on the strength of a letter signed by one or more of the Commission, a large number of the gentry in the West and South were arrested and imprisoned in the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton. Among those who were treated in that way from Renfrewshire were Major-General Montgomery, brother of the Earl of Eglinton, Sir George Maxwell of Nether-Pollok, and

¹ Wodrow, i. 391-2.

² Wodrow, *Hist.*, i. 392. This was after the death of Glencairn, who is said to have protected Duchal. This may very well have been. Duchal was one of his neighbours, and Glencairn, as we have seen, though on the Commission, was opposed to its restoration.

³ Wodrow, *Hist.*, i. 424.

Ralston of that ilk.¹ Montgomery was liberated after being detained in Stirling Castle two years and four months. The others were confined much longer.²

In November, 1665, Lord Rothes, who in the meantime had succeeded Middleton as the King's Commissioner in Scotland, made a progress through the West. On his way he called at Paisley, where he and his numerous following were honourably entertained in the Place of Paisley by Lord Cochrane. The Town Council treated Rothes to the "courtesy of the town," and made him and his company burgesses. The following month a number of soldiers were stationed in Paisley and its neighbourhood for the purpose of preventing conventicles being held and for overawing the Covenanters.

The holding of conventicles in the shire appears to have caused the Presbytery considerable trouble. There was a suspicion that they were being frequently held, and the curates were enjoined by the Presbytery and Archbishop to make strict enquiries after them, but none appears to have been discovered. All that the curates could report was that one was suspected to have been held, but usually some weeks ago. The reason was that, though conventicles were frequently held, the people, as might be expected, refused to report them. When possible, indeed, they refused to give the curates any information, even on matters with which they must have been thoroughly acquainted, and when the communication of information could involve no one. For instance, when asked by the Presbytery to give information as to the boundaries or position of a glebe, the only answer they gave was a stolid stare or a profession of absolute ignorance.

On December 6, 1666, eight days after the defeat of the Covenanters at Rullion Green, a letter was read in the Presbytery of Paisley from the Archbishop of Glasgow, requiring the brethren to use their diligence in their several parishes for the discovery of those who had taken part in the rebellion. Fourteen days later, the result of their diligence was given in, and the following is the formal report in the Presbytery books:—"Anent those within the Presbytery who were in arms in the late rebellious insurrection, the brethren report that none to their knowledge within the Presbyterie were actually joyned with their body who were in arms, only the young goodman of Caldwell in the parish of Neilston was with the Laird of Caldwell in arms going to these rebels, as also William Porterfield of Quarreltoun in the parish

¹ Wodrow, *Hist.*, i. 425. On December 12, 1667, he was allowed to return to the West on giving a bond of £100 stg. as a guarantee that he would appear before the Council when called. Wodrow, *Hist.*, ii. 99.

² Wodrow, *Hist.*, ii. 119.

of Pasley now vacant ; also George Porterfield with William his brother in the parish of Kilphyllan¹ now vacant also, and their names were already known and published in the printed papers. Two also were given up as suspected persons who had fled their houses when searched by the soldiers in the parish of Eastwod, viz., Gavin Philsell in Polloktoone and Archibald Chisine, who are already made known to His Majestie's forces who are endeavouring to apprehend them."

Thus, after searching for a fortnight, the brethren had discovered nothing. Their minute, or report, was made up from "the printed papers" and from what was publicly known. The Archbishop and his informants knew more about those in the shire who had taken part with the Covenanters in the Pentland rising, or who had sided with them without actually joining them, than the Curates did.

On November 28, a number of West-country gentlemen who sympathized with the Covenanters and were themselves irritated by the treatment they had received at the hands of the Government and its agents, met at Chitterfleet, or Shutterflat, in the parish of Beith, within the shire of Renfrew, to which most of them belonged. Among them were Ker of Kersland, the laird of Caldwell, Ralston of that ilk, Porterfield of Quarrelton and his brother, Alexander Porterfield. Their leader was William Mure of Caldwell. They were accompanied by Mr. Gabriel Maxwell, minister at Dundonald, Mr. George Ramsay, minister at Kilmaurs, and Mr. John Carstairs, minister at Glasgow, and were joined by Maxwell, the laird of Blackstone. Their intention was to assist the Covenanters, but, soon after setting out, they were informed that Dalziel, with the royal forces, was between them and their friends; whereupon they resolved to retire and dismiss.²

None of them had actually joined the Covenanters, but they had intended to do so; and Blackstone, it is said,³ as soon as he heard of the fight at Rullion Green, went to the Archbishop, and, upon a promise of pardon, informed against his companions, of whom there were about seventy. They were all summoned to appear before the Court of Justiciary, and were condemned in absence and their estates forfeited.

Mure of Caldwell fled first to Ireland and thence to Holland, where he died. His estates were given to General Thomas Dalziel of Binns, the commander of the royal forces at Rullion Green, in whose family they remained till 1690, when, by a special Act of Parliament, they were restored to the Mures.

¹ Killallan.² Wodrow, ii. 28; *Caldwell Papers*, I., i. 19.³ Wodrow, ii. 28.

Ker's estate¹ went to Drummond, Dalziel's lieutenant; Major Lermont's estate was given to Hamilton of Wishaw; and Quarrelton's and his brother's to Hamilton of Hallcraig, but in order that they might be subsequently restored to their owners.² Wallace of Auchanes was also of the number, and was forfeited.

Lady Caldwell, after the death of her husband in Holland, received harsh treatment at the hands of the Government. With her daughters, she was imprisoned for three years in the castle of Blackness. On the forfeiture of the estate, she was plundered of the remains of her personal property, as well as deprived of the jointure provided for her out of the rents. Her younger daughter, Anne, died in the house of her relative, Sandilands of Hilderstone, near Linlithgow, not far from Blackness.³ "The Council was petitioned," says Wodrow, "for liberty for the lady to come out of Blackness to see her daughter, who was dying. She offered to take a guard with her—yea, to maintain the whole garrison as a guard, if they pleased, while she was doing her last duty to her child. Yet, such was the unnatural cruelty of the times, that so reasonable a request could not be granted."⁴

Troops still continued to be quartered in Paisley and its neighbourhood. In May, 1667, twenty-four of Lord Carnegie's troopers were billeted on the inhabitants. The town, as well as the county, had to provide corn and straw for the Life Guards, with coal and candle, to equip a trooper, and to pay its

¹ Ker had a remarkable history. After his forfeiture, he escaped to Utrecht, in Holland; but, returning to Edinburgh on some private affairs, he was betrayed by Robert Cannon of Mandrogat, who was then doing his best to ingratiate himself with the Government by denouncing his former companions at Pentland. For three months he was detained in Edinburgh, and was then imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle. In September, 1671, he petitioned the Council to be allowed to go to some place where his children might live and be educated, and was transferred to the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, but on October 7, 1675, he was ordered by the Privy Council to be transferred to Stirling Castle along with Sir Patrick Home of Polwart (*Alloa MSS.* 207). From Stirling he was taken to Dumbarton for the second time, and was kept there till October, 1677. The Council next ordered him to confine himself to Irvine, within five miles of his own house at Kersland, but allowed him to remove his family thither from Glasgow. Going to Glasgow at the end of October, he was apprehended by a life guardsman one night while conveying Lady Caldwell to her lodging, and detained in the guardhouse till next day. Major Cockburn, the commanding officer, was willing to release him, but waited to learn the pleasure of the Archbishop. As soon as the Archbishop knew who he was, he ordered him to be kept a close prisoner in the Tolbooth, and rode off to Edinburgh. Lady Kersland rode after him with all haste, in order to anticipate any misinformation his Grace might give. Meantime, a fire broke out in Glasgow in the neighbourhood of the Tolbooth. The townspeople came to the rescue of the prisoners, and Ker, along with the rest, was set at liberty. He took refuge in Ayrshire, and frequented the conventicles about Maybole till about August, 1678, when he went to Holland, and died at Utrecht, November 14, 1680. Wodrow, ii. 330-31.

² Wodrow, ii. 74-6.

³ *Caldwell Papers*, I., i. 141-3.

⁴ *Caldwell Papers*, I., i. 22; Wodrow, iii. 441.

share of the expense requisite for the maintenance of the militia.¹ The headquarters for the county were fixed at the time in the city of Glasgow, and on November 16, 1667, the following, among other orders and regulations, were issued to the army: "If it shall fall out that any desperate people rise in arms in the lower wards of Clydesdale and sheriffdoms of Ayr and Renfrew, ordain that he that commands the horse in Glasgow, immediately on notice thereof, send a party of horse, or march himself with the whole horse lying in his own garrison, according as he shall see cause, to suppress them, by taking or killing such as he or they shall find in arms, without or against His Majesty's authority. And in that case grants him power to command as many of the foot as he pleases, with competent forces to march with him; and if he judge it necessary, with power to him, to mount some or all of the musketeers on horseback, or dragoons to do all military actions as he shall command; and so by one or more parties, the hail horse and foot in his garrison, he is ordered to seek out those risen in arms, and attempt to defeat and destroy the same, without staying for any further force."² Evidently the Government believed that the county might rise at any moment, and was prepared to take summary vengeance upon all who opposed it.

At the same time, the Government was not without suspicion that some of its agents were both needlessly severe and dishonest. In 1667, complaints reached the King respecting the conduct of Sir James Turner, who, as we saw, was one of its principal agents in the West. He was called upon to give an account of his doings; and on February 20, 1668, the Committee of Privy Council, which had been appointed to make the enquiry, gave in their report.³

¹ On February 25, 1667, a warrant was issued by Lord Rothes, the Chancellor, stating that many in the sheriffdoms of Ayr and Renfrew, who were charged to join His Majesty's forces, had been defaulters, and that others had not, in obedience to the laws, contributed to the suppression of the rebels: and therefore ordaining Hugh Earl of Eglinton to give notice to such persons or to take security of them for their allegiance. *Eglinton MSS.*, 39. In the following year, a commission was issued at Edinburgh, on September 3, appointing the Earls of Eglinton and Loudon; the Lords Montgomery, Crichton, Cathcart, Bargany, and Cochrane; Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, and others, Commissioners for settling and ordering the militia of the shires of Ayr and Renfrew, and appointing Lord Eglinton to give notice to the other Commissioners to meet at Irvine, and there to deliver to them their commissions and instructions. *Eglinton MSS.*, 39.

² Wodrow, ii. 98. Wodrow prints the whole of the Orders and Regulations.

³ The list of charges against him, though long, is valuable, as showing the way in which the people said they were oppressed, and gives some idea of their sufferings. They were, "1mo. Quartering soldiers, for levying of fines and impositions. 2do. Exacting cess, or quartering money, for more soldiers than were actually present, sometimes for double the number or more; and that besides free quarters for those present, sometimes sixteenpence, and sometimes more for each man. 3tio. Cess exacted for divers days, sometimes eight, ten or more before the party did actually appear. 4to. Imposing of fines and quartering before any previous citation or hearing of parties. 5to. Fining without due information from ministers. 6to. Fining such as lived orderly as appears by ministers' certificates. 7mo. Fining and

When the report containing the charges, which, though set out at length, were said to be "not legally proved," was sent up to the King, His Majesty ordered Turner to send in his commission and to account for the monies he had introritted with. Sir William Bellenden and others were dealt with in a similar way at the same time.¹

In June, 1669, came the First Indulgence, by which, on conditions, certain of the outed ministers were allowed to be appointed to vacant charges.² Three of these indulged ministers were appointed to charges in the shire of Renfrew: James Hamilton to Eaglesham, where he had formerly been minister, and Mr. John Baird and Mathew Ramsay to Paisley. Baird, who had previously been minister at Innerwick, was officially appointed to assist Mr. Ramsay, who, on account of his infirmity of body, was unable to discharge all the duties of the cure. Ramsay had been minister of Kilpatrick. By thus reponing a number of the outed ministers, it was hoped to put an end to the conventicles, which the military, so far, had been unable to suppress, and to induce the people to look upon Episcopacy with favour. By many of the outed ministers the act was regarded as "very satisfying." Throughout Scotland, indeed, it was generally approved, until letters were received from some of the banished ministers in Holland, who sent reasons against joining with the indulged. "This," according to Wodrow, "began a flame which, by degrees, rose to a very great height."

However successful the Indulgence may have been in restoring quiet and in suppressing conventicles in some parishes where the outed ministers were appointed, in others it failed of its end. There the people still resorted to their old ministers or to such as had come to take their place, and conventicles continued to be held. The order and regulations which were issued to the

cessing for causes for which there are no warrants from Acts of Parliament or Council:—as, 1mo. Baptizing of children by outed ministers. 2do. Baptizing by neighbour ministers, when the parish was vacant. 3tio. Marrying by outed ministers. 4to. For keeping conventicles.—Svo. Fining for whole years preceding his coming to the country, and that after they had begun to live orderly. 9no. Fining fathers for their daughters baptizing their children with outed ministers, though forisfamiliatè six months before, and living in another parish. 10mo. Fining without proportioning the sum with the fault. 11mo. Fining in whole parishes, as well those who lived orderly as those who did not. 12mo. Fining whole parishes, where there was no incumbent. 13mo. Fining one that lay a year bedfast. 14mo. Forcing bonds from the innocent. 15mo. Cessing people who were not fined. 16mo. Taking away cattle." Among misdemeanors of other kinds charged against him were: not admitting complainants to his presence, permitting his servants to take money for admitting people and then denying them access, increasing the number of soldiers quartered after complaints, and exacting money for removing soldiers after cess and fine had been paid.

¹ Wodrow, ii. 102. Wodrow says that information was given and witnesses adduced, "clearly proving a great many grievous and atrocious things against Sir James." All that the report says is that "every one of the forgoing articles is made out by information upon oath, which yet do not amount to legal prooffe." Turner, *Memoirs*, 209.

² Wodrow, ii. 130.

military forces in November, 1667, were re-issued, and a stricter search was set on foot.

In Renfrewshire the troops were commanded by the Laird of Meldrum, by whom a number of people were arrested in the parishes of Lochwinnoch, Kilbarchan, and Kilmacolm, and put to great trouble for hearing the outed ministers preach. For entertaining his old minister, Mr. John Stirling, formerly of Kilbarchan, and hearing him preach once to his family, George Houstoun, laird of Johnstone, was arrested and carried before the Chancellor, and was with difficulty got off by his friends on giving a bond of 5000 merks to appear again when summoned. Mr. Stirling narrowly escaped capture.

An incident occurred in the parish of Kilmacolm which, though a very trifling affair in itself, caused much noise, and for some had serious results. While the curate there was preaching, some boys threw a piece of rotten stick at the pulpit. The noise it made so terrified Mr. Irvine, the curate, that he immediately left the pulpit and ran to his manse. As he went he was followed by a number of lads, who shouted after him in derision. By his friends, and, perhaps, by his enemies, the affair was greatly exaggerated, and it was given out that he had been stoned out of his pulpit and forced to flee for his life. Four boys were also charged with setting dogs upon him. The Council ordered the lads to be transported to the plantations. Two of them, however, were, on account of their age, set free on condition that they appeared before the congregation in Kilmacolm and expressed regret for their conduct. What happened to the others is unknown. For the freak of these lads, the heritors and parishioners of Kilmacolm were first fined in fifty pounds sterling and then in fifty more, to be paid to the curate, and the Lairds of Duchal and Carncurran, who chanced to be in Edinburgh, were forbidden to leave the city until the money was paid.¹

In the month of May, 1670, some nine or ten men surrounded the manse at Neilston on a Saturday night about twelve o'clock, seized Mr. Kinneir, the clerk of the Presbytery, beat him and his wife, and then plundered the house. The heritors of the parish were fined a thousand pounds Scots, and Allan Stewart of Kirkton was forbidden to remove from Edinburgh till he paid it.²

Alexander Burnet, the Archbishop of Glasgow, was succeeded by Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane. A man of great saintliness of life and well-known for his moderation, the new Archbishop set himself to purge his diocese of scandals and to reconcile the non-conforming ministers to the order established. In his diocese he appears to have acted with vigour, controlling the Presbyteries and removing curates whose work and character were under suspicion. In the

¹ Wodrow, ii. 162.

² Wodrow, ii. 163.

Presbytery of Paisley, Mr. Birnie, minister at Killallan, was deposed; Mr. Houston, at Houston, was reprimanded for his absence; Mr. Young of Erskine was, for the same cause, fined; Mr. Irvine of Kilmacolm, Mr. Kinneir of Neilston, the Presbytery clerk, and Mr. David Piersoun, minister at Paisley, were removed. According to Wodrow, the Archbishop appointed a committee of the Synod "to receive complaints, to regulate the affairs of ministers, to convene before them the scandalous and unworthy, to make trial of what was laid to their charge, and to determine according as they found cause." On August 25, 1670, the Privy Council appointed a committee to co-operate with the Synod's committee.

At Leighton's suggestion, Lauderdale invited six of the most eminent among the indulged ministers to a conference in Edinburgh, in order, if possible, to arrange some scheme of accommodation by which all parties might agree to work together. Leighton laid his proposals before them, and spoke with "a gravity and force that made a very great impression" upon those who heard him. A second conference was held, but the result was unsatisfactory. Leighton was opposed not only by Sharp and the Episcopalians, but also by the indulged ministers. Still hoping to succeed with the latter, he desired another meeting with them in Paisley. About thirty met him there. The Archbishop was accompanied by Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. The story of the conference is best told in Burnet's words.

"We had two long conferences with them," he says. "Leighton laid out before them the obligations that lay on them to seek for peace at all times, but more especially when we already saw the dismal effects of our contentions. There could be no agreement unless on both sides there was a disposition to make some abatements, and some steps towards one another. It appeared that we were willing to make even unreasonable ones on our side; and would they abate nothing on theirs? Was their opinion so mathematically certain, that they could not dispense with any of it for the peace of the Church, and for the saving of souls? Many poor things were said on their side, which would have made a less mild man than he was, lose patience. But he bore with all their trifling impertinences, and urged this question on them, Would they have held communion with the Church of God at the time of the Council of Nice, or not? If they should say, not, he would be less desirous of entering into communion with them; since he must say of the Church at that time, *Let my soul be with theirs*: if they said, they would; then he was sure they could not reject the offers now made them, which brought episcopacy much lower than it was at that time. One of the most learned among them had prepared a speech full of quotations, to prove the difference between the primitive episcopacy and ours at present. I was then full of those matters;

so I answered all his speech, and every one of his quotations, and turned the whole upon him with advantages that were too evident to be so much as denied by their own party : and it seemed the person himself thought so, for he did not offer a word of a reply. In conclusion, the presbyterians desired that the propositions might be given them in writing, for hitherto all had passed only verbally ; and words, they said, might be misunderstood, misrepeated, and denied. Leighton had no mind to do it ; yet, since it was plausible to say they had nothing but words to shew to their brethren, he writ them down, and gave me the original, that I still have in my hands ; but suffered them to take as many copies of it as they pleased.¹ At parting he desired that they would come to a final resolution, as soon as they could ; for he believed they would be called for by the next January to give their answer. And by the end of that month they were ordered to come to Edinburgh. I went thither at the same time upon Leighton's desire."²

At the meeting in Edinburgh the Presbyterians declined to accept Leighton's proposals, and refused to discuss the matter further. Soon after, Leighton resigned his see and retired into private life, hopeless of effecting any good among the conflicting parties. To some extent, however, his counsels of moderation appear to have weighed with the Government.

On September 3, 1672, came the second Indulgence. Like the first, it was strenuously opposed by the bishops. Practically, its aim was to increase the number of indulged ministers. In the shire of Renfrew there were to be as follows :—In Eaglesham, Messrs. James Hamilton and Donald Cargill ; in Paisley, Messrs. John Baird, William Eccles, and Anthony Shaw ; in Neilston, Messrs. Andrew Millar and James Wallace ; in Kilmacoll, Messrs. Patrick Simpson and William Thomson ; in Kilbarchan, Messrs. John Stirling and James Walkinshaw ; and in Killallan, Messrs. James Hutchison and Alexander Jamieson. A Commission, of which Lord Cochrane, now Earl of Dundonald, was a member, was also empowered to allow outed ministers in the parishes of Lochwinnoch, Inchinnan, and Mearns, as soon as the incumbents of these could be provided for or translated to other livings.³ The outed ministers were divided among themselves as to whether the indulgence should be accepted or rejected. Finally, many of them fell in with it and returned to their old parishes or accepted appointments to others⁴ on consent of the rest of the ministers in the presbyteries in which the appointments chanced to lie.

Conventicles, however, were not suppressed ; nor were the Presbyterian

¹ The paper is printed by Wodrow, *History*, ii. 181. The counter proposals are also printed in the same place.

² *His Own Times*, I., i. 527-8.

³ Wodrow, ii. 203 ff.

⁴ Wodrow, ii. 209.

ministers or the people induced to regard the curates or episcopacy with favour. The second Indulgence made matters worse than they were. The indulged ministers who had no fixed charges, unable to live in the places to which they were ordered to confine themselves, wandered up and down the country holding conventicles and preaching in vacant charges. Those of them who had fixed charges paid no attention to the conditions on which they were indulged, and were performing marriages and administering the sacraments of baptism and of the Lord's Supper to persons who were not their parishioners. At the same time, numbers of them were refusing to give the ordinances of religion to any of their parishioners whom they suspected of not being of their own way of thinking, or of having had dealings with the curates. These things are abundantly shown by a statement of grievances given in by the Presbyteries of the diocese of Glasgow to the Synod on October 22, 1674, and by the Records of the Paisley Presbytery.

According to the statement of grievances, conventicles were held more publicly and avowedly than ever before. Those who kept them were indulged ministers, others who were not indulged, and men who had never been licensed by the established Presbyteries. Alexander Jamieson, late minister at Govan, held conventicles at Hagg's every Sunday. In Paisley Presbytery, "conventicles," it is said, are "kept in Eastwood by Mr. Hugh Smith, formerly minister there, who hath settled himself beside the church of Eastwood and constituted elders, administrates sacraments, and performs all the ministerial offices; also in the parish of Killallan Mr. James Wallace, who kept still conventicles there, till the indulged minister came in, and has now laid in his provision at Inchinnan, where he was some time minister, notwithstanding that he was confined to Neilston, and labours by all means, to break the ministry of the present incumbent there." Mr. Anthony Shaw, as we have seen, was confined to Paisley, but he had preached at Knockdallen's house in Calmonel and in the church at Ballantrae. "Indulged ministers," the curates alleged, "keep not the rules given by the Council, but travel through the country, baptize, catechize, marry, administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the people of our charge without testimonials from us, and some of them baptize all the children of neighbouring congregations." Among those who are instanced as doing these things are the ministers of Eaglesham and Paisley, Mr. James Hutchison of Killallan, Mr. Simpson of Kilmacollm, and Mr. Stirling of Kilbarchan. Mr. John Baird and Mr. William Eccles, ministers of Paisley, are said to baptize children and marry persons from the Presbytery of Dumbarton. The indulged ministers are said "to preach sedition" and to pray to the same purpose. Among the three mentioned in this connection is Mr. Stirling of Kilbarchan. "Heritors and elders generally refuse to join

with conform minister," it is said, "in administrating discipline and collecting for the poor." Other "grievances" were that diets of catechizing were not kept, but generally slighted; ministers in their visits to the sick were not admitted, and offering to examine, were denied, and that, even by some who, out of example of the recusancy of others, "were atheistical," and disowned ordinances altogether; also, "that sheriffs, bailies, magistrates of burghs when desired, did not concur to cause scandalous delinquents to give obedience to Church discipline."

To turn to the Records of the Presbytery about this time. On November 3, 1669, the brethren were exhorted to diligent attendance in their respective charges, "notwithstanding their great discouragement through the paucity of hearers." Mr. George Birnie, the minister of Killallan, who was subsequently deposed, complained, on May 13, 1670, that "the ordinances were generally dishaunted [neglected] by his people since September last, that none had brought children to be baptized by him since then, that the people did not attend diets of examination, and that his session had deserted him, refusing to assist him in the exercise of discipline." The reason why the ordinances were neglected he declared to be that "Mr. Fleming¹ did entertain Mr. James Wallace,² who had constantly preached in Barrochan." Before his coming, the people, he declared, had been "orderly." On September 22, 1670, Mr. Fleming, the minister at Mearns, "declared that the people did much withdraw from hearing and baptizing, and that he had no session. The fabric of the kirk was found to be in a ruinous condition." When the Presbytery visited the parish of Houston, on April 22, 1671, the curate thereof declared "the kirk to be very ill kept [attended] and baptism to be withdrawn, and that he cannot well visit families in regard they do absent themselves." Under date August 8, 1672,³ occurs the following: "James Orr being summoned, called,

¹ Laird of Barrochan.

² Minister of Mearns.

³ In the beginning of this year the brethren appear to have been directed to give in returns showing the number of communicants in their respective parishes. Part of the returns were given in February and part in March. The following are the entries in the Minute Book:—"February 26th, 1673: Concerning the number of communicants in the respective parishes within the bounds of the Presbytery, it is found that Mr. Robert Douglas has in his parish [Renfrew] six hundred; Mr. Robert Fleming [Mearns] six hundred; Mr. Robert Dunn [Eastwood] four hundred; Mr. John Houston [Houston] three hundred; Mr. William Stewart [Iuchinnan] two hundred and fifty. For the other parishes an account is to be given when their respective ministers are present." "March 26, 1673: Mr. Robert Young [Erskine] reported that he had 700 communicants; Mr. Robert Aird [Lochwinnoch] 800; and Mr. Alexander Leslie [Inverkip] 800. The brethren are and all appointed to pay according to their numbers and the former ordinance" [for the payment of the Presbytery's bursar at the University]. Eight ministers reported, and the number of communicants they appeared to have had among them was 4450. From six parishes in the Presbytery there is no return, viz., from Greenock, Neilston, Paisley, Kilmacoll, Kilbarchan, and Killallan. There is, of course, no return from the two parishes in the county but outside the Presbytery, viz., Eaglesham and Cathcart.

and comparing not, the brethren considering the great hurt their discipline sustains by the non-concurrence of the indulged ministers in punishing of scandals, which, according to the custom and discipline of the Church, belongs to the cognizance of Presbyteries, therefore they refer this to the Archbishop and Synod for advice and orders." Notwithstanding that several individuals had been referred to the sheriff, and that the sheriff had been written to and interviewed, and that he had promised to use his authority with the delinquents referred to him, it was reported to the Presbytery, on December 2, 1674, that he had done nothing. The following is the Presbytery's minute: "The brethren who were appointed to speak with the sheriff, report that he has done nothing yet in what was recommended to him by the Presbytery, and therefore the Moderator and Mr. Douglas were appointed to speak to the Archbishop thereanent, as also anent Mr. Cunningham's conventicling in Greenock and Inverkip, and to report their diligence at the next diet. Likewise, the said brethren are appointed to acquaint the Archbishop with Mr. Wallace, his assistant, conventicling in the house of Barrochan." A letter was obtained from the Archbishop to the sheriff, but as late as May 19, 1675, nothing had been done by the sheriff, and the Moderator was instructed to write to him for an answer to the Archbishop's letter.¹

On July 14, 1675, "John Maxwell petitioned the Presbytery to baptize his child, because the indulged minister of Paisley refused him the benefit." "The brethren considering this petition and an Act of Council ordaining the indulged ministers of Paisley not to proceed further against him, requested the ministers of Paisley to produce an extract of their process against him as it was inserted in their Session Book, and that against the next meeting of the Presbytery to the end that the brethren might have full information for their proceeding in that particular." The indulged ministers of Paisley declined to

¹ According to a paper apparently drawn up by Mr. G. (afterwards Bishop) Burnet for Archbishop Leighton's use, about May, 1674, "during the last winter, 1673-4, field conventicles and other disorders increased, and ministers were deserted and affronted in the service of God. Complaints on this were made to the Commissioner (Lauderdale), but nothing had been done. On the contrary, the disorders had been pardoned, which made 'all those people' become bold, etc., and they are now possessing the vacant pulpits and also filling the pulpits of regular incumbents. Amidst all these confusions, the Archbishop is in utter incapacity to carry on the service of God in the church, for as parishes fall vacant, the incumbents he sent into them are beaten and stoned away, which is not got punished, and tho' during all the years of his stay in this see, he hath constantly every Lord's Day preached from parish to parish and done all that lay in his power for encouraging the regular clergy, yet without more vigorous assistance he will be too weak to resist the torrent which threatens to bear away the church as established." The Archbishop then goes on to suggest that the King should consider whether Episcopacy should be continued at the rate of the trouble it costs and whether it should not be given up. He thinks that the laws concerning the Church are too severe for execution, and that a Synod should be called to settle matters. The beginning of troubles he refers to the Glasgow Act.

acknowledge the authority of the Presbytery, and refused to give the extract required. A similar case is reported on the same day in respect to a marriage. The indulged minister of Neilston, Mr. Andrew Miller, refused to proclaim John Davidson in order to marriage with Jean Lochhead. Mr. Miller seems to have paid as little attention to the Presbytery as the indulged ministers of Paisley did.

The indulged ministers, indeed, appear to have been emboldened by the steps taken by the Government to meet them, and were in no mood to co-operate with the curates or to live on terms of amity with them. They were zealous, but not always wise, and, though excusable, cannot be held altogether blameless for what followed. The best excuse that can be made for them is that they had to do with a Government which was unable to discern the signs of the times.

By the year 1677, conventicles had become so numerous in all parts of the country that, on August 7, Commissioners were appointed in almost every shire and charged with the task of suppressing them. The Commissioner for the shire of Renfrew was Lord Ross, who was Commissioner also for the nether ward of Clydesdale. The amplest powers were given to these Commissioners. They were authorised to search for all persons within their respective districts who withdrew from the public ordinances in their parish churches, who kept conventicles in houses or in fields, or disorderly baptisms and marriages. They were allowed to delegate their powers to as many as they were sure would zealously carry out their instructions,¹ and were encouraged by the promise of one-half of the fines they levied. Every person was to be compelled to give a bond and to produce surety that not only he himself, but also his dependents, would frequent the parish church, not go to conventicles, and not aid or abet in any way intercommunicated persons, under a penalty to be fixed by the Commissioner or his delegate. The Commissioners were entitled to call to their assistance the military and legal authorities, who were obliged to help them to the uttermost of their power.

When the Proclamation and the Bond were circulated in the West, they caused a universal feeling of alarm. The noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors "reckoned it," to use the words of Wodrow, "the hardest thing that could be, that they should bind and oblige themselves for those who were not in their power, and be required to do impossibilities: they alleged that many of the Privy Councillors themselves could not safely bind themselves for their own families, and how could country gentlemen be bound for such multitudes under such heavy penalties."² Meetings of the noblemen and heritors were held in

¹ They are printed by Wodrow, *Hist.*, ii. 367.

² *Hist.*, ii. 368.

Ayrshire and in Lanarkshire, at which the Bond was unanimously refused. The Earl of Loudon, who presided over the Ayrshire meeting, suggested as an alternative that greater liberties should be allowed the Presbyterians.

The Commission was dated August 7. On October 17, a letter, in which the counties of Ayr and Renfrew are said to have been "frequently represented to be the most considerable seminaries of rebellion in this kingdom," was addressed by the Council to the Earls of Glencairn and Dundonald and Lord Ross, directing them to assemble the heritors of the two shires of Ayr and Renfrew at Irvine, on November 2, there "to deliberate upon and take such effectual course in the said shires, and for quieting the same in obedience to His Majesty's laws as may prevent the necessary and severe courses that must be taken for securing the peace in those parts." The meeting of the heritors, a list of those who were to be summoned to it having been sent by the Council, met and deliberated. The conclusions they arrived at were, that it was not within the compass of their power to suppress conventicles, that in their opinion toleration of Presbyterians was the only proper expedient to settle and preserve the peace and to cause conventicling to cease, and lastly, that it was their humble motion that the extent of toleration should be no less than that which had been vouchsafed to the kingdoms of England and Ireland. When these findings were given in to the three noblemen who had summoned the meeting, they declined to receive them, and reported to the Council that, after consideration of the whole affair, the meeting had reported that it was not in their power to quiet the disorders.

Towards the end of October a report was spread in Edinburgh, chiefly by the Earl of Nithsdale, that the west was about to rise in arms. To his certain knowledge, he is alleged to have said, about three thousand men were in the habit of attending conventicles, of whom a thousand were as well mounted and armed as any in the country. It was also reported that seven thousand horses had been procured from Ireland and distributed among the disaffected, and that supplies of arms and ammunition were concealed in many private houses. The reports were false, but the Government at once took the alarm.¹ Orders were issued to put the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling in a state of defence. The Guards, both horse and foot, were ordered to assemble at Stirling, and the Highland chieftains were requested to keep their men in readiness to march to Stirling, where they would be supplied with arms and ammunition. On November 19 the Commissioners of the Militia met at Edinburgh, where, on the 26th, some four companies of soldiers were ordered to be quartered. The Highlanders assembled at Stirling on January 24,

¹ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, XV., viii. 230. *Hamilton MSS.*, 156-8.

1678, and two days later the whole army, accompanied by a vast body of stragglers, was at Glasgow. There were about 10,000 men, horse and foot, with four pieces of artillery, an ample supply of ammunition, and vast numbers of spades, shovels, and mattocks. They had also "good store of iron shackles, as if they were to bring back vast numbers of slaves; and thumb-locks, as they call them, to make their examinations and trials."¹

On January 28, the Committee of Council who were to accompany the army to give, as Burnet says, the necessary orders, had before them the sheriffs or their deputies of the shires of Roxburgh, Stirling, Lanark, Renfrew, Wigton, Dumfries, and Kirkcudbright, whom they instructed to assemble the whole heritors of their counties for the subscribing of the Bond and then to proceed to disarm the whole of their districts, including the militia troops. The arms taken in the county of Renfrew were to be sent to the Castle of Dumbarton.

The host began its march westward on February 2. By the seventh of the month they were scattered all over Renfrew, Cunningham, and Kyle, seizing and plundering wherever they could. The Master of Ross and the Lieutenant-Colonel of Atholl's regiment are mentioned as being in Paisley on the twenty-fifth of the month, when they were entertained, along with other officers, at the expense of the town, by Bailie Greenlees, who also gave "diverse barrells of ale" to the soldiers, and £85 5s. 1d. to the quartermaster and officers "to put the regiment by from quartering thirtie days." The following day, the same bailie entertained the Marquess of Atholl, the Earl of Perth, Lord Charles Murray, and other gentlemen and their followers. The cost to the town for the entertainments for the two days was £158 3s. 0d. Scots.² Probably the money was well spent. Both burghs and county had to raise money for the troops quartered upon them, and to support the militia. They had also to put up with the insolence of the Highlanders and standing forces, and to submit to be oppressed and plundered by them.

A company of troops appears to have been stationed at Renfrew, under the command of Captain Windram.³ Sir George Nicolson, who commanded a party of Highlanders in the shire, so terrified Lady Houstoun that she fell ill of a fever, of which, in a few days, she died.⁴ In January, Feb-

¹ Wodrow, ii. 389. "Upon this, all the force the King had was sent into the west country, with some cannon, as if it had been for some dangerous expedition; and letters were writ to the lords of the Highlands to send all the strength they could to assist the King's army. The Marquis of Athol, to show his greatness, sent 2,400 men. The Earl of Bredalbane sent 1,700. And in all 8,000 were brought into the country and let loose upon free quarters. A Committee of Council was sent to give necessary orders. Here was an army, but no enemy appeared. The Highlanders were very unruly, and stole and robbed everywhere."—Burnet, *Own Times*.

² Town Council Records.

³ Presbytery Records, March 20, 1678.

⁴ Town Council Records, June 1, 1683.

ruary, and March, 1678, the house of Maxwell of Williamwood, in the parish of Cathcart, was plundered by the Highland host. In the month of June, or July, it was visited by a party of soldiers under the command of one Scot of Bonniton, and what the Highlanders had left, Scot and his men carried off—the remainder of the household furniture, chimneys, pots, pans, crooks, tongs, beds, bedclothes, and everything else that was portable. “So mad and violent were they,” says Wodrow, who knew Williamwood, “in their spite and rage, that they cut and mangled, with their swords and other instruments, the beds and other things they could not carry off, and cut down and spoiled much of the young timber about the house; so insolent were they that finding a stack of bear, reckoned to contain about twenty bolls, which they could not get transported, they set fire to it once and again, but being wet it did not kindle. They carried their spoil to Rutherglen and there sold it.”¹ But, in spite of this usage, which there are, unfortunately, too many reasons for believing was repeated in other parts, it would appear that in Renfrewshire, as in Lanarkshire and elsewhere, the troops met with little, if any, resistance, the people quietly submitting and agreeing to take the oath of allegiance and to make the declaration.

Towards the end of May, 1683, the Magistrates and Town Council of Paisley were summoned to appear before the Lords of Justiciary in Glasgow on the twelfth and thirteenth days of the following month, to answer the serious charge of resetting Hugh Fulton, James Sprewl, and Christopher Strang. Sprewl belonged to Uplaw, in the parish of Neilston. Christopher Strang was an apothecary, carrying on business in Paisley. Fulton does not appear to be elsewhere mentioned than in the summons. The Town Council resolved to make the matter a town's business, and to throw the expense of the defence upon the town's funds. They resolved, also, to send William Fyfe and the Town Clerk, before the day fixed for the trial, to Glasgow to “make moyan” with the bishop to be the town's friend, and to pay their expenses and any disbursements they might have to make. They were furnished in all with £200 Scots and “four guineas of gold,” part of which they spent in making “moyan,” in other words, in bribing the Archbishop and the Clerk of the Circuit Court. No more is heard of the matter in the Records of the Town Council. Apparently the Archbishop and the Clerk of the Circuit Court had contrived to get the charge passed over.

During the month following, many other residents in the county were summoned before the Court. Most of them were imprisoned for rebellion, reset of rebels, and other treasonable practices. Their imprisonment is not

¹ *History*, iii. 186.

always a proof of their guilt. In many cases it is simply a proof that they were suspected by the Government or were in some way objectionable to it. Among them were John Porterfield of Duchal, James Hamilton of Aikenhead, James Dunlop of Househill, George Houstoun of Johnstone, Alexander Cunningham of Craigends, Sir John Shaw of Greenock, Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollok, Sir John Alexander of Haggis, and about a hundred others in the parishes of Cathcart, Eaglesham, Mearns, Neilston, and Lochwinnoch.¹ Maxwell of Williamwood and John Maxwell, younger, of Bogton, in the parish of Cathcart, were tried and condemned for being at Bothwell Bridge, though the former was not there, as was afterwards admitted.²

On January 30, 1684, Mr. William Eccles, one of the indulged ministers of Paisley, had his licence revoked for breach of confinement and for not observing the day of the King's Restoration on May 29, 1683. He was ordered either to find caution that he would not preach again or to leave the country.

In the meantime, the suspicions of the Government had fallen upon one of the most conspicuous of its own agents, Mr. Ezekiel Montgomery, the Sheriff Depute of Renfrewshire. Bold, impudent, and cruel, he had borne himself in the shire like a swashbuckler, and had imprisoned and threatened any from whom he thought there was a chance of obtaining money. According to Wodrow, he was particularly anxious to obtain possession of the estate of Williamwood, and had done what he could to provoke Maxwell, its owner, to a breach of the law. In 1683, afraid that Maxwell might slip out of his hands, he went to Williamwood and demanded from him the loan of two thousand two hundred merks—a sum, he alleged, which the Government was owing him, and of which he was then in great need, in order to meet his engagements. Maxwell refused to lend the money, knowing that, if lent, it would never be repaid. Whereupon, the sheriff plainly told him that, if he persisted in his refusal, he would inform against him, and prove that which would cost him double the money he was now asking. Maxwell knew the man he had to deal with, and sought refuge in Ireland. The year before this happened, the bailies and Town Council of Paisley issued a warrant for Montgomery's apprehension. They had asked for the production of the letters of horning and pointing under which he had "pointed Baillie Maxwell," and in reply he had insolently called them "ane pack of beasts and simples." These, or other of his misdeeds, appear to have been reported to the Government. Investigations were made, and on February 11, 1684, he was suddenly arrested and imprisoned. The Privy Council resolved to proceed against him on twenty-

¹ See the list in Wodrow, iv. 13.

² Wodrow, *Hist.*, iii. 466-8, 482, 485.

four charges of malversation, oppression, and extortion at the Circuit Court, and ordered him to find caution for his appearance under a penalty of £1000 sterling. Unable to obtain sureties, he was sent to prison. Two years afterwards, he was set free on condition of informing against heritors who had been engaged in the recent rebellions; but, instead of fulfilling the condition, he fled to Ireland, where he became a preacher, and did not venture to return to Scotland till after the Revolution.

On May 5, 1684, the list of fugitives, the publication of which had from time to time been postponed, was issued. It contained the names of several hundred individuals, over fifty of whom belonged to the shire of Renfrew. Two were from the burgh of Renfrew, three were from Greenock, and three were from Paisley; but the majority belonged to the parishes of Eastwood, Cathcart, Eaglesham, and Mearns. The prisons were at this time crowded, and, in order to relieve them, many of those who were incarcerated were as "an act of clemency," sent to the plantations in America.

On the morning of Tuesday, June 10, in this year, a distinguished wedding party appeared in the Abbey Church at Paisley. The bride was Lady Jane Cochrane, and the bridegroom Colonel John Graham of Claverhouse. The grandson of an Earl, he was about to marry the daughter of an Earl. He had ridden down from Edinburgh to Paisley on the previous Saturday, through a perfectly tranquil country. At Glasgow he had left word where he might be found. On Monday the marriage contract was signed, and now the party were met to assist at the wedding. Among those present, besides the old Earl of Dundonald, the bride's father, were Lord Montgomery, Lord Ross, John and William Cochrane of Ochiltree, sons of the fugitive Sir John. The bride's mother, whose sympathies were strongly in favour of the Covenanters, was not present. The officiating minister was one of the conforming ministers of Paisley. But that same morning, either before or after the marriage—some say just before the benediction was pronounced—a summons came to Lord Ross—some say to Claverhouse himself—ordering him to take his troopers and proceed at once in pursuit of a conventicle which had been discovered on Sunday the 8th at Black Loch, near Slamannan. Ross rode off. But three weeks before Claverhouse had written that it was "not in the power of love nor any other folly to alter my loyalty,"¹ and scarcely taking time to bid farewell to his bride, he called out his Life Guards, that were quartered near, and all that night and next day he rode over muirs and morasses in search of an enemy he never saw. On Thursday he returned to his bride at Paisley.

¹ Claverhouse to Queensberry, May 19, 1684.—*Hist. MSS. Com.*, XV. viii. 289.

On November 24, 1683, a new Committee, to be called the Secret Committee,¹ was instituted, to coerce more rigorously the people of the Western shires, or to accomplish among them what the Court of High Commission, the Privy Council, and the Court of Judiciary had hitherto failed to do. The members, who were all nominated by the Duke of York, were the Chancellor (Aberdeen), the Lord Treasurer (Queensberry), the Lord Privy Seal (Atholl), the Earl of Perth, the Lord Clerk Register (Sir Thomas Craigie), the Lord Advocate, and Drummond of Lundin, afterwards Earl of Melfort,² who was sent down to act as one of the judges, and whose zeal and baseness are attested by the letters he wrote to the Duke of Queensberry from Glasgow.

Drummond, or to call him by his later title, Melfort, did not reach Glasgow until October 2, 1684, when he wrote to Queensberry his impressions of the people in the West, and the resolution of "our Juncto." "There are many women here," he wrote, "resets and absentees from the church: them we are resolved to fall upon, and to take them wherever we can find them, to send them away to the plantations. The instructions are ill worded, I know not how it came, for they say, send to the plantations not exceeding 300 men, and say nothing of women in that instruction; but I interpret it that we might send as many women as we pleased, for women, by another article, were to be used as men [were] when in the same fault. The ministers being at a Synod, we have kept them till to-morrow, that we can get an account of the knowledge from them upon oath; and if they be not prepared, they shall have a day longer. An account of the probations in the Porteous and Commissioners' rolls is to be given, and the offenders classed by Sir William Paterson, the Advocate Depute, and Thomas Gordon."³

Melfort had no intention of seeing justice done. His whole aim was to exact from the shires and from those who were brought before the court as much money as he could, in order that he might increase his favour with the King. The Duke of Hamilton objected to the plan of compelling the shires to make offers of cess, "Because," he said, "it was hard to expect that the innocent should pay for other people's guilt, and that it was hard to make distinctions of shires why they should be distinguished from the northern shires;" and refused to attend the court on the first day of Melfort's appearance at it.⁴

¹ "The Secret Committee (for that will be the name of our Juncto) the King was so well pleased with that ye never saw the lyke."—Drummond to Queensberry, *Drumlanrig MSS.*, ii. 168.

² *Drumlanrig MSS.*, ii. 169.

³ *Drumlanrig MSS.*, ii. 176. I have altered Melfort's spelling, which is not much better, if at all, than Claverhouse's.

⁴ *Drumlanrig MSS.*, ii. 175.

Before coming down to Scotland Melfort had marked out three men whom he intended to deprive of either their estates or their lives. These were Stewart of Blackhall, Alexander Porterfield, and Maxwell of Nether Pollok. Blackhall, who had friends in high quarters, somehow heard of his intentions, and got his friends to intercede with the King both for himself and for Duchal and Pollok, his relatives; and a month before Melfort arrived in Glasgow the Earl of Moray, Secretary for Scotland, wrote to Queensberry that he had received instructions from the King to write to his Lordship and to "my Lord Chancellor, to let you know that he [Blackhall] is a gentleman of whose loyalty and fidelity to His Majesty's service he is 'verry mutch assured,' and that your Lordship will please to take notice of him as such in any of his just concerns." As to Pollok and Duchal, Moray requested that he might be furnished with a true state of their case. Blackhall he describes on his own part as "a gentilman of ane anjent and loyall faemely, of good and loyale principles," and as "my relatione, whos persone and faemely I uishe ueall."¹

On October 4, Melfort wrote to Queensberry that he was informed that Blackhall, among others, notwithstanding all his promises, had refused to take the Test, and Queensberry appears to have complained to Moray, who replied, October 23, 1684, that he was confident that the information about Blackhall's refusing to take the Test must be a mistake: "For I am sure," he wrote, "he towk it before he came hear at the last circuitts."² The Secretary appears to have been mistaken. Melfort writes on October 7, "Blackhall . . . I called for, and both to his friends and to himself told my mind. He excuses himself, and protests to do anything that may recover that step." If he had already taken the oath, he would surely have said so. Melfort goes on to add: "But I am afraid of these indifferent men, that they would fain hold meat in their mouths and blow, for his chaplain was a fanatic, as I am informed. Since he put him away, he hath none other, and his sons are boarded at a fanatic's house in town. Of this I shall make most particular inquiry, that I may inform your Lordship."³

Melfort and his agents pushed on their work with all speed, gathering information, arresting whom they thought fit, classifying the accused, and bringing in witnesses. It was resolved to insist not only upon the Test, but also upon the signing of the Bond, by which heritors made themselves responsible for the conduct, not merely of their families, but of all their

¹ *Drumlanrig MSS.*, ii. 32, 33.

² *Drumlanrig MSS.*, ii. 34. In the letter in which Blackhall is said to have refused to take the Test, Melfort reports that none took it "but the Earl of Glencairne, Dundonald, Ross, and some others in the shire of Renfrew."—*Ibid.*, 177.

³ *Drumlanrig MSS.*, ii. 179.

dependents as well. On October 10, Melfort wrote: "Now my tribulation is begun, for this day I have been fighting from the beginning to the end; but at last our matters are as well as could be expected, for if we get no obedience, we show our authority, and that the King is not afraid of them; for all who have refused the Bond we have in prison to teach them better manners. The most of them are indicted for reset and converse, and them we are resolved to send to Edinburgh to be tried; the others, if there be no probation, and if they acquit themselves on oath, we shall dishorse, disarm, and put under caution to compeir when called. However, having other shires to come in to us, it was certainly fit to be peremptory with the first who were disobedient, amongst which number, now in prison, are Porterfield of Duchal and Maxwell of Pollok; so at least the King will be paid for his fines. I am sure all of them, of whom Greenock is one, ought not to go lightly out of the Government's hand. This night all the witnesses against Duchal, for whom we sent out a party, are come in; and I hope by the next to give your Lordship a full account what is in that matter; for the fugitive himself is taken whom he harboured . . . There is another laird, on whose land he was taken, who, I hear, will not take the Test; he will be in a 'fyne takeing.'"¹

Of the efficacy of his methods Melfort had no doubt, and urged strongly that they should be followed. "I am sure," he wrote, October 13, "if our example be followed by those who stay as magistrates in this country after us, we shall see fanaticism as great a monster as the Rhinoceros; but if any methods contrary or more indulgent follow, all will be irreparably lost." He hoped, however, that too much would not be expected of him; for "if we were to enquire into all the informations," he writes, "that come to our hands, there would be work for a diligent judge for twelve months, so guilty all this country is; therefore I am hopeful impossibilities will not be expected. The gross of commons we shall judge by ourselves, or by the ordinary judges, to whom for security we will give assessors. This day we have shown them some example of judging the faulty of this place."²

¹ *Drumlanrig MSS.*, ii. 182-3. To the letter from which the above is taken, Melfort adds a post-script, in which he says:—"Orbiston continues most zealous, and deserves thanks. Many more are very forward, notwithstanding the stops there are;" and concludes with the following to show his own zeal, and perhaps that of his subordinates:—

"Dumbarton freeholders.		Renfrew shire.	
"Has taken the Test, - - - -	7	Freeholders tested, - - - -	34
Not taken, - - - -	3	Nott tested, . - - - -	20
Absent, excused, - - - -	4	Absent, excused, - - - -	16
Absent, not excused, - - - -	2	Absent, not ex., - - - -	7

"Ther names your Lordship shal hav by the nixt, the Clerks being tyred to death." Melfort had been in Glasgow eight days.

² *Drumlanrig MSS.*, ii. 184.

He was still hopeful of getting Stewart of Blackhall into his net. The following shows the terrorism he was exercising. "There are come to me two commissions from two of our prisoners—the first is from the Laird of Duchal, who, I find, upon the receiving of his indictment, is extremely alarmed, and would gladly throw himself upon the King's mercy, if he could have any assurance that something could be preserved to his family, and his life saved. Blackhall's nephew is his grandchild, and to succeed him, so Blackhall is now extremely concerned for him. I would give no answer nor condescend to a delay of his trial, lest that might have made others believe it was not in earnest; but I beg your Lordship to know if it may not be better to take a confession from him, and give him some assurance, for he is content to be confined during life to any place, parish or country. This in my opinion, considering the depositions, and the fickleness of this country witnesses, might not be the worst; and the method I would have it in would be, upon the day of trial, a judicial confession at the bar, and coming in the King's mercy. This, with the other affair I am to mention, will require the speediest answer that can be. The other commission was from Maxwell of Pollok, who is guilty of reset and converse, as all in this country are. He is content to bind himself to leave the King's dominions, and not to return without leave; to put his estate in men's hands of unquestioned loyalty, and, in time of his being abroad, to find caution not to do any thing prejudicial to the King or his Government; over and above all which he is content to pay a fine, and for that offers £10,000, but I think would be glad to come off for £20,000. If your Lordship be for this, it can be done here; if not, it can be remitted to Edinburgh, as ye please. I must again beg for a speedy answer, for such examples may be of great consequence: and if the King fine all in their circumstance proportionately, he may have £20,000 sterling from this country."¹

In a letter written on the night of October 15, Melfort returns to his method of procedure, and illustrates its effectiveness for his purpose by an instance drawn from the county of Renfrew. "The good effect of that kind of procedure," he writes, "is evident from what passed this day with the smaller heritors of Renfrew, who being more than 300, as I could guess, the rolls not being yet called, we, after having spoken to them, ordered the Sheriff Depute and Clerk of that shire to convene them and bring them back to us. When they came, it was thought fit to thank all who had taken the Bond and Test, to assure them of the continuance and protection of the Government, and to give them leave to go home. But of such as had refused, six of the most obstinate had summonses delivered in their hands at the bar, and the oath of

¹ *Drumlanrig MSS.*, ii. 185.

allegiance offered to them, and they by good luck refused it. So the guard was called to carry them away, when there rose a murmur amongst the rest to see if they could be allowed to take the Bond and Test to-morrow, which was granted, and they appointed to meet as they did that day; and in the meantime that none of them should depart the town upon their highest peril, and our six blades sent to limbo before them.”¹

“I have this day,” he writes on October 18, “given orders to begin, by which I shall show the state of these counties, so as I dare say it will have something of labour in it. . . . Duchal appeared at the bar, and the diet was continued till Wednesday, at which time I shall manage it so as his estate shall be the King’s, or it shall be remitted to Edinburgh. This night Poog [Pollok] Maxwell’s estate is at the King’s disposal, for I managed the matter so with Blackhall, that I made him believe that Poog would be hanged. The man was terribly amazed and frightened. The story would be too long, but the short of it is, I caused call him this night, Duke Hamilton being gone to Hamilton, and then gave him assurance of life, and questioned him upon his reset; and he confessed it with that joy that I never saw mortal in greater, and was so fond of the King’s letter allowing our procedure that he read it most attentively to himself, and fell on rallieing (rallying) and laughing. A man to have got an estate might have been merry, but to lose so good an estate was no cause of much joy. The confession is full and we resolve to proceed to sentence and then to delay pronouncing (after we find the thing proven) till we come to Edinburgh, that the Council mention the quota, for that’s according to our instructions, and it’s good to make things sure, and not to lose time needlessly.”²

On October 20, Melfort’s stay in Glasgow was nearly at an end, and he wrote to Queensberry, saying, “To judge every greater heritor is not fit for us, and the absents, who were only cited for withdrawing, are not worth our stay; and I hope all things else shall be done, and the King something the richer if he please to take what we shall put in his power, or bring to the Council, that they may do it: for Pollok Maxwell, Craigens, younger and older, Houstoun of Johnstone, Greenock, and one other whose name I remember not, are already at the King’s mercy as to their fortunes, and Duchal’s estate, I am hopeful, is in no better condition. Blackhall has been here just now commending Poog’s [Pollok’s] (I know not how to spell his name, and so do it in several ways by mistake) ingenuity, and I told him I looked on him, as on most west country men of his opinions, to be most disingenuous; he should

¹ *Drumlanrig MSS.*, ii. 186.

² *Drumlanrig MSS.*, ii. 188-9.

otherwise have been a material witness against Duchal. But the thing I am resolved on is a knack I thought on this morning. If Duchal, after reading his indictment, confess, well ; if he stand his trial, as I told your Lordship, we will not insist, though it's what no soul knows ; but we will desert that diet, and in the room give him a new indictment by a herald and trumpet, to show the people that we are not to leave him ; as other ways they might judge, and so think all had been brag, and no more ; and this my Lord Justice Clerk likes very well, and he being one of the Court, the indictment can have all the formality, for it's too good a fortune to hazard upon a rash trial."¹

In his letter to Queensberry, dated October 22, Melfort gives an account of what had been done with the men from Renfrewshire and how his trick had succeeded with Duchal.

"We are now," he writes, "upon processes, that being our last work, save leaving the absents by Commission to be pursued, and their fines levied. In our processes we have good luck, for this day has secured the King Maxwell of Pollok's estate by sentence, at least what the King pleases of it. . . . We had more difficulty how to manage Duchal's process, it being criminal ; but we got it well by keeping our intention most secret, for I never told any but my Lord Justice Clerk ; so they, not knowing that we were immediately to proceed, were contented to do anything. So he has confessed all judicially, and we have continued the diet to the third Monday of November at Edinburgh. This had many difficulties in it by reason of our instructions, but all's as it ought to be, secure to a tittle. This afternoon Craigens, old and young, and thirteen heritors, small and great, more are brought into the King's mercy as to their fortunes, or have refused the oath of allegiance and are to be banished. None of all who have refused both Bond and Test are like to escape our libels and the interrogations we put ; but interrogating is a particular art, not to be learned anywhere."²

That is the last we hear of Melfort, and his work in Glasgow, in October, 1684. He went to Edinburgh and afterwards to London. Duchal, Pollok and the two Craigens were summoned to Edinburgh, when Duchal was forfeited and imprisoned. His estates went to Melfort, and he himself came to be known as "Melfort's martyr." Pollok and the Craigens, with many others from the shire, were heavily fined.

But, though he had left the country, Melfort was still on the Secret Committee, and had sufficient influence to get the methods he had adopted in dealing with the non-conforming, and of which he was so proud, continued.

¹ *Drumlanrig MSS.*, ii. 193.

² *Drumlanrig MSS.*, ii. 194.

More troops were drafted into the West, and the measures adopted became, under his baleful influence, if anything more severe than before. On December 8, a commission was issued to William Hamilton, laird of Orbiston, one of the most zealous of Melfort's agents, to raise two hundred Highlanders in the shire of Dumbarton, and to use them in any part of that shire and of the shire of Renfrew for the apprehension of rebels, fugitives, skulking persons and their resettlers. Those whom they apprehended were to be delivered to the nearest commissioned officer, to be sent on by him to the tolbooth of Edinburgh. Those who resisted capture they might wound or kill at their discretion.¹

Charles II. died February 6, 1685. Three days before he died, two men, John Park and James Algie, were executed at the Cross of Paisley by sentence of the Commissioner of the shire. The two men lived at Kennishead in the parish of Eastwood, where they were joint tenants of a piece of land. Algie was a conformist and heard the episcopal minister till a few weeks before his death, when owing to the persuasion of Park he ceased to attend the parish church. For some reason they gave up the land they held. A letter was then sent to Cochrane of Ferguslie, bailie of the regality of Darnley, in which they were living, informing him that they held rebellious principles and disowned the King's authority. This was on a Sunday, and on his arrival the bearer of the letter was placed in close custody until the forenoon service was over, when a party of soldiers were ordered out, who went to Kennishead and seized Park and Algie as they were about to begin family worship, and carried them down to Paisley. The Court met on Tuesday, when they were tried and condemned in the forenoon and executed about two in the afternoon. Both of them refused to take the Test Oath. "If to save our lives," they said, "we must take the Test, and the abjuration will not save us, we will take no oaths at all."

Orbiston was present at their trial, and was responsible both for their execution and its unseemly haste.

Soon after the accession of James II., a new commission was issued for the western and southern shires. It was addressed to Colonel Douglas of the Life Guards, and upon it were named, for the shire of Renfrew, in addition to Douglas, the Earl of Glencairn, Lords Cochrane and Ross, Hamilton of Orbiston, Houstoun, younger of that ilk, John Shaw, younger of Greenock, and

¹Two of Orbiston's men went to Duchal, and pretending to be Covenanters, begged for food and quarters. Lady Duchal suspected they were spies, but ordered them to be entertained and watched. Her suspicions were confirmed when she was told that they had begun to eat the food supplied to them without saying grace. She at once told her husband, who had them seized and bound, and then in the presence of his household gave them a sound whipping and cast them as "rebellious Whigs" into an old vault, where they lay until their officer came round and relieved them.

Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall. They were authorised to seek out, apprehend and punish all rebels and fugitives in the county, and their aiders and abettors. General Drummond was sent west to harass the county, and to assist them.

The commission is dated March 27, 1685. On the tenth of the month, Hamilton of Aikenhead had been liberated on a bond of £2,000 sterling, to appear when called. Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollok had been liberated on a bond of £10,000, and again in September on another of £8,000. On March 22, John Porterfield of Duchal and his son, Alexander, had petitioned the Council for liberty. The first was refused. The son was let out. But on July 23, Duchal was allowed the liberty of the town of Edinburgh. On September 11, and again in November, to re-enter on January 1, the laird of Craigens was allowed out on a bond of 12,000 merks. On the other hand, David Paterson of Eaglesham was, on November 26, banished. Thomas Jackson, in the parish of Eastwood, who had been banished to West Flanders, where he was sold as a slave and engaged in the wars against the Spaniards, having escaped and returned to Glasgow, was there identified and treated with great cruelty.¹

Upon May 1, the Earl of Argyll left Holland on his ill-fated expedition, to make a diversion in favour of the Duke of Monmouth in Scotland, and to deliver the country from its oppressors. The Government appears to have been fully informed of his intention and movements, and preparations were made to meet him. In Renfrewshire, the militia were called out in the middle of the month, and placed under the command of Lord Cochrane, the "captain to the Sherifffdom of Renfrew troop." On the twenty-seventh of the month, the Earl published his declaration at Tarbet, where he was joined by Sir Duncan Campbell and others, with about a thousand men. Sir John Cochrane, the fugitive rebel, was already with him. The Isle of Bute was seized, and a landing was effected near the kirk of Greenock. The landing was opposed by Lord Cochrane, who, on the thirtieth, had been ordered by the Earl of Dumbarton, to march with the gentry of the shire and a party of dragoons, under Cornet Innes, to Ardgowan,² but his men were driven back. Some of them, it is said, did not draw rein till they reached Paisley. An attempt to persuade the people of Greenock to join in defence of religion and liberty failed. Some forty bolls of meal were seized, and then upon a false alarm, the Earl's troops, which were under the command of Sir John Cochrane, fled to their ships, and sailed over to Cowal, where Sir John declared it was folly to attempt the lowlands as yet.

¹ Wodrow, iv. 211 ff.

² *Alloa MSS.*, 216.

The Earl continued to hover for some time, with his forces, between Inveraray and Dumbarton, fearing, on the one hand, the King's frigates, and, on the other, the King's troops, who were now marching to attack him. At last, after many misfortunes, he reached Kilpatrick,¹ where about 500 of his men, under the command of Sir John Cochrane, crossed the Clyde into Renfrewshire. Here they were met by a troop of militia, which Sir John Cochrane, and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, who was with him, had no difficulty in driving off. Other troops, to the number of about 150, were brought across the Clyde, but the Earl and the rest refused to cross.

After refreshing his men with provisions intended for the King's troops, Sir John Cochrane and those with him resolved to march south into England. Meantime, the militia had been strongly reinforced and were preparing to attack him. Dividing his little force into three troops, one of which he gave to Polwart and another to Major Henderson, Sir John Cochrane led the third against the militia, who immediately fled and were seen no more till the afternoon. A body of troops and militia, under the command of Lord Ross and Captain Clelland, was not so easily disposed of. Terms of surrender were offered, but Sir John Cochrane refused to accept them, and moved his men into a "little fold-dyke." The royalist troops then made a furious attack, in which Captain Clelland was slain. Lord Ross renewed the attack and then drew off. After nightfall, when Sir John Cochrane's men marched out of their "fold-dyke," with the intention of escaping, they found that Lord Ross had retired over the hills to Kilmarnock. The affair was fought at Muirdykes in the parish of Lochwinnoch.

Meantime the Earl, after seeing Sir John Cochrane cross the Clyde, rode about a mile to the east, towards Glasgow, accompanied by Sir Duncan Campbell, Major Fullarton, Captain Duncanson and his son John, and then, having dismissed Sir Duncan and the Captain to raise a new levy if possible, went to the house of one who had formerly been his servant, expecting to be sheltered, but, on the door being opened, he was peremptorily denied admission. This forced him to make for the Clyde. He and Major Fullarton then crossed over by the ford to Inchinnan. On arriving there, they were stopped by a number of soldiers. Fullarton tried to entertain them until the Earl, who had turned his horse up the water, could get away; but a countryman coming up, told the commander of the soldiers that the other did not belong to that part of the country, and had parted with his horse and taken to the water. Upon this, the soldiers were ordered to go after him. Fullarton then

¹ "Paisley, June 17, 1685 :—The discipline is delayed this day because of the present confusion the countrie is in by reason that the late Earl of Argyle with his rebellious associates are in their march towards Glasgow, having already passed the river of Leaven."—*Presbytery Records*.

offered to yield himself rather than that the countryman, his guide, as he called the Earl, should come to harm. The commander agreed, but no sooner had the Major given himself up than the soldiers were sent in pursuit of the Earl, who was habited in mean attire. He was overtaken and overpowered, and carried to Renfrew, and thence to Glasgow and Edinburgh, where he was beheaded at the Market Cross, on June 30, 1685.

The King's intention to obtain the repeal of all penal laws against the Catholics was well known. But when Parliament met, April 29, 1686, it was found to be in no mood to grant the slightest concession to them, and the draft of an Act by which they were to be allowed the exercise of their religion in private, was withdrawn by the Government, lest it should fail to carry.

Foiled in this way, the King resolved to give effect to his intention by what he regarded as his royal prerogative, and in a letter, dated August 21, he announced to the Council his pleasure that his Roman Catholic subjects should be allowed the free private exercise of their religion, and that he had ordered a chapel to be fitted up in the Palace of Holyrood for the celebration of worship according to the Roman rite.

In February, 1687, he caused a fresh proclamation to be made. In this it was set forth that His Majesty, in virtue of his sovereign authority and absolute power, which all his subjects were bound to obey without reserve, gave permission to the Presbyterians to meet in their private houses and hear all such ministers as were willing to accept the indulgence thus offered, to Quakers to meet in their appointed places of worship, and to Catholics to celebrate their religious services in houses or chapels. But field conventicles were forbidden. Roman Catholics were not to preach in the fields, nor to seize Protestant churches, nor to make processions through the streets of royal burghs. Liberty was granted to them to have chapels; all penal laws against them, and all civil and political disabilities on account of their religion, were suspended and dispensed with. The only oath to be required of all was one in which they were to swear that His Majesty was the rightful and supreme power in the kingdom, and that it was not lawful to rise in arms against him.

The Presbyterian ministers declined to take the benefit of this indulgence. The King, therefore, in conformity with the policy he was pursuing in England, issued a proclamation, in the month of July, by which all the laws against non-conformity were rescinded. Conventicles, however, were still prohibited. The Presbyterians, though somewhat suspicious of the King's intentions, accepted the "liberty." Many ministers who had been living abroad, returned and resumed their functions. None stood out except Renwick and his Cameronian followers.

In August, the Presbyterian ministers met in Edinburgh, and held a "General Meeting," in which, besides laying down a number of rules for the guidance of themselves and their congregations in the favourable circumstances in which they were now placed, they drew up an address to the King, in which they thanked him for his clemency and promised to maintain entire loyalty, both in doctrine and practice, according to the known principles of true religion as contained in the Confession of Faith.

On August 3, perhaps the very day on which the "General Meeting" was being held in Edinburgh, the conforming Presbytery of the county met in Paisley and conducted their business as usual. They met again on Wednesday, September 7, 1687. This is the last of their meetings of which there is any record. There were present:—John Fullarton, Paisley; Francis Ross, Renfrew; William Stewart, Inchinnan; William Fisher, Eastwood; David Rob, Erskine; John Taylor, Paisley; Archibald Wilson, Kilbarchan; David Mitchell, Greenock; James Gadderer, Kilmacolm; John Nisbet, Houston; William Cunningham, Lochwinnoch; Thomas Rutherford, Killallan; John Keneir, Neilston; and Hendrie Henderson, Inverkip. Mr. James Inglis, of Mearns, was absent. Some of the members had recently come to the Presbytery. Mr. Keneir was instituted on May 13, 1687; Mr. Nisbet on September 1, 1686; Mr. Inglis on May 22, 1686; and Mr. Thomas Rutherford on May 18, 1686, in succession to Mr. Taylor, who had been translated to the second charge at Paisley, November 10, 1686. The business was transacted as usual. There is no note of change in the Record. On October 5, the Minute Book was submitted to the Synod of Glasgow, and attested.

The next minute in the Record carries us back to the month of July, though it was probably not inserted till the month of December, and relates, not to the curates, but to the old Presbyterian ministers. Its significance is apparent. "After the libertie in July, 1687," so it runs, "by the appointment of the Generall meeting at Edinburgh in August in the year foresaid, the Presbitries of Glasgow, Paisley and Dumbrittone did joyne together and made up one Presbitrie by reason of the paucitie of ministers which continued untill December of the said year. The actings of which are to be found in the Presbitrie Book of Glasgow."

During the interval mentioned, the three united Presbyteries appear to have been chiefly occupied with the business of obtaining ministers for the various Presbyterian congregations in Glasgow and in settling them. On October 11, they invited Mr. James Wodrow, father of the historian, to come to Glasgow, to assist the ministers there by preaching, but more especially to take charge of the young men who were preparing for the ministry. He accepted the invitation, and was ordained, August 21, 1688, by Mr. R. Rodger

in the South Meeting House "as minister of Glasgow, but only for such time as he should not have an open door for access to be Professor of Theology in the University."¹

Meantime, the Presbytery of Paisley had separated from those of Glasgow and Dumbarton, and had met in Paisley on December 27, 1687. Its numbers were sadly attenuated. Only four of the old Presbyterian ministers were now alive, and it was they who met and constituted the Presbytery. They were: Hugh Peebles, at Lochwinnoch; James Hutcheson, at Killallan; Patrick Symson, at Renfrew; and Matthew Crawford, at Eastwood. Mr. Peebles was appointed moderator. The chief piece of business was the call of Mr. John Glen, probationer, to Mearns. The curates had only recently appointed Mr. Inglis to be minister there. There can be little doubt, therefore, that in Mearns there was a congregation meeting elsewhere than in the Parish Church, and that it was from this body that Mr. Glen received his call. Though Mr. Hugh Peebles and his companions called themselves "the Presbytery of Paisley," they had as yet no legal standing as a Presbytery of the Church of Scotland. The curates of the parishes within the bounds of the Presbytery still formed the Presbytery of Paisley in the Church of Scotland as by law established, and were still in possession of its benefices.

On November 5, 1688, William Prince of Orange anchored his fleet in Torbay, and was soon on his way to London. His arrival was everywhere hailed in Scotland as the arrival of a deliverer. Forty days later, on Christmas Day, 1688, the rabbling of the curates began. In Renfrewshire, a clean sweep was made of them. Not a single curate was spared. They were all turned out of their livings and left to fend for themselves and their families as best they could. Many of them suffered great hardships. If the ministers who, on account of the Glasgow proclamation of October 1, 1662, voluntarily left their livings, deserve sympathy, so do the curates who were "rabbed." Their case was, if anything, harder. Numbers of them were reduced to poverty and had to throw themselves on the charity of their friends and of those even by whom they had been supplanted.

In one parish in the shire the general "rabbling," it is said, had been anticipated. Mr. Gadderer, the minister of Kilmacolm, had made himself so intolerable to his parishioners, that towards the end of 1687 a crowd, consisting for the most part of women and children, surrounded his manse, forced their way into it, and then turned him and his family out and locked the doors against them. Amid shouts of derision, the curate was conducted to the boundary of the parish, and bidden depart. After a wandering career, he

¹He was appointed Professor, February 24, 1692.

settled down at Aberdeen as a bishop. He caused trouble among his co-religionists by introducing English usages and ceremonies, and was expostulated with by Bishop Fullarton, formerly his co-presbyter in Paisley. According to Wodrow, he declared that the Church of England was schismatic, and that all who "did not support their suffering Prince were in a state of damnation."¹ Mr. Wilson, the minister of Kilbarchan, is said to have anticipated the storm by abandoning the parish before the rabbling came on. Mr. Fullarton, the minister of the first charge in Paisley, and probably the officiating minister at Claverhouse's wedding, found refuge in the house of Lord Dundonald, where for some time he acted as domestic chaplain. He was afterwards made a bishop among the Non-Jurors.

¹ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, iii. 96, 127.

CHAPTER XX.

WITCHCRAFT.

AN Act of Parliament was passed in the year 1563, in which the penalty of death was denounced against all who should "take in hand in all time hereafter to use any manner of witchcraft, sorcery and necromancy." The same year, four women were delated as witches by the Superintendent of Fife. Their cases came before the Assembly, when they were modestly disposed of by a resolution to the effect that the Privy Council be requested to take order concerning them.¹ Six years later, a notable sorcerer, named Nic Neville, was condemned, and burnt to death at St. Andrews; and, on August 19 in the same year, William Stewart, Lyon King of Arms, was hanged in the same place "for divers points of witchcraft and necromancy." Still in the same year, according to the Diurnal of Occurrents, "in my Lord Regent's passing to the north, he causit burn certain witches in Sanctandros, and in returning he causit burn ane other company of witches in Dundee." After this, witchcraft grew apace, and the execution of witches increased.

In the shire of Renfrew, prosecutions for witchcraft were somewhat late in beginning. In the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, processes against witches were set up as early as 1632.² By the year 1645, the parish of Dunfermline was so completely overrun by these assumed agents of Satan, that it had to be divided into districts, and elders and others appointed to keep watch and ward over them.³

In Renfrewshire, however, there were witches and cases of witchcraft before there were prosecutions. Of all the parishes in the shire, that of Inverkip seems to have been the first to obtain anything like notoriety. Early in the seventeenth century, "Auld Dunrod," who sold the barony of Dunrod in 1619 to Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, acquired a great reputation both in Renfrewshire and in the county of Lanark for the intercourse he was believed to have with the Evil One and his agents. His fame was celebrated in more than one ballad. In one of them it is said—

"In Auld Kirk the witches ride thick,
And in Duurod they dwell,
But the greatest loon among them a'
Is auld Dunrod himsel'."

¹ Burton, *History of Scotland*, iv. 320.

² Stevenson, *Presbytrie Book of Kirkcaldy*, 69.

³ Henderson, *Extracts from the Kirk Session Records of Dunfermline*, 15.

In the extant Records of the Presbytery of Paisley, the first mention of witchcraft occurs in the libel laid against Mr. John Hamilton, the minister of Inverkip, on May 17, 1664, wherein he is accused of taking a bribe of fifty merks to secure against harm a woman who had been apprehended for the crime. Hamilton was deposed and the woman died in prison.¹ The next reference to the subject does not occur in the Records till February 23, 1670, when the Presbytery resolved to consult the Synod as to "what course is fittest to be taken with those who go under the name of witches." Under date November 2, 1671, the following entry occurs: "Master William Cameron having given in a certain gross presumption of witchcraft against Janet Lyon, the presbyterie refers and recommends the business to the Sheriff or his Depute, and appoints Mr. William to give in the particulars of the presumption to him."

By this time Greenock as well as Inverkip had become notorious for its witches. In March, 1672, the Presbytery again applied to the Synod for advice, and in the following May the brethren were directed to report all cases of presumption of witchcraft in their parishes to the Archbishop, in order that they might be brought by him before the Privy Council. At the next meeting of Presbytery, June 19, 1672, it was reported that Mr. William Cameron had given in "some presumptions of witchcraft he had against two particular persons in Grinock to the Bishop."

No other case is referred to in the Records until February 23, 1676, when Mr. Leslie, curate at Inverkip, delated one John Macgregor as a charmer in Greenock. The charge against Macgregor was that of restoring a young woman, named Agnes Christwell, suddenly to speech, "whereof," it is said, "there is a *fama clamosa* in the country." When summoned before the Presbytery, Macgregor denied that he had ever cured Agnes in any manner of way, and the case was remitted to the Session at Greenock to examine witnesses and to report. Subsequently, it appears to have been placed in the hands of Messrs. Leslie and Cameron, the ministers of Inverkip and Greenock. To these Macgregor admitted that he had hung a bead about the neck of "Margaret Wilson" at Inverkip when she was dumb, and that after leaving him she suddenly obtained the power of speech. He further admitted that he had taken money for this from the mother of Margaret Wilson. This was reported to the Presbytery by Mr. Leslie on February 7, 1677. Nothing more is heard of the case till the fifteenth of August following, when the Records bear: "Mr. Cameron is appointed publickly from the pulpit to inhibit John Macgregor to practice any cures henceforth under the pain of holding

¹ MS. Records of the Presbytery of Paisley, the authority for most of the statements in the chapter.

him for a charmer and delating him to the Civill Magistrat as such. Likewise the people are to be discharged [prohibited] from seeking after the said John henceforth under pain of Church censure."

On the whole, the curates in the shire appear to have been somewhat slack, as compared with their successors, in dealing with witchcraft and sorcery. Perhaps they were more anxious to repress conventicles and to win over the people from their Presbyterianism than to carry on a crusade against this peculiar form of superstition. It may be, too, that they were disposed to regard witches and charmers as charlatans, and preferred that they should be dealt with by the Civil Magistrate as impostors. At anyrate, their treatment of Macgregor, the Greenock charmer, seems to argue that they had more sense than to believe that witchcraft and sorcery were anything more than delusions. Credit is at least due to them for not sending him to the fire or the gibbet.

When Presbyterianism once more became triumphant in the country, witches began to multiply with amazing rapidity. In the shire of Renfrew nothing is heard of them until after the appointment of Mr. Thomas Blackwell to the ministry of Paisley, to which he was inducted, after considerable delay, on August 18, 1694. Mr. Blackwell was regarded as an able man, and had a great reputation for learning. In the shire of Renfrew he gained a reputation less creditable. Here he distinguished himself as a great witch finder. It was during his incumbency of Paisley, and chiefly through his influence, that Renfrewshire acquired an unenviable notoriety for its witches.

One of the earliest cases the Presbytery took in hand, after most of the vacant livings in the shire had been filled up, was that against a charmer named Dougal at Inverkip, who, among other things, "taught John Hunter how to make his neighbour's corn go back by sowing sour milk among it at Beltane." For curing convulsion fits he was reported to have given the following recipe: "Take pairings from the nails of the person subject to the fits, some hairs from his eyebrows and others from the crown of his head; wrap them up in a clout with a halfpenny, and then deposit the parcel in a certain place; when found the fits will at once leave the sufferer and be transferred to the finder of the parcel." For the curing of John Hunter's beast of the "sturdy," so the indictment runs, he had taught Hunter to cut off a stirk's head, to boil it, burn the bones to ashes, and then bury the ashes, which, he said, would prove an infallible cure to the beast. He also offered "for a 14"¹ to teach a man how to get a part of his neighbour's fishing and his own too. With this impostor the Presbytery dealt summarily and wisely. He was rebuked before the congregation of his parish, and forbidden to practise his arts under pain of being sent to the Sheriff. This was on November 12, 1695.

¹ A fourteen-shilling piece; see Cochrane-Patrick, *Rec. Coinage Scot.*, ii. 252.

Three months later, two cases were reported which appeared to the Presbytery to be of a much more serious character, and filled them with alarm. On February 5, 1696, Mr. Brisbane, the minister at Kilmacolm, reported that several individuals had been accused of witchcraft before his Kirk Session by a confessant or confessing witch, and that upon the person of one of them "an insensible mark," supposed to be a sure sign of intimacy with the evil one, had been found. At the same time, Mr. Turner, minister at Inchinnan, reported that "a woman of bad fame" in his parish had used threatening language towards her son, and thereafter the house had fallen upon him and killed him. Messrs. Brisbane and Turner were thereupon directed to take precognitions of the three "malifices" in their respective parishes, with a view to an application being made to the Sheriff. When the Presbytery met thirteen days later, Mr. Brisbane reported that, when examined, several witnesses had declared that a certain Janet Wodrow's "threats had been followed by injurious effects, and that Janet was now in Greenock, having been arrested there as a fugitive from the Session."

At this meeting of the Presbytery serious developments were expected, and the Sheriff-Depute had been asked to attend. The cases were laid before him, and the Presbytery, led by Mr. Blackwell, "did earnestly desire that he would take Janet into custody, and apply to the Lords of the Privy Council for a commission to put her and others suspected in the bounds for trial." The Sheriff-Depute, who appears to have been no wiser than the ministers, promised to commit her, but suggested that the Presbytery should make a joint application with him for the appointment of a commission. Accordingly, Mr. Thomas Blackwell and Mr. David Brown, the minister at Neilston, were despatched to Edinburgh, where they appear to have had no difficulty in getting a commission appointed. But when the commissioners' instructions came to be read, on April 29, they were found to apply only to the case of Janet Wodrow, who, in the meantime, had become a confessant and had accused others. The case against Jean Fulton, the "woman of bad fame" in Inchinnan, had also been enquired into, and was now fully matured. The instructions of the commissioners, therefore, required to be enlarged, so as to enable them to deal with her case and with those of others in Kilmacolm, Inverkip, and Inchinnan, who were now under suspicion. For this practically new commission, Messrs. Turner and Brisbane were sent to Edinburgh, and, on May 13, it was reported to the Presbytery that they had "obtained, extracted, and brought west ane ample commission to the Sheriff-Depute and several gentlemen within the bounds for putting all delated for or suspected of witchcraft to a tryal."

The brethren now prepared themselves to wrestle strenuously with the

wicked one and his agents. But when an attempt was made to secure a quorum of the commissioners to preside at the trial, a number of them refused to act. This necessitated another journey to Edinburgh for the purpose of getting fresh commissioners appointed in their place. At last the appointments were made and a quorum was prepared to sit. In the meantime, however, things had gone from bad to worse. To the alarm of the Presbytery, a fresh outbreak of satanic agency had occurred more terrible than the one they were preparing to deal with.

At its meeting on December 30, 1696, Mr. Turner, the minister at Erskine, unfolded before the Presbytery the dreadful story of the bewitching of Christian Shaw, daughter of the laird of Bargarran. "Mr. Turner," so runs the minute, "represented the deplorable case of Christian Shaw, daughter of the laird of Bargarran, in the parish of Erskine, who, since the beginning of September last, hath been under a sore and unnatural-like distemper, frequently seized with strange fits, sometimes blind, sometimes deaf and dumb, the several parts of her body violently extended, and other times violently contracted, and ordinarily much tormented in various parts of her body, which is attended with an unaccountable palpitation in those parts that are pained, and that, these several weeks bypast, she hath disgorged a considerable quantity of hair, folded up straw, unclean hay, wild foule feathers, with divers kinds of bones of fowls and others, together with a number of coal cinders, burning hot candle grease, gravel stones, etc., all which she puts forth during the forementioned fits, and in the intervals of these is in perfect health, wherein she gives an account of several persons, both men and women, that appear to her in her fits, tormenting her, all which began upon the back of one Catherine Campbell her crossing her. And though her father hath called physicians of the best note to her during her trouble, yet their application of medicine to her hath proven ineffectual, either to better or worse, and that they are ready to declare that they look upon the distemper as *toto genere preter-natural*, all which is attested by the ministers who have visited her in her trouble, upon all which Mr. Turner desired that the Presbytery would do what they judged convenient in such a juncture."

The Presbytery were now more than ever alarmed. They appointed "the exercising of fasting and prayer to be continued as it is already set up by Mr. Turner in that family [the Bargarran] every Tuesday." Two of their number were appointed to repair to Bargarran and there draw up a narrative of all the circumstances of the case; and two others were despatched to Edinburgh, to lay the whole matter before the Privy Council and to obtain a commission for the trial of all who were suspected to be the tormentors of Christian Shaw. On their way to Edinburgh, the two ministers were

instructed to call upon Dr. Brisbane, and “to entreat him to give a declaration of his sentiments of the foresaid trouble.” There is a brief record of Dr. Brisbane’s “sentiments,” but nothing to show what the brethren said to him. A commission was granted by the Privy Council to Lord Blantyre and others to take precognitions of the diabolical manifestations. Messrs. Symson, Turner, and Blackwell were appointed by the Presbytery to wait upon the Commissioners at their meeting at Renfrew on February 5, and a day of public fasting and humiliation was appointed to be held throughout the parish of Erskine, Messrs. Hutcheson and Symson being directed to assist the minister of the parish in holding the services.

The Commissioners lost no time in setting to work. Between the 5th and 17th of February they apprehended James and Thomas Lindsay and Elizabeth Anderson, whom Christian Shaw had denounced as her tormentors, and these having accused others, they also were apprehended. On February 18, the Presbytery, who had already held a meeting on the 17th, met at Renfrew, when they waited upon the Commissioners, and “finding that Bargarran was desired by the Commissioners to go in [to Edinburgh] with their report, which was to be put into the hands of Sir John Maxwell, to present to the Council, did think that one of our number should go in company with Bargarran, and accordingly did appoint Mr. Thomas Blackwell, and failing him, Mr. Robert Taylor, to go to Edinburgh, and to represent to the said Sir John Maxwell, and, with his concurrence, to His Majesty’s Advocate and other Lords of His Majesty’s Privy Council, the lamentable condition of this part of the country upon account of the great number that are delated by some that have confessed, and of the many murders and other maleficies that in all probability are perpetrated by them, and to entreat their compassion in granting a commission for putting these persons to trial, and for bringing the same to an effectual and speedy issue, and that they would order some way for maintaining those of them that have nothing of their own till the trial be complete, or so long as they should be detained in prison.” As for the three confessants, the two Lindsays and Elizabeth Anderson, at the desire of the Commissioners, they were distributed in the houses of the ministers of the Presbytery, who were instructed to deal with their consciences as opportunity offered.

In due time the Judges, who had been appointed with full powers, arrived, and a certain number of the Presbyters, who had been appointed by their brethren “to wait upon their Lordships,” issued the following manifesto to all within the bounds of the Presbytery :—

“The Presbytery, considering the great rage of Satan in this corner of the land, and particularly in the continued trouble of Bargarran’s daughter, which

is a great evidence of the Lord's displeasure, being provoked by the sins of the land (expressed as the causes of our former public fasts) so to let Satan loose amongst us. Therefore the Presbytery judge it very necessary to set apart a day of solemn humiliation and fasting, that we may humble ourselves under God's hand, and wrestle with God in prayer, that he may restrain Satan's rage, and relieve that poor afflicted damsel and that family from their present distress, and that the Lord would break in upon the hearts of these poor obdured that are indicted for witchcraft, that they may freely confess to the glory of God and the rescuing of their own souls out of the hands of Satan, and that the Lord would conduct and clear their way that are to be upon their trial, in order to the giving of Satan's kingdom an effectual stroke. Therefore the Presbytery appoints Thursday come eight days to be religiously and solemnly observed upon the account foresaid in all the congregations within their bounds, and the same to be intimate the Sabbath preceding."

Mr. Blackwell, who, as might be expected, took a particular interest in this case, intimated the fast from the pulpit of the Abbey Church in Paisley, according to the above injunction, and added some words of his own. These were considered of such importance that they were printed and published, and have thus been preserved. Evidently Mr. Blackwell was possessed by the idea that a great and critical struggle was going on between the Church and the devil. "My friends," he said, "we have been preaching of Christ to you; we are now going to speak of the devil to you—the greatest enemy that our Lord and His kingdom hath in the world. The thing I am about to intimate to you is this—the members of the Presbytery having taken into consideration how much Satan doth rage in these bounds, and, which indeed is lamentable, in our bounds, and in ours only, they have thought fit to appoint a day of fasting and humiliation, that so He who is the Lion of the Tribe of Judah may appear with power against him who is come out in great wrath. O, that it may be because his time is short!" He then went on to "hint a few things" as the causes of the fast, and ended with the startling suggestion—"Who knows but in this congregation there be many who have these years hence been under vows to Satan . . . so it is the ministers' and the people of God's duty and interest not only to pray that God would find out the guilty among these that are apprehended, but also that God would discover others that are guilty and who are not apprehended, that the kingdom of Christ may run and be glorified, and the kingdom of Satan destroyed." What effect these words had upon the congregation, is not told. Doubtless many were startled, if not alarmed and filled with fear that the hand of the officer might next be laid upon them.

Mr. Hutcheson was appointed to preach before the Judges, and chose for

his text the ominous words: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." With these words ringing in their ears, the Judges proceeded to their work. The trial lasted many days, much strange evidence was given, and the ministers were always at hand, ready with their suggestions, and equally ready to converse with the accused. These, when it was found that they had on them the "insensible marks," had no chance of an acquittal. The advocate for the prosecution declared to the jury that, if they acquitted the prisoners, "they would be accessory to all the blasphemies, apostasies, murders, listures, and seductions whereof these enemies of heaven and earth should hereafter be guilty." The jurors had no intention of running any such risk. They found seven of the accused—three men and four women—guilty as libelled, who were at once condemned to the flames.

After this pitiless sentence was pronounced, the Presbytery appointed two of their number to preach to the condemned prisoners in the Tolbooth. During the night before the execution, all the members of the Presbytery were instructed to spend some time in the prison with the condemned. On the morrow, each of the persons sentenced was assigned to one or two of the ministers, by whom they were to be dealt with, and then "waited on to the fire." Before the day fixed for the execution, June 9, 1697, arrived, one of the men died in the prison of Renfrew, probably by his own hand, and thus deprived the one or two of the ministers who had been allotted to him by the Presbytery, of the privilege of "waiting on him to the fire." The rest were duly executed on the Gallow Green in Paisley. They were first hanged, and then burnt. They were the victims of one of the most horrible superstitions that ever darkened the human mind.

On June 22, 1698, Mr. Brisbane, who had so successfully dealt with the "diabolical" vagaries of his parishioner, Janet Wodrow, intimated that he had discovered a fresh case of the power of Satan in the person of Margaret Laird, who belonged to his own parish of Kilmacolm. Then ensued the usual fasts and prayers, consultations with the Privy Council, letters to the King's advocate, delations, and imprisonments, in all of which Mr. Thomas Blackwell took a prominent part; but, before anything effectual could be done, Mr. Blackwell was translated to Aberdeen, where he subsequently became a Professor in the University. His departure wears much the appearance of being the signal for the withdrawal of the forces of Satan from within the county. For, strange to say, shortly after he had gone, the Satanic manifestations against which he had fought so valiantly, began to cease, and the prosecution of witches and the search for them came to an end.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE REVOLUTION.

WILLIAM and MARY were proclaimed King and Queen of England, in London, February 13, 1689. Within a month, March 12, James VII. landed at Kinsale, on the west coast of Ireland, with 32,000 men and 800,000 French crowns, and the expectation was that an attempt would immediately be made to effect a landing on the west coast of Scotland.¹ A Convention of the Estates of Scotland was summoned to meet in Edinburgh on March 14, for the settlement of the affairs of the kingdom. Before it met, men from Renfrewshire, and from the West and South, marched to the capital, prepared to act in defence of the Convention and of the principles of the Revolution. One of the first steps taken was to provide for the protection of the country; and, on March 23, an Act was passed "for the distribution of arms amongst the Western shires."² It directed the keeper of the magazine of arms in the castle of Stirling to deliver to John Anderson of Dowhill, Provost of Glasgow, or to his substitute, 4000 muskets with bandoliers and match conform, 100 barrels of powder, 400 chests of ball, and 1000 pikes, to be kept in part as a magazine in the city of Glasgow. Anderson was to distribute 300 of the muskets with bandoliers and match, six barrels of powder, and six chests of ball and a hundred pikes, to Robert Paisley, Bailie of Paisley, or any one bearing his order, for the use of the shire of Renfrew. Fifteen hundred of the muskets were to be sent to Ayrshire: four hundred to the shire of Wigton; three hundred to the stewartry of Kirkeudbright; three hundred to Dumbartonshire, and five hundred to the Earl of Argyll. Match, powder, and ball were to be sent in due proportions along with the muskets.

Two days later, General Mackay, who had been appointed to the command of the troops in Scotland, arrived in Edinburgh. The Scotch troops which had been marched South to defend the late Government, William had sent over to Holland, and the regiments which Mackay had with him were but skeletons. The Convention, therefore, in view of the retreat of Claverhouse to the North and the numerous reports of gatherings among the clans, was compelled to

¹Tyrconnell to the Duke of Hamilton, and Melville to the King, April 16, 1689. *Shrewsbury MSS.*, II., i. 36, 43.

²*Acta Parl. Scot.*, ix. 20.

make much more extensive preparations for the defence of the kingdom. It promptly secured the burghs by setting aside the old Town Councils, which were composed of nominees of the late Government, and ordering new elections to be made, under the supervision of persons specially appointed, and who could be depended upon to see that the elections were legally and freely made. Next, all the fencible men, in the districts where they could be trusted, were called out, and the raising of regiments by the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Eglinton, and Lord Blantyre, with others of Revolution opinions, was sanctioned. The Cameronians were authorised to raise a regiment among themselves, to be under the command of Lord Angus; and all who possessed towers and fortalices were directed to hold them for the Revolution Government.

The shire of Renfrew eagerly responded to the demands of the Convention. The burgh of Renfrew obtained its new Town Council, and Paisley, which, being but a burgh of barony and regality, was in danger of being left with its old Town Council, on petitioning the Lords of the Privy Council, was granted the same privilege as the royal burghs. The fencible men of the shire were called out and armed, and in the course of a few weeks a respectable force was ready to take the field.

Meantime, the Convention was maturing its opinions on the matters for which it had been more particularly called together. On April 4, a vote was passed, declaring that James VII. had forfeited his right to the crown, and that the throne had thus become vacant. On April 11, the Convention adopted a "Claim of Right," and resolved to offer the crown to William and Mary. Two days later, a series of resolutions was voted, called "Articles of Grievances." The Claim of Right laid down the fundamental laws and rules of government which had been violated by James VII., while the Articles of Grievances specified a number of acts which, though not illegal, had been done under bad laws which ought to be repealed. A commission of three was then appointed to go up to London, and there offer the crown of Scotland to William and Mary, and at the same time lay before them the Claim of Right and the Articles of Grievances. Two of the commissioners were the Earl of Argyll and Sir John Dalrymple. The third was Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie.

After attending the Convention for a few days, Claverhouse had found himself out of place in that assembly, and, withdrawing, had gone to his mansion of Dudhope, near Dundee, where he was ostensibly living the life of a private gentleman, though quartered around him and living in his house were some of his choice followers. On March 18, the Convention cited him to appear in his place in Parliament. He paid no attention to the summons, and, a few

days later, a herald was sent to require him to disarm under pain of being denounced a traitor, and so dealt with. He wrote a short indignantly worded letter to Hamilton, but concluded it with the words; "If there be anybody that, notwithstanding of all that is said, thinks I ought to appear, I beg the favour of a delay till my wife is brought to bed; and in the mean time I will either give security or parole not to disturb the peace." A force was next sent to seize him and his friend Balcarres. Balcarres was taken, but Dundee escaped. Mackay now marched northward. He made Dundee his headquarters, and, leaving Livingstone in command, set out in pursuit of Claverhouse. But Claverhouse was too fleet for him. Week by week the chase went on, but without success, Claverhouse always eluding his pursuers and being heard of in places where he was least expected.

After the chase had been going on about a couple of months, the Government appear to have decided to put another force in the field with the intention of operating against him from the west. On July 5, a commission was issued under the hands of King William and Queen Mary, to Archibald Earl of Argyll, and, in his absence, to John Earl of Glencairn, appointing him commander-in-chief of a body of troops to be sent to the West Highlands. The troops were to consist of the regiments of the Earls of Argyll and Glencairn, the Cameronians under Lord Angus, the troops of horse under the command of the Earl of Eglinton and Captain William Bennett of Gruibbet, and two troops of dragoons under Captain Sir Alexander Hope of Carse and Captain John Home of Nynwells. The Earl of Eglinton was appointed to the command of the cavalry. The commander-in-chief was given full powers to call out the heritors, chieftains of clans, and fencible men within the shire of Argyll or adjacent places in the shires of Perth and Inverness, or other places, and to prosecute with fire and sword, etc., the Viscount of Dundee and all others found in arms for King James or joining Dundee. He was to take orders from the Privy Council or from Major-General Mackay.¹ The troops appear to have been raised partly in the shire of Ayr and partly in the shire of Renfrew. They were conveyed to the north of the Clyde; but within little more than a fortnight after the commission to raise them was issued, the battle of Killierankie was fought and Claverhouse was dead. They were then sent against the Highlanders, who still continued in arms, but appear to have given considerable trouble. On August 5, the Earl of Argyll reported to the Duke of Hamilton that the regiments of Angus and Glencairn had mutinied and run off for want of pay. Half of the Cameronians, he declared, "both officers and soters are madd men, not to be governed even by Master Shiels

¹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 39.

ther orackle." They had a brush with the Highlanders at Dunkeld, and now survive as the famous Cameronian Regiment.

In the following November, a body of 1,500 "Danish horse" passed through the county to Greenock, probably on their way to Ireland. They were in the shire, however, as late as January 23 in the following year, along with other troops, for on that day one of the Bailies of Paisley was sent to Edinburgh "in order to the removing of the great burden of the soldiers quartered in the town at this time, and for preventing of trouble also of Danish horse." Exactly a month later, the Bailie reported to the Town Council "that he had procured a warrant for removing the companies of Glencairn's regiment lying here."

William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, on April 11, 1689. When the offices of State were filled up, many aspirants were, as usual, disappointed. On this occasion, none were more disappointed than Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie and the Lords Ross and Annandale. All were Privy Councillors. Ross and Annandale had been captains in the regiment commanded by Claverhouse, and Montgomery, as we have seen, was one of the Commissioners sent up to London by the Convention, to offer the crown of Scotland to William and Mary. Montgomery, it appears, hoped to have been made Secretary of State; Lord Ross desired the Presidency of the Privy Council; the precise desire of Annandale has not been made known. In the bitterness of their disappointment, the three went over to the Jacobites, and began to plot against the Crown. The disclosure of their conspiracy was due to Montgomery. Finding himself detected in an act of treachery towards his fellow conspirators, he went to Lord Melville, the Secretary of State, and made a clean breast of the affair. The other two conspirators also put themselves in communication with the Secretary, each hoping that by fully informing against his colleagues he would save himself. To Melville, the affair seemed of much greater importance than it really was, and, as the price of full information, he gave each of the conspirators the assurance of personal safety. The case was taken to England. The King was then absent in Ireland, but the Queen met the conspirators separately and alone, interrogated them, and took notes of their revelations. Lord Ross she required to put his answers in writing. He refused, saying that that was not in the bargain. The Queen immediately charged him with prevarication and with holding back information, and had him committed to custody on a warrant for high treason. This promptitude alarmed the rest of the conspirators and some others, among whom were Melville and Carstairs, who had promised to do their best to shield them; but it had the desired effect. The traitors told all they knew, and gave up a number of interesting documents. No one was

brought to trial for the business, but Montgomery had a narrow escape. He fled to the Continent, where he spent most of his remaining days, associating himself with miserable plots, and trusted by no one. Lords Ross and Annandale made so good a repentance, and rendered themselves so important, that they were subsequently promoted to places of great trust.¹

When the men of Renfrewshire, who, on the summoning of the Convention, had marched to Edinburgh for its defence, and for the defence of the principles of the Revolution, were no longer needed in Edinburgh, they were thanked by the Convention, and dismissed to their homes. The Convention offered to compensate them for the expense they had been at, but they proudly declined the offer, declaring that they had come to save and serve their country, and not to impoverish it. They marched home carrying their arms and their colours, on which were figured a Bible and other devices with the words, "For Reformation according to the Word of God."

When they reached their several parishes, many of them found that the pulpits of their parochial churches were still vacant. After their meeting on December 27, 1687, the Presbyterian ministers of the shire did not meet again until January 2, 1688, eight days after the rabbling of the curates had begun. They then met as a Presbytery, and began to fill up the vacant pulpits. The first minister they ordained was Mr. James Hay, who was called to Kilmacolm on January 2, and ordained there on January 16, 1688. Mr. Glen, who, as we saw, received a call to Mearns on December 27, 1687, was ordained there on the 27th of the following month. On March 12, Mr. David Brown was ordained to the parish of Neilston, but apparently at the ordinary meeting of the Presbytery on that day in Paisley. On April 2, Mr. Murray was appointed minister of Paisley; and, on June 8, Mr. Stirling was ordained to Kilbarchan, a living which his father had held before him. A month later, Mr. Alexander Orr, who, at the meeting of the Presbytery on April 28, had "appeared and with tears acknowledged his sin in taking of the Test," "by order of the Presbytery had his license returned to him, which formerly he was desired to give up to the Presbytery upon the account of his taking the Teste." "Transportations," or translations, now begin to appear in the Records of the Presbytery, and some time had to elapse before all the vacancies were filled.

In the conflicts between the Assembly and William III., the shire, in the persons of its ministers, uniformly supported the Assembly. In the Presby-

¹For the terms of Annandale's pardon, see *Hist. MSS. Com. (Johnston MSS.)*, XV. ix., pp. 47-8. He was President of Parliament in 1695 (*Shrewsbury MSS.*, II., i. 206-7), and Commissioner to the General Assembly of Scotland in 1701, 1705, and 1711. In 1705, he was Marquess of Annandale (*Johnston MSS.*, 48).

tery, the old hatred against Episcopacy survived, and the brethren were always ready to lift up their testimony against it. Every year, one or more of them went, in obedience to the Assembly, to the North, where, through the lack of ministers, the people were in danger of falling back into barbarism, and for three months preached in parishes which were vacant, or in which Episcopacy was still predominant.

This went on until the year 1699, when, on January 11, the Presbytery appointed a commission to the Assembly, "to plead that this Presbytery be excused from supplying the North at this time upon the account of the sad condition of the country through diabolical molestations." The General Assembly seems to have considered the spiritual condition of the North as of more importance than the "diabolical molestations" in Renfrewshire, and refused the prayer of the petition, directing Mr. Brown, one of the ministers of the shire, to proceed to Aberdeen.¹

The old spirit of intolerance also survived among the reinstated Presbyterians. As soon as they were firmly settled in their livings, they took up their old crusade against the Catholics and against a number of new foes that had arisen in the shape of Quakers and Protestant dissenters. The seeds of Quakerism and Protestant dissent had probably been sown in the shire by the men whom Monk and Cromwell commanded. By the month of November, 1695, the Quakers and other dissenters had become sufficiently numerous and outspoken to attract the attention of the brethren and to arouse their zeal. On the 24th of that month, Mr. Turner complained to the Presbytery of the "insolence and prevailing of Quakers" in his parish of Erskine, and desired "some course therewith to be taken." The Presbytery appointed a Committee to meet at Erskine, and there converse with the Quakers.

The Committee thus appointed had several of the Quakers in Erskine before it, and on December 4, reported concerning them "(1) that they denied the imputation of Adam's guilt to his posterity; (2) that they asserted that Jesus Christ had a heavenly body from eternity distinct from his earthly body, which He took on in time; (3) that Jesus Christ had satisfied the Justice of God alike for all; (4) that they denied the external baptism by water to be an ordinance of Christ's appointment, and asserted that the Lord had committed

¹ To this practice of sending preachers to the North, the Presbytery owed the loss of at least one of its most conspicuous ministers. Mr. Thomas Blackwell, the redoubtable champion of the Church in the shire against witchcraft, was several times sent on these preaching tours. At last he so captivated the people of Aberdeen, that they gave him a call to one of their churches, and were strong enough to persuade the Assembly to consent to his "transportation," notwithstanding the opposition of the people of Paisley. He rose to be Principal of the College there, and was sent along with "Cardinal" Carstairs as a deputation to urge the claims of the Church upon the King.

to His disciples in all ages the power of baptizing inwardly by His Spirit, with several other absurdities, which they tenaciously maintained, notwithstanding of plain Scripture and reasoning to the contrary." The report was approved, and the Committee thanked for its diligence.

The Court, however, appears to have had some difficulty in deciding what course to pursue, and directed Mr. Blackwell to correspond with the Presbytery of Glasgow "for a joint reference with them in the same matter." At the same meeting (December 4, 1695), the Presbytery resolved to ask advice from the Assembly as to "what should be done with trafficking Popish priests." On May 13, 1696, the members of the Presbytery were ordered to give in at the next meeting the names of all Catholics, Quakers, and other separatists within the bounds of their respective parishes. When the returns were given in, it was found that there were Quakers in the parishes of Erskine and Inverkip, and Papists in the parishes of Paisley, Kilbarchan and Lochwinnoch. The Presbytery were still in doubt as to how to deal with the Quakers, and desired to correspond with the Presbytery of Hamilton as well as with that of Glasgow, "in order to their taking a joint course according to the Synod's Act with all Quakers, etc., within the bounds."

Fortunately for all Catholics, Quakers, and other separatists, within the bounds, the Presbytery were now ceasing to be that masterful body they had been from the time of their institution down to the time of Cromwell. Significant of this was the fact that they could not deal even with the sin of witchcraft, and were obliged to call in the aid of the civil power for its punishment. What may be called their criminal jurisdiction had passed away, as also their power to inflict pains and penalties for divergence of opinion either in theology, ritual or Church government. In matters of discipline they were still powerful, and were usually supported by the civil authority.

The last we hear of the Quakers and other Protestant dissenters is on September 2, 1696. All that is then said of them is:—"Reported that the meeting at Glasgow anent the Quakers hath entirely referred the whole affair to the next ensuing Synod." Evidently the three Presbyteries in correspondence about them were in a quandary and helpless. In the Records of the Paisley Presbytery, at least, there is no further mention of either Catholics, Quakers, or separatists for some years. It is true that the Presbytery were at the time occupied with "diabolical molestations," but they had time to deal with other matters as well, and the silence of the Records respecting Quakers and others after their case was once taken up, is very like a confession on the part of the brethren, that they found themselves without power to "deal" with them.

One resolution passed by the Presbytery at this time shows that the

members were beginning to be possessed of a more tolerant spirit. The holding of private religious meetings during the strict Covenanting period caused very considerable trouble in the Church, but this is how the Presbytery of Paisley dealt with an overture concerning them :—" As to the Overture for private meetings proposed to the consideration of the several Presbyteries of the Synod : The Presbytery's mind is that such fellowships are commendable, and that every minister may use the overtures as he can find it most convenient for his people, and this the rather they incline unto, because circumstances in every particular congregation are not alike ; withal their mind is that as such meetings may be serviceable among their people, so they think it requisite that all due order be observed in them."

In April, 1692, occurred what is usually regarded as the last affair of private war in the shire. From the time of the Reformation, John Maxwell of Dargavel had possessed a seat and desk in the church of Erskine, with the right to bury in the subjacent ground. William Hamilton of Orbiston, proprietor of the estate of Erskine, disputed Dargavel's title to these properties or privileges, and a quarrel ensued. Finding that Dargavel would not peaceably give up what he and his ancestors had so long possessed, Orbiston, whom we have met with before as a persecutor of the Covenanters, under James VII., resolved to drive his neighbour out by force. According to the complaint afterwards drawn up by Dargavel for the Privy Council, William Hamilton of Orbiston, George Maxwell, bailie of Kilpatrick ; Robert Laing, miller in Duntocher ; John Shaw of Bargarran and Gavin Walkinshaw, sometime of that ilk, came, with about a hundred other persons, " all armed with guns, pistols, swords, bayonets, and other weapons invasive," and, having appointed George Maxwell, Orbiston's " own bailie-depute," to march at their head, they advanced in military order, and with drums beating and trumpets sounding, to the parish kirk of Erskine, where, " in a most insolent and violent manner, they did, at their own hand, and without any order of law, remove and take away the complainer's seat and desk, and sacrilegiously bring away the stones that were lying upon the graves of complainer's predecessors, and beat and strike several of the complainer's tenants and others, who came in peaceable manner to persuade them to desist from such unwarrantable violence."

Dargavel at once took steps to obtain redress from the Privy Council, but his chief, Sir John Maxwell of Pollok, a member of that all-powerful body, intervened, and managed to bring about an agreement between the two disputants. With the consent of the Earl of Glencairn, the principal heritor of the parish, Dargavel " yielded for peace sake to remove his seat from that place of the kirk where it had stood for many generations," while Orbiston

agreed, on his part, that Dargavel "should retain his room of burial place in the east end of the kirk, with allowance to rail it in, and strike out a door upon the gable of it, as he should see convenient."

Shortly after the agreement was made, Orbiston changed his mind, and there was talk of his using force to prevent Dargavel from carrying out the agreement. But, instead of appealing to arms again, he took the more peaceable course of appealing to the Privy Council, from whom, on August 29, he obtained an order requiring Dargavel "to desist from striking any door or breaking any part of the church wall at Erskine, until your right and Orbiston's be discussd by the judges competent for preventing further abuse." Dargavel immediately sent in a petition showing that he was only acting upon an agreement with Orbiston. Thereupon the order of the Privy Council was recalled, and Dargavel was permitted to have the access he required, however incommodious it might be to Orbiston's "laft."¹

The attitude of the shire towards the Union of Scotland and England seems to have been one of either silent opposition or of silent acquiescence. There were no riots in connection with it in the shire, as in Glasgow. In the Records of the Town Council of Paisley, there is no reference to it. The Earls of Eglinton and Glencairn voted for it. On the other hand, in Paisley, a number of heritors and burgesses, the minister, and a number of other inhabitants presented an address to Parliament against it. The petitioners showed a want of foresight, which was soon afterwards apparent. Renfrewshire was one of the first places in the country to benefit by the Union; particularly Paisley and Greenock, the trade of which at once began to increase.

Though the home county of the Stuarts, neither of their two attempts to overturn the Revolution settlement found any support in the shire worth mentioning. On the contrary, on each occasion, the old Presbyterian spirit by which, since the signing of the National Covenant, the inhabitants had been animated, was quickly aroused to energetic action.

In the first of the two rebellions, the Earl of Mar raised the standard of the Stuarts in Aberdeenshire, on September 6, 1715. But as early as the 5th of the preceding month, the Magistrates of Paisley, foreseeing what might happen, and "taking into consideration the eminent danger that this country is exposed to at this juncture by reason of the Pretender's attempting to land in the kingdom of Scotland with a considerable number of soldiers, agreed to keep guard, which they appoint to begin this night, and in the meantime ordain the whole inhabitants to have all their arms in readiness." They

¹ Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, iii. 69.

further agreed "that two pair of colours be bought for the use of the town," and recommended "Bailie Paterson to buy the same, and put the town's arms thereon." Three weeks later, ten days, that is, before Mar raised the standard of rebellion, a number of the inhabitants of the same burgh met and banded themselves together "to provide timeously for the defence of our Sovereign and our own sacred and civil interests." They further bound and obliged themselves "in manner underwritten, viz. : That we shall outcriek men for that effect, and pay them sixpence each day during two or three months, less or more, as need shall require, conform to our respective subscriptions, from and after the time they are listed and upon exercise and service." Of those who signed the bond, some undertook to bear the cost of one man, and others that of two, three, or four men.

On September 17, John Duke of Argyll, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in Scotland, arrived at Stirling. All the men he had with him to put down the rebellion numbered about 1,800. In response to an appeal for assistance, the city of Glasgow sent him between 600 and 700 men, who reached Stirling in three parties, on the 19th. At his instance, the Magistrates of Glasgow issued circular letters to the towns, villages, and agricultural districts of the West, recommending that their fencible men should be embodied, and assemble at Glasgow.

The first to send in its complement was the burgh of Paisley. The complement consisted of 140 men, who were raised, disciplined, and maintained at the expense of the burgh. Greenock sent in a force equal to two well-found companies, under the command of Sir John Shaw of Greenock, who was accompanied by Crawford of Cartburn, at the head of his men of Crawfurds-dyke, and by Mr. Turner, the minister of Greenock, and the minister's man. Before these companies set out, they were addressed by Lady Shaw, who told them that "the Protestant religion, their laws, and liberties, and lives, and all that was dear to them, as men and Christians, as well as His Majesty King George, and the Protestant Succession, were all in hazard by that unnatural rebellion." Other volunteers also assembled in Glasgow from the West. Kilmarnock sent in 220 men, who were followed the next day by the Earl of Kilmarnock at the head of 130 of his tenantry.

The men who were left at home in the shire had to guard their respective towns and to keep watch on the southern shores of the Clyde. Detachments were sent out to seize suspected persons, in order to prevent them from joining the Earl of Mar. Other detachments were employed to bring over all the boats they could find on the northern shore of the Clyde, so as to prevent the enemy, especially Rob Roy and his men, from crossing the estuary and doing mischief in the shire.

On Michaelmas Day (September 29), Rob Roy's men seized all the boats in Loch Lomond, and sent seventy of their number to take Inch-murrain, a large island in the loch. At midnight, they went ashore at Bonhill, about three miles above Dumbarton. But, as the alarm was given by ringing the church bells and firing guns from Dumbarton Castle, the MacGregors hurried back to their boats and returned to the island. Soon after, they set off to join the Earl of Mar at Perth, but were back again on the loch on October 10.

Meantime, an expedition had been planned against them, and, on October 11, one hundred and twenty of the Paisley volunteers and about four hundred others, assembled from the different parts of the coast. Accompanied by a hundred seamen from a war-ship in the Clyde, seven man-of-war's boats, and a large boat from Port-Glasgow, on which two large screw guns were mounted, they made their way up the Leven and set their boats afloat on the loch. They then proceeded in search of the Highlanders. Rob Roy and his men they failed to find, but they found his fleet of boats, hid away among the rocks, and returned with them in triumph to Dumbarton.

After this exploit, the Paisley men expected, it appears, to be sent to Stirling; but instead of being sent there to join the Commander-in-Chief, they "got a new route to march to Glasgow by order of the Depute-Lieutenant, there to wait farther orders."¹ On November 12, the Greenock men were stationed at Touch, from whence they were ordered to Stirling. Fifty of them were sent under the command of Captain John Spire [Speirs] to Alloa, to bring over to the south side of the ferry all the boats they could find, to prevent the enemy from crossing there. From Alloa they returned to Stirling. On November 2, thirty of Sir John Shaw's men had been sent to guard some arms to Glasgow. They were at Stirling on the 13th, and were present with their company at the battle of Sheriffmuir. On the 14th they were marched to Airth, and on the 29th they were allowed to return to Greenock, which they reached on December 2, having been out 108 days.² The rest of the men from the shire appear to have returned about the same time, with the exception of a number of troopers from Paisley, who took part in the pursuit of the Chevalier and the Earl of Mar.

During the rising of 1745, the shire was quite as prompt in proving its loyalty to the House of Hanover, and almost as undivided. On the first appearance of the insurrection, 210 men were raised, equipped, and maintained by the burgh of Paisley alone. With other men from the county and from

¹ Town Council Records, November 5, 1715.

² Williamson, *Old Cartburn*, 204; Charles, *History of Transactions in Scotland, 1715-16 and 1745-46*, i. 290-91.

the city of Glasgow, they were sent to Edinburgh. While they were there, Prince Charles returned from his march to Derby, and entered Glasgow on Christmas Day. There he demanded and obtained a large quantity of clothing from the citizens to clothe his Highlanders, who were all in tatters, and imposed a fine of £10,500 sterling. Fines were imposed also upon Renfrew and other places. The sum demanded from Paisley was £1000. The magistrates were imprisoned, and were not released until one-half of the fine had been paid. The troops from the shire, which were sent to Edinburgh, took part in the battle near Falkirk, and greatly distinguished themselves. While the regular troops fled, they maintained their position, it is said, with an unbroken front, and many of them were slain.

In the list of persons in Renfrewshire engaged in this rebellion there are mentioned:—William Cochrane of Ferguslie; James Stirling, described as residing at the House of Erskine in the parish of Erskine; and William or John Weir, “coalier at Cathcart.” Cochrane and Weir were the only two whose names were transmitted to the Board of Excise by the Supervisor at Paisley, and of both he reports that they “joined and went along with the rebels and continued till the last.” Of both, too, he reports that they “are lurking.” Cochrane is described as “worth £100 per ann.” He was a staunch Jacobite, and took part in the rising of 1715. According to a tradition, a regiment of “rebels” from Ireland, sent to the Earl of Mar’s army, passed by Cochrane’s estate of Ferguslie, when the “laird treated them to bere scones and milk.” Cochrane escaped to France, and was recognised there by some soldiers from Paisley, in 1763.² His estate is said to have been forfeited.³ Of Stirling and Weir nothing further is known.⁴

¹ List of Persons concerned in the Rebellion 1745-46, 292, 326 (Sc. Hist. Soc.). ² *Paisley Mag.*, 680.

³ It was purchased in 1748 by the Magistrates of Paisley for £2,750, and sold by them in 1805 for £12,000. (*Report Municipal Corporations in Scotland, 1836, Local Reports*, Part ii., 286). It is now the property of Sir Thomas Glen Glen-Coats, Bart., by whom a new and sumptuous residence has been built upon it. Of the old messuage, all that remains is an archsd stone fire-place, and a keystone built into the wall at the back of the present mansion-house, bearing the marks—



John Wallace (I W) has been already mentioned; his wife, Margaret Hamilton (M H), was the Goodwife of Ferguslie whom the Presbytery persecuted. See pp. 244, 264, 266, 270.

⁴ The wife of Colonel MacDowall of Castle Semple, himself a Whig, is said to have been a keen Jacobite. When the militia of Lochwinnoch passed Castle Semple House on their way to Glasgow, she chanced to see them and fainted. *Paisley Mag.*, 680.

Down to the Union of the Crowns, Scotland depended for its armies on the general levies, by which all the fencible men in the kingdom were liable to be called out. Afterwards, when the country became engaged in the wars on the Continent, the Government was often in great straits for men, and had to have recourse to strange methods in order to fill up the ranks both of the army and navy. A curious instance of this is referred to in the Records of the Presbytery of Paisley and the Records of the Privy Council in the year 1692. One Archibald Bane, an Irish refugee, was accused at Paisley of housebreaking. The sheriff thought the evidence "scrimp," *i.e.*, insufficient, and besides, was convinced that "extreme poverty had been a great temptation to him to commit the said crime"; seeing also that he was "a proper young man, fit for service, and willing and forward to go over to Flanders to fight against the French," the sheriff delayed to pronounce sentence upon him. This coming to the ears of Lieutenant Brisbane of Robert Douglas's regiment, he made application to the Privy Council to have Bane transferred to him as a recruit. Without any ceremony, the Council ordered Bane to be delivered to Brisbane, that he might be sent to Flanders as a soldier. Bane was also under discipline with the Church; and when the Presbytery heard what had been done with him, the Court stoutly protested against his spiriting away by the lieutenant as well as against the interference of the Privy Council.¹

In June, 1626, Alexander Erskine, Lord Spynie, was constituted General Muster-Master and Colonel of all the militia in Scotland.² Early in the following year, he obtained a warrant to levy anywhere in Scotland a regiment of 3,000 men for service under the King of Denmark, and, on the same day, powers were given to him, by a special Act of the Council, to press into his regiment "all strong, able and counterfeit limmars called Gypsies, also all sturdy beggars and vagabonds, masterless men, and idle loiterers of other denominations, as also all deserters from Colonel Mackay's former levy."³ But, by the middle of the following century, the Government had to press for its own services; and, so straitened was it for men, that it was obliged to lay hands on whom it could. Press-gangs were busy everywhere along the coast, and often respectable citizens were seized and carried on board the ships and compelled to choose between service in the army and service in the navy.

Visits of the press-gangs to Greenock and Port-Glasgow and other parts of the shire were frequent, and such was the dread which this method of recruiting His Majesty's forces inspired, that in many parts the labourers fled to the hills to avoid being caught. The misfortune was that the people had

¹ Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, iii. 64.

² *Reg. P. C.* (Second Series), i. 293.

³ *Reg. P. C.* (Second Series), i. 539 f.

no redress. What was done by the press-gangs was done under Royal warrants, and against them it was useless to appeal.

At the same time, there was no lack of devotion to the Crown, nor of patriotism in the shire. This was proved in many ways. During the French and American wars, French and American privateers were constantly hovering about the West coast, threatening Greenock and the Clyde. In 1760, a French squadron, under Commodore Thurot, sailed up the Clyde and burnt a number of ships off Ailsa Craig. His fleet was shortly afterwards defeated off Carrickfergus by the British squadron under Captain Elliot. According to Smollet, "Thurot's name had become terrible to all the seamen of Great Britain and Ireland, and therefore the defeat and capture of his squadron were celebrated with as hearty rejoicings as the most important victory could have produced." Greenock did more than rejoice. A number of its shipowners placed their ships at the disposal of the Government. Later on, during the American war, one of the citizens of Greenock, Mr. Stewart, lent the Government the *Defiance*, originally fitted out by Captain Dundas Beatson, R.N., as a privateer, mounting thirty-two guns. On the second day after leaving the Clyde, as convoy to a fleet of merchant ships, she fell in with the United States frigate *Wasp*, carrying seventy-two guns. A gallant fight took place, but the *Defiance*, being on fire fore and aft, was obliged to haul down her colours. The *Wasp*, however, was unable to pursue the fleet of merchant vessels, and was captured next day by a British frigate. In 1788, the report spread that Paul Jones was about to visit the Clyde in the *Ranger*. The visit was never paid, but the report was not without foundation. It transpired afterwards that part of the noted sea rover's intention was, besides destroying Whitehaven, "to take the Bank of Ayr, destroy that town, and probably Greenock and Port-Glasgow and the shipping on the Clyde."

In the Volunteer movement which sprang up at the end of the eighteenth century, the shire took a prominent part. The Act by which Parliament sanctioned the Volunteer system was passed in 1798, and originated in the threatened invasion of Napoleon. But four years before this, in 1794, an offer of service was made by the "Loyal Greenock Volunteers" to His Majesty George III. The offer was signed by 155 of the inhabitants of Greenock, and was graciously accepted. Three sets of colours which belonged to the corps still exist, together with the muster roll. One of the colours bears the date 1795, the year after the corps was embodied. There was a still earlier enrolment of volunteers, in 1782, but no memorial of its membership exists, beyond a list of absentees, who, to secure punctuality at drill, had voluntarily agreed to pay a fine for absence without excuse or for being late. In the beginning of 1804, "the Greenock Merchants' Volunteer Corps" was formed. There

were also about this time "the Greenock and Port-Glasgow Regiment of Defence," a corps of sharpshooters—"the first in the kingdom under that title"—an Artillery corps, a corps of 400 Fencibles, and a Yeomanry corps. In 1808, the Greenock and Port-Glasgow Regiment of Defence declared their willingness to commute their service to that of a local militia, an offer which Lord Castlereagh, on behalf of the Government, accepted. Later on, the whole of the officers of the Loyal Greenock, and three-fourths of the privates, made a similar offer. The men were selected by ballot, and eventually a militia society was formed for the purpose of providing substitutes, and the services which had hitherto been purely voluntary, became, to all intents and purposes, compulsory for certain defined periods of the year.

Between the years 1760-1816, three forts, of which only one now remains, were built. The first to be erected was Fort Beauclerk, so named in honour of Sir George Beauclerk, Commander-in-Chief in Scotland in 1758. It was built at Ropework Quay, and mounted twelve 24-pounders. After being in use some thirty-seven or more years, it was dismantled, and Fort Jervis was built. This again, in 1815, gave place to Fort Matilda, which has latterly been greatly improved. Extensive fortifications for the protection of its shipping and commerce are at present in process of erection at other points of the Clyde below Greenock.¹

The eastern part of the shire was not less conspicuous at this period for its loyalty than the western. In February, 1778, the Town Council of Paisley offered a bounty of five guineas to every able-bodied man residing within the burgh or the parish of Paisley who, before the first day of the month of April, voluntarily enlisted in any of the infantry regiments from the 1st to the 71st, or in the marine service. In the month of July, 1779, they offered to pay a bounty of four pounds for every able bodied seaman, and another of two guineas for every ordinary seaman or landsman, enlisting into His Majesty's service. In the following year, the Renfrew County Kilwinning Lodge came forward and offered a guinea to any one who voluntarily enlisted to serve in the independent company of foot, which Captain William Walkinshaw, one of their own members, was then raising, the gratuity to be over and above the bounty to be paid by Captain Walkinshaw. Bounties of three, two, and one guinea were offered again in Paisley to any one who, during the month of April, 1793, voluntarily entered with the regulating captain at Greenock. For this a fund was raised among the inhabitants, to which the Magistrates contributed £50.

¹ For most of what relates to Greenock in this and the foregoing paragraphs, I am indebted to Mr. Williamson's three volumes on Greenock and Old Cartburn.

Paisley is said to have "had the honour of raising the first Volunteer corps embodied in Scotland during the revolutionary war,"¹ notwithstanding that a few sparks in the town about this time professed revolutionary principles and took to calling each other "citizen." In July, 1794, a little before the first Greenock corps of Volunteers was formed, the gentlemen of the shire of Renfrew resolved to tender an offer to the Government to raise a corps of infantry consisting of 400 men. The offer was accepted, and on October 25 following, the men marched to the Cross of Paisley, gave four volleys in honour of the King, and were presented with a stand of colours by the Magistrates. On November 25, the Volunteer corps were reviewed by Major-General Hamilton, the field being kept by the Renfrewshire Yeomanry Cavalry, who were themselves reviewed in the following August by the same officer. The Volunteers were under the command of the Earl of Glasgow, their Colonel. In August 31, 1799, the whole of the Volunteer Associations in the shire were reviewed at Barnsford by General Drummond. The number of officers and men put upon the field is given at over 1,500. A regiment of militia was raised partly in Ayrshire and partly in the county of Renfrew. When the peace of Amiens was proclaimed, the Volunteers were disbanded, and when the war broke out afresh, no difficulty was experienced in calling them to their colours again. A militia society was formed in Paisley as in Greenock. Two regiments of Volunteers were raised in Paisley, and three regiments of local militia, known as the First, Second and Third Regiments of Renfrewshire Local Militia,² were raised in the shire.

During the first half of the nineteenth century frequent periods of distress occurred among the manufacturing population of the county, owing to depressions in trade. In 1819, the Radical riots broke out, particularly in Paisley and Greenock. In both places the military had to be called in to the aid of the civil authorities. Much property was destroyed, and in Greenock several lives were lost and a number of the rioters wounded. The shire, again, was the scene of much political agitation in connection with the Reform Bill, and in some parts in connection with the Chartist movement. For the part they took in these affairs several individuals had to quit the country. Most of them, however, shortly afterwards returned and were left unmolested by the authorities.

¹ Paterson, *Ayrshire*, ii. 32.

² Brown, *Hist. of Paisley*, ii. 68 ff.

CHAPTER XXII.

INDUSTRIES.

THE farming industry has been carried on in the county, as need hardly be said, almost from time immemorial. Reference has already been made to those by whom it was carried on, and some account given of their social condition. Some notes may now be added as to their work.

In England and on the Continent the monks of Clugny were reckoned the best farmers in Europe, and there can be little doubt that the thirteen monks from Wenlock who settled in Paisley, and became among the largest proprietors and most extensive farmers in the shire, brought with them the most improved methods of farming then known, and had a great and enduring influence upon the development of agriculture throughout the whole of the district. Little is known of their methods, but their Rental Book, which was begun by Abbot Crichton, April 30, 1460, and comes down to the time of the Reformation, contains evidence to justify the opinion that, like other monastic estates, theirs were among the best managed and the best cultivated in Scotland.

The crops raised were wheat, oats, and barley. Most of the rents were payable in kind, and other of the farmers' occupations may be gathered from the fact that among the items thus payable were stirks, calves, wedders, poults, capons, geese, and cheese. Wool and flax were grown. The Abbey had an orchard, a kail yard, and a columbarium. The other proprietors had the same. The farmer would have his kail yard, and perhaps his orchard, but certainly not his dovecot, the inhabitants of which he would regard as his natural enemies.

Every proprietor had his mill, or mills, to which his tenants were "thirled." His mill dues might form a considerable part of his revenue. Any of the Abbey's tenants grinding his corn elsewhere than at the Abbot's mill to which he was thirled was fined 100 shillings, and might lose his holding. A similar rule held elsewhere. The rate of multure at the mill of Paisley was every twenty-first peck, besides the dues of the miller and his servants, namely, "three fills of meal of a dish called the *augerem*, containing six pounds of Dutch weight, for fifteen bolls, two fills for ten bolls, and one

fill for five bolls, with one streaked dishfull of meal of the said dish for every boll of sheling."

According to the rules drawn up by the Abbot and Convent for their tenantry, no man could set croft land to another without leave from the Abbot; "he that dirties his land with guld and does not clean it by Lammas shall pay a merk without mercy, and if the land be afterwards found dirty all his goods shall be escheat." Altering landmarks was a serious offence; animals for sale, whether marts, wedders, or fed swine, had to be offered first at usual and compatible prices to the Abbot's officers, under penalty; rents had to be paid punctually, and assistance to be promptly given for the repair of mill dams and for the pounding of strange cattle; brawlers and strikers were fined; those proved guilty of adultery, or of destroying the Abbot's wood, were forfeited.¹

Whether these or similar rules prevailed on the other estates in the shire is not known, but there can be no doubt that, from the end of the twelfth century to the middle of the sixteenth, the agricultural industry was carried on in the county with, at least, fair success. There was no cry of poverty. While other parts of the country were suffering from famine, pestilence, and leprosy, the shire of Renfrew was comparatively free from these plagues. The pest usually followed close upon the heels of famine, and both of them may have been here more frequently than the records mention; but, so far as the records go, famine was here only once during the period referred to, that is, during the year 1588.² The pest was here also in that year;³ but, though it was expected in the years 1602-3-4,⁴ there is no sign of its actual presence till 1645-46, when it seems to have been brought by infection, for there is no word of scarcity of food.⁵ As for leprosy, then and for some time afterwards so common in the country, it is referred to at most but thrice in the Records of the Town Council of Paisley.⁶ All this goes to show, not only that the shire was on the whole healthy, but also that during the period referred to, with the exception of 1588, there was always a sufficient supply of food, which, for the period, is an excellent proof that the agricultural industry was then successfully carried on.

¹ Rental Book, Lees, *Paisley Abbey*, Appendix.

² Glasgow Town Council Records, December 6, 1645.

³ *Ibid.* The pest is then said to have been in Paisley and Kilmacolm.

⁴ Metcalfe, *Charters and Docs.*, 248, 253, 264.

⁵ *Eglinton MSS.*, 53. The plague was in Paisley and Hawkhead. At the latter place, the miller's family was attacked, "in tyme of quihilk sickness some of his familie leivit in his barn wherin is his haille aites and beire."

⁶ Metcalfe, *Charters and Docs.*, 244.

Similar proofs during the next century will with difficulty be found. Civil and religious wars are not favourable to agriculture ; neither are foreign wars, which drain the land of its labouring population. In 1645-6, as we have seen, the plague was here, when apparently there was no lack of food. In 1696 came the "dark years," the "hungry years," or, as they were called by the Jacobites, "King William's years," the memory of which survived for generations. During this disastrous period, agriculture had no chance, either in Renfrewshire or anywhere else in the country. "The crops were blighted by easterly 'haars' or mists, by sunless, drenching summers, by storms, and by early bitter frosts and deep snow in autumn. For seven years this calamitous weather continued—the corn rarely ripening, and the green, withered grain being shorn in December amidst pouring rain or pelting snow-storms. Even in the months of January and February, in some districts, many of the starving people were still trying to reap the remains of their ruined crops of oats, blighted by the frosts, perished from weakness, cold, and hunger. The sheep and oxen died in thousands, the prices of everything, among a peasantry that had nothing, went up to famine pitch, and a large proportion of the population in rural districts was destroyed by disease and want."¹ The famine was here again in 1709, and in 1740 and in 1760, bringing ruin to the farmer and starvation to the people. Under these conditions, improvement or success was impossible. Drained of his capital, the farmer had no money with which to buy seed, or implements, or to fence in his land.

After the famine of 1760, things began to brighten. Proprietors and tenants became alive to the advantage of having their lands enclosed. Before the middle of the century there were few fences ; but, by the year 1782, most of the good land in the shire had been enclosed with dykes or hedges. Much more energy was thrown into the work. The farmer began to bestir himself, and the proprietor to take more interest in the land. The tentative efforts which had been made in the earlier part of the century, and had sometimes landed the innovator in bankruptcy, together with the hard-won experience they had brought, were beginning to bear fruit. The practice of letting land for short terms—of two or five years—was discontinued. "As they came into the laird's hands, several mailings or small tenancies were combined into one farm and let to 'substantial' tenants, who came under agreement, with a lease of nineteen years, to carry out intelligent modes of agriculture with regard to liming, ploughing, sowing, the use of artificial grasses, and the due rotation of crops. Under new conditions, the fields were enclosed, ground was drained,

¹Graham, *Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, i. 146.

limed, and manured; ridges were straightened and levelled; waste places were reclaimed; hedges and dykes were raised, the miserable gray oats—or ‘female corn’—and bere gave place to prolific grains; and potatoes and turnips in the field provided provender for cattle and food for the people, who were now spared the dread of periodical dearth.”¹ The causes which led to these great and important changes were various, and need not here be dwelt upon. They were operative throughout the whole of the country, and, though the statements above cited have a general application, there was no part of the country of which they were more strictly true than they were of the shire of Renfrew.

Writing in the year 1811, Mr. Wilson, in the preface to his *General View of the Agriculture of Renfrewshire*, remarks of the shire: “its progress in agriculture has, of late, been so considerable, as to render it, even on that account, an object of importance,” and in the pages of his volume he shows wherein the progress consisted. Some of the facts he enumerates may here be set down as bearing upon the history of farming in the district.

“As the farms in the county are small,” he observes, “the tenants have not such extensive accommodation of farm houses and farm offices as in many other counties of the kingdom. There are, however,” he goes on to say, “many good farm houses; and the latest built farm offices are, in general, well constructed. The stable and byre, or cowhouse, were commonly in the same range of building with the dwelling house, and the barn detached; many of the farmers still preferring this arrangement of the buildings to any other. The neatest and best farm steadings are now generally in form of a square or court; on one side the dwelling house is situated; the opposite side being commonly left open. The houses are usually one storey high, built with stone and lime and covered with thatch. In many instances the farm steadings are no better than the houses of the cottagers, only with some additional room. But, while the farms are so small, and the present habits and modes of life of many of the farmers are retained, it would be injudicious to erect houses in a superior style.”

Farms exceeding 100 acres in extent of good arable land, he remarks, were rare. The rents in 1795 ran from £20 to £150; grazing farms seldom exceeded a rental of £150, though here and there in the lower part of the shire pastures were let at £3 per acre and upwards. The entire yearly rental in 1795 of the 122,646 Scots acres contained in the county was about £62,200 stg., or an average of about 10s. 2d. per acre. In 1810, there were twenty-eight farms in the shire with rentals ranging from £140 to £450 a year. The average rent per acre in that year had risen to 18s. 3d. By this time, the

¹ Graham, i. 201-202.

old method of paying the rent, or part of it, in kind and service had been discontinued in favour of payment in money.

Leases were generally granted for nineteen years, but many proprietors were beginning to reduce them to ten or twelve. The tenants were commonly bound to keep two-thirds of their farms in grass, so that the land might be pastured double the time it was ploughed. Strict rules for the rotation of crops were, as a rule, prescribed. The tenants were usually bound to dung, labour, and manure their farms in a complete and efficient manner, and to crop them according to the rules of good husbandry. Lime was extensively used, as much as £12,000 worth being annually applied.

The county had by this time been well enclosed, in the highest grounds chiefly with stone dykes, in the lower grounds with hedges and ditches. To this, in part, is attributed a considerable increase in the rents on some estates. An estate of seven small farms in the parish of Neilston, which in 1765 yielded £120, let in 1811 for £800; another in the same parish, which in 1768 let at £216, was let in 1811 for £800; and one in the parish of Paisley, which yielded, in 1765, £233, brought, in 1811, £1,300. In the arable parts of the shire, the enclosures were generally from five to twelve acres in extent.

The number of farms was on the decrease, showing that small farms were being united. Between the years 1695 and 1795, the number of farms in the following parishes, Eaglesham, Mearns, Neilston (including Knockmadie and Shutterflat), Cathcart, Kilbarchan, Lochwinnoch, Inchinnan, and Erskine, had fallen from 1,007 to 721, showing a decrease during the century of 286.

The crops raised were oats, bere, barley, wheat, beans, and pease. The culture of wheat had, in 1811, recently increased, but that of beans and pease had decreased. Very few turnips were sown. Potatoes had been introduced in 1750, and were gaining ground. Carrots were occasionally raised; so were cabbages and Swedish turnips. Flax was sown in small quantities in Lochwinnoch and Kilbarchan. In good ground, oats produced from 8 to 10 bolls per acre; barley, from 6 to 8; wheat, from 8 to 12; beans and pease, from 5 to 8; and potatoes, from 45 to 50.

In a great part of the shire, dairy farming was carried on. Cows from the counties of Perth, Stirling, and Dumbarton were fattened, but few bullocks. Alderney cows were introduced in 1780, and crossed with a Dutch breed. The produce of the cows was sent to Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock. Butter was made from milk, seldom or never from cream. "The dairy seems at all times to have been an important object in Renfrewshire." Few farms were stocked with sheep, and little attention was paid to the breed. On the higher grounds of Inverkip, Kilmacolm, Eaglesham, and Neilston, were a few

small flocks of the blackfaced or Highland species. In 1810, a number of merino sheep were introduced. Great attention was paid to draught horses. Few were bred in the county; most of them were obtained from the shires of Lanark and Ayr; chiefly from the former, and mostly of the Carnwath breed. Oxen were used both for the plough and the cart.

Since Mr. Wilson wrote, great changes have taken place in the industry. Most of the improvements he suggested, and many others, have been made. During the ninety years which have elapsed, the industry, it may almost be said, has been placed on an entirely new footing. As far as possible, it has kept pace with the extraordinary development which has been brought about in the trade and commerce of the shire. More energy, more capital, more skill, and more experience have been brought to bear upon it. An adequate description of what has been done in connection with it would be out of place in a general history of the county. Here it must suffice to say that the best methods are now employed by men who, though cautious, are prudent, and always ready to avail themselves of the assured results of science. The greater part of the farming in the shire is still dairy, and, notwithstanding the heavy competition of the shires of Ayr and Dumfries, is successfully carried on. In some parts, the arable farming will compare favourably with the best in the Lothians. As a class, the farmers are aware that their methods are not altogether what they might be, and are making strenuous efforts to improve them.

A few years after Mr. Wilson's volume was published (1812), a Ploughing Club was formed in the shire. It has since developed into the Renfrewshire Agricultural Society, which has largely contributed to the progress of the industry. The Society holds an Annual Show, at which valuable prizes are given to successful competitors. Each year a ploughing match is held, and once a year the Society meets in Paisley to listen to a lecture delivered by some well-known authority in agricultural matters, and afterwards discusses the views set forth in the lecture.

The entries at the Annual Show average, in all classes, about 800. The value of the prizes distributed each year at the Show and at the ploughing match amounts to about £600.

The weaving industry can claim an equal antiquity with the farming. Perhaps it is older. At any rate, it has been carried on, like that of farming, from time immemorial. From a very remote antiquity, spinning was an almost daily occupation of the women; every village had its weaver; and many of the farmers eked out their living by working at the loom. Flax and wool were woven, but only the coarser fabrics were made, the finer sorts being obtained from abroad. According to the Poll Tax Roll, made up in 1695, there were

66 weavers in the burgh of Paisley, 32 in the Abbey Parish, from 30 to 40 in Kilbarchan, 9 in Kilmacolm, and a few in Renfrew. After the Union, in 1707, the industry rapidly increased in the shire, and the finer sort of goods was made. In 1789, some 10,000 hands were employed in Paisley alone in the manufacture of silk gauze, and 12,000 in the manufacture of lawn, cambric, thread gauze, and muslins. During the depression which occurred in the industry in 1826, Paisley had 3,000 looms standing idle; out of 700, Kilbarchan had 300 in the same condition; and Houston, 50 out of 84. Weaving was also carried on in Pollokshaws; but the centre of the industry was Paisley, the warehouses of which, when trade was good, kept all the looms in Renfrew and the surrounding villages employed. After the introduction of the shawl trade into Paisley, the Paisley weavers became as famous as their goods, which were woven with great skill and were often remarkable for the beauty of their designs. The hand-loom has now been almost everywhere superseded by the power-loom, though here and there a weaver may still be found driving his shuttle and making a scanty living by it. Muslin is still woven in the county, especially at Paisley and at Pollokshaws. At the latter place, the finer sorts of muslin are produced.

The manufacture of thread was first successfully carried on in the shire by Mrs. Miller, the widow of the Rev. Mr. Miller, minister of Kilmaurs, whom we have already met with as Christian Shaw, the daughter of Shaw of Bargarran. Her thread, which was dexterously spun and well bleached, soon acquired a local fame as the best produced. Lady Blantyre carried examples of it to Bath, where it was greatly admired; orders were given for it, and Mrs. Miller soon found her business increasing. In 1722, the industry was introduced into Paisley, where, after a short struggle, it was greatly extended, the thread produced competing successfully with that made in Dundee and Aberdeen. For the first few years the value of the thread made in Paisley did not exceed £1,000 per annum; but, as the industry was carried on with spirit and enterprise, in 1744 there were 93 mills in the town employed in twisting the thread. In 1781, the number of mills had increased to 132, and, in 1791, to 137, producing thread to the annual value of £60,000. Later on, the annual value rose to about £100,000; but in 1812, owing to the disturbed state of the Continent, the industry greatly declined. The kind of thread made was white linen, and was known as ounce or nun's thread.

Cotton spinning was introduced into the county in 1780, when the first mill was erected upon the water of Levern, at Barrhead, in the parish of Neilston. Soon after, another was erected at Busby, and, in 1782, a large mill of six stories, 112 feet long by 31 feet wide, was built at Johnstone. The

Red Mill on the Gryfe was built before 1792; and the Gryfe Mill, both in the parish of Kilbarchan, in 1793. In the latter, there were 2,120 spindles, capable of giving employment to seventy individuals, but, for the most part, to women and children. The mill at Linwood, also in the parish of Kilbarchan, described as "the most splendid establishment in the cotton spinning business perhaps in Britain," was nearing completion in 1794, and was intended to give employment to 1,800 hands; but for some time, owing to the state of trade, only some 75 were employed in it. Before the end of the century, however, mills had been erected on the banks of most of the streams and rivers in the shire. In 1812, nineteen were scattered over the county, besides others in Pollokshaws and Paisley, all giving employment to 932 men, 2,449 women, and 1,792 children, and producing cotton yarn of the annual value of £630,000.

Bleachfields were at one time fairly numerous in the shire. The most extensive were probably those along the Espedair and Candren burns, the waters of the latter being supposed to possess a special virtue for bleaching purposes. The industry was also carried on, among other places, at Pollokshaws, Neilston, Linwood, Middleton, and in the village of Kilbarchan. The bleachfields at Middleton and Linwood were connected with the spinning mills there. At present, there are large bleach-works at Howwood, Paisley, Neilston, Barrhead, Mearns, and Houston.

Print-works are to be found at Netherlee, in the parish of Cathcart, at Thornliebank, Barrhead, Neilston, Arkleston, near Paisley, Newton Mearns, and in the parish of Kilbarchan.

Dyeing is extensively carried on at Glenfield, Paisley, and in the parish of Cathcart.

Soon after the foundation of their monastery, the monks had a fulling mill on the Espedair. In 1695, there were two fulling mills in the parish of Kilbarchan. The scouring and cloth-finishing industries are extensively carried on at Glenfield and in the town of Paisley.

Tanning is an ancient industry in the shire. As far back as October 10, 1594, the Town Council of Paisley issued an ordinance forbidding any one to "lay ony lymit hydis in the water of Cairt abuif William Langis duir," and for a long time bark for the Paisley tanners was one of the very few imports at the port of Renfrew.

Mining and quarrying are extensively carried on in the county. Excellent building stone is found in various places, especially at Giffnock and Wemyss Bay. Coal is obtained in the parish of Cathcart, at Hurler, and as far west as Bishopston. The mines at Hurler have been worked for upwards of three hundred years. At Quarrelton, the seam is 50 feet thick. Lime of excellent

quality has long been obtained at Darnley, Arden, and Hurlet. The limestone bed at Barrhead has long been worked as a "cement stone." Brick and tile works are scattered over the county. A thick seam of clay is worked near Paisley, and used for making ornamental pottery and white enamelled ware.

Shipbuilding gives employment to many hundreds of hands at Greenock, Port-Glasgow, Renfrew, Scotstoun, and Paisley.

There are large establishments for the manufacture of engines, boilers, tools, and all kinds of machinery at Greenock, Port-Glasgow, Johnstone, Barrhead, Paisley, Kinning Park, and Cathcart. At Barrhead and Hawkhead are large sanitary engineering works.

Other industries carried on in the county are the manufacture of starch, corn-flour, tobacco, furniture, confectioneries and preserves, soap-making, carpet weaving, etc. There are several distilleries and chemical works in the county. Paper is largely made at Paisley, Linwood, and in the parish of Kilbarchan. At Paisley, Lochwinnoch, and Houston many people were at one time engaged in the embroidery industry. At Houston, this industry has recently been revived.¹

¹ For other notes on the Industries of the Shire, see the chapters on the Burghs and Parishes.

CHAPTER XXIII.

BURGHs.

BESIDES the royal burgh of Renfrew, there were anciently in the shire the burgh of regality of Paisley and the burghs of barony of Greenock, Cartsydye, Inverkip, Gourock, Port-Glasgow, Newark, Kilmacolm, Houston, Kilbarchan, Pollokshaws, and Newton Mearns. In addition to these, there are now the police burghs of Johnstone, Barrhead, and Kinning Park.¹

For a considerable time, Renfrew was the only burgh in the county. It is admirably situated on a level plain which extends from the foot of the Kilpatrick hills to the rising ground on the north of Paisley. It was originally built upon the north bank of one of the branches of the Clyde. Since then, the surface along the river has greatly changed. The marshy woodlands which formerly covered both banks have disappeared, and the Clyde, which formerly spread and wandered amongst numerous islands, has been confined within a narrow and steady channel, which, by dredging, has been made deep enough to admit of the passage of the largest vessels. Pont's map, published by Bleau, in the middle of the seventeenth century, but drawn considerably before, gives six small islands between the mouth of the Kelvin and the place where the Cart falls into the Clyde. The two largest were called the White Inch and the King's Inch. The former is now part of the lands of Partick in Govan, and the latter is the park of Elderslie House, between the burgh of Renfrew and the present channel of the Clyde.²

The Clyde is now half a mile distant from Renfrew; but the gardens along the street called Townhead are described in their ancient titles as bounded on the north by the Clyde. The burgh is now united with the Clyde by a railway and by a canal.

Renfrew is said to have been built by David I. upon his own land (*in fundo proprio construxisset*) at the time he was restoring the cathedral church of Glasgow. The church of the place he gave to the Bishop of Glasgow, by whom it was erected into a prebend of his cathedral, probably soon after 1136. Thirty years later, it was claimed by the monks of Paisley

¹ This last is in the parish of Govan, and is practically a part of the city of Glasgow.

² C. Innes, *Orig. Par.*, i. 74.

as within the parish of Paisley and a pertinent of the church of S. Mirin, which had recently been conferred upon them by Walter Fitz Alan. On an appeal to Rome, Urban III. (1185-1187) confirmed it as a separate parish to Glasgow. Early in the following century, the monks renounced all claim to it.¹

Other ecclesiastical establishments were enriched by David with property at Renfrew. About the same time that he made the Bishop of Glasgow a present of the parish church, which was probably dedicated to S. James, and stood upon the site of the present church, he gave a toft in the burgh to the Abbey of Kelso, with a boat and a net's fishing in the river free from all custom or rent; and to the Abbey of Holyrood a toft of five perches, a net's salmon fishing, and liberty to fish for herrings, custom free.²

When the lands of Renfrew were conferred upon Walter Fitz Alan, the royal burgh probably went with them, with all its rights and privileges unimpaired. Either David or his High Steward built the castle of the burgh. Nothing of it now remains. It stood upon a rising ground between the Cross and the Ferry in the King's Inch, and was surrounded by a moat. Its memory and site are still retained in the names Castlehill, King's Meadow, and King's Orchard.

On the King's Inch, and in the church of SS. Mary and James there, the monks who came from Wenlock to settle in Paisley, were first lodged. This has given rise to the legend that the monastery was first settled at Renfrew and afterwards transplanted to Paisley. But the residence of the monks in Renfrew was only temporary. The intention from the beginning was to build the monastery at Paisley, and thither, as soon as the house Walter was building for them there was habitable, they removed.

Immediately after their removal, Walter gave them the island beside his town of Renfrew, with the fishing between the island and Partick, a toft in the burgh, half a merk from the burgh ferm for light to their church, a net's fishing of salmon, the mill of Renfrew, and the island "where the monks first dwelt."³ Subsequently the monks exchanged, with the grandson of the founder of their abbey, the island and their rights in the forest lands of Renfrew for the land lying between the Maic and the Calder and the lands of Durchat and Meikleriggs,⁴ but retained the Inch and the meadow of the Inch, down to the time of the Reformation.⁵ They had right of common pasture on the moor of Renfrew in 1495.⁶ They also retained the mill of Renfrew, to which the burgesses were constrained to pay full multure⁷ till 1414, when the

¹ *Reg. Glasg.*, 69, 96.² *Liber de Kelso*, 3; *Charters of Holyrood*, 5.³ *Reg de Pas.*, 5.⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 20.⁵ *Innes, Orig. Par.*, i. 76.⁶ *Reg. de Pas.*, 405.⁷ *Reg. de Pas.*, 20.

Abbot granted them in feu the "mill of Renfrew situated on the north side of the chapel of S. Mary," for one merk feu duty yearly. At the same time, he gave them permission to take millstones where the monks had been used to take them.¹

Walter and his immediate successors were as liberal with their property at Renfrew as David I. had been. Besides the gifts already mentioned, Walter, before 1165, gave two shillings, payable at Easter, from the revenues of the burgh, to the Cathedral of Glasgow.² To the Priory of Wenlock, in Shropshire, he gave a mansion in the burgh and the fishing of a salmon net and of six herring nets and a boat, as the price of the independence of his new monastery of the mother house of Wenlock.³ To the monks of Kelso he gave an additional toft, bounded by the stream which flows from the mill into the water of Clyde, and another toft to the Abbey of Dunfermline. Upon the monks of Newbattle, Alan, the son of Walter, bestowed a toft in the burgh—next to his own garden, on the east side, and a net in the water of Clyde where he had his own fishing⁴; and upon the Cistercian monks of Cupar, a toft beside the church-yard, and a net's salmon fishing in the Clyde.⁵ Walter, the grandson of the first Steward, granted twenty shillings yearly to the monks of Bromholm.⁶

While the monks of Paisley were still at the King's Inch, happened the invasion of Somerled, whose death at the Knock led to the speedy dispersion of his fleet and of the horde of Highlanders and wild Irishmen with whom he intended to harry the shire. His son and successor, Reginald, and his daughter-in-law, Fonia, soon after made ample reparation for any injury the monks and the county had sustained from the invasion, by giving certain valuable endowments to the monastery at Paisley.⁷

During the Wars of Independence, Renfrew and its castle were, from time to time, in the hands of the enemy. Edward I. gave the Renfrewshire lands of the Steward to the Earl of Lincoln, who, in 1301, was holding the county and the burgh for him. When engaged in the siege of Bothwell castle, Edward despatched Godfrey Bardeneye with letters to the Earl, desiring him to send carpenters from Renfrew to assist him at the siege.⁸ Nine years later, October 15, 1310, Edward II. was at Renfrew on his way from the West to Linlithgow.⁹ Edward Balliol confiscated the Renfrewshire lands of the Stewards, and gave them to David Hastings, Earl of Atholl, and

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 248.

² *Reg. Glasg.*, 19.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 2. The properties were afterwards exchanged for others at Manwode, in Sussex.

Reg. de Pas., 2, 3.

⁴ *Reg. de Neub.*, f. 43.

⁵ *Innes, Orig. Par.*, 75.

⁶ *Ch. of Holyrood*, 67.

⁷ *Reg. de Pas.*, 125, 148, 149.

⁸ *Bain, Cal. Docs. rel. to Scot.*, iv. 453.

⁹ *Bain*, iii. 168, 171.

at Christmas, 1334, he was holding high court and festival in the castle of Renfrew. In the quaint words of Wyntoun :

“ At Renfrewe a mawgery
 Costlyk he made ryaly,
 Fewteys he tuk off mony thare
 That gaddryd to the seumlé ware
 And awcht fewte for thar tenandry ;
 For nane durst him contrary.”¹

At Renfrew, he received the keys of Dunoon and Rothesay castles, and appointed Sir Alan Lyle, who soon after came to an unlucky end, Sheriff of Cowal and Bute.

When the Steward escaped from Bute and, with the assistance of Campbell of Lochow, had taken Dunoon castle, Renfrew received him with open arms, and he was not long in securing the baronies of Renfrew, Kyle, Cunningham, and Carrick for the King. All through the wars, Renfrew was on the national side, and here and there one reads in the calendars of burgesses of Renfrew—such as Mathew of Renfrew in prison at Nottingham, or Robert Reynfru, who died in the castle of Old Sarum—suffering for their patriotism.²

After their accession to the throne, the Stuarts continued to show favour towards their ancient burgh by the Clyde. Though called a royal burgh, like some other ancient royal burghs, Renfrew had no documentary proof that it was one. This defect was remedied by Robert III. On November 11, 1396, seven months after he had erected the lands of the monastery of Paisley within the barony into a regality, he granted the burgh a charter, by which it was formally erected into a royal burgh. By the charter, he granted the burgh to the burgesses and community in feuferm, changed the old farms into a fixed rent of eight merks yearly, and confirmed to them the fishings on the Clyde, and the petty customs as well within the burgh as throughout the barony of Renfrew. The charter also declares that no markets shall be held in the barony except within the burgh, and that the burgesses shall be as free from tolls and small customs as any other burgesses in Scotland. Right is also given in the charter to hold courts, and to the issues and profits therefrom, excepting life and limb. And generally, all other rights and privileges are granted by the charter as fully as enjoyed in other burghs. In addition to the reddendo of eight merks, a payment of one hundred shillings a year was to be made out of the burgh farms for the support of a chaplain in the parish church. This charter is not now in existence, but is recited in a charter granted by Queen Anne, August 7, 1713, and is said to have been confirmed

¹ *The Cronykil*, vol. ii., 407 (Scottish Historian Series).

² Bain, 33, 86, 188.

by James V., June 28, 1542, but the confirmation also is not extant.¹ A few years after the granting of the charter, when the barony was separated from the county of Lanark and erected into a sheriffdom, Renfrew was made the head burgh of the shire.

With the accession of the Stuarts, the castle of Renfrew was raised to the dignity of a royal residence, and continued to be such for some time. Robert II. was there on May 30, 1370, which, however, was some months before his accession. It was at Renfrew that he wrote the letter to Sir Hugh Eglinton, already alluded to, in which he authorised Sir Hugh and his heirs to re-enter the office of bailie of Cunningham, notwithstanding that the office was then administered by another, with Sir Hugh's sufferance or consent.² In 1376, a payment of £41 16s. 3d. was made to Sir David Bell, as clerk of the wardrobe, for furnishings for the castle. On October 26, 1377, the King was again in residence there.³ Wine was sent to the castle, presumably for the King's use, in 1380.⁴ In the following year, the bailie of Renfrew received £7 7s. 0d. in part payment of an account from the Exchequer⁵; and, in 1400, 3s. 6d. was paid for the carriage of wine from Stirling to Renfrew, for the King's use.⁶ The King was in Renfrew again on October 11, 1401, when he executed a charter whereby he granted to "his beloved and faithful Robert Mantalent, knight, the lands of Tybrys with the pertinents in the sheriffdom of Dromfres falling to the King by reason of forfeiture and escheat of George Dunbarre sometime Earl of March." Among the company present on the occasion were the Bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen, Robert Duke of Albany, Archibald Earl of Douglas, Lord of Dalkeith, and Thomas Erskine, the King's cousins.⁷ Later on in the fifteenth century, the place had fallen out of favour as a royal residence. In 1468, a lease of the castle, with its orchards and meadows, was granted to Lord Lyle at a rental of £4 6s. 8d.

James IV. appointed Lord Ross of Hawkhead hereditary constable of the castle. In 1615, James Lord Ross was served heir of his grandfather, James, to the lands of Inche and the fishings in the Clyde, with the office of constable of the burgh of Renfrew. In 1669, William, Master of Ross, eldest son of George Lord Ross, obtained a charter of the same property.⁸

Down to the time of Robert III., Renfrew appears to have been, for the times, fairly prosperous. From a very small beginning, it had risen to be a rival of the neighbouring city of Glasgow and of the more ancient royal burgh of Rutherglen. When, in 1370, Glasgow was assessed at £5 18s. 5d. for the

¹ *Report Commission on Municipal Corporations in Scotland* (1835), Pt. ii., 355.

² *Eglinton MSS.*, 10.

³ *Burnett, Ech. Rolls*, ii. 523; *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, i. 149.

⁴ *Burnett*, iii. 57.

⁵ *Burnett*, iii. 64.

⁶ *Burnett*, iii. 505.

⁷ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, XV., viii. 33.

⁸ *Chalmers*, iii. 802.

King's ransom, and Rutherglen at £5 12s. 4d., Renfrew was assessed at £4 14s. 8d., showing that the difference in the estimated wealth of the towns was not great, and that Renfrew was not far from being on a level with either Rutherglen or Glasgow.

But from this time, slow as the development of the country was during the next four or five centuries, the burgh of Renfrew failed to keep pace with it. The cause of this is not exactly clear, but we shall probably be not far wrong if we set it down chiefly to the lack of enterprise on the part of its rulers and inhabitants. Other forces may also have been at work, acting as contributory causes, such as local politics, quarrels with neighbouring burghs, and an overweening confidence on the part of its magistrates in the power of its charters.

Renfrew and Paisley were too near to each other, and the latter was much too prosperous for the two to be good neighbours. One subject of variance was the exact delimitation of their mutual boundaries. But this on being referred to arbiters was amicably settled. The levying of toll and custom was a much more serious business. The officials in Renfrew claimed the right to levy toll and custom all through the shire, and in Paisley, at least, appear to have executed their office vexatiously. Anyhow, after enduring for a time certain real or fancied evils at the hands of the officials and people of Renfrew, the men of Paisley marched to Renfrew, and with the assistance of others took summary vengeance upon the people and did considerable damage. For this they were heavily fined, but George Shaw, who was then Abbot of Paisley, intervening on their behalf with the King, obtained, as we have seen, the remission of the fines and protection against any other consequences with which they might be threatened for the affair.

This was only the beginning of troubles. On June 2, 1490, Paisley was erected into a free burgh of barony and regality, in virtue of a charter obtained from the King in 1488. By this, Paisley obtained the right to hold markets and fairs, to levy toll and custom within its borders, and to have a market cross. Here was what appeared to the people of Renfrew a distinct encroachment upon their rights and privileges, and a threatened loss of revenue. Accordingly, as we have seen, the men of Renfrew, "under silence of night," marched to Paisley and destroyed so much of the market cross as had been built and the hewn stone which was being prepared for it. The feud between the two burghs went on till the year 1494, when it was settled only by a threat on the part of Abbot George Shaw to sue the magistrates and community of Renfrew, who had already lost their case against him and his burgh before the Lords Auditors, for the tolls and customs which they had levied within his regality without legal authority for the past hundred years and

for divers other sums, in name of damages done to his monastery and its property.¹

After this the fortunes of the burgh appear to have gone from bad to worse. During the reign of Queen Mary the town obtained some notoriety through its minister, Mr. Andrew Hay, being accused of being art and part in the murder of Rizzio.

In the year 1580, the burgh entered into the singular agreement with the Earl of Argyll, which is given below.² What induced the bailies to grant this remarkable document does not appear to be known. It is dated October 21, 1580, and was executed at Glasgow.

In 1593, the town was in a decaying condition, for in the month of June in that year the magistrates petitioned the Convention of Royal Burghs for assistance to repair its harbour and "decayit places." Other burghs in the kingdom were in a similar condition in consequence of the disturbed state of the country: Inverkeithing, North Berwick, and Dumbarton presenting similar petitions at the same time as Renfrew. The consideration of the petitions was continued by the Convention to its next meeting, when it was found expedient to approach Parliament, in order to seek the support of the whole nation for the relief of the burghs.³

In the following year, it would appear, Renfrew and other of the Royal burghs were suspected of having parted too freely with their property and with neglecting to husband their resources, for at the Convention in June,

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 404; *Metcalfe, Charters and Doc.*, 50; see *ante*, p. 147.

² Be it kend till all men be thir present letteris, Us the baillies, counsaill, and communitie of the burghe of Ranfrew, to haif becomin lyk as be the tennor heirof we and our successors, inhabitants of the said burgh for ever, becomes leill, trew and efald servandis to ane nobill and mychti Lord Colene Erle of Argyll, Lord Campbell and Lorne, Chancellor, and Justice Generall of this realme, his aires and succesours, promesing be thir presentis to serve and attend upon the said nobill lord in all tyme of weires that sall hapin, alswell within this realme as withoute the same, and that upon onre awn expensis, induryng the tyme of proclamaciones; and als sall serve the said nobill lord in all his awin particulares, and taik plane part with his lordschippe contrair quhatsumevir, our Sovereane Lord the Kingis Matie. and Steward of Scotland, only except, and sall be reddy with our hail boites and vyners upon sufficient warning to serve the said nobill lord, baith in Scotland and Yreland, as his lordship sall haif to do upon the said nobill lordis resonable expensis; and sall nather heir nor se the said nobill lordis hurt or skair, bot we sall reveil the same, and stay it at onre powar: And sall gif the said nobill lord onre trew and efauld counsaill in sic things as we sall be requirit of heilland counseill the counsaill schawin to us be his lordship, and yeirlye at the electioun of our baillies and officiares the said nobill lord and his aires sall haif the nomination and electioun of one of the saidis baillies and ane officier, provyding that thai be indwellares and inhabitants of the said burghe, that the said nobill lord sall nominate and cheis quhilk privileige we be ther presentis grantes to the said nobill lord and his aires for ever, and generallie sall do all that trew servandes and dependaries aucht and suld do to thair lord and maister. In witness quhairof the baillies underwrten hes subscriyvit etc.

³ *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs*, i. 45.

at which the burgh was represented by William Ranfrow, Renfrew and three other burghs were required to produce in "writt" to the next general meeting of the Convention "mair sufficient diligence anent the rowpping of thair common guid and perambuling thair marches."¹ Five years later (1599), permission was given to the burgh by the Convention of Royal Burghs to petition the King for the privilege of imposing, for a period of five years, certain harbour and other dues.² This may probably be taken as the Convention's answer in part to the burgh's petition for assistance. The other part of its answer is probably to be found in the exemption, given to the burgh, from sending Commissioners to the meetings of the Convention held north of the Forth during the next three years, on condition that the money which would otherwise have gone to pay the expenses of the Commissioners should be used in the repair of the "decayit places."³

In 1600, the town was engaged in a dispute with Dumbarton. Renfrew was supported by Glasgow, the provost of which at the time was Sir George Elphinston of Blythswood, Knight. Dumbarton had obtained a grant from the Crown, and interpreted it as conferring the right to levy a certain impost upon vessels passing to and fro on the Clyde. The Convention confessed its inability to decide the matter, but found in the meantime that the right granted to Dumbarton extended only to the water of Leven and not to the water of Clyde.⁴

Two years later, the magistrates laid a complaint before the Convention against the magistrates of Glasgow for levying sixpence per thousand on herrings carried by the burgesses of Renfrew to Glasgow Bridge.⁵ On the same occasion, on the other hand, the Commissioners of Glasgow and Renfrew for themselves, and the burgh of Dumbarton, complained against the burghs of Ayr and Irvine and their magistrates, "for suffering the fischeris quha fischis in thair watteris to fish with sandeill polkis [sand eel bags], to the grit destruction of the hering fry, verray hurtfull and prejudicial to the fishing of hering." They complained also that the fishermen of Ayr and Irvine took the herring fry and sold them in the market. The Convention directed both practices to be stopped under a penalty of forty pounds. When the question

¹ *Conv. of R. B.*, i. 431.

² These were :—Ilk doissin buirdis loissit laidnit or sauld, aucht penneis ; ilk hundreth rounGIS iijjd. ; ilk daikis hyidis, twelf penneis ; ilk last hering, thre schillingis ; ilk ane thousand hering sauld thair, foure penneis ; ilk doissin skynns jd. ; ilk hors laidnit thair cumand fra the Heis or Irland tua s. ; ilk doissin airis (oars ?), twelf penneis ; ilk laid vittual cumand throw thair burgh, iijjd. ; ilk ten scheip, twa penneis ; ilk nolt, twa penneis ; ilk score plaiding coft [bought] or sauld be frenen or brocht in be unfrenen, aucht penneis.

³ *Conv. of R. B.*, ii. 55, 56.

⁴ *Conv. of R. B.*, ii. 95.

⁵ *Conv. of R. B.*, ii. 151.

of levying dues on the herrings brought by the men of Renfrew to Glasgow Bridge came to be argued, June 6, 1603, William Somerwell, the Town Clerk and representative of Renfrew, gained his case, the magistrates of Glasgow being forbidden to levy the import in all time coming.¹

At the meeting of the Convention, July 5, 1604, Dumbarton lodged a complaint against the burgh of Renfrew "for sufferane numbers of unfremen to keip oppin merkettis in selling of stapill wairis in the clachenis of Kylmacolm and the new kirk of Girnok within thair liberty and fredome but [without] controlment."² On July 2, 1605, William Somerwell, the Town Clerk, appeared as Commissioner for the burgh to answer the complaint, and "producit lettres of horning execute agains certane the saids unfretraffiqueris." The Convention ordered the burgh "to caus registre the said lettres aganis sic as hes suspendit or fund cautioner, to prosecute the samyn before the lordis of session and to reporte thair delegens thairof to the nixt Conventioun and aganis all utheris within thair liberty," under pain of forty pounds.³

In 1606, the Convention of Royal Burghs granted permission to the magistrates to renew their petition of 1599 to the King, to levy certain imposts for five years, but "provyding alwayis," the permission bears, "the said burgh bestow the said impost upon reparation of thair herbere, and mak yerle compt to the burrowis thairof at ilk generall conventioun, under the pane of ane unlaw [fine] of twentie pundis sa oft as thai failze."⁴

The prosecution of the unfree traders in the "clachenis of Kylmacolm and the new kirk of Girnok," turned out to be an expensive affair, and the magistrates of the burgh did not enter upon it with much heart. On July 1, 1607, the Town Clerk, as Commissioner for the burgh, appeared before the Convention "for verification of thair delegens," and produced "ane lettre of suspensioun raissit be James Houston in Kilmacolm" and others, together with letters of horning, against certain individuals whose names are not given. The magistrates were directed to prosecute and to report diligence; but the Convention was far from satisfied with their reports, and reference to the case occurs as late as July 3, 1656.⁵

On July 5, 1608, the Convention "ordained" the three burghs of Glasgow, Dumbarton and Renfrew "to cause pen ane artickle to be gevin in to the nixt parliament for clenseing of the Wattir of Clyid, and punisching of persounis quha polutes and defyles the samyne be deid careouns, buckeis, and sic uther filthe, hurtfull to the fishcheing."⁶

¹ *Conv. of R. B.*, ii. 161.

² *Conv. of R. B.*, ii. 178.

³ *Conv. of R. B.*, ii. 202.

⁴ *Conv. of R. B.*, ii. 214.

⁵ *Conv. of R. B.*, ii. 178, 202, 223, 250, 402; iii. 37, 81, 104, 382, 403, 417.

⁶ *Conv. of R. B.*, ii. 251.

According to Dr. Cleland, the inhabitants of the same three burghs had united, as early as the year 1556, in an endeavour to remove the ford at Dumbuck and the most prominent "hirsts" [sandbanks], in order to improve the navigation of the river, which "for thirteen miles below Glasgow was so interrupted by fords and shoals as to be barely navigable for small craft."¹ In 1602, and again in 1607, the three burghs above mentioned were directed by the Convention of Royal Burghs to see that the river was "kept clean and unpolluted," in the parts near to them, and especially within their own "boundis"; but without effect. No assistance was obtained from Parliament. Renfrew and Dumbarton² appear to have taken little interest in the matter. In 1612, however, they united with Glasgow in another attempt to remove the ford at Dumbuck;³ but after that, the cleansing and deepening of the Clyde was left to Glasgow.

Some time before July 1, 1607, the magistrates had made Robert Fynity a merchant burghess. Fynity appears to have been non-resident, and this coming to the ears of the Convention, the magistrates were directed to compel him to make residence within the burgh before the Michaelmas following, or to strike him off the roll of burghesses.⁴ Whether the Commissioners of Glasgow had been the informants of the Convention does not appear; but two days after the hearing of Fynity's case, two burghesses of Renfrew complained against the burgh of Glasgow "for trubling and molesting of the saidis personis in bying of merchandrice within thair awin burgh and herbere thair of and for unlawing of thame and thair souerties";⁵ and on July 7, in the following year, the magistrates laid a formal complaint before the Commissioners of the Royal Burghs against the magistrates of Glasgow "for admitting" as burghesses certain men, who are not named, "quha duellis in Kilmacolm and makis na residence within thair burgh sen the time of thair admissioun."⁶

At the meeting of the Convention, on July 4, 1656, the Commissioners of the burgh complained that Robert Pollock, late provost, had taken possession "of ane great pairt of thair comoun landis," and was using it as if it were his own. The Commissioners of Glasgow, Dumbarton and Rutherglen were therefore sent to meet in the burgh, and to "tak inspectione of the said bussiness and to sie both thair richtis and to deall for agreement and to improve their comoun landis at the sight of the saidis burghis."

In the following year, Peter Patton, a vassal of the town of Renfrew and a burghess, complained that he was being deprived of the "right to pastorage"

¹ *Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* (1820), 112.

² *Conv. of R. B.*, 152, 242, 251, 306.

³ Sir Jas. Marwick, *The River Clyde*, 5 n. 2, 10.

⁴ *Conv. of R. B.*, ii. 233.

⁵ *Conv. of R. B.*, ii. 240.

⁶ *Conv. of R. B.*, ii. 266, 315, 350.

contrary to his charters, and that the magistrates were selling a part of their common land which was making his pasture "unuseful" to him. The Commissioners appear to have gone carefully into the matter, and the magistrates were compelled to compensate Patton for disturbance. Provost Pollock is not again mentioned; but in 1669, the agent of the Convention was directed to assist Renfrew in prosecuting the lairds of Duchal and Hapland for violently taking possession of the common lands of the burgh; and inasmuch as Renfrew was reduced to poverty, he was instructed to restrict his charges against the burgh to the sum of twenty dollars.¹

Tucker, who drew up his report on the Scottish towns for Cromwell in 1656, wrote:—"There is in this port [Glasgow] a collector, a cheque, and four wayters, who look to this place, Renfrew, Arskin on the south, and Kirkepatrick on the north side of Clyde, with Dumbarton, a small and very poore burgh at the head of the Firth." Renfrew, he adds, "has 3 or 4 boates of 5 or 6 tonnes a-piece."² In the same year, he states that the taxes on beer, ale, and "acquavitae," in the shire were farmed out for four months for the sum of £100 to William Hewitt.³ Though it professed to have a harbour, Tucker did not reckon Renfrew among the ports of the kingdom. If he did, it had no trade, or rather yielded nothing to the revenue in the shape either of custom or of excise duties between June 1, 1656, and October 1, 1657.

When the tolbooth of the burgh fell into decay, the magistrates appealed to the Convention of Royal Burghs for assistance to rebuild it, and obtained a grant of 1,000 merks, which the agent of the Convention was directed to pay to them in two instalments of 500 merks each. One of the instalments had in 1689 been paid, but on July 4, in that year, the agent was instructed to retain the other half of the grant till the Commissioners of Glasgow and Dumbarton ascertained whether the first 500 merks "was reallie applied toward the repairing of the said toilbuith and that the work is advanced."⁴ Apparently some rumour had reached the Convention that the money was not being put by the Town Council to the purpose for which it was asked and voted.

One of the most important documents in connection with the history of the burgh is the report given into the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1692 by its Commissioners, James Fletcher, Provost of Dundee, and Alexander Walker, Bailie of Aberdeen. Their report is based upon statements laid before them by David Pollock, Provost; W. Scott, Bailie; and William Cochrane, Town Clerk.

¹ *Conv. of R. B.*, iii. 420, 453, 471, 615.

² *Miscellany of the Scot. Burgh Rec. Soc.*, 26, 27.

³ *Miscell. of S. B. R. Soc.*, 33.

⁴ *Conv. of R. B.*, iii. 91.

According to this document, the Common Good of the burgh was worth £581 14s. Scots, while the debts of the burgh amounted to £678 13s. 4d. The town had no mortifications and no treasurer's books, but by the accounts submitted to them the Commissioners "found them superexpended yearly £192 0s. 11d., for which the magistrates were forced to stent ther inhabitants, and that ther eiqueies and clerks with other dewes will extend to £15 Scots, which is annually payed." The town had no foreign trade, "there being no person of any stock amongst them." The inland trade of the burgh was "not worth the nameing." There was not one merchant shop within the burgh. "All they have," the report continues, "consists of some green herring they bring from the lochs to Glasgow for serveing the countrey, and they vent nor retails no wines nor seek [sack] within the burgh, and what brandie they vent, they bring it from Glasgow in gallons and half gallons, and that ther consumption of malt [for beer] will be about four bolls weekly."

As for ships or barks, the town had none, except twenty-four boats of between three and five tons burden each, used for conveying herring from the lochs, and worth on an average 100 merks; and two other boats of from twelve to fifteen tons burden used for "making of salt herring," and worth 400 merks each. The town was neither owner nor partner in any ships, barks or boats belonging to any other burghs, whether royal, regality or barony, nor was it connected in matters of trade with unfree burghs.

The cess was raised by a tax on the inhabitants. The ministers were paid out of the teinds of the burgh and parish, and the schoolmasters out of the Common Good, as were also the rest of the public servants of the burgh. All public works were supported out of the same fund.

Most of the houses in the burgh, it is said, were inhabited by their respective heritors, and the rents of the rest ranged between twenty merks and forty shillings Scots. There were "no stranger inhabitants" in the burgh.

Within its "precinct" or liberty, the burgh had the particular burghs of barony and regality of "Pasley, Kilbarchan, Houstoun, Kilmacrom, Newark, Carsedyck, Greenock, Innerkeip, and Gourack, all which are in a flourishing condition and have a considerable retail, and the worst of these have a much more considerable trade than themselves."

The above, with a few more unimportant particulars, is said to be "a trew account of the state and condition of the said burgh of Rhenfrew."¹ The burgh was evidently not in a prosperous condition.

It was probably on this account that, about eleven years after the above report was given in, Queen Anne, as coming in the place of the Prince and

¹ *Conv. of R. B.*, iv. 628. *Miscel. Scot. B. Recs. Soc.*, 118.

Steward of Scotland, granted a charter *Novodamus* in favour of the provost, bailies, council and community of the burgh. This charter, which is dated 1703, recites and confirms the charter of Robert III., and two charters of James VI., the one dated February 5, 1575, and the other August 11, 1614.

From the recital, the second charter granted by James appears to have conveyed very valuable privileges to the burgh. It confers a right of ferry on the Clyde between Merlingford and the mouth of the Gryfe; of the small duties, customs and tolls within the burgh and barony; of a mill; of chapels and altarges within the burgh for the support of the poor, and of a grammar school; of the right to choose a Provost and Dean of Guild; of a free port, harbour and haven, as Edinburgh had in Leith, of trade and traffic, home and foreign, with the right to levy customs within the bounds of the burgh, both maritime and inland; of a Merchant Gild, with gild courts, as in Edinburgh, of markets, fairs, and customs of fairs, and various other privileges, among which was the exclusive right to trade in the barony of Renfrew, saving the rights of the burgh of Dumbarton. It also conveyed extensive property in land, and fishings in the Clyde; a right to draw certain payments from each ploughgate of land within the barony of Renfrew, as well as other payments from each cottar and householder, various duties which are specified to be drawn at the harbour and to be applied to its repair; and a right to levy customs on the Clyde. Finally, the burgh, with all its liberties, is incorporated into a free royal burgh. The charter of Queen Anne does little more than confirm the preceding charter of James with a *Novodamus*.¹

In spite of its new charter the town continued unprosperous. Writing in 1710, Crawford said of it:—"The town consists of one principal street, about half a mile in length, with some small lanes; it has a spacious market-place and a handsome Town-house with a steeple covered with lead. . . . This burgh had once some little foreign trade, but the business in which its inhabitants are mostly employed now is trade to Ireland." Robertson, his continuator, who wrote in 1811, describes it as "a clean, neat enough cottage-kind of town, consisting of a single street with houses on each side, one storey high, covered with thatch." "It does not seem," he adds, "to have increased much in size or importance since Crawford's time." According to Wilson,² some feeble attempts were made in 1781-82 to introduce into the burgh the manufacture of Lisle thread and Brussels lace, but without success. In 1792, there was one bleachfield in the burgh, a soap and candle work, a very few thread mills, and about one hundred and twenty looms, employed chiefly by

¹ *Municipal Corporation (Scotland) 1835, Local Reports, etc.*, ii, 355.

² *Agriculture in Renfrewshire*, 238.

manufacturers in Paisley. There was some small traffic on the Clyde in grain and in bark for tanning, but there were no prospects of improvements. The income of the town he puts down at £800, and the population in 1811 at 1,637. In the return made to Parliament in 1788, about twenty-three years before Wilson wrote, the income of the burgh was set down at £301 12s. 11d.

In the year 1833 or 1834, the burgh was visited by the Royal Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Scotland, who reported unfavourably upon the management of the business of the town. The revenue of the burgh was in 1832-33 £1,448 12s. 7d., and its debts £2,056 17s. 5d. Its expenditure for the year was £11,555 5s. 1d., or £116 12s. 6d. above its income. The income had been below the expenditure, the Commissioners say, "for some years back." Among the items of expenditure is £153 9s. for "tavern expenses and entertainments given at election of magistrates, examination of schools, annual inspection of fishings, and celebration of King's birthday."

Between 1817 and 1833, the debt of the town had been reduced from £4,083 2s. 9d. to £2,626 14s. 6d. But the Commissioners remark: "The expenditure of the burgh is, however, still too great, looking to the purposes to which it is applied. Some needless expenses, such as entertainments, may be usefully retrenched. For the extravagant amount of its tavern bills, considering the town, and the rank of the magistrates, this petty burgh has long been noted in the west. Indeed, the magistrates have hitherto kept a running account with the innkeeper, the convivial meetings of the Council were so frequent; and, as appears from the town's accounts, the landlord of the town's inn just received, occasionally, payments to account of his current bill for entertainments."

The Commissioners endorse the statement of the author of the Statistical Account of the Parish of Renfrew, that "had it not been for the fatal effects of burgh politics, Renfrew might, at this time, have been one of the principal seats of manufacture in the west of Scotland."

During their visit, the Commissioners had to investigate some serious allegations by the burgesses respecting the administration and management of the burgh's property. One was that the community had sustained a loss of above £300 by the failure of the treasurer. The blame was thrown upon the magistrates for allowing the treasurer to intrude with the burgh funds without finding security. The Commissioners agreed with the complainants. Another had reference to the canal; but the most serious had reference to a series of transactions between the provost and the burgh. These transactions, the Commissioners state, were "of so singular a character as to deserve particular attention." They then go on to remark: "In every instance the

interest of the provost appears solely to have been consulted. It is even stated in the minutes authorizing the first transaction, that the acquisition sought would be a benefit to him. In no instance does there appear to have been any necessity for the sales being made, in order to obtain funds for the use of the burgh. The proposal for the sales in each case originated with the provost. He himself was present in Council, and assisted in the deliberations of the Council, when his own proposals were taken into consideration. His name appears in the sederunt, and his signature, as 'Preses,' to the Council minutes authorizing the different sales in his own favour."

There were in all four transactions, and the detailed account which the Commissioners give of them is instructive. Transactions of a similar kind were discovered by the Select Committee on Petitions from the Royal Burghs of Scotland, in 1819, to have taken place in other towns.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the burgh of Renfrew entered upon a new industrial and commercial life. From being a sleepy hollow, it has become a busy and thriving town. It has now large engineering establishments. Its works for the manufacture of water tube boilers are the largest in great Britain. They cover some 32 acres of ground, and give employment to about 1,400 hands. There is every probability that the town will shortly be provided with extensive docks. Two railways and lines of electric cars connect it with Glasgow and Paisley.

In 1801, the population of the town of Renfrew is said to have been 1,400; in 1901, it was 9,297; while the population of the parish at the latter date was 15,143.

At one time the burgh might have taken the place of Glasgow. The opportunity for doing that is gone; and the burgh must now always remain a long way behind the city, of which it at one time took precedence.

The origin of Paisley is involved in obscurity. The place is first heard of in connection with S. Mirin, and then in connection with Walter, the first of the Hereditary High Stewards.

It originally stood in the neighbourhood of what is now known as the Seedhill, and was given with its church, which was dedicated to S. Mirin, by Walter Fitz Alan to the monastery he founded in almost close proximity to it. When the monastery was burned down by the English in 1307, the town of Paisley was in all probability burnt with it. After the close of the Wars of Independence, the town shared in the prosperity of the Abbey, and gradually spread to Easter and Wester Crossflat, and to the piece of land on the western side of the Cart and opposite to the Abbey, which had been specially

marked out from the Forest of Paisley by Walter Fitz Alan and given to the monks.¹

Down to the year 1487, the town of Paisley was completely overshadowed by the monastery, and is seldom heard of apart from it. But in the year mentioned the town suddenly appeared in the Law Courts, in consequence of a quarrel with the neighbouring burgh of Renfrew. The precise cause of the quarrel is not stated. Perhaps there was no very definite cause, and only an accumulation of indefinite and to some extent imaginary causes. Renfrew and Paisley, it has already been remarked, were too close to each other to be good neighbours, and the prosperity of the Abbot's town was not of a character not to provoke the jealousy of the royal burgh. Besides, ever since the erection of their town into a royal burgh by the charter of Robert III. in 1396, the bailies of Renfrew had been levying toll and custom in the town of Paisley and all through the regality, and probably not without provoking some degree of bitterness of feeling in the minds of the people of Paisley. Anyhow, in 1487, the men of Paisley, because of some real or imaginary grievance, took the law into their own hands, and marching to Renfrew did considerable damage in the town and among the inhabitants. For this, as we have seen, they were summoned before the Lord High Chamberlain when next on air at Renfrew and were heavily fined, but at the intercession of George Shaw, the Abbot, they got their fines remitted by the King, and at the same time protection against any other proceedings which might be contemplated against them in consequence of the raid.²

The following year, Abbot George Shaw entered into an agreement with the magistrates of Renfrew for the delimitation of their mutual boundaries. The matter was referred to William Fleming of Barrochan, Uchtrede Knox of Craigends, John Semple of Fulwood, Robert Morton of Walkinshaw, John Knox of that ilk, Robert Montgomery of Scotstoun, and John Ralston of that ilk, who, if they deemed it expedient, could call in two assessors to their assistance. They gave in their award on February 25 in the same year, and it was at once accepted and regarded as final by both parties.³

Later on in the same year, August 19, 1488, Abbot George Shaw received a document from the King erecting the town of Paisley into a burgh of barony or regality. Almost two years had to elapse before the King's charter could be given effect to; but on June 2, 1490, the Abbot issued his charter, and the town of Paisley became a burgh of barony, with the right to hold markets and

¹ Metcalfe, Introduction, p. 49.

² Metcalfe, Introduction, p. 48.

³ Metcalfe, Introduction, p. 1 and p. 25. *Reg. de Pas.*, 406-8.

fairs, to have a market cross, and to enjoy all the rights and privileges enjoyed by any other burgh of barony in the kingdom.¹

This at once aroused the jealousy of the magistrates and community of Renfrew, and before the market cross of the new burgh could be erected, the men of Renfrew entered the town under the silence of night, and, as we have seen, destroyed so much of the cross as had been built, and did other damage. The indignant Abbot appealed to the King, who chanced to visit him shortly after the outrage had been perpetrated. The King at once issued a letter to the Earl of Lennox and his son, authorising and directing them to search for and apprehend and punish any who had taken part in the midnight raid. None were found, and the bailies of Renfrew taking courage, determined to insist upon the right they had exercised during the past hundred years, and before a twelvemonth was out suddenly appeared in the market place of Paisley upon a market day, and pounded certain goods for the King's customs. The bailies of the town, however, were on the alert. They seized the pounded goods and compelled the Renfrew customar to return to Renfrew empty-handed. The magistrates of the royal burgh now appealed to the Lords Auditors, who, on June 13, 1493, gave judgment against them, on the ground that the lands of the monastery within the barony had been erected into a regality earlier than the date at which the town of Renfrew had received its charter erecting it into a royal burgh, and that consequently they had no right to levy toll and custom either in the town or in the regality of Paisley. In the following year, the Abbot pushed home his victory. He raised an action before the Lords Auditors against the bailies of Renfrew, for the damage the men of Renfrew had done to the market cross of Paisley. The year following he enlarged the scope of his action, and among other things claimed from the bailies of the royal burgh repayment of the tolls and customs they had levied within his regality during the past hundred years. On this, the bailies appear to have taken fright. Nothing more is heard of the matter, and the probability is that the bailies were glad to come to terms.²

On May 21, 1491, while the dispute with Renfrew was going on, the Abbot presented the new burgh with the Heyt House, which stood at the west corner of Moss Street and the High Street, and was probably the place where the secular business of the monastery had been carried on, to be used as a Common Tolbooth for the transaction of the business of the burgh.³

The following year Abbot Shaw gave the monks of his Abbey thirty golden crowns from the rents in the town of Paisley, to be used for the purpose of providing them with a Common Pittance, or, in the terms of the

¹ Metcalfe, 29, 32. *Reg. de Pas.*, 263, 264.

² Metcalfe, 39, 47-52.

³ Metcalfe, 41.

deed, "for the endowment and support of one solemn anniversary, and of some other suffrages to be made and celebrated every year." The Pittance was not to be divided, but was to be enjoyed in common.¹

In July, 1499, the chapel of SS. Mirin and Columba was completed, and along with its endowments handed over to the bailies and community of the burgh by its founder, James Crawford of Kylwynat, a burghess of Paisley, who with his wife had built and endowed it out of the savings of their industry.²

When the royal burghs around ceased from molesting, Paisley, though only a burgh of barony or regality, entered upon a career of prosperity and soon became a centre of trade. The principal industries carried on within it were weaving, fulling, tanning, dyeing. Other handicrafts were also practised: the workmen finding abundant employment in the Abbey and surrounding farms.

By the time of the Reformation, Paisley had become a place of considerable fame. As early as the time of Abbot John de Lithgow, it had begun to spread from the Seedhill and Crossflats to the opposite side of the White Cart. It was noted for its excellent position, being "situat," as Leslie says, "amang cnowis, grene woodis, schawis and forrest fair;" for its beautiful Abbey, and for the splendid wall of hewn stone, more than a mile long, "with fair images" "stiking and standeng out," and "verie monie of thame,"³ which enclosed the Abbey and its precincts. It was also one of the four principal places of pilgrimage in the country, the others being Melrose, Dundee and Scone. The place was both thriving and lively, and was kept so by a constant stream of pilgrims and by its numerous royal and noble visitors. To the industries already mentioned, brewing and shoemaking appear to have been added.

In 1553, John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley and Bishop of Dunkeld, having been appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews, Lord Claud Hamilton, a boy seven years of age, was made Commendator of Paisley. The whole revenues of the Abbey were valued at Rome at six hundred golden florins, and according to the Pope's Bull appointing Lord Claud, the young Commendator was to enjoy the whole of them, with the exception of one-fourth if he kept a separate establishment, or one-third if he lived in the Abbey. During his minority the estates were to be managed by his uncle, the Archbishop, and failing him, by the Claustal Prior.

In the second year of Lord Claud's commendatorship, July 26, 1555, "Mat. Stewart, Barscube, and others, twelve persons in all, came," according to Pitcairn, "to the monastery of Paisley, by way of hame-suckin, and there invaded John Hamilton, son of Hamilton of Ferguslie, 'grynter' of Paslay, for

¹ Metcalfe, 44.² Metcalfe, 52.³ Leslie, i. 15.

his slaughter, and for mutilating him of his arm and sundry other crimes." Six years later, in 1561, the year after Protestantism had been legally established in the land, the Earl of Glencairn, along with others, received a commission to destroy "all monumentis of ydolatrie" in the west. Their commission is supposed by some to have extended only to images, vestments, and such like things. If it did, Glencairn and his fellow iconoclasts put a very liberal construction upon it, and not only destroyed the so-called monuments supposed to have been covered by their commission, but also, in order to make their work surer or to give fuller vent to their fanaticism, left the Abbey and its church in ruins. It is not improbable that Glencairn and his horde left their mark upon the other churches and chapels in the town and neighbourhood, and as well upon the crosses which had here and there been erected.

From Archbishop Hamilton and his nephew the Abbey passed to Lord Semple, the Archbishop's quondam bailie. On January 17, 1570, Hamilton returned to Paisley, took possession of the Abbey, seized Lord Semple and kept him prisoner. Lennox, who had been appointed Regent after the assassination of Moray, marched to the relief of Semple, and the Archbishop narrowly escaped, but only to be executed the following year at Stirling, April 7. In 1573, Lord Claud was restored to his commendatorship by the Treaty of Perth. The following year he married the daughter of Lord Seton and took up his residence in the Place of Paisley, but was again forfeited, and a commission was issued "to search for and administer justice to him." The Abbey was besieged again in 1579, and surrendered to the Master of Glencairn; but Lord Claud or the "Abbot," as he was sometimes called, had "conveyed himself quietly to sic pairt as na man knawis."

In the troublesome times that followed, the Abbey passed from hand to hand. At last, on July 29, 1587, Lord Claud was made a Lord of Parliament, with the title of Lord Paisley, and restored to his possessions. From this time politics lost their charm for him, or if they did not, he at least ceased to meddle openly with them, and settled down in Paisley to watch over his burgh and the management of his estates. In 1597, he was honoured by a visit from Anne of Denmark, the Queen Consort, when the Kirk and Ports of the town were ordered by the Town Council to be decorated, and a "pyntour" to be sent for from Glasgow "for drawing of sum draughts in the Kirk as sall be thocht maist necessar for the present." Twenty years later, the King visited Paisley. Lord Claud was now too old to receive him. His Majesty was received by the Earl of Abercorn, Lord Claud's eldest son, in the "great hall" of Abercorn, and a "pretty boy," a son of Semple of Beltrees, delivered before him a bombastic address, in which he spoke of himself as "your Majesty's own

old parrot," and of the King as "our royall Phœbus." The Earl pre-deceased his father: he died in 1618, and Lord Claud in 1621.

The first Earl of Abercorn was a staunch Protestant, and sat several times as a member of the General Assembly of the Reformed Church. His son, the second Earl, was a Catholic. Failing to satisfy the General Assembly, he was banished the country by that court in 1649. Three years later, he sold the lordship of Paisley to the Earl of Angus for the sum of £160,000 Scots. A year later, the greater part of the lordship was purchased from the Earl of Angus by Lord Cochrane, afterwards Earl of Dundonald.

Much of the history of the burgh has been told in the chapter on the Presbytery and in the chapters which follow it, and need not here be repeated. From the outbreak of the quarrel with Charles I. down to the proclamation of William and Mary, the burgh was heavily oppressed with taxes first by one and then by the other of the contending parties, and frequently complained. But in spite of the demands made upon the inhabitants, the burgh continued to prosper. The magistrates carried out certain transactions in the second half of the seventeenth century, which they could not have done had the town been otherwise than prosperous. In 1655, they bought from Robert Fork of Merksworth the estate of Snawdon or Sneddon for the sum of 5,500 merks Scots. In 1666, they purchased from Lord Dundonald the superiority of the town feus, and obtained a charter from Charles II. by which the town henceforth became practically and legally a royal burgh, holding directly of the Crown. In the following year, they purchased also from Lord Dundonald the lands of Oakshawside, and nine years later (1675) they acquired the estate of Caversbank in the School Wynd, so named after its owner in 1489, Robert Cavers, one of the bailies of the newly made burgh.

Not being one of the ancient royal burghs, Paisley is seldom mentioned in the early records of the Convention of those burghs. The first reference to it is in 1692, when the magistrates of Renfrew reported to the Commission of the Convention, as we have seen, that it was then in a flourishing condition and had a considerable retail trade. In the same year, the magistrates of Glasgow reported to the same body, "Paisley has a great inland trade and is in a very flourishing condition." According to the Poll Tax Roll, drawn up in 1695, there were at the time in the town of Paisley 66 weavers, 41 merchants, 33 shoemakers, 29 tailors, 21 malsters, 5 coopers, 2 dyers, and 2 wigmakers, while in the parish of Paisley there were 32 additional weavers.

In 1710, Crawford wrote of the town: "This burgh has a weekly mercat, on Thursday, when there is great store of provisions; but that which chiefly renders this place considerable is its trade of linen and muslin, where there is a great weekly sale in its mercats of those sorts of cloth: many of the

inhabitants being chiefly employed in that sort of manufactory." Wilson says that at that time the manufactures consisted of imitations of striped muslins, known as Bengals, and coarse linen checks. Thirty years later, the principal manufactures were checkered linen handkerchiefs, some of them fine and beautifully variegated, by the manner in which the colours were disposed. These were succeeded by goods of a lighter texture, such as lawns, some of them plain, others striped or checkered with cotton, and others spotted or figured according to the taste or fancy of the artist. The weaving of linen gauze was also carried on to a considerable extent. All these goods were carried to England by the merchants for sale at the great fairs. In 1774, the value of the manufactures of the town is given at £15,886; in 1784, the best year, at £164,385; in 1807, it fell to £27,771; and in 1811, to £4,513. In 1812, the manufacture of these goods had almost entirely ceased.

In 1759, the manufacture of silk gauze was introduced into the town, and rapidly increased. Between 1760 and 1780, a number of English companies settled in Paisley, and the silk gauze trade became the principal industry of the town. It was carried on in all the villages round about for a distance of twenty miles, and the silk gauzes of Paisley were seen in the markets of London, Dublin and Paris. In 1781, some twenty houses in Paisley were engaged in the trade. They employed five thousand looms, and produced goods of the yearly value of £350,000. The manufacture of ribbons and other silk goods, which was introduced in 1772, was for some time carried on successfully. But in 1812, the manufacture of silk goods of every description had been almost entirely given up.

In the year 1780, cotton spinning was introduced into the shire. The first mill, as already mentioned, was erected upon the water of Lavern at Barrhead, in the parish of Neilston. Soon after, another was erected at Busby, and in 1782 a large mill was built at Johnstone. In less than twenty years, mills had been erected on the banks of most of the rivers in the county. In 1812, there were nineteen cotton mills in the shire, besides others in Pollokshaws and Paisley, giving employment to 932 men, 2,449 women, and 1,792 children, and producing cotton yarn of the annual value of £630,000.

After cotton spinning, came the manufacture of muslin. It came in about the year 1785, and found its centre in Paisley. "The ingenuity and good taste of the traders and workmen in Paisley," Mr. Wilson observes, "had led them to introduce many beautiful varieties in the patterns of lawns and silk gauzes, but the use of muslin being introduced, and daily gaining ground among all ranks, the elegant lawns and silk gauzes of Paisley being no longer in demand, the manufacture of these was gradually dropt. It was necessary that new and varied fabrics should be brought forward to meet the change of

fashion. The skill of the weavers in Paisley was consequently directed to this object, and productions from their looms were soon exhibited, which surpassed the muslins of any other part of the Kingdom. Their early habits enabled them easily to invent varieties of patterns of fancy muslins, and they found it equally easy to alter and improve them. The transition from ornamental thin gauzes to cotton goods of a light and elegant texture, was to them so simple and natural that in no other manufacturing town were fine muslins and richly finished articles of dress produced in the same perfection. Their ingenuity as workmen is still unrivalled, and their superiority is generally acknowledged; and what was said of Bolton in Lancashire in the year 1793 may be at present [1811] strictly applied to Paisley: 'It is the centre of the manufacture of ornamental or fancy goods, and it is only by emigrants from this place that any branches of this trade have been transplanted elsewhere. The most ingenious part of the workmanship remains rooted as it were to the soil, and flourishes even amid present discouragements.' At the same time, this industry was being carried on in Glasgow, and from a statement made by Mr. Wilson, it appears that the most skilful workmen there were natives of Paisley. The number of looms employed in the manufacture in the town of Paisley and in its environments was about 5,000, and the number in use in the whole of the county about 7,000.

The shawl trade of Paisley dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Singularly enough, this industry was one of the results of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt. Officers in both of the European armies there sent specimens of the Turkish and Indian shawls which were then in use in Egypt, and attempts were soon after made in Paisley and in Edinburgh to imitate them. John Kennedy, formerly a teacher in the town of Paisley, used to assert that the first to engage in the business was his father, to whom, he said, the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood used to send the shawls they received from the East to be imitated. In Edinburgh the trade fell almost entirely into the hands of members of the Society of Friends, whose workmen, however, were chiefly from Paisley.

The first shawls imitated in Paisley were from Egypt and the Levant. The prevailing figure upon them was "a perverse looking, wry-necked sprig, in one colour—generally green—or made up of little bars of various colours, like so many chips of pointed wood built into the required shapeless form. The sprigs, placed at regular distances, filled the centre of the shawl, which was sometimes bordered and sometimes not."¹

¹ "Paisley Shawls," a lecture by Mr. W. Cross, p. 9. What follows is for the most part taken from Mr. Cross's lecture, which contains the best history of this branch of Paisley industry.

Another kind of shawl imitated at this early period of the industry in Paisley was the "damask shawl," so named probably from being made in the ancient city of Damascus. As first made in Paisley it was somewhat expensive. The material was for the most part rich trane silk, for which, at a later period, cotton was substituted.

The "red silk shawl" was also made at this period. Though called the "red silk shawl," the ground of it was often yellow or white. Generally, however, it was red. It was always of solid silk, and almost invariably figured with black.

These shawls were made between 1800 and 1820. Trade in them was briskest at the end of the great war in 1815. Thereafter the trade declined, and when a revival came another class of goods took the market.

Shawls brought from Delhi were also imitated, and were known as "Delhi shawls." Made of silk or cashmere wool, they were figured with floss silk, and in some cases with gold and silver thread. The figures were of different sizes, and of every variety of bright colours.

It was in these Delhi shawls that the pine figure was first introduced. But "what is called the pine in Indian patterns is not an imitation of the rich fruit known by that name, nor of the kind of fir so called; nor is it merely an ideal figure, for it bears a close resemblance to a kind of gourd or pitcher plant indigenous to some parts of India. Its general form is that of an elegantly proportioned vase tapering off at the neck into a gracefully curved beak or proboscis."¹ This figure became a leading feature of shawl patterns, and reigned so paramount over all other figures, that though many attempts were made to supersede it, they invariably failed. Though modified in various ways, it held its own.

What were known as Angola and Chenile shawls were also made. About 1827, various styles and modifications of the harness shawl were introduced; so also were the Zebra and Canton crape shawls. In 1838, the harness figured shawls were superseded for a time by a class of shawls on which conventional representations of natural flowers, chiefly the rose and corn poppy, were embroidered. This was about the last attempt to set aside Indian styles in shawl patterns.

The "Paisley shawl" continued to be made till after the middle of the nineteenth century. Since then it has gone entirely out of fashion in this country, and the manufacture of it in Paisley has entirely ceased. Other shawls continued to be made, such as woollen shawls, bandana or shoulder

¹ Cross, 12. See also M. Blair, *The Paisley Shawl*.

shawls, and travelling plaids, and some are still made, but the trade in them is not great.

Between the years 1750 and 1850, the town of Paisley grew and its trade increased. The prosperity of the town, however, was not uninterrupted. There were times when, owing chiefly to the wars on the Continent, trade was greatly depressed and many of the inhabitants of the burgh had to endure great privations.

The harvests of 1799 and 1800 were bad, food became scarce, and though every effort was made to import foreign grain, many of the people were reduced to a state of great destitution. From 1817 to 1822, the trade of the town was in a very fluctuating and precarious condition. The years 1823 and 1824 were years of prosperity; but the three following years were calamitous not only in Paisley, but also throughout the shire and country. In July, 1827, no fewer than 15,000 persons in Paisley and its neighbourhood were receiving aid from funds raised in almost all parts of the kingdom. The money thus spent is said to have amounted to upwards of £13,000, of which £3,700 was received from the London Manufacturing Committee. In the years 1829, 1831, the weaving trade was specially depressed, and still more in 1837, when 850 weavers, 60 dyers, and many drawboys, winders and others were without employment. The sum of £12,081 was raised by public subscription and spent in relieving them. But worst of all was the condition of industry in 1841-42-43. The sufferings of the operatives during these years is described as dreadful. So great was the depression of trade at this time that out of 112 firms solvent and doing business in July, 1841, 67 failed, and 20 out of 40 individuals described as merchants became insolvent. The liabilities of the firms that went down amounted to upwards of £750,000. The sympathy of the whole country was aroused on behalf of the suffering population, and a sum of no less than £47,187 was raised for the relief of the town. Another period of depression followed in 1847, when 7,000 people were thrown out of employment, and had to depend for food and life upon the generosity of their friends.

The second half of the nineteenth century has been to Paisley a period of prosperity unexampled in its own history, and rarely exceeded on this side of the Atlantic. This has been due for the most part to the development of the cotton thread industry. This industry was introduced into the burgh about the beginning of the nineteenth century, but little came of it until the founding of the two great firms of Messrs. J. & P. Coats and Messrs. Clark & Co. Since then, owing to the enterprise of these firms and largely to the invention of the sewing machine, the industry has assumed immense proportions. In Paisley the entire industry was for some time in the hands of

the two firms mentioned. During the last decade of the nineteenth century they were converted into limited liability companies, the Messrs. J. & P. Coats, as the vendors, receiving for their own property and business the sum of £5,750,000. That was in 1890. Since then the two firms have been amalgamated, and the value of the business has been largely increased. Messrs. Coats, Limited, have large interests in the same industry in America and on the continent of Europe. At the time of writing remunerative work is given to about 10,000 men, women and children, whose power of production, owing to improvements in machinery, is now from three to four times greater than it was some forty years ago.

The other industries of the town are engineering, shipbuilding, the manufacture of starch, corn-flour, soap, tobacco, carpets, paper and muslin, cloth finishing, dyeing, laundry work, distillation of wood, iron and brass founding, and sanitary engineering.

The population of the burgh of Paisley, which in 1801 was 24,324, is given by the census of 1901 at 79,355.

Greenock was erected into a burgh of barony by a charter granted to John Shaw of Greenock by Charles I. in 1635. This charter was ratified by Parliament, November 17, 1641,¹ and in 1670, Charles II. granted a charter Novodamus in favour of Sir John Shaw of Greenock, creating of new the estate of Greenock into a free barony, and declaring the town of Greenock the burgh of the barony. By this charter, full powers were conferred upon Sir John Shaw to choose bailies, clerks, serjeants, and other officers.

Reporting on the place in 1656, Tucker compares it with Newark and says: "Greenocke [is] such another, onely the inhabitants more; but all seamen or fishermen trading for Ireland or the Isles in open boates; at which place there is a mole or peere, where vessells in streese of weather may ride, and shelter themselves before they passe up to Newark."

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Greenock had a population of about 1,000, and a harbour fit only for the reception of fishing boats. Its principal industry at the time was the herring fishing. Before the Union it had some trade with the Baltic, where the herrings of the Clyde were exchanged for timber, and also with France and Spain and other parts of Europe.

¹ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, V. 527. The town stands on the Bay of St. Lawrence, which derived its name from a chapel which stood on the shore dedicated to that saint. The chapel was in a good state of preservation in 1760, and traces of it were discovered about the beginning of the nineteenth century when the foundations were being dug for the house at the west corner of Virginia Street. Two other chapels are said to have existed—one a little below Kilblain, and the other at the extremity of the eastern boundary of the East Parish.—Weir, *Hist. of the Town of Greenock*.

The Union of 1707 gave a great impetus to the trade of Greenock, and may be said to have laid the foundation of its prosperity. As if anticipating the Union and the new fields of commerce thereby to be opened to them, the people of Greenock, in 1700, petitioned the Parliament of Scotland for assistance to build a harbour, but for some reason their prayer was not granted. In the year of the Union the people took the matter into their own hands, and voluntarily assessing themselves, spent £5,600 on their new harbour. The trade then greatly increased, a custom house was established in 1714 as a member of Port-Glasgow,¹ and, in 1740, after paying off the debt upon the harbour, a surplus of £1,500 remained. Application was soon after made to Parliament for powers to erect a harbour on a more extensive scale, and in 1751 an Act was obtained granting to certain trustees, for the term of thirty-one years, a duty of twopence Scots on each pint of ale brewed or sold in the town, to be applied to deepening and repairing the harbour, and to building a new church, Town House, market, etc. Fresh Acts were obtained in connection with the harbour in 1773, 1783, 1789, 1801, 1803, and 1810. Since then other Acts have been obtained for similar purposes.

After the Union the town still continued the herring fishing industry, and in 1791-92 exported some 45,000 barrels, Port-Glasgow during the same year exporting about 9,000, the industry declining there as it increased at Greenock. During the eighteenth century Greenock engaged in the whale fishery. It was first attempted in 1752, when several ships were sent to Greenland. For a time no more ships were sent, but in 1786 the attempt was renewed, and five vessels were despatched. The ventures appear to have been unsuccessful. A ship belonging to Port-Glasgow persevered till 1794 and then ceased. Two ships were sent from Greenock in 1811; but the business was gradually left to the whalers sailing from the east coast.

The trade to which the merchants of Greenock chiefly devoted themselves after the Union, was that with America and the West Indies. Goods were sent across to the Colonies, and the ships returned laden chiefly with tobacco. Greenock had then no ships of her own, and those which were employed were English.

For many years the merchants of the Clyde trading to the American Colonies had to contend with the merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool and Whitehaven, who did all they could to frustrate their endeavours to obtain a share of the American trade; but in 1735, the Clyde merchants,

¹ "Sir John Shaw of Greenock is attempting his interest at the Court to obtain the transfer of the custom house from Port-Glasgow to Greenock. He formerly tried to have this done in 1694, but the Lords of the Treasury, after hearing the city of Glasgow, refused."—John Aird, Provost of Glasgow, to the Earl of Mar, June 10, 1707. *Alloa MSS.*, 398.

after many discouragements, found their Colonial trade reviving, though slowly. From 1750 to the outbreak of the American War of Independence, it increased year by year. In 1775, Glasgow and Greenock imported 57,143 hogsheads of tobacco from Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina. After the declaration of Independence by the American Colonies of Great Britain, the merchants of Greenock continued to trade with the West Indies, extended their connections with the continent of Europe, and developed their coasting trade.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, their principal imports were: rum, cotton, sugar, coffee, and dye-woods from the West Indies; rice, potash, cotton, tobacco and naval stores from the American Colonies; wines and fruit from Spain, Portugal and the Mediterranean; besides large quantities of wheat from Ireland and Canada.

The exports at the same period were manufactured goods from Glasgow and Paisley; coals and fish to America and the West Indies; sugar, coffee, rum, and other West Indian produce to the continent of Europe. A coasting trade was carried on with the west coasts of England and of Scotland, and with Ireland, and by means of the Clyde and Forth Canal with the east coasts of Scotland and of England, as far south as London. In 1725, a ropework was laid out in Greenock, and, not long after, a factory was erected for the making of sail-cloth. Nets for the herring fishing were also extensively made. A ropework in Gourrock, begun in 1772, gave employment, in 1792, to forty-nine people. Ropes and sail-cloth were also made at Port-Glasgow, where there was also a large flax mill. Sugar refining was carried on both at Greenock and at Port-Glasgow. Establishments for cooperage were necessary in consequence of the extensive herring fishery. According to Wilson, "before the American war, all the large vessels belonging to the Clyde were built in America, but, since the peace of 1783, shipbuilding has been carried on with much success in the ports of the Clyde." Wilson wrote in 1811. His statement is somewhat startling, and, in the light of what is going on now, almost amusing. The remaining sentences of his paragraph are worth quoting, if only to suggest a contrast with the present. "At Port-Glasgow," he continues, "there are three ship-builders' yards well stocked with timber, where vessels are built of considerable burthen and of good structure. And at Greenock this important business has, for a considerable time, been most ably conducted, and a suitable capital employed. The largest merchant vessel ever built in Scotland was launched there in 1792. She belonged to a company in that town, who had a contract with Government, for supplying the royal navy with masts from Nova Scotia."¹

¹ *Agriculture of Renfrewshire*, 237.

For the privilege of participating with the royal burghs in foreign trade, Greenock was, in 1835, paying annually the sum of £72, as its share of the cess, but with right of relief against the towns of Paisley and Crawfordsdyke, jointly, for £12 of this sum.¹ These payments, to which all burghs of barony doing any foreign trade were formerly subject, were abolished by the Act of Parliament for the reform of the municipal corporations in Scotland consequent upon the report of the Royal Commission upon them, of 1835.

With the exception of Paisley, no burgh in this shire has participated so largely in the commercial and industrial progress which has characterised the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1801, the population of Greenock was 17,458 ; in 1901, it was 67,645. It still sends out boats to the herring fishing, but its trade and commerce have wonderfully increased. Its chief industry is shipbuilding. It has also large engineering works, engaged in making engines of all kinds, boilers, and tools. The sugar refining industry, which for a time, owing to the prevalence of the bounty system on the Continent, was greatly depressed had almost ceased, is now slowly reviving. The commerce of its port extends to most parts of the world. The port is also one of the chief centres of the summer passenger traffic on the Clyde.

Now forming part of Greenock is the ancient barony of Carlsburn, Carseburn, or Easter Greenock, as it is indifferently called, with its burgh of barony of Crawfordsdyke, or Carlsdyke. The lands of Carlsburn belonged originally to the Crawfords of Kilbirnie, in Ayrshire, by whom they were acquired in the time of Queen Mary. In the early part of the seventeenth century they pertained to John Crawford of Kilbirnie, who was distinguished for his loyalty to Charles I., by whom he was made a baronet in 1641. He died in 1661, and left issue by his second wife, Magdalen, daughter of Lord Carnegie, Anne, married to Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, the first baronet, and Margaret, wife of Patrick Lindsay, second son of John Earl of Crawford. The lands were settled by deed of entail on Margaret, the second daughter, and the heirs male of her body. In 1669, Margaret Crawford, with the consent of her husband, sold the lands of Carseburn, or Easter Greenock, or Grenok-Crawford, to the first Sir John Shaw, proprietor of Wester Greenock, or Grenok-Shaw, to whom, in 1670, a Crown charter was granted, containing a clause by which Easter and Wester Greenock were united into one barony, to be called the burgh of barony of Greenock.

The date at which Crawfordsdyke, or Carlsdyke, was erected into a burgh of barony is uncertain, but there is good reason for believing that it was 1641,

¹ *Conv. R. B.*, iv. 156, 177, 240, 254, 359 ; *Municipal Corporations (Scotland)*, ii. 61.

the year in which Parliament ratified the Charter of Erection granted by Charles I. to John Shaw and Helen Houston, which, as the Act states, was dated at Greenock, June 5, 1635.¹

The earliest account we have of Cartsburn is Hamilton of Wishaw's, who wrote in 1710. "The town," he writes, "is mostly sub-feued to merchants, seamen, or loading-men, who have built very good houses in it, and it is a very thriving place."² "Cartsdyke," he says, "bath a very convenient harbour." Of the merchants of Cartsdyke, or Crawforddsyke, we have heard before. They were complained of by the burgesses of Dumbarton to the Convention of the Royal Burghs for an infringement of the rights of the royal burghs in connection with trade. In 1712, the population of the place is said to have fallen short of 200. Among them were eight merchants, seventeen skippers, twenty-eight sailors, one mathematician, and one bookseller. The mathematician was Thomas Watt; the bookseller was named William M'Ure, and is supposed to have been an ancestor of John M'Ure, the historian of Glasgow. In 1741, the population is given at 719 souls. A charter in connection with the feuing of the burgh lands, of date July 28, 1677, is made out in favour of James Sprewl in Arthurlie, who was one of the Sprewls of Cowdon, and related to John Sprewl, the town clerk of Glasgow, to James Sprewl, the apothecary, of Paisley, and to John Sprewl, commonly known as Bass John. The chief industry of the burgh appears to have been at first the herring fishery. After its union with Greenock, Cartsburn shared in the prosperity of the older burgh.

Two miles west from Greenock stands the town of Gourcock upon the bay of Gourcock, and in the ancient barony of Finnart-Stewart. Originally, the lands of Finnart-Stewart belonged to the Earl of Douglas. In the reign of King James II. they were forfeited and given to Sir Archibald Stewart of Castlemilk, who received a Crown charter erecting Gourcock into a burgh of barony, with the privilege of holding a weekly market upon the Tuesday. Stewart was descended from William Stewart, a younger son of Sir John Stewart of Darnley, in the reign of Robert II. John Stewart of Castlemilk, his son, who lived in the reign of Robert III., witnessed the resignation which William Urrie made of the lands of Fulton to the monks of Paisley, January 9, 1409.³ He was killed at the battle of Verneuil in France, 1424. His successor was the Sir Archibald mentioned above. To him succeeded Alexander Stewart of Castlemilk, who is retoured in his lands in 1500. To him succeeded Archibald, his son, who resigned the lauds of Finnart in favour of his son, Archibald, in 1528. This last Archibald was the father of David Stewart of

¹ Williamson, *Old Cartsburn*, 13; *Old Greenock*, i. 250; *Mun. Corp. (Scot.)*, ii. 57.

² *Account of the Sheriffdom of Renfrew*, 90.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 59.

Castlemilk, and was contemporary with Queen Mary. He was succeeded by his son, Archibald, who, by Janet his wife, daughter of Stewart of Minto, had Sir Archibald, his son and heir, who married Ann, daughter of Robert Lord Semple, by whom he had two sons, Sir Archibald and James, from the latter of whom descended the Stewarts of Torrence. Sir Archibald married a daughter of John Earl of Wigton, and had issue Archibald, who succeeded his grandfather, and was made a baronet by Charles II., the last day of February, 1668. He was succeeded by Sir William, his son and heir, who married Margaret, daughter and sole heiress of John Crawford of Miltoun, whose grandfather, James Crawford, was a younger son of Patrick Crawford of Cartburn.

Hamilton of Wishaw, writing in 1710, describes Gourrock as "a thriving little town upon the shore," with "a very fine and secure harbour for vessels." A century later Robertson, the editor of Crawford, wrote: "This town is pleasantly situated . . . on the west side of the beautiful bay of the same name. The number of inhabitants is about 750, of whom a great proportion are herring and white fishers, there being about 40 small wherries or sloops here manned by three or four men each. There is also a ropework on a pretty large establishment, which employs 50 or 60 people; and about 25 or 30 men are employed in quarrying whinstone for street-paving, which is in great demand, not only in the neighbouring towns of Greenock and Glasgow, but is exported in considerable quantities (by way of ballast) to Liverpool, and even to America. The rest of the people are in the ordinary line of craftsmen, carpenters, smiths, etc.

"The bay of Gourrock is esteemed to be among the best anchoring grounds in the Firth, and is much resorted to by shipping of all sizes, as there is neither bank nor shoal to obstruct the way. The place is much frequented in the bathing season by people from Glasgow, Paisley, and other towns, and more so lately, from the easy conveyance by steam boats."

The town has now a large residential population. The number, according to the census of 1901, was 5,244. In 1900, the valuation of the burgh was £40,217, and in 1905, £46,162. The place is still a favourite summer resort. In the bay a large fleet of yachts, belonging to private owners, finds anchorage during the winter months. Some years ago Gourrock was placed in direct communication with Glasgow by an extension of the Caledonian Railway. This has given a great impetus to the growth of the permanent population, as well as of its summer visitors.

Further west from Greenock is the old burgh of barony of Inverkip, and still further the modern village of Wemyss Bay, which has sprung up during the nineteenth century.

Port-Glasgow owes its existence to the increasing trade of Glasgow in the second half of the seventeenth century, and to the want of a deep water-way up to that city. In January, 1668, the magistrates of Glasgow purchased about twenty-two acres of land adjacent to the burgh of Newark. Afterwards they obtained from the Crown a charter of confirmation, erecting the lands and harbour, which was authorized to be constructed, into a free port. Power was also given to appoint bailies, clerks, and other officers, and to exercise jurisdiction, civil and criminal, competent to a baron, to build a prison, and to levy customs, tolls, and anchorage dues. This charter was ratified by Parliament in 1669. A custom house was established at the new port as early as the year 1694.¹ After the Union, the burgh rapidly increased in size and importance, and extended itself to the adjacent burgh of Newark, which belonged to Mr. Hamilton of Wishaw. In 1774, a contract was entered into between the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow on the one hand, and the feuars of Port-Glasgow and Newark on the other, by which the magistrates of Glasgow made over to the feuars (1) the beer and ale duty of two pennies Scots, or one-sixth of a penny sterling, levied in the town of Port-Glasgow by virtue of former Acts of Parliament in favour of Glasgow, (2) the anchorage or shore dues of the harbour of Port-Glasgow, (3) the use of the prison and court-house, which reverted to the granters in 1815, when a new prison and court-house were built, and (4) a piece of ground for a market-place and slaughter-house. The feuars, on the other hand, bound themselves to relieve the magistrates of Glasgow of the minister's stipend, the other ecclesiastical burdens, the school-master's salary, and certain other payments. It was also provided and agreed to by Mr. Hamilton of Wishaw that Port-Glasgow and Newark should be governed by a magistracy and council, one of whom, viz., the chief or senior magistrate, should be elected by the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow. The feuars were also bound to pave, clean, and light the two burghs, and to bring water to them, to defray the expenses of all which they were to levy a town tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the rental of all occupied buildings, with the exception of those belonging to the city of Glasgow. In 1775, an Act of Parliament was obtained to give effect to this contract. A further Act was obtained in 1803, by which the powers of the Act of 1775 were extended.²

The burgh of Newark is described by Tucker as "a small place, where there are (besides the laird's house of the place) some four or five houses, but before them a pretty good roade, where all vessells doe ride, unlade, and send

¹ *Alloa MSS.*, 398.

² *Mun. Corp. (Scot.)*, iii. 335.

their goods up the river to Glasgowe in small boates ; and at this place there is a wayter constantly attending."

Writing forty years after the foundation of Port-Glasgow, Mr. Hamilton of Wishaw says : " Not long ago, the town of Glasgow purchased from the Laird of Newark [Sir Patrick Maxwell of Newark] some few acres of ground upon the bay of Newark, where they have built ane very fine harbour and some very good houses, both for dwellings and salearadges [cellarages] and warehouses, so as it is now the only place to which all vessels trading to Glasgow comes. And it is now called New Glasgow, and is a place of much trade and resort, especially when the herring fishing falls to be in Clyde, for the river at this place is fyve or six miles broad. This place is so increased with people that they have now built ane church there."

The commerce of the town is described by Mr. Wilson in 1811¹ as similar to that of Greenock, but less extensive. In 1792, it had 125 vessels, partly owned in Glasgow and partly in Port-Glasgow, engaged in its trade, with a tonnage of 12,760. Of these, 91 vessels, with a tonnage of 11,273, were employed in foreign trade, chiefly with America. Eighteen vessels were engaged in the coasting trade, and 16 in the herring fishery. In 1811, 176 vessels, with a tonnage of 31,159, and giving employment to 2,045 seamen, were engaged in the inward foreign trade of the port ; and in the outward, 188 vessels of 30,800 tons burden, and 2,204 men. By this time the coasting trade had begun to fall off, owing to the deepening of the waterway up to Glasgow. There were large warehouses in the town for West India produce, and along the shore, as now, large ponds for the reception of timber. Between 1800 and 1810, the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow spent £15,000 in deepening and cleaning the harbour, and in extending the quays. The tonnage dues were the same as at Greenock, except that vessels engaged in the Irish and coasting trade paid one penny per ton less than at Greenock. The first dry or graving dock in Scotland was built here in 1760 by the Magistrates of Glasgow, and was subsequently sold by them to the Magistrates and Town Council of Port-Glasgow.² The town is now largely engaged in shipbuilding and in the timber trade, and has large engineering works.

In 1801, the population was 3,865 ; in 1901, 16,840.

Pollokshaws, in the parish of Eastwood, was erected into a burgh of barony by a charter from the Crown, dated January 5, 1813. The charter

¹ *Agriculture of Renfresshire*, 217.

² Wilson, 221.

conveys generally "All powers, liberties, privileges, and jurisdictions pertaining and belonging, or which ought to pertain to and belong, to any free and independent burgh of barony which may have been erected in Scotland since the date of the Act of Parliament made in the twentieth year of His Majesty George the Second intituled 'An Act for taking away and abolishing the Heritable Jurisdictions.'" The magistracy was to consist of a provost, baillie, treasurer and six councillors, three being a quorum.

Writing, in 1818, Robertson, Crawford's editor, describes the place as one of the largest villages in the county. Its population in 1811, he says, was 3,048, and at the time he was writing, he supposed it to be not less than 3,500. "It is cheerfully situated," he adds, "by the Water of Cart, which also affords great facility to various branches of manufacture, which are carried on here with great activity and ingenuity, such as bleaching, dyeing, tanning, etc. The greatest source of employment, however, is the cotton manufacture. Much work is also done by the aid of steam machinery, even the weaving of cloth. From 200 to 300 looms are put in motion by one engine alone."

Since Robertson's day the burgh has very largely increased. Though it still retains its autonomy, it is practically a suburb or part of Glasgow. It has a large residential as well as a large working class population. Among the industries carried on in the burgh are cotton weaving, paper making, manufacture of pottery, boilers, engines, muslins of the finer sorts, and bleaching.

The population in 1901 was 11,178. Its yearly value in 1900 was £39,097 9s., and in 1905, £46,642 11s.

Eaglesham was erected into a burgh of barony in 1672. Other burghs of barony enumerated in the county are Mearns, Kilbarchan, Houston, Kilmacolm, and Inverkip. Of the dates of their erection nothing appears to be known. In 1692 most of them are described, along with Paisley, Newark, Carsdyke, Greenock and Gourrock, as in a flourishing condition, and as having a considerable retail trade, "much more, considerable" than the royal burgh of Renfrew.¹ The privileges which all these places must have had in virtue of their charters of erection have long fallen into desuetude; even the fairs have ceased to be held. None of them is reported on by the Commissioners of 1835. Kilmacolm, however, has since grown into a populous place, and Kilbarchan is rapidly following in its steps.

¹ *Conv. R. B.*, iv. 629.

Johnstone, in the Paisley Abbey parish, and Barrhead, partly in the same parish and partly in the parish of Neilston, two villages in the early part of the nineteenth century, are now considerable towns. At both are large works for the manufacture of tools and engines. At Barrhead are also chemical and sanitary engineering works. In 1835, Johnstone had a population of nearly 6,000 inhabitants. At the last census (1901) its population was 10,502. Its rental value in 1900 was £36,518 12s. 11d., and in 1905, £42,229 5s. 9d. The population of Barrhead in 1891 was 7,359, and in 1901, 9,257. The annual rental value of the burgh in 1900 was—in Neilston parish, £26,008 18s. 11d., and in 1905, £32,599 6s. 1d.; in the Abbey (Paisley) parish in 1900, it was £2,971 17s. 6d., and in 1905, £3,917 10s. 6d.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PARISHES.

THE ecclesiastical history of the different parishes in the shire has already been treated of in several of the foregoing chapters. Here it is intended to supplement what has hitherto been said by a number of topographical and other notes upon them.

The original parishes in the shire were Eaglesham, Cathcart, Mearns, Eastwood, Neilston, Paisley, Renfrew, Inchinnan, Erskine, Houston, Killallan, Kilbarchan, Lochwinnoch, Kilmacolm, and Inverkip. Parts of three other parishes are also included within the shire, viz., of Govan, Beith, and Dunlop. For fiscal purposes these are now included, the first in the county of Lanark and the others in the county of Ayr. Here they will not be further noticed. In 1594, Greenock was disjoined from Inverkip, and, in 1694, Port-Glasgow was separated from the parish of Kilmacolm and added to the number of parishes in the shire. Other alterations have since been made in the ecclesiastical arrangements of the county, some of which will be noticed further on.

The parish of *Eaglesham* occupies the south-east corner of the county, and is part of the high ground which forms the southern boundary of the valley of the Clyde. It slopes downward from the south-west, where it has an elevation of about 1,100 feet above the sea. The Earn and the Revoch burn, with several other streams, flow through it to the White Cart, which forms its north-eastern boundary. The parish is about six miles long and five and a half broad, and has an area of 16,003 acres, 338 of which are under water.

The soil reposes entirely upon trap, but varies greatly in quality. Along the banks of the Cart it is light. In the western and higher parts, dry heather and deep peat mosses occur, and an abundance of meadow land. The parish is pastoral rather than agricultural.

The lands of Eaglesham were among the lands bestowed upon Walter Fitz Alan, the first High Steward, by David I., and confirmed to him by Malcolm IV. They were given by Walter, as already remarked, to Robert de Montgomerie. After remaining in the Montgomerie-Eglinton family for upwards of seven hundred years, they were sold, in 1844, for upwards of £200,000, to defray the cost, it is said, of the Eglinton tournament. The purchasers were the brothers Allan and James Gilmour, who divided the lands

into what were known as the Polnoon and Eaglesham estates. The whole lands of Eaglesham are now the property of Allan Gilmour, younger, of Eaglesham.

The barony and lordship of Eaglesham originally comprehended the 100 merkland of Eaglesham. The principal manor house was Polnoon Castle. It stood upon the banks of a rivulet of the same name, which falls into the Cart. Some remains of it are still standing.

The farms of Netherton, Holehall, Holemuir, and Maulonther formerly constituted the property of Auchinhood, a possession of a branch of the Montgomerie family. They are now included in the Eaglesham estate.

The Temple lands of Eaglesham were at one time the property of the Craggs of that ilk. In 1450, James Crag, "Lord of that ilk" granted a charter of them to Richard Donaldson, to be held from the granter for services used and wont. Among the witnesses to the charter were William Machame, vicar of Eaglesham, and William Ker, bailie of Eaglesham. The charter was confirmed at Torphichen, October 26, 1454, by Friar [Frater] Henry of Levynstoun, Knight Commendator of the Hospital of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.¹

The original village of Eaglesham, if its name is of Celtic origin, probably dates back to very early times. The site of the ancient village may still be identified by "Beckie's Tree" and other old trees which grow in the open space between the two streets of the village.

In 1672, Alexander eighth Earl of Eglinton obtained an Act of Parliament authorizing a yearly fair and a weekly market to be held at Eaglesham. In his petition to Parliament, the Earl says that the village is "above six miles distant from any burgh royal or from any other place where markets or fairs are kept, and that lying on the King's highway, it is a most fit and convenient place for keeping markets." The Act grants "ane yeirlic frie fair to be keepit within the Kirktooun of Eglishame upon the twentie fourt day of Aprile yeirlic, with ane weekly mercat to be kept therat upon each Thursday, for buying and selling of all sort of merchandise and other commodities necessar and useful for the country." The Earl and his successors were authorized "to collect, uptake and receive the tolls, customs and dewties belonging to the said yeirlic fair and weeklie mercat." The fair used to be held yearly in the month of May, and another, for which there was no Act of Parliament, was held in August. The market has long been discontinued, and, in place of the fairs, a flower show is held in the month of August, as a sort of substitute for them.

The new village of Eaglesham, which is pleasant and attractive, was

¹ *Eglinton MSS.*, 12.

begun in 1769, by Alexander the tenth Earl of Eglinton. It is in the form of the letter A. The large space in the centre is kept as open ground. The feuars have long leases of 999 years, and pay merely nominal rents. They have certain rights in a large common, now extending to about 150 acres, and claim one-half of the feu-duty for the ground on which a cotton mill formerly stood. Though begun in 1769, the village was not completed till 1780, the Earl's scheme, which was suggested to him while travelling on the Continent, being opposed by some of the old feuars.

Besides farming, weaving was at one time carried on in the parish. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, two cotton spinning mills were erected in the parish, and gave for a time employment to a considerable number of men, women, and children. The only industry now carried on in the district besides farming is silk printing at Hazelden on the borders of Mearns parish.

The population in 1791 was 1,000; in 1801, 1,174; in 1901, 1,075. The annual rental in 1795 was £5,000; in 1812, £7,500; in 1884, £15,000; in 1900, £14,961; in 1905, £14,964.

Robert Pollok, author of *The Course of Time*, was born at Muirhouse in this parish in 1799. At the Hill of Eaglesham was born Professor James Wodrow, father of the historian. At the school of Eaglesham John Law of financial fame was educated. The Wodrows often appear in the Kirk Session Records of the parish, and claimed to be descended from Patrick Wodrow, the last Roman Catholic vicar and the first Protestant reader at Eaglesham.

The parish of *Mearns* lies to the west of the parish of Eaglesham, and to the south of the parish of Eastwood. On the south and south-west it borders on the two Ayrshire parishes of Fenwick and Stewarton, and on the west is bounded by the parish of Neilston. It is about seven miles long by about three and a half broad, and has an area of 10,607 acres.

The surface is remarkably diversified by heights and hollows. The greater part of the parish has a mean elevation of between 500 and 600 feet, but towards the south and east the elevation is greater. The general slope of the ground is towards the north-east. Except towards Eastwood, where the clay surface rests upon boulder-clay superimposed upon sandstone, the soil is of a "light quick kind," formed by the decomposition of the volcanic rocks which underly almost the whole of the parish, and is naturally fertile. The parish is watered by the White Cart and the Earn and other small streams, and contains four small lochs, partly artificial, which contain trout, pike, and perch. The trout are said to have been introduced by Anne Duchess of Hamilton about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The earliest known inhabitants of the parish were the Mæatae.¹ In the distribution of his lands by Walter Fitz Alan, part of the Mearns fell to Rolandus, who took de Mearns for his designation. Subsequently his lands in the parish passed by marriage into the possession of the Maxwells of Caerlaverock.² Herbert de Maxwell, knight, who was proprietor of Mearns and Lower Pollok before 1316, gave the monks of Paisley eight and a half acres and twenty-eight perches of land in the Newton of Mearns, in exchange for a like quantity of the lands of Aldton. The boundaries of the acres in the Newton are described as follows: "As the Kirk burn crosses the high way leading from the church to Newton and so up that burn northwards to a standing stone in a green furrow in the Crosseflatt, and so by that green furrow northwards to another standing stone by a syke leading westward to another standing stone, and from it directly northward to a rill at a well head, and so by the rill to Paddockford, and thence by the highway to the place where the Kirk burn crosses it—excepting the land which belongs to the house of Torphichen." The greater part of the lands in the territory of Aldton, with which the exchange was made, lay "between the syke which bounds the crofts in the east side of Aldton and the syke on the west side of Thornyflat, descending into Kirkhilgat and from thence to the highway; and three acres lay on the east bank of the lake of Aldton, and were called Spraginflat."³ The castle or tower of Mearns was built by Lord Maxwell, who received a licence for the purpose from James II., March, 15, 1449.⁴ It stands more than a mile to the east of the parish church. The castle and lands of Mearns are now the property of Sir Hugh Shaw Stewart of Blackhall, into whose family they passed from Sir George Maxwell of Pollok, who acquired the barony from the Earl of Nithsdale about the year 1648.⁵

North-west from the Newton of Mearns lies the ancient barony of Upper Pollok. The castle, "a handsome old tower," the principal messuage of the barony, was demolished about the end of the seventeenth century by Sir Robert Pollok, who built in its place what Crawford calls "a stately large house of a new model." This building stood till 1880, when it was completely destroyed by fire. Six years later it was rebuilt by Mr. Fergusson Pollok, who in the meantime had succeeded to the property, on the death of his brother, the last baronet. The Polloks are said to be descended from Peter, son of Fulbert, who apparently received the estate from Walter Fitz Alan.⁶

West from the Place of Upper Pollok are the house and lands of Balgray. At one time they belonged to a family of the name of Park, who parted with

¹ See *ante*, p. 13.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 161.

² See *ante*, p. 98.

³ Crawford.

⁵ *Reg. de Pas.*, 102. *Orig. Par.*, i. 98.

⁶ See *ante*, p. 94 ff.

them in 1603 to David Pollok in Lee, whose successor, David Pollok of Balgray, disposed them to Thomas Pollok, a Glasgow merchant, who, it is said, was descended from a brother of the Pollok family in the time of Queen Mary. They are now the property of James C. Fergusson Pollok of Pollok Castle.

South from Balgray lie the lands of Fingalton, an ancient inheritance of the Hamiltons of Preston. The barony of Fingalton was at one time of great extent, and was granted to Sir John Fitz Gilbert de Hamilton of Rosshaven by his nephew, Sir David Hamilton of Cadzow, in 1339. Sir John Fitz Gilbert was the second son of Sir Gilbert de Hamildown, the original founder of the house of Hamilton in Scotland. Sir John was born in 1270 and died before 1345. Besides the barony of Fingalton, he acquired the lands of Ross or Rosshaven in Lanarkshire. His son, Sir John, who succeeded him in 1345, acquired the barony of Preston in East Lothian. Their descendant, Sir William, who was born in 1649, sold all his estates to his brother-in-law in 1681, retired to Holland, and took part in the designs of Monmouth and Argyll, the latter of whom he accompanied in his expedition to Scotland in 1685. Sir Robert Preston, the fifth of that name, was born in 1650, and commanded the Covenanters at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge. He escaped to Holland, but returned at the Revolution. On his death, in 1701, his estates passed to Robert Hamilton of Airdrie.¹ Fingalton is now the property of Mr. Allan Gilmour, younger, of Eaglesham.

The Temple lands of Capelrig, to which reference has already been made,² after being in the possession of the Mures of Caldwell, were, in 1776, acquired by Mr. Robert Barclay of Glasgow. From him they passed to his niece, Mary Anderson Barclay, who married George Brown, merchant in Glasgow, and are now the property of her grandson, Mr. James Barclay Murdoch.

Other proprietors in the parish are:—Sir John Gilmour of Montraive, Mr. A. A. Speirs of Elderslie, Mr. W. Dunlop Hamilton of Greenbank, and Mr. James Pollok of Blackhouse.

The common of Mearns was at one time, as stated above, of considerable extent, and was divided between the villages of Aldton and Newton; but it has since been absorbed, bit by bit, until now only a few scattered pieces of it remain. There are notices of several mills both in Mearns and Pollok, more than one of which was at Aldton of Mearns.³ The Newton of Mearns was erected into a burgh of barony in favour of Lord Maxwell, and had the usual right of holding a weekly market and two annual fairs; but these have long ceased to be held.

¹ Crawford.

² See *ante*, p. 192.

³ *Orig. Par.*, i. 98.

Part of Busby, which forms part of the *quoad sacra* parish of Greenbank, is in the parish. At one time there was a cotton mill and a calico printing establishment here. At Netherplace, there is a bleachfield; and at Hazelden, close to the borders of Eaglesham, is a silk printing work.

In 1881, the population of the parish was 3,965; and in 1901, 3,404. The yearly rental was valued in 1900 at £25,741, and in 1905 at £27,200.

The parish of *Cathcart* formerly included the barony of Dripps, which, like the lands of Polmadie, are now in the county of Lanark. The lands of the barony of Dripps were united *quoad sacra* to the parish of Carmunnock in 1725, while those of Polmadie, which touch the Clyde at a point opposite the Fleshers' Haugh on Glasgow Green, were united in the same way to the parish of Gorbals considerably later, and are now included in the parish of Govan.

The Renfrewshire portion of the ancient parish is a long, narrow slip on the eastern side of the county, about five miles long and about one broad, with an area of nearly 2,697 acres. In the rural parts of the parish, the surface is everywhere diversified with hill and dale, wood and water, and here and there are scenes of romantic beauty, especially along the banks of the Cart, which prattles away between precipitous and woody banks or glides along with a smooth and silent current among the holms. At one time there appear to have been extensive woods and mosses in the district. Such at least is the indication of the names, Aikenhead, Hagginslaw, Woodside, Williamwood, Woodend, Muirend, Bogton, and Moss-side. The soil is, for the most part, alluvial, resting upon a clay bottom, and, where not built upon, is in a high state of cultivation. Cathcart belongs to the great western coalfield of Scotland, and coal, iron, and lime have long been worked here.

The lands of Cathcart were apparently bestowed by Walter Fitz Alan upon Rainaldus, who took de Cathcart for his surname and designation.¹ After remaining in his family for several centuries, they were gradually disposed. On June 3, 1530, John Lord Cathcart sold to Hugh Earl of Eglinton the two merklands of Wodquarter of Langside.² Eleven years later (July 8, 1541), Alan Lord Cathcart received a new charter of the lands and barony of Cathcart, as also of certain lands in Kyle Stewart and in the bailliary of Cunningham.³ In 1543, Alan Lord of Cathcart and Sundrum disposed to Gabriel Semple of Ladymuir and Jonet Spreull, his spouse, the barony, castle, and fortalice of Cathcart, the castle lands, the lands of Langside, Nether Brig-holme, the mains of Cathcart, with a third part of the mill, the mill lands and

¹ See *ante*, p. 28.

² *R. M. S.*, 998.

³ *R. M. S.*, 2397. On the same day he received a grant of the lands and barony of Sundrum (*R. M. S.*, 2398) and of the lands and barony of Dalmellington (*R. M. S.*, 2399).

multures of Cathcart, and the lands of Goldinley.¹ In the same year, the same Alan Lord of Cathcart and Sundrum sold to John Blair of that ilk the nine merklands of Bogton, with the Holm called *lie* Holmheid, part of a holm lying between "a growand tre" and the Water of Cart in the lordship of Cathcart, together with the remaining two-thirds of the mill, mill lands, and multures. The document, which was confirmed by the Queen, March 12, 1545, was executed at Cathcart on Saturday (*die Sabbati*), November 24, 1543.²

The lands of Newlands were at one time in the possession of James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews; so also were other lands in the parish. On July 22, 1527, he sold the five pound lands called *le* Newlandis, the six merk ten shilling lands of Langside, called "Taggartland" and Murlie, in the lordship of Cathcart, to Hugh Earl of Eglinton, Lord of Montgomery, and his wife, Helen Campbell. The disposition was confirmed by the King, at Edinburgh, July 26, 1527.³ A charter of confirmation was obtained for the said lands, among others, from Queen Mary, May 19, 1546.⁴ On October 24, 1562, they passed, by sale, from the Eglintons to the Hamiltons,⁵ but, in the following year, they were again in the possession of the Eglintons.⁶ In 1574, they were sold to James Earl of Morton by John Lord Hamilton, son of the Duke of Chatelherault, along with certain lands in the parish of Eastwood.⁷ Tankerland, Newlands, and the mains of Cathcart are now the property of Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Bart. The other principal proprietors in the parish are:—The Earl of Cathcart, Mr. James Stewart of Williamwood, and Mr. H. Erskine Gordon of Aikenhead,⁸ Clincart, and Bogton.

The castle of Cathcart is now in ruins. Near to it is the Court Knowe from whence Queen Mary watched the battle of Langside.⁹ The once "formidable castle" of the Blairs at Bogton has now disappeared. The same may be said of the ancient dwelling of the Maxwells of Williamwood.

When removing the earth from a quarry near the site of the old castle of Williamwood, about fifty years ago, a little town of forty-two houses, apparently of great antiquity, was discovered below ground. Near the site of these houses, a number of querns—twelve in all—and a grave lined with stone, containing a rude urn filled with ashes, were found.

The Romans appear to have had a camp or post on Camphill. Roman remains have been found in the district, and in 1904 eight bronze-age burials were unearthed at Newlands. One of the urns is exceptionally large, and another is decorated in relief.

¹ *R. M. S.*, 2982.² *R. M. S.*, 3076.³ *R. M. S.*, 482.⁴ *R. M. S.*, 3251.⁵ *R. M. S.*, 1444.⁶ *R. M. S.*, 1674.⁷ *R. M. S.*, 2338.⁸ The lands of Aikenhead were confirmed by Robert II. to John de Maxwell, Knight, and his wife, Isabella de Lyndesay, the King's grand-daughter, in 1373. *R. M. S.*⁹ See *ante*, p. 217.

Weaving, bleaching, paper making, calico printing, and cotton spinning were at one time carried on within the parish as well as farming. The population is now largely residential, and the principal industries are bleaching, engineering, paper making, and the manufacture of furniture.

In 1831 the population of the parish was 2,141; in 1901, 28,358. The valuation in 1900 stood at £50,315, and in 1905 at £75,735. Aikenhead, which for some time was included in the county of Lanark, is now for fiscal purpose included in the county of Renfrew. Its valuation in 1900 was £1,720, and in 1905 £1,564, both of which sums are included in the valuations given for the parish.

The parish of *Eastwood* was apparently made up of the two ancient manors of Nether Pollok and Eastwood, each of which had its own church and formed a separate parish. They were separate in 1265, being separately mentioned in the Transumpt of Pope Clement IV., but when they were united does not appear.

The parish is bounded by the parishes of Cathcart, Mearns, the Abbey parish of Paisley and Govan, and is about four miles long and about three broad, and has an area of a little more than 5,690 acres. On the west side, a large tract of land held to be in the Abbey parish of Paisley projects into, and is almost surrounded by, the parish of Eastwood. From the Records of the Presbytery of Paisley, under date January 24, 1650, it appears that this land was annexed to Eastwood by a decision of the Commissioners for the Plantation of Kirks. The decision, however, has never been acted upon.

The general surface of the parish is undulating, with here and there gently swelling hills and flat lands or valleys, intersected by streams of water, and has on the whole a picturesque appearance. Towards the south the land rises and forms a low range of hills. The general slope of the ground is from the south-east to the north-west. The largest stream in the district is the White Cart. There are also the Auldhouse and the Brock burns. The former comes from the Brother Loch in Mearns. The latter joins the water of Levern at the extremity of the parish. Both of them ultimately find their way into the Cart. In the south, on the higher ground, the soil is thin and rests upon till. Along the burns and on the holms it is rich and fertile.

The lands of Pollok and part of the lands of Mearns were given by Walter Fitz Alan to Peter, son of Fulbert, who took Pollok for his surname, and styled Alan Fitz Walter his *advocatus*.¹ In 1230, Robert de Pollok gave the monks of Paisley twelve merks of the ferm of Pollok for the weal of the soul of Walter

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 98.

Fitz Alan and of Alan, his son, and for the souls of Peter de Pollok and Robert, son of Fulbert, on condition of his being admitted to the fraternity and participation in the merits of the whole Cluniac Order.¹ In 1265, Roger, son of Reginald de Aldhouse, resigned all claim to the lands of Aldhouse, part of the dower (*dos*) of the Church of S. Conval of Pollok, which land he and his father had held in ferm, and which he, fearing the Divine wrath, desired no longer to hold.² John de Aldhouse, Roger's son, in 1284, renounced, in the most solemn manner in the Court of the Justiciar of Lothian at Glasgow,³ any right he had or might have to the said lands. The title of the monks to the lands does not seem, however, to have been without doubt; for in 1361 they were obliged to obtain from the Steward, their hereditary patron, a specific confirmation of their right to them as part of their barony and liberties.⁴ The lands of Nether Pollok passed into the hands of the Maxwells of the barony of Maxwell in the county of Roxburgh, through the marriage of one of their number to the daughter and heiress of Rolland de Mearns.⁵ In 1546, the five merk lands of Auldhouse were feued by the monks of Paisley to John Maxwell, son of John Maxwell, who had held them for a period of twenty years.⁶ On June 2, 1572, the King confirmed to the former two charters by which John, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Abbot of Paisley, conveyed to him the lands of Aldhouse, which he was still occupying, and the church lands of Eastwood of the value of 13s. 4d. old extent.⁷ In 1732, the property passed into the hands of John Maxwell of Blawarthill, who, on the death of Sir John Maxwell, Baronet, of Pollok, became the second Baronet of Nether Pollok.⁸ The family is now represented by Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Bart., M.P., who is the principal proprietor in the parish.

Part of the parish has been incorporated into the city of Glasgow. In the rest of the parish are besides the burgh of Pollokshaws, the villages or districts of Giffnock, Nitshill, Mansewood, Kennishead and Thornliebank.

The parish is to a large extent residential; coal and limestone is worked at Upper Darnley and Arden, coal at Lochinch, coal and fire-clay at Giffnock and Darnley, sandstone at Burnfield, freestone at Giffnock and Braidbarr, and ironstone at Pollok. There are chemical works at Wash Walls, asbestos works at Nitshill, and large print and bleaching works at Thornliebank. The population of the last mentioned place is 2,452. In 1818, it was set down at from 1,200 to 1,500.

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, 378.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 63.

³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 65.

⁴ *Reg. de Pas.*, 66.

⁵ See *ante*, p. 96.

⁶ Rental Book of the Monastery of Paisley.

⁷ *R. M. S.*, 2070.

⁸ Sir John Maxwell was appointed a Privy Councillor in 1696, Lord Commissioner of the Treasury and Exchequer in 1699, and was a Senator of the College of Justice. On April 12, 1682, he was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia, to him and to the heirs male of his body. In 1707, he obtained a new patent of his Baronetcy, extending the dignity to the heirs of entail.—Crawford.

The principal proprietors in the parish are Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Bart., M.P., of Pollok, Mr. John Denholm, The Mains, Giffnock, Mr. W. Dunlop Hamilton, of Greenbank, Newton Mearns, Mr. A. Cameron Corbett, M.P., and Captain James Stewart of Williamswood.

Two of the ministers of the parish were Church historians : Mr. Crawford, whose history, as yet unpublished, is said to be in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh ; and Mr. Wodrow, well known by his *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* during the time of the Covenanters. The late minister of the parish, Mr. George Campbell, also made a contribution to the history of the Church, having published a thin quarto volume entitled, *Notes on the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Parish*. But by far the most accomplished author whom the parish has produced was the late Sir William Stirling Maxwell, Bart., author of *Don John of Austria*, *The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth*, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, *Antwerp Delivered*, and other works.

In 1891, Eastwood (excluding Pollokshaws) had a population of 6,356. In 1901 the population of the parish (exclusive of the portion within the burgh of Glasgow) was 15,361. The valuation in 1901 was £35,936, and in 1905, £39,770.

The parish of *Neilston* formerly included the baronies of Shutterflat and Knockmade. These, though still in Renfrewshire, have for many years been respectively annexed to the parishes of Beith and Dunlop in the county of Ayr.

Neilston is bounded on the east by Eastwood, on the south by Mearns, on the south-west by Stewarton and Dunlop, on the west by Beith and Lochwinnoch, and on the north by the Abbey of Paisley parish. It is about seven miles long by three and a half broad, and has an area of 12,862 acres, 381 of which are under water. The surface is very uneven. On the western side of the parish are the Fereneze hills, which rise to a height of 400 to 500 feet above the level of the surrounding country. The highest hills are the Pad and Corkindalelaw, which attain a height of from 820 to 900 feet above sea level. They are separated by a beautiful valley through which runs the Levern Water.

In the west of the parish is a lovely lake of small extent known as Loch Libo. Another loch in the parish is Long Loch. From Loch Libo issues Lugton Water, which falls into the Garnock near Kilwinning. Besides the Levern, there are the Kirkton, Brock, and Caplaw burns. From the Pad an extensive view may be obtained. In one direction are seen the mountains of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and in another Goatfell and Ben Lomond, and in still another Ailsa Craig and the Irish coast.

The soil, though varied, is nowhere unproductive. In the eastern part of the parish, where the land is comparatively low and flat, it is of a dry loamy nature, occasionally mixed with gravel and resting here and there upon free-stone, but generally upon stiff till. In the middle and higher districts the soil is poorer, but affords excellent pasture.

The lands of Neilston were apparently given to Robert de Croc¹ by Walter Fitz Alan. By Marion de Croc, daughter and heiress of another Robert de Croc, the lands of Crookston, Darnley, and Neilston passed by marriage into the family of the Stewarts. From this marriage came the Stewarts of Darnley, or Crookston, afterwards Earls and Dukes of Lennox. Arthurly was the seat of a family of the name of Stewart, descended from the Darnley family. In 1452, Walter Stewart of Arthurly had a charter from James III. of the lands of Wester Patrick. His daughter married William Cuninghame, a son of Alexander, first Earl of Glencairn, and an ancestor of the Cuninghames of Craighends. Being her father's heir, she carried the lands of Arthurly and Wester Patrick with her into that family. The lands of Glanderston were part of the lordship of Neilston, and were given by Matthew Earl of Lennox, to John Stewart, his brother, in 1507. Afterwards, through the marriage of Lady Janet Stewart with John Mure of Caldwell, who died in 1538, they came into the Caldwell family. John Mure of Caldwell disposed them to his second son, William Mure, in 1554, in whose family² they remained until 1710, when the Mures of Glanderston, on the failure of the elder line, inherited the Caldwell estates, and united the lands of Glanderston to them, after they had been separated one hundred and fifty years. West from Glanderston stands the parish church, and near it the lands of Kirkton. South from the church lie the lands of Neilstonside, part of the lordship of Neilston. They were given in 1552 by John Earl of Lennox to John Maxwell of Stanely. Afterwards, they reverted to the Stewarts, whence, by the marriage of Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Hugh Stewart, they passed to the Wallaces of Elderslie. West from the church is the barony of Syde, an ancient possession of the Montgomeries of Skelmorlie.

Still further west are the lands of Caldwell.³ The old tower, part of the

¹ See *ante*, p. 99.

² William Mure of Glanderston, the second of that name and son of the first, married Jean Hamilton, daughter of Hans Hamilton, vicar of Dunlop, by whom he had two sons and six daughters, three of whom married ministers. Janet married the Rev. John Carstairs, and was the mother of the celebrated Principal Carstairs; Ursula married Ralston of that ilk; Jean, Hamilton of Halleraigs; Margaret married the Rev. Zachariah Boyd, minister of the Barony of Glasgow, and secondly, the Rev. James Durham; Elizabeth married the Rev. Alexander Dunlop, one of the ministers of Paisley, and was mother of William Dunlop, Principal of Glasgow College; Agnes married William Porterfield of Quarrelton.

³ See *ante*, p. 105.

ancient residence, is still standing. The present house of Caldwell was built on a plan prepared by Robert Adam in 1772. The lands of Cowdon originally belonged to the Spruells of Cowdon. They were sold in 1622 to Alexander Cochran of that ilk, and became the patrimony of William Cochran, his son, afterwards Lord Cowdon and Earl of Dundonald.

Besides farming, bleaching and calico printing have been long carried on in the parish. Cotton spinning at one time gave employment to a large number of the inhabitants. The Kirktown of Neilston is now chiefly occupied in bleaching and in the manufacture of thread. Bleaching is also carried on at several other places in the parish. The village of Caldwell is attracting a villa population from Glasgow.

The principal proprietors in the parish are Mr. William Mure of Caldwell, Mr. John Meikle of Lochlibo, Mr. A. A. Speirs of Elderslie, Mr. H. Barclay Dunlop of Arthurlee, and Mr. A. G. Barns Graham of Craigallian.

In 1831, the population was 8,046 ; in 1901, 13,714. The valuation in 1900 was £35,517 ; and in 1905, £41,430.

The parish of *Paisley* down to the year 1736 included the burgh of Paisley. In that year the burgh was disjoined from the Abbey parish and erected into a separate parish.

The Low Church was built in 1738, the High in 1754, and the Middle in 1781 ; and on February 20, 1781, the burghal parish was divided into three, viz. : the Low, High, and Middle. Towards the close of the nineteenth century the Seedhill was disjoined from the Low parish and incorporated in the Abbey parish. For certain purposes, the burgh has recently been re-incorporated into the ancient parish which is known as the parish of Paisley. For ecclesiastical purposes, the burgh has been divided into nine parishes, viz. : the Abbey, Low, High, Middle, Martyrs, North, Gaelic, South, and Greenlaw. In the landward part of the Abbey parish are also the *quoad sacra* parishes of Johnstone, Elderslie, Levern, Cardonald, which includes a portion of Govan parish, Barrhead, in which is included a part of the parish of Neilston, and St. Andrews (Johnstone), which includes a part of the parish of Kilbarchan.

The old Abbey parish is bounded on the north and north-east by the parishes of Renfrew and Govan ; on the south and south-east by those of Eastwood and Neilston ; on the south and south-west by those of Neilston and Lochwinnoch ; and on the west by the parish of Kilbarchan. It is about nine miles long by about five and a half broad, and has an area of 16,179 acres. The surface of the district is beautifully diversified. Here and there it is flat, but here and there again a gentle eminence occurs, sometimes wooded and sometimes cultivated to the summit. To the north of the burgh of

Paisley is a beautiful and highly cultivated plain known as the Laighlands. To the south of the burgh, on the other hand, the ground gradually rises to the Fereneze Hills, Stanely Muir, and the Gleniffer Braes. In the higher parts of the parish the rocks are of volcanic origin, and consist for the most part of greenstone, porphyry, hornblende, and basalt. In the lower parts, sandstone, limestone, coal, ironstone, and shale occur. At Hurler and at Nitshill, sulphates are found in abundance. Near Paisley, and in other places, are beds of fireclay. The sandstone is of a yellowish white, and has been extensively used for building. The soil varies. The richest is found in the Laighlands, to the north of Paisley. In most of the other parts it is good, but grows thinner as the ground rises towards the south.

The lands of Paisley were among the gifts of David I. to Walter Fitz Alan. Out of them the High Steward cut certain lands, with which he endowed the Abbey of Paisley. The rest, with the exception of the lands of Crookston and Levenside, he appears to have kept in his own hands for a time. Afterwards they were gradually disposed.

The lands of Crookston were given by Walter Fitz Alan to Robert de Croc,¹ who had for his principal messuage the castle of Crookston.² From the Crocs they passed by marriage into the family of the Stewarts of Lennox, and shared the vicissitudes of the property of that house.³ The Semples obtained a grant of them in 1548.⁴ In 1710, they belonged to the Duke of Montrose, and in 1757 they were sold partly to the Earl of Glasgow and partly to Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollok.

The lands of Cardonald at one time belonged to John Earl of Lennox, and were given by him to his natural son, Alan Stewart, and his spouse, Marion Semple, in 1487. In the reign of James VI. they became the property of Walter Stewart, Prior of Blantyre, son of Sir John Stewart of Minto, by Margaret, his wife, daughter of James Stewart of Cardonald. Walter Stewart was created Lord Blantyre in 1606. On the death of the late Lord Blantyre, they passed to his nephew, Mr. W. A. Baird of Erskine, in whose possession they now are.

The castle and barony of Hawkhead remained in the possession of the Earls of Glasgow⁵ till towards the end of the nineteenth century, when they were disposed to various purchasers.

The other ancient estates in the parish were the lands of Logan Raiss, Stewart Raiss, Whiteford, Ralston, Blackhall, Knock, Kirkland, Ramfield, Cochran, Easter Cochran or Quarrelton, Elderslie, Fulbar, Stanely. Some

¹ See *ante*, p. 99.

² See *ante*, p. 162.

³ See the section on the parish of Inchinnan.

⁴ *R. M. S.*, iii. 199.

⁵ See *ante*, p. 107.

account of most of the ancient proprietors of these estates will be found in the chapter devoted to the Families of the County. The proprietors of others are mentioned in other parts of the volume, such, for instance, as the Hamiltons of Ferguslie and the Porterfields of Quarrelton.

Of the lands belonging to the Abbey within the parish, a full and particular account has been preserved in the Rental Book of the monastery. During the incumbency of Archbishop Hamilton many of them were disposed; but according to the Rental Book, those still in possession of the monks in 1554 were as follows: Greenlaw, Corsflat, Brablo, Gallohillis over, Gallohillis neder, Lylisland, Toddisholme, Carriagehyll, Rycardbar, Mekylyryggs, Fergusly, Bradyland, Corsbar and Thomasbar, Berschaven, Newton, Duskayth, Candren, Lynceiff, Ruchbank, Neder Thornle, and Knaiffisland.

In 1545, the monks were also drawing the following rentals in and about Paisley: Snawdon, vi l.; Sclaterbank, xl s.; Oxschawsyd, vi l. xiii s. viii d.; The Pryor Croft, viii l. iii s.; The Sedyll and the Welmadow, vi l. x s. "by the chaplain"; The town of Paslay, v l. ix s. viii d.; The Know, ii s.; The Cawsasyd, xvl. ii s. ii d.; The Castelheid, iii l. vi s. viii d.; The Qwarell, xxvi s. x½ d.; The Brwnelandis wyth the bodwin of the ward t. sergiand akyr, iii l. xv s. iv d.; The Oxschawheid, xxxvi s.; The Ward Medow, xxvi s. viii d. and a pound of wax. The feu duties amounted to £61 18s. 7½d. The walk mill was let to Alexander Mossman at a rental of "v merks, and ii stane noppis, to be paid yerly at Sanct Thomas day before ywill" (Yule). In addition to this, the monks drew in feu duties from the town thirty gold crowns for a common pittance given to them by Abbot George Shaw, and confirmed to them in May, 1492, by the Diffinitors of the Order of Clugny.

Most of the parish is now under cultivation; parts of it are devoted to dairy farming.

The industries carried on in the parish are various—mining at Nitshill and Hurlet; tool, engine, and boiler making at Johnstone and other places; bleaching in various parts; cloth finishing and dyeing at Glenfield; sanitary engineering at Hawkhead. There are also carpet works and distilleries in the parish; chemical and oil works at Nitshill; alum works at Hurlet; a large flax mill at Johnstone; and print works at Arkleston.

Near to Stanely Castle is an ancient sculptured stone—a mutilated cross shaft of sandstone, with figures of animals upon it. There are two similar stones in Newton Woods. At Elderslie, the house of the Wallaces is still shown, and the castles of Crookston, Stanely, Blackhall, and Raiss, still stand, though in ruins.

The principal proprietors in the parish are the Duke of Abercorn; the Earl of Home; Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Bart., M.P.; Sir H. H. Smiley,

Bart. ; Mr. A. A. Speirs of Elderslie ; Mr. James Coats, jun., Ferguslie House ; Sir Thomas Glen-Coats, Bart., Ferguslie Park ; Mr. W. A. Baird of Erskine ; Mr. George L. Houstoun of Johnstone Castle ; Mr. James Cowan of Ross Hall ; Sir C. W. Cayzer, Bart., M.P., of Ralston ; and Mr. Geo. Wood Richardson.

The population of the parish, exclusive of the burgh of Paisley, was, in 1901, 20,540. In 1900, the rental valuation of the landward part of the parish was £65,964, and in 1905, £79,294 ; or including part of the burgh of Barrhead and the burgh of Johnstone, it was, in 1900, £95,454, and in 1905, £125,440.

The parish of *Renfrew*, part of which lies on the north side of the Clyde, is bounded on the north by the parishes of East and West Kilpatrick, in the county of Dumbarton ; on the east chiefly by the parish of Govan, in the county of Lanark ; on the south by the Abbey parish of Paisley ; and on the north-west by the Black Cart and Gryfe, which separate it from the parishes of Kilbarchan and Inchinnan. It is about five and a half miles long and two and a half miles broad, and has an area of 4,488 acres.

To the south of the Clyde the district has much the appearance of a perfectly level plain. On the north of the Clyde the surface is much more diversified. The most considerable hill, however, Jordanhill, is not more than a couple of hundred feet above the level of the river. For the most part the soil is alluvial, resting upon extensive beds of sand often interspersed with thin strata of clay, sometimes of moss, and occasionally interrupted by large masses of solid unstratified clay. Coal occurs on both sides of the river, especially on the north.

As already remarked, the Clyde at one time had a channel running close past the burgh of Renfrew. "In the middle of the seventeenth century," writes the author of the chapter on this parish in the *New Statistical Account*, "there were between Point House, opposite Govan, and Erskine Ferry, a distance not exceeding perhaps eight miles, not fewer than eight islands, four of which appear to have been within the parish. The largest of these was called the King's Inch ; it had on it a large castle, once a royal residence, and it now forms the principal domain of Eldersly House. Another, the Buck Inch, or, as it is vulgarly called, the Packman Isle, now forms part of the lands of Scotstoun. A third, called the Sand Inch, still bears the name of 'the Isle,' and is part of the Common near the ferry of Renfrew. A fourth, the Ron or Ren, lay in the mouth of the Gryffe. When the river was divided and broken by so many islands, the different channels were full of banks," and the adjacent lands were often flooded.

The lands of Renfrew were among the gifts which David I. gave to

Walter Fitz Alan, the first of the High Stewards, and were confirmed to him by the charter of Malcolm IV. The castle was built either by David I. or by Walter the High Steward. After the accession of the Stewards to the throne, it was used as a royal residence. Lord Ross of Hawkhead was afterwards appointed Hereditary Constable of it.

Opposite, upon the north side of the Clyde, are the lands of Wester Patrick and Blawarthill, once the property of Walter Stewart of Arthurlie. To the east of them are the lands of Scotstoun, an ancient inheritance of the Montgomeries. Robert Montgomery of Scotstoun was one of the arbiters to whom, in 1488, the Abbot and Convent of Paisley and the Magistrates of Renfrew referred the question of the delimitation of their mutual boundaries. In the reign of Charles I., John Montgomery of Scotstoun, the last of his family, alienated his lands to John Hutcheson. In 1691, they were acquired by William Walkinshaw, who was descended from a younger brother of the family of Walkinshaw of that ilk, in the reign of James VI. North of Scotstoun are the lands of Jordanhill. In the time of Crawford the historian [1710] they were still in the possession of a family of the name of Crawford, who had owned them for upwards of one hundred and thirty years. The family was descended from Captain Thomas Crawford, a grandson of Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, Sheriff of Ayr, and ancestor of the Earl of Loudon. Captain Crawford was taken prisoner at the battle of Pinkie. After his release by the English, he went to France and remained there until Queen Mary returned to Scotland, when he accompanied her, and took an active part in the troubles of the time. In return for his services—particularly for his surprise and capture of Dumbarton Castle, April 2, 1571—he received from James VI. a charter of the lands of Bishop's Meadows, Blackstoun Barns, and the Mills of Partick, with a pension of £200 yearly, payable out of the Priory of St. Andrews.

On the south side of the Clyde are the lands of Abbotsinch, Renfield or Ranfield, Kirkland, Porterfield, Walkinshaw, Wester, Middle and Easter, King's Meadow and the Knock.

On the Kirkland estate, now belonging to Lord Blythswood, is the Argyll Stone, so called because it was at or near it the ill-fated Earl of Argyll was captured in 1685. It is a grey stone marked with reddish veins, which are supposed to have some connection with the Earl's capture.

Near the Knock, a rising ground about half-way between Renfrew and Paisley, was a circular mound surrounded by a moat five feet broad, and known as Kempe Knowe, where a singular combat is said to have taken place. The King of England, it is said, challenged Scotland to furnish a man able to fight a famous champion then in attendance on the English Court. The King of Scotland accepted the challenge, but was for some time unable to find a

man equal to the task, and in his perplexity offered the Inch as a reward to any one who successfully encountered the Englishman. At last Sir John Ross of Hawkhead offered himself, and arrangements were made for the fight on the Knowe. The moat was filled with water, and a large fire kindled upon the mound. Neither party was expected to give quarter. To escape was to meet death by drowning, and to be vanquished was to perish, if not otherwise, by fire. The Englishman was of large stature; Ross was small but remarkably agile and of great strength. He dressed himself in a tight-fitting skin with the smooth side outwards, and in order to make it more slippery, rubbed it well with grease or oil. The Englishman was unable to get a grip of him, and at last held out his hands, inviting Ross to grasp them. The invitation was "palm my arm." This, it is said, was exactly what Ross wanted. He seized the Englishman by the wrists, and by a sudden jerk wrenched his arms out of their sockets, and then made an end of him. Ross now claimed his reward; but the King having repented of his offer to give the Inch and its castle, offered him instead a space of land anywhere else. Ross thanked the King, expressed his satisfaction with the Inch for his present services, and offered to serve for the other piece of land at some other time. Thus, it is said, originated the right of the Hawkhead family to the ancient castle and Inch. Ross was commonly known as "Palm-my-arm." Figures of him and his wife, Marjory Mure, may still be seen in the Parish Church, lying side by side under an arch bearing the superscription *Hic jacet Johēs : Ros miles quōdam : dominus de hawkehede et marjoria uxor sua : orate pro meis, qui obiit.*

Not far from the place where this combat took place, stood Queen Blear-eye's monument, marking the place where it is said she met with her fatal accident, and Robert II., her son, first saw the light.

On the south side of the Knock is a place known as the Butts, supposed to have been the place to which the men of Renfrew were wont to repair in order to practise archery.

The principal proprietors in the parish are the Earl of Home, Lord Blythswood, Mr. A. A. Speirs of Elderslie, Mr. J. W. Gordon Oswald of Scotstoun, and Mr. Parker Smith, M.P., of Jordanhill.

The chief industries are engineering, boiler-making, and shipbuilding; in Scotstoun, besides shipbuilding, are iron works, colour works, and motor car works. There is a distillery at Yoker. Furniture is also made in the parish. At Walkinshaw clayband ironstone is worked.

The population of the parish, exclusive of the burgh of Renfrew, in 1901, was 5,846. In 1900, the valuation was £42,952, and in 1905, £81,955.

The parish of *Inchinnan* is bounded on the north by the river Clyde, on the east and south by the rivers Cart and Gryfe, and on the west by the parishes of Erskine and Houston. Its greatest length is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and its greatest breadth about 2 miles. It has an area of nearly 3,528 acres.

The surface, though generally flat, is here and there diversified by slight elevations, either beautifully wooded or under cultivation. The rivers are the Clyde, the Gryfe, the Black Cart, the White Cart and the Cart. The Gryfe joins the Black Cart in the grounds of Walkinshaw. Their united waters join the White Cart at Inchinnan Bridge, and form the Cart which falls into the Clyde. In the Cart before it joins the Clyde is the small island known as Colin's Isle. The soil consists for the most part of a strong productive clay, but on the banks of the rivers it is a rich loam. In the higher parts of the parish it is gravelly. The underlying strata belong to the carboniferous period, and consist of grey sandstone, shale, and coal. In several places dykes of ironstone occur, sometimes of considerable thickness.

The lands of Inchinnan were among the gifts of Malcolm IV. to Walter Fitz Alan.¹ There were other lands in the parish, some of which, together with the parish church, were given to the Knights Templars by David I. In 1246 two chalders of meal from the rents of his lands in Inchinnan were given by Alexander the High Steward to the monks of Paisley, Thomas Bosco, his steward, being one of the witnesses of the charter.²

During the reign of Robert I., the lands of Barns, Barnhill, Aldlands, Newlands and Glenshinnoch, were given as a "god-bairn gift" by Walter the High Steward to Sir William Hamilton, the ancestor of the Dukes of Hamilton. In 1375 the lands of Barns and Aldlands became the property of Sir Robert Erskine by exchange with David de Hamilton.³

The lands of Crukisfeu, which belonged to Adam of Glasferth, were in 1330 purchased by Sir Alan Stewart,⁴ and in 1361 Sir John Stewart of Darnley, having previously resigned them into the hands of the King, received a charter of the lands of Crukisfeu, Inchinnan, and Perthaykscot, to be held of the granter in chief.⁵

At Lyle, January 30, 1496, Robert Lord Lyle granted a bond of reversion in favour of Matthew Earl of Lennox, Lord Darnley and Inchinnan, of the ten merk lands of the town of Inchinnan, the four merk lands of the park of Inchinnan, the three merk lands of Wrichtland and Rassele, and the three merk lands of Craigton and Flures, for payment of sums amounting to 1,200 merks.⁶ James IV. in 1511 granted a charter of confirmation to

¹ *Reg. de Pas.*, Ap. I., Metcalfe, 1.

² *Reg. de Pas.*, 87.

³ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, XI., vi. 14.

⁴ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 387, 19.

⁵ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 387, 26.

⁶ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 391, 99.

Matthew Lord Darnley, second Earl of Lennox, containing a clause by which, for the special favour he bears towards his cousin, the said Earl, and for the gratuitous services rendered by him, and for the preservation of the castle of Crukisfeu, the manor and place of Inchinnan and other policies within the lordship of Darnley, from the devastation and destruction that might have happened to them during the time the said lands were in ward, he granted and confirmed to him and his heirs male the said castle and fortalice of Crukisfeu, etc., and the said manor and place of Inchinnan with the parks and gardens thereof, the dominical lands of Inchinnan, the lands of Quithill, the town of Inchinnan, Rasshele, Wrichtland, Flures, Gardenarland, etc., with the whole common thereof, extending to a twenty pound land of old extent in fee and heritage on payment of one silver penny yearly when asked for.¹

After the battle of Flodden, when the Earl of Lennox was slain, his estates fell into the hands of the Crown. On the death of Matthew, fourth Earl of Lennox, September 4, 1571, Crukisfeu and Inchinnan, with the rest of his estates, passed to the King as heir male of the Stewarts of Darnley and Lennox, who bestowed them upon his uncle, Charles Stewart, and after his death without issue, upon his uncle, Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, who, on becoming Earl of March, restored them into the hands of the King. They were then granted to Esmé Stewart, Lord D'Aubigny, who was made Duke of Lennox in 1581. On the death of Charles, sixth Duke of Lennox, in 1672, the estates once more reverted to the Crown, and Charles II. was served heir to them at Edinburgh, 1680. The retour of the special service on that occasion specifies the lands of Inchinnan and the patronage of the parish church. The Lennox estates were soon after transferred by Charles to Charles Lennox, his natural son, by whom they were sold in the beginning of the eighteenth century to James, Marquess, afterwards Duke of Montrose. In 1737 such of the Lennox property in the parish of Inchinnan as still remained to the Duke was sold to Archibald Campbell of Blythswood, in whose family it still remains.

Half of the lands of Southbarr were, by a charter dated at Aberdeen, September 16, 1432, granted by Agnes of Chalmers of Berwardiston, with the consent of her husband, William of Chalmers of Fyndoven, to her dearest son and heir, David of Barry, to be held of the Lord of Inchinnan and his heirs in fee and heritage, for rendering for them yearly a chaplet of white roses at Inchinnan at the Feast of S. John the Baptist in name of blench farm, but only if asked.²

¹ *New Statistical Account*, 118.

² *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 388, 45.

The common of Inchinnan appears to have been extensive. In 1505 Sir Robert Erskine claimed on behalf of his tenants of Barns, Barnhill, and Aldlands, the right to pasture their cattle upon it, and on July 22 in that year an arrangement was made whereby fifty-four acres of the common were set apart for them, for which on his infeftment in them, Sir Robert was to pay the Earl of Lennox fifty pounds Scots.¹ Twenty-five years later a dispute arose between Dame Elizabeth Hamilton, Countess Dowager of Lennox, and John Semple of Fullwood as to their respective rights to certain portions of the common known as Schawistoun, Tynkellaris, Maling, and the New Ward. They submitted their case to Mr. Adam Colquhoun, parson of Stobo and Official of Glasgow, William Stirling of Glorat, John Brisbane of Bishopton, and James Freeland of that ilk, who issued their decree arbitral on July 28, 1530.²

The Temple lands in Renfrewshire were acquired in 1637 by Bryce Semple of Cathcart.³ Those of them in the parish of Inchinnan have been distributed amongst various proprietors for some generations.

The lands of Barr were formerly in the possession of the Stewarts of Barscube, who had their mansion or manor-house upon them. The Stewarts of Barscube appear to have been a branch of the Stewarts of Darnley.

The lands of Freeland were formerly the inheritance of the Stewarts of Kilecroy.

No vestige now remains either of the castle of Crukisfeu or of the place of Inchinnan, but among the Lennox MSS. an inventory of the furniture and furnishing in the latter has been preserved, comprising (1) "In the Chapel ij Mess buikis, an image of the Babe Jesus, an image of Our Lady, and a great image, with an image of St. Anne, a little image of 'Ewir bane' (ivory), that stood upon a 'chandlar.' In the chapel chamber a stand-bed, a press, a counter, a buffet stool, and a little chair. In the hall two boards, furnished with forms, a great counter, a hart's horn, a board with two chests that stood before the fire, etc. (2) In the other chalmers (chambers), the furnishings consist chiefly of beds, presses, counters, and chests. The inventory is endorsed 'The Inventur of the graithe in Inchinane, with the auld rotten papistrie thairin.'⁴ The date of the document is about 1570. The place, as we have seen, had sometimes the honour of being visited by Royalty. "A very singular circumstance," writes Robertson,⁵ "is connected with the ministers of this parish *ex officio*. They have claimed, as undoubted chaplains of the altarges and altars, commonly called 'Our Lady's Altar' founded, and of old

¹ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 392, 108.

² *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 393, 143-5.

³ Douglas, *Baronage*, 468.

⁴ *Com. Hist. MSS.*, iii. 394, 168.

⁵ Crawford, p. 385.

situated in the kirk and parish of Inchinnan, to be undoubted superiors of the land called Lady-acre; have granted charters, have received feu duty and still receive it. They are, perhaps, the only Presbyterian clergymen that have such an office in the Christian world." The present minister of the parish continues to be the superior of the Lady Acre and to enjoy its revenue.

The ferry of Inchinnan, which has been mentioned so often in connection with King James IV., together with the ferry-boat and the lands belonging to the ferry, was the property of the Stewarts of Darnley. By a charter, dated at Crookston, July 5, 1497, the ferry-boat of Inchinnan and all the lands pertaining and of old custom belonging to that boat, lying in the lordship of Inchinnan, on the east side of the church of S. Conval of Inchinnan, below the waters of Gryfe and Cart and the granter's lands on the north, also his lands and the lands of the vicar's mortification on the west and east parts, "cum garbis congelimis," and teind sheaves and other fruits, etc., within the parishes of Inverkip, Kilmacollm, Killallan, Houston, Erskine, and Inchinnan, were granted by Matthew Stewart Earl of Lennox, etc., to Thomas Stewart of Barscube for a yearly rental of 26s. Scots.¹ On the same day a precept in terms of this charter was addressed by the Earl to John Whiteford of Paisley, James Stewart of Inchinnan, Robyne Caveris and James Stewart of the Orchard, as bailies, for infesting Stewart of Barscube in the ferry-boat and others.² Sasine was given by John Whiteford, in the presence of and at the special command of the Earl, on the following day, July 6, 1497, on the ground of the lands, at the church of Inchinnan.³ On February 3, 1636, William Stewart obtained a charter from the commissioners of Marie, Duchess of Lennox and Richmond, appointed for managing the affairs of her son, Esmé, Duke of Lennox, confirming a charter of alienation granted by Thomas Stewart, fiar of Barscube, at the ferry of Inchinnan, of the ferry-boat of Inchinnan ferry thereof, and all the lands and rights thereto belonging, as in the first of the above charters. A note appended to this confirmation states: "The register money of this charter is quitted to William Stewart, he having given oath and promise to ferry over all strangers free upon the Sabbath day, but specially James Bell, Colonel Henry Sinclair, and George Maxwell."⁴ Later on, the Episcopal clergy of the county, it will be remembered, objected to the use of the ferry on Sundays. In May, 1663, a precept of *clare constat* was granted by the Earls of Middleton and Glencairn and others, as commissioners for the Duke of Lennox, for infesting Thomas Stewart as heir of his late father, William Stewart, at the ferry of Inchinnan, in the

¹ Laing, No. 232.² Laing, No. 233.³ Laing, No. 234.⁴ Laing, No. 2478.

ferry-boat and ferry there, with the lands belonging to it.¹ A field in the parish is still known as the Ferrycroft.

The principal proprietor in the parish is Lord Blythswood.

The population of the parish in 1901 was 574. The valuation in 1900 was £6,322, and in 1905 £6,432.

The parish of *Erskine* is bounded on the north by the river Clyde; on the west by the parish of Kilmacollm; on the south by the united parishes of Houston and Killallan and the parish of Kilmacollm; and on the east by the parish of Inchinnan. It has an extreme length of about eight and a half miles, is from two to three miles broad, and has an area of 9,092 acres.

The parish is traversed throughout its whole length, in the centre, by a ridge of hilly ground, from which it shelves rapidly towards the north and more gently towards the south. From Erskine House westward along the banks of the Clyde to the West Ferry, opposite Dumbarton rock, is a fairly wide expanse of low-lying alluvial land. At the west end of the parish the ground rises more rapidly and the alluvial plain is much narrower. For the most part the soil is light, friable, and damp, resting on till or hard stony clay. In many places the diluvium is about six feet deep, and consists for the most part of loose gravel, though here and there extensive beds of clay occur. It is interspersed with huge boulders of granite and graywacke, which appear to have been brought down by the ice from Argyllshire. In the south-eastern part of the parish the strata belong to the carboniferous period. Towards the west, porphyry and basalt occur.

The barony of Erskine belonged in the thirteenth century to the family of Erskine, who retained possession of it down to the year 1638, when it was alienated by John Earl of Marr to Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston,² one of the senators of the College of Justice. In 1703 the lands were sold by William Hamilton of Orbiston to Walter Lord Blantyre. They are now the property of Mr. W. A. Baird of Erskine, grandson of the late Lord Blantyre.

The lands of Bargarran, after being in the possession of the Shaws of Bargarran—who were descended from a younger brother of the family of Sauchie—for upwards of three hundred years, were acquired in 1772 by Mr. Glen, by whose family they were sold in 1812 to Lord Blantyre, and are now part of the Erskine estates.

The lands of Bishopton formerly belonged to the Brisbanes of Bishopton. About the beginning of the eighteenth century they were alienated, along with the lands of Wester Roslin, by John Brisbane, who, however, retained

¹ Laing, No. 2568.

² Douglas, *Baronage*, 464.

the superiority, to John Walkinshaw of that ilk, as also the lands of Drum, Kirkland, and Glenshinnoch. Walkinshaw subsequently received a charter of novodamus of these lands from the Crown. Bishopton was afterwards sold to Hugh Dunlop, whose daughter and heiress, Janet, carried the lands with her into the Semple family on her marriage to John, twelfth Lord Semple. From the Semples they were acquired by Sir John Maxwell of Pollok. Subsequently they were purchased by Lord Blantyre, and now form part of the Erskine estates.

In the reign of James IV., William Park of that ilk, the last of his race, left the lands of Park to his three daughters, among whom his estate was divided. The lands of Park went to Christian, the eldest, who married Robert Cunninghame of Achinharvie, by whom she had a daughter, Janet Cunninghame, heiress of Park, who married George Houstoun. The lands afterwards became the property of Cuninghame of Craighends. In 1801 they were acquired by John King of Millbank, and formed part of the estate of Millbank and Drums. Millbank is now in the possession of Mr. John A. Holms; the Park of Erskine is the property of Mr. W. T. Lithgow.

The lands of Dargavel belonged originally to the Lennox family, and were given by John Earl of Lennox, in 1522, to Patrick Maxwell of Newark, Marion Crawford, his spouse, and John Maxwell, his eldest son, in fee. To him succeeded James Maxwell of Dargavel, his son, and to him Patrick, his son, who was slain at Lockerby in the feud between the Maxwells and Johnstones, in 1593. He was succeeded by John, who married Margaret, daughter of James Wallace of Johnstone. John, his son and successor, married Jean, daughter of William Cuninghame of Craighends. The property of the Maxwells of Dargavel at one time included the lands of Fulbar, an ancient possession of the Halls of Fulbar, who had a charter of the said lands from James the Steward of Scotland (1263-1309). They were sold in 1746 to Mr. Speirs of Elderslie, in whose family they are now. John Maxwell entailed the estate of Dargavel, and, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother, William Maxwell of Freeland, who dying unmarried, the estate devolved upon John Hall, second son of Robert Hall of Fulbar, who, in terms of the entail, took the name and designation of John Maxwell of Dargavel. Dargavel is now the property of Captain T. E. Hall Maxwell, R.N. Fulwood is the property of the Earl of Home.

The lands of Craigton were formerly owned by the Patersons of Craigton. Those of Drums, which in the beginning of the nineteenth century belonged to James King of Drums, now belong to Mr. W. T. Lithgow of Drums House. Other proprietors in the parish are the Earl of Home, Mr. David Cross

of Ingliston, Mr. William Houstoun of Rossland, and Mr. George Jardine Kidston.

There are two villages in the parish—Bishopton and Langbank. There is also a small village near the railway station. The chief industry is agriculture.

The East and West Ferries, to and from Kilpatrick and Dumbarton, were formerly much in use.

The population of the parish in 1901 was 1,519. The valuation in 1900 was £19,726, and in 1905 £19,283.

The parishes of *Houston* and *Killallan* were united in 1760.

The united parish is bounded on the west by the parish of Kilmacolm; on the south by the parish of Kilbarchan; and on the north and east by the parish of Erskine. It is about six miles long and five broad, and has an area of 7,644 acres.

The only considerable river in the parish is the Gryfe, which rises in the high lands on the border of the shire, in the parish of Kilmacolm. The main streams by which it is fed unite near the old castle of Duchal, after which it enters the low country at Fulwood.

The surface of the parish varies. Towards the east it is flattest and most fertile. Towards the west the surface rises, and is more irregular. In the highest parts granite prevails; in the lower, sandstone and limestone occur. The extensive mosses which at one time covered a large part of the old parish of Killallan are now rapidly being reclaimed. Here and there are large plantations.

During the reign of Malcolm IV., Hugh de Padinan received from Baldwin de Bigres, Sheriff of Lanark, a grant of the lands of Kilpeter, which afterwards came to be known as the barony of Houston or Hugh's Town. The barony remained in the hands of the Houstouns down to about the year 1740, when it was alienated by them, after possessing it for upwards of five hundred years, to Sir John Shaw of Greenock. From the Shaws it passed to Sir James Campbell of Jamaica, and by his heir to Governor Macrae, by whose representative it was sold in the year 1782 to Mr. Archibald Speirs of Elderslie, in whose family it now remains.

The house and barony of Barrochan belonged to the ancient family of the Flemings of Barrochan. After remaining in the family for upwards of six hundred years, part of the lands were in 1818 acquired by Mr. Archibald Speirs of Elderslie. The remainder were still in the family of their ancient owners in 1836. These have since been acquired by Sir Charles Bine Renshaw, Bart., M.P. Part of the ancient mansion still remains.

The lands of Fulwood belonged anciently to the Flemings, Earls of Wigton.¹ In the reign of Robert II., they belonged to one of the old families of the Semples. In 1452 William Semple of Fulwood witnessed the donation of Crukatshot by William Lord Lyle to the monks of Paisley.² John Semple of Fulwood was one of the arbiters chosen by Abbot George Shaw and the magistrates of Renfrew to settle the boundaries of their respective properties.³ The family failed in the person of John Semple of Fulwood, who about the year 1679 alienated the lands of Fulwood to John Porterfield of that ilk, by whom they were given in patrimony to Alexander Porterfield, his second son. The Porterfields sold the lands of Fulwood to Mr. Archibald Speirs of Elderslie in 1774, with whose family they now are.

The lands of Blackburn also belonged to an ancient family of Semples. For a time they were in the possession of a branch of the Semples of Fulwood. These also were acquired by Mr. Speirs of Elderslie.

The lands of Boghall belonged to one of the old families of the name of Fleming, descended from a younger son of the Flemings of Biggar. In 1581 they passed to John Lord Fleming, as the heir of John Fleming of Boghall. In 1710 they were the property of Lord Dundonald. Subsequently they passed into the possession of Boyd Alexander of Southbarr. The woodland of Craigends and other properties of Mr. J. C. Cuninghame of Craigends are in this parish.

Formerly cotton mills and bleachfields gave employment to a large number of people in the parish. The principal industry now is agriculture. At Houston, an ancient burgh of barony, the market cross of which, bearing the date 1713, still remains, a number of women are employed in embroidery, an industry formerly carried on in the parish, and recently revived by Lady Ann Speirs. Part of the *quoad sacra* parish of Bridge of Weir is in the parish of Houston.

The population of the united parishes in 1901 was 2,041. The valuation is set down at £14,876 in 1900, and in 1905 at £14,839.

The parish of *Kilbarchan*, which lies in the very centre of the shire, and is of the shape of an isosceles triangle with its apex turned towards the east, is bounded by the parish of Lochwinnoch on the west and south-west; by the Abbey of Paisley parish, on the south and south-east; by the parish of Renfrew on the east; by those of Inchinnan and Erskine, on the north-east; by that of Houston, on the north; and by that of Kilmacollm, on the north-west. The shortest side of the parish is the western. At the apex of the triangle

¹ *Crawford*.² *Reg. de Pas.*, 250.³ *Reg. de Pas.*, 406.

the Black Cart and the Gryfe meet, the former flowing along the south-east side of the parish and the latter along the north side.

The parish is about seven miles long, and has an average breadth of about two miles. It has an area of 9,098 acres.

After the rivers already mentioned, the principal stream in the parish is the Locher, a tributary of the Gryfe. In the eastern part of the parish the surface is generally level; in the western, towards the parishes of Lochwinnoch and Kilmacollm, it is more varied, being sometimes bold and striking, well wooded and picturesque. In the lower parts of the parish the soil is chiefly alluvial and fertile; in the higher parts it is gravelly and light. The rocks in the western or higher parts of the parish are of volcanic origin, consisting for the most part of greenstone and porphyry, and here and there of basalt. At the old quarries at Springgrove and on the Barr hill, the basalt rests upon sandstone and coal. Throughout this area tuff occurs. In the lower part of the parish, borings show the following in descending order—boulder clay, sandstone, dark blaes, blue fakes, black fakes and coal, dark fakes, soft brown sandstone, grey fakes and coal, grey fakes, white sandstone. Borings at Blackstone, Middleton, Selvieland, and Linwood, gave from fourteen to twenty fathoms of mud, sandy clays, brown clays, blue clays and till—all the result of glacial action.¹ Sandstone, limestone, coal, iron, and shale, have been from time to time worked in the parish.

Formerly there were three baronies in the parish and one burgh of barony—Kilbarchan.

The lands of Craighends have been in the possession of the Cuninghames of Craighends for over four hundred years. The first of the family was William Cuninghame (1479-1520), who received the lands from his father, Alexander, first Earl of Glencairn. The present representative of the family is Mr. John Charles Cuninghame of Craighends, the thirteenth from the first laird. Reckoning backwards to Warnealdus, from whom the Cuninghames draw their descent, he represents the twenty-seventh generation.

The lands and barony of Auchinames continued in the possession of the Crawfurds of Auchinames for about four hundred years. The first of the family was Sir Reginald Crawford of Crosbie, second son of Sir Hugh Crawford, Baron of Loudon and Sheriff of Ayr. For his services at Bannockburn he was rewarded by Robert I. with a part of the barony, and with the privilege of adding to his shield two lances *in saltire*. He died about 1358. The family is now represented by Hugh Ronald George Crawford of Auchinames. The barony includes the following: Auchinames,

¹ MacKenzie, *History of Kilbarchan*, chapter i., where the geology of the parish is minutely described.

Bankhead, Rabston and Glentyan Hill, Glentyan, Houston's property, Minister's Park, Honeyman's property, Nebannoy, Kibbleston, Craighton, Craig's Plantation, Cartside, Wardend, Huthead, Langside, Callochant, North and South Overton, Gladstone, Burntshields Glebe and Mossfoul, Dampton, and Passinglinn.

The lands of Bar in Kilbarchan, Brandiscroft, Weitlands, Harris-pennaldis, Bordlands, and Thirdpart of Auchinames, anciently formed part of the barony of Craiginfeoch, belonging to the Semples of Elliotstoun.¹ They were incorporated into the barony by a charter granted to William Lord Semple by James V., March 17, 1539-40.

The lands of Ranfurly were anciently the property of the Knoxes of Ranfurly. The first of them, about whom there is anything recorded, was John Knokkis, who, in 1440, granted to James, son of John Crawford of Giffartlands, the lands of Barbethie in the lordship of Ranferlie and barony of Renfrew. John, his heir, who was styled "of Craiganys," granted a disposition in favour of his son, Uchtred, of the twenty merk land of Ranfurly and the one hundred shilling land of Grifis Castle, reserving to himself a liferent, and for his wife, if she survived him, her tierce. For Ranfurly, the *reddendo* was ward and relief and suit at the Court of Renfrew, and for Gryfe Castle, a red rose at the feast of St. John the Baptist. John, the seventh in descent, obtained from his grandfather a conveyance of Ranfurly-Knox, Gryfe Castle, and Nether Craigends. It was this John who occasioned a tumult in the church at Kilbarchan and was accused of slaying his uncle, and who, before he had cleared himself of that scandal, was ordered by the Presbytery to attend the communion. In 1633, Nether Craigends was sold to William Cuninghame of Craigends. Two years later, Ranfurly and Gryfe Castle were sold to Lord Cochran, afterwards Earl of Dundonald, from whom they were shortly afterwards acquired by the family of Aikenhead.

After the Stewards, the lands of Selvinland appear to have been first owned by Patrick de Selvinland. Crawford says that he saw a charter granted by James the High Steward of Scotland, grandfather of Robert II., *Stephano filio Nicolai de terra quae data fuit Patricio de Selvinland juxta burgum de Renfrew.*² Who this Patrick was does not appear to be known. As little is known of Stephen, son of Nicolas. James the Steward died in 1309, and between that and 1320 Gilbert, son of Uchtred Knox, who may have belonged to the Knoxes of Ranfurly, received a charter of the land called "Servingland" from Walter Steward of Scotland, father of Robert II., who died in 1326. After remaining in the hands of the Knoxes of Selvinland for

¹ R. M. S. (1513-1546), 2,124, 2,991.

² Robertson's Ed., 102.

several generations, the lands were sold by Alexander Knox (1624-1627) to the Brisbanes of Bishopton, who held them for nearly four hundred years. In 1810, they were the property of William Napier, Esq. They are now the property of Mr. R. T. N. Speirs of Culdees Castle, Perthshire.

The lands of Johnstone were for several ages owned by a family of the surname of Wallace, who were descended from the Elderslie branch of the family, through Thomas, a younger son of John Wallace of Elderslie, in the reign of Robert III. He obtained the lands of Johnstone by marriage with an heiress, who was of the surname of Nisbet. The family failed in the person of William Wallace of Johnstone in the reign of Charles I. The lands were acquired by Sir Ludovic Houstoun of that ilk, and became the patrimony of George Houstoun, his second son. In 1733, George Houstoun sold the lands of Johnstone to James Milliken, but reserved the name of Johnstone, by which his other property, the Old Place of Quarrelton or Easter Cochran Tower, came to be designated. James Milliken died without male issue, and the lands passed by the marriage of his daughter, Jean, to Colonel William Napier of Culcreuch in Stirlingshire. They are now known as Milliken Park.

The lands of Blackstone formerly belonged to the Abbey of Paisley. Upon them was that Grange of the Abbey, to which Abbot George Shaw retired after his resignation of the abbacy, and where he spent the remaining days of his life. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the lands of Blackstone were the possession of a family of the surname of Maxwell. Catherine, the heiress of John Maxwell of Blackstone, married Alexander Napier, who was descended from Adam, the sixth son of John Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms, and thus by his marriage became the owner of the said lands. His second son, Alexander, who succeeded his elder brother, John, pulled down the old grange, which is said to have been built by Abbot George Shaw, and was in part destroyed by fire in 1730, and built the existing house. During the rebellion he made himself conspicuous as commander of a party of militia, in consequence of which a body of soldiers from the army of Prince Charles in Glasgow paid him a visit, and plundered his house. In 1843, William Napier of Blackstone sold the house and lands of Blackstone to Thomas, brother of Robert Speir of Burnbrae and Culdees.

The lands of Burntshields, which lie to the south of the old castle of Ranfurly, were formerly the possession of Bruntschels of that ilk. According to Crawford,¹ John Bruntschels, the last of his race, resigned them in favour of William Lord Semple in 1547. In 1560 Robert Lord Semple gave them to

¹ *Hist.*, 96.

Andrew Semple, his second son by Isobel Hamilton, daughter of Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar. Andrew Semple was the first of the Semples of Bruntschelles. Since the failure of his family, the lands have been divided into many different parcels.

The lands of Waterston, which lie near those of Bruntschells, were anciently the property of the Waterstons of that ilk. In 1384, William Waterston of that ilk disposed them to Sir William Cunningham of Kilmaurs; and in 1538, William, Master of Glencairn, gave them to Hugh Cunningham, his son, from whom descended the Cunninghams of Carlung. In 1810, they formed part of the estates of the Napiers of Milliken.

About the beginning of the eighteenth century, the village of Kilbarchan was erected into a free burgh of barony in favour of William Cuninghame, then of Craighends. In the same parish are the village of Linwood and part of the village of Bridge of Weir. Both owe their existence chiefly to the erection of cotton and flax mills about the beginning of the nineteenth century. In both places the mills have been long closed. Linwood is now chiefly inhabited by miners and paper makers. Bridge of Weir is for the most part used as a place of residence by people in business in Glasgow.

At the beginning of the last century, the burgh and parish of Kilbarchan were the scenes of thriving industries. The chief of them were cotton and flax spinning, weaving, and bleaching. Most of these industries are now almost entirely discontinued, and there are only about a hundred and eighty looms employed in the village. At present farming may be said to be the principal industry, though a number of the inhabitants find employment in Johnstone, Paisley, and Glasgow. At Locher are calico printing works and a paper mill.

On the banks of S. Bride's burn is a remarkable stone known as Clochoderick. Upon Barrhill, to the east of the village of Kilbarchan, are the remains of what is supposed to have been a Danish camp. According to Chalmers it was a Celtic stronghold. According to another legend it was once defended by Sir William Wallace, who, it is said, sat upon a pinnacle called Wallace's Chair, and enticed the English into the bog at the bottom, where they perished.

The most notable individual whom Kilbarchan produced in ancient times was Habbie or Robert Simpson. He was a contemporary of Shakespeare, and though he held the humble office of Town-piper, he managed to make himself famous by his roguery as well as by his skill.

The population of the parish in 1901 was 7,226; and the valuation was, in 1900, £46,318, and in 1905, £48,679.

The parish of *Lochwinnoch*, which, with one exception, is the largest parish in the county, is bounded on the south by Beith; on the west, by Kilbirnie and Kilmacollm; on the north, by Kilbarchan; and on the east, by the Abbey parish of Paisley and Neilston. From east to west the parish is about twelve miles long, and from north to south about six miles broad. It has an area of nearly 19,878 acres, of which 371 are water.

The surface of the parish is very irregular and hilly. The highest hills in the shire are situated in the western part of the parish. These, together with the lochs and the peculiar volcanic formation on Misty Law, have been noticed in the Introductory Chapter. Robertson's description of the parish is singularly apt and is still worth quoting, though written as far back as 1810. "Lochwinnoch," he says, "is greatly diversified in its general aspect. Part of it consists of high and bleak hills in the back ground; part of it is a low winding valley, in general of a very fertile soil; and in the heart of it is the largest loch or lake in the county. This valley, with its shelving country towards it on both sides, contains nearly the whole population. It is also ornamented with plantations, whilst the houses of its numerous small proprietors are each set down under the shade of a few old trees in the midst of well-cultivated spots of ground. The whole strath has a warm and cheerful appearance. It is the very vale of Tempe of Renfrewshire." Some of the beauty which Robertson saw in the valley is now gone. Two lines of railway have been driven through it destroying its original aspect, and giving to the place a very different appearance.

The most remarkable geological feature in the parish are the dykes, etc., on Misty Law already referred to. The rocks are for the most part of volcanic origin; but besides innumerable varieties of greenstone, basalt, amygdaloid, porphyry, etc., claystone and freestone are found overlying coal. Limestone, ironstone, and shale also occur.

"Upon the brink of the Loch" [Castle Semple Loch], writes Crawford, "stands the Castle of Semple, the principal messuage of a fair lordship of the same denomination, which consists of a large court, part of which seems to be a very ancient building, adorned with pleasant orchards and gardens."¹

The original possession of the Semples within the parish appears to have been Eliotstoun in the district of Howwood, where is the ruin of their ancient castle, and from which they took their designation of Eliotstoun. Sir William Semple had a charter of the baronies of Eliotstoun and Castleton upon his own resignation, dated October 4, 1474. In 1505, Sir John, first Lord Semple, had a charter of the lands of Eliotstoun, Castleton, Shutterflat, Haris-pennald,

¹ *Hist.*, 75.

Bar in Kilbarchan, Whitelands, Bordland, Craigenfeoch, and Fereneze, in the shire of Renfrew, and of other lands in the county of Ayr. In 1539-40, William Lord Semple had a charter from James V. erecting the lands of Fereneze, Raiflat, Bar in Kilbarchane, Brandiscroft, Weitlandis, Haris-pennaldis, Bordlandis, Mechelstoun, and Craginfeach, the twenty pound land old extent of Auchinfoyr, the ten merk land old extent of Thirdpart of Auchinames, together with lands in the bailyary of Cunningham into the free barony of Craginfeauch.¹ In the same year and on the same day (March 17, 1539-40), the same William Lord Semple had another charter from the King erecting the lands of Castleton, the lands of Eliotstoun, Schutirflat, Nethir-Pennell, Hairstontoun, the lands of Lavane, Bargane, and Lecheland, with other lands in the county of Lanark and in the county of Ayr, into the free barony of Sympill, ordering the Castle of Semple to be the principal messuage thereof.² These large estates, many of which are in the parish of Lochwinnoch, passed by purchase in 1727 from Hugh, eleventh Lord Semple, to Colonel William MacDowall, a younger son of MacDowall of Garthland, in the county of Wigton, and a descendant of Fergus MacDowall Lord of Galloway. In this family the estates remained till 1808, when they were in part disposed to various purchasers. The principal part of the property, including the mansion and grounds of Castle Semple, was acquired by Mr. John Harvey, whose descendant, Mr. J. W. Shand Harvey of Castle Semple, is still the proprietor. Another portion of the MacDowall estate, including the land and house of Barr, went to Mr. James Adam. Garthland, Newton of Barr, and other parts of the ancient property of the MacDowalls in this parish, are in the possession of Mr. H. MacDowall of Garthland and Carruth, the representative of the family.

The lands of Milbank, near Castle Semple, belonged to James Semple, son of Andrew, Master of Semple. They were sold by Robert Semple of Milbank, who died in 1663. Afterwards they passed to a family of the name of Orr. They are now the property of Mr. H. MacDowall.

The lands of Balgreen belonged to Margaret Atkine, as her father's heiress. She married a natural son of the family of Semple. After being in the family of the Semples for some time, the lands she inherited passed into the possession of the MacDowalls. Subsequently they were acquired by William Fulton.

The lands of Beltrees, which lie opposite to Castle Semple on the south of the loch, were granted, in 1477, by James III. to William Stewart and Alison Kennedy, his spouse. On October 4, 1545, William Lord Semple received a

¹ R. M. S., 2,124.

² R. M. S., 2,125.

grant of the five pound lands of old extent of Bultreis, which John Stewart de Bultreis personally resigned.¹ Afterwards, they became the patrimony of John Semple, son of Robert Lord Semple, by his second wife, Elizabeth Carlile, a daughter of the house of Torthorwald, who was the ancestor of the Semples of Beltrees. After remaining in the Semple of Beltrees family for several generations, the lands were finally alienated from it, in 1677-8, by Francis Semple of Beltrees. The family had other property in the parish, which they parted with in 1758. In 1810, the lands of Beltrees were the property of Cochran of Ladyland, and seven other proprietors.

The lands of Gavan and Risk were an old property of the Boyds, an Ayrshire family, and remained for several hundred years in the hands of the Boyds of Badenheath. In 1518, they passed into the hands of Robert Boyd of Kipps, who was descended from the family of Badenheath. About the beginning of the eighteenth century, the superiority of the said lands was acquired from William first Earl of Kilmarnock by Lord Glasford. In 1810, the lands were in the possession of Cochran of Ladyland and five others.

The barony of Cochran belonged to the Cochrans, a family of great antiquity in the shire. According to Crawford, John Cochran of that ilk had a licence under the Great Seal granted to him by James IV., dated October 31, 1509, to sell either the lands of Easter Cochran in Renfrewshire, or his lands of Pitfour in Perthshire. To William Cochran of that ilk the lands of Cochran were confirmed, by a charter of Queen Mary, in 1576. By marriage the lands of Cochran passed to Alexander Blair, a younger son of John Blair of that ilk, who was obliged to adopt the surname and arms of Cochran of that ilk. One of his sons was Sir William Cochran of Cowdon, and one of his grandsons William Cochran of Ferguslie. Sir John, who succeeded to the estates, was highly esteemed by Charles I. Dying without heirs, he was succeeded by his brother, Sir William Cochran of Cowdon, afterwards (1669) Earl of Dundonald. Easter Cochran was sold in the reign of James V. by John Cochran of that ilk, and of Pitfour, to James Beaton, then Archbishop of Glasgow, who sold it in 1535 to William Cunningham of Glengarnock, from whose family the lands of Quarrelton passed to Alexander Porterfield, and from him they passed to George Houstoun of Johnstone, in whose family the lands of Easter Cochran now are, as also the lands of Midton, Howwood, and Muirdykes.

The lands of Barr belonged to a family of the surname of Glen, who date back to the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the lands were the property of John Hamilton of Barr, the

¹ *R. M. S.*, 3,170.

representatives of the Hamiltons of Ferguslie. A century later, the lands had been divided among nine proprietors, among whom James Adam of Barr was the largest owner.

The lands of Glen belonged to the Abbey of Paisley, and afterwards to the Semples. They are now divided among a considerable number of proprietors.

The lands of Auchinbothie Wallace were resigned in 1398 by John Wallace of Elderslie in favour of his son, Thomas Wallace, from whom descended the Wallaces of Johnstone. From the family of the same John Wallace came also the Wallaces of Ferguslie and the Wallaces of Neilston-side.

Like the lands of Auchinbothie Blair and Auchingowan Stewart, and the rest of the ancient estates in the parish, the lands of Auchinbothie Wallace have been divided among a number of proprietors. At one time most of the parish was the property of the Semples of Eliotstoun; at another time it was in the possession of the MacDowalls; but all that is now changed.

The old castle of Eliotstoun still stands, though in an exceedingly ruinous condition. Near the ruin of the old castle on the lands of Auchinbothie, on the farm of Loughtrees, is a small eminence in the midst of a meadow called Wallace's Knowe, where, according to tradition, Wallace defended himself against a party of Englishmen. Barr Castle is in a remarkable good state of preservation. It was in this parish that the battle of Muirdykes was fought. Near the scene of it are the remains of a castle or fort, supposed by some to owe its origin to Sir William Wallace, and by others to be one of the hill forts formed by the Celts.

A number of canoes have from time to time been dug up in the parish. Besides these, a number of gold and silver coins, a ladle of Corinthian brass, and querns, have been found.

At the beginning of last century the people found employment in quarrying, spinning, weaving, and bleaching. The principal industries are, besides farming, bleaching and cabinet-making.

Some of the Semples of Beltrees had a literary gift. Sir James (1579-1626) was educated under George Buchanan, the celebrated humanist; he acted as amanuensis to King James VI. when writing the *Basilicon Doron*, and took a no inconsiderable part in the polemics of his time. His grandson, Francis, has long been held in repute as a poet, though some of his productions are not striking for their ability.

The population of the parish in 1901 was 4,402; and the valuation in 1900, £32,514, and in 1905, £34,433.

The parish of *Kilmacolm* is bounded on the west by the parishes of Port-Glasgow, Greenock, Inverkip, and Largs; on the east, by Houston and Erskine; on the south, by Kilbarchan and Lochwinnoch; and on the north, by the Clyde. From east to west it is about eight miles long, and from north to south its greatest breadth is six and a half miles. The whole consists of nearly 20,406 acres.

The surface of the district is greatly diversified. In the centre, running nearly east and west, is a valley, drained by the Gryfe and by no means level, which rises up on either side to a considerable height. The side next the Clyde is steep and rough, but not wanting in beauty. A great part of the parish, especially in the west and south, is moorland, bleak, and of quite a Highland aspect.

Along the Gryfe the soil is good, but on the moorland it is light and gravelly, though here and there excellent pasture is found. The rocks are, for the most part whinstone, the parish differing in this respect from almost the whole of the other parts of the shire.

In the twelfth century the parish may be said to have been divided into two almost equal parts between the baronies of Duchal and Dennistoun.

The barony of Duchal remained with the Lyles for upwards of three hundred years, when, along with their other estates, the lands thereof were gradually alienated. On October 21, 1539, James Lord Lyle disposed the lands of Kilmacolm to Patrick Maxwell of Newark.¹ On September 14, 1545, he sold to William Earl of Glencairn "the lands off Ovir Manis of Duchell, with the tower, place, and fortalice of the same, Nether Manis of Myltoun, with the mill there, Hawtanrig and Carroth, etc."² The greater part of the Duchal property, however, passed in 1544, by purchase, to the Porterfields of that ilk, from whom it passed by grant of the Crown to Lord Melfort, from whom it was subsequently taken and returned to the Porterfields. When Robertson was preparing his edition of *Crawfurd*, the property was undergoing a process of division among various members of the Porterfield family. The greater part of the old barony of Duchal now belongs to Sir H. Shaw Stewart, M.P.

The lands of Cairncurran formed part of the Lyle estate, and when Lord Lyle sold Duchal to Porterfield, he sold Cairncurran to the Lady of Craighs, mother of that William Cuninghame who became the first of the Cuninghames of Cairncurran. On the failure of this family in the person of Charles Cuninghame of Cairncurran, the estate was sold, in 1820, to

¹ *R. M. S.*, 2,073.

² *R. M. S.*, 3,262.

William MacDowall of Garthland and Castle Semple. The present proprietor is Mr. Henry MacDowall of Garthland, who is the proprietor also of the lands of Carruth, another portion of the ancient estates of the Lyles.

The free barony of Dennistoun was for many generations the property of the Danielstons of Dennistoun. On the marriage of Margaret Denniston, one of the two daughters of Sir Robert Denniston, with Sir William Cunningham of Kilmaurs, in 1405, both the barony of Denniston and the barony of Finlaystone passed into the Kilmaurs family. In 1796, Finlaystone became the property of Robert Graham of Gartmore, from whose family it passed to Colonel Sir Carrick-Buchanan of Drumpelzier, and from him to Mr. George J. Kidston. Part of the old barony is now the property of Sir H. Shaw Stewart.

Elizabeth, the other daughter of Sir Robert Denniston, married Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood in the same year that her sister married into the family of Kilmaurs. She took with her as her dowry, among other estates, the free barony of Newark. Sir Robert Maxwell was killed at Verneuil in 1424. He was succeeded by his son, Sir John Maxwell, by whom, in 1477, the lands of Newark were given to his son, Sir George Maxwell. In 1668, Sir Patrick Maxwell of Newark sold the lands of Devil's Glen to the city of Glasgow, who built upon it the harbour of Port-Glasgow. In the early years of the eighteenth century, George Maxwell or Napier (a name which he had assumed in consequence of his marriage) alienated his ancestral lands to William Cochran of Kilmarnock. After remaining in the possession of the latter for some years, they were disposed to Sir James Hamilton of Rosehall. Subsequently they passed to Charles Hamilton of Wishaw. For some time they were the property of the Belhaven family. In 1820, they were sold to Robert Farquhar, a London banker, and are now the property by inheritance of Sir H. Shaw Stewart, M.P., of Ardgowan and Blackhall.

As the reader of the preceding pages will have observed, men belonging to the parish of Kilmacolm have played an important part in the history of the country. Until about twenty-five years ago, the village of Kilmacolm was an extremely small and drowsy place. Now it is a populous and fashionable place of residence. There are no industries in the parish with the exception of farming. Within the parish are large charitable institutions.

The population of the parish in 1901 was 4,886, and is rapidly increasing. The valuation in 1900 was £45,246, and in 1905, £52,120.

The parish of *Greenock* was disjoined from the parish of Inverkip in the year 1592. Some account of the burghs of Greenock and Cartsburn has already been given. In the following notice of the parish, therefore, they will be omitted.

The parish of Greenock stretches about four and a half miles along the shore, and nearly as far inland. It is bounded by the Clyde on the north and north-east; by the parishes of Port-Glasgow and Kilmacolm on the south-east; by Kilmacolm and Houston on the south; and by Inverkip and Gourcock on the west. It has an area of 6,247 acres.

From the south shore of the Clyde the ground rises somewhat abruptly to a height of upwards of 600 feet. At the western end of the parish the ascent is interrupted by a lower ridge which terminates somewhat sharply in a rocky hill called Binnans. Beyond the second or higher ridge a moor stretches a considerable way into the interior of the shire. In this moorland the Gryfe rises.

The soil is generally poor. On the shore it is chiefly clay mixed with sea-shells and gravel. On the higher grounds there are patches of rich loam, but generally speaking the soil is stiff and clayey.

The soil rests upon rocks of volcanic origin, as in almost the whole of the county. In some places the stratified rocks rise to a height of more than 100 feet above the level of the sea, and are overtopped by greenstone, of which most of the eminences in the parish are composed. Here and there the strata are crossed by dykes of greenstone, or of soft clay-stone. In the upper part of the parish are beds of red and of greenish marly clay, alternating with red sandstone strata, and containing in some places considerable masses of limestone.

The lands of Easter and Wester Greenock have been in the family of their present proprietor for many generations.¹

The lands of Finnart were at one time part of the patrimony of the noble house of Douglas. After their forfeiture in 1445, they were given by James II. to James first Earl of Arran, in 1457, and thence passed, in 1510, in patrimony to James Hamilton, his natural son, by Mary Boyd, daughter of Boyd of Barshaw. Hamilton was forfeited in 1540, when his lands were annexed to the Crown. The lands of Finnart were then bestowed by James V. upon Alexander Shaw of Sauchie, who, two years after, disposed them, with the barony of Wester Greenock, to John Shaw, his son.

The lands of Cartsburn, as already remarked, were anciently part of the barony of Kilbirny, and became the patrimony of a younger brother of that family, whose posterity ended in the person of David Crawford of Cartsburn, in the reign of Charles I. They then passed to Malcolm Crawford of Newton. In 1669, Dame Margaret Crawford, Lady of Kilbirny, with the consent of her husband, disposed them to her cousin, Thomas Crawford, second son of

¹ See *ante*, p. 128, 383, 386.

Cornelius Crawford of Jordanhill. Since then they have come to their present proprietor.

The chief proprietors of the parish are Sir Hugh Shaw Stewart, Bart., M.P., Sir C. Bine Renshaw, Bart., M.P., and Thomas MacKnight Crawford of Cartsburn.

Exclusive of Greenock and Port-Glasgow burghs, the population of the parish is 8,900. The valuation in 1900 was £6,600, and in 1905, £6,519.

The parish of *Inverkip*, the most westerly in the shire, is bounded on the north and west by the Firth of Clyde; on the south by part of Ayrshire; and on the east by the parishes of Kilmacolm and Greenock. It is about five miles long, and nearly as many broad. It has a coast line of about twenty miles in length, and an area of 13,237½ acres.

The surface is very uneven. There is a very beautiful and fertile tract of country about the bay of Inverkip on the west, and another of nearly the same extent around the bay of Gourrock on the north. The other arable lands are limited to narrow strips along the shore, up the sides of the hills, and by the streams Kelly, Daff, and Kipp. The greater part of the parish lies high, but much of what in Robertson's day was moorland is now under careful cultivation.

The geology of the parish is much the same as that of the parish of Greenock. Excellent red sandstone is found in the parish, and is extensively used in building. The only industry in the parish is farming. Villas are being extensively built in it, especially in the neighbourhood of Wemyss Bay. Gourrock, which has already been noticed, is rapidly extending, and is a fashionable sea-side resort.

The greatest part of the property in the parish belongs to the Ardgowan family, by whom it has been gradually acquired by purchase or inheritance, but chiefly by the latter.

Other ancient families in the parish were the Darrochs of Gourrock, the Hyndmans of Lunderston, and the Wallaces of Kelly. The last were descended from the Wallaces of Elderslie.

The population of the parish in 1901 was 7,246. The valuation of the landward part of the parish in 1900 was £24,100, and in 1905, £24,487.

INDEX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

WHILE the last of the foregoing sheets were passing through the press, I had the pleasure of receiving from James Caldwell, Esquire, the venerable Clerk of the County Council, a volume of the "Craigends Papers." For the most part the volume consists of copies and abstracts of documents relating to the Craigends family, and contained in the charter chests understood to be now lying in the muniment room at Lennox Castle. They were made from the originals by Dr. Andrew Crawford, Johnshill, Lochwinnoch, in 1843, at the request of the late William Cuninghame, Esquire, of Craigends, when he contemplated establishing his claim to the title of Earl of Glencairn. Towards the end of the volume is another series of a similar nature. This series was originally made by Mr. Alexander M'Donald of the Register House, Edinburgh, and was copied into the volume from his MSS. by Dr. Crawford.

For the history of the Craigends family the volume, as need hardly be said, is of the greatest value. It is of value also for the notes it contains respecting other of the ancient families of the county, there being few of them which are not, from time to time, mentioned in its pages. For the history of the county the volume is less rich in material than might have been expected. Still, several of the papers are not without interest, and deserve to find a place here as supplementing what has already been said.

1.

The following refer to the office of coroner and mayor of fee in the Upper Ward of the Shire, and, with the exception of the last, they are taken from the M'Donald series:—

1386. Charter by which Johannes Regis Scotie primogenitus, Comes de Carric, Senescallus Scotie, Salutem in Domino sempiternam: Noverit universitas, etc., concessisse, etc., Johanni de Perco officium serjandi feodi medietatis baronie nostre, que medietas de Ranfrw vocatur Stragryfe, jacens inter aquam de Clyde et aquam de Kert, descendentem de lacu qui dicitur Locheryneok, et sic se extendendo usque ad aquam de Maach, inter baronias de Cunyngham et de Ranfrw, usque ad aquam de Kelly, et sic descendendo in mare. Testibus Willielmo de Cunyngham, vicecomiti de Are, etc., etc. Apud Edinburgh, Jan. 18.

1483. Renunciation and Discharge. Alisona, Cristina, Margareta, et Elizabetha Park, filie quondam W^m. Park, domini de Park, Erskyne. Wil^{mo}. C. de Craiganys. 9 April.
1484. Instr. of Seisin de toto officio Coronatoris et Marifeodi, occidentalis Warde in Stragriff, baronie de Renfrew. Wil^{mo}. C. de C. 30 April.
1486. Ratification by King James III. of the charter by Alisone Park, dochtir and air to umquhill William Park of that ilk, to William of Cunynghame of Craiganys, in the office of Crownarschip and Marschip of fee of the West warde of Stragryfe, etc. 3 May. (Subscribed by the King.)
1488. Renunciation by Alicia Park, spousa Georgii Campbell, filii et apparentis heredis Hugonis Campbell de Steuystoun, etc., of the office of Crownar, etc., to Williamo C. of Craiganys. 13 Dec.
1489. Confirmation by King James IV. of two charters: 1st, Alison Park of the office of Crownar, etc., 6 April; and 2nd, John Sperk of Bartaneholm, honorabili viro W^{mo} C. de Craganys illa officia mea Coronatoris et Marisfeodi Wardi Superioris, bar. de Renfrew, ac Constabularie de Burgi de Irvin.
1490. Disposition by John Sperk of the Bartanholm to Wm. Cuninghame of Craganys of the offices of Crownarschip and Marschip of fee of the uper warde of the barony of Renfrew. 1 Dec.

According to a marriage contract made in 1673 between William, son and apparent heir of Alexander Cuninghame of Craigends, and Dame Ann Ruthven, Lady Cunninghamhead, whose tocher was to be 18,000 merks, Alexander Cuninghame held the offices of coroner and mayor of fee both of the west ward of Strathgryfe and of the over ward of Renfrew. See, for further particulars, *ante*, p. 79, note 5.

2.

The following refer to the period between the years 1648 and 1665:—

Minute of the Commissioners of Supply of Renfrewshire, 16 March, 1665.

At Paisley 16 March 1665—convened

The Lord Cochrane.	Barochan.
William Master of Cochrane.	Jordanhill.
The Laird of Houstoun.	Blackstoune.
Nether Pollok.	Duchail, Elder.
Newark, Younger.	Over Pollock.
Greinock, Younger.	Barscoobe.
Caldwell.	Dargavell.
Craigends.	Walkinshaw.
Fulbarr.	Colonell Cochrane.
Southbarr.	Ga. Cochrane.
Houshill.	

The meiting taking to thair consideratione ane letter sent to thame by Sir Jon Weymes of Bogie, bearing that he had sent order to Captain Paterstone to quarter upon the shyre for the soume off Twa Thowsand ffour hundreth twentie four pund Scots resting [owing] to him of the four monethe mantinance compleit dew in anno 1648 in full satisfacion of the eight monethe dew be the shyre which he and Sir Alexander Durhame wes apoynted to uplifte.

The meiting considering the great prejudice the shyre would sustaine by the quartering of a partie are necessitat to grant band to the said Sir Jon Weymes and Mr. William Sharpe, Keiper of the Signet, collectir apoynted in place of Sir Alexander Durhame, for payment to thame of the forsaid soume of £2,424 against the last day of June nixt; and albeit the Heritors abone writtine have granted thair owne proper securitie for the soume forsaid, yitt the samen is a debt dew be the shyre, and is to be imposed upon the same, and a burding affecting the whole according to the respective valuatione; the singular successors to lands, purchased be thame since the said yeir 1648, being alwayes frie thairof, and thair saidis lands so purchased not to be burdened thairwith; but the forsaid soume is hereby only imposed upon the rest of the whole shyre conforme to their valuatione, allowing alwayes in what is be this act imposed to such; the soumes payit be them off the forsaid eight moneths to Mr. William Wallace, collector in anno 1648, conforme to ane former act of the shyre relating thareto.

Item, the said meiting considering that formerly thay did agrie with Sir Jon Weymes and Sir Alexander Durhame (Collectors apoynted by the parliament for ingathering and uplifting of eight months mantinance in 1648, commensing the first of Feb. 1648) to pay to thame ffour months compleitle in full satisfacione and payment of the wholle 8 months forsaid, lyk as that the Shyre did agrie and mak bargane with Thomas Crawford, their ordinarie collector, and James Hamiltoune, collector, be Sir Jon Weymes and Sir Alexander Durhame, for uplifting of the said ffour months be the eighte, that what soumes of money wer uplifted be Mr. James Montgomerie, collector for that tyme off the said eight months in 1648, and should be instructed be his discharges granted of the samen, the saids Thomas Crawford and James Hamiltoune should accept of the as real and effective payment made for the Shyre to the said Sir Johne Weymes and Sir Alexander Durhame as a part of the soume of money dew for four months out of the 8 months, and should procure ane generall discharge to the shyre for the four months agried upon in satisfacion of the eighte; the soumes received be Mr. James Montgomerie included in pairt of payment thairoff, for the which cawssis the Shyre did then agrie to give Thomas Crawford and James Hamiltoune 1,000 merks Scots and did impose the same upon the shyre, etc., att the rate of thrie pund 9 sh. Scotts on ilk 100 pund of valuatione. Lykas said Crawford and Hamilton uplifted said 1,000 merks, etc.

Crawford and Hamiltoune and ther receaving of payment conforme, yitt they have na wayes fulfilled the samen but have suffered the heritors of the Shyre not only to be chairgit with horning but to be quartered upon by a partie of horse, whereby the meiting finds the shyre greatly injured, and

therefor they nominat to persew said Mr. James Montgomerie
for what soumes collected by him and also Crawford and Hamilton for full-
filling ther bargane, etc., etc.

G. Nether Pollok.
A. Blackhall.

A. Porterfield of that ilk.

Cochrane.
W. Caldwell.
A. Craighends.
Patrik filemyng
of Barrochane.
G. Walkinshaw.
R. Fulbarre.

On October 5, 1665, William Yeman, Procurator for the Heritors, appeared before the Lords of Session in Edinburgh, and produced the bond above referred to in order to its registration in the Books of Council.

3.

Commission, Sir James Stewart¹ to the Procurator Fiscall of Renfrew, 30 March, 1694.

I, Sir James Stewart, their Majesties' Advocate, in respect I cannot attend the prosecution of the persons who were by the Lords of the Privie Councill to be tryed by a commission given to them for the effect for their violent assaulting the House of Craighends and rescueing two men there secured for the present levies, etc., etc., Do hereby make and constitut William Tarbet, Procurator-fiscall of Renfrew, Pursuer as my Deput, etc., before the said Commission, etc.

Written be Mr. Robert Patersone, my servant, at Edinburgh, 30 March, 1694. Witness David Boyl of Kelburne.

4.

Memorial for James Rollo, only son to Robert Rollo late of Powhouse (not before 1726).

That said Robert Rollo, late of Powhouse (now deceased), had the misfortune, amongst many others of his unhappy countrymen, to be engaged in the late unnatural rebellion which was raised against His late Majesty in the year 1715.

That James Rollo, his only son, was induc'd to go along with his father to attend him, not knowing the nature of the crime that he thereby involved himself into (he being then minor not much beyond the years of childhood).

¹ Joint author with Mr. James Stirling, minister of the second charge of Paisley, of *Naphtali, or the Westlings of the Church of Scotland*. MacKenzie, *Kilbarchan*, 72.

That the Father soon perceived his error and early returned to his duty by a volutar surrender of himself to the commander of His Majesty's forces, his son still attending him, and they both threw themselves entirely upon His Majesty's mercy.

That they were both carried to Carlyle and pled guilty to the indictment exhibited against them, for which they were justly condemned; but [were] saved by His Majesty's most gracious indemnity.

That upon a representation of the Father's early surrender, His Majesty was graciously pleased to make a provision out of the residue of the said Robert's estate in favours of his daughters after paying his just creditors.

That James Rollo, the only son, hath not only forfeit all right of succession to his father's estate, which by his birthright he was entituled to, had he not been barred therefrom by his father's crime, wherein he was unhappily involved at an age when he was incapable to judge of the hainousness thereof. But by that sentence he was rendered incapable to provide for himself or to enjoy any of these priviledges which are allowed to all His Majesty's loyal subjects.

That as his years must alleviate for his guilt, so his conduct since has shown his repentance and affection for His Majesty's government, and hopes he will be considered as a proper object of His Majesty's clemency for obtaining an Act of Parliament rescinding the attainder and releiving him from the effects of the sentence pronounced against him.

INDEX.

- Abbots of Clugny, the, and Monastery of Paisley, 29, 32.
 — of Paisley, 177. (See Paisley.)
- Abbey of Paisley founded, 29; endowed, 31; burnt, 65; invaded by Sir W. More, 177; tenants of, ejected by the Semples, 136; restored, 176; churches of, 181-188; destroyed, 214.
- Abercorn, Duke of, 406.
 — first Earl of, 377, 378.
 — second Earl of, proceeded against by the Presbytery of Paisley and the General Assembly, 242-244; and the Act of Revocation, 246; said to be arming, 254; sells the Lordship of Paisley, 378.
 — the Countess Dowager of, warned by the Presbytery, 241; refuses Mr. Boyd possession of the manse of Paisley, *ib.*; complained of to the Privy Council, 242; proceeded against by the Presbytery, 241-243; death of, 243.
- Abercrombie, Mr. Alex., minister at Lochwinnoch, 290.
- Aberdeen, Covenanters resisted at, 251.
- Act as to apparel, 247; of classes, 270; Rescissory, 286; of indemnity (1662), 287, 288; anent attendance at church, 289; the "Bishop's Drag Net" and the "Mile Act," *ib.*
- Adamson or Constant, Mr. Patrick, appointed minister of Paisley, 1572, 221; also Commissioner of Galloway, 225; Calderwood's remark upon him, *ib.*; made Archbishop of St. Andrews, *ib.*; is pilloried by Sempill in the "Tulchene Bischope of Sanct Androis," *ib.*
- Aethelfrith becomes king of Bernicia and oppresses the Britons of Strathclyde, 17.
- Agricultural Society, the Renfrewshire, 355.
- Aikenhead, 400; lands of, 399.
- Aikit, Cuningham of, 89.
- Aisle, Lord Ross's, at Renfrew, 179.
- Alan, Dapifer of Dol, 26.
- Alan III., father of Walter Fitz Alan, 26.
- Aldjo, Robert, of Paisley, accused of being a receiver of Jesuits, 227.
- Aldlands, Barnhill and Barns, lands of, 410.
- Aldton, 396.
- Ale imported, 171.
- Alesta, wife of Alan the Steward, 35.
- Alexander III., death of, 38.
- Alexander, James, minister at Kilmacolm, 289.
 — Sir John, of Hags, 311.
 — Robert, 253.
- Algeo, Robert, of Greenock, 236.
- Algie, James, 319.
- Altar to the Virgin, 190.
- Ancrum Moor, battle of, 202.
- Angus, Earl of, buys the lordship of Paisley, 244.
 — Gilbert Umfraville, Earl of, betrays Wallace's plans to Edward, 54.
 — Thomas, Earl of, 130.
- Andrew, Brother, Bishop of Argyll, 176.
- Annan, Mr. William, commends the Service Book at Lanark, 249.
- Anne, Queen, 377.
- Annandale, Marquess of, 337.
- Arden, 401.
- Arderydd, battle of, 16.
- Ardmore, 206.
- Ardrossan, Fergus de, 64.
 — Montgomerie, Lord of, 87.
- Areclutha, 15.
- Argyll, fifth Earl of, 210, 214.
 — Marquess of, at Glasgow Assembly (1638), 255, 263, 269, 270; at Communion in Paisley, May 27, 1660, 285.
 — ninth Earl of, 293; leaves Holland, 320; his declaration at Tarbet, *ib.*; joined by Sir Duncan Campbell, *ib.*; seizes Isle of Bute, *ib.*; reaches Kilpatrick, 321; crosses the Clyde, *ib.*; taken prisoner, 321; executed, 322.
 — tenth Earl and first Duke, 335, 336.
- Argyll's stone, 24, 408.
- Arkleston, 406.
- Arms, discovery of, in Houston Castle, 280; in the Abbey Church, Paisley, 281.
- Army, recruiting for, 346.
- Arran, Earl of, afterwards Duke of Châtelherault, regent, 197; is joined by the English Lords, *ib.*; is reconciled to Beaton, 198; refuses to give battle to the English Lords at Leith, 199; takes Glasgow, 199-200; appoints Abbot Hamilton Lord Keeper and High Treasurer, 300-301; at Paisley, 301; retreats before the

- Arran, Earl of—*continued*.
 Earl of Hertford, 202; releases Earls Angus and Glencairn and others, *ib.*; his joy at Ancrum Moor, 203; is reinforced from France, 204; at Roslyn Moor, 205; invites a French fleet, 208; is supplanted in the Regency by the Queen mother, *ib.*
- Association, the Western, 273, 274; issue the Remonstrance, 275.
- Assembly, General, Glasgow, 254; Edinburgh, 258; Aberdeen, *ib.*; St. Andrews, 259.
- Assembly, dismissed by Lilburne, 281.
- Artga, King of Strathclyde, 18.
- Arthur, King, in Renfrewshire, 15.
- Arthurlie, 15.
- Artillery, how transported, 157.
- Atholl, Marquess of, 309.
- Attire, female, in fifteenth century, 172.
- Auchinames, barony and lands of, 418.
- Auchinbothie Blair, lands of, 425.
 — Stewart, lands of, 425.
 — Wallace, lands of, 425.
- Auchinhood, 394.
- Aula, Thomas de, 117.
- "Auld Dunrod," 326.
- Auldhouse burn, 400.
 — lands of, 401.
- Avelina, mother of Walter Fitz Alan, 26.
- Ayr, 56.
- Bailie, the, 155.
- Baird, Mr. W. A., of Erskine, 406, 414.
- Balgray, lands of, 396.
- Balgreen, lands of, 423.
- Baillie, Principal, on the state of the country, 254; on the Assembly at Glasgow, 1638, *ib.*; on the effect of the Service Book, 250; on the troops from the West, 257.
- Baillies, John, and his wife, before the Presbytery, 241.
- Baldwin de Bigres, owns lands in Houston and Inverkip, 27; his grant to the Monastery of Paisley, 32.
- Balliol, John de, takes oath of fealty to Edward I., 40; renounces league with France and resigns crown of Scotland, *ib.*
 — Edward, at Dupplin, 66; defeats Archibald Douglas, *ib.*; captures Sir Andrew Moray, *ib.*; is defeated by the Steward, *ib.*; flees to Carlisle, *ib.*; re-crosses the Border, 67; assists at the siege of Berwick (1333), *ib.*; holds a Parliament in Edinburgh, *ib.*; dissensions among his adherents, 68; at Berwick, *ib.*; at Roxburgh, 69; at Renfrew, *ib.*; meets Edward III. at Glasgow, 69; goes with him to Perth, *ib.*; resigns crown, 74.
- Bannatynes, the, of Kelly, 128.
- Bar, Glens of, 127.
- Barber of Rushfield, 288.
- Barbour, Archdeacon, of Aberdeen, 75.
- Barclay, Hugh, of Ladyland, drowned at Ailsa Craig, 228.
- Bargarran, lands of, 414.
- Baron-bailie, his chief duty, 83.
- Baronies, some, in Renfrewshire, 82.
- Barony, the, of Renfrew, made part of a principality, 77; erected into a county, 78.
- Barony of regality of Paisley, 80; of Greenend, *ib.*
- Barr Castle, 165.
- Barrhead, burgh of, 392.
- Barr, lands of, 412, 424.
- Barrhill, 421.
- Barrochan, Flemings of, 416.
 — barony of, 416.
 — castle and cross, 183.
 — house of, 416.
- Barscube, Stewarts of, 412.
- Bathgate, barony of, office of Sheriff of, sold, 78.
- Beaton, Cardinal, seized and imprisoned in Dalkeith, 197; is reconciled to Arran, 198; refuses with Arran to give battle to the English Lords at Leith, 199; assassinated, 205.
- Beatrix, wife of Walter II., 36.
- Bed-clothes, 168.
- Bedrooms, 168.
- Beds and bedsteads, 168.
- Beer imported, 171, *n. 3*.
- Bek, Antony, Bishop of Durham, sent to ascertain state of Scotland, 44.
- Beltrees, Semple, son of, 377.
 — lands of, 423.
- Bernicia, kingdom of, 15.
- Beverages used by lower classes, 171.
- Biggar, Edward II. at, 65.
 — battle of, 44.
- Bigres, Baldwin de, 185.
- Bishops, ordination of, in Westminster Abbey, 286; in Holyrood Abbey, *ib.*
 "Bishop's Drag Net," the, 289.
- Bishopton, Brisbane of, acknowledges rebellion to Montrose at Bothwell, 263.
 — lands of, 414.
- Black Book of Paisley*, 266.
- Blackburn, lands of, 417.
- Blackhall, built by Walter Fitz Alan, 28.
 — chapel of, 189, 191.
- Blackstone, an Abbey grange, 184.
 — lands of, 420.
- Blackwell, Mr. Thomas, and witchcraft, 328, 329, 331, 332, 333; and the Quakers, 340.
- Blair, Mr. Hew, 258, 259.
 — Mr. James, minister at Cathcart, summoned before Privy Council, 293.

- Blair, John, of that ilk, 399.
 Blakeforde, William of, 96.
 Blankets, 168.
 Blawarthill, lands of, 408.
 Blythswood, Lord, 409, 413.
 Boghall, lands of, 417.
 Bogton, lands of, 399.
 Book of Canons, 248.
 — of Ordination, 248.
 — of Common Order read in the High Kirk of St. Giles', Edinburgh, 248.
 Boroughbridge, battle at, 62.
 Boyd, Mr. John, of Trochrig, appointed minister at Paisley, 241; is coldly received by the Countess of Abercorn, *ib.*; his lodgings invaded, *ib.*; retires to Carrick, *ib.*; refuses to return to Paisley, and is succeeded by Mr. John Hay of Killallan, 242.
 Boyd, Sir Thomas, of Kilmarnock, 87.
 — Thomas, of Kilmarnock, 105.
 — Mr. Zachary, 273.
 — Marion, 147.
 Box, a silver, purchased by the ministers of Edinburgh, 285.
 Brediland, Maxwells of, 127.
 Brethren, the Reverend, meeting of, in Edinburgh, 352.
 Bridge of Weir, 29, 417, 421.
 Brisbane of Bishopton (1645), 266.
 — John, of Bishopton, 137.
 — Mr. William, parson of Erskine, a member of the Privy Council, 247.
 — Mr. Matthew, minister at Erskine, appointed Moderator of Presbytery, 252; member of Assembly at Glasgow (1638), 255; appointed to attend War Committee in Edinburgh, 256; sent as chaplain to Duns Law, 258; attends Assembly and objects to hurried signing of the Solemn League and Covenant, 260.
 — Mr. William, minister at Killallan, sent with Presbytery's petition against the Service Book to the Privy Council, 251; directed to associate himself with the brethren, *ib.*; at the Glasgow Assembly (1638), 255.
 Browster wives, 171.
 Bruce, Sir Robert, Earl of Carrick, present at the meeting of the Estates at Scone (1286), 38; attacks Dumfries Castle, *ib.*; signs Turnberry bond, *ib.*; at Salisbury, 39.
 — conduct of the family of, 60.
 Brunanburh, battle of, 18.
 Brythons, the, 13.
 Buchanan, George, 218.
 Bullock, the Rev. William, 70, 71.
 Buntine, Lieutenant, 276.
 Burgesses, 155.
 Burghs, different kinds of, 155.
- Burghs of barony—
 Cartsburn, 386.
 Eaglesham, 391.
 Gourrock, 387.
 Greenock, 383.
 Houston, 391.
 Inverkip, 388.
 Kilbarchan, 391.
 Kilmaccolm, 391.
 Mearns, 391.
 Newark, 389.
 Pollokshaws, 390.
 — refuse payment of cess, 261.
 Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, 294.
 Burnie, Mr. Robert, 258.
 Burnfield, 401.
 Burntsields, lands of, 420.
 Bus' an' Aik Road, 217.
 Busby, 398.
 Bute, Marquess of, 129.
 — Isle of, seized for Earl of Argyll, 320.
- Cairncurran, lands of, 426.
 Caldwell, lands of, 403.
 Camphill, 399.
 Caledonians, the, 13.
 Calvert, Mr. Henry, minister of Paisley, 245, 256, 264, 265.
 Cambuslang, church of, dedicated to S. Cadoc, 16.
 Cameronian regiment, 335, 336.
 Campbell, Colin, of Lochow, 68.
 — Sir Duncan, 320, 321.
 — Mr. Ninian, sent to act as chaplain with the army in England, 262.
 Capelrig, Temple lands of, 397.
 Canons, Book of, 248.
 Capitulation of Irvine, 45.
 Cardonald, 113; lands of, 405.
 Carham, battle of, 18.
 Carmunnock, parish of, 16.
 Cart, the, 410.
 Cartsburn, burgh of barony of, 386; union with Greenock, *ib.*; account of it by Hamilton of Wishaw, 37; lands of, 248.
 Cassillis, Earl of, 198, 199, 203, 263, 274.
 Castles, general features of, 160; Mearns, 161; Leven, 162; Crookstone, *ib.*; Newark, 163; Duchar, 165; Barr, *ib.*; Cathcart, 166; Stanely, *ib.*
 Castle Sempie besieged, 213.
 Castleton, barony of, 422.
 Catechism, Archbishop Hamilton's, 195, 196.
 Cathcart, family of, 90, 94.
 — Sir Alan, 64.
 — (Ketkert), Rainaldus de, 90.
 — Ranulfus, *ib.*
 — Sir William, 91.

- Cathcart, Alan, *ib.*
 — William, *ib.*
 — Sir Alan, (1387), 91, 92.
 — Alan *dominus ejusdem*, 92.
 — Alan of that ilk, *ib.*
 — Alan, first Lord, 93.
 — John, second Lord, 93.
 — Alan, third Lord, 93.
 — Alan, fourth Lord, 94; obtains lease of the temporalities of Paisley Abbey, 223.
 — Alan, fifth Lord, 94.
 — Sir William, holds the castle of Roxburgh for the English, 91.
 — Sir William (1310), 107.
 — Cecilia de, 91.
 — Castle of, 166.
 — Church of, 182.
 — lands of, 398.
 — lordship of, 399.
 — mains of, 399.
 — parish of, boundaries, 398; physical features, *ib.*; lands in, 398, 399; battle of Langside, 399; antiquities, *ib.*; industries, population, valuation, 400.
- Cathcarts, the, of Carbiston, 93.
 — of Corf, *ib.*
 — of Carleton, *ib.*
 — of Duchra, *ib.*
 — of Aroy, *ib.*
 — of Bardawrath, *ib.*
 — of Drumjowan, *ib.*
 — of Drumsmodden, *ib.*
 — of Glendeweis, *ib.*
 — of Trevor, the, *ib.*
- Catholics, their intrigues, 227; emboldened by quarrels among the Protestants, 240.
- Caw Prydyn, legend of, 15.
- Cayzer, Sir C. W., Bart., M.P., 407.
- Celtic pantheon, 20.
- Chapel of Blackhall, 189; of S. Bride, 190; of S. Catherine, *ib.*; of Christwell, 191; of Syde, *ib.*; of the Virgin at Ranfurly, 190; at Renfrew, *ib.*; of S. Winnoc, *ib.*
- Chaplain of Blackhall, 189.
- Chaplains of Paisley, 182.
- Chaplainries of SS. Thomas the Apostle, Thomas the Martyr, and Christopher, at Renfrew, 179.
- Charlebois, Captain, 212.
- Charles I., his Edict of Revocation, 246; coronation at Holyrood, 247; establishes Court of High Commission in Scotland, *ib.*; issues Book of Canons, Ordination and Service Book, 248.
 — II., proclaimed as King, 270; lands at Speymouth, 271; his promise to protect and preserve the government of the Church, 285; restores Episcopacy, 286; abolishes jurisdictions of synods, etc., *ib.*; death of, 319.
- Chiesley, Sir John, 273.
- Christianity, introduction of, into Renfrewshire, 20.
- Christwell, chapel of, 191.
- Church, the, of SS. James, Mirin, Milburgh, 31; of Inchinnan belonging to Templars, 31; of Legerwood given to Monastery of Paisley, 31; Collegiate, of Lochwinnoch or Semple, built by John Lord Semple, visited by James IV., foundation charter, 188.
- Churches, the, of Strathgryfe, given to the Monastery of Paisley, 31; of Monkton and Prestwick given to Monastery of Paisley, 31; of Pollok, Mearns, Carnnock, Rutherglen, and Neilston given to Monastery of Paisley, 33; other than Abbey and Parish, in Paisley, 189.
- Cistercians, the, 29.
- Clark & Co., Messrs, 382.
- Clelland, Captain, killed at Muirdykes, 321.
- Clifford, Robert, leads an army into Scotland, (1298), 44.
- Clincart Hill, 217.
- Cloths, woollen, prices of, 173.
- Clugny, monks of, as farmers, 350.
- Coats, Mr. James, Junr., 407.
 — Messrs. J. & P., 382; Messrs. Limited, 383.
- Cochran, Sir William, of Cowdon, 118. (See Dundonald, Earl of.)
 — Lord, of Cowdon, 118.
 — Lord, 267, 288, 294, 319, 320.
- Cochran, lands of, 424.
- Cochrane, Lady Jane, 312.
 — William, of Ferguslie, 345.
 — — of Ferguslie, 319.
 — Sir John, effects a landing near Greenock, retires to Cowal and declares it to be folly to attempt the Lowlands, 320; crosses the Clyde, 321; affair of Muirdykes, 321.
- Cochrans of Cochrane, the, 118.
 — of Overlee, the, 118.
- Coel or Coil, 16.
- Colquhoun, Sir John, 102.
- Commission, Court of High, 240, 247, 293.
- Commissioners to Scotland appointed by English Parliament, 279; their Declaration, *ib.*
- Committee of Estates, 285.
 — the Secret, 313.
 — the War, 256.
- Committees, War, appointed, 256.
- Comyn, Sir John, in Selkirk Forest, 57; attempts to relieve Stirling Castle, *ib.*; surrenders, 58.
- Condemned persons waited on to the fire by Presbyterian ministers, 333.
- Constables of Royal Castles, 156.
- Constant or Adamson, Patrick, minister of Paisley, 221. (See Adamson.)

- Contract, marriage, 86, 87, 101, 108, 113.
 Conventicles, 289, 296, 303, 304, 307, 322.
 Corbett, Mr. Cameron, M.P., 402.
 Coroners in Renfrewshire, 79.
 Cotterel, Lieut.-Col., 281.
 Court of High Commission, 247, 293.
 Covenant, the National, signed, 251.
 Covenanters, their army, 254; dissatisfied with the King's proclamation of July, 1638, *ib.*; at the Glasgow Assembly, 1638, 255; their War Committee, 256; their successes, 257; at Duns Law, 258; renew war, *ib.*; effect of successes upon them, 259; idea of Presbyterian propaganda entertained by, *ib.*; adopt Solemn League and Covenant, 260; under Argyll, obtain chief power, 270.
 Cowan, Mr. James, of Ross Hall, 407.
 Cowdon, (Coudon, Coldam), 102-104. (See Spreull.)
 Cowdon, lands of, 404.
 Cowdoun, the laird of, 103.
 Crabbe, John, the Flemish engineer, 61, 67.
 Crafts, the, 135.
 Craighends, lands of, 418.
 — Nether, 419.
 Craiginfeoch, barony of, 419, 423.
 Craigton, lands of, 410, 415.
 Craignaucht Hill, conflict at, 135.
 Crail Court, the, 293, 294.
 Crawford, Earl of, appointed Lord Treasurer, 285.
 — James, 190.
 Crawford, Sir Hugh, 118, 119.
 — Sir Reginald, of Crosbie, receives grant of lands of Auchinames, 65, 119.
 — Reginald, Sheriff of Ayr, 118, 119.
 — Hugh Ronald George, of Auchinames, 418.
 — Thomas MacKnight, of Cartsburn, 429.
 Crawford, the, of Auchinames, 118, 119, 120.
 — the, of Thirdpart, 119.
 Cremation and belief in future life, 20.
 Cressingham, Hugh de, at the battle of Stirling, 47.
 Crichton, Henry, Abbot of Paisley, 178.
 — Robert, appointed bishop of Dunkeld, 201.
 — Mr. John, minister of Paisley, favours the Service Book, 250; is proceeded against by the Presbytery, 252; charges and witnesses against him, 253; deposed by the Assembly, 256.
 Crocs, the, of Crookston, 99.
 Croc, Robert de, Lord of Crookston and Darnley, 100.
 Cromwell sets out for Scotland, 271; reaches Musselburgh, *ib.*; attempts to draw Leslie out of his lines, 272; is attacked, *ib.*; retires to Dunbar, *ib.*; defeats Leslie, *ib.*; marches to Edinburgh and Leith, *ib.*; besieges Edinburgh Castle, *ib.*; follows Leslie to Stirling, *ib.*; returns to Edinburgh, *ib.*; his interview with Colonels Strahan and Ker in Glasgow, 273.
 Crookston, Castle of, besieged, 144; described, 162; chapel built at, 189.
 — lands of, 405.
 Crops raised in Renfrewshire, 350, 354.
 Cross, Barrochan, 183.
 Cross, Mr. David, of Ingliston, 415.
 Cruksifeu, castle of, 411, 412.
 — lands of, 100, 410, 411.
 Cuik, Robert, minister at Killallan, (1573), 221; at Kilbarchan, (1576), *ib.*; at Kilmaccolm, (1578), *ib.*; in 1576 has charge of Kilbarchan, Houston and Killallan parishes, 222.
 Cumbria, kingdom of, 15.
 Cunningham, Warnebalduus de (c. 1100), 122.
 — Sir Henry de (1283), 122.
 — Sir William de (1364), 122.
 — Sir William de (*d.* 1418), 131, 122.
 — Sir Robert de (1434), 122.
 — Sir Alexander, first baron of Kilmaurs, 122. (See Glencairn.)
 — Mr. Daniel, minister of Kilmaccolm, accuses the Countess of Glencairn and others of not attending the parish church and listening to "domestic preaching," 232.
 — Margaret, of Newark, dealt with by the Presbytery for absence from Communion, 236.
 Cunningham, Mr. J. C., 418.
 Cuninghames, the, of Craighends, 122.
 — William, 137.
 — Alexander, 288, 311; 317, 318, 320.
 — — younger, 317, 318.
 Cunninghams of Cairncurran, 122.
 — of Carlung, 122.
 — of Corschill, 122.
 — of Gabriel, 236.
 Cupboards, 167.
 Curates, their character, 291; complain against the indulgent ministers, 304, 205, 306; rabbling of the, 324; and witchcraft, 328.
 Dalriada, kingdom of, independence secured, 16.
 Dalnulin, Monastery of, given to Monastery of Paisley, 33.
 Danziel, the lands of, 120.
 Dargavel, feud at, 341.
 — the lands of, 415.
 Darnley, Lord, 87.
 — lands of, 100.
 — Upper, 401.
 David, Prince of Cumbria, 18.
 David I., goes to assist his niece the Empress Maud, 26; meets his future High Steward, *ib.*; is present at the rout of Winchester, *ib.*; returns north, *ib.*; appoints Walter Fitz Alan hereditary High Steward, 27; rewards him with various lands, *ib.*; carries on the feudalization of the country, *ib.*

- David II., marriage with Joanna, daughter of Edward III., 63; taken prisoner, *ib.*; seeks refuge in France, 67; invades England, 72; taken prisoner at Neville's Cross, 73; returns to Scotland, 75; resents familiarity of his subjects, *ib.*; complaints against him, *ib.*; rebellion, *ib.*; marries Dame Margaret Logy, *ib.*; attempts to set aside claims of the Steward to the crown, *ib.*; imprisons the Steward, 76; death, *ib.*
- Dead, disposal of, by Iberians, 19; by bronze-using Celts, 20.
- Deane, Major-General, 277.
- Dearths, 171.
- Degsastan, battle of, 17.
- Denholm, Mr. John, of the Mains, Giffnock, 402.
- Deira, kingdom of, 16.
- Danyelstone, Sir Robert de, 120, 121.
— Walter, 121.
- Danziel, the lands of, 120.
- Denniston, barony of, 121, 427.
- Dennistons, the, of Denniston, 120, 121.
- D'Esse, 208.
- Donald Brec, King of Dalriada, defeated at Strathcarron, 17.
- Dougal, a charmer at Inverkip, 328.
- Douglas, Sir William, and the capitulation of Irvine, 45; released from the Tower of London, 52.
— Archibald, defeated by Balliol near Jedburgh, 66; and at Halidon Hill, 67.
— Lord William, returns from France (1348), 73; appointed Governor of Edinburgh Castle, 74.
— Earl of, said to be arming, 254.
— Sir George, 198, 202, 203, 205, 207.
— Colonel, 319.
— Castle, taken by Covenanters, 257.
— Mr. Robert, minister at Edinburgh, 285.
- D'Oysel, 209.
- Dreghorn and Drumley, lands of, 87.
- Dress, extravagance in, 172.
- Drinking, excessive, 170.
- Drum, lands of, 415.
- Drummond, General, 330.
- Duchal, Lady, 319.
— Castle, besieged, 145; residence of Marion Boyd, 147; visited by James IV., *ib.*; who executes his formal revocation there, March 16, 1498, 148; described, 165.
— barony of, 426.
— gun called, 143, 144, 145.
- Dugal, son of Christiuis, Judge of the Lennox, 114.
— son of Syfyn, 114.
- Dumbarton, Earl of, 330.
- Dumbarton, 16, 17, 144, 145, 148, 150, 151, 198, 199, 203, 204.
- Dumbarton Castle, Archbishop Hamilton seeks refuge in it, 217; is surrendered, 218.
- Dumnonians, the, 13.
- Dundonald, first Earl of, 312, 314, 378.
- Dunbar, Patrick, Earl of, betrays Wallace's plans to Edward, 54.
- Duncan, Earl of Lennox, 101.
- Dungal, grandson of Beli, 17.
- Duncanson, Captain, 321.
— John, 321.
- Dundee, Viscount, 334; pursuit of, 336. (See Graham, John.)
- Dundrennan Abbey, 217.
- Dunlop, Mr. Alex., 264, 273, 288, 289.
— Mr. H. Barclay, of Arthurlie, 404.
— James, of Househill, 311.
- Dupplin, battle of, 66.
- Dunoon Castle stormed (1334), 68.
- Drysdale, Mr., 289.
- Eaglesham, rectors of, 181; church of, 181; burgh of barony of, 391; parish of, 393; physical features, *ib.*; lands of, *ib.*; barony of, 394; village of, *ib.*; Temple lands of, *ib.*; burgh of, *ib.*; industry, 395; population and valuation, *ib.*
- Eastwood, church of, 182; parish of, 400; boundaries, *ib.*; physical features, *ib.*; lands in, 400-401; districts in, 401; industries, *ib.*; proprietors, 402; authors, *ib.*; population and valuation, *ib.*
- Eccles, Mr. William, minister at Paisley, 311.
- Eggrith rules in Cunningham, 17; defeated at Nectan Mere, *ib.*
- Edinburgh Castle, capture of (1339), 71; taken by the Covenanters, 257.
— ministers of, 285.
- Edmonstone, Bessie, 108.
- Edmund Ironsides, 18.
- Edward I. and Scotland, 39, 40, 44, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59.
— II., resumes hostilities (1322), 62; enters Scotland, 63; pursued to York by Walter the Steward, *ib.*; deposed, *ib.*
— III., acknowledges independence of Scotland, 63; invades Scotland, 72, 74.
- Edwin of Deira, oppresses the Britons of Strathclyde, 17.
- Eglinton, Hugh, first Earl of, 87.
— Hugh, second Earl of, 89.
— Hugh, third Earl of, 89.
— Hugh, fourth Earl of, 89.
— Hugh, fifth Earl of, 89.
— Alexander, sixth Earl of, 90; at Glasgow Assembly (1638), 255; troops raised by him for Covenanters, 257; applies to Presbytery

- Eglinton, Alexander—*continued*.
 of Paisley for a chaplain, 262; on the Engagers, 268; "on the brink of breaking," 286, 288, 293.
 — Hugh, seventh Earl of, 90.
 — Alexander, eighth Earl of, 394.
 — Alexander, tenth Earl of, 395.
 — Sir Hugh, 84, 85.
 — John, Master of, 89.
 — Castle, burnt, 88.
 — Charters renewed, 88.
 — tournament, 393.
 Eliotstoun, barony of, 422; castle of, 425.
 Elizabeth, daughter of Duncan, Earl of Lennox, 101.
 Engagement, the, 267.
 Engagers, the, in Renfrewshire, 268; defeated at Preston, 269.
 Eocha, son of Run, King of Strathclyde, 18.
 Episcopacy restored, 286.
 Erskine, Henry de (1225), 115.
 — John de (1262), 115.
 — John de (1296), 115.
 — Sir William, 115.
 — Sir Robert, 115.
 — Sir Thomas, 115.
 — Thomas, first Lord, 116.
 — Alexander, second Lord, 116.
 — Robert, third Lord, 116.
 — John, fourth Lord, 116.
 — John, fifth Lord, 116.
 — Robert, Master of, 116.
 — Sir Alan of Inchture, 115.
 — Andrew, of Raploch, 115.
 — Adam, of Barrochan, 115.
 — William, parson of Campsie, made chamberlain of Paisley Abbey, 223; complains against Andrew, Master of Semple, as to collection of dues, *ib.*; is made Commendator of Paisley, *ib.*; takes part in seizure of Stirling (1584), 224; is forfeited, restored, and appointed Archbishop of Glasgow, *ib.*; the Assembly orders his appointment to be annulled, *ib.*
 — Sir John Semple, vicar of, 137.
 — barony of, 414; church of, transferred to the Cathedral of Glasgow, 180; parish of, 414; boundaries, *ib.*; physical features, *ib.*; barony of, *ib.*; lands in, *ib.*; villages in, 416; proprietors, etc., *ib.*
 Erskines, the, of Balgony, 116.
 — the, of Erskine, 115-116.
 Eschina of Molla, wife of Walter Fitz Alan, 31; gift to monastery of Paisley, 32.
 Estates, Convention of, 334.
 — meeting of, 286.
 Eva, wife of Alan the Steward, 35.
 Fairfoul, Archbishop of Glasgow, 286.
 Farmers (firmarii), 153.
 Farming in Renfrewshire, 350 ff.
 Farms in Renfrewshire, 354.
 Feuds, 130; between the Montgomeries and Cunninghams, 132-134; between Montgomery of Ardrossan and Stewart of Darnley, 134-135; the Semples and the Lennoxes, 135; other feuds of the Semples, 136-140; feuds of the Mures of Caldwell, 140-141; other feuds, 141-142.
 — steps taken by Parliament in 1440 for their repression, 131.
 Ferguslie estate, 345.
 Ferguson, D., appointed minister at Dunfermline, 220.
 Ferry, the, of Inchinnan, 413.
 Field of the Muir of Glasgow, 141.
 Fingalton, lands of, 397.
 Finlaystone, barony of, 121.
 — Castle, 201.
 — document dated at, 87.
 Finnart-Stewart, barony of, 387.
 Finnart, lands of, 428.
 Fitz Alan, William, Sheriff of Shropshire, 26.
 Fleming, William, of Barrochan, 126.
 — Patrick, of Barrochan, 127.
 — William, of Barrochan, 127.
 Flemings, the, of Barochan, 126-127.
 Fleming of Boghall captured at Dumbarton, 218.
 — Sir Malcolm, Knight, 121.
 — Sir Robert, sent to the West with the Life Guards, 292.
 Fletcher, Sir John, Lord Advocate, 285.
 Flures, lands of, 410, 411.
 Food of lower classes, 171.
 — of upper classes, 169.
 Forbes, Hugh, Sheriff-Clerk of Renfrew, 288.
 Fork, Robert, 264.
 Fort Beauclerk, 348.
 — Jervis, 348.
 — Matilda, 348.
 Fraser, Sir Simon, 58.
 Fulbert, 94.
 Fullarton, Major, 321.
 Fulwood, lands of, 417.
 Furniture of burgesses' houses, 158; of castles, 167; of cottars' and farmers' houses, 159.
 Galbraith of Culcreuch, 135.
 Gallow Green, Paisley, execution of several condemned for witchcraft, 333.
 Garthland, Laird of, 267.
 Gavan and Risk, lands of, 424.
 Genealogy of the High Steward, 26.
 Giffnock, 401.

- Gildas, 15.
 Gillespie, Mr. Patrick, 273, 274, 281, 285.
 Gilmour, Allan, younger, of Eaglesham, 394, 397.
 Glanderston, lands of, 403.
 Glasgow, Assembly at (1638), meets in the Cathedral, 254; its character, *ib.*; representatives of Renfrewshire at, 255; refuse to dissolve, *ib.*; Acts of, *ib.*
 — general levy ordered by Parliament, resisted at, 267.
 — Castle and Palace sacked, 140.
 Glencairn, the family of, 121.
 — Cuthbert, first Earl of, 122.
 — William, second Earl of, taken prisoner at Solway, 122.
 — William, fourth Earl of, one of the English Lords, 196; accompanies Lennox to take possession of French gold and artillery sent to aid Catholic party, 198; at Leith, Jan. 1544, 199; at Field of Glasgow, *ib.*; flees to Dumbarton, *ib.*; agrees to take "plane" part in defence of kingdom against English, 201; urges Henry VIII. to send a main army into Scotland, *ib.*; accused of treason, 202; at Anerum Moor, *ib.*; not at Pinkie, 206; his correspondence with the Duke of Somerset and Earl of Lennox, 206-207; hastens home to defend himself against Lennox, 208; death, *ib.*
 — Alexander, fifth Earl of, a Lord of the Congregation, 209; marches to the assistance of the Protestants, *ib.*; joins in a letter to Queen Elizabeth and Cecil, *ib.*; retreats before the French to Glasgow, 210; prepares to besiege Castle Semple, 213; destroys Abbey of Paisley, 215; at Langside, 216.
 — James, seventh Earl of, complained of to the presbytery for non-attendance at church, 232; is dealt with by the presbytery, 232-233.
 — William, ninth Earl of, at Glasgow Assembly (1638), 255; Commissioner to General Assembly at St. Andrews (1641), 259; flees to Ireland, 263; raises troops in the Highlands, 282; is appointed Chancellor of Scotland, 285; "on the point of breaking," 286; a member of the Privy Council, 288; 290, 292, 293.
 — John, eleventh Earl of, 308, 319.
 — the Master of, 377.
 — Countess of, charged with absence from church, 232-234.
 — barony of, 121.
 Glen-Coats, Sir Thomas, Bart., of Ferguslie Park, 345, 407.
 Glens, the, of Bar, 127.
 Glen, lands of, 425.
 Glenfield, 406.
 Goidels, the, 12.
- Goodman, Christopher, appointed minister at St. Andrews, 220.
 — of Duchal, the, 258.
 Gordon, John, of Boghall, 288.
 — Mr. H. Erskine, of Aikenhead, etc., 399.
 Gouruck, burgh of barony of, 387; population, 388; 429.
 Govan, beer made at, 171.
 Graham, Sir John, 55.
 — John, of Claverhouse, his marriage, 312.
 — Mr. A. G. Barns, of Craigallian, 404.
 Grammar School at Paisley, 189.
 Grange, the, 154.
 Grass used for King's bed-chamber, 149.
 Gray, Sir Thomas, author of the *Scalaonica*, 74.
 Greenend, regality of, 80.
 Greenlees, Baillie, 309.
 Greenock, James IV. on board ship at, 148; church of, 185; people of, refuse to assist Earl of Argyll, 320; the Volunteer movement at, 347; history of, 383-386; charter of erection as a burgh of barony, 383; Tucker's report on, *ib.*; its harbour, *ib.*; trade and industry of, *ib.*; effect of Union (1707) upon its prosperity, 384; trade with America, *ib.*; exports and imports, 384, 385; population, 386.
 — Easter and Wester, lands of, 428.
 — parish of, 427; boundaries and extent, *ib.*; physical features, 428; lands in, *ib.*; proprietors, *ib.*; population, etc., *ib.*
 Greens, keepers of, 237.
 — dancing, 237, 291.
 Greeves, 237.
 Grene, Captain John, 282.
 Greysteel, 90.
 Grimani, Cardinal Marco, 198.
 Grimketel, his carucate of land, 27.
 Guthry, Bishop Henry, 260, 269.
- Hackit, Col. Robin, 274.
 Haislet, John, Lord Semple's piper, 149.
 Haliburton, Ralph de, 58.
 Halidon Hill, battle of, 67.
 Hall, Adam, of Tarquinhill, 117.
 — William, of Fulbar, 117.
 Halls, the, of Fulbar, 117.
 Hamilton, John, Abbot of Paisley, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Archbishop of St. Andrews, his Catechism, 195, 196; returns from France, 200; disappoints hopes of Protestants, *ib.*; Keeper of the Privy Seal, *ib.*; Lord High Treasurer, 201; appointed Bishop of Dunkeld, *ib.*; Tantallon Castle to be delivered into his hands, 202; appoints Robert, Master of Semple, his Baillie, 203; reported to be going to France, 207; reports on his movements, 208; threatens

Hamilton, John—*continued.*

- Knox and his party, 209; efforts to reform Church, 210; said to be greatly discouraged, 211; in Paisley, July, 1560, *ib.*; deprived of his livings, 212; his abbey destroyed, 214; celebrates mass in Paisley in 1562, 215; imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, *ib.*; baptises James VI., but refuses to attend his coronation, 216; is present at Langside, 217; seeks refuge in Dumbarton Castle, *ib.*; writes to Queen Elizabeth and to the Duke of Alva, *ib.*; is forfeited, *ib.*; returns to Paisley, *ib.*; returns to Dumbarton and falls into the hands of his enemies, 218; his trial, execution, and character, *ib.*; 377.
- William, third Duke of, 313, 317.
- James, second Marquess, accused of non-attendance at church, 232; High Commissioner, 254; signifies King's pleasure as to the Service Book, *ib.*; presides at Glasgow Assembly (1638), *ib.*; his description of the Assembly, *ib.*; dissolves Assembly, 255; appears in Firth of Forth with a fleet, 257.
- Bishop, 286.
- John, Bishop of Dunkeld, 286.
- Lord Claud, appointed Commendator of Paisley, 210; assists at the escape from Lochleven Castle, 216; at Langside, *ib.*; accompanies Queen Mary to England, 217; returns to Scotland, 223; his marriage, *ib.*; forfeited, *ib.*; returns to Scotland, 224; receives back his estates and made a Lord of Parliament, *ib.*; complained of as a receiver of Jesuits, 227; 377, 378.
- Anne, Duchess of, 395.
- Mr. W. Dunlop, of Greenbank, 397, 402.
- James, of Aikenhead, 288, 294, 311, 320.
- Mr. John, appointed to attend army as chaplain, 258, 264.
- Mr., minister at Inverkip, 289; deposed, 291.
- John, of Ferguslie, 210.
- Mr. Patrick, 233.
- —, of Orbiston, 315, 319.
- William, of Orbiston, 341.
- Bessie, 244.
- Janet, of Ferguslie, "auld Lady Ellerslie," 117.
- Margaret, the Goodwife of Ferguslie, 244-5.
- Hanna, Dr., Dean of Edinburgh, reads the Service Book in St. Giles Church, 249.
- Harrison, — in Titwood, 288.
- Harry the Minstrel, account of the battle of Biggar, 44.
- Harvey, Mr. J. W. Shand, of Castle Semple, 423.
- Hawkhead, 406; castle and barony of, 405; James IV. at, 149, 150.
- Hay, Mr. Andrew, parson of Renfrew, accused of taking part in the murder of David Rizzio, 221; appointed Superintendent of Clydesdale, Renfrew, and the Lennox, 222; resigns, 225.
- Mr. George, appointed to visit the churches in Renfrewshire, 221.
- Mr. John, minister at Renfrew, accuses Lady Duchal before the Presbytery, 234, 235, 239; member of Privy Council, 247; deposed from office as moderator of Presbytery, 252; not sent to Glasgow Assembly, 255, 262; re-appointed moderator, 290.
- Mr. John, of Killallan, succeeds Mr. Boyd at Paisley, 242.
- Mr., curate of Cathcart, 294.
- Hazelden, 398.
- Henderson, Mr. Alexander, minister of Leuchars and moderator of the Glasgow Assembly (1638), 255; subscribes a letter to the Earl of Eglinton, 257.
- Major, 321.
- Heriot, Adam, appointed minister at Aberdeen, 220.
- Heritors, meeting of, at Irvine, refuse the Bond, 308.
- Herrings, 96.
- Hertford, Earl of, afterwards Duke of Somerset, 201, 202, 203, 206, 207.
- Heselregg, William de, 43.
- Heyt House, Paisley, 21.
- High Commission, Court of, 268.
- Home, Earl of, 406, 409, 415.
- Honorius, Pope, III., gives permission to monks of Paisley to elect an abbot, 32.
- Hope, Captain, 281.
- Hopprewe, Wallace defeated at, 58.
- Houses of burgesses, 157.
- Host, The Highland, 308 ff.
- Houstoun, Reginald, 125.
- Hugh (1225), 125.
- Sir Finlay (1296), 125.
- Sir Patrick (*d.* 1450), 125.
- John (*d.* 1456), 125.
- Sir Peter (killed at Flodden), 126.
- Sir Patrick (killed in 1536), 126.
- John (1526-1542), 126.
- Sir Patrick (1550), 126, 141, 199.
- John (*d.* 1609), 126.
- Sir Ludovic, 126, 255, 259.
- Mr. George L., of Johnstone Castle, 407, 424.
- Mr. William, of Rossland, 416.
- George, of Johnstone, 311, 317.
- —, younger of that ilk, 319.
- Master Patrick, 123.
- Lady, 309.

- Houstoun, barony of, 416.
 — Castle, arms found at, 280.
 — church of, 183.
 — market cross of, 417.
 — parish of, minister reports no Malignants in, 264.
- Houston and Killallan, united parishes of, 416;
 boundaries and extent, *ib.*; physical features,
ib.; lands in, *ib.*; industries, population, etc.,
 417.
- Hugh de Padinan, 125.
- Humbald, prior of Wenlock, 29; his agreement
 with Walter Fitz Alan, *ib.*; arrives at Renfrew
 with monks for the Monastery of Paisley, 30;
 is rewarded with Manwede in Sussex, *ib.*;
 omission in respect to constitution of the
 Paisley Monastery, 32.
- Hume, Sir Patrick, of Polwart, 321.
- Hunter of Hunterston, 89.
- Husbandmen, 153.
- Hurlet, 406.
- Hutchison, James, minister at Killallan, 289.
- Hyndmans, the, of Lunderston, 429.
- Iberians, the, 12; their civilization, *ib.*; subju-
 gation by the Goidels, *ib.*; disposal of their
 dead, 19.
- Immortality, belief in, 19, 20.
- Inchinnan, common of, 412.
 — lands of, 410, 411.
 — lands of the Park of, 410.
 — parish of, 410; boundaries, *ib.*; physical
 features, *ib.*; lands in, 410-411; town of, 411;
 common of, 412; Temple lands in, *ib.*; Castle
 of Cruksfeu and place of Inchinnan, 411, 412;
 ferry of, 413; population, etc., 414.
- Indulgence, the First, 300.
 — the Second, 303.
- Indulged ministers, their attitude towards the
 curates, 307.
- Innes, Cornet, 320.
- Insula, Randalphus de (1164-1177), 122.
 — William de (1207-1214), 123.
 — Sir Alan de (1240-1252), 123.
 — Peter de (1273), 123. (See Lyle.)
- Inverkip, Castle of, held by the English, 65;
 church of, 183; notorious for its witches, 327;
 burgh of barony of, 388.
 — parish of, 429; boundaries and extent, *ib.*;
 physical features, *ib.*; families, population,
 and valuation, *ib.*
- Irvine, capitulation of, 45.
 — Mr., curate at Kilmacolm, 301.
- James IV. visits Paisley (May, 1489), 143; remits
 fine of the men of Paisley, *ib.*; grants charter

James IV.—*continued.*

- for erecting Paisley into a free burgh of
 barony and regality, *ib.*; besieges Crookston
 and Duchal Castles, 144; goes to meet Am-
 bassador of Spain, 145; prosecutes siege of
 Dumbarton Castle, *ib.*; at Paisley Abbey,
 146; directs midnight marauders at Paisley
 to be searched for, *ib.*; at Whithorn and
 Paisley, etc., 147; at Duchal, *ib.*; executes
 his formal revocation, 148; goes to the
 Western Isles, *ib.*; probably in Renfrewshire
 again in 1498, *ib.*; and again in 1500 and
 1501, *ib.*; in Paisley in 1502, *ib.*; and in May,
 149; in June, 1504, *ib.*; in 1505, 150; in 1506,
ib.; in 1507, 151; his amusements, 152.
 — VII., baptism and coronation, 216.
 — VII., 322, 334.
- High Steward, appointed one of the Six
 Guardians, 38; signs Turnberry Bond, *ib.*;
 supports Bruce, 39; Sheriff of Ayr, *ib.*;
 delivers kingdom into the hands of Edward I.,
 39; appointed to receive oath of fidelity to
 Edward at Ayr, 40; Sheriff of Dumbarton,
ib.; resigns Regency, *ib.*; attests Balliol's
 oath of fealty to Edward, *ib.*; riot at Lanark
 (1297), 43; signs Treaty of Irvine, 45; becomes
 surety for surrender of Marjorie Bruce, *ib.*;
 at the battle of Stirling, 47; one of his castles
 given to Alexander de Lindsay, 56; excluded
 from the amnesty, 58; not present at the
 coronation of Bruce, 60; his estates in the
 hands of the Earl of Lincoln, *ib.*; they are
 restored to him, *ib.*; he continues to hold
 aloof from Bruce, *ib.*; 64, 65.
- Jay, Sir Brian le, 55.
- Jordanhill, 407.
 — lands of, 408.
- Johnstone, burgh of, 392, 406.
 — lands of, 420.
- Jewels, inventory of, Lady Ann Hamilton's, 174.
- Kempe Knowe, 408.
- Kennishead, 319, 401.
- Ker, Colonel, his charge against Leslie, 272; sent
 to raise men in the West, 273; interviews
 Cromwell at Glasgow, *ib.*; in joint command
 of the Western army, 274; the Remonstrance,
 275; his attitude towards the King and the
 English, *ib.*; attacks Lambert at Hamilton,
ib.
- Dr. George, captured with the Spanish
 Blanks, 228; conveyed by Lord Ross to Cal-
 der, afterwards taken to Edinburgh, *ib.*
- of Kersland, 297, 298.
 — William, bailie of Eaglesham, 394.
- Kidston, Mr. George Jardine, 416, 427.

- Kilbarchan, burgh of barony of, 418, 421.
 — Chapel of Virgin, in, 190, 391.
 — church of, 184.
 — parish of, 417; boundaries, *ib.*; extent, 418; physical features, *ib.*; lands in, 418-421; industries, 421; antiquities, *ib.*; population and valuation, *ib.*
- Killallan, church of, 183, 221.
- Kilmacoll, burgh of barony of, 370.
 — church of, 184, 391.
 — parish of, 426; boundaries and extent, *ib.*; physical features, *ib.*; lands in, 426-427; population and valuation, 427.
- Kilmarnock, meeting of Western Association at, 273; Remonstrant forces pursued to, 275.
- Kilmours, Alexander, first Lord, 122.
 — Robert, second Lord, 86, 87, 122. (See Glencairn.)
 — church founded (1403), 122.
- Kilsyth, battle of, 263.
- Kilwinning, Abbey of, 122.
- Kingston, John de, Governor of Edinburgh Castle, 56.
- Kinneir, Mr. Alex., minister at Neilston, 290; appointed Clerk to Presbytery, *ib.*; 301.
- Kirkland estate, 408.
- Kirkton, lands of, 403.
- Kirkliston, 53.
- Knights Templars, 410.
- Knock, the, 409.
- Knowe, Kempe, 408.
- Knox, Mr. Andro, minister of Paisley, 227; complains against Lord C. Hamilton and Robert Aldjo, *ib.*; obtains a commission to apprehend papists, *ib.*; apprehends Dr. Ker and seizes the Spanish Blanks, 228; seizes Ailsa Craig, *ib.*; is accused of the death of Hugh Barclay of Ladyland, *ib.*; John Maxwell of Stanely's action against him, 229; sued before the Privy Council by Mr. John Gilchrist, *ib.*; assaults Gavin Stewart, 238; is suspended from office, 239; is reprov'd, *ib.*; appointed Bishop of the Isles, *ib.*; is succeeded in Paisley by Mr. Patrick Hamilton, 240.
 — John, at Finlaystone, 195; appointed minister at Edinburgh, 230.
 — John (Johannes de Cnok), 113, 114.
 — John, of Ranfurly, excuses himself for not communicating on the ground that he is not clear of the scandal of the murder of his uncle, 255.
 — Uchtred, of Craigends, 114.
 — Uchtred, of Ranfurly, 114.
 — Robert, 114.
 — William, 114.
 — Jean, 114.
- Knoxes, the, of Knox, 113.
- Labourers, Free, 153.
- Lady's Acre, Inchinnan, 179, 412.
- Lady Church or Chapel at Paisley, 189.
- Lamberton, Archbishop, 60.
- Lambert, General, defeats Colonel Ker at Hamilton, 275.
- Langbank, 416.
- Lancaster, Earl of, defeated by Sir Andrew Harcla, 62.
- Lang Loan, the, 217.
- Langside, battle of, 216.
- Lanark, Earl of, 263, 269.
- Lanark, Sheriff of (1297), 43.
 — Edward II. at, 65.
- Law, John, 395.
- Lawes' Regiment, 262.
- Lauderdale, Earl of, Secretary of State, 285, 286, 293.
- Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow, 286, 301; his zeal, 302; efforts to effect a settlement between the Government and the ministers, *ib.*
- Lennox family, the. (See Stewarts of Darneley.)
- Lennox, Malcolm, fifth Earl of, at the battle of Stirling, 48.
 — Sir John Stewart, first Earl of, 87, 96; in rebellion, 144; his castle of Dumbarton besieged by James IV., 145; appears in Parliament, *ib.*; receives pardon, *ib.*; ordered to apprehend marauders at Paisley, 146.
 — Matthew, fourth Earl of, 101; his treatment by Beaton, 198; joins English Lords, *ib.*; takes possession of money and artillery sent to assist Catholics, 199; raises forces with the money, *ib.*; fortifies Glasgow, *ib.*; is defeated by Arran, 200; accused of treason, 202; seizes Bute but fails to obtain Dumbarton Castle, 203; appealed to by Earl of Glencairn, 207; whom he shortly after attacks, 208; appointed Regent (1570), 377.
- Leslie, General, 257, 258, 261, 271, 272.
 — David, 272.
 — Francis, 244.
 — Mr. Alex., minister at Inverkip, 290.
 — W., curate at Inverkip, 327.
- Leven Castle, 162.
- Levern, chapel built near, 189.
- Liddesdale, Knight of, sent to seek French aid, 71; takes Edinburgh Castle, *ib.*; starves Ramsay to death in Hermitage Castle, 72; bids himself to serve Edward III., 74.
- Lilburne, Colonel, dismisses Assembly, 281.
- Lincoln, Earl of, and James the High Steward's estates, 60, 65.
- Lindsay, Sir James, of Dunrod, 127.
 — Alexander, of Dunrod, 127.
 — John, of Dunrod, 127.
 — of Pitscottie, on the state of the country, 131.

- Lindsay, John, Bishop of Glasgow, 176.
 — Mr. D., appointed minister at Leith, 220.
 — Mr. John, warned at Lanark not to commend the Service Book, 249.
- Linen, price of, 173.
- Linlithgow, Edward II. at, 65.
- Lithgow, John de, Abbot of Paisley, and his coadjutor, W. Chisholm, 177.
 — Mr. W. T., of Drums House, 415.
- Livingstone, Andrew de, Sheriff of Lanark (1297), 43.
- Lochleboside, 85.
- Lochwinnoch, church of, 186.
 — Collegiate Church of, visited by James IV., 150.
 — parish of, 422; boundaries and extent, *ib.*; physical features, *ib.*; lands in, 422-425; antiquities, 425; industries, population, etc., *ib.*
- Logan, Adam de, 110.
 — John, of Raiss, 110.
- Lombard, Sir Antony, 112.
- Loudon, Earl of, commands Ayrshire forces, 257; applies to Paisley Presbytery for a chaplain, 262.
- Lordships, some, in Renfrewshire, 82.
- Lothian Regiment, the, 261.
- Lovell, Place of, 138.
- Lundy, Sir Richard, joins English, 45; at the battle of Stirling, 47.
- Lyle, Duncan de (1296), 123.
 — Sir Alan de, 123.
 — Sir John (1340-1360), 123.
 — John le, 123.
 — Sir Robert of, 123.
 — George, 123.
 — Alexander, William, Robert, 124.
 — Robert, first Lord (1452), 124; rents gardens and meadows of the Royal Castle of Renfrew (1464), 143.
 — Robert, second Lord (1496), 124; rebels and besieged in Duchal Castle by the King, 144.
 — John, fourth Lord, 125.
- MacDowall, Mr. H., of Garthland and Carruth, 423, 427.
- MacFergus, Angus, 17.
- McGeachan, Rolland, 98.
- MacGregor, a charmer, 327.
- Machame, William, vicar of Eaglesham, 394.
- Mackay, General, 334.
- Maeatae, the, 13, 396.
- Maid of Norway, the, 38; death, 39.
- Makbrek, Schir Andro, canon of Dunkeld, royal chaplain, almoner of James IV., 151.
- Malcolm IV., 27; confirms the grants of David I. to the High Steward, and makes him additional grants, *ib.*
- Malcolm Earl of Lennox, his gifts to the Monastery of Paisley, 33.
- Malignants in Paisley, 264.
- Mansewood, 401.
- Mar, Earl of, defeat at Dupplin, 66.
 — John, Earl of, appoints William Erskine chamberlain of Paisley Abbey, 223.
- Mareschal, John, bailiff to the Earl of Lincoln in Renfrewshire, 65.
- Marjorie, daughter of Robert I. and wife of Walter the Steward, returns to Scotland, and is married to the Steward, 61; her death, 63.
- Marriage contract, 86, 101, 108, 113.
- Mary Queen of Scots, 109, 208, 216.
- Mary of Lorraine, 208, 209.
- Mathetema, Cornelius de, 136.
- Mauchline, engagement at, 268.
- Maud, the Empress, 26.
- Mauld, Mr. John, 273.
- Maxwell, Lord, 99.
 — John Lord, 99.
 — Sir John Stirling-, Bart., M.P., 401, 402, 406.
 — Sir W. Stirling-, Bart., 402.
 — John, younger, of Bogton, 311.
 — John, of Dargavel, 341.
 — of Mearns, Eymor de, 98.
 — Sir Herbert, of Caerlaverock, 96, 99.
 — of Mearns, Sir Robert, 95.
 — of Mearns, Sir John, 95.
 — of Pollok, John (1273), 96.
 — Peter, 96.
 — John de (1298), 97.
 — John de (1337), 97.
 — Sir John (1395), 97, 98.
 — Sir John de, 98.
 — Sir John de (*d.* 1578), 98.
 — Hugh, 105.
 — of Pollok, Sir John, 247.
 — of Nether Pollok, Sir George, 288, 295, 320.
 — of Nether Pollok, Sir John, 311, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320.
 — Master Robert, rector of Tarbolton, 98.
 — Sir Patrick, of Newark, 259.
 — David, 236.
 — of Blackstone, 297.
 — George, minister, 233.
 — Mr. Gabriel, 235.
 — John, of Stanely, sues Mr. Andro Knox before the magistrates of Paisley, 229; denounced before the Presbytery by Mr. Andro Knox, 231; his punishment, 232.
 — John, 236.
 — John, of Stanely, 253.
 — Mr. Robert, minister at Killallan, 221; deposed, *ib.*
 — Robert, reader at Kilmaccolm, 221.
 — of Williamwood, 311.

- Maxwells, the, of Brediland, 127.
 — the, of Dargavel, 128.
 — the, of Nether Pollok, 96-98.
- Mearns, Rolandus de, 28, 98.
- Mearns, the, 13.
 — church of, 187.
 — tower, 161.
- Mearns, the family of, 98.
 — Newton of, burgh of barony, 397.
 — lands and castle of, 396.
 — parish of, 395; physical features, *ib.*; earliest inhabitants, 396; lands in, *ib.*; Temple lands, 397; common of, *ib.*; industries, population, and valuation, 398.
- Meeting, general, of Presbyterian ministers in Edinburgh, August, 1687, 323.
- Meikle, Mr. John, of Lochlibo, 404.
- Melville of Hawkhead, John Lord, 109.
 — Sir John, 109.
- Meldrum, lands of, 85.
- Melfort, Earl of, at Glasgow, 313-318; his efforts against Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, Alexander Porterfield of Duchal, and Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollok, *ib.*
- Menteith, Sir John, captures Wallace, 59.
- Merchant Guild, the, 155.
- Methven, Paul, appointed minister at Jedburgh, 220.
- Miathi, the, 14.
- Middleton, Earl of, Royal Commissioner, 285, 286, 287.
- Ministers, Indulged, in Renfrewshire, 303.
 — the outed, privations of, 289.
 — scarcity of, in 1560, 220.
- Ministers' regiment, 272.
- Mirin, S., church of, 181.
- Millbank, lands of, 423.
- Milliken Park, 420.
- Mitton, Chapter of, 62.
- Monasteries, Celtic, said to have been erected by SS. Mirin and Convallanus, 24; their construction and organization, *ib.*
- Monastery of Paisley. (See Paisley, Abbey of.)
- Money invested in plate and jewels, 174.
- Moniabrock, lands of, 33, 109.
- Monk, General, takes Stirling Castle, 277.
- Mons Meg "cartit" west, 144.
- Montgomerie (Montgomery, Mungumry, Mungomry, Montgomery, Moungunry.)
 — Robert de, 28.
 — John de (1296), 85.
 — John de (1388), 85.
 — Alexander, Lord of Ardrossan, 87.
 — Alexander, second Lord, 87.
 — Hugh, third Lord and first Earl of Eglinton, 87. (See Eglinton.)
 — Lord, 255, 257, 258.
- Montgomerie, Major-General Robert, 90, 272;
 Captain, 257.
 — Colonel, 275.
 — Adam, 88.
 — James, 88.
 — Master Thomas, rector of Eaglesham, 87.
 — Anny of, her marriage contract, 86.
 — Elizabeth, 87.
 — Margaret, 86, 87, 101.
 — Agnes, 86.
 — Sir James, of Skelmorlie, 335, 337, 338.
 — Sir Robert, the younger, of Skelmorlie, 247.
 — Mr. Ezekiel, Sheriff-Depute, 311.
- Montgomeries, the, of Giffen, 89.
 — of Scotstoun, 128.
 — of Skelmorlie, 87.
 — of Weitlands, 288.
- Montgomery and Cuninghame feud, 132-134.
- Montrose, Marquess of, 257; forfeited, 263; at Glasgow and Bothwell, *ib.*; sympathisers with, in Renfrewshire, *ib.*
- Moray, Andrew de, Sheriff of Ayr, 39; wounded at Stirling, 49.
 — Sir Andrew, a governor of the kingdom, 69; relieves the Castle of Kildrummy, 70; descends into the Lowlands (1336), *ib.*; besieges Stirling (1337), *ib.*; his death, *ib.*
 — Randolph, Earl of, Regent, 66.
 — Earl of, at battle of Langside, 216.
- More, Sir Reginald, 105.
- Morken, 16.
- Morton, Earl of, commands Border pikemen at battle of Langside, 217.
- Muir, John, of Cowdams, 105.
 — younger, of Rowallan, 235.
- Murray, Lord Charles, 309.
- Muschett, Margaret, 121.
- Mynyd Agned, taken by Edwin of Bernicia and named Edwinesburgh or Edinburgh, 17.
- Muirdykes, action at, 321.
- Munro, General, 261, 267, 269.
- Murdoch, Mr. James Barclay, 397.
- Mure of Caldwell—
 Godfrey, 105.
 John, 105.
 John, 105.
 Sir Adam, 105.
 John, 106.
 John, 106.
 Sir John, 106.
 Sir Robert, 107.
 Robert (*d.* 1641), 107.
 William, 296, 297; flies to Holland, *ib.*; his estates given to General Dalziel, *ib.*
 Lady, of Caldwell, treatment of, 298.
 — Mr. William, of Caldwell, 404.

- Mure of Glanderston, William, 106.
 Mures of Caldwell, 103-107, 397, 403.
 — of Glanderston, 403.
 Murlie, lands of, 399.
- Natives, 154.
 Nes, Henry de, 99.
 Neilson, Mark, of Dalrymple, 103.
 Neilston, church of, 187.
 — lands of, 403.
 — parish of, 402; boundaries, *ib.*; lands in, 403; industries, proprietors, population, and valuation, 404.
 Neilstonside, lands of, 403.
 Newark, barony of, 122, 427.
 — Castle, 163.
 — James IV. at, 148.
 Netherplace, 398.
 Newburn, battle of, 258.
 Newcastle taken by General Leslie, 258.
 Newlands, lands of, 399.
 Newton Woods, 406.
 Nicolson, Sir George, 309.
 — Sir Thomas, Lord Advocate, 285.
 Niknevin, 107.
 Nie Neville, 326.
 Nithsdale, Earl of, 99, 396.
 Nitshill, 401, 406.
- Northmen, their inroads in the West of Scotland, 17; take Dumbarton, 18; overrun Strathclyde, *ib.*
- Ochiltree, John of, 312.
 Okey, Colonel, in Renfrewshire, 277.
 Olaf the White, 17.
 Orange, Prince of, 324.
 Orbiston, laird of, 277, 315, 319.
 Ordination, Book of, 248.
 Orr, John, of Jeffraystack, 288.
 Oswald, son of Edwin of Bernicia, 17.
 — Mr. J. W. Gordon, of Scotstoun, 409.
 Oswiu, King of almost all Scotland, 17.
 Outed ministers, roll of, in Renfrewshire, 288.
 Outing of ministers, 287.
 Owen, King of Strathclyde, 18.
- Padinan, Hugh de, 125, 416.
- Paisley, 21: feud with Renfrew, 143, 146, 147; James IV. at, 141, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150; 151, 152; ancient parish church of, 181; curates and chaplains of the parish of, 182, *n. l.*; Lady Church, 187; school at, 192; a "nest of papistry," 221; Protestant doctrines opposed, 225, 226; Bailies oppose entrance of Lord Sinclair's and other regiments into the burgh, 261, 262; people restrained from enlisting with others than the town, 271; troops raised for the Western army, 274; military stores removed from, 274; Colonel Ker's regiment at, 274, 275; Colonel Kennedy's regiment in, 276; arms found in Abbey Church of, 281; municipal authorities of, postponement of election of, 283; obtain licence to hold elections, *ib.*; Life Guards stationed at, October, 1663, 292; authorities treat Lord Rothes to "the courtesy of the town," 296; authorities of, cited before the Lords Justiciary, 310; troops quartered in, 298; commanded by the Laird of Meldrum, 301; marriage of Claverhouse at, 312; obtains new Town Council, etc., 335; and the Union of England and Scotland, 342; and the Stuarts (1715), 342, (1745), 344; men of, at battle of Falkirk, 345; and the Volunteer movement, 349; magistrates of, 378; lordship of, sold, 378; reports on, to Convention of Royal Burghs, *ib.*; population of, *ib.*, 383; trade of, 378; manufacture of silk gauze at, 379; cotton spinning at, *ib.*; muslin manufacture, *ib.*; shawl trade, 380; depressions of trade, 382; cotton thread manufacture, 382; various industries, 383; population, *ib.*
- Abbey of, 32; benefactors of, 33; value of, 34; number of parish churches belonging to it, *ib.*; Wallace probably educated at its school, 42; Walter the High Steward buried at, 63; burnt by English, 65; church of Pollok given to it, 95; visited by James IV., 142, 147-152; tenants of, 153, 159; Rental Book of, 154; cottars of, 159; restoration of, 176; assailed by Sir W. More, 177; some abbots of, *ib.*; churches belonging to, 181-188; Lord Claud Hamilton appointed Commendator of, 210; reported suppression of, 211; destruction of, 214; given to Lord Semple, 217; restored to Lord Claud Hamilton, 223; seized in the King's name, *ib.*; besieged in 1579, *ib.*; lease of temporalities given to Lord Cathcart, *ib.*; William Erskine appointed Commendator, *ib.*; restored to Lord C. Hamilton, 224, 376, 377; lands belonging to, in the parish of Paisley, 406.
- Abbey of—Abbots—
 John de Lithgow, 177.
 Richard de Bodwell, 177.
 Thomas Tervas, 177.
 Henry Crichton, 178.
 George Shaw, 143, 178, 374.
 Robert Shaw, 149.
 John Hamilton, 200, 203, 204, 205, 208, 210, 211, 212, 215, 216-219, 376.

Paisley, Abbey of—Benefactors of—

- Alan, 33.
 Alexander, 36.
 Baldwin de Bigres, 32.
 Malcolm Earl of Lennox, 33.
 Reginald, son of Somerled, 33.
 Walter Fitz Allan, 31.
 Walter II., 33.
 Eschina de Molla, 32.
 Fonia, 33.
 — chaplains of, 182.
 — Master of, the, breaks into Mr. Boyd's lodgings, 241; is accused before the Privy Council, 242; liberated on the intervention of Mr. Boyd, 242.
 — ministers of, Mr. Patrick Constant or Adamson, 221, 225; Mr. Andrew Polwarth, 225, 226; Mr. Thomas Smeaton, 225, 226; Mr. Andro Knox, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232; Mr. R. Boyd, 241; Mr. John Hay, 242; Mr. John Crichton, 250, 252, 256; Mr. Henry Calvert, 245, 256, 265; Mr. A. Dunlop, 273, 273, 289; Mr. John Mauld, 273, 275; Mr. W. Pierson, 290; Mr. John Baird, 304; Mr. W. Eccles, 304, 311; Mr. Thomas Blackwell, 328, 329, 331, 333, 339.
 — parish of, 404; divisions, *ib.*; boundaries, *ib.*; physical features, 405; lands and ancient estates in, *ib.*; Abbey lands, 406; industries, *ib.*; antiquities, *ib.*; proprietors, 406; population, etc., 407.
 — the Presbytery of, formed, 224; Records, *ib.*; procedure, 230; impartiality, *ib.*; intolerance, 231; case against John Maxwell of Stanely, 231; against the Countess of Glencairn, 234; against Lady Duchal, 234; against John Knox of Ranfurie, and others, 235; against the Maxwells of Newark, 236; on Sunday observance, *ib.*; and the keeping of dancing greens, 237; case of Gavan Stewart and Martha Pinkerton, 238; against Mr. Andro Knox, 238-240; deal with James Stewart of Caversbank, 241; John Baillies and his wife, *ib.*; two servitors of the Countess of Abercorn, *ib.*; and the Countess, 241; the second Earl of Abercorn and his Countess, 242-244; Lord and Lady Semple, 244; the Goodwife of Fergusie and her sister, *ib.*; petition against the Service Book, 250; send up their petition by Mr. W. Brisbane, 251; ordain a fast, May 24, 1638, 251; depose Mr. John Hay from the Moderatorship, 252; proceed against Mr. John Crichton, *ib.*; refer his case to the Assembly, 253; increased zeal, 256; appoint Mr. M. Brisbane and Mr. John Hamilton chaplains to attend Covenanting forces to Duns Law, 258; appoint Lord Mont-

Paisley, Presbytery of—*continued.*

- gomery Commissioner to General Assembly, 1640, 258; adopt Solemn League and Covenant, 260; read warning for the ministers, etc., 260-1; send chaplain to army in England, 262; instructed to proceed against malignants, 263; proceed against them, 264; denounce the Engagement, 267; read Committee's protestation, *ib.*; send representatives to meeting of Western Association at Kilmarnock, 273; invaded by Captain John Grene, 281, 282; ceases to exist, 290; re-instituted, *ib.*; and conventicles, 296; last meeting of curates of, 323; united with Glasgow, Paisley, and Dumbarton, 323; prosecute cases of witchcraft, 326-333; support the Assembly against William III., 339; ministers from, sent to preach in the north, *ib.*; intolerance of the brethren, *ib.*; decadence of power, 340; an act of toleration, 341.
 — Priory of, founded, 29; Osbert appointed prior of, 30; endowment of, 31; made an Abbey, 32.
 — regality of, 80, 81, 83.
 Palm-my-arm, 409.
 Pantheon, Celtic, 20.
 Parishes in the shire, 324.
 Park, lands of, 415.
 Park, John, 319.
 — Robert, 253.
 Parliament, English, seek assistance from Scots, 259; the Long, 278.
 Parliament at Edinburgh (1334), 67; at Dairsie, 69; at Scone (1357), 75; at Stirling, August 2, 1440, 131; on June 29, 1633, 247.
 Parliament, Act of, anent dress, 172; anent education, 192.
 Payments and offerings of James IV. in Paisley, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151; at Hawkhead, 149, 150; at Inchinnan, 150, 151.
 Peace declared, October 22, 1348, 74.
 Peblis, Sir Bernard, vicar of Inchinnan, 179, 221.
 Peebles, Hugh, minister at Lochwinnoch, 289; deposed, 290; before the Court of High Commission, 295.
 Peel at Lochwinnoch, 213.
 Penda defeated by Oswin, 17.
 Pendreiche, Mr. Robert, 244.
 Percy, Henry, leads an army into Scotland (1298), 44.
 — Lord, invades Scotland, 73.
 Perth, Earl of, 309.
 Perth, Five Articles of, 240.
 Pestilence in Renfrewshire, 266.
 Petcon, Sir Thomas, 103.
 Pictish Kingdom, the, 15.
 Pierson, Mr. William, minister at Paisley, 290.

- Pinkerton, Martha, 238.
 Pius II., Pope, seizes revenues of the monastery of Paisley, 178.
 Pollokshaws, burgh of barony of, 390-391.
 Polwarth, Mr. Andrew, appointed minister of Paisley, 225; his experience in Paisley, 226; appointed sub-dean of Glasgow, *ib.*
 Pollok, family of, 94-96.
 Pollok, Charles of, 96.
 — David de, 96.
 — Helias, 94, 95.
 — John (*ob.* 1567), 96.
 — John (*ob.* 1598), 96.
 — John, 95.
 — Peter de, 95.
 — Robert, 94, 95.
 — Thomas de, 95.
 — of Millburn, 288.
 — Mr. Fergusson, 396, 397.
 — Mr. James, of Blackhouse, 397.
 — Robert, 395.
 Pollok, 401.
 — Nether, church of, 400.
 — Upper, barony of, 396.
 — church of, 182.
 Polnoon (Pulnoon), 85, 394.
 Porter, John, 114.
 — Walter de, 114.
 Porterfields, the, of that ilk, 114.
 Porterfield, Alexander, of Duchal (1540), 103, 110.
 — Alexander, of Duchal (Melfort's Martyr), 297, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320.
 — —, the Goodman of Duchal, 255.
 — John, of Duchal, 295, 311, 320.
 — Master John, 114.
 — Robert, 114.
 — William, 114.
 — Gabriel, of Blairlin, 115.
 — George, in Killallan, 297.
 — John, of Greenend, 115.
 — William, of Quarrelton, 296, 297.
 Porterfield, lands of, 114.
 Port-Glasgow, origin and history of, 389-390; population, 390.
 Powmathorn, 101.
 Presbyterianism and witchcraft, 328.
 Presbyteries instituted, 224.
 Presbytery of Paisley, the. (See Paisley, the Presbytery of.)
 Press-gangs, 346.
 Preston, Sir Robert, 397.
 — Laird of, his regiment, 276.
 Prices of foods and wines, 169 *n.*
 Priesthood, Celtic, 20.
 Principality formed out of the barony of Renfrew, earldom of Carrick, and King's Kyle, etc., 77.
 Privy Council, the, 286, 288.
- Proclamation at Glasgow, October 1, 1661, its effect on the ministers, 287; on the ordinances of public worship, 289.
 Quakers, the, 339.
 Queensberry, Earl of, 288.
 Quithill, the lands of, 411.
 Raban's press, 248.
 Ragman Roll, names upon it, 41.
 Raiss, 110.
 Ralston, Sir James Douglas of, 92.
 — (Railstoun) Sir John Stewart de, 112.
 — (Ralphstoun), Hugh de, 112.
 — (Raulyston), John de, 112.
 — Nicolas de, 112.
 — (Ralphiston), Thomas de, 112.
 — of that ilk, 288, 296.
 Ralstone, laird of, 275.
 Ramsay, Matthew, minister at Old Kilpatrick, 293.
 Randolph on Mr. John Willock and his appointment as Superintendent of the West, 220.
 Ranfru, Robertus de, 64.
 Ranfurly, chapel of Virgin at, 190.
 — lands of, 419.
 Rankin of Newton, 288.
 Rassele, lands of, 410, 411.
 Readers in Renfrewshire, 221.
 Reformation, the, early character of movement in Scotland, 197; leaders in Renfrewshire, *ib.*; first successes, *ib.*; French party, 198; Arran is reconciled to Beaton, *ib.*; English party, *ib.*; arrival of French fleet at Dumbarton, *ib.*; imprisonment of Lord Maxwell and others, 199; treaty for marriage of Queen annulled by French or Catholic party, *ib.*; defeat of Glencairn and other "assured Scots" at Glasgow, 200; return of Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, from France, *ib.*; he disappoints hopes of Protestants, *ib.*; his influence, *ib.*; appointed bishop of Dunkeld, 201; surrender of Finlaystone Castle demanded, *ib.*; arrival of Earl of Hertford in the Forth, *ib.*; Angus and Sir George Douglas released, 202; they are suspected by Henry VIII., *ib.*; battle of Ancrum Moor, *ib.*; intrigues of Glencairn and others with Henry VIII., 203; arrival of fleet under Lorges de Montgomery, 204; efforts of Catholic party frustrated by Glencairn and others, *ib.*, 205; Scotland again invaded by Earl of Hertford, *ib.*; murder of Cardinal Beaton and arrival of Leo Strozzi with French fleet, *ib.*; apparent union between Catholic and Protestant parties, 205; battle of Pinkie, 206; Mary of Lorraine becomes Regent, 208; her policy contributes to spread of Reformation, 209; John Knox preaches at Perth, *ib.*;

Reformation—*continued*.

Hamilton appointed Primate, *ib.*; holds General Councils, 210; Claud Hamilton made Commendator of Paisley, *ib.*; Paisley Abbey reported destroyed, 211; jurisdiction of the Pope abolished and Protestantism established, 212; Castle Semple besieged, 213; Paisley Abbey destroyed, 214; effect on people of Renfrewshire, 215; Archbishop Hamilton tried for celebrating mass in Paisley, 215; the battle of Langside and ruin of Catholic party, 216.

Regiment of Lord Sinclair lands at Irvine, 261; arrives at Paisley, 262.

— the Ministers', 272.

Remonstrance, the, 275.

Remonstrants, the, 280, 281, 285.

Renfrew, barony of, made part of a principality, 77.

— burgh of, Edward II. at, 65; burgh of, 84; payments for the King's ransom, *ib.*; feud with Paisley, 143, 146, 147; church of, 179; chaplainries at, 179, 180; school at, 193; represented in Parliament of 1654 by John Wilkie of Bromhouse, 283; in Parliament of 1656 by George Lockhart of Tarbrax, *ib.*; in Parliament of 1659 by Captain John Lockhart, *ib.*; royal gardens, etc., let, 143, 363.

— castle of, Lord Ross appointed hereditary governor, 143; 408.

— parish of, 407; boundaries, *ib.*; physical features, *ib.*; lands in, 408; "Palm-my-arm," 409; Queen Marjorie, *ib.*; industries, population, etc., *ib.*

Renfrew, Matthew of, 64.

Renfrewshire, geographical position and physical features, 9; climate, 11; divisions, *ib.*; early inhabitants, 12; part of the kingdom of Strathclyde, 16; probably overrun by Northmen, 17; united to Scottish crown, 18; introduction of Christianity into, 20; saints of, 21; the Steward's settlement of the shire, 26; at the time chiefly waste land, 27; its inhabitants, *ib.*; portioned out by the Steward among his followers, 28; foundation of Paisley monastery, *ib.*; invasion by Somerled, 29; a journey between Shropshire and Renfrewshire, 30; prosperity of, 37; represented at coronation of Bruce by the Earl of Lennox, 60; its part in the Wars of Independence, 63; cleared of the invaders, 68; early divisions of, 79, 84; Temple lands in, 80, 192, 394, 397; taxation of, 84; families of, 85-130; feuds in, 131-142; royal visits to, 143-152; different classes of people in, 154; the free, *ib.*; unfree, 154; burgesses, 155; burghs, officials, and privileges, *ib.*; streets, roads, and houses, 157; furniture of burgesses' houses, 158;

Renfrewshire—*continued*.

dwellings of cottars and tenants, 159; castelated dwellings, 160; general features, *ib.*; Mearns Tower, 161; Leven Castle, 162; Crookston Castle, *ib.*; Newark Castle, 163; Duchal Castle, 165; Barr Castle, *ib.*; Cathcart Castle, 166; Stanely Castle, *ib.*; other castles, *ib.*; sites of castles, 167; furnishing of the castles, *ib.*; food of upper classes, 169; drink, *ib.*; drinks and food of lower classes, 171; dress, 172; silk, flax, and woollen, fabrics, 173; relations between landlords and tenants, 175; ecclesiastical condition of, 176; churches in, 178-188; chapels in, 189-191; state of education in, *ib.*; conduct of clergy in, 193; religion in, before the Reformation, 194; moral condition, 195; attitude towards the Reformation, 221; Mr. George Hay appointed to visit the churches in, *ib.*; readers in, *ib.*; ministers in, *ib.*; 290, 303, 305, 323, 324; Lord Montgomery appointed Colonel of, 257; acknowledges disloyalty to Montrose at Bothwell, 263; pestilence in, 266; and the Remonstrants, 274; military headquarters for, at Dumbarton, 276; troops raised in, for Charles II., 277; Commissioners dispersed by Colonel Okey, *ib.*; Cromwell's troops quartered in, *ib.*; refuses to assent to the Tender of Union, 280; waning influence of Remonstrants, *ib.*; gentlemen of county separate themselves from them, *ib.*; gentlemen of, suspected by Lilburne, 282; send a deputation to him, *ib.*; sends no Member to Parliament of 1634, 283; represented in Parliament of 1656 by William Lord Cochrane of Dundonald, *ib.*; re-valuation of, 284; individuals in, affected by the Act of Indemnity, 1662, 288; roll of outed ministers in, 288; the curates in, 290; conventicles in, 296, 304, 307; troops quartered in, 298; commission for ordering and settling the militia, 299; indulged ministers in, 300, 303; difficulties encountered by the curates in, 304-306; the Proclamation and Bond, 307; heritors refuse the Bond, 308; the Highland Host in, 308-310; various inhabitants imprisoned on suspicion, 311; suspected in, deported to America, 312; militia called out against the Earl of Argyll, 320; witches and witchcraft in, 326; men of, march to Edinburgh to defend Revolution principles, 334; arming of county, *ib.*; troops raised to pursue Claverhouse, 336; Danish horse in, 337; men of, dismissed by the Convention, 338; Quakers and other dissenters in, 339; and the Union of 1703, 342; and the rebellion of 1715, *ib.*; and of 1745, 344; men at Sheriffmuir, *ib.*; patriotism during French and American wars, 347;

- Renfrewshire—*continued*.
 volunteer movement in, *ib.*, 348; forts in, *ib.*;
 periods of distress, 349; chartism, *ib.*;
 industries:—farming, 351; weaving, 355;
 thread (linen) manufacture, 356; cotton
 spinning, *ib.*; bleaching, 357; printworks, *ib.*;
 dyeing, *ib.*; fulling, *ib.*; tanning, *ib.*; mining
 and quarrying, *ib.*; shipbuilding, 358; en-
 gineering, *ib.* Burghs in, 359-392; parishes,
 393-429.
- Renshaw, Sir C. Bine, Bart., M.P., 416, 429.
- Replegiation, right of, belonging to the monastery
 of Paisley, 81.
- Revocation, Act of, by Charles I., 246; the opposi-
 tion to it, 247.
- Richardson, Major, 281.
 — Mr. Geo. Wood, 407.
- Ripon, Treaty of, 358.
- Robert I. crowned at Scone, 60.
 Robert II., 85.
- Robertland, Cunningham of, 89.
- Robeson, Sir Thomas, 218, 225.
 — Captain, 277, 278.
- Rob Roy and his men, 343, 344.
- Roderick the Liberal, king of Strathclyde, 16, 21.
- Rodger, Mr. R., 323.
- Roman Catholics, 322.
- Roman occupation, traces of, in Renfrewshire, 14.
- Roslin, battle of, 44, 57.
- Ross, Duke of, Archbishop of St. Andrews, at
 Paisley, 143.
 — John, first Lord, 108, 149, 150.
 — John, second Lord, 109.
 — Ninian, third Lord, 109.
 — James, fourth Lord, 109.
 — Robert, fifth Lord, 110, 255.
 — James, sixth Lord, 110.
 — William, tenth Lord, 255, 277.
 — George, eleventh Lord, 110, 307, 308, 312.
 — William, twelfth Lord, 319, 337.
 — the Master of, 309.
 — Sir Godfrey, 107.
 — Sir Robert, 107.
 — Sir William, of Mureston, 110, 262.
 — Dame Margaret, an inventory of, 174.
 — Charles, 108.
 — Sir John, of Hawkhead, 105, 107.
 — John de, 108.
 — Stephen de, 108.
- Roths, John, fifth Earl of, 247, 255.
 — sixth Earl and 1st Duke, 296, 299.
- Row, John, appointed minister at Perth, 230.
- Rutherglen, church of, 111.
- Ruthven, Lord, presides at the trial of Archbishop
 Hamilton, 218.
- Rydderch Hael, 16.
- S. Berchan, labours in Kilbarchan, 21; his pro-
 phecies, *ib.*; one of the Four Illustrious, *ib.*;
 his day and fair, 22.
- S. Bride, Chapel of, Kilbarchan, 190.
- S. Bride's Burn, 190, 421; Mill, 190.
- S. Cadoc, 15.
- S. Catherine, Chapel of, Kilbarchan, 190, 191.
- S. Columba, 16, 21.
- S. Convallanus, 23; the Church of Pollok dedicated
 to him, *ib.*
- S. Convallanus, 24; at Inchinnan and in the village
 of Fereneze, *ib.*, 182.
- S. Fillan, 22; said to have laboured in the parish
 of Kilallan, *ib.*; his chair, well, day, and fair,
ib.; his parentage, *ib.*; his fame in Scotland,
 one of his recorded miracles, 23; the chief
 scene of his labours, *ib.*
- S. Lawrence, Chapel of, 191.
- S. Mirin, birth and education, 21; leaves Ireland
 and settles in Paisley, *ib.*; his church and
 tomb, *ib.*
- SS. Mirin and Columba, Chapel of, 190.
- S. Modwenna, 21.
- S. Nicholas, Church of, at Paisley, 189.
- S. Ninian, 20.
- S. Roque (Roche, Rollok), Church of, 189.
- S. Winoc or Gwynoch, 24; in Lochwinnoch, *ib.*
- S. Winnoc, Chapel of, Lochwinnoch, 190.
- Scerlo, 27, 31.
- Schools in Scotland, 192.
- Scotland, condition of, 286.
 — Union of, with England, proclaimed, 283.
- Scots Assured, 197.
- Scotstoun, lands of, 408.
- Scott, Captain, of Bonniton, 310.
 — Mr. Lawrence, of Paisley, 288.
- Scrymegeour, Alexander, appointed Hereditary
 Constable of Dundee, 51.
- Selviland, Patrick of, 127, 419.
- Selvielands, lands of, 419.
- Sample, John, first Lord, 130.
 — William, second Lord, Sheriff of Renfrew-
 shire, 82; a Privy Councillor, 130; justiciar
 and baillie of the regality of Paisley, *ib.*;
 reconciled to Earl of Glencairn, 134; deposes
 a Crown messenger, 136; concerned in the
 death of the laird of Lochleven, *ib.*; his men
 kill Cornelius Mathemata, *ib.*; obtains protec-
 tion of the King, 137; waylays and kills
 Cuninghame of Craighends, *ib.*; his own life
 attempted, 138; his trial, *ib.*; his wife, *ib.*;
 a political leader on the Catholic side, 197.
 — Robert, Master of and third Lord, justiciar
 of Renfrewshire, 80; of the regality of Paisley,
 81, 130; besieges Caldwell, 137; is invaded
 by Mure of Caldwell, 141, 204, 212, 214;

- Semple, Robert—*continued*.
 defends Castle Semple, 213-214; becomes a Protestant, 217; fights against the Queen at Langside, *ib.*; the Abbey of Paisley given to him, *ib.*; is besieged in it by Lord C. Hamilton, 223.
 — Hugh, fifth Lord, reported to be arming against Covenanters, 254.
 — Robert, seventh Lord, dealt with by the Presbytery, 244.
 — Sir John, of Eliotstoun, 123, 129.
 — Sir William, 130.
 — Col. William, 247.
 — Ninian, 221.
 — Robert de, of Semple Castle, 64.
 — Thomas, 128, 129, 130.
 — William, 128.
 — Sir James, of Beltrees, 425.
 — Robert, of Beltrees, 253.
 — of Balgreen, 288.
 — Andrew, Clerk of Renfrew, 265, 266.
 — William, of Blackburn, 136.
 — William, of Brintshiels, excuses himself for not communicating on the ground that he is not clear of the scandal of adultery, 235.
 — John, of Fulwood, 136, 137.
 — John, of Kirkinhead, 136.
 — Gabriel, of Ladymuir, 398.
 — of Ladymure, 137.
 — Robert de, 135.
 — Sir John, vicar of Erskine, 137.
 Semple, barony of, 423.
 — Collegiate Church of, 24.
 Semples of Craigbetts, 130.
 — of Beltrees, 130.
 — of Bruntshiels, 130.
 Sempringham pension, the, 33.
 Service Book, the, issued, 248; read in S. Giles' Church, Edinburgh, 248-9; at Brechin, 249; commended at Lanark, *ib.*; how received in Renfrewshire, 250.
 Serving maids, 249.
 Sharp, James, minister of Crail, 285; ordained bishop, 286.
 Shaw, Christian, afterwards Mrs. Millar, her bewitching, 331.
 — George, Abbot of Paisley, tutor to Duke of Ross, 143; obtains remission of fine for the men of Paisley, *ib.*; erects Paisley into a burgh, 144; appeals to King against men of Renfrew, 146; raises an action against them, 147; succeeded by his nephew, Robert Shaw, 149, 178, 420.
 — Sir John, of Greenock, 311, 345.
 — Abbot Robert, calls upon Lord Semple to give an account of his intrusions as bailie of his regality, 81, 178.
 Sheets, 168.
 Sheriff-deputes of Renfrewshire, 79.
 Sheriff, office of, in Renfrewshire, sold, 78-9.
 Shutterflat, the meeting at, 297.
 Silk stuffs, their prices, 173.
 Simpson, Patrick, minister at Renfrew, 289.
 — Robert or Habbie, 421.
 Sinclair, Lord, his regiment, 261, 262.
 Sites of castles, 167.
 Smeaton, Thomas, appointed minister of Paisley, 225; succeeds Melville as Principal of Glasgow University and of St. Andrews, *ib.*; receives £100 from the King, *ib.*
 Smiley, Sir H. H., Bart., 406.
 Smith, Mr. Hugh, minister at Eastwood, summoned before Privy Council, 293.
 — Mr. Parker, of Jordanhill, 409.
 Solemn League and Covenant, 260; adopted by Paisley Presbytery, 260; signed in Renfrewshire, 261.
 Somerled, Lord of the Isles, invades Renfrewshire and is slain, 29; place where he is said to have been buried, 30.
 Somerset, Duke of. (See Hertford.)
 Southbarr, lands of, 411.
 Spanish Blanks, 227.
 Spaniards, expected to land in Scotland, 227.
 Speirs, Mr. A. A., of Elderslie, 397, 404, 406, 409.
 Spiers, Mr. R. T. N., of Culdees Castle, 420.
 Speirs, Lady Ann, 417.
 Spices, 170, 171.
 Spire (Speirs), Captain John, 344.
 Spottiswood, Archbishop, 247.
 Spreull, Spreul, Walter Lord of Coldame (Cowdon, Coudon, Cowdam), 102.
 — James, of Cowdon, 104.
 — (Spreul), John, 104.
 — (Sprewill), Thomas de, Cowdon (Coldon), 103.
 — (Sproule), Thomas, 103.
 — (Sprewl), Bailie, 276.
 — (Spreul), Canon, 127.
 — (Spreul), John, in Renfrew, 288.
 — Jonet, 398.
 Sprulls of Ladymuir, 104.
 — of Castlehill, 104.
 Spruells of Blachairne, 104.
 Stanely Castle, 166.
 Steward, Walter Fitz Alan (the High), 26; at the Court of the Empress Matilda, *ib.*; at the rout of Winchester, *ib.*; settles in Scotland, *ib.*; descended from Alan Steward of Dol, *ib.*; appointed Hereditary Steward of Scotland by David I. and confirmed in office by Malcolm IV., 27; the grants he received, *ib.*; portions out his estates in Renfrewshire, *ib.*; founds the monastery of Paisley, 29; endows it, 31; death, *ib.*; his successful career, 32.

- Steward, Alan Fitz Walter (second Steward), his benefactions to the Abbey of Paisley, 33, 35.
- Walter (third Steward), 33, 35.
- Alexander (fourth Steward), 36.
- James (fifth Steward), 38; a Guardian of the Kingdom, 39; Sheriff of Ayrshire, *ib.*; Sheriff of Dumbartonshire, 40; supports Balliol against Edward I., *ib.*; signs Ragman Roll, 41; supports Wallace, 43, 48, 81; is reserved by Edward for exemplary punishment, 58; submits to Edward, 60. (See Steward, James.)
- Walter (sixth Steward), at Bannockburn, 61; marries Marjorie, daughter of Robert I., *ib.*; joint Regent, *ib.*; Governor of Berwick, *ib.*; at the Chapter of Mitton, *ib.*; pursues Edward II., 63; his death, *ib.*
- Robert (seventh Steward), attacks Balliol, 66; at Halidon Hill, 67; heads a rising against Balliol, 68; joint Regent, 69; Regent, 71; with the King at Neville's Cross, 73; again Regent, *ib.*; makes peace, 75; relations with David II., *ib.*; imprisoned, 76; succeeds to crown, 76. (See Robert II.)
- Stewart, Sir Archibald, of Blackhall, 264, 265, 288, 314, 316, 317, 320, 326.
- Sir Hugh Shaw, Bart., M.P., 396, 426, 427, 429.
- Sir John, of Bonkill, 55.
- Alan, of Cardonald, 113.
- James, of Cardonald, 113.
- James, of Cardonald, 197, 207.
- John, of Cardonald, 113.
- Captain James, of Williamwood, 399, 402.
- Alan, of Craighall, 113.
- Mathew, of Barscube, 210.
- Sir John, Lord of Crookston, the Steward's bailie (1361), 100.
- Sir Alan (1429), 101.
- Sir Alexander, 101.
- Sir John, 100; bailie in the barony of Renfrew, *ib.*
- Sir John (1404), 101.
- Alan, Lord of Darnley, 87.
- John, Lord Darnley, 101.
- Mathew, Master of Lennox, joins his father in rebellion, 144; is pardoned, 145.
- Hector, of Raiss, 111.
- Alexander, of Raiss, 111.
- John, of Raiss, 111.
- George, of Raiss, 111.
- Gavan, 238, 239.
- John, of Caversbank, 240.
- Stewarts, the, of Castlemilk, 128.
- the, of Raiss and Halrig, 111.
- Stuart, Egidia or Giles, 85.
- Stirling, Mr. Luke, 233.
- Mr. Patrick, 233.
- Stirling Castle taken by Covenanters, 257.
- Archbishop Hamilton tried and executed at, 218.
- battle of, 47.
- Strahan, Colonel, at Musselburgh, 272; charge against Leslie, *ib.*; sent to raise men in the West, 273; writes to Cromwell, *ib.*; the Remonstrance, 275; resigns command and joins Cromwell, *ib.*
- Strathcarron, battle of, 17.
- Strathclyde, Kingdom of, one of the four struggling for supremacy, 16; the Scots Kingdom its natural ally, 17; Picts and Saxons its natural enemies, 17; oppressed by Aethelfrith and by Edwin of Deira, *ib.*; reduced by Oswald, Oswiu, and Egfrith, *ib.*; and is ruled by Angus, King of the Picts, *ib.*; overrun by Northmen, 18; united to the Crown of Scotland, 18.
- Straven Castle taken by Covenanters, 257.
- Strozzi, Leo, 205, 206.
- Sugar, 171.
- Sunday, observance of, 195.
- Syde, chapel of, Kilmaccolm, 191, 192.
- Sydsfer, Bishop of Galloway, 286.
- Synod of Drumceatt, 16.
- Tables, the, 251.
- Tankerland, lands of, 399.
- Tantallon Castle, 199.
- Taylor, Mr. James, minister at Greenock, 289, 290.
- Teind policy of Charles I., 247.
- Templars' graves, 192.
- Temple lands in Renfrewshire, 80, 192, 394, 397.
- Tenants, free, 153.
- Tervas, Thomas, Abbot of Paisley, reforms the monastery, 177; adds to its buildings and furnishes the church, 178.
- Thomson of Corsehill, 288.
- Thornliebank, 401.
- Troops recalled from Ireland, 261.
- Transumpt of Clement IV., the, 34.
- Turner, Sir James, 267, 268, 292, 299, 300.
- Twenge, Sir Marmaduke, at the battle of Stirling, 48; surrenders Stirling Castle, 49.
- University of Glasgow, 267.
- Urry, William, 110.
- Vaus, John, 253, 264.
- Virgin, altar to, at Inchinnan, 179.
- altar to, at Kilbarchan, 190.
- chapel of, at Ranfurly, 190.
- chapel of, at Renfrew, 190.

- Wadric, his stronghold and lands, 27.
 Walker, Sir John, chaplain, 137.
 Wallace, Sir John, 63.
 — William, of Craigie, 117.
 — Thomas, of Auchenothis, 117.
 — of Auchanes, 298.
 — James, of Barrochan, 305.
 — Sir William, birth, 42; at Lanark, *ib.*; his marriage, 43; the battle of Biggar, 44; in Selkirk Forest, *ib.*; captures Perth, *ib.*; one of the leaders of Scots army, 45; takes no part in the capitulation of Irvine, 46; in forest of Selkirk, *ib.*; defeats English at Stirling, 49; takes Dundee, 49; sends letter to Lubeck and Hamburg, *ib.*; at Hexham, 50; grants writs of safe-conduct, *ib.*; at Carlisle, *ib.*; elected Governor of Scotland, 51; retires before Warrene, 52; defeated at Falkirk, 55; escapes into the Torwood, *ib.*; resigns Guardianship of Scotland, 56; instructions for his capture, *ib.*; probably at the burning of Ayr, *ib.*; at Peebles, August, 1299, *ib.*; in France, 57; battle of Roslin, *ib.*; excluded from amnesty, 58; means taken to capture him, 58-9; death, 59.
 — Gabriel, of Elderslie, 117.
 — George, of Elderslie, 117.
 — John, of Elderslie, 117.
 — Malcolm, 117.
 — Patrick, of Elderslie, 117.
 — William, of Elderslie (1554), 117.
 — William, of Elderslie (1583), 117.
 — John, of Ferguslie, 264, 266, 270, 345.
 — William, Auld Laird of Johnstone, 236.
 — Hugh, of Underwood, 288.
 — James, minister of Inchinnan, 289; deposed, 290.
 — Allane, 264.
 — Richard, of Riccarton, 117.
 — Robert, 264.
 — Margaret, 345.
 Wallace's Chair, 421.
 Wallaces, the, of Kelly, 429.
 Walkingshaw, Gavin, of that ilk, 288.
 — the Younger, 288.
 — Mr., minister at Baldernoch, 293.
 Walkingshaw, Mr. Patrick, 233.
 Walkingshaw, lands of, 137.
 Warrene, Earl of Surrey, appointed Guardian of Scotland (1298), 44; at battle of Stirling, 48; flees to England, *ib.*; placed at the head of a new army of invasion, 52; relieves Roxburgh and occupies Berwick, 53.
 Warine, Sheriff of Salop, 26.
 War, last private, 341.
 Wars, Civil, 246.
 Waterston, lands of, 421.
 Watson, Adam, 221.
 Wedding, Penny, 291.
 Welles, Sir Alexander de, 55.
 Wemyss Bay, village of, 388.
 Wester Patrick, lands of, 408.
 Whiggamores, the, 269, 279.
 White Cart, 111, 395.
 Whitefords, the, of that ilk, 111.
 Whiteford, Adam, of Milton, 112.
 Whithorn, James IV. at, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 160.
 William and Mary proclaimed King and Queen of England, 334.
 Williamwood plundered, 310.
 Willock, Mr. John, appointed Superintendent at Glasgow and in West, 220; complaint lodged against him, 221, 222.
 Windram, Captain, 309.
 Wines in use, 170.
 Winton, Earl of, 90.
 Winyet, Ninian, outlawed, 1574, 225.
 Wishart, Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, 43, 45, 46, 57, 60.
 Witchcraft at Dunrod, 326; Inverkip, 327, 328; Kilmacolm, 329, 333; Inchinnan, 329; Erskine, 330.
 Wodquarter of Langside, 398.
 Wodrow, Mr. James, 323.
 — Patrick, vicar of Eaglesham and reader, 395.
 Women, certain, of Paisley, 241; of Lanark, 249, 250.
 Wrichtland, lands of, 410, 411.
 Young, Mr. Robert, minister at Erskine, 290.
 Younger, Mr. Thomas, 264.





